

AN ETHNOGRAPHIC AND SOCIO-SEMANTIC ANALYSIS OF LEXIS

AMONG WORKING-CLASS AFRIKAANS-SPEAKING

COLOURED ADOLESCENT AND YOUNG ADULT MALES

IN THE CAPE PENINSULA, 1963-1990

Gerald Leslie Stone

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of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts

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I have been fortunate in the assistance of a very wide variety of individuals, many of them members of the speech community studied in this work, and nearly all the remainder academics, several themselves of working-class origin.

People researched ethnographically are not subjects but informants, active participants, wittingly or not. To estimate the number of informants of this study with any accuracy would be impossible, but ten thousand persons over twenty-eight years, or an average of approximately one new informant daily, could well be far too low, considering that fieldwork included, inter alia, a two-year stint as a social caseworker regularly seeing up to ten new clients daily, a four-year period of running and administering youth clubs, a total of seven seasons undertaking participant observational research on Coon Carnival troupes each numbering between three and five hundred members, eleven years of almost daily fieldwork with a wide variety of informal adolescent and young adult peer groups, thirteen years of almost daily fieldwork associating widely with residents in my key fieldwork neighbourhood of perhaps thirty thousand inhabitants, and twenty-eight years of striking up conversation with strangers almost daily in public places. The anonymity of all (other than academics, officials and non-informant friends) has been preserved as an invariant rule. Many of those who knowingly rendered assistance clearly felt freer under conditions of anonymity, justifiably leaving me with final responsibility in recorded statements about their speech community and its dialect. Those who unwittingly provided information were entitled to the same rights. The remainder were content with anonymity when it was proposed in advance.

Four individuals, rewarded very much by our shared interest in their dialect, made this study possible with an extraordinary amount of voluntary work:

My ethnographic "fictive brother", since our young adulthood in 1965 friend and periodic antagonist through many adventures, ordeals and celebrations which have acquired a mythic life of their own in our shared history. That relationship, unusual and highly visible in the key fieldwork neighbourhood for over a decade, itself acquired noteworthiness to mutual long-standing friends and acquaintances, judging from the regularity of enquiries: "Wat, is julle twee nog steeds **chômmies**?" (What, are you two still buddies? [working-class lexis boldly printed]). It was in the household of his mother, with an eminently absorbing saga of her own to recount, that I was

adopted, and participated as **huiskind** (honorary child), and I eventually became honorary godfather to his children.

His sensitivity as a layperson to social dynamics in his community, and his intuition, knowledge, love of its dialect and gift of eloquence remain unsurpassed in my experience. It was he who repeatedly insisted that many apparently Afrikaans lexical items derived from Xhosa or Zulu long before this was confirmed by etymological investigation. He spent at least two hundred hours in compilation, consultation, standardization and bruiting ideas around in lively, often fascinating debate. He also scrutinized and approved the inclusion of methodological data pertaining to himself. No other individual directly contributed, nor stimulated my interest more.

Another informant and friend of over twenty years' standing, in youth a violent gang member, in early adulthood a criminal prisoner, and long since settled into a white-collar occupation. He grew up in District Six, that hothouse of rhetorical lexis, and his unusually comprehensive idiolect and powers of articulation were exceeded only by his exuberance in tossing one uncommon item after another at me over the telephone almost daily for over a year, so that I learned to have pad and pencil at the ready and occasionally had to plead for mercy. Socially skilled and long a keen and curious observer of society, he was fascinated to learn the etymology of lexis used unreflectively all his life. He eventually came to value the research and show generosity to the extent that he would undertake unsolicited lexicographic fieldwork, write down items in advance of our discussions and, when especially excited, telephone me from work.

A third informant and friend of fourteen years' standing, who made available his extensive experience and connections by introducing informants in prison-gang lexis and myth, and providing accurate and concise information himself.

A fourth informant, and informal psychotherapy client, who became fascinated by the research, and spontaneously undertook small but important investigations among his peers.

My domestic worker, who went efficiently and unobtrusively out of his way to accommodate my absorption in the work, and, fascinated by the data, occasionally offered new items.

Seventy-one other informants in the speech community who contributed enthusiastically to lexicographic compilation, verification and standardization.

These are to be counted among many speakers of the vernacular who shared my construal of numinosity to be found in much of the lexis, and were moved by its articulation when the research was explained. In a very real sense this was a communal enterprise, and I the interpreter and scribe.

Five middle-class informants gave anecdotal information which I concluded was reliable and is presented as minor ethnographic data in case examples.

Sally Swartz, my supervisor and academic midwife par excellence, who guided this work with unerring professionalism, patience and finesse through many vicissitudes, even during her maternity leave.

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Sidney Zotwana, lecturer in African Languages at the University of Cape Town, who has completed a master's thesis in sociolinguistics on similar

data and phenomena among urban working-class Xhosa- and Zulu-speakers, kindly obtained the assistance of an acquaintance together with whom we spent several hours resolving etymological queries about several hundred items derived from these languages, shared many common interpretative views and stimulated development of the Xhosa and Zulu dimension of both data and exegesis.

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Eduard Fagan and Derryn Heilbuth, erstwhile undergraduate students at the University of Cape Town, kindly supplied copies of their research projects.

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Prof Roy Pheiffer, head of the Department of Afrikaans and Nederlands, provided valuable etymological information and encouraged publication of the lexical data.

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Dr R Coogan, Medical Officer of Health, succeeded by Dr M Popkiss, and Mr J Otto, Head of Statistics Section, both of the Municipality of Cape Town, provided copies of the City's Annual Report of the Medical Officer of Health in 1983, 1988/9 and 1989/90.

Mr S Shrock, Assistant Senior Prosecutor in the Cape Town Magistrates' Courts, provided instant identification of legislation governing prison sentences reflected in lexical items -- with which he was also familiar. Mr A Shandling provided information on legislation repealing the interracial prohibitions of the Immorality Act.

Officials of a local authority public amenities law enforcement agency provided useful ethnographic information as well as professional assistance when fieldwork conditions in the area of jurisdiction were hazardous or other members of the public required protection at my report.

This thesis is a minor part of a much larger research enterprise on an ethnography and lexicography of the Cape Peninsular working-class Afrikaans-speaking community. I have had sole responsibility, and, as the thesis neared its end, was sustained only by the manifold, unstinted support of Ramsay Karelse, Eliot Osrin, Shakie Ramara.

PREFACE

This thesis has been completed in partial fulfilment of the South African statutory requirements for registration as a clinical psychologist, which specify a master's degree. The question of its upgrading to doctoral level has accordingly not been considered.

The unusual length of this work as a master's thesis is due to the space required for acquittal of its two primary burdens:

(i) the presentation of ethnographic and lexicographic data which form a system in both folk and scientific terms, and themselves represent a segment of all the data acquired in terms of the research as an investigation into communal identity and dialectal lexis in the speech community;

(ii) crucially to the above, the innovative formulation of methodological criteria and the explication of method of the acquisition of data which necessarily included extensive nonverbal and subjective information.

Underlining is employed where italics are conventionally used in academic text. Bold print signifies dialectal lexis unless the text indicates otherwise. The quotation marks, " ", distinguish middle-class, standard or colloquial Afrikaans from lexis construed by speakers as unique to the dialect.

Academic correspondence to me should be addressed to P O Box 4509, Cape Town 8000.

ABSTRACT

The study is an investigation into the distinctive, predominantly Afrikaans lexis of adolescent and young adult working-class coloured males in the Cape Peninsula, acquired in social anthropological, psychosocial and sociolinguistic research between 1963 and 1991 (the period of lexical usage is limited to the preceding year). Issues raised by the investigative method, ethnographic participant observation, in regard to subjective data, are also explored.

The lexis reflects a lexicogrammatical code of a regional dialect used by all generations in their speech community. Youths construed by speakers as enacting respectability use the lexis of parents or switch to varying degrees into middle-class ("standard") Afrikaans or English. The distinctive lexis of working-class adolescent and young adult male age-sets is thus confined to those construed by speakers as enacting disreputability, delinquency or both.

In folk myth and lexicogrammatical code, working-class speakers distinguish four working-class communal identities and corresponding lexicons within the working-class dialect: the respectable, disreputable, delinquent and outcast, constituting a religio-political hierarchy construed in terms of cosmically and socially ordained intracommunal stratification, social status, peer-group association and valence and development of identity. For reasons of space this study is confined to the disreputable lexicon, which, together with the delinquent lexicon, is termed **ou roeker tale** (old smoker terms), created and maintained by adolescents and young adults only, although both are used to a lesser extent by many older speakers.

The data are organized broadly in terms of communal identity and lexicogrammatical code, and are presented in three parts. The first is an ethnography of folk constructions of communication, language, dialects, communal identities and lexicogrammatical codes, drawing on an exegesis of the socio-semantics of lexis. The second is an ethnography of the communal identities, communal lexicons and their lexicogrammatical codes themselves between 1963 and 1990, focussing on working-class male disreputability. The third part is a semantic, grammatical and etymological lexicon of disreputable lexis in **ou roeker tale**, numbering 2,211 items.

Halliday's (1976) formulations of antilanguage are applied to the data and criticized. The major instances of overlexicalization are presented and

interpreted.

The study concludes that the concept of antilanguage is heuristically valuable but simplistic, one-sided and limited insofar as it pertains to dialect. Its fundamental codal rule of static antagonism is reformulated in terms of ambivalence, creativity and development in communal identity.

Issues of methodology, theory and further research are raised in summary.

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The first tribe is called Sonquas in the language of the country (...). The Europeans call these folk Hottentots (...). According to them (i.e. the Hottentots) (...) these Dutch are slaves who cultivate the lands which really belong to them, and are faint-hearted folk who take shelter from their enemies in forts and houses; whereas they fearlessly camp wherever they will (...) and disdain to plough the land. They maintain that this manner of life shows that they are the true owners of the country, and the happiest of men, since they alone live in peace and freedom; and in this, they say, their happiness consists. (....)

They are jealous of their liberty, even to excess. The Commandeur (i.e., Simon van der Stel) told us that he had wished to tame one, by making him his servant when young; but when he grew up he had to be given leave to go, which he continually asked for, saying that he could not subject himself to the constraint of a regular life, that the Dutch and suchlike nations were the slaves of the soil and the Hottentots its masters, that they were not compelled continually to carry their hats under their arms and to observe a hundred inconvenient customs, that they ate when they were hungry, following in this no other rules but those of nature. (....)

For the rest, they are gay, lively, of few words, and seem to be intelligent.

Tachard, Pere Guy (1686): Voyage de Siam des Peres Jesuites, Envoyez par le ROY aux Indes & à la Chine Avec levrs Observations Afronomiques, Et Levrs Remarques de Physique de Geographie, d'Hydrographie, & d'Histoire. Paris: Arnold Seneuze et Daniel Horthemels. Translated in Raven-Hart (1971 [2]: 286, 287, 289).

Or if one of their friends is killed in battle by our men, and one of the survivors is threatened with the same death, in broken Dutch he cries out: „Dat is doet: Was makom? Duytsman altyt kallom: Icke Hottentots doot makom: Mashy doot, Icke strack nae onse groote Kapiteyn toe, die man my soon witte Boeba geme." Which words may be thus rendered: "Come! What are you doing? Dutchmen always say: I will kill Hottentots. Well, kill! If I die, I shall go straight to our Great Chief. He will give me white oxen."* These they regard as sacred ornaments of their herds.

Ten Rhyne, Wilhelm (1686): Schediasma de Promontorio Bonae Spei; Ejusve Tractus Incolis Hottentotis. Scafusi: Joh. Mart. Osvaldi. Translated as A Short Account of the Cape of Good Hope; and of the Hottentots Who Inhabit that Region in Schapera and Farrington (1933: 141) * The translation is partly inaccurate, as is Elphick's (1985: 211) based on it. A more accurate and idiomatic translation, based on Valkhoff's (1966: 219): "That's death: so what? Dutchmen always shout: I (will) kill Hottentots. If (it's to be) death, I'll soon (go) to our Great Chief (and) he will give my son white Oxen."

O cockney who maketh negatives,
You negative of negatives.

Rosenberg, Isaac (1914): Fragment XXXII.
In Bottomley, G and Harding, D (eds) (1937):
The Collected Works of Isaac Rosenberg.
London: Chatto and Windus. p. 226.

GLOSSARY

Relevant cross-references are underlined.

actor: one or more humans, i.e., person or group, who enact an identity. If enaction of identity by more than one human is collective, i.e., in identification between two or more, then the identity is collective even on occasion when enacted by one in spatial and temporal separation from the others. A collective identity may be constituted of variants which may be complementary, diverse or antagonistic, and may be wholly differentiated or partly, i.e., symbiotic, in interaction with each other. See symbiosis.

aggrandizement: the transformation of identity in which attempts are made in consciousness and reality to increase it to a wholly infinite, open system, a grandiose identity, the terms of which render it liable to stigmatize, exploit and subordinate other identities. The antinomial converse of mortification, commonly with the purpose of reversing mortification, stigmatization, exploitation and subordination. See real, stigma.

anomie: a field of consciousness and reality in which the rules of respectability break down in interaction between identities. The term is the French meaning "normlessness", i.e., rulelessness, but the breakdown is always paradoxical in that the rules of respectability are violated and/or lapse in terms of other rules: of instability in disreputability, of disorder in delinquency or of chaos in outcastness. The breakdown may be benign in creativity or malignant in destructiveness of identity. In terms of respectable identity, anomie is commonly construed deviant and even bizarre, simultaneously dramatic and objectively unreal, normally limited to fantasy, i.e., subjectivity, akin to fiction, "like something out of a movie". See real.

arbitrary sign: in semiotics, a signifier associated arbitrarily with the signified. Developmentally, arbitrary signification succeeds indexical and iconic signification. See development, iconic sign, indexical sign, signified, signifier.

base: the identity or identities construed by the actor as necessary to

for psychosocial survival, and thus enacted as far as construed possible by preference territorially (residentially), religiously, economically, politically, in kinship, peer-group and intracommunal relations and in any sexual enaction; and in terms of which the actor is construed by self and others as known in terms of both society (externally) and assigned essence (internally), even in outcastness. Enaction of the base is thus commonly mundane, evinces maximal informality, ease, self-disclosure and reduction of self-regulation, and particularly includes private interaction with self and others. Although subject to some variation and change, both endogenously and exogenously, in long-term continuity through the individual life-cycle and intracommunal generations it predominates over all other identities enacted by the actor, especially when adult.

bi-logical: the combination of finite logic (digital; in psychoanalytic terms, secondary process) and infinite logic (analogic; primary process) in communication or the enaction of identity. Although finite logic is grounded in objectivity, and infinite logic in subjectivity, neither is confined to each field. See objective, subjective.

capital: Natural and Cultural religio-economic resources of consciousness, reality and identity for the enaction, survival, maintenance and development of identity. See Culture, Nature, real.

communitas: the subjective reality of communal identity enacted mutually and jointly.

community: the objective reality of communal identity enacted mutually and jointly.

consciousness: the frame of potentially self-reflexive attention to reality; may be objective or subjective, depending on whether attention is framed inside or outside the boundary of identity. The psychoanalytic notion of unconsciousness refers to a sector of consciousness in which the direction or exclusion of attention is involuntary and cannot be self-reflexively regulated. See real.

cosmic: significant for identity in terms of the cosmos beyond society, construed as manifestations of fortune, fate, destiny, divine

will, historic determinism, ordeal, luck, risk, opportunity, danger, catastrophe, triumph, entitlement, guilt, hope, despair, optimism, pessimism, etc., in influencing mundane life in society; the manifestation of the unknown in the known, the unmasterable in the masterable.

cosmos: see cosmic.

creativity: ontogenetic and epigenetic generation of the development of identity. See development, epigenesis, ontogenesis.

Culture: terms of identity mythically construed cosmically ordained as social and psychosocial, i.e., created by humans out of interaction with each other and in non-Natural terms. See cosmic, Nature.

decency: an identity enaction systemically marked by consistent self-transcendence, self-regulated by universalist ethical integrity.

delinquency: a paradigmatic identity enaction systemically marked by disorder in interaction with self and others, in which attempts are made to commit the self to stigmatize, exploit, neglect, damage, torture and plunder others and self in the course of aggrandizing or defending the self in symbiotic interaction with others. Situated between disreputability and outcastness in the hierarchy of working-class communal identities. See aggrandizement, symbiosis.

development: progressive, systemic transformation of identity from simple to complex and specialized organization to permit increasing mastery over consciousness, reality and identity, during which identity becomes increasingly differentiated, organized, stable, independent and capable of self-monitoring, self-regulation, and self-transformation. See epigenesis, ontogenesis.

disreputability: a paradigmatic identity enaction systemically marked by inconstancy, instability, paradox, ambiguity, ambivalence, optionality, creativity, masquerade and opportunism in interaction with self and others, in which attempts are made to stigmatize and exploit others and self in the course of aggrandizing or defending the self in symbiotic interaction with others. Situated between

respectability and delinquency in the hierarchy of working-class communal identities. See aggrandizement.

dominant: in South Africa, the White identity during the period of fieldwork. May be reframed in socialist terms as bourgeois or capitalist. See subordinate.

elite: the highest in the hierarchy of communal identities in society.

epigenesis: the hierarchical metasystem whereby each ontogenetic phase of identity in the development of its life-cycle is formed in systemic interaction with all previous phases and potential prefiguration of prospective phases.

evolution: epigenetic development of identity taking its dialectical systemic course facilitated by stochastic and self-created opportunities.

folk: pertaining to a communal identity based in kinship and descent. See base.

grandiosity: see aggrandizement.

honour: the objectified religio-political integrity of identity communally confirmed; the mundane converse of stigma. See sacrament, style.

iconic sign: in semiotics, a signifier which is associated with a signified by subjective similarity of form. Iconic signification is developmentally intermediate between indexical and arbitrary signification. See arbitrary sign, development, indexical sign, objective, signified, signifier.

identity: the actor mythically construed. The constructions constitute a paradigm formed of syntagmatic terms derived from reality framed by consciousness, and are ideologically organized in mythic terms of space and time. In scientific terms, identity is an open psychosocial, processual system developing dialectically and ontogenetically through an epigenetic series of phases in a life cycle but subject to stochastic vicissitudes. The term identity is used here to signify both the system by which information is received, encoded, decoded and communicated, and each code itself; the operation of the whole constituting the enaction of an identity; the system constituting a template for organization of the code; variations in the system producing

variations in organization between one code and another; thus the system's repertoire of variations makes possible and limits the repertoire of identities that it can enact. By limited but useful analogy, identity may be compared with a computer insofar as they both operate partly as closed systems. Actors use their identity system, which is analogous to a computer's Read Only Memory (ROM) programme built into the computer, to construe, construct and enact particular identities (codes) which may be compared with Random Access Memory (RAM) programmes for production of myths (files) and their ritual enaction (programmatic communication). Of course it takes an actor (as open system) to operate such systems. These analytic formulations do not dispense with the metasystemic actor, nor reduce the actor to identity, but merely limit themselves to a systemic account. Society is organized in hierarchies of identities. The working class communal identity researched in this study is organized in a hierarchy of intracommunal identity variants consisting of respectability, disreputability, delinquency and outcastness. Actors may switch from one variant to another, transiently or indefinitely, and use one or more as a base. See ideology, real.

identity base: see base.

identity theme: see theme.

ideology: the code or system of rules by which consciousness is framed, reality is construed and identity enaction is organized and regulated. See real.

indexical sign: in semiotics, a signifier objectively associated with a signified by proximity, causation, direction, succession or other connection producing a sequence of attention (pointing) from signifier to signified. Developmentally the fundamental mode of sign, followed by iconic and arbitrary signification. See arbitrary sign, development, iconic sign, objective, signified, signifier, subjective.

information: sensory and cognitive data, including symbols and signs.

integrity: enaction of the systemic self-regulation of identity meeting its own terms of differentiation and centralization. See

development, honour, sacrament, stigma, style.

limen: see liminal.

liminal: pertaining to an identity enaction paradoxically on the systemic boundary or threshold (limen) of identity: between consciousness and unconsciousness, subjectivity and objectivity, nonentity and identity, symbiosis and differentiation, Nature and Culture, communitas and community, one ontogenetic phase and another, cosmos and society, one community and another, society and outcastness, or life and death. See cosmic, transitional.

malignant: pertaining to an identity enaction aimed solely at the violent destruction of another identity.

mask: see masquerade.

masquerade: optional constitution, presentation and enaction of an identity as another, the mask. The mask may be wholly objective, or the actor may temporarily become subjectively transported as well, to any degree of loss of self-regulation, in the simulation or dissimulation. Masquerade is a form of switching identities insofar as it constitutes a paradigm, but is to be distinguished from switching in or out of an identity which constitutes itself.

mortification: the stigmatic transformation of identity in which it is reduced to a finite, closed system, wholly a stigmatic object, the terms of which render it liable to be stigmatized, exploited and subordinated by grandiose identity. The antinomial converse of aggrandizement. See stigma.

mundane: everyday consciousness, reality and identity construed objectively lacking in cosmic significance. See real.

mystification: (i) the subjectification of reality, including identity, and its exclusion from objectivity when the latter is pursued. The actor is subjectively conscious of the reality, but cannot objectify it and resists objectification. (ii) the objectification of reality and its exclusion from subjectivity when the latter is pursued. The actor is objectively conscious of the reality but cannot subjectify it and resists subjectification. See

objectify, objective, subjectify, subjective.

myth: an ideological paradigm of reality. See real.

mythopoeic: signified wholly in terms of myth tending to ideological closure and the exclusion of other myth. Closure is objectively proposed but subjectively maintained. The attempt at closure thus fails. Mythopoeic myth proposes finiteness to all reality. It may be, but is not necessarily, an enaction of totalism, which is agonistic and/or antagonistic.

national: a scale of consciousness framed by the exterior borders of South Africa; communal identity in these terms; parochial scale in this context.

Nature: terms of identity mythically construed cosmically ordained as wholly cosmic and non-Cultural. See cosmic, Culture.

numinous: having cosmic significance for the formation, survival, enaction, maintenance, development, vicissitudes and fate of identity by interaction between cosmos and identity.

objectify: render objective in consciousness or reality. See real.

objective: construed real outside an identity, even though the reality may constitute an ostension of a construction of the identity. See subjective.

ontogenesis: the systemic development of identity through a prefigured sequence of phases in its life-cycle. See development, epigenesis.

outcastness: a paradigmatic identity enaction systemically marked by chaos in interaction with self and others, in which attempts are made to stigmatize, manipulate, neglect, injure, torture, plunder, exclude and especially destroy self and others in the course of aggrandizing or defending the self. The lowest in the hierarchy of working-class communal identities. See aggrandizement.

paradigm: a system of mythic syntagms reflecting the full enaction of an identity. See myth.

parochial: a scale of consciousness framed by neighbourhood, suburb, town, city or locality only; communal identity in these terms.

pragmatics: pertaining to the context and consequences of communication, especially the interpersonal and religio-political.

real: subjectively and/or objectively construed as phenomenally extant.
See objective, subjective.

religio-aesthetic: in terms of the numinosity of the integrity of identity.
See numinous, style.

religio-economic: in terms of the cosmic significance of resources for the enaction, survival, maintenance and development of identity (as in the expression, "God give me strength").
See capital.

religio-political: in terms of the cosmic significance of power, i.e., mastery over reality, including cosmos, society and self, in identity enaction; e.g., entitlement to power, destiny of powerlessness. See real.

religious: significant in terms of the cosmos, which may include society and self. See cosmic.

respectability: a paradigmatic identity enaction systemically marked by integrity in self-sufficiency, privacy, scrupulosity and reserve in commitment to perfect order in interaction with self and others, in which attempts are made to honour others and the self in maintaining or defending the self. The highest in the hierarchy of working-class identities, permitting upward mobility into the middle class. See disreputability, delinquency, outcastness.

revolution: the violent imposition of control over development with a view to the total stigmatization of a centrally problematic stigma encountered in the course of evolutionary development. Counter-revolution is identical control of revolutionary stigma.

ritual: a syntagm of religio-political identity enaction in which cosmic order is repetitively imposed to resolve and reverse mundane chaos, disorder, instability, uncertainty, ambiguity, paradox, ambivalence, transition, etc. Ritual enacts myth.

sacrament: a ritual cosmic sign applied to an identity to grace it, i.e., to propose, confirm or redeem it when threatened by stigma; in

which it is signified in positive terms, included in community and liberated for enaction necessary to the meeting of its own terms; the cosmic converse of stigma. Sacrament confirms or restores integrity and is manifested in communion, i.e., fully signified, received and construed religious communication between two or more identities. Whereas sacrament dialectically transcends stigma, aggrandizement merely reverses it antinomially. See honour, mundane.

semantics: the meaning of communication.

signified: in semiotics, that which is signified by a signifier.

signifier: in semiotics, a sign signifying a signified.

stigma: a ritual cosmic sign applied to an identity to disgrace it, i.e., to propose, confirm or impose its inactivation depriving it of freedom of enaction to meet its own terms; in which it is signified in negative terms, excluded from community, and destroyed or subordinated, in the latter event often reserving the option of its exploitation; the cosmic converse of sacrament, the mundane converse of honour. Stigma violates identity: stigmatized identity is alienated from both self and other, and accepts the imposition of perpetual silence on its stigmatization. Stigma is counteracted by the sacrament of communion and the honour of participation in communitas and community.

style: the integrity of identity enaction in religio-aesthetic terms. See honour.

subjectify: render wholly subjective in consciousness, often to prevent objectification. The psychoanalytic construct of repression would be equivalent to the subjectification of reality which the actor is unable to objectify. In this thesis, subjectified reality may, in these terms, be repressed or not; the issue of repression is irrelevant. See objectify, real.

subjective: construed real within an identity. See objective.

subordinate: in South Africa, communal identities of colour during the period of fieldwork, in particular the Peninsular coloured identity unless otherwise stated. May be reframed in socialist myth as working-class. See dominant.

symbiosis: formation of interaction between two or more identities in

which none acts in full differentiation from the other(s). The interaction thus reflects fusion or merger between the identities, in which the boundaries of the identities, of consciousness, and of subjectivity and objectivity are not differentiated. Each symbiotic identity is thus capable of simultaneous enaction in two or more identities, i.e., points in space and time. One construes oneself simultaneously and/or alternately in self and other(s), in two or more persons, places and/or times. In the enaction of symbiotic identity, then, identity paradoxically exists and does not exist, and attempts are made to render finite, linear, irreversible time and space cyclic, repetitive and thus static and infinite withal. In symbiotic identity, the actor is constantly threatened with stigmatic subjectification, repetitively seeks magical, sacramental ritual objectification in reality, and construes reality itself as animistic or anthropomorphic -- in religious terms, a numinous hierophany (sacred show, evidence of enaction by an omnipotent, ineffable cosmic actor). Symbiotic identity is the ontogenetic foundation of differentiated identity, and makes possible intersubjectivity in which the construction of simultaneity is usually subjectified. However, unless otherwise stated, symbiotic identity refers in this study to identity which has proceeded developmentally to differentiate paradoxically in terms of continued symbiosis, which is construed sacramental; and is intolerant of full differentiation, which is construed stigmatic. See ontogeny, sacrament, stigma, subjectify, transitional.

syntagm: a complete term or sign in communication; a complete communication in the course of identity enaction. See paradigm.

syntax: the organization of communication.

theme: the myth of a critical issue in identity enaction.

therapy: sacramental healing by others or self of damaged identity. See sacrament, stigma.

totalism: an ideological rule in identity enaction to impose control at the expense of all else; used in the development, aggrandizement

or defence of identity. See ideology, mythopoeic.

transitional: pertaining to an identity developing from symbiotic to differentiated interaction with other identities, and therefore liminal. See development, symbiosis.

universal: a scale of consciousness framed by the world in the cosmic universe; identity in these terms; parochial and national scales in this context.

variant: one of a number of identities constituting terms forming a set which constitutes an identity of which each term, or sub-identity, is both a term in, and an example of, the identity. An actor may enact many variants, simultaneously, or switching between them.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.0 Introduction

This study has three purposes.

(1) To provide a psychological -- specifically, a psychosocial -- account of the ethnographic, predominantly social anthropological method of participant observation, by elucidating crucial methodological issues as well as processes in the researcher. Participant observation is proposed as initiation, by ordeal, into the researched communal identities and their realities and consciousness.

(2) To record the lexis and examine a lexicogrammatical code -- as a code of communal identity -- of that sector of an urban working-class dialect created, controlled and used mainly by male adolescents and young adults, its socio-semantics, and the communal identities reflected in four codes organizing the dialect.

This is, inter alia, a sociolinguistic work of original research, founded in the disciplines of social psychology and social anthropology, their synthesis in psychosocial formulations of identity informed by a psychoanalytic perspective; and the interpretation of lexico-semantic and ethnographic data in social semiotic terms. This combination is attributable partly to the synergy with which I have found these elements to interact, but even more to their suitability to an account of a speech community in which issues of identity loom large in both folk and scientific terms.

I have been faced with a treasure trove of unrecorded data (some of it undergoing rapid change) and a solitary responsibility to record and communicate it. My main aim is the presentation and exegesis of lexical and ethnographic data. Their integrity requires representation in voluminous detail despite editorial exclusion of more than twice the material retained. Theory is accordingly developed to a minimum to provide a framework for organizing the lexicography and ethnography, and much use is made of the preceding Glossary of definitions. Even in terms of present perspectives (see below), it is still true to say of lexicography that theories come and theories go, but data are forever.

The interpretive formulations must nevertheless be examined critically:

(3) To assess the lexical data in terms of Halliday's (1976) social semiotic concept and model of antilanguage. The model provides a magisterial, illuminating sweep of the linguistic codes of stigmatized speech communities. However, the concept of antilanguage -- the perspective in which the model is presented -- turns out on examination to be ethnocentric and incomplete in presentation. The model is by no means undermined thereby, but the data show that the antilinguistic code does not merely prescribe negation of identity when opposing affirmation: it is not simply destructive: it also prescribes affirmation. Moreover, the concept of antilanguage does not apply to much of the language of the subordinated speech community studied. This it shares to a large and increasing extent with the dominant speech community. And the antecedents of the identity of the subordinated speech community predate encounter with the dominant. The dialectal code is not merely antagonistic; it is ambivalent and paradoxical, creative as well as destructive, and both symbiotic and autonomous in interaction with dominant, reference codes. While the well-known term "antilanguage" is retained, the central phenomena of ambivalence, paradox and creativity are emphasized in interpreting the antilinguistic code.

1.1 Structure of the Study

The relevant literature is reviewed in chapter 2. Metatheoretically, the hermeneutic ideology of the study is set out. The foundations of the research in semiotics, in which the communication of reality is construed as signification, are presented. These proceed to formulations of reality as psychosocially constructed, and of myth as discursive construction of reality. On these, the construction of human identity as real system is erected, and various forms of enaction are reviewed: the differentiation of societies in terms of age-sets, and particularly those of adolescent and young adult males; and of community as the objective enaction of communal identity, and *communitas* as the subjective enaction. The application is formulated of negatively and positively valent signs to identity, as stigma and sacrament respectively. Honour, as the confirmed integrity of identity, and totalism as the enaction of identity when integrity is threatened, are considered. Identity style, as the aesthetics of identity, is addressed. Respectability, an identity crucial to the ethnographic data, is examined. There is brief reference to literature on working-class disreputable male adolescent and young adult identity and

lexis for extraction of a relevant construct. The interconnections between language, communal identity and the codes of both are examined, particularly with reference to social classes. Halliday's (1976) formulations on antilanguage are presented and criticized. There is brief examination of the construction of lexicon, and brief review of work on the ethnography and lexicography of the speech community examined in this study.

The relevant issues and definitions formulated in the previous chapter are briefly drawn together in chapter 3. They concern the construction of reality and identity; elaboration of the constructions of stigma and sacrament, and their theoretical relevance; and the interconnections of the codes of identity and language in antilanguage.

↖ In chapter 4 the speech community is described firstly in terms of internal and external constructions of its identity, including a brief history of these, and then in terms of its demography.

The method is addressed in chapter 5. Neither lexicographers nor social anthropologists construe it methodologically necessary to describe their research method in detail. However, the ethnographic method of participant observation is founded and developed in social anthropology and sociology, and this thesis is founded partly and presented in psychology, which has an acute historic concern with methodological adequacy. The literature on participant observation is reviewed to formulate psychosocial issues in terms of the model of ethnographic initiation into the researched communal identities. An extensive description of method is included as data for assessment of methodological adequacy; because subjectivity necessarily entered extensively into the method and therefore required especially disciplined psychological description and evaluation; and because of the methodological concerns of psychology. The account could not avoid incidentally introducing much of the ethnographic data and adding interpersonal significance in terms of communal identity. However, these are presented as evidence of methodological adequacy and not as data.

The data are (i) an ethnography of the communal identities enacted in lexicogrammatical codes organizing the dialect between 1963-1990, in chapter 6, and (ii) a lexicon of the dialect among adolescent and young adult working-class Afrikaans-speaking coloured males in the Cape Peninsula during that period, in chapter 7.

In its folk linguistics the researched speech community of all generations classifies and organizes its dialect in terms of four codes reflecting four

communal identities, which constitute a vertical hierarchy of religio-political, socio-economic and psychosocial valence, status and systemic development. In descending order these are the respectable, disreputable, delinquent and outcast identities reflected in their respective lexicogrammatical codes.

The respectable is taught by adults and learned by children. The disreputable and delinquent are learned mainly in adolescence, mostly from older adolescent and young adult age-sets.

Those variants of outcast identity which are lexicogrammatically relevant comprise only certain of those construed outcast from all the above -- and indeed from Western society. Blacks are outcast. On the limen of outcastness as members of the working-class coloured speech community, are criminal prisoners and more particularly coloured members of prison gangs founded by blacks. The outcast prison identity, lexis and code among coloureds were kept almost wholly secret in prison until the late 1970s, with scrupulously observed proscription on disclosure outside. They were thus acquired by late adolescent and young adult males from more senior adult male prisoners. Most of the outcast lexis has infiltrated the delinquent lexicon and is now acquired as part of it although speakers acknowledge its origins in prison, and the lexis remains most thoroughly and extensively spoken and rigorously taught in prison.

The distinctive lexis and communal identities of adolescent and young adult males in the Peninsular working-class coloured Afrikaans speech community, then, are confined to the disreputable and the delinquent. Linguistic enaction of the respectable identity among adolescent and young adult males is limited to the respectable lexis, grammar and phonetics of parents and, increasingly, middle-class English or Afrikaans and all degrees of variation between working-class and middle-class dialects in both languages.

Items distinctive (in terms specified) in lexis and/or meaning to the working-class speech community number over four thousand, of which over two thousand are disreputable and over one thousand delinquent. (I generalize because of the methodological impossibility of certitude that every item has been collected, in lexicographic research much wider than the compass of this thesis.)

The ethnography begins with constructions of communication, non-verbal and verbal (including language and dialect), and sets out representations of

identity in myth, and enaction in ritual.

An interpretation of overlexicalization is presented in chapter 8. Halliday proposes that antilanguage is formed by innovative relexicalization reconstructing the identities of individual and society, and that important fields of reality in the antilinguistic speech community tend to be overlexicalized with the use of metaphoric synonyms. Overlexicalization in the data is presented and interpreted not simply as antagonistic in code, but as playful, creative proposal of omnipotence over reality construed central to the communal identity of speakers but opposed by dominant identities. This interpretation is pursued in an address of disreputable discourse as rhetoric.

Conclusions presented in chapter 9 are as follows. The methodology of investigation into subjectivity remains problematic because verbal language to encompass it is inadequate, but synthesis of investigation shared by observer and observed can reduce the risk of error. In these terms, the lexicography can be well defended, but the ethnography is in principle more open to question. Perhaps the overriding feature of the lexicography is the paradox of codal integrity in code-switching and code-mixing. Halliday's formulations of antilanguage are fully demonstrated, as well as my criticism that the antilinguistic code is ambivalent and creative, and can equally constitute a dialectal code. Overlexicalization primarily reflects the adolescent identity of speakers in their speech community. Opportunities and lines of further research are adumbrated. Inter alia, the ethnography and socio-semantics of dialectal lexis provide crucial, perhaps unique information on speech-communal consciousness, reality and identity, including history.

1.2 Conclusion

Coloured identity is widely construed stigmatic. The issue of advocacy -- of its affirmation or negation -- is subject to intense controversy, particularly among academics hitherto juristically classified coloured. I have on occasion found myself under rampant non-verbal attack for research on the identity. There have been demands that it should not be researched, be researched only in terms which are positively valent or dictated by actors of certain variants, and that an absolute distinction be drawn between working-class and middle-class variants. In terms of a proposal that coloured identity is wholly a white racist fiction, criticism has been proposed that any research on it, and usage of the names, coloured, „bruin" or **bryn**, is, ipso facto, subscription to white racism.

By that token, the selection of partners in marriage and parenthood, and of peers in voluntary association, as actors of shared communal identity -- shared with countless others -- must equally be stigmatized as subscription to white racism; for coloured communal identities are fundamentally based and maintained in terms of shared kinship, marriage and descent. Objectively real, powerful and pervasive as white racism has been, and even as it has created pressures for the restriction of marriage and voluntary association, it has forced no individual to select such partners and peers wholly in these terms. Specifically, those classified coloured have throughout been free to marry others classified Bantu and Indian, and to mix socially with all, and the vast majority did not avail themselves of these opportunities. Even in socialist circles, intercommunal marriage remains unusual. The objective reality speaks for itself that many of my peers in the community, and many others, have been well able to resist and transcend such pressures, as I myself have done for three decades, both personally and professionally, during the apogee of white domination and under stigmatization and harassment by police and citizens in both communities.

There has been no consensus among informants on such matters -- and no reason why there should be. It is of course possible for coloureds, as well as those who were juristically coloured but propose that they enact no communal identity, to enact racism towards coloured, black and white identities, for racism is a phenomenon of interpersonal as well as intergroup relationships. The research has also received extensive voluntary support by actors of working-class variants fully acquainted with it, who have construed attack on it as middle-class coloured and white racism towards coloured identity. Some actors of middle-class variants have also supported the research as useful and valuable, scientifically and communally. Other members of both class communities (which overlap and share common terms of communal identity in certain respects but are discrete and vary in others) have responded with varying degrees of ambivalence, meditateness, requests for further information or astonishment that it is could be of social scientific interest and formulable in social scientific terms.

None of the above is relevant to social scientific research except as data and ethical issue. I have been faced with a choice between submission to aggressive pressure proposed as politically ethical, and adherence to scientific integrity, and have chosen the latter as wholly ethical, taking

the terms of criticism and support, as well as other issues, into account. While benign and malicious misuse of scientific research cannot be prevented, limitation of the undertaking of research is unjustifiable on those grounds; the fundamental ethical rule, noli nocere -- not to injure -- has been met; and the research can be of non-scientific as well as scientific value. For the rest, a brief statement clarifying and summarizing the scope and limits of this study concerning such identity is in place here.

The scope is enquiry into the enactment of such identity, variants of it subjectively or objectively proposed and/or enacted in lexicogrammatical code, and the socio-semantics of lexis, myth and ritual. Detailed enquiry into the origins of such identity is outside the scope of the study, which likewise refers to middle-class variants only in passing and where relevant, and makes no claim to comprehensiveness in coverage of variants of coloured identity in the Cape Peninsula or elsewhere. The various terms of the identities named coloured and **bryn** are examined and delineated in chapter 4, where a clear distinction is proposed between folk, juristic and scientific constructions of it; and interpretations are proposed which encompass the contention itself -- indeed, situate it as central to an exegesis of such identity.

The study proposes all human identity as indefinable since there is a lack of verbal language to encompass it. That this introduces the paradox of a term used scientifically which can be rigorously described but not scientifically defined is, in my view, no reason to eschew it. Science is replete with folk constructions unamenable to definition without tautology, and, as Jones (1982) overwhelmingly demonstrates, the cardinal constructs of physics are metaphors. I shall propose identity too as a metaphor.

CHAPTER 2

THE INTERPRETIVE FRAMEWORK: THE LITERATURE

2.0 Introduction

An interdisciplinary literature review encompassing a scope as broad as this study's is severely constrained by space. Throughout this chapter it has been necessary to judge which work to omit, to note and to review. There is a large, even vast literature on many of the constructs utilized. The review will be confined to these constructs, and other major works in the associated literature will merely be noted. This study is primarily exegetic: the presentation of data has priority over the development or refinement of theory. Criticism will be applied, but extensively to the key works only.

2.1 Ideology: The Hermeneutic Paradigm

2.10 Ideology

The metatheoretical location of this study is in terms of its scientific ideology. The construct of ideology itself requires specification, particularly in the sociology of knowledge, in which the strongest influence on its investigation has been Marxist (Mannheim [1936]). In this perspective Hall, Hobson, Lowe and Willis (eds) (1980) assembled a series of studies on the interaction between ideology and popular culture in Britain. The most relevant and fundamental definitions of ideology proposed therein are cited by Heck (pp. 122-123). Firstly, Althusser's (1969) well-known observation that

ideology is a matter of the lived relation between men and their world (...). (....) In ideology men do indeed express not the relation between them and their conditions of existence, but the way they live the relations between them and their conditions of existence (p. 233).

Heck quotes Veron's (1971: no pagination) proposal that an ideology "may be defined as a system of semantic rules to generate messages", i.e., a semantic code.

This reduces Althusser's "lived relation" and "way" to mere semantics. My own construction, in semiotic terms, is that ideology extends to both syntactic and pragmatic (see Glossary) codes, forming the field,

organization and action of consciousness itself, including but extending beyond susceptibility to semantic formulation. I propose, then, ideology as code organizing consciousness of both reality and myth and its enaction in identity (see below).

2.11 The Hermeneutic Paradigm

Scientific interpretation is, I propose, a form of myth. Unsurprisingly, contemporary physicists in the vanguard of cosmology are most acutely conscious of science as myth (Pagels [1982], Prigogine and Stengers [1984], Hawking [1988]). Jones (1982) goes so far as to entitle his book, "physics as metaphor: the art of understanding science", and amply demonstrates that the cardinal constructs of physics -- time, space, matter and number -- are metaphoric. Construal of science as myth in no way compromises the necessary rigour of its construction, which can readily be accommodated by differentiating scientific from folk or lay myth. On the contrary, to treat science as myth is to temper the untenable claims of science to absolute objectivity and finality. The interpretation of science as myth is re-visionist (hyphenated advisedly: reformulation in terms of a new perspective of consciousness). However, such revision is -- or should be -- the converse of reductionism, which, taken to totalistic conclusion, leads to the mystic idealization of subjective "essences" proposed as objective "laws". In my view, the aim should be to establish a dialectic both disciplined and creative between subjectivity and objectivity to synthesize myth acceptable as scientific. The aim should be an open, self-regulating system able to modify and transcend itself stochastically -- adaptively -- in terms of those self-created contradictions which are resolvable. It should remain ideologically founded in the antinomial tension between two principles: its quest for objectivity -- and universality -- and its own provisionality.

Scientific myth, then, denotes the organized representation of reality (including society and person) by means of rules of the closest possible approximation to objectivity and universality construed scientific by laity and scientists alike. I use the term myth in preference to theory or law on the ideological grounds just cited: that both folk and scientific myth warrant the reservations that objectivity always retains subjectivity (which together constitute consciousness of reality), and that all such systems are ultimately tautological -- in other words, provisional.

These two basic premises -- the subjective foundations of objectivity, and ultimate tautology -- mark the framework's ideology as hermeneutic.

Hermeneutics is commonly described as the "theory or philosophy of the interpretation of meaning" (Bleicher [1980: 1]). A systematic, coherent interpretation constitutes an exegesis. Hermeneutics is "the systematization of formal procedures to assist the art of understanding in its endeavour to arrive at certainty of knowledge" (p. 10).

Hermeneutics operates at four ascending levels of generalization: (i) meaning; (ii) the way in which meaning is organized; (iii) the relationships between the parts and whole of that organization; (iv) and the metatheory of systems, the theory of system theory.

Ideology implies reciprocity between theory and action. Theory is by no means always necessary for action (as, e.g., in the case of reflex) but ideology signifies scientific theory as necessary plan for self-reflexive action, as the objectified code of rules in terms of which conscious action -- including formulation of the rules -- must be organized and executed, and can be modified. In hermeneutics (as in all scientific ideologies), theory is integrated with method -- of acquiring, judging, organizing and interpreting data, and communicating these procedures institutionally.

Brevity dictates exclusion of the details of the history of hermeneutics (see Bleicher's [1980] and [1982] compendious account and critique). Suffice it to say that hermeneutics began in the classical Greek system of education, in which it became divided into rhetoric and poetics. It extended to Greek, Hebrew and Christian exegesis of religious texts, to the interpretation of legal codes, philology, literary criticism and the humanities, and most recently to science, including the social sciences. Its development reflects the course of Western thought, and the degree of interest and acceptance currently accorded hermeneutics in the social sciences follows the ideological changes in theory and method described in 5.1 and 5.2.

Most notably these are rejection of scientism: ideological claims of absolute rationality, objectivity and finality in scientific "fact" independent of the researcher, and of empiricism and analysis as the only valid modes of deriving scientific information. Instead, hermeneutics is holistic, requiring inclusion of subjectivity dictating the provisionality of knowledge, which is constructed on prior knowledge constantly undergoing modification; and requiring theoretical tautology dictating the hermeneutical circle: the parts of a system are to be interpreted not only in analytic isolation but also in synthetic terms of the whole -- and vice-

versa. Parts are to be synthesized, the whole to be analysed, synthesis and analysis to interplay in reciprocal development.

In proposing hermeneutics as a paradigm of the "psychological investigation" of "human action" (in the title of their book), Gault and Shotter (1977) contrast the natural and hermeneutical sciences.

The natural scientist stands apart from his subject-matter and is free to try out upon it whatever conceptual system he pleases. The hermeneutical scientist must himself be within the hermeneutical circle. Only someone who is a participant in that hermeneutical circle can understand the meaning of that agent's actions, for that meaning is given by the agent's own conceptual and psychological systems, and cannot be adequately captured within any other systems. And it is impossible for anyone to come to share the agent's own conceptual and psychological systems by applying the methods of natural science to his behaviour (...) (p. 9; their emphasis).

Hermeneutics is interdisciplinary, or, more correctly, transdisciplinary, since it synthesizes and transcends previously disparate disciplines and theories.

The following hermeneutic observations by Bleicher (1982) on the interaction between method, data and theory apply equally to psychology, social anthropology and sociolinguistics.

In sociology we approach a meaningfully structured object as members of it. As far as the use of method is concerned I would therefore single out participant observation as particularly appropriate.

(It) is not a 'soft option', but requires constant self-reflection and learning. It is dialogical in that subject and object remain in communicative contact in the course of which a fusion of horizons may occur: the sociologist has to become socialized into the particular form of life of his object while being able to widen the 'horizon' of the latter through offering a differing account of a given situation. (...) It allows researchers to avoid errors caused by misconceptions of the object and it sensitizes them to incongruencies, implications, nuances in the observed phenomena leading to an ongoing revision of theoretical assumptions -- and maybe even of the initial research programme. (It) lends itself to on-the-spot testing of low-level empirical hypotheses and the verification of data the sociologist may have 'dug up'. At the same time, experiences of apparently isolated

phenomena may, if reflected upon, give insight into intersubjective meaning-contexts and thereby clarify the interpretative framework itself.

This conception of the status of participant observation differs from the one cast in an objectivist mould which considers it as a procedure in which neither subject nor object are changed (p. 143-144).

The scientific advantages and risks of hermeneutics lie in the dialectical nature of its development. The advantages are clearly in the synthesis -- its holism; the risks in the preceding antithesis -- throwing the scientific baby out with the scientistic bathwater. Just as participant observation can constitute a seductive soft option pursuing private interests at the expense of public knowledge, so can hermeneutics pursue subjectivity at the expense of objectivity, synthesis at the expense of analysis, and art at the expense of science. It is notable that Bleicher's definition ("the systematization of formal procedures to assist the art of understanding") conspicuously eschews reference to science even though he addresses hermeneutics in philosophy and sociology rather than art -- a bias attributable to both his anti-scientism and his basis in philosophy rather than sociology. The greatest advantage would be derived by transcendence of these antinomies.

2.2 Semiotics: The Communication of Reality as Signification

As indicated below, semiotics is a theory of communication of information. In view of the centrality of complex communication to the method and data of this study, we begin with basic information theory, by distinguishing two forms of information which interact with each other, the digital and analogic. In summary by Watzlawick, Beavin and Jackson (1968: 60-67, 99-107), digital information is binary, consisting in "occurrence or non-occurrence" (p. 60) of digits -- since non-occurrence too signifies information to a scanning receiver. In analogic information "the analogy principle is the essence" (p. 61), in which the information constitutes an analogy of that which is signified.

What then is analogic communication? The answer is relatively simple: it is virtually all nonverbal communication. (....) We hold that the term must comprise posture, gesture, facial expression, voice inflection, the sequence, rhythm and cadence of the words themselves, and any other nonverbal manifestation of which the organism is capable, as well as communicational clues unfailingly present in any context in

which an interaction takes place. (p. 62).

(...) there exists a vast area where we rely almost exclusively on analogic communication, often with very little change from the analogic inheritance handed down to us from our mammalian ancestors. This is the area of relationship (p. 53; their emphases).

Freud's description of the id becomes virtually a definition of analogic communication:

The laws of logic -- above all, the law of contradiction -- do not hold for processes in the id. Contradictory impulses exist side by side without neutralizing each other or drawing apart There is nothing in the id which can be compared to negation, and we are astonished to find in it an exception to the philosophers' assertion that space and time are necessary forms of our mental acts * (pp. 65-66; their emphases; * Freud [1933, repr 1973: 106]).

Two comprehensive, systematic, elegantly presented works review the origins and development of semiotics and semiology. They are Watzlawick, Beavin and Jackson (1968), addressing the "pragmatics of human communication", and Hawkes (1977), reviewing "structuralism and semiotics". From these I draw basic semiotic constructs and myth explicitly utilized in this study, and the semiotic paradigm framing the exegesis of ethnographic and lexicographic data.

Watzlawick, Beavin and Jackson (1968: 21) describe "semiotic" as "the general theory of signs and languages":

We want to suggest that the study of human communication can be subdivided into the same three areas of syntactics, semantics and pragmatics established by Morris (*), and followed by Carnap (**) for the study of semiotic (the general theory of signs and languages). Applied to the framework of human communication, then, the first of these three areas can be said to cover the problems of transmitting information and is, therefore the primary domain of the information theorist. His concern lies with the problems of coding, channels, capacity, noise, redundancy and other statistical properties of language. These problems are primarily syntactical ones, and he is not interested in the meaning of message symbols. Meaning is the main concern of semantics. While it is perfectly possible to transmit strings of symbols with syntactical accuracy, they would remain

meaningless unless sender and receiver had agreed beforehand on their significance. In this sense, all shared information presupposes semantic convention. Finally, communication affects behavior, and this is its pragmatic aspect. While a clear conceptual separation is thus possible of the three areas, there are nevertheless interdependent (pp. 21-22; * [1938] in Neurath, Carnap and Morris [eds] [1938: 1, 2: 77-137]; ** [1942]; their emphases).

The science of signs was founded by de Saussure (1915) as semiology, and Peirce (1931-1958) as semiotics. Hawkes (1977) summarizes:

The terms semiology and semiotics are both used to refer to this science, the only difference between them being that semiology is preferred by Europeans, out of deference to Saussure's coinage of the term, and semiotics tends to be preferred by English speakers, out of deference to the American Peirce. The field of semiotics is of course enormous, ranging from the study of the communicative behaviour of animals (zoosemiotics) to the analysis of such signifying systems as human bodily communication (kinesics and proxemics), olfactory signs (the 'code of scents'), aesthetic theory, and rhetoric (p. 124; his emphases).

He cites Peirce's second semiotic triad, a taxonomy of the sign as relationship between signifier and signified:

In the icon, the relationship between sign and object, or signifier and signified, manifests, to use Peirce's phrase, a 'community in some quality': a similarity or 'fitness' of resemblance proposed by the sign, to be acknowledged by its receiver. Thus a diagram or a painting has an iconic relationship to its subject in so far as it resembles it: it is the signifier to its subject's signified in the iconic mode.

In the index, the relationship is concrete, actual and usually of a sequential, causal kind. The pointing finger is a signifier whose relationship to its signified is indexical in mode. A knock on the door is an index of someone's presence, and the sound of a car's horn is a sign of the car's presence in the same mode. Smoke is an index of fire. A weathercock is an index of the direction of the wind.

In the symbol the relationship between signifier and signified is arbitrary; it requires the active presence of the interpretant to make the signifying connection. (....)

It is important to note here that the 'triad' involves, not mutually

exclusive kinds of sign, but three modes of a relationship between sign and object or signifier and signified which co-exist in the form of a hierarchy in which one of them will inevitably have dominance over the other two (pp. 128-129; his emphases throughout).

I suggest that it is equally important to note that the mode of relationship between signifier and signified is construed and not objectively inherent in the relationship. The simplest and most widespread example is lexis which was originally created and used as metaphor, an iconic sign, but in which the metaphoric, subjective significance has ceased in the speech community, and the lexis becomes wholly denotative and objective, and thus an arbitrary sign.

The systemic formulation of these two triads and of the sign as relationship between signifier and signified is the foundation of semiotics, which has arguably proved the most heuristic and seminal paradigm in the social sciences during the past two decades.

I propose an ontogenetic and ontological association between the triads: that in the formation and enaction of identity, pragmatics are primary, and occur by indexical signification; syntactics are secondary, by iconic signification; and semantics are tertiary, by arbitrary signification. The formation and enaction of identity is of course synthetic, and this differentiation is analytic, but I suggest that in psychoanalytic terms it corresponds to the first three psychosexual and psychosocial phases of the epigenesis of identity, whether of person or group.

2.3 The Construction of Reality

The constructions of construal and construct were introduced to social science by Kelly (1955), a social and clinical psychologist, in a psychological theory of personality:

By construing we mean "placing an interpretation"; a person places an interpretation upon what is construed. He erects a structure, within the framework of which the substance takes shape or assumes meaning. The substance which he construes does not produce the structure; the person does (p. 50). (....) Construing is not to be confounded with verbal formulation (p. 51). (....) Construing (...) transcends disciplinary boundaries (p. 51). (....) Persons differ from each other in their construction of events (p. 55).

In a seminal interdisciplinary monograph (between psychology, social

psychology, sociology and social anthropology) entitled "The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge", Berger and Luckmann (1966) propose that

reality is socially constructed and that the sociology of knowledge must analyse the process in which this occurs. (....) It will be enough, for our purposes to define 'reality' as a quality appertaining to phenomena that we recognize as having a being independent of our own volition (we cannot 'wish them away'), and to define 'knowledge' as the certainty that phenomena are real and that they possess specific characteristics (p. 13).

It may (...) be said that the problem is contained in nuce in Pascal's famous statement that what is truth on one side of the Pyrenees is error on the other *. * Pensées, v 294 (p. 17).

In these terms they proceed to interpret "the reality of everyday life" (p. 33), proposing that "(c)onsciousness is always intentional; it always intends or is directed towards objects" (p. 34). Their myth of the social construction of reality consists of a systematic, extensive but succinct ideological statement appealing to scientific objectivity, not readily amenable to summary beyond the following excerpts relevant to this study.

Among the multiple realities there is one that presents itself as the reality par excellence. This is the reality of everyday life. (....) The tension of consciousness is highest in everyday life, that is, the latter imposes itself upon consciousness in the most massive, urgent and intense manner (p. 35).

Compared to the reality of everyday life, other realities appear as finite provinces of meaning, enclaves within the paramount reality (...) (p. 39).

Human expressivity is capable of objectivation, that is, it manifests itself in products of human activity that are available both to their producers and to other men as elements of a common world (p. 49).

A specially but crucially important case of objectivation is signification, that is, the human production of signs. A sign may be distinguished from other objectivations by its explicit intention to serve as an index of subjective meanings (p. 50).

Language (...) is the most important sign system of human society. (....) The common objectivations of everyday life are maintained

primarily by linguistic signification. (....) An understanding of language is thus essential for any understanding of the reality of everyday life (pp. 51-52).

As a sign system, language has the quality of objectivity. (....) Language forces me into its patterns. (....) Language provides me with a ready-made possibility for the ongoing objectification of my unfolding experience. (....) Language also typifies experiences (...) also anonymizes experiences, for the typified experience can, in principle, be duplicated by anyone falling into the category in question (p. 53).

Moreover, language is capable of transcending the reality of everyday life altogether (p. 54).

They address society as objective reality, in terms of institutionalization and legitimation.

Institutionalization occurs whenever there is a reciprocal typification of habitualized actions by types of actors. Put differently, any such typification is an institution. (....) Institutions always have a history, of which they are the products (p. 72).

Legitimation as a process is best described as a 'second-order' objectivation of meaning. Legitimation produces new meanings that serve to integrate the meanings already attached to disparate institutional processes. The function of legitimation is to make objectively available and subjectively plausible the 'first-order' objectivations that have been institutionalized. While we define legitimation by this function (...) it should be added that 'integration', in one form or another, is also the typical purpose motivating the legitimators (p. 110).

As a result of integration

(...) the totality of the institutional order should make sense, concurrently to the participants in different institutional processes. (....) (And) the totality of the individual's life, the successive passing through various orders of the institutional order, must be made subjectively meaningful (p. 110).

They then address society as subjective reality, using the metaphor of "internalization" of reality, which clearly posits an identity within which internalization takes place, by "socialization" (p. 149). The formation of

identity, "entails a dialectic between identification by others and self-identification, between objectively assigned and subjectively appropriated identity" (p. 152). "Indeed, identity is objectively defined as location in a certain world and can be subjectively appropriate only along with that world" (p. 152; their emphasis).

Since socialization is never complete and the contents it internalizes face continuing threats to their subjective reality, every viable society must develop procedures of reality-maintenance to safeguard a measure of symmetry between objective and subjective reality. (....) Our focus here is on the defence of subjective rather than objective reality (...) (p. 167).

(...) the reality of everyday life maintains itself by being embodied in routines, which is the essence of institutionalization (p. 169).

The most important vehicle of reality-maintenance is conversation. (....) (...) the great part, if not all, of everyday conversation maintains subjective reality. Indeed, its massivity is achieved by the accumulation and consistency of casual conversation -- conversation that afford to be casual precisely because it refers to the routines of a taken-for-granted world. The loss of casualness signals a break in the routines and, at least potentially, a threat to the taken-for-granted reality (p. 172; their emphasis).

This reality-generating potency of conversation is already given in the fact of linguistic objectification. (....) In the establishment of this order language realizes a world, in the double sense of apprehending and producing it. (....) In the widest sense, all who employ this same language are reality-maintaining others. The significance of this can be further differentiated in terms of what is meant by a 'common language' -- from the group-idiosyncratic language of primary groups to regional or class dialects to the national community that defines itself in terms of language. There are corresponding 'returns to reality' for the individual who goes back to the few individuals who understand his in-group allusions, to the section to which his accent belongs, or to the large collectivity that has identified itself with a particular linguistic tradition (...) (p. 173; their emphasis).

They note that (...) "theories about identity are always embedded in the more comprehensive theories about reality" (p. 195).

The emergence of psychologies introduces a further dialectical relationship between identity and society -- the relationship between psychological theory and those elements of subjective reality it purports to define and explain. (...) Psychologies pertain to a dimension of reality that is of the greatest and most continuous subjective relevance for all individuals. Therefore the dialectic between theory and reality affects the individual in a palpably direct and intensive manner (pp. 196-197).

(...) identity may become problematic on the level of theory itself, that is, as a result of intrinsic theoretical developments. In that case, psychological theories will be concocted 'before the fact', so to speak. Their subsequent social establishment, and concomitant reality-generating potency, may be brought about by any number of affinities between the theorizing personnel and various social interests. Deliberate ideological manipulation by politically interested groups is one historical possibility (p. 200; their emphasis).

Most of the above is commonplace in social and cultural anthropology. But the influence of Berger and Luckmann's exposition has extended throughout sociology, social psychology and sociolinguistics. Its unique contributions are to systematize the formulation of both objective and subjective reality as socially constructed, to integrate objectivity and subjectivity in terms of signification and language, and to found the anthropology of the culture of "everyday life" on a transdisciplinary basis.

In doing so, they overlook ample neuropsychological and psychiatric evidence (for an introductory review see Taylor [1979]) that reality is extensively construed apparently beyond possibility of consciousness, and thus beyond subjectivity and objectivity. I suggest that human nature, identity, consciousness, subjectivity and objectivity are themselves mythic constructs. Not only identity, but perhaps all reality is equally dependent on the form and/or action of what is construed. In terms of contemporary scientific myth, reality is not constructed by sociality alone, but also by psyche and biological substrate in interaction with cosmos. Culture and its development are also omitted from their formulations. Construal of their own formulations as myth is likewise omitted.

The construct of myth is crucially relevant to this account. There would be no relevant purpose in reviewing the enormous literature on the subject,

which penetrates every field of social science and the arts. Briefly, myth is proposed in this study simply as a discursive construction of reality; methodologically, subjective and objective reality are to be differentiated in exegesis. Lévi-Strauss distinguishes between concrete, authentic knowledge and myth:

In my view, the words 'myth' and authenticity' are quite incompatible with each other. (....)

Myth is the most fundamental form of inauthenticity. I define authenticity as the concrete nature of the knowledge people have of each other, and contrary to which might seem to be the case there is nothing more abstract than myths (Charbonnier [1961, tr 1969: 55]).

This formulation is, of course, mythic and therefore tautological. One may describe it as a fundamentally digital construction characteristic of Lévi-Strauss's binary structuralism. I suggest that once such knowledge enters consciousness (as defined in this study; see Glossary) it is formed into myth, which does not exclude authenticity, i.e., congruence between subjectivity and objectivity.

I share Barthes' (1957, tr 1973) construction that

myth is a type of speech (...). (....) (...) everything can be a myth provided that it is conveyed by a discourse. Myth is not defined by the object of its message, but by the way in which it utters this message (p. 109).

Mythical speech is made of a material which has already been worked on so as to make it suitable for communication: it is because all the materials of myth (whether pictorial or written) presuppose a signifying consciousness, that one can reason about them while discounting their substance (p. 110).

He proposes and examines "myth as a semiological system" (p. 111).

We shall see extensive evidence, in the data of this study, of culture -- including language, myth and identity -- as bricolage (Lévi-Strauss [1962, tr 1966: 16-36, 150n]). The construct is complex and no encompassing definition is offered.

In its old sense, the verb 'bricoler' (G.L.S.: in French) applied to ball games and billiards, to hunting, shooting and riding. It was however always used with reference to some extraneous movement: a ball

rebounding, a dog straying or a horse swerving from its direct course to avoid an obstacle. And in our own time the 'bricoleur' is still someone who works with his hands and uses devious means compared to those of a craftsman.*

* The 'bricoleur' has no precise equivalent in English. (...) as the text makes clear, he is of a different standing from, for instance, the English 'odd job man' or handyman (trans. note) (pp. 16-17).

The characteristic feature of mythical thought is that it expresses itself by means of a heterogeneous repertoire which, even if extensive, is nevertheless limited. It has to use this repertoire, however, whatever the task in hand because it has nothing else at its disposal. Mythical thought is therefore a kind of intellectual 'bricolage' (...) (....)

The 'bricoleur' is adept at performing a large number of diverse tasks; but, unlike the engineer, he does not subordinate each of them to the availability of raw materials and tools conceived and procured for the purpose of the project. His universe of instruments is closed and the rules of his game are always to make do with 'whatever is at hand' (...). The set of the bricoleur's means (...) is to be defined only by its potential use or, putting this another way and in the language of the 'bricoleur' himself, because the elements are collected or retained on the principle that 'they may always come in handy' (pp. 17-18).

(...) in the continual reconstruction from the same materials, it is always earlier ends which are called upon to play the part of means: the signified changes into the signifying and vice-versa.

This formula (...) could serve as a definition of 'bricolage' (...) (p. 21).

(...) the 'bricoleur' also, and indeed principally, derives his poetry from the fact that he does not confine himself to accomplishment and execution: he 'speaks' not only with things (...) but also through the medium of things: giving an account of his personality and life by the choices he makes between the limited possibilities. The 'bricoleur' may not ever complete his purpose but he always puts something of himself into it (p. 21; his emphasis).

This formulation incidentally contradicts his antinomy between myth and authenticity.

Mythical thought, that 'bricoleur', builds up structures by fitting together events, or rather the remains of events, * while science, 'in operation' simply by virtue of coming into being, creates its means and results in the form of events, thanks to the structures which it is constantly elaborating and which are its hypotheses and theories. (....) Mythical thought for its part is imprisoned in the events and experiences which it never tires of ordering and re-ordering in its search to find them a meaning. But it also acts as a liberator by its protest against the idea that anything can be meaningless (...). * 'Bricolage' also works with 'secondary' qualities, i.e., 'second hand' (p. 22).

(...) the relation of priority between structure and event is exactly the opposite in science and 'bricolage' (p. 23).

To the extent that scientific myth originates in, and is founded upon folk myth, bricolage is the necessary ontogenetic foundation of science. Lévi-Strauss's formulations posit an antinomy between the paradigm of "savage thought" (a more accurate translation of his title, *La Pensée sauvage*, than the English title, "The Savage Mind") and that of scientific myth, or, put differently, between "savage" and scientific identity. The cultural work of the bricoleur is represented as the enactment of disreputable rebellion against cultural order and development (particularly the culture of scientific development), thus alienated from, and deprived of developmental resources. That profound insight of religio-political integrity in bricolage applies fully to the ethnographic and lexicographic data on the communal identity examined in this study. However, Lévi-Strauss implicitly construes science -- and in particular his variant of structuralism -- as unlimited in objective resources and abilities. That, I suggest, is a caricature: the distinction is crucial but nevertheless relative. There is savage intellectual grandiosity in the implication, ethnocentrically stigmatizing the "savage".

Linden (1991 in *TIME* magazine [1991, no. 38, 44-54]) reports that a wide variety of tribal medicines acquired from Natural sources and in some cases Culturally processed are biochemically effectual and superior to Western medicines, and that a global search is being undertaken by Western scientists to record and investigate oral tribal medical science, some of it clearly concrete and authentic. Clearly, not all tribal myth is bricolage. We may conclude that whereas bricolage aims no further than representing subjective myth as objective and has communicative advantage therein -- which it protects against greater objectivity -- scientific myth

self-reflexively seeks further development towards objectivity, trading the advantage of subjectivity for that of objectivity.

In religio-political and sociolinguistic terms Lévi-Strauss's formulation of bricolage and its contrast with science bears remarkable comparison with Barthes' (1957, tr 1973) regarding "the oppressed, whether proletarian or colonized":

Now the speech of the oppressed can only be poor, monotonous, immediate: his destitution is the very yardstick of his language: he has only one, always the same, that of his actions; metalanguage is a luxury, he cannot yet have access to it. The speech of the oppressed is real, like that of the woodcutter; it is a transitive type of speech: it is quasi-unable to lie; lying is a richness, a lie presupposes property, truths and forms to spare. This essential barrenness produces rare, threadbare myths; either transient, or clumsily indiscreet; by their very being, they label themselves as myths, and point to their masks (p. 148).

The oppressed is nothing, he has only one language, that of his emancipation; the oppressor is everything, his language is rich, multiform, supple, with all the possible degrees of dignity at its disposal: he has an exclusive right to meta-language. The oppressed makes the world, he has only an active, transitive (political) language; the oppressor conserves it, his language is plenary, intransitive, gestural, theatrical; it is Myth. The language of the former aims at transforming, of the latter at eternalizing (p. 149; his emphasis).

However, this pathetic, plenary, theatrical, ethnocentric myth -- which, in assigning cultural poverty to myth created by "the oppressed", is contradicted by the data of this study -- takes no account of the integrity of bricolage, of "the oppressed"'s attempt at religio-political reversal of roles with "the oppressor" by means of antilanguage (see 2.6), or "the oppressed" paradoxically also as "the oppressor" and vice-versa.

2.4 The Construction of Human Identity as Real System

2.40 Identity as Constructed Enaction

No relevant purpose would be served by reviewing the vast literature on ego, self, role and identity in social psychology (e.g., Mead [1934], Gordon and Gergen [eds] [1968], Biddle and Thomas [eds] [1966] -- both

volumes comprehensive introductions, Horrocks and Jackson [1972], Webster and Sobieszek [1974]); developmental psychology (e.g., Hauser [1971]); political psychology (e.g., Mackenzie [1978], du Preez [1980]); psychosocial and crosscultural psychology (e.g., Erikson as reviewed below, Hauser [1971], Paranjpe [1975]); psychoanalysis (e.g., Erikson as below, Lynd [1958], Guntrip [1968, 1971], Mahler [1969], Mahler, Pine and Bergman [1975], McDevitt and Settlage [eds] [1971], Jacobson [1965]); cultural anthropology (Erikson, below); and philosophy (ontology and ethics, e.g., Natanson [1970], Perry [ed] [1975], Williams [1973], Hanfling [1973], Vesey [1973a, 1973b]); and in group identity in group psychotherapy (e.g., Yalom [1970], Slater [1966] and de Maré [1972]) and sociology (e.g., Levine and Campbell [1972]; the abovementioned are selected for scholarly influence or comprehensiveness of review; some are interdisciplinary). I propose to address work strictly relevant to the formulations proposed in this study.

I begin by describing (not defining) human identity as the actor -- person or group -- mythically construed and construing. The title of this section denotes two major issues concerning human identity in Western folk and scientific myth: although materially invisible it is universally construed and enacted as real, and in Western folk and scientific myth is construed and enacted as a system -- integrated or disintegrated, nevertheless a system of self-organization. Self-organization is not unique to individuals (Haan, Joffe, Morrissey and Naditch [1977]) or humankind, nor even to life. It is found sub-atomically as far as analysis will permit, and microfossils have been found in the first rocks formed on earth (Prigogine and Stengers [1984: 176]).

In terms of general system theory, human identity, like all living systems, is an open system (von Bertalanffy [1968: 139-154]). In the physical sciences "(a)n open system is defined as a system in exchange of matter with its environment, presenting import and export, building-up and breaking-down of its material components" (p. 141), and, under adequate conditions, attaining a "steady state", remaining "constant in its composition, in spite of continuous irreversible processes, import and export, building-up and breaking-down, taking place" (p. 142). It may be added that open systems are capable of ecological interaction, creating, adapting to, and destroying environment; closed systems are not (for system theory and applications in social science see also Buckley [1967], Buckley [ed] [1968], Cortes, Przeworski and Sprague [1974], Rapoport [1974] and Weinberg [1975]). Brillouin (1968 in Buckley [ed] [1968: 152]) notes the construct of unstable equilibrium in open systems. We shall see the

applicability of constructs of systemic order, instability, disorder and chaos in the ethnographic exegesis in 6.22.

Human identity, however, is not composed of matter nor, psychoanalysis notwithstanding, of energy, the notion of which presupposes finitude and quantifiability. In semiotic terms we may say that consciousness and particularly the capacity for independent self-reflexive self-regulation are crucial (and thus differentiation of subjectivity and objectivity, and thus differentiation between self on the one hand, and cosmos, society and other selves on the other), and that identity, like other constructions of reality, is composed of, and imports and exports information organized as signs, by means of codes (ideologies), into constructions of reality in terms of meaning (semantics), organization (syntax) and action (pragmatics), in relation to self, cosmos, society and other selves.

As an open system, identity has dual sources of information and thus two boundaries: within (the subjective boundary) and without (the objective boundary). These boundaries are semi-permeable by information, capable of both closure and openness.

Every account is necessarily selective, but, if it disavows the openness of identity as a system, is a caricature, a reduction of self and other, "I and Thou", to closed systems, "It" (Buber [1923, 1947, 1965]). Although individuals and not groups constitute persons, they are both equally open systems of identity, and identical therein, even though group identity is not reducible to an individual epiphenomenon, or vice-versa.

The psychoanalyst Matte Blanco (1975) notes the psychoanalytic commonplace that unconscious and other primary process constructions are not logical in terms of finite (digital) logic, exclude negation and are unlimited in terms of time and space. Utilizing logico-mathematical constructions, he takes the term "set" to refer to "any collection or aggregate" of constructions, and "infinite set" to refer to a set of non-finite constructions. (p. 25). There are two modes of "being" in humankind, finite and infinite, a "fundamental antinomy" (in the title of Matte-Blanco (1988, now hyphenated). In summary, identity is "bi-logical". Most of his work is taken up with the interrelationships between the two modes, which are beyond our scope.

The implications are that identity, as an open system, imports and exports both analogic and digital information, and is composed of both. Indeed, I implicitly argue below that identity is constituted of the interaction between finitude and infinity (finite and infinite sets) in time and space,

objectively and subjectively.

Any interdisciplinary study in the social sciences is invariably problematic. The fundamental constructions of psyche, psychosociality and society are folk constructs on which social science has been founded, and the disciplines of psychology and sociology (as well as social anthropology) have, until the past two decades, each been impermeable to the other to the extent of fatuity and destructiveness. (Based in both psychology and social anthropology, I found my interdisciplinary work in the late nineteen-sixties endlessly shunted back and forth, and thus absurdly homeless: "This is not psychology; it is social anthropology." "This is not social anthropology; it is psychology." This sedulously maintained mutual alienation and ignorance, this totalistically cultivated specialism is not wholly scientific; it is also a subjectified enactment of folk myth about scientific identity, and ontogenetically the nucleation of separate centres of development prior to their systemic integration. When the scope of the specialist paradigm nears exhaustion, scientific identity begins to transform itself and develop in more universalist terms and the specialists discover the commonplace in each others' disciplines as Revelation.)

The terms of human identity set out above summarize in semiotic terms Erikson's psychosocial model of identity (1950, 2nd ed, 1963: 247-274; 1959a; 1968: 91-231), founded equally in psychoanalysis, cultural anthropology and history, which has provided an extraordinarily flexible interdisciplinary integration in systemic terms, but remains grossly under-utilized academically because of the continuing isolation of the respective disciplines.

Identity, in Erikson's view, is psychically proposed by the actor and socially confirmed or negated -- and vice-versa. The self proposes; the other disposes. Identity is formed by the process of ritualization (Erikson [1966]). "One pervasive element in human ritualization is (...) a mutuality of recognition" special to the participants (p. 338; his emphasis). We may rephrase this as a mutuality of construction construed unique to the participants. Other major terms are "separateness transcended" yet "distinctiveness confirmed", "becoming familiar through repetition" yet bringing "the surprise of recognition", "un-ambiguous", "the overcoming of ambivalence as well as of ambiguity", "indispensable as a periodical experience"; as opposed to "a series of estrangements" producing "separation by abandonment" (pp. 339-340). In ontogenetic terms

he concludes that

there can be no prescription for ritualization, for, far from being merely repetitive or familiar in the sense of habituation, any true ritualization/is ontogenetically grounded and yet pervaded with the spontaneity of surprise; it is an unexpected renewal of a recognizable order in potential chaos. Ritualization thus depends on that blending of surprise and recognition which is the soul of creativity, reborn out of the abyss of instinctual disorder, confusion of identity and social anomie (p. 349).

However, this beatific vision takes no account of the antinomies between meeting and parting, presence and absence, consensus and conflict, gratification and ordeal which are intrinsic to ritualization; nor does it encompass ritualization which is systemically destructive and pathogenic, and which paradoxically constitutes a series of estrangements, separations and abandonments, e.g., in the infant who repetitively encounters a parent construed incomprehensibly ambivalent, savagely violent or depressively withdrawn, or total parental absence, rather than as necessary for the formation, maintenance and development of identity. In such a case ritualization paradoxically produces "the abyss of instinctual disorder and confusion of identity" and constitutes "social anomie". Here Erikson (i) reduces the subjective and objective constitution of identity to the objective, and (ii) takes no account of paradoxical and perverse forms of failed resolution of identity crisis, except in the case of negative identity (see below), the ontogenetic sources of which he does not examine. These forms of error and aversion are common in his formulations, often contrary to his own amply complex, balanced data; his clinical formulations are highly articulate, insightful and elegant but can lack rigour. He pursues the psychoanalysis of sociality at the expense of integration with the psychoanalysis of sexuality and aggression. This is evidently a subjectified identity issue to him, at once an identity resistance (1968: 214-215) against confrontation with the "abyss" and a source of high -- and scrupulously benign, uncontentious -- creativity.

His formulations can be methodologically criticized too for generalization about national, ethnic or communal "character" (see below) and withal for selecting data that illustrate his model extraordinarily well -- in particular, the individual psychoanalytic history which neatly integrates with the societal or communal anthropological history. The result was that his model became a closed system in the interaction between data and theory and he increasingly became the victim of it; his publications tended

to become repetitious as he created for himself a public, popular identity as conservatively liberal, bourgeois psychosocial analyst to the United States, a prophet and purveyor of its contemporary national myths. He popularized psychoanalysis there more than any other practitioner; but his methodological and theoretical advances were taken no further. (Rubenfeld [1965] applied his formulations with outstanding success to the psychosocial and psychocultural complexities of adolescent delinquency in the United States, and critique of previous psychologistic and sociologistic theories of it -- in my view, undoubtedly the most adequate treatment of it and application of psychosocial analysis thus far.) Erikson was essentially a solitary interdisciplinary virtuoso in a scientific world of conformity and mutual alienation between specialisms.

Although not explicitly stated, he presents the epigenesis of identity as a pre-ordained, dialectically developmental individual life-cycle of eight progressive antinomies, or identity crises, each presenting an identity theme (Lichtenstein [1977: 79-99, 255-260]), a semantic statement of a critical mythic and ideological issue in the construction, enaction and development of identity. The failed or successful resolution of each crisis constitutes both a transformation of identity and the prerequisite foundation for the thesis of the succeeding antinomy, which is more general, complex and abstract than its predecessor. He adduces evidence from a wide variety of societies and communities. There is insufficient anthropological evidence for his implicit claim that the epigenetic series of antinomies is universal -- and none to contradict it either. His formulations prefigure the structuralism that was to become prominent in the social sciences and humanities in the nineteen-sixties and nineteen-seventies.

For the purposes of this study we are interested only in the first three and the fifth psychosocial phases: (i) basic trust versus mistrust, in which identity is founded in symbiosis with another identity; (ii) autonomy versus shame and doubt, in which differentiation of identity is objectively established; (iii) initiative versus guilt, in which differentiation is completed and independence is objectively established; and (v) identity versus identity confusion, which occurs, in the individual, in early and mid-adolescence, and in which the first four phases are subjectively recapitulated and established, leading to full independence.

I propose that the first phase utilizes indexical signs only (see

Glossary), and establishes the pragmatics of identity; the second utilizes iconic signs and establishes the syntax of identity; and the third arbitrary signs, establishing the semantics of identity. Needless to say, pragmatics have semantic and syntactic significance, and mutatis mutandis, but these significances are utilizable in construction and enaction only at the developmentally appropriate phase, and thus, for syntax and semantics only in retrospect of the first phase.

Erikson demonstrates in his data but not his formulations that partial or total failure at any stage leads temporarily or indefinitely to paradoxical and ambivalent identity formation. His formulations fail to take into account that each phase becomes a self-reflexive template in its own terms as well as epigenetic terms. For example, to the extent that identity development fails in the first phase, both trust and mistrust are enacted in indiscriminate trust and/or in indiscriminate mistrust; autonomy in symbiosis and thus now shame and doubt, and vice-versa; initiative paradoxically in guilt, and vice-versa; identity paradoxically in identity confusion, and vice-versa; and in all cases of failure, subjectivity and objectivity are equated. (This failure to construe each phase as a self-reflexive template in which thesis and antithesis could be paradoxically constituted as each other; the failure to differentiate subjectivity from objectivity in identity; his ethnocentrism [he ventured into anthropological ethnography solely for psychoanalytic purposes and with the extensive assistance of two cultural, psychoanalytically oriented anthropologists who were experienced ethnographers, and confined it to the Westernized Sioux and Yurok]; and his increasing attempts to fit data into theory; all account for the difficulty of applying his model as it stands to non-Western data, and his failure to represent Gandhi's personal identity adequately in an otherwise rich biography [1969], whereas his biography of the Occidental Luther [1959b] suffered no such flaw while the development of his model was reaching its apogee [1959a].)

The earlier the epigenetic juncture at which success or failure occurs, the more cumulative the repetition of success or failure at subsequent phases; and, in the latter event, the more intrasystemic conflict is established and development is vitiated and undermined. The paradoxicality would have become evident had he systematically traced, in his data, the ontogenetic origins of identity confusion back to the phases at which failure occurred. Instead, he presents the themes and issues only. The elegance of simplicity and breadth is pursued at the expense of complexity and depth.

Erikson construes identity in terms of the psychosocial differentiation,

coherence and synthesis or conflict of sameness and difference in time and objective and subjective space, and in data and theory extensively represents the interaction between individual and group terms in identity at various junctures of interaction: between the individual, family, peer group and society or community, and their respective histories. He pays special attention to adolescence, during which issues of identity itself become the identity theme.

The value of Erikson's contribution has been as follows. (i) He introduced the constructs of society, culture, myth and ideology extensively into psychology and can be regarded as the founder of crosscultural psychology and psychological anthropology. (ii) He indicated the systemic extent of psychocultural and psychosocial interaction between society, family and individual in identity. (iii) His psychosocial integration of psyche and society in successful and failed development (which has had very wide application in the fields of individual development as well as psychiatry and clinical psychology as well as cultural anthropology, and has contributed greatly to a major extension of psychoanalytic theory and practice from psychosexual to psychosocial formulations). (iv) He introduced the psychosocial study of the life-cycle to developmental psychology. (v) Although not proposed or recognized as such, much of his anthropological and psychological data are presented from a psychosocial constructionist perspective, which may well have contributed to the development of social constructionism. (vi) His formulations are amenable to a system model of identity transcending individual and group identity. (vii) He developed an open methodological system of interaction between theory and data -- and particularly as a dialectical model accommodating stochastic processes -- which can be developed beyond his own closure of it. It has not been demolished, nor superseded by any subsequent contribution.

He has been criticised for imprecision in usage of the term identity by Jacobson (1965: 26) and more tellingly by Leites (1971: passim). Erikson uses the term loosely and ambiguously for heuristic purposes, but can be criticized for regularly using subjective, self-reflexive and objective constructions of identity interchangeably. However, Leites, who effectually demonstrates the extensiveness of jargon, imprecision, verbosity and the construction of extensive theory unsupported by the data presented in psychoanalytic research, and the frequent redundancy of the term identity when it is exegetically unnecessary in the text, claims that identity and self are simply other names for the ego. His book is entitled

"The New Ego".

A great deal of Leites' methodological criticism is justified and his work has been almost wholly ignored by psychoanalysts (Stoller [1976: 82-83]). However, the ego is neither a psychosocial nor an epigenetic construct, is not founded wholly on conflict or constructed in terms of folk myth and does not perform the developmental, psychosocial and self-transcendent functions of identity, which, in the individual, regulates both ego and superego, and becomes fully differentiated only at the completion of adolescence, when the developmental capacity for parenthood is fully established (whereas the ego is fully differentiated at the end of the oedipal phase, approximately at the age of five years). The construct of the ego excludes that of the superego. Neither it nor the superego can be used to replace formulations of gender, group, communal or societal identity, nor of subjectivity and objectivity, and the construct of the ego does not raise the issue of identity itself. Leites' criticisms are inapplicable to the account of Erikson's formulations set out above, but are relevant here because of the totalism of his dismissal of the construct of identity.

Erikson extensively addresses the psychosocial transformations of identity wrought by cultural and historical change but formulates no model of transformation, which is theoretically adumbrated as "metamorphosis" but likewise not formulated by de Levita (1965: 76-95). Transformations of identity are reflected in the data of this study but space permits no detailed exegesis.

Sampson (1988, in Shotter and Gergen [1988: 1-19]), reviews in deconstructionist terms the Western, capitalist, bourgeois and especially North American ethnocentrism of constructions of identity, and presents an array of literature in critical theory (deriving from the Frankfurt School) and post structuralism that grants "ontological primacy to relations rather than individual entities" and "has challenged all notions of the self" (or identity) "that involve the primacy of the subject" (p. 2).

Critical theorists argue that there is an essential interpenetration (...) of society and the individual that warrants our approaching with scepticism any view that makes the individual a transcendent entity. We do not begin with two independent entities, individual and society, that are otherwise formed and defined apart from one another and that interact as though each were external to the other. Rather, society constitutes and inhabits the very core of whatever passes for

personhood: each is interpenetrated by the other.

Sampson supports Bateson's (1972) view that "the unit of natural survival is neither the individual nor the society, but that, in fact, there is no homogeneous unit of survival as such, only a system, termed the 'ecosystem'. The system comprises both organism and environment" (p. 16; his emphasis).

Harré (1988, in Shotter and Gergen [1988: 20-35]) proposes a similar critique and ideology: "the social constructionist line (...) is that what I call 'beliefs' are carried by the learning of grammar" (p. 23) in discourse on, or "texts of identity" (creating) "the illusion of the transcendental ego" (p. 33). "Two unexamined presuppositions have been influential, I believe: individualism and scientism" (p. 34). "The task of psychology is to lay bare our system of norms of representation and to compare and contrast the enormous variety of systems; the rest is physiology" (p. 34).

Slugoski and Ginsburg (1988, in Shotter and Gergen [1988: 36-55]) refer to "(t)he paradox of personal identity -- that at any moment we are the same as, yet different from, the persons we once were or ever will be" (p. 36), but pursue no investigation of it. They support Holland's (1977) criticism of Erikson's formulations on the grounds that "for a large segment of humankind" (p. 37) (...), "marginal and economically underprivileged groups", (p. 38) there is no choice of identity and no crisis can accordingly arise. They conclude that

Erikson's theory of ego identity formation is seen by us as a model of culturally sanctioned ways of talking about oneself and others during a certain stage of life in Western societies. As such, the model is best understood as a rationalized description of self-narratives (...). This reconstrual of the theory brings it into the general class of argument in which putatively intrapsychic processes are seen to have their sources and even their loci in the social world of institutions and mundane interactions (p. 51).

Exactly the same construction is justifiable about their constructions and social constructionism itself. All objectifiable discursive information is myth, and science will remain faced with the dilemma of its own provisionality and the futility of its continuing, if now subjectified quest for total objectivity. The dismissal of Erikson's postulation of choices and therefore crises in identity is groundless and reflects an

unstated socialist sociologism explicitly caricaturing the construct of the individual as wholly confined to Western, Judaeo-Christian bourgeois individualism, positing a total antinomy between individual and societal identity, and aiming at dispensing with the individual in psychology. The individual baby is thrown out with the individualistic bathwater. Individual identity is transformed wholly into relations between persons, which is accorded ontological primacy as the syntax of discourse and text.

Harre (1988) introduces his "current project":

to suggest how we can begin to conceive of selfhood without the threat of solipsism and the myth of 'self' as a diaphanous homunculus hidden within. By the same token, we should be able to formulate a concept of agency without the myth of the will. These will turn out to be matters involving the same core of grammar (p. 22).

The social constructionist line on all this (...) is that what I call 'beliefs' are carried by the learning of grammar. (...) That is, certain rules of grammar could be stated, were we so minded, as beliefs (...). (...) What is remarkable is that the disease of Cartesianism keeps breaking out again and again (p. 23).

(...) the psychology of self-consciousness has the grammar of the first person, and indeed, its scientific study must be pursued as the ethnographies of systems of commitment. There is a science of the ego, but it is not to be found in the phenomenology of the structure of consciousness. It is part of the anthropology and history of morals, and in that way part of the grammar of performative utterances. The human individual is, above all, in those societies that recognize autonomy, a moral phenomenon.

Even among peoples whose cultures and forms of life admit no place for autonomy of action, nevertheless, the grammatical first person exists (p. 26).

He does not state which "peoples". I suggest that there are none, that this is ethnocentrism contrary to anthropological data, and that it is precisely in those cultures, such as totalitarian states, which "admit no place for autonomy of action" by the individual that it is most aggressively asserted. Individual identity is construed and enacted in all ethnographically researched non-Western societies as well -- every individual has a name and wide individual variation in personal identity is objectified -- even though in "tribal society a person is a meeting point

of identities -- the identity of siblings, the identity of the lineage, the identity of the age-group" (Kuper [1963: 57]), and even when individual identity is more subordinated to group identity and more extensively fused with society or cosmos than is commonly the Western bourgeois adult case (but not universally: Western warriors still readily risk death or any degree of maiming en masse, and some ethnographers risk madness).

Moreover, every universally mundane situation presents choices: to sit or stand, speak or shout, work or idle, etc.; and these writers' proposal of a lack of alternative in identity among members of subordinated groups signifies a fundamental misunderstanding of the construct of identity itself -- for no alternatives would literally mean no identity, which is as Harré accurately observes, a moral phenomenon. The psychosocial crises that Erikson postulates certainly extend beyond Western capitalist society, even though they may well not be universal mythic issues within or beyond it (but are extensive in the data of this study); and the critics omit all reference to his non-Western data. His focus on individual identity -- which he extensively acknowledges as formed and enacted in relation to, and interpenetration with other individual identities and to communal identities -- rather than on the relations themselves does not invalidate his constructions. Focus on individual identity is not equivalent to according it ontological primacy (by which I understand that identity developmentally and operationally precedes relation; in that event, who has made this ideological claim?) Why, in any event, should an antinomy be postulated: that either identity or relation should be accorded primacy? Why not both and to variable degrees -- perhaps pragmatically primary in some instances, perhaps not in others, perhaps simultaneous and co-equal, withal vastly more informative and methodologically sound; founded on data? Developmental, pathographic, crosscultural and interdisciplinary data are all highly relevant and available in vast array.

A scientific myth of interrelation and interpenetration would undoubtedly constitute a further advance in formulations of identity, and the semiotic exegesis and ultimately the hermeneutics of language, discourse (usefully defined by Davies and Harré [1990: 45] as "an institutionalised use of language and language-like sign systems") and text may lead to it. However, in the other works cited above, Sampson, Harré and Slugoski and Ginsburg confine themselves largely to criticism methodologically unproductive and erroneous: it totalistically accords metascientific primacy to semantic ideology over pragmatic data (instead of reciprocity between both); extensive theory is inadequately founded on little or no

data; their own formulations are exempted. The possible inapplicability, irrelevance and even meaninglessness of the ideology in non-Western societies are not considered.

Davies and Harré pursue this totalistic project by positing the construct of "positioning: the discursive production of selves" (1990). The metaphor is the mechanistic production of identity as syntactic commodity in discourse and text.

According to long established tradition the orderliness of many human productions, for instance conversations, is a consequence in some way, of rules and conventions which exist independently of the productions. (...) We shall call this kind of view 'transcendentalism'. In this paper we take a contrary or 'immanentist' view. We shall assume that rules are explicit formulations of the normative order which is immanent in concrete human productions, such as actual conversations between particular people on particular occasions (p. 44).

No grounds are advanced for this assumption, nor the premise of an antinomy. The possibility that each "view" -- or both, or others -- may be applicable under particular conditions is excluded.

We intend our development of the notion of 'positioning' as a contribution to the understanding of personhood. (...) Human beings are characterized both by continuous personal identity and by discontinuous personal diversity. It is one and the same person who is variously positioned in a conversation. Yet as variously positioned we may want to say that that very same person experiences and displays that aspect of self that is involved in the continuity of a multiplicity of selves. In this paper we are not concerned with personal identity (pp. 46-47).

Yet it is precisely "personhood" and "the very same person" that are under discussion. Here, again, the totalistically applied antinomy. Consequently the possible overlap or identity of the two constructs in scientific constructions of identity is not considered.

Harré subsequently recognizes the interaction between person and identity (1991):

The Self of personal identity for any one human being seems to be a necessary singularity while the Selves that are manifested in social encounters can easily be shown to be diverse and actually multiple (p. 51).

There is thus "the duality of 'Self'" (p. 55), the singular managing Self denoted as "Self-1" and each of the multiplicity as "Self-2".

There could be neither lived contradiction nor positioning if human beings were not dual in Selves. For there to be multiple Selves-2 there must be a singularity of Self-1. But we have seen that the principle that each human being, embodied in just one body, should have just one Self-1 may be a widespread but culturally rooted contingency (p. 58).

The first two statements are wholly tautological. This myth -- authoritatively and groundlessly represented as "the social constructionist stance" (p. 58; my emphasis) -- displays, I suggest, the fallacy of analysis, i.e., of utilizing analysis in terms of finite logic as a method of exegesis where it is inappropriate and unworkable. It is posited on the false, totalistic premise that all identity is finite and closed, from which follows the postulate of "lived contradiction", i.e., antinomy and nothing but antinomy between individual and group identities, between singular self and multiple selves, and between the latter. Withal, the pragmatic, unjustifiable effect is to dispense with identity as an open system, and to imply that identity has now been wholly encompassed by (socialist) science. (Both science and socialism are thereby done a disservice. Ellis [1980, in Hall, Hobson, Lowe and Willis, eds., 1980: 194] observes: "Our choice is clear: either to be correct dogmatically, or to be correct historically. We cannot do both".)

An anthropology and crosscultural psychology of identity, individual and communal, by Western and other ethnographers alike would be vastly more productive. The papers in Shotter and Gergen (1988) reviewed above are presented as participating "in an emerging dialogue which many believe presages a major shift in the western intellectual tradition" (publisher's note)], i.e., a paradigm shift. Paradigm shifts -- transformations of scientific identity -- are invariably initiated by unorthodox scientists, and have hitherto begun with the pragmatics: the discovery (equally, the mythic creation) of data, in conflict with previous paradigms, often serendipitous, unintended or acquired from non-scientific sources in literature, graphic art, music, philosophy, religion or private fantasy. This development has been followed by the syntax: reciprocity between extending data and evolving theory, and then the semantics, the elaboration of theory. Finally, there has been self-reflexion: metascientific critique.

Put simply, a closed system cannot produce a paradigm shift, but only its own collapse as the necessary precondition for such a shift.

As far back as 1959 Lévi-Strauss acutely observed as follows:

Yes, it seems to me -- and this strikes me as being quite a commonplace observation, which has been made by people other than myself -- that we have reached a sort of impasse (...). All this has given rise to a kind of unhealthy tension, unhealthy precisely because it is too self-conscious, and arises from experimentation and a determination to discover something new, whereas major upheavals of this kind, if they are to be fruitful, occur at a much less conscious level than that at which they are happening at the present time, when people are trying deliberately and systematically to invent new forms, and that in my view is precisely the sign of a state of crisis ... (Charbonnier [1961, tr 1969: 80-81]).

Throughout, Harré has no data to cite. The fallacy of social constructionism is the totalism of its Cartesian dualism, which leaves no room for reality which is neither subjective nor objective yet exists independently of the participant-observational creator of myth. I suggest -- although we have as yet no paradigm to encompass it -- that both actor and other natural reality are equally independent of myth and, indeed, interact to create it; that there is a natural reality not encompassed by our present constructions of subjectivity and objectivity, and therefore of identity. (I use the term natural to distinguish this construction from supernaturalist constructions.) The universe began before humankind did; it is not a "social construction" and certainly not anthropocentric. Accordingly, reality is not wholly dependent on subjectivity, objectivity or the construer. The fundamental questions remain: who or what (if these are the appropriate interrogatives) does the construing, and who or what is construed? The distinction between natural and supernatural reality may be due to collapse. Inherent in the ideology of this study is the premise that religious reality is as objectively real as political reality. The data amply support it.

These issues concern the pragmatics of identity. What emerges, survives and develops in the long run, I suggest, is fundamentally pragmatic: the practice of science as craft (Ravetz [1971]), art [Jones [1982]] and myth (Prigogine and Stengers [1984] -- none social scientists, all physical scientists); the historically accrued, self-reflexively viable, creative

discipline of both subjectivity and objectivity. Meanwhile, grandiose scientism continues in academic psychology (and psychoanalysis), albeit with slowly evolving objectification of its own subjectivity. For yet more objective perspective one need only speculate how these data-free edifices are likely to be construed a century or three hence. I suggest that the issues upon us are nothing less than the methodological (Shotter [1978: 36] in Brenner, Marsh and Brenner [eds] [1978]) and ethical relations between social scientific and folk identity, reality and consciousness.

Methodologically, I suggest, science should have the capacity to create scientifically sustainable, self-reflexive consciousness, reality and identity beyond the capacity of folk myth and at whatever cost to previous scientific myth (and, for that matter, religio-political ideology). Socialist social scientists have contributed fundamentally by introducing the civil ethics of science in the construct of praxis -- but in many cases at witting, ethically unjustifiable expense to methodology by according theory methodological primacy over data; again, the unsubstantiated, scientifically destructive antinomy, the representation of folk identity in scientific terms. In social anthropological terms, such myth and ritual reflect the identity of the scientist in manifold ethical capacities unfounded in science: as warrior, prophet, priest and witch.

I suggest that there are two valid points implicit in criticism by the post structuralists, deconstructionists and social constructionists cited above: (i) in social psychology, identity has been construed in objectivist terms at the expense of investigation of its subjective formation, construal and enaction; (ii) paradox and tautology, in short, non-finite logic -- are central to the formation, construal and enaction of identity. These largely await investigation and are not pursued in the abovementioned criticism. Instead, the non-finite, subjective construction of information necessary to identity is ideologically disavowed, contrary to a vast array of psychoanalytic, biological and physico-chemical grounds in data. The disavowal is wholly subjectified -- itself evidence contradicting ideology.

Erikson argues that construed continuity in time is essential to the formation and maintenance of identity. I should add that construed, in this case subjective, continuity in space is equally essential, and that all identity, individual or communal, subjectively remains symbiotically merged, as an open system, with both the somatic substrate and other identities and their somatic substrates (this makes language possible -- language as the organized communication of subjective continuity -- and equally abolishes the differentiation of identity); that herein lies the

tautology; and that the paradox is the antinomy between subjective, infinite fusion and objective, finite differentiation. In these terms, sameness is to be distinguished from, and is a metaphor for systemic fusion, and difference is to be distinguished from, and is a metaphor for systemic differentiation. I should propose further that societies, communities and individuals differ in the systemic and phenomenal extent of fusion and differentiation. These formulations are commonplace, if often implicit in psychoanalytic self psychology and in social and cultural anthropology. The social sciences have extensively explored the semantics of identity and are presently addressing the (largely subjective) syntax. The (almost wholly subjective) pragmatics large await us (Watzlawick, Beavin and Jackson [1968] -- little read by social psychologists: it is clinical psychology). I suggest that psychology remains largely about rendering the subjective more objective, or, in psychoanalytic terms, the unconscious and preconscious, conscious.

2.41 Identity as Signification

This study addresses language and identity in disreputable adolescent and young adult males. In psychology (including psychoanalysis) and social anthropology these two developmental phases or age-grades have been long differentiated. In Western culture, their mythic significance as liminal (see Glossary and below) and transitional (see below) in identity between childhood and adulthood and as commonly rebellious against respectability and immature in adulthood are much older than Shakespeare's representation:

I would there were no age between ten and three
and twenty, or that youth would sleep out the rest;
for there is nothing in the between but getting
wenches with child, wronging the ancients,
stealing, fighting. Hark you now; would any but
these boiled brains of nineteen and two and twenty
hunt this weather?

(1623. The Winter's Tale, III, iii, 60-67)

In social anthropology, an age-set or generation-set refers to "the grouping of persons who are either close in age or of the same generation into a structure of hierarchically ordered sets which are vested with a diffuse range of social and ritual responsibilities" (Baxter and Almagor [eds] [1978: 2]). Baxter and Almagor note (p. 3) that Western working-class urban delinquent gangs possess many of the "traits and socialisation

functions frequently attributed to age-sets". These writers conclude, however, that gangs reflect age-grading rather than age-setting: "gangs are voluntary associations which are at best condoned, but sets are part of the formal social order blessed by tradition and membership is usually ascribed, and is always obligatory" (p. 4).

My ethnographic evidence is that gangs, invariably dramatized as totalistically delinquent and formal, enact both disreputable and delinquent identity, and are fundamentally adolescent and young adult informal peer groups of the kind normatively occurring in Western society. Commonly, the fathers of members belonged to such groups in adolescence and young adulthood, and indeed continue to belong to them in middle age. The adolescent and young adult groups are institutionalised and typically serve the purpose of self-initiation into adulthood and particularly adult gender identity in the absence of formal initiation by the parental generation or other institutions.

Baxter and Almagor note that "(s)ets seek to diminish differences between members by stressing their equalness and by endeavouring to keep the social development of members in line by exaggerating the differences between sets" (p. 7). "All age-systems seek to arrest the flow of time by setting men together in units and thereby allocating defined segments of time" (p. 24). "In summary the key to the understanding of age-systems, or parts of them, lies not such in what practical societal functions they fulfil but in what ritual benefits they are perceived as endowing individuals, and groups and society" (p. 25).

All these features apply fully to the informants of this study. The distinction "informal, voluntary age-set" is appropriate, and is abbreviated to "age-set". Two age-sets are distinguishable in myth and enactment: the junior and adolescent (from between thirteen and fifteen to eighteen years of age, and the senior and young adult (from nineteen to between twenty-two and twenty-four). These conform to the two major biological phases of maturation and psychosocial phases of development from childhood to adolescence, and from adolescence to adulthood.

There would be no point in reviewing the large literature on the concept of community. In this study the term "community" implicitly signifies folk community, and my definition is derived from the formulations of Cohen's (1985: passim) thorough review, in which community is proposed as a mythic construct signifying an objective collective identity consensually ascribed as common and unique to all members. In this formulation, issues of

operational group cohesion, constraints on mobility in and out of the community, or on its own mobility, and identity markers of any kind (.e.g., "racial", "cultural" or "ethnic") are relevant insofar as they may be mythically assigned, whether objectively founded and relevant to enactment or not; but the community may objectively be diacritically demarcated by one or more of a variety of parameters, such as nationality, geographic locality or region, religion, language or dialect, social and/or political position or class, range of occupation, history, etc. -- in fact by any diacritical construct able to serve as an objective identity marker for the purpose (Cohen [loc. cit.]).

Saville-Troike (1982) reviews widely differing usages of the term community, and concludes in general terms that

depending on the degree of abstraction desired ... virtually any community in a complex society might be considered part of another larger one, or subdivided into smaller groups (p. 19).

She also reviews the history of the concept of speech community (pp. 17-22) and concludes that there is no satisfactory definition. Ultimately the issue is: "how different must rules of speaking be to be significantly different?" (p.18).

Answers to such questions are based on history, politics, and group identification, rather than on purely linguistic factors. It is thus useful to distinguish between participating in a speech community and being a member of it; speaking the same language is sufficient (yet not necessary) for some degree of participation, but membership cannot be based on knowledge and skills alone (loc. cit.).

At any level of speech community selected for study, the societal functions of language will include the boundary functions of separating, unifying and stratifying. The interactional functions which are present will be dependent on the level of community studied, with a full complement of language functions and domains present only at the level defined as including a full range of role-opportunities. At this more inclusive level, a speech community need not share a single language, and indeed it will not where roles are differentially assigned to monolingual speakers of different languages in a single multilingual society. (p. 20)

If community can be defined as the objective reality of communal identity, *communitas* can be defined as the subjective reality. I use it here in a

sense derived from the social anthropologist, Turner (1969: 80-118). In his rich, subtle study of ritual -- and particularly rituals of initiation -- as process, Turner proposes *communitas* as a state of communion between individuals who are in a paradoxical position in relation to society and cosmos. The initiates are a group forming *communitas* without community, even of each other. They are liminal, on the developmental threshold between an identity to be abandoned and one to be achieved by initiation. This state affords "recognition to an essential and generic human bond, without which there could be no society" (p. 83); is temporal and spatial yet unstructured or relatively so (p. 82); "a moment in and out of time", "in and out of secular social structure" (p. 82), and between high and low in status (p. 83); and in all these conditions is construed sacred. The following may be added: between Culture and Nature, and between subjectivity and objectivity in identity.

In contrast with the structured "status system", liminality has the following properties: transition, totality, homogeneity, equality, anonymity, absence of property, absence of status, nakedness or uniform clothing, sexual continence, minimization of gender distinction, absence of rank, humility, disregard for personal appearance, no distinctions of wealth, unselfishness, total obedience, sacredness, sacred instruction, silence, suspension of kinship rights and obligations, continuous reference to mystical powers, foolishness, simplicity, acceptance of pain and suffering, heteronomy (pp. 92-93). Alternatively, as in hippie communes and other adolescent varieties of identity enactment, sexuality is construed and enacted as "a polymorphic instrument of immediate *communitas* rather than as the basis for an enduring structured social tie" (p. 99).

There is a "perennial tensed opposition between *communitas* and structure" (p. 105). "(C)ommunitas emerges where social structure is not" (p. 113). He adduces Buber (1947, repr 1961);

(...) the being no longer side by side (and, one might add, above and below) but with one another of a multitude of persons. And this multitude, though it moves towards one goal, yet experiences everywhere a turning to, a dynamic facing of, the others, a flowing from I to Thou (p. 51; Buber's emphases).

He finds himself "forced to have recourse to metaphor and analogy. For *communitas* has an existential quality; it involves the whole man in his relation to other whole men. Structure, on the other hand, has cognitive quality" (p. 114). In its existential significance, further features can

be assigned to *communitas*: it affords solace, consolation and even triumph in the (metaphoric) face of existential contingency. *Communitas* "is a dimension of all societies, past and present" (p. 117).

There are striking resemblances between Turner's construct of *communitas* and the psychoanalyst Winnicott's (1953) equally paradoxical constructs of transitional objects and transitional phenomena, and of the perspectival location of cultural experience in play (1967), proposed in similarly metaphoric and analogic terms. Briefly, a transitional object, reflecting forms of behaviour described as transitional phenomena, is an infant's first possession construed not wholly part of the self or of parents. It has illusionary significance as objectively real, yet subjectively signifies both self and parent, and thus merger of the identities of both. It thus simultaneously signifies the symbiotic fusion and the differentiation of self and other, and is perspectively midway between subjectivity and objectivity. It is characteristically used for solace, play and creativity, especially when the parents are absent and the actor is alone. In folk myth these features were observed by the poet, Walt Whitman (1855):

There was a child went forth every day,
And the first object he look'd upon, that object he became,
And that object became part of him for the day or a certain part of the
day,
Or for many years or stretching cycles of years.
(Murphy [ed] [1975: 386])

Ontogenetically, the transitional object is the source of cultural experience, metaphorically located in the space between objectivity and subjectivity which permits illusion. It is both Natural and Cultural, merging both and differentiating each. Objectively it is Culturally given; subjectively it is Naturally created. It is the ontogenetic template of all cultural artefaction, created through play. In Natural significance it is disreputable; in Cultural significance, respectable.

Communitas and transitional phenomena may be simply linked: both reflect an enaction of identity that may be described as transitional in all the respects described above in regard to each. Consensually between self and other, transitional identity is both transitional subject and transitional object, and the enaction of *communitas* is a transitional phenomenon.

In his study of the psychoanalysis (in terms of object relations theory) of narcissistic disorders of the self, Kohut (1971: 33) arrives at a similar

position on transitional identity, although not explicitly so. He describes the idealized parent imago (the subjectified construct of the idealized parent at the transitional phase of self-differentiation in infancy) as an "archaic (transitional) self-object" (...) "(a precursor of psychic structure) since it performs functions which the child's psyche will later perform. In other words, the idealized parent imago is still far from being experienced as an independent object".

One may take matters further: identity is an illusion (Pruyser [1983]), a numinous gestalt formed of objective and subjective reality. Identity cannot be scientifically encompassed in terms of science as we construe it. The epistemological limitation is the paradigm of science, not of identity (although the construct of identity itself may yet be placed at issue). Science has yet to formulate consensually accepted rules of subjective investigation, and of the language itself of subjectivity, if these are possible. In particular, we need a social science of analogic information and its interaction with digital information.

Not all stigmatized identity is transitional, but transitional identity is ambivalently and ambiguously stigmatized. Goffman (1963), in his influential social psychological monograph on "stigma (...) the management of spoiled identity", defines stigma as "an attribute that is deeply discrediting (...) but a language of relationships, not attributes is really needed" (p. 3). There are "three grossly different types" of stigma: "abominations of the body", "blemishes of individual character" and "the tribal stigma of race, nation and religion" (p. 4). In all instances

an individual who might have been received easily in ordinary social intercourse possesses a trait that can obtrude itself upon attention and turn those of whom he meets away from him, breaking the claim that his other attributes have on us. He possesses a stigma, an undesired differentness from what we had anticipated (p. 5).

The stigmatized are antithetical to the "normals" (p. 5). There are two major categories of others who are sympathetic: the "own" (pp. 19-31), who share stigma with the actor, and the "wise",

namely persons who are normal but whose special situation has made them intimately privy to the secret life of the stigmatized individual and sympathetic with it, and who find themselves accorded a measure of acceptance, a measure of courtesy membership in the clan. Wise persons are the marginal men before whom the individual with a fault need feel

no shame nor exert self-control, knowing that in spite of his failing he will be seen as an ordinary other (p. 28).

Stigmatized individuals may be able to pass as normal "(w)hen the stigma is nicely invisible" (p. 73). They acquire "identity standards" which result in ambivalence towards the self (pp. 106-108).

Finally,

stigma involves not so much as a set of concrete individuals who can be separated into two piles, the stigmatized and the normal, as a pervasive two-role social process in which every individual participates in both roles (...). The normal and the stigmatized are not persons but rather perspectives (p. 138).

In semiotic terms, this account amplifies on the semantics (negatively valent identity) and syntax (social exclusion) of stigma, but assumes the pragmatics: the stigmatized are construed inactivated (by guilt) in the developmental fulfilment (i.e., meeting the developmental terms) of identity and are subordinated (inactivation is imposed on them). The subordination is construed appropriate because they are construed inactivated; acquiescence in subordination is a sign of the inactivation. There is thus a pragmatic tautology. If one construes stigma as myth, and adopts a semiotic definition of stigma (see Glossary), then it becomes clear that the semantic sign (the mythic stigma) is a charter for subordination, and acquiescence in subordination is a pragmatic sign confirming the myth by enaction (Stone [1986c]).

In stressing stigma and normality as perspectives, Goffman prefigures both as identities and not merely roles. The reduction of stigma to mere role reflects his omission of the pragmatics.

His classification of stigmatic identity markers fails to reflect the complexities of interaction that can be assigned to body, character and community. Most commonly, all three are assigned, and the terms are interplayed to serve as mutually confirmatory signs of the stigma. Any marker can serve as stigma, depending on the myth (e.g., gender [males stigmatize females in body, character and community, and vice-versa; each identity enaction equally stigmatizes the self and signifies envy of the other], gender preference [heterosexuals stigmatize homosexuals, etc., as in the previous case], language and accent [the middle-class stigmatize the working-class, etc., as in the first case]) and stigma is inherently paradoxical in assigning Culture (moral choice, character) to Nature

(tribe, body, the developmental fulfilment of identity). The mythic issue of being deprived or depraved in enacting stigma reflects the issue of Nature versus Culture.

Moreover, his taxonomy of stigma takes no account of transitional identity in *communitas* without community, or total outcastness, in which the semantic stigma lies not in who one is, but who one is not. The absence of any identifying sign (nonentity) iconically, metaphorically constitutes a negative sign (the stigma). The ambiguity lies in absence, the absence of any indexical sign, in who the actor was and may or may not become. An unblemished corpse in repose, young or middle-aged, i.e., not aged and thus not expected to die, is commonly construed enigmatic and ambiguous, half-expected to return to presence and arise. Yet it is also stigmatized: irredeemably dead, consigned to exclusion, inactivated in self-fulfilment.

The pragmatic significance of stigma is formulated by the psychoanalyst Lichtenstein (1971, repr. in Lichtenstein [1977: 293-322]) in his concept of the malignant negation of identity, a "nonverbal negation (...) of existence" (p. 300) (...), "of the reality of existence" (p. 305) of identity, i.e., signifying the destruction of identity, and death. Malignant negation elicits existential horror. It is sadistic, and counteracted by sadomasochism (pp. 314-319), the attempt to force an identity-confirming response from self and other, both as nonentity.

Stigma reduces identity to nonentity, person to object, "Thou" to "It".

Erikson introduces his exegesis of stigmatized identity by an analysis of black identity in the United States (1950, 2nd ed 1963: 241-246):

Psychoanalysis shows that the unconscious evil identity (the composite of everything which arouses negative identification -- i.e., the wish not to resemble it) consists of the images of the violated (castrated) body, the ethnic outgroup, and the exploited minority (p. 243).

He continues:

Therapeutic efforts as well as attempts at social reform verify the sad truth that in any system based on suppression, exclusion and exploitation, the suppressed, excluded and exploited unconsciously believe in the evil image which they are made to represent by those who are dominant (1959a: 31).

To his taxonomy of stigmatized identities he adds that of the social castrate, the American male "sucker":

(...) the intensely evil identity of the sucker; one who lets himself be sidetracked, cooped up, and stalled, while others are free to pursue his chance and his girl. But to be a sucker means to be a social and sexual castrate; if you are a sucker, not even a mother's pity will be with you (p. 43).

These preliminary formulations are developed into the concept of the "negative identity":

(...) an identity perversely based on all those identifications and roles which, at critical stages of development, had been presented to the individual as most undesirable or dangerous, and yet also as most real. (...) In such cases it is of utmost importance to recognize the mockery and the vindictive pretense in such role playing (...) (p. 131). (...)

Such vindictive choices of a negative identity represent, of course, a desperate attempt at regaining some mastery in a situation which the available positive identity elements cancel each other out. The history of such a choice reveals a set of conditions in which it is easier to derive a sense of identity out of a total identification with that which one is least supposed to be than to struggle for a feeling of reality in acceptable roles which are unattainable for the patient's inner means. (...)

(...) many a late adolescent, if faced with continuing diffusion, would rather be nobody or somebody bad, or indeed, dead -- and this totally, and by free choice -- than to be not-quite-somebody (his emphasis; p. 132).

He refers to "negative group identity":

(...) that malignant turn towards a negative group identity which prevails in some of the youth especially of our large cities, where conditions of economic, ethnic, and religious marginality provide poor bases for positive identities: here negative group identities are sought in spontaneous clique formations ranging all the way from neighbourhood gangs and jazz mobs, to dope rings, homosexual circles and criminal gangs (p. 162; his emphasis).

He elaborates further on self-stigmatization, consistently integrating anthropological and psychoanalytic perspectives:

In a recent discussion of the Negro family, a highly informed and

influential American Jew blurted out his kind of ethnic incredulity: "Some instinctive sense tells every Jewish mother that she must make her child study, that his intelligence is his pass to the future. Why does a Negro mother not care? Why does she not have the same instinctive sense?" I suggested that, given American Negro history, the equivalent "instinctive sense" may have told the majority of Negro mothers to keep their children, and especially the gifted and the questioning ones, away from futile and dangerous competition -- that is, for survival's sake to keep them in their place as defined by an indifferent and hateful "compact majority" (1968: 302; his emphases).

Applicable as this has been, it also reflects a mythopoeic discourse about stereotypic "Jewish" and "Negro" "mothers". One could point equally to the vast advantages derived from a millennia-old culture of literacy and, most of all, of continuity of transcendent religious identity preserved by means of sanctified scriptural text and exegesis which specifically, fundamentally prescribe the transcendence of intercommunal stigmatization; and conversely, to the manifold demoralizing disadvantages of the lack thereof in the face of abduction, enslavement and other subsequent subordination by a literate society, comparable, if cumulatively far less severe than that to which Jews have been subjected, yet equally formed into culture and identity -- but of religious de-moralization.

He concludes:

Every person's psychosocial identity, as we have outlined contains a hierarchy of positive and negative elements (...). (....) These, we have said, are culturally related: in a Jewish background which gives prominence to intellectual achievement, some such negative roles as the "Schlemihl" (G.L.S.: male intellectual castrate, fool, nincömpoop) will not be wanting. The human being, in fact, is warned not to become what he often had no intention of becoming so that he can learn to anticipate what he must avoid. Thus the positive identity, far from being a static constellation of traits or roles, is always in conflict with that past which is to be lived down and with that potential future which is to be prevented.

The individual belonging to an oppressed and exploited minority, which is aware of the dominant cultural ideals but prevented from emulating them, is apt to fuse the negative images held up to him by the dominant majority with the negative identity cultivated in his own group. Here we may think of the many nuances of the way in which one Negro may

address another as "nigger" (p. 303).

Where Erikson refers to "elements" and "identifications" I shall refer to "terms" of myth and identity.

Since the pragmatic inactivation of identity reflects its lack of integrity, honour -- confirmation of the integrity of identity -- is significant when stigma is potentially or actually an issue.

Campbell ([1965] in Peristiany [ed] [1965: 141]) defines "honour as the recognized integrity and value of the individual personality". The issue of valued integrity versus stigma may take precedence over all else -- especially when the individual has very little or very much to lose in social standing (in both cases at extreme risk of stigma) -- the stakes for honour and risks of dishonour may be high, such stigma would signify the self-imposition of outcastness and/or the disintegration of identity, and the issue, according to Peristiany (ed) (1965: 11) in a collection of ethnographic studies of honour and shame in Mediterranean societies, is "the constant preoccupation of individuals in small scale, exclusive societies where face to face personal, as opposed to anonymous, relations are of paramount importance and where the social personality of the actor is as significant as his office".

Because of the priority that can be assigned to honour, it may be flaunted in paradoxical terms which would otherwise be construed wholly dishonourable: irreligious, inhospitable, antisocial, suicidal, etc. (passim).

In terms of identity crises, the critical antithesis to stigmatization as nonentity is grandiosity, extensively explored in psychoanalytic terms by Kohut (1971, 1977). Unfortunately he does not define the term, but ascribes the genesis of grandiosity to mortification (1971: 230-232, 1977: 224) of the actor who seeks empathic confirmation of the display of the self. Insofar as grandiosity is antithetical to stigma rather than developmentally transcendent, it remains a developmental failure, locked in antinomy with stigma, and alternating with it in identity enactment; in psychoanalytic terms, the ego defence of reaction formation (Freud, A [1936: 9-10, 46-47, 51, 191-192]). In my experience as both a psychotherapeutic and an ethnographic participant observer, Kohut's account of the genesis of grandiosity is incomplete. (There is a tendency for non-psychosocial psychoanalysis, conducted with the individual as patient (rather than agent) in the rarefied field of the consulting-room, to

neglect the extent to which complex psychic phenomena, including ego defence mechanisms and characterological organization, are acquired by the simple process of identification with others personally unknown to the analyst, and are thus mythic phenomena as well.) In ego-psychological terms, the mortified, stigmatized self acquires the reaction formation by identification with the grandiose, stigmatizing other. The reaction formation is acquired by a prior ego defence: identification with the aggressor (pp. 117-131). Stigma is projected (pp. 46-47, 55-56, 128-129): subjectified, disavowed and assigned to an other. This interaction reflects an attempt at symbiosis between grandiose and stigmatized identities. Grandiosity requires construed stigma in another; stigma requires construed grandiosity in another.

Pragmatically, grandiosity is the power to stigmatize, stigma the powerlessness to resist successfully. Both reflect developmental failure to transcend the mythic issue and identity crisis of grandiosity versus stigma. In semiotic terms, transcendence is achieved by sacrament (see Glossary).

Where identity is subjectively stigmatized, honour is characteristically proposed objectively in grandiose and totalistic terms.

Totalism is the systemic organization of identity when integrity is accorded unnegotiable priority in the face of irresoluble ambivalence in the self or opposition from another. Most commonly, at the price of openness (including receptivity to play, creativity, humour and development), the system closes in agonism to defeat the threat to integrity. The actor requires a totalitarian, often millenarian ideology as charter, construes reality in mythopoeic terms, and compromise or opposition as evil in its threat of a total destruction of identity, which may be imposed instead on the construed opponent (Erikson [1954, 1959a: 132-133, 1959b: 98-99, 1964: 91-94, 1968: 74-90, 313-314]). But the system may be totalistically, paradoxically maintained as open to preclude foreclosure of development and thus construed retrogression and even destruction of identity (as in some adolescents, artists and psychotics). The agonism and the intolerance of compromise or opposition remain. Totalism, then, consists ultimately in self-imposed rigidity as an indefinite or permanent state of identity defence in sacrificing the flexibility and adaptiveness of a more fully functioning open system.

The code of identity (see 2.6) is enacted aesthetically in identity style. The vast subject of style is confined mainly to the study of art in the

graphic arts, music, literature, etc. Hebdige (1979) has written an extended essay on style in "spectacular" working-class adolescent subculture (i.e. presenting public spectacle, especially in mass media) in Britain between the 1950s and 1970s, inclusive. He focuses particularly on the punk style, introduced in 1975. His ideology is Marxist, his analysis semiotic. He is concerned with the signification, organization and enaction of style as determined by its actors' subordination to the class dominating the means of production, both material and cultural.

He is interested in "the idea of style as a form of Refusal, the elevation of crime into art (even though, in our case, the 'crimes' are only broken codes)" (p. 2). He seeks to "recreate the dialectic between action and reaction which renders" (adolescent subcultural artefacts) "meaningful" (p. 2). Style is "a coded response to changes affecting the entire community" (p. 80). His task is "to discern the hidden messages inscribed in code on the glossy surfaces of style, to trace them out as 'maps of meaning' which obscurely re-present the very contradictions they are designed to resolve or conceal" (p. 18), and he does so by seeking the "ideological dimension to every signification" (p. 13).

In common with this study, Hebdige's is primarily ethnographic and hermeneutic. He gathers, organizes and interprets naturalistic data, attempting to represent the value that adolescent agents' subcultural creations have for them under conditions construed as destructive of their identity. His observations are perceptive and subtle.

Methodologically, however, his study is problematic. Richly connotative metaphors (such as "surface" and "opacity") are frequently used in passing without any attempt at definition or rigour (and bibliographic references are not paginated). His insights are ideological rather than theoretical, and limited by political partisanship.

The result is an exercise in ideological prevarication and theoretical confusion. On the one hand he apologizes, on the other he hedges insofar as he "would like to think that this Refusal is worth making" (p. 3), even though "one should not expect" (it) "to be either unfailingly correct about real relations under capitalism, or even necessarily in touch, in any immediate sense, with its material position in the capitalist system" (p. 81). (And however stigmatizing, self-stigmatizing and delinquent it may be. The British punks [white] revelled in public agonistic displays of vomiting, self-mutilation and declamation idealizing perverse aggression and sexuality: totalistically anarchic crudity was the rule; they idealized

the exploited, polluted, ruined, polymorphously perverse body in songs such as "Belsen Was A Gas", "If You Don't Want to Fuck Me, Fuck Off" and "I Wanna Be Sick On You" [p. 110]; their level of signification was to be wholly indexical: their aim "to escape the principle of identity" [p. 121; perhaps the most profound interpretation offered, but no bibliographic reference given]. Even so, and despite Hebdige's stress on ideology as "a lived relation" [p. 11], their attempts remained selfconscious, contrived, pretentious, limited and founded on assumptions of prevailing, historically established civility not to be taken for granted in the phenomena encompassed in this thesis. Indeed, he acknowledges their Refusal as expressing "an imaginary set of relations" and contrasts its ideology with unspecified "reality" [p. 81].)

The construction of intracommunal identity in terms of morality looms large in the ethnographic and lexicographic data of this study, in terms of respectability, disreputability, delinquency and outcastness. Douglas (ed) (1970) has addressed this phenomenon in North American and British culture:

(...) we find that the social meanings of either deviance (immorality) or respectability (morality) can be adequately understood only if reference, whether implicit or explicit, is made to the other, its opposite (pp. 3-4).

In the same book, Ball (1970) examines "the problematics of respectability" (pp. 326-371; unfortunately he resorts to verbose jargon):

(...) rather than being trivial or unimportant, respectability may become a life-and-death matter for particular actors implicated in social episodes; and even if more typically it is of less momentous import, it is still a major aspect in the management of the practical but problematic affairs of everyday/anyday life.

Individual respectability is an issue to both individual and society (p. 327).

Furthermore, it seems that historically this has particularly been the case since the nineteenth century, when what Harold Nicholson has called "the cult of respectability" developed, concomitant with the rise of the middle class and their special version of bourgeois morality.* And although the quest for respectability is perhaps not as frenzied as it was in the Victorian era (...) it is still a major focus in day-to-day, practical affairs (...) (p. 329; * Nicholson [1955; no pagination]).

(...) we shall consider respectable to mean: to be a person (1) perceived-to-be-normal, thus possessing moral worth, (2) the appearance of which is thereby accorded through deferential displays, that is, signs of person-appreciation from others, (3) in socially situated encounters (p. 332).

It follows, then, that because respectability requires the co-operation and co-ordination of teamwork, it is always problematic for socially situated actors. That is, it is never, except in a crude, probabilistic sense, a given (...). And as a related consequence, given the multiplicity of potential audiences and their varied definitions and standards of what constitutes normality, moral worth and respectability, it is impossible to appear respectable at all times to all men. Like deviance, respectability is always situated (...) (p. 338).

He proposes that "the respectability problem" is to form and present an identity consensually construed deserving of the minimal status necessary for the pursuit of essential goals in society. It becomes "central to social order itself". The presentation of respectability is even more fundamentally necessary to stay out of "trouble" -- the attention of law enforcement agencies, undertaking "society's respectability work" (p. 339).

He construes respectability "a form of communication" (p. 345).

(...) the rhetoric of respectability is dimensionally structured; these dimensions minimally being the two continua of truth-falsity and presenting-concealing (...) (p. 345; his emphases).

Thus, in managing respectable appearances there are three basic strategies of manipulating information: (1) the presentation of virtues; and (2) the concealment of vices; along with (3) the creation of appearances of virtue where other circumstances actually obtain (p. 347).

These acts of concealment and falsity may further be subdivided by degree into those of hiding, denial, and lying, these being the simpler and more complex versions, respectively, of the same underlying tactic (p. 348).

The difficulty with this representation is that respectability is not a constant issue in myth and enactment of identity, and he does not indicate the situations in which it is an issue or not. I suggest that it is an issue when the orderly self-regulation of identity is construed threatened

in situations in which, by consensus between self and other, it should be maintained, and identity is consequently exposed to stigma.

At the high point of functionalism in social anthropology and sociology, Merton (1957: 121-194; an earlier version was published in 1938) revived and extended Durkheim's (1893, 1897) construct of anomie, or social normlessness occurring when means are construed problematic in the pursuit of socially valued ends, and the actor resorts to "deviance". Merton describes five types of adaptation under such conditions. These are irrelevant here, as is the vast functionalist -- and sociologicistic -- literature on deviance that flourished in the United States during the nineteen-sixties, especially in studies of gang delinquency. Suffice it to say that the functionalist perspective tended to overlook culture and identity in anomie, and thus failed to recognize anomie itself as a paradoxical norm in culture and identity -- although Durkheim (1895, tr 1950: 65-75) proposed one major manifestation, crime, as normal.

In this study it emerges that during the period of fieldwork, actors construed working-class identity itself as anomic in terms of the desired goal of middle-class identity, and that anomie was extensive in intercommunal relationships (i.e., between coloured working-class and others, including coloured middle-class, black and white, and between working-class Christian and Muslim). I term such a field of consciousness and reality an anomic field (see Glossary: anomie), which includes relationships in which actors construe themselves unsure of, or incompetent in propriety in interaction, and resort to anomic identity enactment because they construe it the only identity which they can enact with integrity and thus, paradoxically, honour.

2.5 Working-class Disreputable Male Adolescent and Young Adult

Identity and Lexis

As this is wholly an ethnographic and lexicographic study, no attempt is made at comparison with ethnographic investigations elsewhere (e.g., Liebow [1967], Hannerz [1969], Abrahams [1970] and the various works discussed and listed bibliographically in Hall, Hobson, Lowe and Willis [eds] [1980]) or lexicographic investigations; with identity and lexis often termed "lower class", "Black" [formerly Negro, presently African-American] or "ghetto" or associated with "the culture of poverty" in the Americas and the Caribbean is described as working-class elsewhere; identity and lexis in Africa or construed as originating by enslavement from Africa and termed "Black",

"Afro-" or "African-" (see e.g., Kochman [ed] [1972], Abrahams [1983]); and the literature on popular culture (e.g., Bigsby [ed] [1976], Hall, Hobson, Lowe and Willis [eds] [1980] will not be reviewed. Since we are not concerned with the ethnography of groups, or comparison with the lexis of disreputable adolescent and young adult male peer groups elsewhere, the extensive lexicographies of such groups, and literature on working-class delinquent gangs is likewise not reviewed, except for the following, from which an exegetic construct is taken.

Miller, a cultural anthropologist, examines "lower class culture as a generating milieu of gang delinquency" (1958), and formulates the construct of "focal concerns -- areas or issues which command widespread and persistent attention and a high degree of emotional involvement" (p. 6) among delinquent gangs, which he equally assigns to "lower class culture" (p. 7). Six of the "major concerns of lower class culture" are trouble, toughness, smartness, excitement, fate and autonomy. Gangs, or "adolescent street corner groups" (not identical in the data of my study) additionally pursue two further focal concerns: belonging and status.

Miller proposes that "the following three statements condense in general terms" his hypothesis that:

1. Following cultural practices which comprise essential elements of the total life pattern of lower class culture automatically violates certain legal norms (sic).
2. In instances where alternate avenues to similar objectives are available, the non-law-abiding avenue frequently provides a relatively greater and more immediate return for a relatively smaller investment of energy.
3. The "demanded" response to certain situations recurrently engendered within lower class culture involves the commission of illegal acts (p. 18; I omit his emphasis throughout).

In other words: all competent members of the "lower class" (undefined) regularly engage in antisocial crime. No evidence is advanced for the rampantly ethnocentric, if implicit assignation of disreputability and delinquency to all who are socialized and participate in such culture. However, the construct of focal concern proves applicable and useful, and is taken further in a sociosemantic exegesis of overlexicalization in the lexicographic data of this study.

2.6 Language, Communal Identity and Code

Fowler (1985) makes the following general observations on lexicalization:

What concepts are furnished with names in the discourse of a particular social group is of the utmost importance, since vocabulary reflects and expresses the interests of the group. Provision of a term for a concept is called 'lexicalization'. Other relevant lexical processes include 'overlexicalization' and 'underlexicalization' (...). Overlexicalization is the availability of many words for one concept, and it indicates the prominence of the concept in a community's belief and intellectual interests (...). It is a special case of a more general process, the presence in a sociolinguistic variety of extensive sets of lexical items for systems of related concepts: technical jargons, the slangs of in-groups, and the like. Underlexicalization is a converse process: lack of a term that would neatly encode a concept; this is communicatively and socially significant when a speaker laboriously expresses a concept that is not fully in his power by a circumlocution (p. 69).

Halliday (1978: 181) defines a (sociolinguistic) code "as a systematic pattern of tendencies in the selection of meanings to be exchanged under specified conditions". This definition, abstracted from Bernstein (1971: 275-278), may be equally applied to identity, and permits us to construe a code as the system of ideological rules organizing the construction of communication.

The sociolinguistic foundation for Halliday's formulation of language as social semiotic (see below) was provided by Bernstein's seminal work between 1958 and 1971, collected in Bernstein (1971) on Western urban social class differences in sociolinguistic codes, itself founded largely on Hess's and Shipman's (1965) influential paper on "early experience and the socialization of cognitive modes in children". Bernstein too was primarily concerned with the socialization of children by parents and school teachers, and his differentiation of working-class "restricted" and middle-class "elaborated" codes is not relevant here.

This work influenced my own formulations (Stone [1970b]) insofar as I observed ethnographically that outside formal interaction construed alienatively middle-class or working-class respectable by informants, the educational inhibitions common among working-class children and adolescents, then scientifically construed as a closed, self-perpetuating

system and described as "cultural deprivation" (Riessman [1962]) in "the culture of poverty" (for critiques see Valentine [1968], Leacock [ed] [1971]) and Keddle [ed] [1973]), did not operate, and I concluded that psychosocial phenomena -- and specifically informants' construction and enactment of alienation from middle-class and respectable working-class identity -- determined the psychocultural fate of cognitive development and thus, extensively, of intelligence in individuals prior to the end of adolescence. I repeatedly found that motivation and success in learning the enactment of respectable and middle-class identity, as well as intelligence measured by formal (middle-class) I.Q. test, could improve dramatically, rapidly and with indefinitely sustained result after heavily supportive, intensive informal psychotherapy with informants motivated to undertake it.

Labov (1972) demonstrates that the language of working-class urban blacks in the United States constitutes a dialect, which he termed Black English Vernacular. He proposes that it does not reflect the communicative limitations allegedly assigned to working-class language by Bernstein. In reality he was examining peer-group language, whereas Bernstein was concerned with language between socializing adult and pre-pubertal child. For an analysis of this contentious, heavily politicized debate, see Edwards (1979). Bernstein's work contributed the construct of code to this study. Labov's contributed the formal construction of working-class vernacular as dialect rather than merely patois, slang or broken middle-class code.

Giles and St Clair (eds) (1977), Giles and Saint-Jacques (eds) 1979), and St Clair and Giles (eds) (1980) include a wide variety of sociolinguistic and social psychological research on the interaction between language, dialect, linguistic varieties and ethnic or communal identity. This work demonstrates that verbal language, dialect and linguistic varieties constitute enactments and therefore markers of communal identity, and that nonverbal language and linguistic varieties can also do so. Sociolinguistic code accordingly constitutes a code of communal identity.

Halliday (1978) formulates language "as social semiotic", which "means interpreting language within a sociocultural context in which the culture itself is interpreted in semiotic terms -- as an information system, if that terminology is preferred". Thus "dialect variation expresses the diversity of social structures (social hierarchies of all kinds) (...)" (p. 2).

Language does not consist of sentences; it consists of text, or discourse -- the exchange of meanings in interpersonal contexts of one kind or another (p. 2).

(...) language actively symbolizes the social system, representing metaphorically in its patterns of variation the variation that characterizes human cultures. This is what enables people to play with variation in language, using to create meanings of a social kind, to participate in all forms of verbal context and verbal display, and in the elaborate rhetoric of ordinary daily conversation. It is this same twofold function of the linguistic system, its function both as expression of and as metaphor for social processes, that lies behind the dynamics of the interrelation of language and social context (...). (p. 3).

Equally, language

not only serves to facilitate and support other modes of social action that constitute its environment, but also actively creates an environment of its own, so making possible all the imaginative modes of meaning, from backyard gossip to narrative fiction and epic poetry. The context plays a part in determining what we say; and what we say plays a part in determining the context (p. 3).

"Language (functions) in contexts of situation" (p. 28).

Types of linguistic situation differ from one another, broadly speaking, in three respects: first, what is actually taking place; secondly, who is taking part; and thirdly, what part the language is playing. These three variables, taken together, determine the range within which meanings are selected and the forms which are used for their expression. In other words, they determine the 'register' (p. 31).

A register can be defined as the configuration of semantic resources that the member of a culture typically associates with a situation type (p. 111).

This theoretical framework provides the context for the social semiotic presentation of a phenomenon that Halliday terms antilanguage (1976, reprinted in Halliday [1978] as paginated below). Antilanguage is the language of

an antisociety (...) set up within another society as a conscious

alternative to it. It is a mode of resistance, resistance which may take the form either of passive symbiosis or of active hostility and even destruction (p. 164).

The simplest form taken by an antilanguage is that of new words for old; it is a language relexicalized. (....) Typically this relexicalization is partial, not total: not all words in the language have their equivalents in the antilanguage. (....) The principle is that of same grammar, different vocabulary; but different vocabulary only in certain areas, typically those that are central to the activities of the subculture and set it off most sharply from the established society. (....) The language is not merely relexicalized in these areas; it is overlexicalized. (....) (These overlexicalizations) are by ordinary standards synonymous (...) (p. 165).

But there is more to it than that. (....) (...) we find in them a characteristic functional orientation, away from the experiential mode of meaning towards the interpersonal and textual modes. (....) (...) the former because it takes the form of verbal competition and display, in which kennings of all kinds are at a premium; the latter because sets of words which are denotatively synonymous are clearly distinguished by their attitudinal components. (....)

Both of these are normal features of everyday languages (...). (....) What characterizes what we are calling antilanguage is their relatively greater orientation in this direction. (....) Any interpretation of the phenomenon of antilanguages involves some theory about what kinds of meaning are exchanged in different environments within a culture (p. 166).

There may be a degree of secrecy, but "(s)ecrecy is a feature of the jargon rather than a determinant of the language" (p. 166).

The antisociety

is a reconstruction of the individual and society. It provides an alternative social structure, with its systems of values, of sanctions, of rewards and punishments; and this becomes the source of an alternative identity for its members, through the patterns of acceptance and gratification. In other words (it) is an alternative reality. (....) But because of the special character of the (...) reality -- its status as an alternative, under constant pressure from

the reality that is 'out there' (...) the reality-generating force of the antilanguage and especially its power to create and maintain social hierarchy is strongly foregrounded (pp. 168-169).

The process of formation "is not one of construction but of reconstruction" (p. 170). The processes of resocialization

must enable the individual to establish strongly affective identification with the significant others. Conversation in this context is likely to rely heavily on the foregrounding of interpersonal meanings, especially where (...) the cornerstone of the new reality is a new social structure -- although, by the same token, the interpersonal elements in the exchange of meanings are likely to be fairly high ritualized (pp. 170-171).

An antilanguage (...) is nobody's mother tongue; it exists solely in the context of resocialization, and the reality it creates is inherently an alternative reality, one that is constructed precisely in order to function in alternation. It is the language of an antisociety. Of course, the boundary between the two is not hard and fast. (....) But nevertheless there are significant differences. (....) The antilanguage arises when the alternative reality is a counter-reality, set up in opposition to some established norm.

It is thus not the distance between the two realities but the tension between them that is significant. (....) (...) the individual may in fact switch back and forth between society and anti-society, with varying degrees of intermediate standing (...) (p. 171).

There is continuity between language and antilanguage, just as there is continuity between society and anti-society. But there is also tension between them, reflecting the fact that they are variants of one and the same underlying semiotic. They may express different social structures; but they are part and parcel of the same social system (pp. 171-172).

The counter-reality

has special implications. It implies the foregrounding of the social structure and social hierarchy. It implies a preoccupation with the definition and defence of identity through the ritual functioning of the social hierarchy. It implies a special conception of information and knowledge. (This is where the secrecy comes in; the language is secret because the reality is secret. [....] [...] social meanings

will be seen in oppositions; values will be defined by what they are not [...]) (p. 172).

He introduces the term "variants" in the sense in which it is used in variation theory (Cedergren and D Sankoff [1974], G Sankoff [1974]), and examines the phonological, lexicogrammatical and semantic features of antilinguistic items. He concludes that they are all

metaphorical variants, since in fact they are all metaphorical. It is this metaphorical character that defines the antilanguage. An antilanguage is a metaphor for an everyday language; and this metaphorical quality appears all the way up and down the system (p. 175). (....)

The antisociety is, in its structure, a metaphor for the society; the two come together at the level of the social system. In the same way, the antilanguage is a metaphor for the language, and the two come together at the level of the social semiotic (pp. 175, 177).

What distinguishes an antilanguage is that it is itself a metaphorical entity, and hence metaphorical modes of expression are the norm; we should expect metaphorical compounding, metatheses, rhyming alternations and the like to among its regular patterns of realization (p. 177).

Antilanguages throw light on the concept of social dialect by providing an opposite pole.

Popular usage opposes dialect as 'anti-' to (standard) language as the established norm. A nonstandard dialect that is consciously used for strategic purposes, defensively to maintain a particular social reality or offensively for resistance and protest, lies further in the direction of an antilanguage; this is what we know as a 'ghetto language' (pp. 178-179).

He constructs a chart of a continuum progressing from "standard" to "nonstandard" to "ghetto language" to "antilanguage" (p. 179). Social dialects are distinguished by

their hierarchical character. The social function of dialect variation is to express, symbolize and maintain the social order; the social order is an essentially hierarchic one. An antilanguage is, at one and the same time, both the limiting case of a social dialect (...) and a language; (...) in the latter role, it embodies its own hierarchy, and

so displays internal variation of a systematic kind (p. 179).

Antilanguages are typically used for contest and display, with consequent foregrounding of interpersonal elements of all kinds. At the same time, the speakers of an antilanguage are constantly striving to maintain a counter-reality that is under pressure from the established world. That is why the language is constantly renewing itself -- to sustain the vitality that it needs if it is to function at all. Such is the most likely explanation of the rapid turnover of words and modes of expression that is always remarked on by commentators on underworld language (p. 180).

An antilanguage

is to be defined (...) as a systematic pattern of tendencies in the selection of meanings to be exchanged. In this respect, therefore, it is more like Bernstein's (1974) * concept of a code or coding orientation. A code may be defined just in this way: as a systematic pattern of tendencies in the selection of meanings to be exchanged under specified conditions. (...) (...) in specified social contexts. So now we can interpret antilanguage as the limiting case of a code. (...) Still, this is a relative matter: an antilanguage is not a clearly distinct category -- it is a category to which any given instance approximates more or less (p. 181). * Appendix to Bernstein (1971).

Finally,

the obliqueness of meaning and form that makes (antilanguages) so effective as bearers of an alternative reality also makes them inherently comic -- so reflecting another aspect of the same reality, as seen by its speakers. In any case, not all antilanguages are languages of social resistance and protest. The 'arcane languages' of sorcery and mysticism are of the same order (p. 182; his emphases throughout).

He subsequently observes that in the "languages of groups that are subjected to social or political oppression (...) (m)eaning is often the most effective form of social action that is available (...)" (p. 185).

Given the sweep of this purview (and, as we shall see, the extent to which it applies to, and covers the data of this study) the most remarkable feature of Halliday's formulations of antilanguage is the extent to which

certain proposals are asserted and then qualified by degree or even paradox:

- (i) "of passive symbiosis or of active hostility and even destruction";
- (ii) "relexicalization is partial, not total";
- (iii) "(w)hat characterizes what we are calling antilanguage is their relatively greater orientation in this direction" (his emphasis);
- (iv) "conversation in this context is likely to rely heavily on the foregrounding of interpersonal meanings";
- (v) "the interpersonal elements in the exchange of meanings are likely to be fairly highly ritualized";
- (vi) the boundary between society and antisociety "is not hard and fast";
- (vii) "the individual may in fact switch back and forth between society and antisociety, with varying degrees of intermediate standing";
- (viii) "(t)here is continuity between language and antilanguage (...) (b)ut there is also tension between them";
- (ix) "this is a relative matter: an antilanguage is not a clearly distinct category -- it is a category to which any given instance approximates more or less".

The term "antilanguage" is elegant, but it is also ambiguous. Does it signify antagonism to language itself or to a particular language -- or both? Halliday proposes antilanguage's heavy intercommunal, interpersonal and subjective significance, in implicit contrast to the features of the standard language. In antilanguage, then, much significance is communicated which would be denotatively lexicalized and verbalized (or not communicated at all) in the standard language. Does antilanguage communicate antagonism to such lexicalization and/or verbalization, and thus to language itself? Halliday implies both significances, but states only the antagonism to the reference language.

And it is clear from the nine excerpts listed above that antilanguage is only relatively antagonistic to the standard language, towards which it is also symbiotic. It is in fact ambivalent. And it is so to varying degrees. There are options along a continuum. Moreover, the opposition may range from passive defence to active offence, whereas antagonism implies activism.

The burden of these criticisms is that the term "antilanguage" is useful and elegant but misleading. The speaker of antilanguage is caricatured as wholly and simply antagonistic in so doing; the speaker's identity is reduced to a finite, simple code. Such an ethnocentric assumption by the sociolinguist renders inaccessible much of the consciousness and reality communicated by antilanguage -- in lay terms, its speakers' point of view.

Furthermore, relexicalization as such does not define antilanguage; it defines differentiation in dialect or language, which may include antilanguage or not. When is relexicalization antilinguistic or not? Can an antilinguistic relexicalization lose its antilinguistic significance, merely signify dialectal differentiation and in fact simply become a vernacular -- or vice-versa? In the former event, could it become or remain a mother tongue? Who is to be the judge of such significance? Some, many or all speakers? A sociolinguist? All these questions are raised by Halliday's model (and the data of this study) and begged by his conceptualization of antilanguage.

Finally, to ascribe "vitality" to a lexicogrammatical code is animistic, if not anthropomorphic, and indicates the extent to which Halliday attempts to reduce the speech-communal identity of speakers. If there is rapid (lexical) turnover (in comparison to what norm?), an explanation must be sought in other terms. Speakers may evince vitality (and I shall attach interpretive significance to it) in lexis, text and discourse, but codes do not.

A Dialog literature search disclosed no relevant published application or theoretical attention to Halliday's formulations on antilanguage, despite the apparent extensiveness of their applicability, and their evident familiarity to linguists and sociolinguists.

However, Kress and Hodge (1979: 70-77) construe antilanguage as "a device for managing reality, creating the necessary counter-reality" (p. 71) by transforming "what is troublesome and problematic in reality into something less disturbing, something homely and harmless". Implicitly, antilanguage is a code: "(t)he linguistic form that expresses an anti-world most directly is negation" (p. 73). They conclude that

1. An anti-language is parasitic, taking its basic system of rules from the norm language.
2. An anti-language is defensive, protecting its community from direct grasp of problematic reality. It is not a language to think in, but a

language in which to escape from thought. So it reveals, through its evasions, what parts of reality are problematic for that community.

3. An anti-language is oppositional, and expresses this opposition by an attack on the classification system of the norm language. The attack takes the form of full or partial inversion, exploiting and extending the negativity component of the norm grammar (p. 76). (....)

4. An anti-language is inexplicable without reference to the anti-society and its place in a larger social structure (p. 77).

These conclusions restate but also clarify the crux of Halliday's formulations: insofar as the antilinguistic code is negative, its rule is the negation of the classificatory rules, i.e., code(s), of the standard or norm language -- a negation constituting an enactment of the identity of the antilinguistic speech community. That clarification, I suggest, conceptually differentiates antilanguage definitively from dialect -- although it does not preclude dialect from constituting antilanguage as well, in which event it may constitute part of a mother tongue.

Antilanguage -- and as dialect -- had been noted well before Halliday's publication. In 1959, a series of interviews of Claude Lévi-Strauss by Georges Charbonnier on Radiodiffusion-Télévision-Française included the following exchange:

C L-S: (....) In all language phenomena, there is more than just communication: there is also an attempt to work out modes of communication which are peculiar to a particular group, or generation, or social environment.

G C: I know villages in the Cotentin where the most common words are used with meanings different from their normal or accepted senses. I know villages -- I cannot tell you their names, through fear of offending the inhabitants -- where *taciturn*, for instance, means gay, and where the majority of words are used in this way, so that the local speech is literally incomprehensible.

C L-S: Yes, but this explains why we cannot leave the group out of account when we are trying to understand our preference for such and such a mode of artistic expression (Charbonnier [1961, tr 1969: 127-128]).

Halliday's formulation of antilanguage makes it evident that the code of antilanguage is the code of a transitional identity, and the antilinguistic

speech community is a *communitas* in both Turner's sense and mine. It is, strictly speaking, a speech *communitas* and not a speech community.

2.7 Lexicography

Construing lexicography a craft rather than a science, usually acquired by self-tuition founded on abundant, extant work, I cite only Petofi's (1985) attempt to contextualize the construct of lexicon in terms of linguistic theory. Only his "practical" proposals concerning the information to be included are relevant:

1. a phonetic representation indicating such information as pronunciation, stress and word division;
2. specification of those registers in which the lexicon item can occur as an element (i.e., stylistic level, sociolect, dialect) and specification of technical sublanguages in which the item is used as a technical term;
3. a list of items that have, in some register or technical sublanguage, a synonymous or antonymous relation to the item concerned;
4. idiomatic expressions (p. 92).

Phonetic information is included by means of spelling in terms of the referent languages, middle-class Afrikaans and English, or Nguni languages from which items derive. Conventions are set out in the introduction to chapter 7. In terms of the purpose of the study, more precise phonetic information is not required.

The remaining information that he proposes is included -- and more than I have encountered in any dictionary, since the lexicon is wholly oral, and my aim is to provide an exegesis of both objective and subjective significance as far as possible.

2.8 Ethnography and Lexicography of the Speech Community

It is noteworthy that very little ethnographic and lexicographic research has been conducted on the speech community investigated in this study, and is questionable in method, data and interpretation. I suggest that this phenomenon reflects the profundity of consensus on the speech community as stigmatized in objective reality.

Ridd (1981), in a social anthropological investigation of intercommunal and intracommunal position and identity in District Six (mythically construed

the numinous source of Capetonian coloured communal -- and especially speech communal -- identity) from 1976-1978, particularly regarding female identity, consists of extensively irrelevant information mixed with useful ethnographic and lexicographic data, virtually all familiar to me (including data extensively obtained personally from me as well) and congruent with my own. There would accordingly be no point in reviewing her work in detail here, all the less so since the period of fieldwork for this study extensively antecedes and succeeds hers.

It is difficult to distinguish clearly between her constructions and her informants', especially in terms of her liberal selectiveness and tendentiousness. She makes no statement of what is meant by identity, which bears on "sense of identity", "image" and "fact" (passim); and proposes no encompassing theoretical framework.

This work elicits doubt of accuracy and comprehensiveness in data. There is intermittent, consistently misspelling of Afrikaans (e.g., „suive" for „suiwer") and Java lexis (of Muslim speakers of Indonesian descent) (e.g., Ebrahimer for Ebrahima, Beuta or Bueta for Boeta). However, there is also valuable information -- of increasing historical interest in view of rapid change now under way -- on informants' constructions and enactments of coloured, white, black, Christian, Muslim, local, working-class, middle-class, gender, family, respectable, disreputable and delinquent identity; witchcraft constructions and enactments; and Java lexis.

Pinnock (1984a), in a partly ethnographic monograph on "the brotherhoods: street gangs and state control in Cape Town", is a sensationalist work of socialist agitprop in racy journalese presented as criminology to romanticise gang delinquents wholly as the victimized products of conspiracy between racist state and capital. His review of the literature on gang delinquency is perfunctory. Again, despite worthwhile ethnographic data (to a much smaller extent acquired personally from myself) and insightful exegesis, extensive difficulty arises regarding objective accuracy, all the more since he uncritically represents claims by gang members -- and police -- as objectively accurate. He accordingly reproduces extensive falsehood as scientific fact. Nowhere in his work does the issue of informants' credibility or accuracy arise.

Delinquency is not the major focus of this study; his ethnography is very slight and, where accurate, accords with my own data; and his work too will therefore not be extensively reviewed. Suffice it to comment on the crux of his accusatory hypothesis:

If the press is any indication, most crime in Cape Town is carried out by gangs. A count in 30 areas on the Cape Flats during 1982 found in daily existence 280 groups who identified themselves as gangs. Nearly 80 per cent of the gang members interviewed said their group was more than 100 strong, half put the figure at 200, and several as high as 2,000. An extremely rough estimate gives a figure of 80,000 youths who would define themselves as gang members, or about 5 per cent of the city's total population (pp. 3-4).

In objective reality, that number would have represented approximately twenty-six percent more than the total population of male Capetonians jurally classified coloured and aged from fifteen to twenty-four at the time (of the order of 63,442, or 12,1% of the Capetonian population classified coloured; pp. 10 and 98 of the 1983 Annual Report of the City of Cape Town Medical Officer of Health). Like misery, delinquency loves company: the claim reflects informants' (if not Pinnock's) subjective attempt at self-aggrandizement by stigmatizing all Capetonian coloured male identity as delinquent. In my view and invariably that of longstanding, experienced informants of my generation in the speech community, there were at the very most ten percent, or 6,300 confirmed members of gangs in this demographic category, and almost certainly far fewer, probably fewer than half that number. That reduces by well over ninety percent the cogency of Pinnock's simple hypothesis that the highly complex phenomenon of working-class gang delinquency is wholly and solely the consequence of conspiracy between capitalism and racist state control. Far more informative would have been an ethnography of both the extent and limits of gang delinquency.

My own survey (1970a) of the vast majority of assault victims in Cape Town hospital casualty departments from December 1967 to July 1968 (inclusive) showed that of the 1,429 coloured victims, only 5,69% attributed the assault to gang warfare, and only 17,88% to robbery (p. 11). Over forty-four percent were assaulted by kin, friends, neighbours or workmates; over sixty-one percent knew the assailant(s); twenty-six percent were unable or unwilling to account for the assault (p. 11), including nineteen percent who were dead, unconscious, too drunk to communicate clearly, or refused interview (p. 4).

These statistics were not derived from a fully representative population of assault victims during the period, but nevertheless accorded with my own ethnographic information and that of all experienced informants. No information since then, ethnographic or otherwise, suggests that most crime (which he does not define) in Cape Town is carried out by gangs (which he

does not define, and the issues of definition of membership and identity enaction in the criminal act are complex); very much the contrary. It is possible that Pinnock, although an experienced journalist, did not know that the press is not a scientific indicator of the phenomenon. Whatever the case, the claim can be reliably regarded as equally as false as his proposal of the extent of gang membership.

In their ethnography of social groupings in Langa, a black, largely Xhosa township of Cape Town, Wilson and Mafeje (1963: 15) distinguish between migrant labourers, the semi-urbanized and the urbanized. In folk myth, the latter are differentiated into "tsotsis" (disreputables and delinquents) and "decent people, some of whom form an educated middle-class (...) -- and others, the respectable lower class".

This differentiation is identical to that found in the data of this study. Identical too is the differentiation of the "respectable" "amatopi", "the middle-aged and elderly type" (of male),

from topi, the pith sun-helmet worn by an earlier generation of Europeans -- particularly missionaries and administrators -- and so fashionable among an older generation of Africans. The younger section called 'wee topis' (oomatopana *) (...) from about 35 years old, and the amatopi proper are over 45.

* The form oomatopana (rather than amatopana) is not only a diminutive but has a jocular flavour implied in the prefix used, and the boy who addresses older men as matopana expresses familiarity rather than respect (p. 28).

Among informants of this study, the term is **tōppie** (disreputable/respectable lexis), which refers familiarly to one's father or any middle-aged or elderly male (the female equivalent is **tānie**, also with Ngunicized first phoneme, from std Afrikaans for "auntie") and thus differentiates these male age-sets from those of the adolescent or young adult speaker.

Except for Kotzés (1983) study of lexical variation of Afrikaans among Java Muslims, Heilbuth's (1984) lexicon of the small **Cloragail** argot of "moffies", histrionically effeminate male homosexuals, and Fagan's (1984) enterprising translation of a letter on prison-issue toilet paper in prison-gang lexis, (all of which are irrelevant to this study), and this study itself, no noteworthy or disciplined lexicography has been undertaken on the speech community's dialect. A very small proportion of lexical items assigned to the speech community are found in a small number of

literary works and I have noted, but not accepted them methodologically on that basis.

In conclusion I suggest that a consensually, severely stigmatized and stigmatizing society or community in which, moreover, differentiated identity is enacted in paradoxical terms and ethnographer and community share Western identity, presents exceptional, if not extreme challenges to the methodology and identity of the Western ethnographer of identity; for major alienation, mystification and conflict between ethnographer and informants (on which Ridd touched but Pinnock publicly omitted, although he encountered it to a considerable extent) has to be scientifically transcended. It is to be fundamentally questioned that a period of two years' participant observation is at all adequate for the purpose: as much is required for adequate learning of the vernacular. Like psychoanalytic training by participant observation, four to six years could suffice.

Considerations of space preclude examination of the fundamental issue of social science -- including social anthropology and psychology -- and in particular the study of identity, as a field of ethics, as Marx and Freud implied. Identity as a field of ethics -- or in any other terms -- cannot be adequately addressed if priority is assigned to crude, sectionally partisan, ethnocentric, egocentric, self-contradictory political moralism -- in a word, scientifically enacted as disreputability (see Glossary).

CHAPTER 3

THE INTERPRETIVE FRAMEWORK: PROPOSALS

3.0 Introduction

Any interdisciplinary study faces three special challenges. The first concerns interconnection between the disciplines in general and their theories in particular. This can occur to any degree, ranging from separate, parallel presentations, each in its own disciplinary terms, to a wholly integrated theoretical synthesis. The connection here is tripartite: between (i) psychology, (ii) social anthropology and sociology and (iii) sociolinguistics. I attempt integration by using constructs which are congruent with system theory, such as system, identity, code and sign; are applicable and useful in interpreting both group and individual phenomena; and are common to all three disciplines. By this means I also hope to meet the second challenge -- the maintenance of theoretical rigour in each discipline.

The third requirement is to use language readily comprehensible to practitioners in all. My aim is to proceed as fundamentally as necessary and as simply as possible.

3.1 Construction of the Framework

3.10 Introduction

A hermeneutic approach is ideally suited to a study aimed primarily at the organization, presentation and interpretation (exegesis) of data acquired mainly by participant observation. The Glossary formulates the fundamental terms of interpretation. This chapter elaborates and interconnects them as necessary.

The framework is constructed at the first three levels of hermeneutic generalization: meaning, the way in which it is organized, and relationships between the parts and whole of that organization. Beyond the observation opening this section, the fourth level, metatheory, is outside our scope in this Chapter.

The presentation of constructions of reality before those of identity has no theoretical or ideological significance.

3.11 The Construction of Reality

The construction of (consciousness and) reality in terms of ideology is addressed in 3. 14. We are concerned here with the interaction between consciousness, reality and identity, and particularly with subjectivity and objectivity.

The usage in this study of these latter two terms differs from the psychoanalytic. Consciousness in psychoanalytic ideology refers to an identity's capacity to objectify communication, to attend to it as an object, i.e., to ostend it. Consciousness here refers to an identity's potential capacity to attend self-reflexively in subjectivity and/or objectivity to information available for attention in terms of the construction of consciousness itself by ideology. Signs communicated outside its possible range of attention or construal, communication not receiving attention nor capable of construal, are outside its consciousness. It is necessary to stress that the attention may be entirely involuntary, subjective and non-verbal.

This formulation proposes that consciousness itself is ideologically constructed. I suggest that the organization of consciousness is pragmatically determined by biological, psychosocial, psychocultural and cosmic (see Glossary) parameters. Consciousness, put simply, is the awareness that one is aware. Obviously, adequate biological apparatus is necessary, but for the rest, I suggest, consciousness is organized ideologically (in lived relation) by ecological interaction with cosmos and communitas, from which culture is formed.

Definition of the subjective limits of consciousness is problematic and must ultimately be operational. It extends to wholly involuntary neural reflexes. Many of these are partly or wholly outside consciousness even though some may be voluntarily conditioned by biofeedback. In this study, then, subjective consciousness is limited to the field of attention. I suggest that the field of attention and thus consciousness is psychosocially constructed in part, in terms of ideology which has no finite subjective limits.

Consciousness is thus the phenomenal field of attention in which reality is construed. For the purpose of this study, reality is any subjective or objective experience of phenomena significant in terms of identity enaction. In these terms, insignificance attended to and construed is also significance.

3.12 The Construction of Identity

I propose human identity as the actor -- person or group -- mythically construed and construing. Intrinsic to this definition is the premise that the actor has identity only in construction by self and/or others (and, since humans can form intimate reciprocal relationships with animals and attachments to every variety of phenomenon as well as construed supernatural phenomena, this account is limited to interaction between humans). Without consciousness of the actor as real by self and/or others, the actor has no identity and does not exist in cosmopsychosocial terms.

This formulation includes action by and towards identity, and essentially posits identity as a systemic means of assigning significance to reality, and of self-orientation.

In scientific myth, and in systemic and semiotic terms, I propose identity as an open metasystem of cosmopsychosocial construal and interaction constructed in terms of codes of signs, developing stochastically, dialectically and epigenetically through interrelated overlapping phases. However long the person or group may endure, identity develops through a life-cycle.

Within the imperatives and regularities, an open, variable metasystem: the action and course of each identity are not only unique to some extent, they are also partly interdeterminate and uncommunicable by language by virtue of the openness of identity in formation, enaction, interaction and development. No human identity is fully susceptible to scientific study, account or prediction. Any account which renders any human identity wholly as a closed system violates, reduces and caricatures the identity. I term such mythic closure totalistic, and the constructions as mythopoeic. Mythopoeic constructions by an identity of the self, disavowing and alienating the numinous sources and creativity of identity, may readily be found.

Every identity maintains most tenaciously the foundation proposed as uniquely integral, numinous self-creation -- the religious terms of interaction in openness with infinite cosmic source (nature, life, fate, divine will, history, fortune) to permit ecological survival and development in cosmos and society. Terms may tend to lose their numinous significance, but only to be partly supplemented and replaced by others. If change threatens the survival of identity, pre-existing terms will persist, at least subjectively in conflict with the new. No identity

survives without fundamental numinous continuity in cosmos and society -- or without self-transformation. Constant continuity of attention is irrelevant; spatial and temporal continuity in the fundamental terms of identity is crucial. Where discontinuity in such terms has occurred, e.g., in the permanent abduction and enslavement of pre-literate persons or the disintegration and transformation of the Khoikhoi within one or two generations into Western servile nonentities alienated from their pre-Western identity, that alienative abruption itself becomes a crucial term paradoxically providing continuity, and the subsequently developed identity enacts it thus. Abruption itself comes to constitute continuity; nonentity to constitute identity; alienation to constitute sameness. Identity abhors a vacuum (and, equally, total stasis, both of which precipitate its disintegration within days).

Religio-political terms are those which have meaning for the mastery or uncontrollability of reality in interaction with the cosmic source.

Two metascientific and metatheoretical premises must be proposed:

(i) The assignation of intra-species identity to homo sapiens is a philosophical construct -- ontological, epistemological and axiological -- in which identity is a metaphor for the construed reality of human life, founded in constructions of the living human body as person, or interacting bodies as group.

(ii) No human identity is fully definable or even knowable. Every such identity includes infinite as well as finite, ambiguous as well as univocal terms in its constructional set. It is bi-logical, acting and interacting simultaneously in finite and infinite terms.

Identity is therefore capable of paradoxical constitution and enaction, construable at its boundaries. The construct of boundary is not necessarily a topographic or a spatial metaphor. Systemically or logico-mathematically speaking, it refers to the limits of the set of terms used by the system to interact with another set. In terms of consciousness it refers internally to the interaction between subjectivity and objectivity, and externally between consciousness and unconsciousness. The boundaries of identity are bi-logical, and their bi-logicality is conscious and can be objectified.

Every identity is both static and in flux, conserving as well as transforming and developing, and interacts with changing terms internally and externally. As both a system and open, identity is the interaction of

order and chaos, of finite and infinite terms of communication, of digital and analogic information. Its wholly infinite terms -- of both its own source and its own self-generation -- are unconscious and beyond construal or communication. To attempt the latter is to propose "the fallacy of analysis -- the attempt to divide the indivisible into parts" (Jones [1982: 185]), and produces paradox in the inappropriate semantic construal of identity -- syntactic dichotomization into subject and object -- in pragmatically indivisible phenomena. Identity itself is a metaphor to be scientifically employed only in the event of the relevance of such differentiation, and with appropriate acknowledgement of its openness to infinite terms, which produces ambiguity. Accordingly, (human) identity is the systemic interaction between differentiation and continuity between terms.

The complementary reductionist fallacy in construal of identity is that of reification, scientific construal as wholly and solely objective in reality (de Levita [1965]). This is to be found in positivist and logical empiricist constructions.

Human identity is formed and enacted as simultaneous interaction with terms within its set and outside its set, and that interaction is communication. Accordingly, the questions of "who" or "what" an identity is, address its nomination. The question of its constitution is addressed by asking how an identity reciprocally interacts with others, self and cosmos: what are the terms of such interaction?

The terms of nomination must necessarily be linguistically communicated, serving to differentiate an identity. The terms of constitution reflect the enaction of identity, and cannot wholly be linguistically communicated. There is thus ever-present potential for conflict between terms of nomination and constitution. The paradox is that identity as a system or set is both within and beyond the self, a contradiction in terms of finite logic. When I objectively communicate with you, I am, simultaneously, objectively finite in differentiation of my self, and subjectively infinite in continuity between our shared constructions of my self and yours. The communication is then intersubjective, and, when mutually ostended and objective, interobjective.

Identity may become wholly infinite in interaction, as in orgasm, in which construal of space, time, matter and number, and even of consciousness itself cease paradoxically at the moment in which the most fundamental numinous terms of identity are met in interaction with a construed Other.

There is no Self without Other, no non-human identity without two or more integers, entities, systems or sets between which differentiation and continuity may occur. Attempts, therefore, to define an identity can be operational only, in terms of enaction in interaction, and the acknowledgement must be clear that infinite terms can be communicated only to the extent of their interaction with finite terms.

Very much interaction between members of the same or different communities is not in terms of communal identity, may be so in one context but not another, or in the construction of one participant but not another. In such constructions, actors may vary over time. When an actor is nominated, therefore, in terms of an identity, the nomination refers to the constitution of enaction and does not assign an objective essence. One "is", for instance, coloured, only when one enacts identity consensually construed coloured. Although operational assumptions are mundanely made in terms of prevalent probabilities, one is not coloured "because of" objective congruence with "race" or physiognomy (although history and experience of these may be highly significant) -- and the assumptions are exposed when exceptions are encountered and construed anomalous, particularly in terms of cultural syncretism (see Glossary) construed intercommunally significant yet violating constructions of a closed social order. When the enaction of coloured identity is irrelevant -- does not signify -- in terms of other interaction, one is not coloured. In much mundane enaction and interaction, folk communal identity is wholly irrelevant.

Each actor is based in certain identities. An identity base (see Glossary) can be construed operationally as an identity enacted by an actor over a life-cycle phase (such as adolescence), founded in the social institutions determining the actor's positions in family, neighbourhood, community, economy, polity, society and cosmos, and consensually construed as an essential identity theme and style of the actor. It is possible to be based partly but not wholly in outcastness. Even then, the bases comprise the closest relationships with kin, sexual partner(s), friends, occupational colleagues, or at least acquaintances. Psychotics may be based in relationships with construed fragments of non-human cosmic reality construed personal, even if only in impersonality. Adolescents typically have at least two or three identity bases: the family of origin, the adolescent peer group or age-set, and the educational or occupational base: school or work. Bases are changed during the life-cycle.

These are objective bases. There are also subjective bases, in one's body and in *communitas*. Although the construction of religious reality is extensively used in this study, the most fundamental base of all -- in terms of ontogeny and consciousness -- in communion with cosmos, which includes but extends beyond body and society -- is not examined, largely because (in my view) we lack the scientific language to do so as yet.

Actors switch identities. At work one enacts an occupational identity, on the way home a public identity, at home a familial identity. Actors mix identities, which may be antithetical: e.g., respectability and disreputability. The admixture itself constitutes an identity.

Identity style is the aesthetics of identity, produced by the craft and art of signifying, organizing and enacting identity. Style is self-regulatory and self-reflexive, founded on self-monitoring and construed above all as volitional, in terms of creativity, choice, judgment and display. Style is thus a metasystemic phenomenon, simultaneously a self-creation and self-regulation of identity.

Style reflects honour, the systemic (spatio-temporal) integrity of identity confirmed by the actor or other(s). Honour is likewise a metasystemic phenomenon, proposed as the self-regulatory integration of identity for its own sake when opportunities exist for indifference to, or betrayal of it.

We turn to relevant constructions of collective identity, i.e., identity enacted by individuals as members of a collectivity, and, *mutatis mutandis*, by a collectivity of individuals.

In this study, the term community implicitly signifies folk community. Community is a mythic construct signifying an objective, collective identity consensually ascribed as common and unique to all members, who share a social network by birth or voluntary association, and which provides for the domestic living out of the individual life-cycle, the membership of families, the procreation of generations, and the inclusion of all voluntary informal association.

In this formulation, issues of operational group cohesion, constraints on mobility in and out of the community, or on its own mobility, and identity markers of any kind are relevant only insofar as they may be mythically assigned, whether objectively founded and relevant to enactment or not. The community may objectively be diacritically demarcated by one or more of a variety of parameters, such as nationality, geographic locality, religion, language, social and/or political position, range of occupation,

history, etc. -- in fact by any diacritical construct able to serve as an objective marker for the purpose. Objectively, the cohesion of the community is operationally, necessarily and sufficiently enacted in endogamy, the code of maintenance of its integrity over generations through marriage or cohabitation, and procreation between members in terms of shared communal identity, i.e., in terms of preference for the identity and not by random selection. Shared kinship and descent is thereby developed and maintained, irrespective of individual exceptions and affiliation or dissociation. The full term "folk community" may be used for textual emphasis.

On all the grounds proposed above concerning identity and community, rigorous taxonomic attempts to objectify and classify all variants of folk communal identity as class, caste, race, tribe, people (as in "the" coloured "people"), nation, society, community, minority or majority group, etc., must inevitably be reductionist and partly unsuccessful. Such types can always be proposed and nominated, and may be useful for limited scientific purposes. But in the study of enaction and constitution, exceptions can always be found. The term "community" is accordingly not used taxonomically, but refers operationally to a communal identity based in kinship and descent.

The speech community refers to the community speaking the researched dialect as a vernacular.

3.13 Identity Crisis: Stigma versus Sacrament

Malignant negation is interaction that reduces fundamental terms of identity, construed essential to its survival, maintenance and development, to nonentity, partly or wholly destroying identity vulnerable to such negation.

I propose stigma (see Glossary) as a sign imposed malignantly on identity to achieve the malignant religio-political inactivation of identity otherwise construed necessary by the self for its maintenance, fulfilment -- meeting of its own terms -- and development.

Stigmatized identity is enacted in the powerlessness to master reality for the maintenance, fulfilment and development of identity, confirmed as a lack of integrity assigned to the self as ordained by the cosmos. Stigma is thus a religio-political construction: society mediates the cosmos's ordination in nature (immutable, irrepressible reality). The cosmos proposes the identity's naturally weak and bad lack of integrity; society

merely confirms it by (semantic) negation, (syntactic) exclusion and (pragmatic) inactivation of the identity. The cosmos proposes stigma in a fateful Natural blow, a mark (e.g., "colour"); society disposes by a Cultural blow, subordination. Stigma is a negative sign assigned to identity, totalistically negating, excluding and inactivating its maintenance, fulfilment and development. Stigma dishonours and dis-graces (hyphenated advisedly: destroying the ease of honourable enactment).

Psychosocially, stigma is perversion, the religious form of hatred (pace Stoller [1976]), perversion of the regulatory and self-regulatory foundations of identity, formed in symbiotic interaction with a religious-politically authoritative host identity. As the mark of stigma perverts the identity, so is identity paradoxically turned on and through itself (perverted), positive terms as negative, inclusion as exclusion, identity as nonentity, and vice-versa, a negative identity. In both dominant and subordinate, stigmatic identity is enacted in the consensual proposal of material power as the fundamental numinous term of all identity; is also the quest for grandiosity, for the construed, omnipotence, immortality and perfection that ordains and imposes subordination.

Stigmatization is enacted in the desecration of identity by disavowing its non-material numinous terms, alienating it from its cosmic source and thereby threatening to impose systemic regression. The subordinated identity is dishonoured, mortified, demoralized and inactivated.

Successful stigmatic violence elicits communicative inactivation -- silence -- in the victim, enthralled by the victor (who may equally be the same victim paradoxically enacting the identity of victor). Stigma unremittingly pursued is lethal: the identity is destroyed, the actor is killed or dies. More commonly, the stigmatized are not finally cast out of society nor cast themselves out; stigma is either sacramentally remitted or there is consensual ambivalence towards it. This antinomy is fully encompassed in the Biblical myth of Cain, setting out the primal Judaeo-Christian terms of cosmic stigma for human destruction of human identity (Leach [1962 in 1969: 15 and passim] sets out cogent structural evidence that Cain both raped and murdered Abel): alienation from both cosmos and society:

And it came to pass, when they were in the field, that Cain rose up against Abel his brother, and slew him. And the LORD said unto Cain, Where is Abel thy brother? And he said, I know not: am I my brother's keeper? And he said, what hast thou done? The voice of thy brother's

blood crieth unto me from the ground. And now cursed art thou from the ground, which hath opened her mouth to receive thy brother's blood from thy hand; when thou tillest the ground, it shall not henceforth yield unto thee her strength; a fugitive and a wanderer shalt thou be in the earth. And Cain said unto the LORD, My punishment is greater than I can bear. Behold, thou has driven me out this day from the face of the ground; and from thy face shall I be hid; and I shall be a fugitive and a wanderer in the earth; and it shall come to pass, that whosoever findeth me shall slay me. And the LORD said unto him, Therefore whosoever slayeth Cain, vengeance shall be taken on him sevenfold. And the LORD appointed a sign for Cain, lest any finding him should smite him (Exodus 4: 8-15; Masoretic text, Revised Version in English).

The stigmatized then propose and oppose their own stigma.

Conversely, sacrament (And the LORD appointed a sign for Cain) (see Glossary) is the reversion of identity, the religious form of love. The reversion of identity to its maintenance, fulfilment and development is confirmed. The numinous source of identity is creatively restored; identity is consensually assigned positive valence, included and activated. Sacrament graces identity, confirming the ease of its integral enaction.

I propose that the religio-political crisis of stigma versus sacrament constitutes the template of all identity crises.

3.14 Identity, Code and Linguistic Code

Ideology is the code of identity. Myth is the semantics of ideology, the semantic theory of reality generated by ideology -- and regulating ideology: the interaction is reciprocal.

It is the code itself, and not the individual signs it employs, that differentiates the identity from others, by virtue of the fact that the systemic integrity of the code constitutes the differentiation. This is indeed a tautological definition, but no other is tenable.

As the code of identity, ideology is the code of both the enaction of an identity and interaction between identities. A linguistic code -- be it lexicogrammatical, phonetic or morphological -- is simply the linguistic form of an identity code, whether the identity is individual or collective.

Antilanguage is such a code. In morphology, phonetics, lexis, grammar and style, it is fundamentally ambivalent, symbiotically dependent on referent

or standard codes, and determined by closed ambivalence towards them, yet autonomously, openly creative in its formation of its own code. However, the limits to openness are dictated by the symbiotic bond. The more the bond is violated, the more the code approximates referent codes.

Most fundamentally of all, antilanguage stigmatizes and sacralizes reality itself, subjectively construed as cosmic hierophany. The invocation of supernatural reality is not required by this formulation. The cosmos itself is assigned identity, and indeed objectively manifests self-organization construed numinous. In the antilinguistic code, stigma is constituted as sacrament, and vice-versa. Equally, stigma is differentiated from sacrament.

Interaction between the referent identities and the antilinguistic is ambivalently marked by reciprocal stigmatization and sacralization. In ambivalence towards both symbiosis and differentiation (autonomy), the antilinguistic identity is transitional, and display transitional features in code-switching, code-mixing and lexical innovation: ambivalence, ambiguity, paradoxicality, optionality, creativity, lability and whimsicality. The antilinguistic identity codally engages in linguistic play, metaphorically playing omnipotently with speech communal identities, in opposition to stigma signifying malignant negation as nonentity. Its bi-logicality is not clearly differentiated.

Antilanguage can and does constitute dialect, mother tongue, provided that the dialect remains developmentally transitional. This is so in both folk and scientific constructions. Antilanguage occurs along a continuum of transitionality towards and away from referent codes. Four codes, varying in antilinguistic degree, capable of both discreteness and overlap with adjacent codes, are found along the continuum: the respectable, disreputable, delinquent and outcast. In the respectable and the outcast, stigma and sacrament are proposed as monovalent: respectability as the orderly triumph of sacrament over stigma; outcastness as the chaotic triumph of stigma over sacrament. In disreputability, differentiation between stigma and sacrament oscillates in unstable equilibrium. In delinquency there is disorder in pursuit of the domination of monovalent sacrament by monovalent stigma. In all four cases, differentiation between stigma and sacrament is incomplete, and bi-logical fusion remains.

The degree of transitionality is proposed in folk constructions: ideally, the respectable is confined to one generation prior to upward mobility; the disreputable to adolescence and young adulthood; the delinquent to

adolescence; and outcast (prison) briefly imposed on the delinquent by the referent identity to control it. In terms of proposed sacramental omnipotence and stigmatic inactivation, the degree increases from respectability, to disreputability, to delinquency and finally to outcastness.

The phenomenon of antilinguistic overlexicalization exegetically provides the crucial link between antilinguistic identity and reality. Focal concerns, ritual pursuits of the fulfilment of fundamental terms of the identity -- in this instance, working-class disreputable adolescent and young adult male identity -- are heavily overlexicalized to propose sacramental, omnipotent play negating referent stigmatization of the terms, and thus the identity.

The identity crisis of stigma versus sacrament is construed in terms of conflict between Natural and Cultural terms in identity: Nature and Culture stigmatize each other, and each sacramentally redeems identity from stigmatization by the other.

3.15 Myth

The fundamental ideological proposal of this study is that both folk and scientific reality are constituted as myth, and necessarily interact.

CHAPTER 4

THE SPEECH COMMUNITY

4.0 Collective Identity: Introduction

Central to the data of this study are speakers' constructions of coloured identity. There are many myths of coloured identity, both inside and outside the speech community studied. It is necessary to provide ethnographic exegesis and, as far as possible, scientific clarity on the term "coloured" and related terms, because of variation and conflicts in their folk and scientific codification and usage, and their centrality to the ethnographic and lexicographic data.

This address of such terms is integrally linked with issues precipitated in historic account of the folk and scientific nomination, constitution and vicissitudes of coloured identities, and is accordingly developed at strategic points in the text below, beginning with proposal in terms of folk community and speech community. The account is constituted as a dialogue between folk and scientific constructions, formed out of interaction between the identity of informants and the identity of various participant observers.

4.00 Usage and Definition

4.000 Folk Community and Speech Community

There is no consensus in folk or scientific myth on the parameters of urban working-class identity beyond its significance as a folk communal identity base with a history during this century (and the last) of political subordination and economic exploitation in interaction with the owners of the means of material production in an industrial economy. There are, moreover, numerous, demonstrable cases of simultaneous, consensually confirmed membership of two folk communities in South Africa, however mutually exclusive and anomalous dual membership might be construed in terms of folk myth. Enaction of membership may be demonstrable scientifically yet disavowed consensually, unilaterally or inconsistently. Intercommunally there may be conflict between communal identities, yet within an individual they may interact syncretically, harmoniously and in integration or tolerance of contradiction -- and vice-versa.

In the case of the Peninsular working-class coloured communal identity, the construct of working-class used in this study assumes in general terms the

premise of politically subordinated interaction with the owners of the means of material production in an industrial economy during the period of research. That premise holds in the past and diminishingly at present as an integral, systemic developmental trend. It does not hold for all actors of the working-class identity nor all the time and throughout life for any. It does not cater for both differentiation from and continuity with the middle-class communal identity (in this study, including the elite as well) in terms of kinship and descent, economy and polity. Nor does it cater for the wide variety of complexities arising from permutations of interaction between scientific, folk and jural myth, between and within groups, between and within individuals, etc.

The Peninsular working-class Afrikaans-speaking coloured speech community refers solely to all speakers dominant or bilingual in that dialect and consensually identified with the community; who share consensually acknowledged ties of descent, kin and range of sociopolitical, socioeconomic position, and very commonly endogamy, neighbourhood residence, voluntary association and communally shared consciousness, reality and enacted identity.

This definition thus locates dialect, kinship and social class as primary, and includes other diacritical markers which, insofar as they are relevant to this investigation, are described in this and succeeding chapters. The definition could legitimately be extended to include those who have passed partly or wholly into the community, or have left it (e.g., by virtue of emigration) but are still able to use the dialect as a vernacular, or who merely use the dialect for communication; but my purpose in definition has been to strike a balance between simplicity and adequacy, including the major terms common to speech community and folk community.

The boundaries of this speech community may be clear or ambiguous. In individuals, families, peer groups, neighbourhoods and even folk communities, the dialect interleads to varying degrees with others.

4.001 Communal Nomination and Constitution prior to 1963

In this study capitalization of the first letter of a term indicates its religio-political significance, i.e., that in addition to social significance it has cosmic significance in ideological terms of nature, fate, destiny, divine will, historic determinism, etc. The capitalization of ethno-racial terms which are not proper nouns, such as Black, White and Coloured has this significance alone (except in citation). It includes the

capitalization of Black in the ideological construction proposed by Black Consciousness and Black Power. If an ethno-racial term has no religious significance it is not capitalized, nor enclosed, in isolation, by quotation marks, except in bibliographic citation.

In lower-case, black refers to all identified in consensual folk constructions as negroid and of Bantu-speaking origin and folk communal membership. Usage in this thesis of the term coloured is set out below. In lower-case, white refers to all construed in consensual folk constructions as caucasoid, of predominantly European origin, whether directly or via settlement in a non-European country, and as members of a folk community of such origin and settlement in South Africa. It must be pointed out that with certain exceptions, construed anomalous (yet of significance to this thesis as described below), in terms of folk constructions it is impossible to belong to more than one of these folk communities simultaneously. This is partly a consequence of their totalistic jural (in terms of law) segregation since 1948. "Juristic" (i.e., created by law) "coloured" or "juristically coloured", "juristic white", etc., refers to those categorized as such in law and implies either (a) no other judgment in terms of folk and/or social scientific constructions, or (b) actors' disavowal of assignation of communal identity in such terms. Distinction between (a) and (b) will become evident in the text. This distinction between juristic and folk constructs is crucial for purposes of analysis. In addition to usage of the term "folk" in "folk community", it is also used ethnographically and sociolinguistically in this study to differentiate between lay and scientific constructions, as in "folk linguistics", and not in the religio-politically mystic, national-socialist usage, nor in translation of the various other meanings of the Afrikaner term "volk".

The British occupation of the Cape in 1806 introduced the formal epithet "persons of colour" to refer to all generically of colour. Legislative changes between 1828 and 1842 abolished slavery, mitigated domination of the Khoikhoi and instituted a common political and socio-economic policy towards Westernized former slaves, former Khoisan and the descendants of marital and other unions between these and with the descendants of Free Blacks, indentured labourers and political exiles, and with whites. Goldin (1987: 12-14), using nineteenth-century Cape of Good Hope Census Reports, notes that the 1865 Report listed "Kaffirs" under "Coloured"; the 1875 Report described "Coloured" as all "non-European" people; the 1892 Report continued this usage; and only in 1904 did the Report begin to distinguish

between three "clearly defined race groups in this colony: White, Bantu and Coloured", the latter including "all intermediate shades between the first two". Goldin attributes (op. cit.:15) the differentiation to the growth of the black population in Cape Town, from 674 in 1865 to over 10,000 in 1904, but it must equally have reflected the gathering cultural and politico-economic integrity, demographic growth, residential agglomeration and socio-economic achievements of coloureds. In 1883 the first coloured political organization incorporating the name "Coloured" was formed, in Kimberley (Lewis [1987: 10]; van der Ross [1986: 10]). It called itself the Afrikaner League (Coloured) and described its members as a "class". The following year coloureds in Port Elizabeth organized to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of the emancipation of the slaves, and the local black newspaper, *Imvo*, referred to them as "the Coloured people" and congratulated them on seeking their identity as coloured, which would enable them to exert a "not unimportant" influence (van der Ross [1986: 14-16]).

In 1902 the continuing duality and ambiguity of the term coloured was clearly reflected in the founding charter of the African People's Organisation (APO), among other things to "promote unity between the coloured races" (i.e., generically of colour) and "defend the Coloured People's social, political and civil rights" (i.e., coloured people; Lewis [1987: 20]). Evidently the name formally meant coloured when capitalized, and generically all of colour when lower-case, and was orally differentiated from "native". (The APO's aim was to address coloured interests in solidarity with blacks when advantageous, but alone if need be. It was the first of many Capetonian organizations reflecting a great deal of formal political activity in the struggle for equal rights or at least greater advantage by coloureds, working- and middle-class, which has waxed and waned since, depending on achievements and repression. At first this activity was marked by extreme middle-class timidity towards the white authorities (van der Ross [1986: 23-24].)

X Thus the name "Coloured" was first differentiated in ambiguity, shifted in signification from general outcastness to particular intermediacy, and was presumably used most commonly throughout most of the nineteenth century to describe the Western people of colour in the Colony and especially the Peninsula. Towards the end of the century this proletariat, extremely impoverished on manumission and uniquely landless (except for small communities around rural mission stations and such rural communities as the Griquas), had become increasingly urbanized, beginning to be replaced on

farms with black labour from the 1880s, and had started upward social and political mobility. In 1887 an annual Capetonian New Year street parade, mainly of working-class men, preponderantly coloured, introduced blackface satin minstrelsy with numerous themes reflecting intermediacy and ambivalence in stigma. The parade developed into the Coon Carnival, which continues to the present. By 1904 the Colony's Census Report recorded 11,885 coloureds in skilled and commercial trades (Goldin, op. cit.: 16).

In the last two decades of the nineteenth century the growing English-speaking white middle class of Cape Town began to evince increasing prejudice against all other local communal identities, including the Jewish (Bickford-Smith [1988]; Bickford-Smith [1989] in James and Simons [eds] [1989: 47-62]; van Heyningen [1981]). They confined social, sexual and marital integration between white and coloured to the working class and took legislative steps to protect themselves from rising coloured economic and political competition. Coloured identity was proposed as incorrigibly tending to Natural disreputability, poverty, squalor, pollution, corruption and induction of the developmental retrogression of white identity in informal association with it. Working-class coloureds were to be limited in manifold opportunities to become middle-class; middle-class coloureds to be segregated and politically ineffectual. In 1893 the first coloured had stood for the putatively liberal Cape parliament with coloured support (see Lewis [1987: 11]) and been debarred from election by a hasty legislative change. In 1900 white trade unionists began to institute closed shops to exclude coloured artisans in the building industry. In 1901 all blacks living in the city were forcibly removed by the army to locations outside it. A severe economic depression followed between 1903-1909, during which a panoply of discriminatory legislation and economic practices was imposed. Caucasoid individuals and families began to pass in large numbers into the white community. At the same time this century saw the rise of coloured political struggle for the defence and advancement of communal rights.

Lewis (1987: 13) argues that at the turn of the century, "the Coloured elites aspired towards integration into white society, with all the privileges that this implied, not to a separate Coloured identity with its negative social implications". I shall show that this construction, insofar as it implies that the enactment of coloured identity was solely a quest to become white, is simplistic, reductionist, fallacious and itself stigmatizing, equating the achievement of political power with the identity that enjoyed such power. In the terms that I propose, coloureds who did not pass for white construed the communally organized political enactment of

coloured identity -- and not all enaction of coloured identity, or coloured identity as such -- an obstacle to the achievement of these rights, and proposed the political irrelevance of differentiation between coloured and white folk communal identity.

Indeed, van der Ross (1971: 22-25) shows that a certain pride in identification as coloured was otherwise cultivated by the middle-class and "respectable" working-class. Coloured sports boards and unions in the Cape Province, many of which were founded between 1910-13, all included the name "Coloured" in their titles, less to differentiate themselves from those of the whites (which were not communally named) than to propose proprietorial terms of honour. Coloureds had coalesced communally, were developing and began to propose their own folk communal identity as honourable. It might be modest as yet but showed steady signs of progress. In 1911 the APO publicly took great pride in the first coloured to graduate from a South African university as "our first South African Coloured youth to achieve this distinction" (translation; op. cit.: 23). Into the 1940s, numerous educative attempts were made in coloured newspapers (at least one of which had been published since 1919 or earlier) to hold up American Negro achievements as exemplary, foreshadowing the influence which their threatened revolt against white racism, as well as African revolutions against colonialism, were to exert from the 1950s and 1960s.

Coloured identity, its antecedents continuous but disparate and stigmatized from the outset and intermediate since manumission, had formed, achieved a modicum of positively valent terms, and established their integrity, occupying an established position and affording continuity of descent, sanctuary from outcastness as black, and basis for developmental upward mobility. For the rising middle class, however, it had become fundamentally problematic. The whites, after all, had always been ambivalent as a whole, the English construed far more egalitarian and charitable -- and hypocritical -- than the Dutch, but all overwhelmingly powerful, self-interested, exclusive and untrustworthy to some degree; there were the horrific communal memories (which still exist subjectively; see chapter 9) of dispossession of community, territory and wealth; of slavery, serfdom, vagrancy, starvation and exploitation; and above all, exclusion, ignorance and helplessness in institutionalized politics. The identity's base in ambivalence had been confirmed and its position entrenched by a vacillating, often ambiguous carrot-and-stick policy of favouritism, inclusion and melioration relative to blacks, and subordination, exclusion and exploitation relative to whites, which had

begun on manumission and elaborated throughout the present century. It encompassed working-class and middle-class, setting, in van der Ross's poignant summation,

the compromise of a marginal, powerless population group tormented, on the one hand, by its sense of powerlessness, encouraged, on the other hand, by the promise of better things to come. Trustingly, it puts its faith in vague, undefined forces, and in its belief in the intrinsic justice of its cause (1986: 312).

The very large influence of exogenous factors on the vicissitudes of coloured communal identity is demonstrable. Equally, it is hypothetical, if not fallacious to argue that the communal identity nominated as coloured would not have existed but for the implementation of this manipulative policy, for the argument falsely assumes the total irrelevance of the temporal continuity of integrity -- descent, kinship, voluntary association and shared consciousness, reality and identity -- in the terms of communal identity. Such irrelevance may be proposed as a hypothetical possibility, but may not be assumed, since grounds for claiming irrelevance cannot be demonstrated. On the contrary, folk communal identity tends to be conservative and tenacious over generations and centuries provided that it retains economic viability. To assume that the identity constituted as coloured would not have existed is to assume that it and other relevant communal identities could and would have become fundamentally discontinuous temporally. My argument is that existing coloured communal identity and its antecedents were manipulated to suit the economic and political purposes of other communal identities, and were vulnerable to manipulation by virtue of their relative weakness, economically and politically, and their continuing consciousness of a process of tentative transition and development.

As the Capetonian population grew and suburbs spread and differentiated in terms of class and colour, white constructions of coloured identity became more alienated, impersonal and generalized. McCormick (1989: 37-38), in a comparison of street directory representations of the residents of one District Six street between 1900 and 1987 (close to the periphery and not demolished), shows that at the outset all white residents, most **Java** Muslims and some coloureds were named, others being unnamed and identified simply as Coloured. In 1910 inconsistency reigned: some coloured residents were identified, others were described as Coloured, and for yet others a space was merely left next to the street number, as if the property were

unoccupied. By 1920 the whites had left and the entire street was merely glossed as coloured without the name of any resident. This practice continued until 1987, when individual names were suddenly returned to all the (coloured) residents, moreover without mention of juristic or communal identity. Until the late 1970s middle-class whites tended to construe "colour" as Natural disreputability, coloured respectability as a Cultural anomaly made possible only by religious zeal, and coloured middle-class membership only by anomalous intelligence.

Thus increasing coloured communal development was met with mounting white opposition. Demographic evidence (Findlay [1936]) plausibly suggests that nationally from 1911-1921 between 40,000 and 80,000 coloureds assumed white identity, leaving 600,000 behind, relatively few of whom were or are wholly caucasoid in physiognomy and could pass in appearance. However, the evidence for passage on such a large scale is not conclusive, and, as Appendix A indicates, the concept of passage itself is questionable as simplistic when communal differentiation in consciousness and patterns of association between juristic "Coloured", "Mixed" (between "Coloured" and "White") and "White" identities not only overlapped in working-class neighbourhoods informally glossed as coloured or mixed but was mythically proposed as unimportant -- indeed, undesirably formal and divisive -- by many of the urban working-class before antinomial juristic classification and segregation were enforced. All the evidence suggests the likely reality that those to whom passage was important and desirable, and could pass, did, and distanced themselves by moving into wholly white neighbourhoods; that passage was important and desirable to most of those who could pass, therefore tried and mostly succeeded; and that those to whom it was not and/or could not, remained, whatever their official classification or classifications (since some had more than one).

Congruent physiognomy is merely the first of many prerequisites for passage. Watson's (1970) investigation of middle Woodstock (pseudonymously "Colander") in the late nineteen-sixties, when it had become a crucible of passage via residence and attempts to place children in its officially white school (and efforts in some cases by relatives to expose and denounce their pass-white kin), showed that educational level, social skills, discursive control over dialectal codes, respectable identity, residence in a neighbourhood at least ambiguously white, social and occupational opportunities for passage, active and sustained pursuit of them, ruthlessness in cutting ties of descent, affinity, friendship and other voluntary association, the reaction of kin, shared consciousness with

whites, acceptance by them, and sheer "cumulative ad-hocery" -- management of a favourable but unpredictable sequence of situations requiring snap judgments of venture and acceptance or rejection -- were equally important; in other words, a gauntlet in the era of enforced antinomial juristic classification (although conditions were far easier in the period covered by Findlay).

Watson makes no theoretical mention of personal motivation or preference, such as social comfort or convenience, let alone personal and ideological resistance against pressures and temptations to pass -- resistance construed as honourable, and ideologically mandatory or simply true to the integrity of the authentically real terms of one's identity. He wholly omits such psychosocial phenomena as contrary to his sociologicistic thesis, despite the abundance of his own evidence. For instance, he cites the instances of a married couple who "live and work as Coloured, yet both are classified as White; they find this amusing", and of their children who live as coloured and work as white (p. 20). He describes the dramatic case of a man whose brother had passed for white and ruthlessly rejected him, recriminating violently at their father's funeral; himself passed casually and inconsistently, and

enrolled his own son at a White technical college. This son, after remaining at the college for only a few weeks, burst into the headmaster's office and exclaimed, in a highly emotional state, "I don't fit in here. I am Coloured. I want to leave." When Jannie heard this he gave his son a severe beating for jeopardizing his chances of apprenticeship to a White trade (p. 26).

In the Peninsula, for instance, throughout the period of fieldwork there have been many Muslim coloureds who are wholly caucasoid and possess all the other personal markers necessary for passage yet do not seek it because it would conflict with the transcendent Islamic terms of their communal identity. Indeed, many whites converting to Islam seek coloured communal membership; other whites seek it for other reasons, such as marriage with a coloured spouse. Many coloureds -- particularly those strongly observant of a universalist religion, Christian or Muslim -- simply refused to truck voluntarily with racist terms in consciousness and law. Throughout fieldwork I very frequently encountered working-class coloureds who were highly ambivalent towards white identity -- an ambivalence that included a profound consciousness of alienation, and mixed idealization and contempt. Yet I infrequently encountered informants who had even considered passage. It is speculative to attribute this even predominantly to disqualification

by physiognomy; the realities are complex.

The question, "why pass?" is as well-founded by the evidence as "why stay?".

Green's (1950: 19; 1951: 174) literary definition of a coloured person as "one who has failed to pass as a white person" is inaccurate -- all the more so since the advent of Black Consciousness -- and conveys the unremittingly white ethnocentric, bourgeois condescension permeating his presentations of Peninsular coloured identity. Watson, confronted by a plethora of evidence reflecting every conceivable clear and ambiguous permutation of staying, passing or irrelevance of the issue, consistently or inconsistently, in construed physiognomy, family, peer group, occupation, residence and law; and avowedly a quietist (p. xiv) disgusted by the plight and the racism of his coloured informants; flees into sociologistic theory and describes Green's definition as "elegant" (p. 18). It inaccurately assumes coloured identity as inherently, wholly stigmatic as residual nonentity.

By the 1930s active coloured middle-class rejection of whites began to manifest itself in moves to exclude them from teaching posts at coloured schools and from a church congregation that had broken away from the Dutch Reformed Church in rejection of its white exclusiveness. An English-dominant, Capetonian elite of university graduates had developed, and split into two bitterly antagonistic ideological factions. On the one hand (broadly speaking) those entrepreneurs who tended to go into medicine and commerce pragmatically included coloured identity as a term in an appeal for coloured and to a lesser extent unity by all of colour in strikes, boycotts and mass protests in 1935 (Lewis [1987: 181]). On the other was a camp characterizing itself as the "intellectuals" and "intelligentsia", consisting mainly of primary and secondary school educationists in the civil service who rejected this pragmatic policy and took an extremely combative, militantly totalistic, purist, highly theoretical millenarian position based on Trotskyist and other socialist variants in a ferocious attempt to repudiate and extirpate consciousness of dependence on, and ambivalence towards the dominant identity. This relatively small band of revolutionaries without a revolution, which was institutionalized as the Non-European Unity Movement (N.E.U.M.) in 1943, recodified immutable parameters of colour in terms of mutable class, objectively rejected all ascription of coloured identity (Lewis [1987: 174-286]), perceived their continuing helplessness under increasingly severe repression and in the

face of disagreement with, and indifference by the rest of the subordinated population, proposed their awaitance of historic determinism, and vitriolically lambasted all who did not agree with them as Nazi and fascist traitors -- including the Communist Party -- in terms that remained constant from World War Two on.

The objective reality that they attempted to subjectify was that in descent, kinship, marital preference and other preferential voluntary association they maintained enactment of coloured folk communal identity, tending even to intermarry within their own ranks. In the early nineteen-fifties their representatives revised South African historical myth in pseudonymous socialist works which pragmatically insinuated coloured identity into the socialist equation by ascribing a uniquely glorious myth of origin to the hitherto despised Khoikhoi as the founders of a centralised monarchy in Egypt 3,500 years ago and a culture in South Africa from which blacks borrowed ("Mnguni" [1952: 12-17]); and to the ancestors of their San (Bushmen) forebears as the first inhabitants of the land that became South Africa (pp. 9-10). In this version, 16th century blacks migrated into the country in flight from Christian European enslavement, probably shortly before van Riebeeck arrived in 1652 (p. 13). The Khoikhoi "were such skilled cattle breeders" that the Dutch took instruction from them (p. 14) and such canny traders that the Dutch East India Company "often could not cope" (p. 15). All the indigenous peoples proscribed private ownership of land, which belonged to the tribe:

Labour was cooperative; (...) production was for collective use and not for private gain. Even individual property in personal effects, cattle, and individual land rights for residence and cultivation had to be administered for the common good (...). (p. 15.)

Clearly this political community was reversing the white and particularly Afrikaner nationalist terms of stigma, staking a subjectified claim to coloured leadership of the communist revolution as descendants of an ancient race of aristocrats, founders of civilization in the land, superior in culture to all the newcomers and first in the religious propagation of a revolutionary nonracial, classless social order consistent with pre-white ethics. The next volume in the series ("Majeke" [1952]) disposed of English colonizers as conquerors and exploiters, and English missionaries as their hypocritical agents. White identity, then, was the quintessence of evil, and the white terms of dominative stigma antinomially reversed.

However, there were more fundamental religio-political terms to this

mythic charter. The N.E.U.M. pragmatically proposed itself as a prophetic revolutionary movement in subjectified Biblical terms of conflict between Hamitic and Semitic-Japhetic identities, tracing its prophetic lineage back to the Egyptians, descendants of Mizraim, a son of Ham, and mythic founders of Hamitic civilization (Egyptian "Kem" = Egypt = Ham = black, and warm; Young [n.d.: 443]). The Bible had described the negroid Ham's humiliation of, and copulation with his drunken father, Noah, who had been rescued by his other sons, Shem (brown) and Japheth (white), and had condemned Ham's son Canaan and his descendants to be their slaves (Genesis 9: 21-27). Joshua had used the myth (Joshua 9: 22-27) to colonize Canaan and enslave the Canaanites; and white Christian colonists and missionaries had used these mythic events as a charter for the conquest, subordination and enslavement of people of colour, and colonization of their lands.

Now the Hamitic prophetic movement, the objectively socialist N.E.U.M., proposed revolutionary reversal and restoration of the status ante quo, chartering its ideological inception with revelation of a Ten-Point Programme (Lewis [1987: 221-2]) proposed as an attempt to unite all of colour under its coloured leadership. In the event, it systematically alienated every other revolutionary organization and isolated itself as a zealot prophetic elite in 1945.

The confidence prerequisite for readiness to exclude whites, let alone revolt against them, must have been founded on established religio-political constructions of social place, territory and socio-economic worth in production and achievement developed and/or restored over two generations at the very least.

The thoroughly working-class, however, were more conscious of class as immutable but variegated colour. In (nationally) the largest urban residential aggregation of predominantly working-class and coloured people during the 1930s and 1940s,

this was the stuff of Woodstock and indeed of District Six: the people liked to be "respectable" as a solid artisan class. They knew each other and if they didn't then they knew someone who knew the person spoken of in the latest piece of news that was circulating. (....) People were much of a muchness even within this highly cosmopolitan framework. But in one factor they varied more than the inhabitants of any other part of Cape Town, and that was in the colour of their skin. (....) Some called themselves "Coloured" anyway because to them "European" meant someone direct from Europe with a clear-cut accent, a

good education, managerial skills and a strong sense of self confidence. "Coloured" meant something more like "working class"; it was never a racial category (...) people were too mixed. (...) (After the accession of Afrikaner nationalism) the rapid switch from an implicit class and territorial designation to an explicitly racial classification brought a never ending string of complications (...). Some people had "White" on their birth certificates, "Coloured" on their identity documents; others had discrepancies between their baptismal and their birth certificates. One lady I came across discovered only in her 40s that she had a "White" birth certificate when she sent her daughter to check on it for the latter's identity documents. (Cited in Ridd [1978: 3-4]; see Appendix A. My intra-textual explication in parentheses.)

Racial classification, officially assigned at birth, was a somewhat casual, if not muddled affair and depended on the infant's appearance and representation by any relative, neighbour or even the midwife -- even primarily on the appearance of the custodian. Thus "White", "Mixed" (between coloured and white) and "Coloured" were not uncommonly siblings in the same nuclear family. Whites and blacks were named in terms of international geographic origins: European and Native.

Venter (1974: 122) makes similar claims for coloured residents of Woodstock:

(...) colour had rarely entered the picture. Woodstock had a reputation in the old days of attracting the 'better-class' of Coloured person and the poorer Whites. (...) the people in Woodstock generally tended to think of themselves not so much in terms of colour as class. They were more of a community than an ethnic unit.

Both these myths are accurate in representation of the enactment of respectable working-class identity, and it was still possible in 1990 to encounter juristic coloureds and whites, not yet middle-aged, from Woodstock who enacted it and its inclusive working-class ethic, and whose self-presentation was ambiguous in terms of antinomy between coloured and white folk communal identities. However, non-respectable working-class, as well as middle-class identities were also enacted and indeed equally integral to both suburbs (and still are in Woodstock); and the degree of over-generalization in both statements reflects the nostalgic myth of the Golden Age, all the more so in the light of Watson's (1970) evidence of the desperation and ruthlessness of conflict over common attempts at passing

for white in Woodstock after the implementation of the Population Registration Act in 1950.

Nevertheless, in every one of the many working-class neighbourhoods forming near each railway station between Sea Point and Simonstown, for the working-class who were not rigorously ambitious to become middle-class, communal identity was constituted in terms of kinship and affiliation in class as parochial place in terms of residential community signifying working-class as informal Natural and Cultural mixture, communally named informally as bryn and formally as "Coloured" -- which predominated -- or "Mixed" and not excluding "White". There were members of the **bryn** community juristically "Mixed" or "White" and capable in every respect of passing as white; members born of black, Bantu-speaking communities who passed as **bryn** and were accepted as both black and **bryn**; members born of coloured Bantu-speaking communities accepted as **bryn**; and members who acted and were consensually accepted as both working-class and middle-class. These were not construed anomalous; they were accommodated.

Moreover the **bryn** identity accommodated exotic immigrants such as West and East Africans, Philipinos, Arabs, Turks, West Indians (**Indtjies**: respectable lexis), Chinese (**Chingies**; respectable lexis) and Madagascans who readily attached themselves to this community and intermarried. From the 1880s until the 1930s many ambiguously exotic Jewish immigrants, mostly from Eastern Europe, lived and traded among them, some intermarrying, predominating in several streets before the remainder's upwardly mobile children took them into middle-class, white neighbourhoods nearby. (Among those juristically classified coloured can be found Cohen, Hurwitz, Israel, Katz, Levy, all of whom I had personally encountered randomly and not by special effort, and others of clearly Jewish surname, all of Christian or Muslim adherence.) It was characteristic of the variant of Peninsular working-class coloured identity passed on from the parental generation (as contrasted with that enacted by the descendants of parents of non-Peninsular, particularly, rural, origin) to be uniquely, specially ambiguous, accommodative and creative in interaction with other communal identities -- informal -- albeit objectively in highly mythopoeic, stereotypic and racist terms, common national currency.

This accommodativeness and creativity specifically, explicitly elicited subjective envy and curiosity (especially sexual) on the one hand, and objective contempt and alienation on the other, by surrounding communal identities, all of which mythified themselves in wholly finite, often exclusivist terms. Nevertheless, there was pride in being coloured; unlike

the native whites who masqueraded as "Europeans", being "Coloured" was ideally proposed as equal in authenticity and integrity of communal identity to any native European identity, if more modest in cultural achievement as yet. (Native European antecedents, especially when other than English or Dutch, often Irish, French or German, are still greatly prized and much claimed, usually as matrilineal grandfathers, by adolescent and young adult working-class informants.)

This communal identity, then, afforded the option of honour, and tended to be characterized by modest pride, pleasure in motley and diversity, vitality, intimacy, informality, cheer and a modicum of creative, easy ambiguity and optionality in racial identification when physiognomy was ambiguous. The stigmata and deprivations of poverty, class and colour were met by constructions of belonging, integrity in variety, and the options of respectability and social freedom denied to the middle-class.

Then the Afrikaner Nationalist government came to power in 1948.

When the government introduced population registration and "Coloured" became an intermediary category between Black and White or African and European the term didn't fit. People did not see themselves in that light. Those who were able, registered themselves as "White", but the threat of the heavy hand of the law against false documentation as White by any person of colour mitigated strongly against taking the chance, and many put down "Coloured" in order to avoid trouble (Ridd: loc. cit.).

The incongruity was that an informal, somewhat optional identity diverse and interleading between (immigrant) black, brown and white, contextualized in class, ensconced in parochiality and construed as undergoing development had become formalized, judged, branded, interdicted, excluded, uprooted and evicted with grim ruthlessness. Class, with all its options and opportunities for tradition, dignity, honour and vertical mobility, however modest, meant nothing: colour overrode and determined all. Intermarriage and even sexual intercourse between whites and other "race groups" were outlawed and prosecuted. Mass residential removals followed, attacking fundamental, positive terms of the identity: established, historic, parochial communality and the creative optionality which afforded the opportunity of inclusion within respectable society. To be coloured now meant to be irredeemably branded, cut off and cast out, like blacks (indeed, like dogs, in popular myth), by force, with rigour. And as social control weakened in suburbs under eviction and awaited

establishment in townships under construction, delinquent gangs rampaged, plundered and fought each other in the streets while the police publicly intimidated and beat anyone, delinquent or respectable, whom they fancied of less than total submission to their white authority or pointedly chose as an innocent to terrorize all.

This, then, was outcastness -- once more. For the second time in its history since the coming of the whites, the communal identity was subjected to the appropriation of territory and property, forcible abruption and disintegration. The disadvantage to the middle class was unmitigated, except in the long-term provision of a political power base in the working-class, unenvisaged at the time. By the working-class it was construed a vicious, brutal act of Afrikaner hatred in mortification at, and disavowal of the mixed Natural and Cultural antecedents shared with coloureds; its only redeeming feature was that more solid, cheap housing was provided for very many thousands previously in shanty settlements and overcrowded rooms around the city -- and it facilitated, indeed paradoxically but predictably provoked the development of solidarity in opposition to domination.

The jural formulation and execution of subordination is very well-known (see, e.g., van der Ross [1986], Lewis [1987], Goldin [1987], Venter [1974: 1-12], February [1981: 190-193], Whisson [1973]) and its description is omitted here for reasons of space. After the establishment of Afrikaner nationalist domination it encompassed a gerrymandered exclusion from national politics, economic exclusion and suppression, sexual and marital segregation from whites, residential and social segregation achieved by eviction of the majority of the working-class and middle-class, from which a panoply of disadvantage, stigmatization, prosecution and covert, informal exploitation and intimidation ramified through very many aspects of mundane life. This, for coloured identity, was founded on its enforced, imposed assignation. Its actors were now trapped and suppressed in their own communal identity, together with others assigned to it by an Afrikaner nationalist bureaucracy, many of whose agents were themselves working-class and less developmentally competent than many of their subjects.

Thus an identity which remained vulnerable to stigma but had achieved a modicum of freedom in creative tension between stigma and honour was omnipotently appropriated, deracinated, clarified, exploited and imposed in predominantly stigmatic terms to render its actors utterly impotent politically, economically disadvantaged and socially outcast. To a far greater extent than its Cape liberal predecessors, in fact with ruthless, sadistically violent totalism, Afrikaner nationalism gave coloured identity

a bad name as the crucial ideological instrument of its own subordination. Among the Capetonian middle class it became increasingly popular either to emigrate or to turn militantly on the identity in a desperate quest for ideological freedom by transforming it on terms that would both oppose and transcend their intolerably painful, bitterly humiliating vulnerability to stigma. For many, the objectified enactment of coloured identity became anathema, and coloureds -- especially the working-class -- who publicly enacted stigma or freely acknowledged coloured identity were represented as traitors and sadistically subjected to the same repudiation, distantiation and scorn that the middle-class experienced at the hands of Afrikaner, and more generally, white nationalism.

Since nomination of an identity logically required assignation of constitution, the dominant did so on their own terms. The grandiose Verwoerdian ideology of "separate development" was chartered in ethnological terms of ethno-cultural difference, claiming scientific authority personified in Verwoerd's profession as a social psychologist and the ideological publications of Afrikaner nationalist ethnologists and sociologists. Such work was always grossly flawed and impoverished in logic, method and data, and was construed ethically disreputable and widely debunked outside right-wing circles. However, in desperate opposition by many of the Peninsular coloured subordinate -- especially the English-dominant and middle-class -- all nomination and constitution of communal identity significant in terms of the imposed ideology was totalistically denied. Coloured identity, subjectively and objectively real in constitution, was oppositionally proposed as an empty set, nonentity paradoxically nominated as identity (see, e.g., van der Ross's liberal rebuttal of the dominant ideology [1979: 104]: "Who wants to be nothing?"). Since this communication was paradoxically by an identity proposing itself as nonentity, it betrayed torture in subjective religio-political entrapment in consensus with the subjective terms of white domination, and found itself ostending coloured identity as both real and unreal in tortuous semiotic manoeuvres simultaneously or alternately self-contradictory. The very construct of communal identity itself, as the fundamental parameter in the dominant ideological code, became abhorrent especially in social science, was ideologically anathematized as wholly and solely a sign of identification with white racist domination and remained only a little less so in 1990.

(Van der Ross's argument against the existence of coloured identity [1979: 34-35] may be summarised as follows: An identity is to be "defined" in

terms of objective, unique, diacritical markers. Markers of "group" identity vary, including "physical characteristics" and "common historical heritage or culture". In the case of "the Coloured people" these "do exist to varying degrees" but not "in such a measure that we may speak of a Coloured identity". Throughout his study he uses the terms "people", "group" and "population group", communicating avowedly as a "Coloured" about "Coloureds".

This argument is untenable on the following grounds: (i) Identity is founded not on sameness or difference in markers but differentiation or fusion/continuity between integers, terms or entities: e.g., one plus one equals two, and not one; identical twins, hypothetically with identical names and personalities, would remain two individuals. (ii) The argument is wholly objectivist, taking no account of the subjective and social construction of reality [including identity] as myth. (iii) It is self-contradictory in terms of finite logic: between the premise that an identity is to be diacritically "defined" finitely and objectively, and the premise that the crux of "definition" is in terms of undefined, implicitly arbitrary "degrees" and "measure". The argument, then, is not a scientific one, and is not proposed by a nonentity either. In self-representation, proposal of the right to self-representation, and pragmatic preservation of the option of ambiguity and infinite terms, it paradoxically constitutes the author's enaction of folk communal identity.)

The working-class, ever accommodative, largely yielded to the imposition of wholly finite folk communal boundaries provided that they could retain the option of ready upward mobility into the middle class. By the time I began fieldwork as a late adolescent in 1963, the native Capetonian parental and grandparental generations hearkened back to the freedom of the Golden Age, but outside the inner-city suburbs of District Six, Schotsche Kloof (now Bo-Kaap), Woodstock and Salt River my generation of working-class adolescents had already come to construe nomination simultaneously as coloured and white, or coloured and black, as objectively anomalous even in neighbourhoods which had been thoroughly mixed between coloured and black in their childhood, and despite the frequency of their acquaintance with children of such unions. They objectively classified all individuals into mutually exclusive folk communities. They had no personal knowledge of coloured-white admixture: one was either coloured or white. The religio-political reality was that coloured and white could not form manifold attachments and intermarry. One could be **half-darkie, half-bryn** (half black, half-coloured), but that could no longer be integrally coloured; it

was objectively liminal and anomalous. On the other hand, a working-class peer of mine from District Six and Schotsche Kloof subsequently described me as "tussen Djood en Gam" -- between Jew and Ham (the Biblical descendants of Ham, i.e., coloured), preserving construction of his communal identity and mine as creatively, disreputably capable of liminality, ambiguity, overlap, merger and syncretism.

The small middle-class, wholly exposed and isolated under the full impact of implementation of the dominant ideology, tended to react totalistically, and the inevitable consequence was extensive self-alienation and self-mystification in endless conflict with the subjective attachments and objective realities that indeed signified substantive communal identity. In the honourable quest for oppositional integrity, the totalistic pursuit of ideological self-consistency -- proposed by intellectuals as trenchant political and scientific critique -- paradoxically dictated manifold self-contradiction. This was tolerable provided it remained subjectified, but objectification of communal identity as well as any ascription at all construable as imperfection -- including self-contradiction -- became intolerably mortifying and evoked frenzied opposition. The middle-class identity lay static, externally besieged by domination and internally paralysed by disavowal of paradox, struggled desperately to retain positive valence and honour, and evinced the most extreme defensiveness in self-disclosure. Social scientific scholarship -- including history -- on their folk community by the intellectual elite was almost totally inhibited until the 1970s.

The working-class, more creatively, conservatively accommodative of stigma, ambiguity and manifold deprivation, more competitive with the middle-class and less with the dominant whites, retained the options of ready employment and upward mobility into the middle class, and made increasing use of them as the economy developed and inevitably liberalized. As long as these options remained open they would deeply resent discriminatory allocation of rights and resources but not revolt against middle-class and white domination until two years after a major recession began in 1974, occasioned mainly by the rise of Islamic and Arab nationalism which drove up world oil prices and precipitated international inflation and recession. In 1976 the working-class precipitately, violently rebelled, astonishing and re-activating the hitherto enthralled middle-class.

From the 1930s, and other than as described above, major internal, objectified ideological changes in coloured identity entered a period of

virtual stasis until the late sixties, when Black Consciousness became popular among working and middle classes, to be followed approximately a decade later by the popularization of socialism. (These changes are outside the scope of this thesis, except in passing reference.)

In summary, the construct of coloured identity in the Peninsula has been constituted from interaction by the identity in a dual dialectic with white and black identities, as if every thread of autonomous internal continuity and integrity (other than the Muslim) had dissolved in the mists of history -- an identity with nominal but unreal, mythopoeic, ancestral constitution ascertainable only in general terms and from history books. The driving forces in the dialectic, differentiated antinomically in religious terms (of political strata of Natural colour) by the 1820s and 1830s and then into an intermediate, paradoxical category by the 1890s, have been economic and demographic development, which have afforded positive terms to coloured identity. As the white identity became increasingly threatened politically fifty years later by this development, it began to totalize and exert increasing subordination, maintaining negative terms in coloured identity, and the identity itself in ambivalent symbiosis sustained by continuing economic and demographic growth. The first objectified ideological signs of popular coloured middle-class rebellion against the social order appeared in the 1930s in religious terms of (historically ordained) class conflict, and of mass working-class rebellion in the late 1960s in terms of Black Consciousness, although working-class opposition to white exploitation dates back to the turn of the century. (For a schematic account of the development of coloured political activity this century see van der Ross [1986: 56].)

Convention during the past two decades has permitted both capitalization and lower case of the name "coloured". Afrikaner nationalist ideology has always used the upper case to signify religio-politically significant ethnicity, but the general trend in South African usage is increasing to the lower case in ethno-racial labels, and this will be followed in this study except as qualified above. No non-social-scientific ideological significance should be attached to this convention.

The term "Peninsular" will be used for two reasons. Firstly, the dialectal isogloss (boundary), originally encompassing Cape Town alone, approximates the Peninsula and is presently extending beyond. In folk constructions it is accurately identified as approximating the Peninsula more than the Town. Secondly, it is preferable to avoid the term "Cape" as in "Cape Coloured", which originally referred to the Cape Colony (Marais [1939: vii]), may

currently be ambiguous in reference to Cape Peninsula or Province, and was one of the seven juristic subcategories of coloured identity in terms of the Population Registration Act (1950) and its amendments. However, informants claim that working-class Soweto blacks refer to "Cape Coloureds", whom they admire for their rebelliousness against white domination in contrast with Johannesburg coloureds, who allegedly tend to political conservatism and racism towards local blacks. It may be that the usage "Cape Coloured" is in the vernacular of other communities of colour outside the Cape Province.

There is no conventional, consensually accepted, non-stigmatizing and proper name for the Peninsular working-class Afrikaans dialect signified by speakers and outsiders as coloured (see 6.21), and it will accordingly be referred to in those technical terms or simply as "the dialect".

Unless otherwise stated in the text, all reference in this study to coloured, black, white, etc., is to these as mythic folk constructions of individual, collective or communal identity in common, consensual, colloquial usage as signifying social reality. (For coloured identity this will be refined in 4.002.) Such reference, unless otherwise indicated, is in nomination -- naming -- only. I attempt no definition of coloured identity: all identity is scientifically indefinable. I use the name, coloured, solely in denotative significance as the conventional English translation, to which there is no conventional alternative, of speakers' nomination of their communal identity as **bryn**, and the significance of their dialect to them as a marker and enactment of that identity.

Unqualified reference to community, speech community, middle-class and working-class is implicitly to coloured residents of the Peninsula unless otherwise indicated. For the sake of brevity, middle-class includes the elite as well. Unqualified reference to children, adolescents, women, men and dialect is implicitly to Peninsular working-class Afrikaans-dominant or bilingual coloured speakers and their Afrikaans-dominant dialect unless otherwise indicated. Where English is cited it should be assumed as the vernacular unless explicitly indicated as a translation.

4.002 Folk and Social Scientific Constructions since 1963

Fieldwork experience consistently suggests that a very high proportion -- conservatively speaking, more than the majority -- of those juristically coloured in the Peninsula also enact coloured folk identity, of which there are variants. Some of these conflict ideologically with each other.

whites, acceptance by them, and sheer "cumulative ad-hocery" -- management of a favourable but unpredictable sequence of situations requiring snap judgments of venture and acceptance or rejection -- were equally important; in other words, a gauntlet in the era of enforced antinomial juristic classification (although conditions were far easier in the period covered by Findlay).

Watson makes no theoretical mention of personal motivation or preference, such as social comfort or convenience, let alone personal and ideological resistance against pressures and temptations to pass -- resistance construed as honourable, and ideologically mandatory or simply true to the integrity of the authentically real terms of one's identity. He wholly omits such psychosocial phenomena as contrary to his sociologicistic thesis, despite the abundance of his own evidence. For instance, he cites the instances of a married couple who "live and work as Coloured, yet both are classified as White; they find this amusing", and of their children who live as coloured and work as white (p. 20). He describes the dramatic case of a man whose brother had passed for white and ruthlessly rejected him, recriminating violently at their father's funeral; himself passed casually and inconsistently, and

enrolled his own son at a White technical college. This son, after remaining at the college for only a few weeks, burst into the headmaster's office and exclaimed, in a highly emotional state, "I don't fit in here. I am Coloured. I want to leave." When Jannie heard this he gave his son a severe beating for jeopardizing his chances of apprenticeship to a White trade (p. 26).

In the Peninsula, for instance, throughout the period of fieldwork there have been many Muslim coloureds who are wholly caucasoid and possess all the other personal markers necessary for passage yet do not seek it because it would conflict with the transcendent Islamic terms of their communal identity. Indeed, many whites converting to Islam seek coloured communal membership; other whites seek it for other reasons, such as marriage with a coloured spouse. Many coloureds -- particularly those strongly observant of a universalist religion, Christian or Muslim -- simply refused to truck voluntarily with racist terms in consciousness and law. Throughout fieldwork I very frequently encountered working-class coloureds who were highly ambivalent towards white identity -- an ambivalence that included a profound consciousness of alienation, and mixed idealization and contempt. Yet I infrequently encountered informants who had even considered passage. It is speculative to attribute this even predominantly to disqualification

by physiognomy; the realities are complex.

The question, "why pass?" is as well-founded by the evidence as "why stay?".

Green's (1950: 19; 1951: 174) literary definition of a coloured person as "one who has failed to pass as a white person" is inaccurate -- all the more so since the advent of Black Consciousness -- and conveys the unremittingly white ethnocentric, bourgeois condescension permeating his presentations of Peninsular coloured identity. Watson, confronted by a plethora of evidence reflecting every conceivable clear and ambiguous permutation of staying, passing or irrelevance of the issue, consistently or inconsistently, in construed physiognomy, family, peer group, occupation, residence and law; and avowedly a quietist (p. xiv) disgusted by the plight and the racism of his coloured informants; flees into sociologistic theory and describes Green's definition as "elegant" (p. 18). It inaccurately assumes coloured identity as inherently, wholly stigmatic as residual nonentity.

By the 1930s active coloured middle-class rejection of whites began to manifest itself in moves to exclude them from teaching posts at coloured schools and from a church congregation that had broken away from the Dutch Reformed Church in rejection of its white exclusiveness. An English-dominant, Capetonian elite of university graduates had developed, and split into two bitterly antagonistic ideological factions. On the one hand (broadly speaking) those entrepreneurs who tended to go into medicine and commerce pragmatically included coloured identity as a term in an appeal for coloured and to a lesser extent unity by all of colour in strikes, boycotts and mass protests in 1935 (Lewis [1987: 181]). On the other was a camp characterizing itself as the "intellectuals" and "intelligentsia", consisting mainly of primary and secondary school educationists in the civil service who rejected this pragmatic policy and took an extremely combative, militantly totalistic, purist, highly theoretical millenarian position based on Trotskyist and other socialist variants in a ferocious attempt to repudiate and extirpate consciousness of dependence on, and ambivalence towards the dominant identity. This relatively small band of revolutionaries without a revolution, which was institutionalized as the Non-European Unity Movement (N.E.U.M.) in 1943, recodified immutable parameters of colour in terms of mutable class, objectively rejected all ascription of coloured identity (Lewis [1987: 174-286]), perceived their continuing helplessness under increasingly severe repression and in the

face of disagreement with, and indifference by the rest of the subordinated population, proposed their awaitance of historic determinism, and vitriolically lambasted all who did not agree with them as Nazi and fascist traitors -- including the Communist Party -- in terms that remained constant from World War Two on.

The objective reality that they attempted to subjectify was that in descent, kinship, marital preference and other preferential voluntary association they maintained enactment of coloured folk communal identity, tending even to intermarry within their own ranks. In the early nineteen-fifties their representatives revised South African historical myth in pseudonymous socialist works which pragmatically insinuated coloured identity into the socialist equation by ascribing a uniquely glorious myth of origin to the hitherto despised Khoikhoi as the founders of a centralised monarchy in Egypt 3,500 years ago and a culture in South Africa from which blacks borrowed ("Mnguni" [1952: 12-17]); and to the ancestors of their San (Bushmen) forebears as the first inhabitants of the land that became South Africa (pp. 9-10). In this version, 16th century blacks migrated into the country in flight from Christian European enslavement, probably shortly before van Riebeeck arrived in 1652 (p. 13). The Khoikhoi "were such skilled cattle breeders" that the Dutch took instruction from them (p. 14) and such canny traders that the Dutch East India Company "often could not cope" (p. 15). All the indigenous peoples proscribed private ownership of land, which belonged to the tribe:

Labour was cooperative; (...) production was for collective use and not for private gain. Even individual property in personal effects, cattle, and individual land rights for residence and cultivation had to be administered for the common good (...). (p. 15.)

Clearly this political community was reversing the white and particularly Afrikaner nationalist terms of stigma, staking a subjectified claim to coloured leadership of the communist revolution as descendants of an ancient race of aristocrats, founders of civilization in the land, superior in culture to all the newcomers and first in the religious propagation of a revolutionary nonracial, classless social order consistent with pre-white ethics. The next volume in the series ("Majeke" [1952]) disposed of English colonizers as conquerors and exploiters, and English missionaries as their hypocritical agents. White identity, then, was the quintessence of evil, and the white terms of dominative stigma antinomially reversed.

However, there were more fundamental religio-political terms to this

mythic charter. The N.E.U.M. pragmatically proposed itself as a prophetic revolutionary movement in subjectified Biblical terms of conflict between Hamitic and Semitic-Japhetic identities, tracing its prophetic lineage back to the Egyptians, descendants of Mizraim, a son of Ham, and mythic founders of Hamitic civilization (Egyptian "Kem" = Egypt = Ham = black, and warm; Young [n.d.: 443]). The Bible had described the negroid Ham's humiliation of, and copulation with his drunken father, Noah, who had been rescued by his other sons, Shem (brown) and Japheth (white), and had condemned Ham's son Canaan and his descendants to be their slaves (Genesis 9: 21-27). Joshua had used the myth (Joshua 9: 22-27) to colonize Canaan and enslave the Canaanites; and white Christian colonists and missionaries had used these mythic events as a charter for the conquest, subordination and enslavement of people of colour, and colonization of their lands.

Now the Hamitic prophetic movement, the objectively socialist N.E.U.M., proposed revolutionary reversal and restoration of the status ante quo, chartering its ideological inception with revelation of a Ten-Point Programme (Lewis [1987: 221-2]) proposed as an attempt to unite all of colour under its coloured leadership. In the event, it systematically alienated every other revolutionary organization and isolated itself as a zealot prophetic elite in 1945.

The confidence prerequisite for readiness to exclude whites, let alone revolt against them, must have been founded on established religio-political constructions of social place, territory and socio-economic worth in production and achievement developed and/or restored over two generations at the very least.

The thoroughly working-class, however, were more conscious of class as immutable but variegated colour. In (nationally) the largest urban residential aggregation of predominantly working-class and coloured people during the 1930s and 1940s,

this was the stuff of Woodstock and indeed of District Six: the people liked to be "respectable" as a solid artisan class. They knew each other and if they didn't then they knew someone who knew the person spoken of in the latest piece of news that was circulating. (....) People were much of a muchness even within this highly cosmopolitan framework. But in one factor they varied more than the inhabitants of any other part of Cape Town, and that was in the colour of their skin. (....) Some called themselves "Coloured" anyway because to them "European" meant someone direct from Europe with a clear-cut accent, a

good education, managerial skills and a strong sense of self confidence. "Coloured" meant something more like "working class"; it was never a racial category (...) people were too mixed. (....) (After the accession of Afrikaner nationalism) the rapid switch from an implicit class and territorial designation to an explicitly racial classification brought a never ending string of complications (...). Some people had "White" on their birth certificates, "Coloured" on their identity documents; others had discrepancies between their baptismal and their birth certificates. One lady I came across discovered only in her 40s that she had a "White" birth certificate when she sent her daughter to check on it for the latter's identity documents. (Cited in Ridd [1978: 3-4]; see Appendix A. My intra-textual explication in parentheses.)

Racial classification, officially assigned at birth, was a somewhat casual, if not muddled affair and depended on the infant's appearance and representation by any relative, neighbour or even the midwife -- even primarily on the appearance of the custodian. Thus "White", "Mixed" (between coloured and white) and "Coloured" were not uncommonly siblings in the same nuclear family. Whites and blacks were named in terms of international geographic origins: European and Native.

Venter (1974: 122) makes similar claims for coloured residents of Woodstock:

(...) colour had rarely entered the picture. Woodstock had a reputation in the old days of attracting the 'better-class' of Coloured person and the poorer Whites. (....) the people in Woodstock generally tended to think of themselves not so much in terms of colour as class. They were more of a community than an ethnic unit.

Both these myths are accurate in representation of the enactment of respectable working-class identity, and it was still possible in 1990 to encounter juristic coloureds and whites, not yet middle-aged, from Woodstock who enacted it and its inclusive working-class ethic, and whose self-presentation was ambiguous in terms of antinomy between coloured and white folk communal identities. However, non-respectable working-class, as well as middle-class identities were also enacted and indeed equally integral to both suburbs (and still are in Woodstock); and the degree of over-generalization in both statements reflects the nostalgic myth of the Golden Age, all the more so in the light of Watson's (1970) evidence of the desperation and ruthlessness of conflict over common attempts at passing

for white in Woodstock after the implementation of the Population Registration Act in 1950.

Nevertheless, in every one of the many working-class neighbourhoods forming near each railway station between Sea Point and Simonstown, for the working-class who were not rigorously ambitious to become middle-class, communal identity was constituted in terms of kinship and affiliation in class as parochial place in terms of residential community signifying working-class as informal Natural and Cultural mixture, communally named informally as bryn and formally as "Coloured" -- which predominated -- or "Mixed" and not excluding "White". There were members of the bryn community juristically "Mixed" or "White" and capable in every respect of passing as white; members born of black, Bantu-speaking communities who passed as bryn and were accepted as both black and bryn; members born of coloured Bantu-speaking communities accepted as bryn; and members who acted and were consensually accepted as both working-class and middle-class. These were not construed anomalous; they were accommodated.

Moreover the bryn identity accommodated exotic immigrants such as West and East Africans, Philipinos, Arabs, Turks, West Indians (Indtjies: respectable lexis), Chinese (Chingies; respectable lexis) and Madagascans who readily attached themselves to this community and intermarried. From the 1880s until the 1930s many ambiguously exotic Jewish immigrants, mostly from Eastern Europe, lived and traded among them, some intermarrying, predominating in several streets before the remainder's upwardly mobile children took them into middle-class, white neighbourhoods nearby. (Among those juristically classified coloured can be found Cohen, Hurwitz, Israel, Katz, Levy, all of whom I had personally encountered randomly and not by special effort, and others of clearly Jewish surname, all of Christian or Muslim adherence.) It was characteristic of the variant of Peninsular working-class coloured identity passed on from the parental generation (as contrasted with that enacted by the descendants of parents of non-Peninsular, particularly, rural, origin) to be uniquely, specially ambiguous, accommodative and creative in interaction with other communal identities -- informal -- albeit objectively in highly mythopoeic, stereotypic and racist terms, common national currency.

This accommodativeness and creativity specifically, explicitly elicited subjective envy and curiosity (especially sexual) on the one hand, and objective contempt and alienation on the other, by surrounding communal identities, all of which mythified themselves in wholly finite, often exclusivist terms. Nevertheless, there was pride in being coloured; unlike

the native whites who masqueraded as "Europeans", being "Coloured" was ideally proposed as equal in authenticity and integrity of communal identity to any native European identity, if more modest in cultural achievement as yet. (Native European antecedents, especially when other than English or Dutch, often Irish, French or German, are still greatly prized and much claimed, usually as matrilineal grandfathers, by adolescent and young adult working-class informants.)

This communal identity, then, afforded the option of honour, and tended to be characterized by modest pride, pleasure in motley and diversity, vitality, intimacy, informality, cheer and a modicum of creative, easy ambiguity and optionality in racial identification when physiognomy was ambiguous. The stigmata and deprivations of poverty, class and colour were met by constructions of belonging, integrity in variety, and the options of respectability and social freedom denied to the middle-class.

Then the Afrikaner Nationalist government came to power in 1948.

When the government introduced population registration and "Coloured" became an intermediary category between Black and White or African and European the term didn't fit. People did not see themselves in that light. Those who were able, registered themselves as "White", but the threat of the heavy hand of the law against false documentation as White by any person of colour mitigated strongly against taking the chance, and many put down "Coloured" in order to avoid trouble (Ridd: loc. cit.).

The incongruity was that an informal, somewhat optional identity diverse and interleading between (immigrant) black, brown and white, contextualized in class, ensconced in parochiality and construed as undergoing development had become formalized, judged, branded, interdicted, excluded, uprooted and evicted with grim ruthlessness. Class, with all its options and opportunities for tradition, dignity, honour and vertical mobility, however modest, meant nothing: colour overrode and determined all. Intermarriage and even sexual intercourse between whites and other "race groups" were outlawed and prosecuted. Mass residential removals followed, attacking fundamental, positive terms of the identity: established, historic, parochial communality and the creative optionality which afforded the opportunity of inclusion within respectable society. To be coloured now meant to be irredeemably branded, cut off and cast out, like blacks (indeed, like dogs, in popular myth), by force, with rigour. And as social control weakened in suburbs under eviction and awaited

establishment in townships under construction, delinquent gangs rampaged, plundered and fought each other in the streets while the police publicly intimidated and beat anyone, delinquent or respectable, whom they fancied of less than total submission to their white authority or pointedly chose as an innocent to terrorize all.

This, then, was outcastness -- once more. For the second time in its history since the coming of the whites, the communal identity was subjected to the appropriation of territory and property, forcible abruption and disintegration. The disadvantage to the middle class was unmitigated, except in the long-term provision of a political power base in the working-class, unenvisaged at the time. By the working-class it was construed a vicious, brutal act of Afrikaner hatred in mortification at, and disavowal of the mixed Natural and Cultural antecedents shared with coloureds; its only redeeming feature was that more solid, cheap housing was provided for very many thousands previously in shanty settlements and overcrowded rooms around the city -- and it facilitated, indeed paradoxically but predictably provoked the development of solidarity in opposition to domination.

The jural formulation and execution of subordination is very well-known (see, e.g., van der Ross [1986], Lewis [1987], Goldin [1987], Venter [1974: 1-12], February [1981: 190-193], Whisson [1973]) and its description is omitted here for reasons of space. After the establishment of Afrikaner nationalist domination it encompassed a gerrymandered exclusion from national politics, economic exclusion and suppression, sexual and marital segregation from whites, residential and social segregation achieved by eviction of the majority of the working-class and middle-class, from which a panoply of disadvantage, stigmatization, prosecution and covert, informal exploitation and intimidation ramified through very many aspects of mundane life. This, for coloured identity, was founded on its enforced, imposed assignation. Its actors were now trapped and suppressed in their own communal identity, together with others assigned to it by an Afrikaner nationalist bureaucracy, many of whose agents were themselves working-class and less developmentally competent than many of their subjects.

Thus an identity which remained vulnerable to stigma but had achieved a modicum of freedom in creative tension between stigma and honour was omnipotently appropriated, deracinated, clarified, exploited and imposed in predominantly stigmatic terms to render its actors utterly impotent politically, economically disadvantaged and socially outcast. To a far greater extent than its Cape liberal predecessors, in fact with ruthless, sadistically violent totalitarianism, Afrikaner nationalism gave coloured identity

a bad name as the crucial ideological instrument of its own subordination. Among the Capetonian middle class it became increasingly popular either to emigrate or to turn militantly on the identity in a desperate quest for ideological freedom by transforming it on terms that would both oppose and transcend their intolerably painful, bitterly humiliating vulnerability to stigma. For many, the objectified enactment of coloured identity became anathema, and coloureds -- especially the working-class -- who publicly enacted stigma or freely acknowledged coloured identity were represented as traitors and sadistically subjected to the same repudiation, distantiation and scorn that the middle-class experienced at the hands of Afrikaner, and more generally, white nationalism.

Since nomination of an identity logically required assignation of constitution, the dominant did so on their own terms. The grandiose Verwoerdian ideology of "separate development" was chartered in ethnological terms of ethno-cultural difference, claiming scientific authority personified in Verwoerd's profession as a social psychologist and the ideological publications of Afrikaner nationalist ethnologists and sociologists. Such work was always grossly flawed and impoverished in logic, method and data, and was construed ethically disreputable and widely debunked outside right-wing circles. However, in desperate opposition by many of the Peninsular coloured subordinate -- especially the English-dominant and middle-class -- all nomination and constitution of communal identity significant in terms of the imposed ideology was totalistically denied. Coloured identity, subjectively and objectively real in constitution, was oppositionally proposed as an empty set, nonentity paradoxically nominated as identity (see, e.g., van der Ross's liberal rebuttal of the dominant ideology [1979: 104]: "Who wants to be nothing?"). Since this communication was paradoxically by an identity proposing itself as nonentity, it betrayed torture in subjective religio-political entrapment in consensus with the subjective terms of white domination, and found itself ostending coloured identity as both real and unreal in tortuous semiotic manoeuvres simultaneously or alternately self-contradictory. The very construct of communal identity itself, as the fundamental parameter in the dominant ideological code, became abhorrent especially in social science, was ideologically anathematized as wholly and solely a sign of identification with white racist domination and remained only a little less so in 1990.

(Van der Ross's argument against the existence of coloured identity [1979: 34-35] may be summarised as follows: An identity is to be "defined" in

terms of objective, unique, diacritical markers. Markers of "group" identity vary, including "physical characteristics" and "common historical heritage or culture". In the case of "the Coloured people" these "do exist to varying degrees" but not "in such a measure that we may speak of a Coloured identity". Throughout his study he uses the terms "people", "group" and "population group", communicating avowedly as a "Coloured" about "Coloureds".

This argument is untenable on the following grounds: (i) Identity is founded not on sameness or difference in markers but differentiation or fusion/continuity between integers, terms or entities: e.g., one plus one equals two, and not one; identical twins, hypothetically with identical names and personalities, would remain two individuals. (ii) The argument is wholly objectivist, taking no account of the subjective and social construction of reality [including identity] as myth. (iii) It is self-contradictory in terms of finite logic: between the premise that an identity is to be diacritically "defined" finitely and objectively, and the premise that the crux of "definition" is in terms of undefined, implicitly arbitrary "degrees" and "measure". The argument, then, is not a scientific one, and is not proposed by a nonentity either. In self-representation, proposal of the right to self-representation, and pragmatic preservation of the option of ambiguity and infinite terms, it paradoxically constitutes the author's enaction of folk communal identity.)

The working-class, ever accommodative, largely yielded to the imposition of wholly finite folk communal boundaries provided that they could retain the option of ready upward mobility into the middle class. By the time I began fieldwork as a late adolescent in 1963, the native Capetonian parental and grandparental generations hearkened back to the freedom of the Golden Age, but outside the inner-city suburbs of District Six, Schotsche Kloof (now Bo-Kaap), Woodstock and Salt River my generation of working-class adolescents had already come to construe nomination simultaneously as coloured and white, or coloured and black, as objectively anomalous even in neighbourhoods which had been thoroughly mixed between coloured and black in their childhood, and despite the frequency of their acquaintance with children of such unions. They objectively classified all individuals into mutually exclusive folk communities. They had no personal knowledge of coloured-white admixture: one was either coloured or white. The religio-political reality was that coloured and white could not form manifold attachments and intermarry. One could be **half-darkie, half-bryn** (half black, half-coloured), but that could no longer be integrally coloured; it

was objectively liminal and anomalous. On the other hand, a working-class peer of mine from District Six and Schotsche Kloof subsequently described me as "tussen Djood en Gam" -- between Jew and Ham (the Biblical descendants of Ham, i.e., coloured), preserving construction of his communal identity and mine as creatively, disreputably capable of liminality, ambiguity, overlap, merger and syncretism.

The small middle-class, wholly exposed and isolated under the full impact of implementation of the dominant ideology, tended to react totalistically, and the inevitable consequence was extensive self-alienation and self-mystification in endless conflict with the subjective attachments and objective realities that indeed signified substantive communal identity. In the honourable quest for oppositional integrity, the totalistic pursuit of ideological self-consistency -- proposed by intellectuals as trenchant political and scientific critique -- paradoxically dictated manifold self-contradiction. This was tolerable provided it remained subjectified, but objectification of communal identity as well as any ascription at all construable as imperfection -- including self-contradiction -- became intolerably mortifying and evoked frenzied opposition. The middle-class identity lay static, externally besieged by domination and internally paralysed by disavowal of paradox, struggled desperately to retain positive valence and honour, and evinced the most extreme defensiveness in self-disclosure. Social scientific scholarship -- including history -- on their folk community by the intellectual elite was almost totally inhibited until the 1970s.

The working-class, more creatively, conservatively accommodative of stigma, ambiguity and manifold deprivation, more competitive with the middle-class and less with the dominant whites, retained the options of ready employment and upward mobility into the middle class, and made increasing use of them as the economy developed and inevitably liberalized. As long as these options remained open they would deeply resent discriminatory allocation of rights and resources but not revolt against middle-class and white domination until two years after a major recession began in 1974, occasioned mainly by the rise of Islamic and Arab nationalism which drove up world oil prices and precipitated international inflation and recession. In 1976 the working-class precipitately, violently rebelled, astonishing and re-activating the hitherto enthralled middle-class.

From the 1930s, and other than as described above, major internal, objectified ideological changes in coloured identity entered a period of

virtual stasis until the late sixties, when Black Consciousness became popular among working and middle classes, to be followed approximately a decade later by the popularization of socialism. (These changes are outside the scope of this thesis, except in passing reference.)

In summary, the construct of coloured identity in the Peninsula has been constituted from interaction by the identity in a dual dialectic with white and black identities, as if every thread of autonomous internal continuity and integrity (other than the Muslim) had dissolved in the mists of history -- an identity with nominal but unreal, mythopoeic, ancestral constitution ascertainable only in general terms and from history books. The driving forces in the dialectic, differentiated antinomically in religious terms (of political strata of Natural colour) by the 1820s and 1830s and then into an intermediate, paradoxical category by the 1890s, have been economic and demographic development, which have afforded positive terms to coloured identity. As the white identity became increasingly threatened politically fifty years later by this development, it began to totalize and exert increasing subordination, maintaining negative terms in coloured identity, and the identity itself in ambivalent symbiosis sustained by continuing economic and demographic growth. The first objectified ideological signs of popular coloured middle-class rebellion against the social order appeared in the 1930s in religious terms of (historically ordained) class conflict, and of mass working-class rebellion in the late 1960s in terms of Black Consciousness, although working-class opposition to white exploitation dates back to the turn of the century. (For a schematic account of the development of coloured political activity this century see van der Ross [1986: 56].)

Convention during the past two decades has permitted both capitalization and lower case of the name "coloured". Afrikaner nationalist ideology has always used the upper case to signify religio-politically significant ethnicity, but the general trend in South African usage is increasing to the lower case in ethno-racial labels, and this will be followed in this study except as qualified above. No non-social-scientific ideological significance should be attached to this convention.

The term "Peninsular" will be used for two reasons. Firstly, the dialectal isogloss (boundary), originally encompassing Cape Town alone, approximates the Peninsula and is presently extending beyond. In folk constructions it is accurately identified as approximating the Peninsula more than the Town. Secondly, it is preferable to avoid the term "Cape" as in "Cape Coloured", which originally referred to the Cape Colony (Marais [1939: vii]), may

currently be ambiguous in reference to Cape Peninsula or Province, and was one of the seven juristic subcategories of coloured identity in terms of the Population Registration Act (1950) and its amendments. However, informants claim that working-class Soweto blacks refer to "Cape Coloureds", whom they admire for their rebelliousness against white domination in contrast with Johannesburg coloureds, who allegedly tend to political conservatism and racism towards local blacks. It may be that the usage "Cape Coloured" is in the vernacular of other communities of colour outside the Cape Province.

There is no conventional, consensually accepted, non-stigmatizing and proper name for the Peninsular working-class Afrikaans dialect signified by speakers and outsiders as coloured (see 6.21), and it will accordingly be referred to in those technical terms or simply as "the dialect".

Unless otherwise stated in the text, all reference in this study to coloured, black, white, etc., is to these as mythic folk constructions of individual, collective or communal identity in common, consensual, colloquial usage as signifying social reality. (For coloured identity this will be refined in 4.002.) Such reference, unless otherwise indicated, is in nomination -- naming -- only. I attempt no definition of coloured identity: all identity is scientifically indefinable. I use the name, coloured, solely in denotative significance as the conventional English translation, to which there is no conventional alternative, of speakers' nomination of their communal identity as **bryn**, and the significance of their dialect to them as a marker and enactment of that identity.

Unqualified reference to community, speech community, middle-class and working-class is implicitly to coloured residents of the Peninsula unless otherwise indicated. For the sake of brevity, middle-class includes the elite as well. Unqualified reference to children, adolescents, women, men and dialect is implicitly to Peninsular working-class Afrikaans-dominant or bilingual coloured speakers and their Afrikaans-dominant dialect unless otherwise indicated. Where English is cited it should be assumed as the vernacular unless explicitly indicated as a translation.

4.002 Folk and Social Scientific Constructions since 1963

Fieldwork experience consistently suggests that a very high proportion -- conservatively speaking, more than the majority -- of those juristically coloured in the Peninsula also enact coloured folk identity, of which there are variants. Some of these conflict ideologically with each other.

During the period of fieldwork such conflict was manifested until about 1970 mainly between working-class and middle-class variants. Data beyond the scope of this study indicate that these have since begun to integrate, and conflict has become increasingly manifested as sociopolitical opposition to the dominant white identity and a coloured variant construed as its collaborative representative, particularly during episodes of civil rebellion, and especially since the revolutionary episode that began locally in May, 1985. However, the social class variants remain operational, in the continued existence of major dialectal speech communities within the Peninsular coloured community, and in other manifestations indicated throughout the data and analysis in this study.

Ascription of the mythic construct "coloured" is militantly if often ambivalently opposed by very many of those upwardly mobile working-class and especially middle-class Capetonians thus ascribed. The increasingly popular militance of much of the ideological opposition to the myth, the collaboration of many social scientific writers in that opposition, and the fact that this study is itself an investigation of the identities and lexises in ideological contention, together render it necessary at this stage to provide an exegesis of constructions by the dialect's speakers of their communal identity, and a critique of contention over it.

No advantage would be derived here by attempting to formulate or classify sociologically or social anthropologically the national category or collectivity mythically termed "the Coloured people", or the most inclusive collectivities formed by those thus ascribed (in fact the term, "the Coloured people", is, I suggest, scientifically untenable both in signification of generic typification and in the non-scientific term "people"). Nor would it be theoretically pertinent to attempt application of the concept of ethnicity to the data of this study. Such morphological attempts have been made by many writers, including Ziervogel (1936); van der Ross (1971: passim; 1973: 850; 1979: 1-67); Whisson (1973); Gerwel (1979: 62); see also Sharp (1980) for a critique of the concept of ethnicity in social anthropology and in relation to coloured identity.

This section sets out constructions of certain variants of coloured identity among its actors. In particular, working-class and middle-class constructions and their interaction are explicated and analysed. Some variants and sub-variants bear names other than "coloured" or its Afrikaans equivalents. These are presented in Chapter 5, passim.

In this section the terms working-class and middle-class are used as

speakers' own constructs in a spontaneous, informal register, whether the parameter is lexicalized as class or in other terms of stratification.

In the Peninsular working-class Afrikaans coloured speech community there are two construed variants of coloured identity among those who are not upwardly mobile, which can be termed national and parochial respectively.

The first is in fact apparently common to most juristic coloureds in the Peninsula, irrespective of class. (A very small proportion of whites and blacks have passed at their own application into the jural category; others, such as a small community of Chinese, have been included residually; some, e.g., deeply observant and introspective Christians and Muslims, appear to transcend it.) It is an extended construction of a collective identity (I eschew the term "group" to avoid possible equation with the jural construct, as well as any implication of substantive national cohesion) framed by the national region of South Africa. This national variant is congruent with its constricted vertical and horizontal bands of social position in a white-dominated society, differentiated above by exclusion and repression by a national white identity, below by communal boundaries from a national black identity (the voluntary boundaries generally not conflicting with the imposed except in generically black political solidarity) and horizontally in various ethnic terms. The Peninsular working-class Afrikaans dialect lexicalizes such a national identity as **bryn** (coloured; literally: brown; respectable lexis; std. Afr.: „bruin") tends to avoid the middle-class Afrikaans and Afrikaner „Kleurling", and translates **bryn** into English as "coloured" and never literally as "brown" (although the nominations **bryn** and "coloured" vary somewhat in connotation). This national variant refers in the first instance syntactically to coloured identity as such in South Africa. It formally designates a construed reality.

The second variant is confined to working-class speakers, who limit and focus **bryn** as a communal identity co-extensive with working-class. In this construction colour and class are condensed. It is parochial, framed in the Cape Peninsular region and enacted in face-to-face informality and intimacy, even with amenable strangers. However, in working-class myth the two variants of **bryn** identity constitute poles of a continuum of class covariant with authenticity: the parochial, working-class identity is authentically **bryn**; the national identity includes the urban middle-class and elite as well as the rural, who are also **bryn** but tend to be inauthentically so, alienating themselves from the authentically **bryn**

working-class. In summary, all are **bryn**, the working class authentically, all the rest self-alienated or culturally incompetent. For the working-class, the essence of authenticity is the integral, inherent congruence between Nature and Culture, between inherited physiognomy and cultural identity, i.e., between race and culture. In other words it is a construction described in liberal ideological terms as racist (e.g., Banton [1967], Tobias [2nd ed: 1972]). (The extended and focussed working-class usages of **bryn** are structurally identical to the African People's Organization's usages of "coloured" and "Coloured" to refer to all of colour and coloureds respectively in 1902.)

The summarized terms and markers of the parochial **bryn** identity are set out below in numbered paragraphs for topical coherence. They begin with individual terms and markers, proceed from the intercommunal to the intracommunal, from the spatial to the temporal, and return to the individual. Data and interpretation supporting this summary and in fact rendering it more meaningful are in 5.5, chapters 6 and 7, and Appendices A and B. Space does not permit detailed representation of evolutionary changes in the identity between 1963 and 1990. Since the late 1960s it has been undergoing accelerating revolutionary self-transformation and at the time of writing is, historically speaking, in very rapid flux. The course of change is developmentally turbulent rather than continuous or even clear-cut: steps forward may be accompanied or succeeded by steps back, briefly or indefinitely, with intracommunal variations. Faced with the irresolvable dilemma of having to provide a representation without detail of changes, I have opted for the least unsatisfactory solution of setting out the earlier, relatively static version of the identity, noting the changes but not fixing their extent or vicissitudes. The representation below therefore does not exactly reflect the position in 1990. Indeed, if a single general trend is to be distinguished, it is an increasingly marked tendency to the restoration of diversity and potential for mobility, horizontal, upward and downward, in variants of the identity, especially since 1985.

In ideal mundane self-presentation the parochial **bryn** actor is:

1. characteristically vital, alert, lively, cheerful, creative, gregarious, modest, generous, polite, tolerant and enduring in the face of hardship and deprivation; with a small but tested and true fund of inherited folk wisdom for recourse in crisis;

a common Western urban working-class underdog identity, stigmatized in its

intercommunal context, but intracommunally positive in mundane enaction provided that it is taken for granted (subjectified) and not consequentially examined (objectified). Until the gradual popularization of socialism since 1980, it did not explicitly identify itself as working-class at all, and this nomination remains limited to ideological usage by political activists. But outside such usage the speech community accepts this term as a congruent characterization, construes itself as uniquely coloured, and tends to exclude the working-class collectivities included in other juristic categories, even though they are construed as similar in terms of class position and folkways. In terms of this construction there are those who are collectively **bryn** but in communal terms **hou hulle wit** (behave snobbishly, exclusively, treacherously and jumped up in any way; act white; literally: hold themselves white; used as a complaint or insult; respectable lexis). Whereas the national or collective identity is construed as negative in its wholly stigmatizing enforced confinement by exclusion, and its lack of a unique, shared cultural heritage, the parochial identity is construed as profoundly positive -- indeed beloved -- in its provision of communality, domesticity and continuity. As it has developed the identity has become increasingly intolerant of its underdog position and parochial scale. Obsequiousness towards middle-class whites, widely construed by speakers as sincere at the start of fieldwork, is now generally construed as wholly a strategy for exploitation or mockery of them; and self-confidence -- indeed, confrontativeness -- is increasingly construed as a desirable, if not obligatory, assertion of communal honour.

The other fundamental terms of the consciousness and reality of the parochial identity are that it is:

2. Uniquely and essentially coloured-working-class, and in these respects hierarchically intermediate between black and white (bearing in mind that colour and class are condensed).
3. Internally stratified in a hierarchy of sub-identities, the relatively affluent, educated, respectable and English-speaking above, the relatively impoverished, uneducated, Afrikaans-dominant, disreputable and delinquent below, with idealization of the more caucasoid, **Moor** (of Indian origin) and **Slams** (in this sense **Java** Muslim of Indonesian origin; "Malay" in English is synonymous but has become ideologically proscribed as an alien white imposition; these three items respectable lexis), stigmatization of the more negroid, and fairly free vertical mobility up and down the hierarchy and beyond -- up into, but no further than the middle class, down into outcastness.

4. Both a residual, excluded aggregation of the politically reluctant, victimized, humiliated, ambivalent, unstable, insignificant and ineffectual, and a voluntary cohesion in all the terms set out above; both a defensive dependency and an assertive independency; but a collectivity more contemporary than historic; external (public, superficial and impersonal) rather than internal (private, profound and personal) and therefore having to dissemble for freedom of action; more subjectively than objectively real, therefore intensely parochial, uniquely unCultural and ultimately antiCultural in not being an ethnic identity like all others; and sadistically resisting objectification by outsiders as an inherently stigmatizing, indeed annihilating mortification. Revolutionary self-transformation is actively reversing these terms.
5. By virtue of symbiotic dependence on the white identity, vulnerable to the manifold accomplishments and power of the white identity. By those lower in the hierarchy of the **bryn** community, White power is construed as omnipotent and sanctioned by a malign cosmic order, but among the upwardly mobile and the higher, white power is construed as vulnerable to natural limits and human control by means of mass solidarity in violent rebellion with the aid of foreign allies. Since 1985 the terms of dependence have changed from symbiosis to autonomy.
6. In objective terms, an essentially stigmatized identity -- inferior, outcast, disreputable, disorganized, insignificant, ineffectual, an intercommunal nonentity in all positive cultural terms -- to be disavowed and transcended when individuals as a political collectivity are able to enact a positive identity effectually repudiating stigma, and when individual initiative and opportunities for upward mobility permit.
7. Yearning profoundly for positive valence, honour in integrity, liberation from subordination, and equal status with whites, but not for the loss of their manifold provision of the imperatives necessary to sustain the **bryn** community and its development.
8. Historically stigmatized as originating in lustful frivolity between European males and Khoikhoi (Hottentot) females, beginning with the well-known ancestor Eva literally "nine months after van Riebeeck landed" (this persistently popular myth, implicitly a replication of the Biblical myth of Adam and Eve's sin, is wholly inaccurate: see

Elphick [2nd ed: 1985: "Eva" in Index] for a scientific history of this person; relatively little sexual intercourse took place between Dutch and Khoikhoi compared with Dutch sexual monopolization of slaves; the inaccuracy exemplifies the consistent rule of disavowal [subjectification] of slave antecedents except in myths of victimization and the consciousness maintained by the intracommunal identity of outcast); predominantly Western, Christian, Afrikaans and urban, with some English, Continental and Muslim (in this instance of Malayu-speaking origin only) elements, yet alienated communally from the European cultural heritage, which is construed as the property of "the whites"; also Khoisan (Bushman) in origin (slave, Free Black and indentured labour antecedents are virtually ignored), and from "the bush" (translation); the White and Khoisan sectors construed as in mutual conflict, with the White sector Cultural, ordered, judgmental and repressive, the Khoisan sector Natural, vital, untrammelled and irrepressible; culturally idealizing the White sector as vastly superior in culture, and abrupting itself from the Khoisan, which is stigmatized as loathsomely ugly, ignominious and ridiculous; but in subjective, numinous terms, reversing these valences and idealizing the Khoikhoi sector as authentically Natural and libidinally desirable, repudiating the San as loathsome and treacherous, and abrupting itself from the White, construed as inauthentic and self-alienated from Nature; at least to some extent unjustly subordinated, exploited and victimized by envied middle-class, white and particularly Afrikaner nationalist identities; on the one hand slyly, sadistically stigmatizing, opportunistically exploitative and destructive towards them, and on the other hand attached to, idealizing and seeking affiliation with them. Revolutionary self-transformation is reversing the latter.

9. Since its formation, seeking to come up in life and "come out of the bush" (translation), but succeeding particularly during the past two decades: tending to mass upward mobility, becoming more urbanized, educated, sophisticated, affluent, self-confident, ambitious, politically conscious and aggressively pursuant of the rights that the white identity arrogates to itself, and of transformation into a universalist, non-ethno-racial, independent and cohesive identity competitive with, if not superior in every respect to the white identity; essentially, seeking intercommunal honour and power, but remaining flawed and self-stigmatizing in all these developments by ambivalence, ambiguity, instability and comparative unproductiveness

culturally.

10. Lacking an integral history, culture and tradition, and insignificant in these terms; impoverished and unproductive in independent culture but nevertheless constituting and maintaining integrity in a unique configuration and style of organization of elements appropriated and modified from other selected communal identities and cultures, previous and contemporary; under stress from the threat of stigmatization; and tending naturally to stigma, impoverishment and disorder unless a cultural and developmental struggle is waged to oppose and transcend these.
11. Generating a subculture encoding the primal authenticity of nonverbal communication both in its own right and as a regulator of verbal communication; the primacy of the subjective, affective and transient construction of reality over the objective, intellectual and enduring; the valuation of gross stimulation; for personal identity, the primacy of the external phenomenal field over the internal as a source of psychosocially vitalizing stimulation; an ideology of ambivalently living for the present and letting the future take care of itself; and conflict between, and subjection of individualistic to collectivistic identity except as licensed by numerous myths of victimization.
12. Creating and speaking a unique dialect with internal variants in code signified phonetically, lexically and grammatically, and enacted in unique intracommunal identities, with unique codes and styles of consciousness, and unique constructions of reality, vertically and horizontally interrelated.
13. Enacted by a member of a Peninsular coloured-working-class *communitas* by birth and in nature (usually including at least some sign of "ugly" negroid and/or "attractive" **Moor** or **Java** physiognomy but commonly of "attractive" caucasoid as well); and commonly (until the mid-1980s) bearing some natural stigmata of cultural poverty, such as the scars of cuts, burns and ulcers, broad feet with deformed toenails (reflecting a childhood of going barefoot), coarsened hands, feet and facial features, etc. Change during the period of fieldwork is attempting to reverse these terms.
14. Enacted by an actor usually born with three or more siblings into an extended family with a working-class history, growing up poor, reared

to be tough under conditions of deprivation and hardship, and strong survivors under such conditions compared with the middle-class and elite of all identities except the black.

15. Enacted by an actor usually attaining not more than standard eight in secondary education, and usually lower than that; and deprived of the motivational, intellectual and social resources necessary for competition in these fields with higher social classes.
16. Enacted by an actor in adulthood usually wage-earning and manual in occupation, unskilled or skilled (unless a housewife), and usually employed by whites or white-dominated organizations in the private or public sector.
17. Enacted by an actor usually inheriting, acquiring and holding insignificant material capital (except perhaps a modest home and second-hand motor vehicle), and tending to be entrepreneurially uncompetitive in the open market.

In this study the term coloured is used as the extended, collective national identity shared by working-class and middle-class in the Peninsula. Grounds for this usage are set out in the remainder of this section. Those writers or informants who are juristically coloured but disavow coloured communal identity are nominated as juristically coloured. The focussed, parochial working-class identity is signified only when explicitly or implicitly qualified as Peninsular and working-class.

Constitution apart, the English nomination as coloured is denotatively identical but connotatively different to **bryn**. In Peninsular working-class Afrikaans-dominant consciousness, coloured may bear connotations of the uncomfortably alien white and/or middle-class imposition of formality, finality and stigmatization as inferior in comparison with white and/or middle-class identity, whereas the connotations of the nomination **bryn** (as contrasted with the constitution set out above) are wholly positive: comfortable, familiar, our own, open and creative. In Peninsular working-class English-dominant consciousness, usually upwardly mobile, coloured may be wholly denotative or carry the stigmatic connotations of dishonour in participation in subordination (see below) including, when used by blacks, unfair advantage over blacks. Either way, in English-dominant working-class consciousness, **bryn** connotes parochial ignorance and disreputability. In both, the Afrikaans nomination "Kleurling" carries wholly negative connotations of patronizing subordination and exploitation.

Working-class speakers term Christian coloureds **Chris'** (respectable lexis). Muslims, irrespective of jural categorization or other collective identity, are collectively referred to as **Slams** (respectable lexis); but unless the usage is qualified by lexis or text, it is assumed to refer to coloured Muslims of Indonesian descent. The latter describe themselves additionally as **Java** (of Javanese origin; **Java** lexis) as contrasted with **Moor** (of Indian origin; respectable lexis) and **Arab** (pertaining to Arabs and Saudi Arabia; **Java** lexis). For practising Muslims, the Islamic identity tends to conflict with and transcend the national (collective) identity and to exclude the parochial (communal) identity. The degree of transcendence varies from mere nominality to totalistic immersion in an introspective and exclusive Islamic subculture, thus excluding coloured identity. The majority of permanent, full-time juristically coloured entrepreneurs in commerce, industry and the professions appears to be Muslim or of Muslim origin, even though Muslims constitute a minority of the juristically coloured population (see below).

Upwardly mobile and middle-class coloureds attempt to reject the parochial variant wholly and share the national variant ambivalently, i.e., they propose a third variant -- which has undergone a succession of variation and development (most popularly from liberalism, through Black Consciousness and Power, to socialism, including Third World variants) -- founded on developmental attempts to transcend parochial and national variants, in the first instance, transforming them by recodification. This third variant is enacted in the vanguard of identity development manifested in episodes of active civil rebellion against domination, which, prior to 1990, were always defeated in their revolutionary ideal; following which the variant tended to regress from active transcendence to ambivalent negation of, or relapse ultimately to the parochial variant. Since negation merely opposes and must do so ambivalently in the face of the continuing reality of domination, the third variant alternates unstably between logical paradox and attempts to recodify both parochial and national variants in universalist terms. It can be termed universal.

Whereas the parochial variant is construed as oscillating between development, stasis and regression, the national variant is construed as evolutionary and the universal as revolutionary.

Examination of the semiotic interaction between parochial, national and universal variants of coloured identity discloses a dialectic which progresses in scale from parochial through national to universal identities (see Appendix B). The dialectic indicates conflict between

working-class and middle-class variants. Working-class speakers construe this conflict and the middle-class variant as objective evidence of working-class authenticity and middle-class inauthenticity.

Speakers enacting a universal variant use calculatedly ideological and euphemistic constructions to derive their synthesis-thesis by transforming the parochial-national antinomy. The transformation is communicated by terms such as "I am not coloured; I am a human being" ("mens"); "so-called coloured"; qualifying "coloured" by raising both hands and describing quotation marks with index and middle fingers; "coloured people" (when others are referred to simply as Zulus, whites, Greeks, etc.); "Blacks"; "working-class"; or "the disenfranchised", "the oppressed", "the community", "the people", or by allusive association in terms of residential locality, e.g., "Cape Flats" or of any other marker permitting implicit identification -- but logically congruent terms are infrequently applied to juristic whites and blacks, and even if ideological consistency is attempted it often slips in oral discourse. The name of a stigmatized residential area may be similarly euphemised by displacing and condensing it with a neighbouring higher-prestige suburb (middle-class coloured or working-class white; e.g., since the late 1960s and the 1970s many middle-class residents of Windermere (now Kensington), then a notorious slum, described their suburb as Maitland East -- adjacent Maitland is white), or by generalizing them as, e.g., "on the Cape Flats". Whites take the former manoeuvre a step further by, e.g., renaming the white sector of Crawford as Rondebosch East to dissociate it from the adjacent middle-class coloured neighbourhood from which it would otherwise be socio-economically and nominally indistinguishable.

None of the totalistically ideological terms cited above are used in informal, intimate, mundane, casual discourse, but are introduced as a switch of register to formality in which the protagonist attempts to establish political ideological control over discourse or avoid a construed risk of undesirable consequence unless such terms are used to signify identification with, or subordination to such ideological authority. Since such terms are commonly used to signify integrity in authentic opposition to domination, and failure to use them is commonly held to signify treachery in the form of tolerance or even support of domination, the pressure to use them can be powerful -- especially on researchers seeking access to totalistic revolutionary informants and historiographic information in their possession. Researchers who retain scientific independence, disagree ideologically or do not submit to their authority

have reported (in personal communications) persecutory interrogation, humiliation, ostracism and boycott. I have had such experience.

Thus the use of quotation names to frame the name coloured, or its qualification as "so-called", are frequently used as technical terms in academic research. To cite but one example, Ross (1975: ix), a foreign scholar, argues that

many people who are now classified as "coloured" regard such a designation as insulting, and normally describe themselves as "so-called coloured" or, more usually, in translation of colloquial Afrikaans, as "brown people". However, the first of these designations is unbearably clumsy and the second is unintelligible outside South Africa -- and very widely within it. Therefore the term "coloured" has been retained throughout this book, although it has always been put within inverted commas out of respect to those who dispute its value.

(He proceeds to use and omit the inverted commas with utter inconsistency.)

It is crucial to recognize all these manoeuvres, when proposed by middle-class coloured speakers and writers, as mandatory ritual declamation, rhetoric proposing honour and inveighing against mortifying, stigmatic, ideological reduction to religio-political nonentity -- paradoxically by proposing their folk communal identity as nonentity. (The paradox is that it takes an identity to propose its own nonentity; the proposal itself, in which subjectivity and objectivity are condensed, is an enactment of folk communal identity.) The ritual resolves the mundane ambiguity of enacting coloured folk communal identity and thereby appearing to confirm the imposition of the dominant juristic code. The declamation clarifies the mundane reality: the imposition is totalistically repudiated beyond all possibility of question, scientific or otherwise. The proponent imposes his religio-political terms alone on all question of discourse -- including the scientific -- on his folk communal identity.

The social scientific difficulty posed thereby is that the declamation is of necessity proposed as statement of scientific truth in scientific discourse, as a scientific representation of objective reality foreclosing scientific question.

Ritual reality is magical, and the scientific task is to question. A scientific account of a communal identity must necessarily be in terms as objective and accurate as possible, and must differentiate wherever relevant between objective and subjective discourse. Religio-political

constructions of magic, stigma and honour are subjective realities proposed as objective. A subjective proposal that objective reality itself inherently honours or stigmatizes an identity is a contradiction in terms. Identity is founded on a perspective of consciousness, in which subjectivity and objectivity are differentiated. The proposal has no perspective and reflects no differentiation; it is made by nonentity, and its proponents paradoxically claim nonentity in folk communal terms. In summary, it is paradoxically made by both an identity and nonentity, and is bi-logical. It reflects an animistic religio-political construction that the cosmos itself is capable of personal identity, with which communal identity is symbiotically, subordinately merged. The ritual practice of magic is then itself of real significance to the practitioner's own identity, as a religio-political strategy of influencing the animistic cosmos by formulaic incantation and gesture, or merely as a strategy to mislead, seduce or dominate the respondent.

There are, however, ubiquitous universalist switches out of coloured communal identity. Once one enters into interaction in which terms of folk community are objectively and subjectively irrelevant, one switches from folk communal identity, whether both actors share one or not. White nationalism has totalistically imposed objective folk communal significance where it would otherwise have been irrelevant, and so coloured actors -- and those of other folk communal identities or none -- have had to struggle to assert universalist switches or maintenance of universalist terms where these would otherwise not have constituted an issue. The struggle to exclude folk communal significance from objectivity has become a major problem -- and ideological issue -- for those juristic coloureds on whom it has been objectively imposed. The power to control objective reality has become sacramental and in some cases a militant, totalistic obsession. Honourable universal identity has yet to be decisively achieved; human identity itself is at issue, and it is evident that many actors of the communal identity do not construe themselves fundamentally human but universally unique, special mythopoeic beings oscillating between grandiose, chiliastic achievement and vulnerability to crushing mortification as nonentity.

Terms of folk communal identity may be subjectively relevant and enacted while objectively irrelevant and not enacted, as for instance between native speakers discoursing in the dialect to ostend reality to which such terms are irrelevant, while sharing intersubjectivity as members of the speech and folk community.

The interaction between switch from a non-universalist variant of coloured communal identity to a universalist variant, folk communal or not, can be complex, and is analysable in semiotic terms. For instance, religio-political ideological transformations which are semantically and syntactically proposed as universalist but syntactically and pragmatically enact non-universalist terms of folk communal identity are variants of that identity, even though this significance is totalistically disavowed. The semantics then become totalistically objectified, the syntax ambiguous and the pragmatics totalistically subjectified and disavowed (e.g., of coloured identity solely as "human": semantically objective, totalistically proposed as the sole communal identity; syntactically, belonging to a folk community or not?; pragmatically as enaction but totalistic disavowal of coloured identity). The disavowal is usually assertive, since honour must be aggressively proposed despite dishonourable self-contradiction, which is ideologically assigned to identities proposed antithetical. (However, transformations may be semantically, syntactically and pragmatically consistent, and thus not variants of the identity; see below.)

Small (2nd ed: 1974: unpaginated preface) vigorously proposes the Peninsular working-class Afrikaans coloured dialect as a language and terms it "Kaaps". Small is one of a growing number of juristic coloureds, all middle-class and of rural origin, who write poetry and drama in the dialect and have formed a loose literary circle describing itself as Black (Smith, van Gensen and Willemse [eds] [1986]).

However, Rive, a juristically coloured, English-dominant, middle-class Capetonian (and the only juristic coloured writer cited in this review who is not of rural origin), dismisses this ideology as "Colouredism", a self-acceptance of the same "pseudoethnicity" that allegedly led to the creation of the dialect, and a patronization of the working class (in Smith, van Gensen and Willemse [op. cit.: 62-68]). Juristic coloureds of rural origin have consistent historic, communal, familial and personal experience of totalistic Afrikaner domination in seemingly eternal, oppressive stasis.

In the same volume (pp. 34-39) van de Rhee (1986), a sociolinguist and juristic coloured, restricts the notion of coloured identity to the jural definition, rejects propositions of folk communal identity and ethnicity, and specifically the appellation "Kleurlingafrikaans" (Coloured-Afrikaans), preferring "Kaapse Afrikaans" (Cape Afrikaans). He attributes the formation of the working-class dialect to the implementation of "the Group Areas Act and other associated laws" (p. 34, my translation), but

subsequently contradicts this by accurately observing that the dialect is "no recent language form" but has a "clear, historic course" (p. 35, my translation).

The terms "Kaaps", "Kaapse Afrikaans" and "Englikaans" (February [1981: 156]) have no currency among native speakers of the dialect as vernacular. In his study in the sociology of literature, February, a juristically coloured exile from the Peninsula, also refers to it as "Coloured-Afrikaans, to avail oneself of such a monstrous term for the time being" (p. 95), and its disreputable lexis as slang (p. 158). "Kleurlingafrikaans" and "Coloured Afrikaans" are also not used by dialectal speakers, nor is the name "Capey" which is used infrequently and colloquially by English-dominant speakers, usually white. Native speakers' nomination of the dialect is ambivalent: either stigmatic or disavowed (see 6.21) as a language.

Space permits no more than summary of the extremely intense ideological contention among juristic coloureds in the Peninsula, reflected in the work cited above, over three central issues concerning coloured identity. They are not founded on scientific grounds, and their proponents have entered into no scientific debate on them. All three issues constitute folk communal discourse proposed as scientific and are generated by opposition to subjectively construed dishonour posed by the summation of two proposals, both construed objectively real: that there is a consensual, popular construction of objective folk communal identity neither black nor white but nominated and constituted by exclusion as coloured; and that such identity is inherently, wholly, irredeemably stigmatic. All are methodologically unsound, founded on equation of subjectivity with objectivity. Nevertheless, the first two are fall within social scientific purview and are relevant to this section: (i) Is the identity objectively real or a juristic contrivance imposed by white domination? (ii) If objectively real, is it partly endogenous (formed from within) or wholly exogenous (formed from without, and by white domination)? (iii) Either way, which ideological transformations of it should be enacted by those to whom it is assigned?

Suffice it to summarize the conclusion that there is ample evidence for the objective reality of a Peninsular communal identity nominated in English as coloured and in Afrikaans as **bryn**, and horizontally differentiated to varying degrees into a variety of subcultural communities (e.g., Muslim and Christian, including many variants especially of the latter), vertically differentiated intracommunally into class identities which both cleave and

overlap along a vertical continuum, and intracommunally from black and white communal identities.

In systemic terms the identity's lower hierarchic boundary is intercommunally demonstrated most cogently by the rarity in the Peninsula of exogamy and planned procreation (which have always remained legal if manifoldly disadvantageous) with juristic blacks, as well as voluntary association with them outside universalist, formal religious, political, educational and economic organizations; by attack by black intracommunal working-class identity and middle-class identity on the coloured (see below); and by the consistent tendency of coloureds between 1976-1988 to take their cue of initiative from blacks in populist oppositional ideology and episodes of civil rebellion in the enactment of a generically Black identity. Its upper boundary is demonstrated intercommunally by episodes of civil attack on every variant of white identity that remains unsubordinated to it (and by the continuing predominance of endogamy since exogamy with whites again became legal in 1985).

Intercommunally the middle class demonstrates its upper boundary and attempts at integrity by the tendency to develop an identity which does not transcend but ambivalently opposes white identity and by the tendency to totalism in oppositional ideological conflict. Intracommunally its lower boundary and attempts at integrity in interaction with the working-class are demonstrated by its tendency to endogamy and planned procreation among its own young adults; and by the working-class tendency to endogamy, and to the confinement of planned procreation among its own adolescents and young adults in relation to the middle-class.

These proposals are with acknowledgement of overlap, continuity in kinship, and mobility between working- and middle-class. Indeed, the integrity of Peninsular coloured communal identity is demonstrated in the continuity of vertical mobility, voluntary affiliation and dialectal variation, a virtually exclusive network of cross-cutting ties of kinship, and to a lesser extent, marriage, and horizontal intracommunal identities shared by, and special to, both classes; and in the high degree of cohesion, the formation of myriad formal organizations, and sharp boundary demarcation enacted in the development of communal identity active against white domination. Wood (1987: 34) correctly argues that kinship is not a "clear criterion" for demonstration of objective coloured communal identity. But then there are no absolute, objective diacritical markers to define all cases of any identity, folk communal or otherwise; hence the failure of

every South African jural attempt to formulate folk communal identities in ethno-racial terms beyond scientific disrepute. Yet permeation of folk communal boundaries by intermarriage with others very commonly coincides with the maintenance of sufficient integrity in endogamy to sustain cohesive, enacted folk communal identity in terms of endogamy. Kinship and descent by endogamy are not wholly discrete diacritical markers, but integral, systemically operative tendencies in process from generation to generation, necessary and sufficient for constitution of the enactment of folk communal identity. Put simply, people who select each other to marry and/or procreate, who share families of origin and join families of procreation constituting kinship networks, in terms of shared constructions of a shared folk communal identity and shared descent, are thereby enacting that identity and preserving its code. Without endogamous kinship and descent, no folk communal identity would exist. This is not a tautological proposal: folk communal identity may be enacted equally in exogamy. The crucial point is that the enactment reflects a code differentiating the identity as an identity and from others.

(There is no statistical evidence available concerning endogamy and exogamy. The claims proposed here are based on ethnographic information derived from participant observation, which agrees with consensual intracommunal and intercommunal folk myth. Accordingly they are described merely as trend and tendency in congruence with the limitations both of the investigative method and the problematic definition of working-class proposed in 4.000. Overlap and merger in marriage and procreation between Muslim and Christian, as well as coloured and black, occur wherever these identities are most weakly constituted or absent. Two trends are distinguishable, among the poorest, who are least attached to such identities, and among the revolutionary, who most actively repudiate them). Since the repeal of the proscription on intercourse and marriage between persons of colour and whites, liaisons and marriage have become increasingly common, most notably with male foreigners, among revolutionary political activists, and the less respectable.

The subjective integrity of the Peninsular coloured communal identity is demonstrated in the assumption by middle-class ideologists of rights over ideological construction of all coloured identity (but not other racially named identities); by the working-class assignation of Natural authenticity and Cultural inauthenticity to the middle-class; in the objective reality paradoxically accorded to the existence of such folk communities by the form of the ideological manoeuvres of its actors in

disavowing their nomination and/or constitution as coloured; in the sharing of constructions of parochial, national and universal variants; and in the communal pride with which both classes increasingly construe the University of the Western Cape as the creative source of revolutionary and evolutionary communal identity development since 1985.

In the Peninsula, the national coloured identity is subjectively proposed in tendencies towards consensus in black, coloured and white myths of coloured identity -- not only of the nomination of such an identity but also its constitution (see 6.21 and 6.22).

Analytically, the objective existence of coloured identities is entirely separable from the factors that form and maintain them, including dominative codification and execution of law, and is readily amenable to investigation. Similarly the constitution of identities is separable from their nomination. In the current political ideological context, these crucial systemic distinctions alone permit their investigation, which, on the false premise that such identities are fundamentally or wholly stigmatic and signify submission to subordination, is, I suggest, one reason why the distinction is disavowed.

A further, relevant, crucial distinction concerns the equation between communal identity and Natural (racial) admixture, which is, in terms of liberal ideology, racist. Coloured identity is construed as unique in South Africa in being racially "mixed" (and therefore lacking Natural and consequently Cultural integrity). (For instance, the international weekly news magazine TIME currently avoids the term "coloured" and prefers "mixed-race".) Yet many South African whites are of the same antecedents (if of more caucasoid male-dominant genetic predominance). So are many blacks. Furthermore, very large numbers of coloureds give no evidence whatever of caucasoid physiognomy and it is highly likely that by virtue of Islamic endogamy, endogamous segregation in rural isolation or the merely fortuitous familial absence of caucasoid ancestry, very many are of undiluted Indonesian or Khoisan descent (assuming these to constitute distinguishable racial types). Whites and blacks show a comparable range of racial admixture (whites e.g., showing features originating from mythic anthropological types construed the Nordic, the Celtic, the Levantine, the Dutch, the Portuguese, Ashkenazi [European] Jews, the negroid, etc., who have all interacted sexually to some extent -- apart from the non-visible admixture of cultural identities).

All that can be said is that as juristic categories and/or communal

identities, the coloured evinces a more visible admixture than any other South African category solely in terms of the Manichaeian antinomy of "white" and "black" and its synthesis as "coloured" ("brown" in translation of Peninsular working-class Afrikaans coloured myth). Neither black nor white is particularly stigmatized or even noted for its equally various admixture mainly within its own set. The myth is in fact of genetic -- and implicitly disreputable, promiscuous -- admixture as visibly signified by "colour". Its inaccuracy resides equally in the continuing mythopoeic subordination of individual by communal identity: all individuals are proposed wholly as mythic representatives of a communal identity; ergo, every coloured is "mixed-race". In objective reality, many are not, and many are in terms of the antinomy. In many cases, the founding liaison were non-marital or promiscuous, in many cases not. As much can be said about all folk communal identities, depending on the terms to be retained, disavowed or recovered in folk and scientific myth.

Outside the mythically significant, physiognomically visible dialectic in terms of "colour", then, there is nothing uniquely or even especially "mixed-race" in the objective communal identity. Sexual disreputability is selected and assigned as a crucial term, and its enaction is proposed by outsiders and insiders as authentically coloured.

In the terms proposed in this analysis it is entirely possible that persons to whom coloured identity is juristically and/or folk communally assigned by others and/or themselves have not, and/or do not enact it (subjectively or objectively), and are thus not coloured, irrespective of racial typification in physiognomy, or of folk communal descent. I have encountered such persons. However, the disavowals cited above are paradoxical evidence of such enaction consistent with their protagonists' non-scientific enactments of identity. Conversely, there are persons to whom coloured identity is assigned neither by themselves or others, yet who enact it. There are likewise persons who assign coloured identity to themselves but do not enact it. Moreover, enaction may be assigned without assignation of folk communal membership. I have repeatedly had it assigned to me, either as an implicit assumption or explicit proposal with adduction of objective evidence in markers such as preference and loyalty in voluntary association; consciousness and construction of reality; personality traits; use of dialect as a vernacular; linguistic register; and linguistic, paralinguistic and kinesic style; but communal membership has not been explicitly assigned by others.

We may thus conclude that an identity is enacted in the terms of a code

consensually construed as a code and differentiated from other codes. The enacted terms constitute markers of the identity. No single term or marker is crucial or necessarily unique, not even membership of a folk community. One may continue to enact its identity in total, indefinite social isolation from it.

Previously severe class conflict in Peninsular coloured constructions of coloured identity is fading, especially since 1980. Its totalistic terms can be summarized simply: For the working-class, class is colour (the parochial working-class variant of **bryn**; all above "act white"). For the middle-class, (the universalistic variant), colour is class, and they therefore are working-class (in terms of socialist ideology). The authentic working-class variant finds honour by proposing univocal semantics and syntax but with ambivalence towards pragmatics (subordination); the middle-class variant denies semantics and recodifies syntax and pragmatics as wholly exogenous: coloured identity is an imposed fiction; and proceeds to recodify national identity as a grandiose, millenarian universal identity.

For the working-class, then, coloured communal identity is cosmically ordained in authentic congruence between Natural ambivalence ("colour") and Cultural ambivalence. Whoever disavows it "acts white" (translation), grandiosely and inauthentically, and commits the sin of hubris. But for the middle-class, colour is imposed by a social order in conflict with a cosmic order decreeing manifold freedom. The imposition of subordination in terms of colour is a grandiose, illicit act of hubris.

Simply put, the working-class semantically acknowledge coloured identity, construing it a real advantage, however mixed, affording community in the face of potential outcastness and disintegration, and in prospect of the option of upward mobility. (Indeed, it is plausible to suggest that the term **bryn** originated as a positively valent informal transformation of the formal "Coloured" and "Kleurling", with their alienating middle-class significance. Van der Ross [personal communication, 1989] advised that in his elderly father's extensive communal knowledge, **bryn** had been used by working- and middle-class coloured speakers in the Peninsula and beyond for at least ninety years. However, the middle-class seek a universalist transformation that would abolish the stigma (and there is an increasing tendency to political integration between working- and middle-class). The national and parochial variants are disadvantageous to the revolutionary vanguard of religio-political change, and advantageous only to those in the

evolutionary rearguard who construe themselves threatened by outcastness and/or black politico-economic competition and domination.

In over-simplified terms: for the working-class, **bryn** identity is real and both good and bad; for the middle-class, that proposed reality is a publicly mortifying burden to be rejected and, if possible, abolished. For the working-class, and despite their ambivalence, their own communal identity also constitutes a self-developed panoply of folk institutions, knowledge and skills addressed particularly to the maintenance of the integrity of identity under manifold -- even malignant -- domination, and to the craft and art of survival under manifold adversity, with cultural achievements in oral lexis, rhetorical skill, music and visual art.

However, since 1985 there has been a popular movement in middle-class music and theatrical art to reclaim authentic working-class roots, and working-class dialect is commonly used in agitprop theatre portraying parochial resistance to the imposition of juristic identity. Some of the middle-class, having begun to attain self-regulation and liberating universality by repudiating religio-political domination, are exploring the reclamation of their own parochial origins. For the working-class, on the other hand, the wholly parochial scale and terms of the identity's consciousness and reality is becoming merely one of a wide variety of options in horizontal and upward mobility and self-transformation, increasingly in terms of optional individualistic development. Optionality and diversity are being restored.

Withal, the mythopoeia, the consciousness of having to struggle to maintain a communal identity as such, and the intense ideological contention to that end, have begun to fade since 1988. Instead, struggle and ideological contention have shifted to the development of the communal identity in evolutionary autonomy from white identity, and revolutionary competition with, and aggressive attack on it. Such attack is characteristically marked by calculation, vitality, creativity, tenacity, sadism, and even menace and malignance to establish a new cosmic and social order. It ranges systemically from open creativity to closed totalism. In the former, non-racial, transcendent humanism and South African identity is ideologically proposed, albeit with continued preference for intracommunal marriage and cohesion. The totalism appears to be modelled on subjective emulation of the enaction of the vanguard of white domination, and on objective constructions of universalist, totalistic Third World socialist revolution, pursuing the totalistic religio-political reversal of roles, reducing white identity to predatory subordination, at best to stigma, at

worst to nonentity, and democracy within these parameters at most.

In summary a Peninsular communal identity presently nominated denotatively in Afrikaans as *bryn* and in English as coloured, and within it, a working-class identity, signified in propositions of communities and enacted in variants, are objective religio-political, social and psychosocial realities in both folk and social scientific terms. Moreover there are many variants of these identities.

In data and theory, this proposal departs fundamentally from virtually every non-segregatory social scientific treatment of coloured identity thus far.

For instance, Ridd (1981) recognizes a working-class communal "Dialect" (*passim*) but, in liberal tendentiousness, disavows the myth and enaction of coloured identity by informants. She adamantly muddles the juristic white imposition of coloured identity and coloured actors' opposition to it, with their own variants of coloured identity; nomination with constitution of identity: working-class with middle-class variants; and myth with enaction; all in contradiction of her own extensively presented data on informants' myths and enactments of coloured identity. She puts the term coloured in quotation marks, but not the term white, thereby contradicting her criticism that scientific formulations of coloured identity as marginal to white identity are ethnocentric (pp. 9-13). In reference to her fieldwork area (in which I conducted fieldwork from 1965-1980), the following summary typifies her equation of folk and juristic constructs, and her false conclusion of familiarity with all local folk constructs of communal identity. It is vague, tendentious and false:

Few residents of this Area would positively assert that they are Coloured, without any implicit inverted commas. Those who do so are mostly rural immigrants who are mainly concerned to distinguish themselves from Africans (*), whom they consider to be of lower social status (p. 2; * indigenous blacks).

Priority is given to liberal opposition to juristic imposition of coloured identity over actors' own myths and enactments aside from this issue. And data are greatly limited by her conduction of fieldwork only in English, thus excluding the consciousness, reality and identity of working-class and middle-class Afrikaans-speaking and Afrikaans-dominant informants. Failure by ethnographers to conduct participant observation in all the ethnographic society's or community's vernaculars is an elementary, fundamental

methodological flaw unless the limitations imposed thereby are clearly respected.

Similarly, in a recent, explicitly sympathetic history subtitled "South African 'Coloured' politics" (the framing of the name in quotation marks is not continued in the text), Lewis (1987: 1-6), after an extremely cursory review of the issues, opts totalistically for an identity trap in universalist terms (see du Preez: 1980: 78-110 and passim on the use of an ideological "con" to manipulate a respondent into an "identity trap"), or, as I would propose it, to totalize an identity into a caricature:

(...) to accept existing definitions of Coloureds (sic) is to accept implicitly, and therefore reinforce, the obviously unjust and arbitrarily imposed definitions of a state in the interests of white supremacy. (....) On the other hand, it is a historical fact that Coloured political organisations, such as the APO, did exist, and appealed specifically to Coloureds for support.

The solution to this dilemma, I suggest, is to accept that Coloured identity is a white-imposed categorisation. But it is one that for a variety of reasons came to be adopted by sections of those people so described. More specifically, an emerging Coloured elite gradually began, by the early 1900s, to use their imposed Coloured identity to mobilise others so described as to advance their interests as a group.
(p. 4)

He proposes guilt by metonymic association -- and magical influence over the country's politics. In objective reality, it does not follow that the mere academic acknowledgement of coloured communal identity as real has any negative consequence for its actors -- nor is it even plausible, let alone demonstrable. It would appear that he made no attempt to ascertain whether his acquaintance with "existing definitions" (unspecified) encompassed all those relevant, and he pointedly refrains from specifying the "variety of reasons" for the enactment of coloured identity.

On the other hand this classically liberal representation of a dialectical process of identity formation as wholly unilateral -- and in this case of subordinate identity formation as an unreal, unilateral imposition -- conveys, in Giliomee's phrase (in van der Ross [1986: Introduction, unpaginated]), "the image of one hand clapping" -- the white hand. To take Lewis's logic to its conclusive caricature: since the inception of Western colonization, participation by the so-called coloured descendants of the Khoisan, slaves, whites and others has always been no more than a

calculated strategy. Implicitly, they alone among the country's inhabitants have no folk communal identity. They are nonentities (until all become actors of a universal identity) with nothing else in common (no common kinship or communal descent), who have preferred each others' company, been profoundly attached each other, intermarried, reared children, and created institutions, dialects, traditions and an acute consciousness of shared history and identity unwillingly and solely "for a variety of reasons". His assertion of the wholly exogenous nature of coloured identity flatly contradicts -- indeed ignores -- the conclusive evidence presented by van der Ross (1973) that many of its actors took proprietorial pride in developing the identity to compare honourably with the white.

Only two logical implications of Lewis's claims are possible: (i) that but for white domination every coloured person would have become absorbed into another communal identity, or (ii) that communal identities descended from the three major founding, consensually acknowledged cultural configurations of Khoisan, Bantu-speakers and Europeans would never have formed. These implications are of course hypothetical, but the historic evidence in South Africa and elsewhere is heavily against them. A more tenable argument is that European invasion, predation and domination were inevitable and chartered by religio-political myth, but their particular terms -- religio-political subordination eventually by "colour" -- were not, and are ascribable to a combination of outcastness from European origin into the alien terrors of savage Africa, the particular folk-communal exclusivism of Calvinism as a materialistic ideology, and reciprocal alienation between European and African identities. But for these terms, such descendant communal identities might not have been construed and named objectively in terms of "colour", or such terms might not have predominated in communal identity formation, and membership might not have been imposed and enforced.

The crucial distinction I propose -- and Lewis implicitly denies and forecloses -- is between the existence of such identities and restrictive enforcement of membership, i.e., between folk and jural enactments. In the view proposed here, construal in terms of "colour" is significant primarily in terms of its stigmatizing use in the imposition of power, secondarily in terms of the nausea -- beyond even mortification -- elicited by the religio-political representation of reality which mythopoeically, violently reduces all human identity to mere myth, and all humans other than the dominant to mere impersonal communal identities, usually as types.

I suggest that the crux of acute dilemma is that actors of the communal identity construe Afrikaner and more generally white nationalism as having slyly, gloatingly trapped them (see du Preez [1980: 78-110 and passim]; Gerwel [1979: 31]) in their own developing identity vulnerable to stigma yet seeking respectable honour and development, precisely because they enacted coloured identity in objective religio-political innocence -- and indeed, in the Peninsula, in modest celebration of its diversity, creativity and authenticity. And this construction of enthrallment resonates with historic memories of the enthrallment of ancestral slaves and Khoisan. Further: the symbiotic terms of the entrapment, and its acute ambivalence have led to an additionally construed dilemma: to destroy white communal identity -- by demoralizing, fragmenting and nationalising its economic power, reducing it to political nonentity, even murder if necessary -- or not? If not, how to achieve religio-political parity, domination or transcendence for the communities termed coloured?

Whisson, a social anthropologist who conducted ethnographic fieldwork on working-class and middle-class coloured communities in Cape Town from 1965-1968, regularly together with (and in informal supervision of) myself, construes "the coloured people" as a "social fact" (1971: 47 in Randall [ed] [1971: 46-77]) and a "minority group" (1973) on whom juristic coloured identity has been imposed, and acknowledges actors' myths and enactments of variants of coloured identities. The issue of taxonomy (as minority group) has been dealt with above. The objectivism of the proposed social fact requires question. Whose fact and in which respects objective, especially when ambivalently proposed and disavowed? He does not clarify these distinctions. Neither did I or any other social scientist at the time. In retrospect, it is clear that the "fact" was that of differentiated race in terms of "colour", i.e., the (cultural) construction of Natural identity, even though Natural hypostasis of Cultural identity was disavowed as racist in terms of liberal ideology. The subjective significance of the "fact" is beyond our scope here. Suffice it to say that it is religio-political and signifies subjection to stigma.

Van der Ross's work too is a liberal apology, now the evolutionary rearguard of the communal identity's developmental change. On the other hand, Gerwel (since 1987 successor to van der Ross as rector of the University of the Western Cape, and active in revolution against white domination) takes the reality of coloured identity as no more than a point of departure for its open development and transformation beyond stigma.

His scholarly description of its actors is extremely terse:

The substantive situation is that in the Republic of South Africa there is a collectivity of persons who have been treated and have developed as historically distinct from the dominant European population as well as the subjected Nguni and Sotho groups. This distinctiveness is and was relative, but the fact is that the (Population Registration) Act categorizes that collectivity of persons as "Mixed-race" (Bosman, van der Merwe, Hiemstra [8th ed: 1984]: "gekleurd": coloured, of mixed blood, marbled, tinged; "gekleurde": man of colour, coloured person) or "Coloured" (1979: 66; my translation, and explications in parentheses).

He accurately stresses cultural diversity among the persons thus ascribed (p. 67), but studiously refrains from assigning particular terms to their communal identity or identities (p. 62) beyond repudiating inherently stigmatic construal, particularly in literary and juristic attempts by Afrikaner nationalism to assign simplistic "fictitious" terms (p. 59). (He adopts Kermode's account of fiction as a "consciously false" [1970: 64] attempt "to give some kind of order and design to the past, the present and the future" [1970: 193].)

In the course of dismissing every Afrikaans (and English) term other than "gekleurd" to refer to coloureds, he has this to say of use of the term **bryn**:

The term "bruinmens" (brown person) is in the context of Afrikaans political discourse often supposed to bear a more liberal or sympathetic connotation. (...) "... learned as a child from the mouths of the 'bruinmense' themselves". Also the term "bruinmens" is actually not acceptable without reservation for those persons thus ascribed. The term is generally experienced as Afrikaans-paternalistic, originating from the old agrarian Afrikaans world with its strong feudal patterns of relationships: it is noteworthy that English has no equivalent for "bruinmense". The patronization and obsession with colour attaching to the term (...) (1979: 61; my translation).

This ambivalent and ambiguous claim is generalized to all who ascribe themselves thus. It is, however, middle-class, Afrikaans-dominant and of rural origin in consciousness.

The Peninsular working-class construction of **bryn** identity is different, and is used ubiquitously by speakers either as wholly denotative or with

positive connotation. The formal **brynmense** is most commonly -- and often -- used by Peninsular working-class speakers in the ritual cliché **ons is a'mal brynmense** (literally: we are all brown-people; respectable myth), confirming or appealing to warm and modest communal solidarity. It invites or recognizes generosity or forgiveness among members of the community, as implicitly contrasted with the fussy, haughty selfishness of **witmense** and those coloureds who inauthentically **hou hulle wit**. The informal, plural **brynes** (literally: browns, brown ones) is ubiquitously used in the vernacular as easy and honourable, and so is the singular or generic **bryn**. Indeed, these terms are also used pointedly to signify brotherly affection in *communitas* (see 7.1: **my bryn broer** [under **bryn**: my brown brother]; and the playfully affectionate **my brynes** [under **bryn**): literally: my browns, a false plural signifying among other things that the respondent quintessentially represents, and is as authentic, beloved and precious as the entire community; a **bryne se bryne**, a coloured's coloured).

Gerwel's argument appears designed partly to assert honour by reminding Afrikaners that it is for actors of the identity to name themselves, and for Afrikaners to eschew presumption therein. In identical quest of honour, with equally acute sensibility, and with grounds equally real in objectivity, Peninsular working-class speakers commonly propose the same argument towards the middle-class in general and those of rural origin in particular who propose their own folk communities' ideological constructions when formally and publicly communicating as representatives of all coloured identities. (Two working-class informants with whom the contents of this section were discussed both volunteered warning that I would be ferociously attacked for recording this working-class construction, and particularly for noting the tendentiousness of middle-class juristically coloured writers on coloured identity. However that may be, similar tendentiousness is evident in the work of Green, Lewis, Ridd, Watson and many others who are not coloured; and juristically coloured scholars are notably, wholly mute in response to identical mythopoeia at least orally by blacks in constructions of coloured identity. Myths of coloured identity are uniquely subject to ubiquitous, extreme tendentiousness, the reasons for which are beyond the scope of this study.)

Gerwel stresses that he uses the term "person of colour/mixed race" because it is "more neutral (...) and then only operationally, i.e., to refer to persons who are conventionally regarded as belonging to that group" (1979: 62; his stress, my translation), having introduced the latter as otherwise described as coloured. The term "group" refers to the

"collectivity" cited above.

Outside these fields of ritual ideological declamation and control, he praises Sales's richly detailed, empathic study (1975) of "Mission Stations and the Coloured Communities of the Eastern Cape 1800-1852" as affording

a far more intimate and human face to history. The central and active historical personalities in Sales's narrative are people of colour (in contrast with previous, received historiography in which white) policy concerning, and administration of people of colour predominates (...).

Apropos other data, on Afrikaner literary constructions, he notes with equal accuracy:

This historiographic image of the people of colour as the observed ("waargenome", connoting the known) and suffering we shall repeatedly encounter in literary fiction as well (both citations 1979: 79; my translation and explications in parentheses).

The construction of the "observed and suffering" coloured identity is a South African homomorph of the ancient Christian and Islamic myth of the Wandering Jew (Anderson [1965]), haunted by guilt and afflicted with self-punishment by eternal diasporic vagrancy for self-authentically perverse, Natural betrayal of Christian or Islamic prophetic identity; in the South African case the perpetual fate of the Biblically accursed descendants of (Canaan, the son of) Ham.

I saw by looking in his eyes
That he remembered everything;
And this was how I came to know
That he was there, still wandering.

(loc. cit., epigraph: Robinson, E A: The Wandering Jew; in Robinson [1930: 456-459])

Clearly the assignation of specific, real terms to coloured identity is as yet a venture almost universally construed by scholars at best as baffling and bankrupt, at worst a minefield seeded with charges of grandiosity, racism, treachery and malice. The effect, and in some instances the intention, have been to inhibit ethnographic research into coloured communal identities, cultural diversity notwithstanding.

However, Goldin (1987), in his monograph subtitled "the politics and economics of Coloured identity in South Africa", is a singular exception, at least in delineating the field awaiting report. His book

(...) confines its attention to the Western Cape and primarily to the Coloured population in that region. Our aim, however, has not been to explore the "lower levels" of Coloured identity which relate to often inarticulate and hidden expressions of identity. Rather we focus on the political mobilisation of Coloured identity: the articulation and representation of Coloured identity in organisations and institutions. Of course a full understanding of Coloured identity would require a larger study which, in addition to the subject matter of this book, would focus on religion, culture, language and other complex psychological manifestations of identity (1987: xv).

Wood (1987), in his sociolinguistic study of constructions and varieties of English among Capetonian coloureds, ventures to formulate both terms and theory of the identity in terms of the construct of community founded on construction of shared awareness of shared unique experience (p. 8). He places the term "coloured community" in quotation marks, and refers to "Coloured English" (p. 10). He lists diverse "elements" of the identity, (pp. 38-52) but they are based on no discernible -- let alone stated -- scientific paradigm in selection and description of informants' positive and negative prejudices towards each other in terms of colour, religious and political affiliation. The usages, "somehow", "I believe", "in a sense", "seemingly" and "low class 'coloured'" are repeated and left standing in his ethnographic presentation. He relies on his own social experience as a white convert to Islam and teacher in coloured secondary schools, on data by Ridd (1981), and on my paper (Stone [1972]) on working-class coloured identity, repeatedly representing the paper's constructions inaccurately and failing to differentiate them from his own (Wood [1987: 49-50]). (Stone [1972], in an account of folk constructions of coloured identity as **Gam**, differentiates explicitly between construction and enaction [p. 37], indicating that the constructions themselves are pragmatically disreputable but vary semantically from the flaunting of stigma to pride in development [p. 42]. Nevertheless, Wood claims that "the **gam** [sic] figure [...] is invariably a drinker, dagga and mandrax smoker [and merchant] and prone to violence", and that the nomination is used in self-reference only by "low class individuals who are prepared to renounce all status seeking, pretensions of respectability and 'culture', and have no wish to evade their low class 'coloured' identity". Both these claims are inaccurate, and the non-scientific, stigmatizing term "low class" is not used.) His relevant conclusions are as follows:

In response to the domination and labelling by 'whites', a covert

identification with fellow community members exists. Thus a rejection of 'coloured identity' is nevertheless accompanied by a loyalty to personal networks.

These social networks of patterns of interaction define the boundaries of the 'coloured community' (p. 67).

The theoretical formulation of community as shared identity created by shared consciousness of shared reality and enacted in integral interpersonal networks is tenable. However, he founds it in the fallaciously totalistic assignation of exogeny and denial of the permeability of the boundary, and, in the case of coloured identity, its paradoxicality in self-differentiation. On methodological grounds (2.11, 5.4), I propose that the terms of participant observation are to be included where relevant in ethnographic data on identity, and in this case Wood, clearly construing himself loyal to one such network, to the extent of predominant subjectivity construed as objectivity, personally exemplifies the fallacy. "Loyalty to personal networks" commonly exists between coloured and non-coloured actors, for instance in economic and nonracial religious and political organizations, and may transcend loyalty based on consensual identification as coloured. Indeed, when conflict arises between two actors of working-class Peninsular coloured identity each may construe and propose the other as authentically coloured in breaching the boundaries of shared coloured communal identity. Paradoxically, preservation of the option of violating the integrity of the communal identity is construed an integral marker of it (although the construction has been diminishing in commonness since 1980), as proposed in the stigmatic mythic cliché that "Gam kannie saamstaan nie" (Gam, i.e., the generic coloureds, authentic in inherent disreputability, can't stand together in solidarity; see 6.222).

However, it is noteworthy that the first scientific proposal of coloured identity as communal has come not from a native actor of it but a researcher who has acquired both Muslim and coloured identity by passage.

Any endeavour attempting a comprehensive account more modestly realistic than a "full understanding" of (the variants of) an identity would require very many volumes. The fictions proposed by both white domination, coloured rebellion and white apologists of the latter are not merely caricatures but parodies of reality. A fuller significance of coloured identity includes and extends beyond the issue of intercommunal domination and subordination, which, in the twentieth century, has tended to attract

and confine all objective consciousness of the identity and especially of its diversity. Space does not permit account of the complex subjective significances of coloured identity in South Africa, its historic and ontogenetic development, and anthropological comparison with homomorphic identities elsewhere and in history.

4.1 Demography: 1963-1990

Demographic statistics cited below are based entirely on the jural code.

There is anecdotal evidence (in the reports of individuals, both privately and in the public media) and a widespread conclusion among demographers that opposition to political domination is manifested in the falsification of information sought or used by the state, such as census surveys, income tax returns and unemployment registration. Accordingly no accuracy to a high degree can be claimed for such statistics, which are in any event crude in comparison with the official statistics published in Europe and North America. Cape Town municipal statistics are likely to be more accurate in view of contact construed less contentious and more personal between local municipal officials and residents.

When the investigator and the research are construed beneficial, extensive cooperation is readily given. Thus three middle-class white female interviewers and I encountered ready welcome and even hospitality (often in noisy and overcrowded households at suppertime on weekdays) in a survey conducted from 1968-1970, in which physical illness and psychiatric disturbance were investigated by means of a two-hour interview with each of a random sample of 137 respondents, presented as consultation to design improved public medical facilities (Gillis and Stone [1973, 1977]).

The general conclusions are therefore warranted that the following demographic statistics evincing major trends are probably fairly reliable. However, there are presently irresolvable difficulties in ascertaining with any rigorous degree of confidence the number of speakers of the Cape Peninsular working-class Afrikaans dialect, let alone the number who mundanely discourse in its disreputable variant, and among these, the number of males.

Dialectal isoglosses are seldom clearcut, since neighbours tend to learn and use each others' dialects. And when the dialects are socially as well as regionally based, individuals may exhibit any degree of variation in terms of social class, for example. In 1963, when I began fieldwork, the

dialectal isogloss -- the boundary of the region in which it is prevalently, most commonly and densely spoken -- approximated the municipality of Cape Town. The isogloss now extends beyond the Peninsula to a radius of perhaps a hundred kilometres or more from the central business district of Cape Town, but is taken as the Peninsula for the purpose of this study because that is where the dialect is most commonly and densely spoken. The dialect itself is consensually identified as Capetonian in origin and base.

The estimates that follow, then, are undoubtedly conservative, and may underestimate the number of speakers by 20% or more. They must be regarded as no more than informed assumptions and guesses -- which will suffice for the purpose of this study -- indicating the order of the size of the speech community of the dialect in 1990, its disreputable variant, the number of male speakers of the latter, and of those in the adolescent and young adult age-sets.

It should be borne in mind that the vast majority of speakers of the dialect are also able to speak middle-class Afrikaans and English to an extent sufficient for their mundane purposes, and comprehend more.

For these reasons, demographic statistics will be given for Cape Town in 1963 and the Peninsula in 1990. However, these are merely in terms of the population jurally classified coloured, and the males among them.

For the purposes of this study, the boundaries of the municipality of Cape Town have not changed materially since 1963. According to the 1989/1990 Annual Report of the City of Cape Town Medical Officer of Health, the estimated coloured population of the city in 1963 (using annual growth rates derived from the census of 1970) was 295,890 (vol 2: 1), and in 1988-1989 the ratio of males to females was approximately 30: 31 (p. 2), as is demographically common in Western populations. (In 1989-1990 [from mid-year to mid-year], that population had increased to 636,247 [p. 1].) In these terms, the coloured male population of the city in 1963 was 145,520. At that time I should estimate at least 80% of the Capetonian coloured population then as speakers dominant in the working-class Afrikaans dialect; i.e., at least 236,712 of whom at least 116,416 were male. To this, another 5-10% of the Capetonian coloured population could plausibly be added as competent in the dialect.

The 1983 Annual Report of the Cape Town Medical Officer of Health displays a population pyramid by sex and five year age group interval for the 01 statistical region (magisterial districts of Cape Town, Wynberg, Goodwood

and Bellville) derived from the 1980 census (p. 10). It shows that 12,1% of the coloured population in this region were males between the ages of 15-24 inclusive. Assuming that at least this proportion obtained in 1963 (and it may have been higher due to a higher death rate in older age categories), and applied to the municipality of Cape Town (which excludes Goodwood and Bellville), there would have been at least 35,803 coloured males in this age range in the municipality in 1963, of whom at least 28,642 were dominant in the working-class Afrikaans dialect. Of these, no more than an ethnographic guess may be hazarded of 85%, or 24,346, mundanely using the disreputable variant.

South African Central Statistical Service Report No 02/85/01 on the Geographical Distribution of the Population, reflecting the 1985 census, indicates the coloured population of the 01 region as 838,746 (p. 143), the 02 region (the magisterial districts of Paarl, Kuils Rivier, Somerset West, Stellenbosch, Strand and Wellington) as 230,175 (p. 146), and of Atlantis in the 09 region as 29,346 (p. 49). This gives a total of 1,098,267. The 1990 census figures are not yet available. If one assumes a 12,3% increase during this period (as does the 1989/1990 Annual Report of the City of Cape Town Medical Officer of Health for the coloured population of the municipality of Cape Town [vol 2: 1]), the estimated coloured population of the Cape Peninsula in 1990 would be 1,233,354, including 606,567 males, of whom 149,236 were aged from 15 to 24. This latter figure represents an increase of 316,8% on the figure for Cape Town in 1963.

Scheffer's (1983) investigation, using a representative sample, gives an indication of the proportion of Peninsular jural coloureds who are Afrikaans-speaking, but does not differentiate between working-class and middle-class dialects. No complete isomorphism in terms of class membership between occupation or educational level and dialect can be assumed, and is approximated only at the poles, for instance between unskilled labourers and medical doctors. Moreover, the available statistics give no occupational detail for jural coloureds in the Peninsula.

However, based on Scheffer's review (p. 3), and my ethnographic experience, an estimate of 60-75% mundanely and domestically speaking at least the respectable lexicon of the dialect in 1990, albeit with intersentential code-switching into variants of English, would be plausible. This would accord with the educational level claimed by his metropolitan informants, of whom 39,9% claimed to have passed standard eight (p. 13).

Ethnographic experience has indicated a speech communal tendency to extend its sociolect increasingly to English and middle-class Afrikaans during the fieldwork period, with a noticeable change insofar as parents commonly discourse in the dialect with each other, but in English with their children, who grow up English-dominant, albeit with some degree of variation from the middle-class dialect. This trend appears to reflect socio-economic upward mobility, and ethnographic experience suggests that with recurrent and deepening economic recessions since 1985, there has been a significant return to the working-class Afrikaans dialect. It would be plausible to propose that at least 70%, or 863,348, of the coloured population of the Peninsula remains dominant or bilingual in it, including 104,465 who are males aged from 15 to 24. Of these, an ethnographic guess must be hazarded that 75%, or 78,349, were dominant or bilingual in the disreputable variant.

It must be borne in mind, however, that older working-class male age-sets that used the disreputable variant in adolescence and young adulthood tend to continue to do so, albeit to a diminishing extent, and that an unquantifiable proportion of working-class females, at least the majority, venture into it to some extent. (Respectability is construed feminine, disreputability masculine.) The disreputable variant is thus used to some extent by several hundred thousand speakers.

In summary, it may plausibly be proposed that the dialectal speech community has grown from at least 236,712 in 1963 to at least 863,348 in 1990, and of males aged from 15 to 24 using the disreputable variant from at least 24,346 in 1963 to at least 78,349 in 1990; but that there is an increasing shift from dominance in the dialect to bilingualism or dominance in working-class and middle-class variants of English or in middle-class Afrikaans. The actual figures for 1990 may be ten or even twenty percent more.

CHAPTER 5

METHOD

5.0 Introduction: Participant Observation

Both the data of this study -- which are naturalistic and constitute a segment of a culture -- and the method of research and analysis are ethnographic. Agar (1980: 194-198) proposes three ideological parameters to the paradigm of ethnography. The first is methodological: data are acquired through the "student-child-apprentice learning role of the ethnographer in relation to members of the group". The second is exegetic: the data are to be scientifically mythified in terms of a "search for pattern". He implicitly adds a third parameter, also methodological: the ethnographic research process is a continuous dialectic between data and interpretation out of which focus on a selected field is achieved, proceeding from the general and broad to the specific and narrow -- which he refers to as the "'funnel' approach" (p. 9).

Ethnographic techniques of data acquisition are many and varied (see Pelto and Pelto [2nd ed] [1978] and Agar [1980] for contemporary representative expositions), but participant observation provides the data either in their entirety or as a foundation if additional techniques are employed. Following Agar (1980: 114), participant observation can be defined most simply and broadly as the disciplined acquisition of naturalistic data by participation in social interaction with the researched individual or group. (See McCall and Simmons [1969] for extensive discussion of the paradigm.)

With the exception of a small proportion of lexical items acquired by interviewing towards the end of the research period (see 5.6) all the data used in this study were acquired by participant observation. In particular I made a disciplined effort from the outset to learn the dialect, to discourse in it whenever appropriate and to verify my acquired language, consciousness and reality by comparison with informants'.

(In ethnographic research the terms "subjects", "respondents" or "informants" are commonly used. In this study the term "informant" is used broadly to refer to any member of the researched speech community from whom information was obtained, even if only by observing discourse. "Respondent" implies initiation of communication by the researcher, and is

perhaps appropriately confined to more directive techniques of data acquisition, such as interviewing. The term "subject" is eschewed mainly because it is derived from experimentalist and behaviourist ideology, which posits a passive person whose researched behaviour is completely dependent on conditions controlled by the experimenter. This pattern of political interaction does not occur in participant observation, as will become evident throughout this chapter. Participant observation can perhaps be most appropriately summarized as a dialogue on political terms which in the final balance are egalitarian, irrespective of communal differences in social rank between researcher and researched, and of variations from one situation to another.)

This study is interdisciplinary. Essentially this chapter addresses the psychologist concerned with adequacy and rigour in the acquisition and interpretation of data. It explicates the history of participant observation, broad methodological issues of process, assessment and validation in psychosocial terms, the employment of participant observation in this study, and evaluation of its methodological adequacy, both ethnographically and lexicographically. A rigorous critique of methodological issues in validation is beyond the scope of this thesis, and accordingly no attempt is made to introduce extant debate on this topic in social psychology (see, e.g., Harré [1978] and the volume edited by Brenner, Marsh and Brenner [1978] containing his article).

5.1 Brief Overview of the History of Participant Observation

Participant observation has been the predominant method of studying systems of signs communicated by individuals and groups. It is essentially a semiotic method, involving the exegesis of signs and signification in the information-processing of discourse as text. This method has had very wide application in such varied disciplines as ethnology, social and cultural anthropology, sociology, linguistics, psycholinguistics, sociolinguistics and anthropological linguistics, psychoanalysis, clinical psychology and psychiatry even though formally unacknowledged as participant observation in the latter three instances (except by the psychoanalytic and psychiatric school of Sullivan (see Sullivan's Concept of Participant-Observation [A Symposium] [1977])).

The paradigm of participant observation as the method of ethnographic fieldwork began with professional fieldwork in the late 1890s by a few of the founding ancestors of social anthropology at Cambridge University --

Haddon, Rivers, Seligman and Myers -- who were entirely preoccupied with the collection of ethnographic data on non-Western societies (Kuper [1973: 18]). At first field expeditions (all into non-Western societies) rarely lasted more than a few days. But by 1913 Rivers distinguished sharply between "survey work" and "intensive work":

The essence of intensive work (...) is limitation in extent combined with intensity and thoroughness. A typical piece of intensive work is one in which the worker lives for a year or more among a community of perhaps four or five hundred people and studies every detail of their life and culture; in which he comes to know every member of the community personally; in which he is not content with generalized information, but studies every feature of life and custom in concrete details and by means of the vernacular language. (....) It is only by such work that it is possible to discover the incomplete and even misleading character of much of the vast mass of survey work which forms the existing material of anthropology (Rivers [1913: 6] in Kuper [1973: 20]).

The first professionally trained ethnographer was Malinowski, the founder of the British school of social anthropology, who established the paradigm of participant observation as its fundamental method in the 1920s.

The rules were clear: one had to spend at least a year, preferably two, in the field, working as soon as possible entirely in the vernacular, living apart from other Europeans and to some extent as a member of the community one was studying; and above all the anthropologist had to make a psychological transference -- 'they' had to become 'we'. Of course not everyone kept all the rules. Indeed it is now clear that Malinowski himself did not. However (...) the guide-lines which he laid down for his students represented an ideal. (Kuper [1973: 92-93].)

The rules were deliberately left implicit, however, for reasons suggested in 5.3:

When I was a serious young student in London I thought I would try to get a few tips from experienced field workers before setting out for central Africa. I first sought advice from Westermarck. All I got from him was 'don't converse with an informant for more than twenty minutes because if you aren't bored by this time he will be'. Very good advice, even if somewhat inadequate. I sought instruction from Haddon, a man foremost in field-research. He told me that it was really all quite simple; one should always behave as a gentleman.

Also very good advice. My teacher Seligman told me to take ten grains of quinine every night and to keep off women. The famous Egyptologist, Sir Flinders Petrie, just told me not to bother about drinking dirty water as one soon became immune to it. Finally, I asked Malinowski and was told not to be a bloody fool. (Evans-Pritchard [1973: 1].)

Agar (1980: 2) cites a "bit of graduate student folklore" at Berkeley in virtually identical terms:

A graduate student, at the end of her first year, was given a few hundred dollars by the department and told to go and study an Indian group during the summer. Not only had no one told her how to do ethnography; neither had anyone bothered to describe the location of the tribe.

With trembling heart and sweaty palms, she approached the door of Kroeber himself for some advice. After several passes by the open door, she entered and nervously cleared her throat. Kroeber was typing (naturally) and did not look up for a minute or so. When he did, the student explained her dilemma and asked for advice. "Well", said Kroeber, returning to his typing, "I suggest you buy a notebook and a pencil".

Social anthropology claimed rigorous empiricism in reaction to "armchair" (philosophically speculative) evolutionism and diffusionism, but remained outside the mainstream of sociology, both as a division of labour and an ideological difference. Until the late nineteen-fifties, only social (and cultural) anthropology studied non-Western and preliterate societies, holistically and almost entirely by qualitative methods. There are numerous narrative accounts of anthropological fieldwork (e.g., Beteille and Madan [1975], Golde [ed] [1970], Kimball and Watson [1972], Powdermaker [1966]); some have become classics and objects of considerable research (e.g., Malinowski [1967], Lévi-Strauss [1955]). All assume a cross-cultural paradigm of interaction between Western researcher and non-Western societies or communities.

However, participant observation had been a minor but important method in the European and American sociology of Western communities, also since the nineteen-twenties (Bruyn [1966: 9-10]), when it was developed mainly by the Chicago School. The fullest and frankest account in work of that era is the appendix to Whyte's Street Corner Society (1943, 2nd ed. 1955). This

tradition has been maintained in informativeness in the appendix to Liebow's Tally's Corner (1967), and that to Hannerz's Soulside (1969), as well as by Valentine and Valentine (1970). These works are all ethnographies or accounts of ethnographic fieldwork by middle-class young adult male (and in the latter reference, a marital team of) researchers of working-class young adult male peer groups and their culture in neighbourhood settings, and influenced the fieldwork for this study.

By the late nineteen-sixties it became evident in the social sciences that scientific claims of objectivity free of subjectivity could no longer be sustained. Interest has tended to shift both from objective to subjective phenomena, and from non-Western, deviant and experimental phenomena, to those occurring under natural conditions in daily Western, urban life -- in summary, to the study of Ourselves. Western culture, symbolism, language and consciousness have been addressed by a variety of schools. The following list is representative but not comprehensive, and cites only the first influential publication of each founding worker: in semiotics and semiology, Peirce (8 vols. 1931-58), Saussure (1915, tr. 1959), Jakobson (1971), and Barthes (1957, tr. 1973); in phenomenology, Schutz (1962, 1964; and also Bruyn [1966] and Spiegelberg [1965: vol 2: 655-670] on method); role theory and interactionism descended from the Chicago School and G. H. Mead (1934), and including Goffmann on the interpersonal management of identity (1956); the ethnomethodology of Garfinkel (1967), the cognitive sociology of Cicourel (1973), and the structuralism of Piaget (1949, tr 1957) and Lévi-Strauss (1963, a translation of works since 1942) have all established the acceptance of participant observation in sociology and psychology. In Britain studies by Young and Willmott (1957), Willmott (1966) and Jackson (1968) of working-class communities and male peer groups and their subcultures were followed in the nineteen-seventies by Marxist ethnographers associated with the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies at Birmingham University (Hall et al. [op. cit.]) and an ideological variety of ethnographers examined Caribbean (Lewis [1961]) and black American communities similarly (Liebow [op. cit.]), Hannerz [op. cit.]). Issues of class, social interaction and language have been studied by the schools of Bernstein (op. cit.) and Labov (op. cit.).

These developments proceeded in terms of several broad trends. Consciousness (in the phenomenological rather than the psychoanalytic sense) was legitimized as an object of scientific attention. Ideology and (consensual) reality were increasingly addressed in systemic and semiotic terms. Information, communication, symbolization, signification and

language have been extensively examined, as have identity and self in both intra- and inter-personal interaction. System theory itself has been greatly developed both within and without the social sciences, leading to greater sophistication in psychological and sociological models, and especially a critique of previous models as wholly homeostatic and closed.

Above all, the social sciences are becoming self-transcendent, developing a science of social science. Social science has become increasingly informed by a self-transcendent, self-critical and philosophical orientation, in terms of which positivist and empiricist premises are rejected as naive and untenable. It is acquiring an increasingly integrated inter-disciplinary and supra-disciplinary identity.

For instance, the positivist and empiricist paradigms within psychology had vigorously rejected psychoanalysis as lacking in verifiability and rigour. Many psychoanalysts were partly responsible for the rejection, by their careless and imprecise formulations (see Leites [1971] and Schafer [1976] for incisive exposure of this on a large scale), particularly in the use of metaphor, which has commonly led to reification of constructs, and equation of image and object; and in their resistance to eclecticism. Nevertheless, it would appear that psychoanalysis has influenced upper-, middle- and even working-class culture in the West. The result is that psychology increasingly accepts formulations from semiotics that it rejected from psychoanalysis on methodological grounds, additionally because semiotics can formulate and demonstrate these unscientific processes and do so in acceptable ideological terms.

Similarly, social and cultural anthropology increasingly accepts disciplinary integration with psychology. Herdt (1981) asserts:

Anthropology can thus no longer afford to turn its back on the psychological dimension of cultural symbolism. As earlier writers recognized long ago (...) (he cites publications from 1949-1962) (...) there are sound reasons for exploring that phenomenon in building a better theory of culture. (More recent writings -- he cites publications from 1964-1977) emphasize the subjective meanings of cultural symbols for individuals within societies (...) (and) consider the relationship between ritual symbols and their meanings for individual identity as undertaken here. (....) Even so, our methodology still remains tied to the older paradigm (p. 6).

Seldom in modern studies, for instance, are readers ever forced to consider how an ethnographer's assessments of ritual meaning and

behavior approximate those of individual natives. (....) (W)e know practically nothing of the general psychological processes involved in ritual symbolism. (....) (W)e have neglected a study of developmental behavior and subjectivity in favor of typology or classification, with the result that our models are needlessly static (p. 8).

A fundamental premise that unites anthropologist and psychoanalyst (...) (is) the conviction that each is more than simply a tourist in the lives of those with whom they work.

This is the key difference that separates us from the biologist or behaviorist. (W)e claim access to privileged knowledge: the intimate workings of peoples' "genuine", that is "true", naturalistic thoughts actions and meanings. But even though our observations derive from a human investigator and interpersonal communications, we largely ignore these powerful conditions in assessing ethnographic information. (...) science requires objective observations for which we are, as researchers, accountable. It also wants a statement of the conditions under which the observations were collected and detailed instances to assess the generality of results. Our studies of ritual symbolism are far removed from this enviable position (...). But they are attainable if we better define the scope of our observations and shift methodology to accommodate them (p. 9).

Coming generations may lament that our contemporary anthropology gave us grand and clever reports of exotic (and extinct) human events but never bothered to understand their meanings in the behavior of individuals. How else are we to know what is anthropological fiction or fact in deciphering the sensuous surface of ritual and meaning (...)? (p. 10).

If we desire to know what others really do, say, and think -- and our present methodology can tell us little about the first category and nothing about the last -- we must form the most reflective interpersonal relationships based on trust. (....) "Is anthropological truth factual evidence of the same kind as that sought by the exact sciences, or does it consist in a special kind of relationship between the observed and the observer?" (Lévi-Strauss [1968: 351]). The answer to this question is plain enough, only we have failed to consider its implications. (....) A generation has passed since Sapir, our early genius, foresaw this dimension of research:

If the ultimate criterion of value interpretation, and even "existence", in the world of socialized behavior is nothing more than consensus of opinion, it is difficult to see how cultural anthropology can escape the ultimate necessity of testing out its analysis of patterns called "social" or "cultural" in terms of individual realities (1949: 572). (....)

We shall have to operate as though we knew nothing about culture but were interested in analyzing as well as we could what a given number of human beings accustomed to leave with each other actually think and do in their day to day relationships. We shall then find that we are driven, willy-nilly, to the recognition of certain permanencies (...) in these relationships (...) (1949: 574).

(....) To test individual realities we must collect the data of nonverbal behavior, and the individual's precise feelings, intentions, and thoughts about his or her verbal behavior. Only in this way are we able to describe the precise meanings an individual attaches to experience (pp. 11-12).

Because of the subjectivistic element in the method of participation, it remained relatively free of the polemics and ideological constraints imposed especially by positivism. It has also remained largely unformulated in systematic terms of method. In the nineteen-sixties a small number of works attempted to achieve this in terms that now appear naively objectivistic (e.g., Filstead [ed] [1970]). But the implicit assumption appears to be that participant observation is a craft to be learned in part subjectively by apprenticeship, that the method cannot be wholly objectified, and for that reason should not be wholly objectified.

Bruyn, a phenomenologist, provides the most explicit phenomenological account of participant observational methodology, and lists the following fundamental axioms and corollaries constituting its parameters (1966: 3-22, and passim):

Axiom 1: The participant observer shares in the life activities and sentiments of people in face-to-face relationships.

Corollary: The role of the participant observer requires both detachment and personal involvement.

Axiom 2: The participant observer is a normal part of the culture and the life of people under observation.

Corollary: the scientific role of the participant observer is

interdependent with his social role in the culture of the observed.

Axiom 3: The role of the participant observer reflects the social process of living in society.

5.2 Subjectivity and Objectivity

The relative subjectivity and individuality inherent in the method of participant observation, employed in an uncontrolled setting in vivo, in which the observer is present partly or wholly on the terms of the observed, require formal methodological assessment of an account of fieldwork that is necessarily narrative, idiographic and to some extent personal. In the following account the perspectival paradigms of subjectivity and objectivity are construed as poles of a continuum of information-processing, and are used in a relative sense only.

Lakoff (1968) distinguishes perspectively between participation and observation: to participate is to construe information subjectively, i.e., with the self and/or other as subject (for instance in the enaction of group identity); to observe is to construe information objectively, i.e., with the self and/or other as object.

Participant observation as a research method is therefore both self-transcendent and self-reflexive: one seeks meaning in the data by repeated dialogic resonance between personal subjectification and scientific objectification. Constant interplay is required between subjective and objective modes, and between taking the self and the other as subject and as object, individually, together and in comparison with each other (Natanson [1970: passim]).

This interplay is a dialectic out of which constructions are synthesized experientially. Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 185-237) elucidate this process in the construction of "metaphors we live by" (the title of their book) with reference to previous interpretations:

Within the experientialist myth, understanding emerges from interaction, from constant negotiation with the environment and other people. (...) Recurrent experience leads to the formation of categories, which are experiential gestalts with those natural dimensions. Such gestalts define coherence in our experience. We understand our experience directly when we see it as being structured coherently in terms of gestalts that have emerged directly from interaction and in our environment.

(....) From the experientialist perspective, truth depends on understanding, which emerges from functioning in the world. It is through such understanding that the experientialist alternative meets the objectivist's need for an account of truth. It is through the coherent structuring of experience that the experientialist alternative satisfies the subjectivist's need for personal meaning and significance.

But experientialism provides more than just a synthesis that meets the motivating concerns of objectivism and subjectivism. The experientialist account of understanding provides a richer perspective on some of the most important areas of experience of our everyday lives: interpersonal communication and mutual understanding, self-understanding, ritual, aesthetic experience, politics. We feel that objectivism and subjectivism both provide impoverished views of all these areas because each misses the motivating concerns of the other. What they both miss in all of these areas is an interactionally based and creative understanding (pp. 230-231).

This account is cited to delineate the parameters of information acquisition and processing in participant observation.

Subjectification carries considerable risk of the introduction of unscientific processes of construing information. The practice of psychoanalytically oriented therapies also involves participant observation. In that connection Erikson addresses the issue thus:

(...) there is no choice but to put subjectivity in the center of an inquiry into evidence and inference in such clinical work (...). The psychotherapist shares with all clinicians the further requirement that even while facing most intimate and emotional matters, he must maintain intellectual inner contact with his conceptual models, however crude they may be. But more than any other clinician the psychotherapist must include in his field of observation a specific self-awareness in the very act of perceiving his patient's actions and reactions. I shall claim that there is a core of disciplined subjectivity in clinical work (...) which it is neither desirable nor possible to replace altogether with seemingly more objective methods (...). (1964: 52-53).

Moreover, countertransference itself -- the therapist's personal, mythic construal of the patient unconfirmed by consensual reality -- has become

regarded as an important source of information (first noted by Heimann [1950]; see, e.g., Searles [1979: passim] for a more recent, extended discussion), in that the participant-observer clinician can from his or her own spontaneous responses form useful constructions of the patient's communications, especially when they are otherwise difficult to identify with confidence. The participant-observer's identity in interaction with the informant's thus becomes a source of information about the latter.

In participant observation, therefore, subjectivity is objectively disciplined by scientific ideology and knowledge, as well as mundane knowledge. This of course implies that verification is not obtained quantitatively. But it can be carried out independently by another fieldworker, and objectivity can be furthered by supervision of fieldwork.

The disciplined interaction between subjectivity and objectivity in interpreting communication during participant observation constitutes empathy (Kohut [1971: passim]; Bruyn [1966:183]) which can be methodologically described as imagining oneself (subjectively) in the identity of the sender, imagining the (subjective and objective) meanings of communications to and from the sender, and checking them (objectively) against other evidence.

For scientific purposes empathy requires rigorous objectivity, which must necessarily involve the disciplined formation of constructions. As Erikson notes, an additional challenge is posed when the behaviour of informants elicits other potentially powerful, subjective constructions. In particular empathy must be differentiated from the sympathy that may be elicited by the vulnerability -- including suffering -- of informants (which has been a gross and pervasive phenomenon in this research), and it should be sustained throughout potentially distracting experiences (of which a very wide and often powerfully stimulating variety have been equally gross and pervasive during fieldwork).

Equally, empathy requires adequate subjectivity. In 2.41 I proposed that phenomenologically a perspective can be postulated intermediate between subjectivity and objectivity: liminality, which is manifested in the enaction of a transitional identity, "in and out of" time and space, constituting itself as a transitional phenomenon providing a bridge from ego to both self and other, engaging creatively in synthesizing the antinomies of subjective and objective constructions in the construction of reality. I suggested that the consensually ritualized signficatory medium and product of this dialectic discourse constitute culture and its

communication, language. In psychosocial terms, empathy (as opposed to autism) is the process by which this is achieved. In developmental psychosocial terms, initiation can be construed as the ritualization of empathic dialectical interaction between two identities, in which one is developmentally transformed by acquiring subjective knowledge of the other's subjectivity and synthesizing the subjectivities of self and other into an organized and consensually established code of discourse, both subjective and objective, affording membership of a communitas.

In systemic terms it is essential that the researcher can both subjectify and objectify the self in identification with informants as research requires, and by this process develop an adequately broad and deep identity derived from disciplined interaction with the researched. I suggest that it is this identity which is provided by participant observation, and constitutes the source of constructions of which research data and interpretation are composed. The crucial methodological issue here is phenomenologically between a researched object (in the psychoanalytic sense) as Ding an sich (thing in itself), and the object-representation (constructed image) formed by the researcher. It is the relation between representation and object that constitutes the crucial problem in participant observation -- the problem of scientifically disciplined subjectivity. This is no more than a particular application of the epistemological problem fundamental to all science.

Ultimately it is necessary for the observer to objectify and take into account the following influences on one's constructions:

1. The scientific ideology informing one's formulations.
2. The influence of one's personality on one's constructions, interactions with the observed persons, and interest in the scientific field.
3. One's constructions of the purposes of research.
4. All the relevant circumstances of research.

As a scientific method, participant observation can be formulated in semiotic terms. The closest that the myth of reality (semantically) constructed by this procedure can meet requirements of objectivity is in terms of (syntactic) methodological rules of data-gathering and data-scanning procedures, and (pragmatic) consensus that the myth of reality subsequently synthesized adequately reflects the data.

The data of this research pertain to collective consciousness, reality and identity, and are therefore inevitably more subjective to both informants and observer than data such as the organization of social institutions,

characteristic of most ethnography in social anthropology. Data acquired subjectively in face-to-face interaction cannot possibly be assumed to be completely independent of that interaction, nor of the mythic (ideological) constructions that constitute the subjective and symbolic context in which observer and observed frame it. In such research the cultures of, and interaction between observer and observed can thus become relevant and even crucial terms in a statement of methodology (all the more so because an elucidation of subjectivity in scientific method is problematic). To that extent a fluently objectified self-consciousness is required in the observer, and the relevant significance should be described of observer and observed to each other. This requirement is very seldom fulfilled.

In this investigation researched and researcher were not only members of one society, but each respectively of communities partly integrated and partly conflicting with each other since first contact over four centuries ago, and since 1976 conflicting episodically on a mass scale and to a violent degree. It was therefore inevitable that their constructions of each other tended to proceed in these terms, at least initially and partly. Moreover the politically dominant community attempted to impose a totalistic panoply of institutionalized subordinative restrictions in law and custom, in which the subordinate participated to a considerable extent or against which they increasingly rebelled from 1976 on.

In this research, for instance, late adolescent and young adult, upwardly mobile working-class Afrikaner policemen illegally, vigorously if unsuccessfully harassed me and some informants from 1965-1968; working-class coloured public amenities law enforcement patrolmen of similar age and status did so intermittently between 1981-1991 (but their white colleagues did not); and so did some white neighbours, landlords and their coloured or black caretakers between 1963-1982; all to the extent of illegality, all out of demonstrable, sometimes opposite political constructions. I was investigated as a potential threat by both the security police and the patrolmen's management -- agents of a purportedly liberal local authority -- equally anxious that I was in a position to publicize malpractices and might belong to a hostile political organization. In anthropological terms I was construed a witch, seemingly a lone, eccentric agent, secretly acting against the established or desired social order, by both sides, each assigning me as an ally of the other, as a hypocritical, treacherous, elite, liberal white. All the harassment was wholly sadistic and, as intended, extremely disruptive and even dangerous, in fieldwork and personal life.

In view of all the foregoing a deliberate and vigorous effort was consistently made over many years to obtain as broad and deep a range of participant observational experience as was feasible and ethical. This permitted large-scale comparison between the form, extent, range, content, etc. of information derived from many different informants and situations. In particular careful attention was paid to comparison between information acquired in communication with the researcher, and information acquired from communication between informants, both when the researcher was present and when he was absent (in which case information was reported by informants). I concluded from the outset that information acquired directly could not be confidently interpreted except in terms of information acquired indirectly, and that the organization of informants' communication with me could be adequately construed only in terms of its place in the system of their communication with each other and indeed with all major and relevant identities in the social order. Finally, the aim was to acquire information to the point of redundancy and monotony in the evident completion of meaning and pattern in the data. When the slightest doubt arose, information originally acquired by participant observation was checked against information acquired by directive but informal interviewing of trusted informants, usually longstanding friends who were familiar with the research and supported it.

5.3 Participant Observation as a Ritual Process of Initiation

The notion of participant observation as initiation, implicit in Evans-Pritchard's reminiscence and Agar's citation of graduate student myth described earlier in this chapter, is implicit or widely cited in passing in the methodological literature, and has been explicitly examined in Frielich (ed) (1970) and by Herbert (1980: 196-206). In terms of professional initiation, an identical role can be ascribed to the writing of the research thesis, and the training analysis or therapy for psychoanalysts and psychotherapists. Participant observation shares with all rites de passage in general, and processes of initiation in particular, the phase sequence of separation, transition (including a sub-sequence of segregation, mystification, ordeal and instruction; see Castaneda [1968, 1971, 1973] for a graphic, extended ethnographic illustration of these processes), and incorporation, i.e., the emergence and integration of the new identity or identities in society. This anthropologically classic formulation is van Gennep's, who also refers to the three phases as preliminal, liminal (or threshold) and postliminal (van Gennep [1909, tr.

1960: 10-11]).

Van Gennep employs a territorial metaphor for the *communitas* -- indeed he explicitly derives his formulations on developmental initiation and in particular the threshold from the process of initiation of a stranger or group of strangers into the geopolitical territory of a group:

(...) the ceremonies to which isolated strangers or groups are subjected (...) (follow) a surprisingly uniform pattern. The actions which follow an arrival of strangers in large numbers tend to reinforce local social cohesion (...) (p. 27). (...) (Then a representative, either the local leader or a delegate, meets the strangers.) (...) Foreigners cannot immediately enter the territory (...) they must prove their intentions from afar and undergo a stage best known in the form of the tedious African palaver (i.e., circuitous interrogation and scrutiny). This preliminary stage (...) is followed by a transitional period consisting of such events as an exchange of gifts, an offer of food by the inhabitants, or the provision of lodging. The ceremony terminates in rites of incorporation -- a formal entrance, a meal in common, an exchange of handclasps (p. 28).

The rite of eating and drinking together (...) is clearly a rite of incorporation, of physical union, and has been called a sacrament of communion (p. 29).

These excerpts are included for their relevance to the account of fieldwork in the next section, which, broadly speaking, is diachronically organized but not explicitly demarcated in terms of an elaboration of Van Gennep's geopolitical sequence of (i) interrogation and scrutiny, (ii) ritualization of the terms of exchange, (iii) incorporation, (iv) membership and (v) individuation.

The initiatory process arouses, intensifies and then resolves mystification, anxiety and ambivalence, and inducts and binds the fieldworker's identity on one hand subjectively with the group studied, and on the other objectively with the professional guild in the fieldworker's community. Then the process is reversed as the professional *communitas* is rejoined.

(Thus the entire sequence can be construed as a dialectic including a dual initiatory process: first, the thesis of entrance, segregation-instruction, and emergence into the community studied, and then the antithesis of the same process out of that community in return to the

professional community. Finally, the synthesis in which the researcher integrates his fieldwork identity in the continuing development of his original identity by formally objectifying and ostending his acquired fieldwork myths to his professional community in the form of a dissertation, lecture, publication, etc., thereby acquiring a professional identity.

(In the account presented in 5.5 the framework is holistic: South African society is construed as a systemic entity, into which I was initiated as an adult/ethnographer via a working-class coloured community. Since this was a self-initiation, i.e., personal and not originally in fulfilment of institutionalized professional requirements, the dual processes are described.)

The essence of initiatory ordeal is that the initiate is challenged to create independently and privately an individual solution to the developmental task of transition which must result in the irrevocable acquisition of, and fidelity to a communal identity, and to do so under stress within rigid parameters of space and time. In Eriksonian terms, he is required to construct the psycho- component to integrate with the given social component of the new identity, in this way becoming integrated wholly within it, so that he himself can enact it and eventually generate it for others. The initiate's mettle is tested. This is lexicalized by informants in this study in the constructions in which one **kyk waarvan is (iemand) gemaak** (see what [someone] is made of) and **kyk waar hou (iemand) uit** (see where [someone] hangs out; also in terms of his ideology indicating his loyalties, as manifested in his interests and identity style; both disreputable/respectable lexis).

Initiatory ordeal is imposed to socialize the initiate, mythically representing the imposition of Culture on Nature (Lévi-Strauss [1964]) and ideological identification by the individual with the group. In particular the endurance of ordeal is crucial in the mythic transformation and development of the fieldworker's personal identity as a lifelong member of both his professional and his ethnographic communities, albeit by honour and adoption in the latter. But if professional ordeal in the field is privileged as a formal qualification in psychoanalytic therapies and social anthropology, this is not so in the other disciplines employing participant observation. In Marxist research this may be due to the ideological claim of middle-class researchers that research is praxis, which precludes a claim of fundamental differentiation between the researcher's identity and that of the working class. Participant observation presupposes a capacity

to switch strategically between subjectivity and objectivity in both ethnographic and original communities (Burgess, in Burgess [ed] [1982:1-11 and passim]).

Participant observation as initiation has methodological implications. Participant observation is the only method used to study personal and group identities holistically in vivo, which requires engagement of the researcher's identity holistically in vivo. The holistic paradigm is essential to a systemic formulation, which assumes that major sub-systems of a system cannot be adequately signified except in terms of their interaction with others and the whole. In methodological terms this means that each significant phenomenon must be cross-checked not only for verification but for its relation on all relevant levels to others systemically proximal to it. The participant acquisition of such data requires that the researcher's personal identity undergo separation from its own community, segregation and development by participation in the community studied, and reintegration in the former for objective observation. The separation need not be total, either in time or space, but should be sufficient to form a new identity in a religio-political reality different to that of the actor's folk community. Nor are the three phases discrete and completely sequential diachronically. On the contrary, they partly overlap in an epigenetic sequence. These strategic implications are congruent with Bruyn's (1966) specifications on methodological adequacy described below.

I suggest that initiation daily for a prolonged period is essential to thorough research by this method, for it is only thereby that systematized information can be acquired to realize the essential myth that observer and observed have spent mythically significant, whole, irreversible cycles of their lives ritualizing knowledge of each other's identities acquired in relationships in daily life, both mundane and otherwise. Thus a period of at least two years and usually more is commonly specified as necessary for practical professional initiation, the repetition of years being required both as the repetition necessary for ritualization, and for the broadening and deepening of professional identity by acquisition of familiarity with craft knowledge. In participant observation the task is to become thoroughly familiar with increasingly subjective levels of meaning, and to relate them to increasingly objective levels of interpretation. Dimensions of breadth and depth in space and time have to be systematically extended to cover all salient aspects of the desired field of research. The issue of familiarity with the salient identities of the researched

group is implicitly crucial in all accounts of participant observational method, and crystallizes in the issue of intimacy between researcher and researched. Such issues reflect the constant tension not only between subjectivity and objectivity, but between personal and professional identities that is as inherent in ethnographic fieldwork (Bohannon [1954], Rabinow [1977]) as in long-term psychoanalytic psychotherapy (Searles [1979]).

In summary, I suggest that among the crucial methodological issues are the ritualization and transformation of the researcher's identity as subjective participant and professional observer; the extent of subjectivity and objectivity and their interaction in acquisition and interpretation of the data; and the assessment of behaviour in all situations directly or indirectly relevant to the research, and particularly in situations of relatively open and spontaneous subjective interaction that can yield analogic, esoteric and holistic information. These are fundamental issues of the adequacy of method. But they pertain to intrapersonal process and individual identity, and operational criteria of adequacy have not been formulated in the literature. (I have, however, made a preliminary attempt [Stone, 1987b].) Moreover they do not obviate the necessity for operational assessment in terms of institutionalized social criteria.

The construction of ritual as process has been most fully developed by Turner (1969), who subtitles his book (The Ritual Process) Structure and Anti-Structure. In describing an Ndembu ritual symbol, he observes that

(...) it conveys the notion of the structured and ordered as against the unstructured and chaotic. Its ritual use is already metaphorical: it connects the known world of sensorily perceptible phenomena with the unknown and invisible realm of the shades. It makes intelligible what is mysterious, and also dangerous (p. 16).

The ritual process of initiation in participant observation, then, is a process of separation and entrance into a phenomenal field construed as a new, mysterious, dangerous and potentially chaotic world in which subjectivity and objectivity can merge, and in which the initiate potentially has no identity. During seclusion the initiate develops a new identity with a new code of new signs organizing the interaction between the subjective and the objective. The initiate acquires the code itself that is necessary for all such developments. The initiation becomes a metaphor for the phasic development of identity in the life cycle. It is only once the code itself is acquired, and the initiate can act as an

initiator, that she or he can emerge with the completed identity, and transmit it to the initiated.

5.4 Criteria of the Adequacy of Method

This study, then, should constitute such a statement. In methodological terms of initiation by participant observation, the data of this study should communicate the major terms of the researched identities, and the codes by which they are organized.

A recent search of the sociological and anthropological literature on participant observation with the guidance of an anthropologist teaching ethnographic method at both elementary and advanced levels (Thornton, personal communication [1987]) has failed to disclose any specifications of methodological adequacy other than Bruyn (1966) (which influenced my fieldwork virtually from the outset) and others cited below, all qualitative rather than quantitative, and confined to strategic and technical preconditions for subjective adequacy, which constitute the objective parameters of participant observation.

As stated, initiation presupposes the initiate's acquisition of a new identity, the psychosocial and communal processes of which form van Gennep's and Turner's parameters of rites de passage. I have examined these at length with regard to my initiation in the fieldwork of this research (Stone [1987b]), and have concluded that the particular terms and processes of my acquisition of this identity are identical to all initiation into my fieldwork *communitas*, including the socialization of children (see 5.5).

That suggests the possibility that such terms and processes could constitute new and additional criteria for the adequacy of professional initiation. As observed earlier, there are two facets to ethnographic initiation, one into the ethnographic *communitas*, the other into the professional guild. In the latter case the initiatory terms and processes are relevant: an ethnography produced entirely without supervision by the initiating institution will not be accredited by it. But the professional criteria of ethnographic initiation remain entirely operational and performance-oriented. I suggest that this is not because the sociological disciplines exclude address of individual processes of identity change (although this is probably a factor), but mainly because the professional rite de passage requires the initiate's mystification and ordeal. It repudiates address of the psychic component of the psychosocial problem.

The initiate's mettle is ritually tested precisely by such isolation. The professional myth of initiation, then, excludes the initiate's individuality; it demands performance solely as a member of the group. This is consistent with my methodological specification above: that the proof of methodological adequacy is the evidence of acquisition of the major terms and codes of the researched identity.

Nevertheless, it will become evident that Bruyn's indices of subjective adequacy in participant-observational method presented below are useful in explicating the methodological paradigm and affording criteria at least for assessment of inadequacy.

Bruyn (1966: 180-185) lists six criterial indices of adequacy:

1. Extent in time: "(...) the more time an individual spends with a group, the more likely it is that he will obtain an accurate interpretation of the social meanings its members live by" (p. 181).

2. Geographic proximity: "(...) the closer the observer works geographically to the people he studies, the more accurate should be his interpretations" (p. 181). "The assumption underlying this hypothesis is that Verstehen depends upon the ability to witness in person the physical setting of the group" (p. 181).

3. Variety of identities and situations: "(...) the more varied the status opportunities within which the observer can relate to his subjects, and the more varied the activities he witnesses, the more likely the observer's interpretations will be true" (p. 182).

4. Linguistic familiarity: "(...) the more familiar the observer is with the language of his subjects, the more accurate should be his interpretations" (p. 182).

5. Intimacy with subjects: "(...) the greater degree of intimacy the observer achieves with his subjects, the more accurate his interpretations" (p. 182). Here the crucial criterion is the degree to which the observer "is invited to join in group activities or ceremonies which are generally considered private to the group, or if he is asked to discuss matters with his subjects that are discussed only among the members themselves and not with outsiders..." (p. 182).

6. Metacommunicative verification: "(...) the more the observer confirms the expressive meanings of the community, either directly or indirectly, the more accurate will be his interpretation of them" (p. 183); ... "the

observer can record the ways in which people confirm their meanings among themselves by indicating how assent is given to meanings directly in the conversations of people in their natural setting, or indirectly in ceremonies and general conduct" (p. 183); and he can "confirm his interpretations directly with those he studies" (p. 183).

In addition the observer should be able to frame the observed community in time and place (p. 184). I suggest that this implies that he should be familiar with the influence of history, geography, demography and economy, and generally with the major terms of the community's ecological interaction as a whole in the wider society.

Bruyn's criteria operationally link fieldwork ecology (interaction with the environment) and fieldworker's subjectivity.

Owusu (1978) severely criticizes a number of First World ethnographies of African societies on a variety of grounds, but most operationally for the ethnographers' linguistic incompetence in informants' vernacular, which has led to oversimplification and even gross inaccuracy.

Lincoln and Guba (1985), in an exhaustive review and critique of the metatheory, theory and methodology of naturalistic social scientific research, reject the constructs of reliability and validity as unjustifiably objectivistic, and propose four criteria and corresponding procedural techniques of establishing scientific "trustworthiness" (pp. 289-331) appropriate to naturalistic research.

1. Truth value or credibility. Statements of data and hypothesis should not be falsifiable (p. 295), and should reflect informants' multiple constructions of reality adequately, to the extent that they are credible to informants (p. 296).

Credibility to informants, I propose, is a vague and often unattainable goal. Their beliefs, even about their own constructions, may be scientifically inaccurate and contradict the researcher's conclusions. And, as this research shows, what informants believe, and what they say they believe, are not necessarily identical. They may reject as meaningless, unreal or ideologically unacceptable the objectification of their subjective constructions.

Lincoln and Guba contend (p. 328) that the probability of meeting this first set of criteria is increased by the techniques of (a) prolonged engagement; (b) persistent observation; (c) triangulation (checking with

more than one informant and more than one investigator; (d) peer debriefing, i.e., regular discussion and review of fieldwork information with peers; (e) negative case analysis -- "revising hypotheses with hindsight (...) until (they) account for all known cases without exception (p. 309); and (f) referential adequacy, setting aside a representative sample of data on which tentative hypotheses derived from the remainder are subsequently tested.

2. Applicability or transferability. Hypotheses should be capable of generalization to other informants researched. Here the investigator's responsibility "ends in providing sufficient descriptive data to make such similarity judgments possible" (p. 298). The data should constitute "thick description" (pp. 124-125), setting out every relevant feature of the context of the research and of informants.

3. Consistency or dependability. Although total replicability is often impossible, if only because "one can never cross the same stream twice" (p. 299), the research method and its implementation should be as reliable and replicable as possible. An "audit trail" of raw data, reduced data, and products of analysis (such as field notes, summaries, theoretical notes and hunches), methodological notes, materials relating to the researcher's intentions and dispositions (including the inquiry proposal and personal notes) and instrument development information (including pilot forms, preliminary schedules and surveys) should be assessed by an independent auditor in terms of this criterion (pp. 319-320).

In practice the exhaustive services of a scientific "auditor" are impossible to obtain in most naturalistic inquiry (including geographically isolated ethnographic research, as well as psychoanalytic therapy), and such an "audit" was left to myself. I stored all such records for the entire period of research, periodically reviewing them and adding modifications. I would propose that sufficient detail is provided in this account to permit methodological replicability.

More cogently, however, all the oral lexicographic data were formally checked with two or three of a total of 76 speakers, in terms of rules set out in 5.62, rendering the possibility of error in such data extremely low. Other than in the identification of, and assignment of data to intracommunal identities and corresponding lexicogrammatical codes, the ethnographic data were not so checked, because of the impossibility of finding speakers able to objectify every part of their full range, let alone comprehend and criticize the scientific myth in terms of which they

are presented. However, except where explicitly indicated, such data were included only in terms of a rule of redundancy -- that I had acquired them identically many times over, had duly recorded them and modified the record if necessary during this process, and had repeatedly encountered them thereafter and found no further modification necessary.

To the abovementioned extent, then, an "audit trail" was audited by informants themselves -- a procedure undoubtedly superior to that proposed by Lincoln and Guba -- and such data constitute a collective enterprise by informants in which I acted as clerk, editor and scientific interpreter by replicable methods.

4. Neutrality or confirmability. The statements of data and hypothesis should be capable of confirmation by other investigators and not be dependent on the subjectivity of one individual (pp. 299-300). The "audit trail" should be similarly assessed in terms of this criterion (p. 328).

In practice the proposal is often unworkable, precisely because "one cannot step into the same stream twice". For instance, it may be impossible for another investigator to confirm or refute data that I acquired in 1965.

Given all these checks and balances, Lincoln and Guba conclude that

naturalistic criteria of trustworthiness are open-ended; they can never be satisfied to such an extent that the trustworthiness of the inquiry could be labeled as unassailable. (....) ... it can at best persuade (p. 329).

Other than in my criticisms set out above, I agree completely with the prescriptions and conclusions of all the abovementioned writers, which accord with the conduct of this research.

This is an interdisciplinary study, possibly novel in its particular psychosocial synthesis of psychology and anthropology. I propose that in the ideological terms of contemporary psychological methodology, data alone cannot constitute the sole criterion of adequacy. The method must be explicated in its own right, to afford an opportunity for repetition if possible, and for critical assessment of itself and the ideological relationships between method, data and analysis. As far as possible criteria must be formulated for critical assessment of the method. Bruyn's criteria cover time, geographic space, social space (variety of identities and situations), consensual terms of communication (linguistic familiarity), psychosocial interaction (intimacy with subjects), objectification (metacommunicative verification) and the objective frame of

group identity (its diachronic and synchronic ecology). Owusu requires facility in informants' vernacular. Lincoln and Guba seek methodological credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability.

I would contend that the major terms of data and interpretation in this study -- particularly the lexis and its sociolinguistic codes -- are confirmable or refutable by other investigators. The extensive account below, then, is intended to make that possible and to demonstrate the meeting of the requirements specified above. At the end of the day, however, the study as a whole -- method and results together -- cannot be replicated. To revert to the metaphor: a stream does not merely flow; in time it may change course or even dry up. Religio-political reality has changed in the speech community. For instance, most delinquent gangs would now be intolerant of the relationship that my fieldwork gang and I formed, especially in the extent of attachment and intimacy.

On the other hand, the same fieldwork strategies would not be required to test the trustworthiness of the results of this study. Indeed, vastly less work would be required. Put simply, I did not know what to look for at first; anything and everything in the way of data was grist to my ethnographic mill, and I learned at random from my ethnographic community. A subsequent investigator would have a choice: to undertake a comparable procedure, or specifically to test the findings of this study. Either way, the community would not be investigated from the point of ignorance at which I entered.

5.5 The Fieldwork as Initiation

5.50 Introduction

The account of fieldwork is formulated methodologically in terms of participant observation as initiation into the consciousness, reality and identity reported in this thesis. In general it is organized both to afford an opportunity for assessment in terms of criteria of adequacy, and in terms of the breadth and depth of objective and subjective interpersonal interaction in space and time.

The paradigm of initiation is exegetically employed as a framework for organizing the major parameters of the account of fieldwork and introducing its genre.

The data on fieldwork in 5.51-5.55 are social. However, the major theme

that emerges in the remainder of this section is psychosocial: the interaction between objective parameters and subjective schemata in terms of the individual, internal processes of initiation. ("Schema" as used here refers to a synchronic, subjectified segment of integrative identity organization developed in a diachronic interactive process in terms of an epigenetic code, and is derived from the formulations of Piaget [1936].) Many ethnographers (e.g., Weakland [1951], Agar [1980: 69], Plotcinov [1973]) insist that participant observation requires "direct, personal involvement" with informants (Agar [loc. cit.]; but not, of course, with consequences that impair the research). The introduction, framing and objectification of the social account of fieldwork within a psychosocial paradigm is required by the model of ethnographic initiation framed by professional initiation. But it also affords the holistic advantage of consciousness and perspective for the construal of the fieldwork in terms of the diachronic process of initiation.

To these ends it is relevant to record that the formulation of ethnographic fieldwork as initiation, and the entire account of fieldwork in the next section were completed several months before I read any anthropological participant-observational literature (including the references cited in this chapter) except for Bruyn (1966) and as previously stated, and any theoretical literature on initiation, although I was vaguely familiar with van Gennep's formulations on phase sequence (op. cit.). Subsequently the account and formulations were slightly modified, and then only to amplify and integrate them with the literature. This sequence of progress was unplanned and (to both supervisor and candidate) followed a subjective schema, but some ethnographers (see, e.g., Agar [1980: 24]) advocate the undertaking of fieldwork and the recording of raw data uninfluenced by prior familiarity with formulations of such data by other researchers.

Rabinow (1977) introduces his account of ethnographic fieldwork by defining the common parameters of the identities of both the participant observer and the researched group. He also acknowledges the inherent limitations of any account of fieldwork in representing its reality. His observations apply fully to my fieldwork and account of it.

The self being discussed is perfectly public (...) the culturally mediated and historically situated self which finds itself in a continuously changing world of meaning.

For that reason I employ a phenomenological method. Ricoeur again offers us a clear definition. Phenomenology for him is a description

of "a movement in which each cultural figure finds its meaning not in what precedes it but in what follows: consciousness is drawn out of itself and ahead of itself in a process in which each step is abolished and retained in the following one."* In simpler language, this means that what you will read in this (account) is meant to be a whole, in which the meaning of each (part) depends on what comes after it. What the (account) and these experiences are about is themselves.

This (account) is a reconstruction of a set of encounters that occurred while doing fieldwork. At that time, of course, things were anything but neat and coherent. At this time, I have made them seem that way so as to salvage some meaning from that period for myself and for others. (....) This (account) could have been half as long, or twice as long, or ten times as long. (....) Anyone who had such a set of progressively coherent encounters while in the field, and was fully conscious of it at the time, would not have had the kind of experience which I have reconstructed here. As Hegel says, "the owl of Minerva flies at Dusk" (pp. 5-7). *Ricoeur (1969: 25).

Numerous writers attest (see Agar [op. cit., passim]) that ethnographic initiation is a process marked by personal confusion and even severe disturbance of the fieldworker's identity. Herbert (1980) approaches this phenomenon by observing that the task of acquiring ethnographic knowledge

is now a highly developed professional activity, for which there is a process of initiation in which the novice seeks the kind of selfhood that is needed. Yet contemporary anthropological field technique is a cultural achievement whose dynamic underpinnings may be lost to view because of the general acceptance it has gained (p. 196).

He cites accounts of fieldwork carried out between 1915-1918 by Malinowski (1967), which can in clinical terms be regarded as showing dramatic evidence of a manic-depressive disturbance or "creative illness" in the pioneer's life. Herbert proposes that

(...) it is generally understood that the stresses of anthropological fieldwork result from a situation in which an alien social context renders unworkable most of the orientations that the fieldworker brings from his or her home culture, and that the resulting confusions must be sustained and survived if effective work is to be done. (....) Learning to cope with the resultant guilt, which may crop up for example when a fieldworker must take notes in the course of a funeral, is now also a part of the initiatory routine (Golde [ed] [1970: 91];

Powdermaker [1966: 84, 112, 115, 291-292]). The (...) trials (of the ethnographic) (...) encounter (...) mark the passage into a professional identity. The drama of the boundary line, it would seem, has become a liminal drama of the kind that Victor Turner describes as taking place between programmed stages of individual development within a culture (Turner [1969: 194-230]) (p. 204).

This formulation can be criticized for reifying or attributing objectivity to the "alienness" of the ethnographic identity. Perhaps most Western adult urban residents interact daily with others who are culturally different. Herbert fails to distinguish between unfamiliarity or strangeness as distinguished from alienation, and overlooks the mythic nature of the "boundary line".

In this century alienation has become perhaps the most influential identity theme and ideological issue in Western politics, social science and art, popularized by Marx (1844; see Fromm [1963] and Ollman [2nd ed: 1976]). Psychologically it is most commonly construed in existential terms (e.g., Laing [1961], Rosenberg and Bergen [1976]) as manifesting in mystification, the defensive splitting of consciousness into an impersonal, objective sector and a personal, subjective sector which conflict ambivalently, and in which the conflict is defensively objectified, i.e., the subjectified sector is disavowed and assigned to the Other and the ambivalent conflict is construed as objectively real solely between Self and Other. In social psychology the phenomenon is described as prejudice (Allport [1954]) and in social anthropology as ethnocentrism (e.g., Levine and Campbell [1972]).

I suggest that it is the objective myth of the Stranger, the Other, which paradigmatically frames the entire ethnographic encounter (see Nash [1963], Meintel [1973] and Agar [1980: passim]). In ethnographic ethics, alienation (ethnocentrism) is the crime, and empathy the virtue. I propose that the fundamental ordeal in participant-observational initiation is not external (social) but internal (psychosocial): the transformation of previously ritualized programmes of interaction between subjectivity and objectivity which, given self-imposed entrapment in isolation from the fieldworker's community of origin by vocational fidelity, can produce severe guilt over alienation from both Self and Other, and out of which new consciousness, myth and identity are developed. It is the personal struggle between the established Self and the emergent Other within that can be "tumultuous" (Herbert [op. cit., passim]) and highly dramatic to the initiate, eliciting the cosmic theme of primal confrontation between

identities. And whenever the ethnographic myth proposed by the fieldworker manifests alienation and stigmatizes the ethnographic identity, albeit in such liberal terms as "preliterate", "developing", "disadvantaged", etc., the encounter is construed as between Cultural Self and Natural Other, the latter representing the Culturally disavowed, subjectified and (ambivalently) unknown Natural sector of the Self. The confrontation between Culture and Nature is perhaps as fundamental an identity theme as between life and death.

The internal developmental encounter between Self and emergent Other proceeds with the external social process that Turner (1969) describes as liminality:

The attributes of liminality or of liminal personae ('threshold people') are necessarily ambiguous, since this condition and these persons elude or slip through the network of classifications that normally locate states and positions in cultural space. Liminal entities are neither here nor there; they are betwixt and between the positions assigned and arrayed by law, custom, convention and ceremonial. As such, their ambiguous and indeterminate attributes are expressed by a rich variety of symbols in the many societies that ritualize social and cultural transitions. Thus liminality is frequently likened to death, to being in the womb, to invisibility, to darkness, to bisexuality, to the wilderness, and to an eclipse of the sun or moon (p. 81).

What is interesting about liminal phenomena for our present purposes is the blend they offer of lowliness and sacredness, of homogeneity and comradeship (p. 82).

Liminal identity can approach stasis when initiation is prolonged, or be forced into stasis under alienative conditions of rigid social stratification. Turner cites the court jester, referring to Gluckman's (1965) study:

These figures, representing the poor and the deformed, appear to symbolize the moral value of *communitas* as against the coercive power of supreme political rulers (1969: 96).

Static liminal identities, i.e., those which remain liminal throughout the life cycle, are in inherently unstable social positions. When such positions are enforced, the identities tend to enact rituals of status reversal, which may be socially sanctioned.

(...) groups or categories of persons who habitually occupy low status positions in the social structure are positively enjoined to exercise ritual authority over their superiors; and they, in turn, must accept with good will their ritual degradation (1969: 156).

As indicated in review of the literature, *communitas* is construed as a liminal phenomenon occurring in "tensed opposition" (Turner [1969: 105]) to structure and outside of it. It is this tension -- of alienated ambivalence, I suggest -- between symbiosis and differentiation of identity, between chaos and order, that is manifested in the internal "tumult" and the external "silence" (Turner [op. cit.: 89]) -- i.e., mystification -- of the self-initiatory creative illness in ethnographic initiation.

It will become evident in my account of fieldwork that it was not only the fieldworker who enacted a liminal identity. Liminality was religiously and politically imposed on the ethnographic community itself in the social order. My initiation as a middle-class white by a working-class coloured disreputable/delinquent peer group and more generally by a stigmatized and subordinated community constituted an extended ritual process of status reversal, enforced in innumerable enactments by informants.

It will become apparent that the mythically special social order of South African society made no difference to the fundamental terms of ethnographic initiation -- indeed, the myth and order framed it by defining Self and Other, and posing the initiatory challenge of alienation. But it affected the initiatory process, bringing interpersonal conflict and instability, and posing a severe challenge to both me and my closer friends among informants, for reality did not admit of the independence and equality necessary to both sides for a fully honourable encounter. The joint struggle to achieve or maintain honour produced unusual paradoxes in the liminal identities of both initiate and *communitas*, which retarded the initiatory process and are implicit in the subtitles and content of the account below. The fundamental paradox is that in objective terms I appeared not to have been initiated at all, but to have remained a relatively powerful, influential friend and researcher; but my identity gave every evidence of protracted liminality in both communities, of origin and ethnographic adoption, of stressful conflict between symbiosis with, and differentiation from the identity of my ethnographic community, and manifoldly of the diachronic process of initiation described by van Gennep and Turner (Stone [1987b]).

I have suggested that successful initiation engages the initiate as a person even beyond identity, and ramifies throughout subjective and objective consciousness. Further, the course of such initiation is inevitably characterized by a profound split between objective and subjective processes, which is the essence of social seclusion and psychosocial mystificatory ordeal, and by their re-integration, which is the essence of emergence. The external, communal and public processes of identity acquisition, transformation and development are accompanied by isomorphic but temporarily split-off internal, individual and private processes.

In summary, there appear to be independent but fundamental similarities in the experiences, mythic constructions and processes of initiation as participant observer of both myself and other reporters, which are reflected in the organization and content of the account below. (For comprehensive guides to ethnographic fieldwork see, e.g., Pelto and Pelto [2nd ed] [1978] and especially Agar [1980], which successfully demystifies virtually every aspect of the ethnographic enterprise. These works also have extensive bibliographies.)

To afford meaning, coherence and continuity, the provision of evidence for the assessment of methodological adequacy must inevitably extend beyond its own strict mandate. Since an account of ethnographic fieldwork -- particularly as initiation -- is not only an explication of method but also an historic narrative, and since genre is inseparable from ideology in scientific and especially ethnographic texts, Rosaldo's prescriptions (1980) apply also to my account of fieldwork:

(...) I shall develop an analysis of society and history conceived as the interplay of received structures and human activity. (...) I plan to stress not just the given nature of society, but also the ways in which human beings continually construct, manipulate, and even recast the social worlds into which they were born and within which they will die (pp. 22-23).

(....) Indeed, it is precisely the simultaneous grasp of contingent happenings, developmental processes, and cultural forms, all seen together as they move through time, that constitutes what W.B. Gallie* has called the historical understanding (p. 19). * Gallie (1968).

(....) I regard the narrative form (...) less as a matter of surface rhetoric than as an embodiment of a distinctive kind of knowledge: the

historical understanding. More broadly, I would suggest that ethnographers should attend carefully to compositional modes, for what we have to say is rarely separable from how we say it.

(....) In writing ethnographies, we rarely use already developed literary techniques for the portrayal of the lives of our subjects. Ranging from the standard experimentalist's format of problem-data-analysis-discussion-conclusion to the more meandering clinical case history, the conventions of prose discourse serve both to collect and to organize ethnographic data in accord with distinct analytical presuppositions (p. 21).

The following account, then, is naturalistic, historic, narrative and dramatic, and is confined almost entirely to the major methodologically relevant terms of this study.

For reasons of economy it concentrates on the first decade of fieldwork and in particular on its four major social foundations, which can also be construed as concentric social circles: neighbourhood, within which -- respectively -- community centre, peer group and fictive family; within the first two, identity as social and youth worker, and within the latter two as peer and fictive brother. These constituted the communal (and mythic) origins of virtually all other significant fieldwork during the period described, however distally it ramified in space and time. As the processes, terms and codes of initiation became ritualized, it was in these institutional groups that my ethnographic identity formed and from which it subsequently developed. Subsequent events, notably the changes, are summarized. Throughout the period of fieldwork, interaction between informants and myself was acutely, pervasively in religio-political terms, in which fundamental changes occurred. Considerations of space have required severe curtailment of their account.

The account presents interactional events as the text of discourse on public, communal identity. As exegesis it digresses only to explicate the fundamental mythic terms of exchange between participant observer and informants, because they paradigmatically framed the research enterprise, and incidentally because of the social reality that they bring to the codal terms of antilanguage in this speech community's dialect, with which they were isomorphic.

As representation of my experience in my ethnographic community it is a patchy, pale reflection of an ultimately ineffable reality. It does not encompass the meaning, difficulty (agony, struggle to reach the Other,

maintain the Self) and depth of encounter by both sides, the daily living and the shared and diverse passage of lives between people who came to know each other in some ways.

But not in others. I was not born to a coloured family and community, did not grow up coloured in them nor endure and live as coloured. To a considerable extent I subjectively became working-class Peninsular coloured by identification. Yet I continue to find that every reasonably intelligent adolescent and adult member of that community knows endlessly more about its consciousness, reality and identity than I do. On the other hand, I have had the advantage of disciplined method, reflection and the relative objectivity that a partial outsider can derive with sustained effort and experience from adolescence to middle age.

5.51 Separation

A description of fieldwork requires framing by at least the minimum of pertinent biographical data about the fieldworker, with which many informants were acquainted, especially my closest companions, who ritualized the terms of my initiation.

I remain a middle-class Jewish white who immigrated to Cape Town from England at the age of seven in the early 1950s. My grandparents had emigrated to England to escape pogroms in Eastern Europe. Both my parents were of working-class origin: they had no more than a primary-school education and had grown up in profound material poverty. My Jewish consciousness and working-class ancestry were significant in my interest in this work. Among other things, they provided a foundation of consciousness, a mythic framework and identity code and style on which I constructed a shared identity with informants (as many did with me). Not surprisingly, I tended to do this with particular ease and pleasure with Muslims, especially in their religious language, myth, ritual and style, which many Christians (including Christian coloureds) construed as alien and exotic, if not a little diabolical. It became necessary to distinguish those terms of Jewish, working-class British and East European identities which differed from coloured, working-class coloured, and Muslim identities in Cape Town. But the consciousness that my identity had communal terms which were thoroughly mixed, partly founded in religio-political ordeal by subordination, partly ambiguous and untraceable but certainly -- and welcomingly -- other than white, Christian or Western, added to my subjective construction of shared identity. Then the crucial Jewish consciousness of

the sacramental power of numinous (i.e., cosmically present, inner, creative) resources to resist and transcend stigmatization was one of the two fundamental vocational frames of this research enterprise. The other is most simply put by Rabinow (1977):

(...) following Paul Ricoeur* , I define the problem of hermeneutics (which is simply Greek for "interpretation") as "the comprehension of self by the detour of the comprehension of the other" (...) the culturally mediated and historically situated self which finds itself in a continuously changing world of meaning (p. 5). *Ricoeur (1969: no pagination.)

Although a community of several hundred working-class coloured people lived no more than half a kilometre from our home in Cape Town until they were ejected in terms of the Group Areas Act three years after our arrival, I had no contact with working-class people of colour other than in their capacity as domestic and other manual workers, nor with middle-class people of colour until I entered university.

From 1961, when I was a late adolescent and a first-year undergraduate student, I became involved in virtually daily contact with working- and to a lesser extent middle-class in an extremely wide range of situations. This began with personal friendships, and in the case mainly of working-class people extended to voluntary and then professionally disciplined youth and casework, counselling and therapeutic practice, and then to research. Ethical conflicts between these three paradigms seldom arose. When they did, I put therapeutic responsibilities first, friendships second, and research last. In no case did this limit or compromise the research, because the range of opportunities for acquiring data was so extensive.

As I became more involved with coloured people and moved more extensively in coloured neighbourhoods, my informal involvement with whites correspondingly diminished. Increasingly my friends were working-class coloured, and even my white friends were liberal professionals and academics whom I had met at university and during the course of the work described below. My earlier white friends began to regard me as odd, I found that we had less and less in common, and we drifted apart. My parents too were mystified, and became uneasy.

Separation, mystification and ambivalence were imposed with a vengeance. Ethnographers usually live in their fieldwork communities, which are often thousands of miles away from their home, and non-Western as well. I

continued to reside in middle-class white neighbourhoods (except for three months during which I lived in a working-class coloured neighbourhood), but as I began to spend all my spare time in an extremely impoverished coloured neighbourhood I became starkly aware of moving between, and soon belonging to two vastly alien worlds, at once intimately complementary and fatefully opposed; and of acquiring a new consciousness alienated from my own original world as much as my original consciousness was alienated from the new.

More than two decades before I read of the "boundary line", the schism became acutely symbolized by two dangerous railway crossings along the borders of my "racially" segregated fieldwork neighbourhood, over which I drove back and forth. As I did so during the first few years I was dramatically conscious, often with anguish, sometimes with horror, of switching worlds and identities. The decay, disorder, poverty, filth, noise, bloody violence, casually flaunted sexuality and suffering of my fieldwork world contrasted shockingly with the hush, order, efficiency, affluence, discretion and security of the other. The easy way out would have been to withdraw into either; both tempted me. But I cared about both and determined to bear the brunt if possible.

My attempts to empathize with both worlds and establish a settled identity in each were deeply unstable and stressful during the first decade. I soon concluded that I was on both sides of a society with a deeply muted but horrifying agenda: civil war. Equally, each identity excluded me from the other side. Even my white friends in the social sciences, academically competent, liberal and admiring my putative ability to communicate with "them" (working-class coloured Others), joked about, and patronised me as an "eccentric" and "anomic delinquent", and speculated psychiatrically in my presence about my degraded choice of friends. Similarly, my working-class coloured friends wanted me lily-white and elite.

My closest approximation to consistency was that I lived alone on the line in the sharp pain and beauty of absolute solitude with a uniquely panoramic view, and at risk of destruction unless I yielded -- at whatever cost to stability -- to the passing rhythms of threat and peace. I felt as if I had died and was invisibly haunting, watching over both communities, night and day, for eternity. The rhythms of my life became unpredictable. Especially in summer, at three and four in the morning, after the revellers, whores, vagrants, robbers, cleaners and police had retired, stationary Cape Town would be left to the breeze, the seagulls, the rats

and me, roaming, inspecting, idling through any part, from grand avenues to shanty-lined paths, knowing the recesses of the city even in its unconscious repose, until sleep would clutch me in its care as the city awoke. I swung endlessly between exaltation and despair, and battled the chronic infections and infestations endemic among the very poor. Regularly I vowed to myself that I would abandon this mad challenge-adventure that I had so blithely begun, only to find myself drawn back as if by gravity.

My initiation was to be replete with paradoxes, to mystify me for twenty-five years, just as my ethnographic community was mystified until it began religio-political revolution in 1985. The most superficial paradox was that I was to be appointed a senior -- even a prophetic leader -- who was equally a servant unto his subordinated brethren.

5.52 Seclusion and Instruction

From 1963 until 1968 I ran a weekly evening club for about forty boys aged eight to fifteen at a community centre in a working-class coloured residential area, part of which was extremely impoverished, and frequently took the members on weekend camps. As soon as I began, it became evident that I would have to learn their vernacular if I was to achieve anything more than my predecessor, who ran the club along evangelical Christian lines and abandoned it to me without notice the week after I started.

I immediately found that the significance of the use of the vernacular could hardly be overestimated. It opened doors. Informants were explicit that they construed my use of it a highly unusual, surprising and gratifying violation of their expectations of middle-class white identity, a confirmation of their communal identity's honour, and a sharing of their consciousness and reality (see below). It obviously played a central role in the establishment of immediate rapport with strangers, the conduct of counselling and psychotherapy and admission to the *communitas*. My use of it to mediate middle-class myth and consciousness in terms of working-class myth and consciousness appeared to be a source of intellectual stimulation, surprise and gratifying liberation to upwardly mobile adolescent and young adult clients and many informants. They claimed that they found it unique in their experience, especially in providing a greatly desired bridge (which they had believed not to exist) between their working-class identity base and middle-class destination, regarded with ambivalence, anxiety, mystification and alienation. However, these constructions tended to wane as communal competence in middle-class linguistic codes increased.

In this extremely impoverished, afflicted neighbourhood I rapidly became known as he who could and would help. Within a month I began to find myself approached by members and relatives for assistance with an extremely wide variety of problems and crises, and rapidly became involved in the neighbourhood. From 1966 to 1968 I was a professional social worker at that institution, undertaking family casework, groupwork with adults, detached street gang work, and psychotherapy with adolescent male delinquents. Fieldwork was conducted in close collaboration with, and informal but rigorous supervision by a social anthropologist, Dr M G Whisson, who was also undertaking ethnographic research on the Capetonian coloured community. He and I spent very many hours of fieldwork and review together, and he commented intensively on fieldwork notes and essays that I found useful to undertake.

I spent nearly all my available time in the neighbourhood, often on the streets, and in 1965 was informally adopted as **huiskind** (respectable lexis; honorary or fictive adoptive child) in the parental home of a working-class youth of similar age. My home equally became his. I joined his peer group. Since this constituted my induction into ethnographic participant observation and most intensive initiation into my fieldwork community's identity, and the group and his family constituted two of my three major social bases in the community, both are described in greater detail.

I was based also as youth and social worker at the community centre nearby. He and I became fictive brothers and closest friends. My three closest associates were him, Dr Whisson, and the centre's middle-aged clubs organizer, a formerly working-class Muslim originally trained as a tailor and construction artisan, who also lived nearby, and with whom I spent considerable time discussing data, which greatly interested him.

I first encountered the gang when driving to a client's home. Three members, including my future fictive brother, were hanging outside the doorway of a bus ahead of me, taking a free ride to the corner café. We bantered gesturally, and when they jumped off I stopped and invited them into the car to make acquaintance, which we did. I then went off to complete my visit, returned and bought refreshments, which we shared. Thereafter I began to visit them and the rest of the group frequently, and they came to the community centre. Within a fortnight we had begun to visit each other's homes. I proposed myself as their detached gang worker, explaining that this was common practice in the United States but an innovation in this country: I would be available to help them get on in

life and enjoy themselves without trouble (i.e., antisocial trouble and its consequences). They were delighted to be national pioneers on a par with the American gangs whose style they emulated, and we had a deal, or at least a charter for an odd but perhaps very interesting friendship.

The gang consisted of several friendship groups loosely cohering together, and varied in number with situation and time from about ten to twenty. All members were literate, but the majority had dropped out of primary school. Only four had passed standard seven, and one standard eight (junior high). All members were delinquent to some extent, i.e. to degrees which varied in time, situation and mood, and very widely from one individual to another, they enacted communal identities construed delinquent and therefore disreputable as well (see 6.222 and 6.223).

The degree of delinquency ranged from casual flirtation to extensive confirmation in antisocial criminality. When I first joined, the group constituted a gang with a name and geopolitical territory, but was one of the least violent of the thirteen gangs in the neighbourhood. About half the members were ambivalent about delinquency, and I cautiously encouraged an existing tendency to cleavage by concentrating my efforts on the less delinquent and more upwardly mobile subgroup. Thereafter the more actively delinquent tended increasingly to go their individual ways, although all remained on friendly terms. My policy undoubtedly contributed to the disintegration of the gang as such after about a year, and my subgroup returned completely to its prior independence as a neighbourhood friendship group, most of whose members had grown up together. However, outsiders still identified all members of the defunct gang by its name. The myth of its existence persisted for another year or two, and former members did nothing to discourage it.

In the intracommunal hierarchy my group as a whole ranked decisively above the poorest of the poor (with whom they mixed to a considerable extent but whom the more educated members privately scorned as inferiors), although there was considerable range in socio-economic status within the group. My relatively non-delinquent subgroup included all the most educated members, who shared with their parents a construction that they were based among the respectable, with the hope of upward mobility even into the middle class. Nearly all the relatively non-delinquent members had the standard seven or higher permitting entrance into an artisan apprenticeship, and the acquisition of material capital with thrift. Indeed, a standard seven was then normatively construed a base if not a marker of respectability, the

necessary, sufficient educational base from which upward mobility was readily available. Their parents were all literate but had only a primary-school education, and had thus kept their sons at secondary school in the hope that they might become upwardly mobile. My relatively non-delinquent group, then, belonged among a substantial (but unquantifiable) proportion who at that time were among the middle ranks of the neighbourhood and the Capetonian working-class coloured community. Above them in status were those working-class adolescents whose educational level was still higher, maintained a more stably, even scrupulously respectable communal identity, and could already expect, however tentatively, entrance to the middle class.

From the outset the tastes of my closest friends in their smartest clothes had been wholly middle-class and conservative, identical to my own, and we often swapped items for particular occasions. But for work all members dressed in working-class style, and for casual recreation they wore the uniforms of the time that identified them as delinquent.

I became a member shortly after the formation of the relatively non-delinquent group, to which my fictive brother belonged. None of the members of this group bore tattoos or had convictions for crime against person or property (other than the most senior member, who was a retired delinquent, had a reputation for extreme brutality in fighting, and had served three years in prison for assault with intent to do grievous bodily harm). Nevertheless, most of them -- including all my closer friends -- were experienced, tough, confident, aggressive and disciplined street-fighters if a challenge arose. I never knew them to lose a fight, receive appreciable injury or cause grave injury (except for the abovementioned individual), and they were respected as competent and fair in combat by the other gangs in the neighbourhood. During fights I was expected not to participate. I was thought hopelessly too unskilled and considerate, and above the fray. Their construction was that they were the Black working-class brawn and I the White middle-class brain.

I had to learn to live with terms of friendship different to those of the middle-class and even the respectable working-class. Whimsical or calculated lying as well as irresponsibility in keeping arrangements such as caring for and returning possessions or loans; brutal taunting and insult, the most gleefully defamatory gossip, unpredictable moods and aggressiveness, frequent arguments; theft of possessions or women (exploited as property); even fairly severe assaults; these were construed damaging but not necessarily fatal in friendship. (I have yet to come

across a friendship in delinquent circles that was not marked by conflict and rupture, temporary or indefinite, explicitly over such issues, so I was not alone in my difficulties.) Compared with my own experience, friends expected very little of each other, and usually offered it except perhaps to their closest comrades. Throughout fieldwork, disreputables and delinquents complained bitterly that trustworthy, constructive friends did not exist; and for all their crowded households and often hectically gregarious activities, many were often acutely lonely and bored.

On the other hand moral tolerance, camaraderie, pooling of material resources, unpredictable but extraordinarily self-sacrificial generosity; intimacy, wit and high humour; and exceptionally spirited energy and adventurousness in group activities -- all these were normative, far more developed than in the middle class, and to me thoroughly congenial and indeed therapeutic. The community that I now immersed myself in subjectively became my own, and the more outcast, despised and helpless the individuals and the more they suffered, the more afflicted and loyal I was -- only to become outraged, often, by their behaviour.

In summary, friendship among them tended to be profoundly unstable due to the individualistic reservation of option and distrust at the expense of group cohesion, but when cohesion occurred it would be exceptionally well-integrated and intimate. Disreputability and delinquency were instability, ambivalence and periodic sadistic aggression in all things, and friendships were cemented to any extent only by a friend's willingness to take the other's nonsense and to "understand" (translation) and honour him, for which the other might occasionally show whimsical gratitude. A modicum of reciprocity, however, was requisite for the survival of the friendship.

Unlike confirmed delinquents, members of my peer group were fanatic and competent soccer players, who took practices and matches very seriously and studied books on strategy and tactics. (There was no doubt that their achievements in soccer constituted a construed alternative to achievements in delinquency, and I went to considerable lengths to obtain books written by overseas soccer heroes, which put them one-up among the local teams, but was construed fair.) Together with all the members I belonged to their soccer club, participating sometimes in practices and frequently attending matches. I declined ambivalent invitations to become a club official (which would have threatened the prestige of existing officials), but arranged a venue at the community centre and assisted considerably in club meetings and fund-raising activities. I also assisted in the

operation of a social club that they founded to organize their own weekend entertainment, lend respectable prestige and attract desirable women.

We occasionally went camping for the weekend next to a river in a rural area, where they would engage in escapades such as stealing grapes from a neighbouring vineyard and inviting chase by the farmer with a shotgun, or having quick sex with passing rural girls attracted by these smooth-tongued, quick-witted city slickers. On return from such an adventure several of them stripped, jumped into the river nearby and gleefully splashed their genitals, and my fictive brother appropriated my towel to dry himself ostentatiously amidst raucous guffaws, since I had not the faintest idea of their exploits and had let him take it. Thus my friendship was slyly exploited to celebrate their triumph in what they proposed as sexual competition with me, and to mock and despoil my identity, proposed that of a guardian of respectable sexual morality and hygiene. And he took the lead, demonstrating his solidarity with the group, for there had occasionally been muted grumbles that I favoured him, and suggestions that he and I were making fools of ourselves in our mutual attachment.

He was my closest friend in the group, and his parental home, which I frequented almost daily, became my informal base in the neighbourhood. Indeed, I became more than welcome than I knew at the time: a decade later his mother fervently disclosed that she had helplessly watched him slipping into delinquency, had prayed for God's help -- and I had come along and saved him. I had inaugurated this alleged turn of events with a decisive rout of his sadistic, alcoholic father, who had brutalized and humiliated him since early childhood and thrown him out into the street for several weeks at fifteen while he was still at school. Now, when I had encouraged the two to sit down and talk their differences out, he flung his son's most prized, expensive clothes on the floor and began grinding them under his shoes. I angrily interposed myself; he ordered me out of his house; she (seizing an opportunity awaited for many years) ordered me to stay put; he and I faced off. My fictive brother, whom I had shoved well behind me, slumped into a chair, agog at this unthinkable revolution, and father retreated snarling before his enraged wife, never to attack his son again. Eventually he accepted us both and indeed adopted me in his own inarticulate way, in turn hustling his closest friend out of the house when I lost my temper with the man, who had been needling me in anti-Jewish terms almost daily for several years. Eight years after we met, when I went alone to visit father, gravely ill in hospital, he wept for his family

TEXT CONTINUED OVERLEAF

and himself; two days later he died at fifty, unmourned, of the consequences of chronic alcoholism. One by one I was to become involved, if to a lesser extent, in comparable tragedies in the families of several of my peers. For the rest, in this family I was **huiskind**, addressing my fictive brother's parents as "Auntie" and "Uncle" in the customary way, and enjoyed the privileges of entering without knocking, and sharing supper and Sunday dinner if I wished.

In important respects the relationship between my fictive brother and myself constituted a microcosm of my interaction with the neighbourhood, but disclosed patterns of interaction between communal constructions of my communal identity and its own more clearly and articulately. To these extents it appeared to be an isomorph of codal phenomena observable in the dialect. Moreover, time revealed that it presaged communal and societal change that became manifest only a decade or more later. For all these reasons further description of the relevant aspects is informative (and after reading this section he kindly consented to it).

He also employed such rituals of status (or role) reversal (Stone [1985]) in disreputable but honourable solidarity, sometimes with flaunting and sadism, whenever he construed himself mortified by me in the eyes of his peers. Because of my superior status and resources in general he was acutely sensitive to the possibility, and tended to interpret or at least represent any conflict between us in these terms. The tactical purpose of such performances was to retrieve his honour by rejecting me and retaliating with the invocation of a defiant underdog identity shared with his peer group. Such episodes tended to occur once every two months or so. Until middle age there was disequilibrium and conflict, but once tempers had cooled we shared a construction that there were other enduring priorities in our relationship, and the more readily each of us maintained at least a modicum of both honour and tolerance, the more smoothly these events would pass. They reflected the entire group's construction of a fundamental schism and enmity arising from the domination of their community by mine, and served to obviate the possibility of serious criticism that he was abandoning loyalty to his peers and community for me and mine. At the same time the group never once showed any rejection of me in sympathy with him; indeed, if a member did comment on conflict between the two of us, it was invariably to suggest that I attached more significance to him than they did. At first I found these episodes incomprehensible and highly provocative, but gradually accepted that there would indefinitely be ambivalence, instability and potential for conflict

(which persisted until middle age). Once, early on, we briefly came to blows in private. The lesson was salutary for both parties, even though he could undoubtedly have thrashed me.

The conflict was founded on fundamental terms of his identity. On one occasion several years after we met he had consumed some liquor, and apropos of nothing in particular he stared at me and erupted savagely: "You, Stone, you're alright, but the whites, I hate them for everything they've done to us." I HATE them!!" (translation). This with menace; my exemption was fragile. Yet although a highly competent unarmed fighter, his capacity for violence was always rigorously controlled by ethical rules of honour common among the respectable in both our communities. He had courage and integrity in such matters, and was wont to intervene to rescue victims of robbery, on one occasion belaying four adolescent neighbours who were attempting to rob a defenceless black milkman. They fled with bruises, never retaliated and skulked when he passed them. On other occasions he rescued elderly coloureds and whites from being robbed or trampled by crowds. Even though one such white woman loudly accused him of attempting to snatch her handbag, he could not restrain himself from assisting on subsequent occasions, sometimes to his chagrin. On several occasions we intervened jointly to assist victims of robbery or assault.

Although his eruption was never mentioned subsequently, I concluded that he remembered it and guessed that I did, and that it constituted inter alia a fundamental ritual declamation of identity, notice beyond all doubt that however much I might be welcomed, idealized and even loved at times, I remained construed a member of the dominant community. Indeed, the struggle to control hatred towards whites in general was a major problem of ambivalence for him. To give vent to hatred was to be faithful to his communal identity (especially when unjustly dealt with, but even without provocation by an individual white) -- yet racist. To restrain hatred was to be faithful to liberal ideals of non-racism, individualism and constructiveness -- but to submit to dishonour, humiliation and impotence. I always supported and assisted him when he faced substantive injustice, but there remained an unbridgeable gulf between us, a problem that I could not help neither of us through. We were close friends, and for well over a decade he attempted to resolve it for both of us by sustaining (and expressing) the hope that I might become coloured and thereby obviate the grounds for his envy and hatred of me: to him I was wholly, solely white; I did not have to achieve honour -- it was ascribed to me by birth; I enjoyed very major and extremely valuable advantages denied to him; indeed, it was

only I as a white who could assist him to restore his honour when wronged by other whites; I was not trapped at the receiving end; I could take my freedom and honour for granted; I could elect to suffer by participating and identifying; he had no alternative. The solution was all or nothing until the issue waned in significance to him, partly because after two decades his own adolescent children began, as he put it with both amazement and humour, to "drag me kicking and screaming into the middle class". Insight was not the problem, which was grumpily confirmed in response to my interpretation: his anxiety about identity change to alien middle-class terms -- irrespective of colour. This would also constitute the individualistic acquisition of a grandiose identity signifying treachery towards the underdog communitas, therefore the threat of outcastness -- since he construed himself incompetent and unacceptable in middle-class terms and for the first five years of our friendship found middle-class company (other than mine) "torture". For him too the agony, the struggle to reach the Other. We understood each other; within a year the unspoken attunement had become acute. I nourished him and he blossomed in interest in the wider world, and in intelligence. His enrichment and fulfilment were mine.

He preserved other identity options as well. Although he had transient friendships with working-class urban blacks and in certain cultural and political respects grandly proposed them his "brothers", he was just as capable of reference to "fucking kaffirs" (translation; in their absence) as to similar abuse of whites and middle-class coloureds (the latter pointedly in their presence), and construed both blacks and right-wing Afrikaners in general as barbarically, brutally tribalistic. Eventually his adolescent son complained to me that he was inconsistent and racist. In practice he was merely grumbling, and displayed acute consciousness that blacks suffered yet more -- still far more -- than coloureds.

I was careful not to generalize from my more intimate acquaintance with him than with any other neighbourhood resident, but often found that he verbalized and enacted mythic issues common in the communitas. For him our friendship constituted a crucible of religio-political conflict between our respective communal identities. He was acutely sensitive to communal consciousness, and observant of neighbourhood affairs, and spontaneously shared participant observation with me (as did all my closest informants). His participation included extensive activity in local soccer (which was itself ridden with political conflict, both internally and in relation to segregated white sport) and his occupation as a master artisan and then

foreman in the building industry, with its authoritarian white management and feeble union, in which myths abounded of the promotion of incompetent working-class whites (especially immigrants) over the heads of competent middle-class coloureds, who would be obliged to train these superiors, "the scum of Europe". As a result of the severe housing shortage intensified by the execution of the Group Areas Act, for the first seven years of his marriage he and his small family repeatedly changed residence from one suburb to another as tenants of single rooms in homes far poorer than his parents', enduring the depredations of alcoholic landlords, their thieving relatives and neighbouring gangs. (When he finally purchased his own home in a middle-class neighbourhood he joked that he would name it "Seven Long Years".) In all these situations he encountered and discussed issues that I repeatedly heard raised by innumerable informants, often in similar, even identical myth and lexis.

At first only with my peer group, but after a few months without them as well, I attended dances, weddings, church and mosque ceremonies, religious festivities, funerals, parties, dances, cinema shows, pubs, nightclubs, amateur and professional soccer matches and club meetings, recreational camps and outings, public political meetings, and indeed the entire range of institutionalized public events available to a member of the community. I frequently managed public dances organized by the soccer and social clubs and the community centre to raise funds, and became heavily involved in the administration of clubs serving a wide variety of predominantly working-class people. For several years I spent at least ten hours weekly strolling or driving at random around the neighbourhood, stopping to talk with, or visit any acquaintance to hand, or indeed any stranger who wanted to talk with me. As a result of these relationships and involvements I established independent friendships and acquaintanceships, and through them yet others. When I began fieldwork with my key gang in 1965 I also did so to a lesser extent with four other gangs in four other suburbs or townships, and kept frequently in touch with the other twelve gangs in my key neighbourhood. (Precision about the number of gangs with whom I undertook fieldwork is impossible because the formation of some was constantly in flux, and some members belonged to more than one gang.) In each neighbourhood I became acquainted with neighbouring gangs, individual members and many other disreputable individuals. Then there was the large number of respectable individuals and families outside the scope of this study. After the first five years of fieldwork my acquaintances were innumerable and spread throughout Greater Cape Town.

As I gained experience and confidence, and became less prone to egregious cultural blunders which embarrassed my friends (who took it upon themselves patiently to educate me), the ability to discourse in both respectable and non-respectable lexises, and do so with characteristically cheerful and witty "play, display and contest" (pace Halliday [1976, reprinted 1978: 180]) to manifest the consciousness of speakers, and to observe the appropriate rules of etiquette, hardly ever failed to gain me rapid acceptance, despite initially suspicious and often perplexed scrutiny.

Etiquette, modesty, generosity and honour were crucial. For instance, I learned early that it is proper to knock discreetly on a front door. The lively thumping customary among middle-class whites (whose dwellings were usually far larger and less crowded) was construed a sign of their typical inconsiderateness and arrogance. I never refused aid to a stranger in genuinely severe distress, no matter how disreputable or outcast, dirty or drunk, which would have been construed impressively churlish and antisocial in any member of the adolescent and adult male *communitas*, and in my case also characteristic of white grandiosity and exclusiveness. I embraced whatever socially constructive activities informants embraced (including the clearing of large quantities of garbage and excrement, especially during floods: the poorest of the poor, who lived in shanties or even little more than half-sheltered holes in the ground, simply scattered this outside). Occasionally I helped my friends paint their homes and tend their gardens.

It soon became evident that explicit questioning and probing would cause informants to clam up unless it was merely to seek insignificant information such as the meaning of a word, or elaboration of a statement. I had been alerted to this from the outset: my fictive brother's opening words when we first met were literally, "Uh oh, someone's studying me ..." (translation). Accordingly I seldom asked questions beyond the abovementioned limits, except of close friends, when I would signify enquiries as personal interest and no more. And this was indeed the case, for although they knew that I was educating myself in the ways of their community, they accepted that whatever formal research project was in hand was my lowest priority in my involvement with them, and that I would protect their privacy. I always discussed ongoing research fully with them, always consulted them fully, and always seemed to enjoy their confidence that my representation of their community in my research would be truthful and benign, and that I was an asset to them. In fact these consultations seemed unnecessary, for they evidently trusted my friendship

without question, and for two decades were incurious about the research except for the honour of mythic objectification in print. Copies of publications were given to them (and they kept them permanently). They grew accustomed to these practices.

In any event questions were seldom necessary. The culturally normative lack of reserve, the tendency to endless, exhaustive gossip, and the intensiveness and extensiveness of fieldwork experience were adequate. Daily I heard up-to-the-minute information about who said and did what to whom, when, where and why, and what followed. Nothing seemed secret or sacred, except perhaps current relationships with steady girlfriends and skeletons in one's family cupboard -- almost invariably trotted out by someone else when the vulnerable party was out of earshot. The minutiae of gustatory, excretory and sexual activities were a special source of mirth, and the subject of endless bragging, taunting and jokes, in which sheer volume, stamina and devilment were all. Anal humour was construed the funniest. (Significantly, by 1985 respectable and upwardly mobile neighbourhoods were commonly termed **reserve** [dignified, decorously quiet and materially well-tended; literally: reserved; respectable lexis] [see 6.220 and 6.221], and older informants remarked on the extent to which many disreputable young men were becoming allusive and discreet in discussing such matters. By 1990 there was a fundamental reversal in rituals of pollution and purity: even otherwise disreputable working-class male informants, who had in earlier years ritually urinated all over and around the toilet-pan and not flushed it, practised -- and clearly celebrated -- the petit-bourgeois rituals of scrupulous aim, closing the lid, flushing and washing their hands as well.)

Nor did informants think it necessary to test my knowledge with objective questions. Over a year or two several acquaintances -- not friends -- in the neighbourhood had separately observed in passing that "you want to find out how we coloured people live" (translation), implying that this was my main purpose there. (One drunken man amused his friends by construing me as a witch [an eccentric, lone male or female secretly plotting against the community] in this respect: I was "spying on us for Verwoerd, so that he will know better how to rule us" [translation].) These passing mythic observations were proposed as fact, and I presumed that they had developed from my peer group or perhaps as a result of my research into the psychocultural context of gang violence (Stone [1966]), during which I had formally interviewed forty informants in the neighbourhood. In its non-paranoid version the myth was also characteristically proposed with both

pleasure and slyness, suggesting that the speaker had shrewdly deduced what I was up to, and liked it.

After two or three years, when a stranger assumed that I was a stranger to his community's consciousness and folkways, and attempted to explain some facet, it became common for a mutual friend to grin and interrupt with "You don't have to explain to Stone: he knows" (*kén*; connoting subjective knowledge acquired in *communitas*; disreputable lexis; elsewhere [Stone, 1987b] I have expanded on constructions of personal knowledge in this speech community). Usually it would be added that *"hy kô lankal aan"* (he's been around a long time, making progress [through life, with us]; respectable lexis).

In disreputable male company I enacted the disreputable identity style without objective awareness of it, even more than two decades after acquiring it:

One day in 1987 I engaged in a cheerful, vigorous exchange in the city centre with a carpenter in his mid-twenties whom I had last seen about three years previously and did not know well. He suddenly burst out laughing, and to the surprise of passersby hooked his arm around my neck, yanked me almost off balance and exclaimed: "You, Stone! You carry on with me just like a fucking coloured man!" (translation.)

Similar comments were occasionally heard from other disreputables when affectionately disposed, and I was always surprised. Late in 1989 an acquaintance who knew nothing of my background laughingly remarked that I had *"Kaapse maniere, skollie maniere"* (Capetonian [coloured] ways, cheerfully mischievous, raffish ways; connoting the construed uniqueness of style) when I was unaware of displaying anything of the sort. But whether I was respectable or not, respectable strangers were puzzled. Some asked me outright whether I was coloured or Muslim (usually positing my conversion and white origin). In 1989 a stranger who had heard me conversing with a working-class friend of twenty-five years' standing privately asked him whether I was coloured or white and was told that I was *"tussen Djood en Gam"* (between Jew and coloured, connoting communal intimacy and disreputability).

However, my bicultural eccentricity could be assigned negative significance. Early in 1991: the conversation was bilingual, in a restaurant with an uneasy stranger and a hitherto friendly acquaintance, a uniformed public amenities law enforcement officer (whose force was suspect of collaboration with white domination and was taunted in his community)

whom I had invited to join in. The acquaintance remarked to the stranger that I was "half-Boer, half-bryn". I pointed out that he knew that I came from England and suggested that by "Boer" he meant "white", but he replied, "Same thing!". I told him of the remark about my being between Jew and coloured. He persisted smugly: "Same thing!". He was conveying both enjoyment of my company and a taunt that all whites were treacherous and my paradoxicality and unusual familiarity with their community signified that I was particularly so. The stranger, who had been soliciting and receiving a free meal and counselling about his unemployment, concluded that I might be a police spy and fled; my acquaintance chuckled -- and jeered when next I passed him and his colleagues, gratuitously, treacherously stirring more trouble: this was grandiosity, destructive power for honour and fun -- his construction of half Boer, half coloured identity.

This incident also serves to introduce observation of the subjectivity and communal mythopoeia -- often paradoxically, totalistically, triumphantly defiant of objective evidence -- with which I tended to be construed in the fieldwork community, and the fundamental terms of ordeal: participation on the totalistically subjective, mythopoeic, collectivistic, anti-personal terms of the objectively mortified, subjectively grandiose communal identity which had known the objective reality only of subordination to totalistic power through Culturally alien political institutions, largely lacked the Cultural religio-political resources to transcend it, and, after 1976, increasingly sought the reversal of antinomial religio-political roles.

For the first year or so my peer group subjected me to a great deal of limited sadistic and exploitative testing, and teasing which was generally muted and covert compared with the taunting of all but the most senior member, a dignified man in his late twenties who was exempt. The group was democratic and had no formal leader, but respect was implicitly shown to him and me, and our advice consulted. The paradox thus arose that they would tease and test me but him not at all whereas he himself would tend to defer to my opinion (unless flatly convinced that I was wrong). Once friendship had been established I was also treated with considerable trust. The group took pains to conceal their construal of themselves as my proprietors, but it was evident nonetheless.

For instance, individual policemen occasionally taunted members as "Stone se fairies" (Stone's fairies), which the group construed as a sign of envy among "poor-white Boere". Nor was I considered an acquisition by them

alone: members of other peer groups sometimes privately ridiculed mine as nonentities, and berated me for stupidity in not belonging to theirs.

The aggression mainly took the form of attempts by all but the most senior member to exploit me for material gain, transport, vicarious prestige, personal influence, etc., and to manipulate me in attempts to deceive me or elicit guilt in being relatively affluent and a member of the dominant community. For the first year great play was made of the issue as to whether "a whitey can be trusted" (translation), and in fact attempts to hurt, humiliate or exploit me by eliciting such guilt were never permanently abandoned. These attacks always retained an element of tentativeness and caution, but they became accompanied by smirks and other signs of slyness, sadism and grandiosity.

The protagonists' fundamental mythic axiom, identity frame (du Preez [1980: 78]) or caricature were that they were the innocent, authentic and expert victims of oppression and exploitation, and that all my (white) people were evil except perhaps for me and a few others. The gambit's corollary or identity con (du Preez [loc. cit.]) was that whites were wholly responsible for the protagonists' stigmatization, deprivation and indeed every construed inequality in comparison to them, and, implicitly, that their entitlement and my indebtedness were potentially infinite.

My fictive brother had taken the lead in this, establishing at the very outset that I was vulnerable to deception and exploitation, fundamental terms of their acceptance and domestication of me. In July 1965, shortly after we met, he casually informed me, in response to my question, of his birthday the following month. No, he grinned humbly, he had never had a party. I grieved for him and bought a cake, candles (which he kept for many years) and softdrinks, and the group celebrated happily at my expense. Early the following year I happened to be present when he dictated his identifying details to a clerk at a clinic. His birthday was in another month, as his friends had known.

He had the working-class bricoleur's penchant for squirrelling away trivia, useful and otherwise, and from the outset, too, was forever slipping my boxes of matches abstractedly into his pocket. The following, real birthday I dropped a hint by giving him a hundred boxes of matches, enough to last him a year. "You're dropping hints" (translation), he teased me, and my boxes continued to vanish. The **whitey** (disreputable lexis) could be trusted in exploitability equal to his loyalty.

Thus an attempt was made to test my susceptibility to domination by means

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Key fieldwork neighbourhood, 1967. See p. 197. Unbeknown to us, a newspaper reporter with camera had photographed the scene, which had caught his fancy. The setting was characteristic of shanty neighbourhoods, accommodating the poorest. Bins, such as that on the left, were used as braziers (singular: **galley**; respectable lexis), around which adolescent and adult males would sit and converse at night and in cold weather. A line of washing hangs above the car; washing was virtually never stolen although gangs and delinquents were abundant; certain neighbourhood ethics prevailed. The car, unusual in the neighbourhood, still more so outside a shanty, may well have been owned by a trader in illegal liquor or cannabis. The horse-cart belonged to a hawker of fruit and vegetables or fish.

of four double-binds. (i) Acquiescence meant that I was kind and sympathetic; repudiation, that I was cold, sanctimonious and heartless. (ii) Acquiescence meant that I was guilty and indebted; repudiation, that I was hypocritical and racist. (iii) Acquiescence meant that I was passive and unmanly; repudiation, that I was tough and honourable. (iv) Acquiescence meant I was a fool; repudiation, that I was a tyrant. In sum, if I cooperated I was a kind, guilty, unmanly fool; if I did not I was a heartless, racist, manly tyrant. Either way, I was to be a **whitey** whenever they chose, and their communal identity was one-up on mine in morality, and, they hoped, power too.

Their stigmatization of me, whichever way I turned, consoled them. It was benign, and I was glad that they could find terms that were on balance egalitarian, but sometimes their exploitativeness and unreliability annoyed me greatly. Had either party been wholly cynical, the relationship would soon have ended. But we were all adolescent or young adult, rapidly discovering the adult world, testing our mettle. The friendship was exclusive adventure, unique discovery of each others' intracomunal worlds, acquisition of esoteric knowledge almost wholly unknown to others in our respective communities (or so we thought). The subjective and objective reality of friendship, reinforced by subscription to non-racism, imposed limits. Whatever happened, the objectification of even a hint of racist terms in interpersonal conflict was consensually construed not only as disgusting, beyond the pale, irredeemable, but also excluded by our very knowledge of, and intimacy with each other as friends. Beyond my assisting them to become upwardly mobile, none of us could do anything effectual about the inequality of resources, and they evidently concluded that I shared according to my means. For a decade our highly visible inseparability -- and squabbles -- became a standing joke, if not an institution, in the neighbourhood. I had been domesticated.

Indeed, their initiation of me served to counteract their attachment to me, and my criticisms, foibles and sins made me objectively real. Throughout the neighbourhood my public movements had become frequently punctuated by greetings from children, adolescents and adults. Children as young as five years often gathered and attempted to accompany me uninvited, and to hold my hand or place my arm around them (see Plate opposite). Many were starved of warmth. I had, gave, and hoped that a little might remain in each. But evidently I was also construed a charming paradox -- a middle-class white who treated working-class coloured children with interest, respect and communicated in their own dialect -- for several would gather

round and follow if I addressed one even in suburbs that I had never previously visited. On different occasions several adolescent males, sober and overtly vigorously heterosexual, were either in tears or on the verge as they complained that they did not receive the care that they wanted from me. I had a preoccupation with the development of children, and could not bear their gratuitous suffering. I had invariably, endlessly experienced the consolation, even radiance of deprived children nourished with physical affection; and several adults, repeatedly observing this, especially towards the most negroid, ragged and afflicted, independently asked in all seriousness, "Why do you love us so much?" (translation). I neither knew nor questioned myself, although there were times when I construed myself chained and not just attached.

In addition to formal social work I was privately consulted by a large number of individuals seeking assistance with a wide variety of problems. It became common for a message to be sent via an obviously pleased member of my peer group that a local resident whom I had never met wished to see me about a confidential problem, and I usually went and helped if I could. Many of my social visits to the homes of relative strangers were met with effusive praise and even obsequiousness, which I found exasperating to the extent that my peers eventually rebuked me for my discourtesy, even though they did not hold with such displays of self-abasement. Individuals blandly lied about my status and achievements in my presence to acquire prestige by association, and expected me to collude in the deceit. In working-class young adult non-respectable male circles familiarity with very many individuals is an index of social status. After two or three years individuals began to joke that I was famous (very widely known, therefore prestigious irrespective of the valence of the reputation; respectable lexis), even in prison, and was familiar to an extraordinary number of people, particularly in delinquent circles.

As for me, I had entered a new life and almost uncritically absorbed my friends' consciousness of society. In large measure their reality became mine. I too disliked the snobbishly respectable, resented the selfish middle-class and condemned all citizens who did not eschew power, pride and self-interest. I thought that I had encountered the true reality alone born of suffering, and had settled among those who were, whatever their failings, pure victims of evil, therefore the authentically good, unpretentiously honest in society. Subjectively, the ethnographer had gone native. My romantic idealization of, and identification with them ran to the fundamentals, to their own subjectified constructions. "Colour" became

particularly warm, beautiful, natural and fundamental to me; "white" began to appear insipid, dessicated, incomplete, had to be enlivened by personality and reinforced with authority. Nearly all my closest attachments were with working-class coloureds. Colour became home. Regularly, but always when alone, I would be surprised by the continuing pinkness of my skin, expecting to see it brown. (My working-class coloured friends were amused at the attraction but thought my assignation of objective attractiveness to colour absurd. They continued to sigh that white -- and white alone -- was quality, purity, perfection, bliss forever denied to them by fate, until Black Consciousness, with its axiom, "Black is Beautiful", became popular several years later and some of them began to cultivate rather than despoil their looks, titivating Afro hairstyles and coyly soliciting compliments about hue and sheen of skin.)

I began to feel, think, dream and behave in the dialect, and its lexis occasionally obtruded into my middle-class English discourse. Any attempt to speak middle-class Afrikaans for more than a few seconds was hopeless. I had learned it primarily as a written language, and irrespective of the respondent's middle-class coloured or white identity I would always, without exception, lapse uncontrollably into the working-class dialect -- accent, kinesis, style and all -- and struggle vainly to recover the middle-class code while acutely conscious that everything about my identity was now glaringly incongruous and incredible in any objective terms.

Objectively I was unaware even that I was mystified. For nothing could be less credible or acceptable to everyone around me, irrespective of community, than my enacting working-class coloured identity. I had objectively continued to enact white identity, other than in the abovementioned phenomena. I had no explanation -- let alone charter -- for my apparently unique eccentricity in being both fish and fowl in a society where everyone known to me then subscribed to the ideology that these were innate, Natural, and moreover mutually alienating, antinomial identities, and no middle-class white in his right mind would choose working-class coloured identity (except, rarely, in jural terms, and then for some ulterior purpose such as marriage). It was consensually construed not an integral Cultural identity but merely the failed, flawed Natural resultant of Black and White disreputable antecedents, with no alternative but Western terms, despised by all, and helplessly exploited by Afrikaner nationalism and whites in general. To propose it in individual terms made still less sense; the identity was construed wholly communal or juristic.

On several occasions I hinted at my subjective experience to one close friend or another, only to receive a blank response as if he or she had not heard aright. Whatever I was getting at could not be reality -- nor should it be. Even the enaction itself was acceptable only among working-class coloureds, who construed me no more mad than many others among them. Nowhere, then, could the integrity of my identity be confirmed. I could not understand why. Mystified and often depressed by such universal negation into suspecting that the changes in me indicated no more than psychiatric disturbance, I fell silent on the issue, surrounded by people who appeared just as cheerfully, even manically alienated from their own grinding suffering as from me.

Despite the mutual -- and mutually ambivalent -- romance with my ethnographic community, I remained construed as objectively real (to all of us) also in terms of the communal differences in aesthetic tastes and styles of identity enaction that persisted between us throughout. I learned not to tell abstract jokes, which mystified my friends; their jokes usually pertained very explicitly to the Cultural mortification of individuals by their uncontrollable Natural urges, and bored me. They disliked and derided the classical music that transported me; to them it was ridiculously effete, fussy and pretentious. I disliked some of their diet (e.g., tea with condensed or hot milk and at least three spoonsful of sugar), their preference for domestic cacophony, and the ambivalence of many towards domestic pollution (e.g., unventilated rooms redolent of stale breath and sweat, males' commonly dirty, stinking feet and socks, unflushed toilet pans in puddles of urine, scattered garbage and even human excrement). The sensory onslaught and interpersonal tensions of a crowded popular dance exhilarated my peers but depressed and irritated me. However, ethics overrode aesthetics: the dirt, fleas or lice of a child (or a distressed, injured or sick adult) did not alienate me, whereas the child's mother might scream disgust.

There were direct moral and ethical conflicts as well. They loathed the unthinkingly arrogant ease with which I took ethical positions that had mortifying implications for them, and were sometimes deeply embarrassed when I was stirred to action by the common sadism of grinning adults towards small children; by the equally prevalent sabotage by parents of a bright child's formal education through witting neglect and threat of outcastness if individual success and aspiration became egregious ("I suffered as a child; why shouldn't he?" [cackle] [translation]): by the bullying of children by adolescents or of females by stronger males; by the

TEXT CONTINUED OVERLEAF

torture of animals by children; by the dangerous mock fighting by adolescents with knives. It became well known that the markedly sadistic treatment of children by anyone would get Stone going, irrespective of the stock defence that I was applying alien, luxurious (middle-class) white standards to people of whom neither I nor the child had any right to expect them, and was behaving true to form as a sanctimonious white oppressor. The sadism would be acknowledged as wanton destructiveness, but a charter of entitlement and even care proposed: it was a normative enactment of communal identity, indeed a toughening initiation in life. Refusal by a bystander to intervene in casual sadism was normative: one was expected to be tough-minded, easy-going and tolerant of both the destructiveness and suffering of others. This was a sensible charter for survival.

Unless the sadistic attacker was dramatically violent my intervention against persistently malignant adolescents or adults was construed a white offence against communal honour. Indeed, had this pious busybody been coloured it would have been physically risky: unless thoroughly intimidated, the dishonoured but grandiose aggressor might well take violent revenge sooner or later. And so if I was to do something immediate for the victim and protect myself against retaliation -- and on occasion merely protect my own interests when seriously and unjustifiably threatened -- I had no alternative but to display authority, armour and threat potentially dangerous to the aggressor. Mere threat would suffice, at least as a stopgap, and I was in fact neither a busybody nor obsessed with perfect justice, but I was construed as having irrevocably shown my true colours as a characteristically arrogant, dominative, sanctimonious white. I aroused ambivalence. Some individuals showed dislike, even loathing. Others merely joked about Stone the rebel trying to right the wrongs of the world again. But these included some who also remarked occasionally that they did not know where they stood with me: working-class coloured one moment, middle-class white the next. No more did I.

From the outset of fieldwork I helped individuals to find apprenticeships and jobs and approached the police or went to court when apparently justified for those in trouble with the law. When the rights of individuals had been infringed by officials I encouraged and helped the victims to assert themselves, advising them on law and tactics. In innumerable other ways I assisted as I could. I had a car, which was rare in the neighbourhood then. When justified and urgent it was available as an ambulance. Often I transported small groups to destinations.

With my peer group and many other groups of adolescents and young adults I

had countless discussions, often until late at night, during which I was bombarded with literally hundreds of basic questions about religion, politics, society, sexuality (especially of whites). I was repeatedly asked in bewilderment "why there is apartheid" and "why the whites" (or "the Boere") "don't like us" (translation). My friends were genuinely scandalized by my objective agnosticism. Alright, dagga, liquor, screwing around are wrong. (I had never indicated that, except when it came to destructive excesses.) But denying **die Man van bo?** (the Man from above; respectable lexis). "No, Stone, now you're going too far! And you're a Jew, moreover! The Lord was a Jew!" (translation). They would tease me and joke to each other that I was a "heathen" (translation). Like them I was a rebel against respectable convention (in my very association as their peer); unlike them I proposed the unthinkable: to violate cosmic myth itself. In their construction, I had cleverness, but in their honest simplicity they had something better — judgment, the authentic folk wisdom of their *communitas*, the religious integrity of their forebears, even if they rebelled exuberantly against it in youthful manhood. The problem was that I could (in their view) enact my cleverness fluently and consistently; the enactment of their wisdom was paralysed by ambivalence and interdicted by inarticulation, so that it could not be objectified in verbal myth.

In broader terms, discussions to review and acquire mythic knowledge were identical in my experience to any other Western adolescent kaleidoscopic reviews of cosmic reality. By turns the participants were fascinated, aggrieved, depressed, curious, tantalized, irritated, excited, scandalized, amused and eventually bored. They had traversed the mythic universe; now it was time to go home and sleep; tomorrow, work; tomorrow evening, the girlfriend.

The purpose of these interrogations, then, was to exploit my imputed cleverness so that through my mediation of middle-class identity they might acquire selected items of knowledge and myth, the codal ability to objectify their integrity as I did mine, and the power to become upwardly mobile or at least to display superior knowledge to outside peers. This exploitation is lexicalized as to **steel met die oor** (or **oeg**: get valuable knowledge gratis by observation; literally: steal with the ear [or eye]; respectable lexis). The implicit construction was that valuable knowledge about the mystifying cosmos outside the ignorant parochial world of the *communitas* would not be voluntarily transmitted, whether by the parental generation, siblings or peers, and that identity could and would not be acquired as a gift; it had to be stolen (i.e., taken on one's own terms)

and this was ineffectually punished but effectually tolerated. Indeed, the frame of stealing -- and lying, instability and the preservation of optionality itself -- enabled the taker to retain a private construction of mastery and honour in potentially mortifying relationships with the more powerful and superior possessor of the knowledge, and to select what was to be taken. One developed and learned to belong, then, only by crime (in its psychosocial sense), subjectively grandiose, objectively stigmatized. Self-gratification, self-interest and the differentiation of individual identity were construed objectively antisocial, conflicting with the survival of the deprived, subordinated, stigmatized group. Equally, they were essential to identity in any terms. Mundane psychosocial life itself, especially for males, could frequently become an initiatory ordeal of oscillation between outcastness and inclusion. These were fundamental terms of the initiation of all identity in this *communitas*, including my own and the socialization of spouses and children (Stone [1987b: *passim*]); and the politico-economic terms on which individuals became attached to me (and each other) were: if you care about me you will let me steal from you -- i.e., take on my own egocentric terms and at your expense -- whatever I want. If you love me, my crimes against you will never alienate you. If they do, you are hypocritical, treacherous and worthless.

One was perceptibly scanned, then, in terms of two issues: exploitability (care versus indifference or rejection) and grace (collusion in preserving the deprived, dependent thief's honour versus his rejection and mortification). If his requirements were reliably met he would respond with contentment and even bliss, fulfilment; would become attached; would idealize and romanticize the relationship in intercommunal terms -- rare, preciously genuine, honourable friendship between coloured and white; and become proprietorially jealous of construed rivals. When his requirements were vigorously rejected, he would instantly fight to repudiate stigma and assign it to me. Indebtedness might be semantically acknowledged with politeness or ambivalence; pragmatically it was always repudiated beyond whimsical or ritually obligatory reciprocity.

The fundamental construction of white identity was that it was uniquely desirable, enviable, Culturally essential and not theirs, even if compensations existed. And all reality that was neither uniquely black nor coloured was construed white. Virtually the entire Cultural universe was White. The Whites were truly incomparably superior and indeed omnipotent, and the coloureds *min* (weak and insignificant; literally, few; Natural numbers had potent significance in terms of the power of communal identity;

respectable lexis) and still "half in the bush" (translation; uncivilized, pseudo-Westernized former Khoikhoi, former slaves and half-castes).

Although members of my peer group were careful to display a measure of nonchalance, there were numerous signs of their incredulity at their acquisition of this unheard-of resource who had appeared out of the cosmic blue and stayed with them for no comprehensible reason. In general, local residents tended to cast around desultorily for some explanation of self-interest on my part. In mundane interaction, however, their attitude was prosaic and pragmatic: I was there, I was welcome, they grew accustomed to me, got to know me to some extent and eventually took my presence for granted. My absence for any length of time immediately drew questions.

The majority of working-class males and some females were accorded nicknames from childhood, sometimes by parents, more usually by peers. Nicknames recodify identity as informal, intimate and domesticated in the underdog communitas. By adolescent and young adult males I was never addressed by my forename, but was accorded three nicknames, listed here in order of common usage: "Stone", a familiar surname of residents in the neighbourhood. "Dope(y)", a fairly common nickname, used almost entirely by my peer group and conferred in my case because, according to the ingenious nominator, "you're short and you've got a big head, and you look like one of Snow White's Seven Dwarfs" (translation). But it was also in mockery of my imputed cleverness, and in play with the explicit issue then as to whether my mythic identity was unreal and frivolous: that of enchanter, entertainer and factotum; or fatefully real and serious: prophetic leader of the subordinated to freedom and honour. The third nickname was "**Ou Roeker**", given several years later and in humorous allusion to my fluency in delinquent lexis, and connections with delinquents. I heard it infrequently, for a decade.

A few months after I was nicknamed Dopey (and a year or so after joining my peer group) four members asked me repeatedly in serious, passionate terms to become coloured and lead the community to freedom, and seemed unwilling to accept that this messianic construction bore no relation to objective reality whatever. The following year, during the 1967 war in the Middle East, several members (including a fairly observant Muslim) got themselves thrown out of the local corner café by the indignant Muslim proprietor -- a patient, quietly generous man who endured endlessly envious contempt and insults from his customers -- for taunting him that the victorious Israelis deserved to make fools of Arab soldiers who had

reportedly fled the desert battlefield leaving their equipment and even boots behind. I apologized to him for my friends' insult and angrily rebuked them, but their glee was impervious and irrepressible, and testified to the triumphant construction of vicarious power and prestige that they derived from my membership of their group, and the extent of their subjective self-stigmatization.

Within two years my position in my peer group received support when threatened. The senior member came to my (social work) office to disclose that a junior had for some time been deceiving me for financial exploitation in the course of formal casework. He would not work, had been thrown out of the house and become vagrant, was sleeping in a car and cadged indefinitely off his friends, who were becoming fed up. As both social worker and peer I had been trying to help him to find work, and he had been selling the bus and meal tickets I had given him, and using the money to go to the cinema and buy liquor. My informant made it very clear that my honour as a senior peer had been seriously impugned, and my friendship cynically abused by a nonentity. He insisted that I was too soft on the juniors, and would be taken altogether for a fool if I did not act as expected, which was to dishonour the culprit publicly by physical violence, at least a clout or two. The reputation of the group would suffer if a senior member, moreover in the local spotlight by virtue of his uniqueness, tolerated such dishonour. I was advised where to find the offender immediately and to go alone.

The idea of assault, let alone by a social worker of a client, hardly appealed. On the other hand as a detached gang worker and ethnographer I had to be a peer at least passably on the group's terms. I knew the advice -- the instruction -- to be culturally appropriate.

The offender was sitting on a low garden wall with three of our peers, members of the wider, more delinquent group, almost certainly armed with pocket knives at least. He paled, smirked and attempted to prevaricate, and I smacked him hard through the face, knocking him off the wall, and lectured him briefly but caustically as he lay smarting and speechless in the sand. After an equally astonished silence they burst out laughing and egged me on: "Thrash the swine, it serves him right! He won't work! He won't even wash!" (translation). Nothing more than his dignity was injured, and we soon resumed relatively friendly terms. The incident was never mentioned directly to me but was evidently discussed in our more immediate circles in the neighbourhood, and when I referred to it two decades later my fictive brother (who had been absent) recalled it.

Like many other working-class peer groups comprising mainly of apprenticed artisans and semi-skilled or unskilled workers, mine was restless, energetic and adventurous, and playfully sought out physical risk and ordeal for the ritual objectification of masculine potency, as well as novelty in the exploration of new social and geographic situations, especially in soccer matches, weekend dances, barbecues and "mystery drives" (organized nocturnal bus tours to unannounced picnic destinations with wine, women and song -- the putatively secret destination a metaphor for the real mystery: who would end up doing what with whom that night, to be retailed to all and sundry in dripping detail the following day), ranging widely throughout coloured suburbs in Greater Cape Town, trips and camps during the New Year vacation, ventures into black townships and white suburbs and business districts, and in the pursuit of women for casual conquest. The rural adventure and the following illustrate both this type of interest and the complexities of my involvement with the relatively non-delinquent group.

Nearly two years after we met, for a period of about two months four members in fulltime employment, who never otherwise engaged in robbery nor even theft other than the occasional petty group pilfering at work common in disreputable working-class peer groups (Ditton [1977]), practised small-scale and virtually non-violent robbery of solitary working-class Afrikaner male pedestrians passing the periphery of their neighbourhood late on Friday evenings. They bagged four (one a fortnight), all safely drunk, and appropriated watches and the residue of weekly pay packets without inflicting physical injury. The total proceeds approximated at least one week's pay for each robber -- very handy since all were unattached, gave their pay packets to their mothers and received only pocket money. Their stock of clothing was very limited, and fashionable items of expensive leisure wear were greatly prized.

This adventure in social banditry (Hobsbawm [2nd ed: 1985]) was explicitly legitimized in political terms: it was not as if they were robbing their own; on the contrary, they were claiming a small measure of their due from their victims, poor-white Boers, agents of apartheid who profited by it at the expense of the subordinate such as the robbers. And if the swine chose to drink themselves stupid and miss the last bus or train, were they not asking for trouble? This charter, proposed with righteous indignation and triumphant smirk, was used in an attempt to paralyse me with a political double-bind: my opposition would signify white hypocrisy and treachery,

tolerance would mean collusion.

The enterprise was abandoned only when a mobile police patrol fortuitously ran into the most senior member of the peer group and me driving with balaclavas over our faces in an unlit car among deserted factories near midnight, on our way to head the robbers off literally as they were about to pounce on their next victim, and we found ourselves stopped, uncertainly accused of intending to burgle the nearest factory and promised an investigation (which never materialized). The police drove slowly off in one direction, we frantically in another, each around opposite ends of a long block towards the robbers, who were lurking like rank amateurs under a bright street light visible for hundreds of metres from both converging streets at the diagonally opposite corner of the block. We got to them before the police appeared, yelled that the police were coming, and they fled across the road and over a wall into a pitch-dark cemetery. The prospective victim shambled unwitting on his way; the police emerged from the next corner, and passed us and him. As they and we diverged from the scene I looked in my rear-view mirror and saw a head bob up above the wall and goggle at their departing van. We had, after all, not lied; we had saved our friends perhaps from being shot in flight, probably arrest, assault at the police station, detention, trial, conviction and prison.

They, on the other hand, had lied to us. I had not been constrained by the attempt at double-binding. The bandits had previously agreed to stop these activities after we had jointly attempted to elicit their anxiety about the risks of apprehension and imprisonment, loss of income to their families, destruction of apprenticeships, disadvantages of a criminal record for robbery, etc. We had also expressed moral disapproval. I had suggested that they were betraying their own aspirations and their families', that the enterprise had no political effect whatever, that they had no personal knowledge of their victims and that the political charter was a rationalization for robbery with virtue -- their very claim about their victims. They had said that they would stop, and had not done so. Now we had risked arrest and future suspicion to save their necks. The police disliked me as a troublemaker, and had every reason for scepticism at my claim that my cruising in disguise and shadow among the factories near midnight was in the line of duty as a social worker.

We confronted the four with an ultimatum outside their homes: an honoured commitment to end their adventure or our awakening of their families now to expose them; permanent withdrawal from the group; and refusal of support if they were caught. Hitherto the adventure had been a profitable game; now

it became consequential. The parents of all aspired to a family reputation for respectability. The robbers' inescapable choice was to end the adventure or face treatment as children, rejection and punishment by their acutely dishonoured families, ostracism by senior peers and imposition of a public identity as incorrigible delinquents. But they wanted to preserve options for respectability and upward mobility. They stopped permanently, the matter was never discussed again, there were no subsequent signs of resentment or increased deceit, and the senior member and I never again attempted to exert authority over the group, whose average age at the time was about nineteen. I subsequently enquired discreetly from the police whether they had received any complaints of robbery on Friday nights during the past two months in the street in question. They had not. The robbers kept their spoils and their honour as men prepared to attack the dominant, albeit four sober to one drunk, and gently.

The drama of this episode marked very many others. During the first five years my group and I had innumerable adventures of this kind, which have formed a rich capital of identity sometimes relived and enjoyed when former members of the peer group meet, now in middle age. Friends and acquaintances in my sheltered community of origin envied the extent to which I was living.

Six years later my participation in the group was unintentionally disrupted but then restored by my fictive brother. Even prior to my joining he had reportedly been by far the most politically conscious, informed and vociferous member, to the extent that the others explicitly construed him as obsessed in that respect. When Black Consciousness became popular in the early 1970s, like very many other males of their age-set and communal rank in the neighbourhood, several members of the group revelled in the ideology and sported the Afro hairstyles and the snatches of Afro-American and Caribbean lexis that they acquired from music and films. However, this innovation did not manifest itself in any change in interaction with me.

We frequented a local hotel pub, owned by a wealthy entrepreneur active in conservative, collaborationist politics. Very occasionally it was also patronized by a few working-class whites from an adjacent white suburb, who evidently had friends in the neighbourhood. With loud complaint and threat of boycott of the establishment and violence to the white patrons, my fictive brother successfully pressed the proprietor and patrons of colour to exclude all whites ("We can't go to their pubs; why should we let them into ours!" [translation]). Then, in the swagger of triumph, he

found himself challenged of course about my attendance, and realized too late that in his enthusiasm and familiarity with me he had forgotten that I too was white.

Pub politicians neither give nor receive quarter. His feeble attempt at protest ("You know Stone -- he's not like those whites" [translation]) was met in his own gleefully uproarious coin, and I was banned, hoist with my best friend's petard.

When with acute discomfort he told me about it, I too gave him no consolation, merely confirming that I was excluded, beaming enigmatically and declining to offer my opinion, which he uncertainly solicited. I exerted no explicit pressure on him to repair the situation and went elsewhere when he and the other members of the group went to the pub, sometimes lifting them there and meeting them afterwards. Behind his back they were scornfully amused at his predicament and told me so, and we left him to stew in it.

He stewed. On several occasions when they and I had attempted to attend some public entertainment we had found it reserved for whites only, and had left as a group. They had readily reciprocated when in their company I was debarred from a nightclub in a coloured suburb when Black Consciousness was at its height. He was aware too that I would spontaneously boycott any establishment at which I knew any person of colour to have been excluded or humiliated in communal terms, and at which I did not have to attend. On occasion he, his wife and many others had greatly benefited from my action against officials in the public or private sector for such conduct, even to my own obvious disadvantage. In particular he had twice been released from police custody after groundless arrests, and both she and he had received much-improved medical attention at hospitals.

To these ends I had devised a repertoire of strategies not always free of wickedness (such as blandly passing off the pair of us as first cousins to a boggling bureaucrat dying to know more but not daring to ask about the blood ties between an earnest, middle-class English-dominant white -- a Jew? -- and a negroid working-class Afrikaans-dominant coloured grinning sans front teeth; invited with partner to a "racially" segregated public ceremony honoured by the presence of the national minister of "Coloured Affairs", I had brought him and sat conspicuously among the "Non-whites", integrating the occasion; at other times I had come perilously close to impersonating a doctor to impress nursing staff that the patient had friends in high places). These gambits usually produced much merriment and

practical benefit (even though the profounder implications were thoroughly depressing) and had become part of the shared stock of memorable adventure that historically cemented our friendship. On occasion I had gotten myself into trouble, finding myself extensively harassed for three years by the police and twice interrogated at length by their security branch for encouraging local residents to assert their legal rights; and the notoriously irascible Jewish head of a hospital casualty department, after I had publicly embarrassed a (white) houseman for seriously neglecting an acutely ill client of mine (well known to my peer group), formally banned me from entrance except, hopefully, "as a patient". My fictive brother could not avoid the reality that I had stood up for him and his, and in return he had gratuitously got me excluded in a comparable situation, wholly of his own making, moreover then of purely exhibitionistic significance to him (since he had never engaged in institutionalized politics and for all his political consciousness had nothing but criticism of it, irrespective of its ideology).

Thus he faced the most inescapable political dilemma of our relationship, moreover without the sympathy of his peer group. I never asked about or discovered the details of his subsequent reversal of the banning, which must have been mortifying, but after three weeks he invited me to accompany the group to the pub and advised that there would be no problems. My resumed attendance drew no detectable interest from the other patrons.

Nearly three years previously I had subjectively concluded that after five years I had passed my test as an honorary but established member of the communitas. I then found myself privately but angrily challenging the ringleader in my peer group, my fictive brother, with an analysis and repudiation of the charter and strategy of my exploitation. I had had enough of the endless stream of sneers and smirks about middle classes and whites who were the sole source of all evil in the world (his best friend excluded, naturally), enough of being valued mainly for what I did for him; and proposed that while he contented himself with endlessly needling and exploiting me instead of standing more on his own feet and contributing to communal development he would be construed a fraud. I invoked the charter of honour in friendship universal among human beings. A fiercely argumentative man, he remained smirking and silent for once. The attacks did not cease, but diminished considerably thereafter.

The trouble was still more profound than the imposition of subordination, exploitation and exclusion. For instance, whenever I accompanied any

group on an excursion, valuables were invariably handed to me for safe-keeping: I would not neglect or lose them, let alone steal. Occasionally I was informed that I took responsibilities seriously and did things thoroughly, whereas **Gam** (coloured identity stigmatized as inherently disreputable; see 6.222) would not. Sometimes I was advised that "**Gam** will steal them, what are you talking about! You don't know **Gam**, Stone!" (translation). To such self-stigmatizing claims I would invariably object that dishonesty was not confined nor even concentrated in one community. The politeness would be appreciated, and the implicit rebuff might even surprise, but the speaker's attitude would stand: I knew well enough what he meant. Once or twice there were chuckles that "you mustn't speak badly of **Gam** in front of Stone; he doesn't like it" (translation).

However, these terms were construed an option, if not a masquerade, for whenever I showed annoyance with an informant others would tend to construe the conflict in intercommunal terms unless they preferred to dismiss one or both of us as idiosyncratic individuals. And some informants simply construed me a naive innocent, and warned me to take care. For example (early in 1991): "I know **Gam**! You don't know what they're like! They will stand together against a **whitey** and slaughter him even when they know they're wrong! What are you talking about!" (translation). And this increasingly proved my experience from 1980. However, when intercommunal terms were not at issue, the identical construction of **Gam** as malignantly grandiose stigmatizer-turned-gangster when honour is at issue was equally proposed in intracommunal context.

To my neighbourhood peers and acquaintances the construed reality was that although their communal identity as manifested Naturally was superior to mine (e.g., in vitality, toughness and stamina), its Cultural manifestations in communal identity were hopelessly inferior (e.g., in cleverness and decency); Nature had not endowed them with educable brains or moral virtue; the social order was cosmically ordained beyond question of question. And each weekend and especially at New Year they consoled themselves in stigma by enacting their disreputable vitality in hectically hedonistic social activities (parties, dances, liquor and drugs, sex and for some, fighting or the Coon Carnival). Yet Culture's punitive sentence -- stigmatization, deprivation and subordination -- was intolerable, denying them honour and leaving them vulnerable to mortification and outcastness, indeed to whatever the cosmically sanctioned white identity chose to impose for its own aggrandizement. They rebelled against what they themselves construed as objective reality, their own religious guilt,

the folk wisdom that decreed deprivation and oppression.

For the first decade and more, most informants would evince anxiety and discomfort in what was subjectively construed as white territory -- middle-class white residential and commercial areas and premises -- unless they had some consensual business there, such as employment, shopping, visiting the doctor or the girlfriend in domestic employment, etc. Nearly all the most active delinquents would rigorously avoid visiting my home socially. When, a few months after I had met my peer group, several members came to visit me while I was ill in bed, they dressed up to the nines. I lived then in a middle-class block of flats, and they stopped to comb their hair in a foyer mirror, only to find themselves abused for their presumptuousness by the black caretaker, supported (when I objected) by the resident landlady who described their titivation as "audacious in a white man's foyer" (until I recalled that Jews like herself and me were being hounded out of Nazi foyers not thirty years before, apart from the rest of it). Indeed, such visitors and travellers, even when obviously middle-class or even elite in dress and bearing, were likely to find their identity gratuitously assaulted by exclusion from front entrances and even by suspicion as dangerous criminals. Clerks in suit and tie, university graduates and even the rector of a large tertiary educational institution were not exempt. Gossip and hostility flourished. On one occasion coloured workmen renovating my home reported with chortles that the woman next door had sincerely complained to them that I had coloured friends. A decade earlier, during my clinical internship, an eccentric Jewish psychiatrist had darkly murmured to a coloured colleague, "keep away from Gerald Stone: he has coloured friends". The other also happened to be a friend -- but he was a scrupulously professional doctor, and in these terms subjectively construed white by the first. I violated the social order; I was (in anthropological terms, and even to the occasional academic and professional in the social and clinical sciences) a witch: eccentric, solitary, deviously malignant, plotting dangerously to overthrow the insecure social order in which they construed themselves marginal.

In all but one of the six flats or houses that I occupied prior to 1989 I was subjected to illegal harassment, including minor damage to my property, by a minority of white neighbours until I threatened them convincingly with prosecution. (In every case in which information about the perpetrators [usually female] was available it was evident that they construed themselves as stigmatized because they were comparatively impoverished, alcoholic, divorced, in chronic marital conflict, isolated, etc. In some

cases the complainant was an elderly coloured or black male caretaker, solitary, miserable and badly treated by the employer.) Twice my tenancy of flats was terminated by landlords to rid themselves of my introduction of people of colour as equals, which provoked their staff and other tenants, and I was forced to move even though I led a quiet domestic life and had no more than one or two friends home at a time, none of whom had ever caused the slightest problem to my neighbours.

However, even when no notice had ever been taken of them, many such visitors tended to construe themselves out of place, alien, presumptuous and stigmatized, even as they enjoyed and envied the peace, order and construed cultivation and quality of the surroundings. To claim a right to such territory, then, was construed as violating not merely the social but the cosmic order. I opposed this self-stigmatization and exploited the limited licences of the Group Areas Act:

Early one evening during the late nineteen-sixties two burly white policemen, acting on an anonymous neighbour's complaint, hammered on my front door, barged in with "Have you got a coloured man here?", incorrectly claimed that by receiving a visitor of colour I was violating the Act -- and for good measure, "City Council Regulations" -- and summarily demanded that my quaking working-class guest accompany them forthwith: "Come, fellow!" (translation). I showed them section 15 (2)(b) of the 1957 Act and amendments consolidated in 1962 (which permitted the residence of a bona fide guest of another "population group" -- other than "Bantu" -- for up to ninety days of each calendar year), whereupon the sergeant announced that he had "never seen that before", would "go back to the police station to look up our law books", and was "sorry to have bothered" me. I retorted that he should have known better than to act on nothing more than the obvious malice of neighbours; he shot back that I should instead "be grateful for the police". They then left, closing the door softly, but my visitor had never known white policemen to back off and apologize for anything, and, despite my reassurances, begged to be driven to the railway station lest they return or lie in wait for him along the road. The complainant turned out to be an immigrant who stayed two storeys up, a person I had never met, who was subsequently arrested and evicted for activities including violently noisy parties in the early hours of the morning, in which shots were fired from his balcony for fun.

My closest working-class friends, who soon became accustomed to my disposition, visibly luxuriated in ready access to my home with an attitude

of polite proprietorial wariness towards even friendly neighbours and passing residents.

Innumerable people in my key fieldwork neighbourhood, especially the poorer, seriously asked me whether the police "are entitled to hit us" (translation), and the belief was common (even in 1987) that one could be arrested and fined or imprisoned for keeping "bad company" or being "dirty" (i.e., in dirty clothes) "on the street" (translation; the police's construction was that apprehension of all such people for "loitering" was the most efficient means of clearing the streets of robbers, thieves, pickpockets, drunkards, vagrants and others merely seeking opportunities for disreputable entertainment or profit -- as it was). On countless occasions I was constrained to encourage even relatively well-educated individuals not to take their impotence for granted in a wide variety of situations vis-a-vis white (or middle-class coloured) authority by pointing out respectable institutionalized strategies of remedy with impunity and advantage.

The dominant whites oppressed; and the working-class coloured subordinate, then taking white superiority for granted, were mystified by the paradox of being simultaneously accepted and rejected as humankind like the dominant. They tended guiltily to conclude that the oppression was justified by cosmically ordained flaws in their communal identity. But they objected to oppressors' sadistic determination on their dishonour, and, when they had begun to construe themselves developing beyond their construed flaws, to setbacks (such as economic recession) seemingly imposed by a society construed as dominated by whites and middle-class coloureds alike.

The political change that was initiated by their communal identity with the first mass episode of civil rebellion in 1976 realized for the first time their communal honour in interaction with the white identity. My friends were utterly stunned not only by the occurrence of the rebellion en masse in their own community but its effects and religio-political implications. The uprising had begun in emulation of the example of black youth on the Witwatersrand, but had acquired integrity and momentum of its own. For the first time in their historic myth their community had frightened and dismayed the dominant. Their communal identity had changed religio-political reality. The unthinkable had been thought: the cosmos had questioned the social order.

In charged debate several members of the group anguished, in yearning for liberation from stigma, equally in terror that society might be

disintegrating. Others were uncharacteristically muted, and attempted indifference to the irruption. The manic exhibitionism, arson and looting of rioting crowds demanding Black Power salutes from terrified Black passersby disgusted and alarmed them. But as the rebellion was put down, their relief in these respects gave way to incredulity, outrage and depression at the conduct of the police, construing it wholly grandiose and evil. To terrorize the population, police snipers, hidden on the roofs of buildings, had picked off passersby; children had been shot. For all my agnosticism I tried helplessly to comfort them that their subordination could not go on indefinitely, and quoted a Biblical passage familiar since my early childhood:

I have surely seen the affliction of My people that are in Egypt, and have heard their cry by reason of their taskmasters; for I know their pains; and I am come down to deliver them out of the hand of the Egyptians (...). (Exodus 3: 7-8).

In tears too, my fictive brother burst out, "But when? When?"

They had known this text at least from the early years of our friendship, when they had asked me to explain Jewish ideology and ritual. I had pointed out to the Christians among them that the myth was theirs too, but they had regarded it blankly and smiled politely, as if addressed in an alien language by a well-meaning stranger. Now, for only the second time in thirteen years' experience in the working-class community, I had personally encountered any sign of the issue of hope -- even in despair -- of religio-political liberation. When: I put it to them that no end was conceivable in practice, but that white nationalism had been equally shocked -- indeed, chastened for the first time; that ever-increasing numbers of the subordinated population could not be killed with endlessly impunity; and that the rigours of subordination would begin to remit. And so the watershed of large-scale, homicidal white omnipotence towards coloured communities passed; white nationalism began very slowly -- but crucially -- to reverse and yield ground.

From the outset a mythic issue, frequently and obsessively discussed by my peer group, had been their ideal of uncompromising resistance to addressing white policemen as "Baas" (Boss) or "Oubaas" (Master). These appellations were commonly demanded by such policemen (all working-class themselves), who explicitly rejected the entirely courteous "Meneer" (Sir) as insufficient for address to white authority, and usually jeered brutally that (among coloureds) "'Meneer' is 'n Hotnot predikant" ('Sir' refers to

[no-one more consequential than] a Hotnot preacher). The aim was to intimidate, humiliate and demoralize. Like other adolescents subjected to such pointedly omnipotent religio-political demands on menace of assault, arrest and even false charge, my peers were frightened, and always raised the topic with as much bitter mockery as humour. Discussion always included militant vows to address these people as "Meneer" and never "Oubaas" or "Baas", and concluded emphatically with a ringing "Slawetyd is verby!" (Slavery is over!).

Suddenly the question was no longer "Why?", but "When?". From their own confusion there emerged a profound shock of self-consciousness and of self-differentiation, sustained, however ambivalently, by gratification and pride in the rebellion. They had been unconscious even of waiting, a people enthralled without hope by a malign cosmos, without history except on omnipotent, sacrosanct White terms. Now Time had flashed in the infinite cosmic stasis of impotence and frivolous disreputability. A religio-political sense of consequence and right, therefore of Self, had occurred. It was shared by very many thousands of members of the community who had discovered their own communality of anger, and had believed that a plague of respectable marches and protests by high school pupils and university students in white business districts would "show the whites that they are wrong" and mortify them into "giving us equal rights", according to a group of shocked high school pupils in my key fieldwork neighbourhood ruefully explaining their strategy and displaying their bruises to me in the street after a beating by the police. But there was as yet no consistent turn against white identity as such. On the contrary, I was constrained to defend them against their anxiously indignant mothers and grandmothers, who briefly joined us to demand that I impress upon them their arrogance in presuming to tell the whites how to run the country; and when a police van turned slowly into the street my young informants took it upon themselves to shove me unceremoniously over a hedge, and lounge blandly in front of it until the van had gone. "They will take you away if they see you talking to us!" (translation). I was incredulous at their generosity and concern, took them all on a picnic, and was bombarded with questions about cosmos and society.

During those weeks in 1976 I encountered a discussion which took another course. I was sitting on a secluded, otherwise deserted beach with several active members of a gang -- mostly Muslims -- with some of whom I had been fairly close friends for four years. They were discussing the shooting of children in the streets of their neighbourhood; and in their impotence and

dishonour they were indulging in a grandiose fantasy -- evidently for my benefit: should they break out their (virtually non-existent) cache of firearms and take on the police? I had remained silent throughout, but one man, a Muslim, who was casually peeling an apple with an absurdly large, deadly-looking knife, began a chilling monologue as he cleaved the skin from the flesh. It was not the Afrikaners nor even the whites who were responsible for their oppression. It was the Jews. You never saw the Jews, but they were behind everything. The Jews controlled the Afrikaners. The Jews controlled business, the police, even the railways. He deployed the knife vigorously as I sat there construing this tack as inconsequential as the talk about attacking the police, and sympathizing with their helplessness.

The most senior member of the gang, also Muslim and a close friend, got up, suggested that he and I go for a stroll, and we wandered off conversing idly. Once out of their earshot he advised me to leave immediately for my own safety. His earnestness was convincing, his loyalty moving, and I went. I had often encountered signs of ambivalence towards Jews in my fieldwork community, in centuries-old mythopoeic terms common among Christians and Muslims, but he had extricated me from imminent danger, for the other man was well known for a tendency to unpredictable violence (and was subsequently killed in a fight). And, indeed, for several months afterwards the latter glowered when we passed, until one day he greeted me in an easy, friendly fashion, as if his previous belief and menace had never been. Yet he had voiced a myth that I was to hear increasingly, and in politely earnest detail, from younger Muslim strangers assuming that I was Christian. The Jews, having spurned Jesus and Muhammad, were outcasts destined to eternal suffering. But they were very, very clever. The malignant elders of Zion secretly controlled the world, and were responsible for every manifestation of corruption, exploitation and oppression. The Jews were witches.

Among my key fieldwork peer group the formal issue of resistance to oppressive white authority was inapplicable to me as an egalitarian loyal friend to whom the police had themselves shown extensive hostility as one who was "either a communist or a gangster" but certainly "a pig (...) on the Hotnots' side" (translation; loudly declaimed in the presence of several members of the group when I took effectual steps to have them immediately released after false arrest for "loitering" on their way to our social club. The charge was subsequently dismissed). "We don't think of you as white" (translation), my peers sometimes claimed after a year or so,

disclosing their construction of the white identity as inherently snobbish and oppressive. They did of course think of me as white, but were conveying the extent to which they had become accustomed to me also as enacting working-class coloured identity by adoption, and as human.

When segregation would have prevented me from accompanying my friends to such events as professional soccer matches I masqueraded as an **ou roeker** (delinquent) in dress, speech and gait past policemen and a bemused acquaintance who stared at me and subsequently recounted to me with amazement that he had seen a coloured guy who looked just like me.

Among very many adolescent and young adult working class males at that time fear and loathing of the police were surpassed only by envy and hatred of the coloured middle class. In my group this was extreme and frequently articulated. The neighbourhood had developed in the nineteen-forties and fifties mainly into a squatter settlement of perhaps thirty thousand coloureds and blacks, mostly in shanties. In the early nineteen-sixties a municipal scheme of detached home-ownership houses was built where shanties and open ground had stood, and was occupied by working- and middle-class families evicted from whitened "Group Areas".

Many working-class youths who had grown up in the neighbourhood proposed the new and relatively middle-class residents as intruders and supporters of the dominant white identity, irrespective of the exploitative ejection to which they had been subjected. They were characterized as the selfish, treacherous **societies** or **sturfies** (respectable working-class or middle-class snobs; respectable and disreputable/respectable lexis respectively) living in the "new houses" (translation) who **hou hulle wit** (act white; respectable lexis). For the first two or three years many of their homes were burgled, many of the residents robbed, and several adolescent girls raped, even if without additional, serious physical battery. Homicide (about once a fortnight in a neighbourhood population of about thirty thousand) remained confined to the rest of the neighbourhood.

This rejection was ambivalent, however. There were girls to despoil and girls to marry. A steady, potentially marriageable girlfriend from the "new houses" (translation) was construed a valuable acquisition, and great deference was ambivalently shown her family. With strenuous encouragement from me -- and dire opposition from her widowed mother -- my fictive brother courted and married such a person.

When fieldwork began, the working-class coloured population of Cape Town

was about half its present size. Cars, telephones and firearms were rare. Television was introduced only in 1975. Like many such peer groups, mine moved around a great deal and had friends or acquaintances in virtually every neighbourhood, including delinquents in every well-known gang. In addition I had made my own contacts. The world of gang delinquency was relatively small in scale and face-to-face. Core members of gangs probably numbered well under two thousand. Gangs had not yet become involved in the highly lucrative illegal drug trade, were accordingly less organized, powerful and suspicious, and tended to confine their violence to highly exhibitionistic feuding and the robbery of strangers. Although I had been stabbed thrice (with calculated superficiality in the shoulder or forearm) I was reasonably safe.

These circumstances all changed radically, the watershed occurring around 1970. After several years I acquired a gun and carried it during fieldwork as I thought necessary. I had previously had strong reservations about such a practice, especially because of the implications of possible identification with the hated police in particular and the violently dominant white political identity in general, and of exercising an optional advantage then denied to virtually all people of colour.

However, firearms, both legal and illegal, had become increasingly common in the coloured community and most gangs had armed members. I had been fluent in delinquent lexis and relatively well-known for seven years. My explanation of the risks to my safety were always approved as sensible, without apparent reservation, and apart from rare, envious hints that I could readily be robbed of the unusually heavy-calibre gun, and occasional requests for illegal supplies of arms and especially ammunition, I could detect no significant change in informants' responses.

On a total of fifteen occasions I showed or pointed the gun (once ramming it under an assailant's chin) to save coloured or black individuals from being dangerously assaulted, tortured (with a knife stabbed through the thirteen-year-old victim's hand and then twisted), robbed or raped. In two such incidents, both well outside my fieldwork haunts, I pointed it to rescue victims from solitary robbers, neither of whom I recognized, only to be disconcerted each time by an identical, indignant rebuke: "Hey, Stone, don't you remember me?" (translation).

In retrospect I was able to assess the long-term effect of my involvement on my peer group for twelve years. Four of them had managed to cope with severe long-term crises which had been setting them back steadily, and had

gone on to become upwardly mobile. All had learned to approach a central, unavoidable problem with far greater confidence and skill: dealing with the coloured middle-class and especially with the mystifying, envied, feared, hated, once-beloved whites. Essentially their long familiarity with me had dispelled the alienative illusion: whites ceased to fascinate and baffle them; there was no mystery, no ordained superiority.

These were specific, explicit developmental and therapeutic goals towards which I had worked consistently from the outset, but their achievement was also due to communal religio-political change, and to the growing maturation of group members as they settled into adulthood, marriage, parenthood and occupation. In their subjective construction we had appropriated and possessed each other's communal identities. We had initiated each other, and were quits.

5.53 Emergence and Reintegration

In 1970 my involvement in the neighbourhood began to diminish with my when I took a two-year internship in clinical psychology, although I still spent nearly all my spare time with working-class people there or elsewhere. From 1972 I began to frequent beaches where many of the other regulars were working-class acquaintances and friends. In 1974 my peer group began to disintegrate as most of its members, now married and parents, emigrated to homes of their own in other suburbs and townships. From 1974 I was considerably limited by organic illness that dictated a quieter life. Although I retained widespread contacts I became more sedentary for two years, resuming very active involvement before and after the beginning of 1977, when I participated as a Coon troupe captain. Thereafter I continued to visit working-class neighbourhoods at least weekly in addition to informants' visits to my home, but my active involvement waned again until 1984, when my health improved.

With the popularization of Black Consciousness and Black Power in the early 1970s, a generalized tendency to displayed coldness and rejection by strangers first made its appearance, and was boosted by the civil revolts of 1976, 1980 and especially 1985. By early 1987 it had often become difficult or impossible to establish rapport in situations of leisure with small groups of adolescent and young adult strangers, many of whom would respond with ritual displays of rejection ranging from blankness to sneers, overt malice and even signs of hatred. If I were introduced by an old friend, however, this would often be diminished or dropped after I had been scrutinized. Other strangers would nod or even smile and greet, but

appear reluctant to pursue acquaintance further. In general individuals tended to be more relaxed and friendly on their own than in the company of their peers. However, during mass episodes of rebellion even some close friends tended to become brusque or sadistic, and to revive the manifest communal suspicion that characterized initial introductions. The malignant, omnipotent stigmatization and caricature of white identity first as wholly evil and then reduced to nonentity -- ultimately as boring -- became increasingly fashionable and indeed boring. The communal role reversal had to be established to the point of exorbitance and boredom, and by 1990 had become satire, itself playing with racism, to rescue the mythic issue of white racism from boredom and keep it alive as indignation for exploitation (see, e.g., Vollenhoven [1991]).

In 1986 several informants in the speech community proposed a growing change in communal identity, in which Blacks had "given up on Whites and turned against them" (translation). My construction was that the change was yet more profound: a developmental repudiation of dishonourable symbiotic vulnerability (in shame and doubt) to White identity, closure of the boundary of Black identity, honourable assertion of its autonomy, and initiative in revolution -- withal, from *communitas*, community.

From 1976 my visits to my key fieldwork neighbourhood had steadily diminished. In 1987 I had regularly attended Coon troupe practices there for about two months, to encounter increasing sneers, taunts and demands for gifts of money from haggard middle-aged delinquents and alcoholics whom I had first met over two decades before. Otherwise I had since 1985 merely made a turn around it once every six months or so, to observe any visible signs of change, and out of nostalgia. Occasionally I encountered someone I knew, usually middle-aged, still disreputable, and unemployed, and stopped for a chat. More often than not, my informant proved slyly malicious and exploitative. After 1976 innumerable informants had complained that the community centre and neighbourhood were becoming cheerless, boring and dominated by intolerant snobs. Nearly all the upwardly-mobile residents of my generation whom I had known had migrated to other suburbs. The neighbourhood no longer had the presence and intimacy of a busy village; residents kept to their self-improved homes, televisions, telephones and cars.

From 1988 I repeatedly received reports and indications that my identity had become malignantly stigmatized at the energetic initiative of men with disreputability to disavow, who sought local prominence and pursued upward

mobility and respectable prestige by the now fashionable, cost-free strategy of stigmatizing white identity and climbing on the revolutionary bandwagon. I had been averse to their company as exhibitionist, exploitative or malicious, and had kept or established distance.

Now, to varying degrees, they propagated one or more of the following claims: that I had always been an infinitely wealthy idler and hypocritical racist; that I had never let a person of colour into my home as an equal and had always proved racist and dominative; that my sole interests in the neighbourhood had been to enrich myself financially and/or masquerade as virtuous for the sexual corruption and even rape of impoverished but respectable adolescent males, females and even children, not excluding bestial participation by my black dog -- the witch's familiar. I was dying of AIDS. I had died of AIDS. My closest friends were taunted about association with me; there were heated arguments over me. The stigmatization was to be simple, total, virulent and lethal.

It was never proposed by solitary individuals to my face, but occasionally I would hear a snide hint or loud taunt from an unidentifiable individual safely among a group at a distance as I walked or drove past in other parts of the city -- the aim clearly being to mortify me in public, aggrandize the attacker in the eyes of his peers without risk of consequence, and test my amenability to provocation into a public conflict in which I would be alone and outnumbered. A double-bind was implicitly proposed: if I did not respond, I was a publicly stigmatized coward; if I responded aggressively, the group would gang up and loudly overwhelm the sanctimonious, dominative **whitey**. As often as not, the protagonist and the group proved unknown to me. This was proposed a game the wholly community could play -- as stigmatized stigmatizer-turned-gangster -- claiming all public territory as omnipotently dominated by coloured communal identity constituted as gangs. In all cases on which information was available, there had been curiosity, debate and gossip as to whether I was an unusually admirable or unusually contemptible white.

Almost always I ignored these challenges or surprised the protagonist by taunting him back with wit and humour in the same terms, turning the tables on him. This would usually defuse the incipient tension, be construed both egalitarian and stylish, embarrass the protagonist, and elicit appreciative laughter and even mockery of him by his peers. I did not pull rank and could give as good as I got. Occasionally, however, I then found myself roundly reviled in obscene terms, would sharply rebuff them, shrug and continue on my way. Subsequently I would encounter nothing more than

glares, for the protagonist had concluded that I was not to be played with indefinitely. The crux was whether one was construed as having the courage and ease to fight back with confidence and style.

For eleven years, however, I was intermittently harassed as an elite, loafing, hypocritically liberal, corrupt white, Jewish witch by more than half the complement of a station of forty-five members of a public amenities law enforcement station -- well known in the local authority and beyond as fractious and unprofessionally selected, trained and managed, and so rampantly sadistic that their responsibilities were progressively restricted under public pressure, predictably depriving them of the power that they wanted most. Nearly all were upwardly-mobile, working-class coloured late adolescents and young adults, with lifelong security, mortgage bond subsidy, extensive opportunity for fresh air and sport on duty -- and little prospect of advancement: trapped in comfort (as I put it one unhappy patrolman who wryly savoured the diagnosis). Moreover the job oscillated between boredom, often with nothing to do in autumn, winter and spring, and stressful work in shifts and on weekends in summer, when they increasingly faced gleefully sadistic, rebellious working-class crowds who taunted and assaulted them as agents of white domination.

What they loathed most was the paradox inherent in all police identity: dominant in authority over the public, subordinate in service to it -- and in this case the additional paradox of responsibility to protect both the querulous white middle class and themselves against their own. They were intensely ambivalent in a position into which they attempted to force me too as their scapegoat, by reversing roles.

Several originated from my key fieldwork neighbourhood, and had heard of me from older age-sets. Their campaign began in 1981 when I reported two for refusing to identify themselves and instead illegally threatening me with arrest while in plainclothes and systematically, illegally searching and bullying all working-class and other beachgoers calculatedly in the then ritualized identity enactment of the white nationalist police ("You think you're clever, hey!"), all wholly against orders. It grew ever more exuberant and rampant, extending to ambush and groundless search for cannabis with illegally drawn firearms and now flourished identity cards ("We're not like the S.A.P[o]lice -- Sir! We don't want to spoil anybody's fun -- Sir!"); an attempt at frame-up for prosecution of me (by systematic but fruitless assault of a working-class beachgoer for a false statement); a false spot fine ("Enjoy your day -- if you can!") which I had withdrawn by the public prosecutor ("Don't mess with Stone; he's brainy"); repetitive

surveillance and investigation (wholly beyond their brief) for any grounds for prosecution (including "disturbing the soil or water"), but preferably for an offence involving sex or drugs -- or stigmatization as a police spy for white domination -- to destroy my reputation publicly and send me to prison or render me amenable to blackmail; gleefully fantastic gossip about my putatively maniacal, polymorphous sexual proclivities; endless taunting and inciting of outsiders to taunt me; and repeated series of silent, anonymous telephone calls to my home from a group of ranked staff on duty at the station. They sought omnipotence over me in my assigned identity -- for honour and fun; play, display and contest.

In mid-1991 I was left no alternative but to remind them forcefully of my legal rights, as a citizen now juristically equal to them, and they retreated uneasily into a mute display of solidarity in contempt towards me. Their senior white nationalist management -- also domineering towards the public until curbed by criticism in the press -- had tolerated, actively joined in, and exploited the campaign, abusing authority and facilities to conduct their own surveillance of me for evidence for prosecution, out of malice at my objection to their racism towards public and staff, anxiety that I knew too much and was politically untrustworthy, and to deflect staff's aggression towards them on to me. So I, as a citizen, objected to their racism? Then I could put up with their coloured staff ("all coloureds are rebellious"), subtly stirred by management's intermediary, a demoralized, corrupt white station commander. Staff and management each accused me of supporting the other, as the scapegoated witch representing their bureaucracy's council and many of the public in the area.

The vendetta had flared for periods of two or three years after each communal revolt against white domination, in 1981 and 1986, and with greater rampancy than ever before in 1991, when all ethno-racial legislation was repealed. I researched the campaign against me by participant observation for its relevance to this account (even as they disregarded my advice that I was doing so), making friends with nearly all of them and encouraging them to get to know me objectively, and firstly forcing senior management to take humiliating action against junior management, the station commander (electively drunk in the station, having driven there drunk, with a criminal conviction for drunken driving). Some staff (like some of my gang a generation earlier) then cheered and speculated that I might be their prophetic ally and leader, in pursuit of the post of their retiring departmental head. The harassment ceased; I

made it abundantly clear that my involvement was professional and on no political side; this was proposed treachery and hypocrisy, and the harassment resumed.

The protagonists among staff eschewed party politics, neglected and exploited their trade union (officials construed them a nuisance), and in almost all cases had flaunted histories of disreputability, and some of thoroughly criminal delinquency, on duty and off. White management construed them childish and endlessly intimidated them with ferocious interrogation, abusiveness, disciplinary action and control over promotion requiring political loyalty. Like management, they rejected political and social equality, and demanded superiority. Intimidated and humiliated by their management, manipulated by their station commander, they formed and re-formed factions, exuberantly taunting and plotting against each other and management. A minority found the endless stress intolerable, and applied for transfer to other departments, usually without success.

When the first black rookie, the largest of them all, joined them late in 1990, he found himself gleefully stripped to investigate and expose his genitals as a black (mythically bigger) and reviled in the same ethno-racial and sexual terms as I was. He too defended himself. Another solitary intercommunal scapegoat, moreover a pioneer with courage: I intervened effectually through management to protect him. They sought the ritualization of honourable omnipotence over territory, all its denizens and each other in subjectified identification with grandiose white identity, and over me as a firm (and to them uncannily egalitarian and competent) resister who knew far too much about them. I fascinated them and became an obsession; their campaign became an institution. They took ritual turns at me, each proposing himself the leader of the gang proposing itself the warrior vanguard of the revolutionary community, emerging to joust with the prized enemy.

I ignored the harassment as much as possible, refused to bear malice, found most of them likeable enough, assisted in various ways -- including successful representations to a councillor to break down management's barrier to the promotion of the first coloured to inspector at their station -- and encouraged them to support their trade union and take an interest in politics. They enjoyed and despised my every attempt at tolerance, friendliness and helpfulness; harassed and taunted me whatever my reaction or lack of it, accused me of all the savage terms of stigma that they construed in themselves; reflexively disbelieved every term of my

conceal the truth, and themselves as far too sophisticated to be fooled; and endlessly failed, dishonoured themselves and came back at me in escalation and eventual frenzy until I found myself under mesmerized gaze for a quarter of an hour and gleefully harassed and taunted thrice, all in an hour at four places over four kilometres.

This was cumulatively my most extreme experience of totalistically self-sustaining mythopoeic construal of my identity by a peer group, and the only ordeal in nearly three decades which drove me to the limit of my endurance, exactly as they sought in order to objectify my identity as that of an impotent white oppressor and to exploit me yet further in resolution of their equally rampant conflicts with each other, in ambivalence towards their own, white and black communal identity, towards all communal identity. Once more, the tyrant-fool double-bind, the disreputable flaunting of indomitable honour, and communal identity enacted (like the working-class Afrikaner nationalist police) as stigmatized stigmatizer-turned-gangster.

I was left no alternative but indefinite withdrawal as a citizen and ethnographer from their area of jurisdiction, or resort to threat of legal action. I issued it against the local authority as well as any individual protagonist who persisted further, but made it clear to all that I would not have myself exploited as a political weapon or target by any, and that resolution of the crisis lay proximally in their organization.

This precipitated an unprecedented, extremely heated, painful confrontation between management and staff in which fundamental order at the station was instituted for the first time; and a source elsewhere in the bureaucracy, associated with their trade union, reported with happy surprise that unprecedented signs followed of managerial courtesy and even eagerness to cooperate. Middle management proved increasingly cooperative and even assumed a modicum of responsibility. The station commander was again formally disciplined, for various forms of corruption, and evidently faced dismissal for any further internal conviction in the foreseeable future. The end of the station's ambivalent attachment to me was marked by the ritual flaunting of contempt and hatred by previously uninvolved patrolmen off duty, in romanticized solidarity with the others -- but without passion, and without harassing me.

Thereafter, mutual silence; they ceased fighting among each other, conveyed loss of interest in me, and began to revolt in unison through their trade union against management. They had indefinitely lost their vendetta

against me, but that no longer mattered: they had begun to win their honour -- at a time of similarly frenzied escalation of public disorder and crime against the dominant throughout the Peninsula and the country. Withal, they had consistent experience of my turning their conflict with me to mutually constructive account -- once again, the mutual initiation; but now my forceful objectification of my identity as an individual in, and transcending both communities. Like my ethnographic community I was no longer liminal. Liminality was over.

The ritual abruption of this relationship, two months after the repeal of the Population Registration Act, signified the end of my tumultuous emergence from ethnographic initiation, in exact reversal of the terms of my seclusion in it a full generation earlier, equally by an upwardly-mobile working-class late adolescent and young adult peer group, but this time by ordeal of witchcraft campaign simultaneously by both sides. Now the tumult between coloured and white identities that had erupted in me from the beginning of fieldwork, fourteen years before it did between the communities in 1976, was no longer within my identity but in society; and I ignored or rebuffed attempts to force it on me.

Most apparently coloured strangers in public had become as unconvertible with me as with each other. The scale of communal consciousness was no longer wholly working-class and parochial, but increasingly integrated between classes, metropolitan, national and incipiently universal. A small minority (increasing from 1991) remained amenable to relaxed, egalitarian conversation.

My communal identity had been created as that of a well-known, superior, powerful, omniscient, fascinating, loving and decent white Jewish prophet, diviner and healer of the disreputable, delinquent and outcast cosmically deserving subordination; subsequently these terms were exactly reversed: it was to be that of a boring stranger or an inferior, exploitative, corrupt, malignant, ignorant, venereally diseased, lethally contagious, outcast, doomed and eventually destroyed white Jewish witch, the quintessence of abomination malignantly subordinating, exploiting, corrupting and infecting the pious, respectable victims of oppression romantically prophesying their triumphant overthrow of white craft and tyranny. But more widely they were transcended altogether by according me insignificance.

By all who came to know me well individually, my identity was, throughout fieldwork, proposed quintessentially representative of the dominant identity (signified ethno-racially) in terms of the protagonists' construed

religio-political interests at the time -- paradoxically because the objective reality that it was unrepresentative violated the mythic foundations of their identity. Mine was, like theirs, paradoxical, liminal and syncretic in terms of communal identity. Unlike theirs, it appeared pragmatically outcast, and the objectification of individual outcastness as a term of personal identity was crucially significant and abhorrent. My identity was construed horrifically prophetic of their own. Their construed outcastness was subjectified -- denied objective reality -- and assigned to my identity on their omnipotent terms, at first infinitely positive, then infinitely negative. Among the disreputable and delinquent, personal identity remained extensively proposed as symbiotic with communal identity, and individuality was proscribed -- yet proposed as omnipotently sadistic play or warfare. But among the respectable, the ethical individuation of identity was increasingly proposed.

Consistently throughout fieldwork in the working-class community I encountered no interest in myself as a person and virtually no altruistic concern apart from a very small number of longstanding friends, and then minimal, inconsistent, and under extreme circumstances only -- until the repeal of the Population Registration Act. I was subjectively, and later objectively, to be the outcasts' outcast, the coloured communal identity's coloured. These were the fundamental terms of initiation; there were none more so. They were paradoxical: not to belong was to belong, and vice-versa. They were meaningful in their meaninglessness. Thus any individual and none could belong; either way meant nothing. One had no significance semantically as an individual; therefore, syntactically speaking, one's belonging, or not, was insignificant; one had significance only pragmatically as a member of a community, which, in this case, was also construed not a community -- a unique community from which each and all were individually outcast, and therefore uniquely belonged in. This was a community which anyone could instantly join, leave, and make no difference either way. Moreover, this rule was a communal ethic unique in South Africa: no outcast should be turned away -- and no individual should be of consequence. The self-contradiction and meaninglessness served to construct the critical identity theme of liminality and transitionality in communal myth: outcastness as belonging and vice-versa, nonentity as identity and vice-versa; *communitas* as community and vice-versa.

This significance had begun to change with historic repudiation of subordination in symbiosis with white identity. White identity was being objectively stigmatized as coloured, by virtue of the objective, pragmatic

reality that coloured identity was to some extent creating the power to do so -- and was to this extent transforming itself. Equally, white identity was subjectively being included as coloured: communal stigma was also being extended to include white identity, which was being domesticated. And coloured identity was being subjectively enacted as white. Transcendence of these terms remained muted, enacted rather than discussed, and usually with shyness. The majority of working-class Christian coloureds to whom I made nonracial terms explicit initially reacted with mild embarrassment, signifying that they still might not merit full equality and were unsure that they could manage the ethical responsibility and complexities. But they rapidly grew in confidence, and withal stood up for themselves sturdily in the face of white domination.

In summary, since the early nineteen-seventies there has been a long-term, accelerating trend of reversal of proposals and enactments of coloured identity as stigmatized, insignificant, boring, impotent, bankrupt and corrupt, and of white identity as sacramental, grandiose, fascinating, omnipotent, infinitely wealthy, and decent, which has greatly intensified during phases of acute revolt. Equally, signs of transcendence of this antinomy were established.

Space permits no details of a voluntary, informal counselling and psychotherapy practice that I conducted in (and beyond) the fieldwork community throughout, dealing with over three hundred people in the community and ranging from brief counselling and crisis intervention to long-term intensive work with six clients, all in the dialect. To these I became a surrogate parent, paying each in cash and kind to develop. They included the fostering of a chronically vagrant adolescent with a standard four who became a qualified school teacher nine years later, addressed by pupils as "Sir" (translation) in the working-class suburb in which he had become outcast. The practice disclosed data in lexis, myth and enactment, including relationships between client and therapist, and effects on both.

Other fieldwork included interview of forty working-class adolescent and young adult delinquent males for a psychology Honours research project on the ethnography of gangs and myths of honour in gang violence (Stone [1966]); interview or supervision of interview of nearly two thousand assault victims in hospital casualty departments, and assessment of questionnaires (Stone [1970a]); a social anthropology Honours research project of an ethnography of the Coon Carnival (Stone [1971]), subsequently followed up and involving my attachment for eight years between 1968-1989 to different troupes when practices began each August; interview or the

supervision of interview of 137 randomly chosen coloured (mostly working-class) residents of Greater Cape Town in a follow-up of an epidemiological survey of organic illness, psychiatric disturbance and alcohol consumption, and assessment of questionnaires (Gillis and Stone [1973, 1977]); and extensive informal contact as an owner-builder with construction workers and sub-contractors for a total of five years in homes that I occupied during fieldwork. In all, there were reliable grounds to conclude that between 1963-1990 I had conversed informally and at length in their dialect with well over ten thousand informants in the fieldwork community.

Early in 1985, civil revolution had come to my fieldwork community. The communal identity objectified itself with a historic vengeance in relation to white identity. I too was electrified -- and liberated. My thralldom in mystification resolved about the interaction between my working-class coloured, Jewish and middle-class white identities, and I began to objectify transcendence of all. Various informants and myriad shades, living and dead, from nearly three decades turned up, reminding, instructing me: Remember Ourselves-and-Yourself, long a despised, nameless, unrecorded People. Write! You said you would Write! Let us be Told! Inscribe us in History! I objected that many members of the community would construe a balanced representation painful in some respects; and anyone could perceive an opportunity for political capital at unjustified expense to the work and myself. I was told to expect that and get on with the work -- that too my responsibility.

I considered the ethics and started to write in one irresistible surge after the other, for six years and well over a thousand pages, and to talk about the research to anyone at all for as long as they would listen. The participant who could not speak his name became the observer who could not quieten down. In June 1991 the Population Registration Act was repealed and I, like my informants, construed myself free for the first time to choose all my communal identities. The boundary line faded into history; experience became memory, through tears. Unexpectedly, those and I who had more often than not bound ourselves in faith with each other discovered other and self as free people, at last; and in one week I found myself receiving, from four mutually unacquainted, longstanding informants, unsolicited, forthright, even exuberant affirmation of shared fidelity for decades. Yet another demanded a copy of the photograph opposite p. 197, had it framed, hung it in his lounge for all to see, and remarked: "You're rich, not in worldly things, but in other ways" (translation).

However, rituals of honour can be reversed. The following week he shouted and slammed the telephone down on my (solicited) counselling regarding resolution of a marital crisis. But he took the advice, and the crisis resolved. He had repetitively volunteered that he was my loyal friend for life even as he insisted authoritatively that all coloureds were treacherous towards whites. A month later he resumed contact, more as a mature equal and a respectable individual.

My fictive brother (framed photograph in his lounge, of us as comrades in youth, him proprietorial), having returned to delinquency in horror of midlife, proposed himself my brother for life provided that I continued to act as his, and expect nothing whatever of him. Equally, like all my longstanding disreputable or delinquent adult male informants, he began to flaunt contempt. I received bitter reports of identical conduct towards wives and children. In identical terms I found myself violently, obscenely reviled as a foolish racist tyrant and ordered to depart in public by an adult male delinquent with three ambivalent adolescents in tow. He continued his shrieking display to them of virtuous rage in sexual stigmatization of all white male identity for minutes after we parted company. My fictive brother (gradually becoming outcast in his family) was deeply gratified, even gloated at the report: our statuses had at last been reversed.

Five similar public encounters and a wide variety of ethnographic information during the past year supported my conclusion that persistence in participant observation was placing me at increasing risk of violence from the *communitas* of sacramental hatred -- of violence to the stigmatizing principle of ethics, and thus of differentiated individual identity and irreversible time brought by Western, Christian culture and forced on ambivalent Africa; of violence by a *communitas* rebellious against its liminal stigma, deprived of the moralizing romance, remission and consolation of subordination, and in quest of the omnipotence formerly enjoyed by white identity, and centrality in the new social order.

The same day, a painter's mate in the vicinity of my home, at twenty the father of two children by unmarried mothers ("I like that thing!" [translation]), borrowed a rand off me for trainfare and offered to repay it the following day. He visited first thing in the morning. I was inaccessible. He returned two hours later and repaid. That afternoon, at the spot where I had been attacked, I chatted in English with a tough, pleasant adolescent who was surprised that I knew his neighbourhood, and proudly described his participation in nocturnal anti-crime and anti-drug-

trading patrols by residents. He ventured into his dialect. So did I. It turned out that we both knew one of the drug traders in his neighbourhood. We parted with appreciation of each other's company.

For nearly three decades I had encountered the issues of fidelity and honour reciprocated and betrayed; solitude in hectic communitas; no verbal language of paradox and ambiguity in identity; participant observation itself an obvious paradox in terms, doubly so in a liminal communitas:

If you came this way,
Taking any route, starting from anywhere,
At any time or at any season,
It would always be the same: you would have to put off
Sense and notion. You are not here to verify,
Instruct yourself, or inform curiosity
Or carry report. You are here to kneel
Where prayer has been valid. And prayer is more
Than an order of words, the conscious occupation
Of the praying mind, or the sound of the voice praying.
And what the dead had no speech for, when living,
They can tell you, being dead: the communication
Of the dead is tongued with fire beyond the language of the
living.

T S Eliot (1942): *Four Quarters: Little Gidding. Collected Poems, 1909-1962*, p. 215. Publ 1963, Faber and Faber, London.

It is only in paradox that identity can be created. Identity is the language of life itself, the lived life its discourse. This account, then, is an attempt at anthropologies by community and ethnographer of life with each other.

One acquires the religio-political code of ethnographic identity -- and all identity -- by ritualized initiation into attachment, ordeal, repetition and confirmation in lived relation between I and Thou, creating the ethnographer also as We. This is possible only by ethical consensus between community and ethnographer in terms of the fundamental, overriding, shared religio-political issue of the historic moment. Neither had wholly succeeded; neither had irredeemably failed.

And when Abram was ninety years old and nine, FLUXBECOMING appeared to Abram and **said unto him, I am Source Omnipotent-Superabundant; walk to my face and be one-self-from-two.*** I will give my

covenant **between me and thee** and will **multiply** thee exceedingly. And Abram **fell upon his face**: and Source-Sources **talked with him** (...) (The Bible: Genesis 17: 1-3). * live consciously in my numinous Presence and be wholehearted, doubly, superlatively plain, simple, open, pure; to be ritually signified in the initiatory ordeal of circumcision, paradoxically making Culturally whole by cleaving Naturally in two, opening the whole to exceeding multiplicity.

And a stranger shalt thou not oppress, for ye know the heart of a stranger, seeing ye were strangers in the land of Egypt (Exodus 23: 9).

The stranger that sojourneth with you shall be unto you the one gathered unto you, and thou shalt love him without like unto you; for ye were strangers in the land of Egypt. I am FLUXBECOMING your Source-Sources (Leviticus 19: 34).

And these words which I command thee this day shall be upon thine heart: and thou shalt prick them in unto thy children and shalt talk of them when thou sittest in thine house and when thou walkest by the way and when thou liest down and when thou risest up (Deuteronomy 6: 6-7).

And FLUXBECOMING thy Source-Sources will **circumcise thine heart and the heart of thy seed to love FLUXBECOMING thy Source-Sources in all thine heart and in all thy being for thy life** (Deuteronomy 30: 6). (*)

(* See Appendix C regarding the methodology of my literal translation from the Hebrew Masoretic Text, and semiotic emphases.)

5.6 The Research Lexicon

5.60 Introduction

Since 1975 I have been recording a lexicon of items, meanings and other data distinctive (see below) to the Peninsular working-class Afrikaans-speaking coloured speech community. It currently numbers well over 4,000 items (counting the multiple meanings of some items), and includes not only my dialectal idiolect but also items heard among, and supplied by informants. It includes respectable, disreputable, delinquent and prison lexises, as well as the distinctive lexis of Muslims of Indonesian origin

(Java) and the **Cloragail** argot of "moffies" (histrionically effeminate homosexual males), some items of which were acquired from the unpublished research report of Heilbuth (1984), and the very small local **Rasta** (Rastafarian) lexis.

This study is confined to the disreputable lexis. A complete exposition of the distinctive dialect of adolescent and young adult males would include the delinquent, outcast (prison) and **Cloragail** lexises, apart from those items in these categories which have infiltrated the disreputable, but considerations of space require restriction to the latter here. Male speakers acquire most of the disreputable and nearly all of the delinquent and prison lexises in adolescence but tend to abandon them in middle age, retaining them almost wholly in discourse with peers if they remain members of disreputable or delinquent peer groups. Only a small minority transmit the delinquent lexis to their children, and I have encountered only one instance of a father who actually taught the prison lexis to his son before adolescence. Adolescents therefore acquire non-respectable lexis in adolescence from older age-sets and by overhearing parents and other adults. However, females may acquire a modicum of disreputable and even delinquent lexis, and many parents introduce their children to non-respectable lexis also by using it ambivalently in discourse with them, and discoursing freely with each other and peers in their children's presence.

An item is included in the research lexicon if it was absent, in terms of the linguistic criteria below, from the vernaculars of geographically intermingled and adjacent middle-class English and Afrikaans speech communities during the research period. Middle-class Afrikaans and English are the reference languages in the consciousness of Peninsular working-class Afrikaans-speaking coloured speakers, who understand and can engage in colloquial discourse in them to varying -- and increasing -- degrees.

As vernaculars, Xhosa and Zulu are generally not so construed and understood. Some of the unmodified Xhosa and Zulu items in the Peninsular working-class coloured Afrikaans vernacular are understood in their original meaning. Some of these are identified as Xhosa or Zulu, by some speakers because they have heard the items used by native speakers, by other speakers merely because they have been told by peers. Other Xhosa and Zulu items may or may not be recognized as such, but have in either event been Afrikaansified and are construed as wholly antilinguistic, neologistic innovations by the working-class coloured speech community. (One talented high school pupil wrote a lyrical English poem about "weatie" [expressive discourse; he construed it English; other informants spell it

"wietie", construing it Afrikaans despite the soft "w"; spelt in the research lexicon as **wheatie** for greater phonetic accuracy and on other grounds set out in 7.024], construing it as English. Other working-class coloured speakers spell it as "wietie", with an English "w" and Afrikaans vowels, utterly unaware that it is "withi" in working-class black urban dialects throughout South Africa, the speakers of which recognize it as derived from Xhosa, and, in the case of black scientific linguists, spell it as "withi". And I was astonished to discover that one item, "die skatties", the time [disreputable lexis], which informants and I had suspected of deriving entirely from the middle-class Afrikaans verb "skat", estimate, was originally Xhosa [as well as Zulu], when I sat next to two men who were conversing in Xhosa on a park bench, overheard one ask the other about "isikathi" [which sounded much like "skatie" had it been Afrikaans], and observed the latter consult his watch and reply -- in English.)

In the researched speech community individuals differ greatly in the extent to which they make these distinctions, and in their identification of particular -- and especially, ambiguous -- items as English, Afrikaans, Nguni or neologistic. As the Lexicon discloses, there are indeed numerous items which are phonemically mixed in terms of these identities. However, the diacritical markers proposed here are (i) differentiation from middle-class English and Afrikaans and (ii) ritualized, codal incorporation of the item into the working-class dialect, and not mere individually idiosyncratic citation in dialectal discourse, with the meaning understood (as Branford [3rd ed: 1987] proposes as the criterion of inclusion in her Dictionary of South African English, moreover apparently taking only one unchecked literary instance as sufficient evidence. On this basis her successor, Penny da Silva, ran a public competition with cash rewards for the "best" list of twenty-five items and examples of usage in the dialect in 1991, citing Zulu, Xhosa, Afrikaans and Afrikaansified items as examples of South African English; see South (21.3.91: 11). I suggest that such criteria are wholly inadequate, all the more so when speakers are diglossic or triglossic and introduce the item as an idiosyncratic, unritualized code-mix confined to an individual or peer group in usage and perhaps composition. It is in terms of the two markers defined above that speakers identify the intercommunal field and boundaries of their dialect, and for the purposes of this study, speakers' constructions of such identification are accepted, since they define the code whereby items (or at least phonemes) are excluded or included, and there is no other clear and tenable

sociolinguistic basis on which to proceed lexicographically.

Codally, the ideological issue of differentiated appropriation or rejection versus unmodified inclusion always arises in interaction with middle-class English and Afrikaans. On the other hand, the issue concerning Nguni languages is indifference and ignorance versus modified or unmodified appropriation; and appropriation of Nguni items is itself in terms of optional or total rejection of middle-class English and Afrikaans for Nguni items of similar meaning. For all these reasons relexicalizations into unmodified Xhosa, and since 1980, unmodified Zulu items (from the Outcast into the Delinquent Lexicon, and beginning entrance into the Disreputable Lexicon) are included.

In fact, the majority of items, in terms of the linguistic criteria set out below, were absent from all other speech communities with whom there was large-scale, informal, mundane, face-to-face interaction during the period of research until 1986 for the latest, when it became evident that Xhosa migrants to Cape Town were increasingly acquiring the dialect from working-class coloureds. However, because of the exceptional difficulty in tracing historically the particular communal origins of many lexical differences and innovations, the narrow, rigorous position must be taken that unless proved otherwise, codal uniqueness does not necessarily imply lexical invention, and an item may even have been imported by travellers from a geographically distant working-class speech community, as has evidently been the case with diffusion of some items between urban Black working-class speech communities in Cape Town, Port Elizabeth, the Witwatersrand and Durban. Similar borrowing of a few items in these cities has occurred by middle-class white adolescent speech communities from working-class Black speech communities as selected metonyms of the style of authentic opposition to middle-class respectability that they idealize. (The Peninsular working-class coloured and the Witwatersrand -- especially Soweto -- working-class black identities appear to be nationally mythified in South African urban working-class Black adolescent and young adult speech communities as the most authentic politico-cultural opposition to the dominant middle-class speech communities in the country.)

A further complication was the effect of residential segregation. For instance, many thousands of working-class blacks had shared my key fieldwork area with coloureds for two decades prior to my beginning research, but were removed to wholly black townships in the late 1950s and early 1960s. The rarity of intermarriage between the two communities, and of friendships after segregation even though they continued to share

situations of employment on a large scale, and the commonness of usage of stigmatizing terms for blacks by coloureds and vice-versa all testified to the social distance that remained even though they had lived cheek-by-jowl in congested blocks of shanties. Nevertheless, many members of my key fieldwork gang had become proficient in some Xhosa words and phrases useful in communicating with their speakers. The unmodified Xhosa items or Afrikaansified or Anglicized items of Xhosa origin in the Disreputable Lexicon were perhaps borrowed during this period. The extent to which non-middle-class lexis was shared by both speech communities during the research period was not precisely ascertained, but my casual impressions, a period of six months of running a weekly club for young adolescents in a black township in 1969, and ethnographic research by others (Wilson and Mafeje [1963]) all suggest that it was by no means extensive, and was probably confined to unmodified Xhosa items and the original Xhosa versions of Afrikaansified and Anglicized items.

The linguistic criteria of uniqueness are:

- (1) Lexical: e.g., **jammang**, a toilet pan, toilet cubicle or public toilet (respectable from **Java** lexis, originally Malayu); **(H)oijaa!** (Hallo there!; cheerful greeting by familiar adolescent or young adult male visitor to disreputable peer group, as well as banter by street sweepers and garbage collectors on passing lorries to pedestrians).
- (2) Grammatical: e.g., **bandiet** (serve a prison sentence; an intransitive verb derived from the middle-class Afrikaans noun, „bandiet“, a sentenced prisoner; disreputable lexis); **can't get** (a rare and precious object, service or person; a noun derived from English verbs; disreputable lexis).
- (3) Phonetic-consonantal: e.g., **agtentoe** (backwards; respectable lexis) replaces the standard Afrikaans „agtertoe“; **turners** (delinquent lexis) or **tinnern** (respectable lexis; both thinners, paint solvent) replaces the English. These are individual lexical variations. Phonetic vowel modifications generalized and regularized throughout the dialect are excluded from the research lexicon.
- (4) Semantic: e.g., **bad** (be locked up by the police, or be remanded or serve a sentence in prison; disreputable lexis) means "bathe" in middle-class Afrikaans; **skyf jou lyf** (move over, get out of the way; disreputable lexis) is rhyming and idiomatic, and would mean "shift your torso" in middle-class Afrikaans, in which it is not idiomatic.
- (5) In lexical-linguistic code-switching (invariant switching of particular

phonemes, words or phrases into another language: e.g., **background**: support or take sides; disreputable lexis; a transitive or intransitive verb replacing the middle-class Afrikaans "ondersteun"; **boot** (of a car; respectable lexis) replaces the standard Afrikaans "kattebak". Thus lexical-linguistic code-switching is intra-sentential and standard for particular lexical items. I distinguish this form of codal divergence from all others, in which codes are mixed or switched whimsically, optionally, situationally, intersententially, etc. The items cited above manifest rigorous avoidance and preference. Other items may be less rigorously avoided, and more optional between synonyms. For instance, both the English **toilet** and the Java **jammang** may be used in Christian households, but the middle-class Afrikaans "gemakhuis" or "toilet" will remain rigorously avoided. Many items display more than one form of uniqueness: e.g., **background** is unique both grammatically and in code-switching; **broken palace** (a derelict city building inhabited by vagrants; disreputable lexis) is unique both lexically and in code-switching; **road runner** (a female prostitute soliciting from the sidewalk; disreputable lexis) is unique both semantically and in terms of code-switching. Moreover, uniqueness may be confined to a prefix or suffix: **automaties** (inevitably; disreputable lexis), with the first syllable Anglicized, is also a semantic variant, and derives from the middle-class Afrikaans "outomaties" (automatic[ally], which is itself avoided and lexically-linguistically code-switched into its English translation: **automatically**: also means inevitably [disreputable lexis]).

Elsewhere (Stone [1986a]) I have proposed that it is codal (i.e., paradigmatic and systemic) semantic, syntactic and pragmatic differentiation and not individual difference or identity of syntagms (e.g., lexical items and meanings) alone that signifies the existence of an identity and its diacritical demarcation from others. Some lexis and meanings may be shared with adjacent speech communities; individual instances may be too mixed intercommunally to define simply. Folk and scientific constructions may differ, and the scholar may be able to justify scientific contradiction of folk constructions. Ultimately, I propose, it is systemic sociolinguistic uniqueness -- the code -- that is the objective and subjective diacritical marker of the speech community's sociolinguistic identity and dialect.

5.61 Recording

Prior to record by word-processor in 1987 each item collected by then was

recorded on a card filed in alphabetical order, containing the range of information indicated in the following example. Headings and fully explicit notes are added here for clarity.

Item: GHAASIE. Language: Afrikaansified. Etymology: Zulu: gazi: blood. Lexis: delinquent/prison.

Meaning: (1) blood.

Example: Hulle het hom onder - gestiek.

Translation: They stabbed him so that he was covered in blood.

(2) bloody revenge.

Example: Die 27s, hulle kyk - .

Translation: The 27s' (a prison gang's) (ritual) business is bloody revenge.

Cross-reference: gazi, gazilam.

Life-span: since 1980 outside prison.

Source: Self + 3 (i.e., in my idelect and heard and checked at least thrice since beginning recording).

Standardizers: (initials of informants' names; a register is kept).

Specification of life-span is unavoidably imprecise. Introduction prior to commencement of fieldwork has not been investigated, and it has been impossible to ascertain how long such an item had been current, and among whom, before I first acquired it. In some cases it has been difficult to ascertain when an item has lost currency or become altogether archaic. A date specified for innovation, archaism or re-introduction therefore includes the preceding and succeeding year, so that it implicitly signifies a three-year period of which the cited date is the median.

Archaism, in this study, means that the item is no longer used by the adolescent and young adult age-sets.

Many items in the Disreputable Lexicon began as innovations in the Delinquent Lexicon, some previously appropriated from the Outcast (prison) Lexicon). Likewise, some items formerly in the Disreputable Lexicon had passed into the Respectable Lexicon during the period of research. There was thus a tendency for items to become upwardly mobile, but no detectable tendency in the opposite direction (except for a very small number of items revived from respectable grandparental lexis as exotic, and assigned to the Delinquent Lexicon). The assignation of items to Lexicons reflects their known position at the end of 1990. I remained alert for upward mobility, but since constant review of the position of all items was not feasible, a

very small proportion of items assigned to the Delinquent Lexicon (and thus excluded from this study) had possibly become Disreputable by then.

The data recorded in chapter 7 are confined to the item, language, lexicogrammatical code, part of speech, meaning(s), linguistic origin, life-span and, when information was available, etymology. Examples are cited when essential to indicate meaning.

5.62 Collection, Verification and Standardization

Each lexical item, its meaning, and if necessary examples of usage, together with other salient information were recorded on a separate filing card. Items were acquired either from my personal lexicon or that of informants, and were written down at the first opportunity. All items in the full research lexicon were acquired by participant observation except for about five hundred offered by informants during the course of discussion about the dialect or interviewing to standardize items, as well as most of the items of Zulu origin which had infiltrated delinquent lexis from prison lexis en masse about 1980. These were then outside my idiolect and were acquired by interview, mainly to economize on time. Some were initially acquired during interviewing to verify other items.

Dialectal criteria for inclusion were simply that the item was unique in the terms set out above. Two forms of difference were not recorded. The exclusive use of one or two synonyms among a wider range of options used in middle-class Afrikaans was not recorded for two reasons: the usage remained middle-class in every way but limitation of the range of synonyms, and the size of the dictionary would have been vastly increased without indicating anything but the fact of the preference. For the same reasons purely phonetic differences in which there was no extension or abbreviation of phonemes and no consonantal change were not recorded. The only additional phonetic differences recorded were phonemic and/or consonantal, unique to the particular item, and not a manifestation of a rule always or optionally applicable to the same phoneme in every item containing it (e.g., the ubiquitous, Anglicizing „dʒy" for „jy" in Afrikaans).

On the other hand, items in standard Afrikaans or English, or their colloquial variants, were included if their denotative meaning was the same but carried connotative differences or at least a marked difference in prevalence of connotation. For instance, *hol* denotes arse in both colloquial Afrikaans and the dialect, but in the former it commonly connotes mere social humiliation. It can unusually connote use for

copulation, but in the dialect this significance is almost ubiquitous among non-respectable speakers, and to all dialectal speakers it also denotatively signifies anus, for which no other term is used. As in this case, all terms were also included which were common to both colloquial Afrikaans and dialect, but also had sole standard semantic significance. Thus *pa* means dad in both middle-class Afrikaans and the dialect, but also denotatively means procreative and/or familial father in the latter. This is not merely a matter of register: there is no other term with this meaning in the dialect, and the standard term is used exclusively in ritual Christian prayer to describe or address the deity, and to describe or address a Roman Catholic or Anglican priest.

When doubtful about any difference from standard Afrikaans, Xhosa or Zulu, I checked an item against translating and explanatory dictionaries (see 7.024). However, the possibility cannot be excluded that a small number of items may be found in the slang or colloquial lexis of working-class Afrikaner Capetonians, excluded from these dictionaries.

If unique to the speech community in terms of the paradigm and any of the five criteria listed above, no item was ever excluded for any reason whatever. My dialectal idiolect in active usage consists of over two thousand lexical items, nearly all of which were recorded at the outset of recording or as I acquired them. Lexical items with which I am passively familiar have been steadily supplemented as I have recorded them. The range of individuals with whom I engaged in discourse before 1975 numbered more than five thousand, and has been supplemented by (at the very least) that number since. Since 1975 (but excluding 1979-1983) I have developed an attitude of constantly listening for new items, all of which have been immediately identifiable because of their unfamiliarity to me, and I have written them down at the first opportunity, usually within two hours. It is possible, but unlikely that a few uniquely short-lived items were lost between 1979-1983. However, such items are almost always adolescent overlexicalizations of sexually suggestive banter, and tend to add very little or nothing semantically; and research outside the scope of this study indicates that although fashions in the popularity of particular innovations may change rapidly (even annually), the rate of archaism is very low -- vastly lower than that of innovation. (The working-class lexicon has thus been increasing in size -- exponentially -- during the period of research; the scale and complexity of consciousness, reality and identity has been developing.) This listening orientation has been maintained as a frame of consciousness in every conceivable situation;

acquaintances and friends grew accustomed to sudden interrogation about the occasional word or phrase that sounded unfamiliar to me; and I recall having lost (temporarily or permanently) no more than five or six items because they were forgotten before they could be written down. For the purposes of this study no innovations apparently introduced after 1990 have been included, although older items were acquired and standardized until this thesis was finalized in October 1991. (Collection and checking continue.)

However, completeness cannot possibly be claimed. I have never encountered a speaker who knows, let alone uses the entire research lexicon, and many respectable speakers code-switch into the disreputable lexicon to varying degrees. With variations in lexicon ranging in scale from individual idiolect, through peer groups, neighbourhood blocks suburbs and towns; without rigorous selection of fieldwork opportunities and standardizers (see below) on a basis of representative sampling; and with the risk of overlooking a few items because they are so commonplace; a number have undoubtedly been missed. These are inevitable disadvantages in virtually solitary lexicography in an oral dialect.

It can, however, fairly be claimed that the vast majority, at a conservative estimate ninety percent, of regional items have been recorded and standardized. This conclusion can be justified not only on the basis of the adequacy of fieldwork and the extent of standardization (see below), but also because it has been possible to standardize all but 5 out of over 4,000 local items introduced into the language of the speech community and recorded before 1990. Three of the five appear to be idiolectically idiosyncratic, phonetically wide variants of others which have been standardized. (This excludes items undergoing an attempt at standardization [see below], which are apparently very recent innovations, archaisms, a longstanding, resistant residue of ephemeral innovations confined to individuals or peer groups, or misinformation, witting or not. Items in common usage were rapidly amenable to standardization, since I had ready access to an adequate variety of informants.)

Verification involved interviewing an informant, who was presented with a lexical item and asking its meaning(s), usage(s), code and life-span. A total of 76 informants participated, including friends, employees, acquaintances and total strangers, my criteria of selection being only that they were or had grown up in the speech community and were fluent in its dialect, lived in a wide variety of suburbs and townships, and to the best of my knowledge seldom or never associated with the other informants

(except in the case of two academic associates, one married couple, two groups each of three informants who were close friends [each group counted as an individual informant]; and two black academics as well as three black prison-gang members who assisted with items which were Bantu or of Bantu derivation). The majority of informants were deliberately selected as total strangers with whom I would strike up conversation and invite to assist. If an interview was conducted with a group of informants who were friends with each other, verification from all of them was treated as a single instance. In 1988 I realized that there were individual informants unusually attuned to the dialect's communicative opportunities -- especially in recent lexical innovations -- and gifted in rhetorical ability; and when I encountered such a person I went out of my way to obtain his assistance in verification (which tended also to elicit items previously unknown to me). Two informants were female.

Irrespective of religio-political changes in interaction with whites, no-one ever refused assistance and every informant found an initial interview wholly novel and deeply interesting -- many, stimulating and even fascinating -- but from 1989 signs of ambivalence and opportunism became increasingly common. Some informants attempted actively to mislead me about particular items (the respectable to disavow disreputability, the disreputable to claim superior authority, the delinquent also to propose the power to deceive through secret lexis, and any of these in whimsical exploitativeness and malice towards my white identity), and many disreputable and delinquent informants had to be pressed to say whether they were guessing a meaning (in some cases, possible when familiar with the antilinguistic code and style of metaphoric relexicalization) or whether they actually recalled the item or not. I refrained rigorously from offering clues other than the part of speech.

The dating of innovations presented the greatest difficulty. Most informants tended to repeat the same date or set of dates for one item after the other, and required repeated requests to take their time, consider each item on its own and be as exact as they could. I found it necessary to remain alert for misrepresentation. (In the absence of my own certainty, possible mistakes were recorded for checking with other informants.) Equally, I preserved informants from mortification when they construed my knowledge of the dialect superior to theirs. However, interviews with informants who persisted maliciously in misinformation were terminated once the tendency became clear, and their information during the interview was marked as open to question. When wide variations occurred

between informants in the assignment of dates, I persisted with more informants until I had acquired a consensus of at least three dates of consecutive years which appeared congruent with any other relevant cultural or sociolinguistic information, and assigned the median date to the item.

If all information but the date was standardized, the range of variation between informants regarding the latter is indicated, preceded by a question mark.

Adolescent and young adult confirmed delinquents tended to phonetic variation, especially of originally Zulu items. Many of the variants had become part of the lexis, but there was also a tendency among the poorest, least educated (formally) and apparently lowest in intelligence to dogged, grumpy individual eccentricity absent from the other intracommunal identities, evidently signifying that the speaker flaunted his personal indifference to conformity to all group rules of lexis. In most instances his variant could be interpreted phonetically or semantically, but a very small proportion of items was recorded (mainly in delinquent lexis) that neither I nor anyone subsequently interviewed could interpret or confirm, lexically or semantically. They were, nevertheless retained and continue to be checked with other informants.

The term standardization does not signify canonization, but refers merely to demonstration of speech communal usage evidenced in repetition of verification by obtaining the identical information from three individual sources who did not belong to the same peer group, and were almost always unacquainted with each other (except in some cases through me). Data from others (than myself) were acquired not only in discourse in which I participated, but also discourse overheard. For reasons of consistency and rigour I undertook standardization of all items, including those in my own idiolect, by interviewing.

Disagreements were also recorded and attempts made to verify and standardize every version offered in apparent good faith. None of these was ever discarded, and all unverified or incompletely standardized data continue to be retained for future interviewing.

Three representations did not wholly exclude the possibility of individual idiosyncrasy, error and concealed guessing, but I concluded that the possibility of these thrice and with consistent result in one verification was very slight, and could apply in any event only to a very small proportion of items, and on these grounds I compromised in view of

limitations of time and other resources. For the entire research lexicon, the exercise nevertheless meant over twelve thousand initial records and subsequently successful verifications in all, and numerous attempts (in some cases, over sixty) on many of the items which remained incompletely standardized at the time of writing.

In no case did I accept methodologically that my hearing and using a ubiquitously used item countless times in daily discourse constituted standardization, since the principle would thereby be introduced of the primacy of my participant-observational authority over that of native speakers.

The assignation of items to intracommunal lexises was standardized by only two verifications in view of the very high degree of concordance that I consistently experienced between speakers (often including myself). Once reasonably familiar with the intracommunal codes, I usually found the issues clearcut. One highly experienced informant (my fictive brother) and I standardized the assignation of all items to the respectable lexis as distinguished from all other lexises (and I found that when randomly checked our assignations always agreed with those of other informants). Our concordance was over 95%, but we disagreed about a small proportion of the remainder, resolved by consensus that they were ambiguous, and could be allocated with equal qualification to two hierarchically adjacent lexises. Further investigation then led me to conclude that each lexis could be subdivided to link it with the adjacent one (respectable/middle-class, respectable/disreputable, disreputable/respectable, disreputable/delinquent, delinquent/disreputable, delinquent/outcast, outcast/delinquent) with ambiguous overlap in a very small proportion of items).

However, I found that informants construed this increasingly complex subdivision as objectively real, but could not apply it and disliked it as alien in its construed fussy complexity congenial only to a middle-class white such as myself. Objective folk linguistic myth did not acknowledge it, and to them the use of the subdivision required a reconstrual of each lexis (communal identity code) not as an authentically simple and informal folk construct but as complicated, scientific, abstract and formal. These construed middle-class terms were antithetical to the working-class consciousness and ideology of folk myth.

Nevertheless, there are clear differences in code, connotation, register and style between, e.g., disreputable/respectable and disreputable/delinquent items, even though they both form the disreputable lexis. A

respectable speaker would be likely to switch into, or mix with the former in informal, colloquial register, but avoid the latter. A speaker of the latter would be likely to avoid the respectable and switch into, or at least mix with the delinquent/disreputable. I have therefore concluded that the subdivision is justified. Each lexis has been presented in its folk linguistic terms, but the subdivisional allocation of each lexical item is marked as specified in 7.01.

In summary I have since 1975 acquired an item previously outside my own idiolect on average every two days in an average of perhaps two hours' discourse with one or more members of the speech community, who might be new acquaintances (especially between September and April, inclusive, when the beaches are well peopled), as well as in semi-formal interviewing. Until the time of writing I found twice or thrice a year that I had omitted to record an item extremely common in daily use not only in the speech community, but by myself as well.

The purely mechanical rigour of collecting lexical items for many years without censorship, and of encouraging contributions of items by informants, has greatly limited if not wholly obviated the risks of unwitting selectivity on my part. The process of standardization has similarly reduced the risk of error. Wherever possible I have actively sought out and encouraged lively discussion of speakers' constructions of my interpretation of data. By this means the major parameters of folk-linguistic myth about working-class dialect and antilanguage were elaborated and cross-checked between informants, for speakers seldom verbalize folk-linguistic myth in mundane discourse, and apart from the respectable moralistic contrast of the respectable code with others, and the delinquent contrast of the delinquent with the outcast (prison), disreputable and respectable, virtually never objectify any lexicogrammatical rules at all (beyond moral differentiation between the **decent** and the **skollie/ou roeker**), since the dialect is construed informal, wholly oral and the rules are accordingly subjectified. Speakers' constructions of purely theoretical interpretations are of course not available, but it is only at that level in the hermeneutic hierarchy of interpretation that it is derived from the literature and my own scientific constructions. All the rest is an ethnographic and lexicographic record of speakers' own constructions, except where I explicitly disagree with them on scientific grounds.

5.7 Conclusions

An assessment of ethnographic and particularly participant-observational fieldwork for this study in terms can be undertaken in qualitative terms only. There are no quantitative specifications. Assessment in terms of Bruyn's six indices of subjective adequacy of the participant-observational method discloses the following:

1. Extent in time: twenty-eight years.
2. Geographic proximity: fourteen years spent in virtually daily circulation with many informants in the fieldwork community, and a further fourteen in virtually daily circulation with one or more; with almost daily presence of speakers in the researcher's home throughout.
3. Variety of identities and situations: the researcher enacted a wide variety of identities and interacted in an extremely wide variety of situations, probably more so than many adult male members of the fieldwork community would do within it in their lives.
4. Linguistic familiarity: the researcher has been fluent in the fieldwork language for twenty-eight years, and has investigated it for twelve years (taking the break between 1979-1983 into account).
5. Intimacy with informants: the researcher engaged extensively in intimate relationships with informants, especially as an honorary member of a family, a close friend, a peer, a surrogate parent and a social caseworker, counsellor and psychotherapist.
6. Metacommunicative verification: the researcher has participated extensively in a very wide variety of familial, peer-group and public situations in which informants have communicated with him and each other, thereby implicitly and sometimes explicitly confirming the meaning of communication about communication, such as myth about communication, language and dialect, as well as register, style, lexicogrammatical code, metaphorization, etc. In addition the lexico-semantic data and the differentiation between respectable and other communal codes have been explicitly, systematically verified and standardized by speakers.

Owusu's prescription of familiarity with the vernacular has been met.

Insofar as they are practicable, Lincoln and Guba's requirements have been met:

1. Credibility: statements of data and hypothesis are falsifiable (except

as proposed in 9.1) and reflect informants' multiple constructions of reality. There have been (a) prolonged engagement, (b) persistent observation, (c) triangulation, to the extent of checking with more than one informant, (d) debriefing by a peer, for the first twelve years of fieldwork, (e) negative case analysis -- revision of hypotheses until they fit, and (f) referential adequacy by testing hypotheses on a sample of data (see chapter 8).

2. Transferability: statements are capable of generalization to other informants. The data are "thick", setting out every major, relevant, ethically requisite feature of the context of the research and informants.

3. Dependability: the research method and its application are as reliable and replicable as possible. An "audit trail" has been regularly checked by myself (and for the first three years, by Dr Whisson as well), and the lexicographic data have been thoroughly checked by informants.

4. Confirmability: major statements of data and hypothesis are capable of confirmation or refutation by other investigators. The evidence for this claim is set out in succeeding chapters.

In terms of all these criteria, and my own of acquisition of the code of ethnographic identity, I propose that the method of this study has been adequate for its purpose.

Whether in psychology, sociology or social anthropology, participant observation has its unique intellectual excitements and scientific rewards, most of all in objectifying subjective, unlexicalized, unverbilized data. Not the least of these is exemplified in the following chapter: There is no word in the dialect to refer to the crucial communal identity of outcast; at most it is lexicalized by a rarely used euphemistic characterization: a person is adjudged "nie goed vir die samelewe nie" (literally: not good for communal life, i.e., so malignantly destructive or evil that social or even physical death is deserved; respectable myth most commonly used to refer to an exceptionally callous criminal to be sentenced to many years' imprisonment or hanging). I arrived at the formulation subjectively: it surfaced while I grappled with the composition of a draft. It was not wholly original, for I subsequently recalled remarking in 1967 to the late Prof Monica Wilson (then head of the Department of Social Anthropology at the University of Cape Town, and my Honours supervisor in the subject) that impoverished people appeared subject to a nameless dread, and her prompt, astute observation that "the fundamental fear of the poor is of becoming outcast". Once objectified in this ethnography the

construct was checked by inference partly from other myths of identity, partly from constructions of outcasts in general, partly from the common and profound anxieties of speakers evinced in pertinent behaviour; and under it I found subsumed (among others) blacks, coloured criminal prisoners, and the vagrant or mad (**taatie**; from the English "retarded"; including schizophrenics and the mentally retarded; respectable lexis) of all communities.

The largely Zulu lexis of prison gangs is termed **Salambom** ("Shalambom[bo]" to Nguni-speaking members). Nearly a year after arriving at the formulation of the unlexicalized outcast identity I learned the urban working-class Zulu meaning of this name in Soweto (Tshabalala [1988: personal communication]): an "isishalambom" is a vagrant outcast, originally meaning an unsociable, shunned individual who lives, wanders and scavenges in the hills, away from homestead and clan. Its Zulu meaning is unknown to all of the many working-class coloured speakers questioned, including junior and senior prison-gang members, but these share an impoverished, outcast, proto-mystic and violently oppositional identity with black prison-gang members -- with which the merely disreputable/delinquent play in characterizing themselves as **outies** (outlaws; the diminutive connotes preciousness; disreputable lexis) -- and usage of many items of **Salambom**, since 1980 outside prison as well.

CHAPTER 6

DATA: LANGUAGE AND IDENTITY

6.0 Introduction

Sections 4.001 and 4.002 presented data on the speech community's constructions of its own communal identities and others related to them. The remaining data on identity are presented in this chapter, chapters 7 and 8, and appendices A and B.

This chapter sets out data on the disreputable lexicogrammatical code and communal identity, and their context in the hierarchy of mythic communal identities. It presents the ethnography and folk linguistics of the dialect. These are derived from:

- (a) The data in chapter 4 and nonverbal sociolinguistic data derived by participant observation in the speech community.
- (b) Oral statements of myth by informants about dialects, lexicogrammatical variations within dialects, and related aspects of hierarchic identity in their own and other speech communities.
- (c) Socio-semantic analysis of lexical items.

These data are selected strictly in terms of their relevance to this study. In particular, myth cited about group identity does not reflect all the intracommunal identities mythified by the working-class speech community. There are others which differ widely in valence and other terms. (Stone [1985: passim]).

In summary, folk linguistics objectively distinguishes a vertical hierarchy of three lexicons, lexicogrammatical codes and corresponding hierarchic communal identities which are, in order of change from relatively positive valence and higher social position to negative valence and lower social position, those of:

- (i) Those of **decent mense** (respectable people; respectable lexis).
- (ii) Those of **ou roeker tale** (delinquent rebel terms; literally, old smoker terms; used in self-reference; disreputable lexis) or **skollie tale** (scruffy, predatory, hooligan, riff-raff terms; used by the respectable only; respectable lexis).
- (iii) Those of **tronktale** (prison terms or language; disreputable lexis), consisting mainly of the **Salambom** (mainly Zulu prison-gang lexis) of the

Number (a generic term for prison gangs, gang members and their respective codes of conduct, the most significant being named by the numbers *Ses-en-twintig* (Twenty-six), *Sewen-en-twintig* (Twenty-seven) and *Ag-en-twintig* (Twenty-eight)).

The myth by which the vertical hierarchy is organized is never verbally objectified as a whole, but only implicitly, ambiguously, imprecisely and in fragments, usually in discourse implying differences in social status and value between one hierarchic identity and another. The code which I have named as that of **decent mense** is objectified only in general terms ambiguously equating it with the dialect as a whole and excluding other codes within the dialect. It has no name but is objectively identified as a marker and enactment of respectability. (All of at least fifty informants immediately accepted the epithet as appropriate and congenial.) Similarly, numerous lexical items attributed by both the respectable and the disreputable to the **ou roeker** code do not pertain to delinquency but to disreputability, and there is general consensus differentiating them from the distinctive lexis of **vollende ou roekers** (genuine, confirmed, full delinquents; **vollende**: [adv and adj] full, genuine, fully, genuinely; respectable lexis), as opposed to those disreputables who flirt with delinquency but repudiate confirmation in it. Again, every one of at least fifty informants immediately accepted this differentiation as accurate and congenial, particularly when I defined the disreputable code as **rou** (vulgar; respectable lexis) but not authentically or distinctively **ou roeker**.

It will be shown below that a substantive disreputable identity is widely enacted and implicitly acknowledged, even though it remains unlexicalized by all speakers. Disreputability is simply denied by repudiating its objectification, i.e., by denying its reality, or by disavowal in terms of a myth of victimization by Black Nature and/or White Culture.

On this basis I have distinguished a fourth identity and lexicogrammatical code, the disreputable. Actors of both respectable and disreputable identities publicly assign it as **ou roeker**. Confirmed, **vollende ou roekers** reject it as inauthentically **ou roeker**, and on interviewing, disreputable informants readily distinguish between the disreputable and delinquent codes. The disreputable consensually ranks below **decent mense** and above **ou roekers** in the vertical hierarchy of status within the working-class community.

On empirical and logical grounds, then, I propose that folk linguistics distinguishes four lexicogrammatical codes in the following order of descent in status:

1. respectable (**decent mense**);
2. disreputable, and
3. delinquent, these two collectively the **ou roeker** lexis, which includes many items borrowed from the
4. outcast (**tronktale**, notably **Salambom**, prison gang lexis, shading into into Zulu).

In this study the vernacular term **ou roeker tale** is used to refer to the folk linguistic construction, and the English terms are used to refer precisely to the lexises comprising it.

After standardization, and having noted the comments of the informants participating in it, I found that within each lexicogrammatical code there were considerable differences between items in respect to the degree to which they qualified for inclusion. Thus a putatively respectable item could be wholly respectable and sober or have mildly disreputable or frivolous connotations or implications. A putatively disreputable item could tend to the respectable or to the delinquent; and a putatively delinquent item could tend to the disreputable or to the thoroughly criminal, including prison life, and could have been borrowed from the prison lexis. All these distinctions would be manifested in usage: for example, a respectable person would not use a relatively frivolous or disreputable but putatively respectable item in discourse with respectable peers in a wholly respectable, formal and sober register and situation.

Isomorphic phenomena were observed in each of the hierarchic communal identities. Individuals would commonly switch from respectable into disreputable identities and vice-versa; delinquent and disreputable identities would similarly be switched, and so would prison and delinquent identities. Identities could be simultaneously mixed, so that the enaction was ambiguous, paradoxical or creative. There were, moreover considerable differences in enaction and style between, e.g., the disreputability of individuals who were each mainly respectable, mainly disreputable or mainly delinquent; and such differences obtained similarly throughout the range of identity options and identity bases.

All these phenomena led me to conclude that the proposed subdivisions were

structurally, ideologically operative.

The effectual lexicogrammatical implication is of continuity between codes, of the dialect as manifesting a vertical continuum of social status, position or rank which is ideologically organized into discrete codes -- manifesting subclasses of the working class, sub-identities of working-class identity -- but is nevertheless still manifested in semiotic ambiguity within codes and in overlap between them. In informational terms, then, the vertical range is both analogic and digital. Digital codes are combined by switching and mixing which can be either digitally ritualized or analogically playful and whimsical.

I have accordingly subdivided each lexicogrammatical code in two, as follows:

1. respectable: respectable proper, extending to middle-class, and respectable/disreputable;
2. disreputable: disreputable/respectable and disreputable/delinquent;
3. delinquent: delinquent/disreputable and delinquent/prison;
4. prison: prison/delinquent and prison proper, extending to black.

It should nevertheless be stressed that this subdivision is my own. It has neither been standardized nor thoroughly tested on informants. It has, however, been proposed to six. Four unskilled labourers have tended to react ambivalently, on the one hand with insight, on the other with confusion and even discomfort, apparently because the entire dialect is construed as nameless, informal, ambiguous and disorderly (see 6.21), and this scheme becomes altogether too clarified, formally organized and remote from folk constructions. I suspected further that they construed their communal identity as simple, easy-going and ambiguously optional, and that my proposals sounded altogether too structured, formal, middle-class, white and alien in their complexity if not redundancy. This turned out explicitly to be the case for a fifth informant, a relatively affluent, highly intelligent, scholastically and athletically successful, socialistically active third-year university student of working-class origin, whose father was a former delinquent and still occasionally sold dagga. However, a sixth informant, a respectable clerk in his forties who had been a violent gang delinquent during adolescence and had spent several years in prison, readily found the subdivision appropriate and acceptable, and assisted considerably in supplying and standardizing lexis in such

terms.)

The scheme, then, is not a folk construction objectified in verbal myth, but instead a proposition of subjective ideological structure. Nevertheless I have decided to include it firstly as a proposition and basis for further research, secondly because it apparently fits the semiotic and ideological evidence well, and thirdly because it does no violence to the folk constructions. These remain intact, and the subdivisions can be readily abolished if need be. The only fundamental methodological caution justified at this stage is that the subdivisions constitute the only instance of my imposition of my own untested constructions on folk data in the entire study.

In terms of the subdivisions the **ou roeker** lexis can be divided in order of hierarchic descent into disreputable/respectable, disreputable/delinquent, delinquent/disreputable and delinquent/prison. It includes those items in the prison lexis that have infiltrated **ou roeker** lexis, but excludes the remaining prison lexis, which remains used only within prison by committed prison-gang members. Even though the prison lexis which has infiltrated **ou roeker** lexis is categorized as **ou roeker** lexis relative to the other intracommunal lexises much (but not all) of it is borrowed (and in many instances modified) from black prisoners. It remains acknowledged as **tronktale** and **Salambom**, and most of it is in origin neither unique to the speech community nor construed as such by anyone. However, the code as a whole has been formed out of the modification and transformation of these antecedents. Black prisoners reject it as inauthentic and not their own. It has accordingly become unique to the speech community. (For criteria of uniqueness see 5.6.)

For the sake of brevity and simplicity the following conventions are used hereafter in reference to lexicogrammatical code (but not to communal identity, which continues to signify overlapping with either or both neighbours in the hierarchy):

respectable means respectable/middle-class unless designated respectable/disreputable;

disreputable means disreputable/delinquent unless designated disreputable/respectable;

delinquent means delinquent/disreputable unless designated delinquent/prison or delinquent, from prison;

"Lexis" is abbreviated hereafter to "lex" in the notation of lexical items.

In this study, usage of the terms delinquent, disreputable and respectable refers first and foremost to mythic constructions in speakers' own terms, which may or may not accord with middle-class or social scientific terms. Such usage does not imply that assigned identity is necessarily enacted. In certain instances, though, it is, even though the enaction may be disavowed. At the expense of simplicity, therefore, distinction will explicitly be made between myth and enaction unless it is clear from the text.

Moreover, it will become evident that ambivalence and the situational and generational switching and mixing of identities is common. In switching, an individual may enact different (and hierarchically adjacent) identities in different situations: for instance, when adolescent, disreputable in the family of origin, and delinquent in the male peer group; and when adult, respectable in the family of procreation, and disreputable in the male peer group. In mixing, different identities are integratively enacted in a single situation.

When, therefore, an actor is described (for example) as "delinquent", the attribution refers to him in the enaction of an identity which may not only be situational, but even putative, without the slightest antisocial significance in pragmatic action. The enaction may be no more than a symbolic or stylistic marker of the identity. The crux of its relevance is that it is consensually construed as referring to a stereotypic enaction of communal myth about identity, and particularly of integral code, even if the code incorporates switching or mixing to others. Since insufficient information was available about many informants for a conclusion about the optionality or commitment with which an identity is enacted, and since the data below constitute generalizations about mythic identity types and enactions and not persons (except when individual cases are cited), it is not generally possible to indicate whether an actor merely passes in an identity or enacts it authentically, or whether the enaction is optional or confirmed, unless optionality or confirmation are disclosed by the enaction and/or codified in the identity itself. However, passing (masquerade) and optional or situational enaction are explicitly excluded by qualifiers such as "confirmed", "scrupulous" or "totalistic".

More generally, a particular lexicogrammatical code is assumed in this study to have been culturally produced by a corresponding communal identity, and I contend that socio-semantic interpretation of the lexis -- and ideology -- of that code requires description of the identity. That

may be a commonplace. On the other hand the mere use of a particular lexicogrammatical code in discourse cannot be assumed to be a sufficient sign that the speaker necessarily engages in any or all other forms of enaction of the corresponding communal identity, from which the acquisition and use of the language may be completely autonomous -- as in the case of the large-scale usage of prison-gang lexis since 1980 by delinquents who have never been members or even to prison -- or, for that matter, by myself.

It is highly relevant to the examination of communal identity and the ideological terms of linguistic codes in this study to distinguish sharply between lexis and discourse, and to note that working-class discourse does not constitute a total relexicalization of the middle-class standard dialect, even though prison-gang discourse, also using prison lexis that remains secret with the confines of prison gangs and is unintelligible to outsiders, may approach total relexicalization.

Discourse in the respectable code shares most of its lexis, grammar and phonetics with middle-class Afrikaans, and, despite the mandatory and optional inclusion of English lexis, grammar and phonetics, is construed generally as Afrikaans when further subdivision of identity is not an issue. However, Afrikaans linguistic identity begins to diminish with the disreputable code, which contains a higher proportion of mandatory English lexis and introduces a small number of Xhosa items. The delinquent code introduces over six hundred Zulu items borrowed from the prison-gang code, which is substantially Zulu in lexis although it remains working-class Afrikaans in grammar.

In mundane discourse, then, the respectable code (including much of the middle-class Afrikaans code) forms the grammatical and to a lesser extent the lexical infrastructure of all working-class communication in Afrikaans. As a mundane code it is not selfconsciously construed as respectable, but merely as the mundane lingua franca within the paradigm of Peninsular (notably Capetonian) working-class coloured Afrikaans-speaking identity. With progression along the hierarchical and antilinguistic continuum towards the outcast (prison-gang and Bantu lexises) pole, the frequency of antilinguistic insertions increases, especially in nouns, pronouns, adjectives, adverbs and verbs, which constitute virtually the whole of the lexicon examined in this study. Even so, other parts of speech and the grammatical structure itself remain fundamentally unchanged, although the structure is increasingly modified for the purposes -- or at least the style -- of stigmatization, hinting or mystification from the disreputable

through the outcast bands of the continuum.

The mundane ubiquity of the respectable lexis throughout the working-class speech community is probably one reason why it is nameless, and it is (I suggest) legitimate to name it as the lexis of **decent mense** only because all speakers consensually differentiate it as a working-class Afrikaans lexis from the lexical markers of disreputability, delinquency and outcastness when the issue arises perspectivally. When it does not, respectable lexis is construed as marking nothing more than Peninsular working-class coloured identity -- and then only when that issue arises.

Thus disreputable, delinquent and outcast discourses each include lexicogrammatical and phonetic elements of all the codes higher in the hierarchic continuum. All working-class Afrikaans speakers use the respectable code.

Codal variations in lexis within a dialect are referred to in this study as lexises, and it is implied that these are selected and organized by lexicogrammatical codes. It is debatable whether lexises could generally be termed subdialects. This certainly applies to the prison lexis, which is mainly borrowed from Zulu, and within which it is possible to discourse with deliberate incomprehensibility to a speaker of the delinquent lexis, even though he may identify lexical items. It is possible to discourse in the lexis (**Cloragail**) of histrionically effeminate homosexuals, "moffies", which consists of perhaps only one hundred items, and be periodically incomprehensible to outsiders. On the other hand the latter could be regarded as an argot grammatically and phonetically identical to the working-class dialect as a whole, and too sparse in distinctive lexis to be considered a subdialect. A definition of subdialect could be tied to identity (e.g., respectable or delinquent identities), but would in linguistic terms be so general and arbitrary as to warrant cogent criticism. It could be defended only in the case of the prison lexis, which is mainly Zulu, has been borrowed from Zulus and is included in this study only insofar as it has been imported via delinquent lexis into the disreputable lexis of speakers outside prison. Reference will therefore be made to lexises rather than subdialects, and it will be implicit that the lexises are manifestations of lexicogrammatical codes.

Although this study addresses the disreputable lexicon of **ou roeker** lexis, other items are introduced as necessary to set out and contextualize the data.

Lexical data cited to explicate identities are confined to items commonly referred to in major aspects of common myth about those identities.

6.1 Sociolinguistic Ethnography

Working-class Peninsular coloured Afrikaans is accurately construed by its speakers as a dialect unique to region, folk community and class.

In working-class coloured speech communities it merges increasingly into standard Afrikaans with geographic distance from Cape Town. This becomes apparent even in Bellville, an adjacent municipality. In Worcester, a rural town about 110 km from Cape Town, it is common to find a minority of ex-urban migrants or commuters speaking the dialect, farm workers speaking a lexically limited version of the middle-class dialect, and every intermediate gradation between the two. Rurally, the respectable scorn the urban working-class dialect as disreputable, but the disreputable and delinquent idealize it as sophisticated and exciting, and rapidly adopt it if they migrate to Greater Cape Town, even though to a native speaker of the dialect (and usually to me) their accent remains immediately noticeable as non-Peninsular. Beyond towns such as Worcester the dialect is rare and confined to individuals or small peer groups. However, at the time of writing (1990) the dialect appears to be covering the Peninsula more fully as nearby country towns such as Paarl, Stellenbosch and Worcester grow in size and migration, commuting or frequent travel becomes more common.

Since it is an urban working-class dialect, those of other South African towns and cities with a relatively large working-class coloured population and considerable English-speaking influence, such as Port Elizabeth, Durban and Johannesburg, apparently share more features in common with it, notably in grammar, than with other dialects used by South African working-class coloureds. Since the nineteen-fifties or before, some borrowing has occurred between **ou roeker tale** in Cape Town, its black equivalent in Cape Town and Port Elizabeth (**tsotsitaal**; gangster language) and its Black equivalent in the Witwatersrand conurbation (**Flytaal**: sly language). However, none approaches the Cape Peninsular version in Anglicization of phonetics and lexical code-switching.

Comparably, casual inspection strongly suggests that until the latter half of the nineteen-eighties, disreputable and delinquent lexis tended relatively to be overwhelmed by respectable lexis in relatively isolated and cohesive villages such as Hout Bay Harbour and Ocean View, even though they are only thirty and fifty minutes' drive respectively from the city

centre of Cape Town.

Casual impressions also suggest that in many South African coloured communities, urban and rural, there are at least some dialectal differences from the middle-class Afrikaans of whites.

Such impressions equally suggest considerable borrowing of working-class Afrikaans lexis from coloureds by working-class blacks in Cape Town.

In Cape Town disreputable and delinquent speakers, and to a far lesser extent the respectable despise ex-rural migrants, working- or middle-class, as **boe'jongens** (farmers' fellows or boys, connoting Afrikaners' boys; disreputable lex), also abbreviated to **B. J.s** (English phonetics) -- agents of, or collaborators in Afrikaner oppression, displaying the most loathed of their masters' characteristics. Such an individual may be humorously and contemptuously stigmatized as a physically repulsive object without personality, a **gattekop** (holes-head), **potdeksel** (saucepan-lid) or **dakskroef** (roof-screw; all disreputable lex; respectively signifying peppercorn hair, flat face and slender, bony, contorted physique).

Particularly disliked are policemen and railway platform barrier guards, sometimes referred to as **honde** (dogs; delinquent lex) who are characterized as corrupt and ignorant bullies, and said to be vindictive because they are despised and ostracised. **Boe'jongens** are construed as totally dependent on, and essentially submissive towards their masters, as phoney, jumped-up, treacherous and domineering. They are frequently characterized as **oorlams** (stupidly, arrogantly, mulishly intransigent; respectable/disreputable lex; std Afr.: experienced, clever, wily). **Boe'jongens** are distinguished from the contemporary grandparental generation of ex-rural migrants, who have become integrated into the urban community as the forebears of present working-class speakers.

This mythic stereotype is founded on the actuality of the common preference of rural immigrants for employment in state service in the city, especially in positions of authority over other rural coloureds in the defence force, the police, railways, education and civil administration in general. Their readiness to assume authority over underdogs reluctant to assume authority over their own is equally congruent with the relative political conservatism of their rural communities of origin. The ambivalently collaborationist Labour Party, for instance, is popular in rural and Transvaal urban areas, but is rejected in Cape Town, to the extent that one member, a cabinet minister known for his altruistic civic service, confided with realism at the height of the mass civil rebellion in 1985 that he

would be "killed if I walked through Athlone" (a coloured business district and residential area; personal communication [1985]; my informant, an academic, must remain anonymous).

Closely related to the **boe'jong** construction is that of the **bos** (bush; respectable/disreputable lex). **Brynmense**, also sometimes termed **Bushies** (an almost neutrally valent reference, abbreviation of Bushmen; respectable/disreputable lex) are construed as having descended partly from Khoikhoi and San (Bushmen) and accordingly as originating in the bush, i.e., as of rural, primitive, impoverished and vagrant origins. **Boe'jongens** are construed as remaining considerably closer to these origins. Thus a derisive synonym for **boe'jong** is **bosbeer** (bush-bear; disreputable lex), and such people are said to be still **agter die klip** (behind the rock; ignorant, obscure, backward; respectable lex). **Boesman** (Bushman; disreputable lex) or **boesie** (the diminutive) is a grave insult, connoting extreme ugliness, insignificance, vagrant poverty, savagery and treachery; and **Boesmanian** (first phoneme Afr., second and third English; disreputable/delinquent lex) is a humorous epithet for an adolescent thought ugly for stereotypic San physiognomy: short stature, steatopygia, slender build, yellowish skin, peppercorn hair, and wizened facial features resembling the mongoloid. It can also be generalized to any ugly adolescent, usually female in that event.

Hottie (abbreviation of "Hottentot"; respectable/disreputable lex), like **Bushy**, is an acceptable, almost neutral reference to coloured identity to distinguish an individual or group from other national communal identities, and is used informally among peers, both working- and middle-class. Since 1985 the usage has been fading.

Rural identity and origins are construed contemptibly Natural; urban identity and origins as admirably, sophisticatedly Cultural. The rurally Natural are represented as enviously spiteful towards the urban Cultural (see below).

If the ex-rural working-class are construed as alternating between bullying and currying favour with the urban working-class, the ex-rural middle-class attempt to lord it over the native urban middle-class (i.e., those born in the city), according to some of the latter. Those of rural origin who are academics and students engaged in militant socialist opposition to white domination are nevertheless dismissed by many urban working-class speakers as inconsistent, hypocritical, quick to resume identification with white Afrikaners, spoilt, and out of touch with working-class reality -- just as

similarly active English-speaking white academics and students tend to be dismissed. However, these schismatic myths have become muted since the onset of the 1985 civil rebellion, and appear to be fading considerably.

The working-class dialect is a variant of middle-class (standard) Afrikaans, which is spoken by an increasingly large number of ex-rural coloured migrants drawn into the civil service and academic staff of the University of the Western Cape since the early nineteen-sixties. Until then middle-class Capetonian coloureds were almost entirely English-speaking, some to the point of not understanding any Afrikaans discourse. The sole exception has been a significant but unquantified proportion of the Muslim community, who have received religious instruction in standard Afrikaans, and whose Arabic Qur'an and other religious texts have been phonetically transliterated or translated into Afrikaans, partly in resistance to the evangelism of English-speaking Christian missionaries during the nineteenth century (McCormick [1984]).

Demographic statistics are too crude to permit close correlation of language and socio-economic position or religion. Scheffer's study (1983) of the demography of the usage of Afrikaans and English in the jurally defined coloured population of South Africa, mainly in the Peninsula, refers to "stigmatized" Afrikaans (p. 5) after Klopper (1976), but does not otherwise distinguish between dialects. It confirms a general trend of a shift from Afrikaans to English with higher socio-economic position. The monograph is obviously concerned to claim as many coloureds for Afrikaans as possible. In terms of the operational definition of working-class set out regarding informants, fieldwork suggests that working-class Afrikaans is spoken as the dominant household and peer-group vernacular by 80-90% of adult working-class speakers among each other, as well as by a large proportion of middle-class speakers of working-class, Afrikaans-speaking origin. But the situation is extremely complex, code-switching between working- and middle-class codes and between Afrikaans and English, occurring widely with situation and register (McCormick [1984]). To cite but one example, among upwardly mobile families of working-class Afrikaans-speaking origin, it has become very common during the past two decades for parents to speak the former to each other, and to their children a working-class variant of English distinguished by its tendency to translate from Afrikaans lexico-grammatically and phonetically. These children, now adolescent and young adult, tend to be bilingual or English-dominant with passive comprehension of the dialect.

In working-class Afrikaans, grammar and to a lesser extent phonetics are similar to the standard dialect. Differences mainly reflect the influence of English and Malayu, which has become virtually extinct during the past quarter-century. Casual impressions suggest that the working-class dialect is even more similar to working-class white Afrikaans, with which it very probably shares origins, but which is now relatively uncommon in Cape Town. However, in lexis, Anglicization of grammar and phonetics, frequency of code-switching into English, and extent of antilinguistic coding, the coloured dialect would appear to differ markedly. Indeed, these are specific markers that appear to determine speakers' consciousness of dialectal uniqueness, even though it is only among disreputable and delinquent adolescents that their dialect and codes are discussed to any extent.

Afrikaans is totally rejected as a vernacular by a close-knit community of English-speaking, middle-class people, generally of more caucasoid physiognomy, of long-standing Capetonian origin, and of Anglican and Roman Catholic, Methodist or, to a lesser extent, Muslim background. In kin and voluntary association the community is continuous with a numerically significant but indeterminable English-dominant working-class speech community, which may constitute perhaps ten to fifteen percent of coloureds in semi-skilled or skilled manual occupations. This working-class speech community is notable for its almost total lack of manual labourers, and its total lack of gang delinquents, even though disreputability is common in it, and to a far lesser extent, non-gang delinquency. Neither I nor any informant over nearly three decades has ever encountered an English-dominant confirmed gang delinquent (although trends suggest that this may soon occur). The capacity to mask disreputability by means of a plausibly respectable self-presentation is regarded by the Afrikaans-dominant as a social skill characteristic of this speech community, both useful and an example of the hypocrisy attributed to English-speakers, irrespective of colour (cf. Stone [1985: 29-30]). Skill in hypocrisy and pious masquerade is also attributed by Christians to Muslims (op. cit.: 9), who are mythified by some as **lieg-brêgh-en-steel** (lie-brag-and-steal; respectable/disreputable lex). In turn, many Muslims whose physiognomy displays their **Java** origin, and are widely construed as physically attractive, regard themselves as of superior blood, not only elite among coloureds but infinitely superior in their Islamic religion and culture to all others. (Numerous Muslim informants, even virtual strangers, earnestly recommended Islam to me as an incomparable acquisition. "You should try it, you know", suggested an artisan working in my home in 1985.)

The working-class Afrikaans of Muslims differs slightly from the rest in its lexicogrammatical and phonetic reflections of the influences of Malayu and Arabic. Lexically, Arabic terms for religious myth and ritual, and Malayu terms for religious custom are confined to this speech community, with the exception of a few items well known to all in the working-class speech community, such as those pertaining to Ramadaan (the month-long annual fast), common kin terminology, greetings, linguistic etiquette, etc.

6.2 Folk Linguistics and Myth

6.20 Constructions of Communication, Verbal Language and Identity

Working-class coloured male strangers or acquaintances establishing contact or meeting after long separation introduce themselves to each other semi-formally by means of a double handshake, which is also universal among male Muslim coloureds: both parties use the right hand, and the initiator briefly grasps the respondent's thumb as the latter grasps the former's wrist. Both hands are then shifted to the conventional, universal Western position, each grasping the other's palm. The double handshake is seldom found among the non-Muslim middle class, nor is it used by working-class children or with working-class females, whose handshake is brief, limp and reserved.

The double handshake appears to signify the special welcome and intimacy normative among the men of a minority, but also marks both parties as framing their interaction in terms of such an identity. It can be acceptable for an outsider to use the handshake with an insider, but since 1980 the response has become increasingly ambivalent and unpredictable. When I propose the handshake it is either welcomed as a sign of modesty, egalitarianism and both consciousness and acceptance of the insider's communal folkways, or (more commonly among middle-class Muslims since the onset of revolution in 1985) elicits distaste, hauteur and reserve signifying vulgar over-familiarity and presumptuous self-inclusion by a middle-class white non-Muslim.

Among the poorer and less than scrupulously respectable, it is normative for perfect strangers to address each other intimately, without ado and without formal politeness and reserve. Such a register signifies the nonverbally shared consciousness of an underdog *bryn* *communitas*, and marks the participants' identities as members. Formal politeness is pretentious and incongruous:

Case Example 1

In the mid-1970s, when Cape Town buses were still segregated, I deliberately climbed on to a "Non-white" bus ahead of a "White" bus, gave my fare to the coloured driver, who was concentrating on his ticket machine and cash, and asked for "Woodstock, asseblief" (Woodstock, please) in my best working-class accent. At the "asseblief" he looked up sharply, passed the fare back to me and gruffly told me in English to take the bus behind.

The behavioural enaction of hierarchic identity, whether verbal or not, is construed as a moral language. This is lexicalized in the intransitive verb **regse**: literally, say right; figuratively, cease endlessly disreputable conduct (respectable lex). It is typically used by a parent or teacher to a rebellious adolescent, or by an angry wife to an errant husband: "Jong, **djy moet bieter regse**!" (Fellow, you'd better end your nonsense!). This implies that by his conduct the respondent had better substantively communicate the morally right (thing), or else be cast out or abandoned. It does not imply demand for a verbal undertaking.

This notion is the only distinctive lexicalization of individual responsibility and guilt in the entire dialect. Very few standard terms supplement it in common usage. The data below will demonstrate a widespread elaboration of myth, identity and lexicogrammatical code in denying, evading and resisting it. Its importance for this study lies not only in its uniqueness (and commonness in respectable moralistic discourse), but in its linkage of identity with language, and its construction of language as both nonverbal and verbal communication.

However, the initial attempt to induce corrigibility is by verbal means. To **vertel** (literally, to tell; respectable lex) is to scold or tell off; respectable lex). "Ek het hom **oraait vertel**!" (I gave him what for!; literally: I told him alright!) is the common recounting of such an act, which is intended to shame the respondent into mortification and guilt. But it is commonly construed by less than scrupulously respectable males as an ineffectual and feminine attempt at domination unless they feel obliged to allow the speaker authority. And if the speaker is a woman whose authority is rejected, "**Waar** sal ek ooit 'n vroumens vir my **lat vertel**!" (That'll be the day when I ever let a woman dictate to me!; **waar**: lit: where, i.e., when; respectable lex; **lat**: pron of std A: laat) is the common repudiation when the event is recounted to male peers.

Disreputable and delinquent males verbally manipulate respondents by **wheatie** (expressive, intelligent, charming talk; rhetoric; disreputable lex; see 8.123), in which they **haal (hulle) gedagtes uit** (implement their cunning; literally: take out their ideas; disreputable lex), and thereby **klim in die gedagtes** of the other (persuade with seductive ideas; literally: climb into the ideas; disreputable lex) or **iet met gedagtes** the other (the same; literally: eat with ideas; disreputable lex). This is play. A confirmed delinquent is far more a man of concrete action who **kyk sy ding** (pursues his interest; delinquent, from prison lex) without such frills. And if he is deadly serious, he **dala (die ding)** (acts, does [the deed]; delinquent/prison lex; Zulu: create, conceive, cause). **Dala** generally connotes consequential action, often criminal, and sometimes maiming or murder for treachery.

The distinction between verbal and nonverbal communication is not otherwise lexicalized, but is crucial in the enaction of identity, since nonverbal behaviour is implicitly construed as communicating the real truth of an enaction. Individuals under scrutiny are scanned in the first instance in terms of deed, appearance, gesture, lexicogrammatical code, intonation, accent, style and other paralinguistic communication. Only if these are adjudged congruent with the semantics of verbal discourse will serious credence be accorded it. If there is incongruence, surprise will seldom be evinced if word is not subsequently matched by deed. Until proven otherwise, verbal language and the content of discourse tend to be distrusted as egocentric rather than neutrally informative or ethical in a very wide range of situations in which the respondent construes himself egocentric and especially as vulnerable to manipulation. In semiotic terms, the pragmatics of communication take precedence over all else in information processing. Mutual suspicion and the defence of impugned honour commonly lead to Prisoner's Dilemma games (Rapoport and Chammah [1965]), resulting in joint loss and impoverishment. Such interaction tends to occur more among the lower in the communal hierarchy.

Thus I have often found that when I communicate neutral information to a working-class respondent with whom trust has not been implicitly established, it eventually becomes apparent that he has construed it as manipulative in intent. In particular, an unsolicited altruistic suggestion is often construed as moralistically manipulative, and the respondent concludes that he is really being pressed to **regsê**. (For instance, speakers who complain of illness, describing symptoms which indicate the possibility of serious complications, commonly construe my

suggestion of medical investigation as a mortifying criticism of their preference to disregard them, and an attempt to impose my middle-class white, fussy perfectionism.) In such circumstances -- and any situation in which the respondent wishes to preserve all his options -- it is culturally normative to agree with the construed intent of a speaker, irrespective of one's private views or intentions, and respondents never disagree except to repudiate aggressive criticism, very commonly acquiescing to a suggestion, proposal or request purely to manage the present situation in which their future commitment is sought. Failure to translate verbal acquiescence into subsequent action may be intentional, or simply because the respondent attached no significance to his acquiescence and forgot about it. Optional unreliability is thus normative. To *regse* is to commit oneself to ceasing this nonsense.

An individual who uses formally educated middle-class lexis is said to use **jawbreakers** (respectable/disreputable lex) and to **spieg vissies** (respectable lex; literally: spout little fish -- silvery, elusive delicacies; "A word fitly spoken is like apples of gold in pictures of silver"; The Bible [Revised Version]: Proverbs 25: 11). As working-class males grow into mature adults and older, their middle-class lexicon tends to increase as a result of experience in interaction with middle-class people and exposure to the mass media. "Djy word meer versatile" (You become more versatile), stressed one male in his late thirties.

6.21 Constructions of Dialect and Identity

Both speakers and outsiders distinguish the dialect from "suiwer" (pure, i.e., middle-class) Afrikaans, and generally term it **kombuis Afrikaans** (kitchen Afrikaans), mythifying it as a low-prestige dialect used by female domestic workers in the homes of middle- and upper-class whites, i.e., as an intimate, garbage-like, residual subcultural chaff after the demands of workers' perfect service to their employers have been met. For example, although *regse* is the most severely moralistic notion in the lexis, it was dismissed as not "pure" Afrikaans but an **optelwoord** (rubbish term acquired on the streets; respectable lex) by a middle-class Afrikaans-dominant female schoolteacher of rural origin.

Since **kombuis Afrikaans** is a term used by respectable working-class speakers, who distance themselves from the delinquent, there are grounds to conclude that it applies only to the respectable lexis.

Very occasionally the dialect is described as "die slang" (second word

English; the slang; respectable lex), or simply as "die taal" (the language; respectable lex). It is also occasionally derogated as **"plat Afrikaans"** (carelessly or impulsively untidy Afrikaans; literally: flat Afrikaans; respectable lex, probably from the same colloquial term used by middle-class whites referring to South African English accents and to a lesser extent lexis as two-dimensional, i.e., wholly functional and lacking a cultural dimension). When distinctions are to be made between working- and middle-class dialects of Afrikaans, the latter is always described as **"suiwer"**. In such speakers' consciousness, then, the working-class dialect is impure and inauthentic, having corrupted and polluted the moral and aesthetic culture ascribed to the middle-class dialect, by violating its phonetic and lexicogrammatical codes.

Constructions of Nature and Culture are central to working-class consciousness and reality. In terms of identity, Nature pertains to the natural environment. This includes the body and all identity enactments construed as egocentric and affective, e.g., hunger, lust, fear, anger, pleasure, sociality, exhibitionism, greed, etc. Culture, on the other hand, pertains to all the consensualized symbolic signs and forms created by humans -- provided that they are free of Natural terms, for Nature and Culture are construed as fatally opposed. Natural identity is individualistic, Cultural identity collectivistic. Colour is a Natural term; therefore those of colour cannot wholly achieve a Cultural identity. Working-class identity is construed as inherently stigmatized for its Cultural failure to transcend Nature -- more, its irrepressible yielding to the Natural destruction of Culture.

That yielding is construed inevitable. However, partial mastery can be accomplished, and its Cultural achievements may even be proposed as superior. Prior to 1970 some speakers would reportedly describe the working-class lexis and discourse as **vlottaal** (flowing-language, fluent-language, implying easy communicative accomplishment; disreputable/respectable lex) when used as **wheatie** -- fast and charming rhetoric -- and to distinguish the dialect from putatively stodgy and pompous middle-class languages. **Vlottaal** included respectable, disreputable and delinquent lexises. I did not encounter the term during that period, in District Six or elsewhere, but informants claim that it was used mainly in District Six. Its evident failure to survive suggests that it may have been introduced when a distinctive working-class identity and dialect were formed, and that its meaning eventually became construed as unreal once speakers commonly began to aspire to middle-class identity and dialect -- a trend evident

from the mid-sixties.

Disreputable and delinquent speakers also sometimes mythify the dialect as **Gamtaal** (Ham's language; see 6.222; disreputable/respectable lex), but this appellation is apparently becoming less common with apparent decline in younger speakers' characterization of themselves as **Gam** (Stone [1972]). Since disreputable and delinquent speakers distinguish optionally between their vernacular and the Zulu **Salambom** of prison, even though some of the latter has infiltrated the former, there is reason to suspect that **Gamtaal** refers to the respectable, disreputable and delinquent lexises only. These distinctions are connotative and are never made explicit. A few informants with whom they have been casually discussed share my doubt whether any consistency of definition would be obtained by formal techniques of investigation unless informants were led through a sequence of logical adduction.

The patronizing appellation "Gamat-taal" is occasionally heard among working-class Christians almost entirely English-speaking, usually originating close to the city centre and tending to the caucasoid. It has no other circulation, is unknown among the Afrikaans-dominant, and connotes anti-Muslim snobbery. It is apparently derived from **Gamtaal**, and reflects a condensation of both Afrikaans-dominant working-class and Muslim identities as relatively disreputable, reflected in numerous disreputable jokes concerning two mythic characters named Gamatjie and Abdoltjie. Such jokes were commonly told in both Afrikaans- and English-dominant circles, and even among middle-class whites who mixed extensively with working-class coloureds in occupational situations. For the past decade, though, the telling of these jokes has become increasingly rare throughout.

Folk linguistics are seldom discussed, except by disreputables and delinquents entertained by the wit of their own lexis. Even then a lexicogrammatical code is unlikely to be named, and is usually alluded to vaguely, or by antithesis to another. The term **Salambom**, for instance, is unknown in the working-class speech community except to a small proportion of delinquents who are senior members of prison gangs or closely associated with them. This reluctance to objectify such reality manifests a general construction of all subculture construed distinctively coloured as stigmatized, frivolous and unworthy of consequential objectification. At best aCultural, at worst antiCultural, its display or flaunting by disreputables or delinquents merely confirms this respectable construction.

In other words the dialect has no consensualized proper name, i.e., its

speech community has no formalized, integrated group identity. "But it's not a language!" insisted a group of four student teachers in 1985 to a fifth, all upwardly mobile from working-class origins, who objected to his suggestion that the working-class dialect be used in the classroom to mediate semantically or translate no more than as necessary the middle-class medium of instruction to working-class pupils. With rare creative exceptions, teachers ostracise pupils who use the dialect in class, and are trained to avoid it with pupils, even though very many use it informally among themselves and with pupils outside the classroom.

Speakers react with embarrassed hilarity when the respectable lexis is used incongruously with formality in drama productions, unless the play is presented in advance in an explicitly political context as a dramatization of a myth of victimization (see below, passim), one of a variety used by both working- and middle-class speakers to disavow or legitimize imputed or substantive disreputability. Even so, suppressed guffaws are to be heard at various junctures, and erupt if a character licenses humour by cracking a joke.

Thus the identity of the dialect is ambivalent and mythified as derived from symbiosis with the dominant white identity, whether in unskilled or semiskilled economic dependence (kitchen Afrikaans) or punitive slavery ordained by God as punishment for inherent, depraved rebellion against paternalistic moral authority in the cosmic order (Gamtaal). It may well be that both these descriptions were accorded by whites. Certainly the religious myth was widely used by Europeans as a charter for slavery and servitude, and the name Gam was conferred by Afrikaner ministers of religion. Until the mid-eighties, Afrikaans dictionaries commonly explained the term "Gam" as meaning a person or colour or a servant (colour not mentioned), and the term "witman" (white man) as meaning a gentleman.

6.22 Constructions of Identity and Lexis

As stated above, folk linguistics explicitly recognizes three lexicogrammatical codes in the dialect: the respectable, delinquent and prison, further differentiating the disreputable from the delinquent by implicit exclusion. Hierarchically above them are middle-class languages; below them Bantu languages. These codes are enactments of hierarchically organized intracomunal identities; myths about codes are myths about the identities. Accordingly, the codifying parameters of these identities, in their own terms and right, in terms of interaction with each other, and as manifested in the lexises, are set out below. Economy permits extensive

description of the disreputable only; the remainder are briefly summarized in systematic terms of the hierarchy as a religio-political paradigm of society.

6.220 Middle-class

Of those reared as middle-class (whether their parents were of working- or middle-class origin) or scrupulous in their middle-class self-presentation, the capitalistic and bourgeois tend to define themselves as exclusive of the working-class, and respectability as such recedes as an identity issue (in comparison with the more clearly working-class). The socialist represent themselves ideologically as working-class even though they may be materially as wealthy as many of the bourgeois, and tend to define themselves as excluded by the "racial capitalist" white stratum. The orthodox religious, Muslim or Christian, define themselves in terms which nominally transcend ethno-racial and class identities, even though their congregation may well be limited to one ethno-racial or linguistic identity, or one band of the social hierarchy.

However, the South African coloured population as a whole has been rapidly upwardly mobile for the past two decades, and the majority of middle-class professionals (whether teacher, social worker, lawyer or doctor) appear to have working-class kin with whom frequent contact is maintained -- and certainly peers who are ambiguous in class identity. Casual impressions strongly suggest that a large and growing proportion of the Cape Town coloured community is ambiguous as to whether its identity is working- or middle-class, primarily because it lacks as yet the material means to establish itself more fully as middle-class.

There is a general tendency to association of relatively negroid physiognomy with working-class identity, and relatively mongoloid (i.e., of Indian and Indonesian origin) and caucasoid with middle-class identity, but casual impressions suggest a considerable diminution of the association in the course of upward mobility and socio-political change during the past two decades.

Although upward mobility has occurred on a large scale, such a diminution would indicate that upward mobility is an individual option, as it is indeed tacitly construed, the adoption of which must inevitably manifest individuality. The exercise of individual identity then threatens to displace communal identity as a priority, a threat construed as treachery in a deprived, economically dependent and politically dominated community.

Thus many upwardly mobile individuals (but less so among Muslims) take care to mask their development with a public display of modesty, reserve and political fidelity to the working-class cause, especially during episodes of civil rebellion. But ambiguity and ambivalence in class membership can lead to intrapersonal identity conflict when upward mobility is wholly individual -- i.e., not shared with the family of origin or a longstanding neighbourhood peer group.

Such ambiguity and ambivalence is reflected in lexis, whether English or Afrikaans, which tends with upward mobility towards the middle-class in lexis and grammar. The majority of younger upwardly mobile speakers tend to become English-dominant, and make no distinction between middle-class English and the continuum of English dialectal variation between the middle-class code and a code derived partly from a translation of working-class Afrikaans grammar and lexis, learned when they are reared in English dominance by Afrikaans-dominant parents, or themselves switch to peer-group English dominance as adolescents.

Middle- and upwardly mobile working-class share the construction that in middle-class identity, Culture transcends Nature. Working-class identity that is, however, hostile to middle-class identity construes Culture ambivalently as self-aggrandizing, stylish masquerade but persecuting and overwhelmed by irrepressible Nature in extended *bryn* identity. Middle-class identity, with its claims to Cultural transcendence of Nature, is accordingly construed inauthentic and pretentious in proposing transcendence.

6.221 Respectability

Respectability is construed ideally as Cultural omnipotence over Nature. Those terms of Natural identity which are stigmatized are to be totalistically alienated (excluded from identity) by suppression (exclusion from reality) and repression (exclusion from consciousness). The remainder are to be sanctified and regulated by institutionalized religion. Nature is always potentially self-stigmatizing. It is to be rigorously disciplined, if not victimized, by Culture, to redeem identity from the stigmatizing terms which dictate religio-political subordination. Subordination in terms of coloured Nature may be decreed by God or fate, but one is respectably coloured and therefore honourable within the limits of stigmatized Nature.

Respectability ideally inheres in perfect sanctification of the numinous in

the cosmos (by religious orthodoxy, perfect commitment to positive moral propriety, perfect scrupulosity of order in all things, and perfect respect for property and person, one's own and others', (including preservation of the privacy of personal identity). It is not accepted that invariant perfection is unattainable. On the contrary, such perfection commonly remains attributed to middle-class variants of the white identity, irrespective of continuing stigmatization of other forms of that identity, or, since 1985, increasingly, if ambivalently, to the revolutionary, universalistic variant transforming coloured identity.

Optel implies the scavenging of rubbish discarded in public. „Optelgoed" in middle-class Afrikaans refers generically to discarded objects found in the street. **Optelkind** or **optelding** (picked-up girl or picked-up thing; respectable lex) refer in the working-class dialect to a sluttish stranger with whom a male makes acquaintance for casual sex. All these constructs introduce a crucial dimension in the codification of respectability, that of the personal and private versus the impersonal and public. The cramping and overcrowding of small working-class homes, with or without a small yard, permit very little privacy and impose constant exposure to the attention not only of kin, but of peers and neighbours as well. It is difficult to keep Nature well-clothed by Culture. The more respectable one aspires to be, the more one attempts to escape into privacy and to limit interaction between oneself and unselected neighbours. Severe restraints may be placed on children in the range of their contacts, movements and the acquisition of interests, manners and lexis. The street is a place of contagious disreputability and potential danger and chaos -- of attack and victimization by stigmatized Nature -- the home a Cultural place of conserved, integral respectability. Outside, one presents oneself with respectability by one's dress, reserved bearing and courteous etiquette, and relates to the disreputable and delinquent **element** (respectable English lex, abbreviated from **skolly element**) with sensible friendliness but distance.

The notion of working-class respectability is not distinguished from that of personal morality or decency, which is not lexicalized. On the contrary, the notion of respectability is commonly strengthened by relexicalization as moral decency: the respectable are termed **decent mense** (decent people). This devalues and renders irrelevant substantive moral decency, and externalizes an individual, private characteristic into a communal, public one. It implies that one need not be highly moral or decent to be respectable. As we have seen, disreputability is displaced on

to delinquency, and condensed with it. Both these semiotic manoeuvres afford the respectable the option of disreputability limited only by its susceptibility to public objectification. The relexicalization indicates too the condensation of public and private ambits of self-presentation, and a displacement of the private on to the public, of which other evidence is presented below.

Decent mense -- the honourably Cultural -- are defined antinomially to **skollies** -- the stigmatized Natural -- who are said to act ignorantly, vulgarly and immoderately in public and indeed to have no standards of decency at all, but to have malignant, dirty and violent ways, stabbing, plundering and raping the respectable and destroying their hard-earned property for fun. The term **skollie** (as a verb it means "to scavenge"; respectable lex) is sometimes the name given to a scruffy pet dog, usually kept chained in the yard to bark at potential burglars. Except in the canine case its usage as a noun is rigorously taboo and deeply dishonouring among disreputables and delinquents, since it signifies the sanctimony of judgment on them that they repudiate.

Subscription to belief in a God, however nominally, is regarded as the absolute essence of a distinctively human, Cultural identity. Conduct regarded as unmannerly, uncouth, obscene or uncivilized is termed **rou** (raw or crude; respectable lex). Even the most manic, histrionic and violent delinquents are usually scandalized by atheism or agnosticism, which is construed as beyond the pale even of the **rou**. Culture and theism are thus equated, and define the boundaries of society.

Religious observance is an important and very common (but not essential) practice in the display of respectability. Among Christian families, which tend to be matrifocal, it is most common among middle-aged and elderly females, especially those whose families have been disgraced by a disreputable or delinquent husband and father. Religious affiliation in Islam, which is ritualistic and patrifocal, is widely practised and especially displayed by males of all ages, and only a little less by females. Islam idealizes the totalistic inclusion of all culture in religious observance (unlike the Christian distinction between secular and religious), but tolerates the mere public display of ritual piety. Thus the crucial distinction for Muslims is not between respectable and disreputable, but between ritually pious (**salieg**; respectable and Java lexs) and impious (such a person is humorously termed a **waterSlams** (water-Muslim, implying authenticity in association of racial blood and religion;

respectable/disreputable lex). In this instance, too, private ethicality is condensed and externalized into public self-presentation.

Respectability connotes a positive public identity and a presentation of self as committed to positive norms of communal, neighbourly, familial and personal conduct. Nearly all adults, even active delinquents, aspire to it, at least for their children. Respectability involves an aspiration to upward social mobility affording liberation from the stigma and ordeal of poverty. Secondary and tertiary education are thus the most common formal base from which upward mobility is launched, the only other commonly available option being the acquisition of material wealth.

Social class as such is not lexicalized. Instead, distinctions tend to be construed subjectively in terms of sociocultural quality, wealth, prestige, bearing, language and code, identity style, authenticity and fidelity to communities. Middle-class people may be termed **society** (exclusive, connoting snobbery; respectable lex), **selec'** (select, a term probably derived from advertisements for fruit and vegetables; respectable lex), **well-af** (well-off; respectable lex), or **sturkie** (respectable, connoting stiff severity and pomposity; disreputable/respectable lex). People who give themselves airs and graces, and are snobbish, pretentious and selfish, are said to **hou hulle wit** (act white; disreputable myth), or to **gee hulle uit** (spread and display themselves by acting arrogantly and overbearingly; literally: give themselves out; respectable lex). Many of the upwardly mobile, however, characterize their social type as just the opposite: **reserve'** (publicly reserved, cultivating the private life, and scrupulous in public self-presentation; respectable lex).

The construction of middle-class as white indicates a condensation of class and colour, and an externalizing displacement of class on to colour. Snobbery is construed as extremely shameful. Other than in vague dissociative statements rejecting others as **„nie my type nie"** (not my type; respectable lex), social hierarchy is seldom explicitly objectified other than in terms of colour. This objectifies social hierarchy as determined by colour, and effectually denies the existence of class, individual choice in social position, and the opportunity of upward mobility itself, thus removing the possibility of invidious comparison between those of lower and higher socio-economic position, and especially those who rise and those who do not, and objectifying the comforting myth of underdog solidarity and mutual support: **„Ons is almal brynmense"** (We are all coloured people; respectable myth). By discrediting upward mobility in these terms it repudiates the right of outsiders to moral judgment on the coloured working

class, and the right of individuals to leave it to rise into the middle class; and keeps all options open in denying the existence within the working class both of authentic commitment to respectability and of optional disreputability. It discredits stigmatization of the coloured working class by attributing it to white malignance, and idealizes and objectifies working-class authenticity and solidarity as uniquely, intrinsically coloured. It also manifests a myth of victimization.

Nevertheless, the construction of snobs as stigmatically white in disposition is becoming rarer with the increasing commonness of upward mobility and growth in the size of the middle class, and with increasing acceptance of claims of solidarity among all subordinate to white domination.

Extreme sensitivity to mortification by imputation of disreputability is extremely common among the respectable, as indicated in the following exchange in English over the telephone in October 1985 between myself and "Trevor", a working-class nineteen-year-old standard ten pupil then involved in the schools boycott, with whom I had struck up an acquaintance. I had offered various forms of educational assistance to him, his brother and their friends, including my home as a venue for swotting. Trevor knew that I spoke working-class Afrikaans and had long-standing associations in the speech community. Throughout our acquaintance he had oscillated between communal hostility and personal warmth.

Me (after explaining this research): "There's something I want to ask you. Do you and your friends ever speak Afrikaans with each other? And if you do, do you use any **ou roeker tale**?"

Trevor: "Mmm?"

Me: "Do you and your friends ever speak Afrikaans and use **ou roeker tale** when you're together?"

Trevor: "What's this? What are you asking me now?"

Me: "Do you and your friends ever speak Afrikaans and use **ou roeker tale** when you're together?"

Trevor: "No we don't!"

Trevor's young adult sister (in background): "Tell him you're not a skolly. Tell him to come and spend a day in Bonteheuwel!"

Trevor: "Ag, take no notice of her; she's **befok!**" (crazy, literally: befucked; disreputable lex).

Me: "Ah, now there's a word."

Trevor could in fact not grow up in Bonteheuwel nor select a future career

as electrician without being fluent in working-class Afrikaans and at least some **ou roeker tale**, and I had heard respectable Afrikaans lexis used casually in his home. In the exchange above my question had been bluntly put, moreover in unwitting earshot of his sister, and he found himself trapped between two desired identities: prim English respectability and tough, masculine Afrikaans disreputability. Irrepressible Nature overrode persecutory Culture, and he confessed disreputability in his respectable disavowal of it.

The respectable propose a myth of victimization characterizing themselves as Naturally besieged from below by the delinquent riff-raff who prey on them criminally, despoil and pollute their neighbourhoods, and stigmatize them by association; and Culturally from above by bureaucratic agents of white domination pitching them together with the riff-raff and failing to protect them.

The respectable are thus victimized both by coloured Nature and by white Culture. On the other hand only white Culture -- in the form of economic growth -- afforded opportunities for maintenance of respectability and pursuit of upward mobility until Black population growth and the modern advent of Black civil revolt increasingly added Black terms to the creation of developmental opportunities.

Scrupulous respectability and upward mobility are thus construed as a struggle, a formidable challenge and ordeal on all fronts, even more daunting for the negroid: repudiation of the mythic stigmata attaching to colour and working-class poverty; dissociation and distantiation from the delinquent riff-raff; advance in the face of ethno-racial exclusion, exploitation and domination; the containment and denial of putative or substantive disreputability; the pursuit of hard work and the husbanding of resources; and, for parents, the direction of children towards education, respectable company and subculture, and financial expenditure on their development and indulgence at middle-class standards.

Born-again Christian **kerkbroers** and **kerksusters** (church-brothers and church-sisters; respectable lex) scrupulously avoid all but respectable lexis, and tend to use more middle-class lexis, English and/or Afrikaans. All the rest is characterized as **skollietaal** (delinquent riff-raff language; respectable lex) "picked up in the street", and children are harshly disciplined for using it. In a respectable household even adult children may not smoke in the presence of their parents, and are expected to show affection and deference at all times. Close family cohesion is

mandatory. Premarital pregnancy -- Nature shorn of Culture -- is a very common scandal for a daughter (but less scandalous for a son), forgivable when she marries (the father or another man later on) and particularly so if the prospective spouse is socially acceptable and the couple marry before the pregnancy becomes visible. However, many families, even those not scrupulously respectable, exert considerable pressure on a recalcitrant son, even at the age of sixteen or seventeen, to marry his pregnant girlfriend and obviate dishonour to the family. A marriage precipitated by pregnancy is termed a **must-marriage** or **moet-trou** (respectable lex).

Respectability thus tends to be ideologically totalistic, in defence of an identity threatened by the stigma of Natural disreputability. It is redefined as moral decency to strengthen its claim to a positive, cohesive and committed identity, and is defined in antithesis to delinquency to increase social distance from a comfortably disprovable imputation of delinquency. Its codification involves denial of the existence of disreputability as such, and devaluation of moral decency, except in the innocence of subjection to victimization, which inherently confers decency.

Respectable lexis is respectable only relative to non-respectable working-class lexises of lower status. Relative to middle-class lexis it connotes the stigma of disreputable failure to achieve middle-class identity, which is repudiated in terms of myths of victimization.

6.222 Disreputability

Disreputability, an identity in its own right, and equally a term in delinquency and outcastness is enacted in an anomic field -- a field of consciousness and reality in the interaction between identities in which Culture -- and in this speech community, particularly the rules of respectability -- is violated and interaction yielded intermittently, and partly or wholly, to Nature. The abrogation of full Cultural self-regulation may be unilateral or consensual. It is essential to bear in mind that the construction of abrogated Culture is a folk construction; in scientific terms the interaction remains cultural unless the actor is psychotic or otherwise culturally incapable; and indeed, disreputable, delinquent and outcast identities are founded in their respective anomic subcultures, in which normlessness may be construed and represented as a norm, and even idealized and sanctified as normal. On the one hand, then, Culture construed as abrogated; on the other, normlessness construed as a norm. The resulting paradoxes are an identity construed as without

Culture, and a subculture construed as without identity. Disreputability is framed in ambivalence towards all identities, including itself.

Per se, disreputability is founded in ambivalence towards stigma -- stigma that dictates mortifying subordination in manifold deprivation of all that is psychosocially idealized as development and aggrandizement of identity: positive valence signified by physical attractiveness, wealth, power, status, honour, style, prestige. On the one hand disreputability is developmentally constructive in rejecting confirmation in delinquency, and creating, sustaining and restoring identity in poverty and under subordination. On the other it is grandiose in attempting to aggrandize identity on the actor's terms alone and to an infinite degree; and destructive of identity in self and others in doing so by precipitating self-stigmatization through rebelling against limits imposed by Natural and Cultural reality, particularly in stigmatizing, mortifying, disorganizing, depriving and exploiting others and by breaking any social rules at whim, especially those of respectability. If respectability seeks honour through moral omnipotence over the self, disreputability seeks honour through psychosocial omnipotence over others (whereas delinquency pursues honour in material omnipotence over others; see 6.223).

Disreputable identity ambivalently construes its Nature as stigmatized and stigmatizing. Natural stigma is assigned in terms of sexually repulsive matrilineal negroid physiognomy; implicitly, the caucasoid is idealized:

Ooo....

My mama was 'n Hottentot,
so hie' en daar 'n haar.
En as ek vir haar aankyk,
Dan word ek sommer naer!

Translation:

Ooo....

My mama was a Hottentot,
just a hair here and there.
And if I look at her,
Then I simply become revoluted!

These were the lyrics of a comic song for a Coon Carnival competition during the 1960s, which became mythified to the extent that they were occasionally heard sung softly by individuals to themselves for years afterwards. Following the advent of Black Consciousness, myths of Natural

stigma came to be construed as unacceptably self-degrading, but myths of Cultural stigma remained: Black identity became Naturally beautiful but remained vulnerable to stigmatization as Culturally incompetent.

The authenticity of Natural stigma is lexicalized with regard to physiognomy: a relatively negroid child of relatively caucasoid parents is said to **stam agteruit** (throw back racially and tribally; respectable lex) -- but not if the child is caucasoid and the parents negroid.

Equally, disreputability is chartered with a myth of victimization by irrepressible Nature, which includes any identity enactment construed as Natural, whether appetitive, such as sleep, the satisfaction of hunger, the pursuit of company, or avoidant, such as the avoidance of discomfort, mortification, deprivation, etc. Focally, one's **natuur** (respectable lex) is one's natural sexual lust. Thus **my natuur stoot op** (literally: my nature rises) refers to the arousal of lust, and if one's sexual drive is considered weak, one's **natuur** is **swak** (nature is weak). An **ou** (full-blooded male, man's man; disreputable lex) prides himself on self-control when he chooses, but is otherwise expected not to restrain himself, and to be **stout** (sexually playful and mischievous; literally: naughty; respectable lex), and to **maak onbeskof** (engage in sexual play or intercourse where respectability dictates forbearance; literally: act rudely; a prim term used to scold children; respectable lex). The implication is that disreputable rebellion is Naturally childlike, temporally static, omnipotent in defying both the march of time and the strictures of Culture by seizing the advantages of both childhood and adulthood; and respectable authority the Cultural enactment of parenthood, temporally linear, the envious malice of the helplessly ageing towards eternal youth. The disreputable yielding to any impulse of lust or greed is rationalized in the banter **Kannie help 'ie!** (Can't help it!; disreputable lex), always accompanied by a grin and a shrug.

Case Example 2

One evening in 1973 I parked my car on the perimeter of a poorly lit public parking area bordered by thick, long grass near a post office in a middle-class white neighbourhood. As I got out, a young adult man arose nearby from among the grass, hastily pulling up his trousers, and it became apparent that he had been copulating with a woman still lying there. "**Kannie help 'ie, oubaas,**" was offered with a grin, and he was relieved and pleased when I winked and went on my way (concluding that it was inopportune to dissent from the obsequious

address).

Similarly, males charter promiscuity, bisexuality or drunkenness: „Ek is maar net 'n man; enige man sal so maak" (I am only a man; any man would do the same) is a common rationalization, always accompanied by a defiant smirk.

Victimization by Nature thus charters an effectual attack on Culture, in which the rules of identity enactment construed as civilized are violated.

Nature signifies vitality. **Is daar nog lewe daar?** (Is there still life there?; respectable/disreputable lex) is both banter and teasing in inquiry by a younger to a middle-aged person as to whether she or he is still sexually alive and active. Likewise the commonness of premarital pregnancy, especially in adolescence, by no means reflects mere impulsiveness only. A joint decision is taken implicitly and by default to use no contraception, and both partners -- often their parents too -- commonly evince both Natural pride and Cultural mortification when the pregnancy becomes known. Fundamentally the pregnancy signifies both partners' self-initiation into adulthood as members of the working-class *communitas*. The child is construed as authentic, necessarily disreputable Natural evidence of vitality, potency in gender, generativity and fidelity to the way of the *communitas*. Thereafter, respectability becomes tolerable, and in many families, mandatory. The couple marry, their sexual practices become increasingly constrained by Culture, and contraception is commonly used for family planning to obviate the expense of rearing many children who will retard the family in pursuit of its aspirations to upward mobility.

Vitality is also construed as the essence of adolescent lexical innovation and relexicalization, and of the cheerful and witty play, display and contest of ritual banter and taunting (**gwara** or **pick**; disreputable/respectable lex), and of mythopoeic gossip. **Timer's taal** (old men's language; disreputable/respectable lex) is the term for the dated antilanguage of middle-aged men, even though the protagonist may be in his mid-twenties and the respondent only in his mid-thirties.

In its ambivalence towards stigma, disreputability abhors dishonour of the self which elicits mortification, guilt and thus inactivation of the self. In repudiation of these, disreputability enacts exuberant vitality in collective sadism, creativity, experiment, enterprise, play, humour, contest and display, all of which yield identity and honour when successful. More: vitality has religious, sacramental significance,

indicating that the cosmos (God, fate, Nature) sanctifies the survival of the disreputable, and perpetuating their inclusion in the social order. On the other hand disreputability precipitates dishonour of the self by immoderation and instability in ambivalence, both leading to self-defeat. The cosmos equally ordains inherent, authentic stigma as reality.

Disreputable identity ambivalently construes Culture and identity itself as persecutory and victimizing. The agents of victimizing Culture may be parents, the respectable working-class, the middle-class and/or the white stratum, any or all of whom dominate, deprive, alienate, exclude, exploit and mortify the disreputable. If Nature proposes stigma, Culture may confirm it. Disreputability ambivalently rebels against the dishonouring Cultural confirmation of stigma. Its characteristic identity theme is confusion in the issue of guilt versus victimization by Nature and Culture.

On the one hand guilt is confessed as naked honesty. Authenticity between Natural and Cultural stigma is religio-politically disclosed as the just cosmic ordination of subordination:

"Why did the White man catch us? Because we're so stupid!", ran the lyrics of a sentimental Coon Carnival song in the late nineteen-sixties.

On the other hand the Cultural confirmation of stigma is intolerably dishonouring. To be *rou* is optional, but those whose Natural stigma is exposed and fixed as bereft of Culture are construed as bankrupt and nude. To be *kaal* (std Afr: naked) or, more emphatically, *kaalgat* (bare-arse) is to be broke, penniless (respectable *lex*). But to be *kaalgat* (disreputable *lex*) is also to be morally, socially and Culturally bankrupt, vulgarly and disgustingly so, and deservedly without influence -- a severe insult usually reserved for grave dispute with a vulgar, overbearing neighbour who is to be crushingly reduced to nonentity. Culture wholly on the terms of the dominant alienates, victimizes and inactivates the identity of the subordinate, but a field of Culture on the terms of the subordinate creatively nourishes, restores and sustains disreputable identity, provides hope, vitality, solace and domesticity in the subordinate *communitas*, and clothes Naturally stigmatized identity at least partly and periodically in honour.

Disreputability is the exuberant proposal of freedom in all things on the terms of the subordinate within the confines of subordination and poverty (and there is every ground to suggest that it was one of the founding terms

of coloured identity following the emancipation of slaves in 1838 -- as indeed it is a founding term in all religio-political identities proposing its antithesis: piety or respectability). The *communitas* disreputably creates Culture by begging, borrowing and stealing constituents from the dominant strata who have Culture in superfluity. In non-material Culture one **steel met die oeg** and **steel met die oor**. The appropriated parts are hoarded and creatively adapted, cobbled together and publicly produced in bricolage, useful but often brashly exotic. In shanty architecture this is termed **blikkies kasaram** (motley tins, i.e., tin sheets unconventionally but usefully arranged and painted in motley colours; in displayed clothing it is termed **lappies kasaram** (a colourful assortment of washing drying on a line; both respectable *lex*; **kasaram**: **Java** *lex*: motley). Bricolage is equally evident in art, music and, most extensively of all, dialect.

Socially, disreputable creativity is manifested in the sustenance and development of social bonds through impulsive but high sociability, generosity, intimacy and cheer between the subordinate under conditions of adversity -- and the dominant who honour them in egalitarian terms:

Case Example 3

In the summer of 1989-1990, concluding that my fieldwork with outcasts was not quite adequate, I undertook it almost daily with a shabby group of six young adult male vagrants. Two had hitch-hiked penniless to Cape Town to escape the boredom of rural life, the other four were effeminate homosexuals, all were casual male prostitutes. They were relaxing on the lawns of a seashore promenade in a luxurious suburb which they frequented (and where I went for both fieldwork and recreation). Affluently-dressed middle-class people of all colours strolled by. Members of the group merrily regaled each other with envious and acerbic comments on the passing show. I got into conversation, squatted down and relaxed with them, eliciting stares from the strollers and smirks from public amenities law enforcement patrolmen familiar with me. One member of the group had obtained a melon, which he cut up to be shared by all. They offered me a slice. I demurred, thinking their need greater than mine, but they insisted, remarking warmly that "not any white man would sit with us" (translation).

Disreputability is equally manifested in the violation of these terms, as opportunistic predation and grandiose stigmatization of others and self. Much disreputable peer group discourse oscillates between the creation and

destruction of identity and relationships.

Case Example 4

During the following two months they argued, fought and stole among each other as much as they continued to share resources. Fed up, the two rural migrants said that they desperately wanted to return home. I gave them information about obtaining free rail warrants from state social workers, letters of referral, travel fare to collect the warrants, and old clothes in good condition. Put to the choice, they sold the clothing and remained. My welcome was replaced by cadging of cigarettes and small amounts of money, at first apologetic, then confident, finally incessant until I stopped donating. Signs of contempt became open, and they badgered me until I conclusively displayed anger, whereupon they became haughty, distant and eventually aggressive. If I subsequently greeted them I was immediately asked coyly for a cigarette. Among outcasts the most fundamental terms of identity (including life and death; see 6.224) are at issue, and for me a higher priority than research soon supervened. Unusually, one of the "moffies" was also a violent, predatory, tattooed **ou roeker** who badgered numerous working-class males to copulate with him in public places, and (I was told by his companions) regularly scoured distant townships on Saturdays for penniless, attractive, naively respectable young adolescent males, whom he would inveigle to the promenade, paying their busfare, under the pretence of finding them employment on night shift in a nearby restaurant. Late in the evening, after public transport had ceased, he would disappear briefly into a restaurant's service entrance, greet an acquaintance, return to advise the now stranded boy that the job had been taken, and attempt to press him into homosexual prostitution for food, shelter and money home, for he (the chaperone) had clients who paid him as a pimp. If the youth baulked he would simply be abandoned to the night. After several had reportedly been sold or dumped in this way, I encountered him one evening with two respectable, hungry boys who told me that he worked at a particular restaurant where he was going to get them jobs later that evening. When I expressed incredulity he winked conspiratorially at me and remarked on their presentable looks. I put it to him flatly that he had no job and there was none available at the restaurant (which I happened to know took only a small number of experienced adult staff), and the boys, who had been listening intently, went wide-eyed, whereupon he menacingly warned me to mind my own business and for good

measure turned with vicious punches and kicks on a timid vagrant who happened to be sitting nearby. I was unarmed at the time, and in any event the efficient way to extricate the now frightened boys and the vagrant, and put at least a temporary stop to the offender's rampant destructiveness was to have him detained by public amenities law enforcement patrolmen, who turned up in force within two minutes of my summons. Shocked and relieved, the boys blurted that he had also been hinting about the money to be made and fun to be had in prostitution, and the patrolmen arranged for their outraged families to come and take them home -- after grandmother, guardian of family honour, had ritually lambasted him through the face with her handbag.

The characteristics of disreputability are mythified in the communal identity of **Gam**, the mythic coloureds as inherently disreputable, and therefore stigmatized (Stone [1972]); in middle-class Afrikaans: **Gam**: the Biblical Ham [Genesis 9: 20-27, Joshua 9: 17-23], negroid progenitor of black humans, whose descendants, via his son Canaan, were cursed for Ham's humiliation and copulation with his drunken father Noah, and consigned to servitude to the descendants of Ham's brothers, the brown Shem, and the white Japheth. The myth was used -- ignoring the exclusion of Ham's other descendants and those of Shem -- as a charter by white Christian colonists and ministers for the enslavement and subordination of people of colour. However, connection between the Biblical myth and folk usage of the term **Gam** is unknown to all the very many working-class speakers questioned.) In summary, **Gam** tend to be masculine in character, and are impoverished, unfortunate, repulsive, impulsive, inconstant, infantile, frivolous, foolish, ignorant, immoderate, callous, treacherous, destructive, and mischievously rebellious against the cosmic and social order -- but also uniquely vital, cheerful, optimistic, gregarious and creative.

In the **Gam** variant, coloured identity is construed as evincing the fateful flaw of a characteristic proclivity to spoil or even ruin its universe: self, others, time, values, language, material environment and all. Most demoralizing and painful of all to the respectable and the politicized, **Gam** are incorrigible. **Gam is mos so** (**Gam** are indeed like that; respectable myth); **Gam bly maar diesel'de** (**Gam** stay ever the same; respectable myth); **Gam sal nooit regkom nie** (**Gam** will never come right; respectable myth) and **Gam kan nie saamstaan nie** (**Gam** cannot stand together in solidarity; respectable myth) are still commonly heard, and innumerable variations of this myth of guilt occur, usually in characterization of coloured individuals and groups as incorrigibly incompetent Culturally, exorbitantly

self-indulgent and greedy, and above all, stupidly treacherous of the interests of the community as a whole, particularly in political liberation. Even in rebellion against white domination, **Gam** are construed madly frenzied and displaying all the markers described above.

However, the assignation of **Gam** to those with whom one identifies always contains some element of acceptance and is never construed by them as a grave insult. Usage may be neutral, mundane and unselfconscious even with an honorary member of the speech community: „Daar's baie **Gam** hier rond" (There are a lot of **Gam** around here) remarked a speaker to me as we travelled through a white residential area. Moreover, **Gam** is valued as an identity by the disreputable: **Wie kan vir Gam conquer?** or **Wie kan vir Gam klaarmaak?** (Who can beat **Gam**? or Who can surpass **Gam**?; disreputable myth) are stereotyped expressions of disreputable pride or sympathetic amusement at a public display of characteristic conduct which is only mildly offensive, if at all (for instance, a domestic worker was heard to murmur thus to herself at a Coon Carnival competition).

Similarly **Gam** are proudly construed as sexually more energetic and mischievous than whites (but with less brute stamina than blacks).

Case Example 5

A young adult male bragged in my presence about his afternoon in bed with his girlfriend. When teased by a friend that he had doubtless managed only one orgasm, he glanced at me and responded smugly, „Wat? **Gam** is nie so nie!" (What? **Gam** are not like that!).

Finally, **Gam** are uniquely creative, nimble, inventive, economical and efficient in working-class bricolage. It is a commonplace among rural Afrikaners that „'n Boer maak 'n plan" -- a Boer, isolated on a farm or in the bush, makes a plan, i.e., is a survivor, an ingenious bricoleur. „... maar **Gam** het 'n plan!" is the urban working-class coloured trumpcard: „... but **Gam** already has a plan!" This mythic claim proposes the superior adaptability and competence of **Gam** in Peninsular urban Culture compared with the authentically, incorrigibly clumsy, cloddish Boer, and reverses the construed national religio-political realities.

The **Gam** identity is assigned by working-class speakers to all urban collective coloureds, whereas the middle-class repudiate the ascription of **Gam** identity to themselves, and assign it only to the working-class, the latter assign it to all Capetonian coloureds and reject those of rural origin. For instance, a distinction between **Gam** and **boe'jongens** is that

Gam gee nie draad nie (Gam stands no nonsense, allows [whites] no scope for control over him; disreputable myth). Complementarily, coloureds of rural origin propose their manners and social skills as superior to those of the urban and especially the working-class (see Durbach [1976: 11-12]).

Working-class male peer-group disreputability is commonly marked by humour, merriment and taunting over confusion between guilt versus victimization. The theme is evident in a disreputable joke popular in 1984:

A stereotypic working-class preacher, of the kind commonly making a nuisance of himself in commuter trains and busy shopping districts, was bellowing forth with mounting excitement through a bullhorn on Cape Town's Grand Parade. „Ek sê vir julle, julle wat sondaars is, die Hêre hy **gat** kom! He **gat** siekerlik kom! Julle sal sien, die Hêre **gat** kom ... en julle **gat** kak!" (I say to you, you who are sinners, the Lord will come! He will surely come! You will see, the Lord will come ... and you will shit!)

This joke is significant for the lapse of the mask of respectability to disclose authentic working-class disreputability not only in identity and lexis, but in lexicogrammatical code and style of discourse. The joke is also a version of the myth of the hypocrisy and corruption of the respectable, and of the irrepressibility of disreputable coloured Nature, and therein lies the construed comedy.

The disreputable proposal of coloured identity is that it is Naturally disreputable; the confirmatory construction is that Nature is irrepressible and coloured identity is therefore Culturally disreputable -- but has created the option of honour through the ambivalent development of Cultural capital.

At its most vital and creative, the **Gam** identity possesses a Nature which can master and adapt even repressive, alienative Culture as bricoleur to create cultural capital -- and its unique creation is its dialect, **Gamtaal**, **vlottaal**, appropriated, adapted and cobbled together from every available, attractive and useful source for use, play, contest and display.

Dialect, however, remains disreputable, to the point that its identity must needs remain stigmatized at best, subjectified at worst. Dialect, moreover, is mere metaphor for the power to master and create reality in material terms. Confusion in conflict between religio-political guilt and victimization has apparently been central to Peninsular working-class coloured political identity without contradiction until the popularization

of Black Consciousness in the early 1970s. And although the objective ideological issue has shifted to the quest for forcible political liberation since the first major episode of mass civil rebellion in 1976, and the proposed source of guilt and victimization has shifted unstably from supernaturally ordained cosmos (God, Nature, Colour) to natural society (white or capitalist identity) the guilt/victimization issue has remained centrally evident in the intense chiliastic mania and euphoric solidarity manifested in crowd behaviour among upwardly mobile adolescents during such episodes. Victimization is violently, totalistically proposed and guilt reversed by revolutionary socialism among the upwardly mobile of working-class origin. The grandiose power to dominate reality totalistically, to stigmatize white identity in all the terms previously assigned to coloured identity, to overcome, repudiate and expunge the historic trauma of guilt-imposed powerlessness in the mastery and creation of religio-political reality, acquires sacramental significance.

Disreputability is ambivalence, instability and optionality in the Cultural regulation of stigmatized Nature. Because the integrity of identity is repetitively disrupted, the endless pursuit and repair of honour are crucial concerns. Disreputability is opportunistic: the pursuit of honour becomes a quest for grandiosity, for identity enaction not by consensus but on the actor's unilateral terms alone.

Disreputable identity subjectively acknowledges its stigma as real and cosmically ordained, but reserves the option of repudiating stigma and pursuing honour in objectivity. It attempts to achieve this freedom by disavowal, denial, dissembling and identity enactments which are paradoxical (simultaneously positive and negative in valence), unstable (alternately and unpredictably so), creative or situationally optional. Subjectification, non-verbalization, slyness, surreptitiousness, deviousness, charm, seductiveness and opportunism all mark the disreputable management of stigma, which aims at the achievement of honour despite stigma: You and I know that I am Naturally bad, confused and unstable, but I propose myself -- and you must confirm me -- as Culturally good, clever and honourable whatever I do.

Subjectified individual disreputability is commonly rendered honourable by its ideological redefinition as the objective enaction of communal identity. If I am authentically like my people in behaving disreputably, then I am not a guilty outcast but honourably authentic in, and loyal to our communal way, in which lies integrity and therefore honour in collective power to impose reality on others, however disreputable that

reality may be. Thus the working-class redefinition of class as authentic colour imputes stigma to immutable colour but honour to mutable working-class failure to achieve middle-class identity or political liberation. It is very common for working-class disreputables, both male and female, paradoxically to charter individual and familial disreputability as communally normative and therefore the honourably authentic enactment of coloured identity, to redefine respectability as alien white identity, and to find deprivation but the potent consolations of warmth, comfort, intimacy and above all, authentic membership in the underdog but honourable communitas. Power in communal numbers, pragmatically exercised in Cultural rule over geopolitical territory, whether a household, a neighbourhood or more, is construed as the Natural, numinous, religio-political source of communal grandiosity. The semantic paradoxes and syntactic conflicts between Nature and Culture thereby engendered in identity and between identities may give trouble, but this is ordained by fate and is even reassuring and consoling as uniquely authentic to the communitas. Such paradoxes and conflicts, moreover, are useful strategies in mystifying, confusing and alienating the dominant, and perhaps eventually to reduce them to demoralization and inactivation.

Disreputability is manifested essentially in the desecration (i.e., disavowal of the numinous terms) of all reality, including the stigmatization of others and self. The cardinal principle of the ideology of disreputability is that nothing is sacred, that in reality the sacred does not exist, and that ethicality, decency and respectability are hypocritical, grandiose masks for the disreputable indulgence and aggrandizement of self and the exploitation of others. Decency in others is intolerable to disreputability, eliciting the most painful mortification, guilt and dishonour, and must be rendered objectively unreal by denial or attempts to provoke or corrupt the decent into acts of disreputability or mortify them into social insignificance as weak and ineffectual. Success is celebrated with triumphant gloating.

An act of disreputability evinces contempt for the self and is therein masochistic. Simultaneously it evinces contempt for the identity of others, and is therein grandiose. This is commonly recognized in constructions that the actor considers himself above the requirements of respectability, and asserts by his conduct that he can do what he likes.

It is therefore common for a victim of disreputable conduct to characterize the offender sardonically as **Mister Man** (disreputable/respectable lex); or

retorically to claim that "hy dink hy's **wie**" (literally: he thinks he's who, with potentially limitless possibilities; respectable/disreputable lex); or that **hy gee hom uit** (he spreads himself, displays himself in acting overbearingly or arrogantly, and gloats; literally: gives himself out; disreputable/respectable lex).

The disreputable propose a favourite myth: the grandiose hypocrisy and corruption of the respectable and all above -- i.e., all who make rules and claim to uphold them. The religious, judges, magistrates, municipal officials, teachers, etc., are widely assumed to be readily corruptible, and in general, wealth and power are said to be acquired only by **smokkel** (secret, corrupt trading; std Afr.: smuggle; noun and verb; respectable/disreputable lex), or **boetie-boetie** trade (you scratch my back and I'll scratch yours; std Afr: boetie boetie speel: flatter, butter up; literally: little brother-little brother; respectable lex). One advances in life not by "what you know" (personal merit) but "who you know". Religious men and women are considered exceptionally randy and seducible. "'Sister, may I use you?' 'Brother, how could I refuse you?'" runs the punchline of a disreputable joke about the sexually corrupt hypocrisy of Christian charity among professedly chaste **kerkbroers** and **kerksusters**.

The myth of respectable hypocrisy is ideologically defensive, serving to relieve the guilt of stigma in disreputability. If you are as corrupt as I -- if all are as corrupt as we -- I am not bad and outcast but as good as you and moreover an honourable member of a universal communitas of enterprising opportunists.

Disreputability is most commonly manifested in breaking the rules of respectability -- perfect preservation of the sanctity of the person, perfect commitment to positive morality construed as communally valuable, and perfect scrupulosity of order in all things. Violation includes asserting the right to deceive, exploit and mortify others, and spoil their identity, including their property. Disreputability is construed as masculine in its rebelliousness and aggressiveness, respectability as feminine in its self-restraint.

For instance a ritualized division of labour is common in working-class Christian households, which are matrifocal, whereby males are expected to pollute and females to purify. To pollute, spoil and humiliate is grandiosely masculine; to purify, repair and serve is masochistically feminine. Thus many less than scrupulously respectable males will, with apparent casualness and distraction, flick cigarette ash around the ashtray

and on the floor, urinate partly on the floor around the toilet pan or leave towels and clothes in disorder for others, usually females, to clean up without complaint. If I object to such messing in my middle-class home, I am always offered an immediate apology and care is subsequently taken, although messing will resume if the actor is distracted, malicious or drunk. The demeanour of bland casualness and distraction during pollution is invariant and striking. In clinical terms it suggests, equally, hysterical dissociation (the uncontrollable subjectification of objective identity enaction to evade its anticipated stigmatization in objectivity) and malingering (simulation of inactivation). It appears that hysterical dissociation is simulated in this identity enaction: it is acceptable to act as if Culture is temporarily inactivated by Nature. The actor pretends to be in a trance, entranced by hedonistic Nature. Thus the myth of victimization by irrepressible Nature, **Kannie help 'ie**, is used to charm, mystify, impress or appease the respondent, who may be left uncertain as to whether it is objectively grounded or not.

If a respectable respondent rejects the myth of victimization the disreputable protagonist usually musters aggression to repudiate the imputation of guilt and accuses the respondent of expecting too much in return for the rewards offered for respectability, i.e., of hypocritical exploitativeness.

Respectability, then, is defensively represented as a deceitful, exploitative strategy for self-aggrandizement. In those terms, however, respectability is equally an honourable disreputable strategy. Every disreputable construes the mask of respectability as an essential option affording honour in respectable society. Without this option disreputability is mortifyingly exposed, objectified and confirmed as such. But respectability requires confirmation by objective success, and when a valued opportunity is lost through disreputable instability the protagonist, left to reflect in deprivation at leisure, may be overwhelmed by shame, mystification and eventually guilt at his own self-defeating conduct, painfully comparing himself with the respectable and finding himself wanting, fatalistically stigmatizing himself as no good after all -- as he knew all along. Under such circumstances depressively guilty characterizations of coloured identity as innately unstable and ineffectual are often proposed, especially in confessional discourse with whites. Imposed unemployment, with the endlessly frustrating experience of applying for one job after another only to be told "Don't 'phone us -- we'll phone you", has an extremely demoralizing effect on the disreputable,

especially those in young adulthood who left school without an adequate educational base for pursuit of an artisan's or technician's qualification affording the option of respectability and upward mobility.

Deprivation of the options of respectability and upward mobility affording the creative transcendence of stigma blocks developmental escape from stigma -- as the assumption to power of Afrikaner nationalism blocked coloured identity's escape. Despair of full equality, if not domination, in upward mobility may then point the way to revolution, just as despair of respectability may indicate a turn to delinquency. The thoughts of adolescent and young adult disreputables who construe unemployment as imposed commonly turn to fantasies of theft and robbery, and often to attempts, at least petty. Some resort to the consolations of revolutionary hatred and promise of Naturally ordained dominance which the envied, hypocritical oppressors have unstintingly lavished on themselves. Others become heavily dependent on drugs.

Crucial to disreputability is the construed capacity to dissemble respectable sincerity, charm, orderliness, industriousness and education fluently and artfully, so that honour and optionality can be preserved, and others -- especially the respectable -- might be manipulated to one's own ends. Disreputability involves secrets and a conspiracy of hoodwinking, mocking, despoiling and exploiting the dominant; and a triumphant thrill of successful secrecy is afforded by the grandiose power thus derived.

However, the grandiosity can be frank, especially when enacted in a collective identity with peers. For example, pollution with garbage is extremely widespread on beaches to the extent that the activities of departed working-class visitors can be reconstructed from their abandoned litter. Only a relatively small minority, female or male, use the garbage bins within easy access. Others will leave a variety of rubbish, including broken glass, lying even within a metre or two of a bin. Occasionally I have asked acquaintances or friends why they do not use the bins. "Why should we? We've come here to relax and enjoy ourselves. The Council will clean it up" (translation) is the invariant curt reply.

Among disreputable males chronically dirty, smelly feet and soiled fingernails are commonly maintained as signs of authenticity in congruence and affinity between the Natural and Cultural terms of identity. Such males are often reluctant to part with bodily dirt, changing underwear and socks infrequently, cleaning ears and anus perfunctorily and soaping and drying themselves without rinsing merely to acquire the soap's fragrance,

i.e., a mask of respectability. Such dirt is ambivalently construed as the link between Nature and Culture, restoring authenticity, overcoming alienation between rural origins (in the bush) and urban achievements, respectably stigmatized as malignantly offensive and pollutive but disreputably idealized as the authentic source and mark of gratification, vitality, power, creativity and productivity (among the respectable, evidence of honest sweat and toil provided that it is washed off afterwards). Rebellious retention of one's excretions is a disreputable marker of masculinity in defiance of feminizing control: "I am a man!" (translation), exclaimed one informant when I teased him that his feet stank. Among the disreputable, one's excretions are also ambivalently one's powerfully vital products and therefore numinous signs of the Natural source of identity.

Instability in occupational self-regulation, reflected in capricious absenteeism and in performance that alternates between conscientiousness and shoddiness, between care for, and damage to the property of employers, customers and self, and between pursuit and destruction of opportunities for upward mobility -- indeed, between perfection and spoiling in identity enaction -- marks the enaction of disreputability. Disreputables commonly construe work as alienating subjection to exploitation and deprivation -- even when pay is well above average, conditions congenial, and opportunities for advancement readily available. Commonly they begin a new job like the proverbial new broom, with enthusiasm and even self-abasingly conscientious service, but lapse into restoring power to themselves by disorderliness, pilfering, procrastination (**tyd steel**: stealing time; respectable lex), shoddy performance, absenteeism (especially after weekends, public holidays and annual vacations), and the active pursuit of grievance against the employer, which charters these exploitations and, if necessary, departure from the job with honour in terms of myths of victimization. Such individuals commonly alternate between periods of employment and optional unemployment until the greater deprivations of penury force them back into work, when it is available. Many of them gravitate towards inherently unstable employment, such as the seasonal fishing industry or the construction industry with its dependence on the weather, tendencies to exponential fluctuation with the business cycle, and opportunities for "shutdowns" in the Transvaal -- very highly-paid contracts lasting a few weeks during which the migrant artisan works seven days a week, twelve hours a day, lives in a caravan on a rural site, smokes himself to sleep on cannabis and methaqualone, returns home exhausted with several thousand rand, recuperates at leisure, splurges the

money and awaits the next contract rather than develop material capital or face a fate of routine, subordination and limits on income and expenditure wholly on the terms of the dominant. The construction industry is notorious for the irresponsibility, unreliability and unstable work standards of labourers, operators, artisans, foremen and contractors -- and especially their mandatory honourable ritual of stigmatic despoliation of the customer's property -- always in simulation of dissociation -- in the very act of constructing or renovating it. The dishonour of service to the dominant is redeemed by the unremoved mess, the pollutive paint splashes on the carpet, the destructive scratches on the furniture, the stolen book; now it is the dominants' turn to serve the subordinate.

Other disreputables -- especially those who have given reign to instability during adolescence and found the indulgence too costly in terms of deprivation and arrested development -- establish occupational stability even if it means (to them) the sacrifice of disreputable ambition -- and value and preserve it precisely for its security and stabilizing influence. Such actors continue to pursue disreputability in informal, leisure activities, but it increasingly becomes an option rather than an uncontrollable Natural imposition.

Disreputable instability is oscillation between victimization by Nature and victimization by Culture. Cosmic reality is construed as dictating conflict between the two. Culture attacks the Natural terms of identity, disrupting its integrity and threatening its survival; Nature rebels, with equal disruption of Culture, and threatens identity with outcastness. The unstable disreputable is acutely conscious of dishonourable incapacity in self-regulation. On the one hand he gives reign to it with vitality, exuberance and sadism, proposing it paradoxically as honourable; on the other, he is inactivated, mystified, mortified and depressed by it, and construes it in terms of guilt. As stigma has diminished in both the Natural and Cultural terms of communal identity during the period of fieldwork, so individuals have increasingly come to construe the stigma of instability as individual Cultural guilt -- psychiatric disorder -- and the consultation of psychotherapists for this is increasing by unstable disreputables and their kin who suffer even more in consequence. Commonly, though, such disreputable patients seek an immediate magical cure in a verbal formula providing insight into a prospect of automatic, self-aggrandizing benefit so valuable and powerful that disreputability is worth abandoning for it. They seek, in other words, immediate, endless social and material reward for respectability. Failing that, consistent

respectability, and upward mobility, are not worth the sacrifice. Equally they are too desirable to be abandoned.

Those pursuing optional unemployment are termed **wil-'ie-werk-'ie** (won't work; respectable lex) or simply "loafers". Among these, the ritual of **aankloppery** (cadging; disreputable/respectable lex) is developed to a fine art. Cadging is most commonly undertaken from employed peers, spouses, girlfriends and mothers, but also strangers in public places. The protagonist adopts a mask of intimacy, humility and apology towards the prospective donor, charts the approach with a myth of victimization (by disaster such as involuntary unemployment, expensive illness in the family or subjection to theft or robbery), and requests a small contribution to an urgent, wholly constructive expense (such as seeking work or going to hospital). However, if the prospective donor, such as a peer or spouse, is expected to be tolerant and forthcoming, the approach may be frank and direct, and its real purpose (usually some form of hedonistic gratification) is disclosed. If the prospective donor is expected to resist, seductive wheedling (**wheatie**; disreputable lex; see also 8.123) and 10.4) and effusive display of affection may be employed: the cadger may stand very close, grasp the respondent's hand or put an arm around his neck. Ritually stereotypic amounts are usually requested: in 1965, five cents; in 1975, ten cents; in 1988, a rand; in 1989, two rand; in 1990, five rand (inflation accounted for the changes between 1965 and 1988; the latter increase reflected the revolutionary religio-political proposal that both the ambition and entitlement of the subordinate were increasing exponentially and infinitely).

Cadging by disreputables who engage optionally in delinquency may be used to mortify and flaunt power over donors. The amount may be summarily demanded in a surly manner; grandiose exorbitance (five, ten or twenty rand) may be flaunted; and the demand, met or unmet, may be a prelude to an immediate escalation of demands and then violent robbery. Indeed, such a demand is the ritually common prelude to robbery, when its purpose is to arrest the prospective victim's passage and test his amenability to surprise, confusion and fear so that he may be threatened or surrounded and attacked. If robbery is not contemplated the initial demand is merely used to test the prospective victim's amenability to exploitation. If it is met with an immediately aggressive repudiation the cadger will back off unless supported by one or more peers intent on robbery. The strategy is ritualized, organized in terms of programmatic rules of interaction.

Instability in ambivalence tends to be pervasive, equally to be found in all relationships, with peers, siblings, spouses, children, parents and other kin; and to some extent it becomes institutionalized, likewise to be found in the spatial arrangement and display of domestic property. The following, or variations on it, is common: the front garden is partly cultivated, partly neglected and disordered; the living room is respectably ordered and displayed; the bedrooms and especially their cupboards, more private, are disordered and shabby but the parental bedroom suite is better preserved; the bathroom receptacles (except perhaps for the toilet pan) are clean, the walls and tiles grubby; the back yard is partly cleared, partly cluttered with a mess of rubbish and sundry hoarded articles, gleaned and scavenged from acquaintances and employers for possible utility in bricolage one day.

Disreputability is also construed as the preservation of free optionality in all things, in particular as frivolity, the denial of consequentiality itself, i.e., of the objectification of action. No-one and nothing matter; one is attached to nothing, and can suffer, lose, fear and cause nothing. Nothing that one does is of consequence -- or makes any difference. Thus the disreputable characterize themselves as **never(ever)minders** (disreputable lex) and **I-don't-care** (disreputable lex; this can have delinquent implications; see below). Conversely, to **worry** (respectable lex) is to be concerned (with), to bother (about) or to worry in the standard English sense: attachment and consequentiality mean risk and anxiety. Frivolity denies the gravest -- even fatal -- consequences to self and others. It also denies the reality of resistance to domination: we mean no harm, and anyway, nothing that we could do would make any difference. It can thus provide a mask for resistance to construed authority or domination, and a charter for attack on others.

However, disreputability may be flaunted by the otherwise respectable, including middle-class and elite professional males, as a sign of grandiose superiority and honour. The actor holds himself superior enough to be free to break the rules, and the display of his honour positively requires their violation. He anticipates that this will be unacceptable, and if he wishes to avoid conflict he frames violation in a myth of victimization. A common working- and middle-class ritualistic example is optional sadomasochistic lateness for appointments, apologetically joked about as "coloured time" if the waiting person is white.

The actor proposes that respectable Culture is temporarily inactivated by disreputable Nature, and restores respectability with an apology which is

masked as self-mortifying but covertly continues to mock the patient thereby obliged by the rules of respectability to accept it. (In fact ritualistic lateness is apparently common among middle-class South African whites as well, who joke about "South African time" to punctual middle-class British or American whites.) Such behaviour is optional in that one forgoes it if one seriously seeks the other's goodwill. It is compulsive in that it is engaged in as a matter of both gratification and principle in relation to another whom one claims the right to take for granted. The sadism is self-evident. The masochism is evident in the implicit confession of disreputability and the risk of provoking undesired rejection by the humiliated and inconvenienced respondent. Thus this enactment by coloured protagonists reflects a construction of coloured identity not only as stigmatized but as stigmatizing -- attacking the positive integrity of other identities by humiliation and the arousal of ambivalence. Finally, it indicates a symbiotic tie to the other, in its attempt to establish a repetitive dialectic of sadomasochistic entanglement (see Watzlawick, Beavin and Jackson [1968: ch. 5]). In nearly all cases it heralds increasingly grandiose attacks and seductive -- but unapologetic -- efforts to maintain the relationship if the victim attempts to end it.

The display of gross disreputability as a pervasive sign of deprivation of positive, integrated, autonomous identity is evident in the common despoiling and befouling of the physical environment in impoverished neighbourhoods and in the disorder, neglect and damage of opportunities for personal (including occupational) development, the body and appearance (as in crude tattooing, described as **vuilgesig** [dirty-face] if the tattooing is facial; disreputable lex) personal possessions and domestic environment. The masochism is self-evident. The sadism is evident in the pollution and despoliation of identity thus imposed on the respectable and the young.

Case Example 6

An apparent psychopath on the fringe of my peer group, an eccentric loner disliked for his endless envy, malice and cunning, repeatedly sneered at me for not detaching myself from my fictive brother and moving with him, claiming that he would make a far better friend. Getting no joy, he eventually reversed his helpless pain in envy with sadism, inscribing remarks in (virtually ineradicable) ink on the upholstery of my car suggesting that my fictive brother and I were homosexually involved. "Alles wat mooi is wil hy **sat** maak" (Everything fine he wants to kill; sat: dead; disreputable lex),

remarked my fictive brother with disgust.

Disreputability may be publicly flaunted before the respectable, often while the actor is disinhibited by alcohol, drugs or the orgiastic influence of a crowd, or construes himself as licensed by their putative or substantive influence (another myth of victimization) to perform exhibitionistically in public normatively private activities such as excretory or sexual activity.

For instance, on beaches attended almost entirely by working-class coloured people and not rigorously supervised by public amenities law enforcement patrolmen a couple may occasionally be encountered copulating at a site only partly hidden from view or (if they are grandiose, delinquent and/or inebriated) not at all, and even performing copulatory positions exhibitionistically. Some lie in full public view and merely cover themselves to some extent with a blanket or towel, which may not be replaced if it falls off. Many of these couples are respectable in appearance and well provided with beach equipment and refreshments; others are more obviously disreputable or delinquent; and some are well into middle age.

If encountered by a putatively respectable white, the couple usually display defiance by laughter or sullenness, and if delinquent or drunk may attempt to mortify the beholder by accusing him of unmanly voyeurism or inability to find his own woman. (Indeed, such couples are sought at great length and secretly observed by male voyeurs, usually married men, with a subculture of their own, and dramatic tales of [bisexual] voyeuristic adventure, success and prize catches recounted like the proverbial fishermen's tales, dimensions and all.)

If encountered fortuitously by a working-class coloured male or an apparently sympathetic middle-class male, the male partner usually grins and pays no further attention. One aim, evidently, is to celebrate and display one's disreputable manhood without the mortification of judgmental, respectable gaze. Indeed, personal intimacy and tenderness, even sexual passion, were absent from every such act that I encountered. The female appeared wholly used as a masturbatory prosthesis and an exhibitionistic foil, lying limp and impassive with open eyes while her partner postured or strained away at a performance which required his climax, if he could arrive at it. Most apparently did, especially if the display was gleefully mischievous, but some would merely give it up glumly after a while.

The stereotypy of such conduct indicates its enaction as a ritual, I

suggest, of ambivalent rebellion (Gluckman [1954]). It is also most common during spring and early summer, which suggests a religious celebration of the youthful regeneration of Natural vitality, a ritual of cyclical renewal (Eliade [1949: 51-92]). Statistical support for this observation of seasonal variation is lent by municipal records covering 1982-1989 showing that whereas legitimate juristic coloured births were constant throughout each year, illegitimate births increased each winter, i.e., nine months after spring [City of Cape Town, 1990: Annual Report of the Medical Officer of Health 1988/1989: vol 2: 6]]. Disreputability construes imposed respectability as malignantly destructive of the freedom and energy necessary for identity enaction, maintenance and development: self-alienating, depriving, enervating, castrating (robbing it of the power of enaction), rendering identity confused, inauthentic, impotent, insignificant. Defiant Natural vitality is sacramental.

This type of example, which I encountered on public beaches at least several times each year (occasionally tripping over such couples when they have lain half-hidden, and once treading on, and hastily fleeing from an enraged female vagrant in her underwear who pursued me at speed shrieking imprecations and wielding an empty liquor bottle), is very widely familiar in the working-class community ("blue movies", remarked one local authority beach patrolman). Many scrupulously respectable people avoid beaches where it is known to occur.

Patrolmen also reported that flaunted sexual activity was common on beaches frequented predominantly by affluent whites during the Christmas and New Year holidays, and especially on New Year's Eve, after which some parts would be littered with condoms and other signs of previous copulation there. Occasionally I would encounter a condom, evidently containing semen, dangled from a branch in the bushes, a triumphant trophy of potency, defiantly mocking the respectable.

This form of sexual activity also serves as a model for the flaunting of all disreputable public activities, which fall conveniently into four broad, psychoanalytically conventional categories: oral aggression: swearing and rowdiness; intoxicating oral ingestion: drinking and drug-taking; anal aggression: pollution or excretion; and phallic aggression: sexual activity. These are invariably presented to flaunt disreputable Nature free of the imposed judgment of respectable Culture.

Promiscuity and bisexuality are legitimized with the myth that "a hole is a hole (is a hole)", implying flaunted Natural disregard of the person,

gender, appearance, age and body of its owner, and Cultural significance of the orifice. (It also implies adult potency and seductive success: ideally it is mythically acceptable for only pubertal males to masturbate; all older males, if they are authentic men, should be readily able to find a copulatory object. But in its optionality, the myth of the sufficient orifice extends to animals: jokes are common of randy men copulating with hens, which are alleged to have vulvas similar to humans' and to be killed by penetration with a human phallus. Baldness, eggheadedness, is said to signify habitual copulation with fowls and be caused by magical contagion from these as producers of eggs. Copulation with sheep, goats, etc., and especially dogs is also commonly joked about (and when I lived alone with a large female dog and took it frequently to the beach, I was endlessly teased that I mounted the dog, or, if it was assumed to be male, that it mounted me -- its actual gender and my preference therein did not matter).

A comparable stigmatization of gender identity is manifested in the replacement of the possessive pronoun "sy" (his) by **hom** (him), as in "daai's **hom** ball" (that's him ball). Taken further, **hom** is also used to substitute for "haar" (her), as in "daai's **hom** rok" (that's him dress).

Contempt for gender, for the autonomy of gender identity, is thereby signified. In the male example, contempt for a male's rights is proposed by replacing the genitive case by the crude accusative. In the female example, this repudiation is extended to differentiation of the female gender itself, respectably idealized as deserving greater respect than the male. **Hom** is used in this way by males and females. The pragmatic effect is to mortify persons into inert, wholly exposed things, and to deny them all self-differentiation and respect. The usage apparently extends back at least three generations.

The ideal "hole" should be spontaneously small and tight, preferably virginal. The defloration of a female or male virgin, especially of fourteen or fifteen years old, is an achievement to be trumpeted, with ritualistic reference to the sanguinary signs of success. The myth is commonly proposed that promiscuous women -- and they alone -- have large, flabby vaginas which are erotically unsatisfying. Perhaps promiscuous women were likely to be sexually unresponsive, especially in quick encounters compromised in privacy and comfort. But when I often responded that the number of previous partners was as irrelevant as the number of times a woman had copulated with one man, and that a gynaecologically normal vagina would contract with arousal, I would receive no contradiction

and the subject would always be changed forthwith, for the implication was obvious: the speaker knew that he had failed to arouse his partner, to leave his stigmatizing mark on her history and memory.

Heterosexual or homosexual sodomy may even be proposed in poetic formula as erotically superior. "Poes is pap maar hol het grip," (last word English) I was airily advised in 1989 by an adolescent who had been thrown out of the house by his mother for refusing to work, and aspired to profit through homosexual prostitution but had neither homosexual experience nor clients as yet. "Cunt is flab but arse has grip" -- a wholly homosexual male myth of the female orifice as boring vacancy, the male as excitingly powerful musculature. To sodomize a female is to do contemptuous violence, bisexually, to her gender.

Both friendship and peer-group affiliation between disreputables (as well as delinquents) are proposed as classificatory brotherhood (the classification of male peers as kin, siblings): **broer** may be modified into **bra** (perhaps an abbreviation of **Boeta**; respectful, affectionate reference or address to oldest brother) -- **bra van my** (brother of mine), **beu** and **bla** are variants -- or **brigade** (from fire brigade, a dashing team of powerful adventurers; all disreputable lex), **muchacho** (adventurous comrade in banditry; from films about Mexican bandits; disreputable lex), and since 1980 **gazi(lam)** (bloodbrother; delinquent/prison lex). Since 1985 **coupling** (male or female friend, and also male-female couple), derived from the participle **ge-couple** (proceeding stylishly with a female partner in a social, perhaps sexual, arrangement; both disreputable lex), has been used to describe (but not address) a close friend. All these are expressive terms of affection. Although friendship is realistically regarded with suspicion, cynicism and fatalism, it can be intensely felt and displayed by younger men in loyalty to a proven, trusted friend, subject to the rules of bearing oneself at all times as an **ou**, which prescribe that tenderness be displayed roughly to males over the age of two years. However, it is not considered unmanly, nor is it uncommon for a friend to weep over the serious injury or death of another, or over grave betrayal by a trusted **broer**.

Coupling is derived from the artefact commonly used in plumbing and electrical work to join tubing by the interlocking of two parts known as the male and the female, the former penetrating the latter. The term ambiguously implies the possibility of a sexual arrangement, and suggests masculine play mastering the risk of homosexual attachment. Friendship between male peers is commonly joked about as sexual, even by long-married

middle-aged men.

Masculine sexuality is construed as a material, impersonal appetite akin to hunger for food, and copulation as both hedonistic exploitation and excretory pollution of the female or homosexual partner, akin to urination. (It is claimed that some delinquent men mischievously urinate into the vagina after orgasm. "Fluit, fluit, die storie's uit" [Pee, pee, the story's out], joked a companion of mine on the beach when we came across a copulating couple just as the male evidently ejaculated.) Homosexuality is a frequent topic of discourse, both in jokes and the taunting of peers.

There is ambivalence towards homosexual activity. Some speakers mythify engagement in it as **bad lok** (bad luck, i.e., mystically bringing misfortune; respectable lex) because it is unNatural in violating cosmic order. Far more commonly, serious homosexual attraction to one's own, anatomically inappropriate gender is construed as strange and puzzling, but casual bisexual arousal by close physical proximity to a reasonably attractive male, or the sight of a male copulating or even masturbating alone, is considered Natural, a disreputable sign of masculine vitality, and not in itself homosexual. Even between delinquents, however, the ideal terms of friendship are respectable: honour your friend and yourself, with **respek en dissipline** (orderly respect and self-discipline; delinquent from prison lex). This excludes explicit sexual advances and interaction. To avoid the risk of arousal, especially by virtue of spontaneous erection during drowsiness and sleep, young men sharing the same bed take care to curl up, sometimes back to back, or sleep reversed, one with feet on the pillow and head at the end of the bed (which also economizes on space when the bed is crowded). However, it is not highly uncommon for younger individuals to report that they had been awoken during the night by a sexually aroused peer (usually with a reputation for mischievousness and devilment) simulating dissociation by feigned sleep or drunkenness and surreptitiously trying to penetrate them anally. The friend would receive a clout and pretend to be unaware of his actions, and the advance would be construed not as a serious sign of homosexuality but as a joke and ammunition for taunting about secret interest in "holnaai" (arse screwing).

Bisexual identity is commonly enacted among adolescent and young adult male disreputables and delinquents in orgies by two friends together, with one or two cooperative females, in which the males engage exhibitionistically in exotic practices and copulate in exotic positions (**styles**; disreputable lex). Especially among delinquents, orgies may

may involve many more participants, at least males. Similarly, heterosexual experiences are often vicariously shared with peers in subsequent detailed discussion of the partner's anatomy, one's own performance and the degree to which she was excited into exotic activities -- stigmatizing and humiliating her, and violating her privacy (just as such experiences are shared, usually unbeknown to the males, among disreputable females, who extol or mock the males' anatomy, performance and preferences).

Bisexual behaviour which does not lead to orgasm is also licensed and pursued among the disreputable and delinquent in the public display of genitals and pubic hair (but with some clothes on) to peers, in mutual disinhibition by alcohol to the point of intimate affectionate contact in shared drunkenness, and in that mystic and nonverbal ritual of sacramental union in the disreputable male communitas, the smoking of the **pyp** (broken bottleneck stuffed with burning cannabis, methaqualone and tobacco; disreputable lex), which is passed between two or more participants, and immediately induces a profound consciousness of **knowledge** (sharpened subjective, nonverbal, philosophic insight, which is lost afterwards; disreputable lex) and then a euphoric torpor or stupor in which individuals may lie against or across each other, drape arms and thighs over each other, to some extent snuggle up, and drowse or sleep together. Consequent feelings and signs of sexual arousal are construed as objectively insignificant. Handsome or well-built delinquents and disreputables are commonly sought after as intimate friends, to be plied with gifts and proprietorially displayed to others even though no sexual advance would be dared for fear of exposure.

Bisexual union, then, at least non-orgasmically, is the Natural numinous source of disreputable identity in the male communitas, of the brotherhood of disreputables. Casual bisexuality to the point of homosexual orgasm is proposed as optional. The essence of eccentric sexual unmanliness is construed to lie in serious personal interest in the sexual organs or behaviour of a peer, or in serious sexual activity with him for its own sake while one is sober and alert, i.e., homosexuality as an identity base. Although uncommon except among delinquents, the forcing of young adolescent heterosexual males by delinquents into sexual acts is construed as evil and perverse in its paedophilic attack on immature manhood, but not homosexual in itself; and taking a dominant role in occasional copulation with a homosexual or in institutionalized prison homosexuality is not construed as unmanly, except by a small minority hostile to all homosexuality and

usually showing signs of paranoid suspicion that other males are out to unman them. Similarly, part-time homosexual prostitution or longer-term involvement with a homosexual patron is not construed as unmanly provided that it is done effectually for cash or kind, without personal attachment or submission to anal penetration, and is surpassed in interest and frequency by regular heterosexual activity. Even those prostitutes who readily engage in such sexually subordinate practices as performance of fellatio or submission to interfemoral copulation represent these to themselves as disreputable masculinity rather than homosexuality (but conceal them from peers who are not known to engage in similar practices, just as many dominant partners in institutionalized prison-gang homosexuality conceal practices in which they sexually gratify subordinates).

Thus, although many disreputables and perhaps the majority of delinquents have had some genital, orgasmic homosexual experience in adolescence or early adulthood outside prison, this is construed as nothing more than a younger man's flouting the rules of respectability to experiment or indulge his masculine vitality, and if the terms of heterosexuality are at issue, such conduct is chartered as optional by a myth of victimization by Nature: he was drunk or randy, no woman was available, or he needed the money (if the partner was a fee-paying homosexual). If such terms are not at issue, the experience may be readily divulged, particularly in the anomic field shared with a stranger of higher status outside the speaker's subordinated *communitas*.

The limen between folk communities or between outcast and community -- especially in chronic conflict -- can become an anomic field of consciousness and reality when social reality is construed at least ambiguously amenable to anomie, and the protagonist construes himself free of the stigmatic intracommunal consequences of disreputable, delinquent or outcast identity enactment.

Paradoxically, anomic disreputability may masquerade as the respectable imposition of public order and be delinquently enacted with violence (see 6.223) to impose outcastness. Every disreputable, delinquent or outcast attack requires a charter, whether proposed or not:

Case Example 7

Past twelve on a warm summer's night early in 1969, three working-class coloured youths were sitting facing the city on the low stone wall surrounding the Grand Parade opposite the Castle; the adjacent street,

Buitenkant (Outside), constituting the shared limen of the founding city, its military fortress and District Six. Otherwise the Parade was virtually deserted. Seagulls wheeled in the gloom above the glow of street lamps. One youth was softly playing a guitar, all crooning in harmony, singing to the city. The music gave voice to history, and evoked a response: across the Parade a young white, armed policeman grimly approached. They continued, assuming that he could have no business with them, yet he came briskly up, and without ado ordered them to "Fok off". They trailed off open-mouthed. But his confidence signified the might of white domination; his grandiosity, the right of Afrikaner nationalism; his terseness, the duty to exert totalistic control. They then understood clearly: the charter is our stigma as coloured, the proposal that we are outcast and must stay in our place. And they retreated, mute, hunched, the guitar dangled disconsolately, back to the District. I, merely the unnoticed participant observer, sat numb, witless for minutes, the Parade left to me and history in violent silence.

When the maintenance of the national social order is signified in terms of intranational, sectional, folk communal domination in conflict with the enaction of a consensual national communal identity, the social order is imposed anomically in disreputable, delinquent or outcast terms grandiosely masquerading as respectability, and the subordinate vulnerable to stigmatization (in terms of "colour", class, childhood, adolescence, old age, female or homosexual identity, prostitution, vagrancy, drug dependence, psychosis, criminal recidivism, etc. -- see 6.224) are thereby encouraged to maintain and aggrandize their identities in similar terms. To the extent that opportunities for respectability and upward mobility also exist or can be created, they are taken evolutionarily and revolutionarily by those with the religio-political resources to develop. But consensus between dominant and subordinate on anomie as the means to the survival and aggrandizement of identity is also promoted. In extreme anomie, communal identity disintegrates and identity itself regresses to its ontogenetic foundations in chaotic individual aggression and sexuality. When domination is construed as ineffectual or disintegrating, so are the institutionalized foundations of the societal order and thus identity itself, and myriad opportunities are taken or created for anomic enaction by disreputable, delinquent and outcast identities pursuing both survival and aggrandizement.

The following example and analysis illustrate the range of intercommunal

and intracommunal identities anomically afforded scope for enactment by ambiguity in social control on an unusual limen between cosmos and society, between communities, between community and outcast, between outcasts, and between life and death:

Case Example 8 and Analysis

A seashore facility -- established about a century ago by a leading member of the local gentry, after whom it is named -- is situated at an affluent white suburb and consists of a natural pool between the rocks, abutted by a concrete deck shielded from passing gaze by a high, angled wall with a footing which acts as a bench on which one can also stand, lean against the wall, and look out over its top. Thus forming an amphitheatre, it faces out to sea, a restful, refreshing place, idyllic in the early mornings and sunsets of summer, large enough to accommodate forty sunbathers at a pinch. Signs outside inform the visitor that it is only for males aged sixteen or older and that nudity is permitted only behind a line painted across the deck (beyond which the nudity would be visible from outside). Although this androcentric preserve is increasingly opposed by protagonists of feminism, the facility is jurally proclaimed a National Monument (protected against demolition or alteration, as historically worthy of preservation), and the male exclusiveness and nudity remain licensed by local authority by-laws Nos. 11 and 12 of Regulations Made Under Section Ten of the Sea-Shore Act (No. 21 of 1935, As Amended), published in Government Gazette No. 1051 of 5th March 1965 and promulgated in G.G. No. 1400 of 18th March 1966. The licence is unique in the local authority's area of jurisdiction, and the location is jurally defined with scientific exactitude: No. 11 specifies the surveyed position of the line: "parallel to and seven foot four inches from the seaward base of the rear wall which runs from a point + 56 464.47 + 3 753 811.21 metres in a direction of 26 degrees 25' 55" to a point + 56 596.88 + 3 753 824.22 metres (co-ordinates Lo 19 degrees system)". The necessity of excluding all ambiguity permitting the insidious introduction of anomie had been acutely contemplated and provided for in law, and the line constitutes both the the sign of limit and the limen of licence. One licitly comes here, then, for stringently licensed, therapeutic, cosmic, Natural regeneration of the self. Yet the amphitheatre suggests drama, the nude actors already in the arena, the ceaselessly agonistic sea and sky as infinite cosmic frame. The amphitheatre itself stands on the limen between cosmos and society, Nature and

Culture, death and life: before, in the heaving ocean, lies brief chill or infinite oblivion; behind lies life, on the landscaped promenade bordered by an arterial road flanked with luxurious blocks of flats. This is a place of religious regeneration, creativity and drama, where a small wedding was solemnized and celebrated one summer's evening. It also elicits intense curiosity from many male passersby of colour and especially the working-class increasingly exploring their new-found freedom permitted by the decline of segregatory white middle-class domination. Why should such an unusual facility exist? What do middle-class and elite white adult males look like when nude? What happens here? Is the secluded male nudity anomic -- sexual and promiscuous -- or not? The incongruity of an ugly, heavily buttressed, fort-like concrete structure on a quilt of rocks between suburbia and sea, with inviting steps from promenade to beach, and causeway from beach over rocks, and the dramatic cosmic setting and ambiguity within, heighten the mystery. Working-class visitors new to the facility tend to seat themselves as spectators atop the wall, ask questions about the purpose of the place, chat with each other, and observe the action. Others, less respectable and more aggressive, assume that anomie prevails or can be imposed, since the disreputable will not object to disreputability, and in any event homosexuals will be too fearful of personal exposure, if not altogether too timid, to oppose such imposition. I or reliable informants witnessed the following events from 1988-1991 (with one exception). At one summer sunset in 1989, when only six men remained -- four white and two coloured -- a solitary working-class coloured delinquent wandered around the deck in his underpants, clutching his genitals, giggling and gloating at the others and repeatedly announcing: "I like bum!". Occasionally, anomie is aggressively imposed. One mid-afternoon a fortnight later, when nine sunbathers were present, two inebriated men entered and stripped, and one, a sneering, heavily tattooed white vagrant with an earring through a nipple, proceeded openly to masturbate and fellate the other, a well-built coloured who posed, thrust and writhed pornographically. After initial incredulity and, in some cases, shock, the sunbathers merely glanced periodically at the performance or tried to ignore it. Reckless of visitors, the couple continued their exhibition for an hour, occasionally pausing to mock the others and swig at a bottle of brandy until removed by public amenities law enforcement patrolmen summoned by two disgusted elderly middle-class white men. A year previously, three adolescent coloured delinquents were forcibly ejected

by angry respectable white patrons after they had stripped, luxuriantly masturbated themselves and persistently flaunted their erections, clearly failing to anticipate the respectable reaction. Most of the regulars, rather than take a three-minute walk to the nearest public toilet, urinate illegally, and in front of all, on to rocks washed by the tide but separated from the pool (and the careless are fined when caught by the patrolmen). Thus Cultural rules of respectability are frequently violated to some degree but may be forcefully imposed on the unwary or reckless. The facility is regularly frequented mainly by whites, including two men seeking the ultraviolet therapy of sunshine for their psoriasis; several solitary narcissists absorbed in the perfect oiling and tanning of all their parts; up to twelve middle-aged and elderly heterosexuals (many of them Jews) living nearby, who predominate in the mornings, among them a small group who gossip mythopoeically and disreputably and show masked signs of bisexual interest; and a large group of bisexuals and homosexuals. Some appear respectable, chatting, reading or dozing in the sun. A few come in suits and ties from work, ostensibly to take the air, but stare compulsively at the nude bodies. Others, more effeminate, gossip mordantly, enviously or longingly in mythopoeic terms about the sexual anatomy and behaviour of other patrons, referring to bisexuals and homosexuals in the feminine gender and assigning homosexual interests to all, even the elderly heterosexuals. Some use the spot for sexual display and activity when no respectables are thought to be present (usually in cloudy weather or at night, when it is very occasionally used by heterosexual couples for copulation in the presence of males masturbating, fellating and even copulating with each other). Extensive, carefully recorded fieldwork suggested that nearly all males who find homosexual partners at the facility or nearby depart with them, but that (uninterrupted or briefly interrupted) incidents of sexual activity, highly variable in frequency, nevertheless occur on average three or four times weekly each for about half an hour. During the day the facility also receives an assortment of occasional visitors of all communities, including professionals publicly known for their creative abilities; lone schizophrenics apparently mystified and attracted by the infantile condition of public nudity in adults; a mentally retarded young adult white whose construction of public social reality is incomplete, enjoys the opportunity for public nudity, and wanders naked to the rocks abutting the pool, where he appears gravely absorbed in the sensations and changes in size produced when he fingers

his penis; furtive, solitary adolescents and young adults as confused and distressed by their own homosexual interests as they are fatally attracted to the place; male prostitutes; working-class, upwardly-mobile, bisexual, caucasoid, coloured adolescents in search of entertainment and patronage by elite, white homosexuals; Xhosas bringing bottles to fill with seawater for medicinal purposes; and curious coloured construction workers strolling in groups during lunch-hour, some of whom evince much explicit interest in the genitalia of white males, conclude that all others present are homosexual and sneer at the whites among them. One coloured adolescent, evidently heterosexual and acutely revolutionary in political consciousness, remarked contemptuously to his two disreputable peers that only whites would strip nude in public; when they countered that coloureds did so too, he stalked out abruptly. Some of the whites also confide racist sentiments to each other; some Gentile white homosexuals audibly pass anti-Jewish remarks. Except when acquaintance has been previously established or is sexually solicited, coloureds, blacks and whites all tend to talk only among themselves. This is a place of close but impersonal proximity between communities and individual strangers, an intercommunal and intracommunal microcosm. It affords the options of both respectability and disreputability; its Cultural status is ambiguous, and agency may masquerade as patency: when the arena is packed with sunbathers cheek by jowl, the respectable appearances of sunbathing, swimming and conversation often belie an anomic reality tense with sexual observation, display, hinted solicitation, moody frustration and even surreptitious fingering of an amenable neighbour's genitals -- much of it ambiguous, paradoxically masked in facial impassivity. Conversely, intercommunal alienation, wariness and contempt may mask sexual attraction. The respectable regulars concentrate on enjoying the amenity, the heterosexuals aware of the prevalence of a predatory homosexual subculture to the extent of joking that one "dare not bend down" there. But many regular male beachgoers complain that association with the facility is stigmatizing, the watching and the moodiness oppressive, and the sexual activities offensive, and they prefer the surrounding beaches and promenade, which are by contrast spacious, active and cheerful (although heterosexual and homosexual solicitation, pimping, prostitution and even sexual activity occur there too). One Sunday afternoon in 1988 two stylishly dressed, muscular young coloured men, masculine in demeanour, entered the facility, looked around and found that nearly all others present

were white. They sat down haughtily, one lay down with his head in the other's lap, and they proceeded to joke, laugh, pop food into each other's mouths, rummage through each other's pockets, squeeze each other's pimples, kiss, and caress each other's bodies, even genitals, displaying the communal exclusivity of their bond, signifying that they were equally desirable and unobtainable to the whites, and glancing at them to ascertain their response. Clearly the exhibition disclosed envy and spite; one of them confirmed in discussion with me his contemptuous, racist construction that all whites were racist towards, and naively ignorant about middle-class coloureds in construing all coloureds as disreputable or delinquent. Their aim, then, was to mortify white identity, and in doing so grandiosely they stigmatized coloured identity as well. A bisexual coloured male prostitute, clearly embarrassed by shared communal identity with the couple, grumbled to me that such activities should be private. Suddenly four unknown, putatively heterosexual coloured men entered. The couple parted abruptly and sat bolt upright; they would not have dared stage their display in public territory construed coloured. They evidently construed themselves mortified and liminal in their community, and had attempted to impose themselves as superior and central in a microcosm of the white community. Several days later an adult Xhosa prostitute took a swim there when only whites and coloureds were present. He then stripped nude and spread himself, lounging on the bench with his uncircumcised penis thrust ostentatiously forward, admiring it and observing others for their reaction. Among respectable Xhosa men the public exposure of genitals is proscribed, and uncircumcision scorned. Two apparently respectable blacks entered. He hastily put on his shorts. A year later a white outcast from the Transvaal, an extremely aggressive young adult vagrant who frequented the place for three weeks in quest of homosexual patronage and was shunned by all despite his ostentatious display of his tattooed penis, finally took his departure one morning with flaunted revenge on the mortifying place and its unamenable patrons by striding in, stripping nude, masturbating to a gasping frenzy, spattering semen in an arc on the wall, bench and deck where others would lie, dressing, cursing the two sunbathing whites present, and striding out with his head high, potency reaffirmed, honour restored. Three months later another young adult white vagrant, of similar origins, interests and demeanour, and identically rebuffed, avenged his dishonour by inscribing slogans in newly laid concrete on the deck, glorifying the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (Afrikaner

Resistance Movement, a disreputable working-class right-wing organization popular especially in the Transvaal and ritually threatening murder of people of colour and Jews); tried to solicit sex from female coloured vagrants on the promenade, mockingly assuming the dialect for the purpose; assaulted one who proved uncooperative; and was warned off by the patrolmen. Thus rendered and construed anomic, the facility was also a place of other disreputable activities such as the smoking of cannabis and drinking of liquor for intoxication. Occasionally lone homosexuals were robbed there at night, or savagely assaulted by homosexual-hating men of all communities who attended solely with violence in view, stood to one side, watching the sexual activity intently with silent loathing and menace, imperiously hissed contempt if engaged in discussion, and bided their time until a potential victim was alone. (I had some grounds to consider that an unexplained drowning of an elderly man had been a murder.) During fieldwork I observed three pairs of males, each consisting of an older, white robber using a presentable white or coloured youth as bait for their invitation into the cars and homes of potential victims, and occasionally noticed the facility under surveillance by groups of apparent robbers, white, in cars. Reputed opportunities for anomie at the facility and in its vicinity were one of the attractions that drew disreputables, delinquents and outcasts of varied interests to loiter within a radius of over half a kilometre along the promenade and beach adjacent to it, pursue and flaunt their activities when patrolmen were construed absent (the latter undertook uniformed patrols and ceased infrequent plainclothes entrapment in 1990). After floodlights were installed at the facility to deprive patrons of the cover of nocturnal darkness, the disreputable activities merely diffused to copses further along the promenade, where those participants who sought facelessness construed themselves freer to preserve it. At the facility or in the copses (the latter at night only), the scene would be set for action with the gathering of males, usually eight at most (the presence of more tended to sustain uncertainty and thus inhibit orgiastic activity by all but the inebriated or most delinquent and outcast). If uniformed patrolmen visited, the homosexual loiterers would tend to leave immediately, evidently anxious about identification. Otherwise, for many minutes, some for even an hour or more at a stretch, they would stand or sit as stationary, impassive and ambiguous as waxworks, some with hands in pockets, down trouserbands or clasped over flies, waiting for the departure of construed respectables (including

respectable homosexuals) or arrival of a disreputable who might turn out to be orgiastically attractive. One would resolve the ambiguity by visibly fondling his genitals; then, if the signal was reciprocated, by exposure and display. At the facility they would stand in a line along the footing, each watching over the top of the wall for the approach of strangers, and below for the others' genital activity, attempting to derive voyeuristic stimulation. Once display had begun, erectile size and vitality, frankness of display, and signs of luxuriant or frenzied excitement were evidently crucial stimuli. Most sexual activity was restricted to exhibitionistic and voyeuristic self-masturbation; but individuals might sidle up to each other, and, if accepted, mutual activity would follow. The fondling of one's own genitals, or at the facility during the day, display of erection while sunbathing, were by consensus calculated techniques to elicit sexual advance or activity, objective signals marking the switch from ambiguity into anomie, and from masquerade in respectability to frank disreputability. A protagonist who persistently found his signal unreciprocated would either turn his back or stalk out, evidently mortified. Once an orgy had begun, communal identity -- indeed all Cultural, social and personal identity -- tended to become insignificant; only Natural identity mattered; and while a small minority of whites, mostly Afrikaner, would refuse contact with males of colour, it apparently made no difference to the rest. At the facility at night, in grey billows of mist from the breakers beyond, under the orange glare of the floodlights, a young, presentable individual who became dramatically excited would draw several males attempting to strip him and fondle, masturbate, lick, suck or penetrate, dividing the bodily parts and labour between them, while others would congregate around, frenziedly masturbating themselves. Some, especially the younger, athletic, bisexual narcissists, would fiercely rebuff any attempt at conversation or touch, seeking only voyeuristic worship of their phallic display, an opportunity to worship in turn, and the subjective experience of union in their own masturbatory orgasm. The anomic impersonality was grim, total and usually silent, the desperation and shame evidently profound. As soon as a protagonist had completed orgasm, even in copulation, he would abruptly withdraw, shake off the ejaculum, recompose his clothing, turn wordlessly on his heel and walk out, leaving the other undressed and transfixed, and, if there had been more than two participants, the group to re-form. Some attempted only to induce orgasm in others. Just as the objective reality of hard concrete and

manifold risk opposed the phantasmagoria of these fleeting but defiant proceedings, so the participants were desperate to experience erotic thrill -- at least voyeuristically and vicariously -- subjectively confirming their existence, some to objectify their sexual potency publicly flaunted amidst cosmos and society. Evidently the greater the risk of chance in apprehension and public mortification, if not ruin; in robbery or assault; and in acquiring, if not transmitting the fatal disease AIDS; the more exquisite the thrill of dangerous sexuality, the stronger the sacramental cosmic confirmation of identity in life and potency. This, then, was the enaction of outcast identity (see 6.224), and these were paradoxical attempts at therapeutic rituals of regeneration of identity in which masculinity was constituted as femininity and vice-versa, and identity was stigmatized to its foundations by nonentity: in deprivation of fundamental intersubjective experience of identity, in anomic loss of objectified identity, in sexual mortification, and alienation from a mythically heterosexual society ambivalent towards homosexual identity. Actors compulsively cruised, parked, patrolled, loitered, lurked and watched at any hour of the day and night, winter and summer, returning day after day, week after week in hope of a sexual partner or incident, driven off only by endless boredom, total solitude or rain, many returning within minutes -- some rooted, fully clothed, to the amphitheatre despite an obviously rising spring or storm tide, until suddenly drenched. Others would intoxicate themselves for disinhibition before turning up. The facility was reportedly listed in an international guidebook on homosexual venues of solicitation and activity. White male prostitutes from as far afield as the Transvaal had first heard of it there, and made for it on arrival in Cape Town. Solitary, masculine young coloured men, strolling or sitting regularly along the promenade, reported that they would be solicited by white homosexuals; some attended solely to amuse themselves politically and sexually by attracting and rebuffing advances. Solitary older white men would be solicited by male prostitutes. I questioned nine respectable heterosexual adult male residents of the suburb who used the beachfront for recreation. All avoided the amenity, construing it a disreputable homosexual haven. It -- and increasingly the vicinity -- acquired a stigmatized reputation, which became more and more publicly explicit as the subordinate stigmatized the dominant with increasing rampancy, and public social control eroded throughout the country in 1990 during manifold public revolutionary attack on white domination, white

reaction, competition between the subordinate, and the exploitation of anomie by disreputables, delinquents and outcasts of all folk communities and both sexes. Late in August the top landing of the steps from promenade to beach was marked with a graffito, "Bunny Land" (bunny: South African English slang for a masculine male homosexual who solicits other males for sex). Any solitary adolescent or adult male, even apparently respectable and heterosexual, on his own in the vicinity, even merely walking past on the promenade, might be loudly jeered by one or more coloured or white delinquents when there were only a few passersby. The violent terms of mortification were formulaic: "Your cunt! Are you looking for a cock up your arse?"; "Later I'm going to shove my cock up your arse!"; "What's it like to have a cock up your arse?" (translation). Among Capetonian coloureds the suburb itself, long envied and resented as an exclusively white enclave of idyllic wealth and luxury, began to be mythified rampantly as a haven of homosexual decadence and corruption characteristic of middle-class and elite White male identity, construed as submitting inexorably to dominance by Black male identity. The crime rate there rose extensively and there was a marked influx of people of colour and the working-class enacting all intracommunal identities and seeking the exploitation of the suburb's construed opportunities in their terms of choice. On the last day of August, a Friday, four burly young adult middle-class Afrikaners in scrupulously pressed, conservative leisure wear entered the facility, got slightly drunk on beer and spirits, lorded menacingly over the place and its six other patrons (four coloured, two white) in a manner proposing that Afrikaners violently dominated the land and its peoples, and loudly mocked all others present as homosexual, a proposal for which there was not the slightest evidence. Instead, it was they who jokingly grabbed each others' genitals, and one, when urinating, dropped his trousers and wiggled his bare buttocks at the patrons. Eventually a drunken coloured male prostitute protested at their taunts, and they attempted to rob him of an unbreached, imported bottle of wine, their charter being that it was too expensive to have been lawfully acquired by its possessor (who had in fact bought it) and was too good for coloureds (translation). He snatched his treasured wine and fled, leaving some of his clothing behind, and I summoned three armed coloured patrolmen (including a sergeant even more burly than the offenders) who briskly ordered them to leave. They were clearly shocked at the humiliation; departed, muttering piously that they were victims of racism (translation); and

as they passed the beach, vented their frustration on a middle-aged black woman sitting there: "fucking kaffir menial-woman!" (translation). As the patrolmen and I left, I remarked that the offenders would not tolerate their dishonour and would return for vengeance. The myth of anomie at the facility had become rampant, and the stigma assigned to association with it and its environs had become a political weapon and a caricature of the reality. Yet most of the protagonists in homosexual activity were not in pursuit of orgasm; only a very small proportion achieved it, and many did not even try. Of the regulars hopefully awaiting a sexual incident in cloudy weather or at night, including those who merely watched, all were middle-aged, elderly, obese, effeminate, eccentric or apparently alcoholic, and colourless or shallow in self-presentation. Those whom I engaged in discussion were markedly unindividualistic, evidently with desolate private lives, their discourse wholly mythopoeic. The prostitutes, most of them bisexual, tended to be similarly resourceless. However, a group of vagrant homosexual coloured prostitutes, with the religious percipience of outcasts (see 6.224), humorously mythified the facility as "the church" (translation) in which the suppliant must **buk vir sy geluk** (bend for his fortune; disreputable lex; rhyming; applies to any physical subordination by a needy suppliant for reward, such as labouring work, but especially prostitution and particularly homosexual submission). For under its cosmic vault on the limen, "the church" contained the ritual arena in which the suppliant dramatically submitted in sacramental union with the enthralled, grimly ecstatic male communitas, there in agony for salvation; the ambiguity of the very existence of their identity ritually resolved even as it was regenerated in subjectified sacrament paradoxically constituted as objectified stigma. This was a drama of nonentity and nullity, of redemption in redamnation and vice-versa. Least of all did they appear to have considered that their anomic field had acquired political significance and become a microcosmic battlefield. Early in the afternoon of Sunday the 2nd September, exactly a dozen places along the wall and footing bore abundant, flaunted testimony to ejaculation, absent the previous afternoon. Nocturnal homosexual patrons and prostitutes tended to gather especially in the early hours of Sunday mornings; the night had been the warmest since autumn; the rites of spring had begun with a vengeance. But semen was not the only human fluid in fresh evidence. A corner of the arena was littered with flattened cigarette butts, and on its perimeter a small area of the

footing and deck was spattered with congealing blood. All things considered (such as the patient immobility of homosexual actors while loitering, the restlessness of violent predators, their loitering apart from their prey, the absence of shards of glass accounting for a wound, and the situation of the bloodstains in shade during the morning), this evidence suggested that during the night two or more predators had loitered there for hours, and had eventually pounced on a patron who had lingered too late and found himself alone with them. Yet a higher judgment was nigh: within a week a greybeard Afrikaner prophet began to visit on sunny afternoons, clad in khaki and boots, two large, luminescent, reversible evangelical posters slung from his neck, a little kitbag of books in hand. He would seat himself ecclesiastically atop the sea end of the wall, display each side of each poster in turn for about five minutes while dramatically shielding his eyes from the abomination on the deck, take out a liturgical book, pray silently, and replace it with a dilapidated Bible bespeaking his saintliness; whence, opening instantly at Leviticus 18, he would thunder through all thirty-one verses execrating the "uncovering of nakedness" (translation) in incest, menstruation, adultery, homosexuality and bestiality (as well as participation in alien sexual rituals) and warning of the dire consequences thereof, while the damned congregation (all homosexual and disreputable) now pointedly dozed, oiled themselves, giggled or grumbled. This was a sacred place of chaos, in which any Cultural rule was liable to be enacted, suspended or violated, paradoxically or otherwise; and he was mad and histrionic, with an evangelist's presumptuousness, an outcast's preference for impersonal encounter in public places, and a schizophrenic preoccupation with polymorphous sexuality and repressive guilt. In their usual tolerance of anomie the patrons did nothing even after he had begun daily to harangue them from a metre or two away on the deck, until the patrolmen removed him as he heaped abuse on them as well. He too had been displaying his penetrative religio-political potency, simultaneously to stigmatize and sanctify, mortify and serve males. On a mid-November Friday a middle-aged, middle-class, obese, bisexual black spent the afternoon there with a statuesque coloured male prostitute in tow. The nude pair drank beer after beer together, while the black became steadily more voluble, displaying his general knowledge, holding forth patronisingly on an academic textbook being read by a white patron, and the anticipated ill manners of two adolescent coloured vagrants sitting quietly nearby, whom he admonished

to keep the place clean since whites blamed "the kaffirs" for everything. One vagrant grumbled softly to the other: "His cunt! He's not my nation" (translation). I had seated myself between the two pairs, given vagrants and prostitute cigarettes on request and chatted with them, but went to sit on the other side of the deck to escape the volubility. The prostitute came over to me, struck up conversation, joked about his exploitation of his client's interest in him, and asked where I lived, whether I had a car, of what make, and when I was leaving. He had apparently concluded that a middle-class white would be more lucrative and prestigious. I declined and was drawn into discussion by the only other coloured present, a middle-class professional who wanted conversation about his creative educational work and travels overseas. The prostitute returned to his client, demanded another beer and suntan lotion and teasingly displayed his body. The client pawed him, lay fingering his own genitals, instructed him that they would be sleeping together that night, got dressed, airily scattered his beer cans and carrier bag, and wandered around the deck, trying to command deferential attention with loud comments to the company, enacting his proposal that he represented blacks henceforth dominating the land and its peoples. He sat down nearby me, listened in, found no opening, got up, wandered around again, returned and interrupted the conversation, demanding to know what I thought of "the new South Africa" (i.e., post-apartheid). I ignored him. "Ja", he went on, "you like to be near the coloureds but you stay away from the kaffirs". All the interaction was thus proposed wholly in intercommunal terms, in which he resented that the prostitute had preferred a white client to black, that the coloureds had welcomed white company and not black, and that I, the only white to converse with anyone of colour, had confined myself to coloureds and engaged in discourse over his head. Having now stigmatized all, particularly himself, he stalked out, followed gamely by the prostitute. A week later I entered, to find him standing sourly in front of me, fingering his penis and with an instant shot ready: "I thought you'd left the country. You don't like the kaffirs, only the coloureds". For the following three weeks he repeatedly returned alone to stage similar performances until, finding myself and white patrons endlessly intruded upon and taunted as he paraded around, tugging and waving his genitals, I asked the patrolmen to warn him to stop making a nuisance of himself. Apparently this was done, and a respectable white informant reported that the following day he delivered an impassioned speech on freedom

which was generally received as reasonable, whereafter his parades and taunts began to subside. However, as more heterosexual coloureds and blacks now began to use the facility in groups the elderly white regulars evinced increasing unease and distaste, complained to each other of the local authority's neglect of it, and harked back to the Golden Age, two decades previously, when it had been solely white, and putatively heterosexual and respectable. Their childlike revelling in nudity made it evident that they too construed themselves stigmatized and redeemed, in the sexual inertia of old age. Thereafter conditions became increasingly chaotic. On the 31st January two drunken, effeminate members of the group of homosexual vagrants, who had been driven off the promenade and beach by the patrolmen after they had attempted to dominate it and exploit and then harass me during the spring, returned and pursued me in an attempt to re-establish their dominance, publicly shrieking that they were male prostitutes -- professional -- that they had "been with" me many years previously, that in 1983 I had forced a now dead friend of theirs to submit to sexual penetration by my now certainly dead dog (which had in fact been female), and that this was "the new South Africa" (see 6.224 on simulated tantrums by outcasts). The following week one passed me, gloating, "Lovely! Messy!", seated himself opposite and stared at me while I smiled and then ignored him until boredom and mortification set in and he wandered off disconsolately -- to discover that the other had meanwhile been locked up by the patrolmen for prancing raucously down the promenade, drunk in his underpants with his clothes piled on his head. On the 1st February the government announced the coming repeal of all remaining apartheid legislation, shaking the very foundations of the societal order in South Africa since European settlement. After public incredulity for nearly a week, the promenade was explored, at first mainly at night, by a wide variety of disreputables, delinquents and outcasts. On the 6th February a middle-aged, Jewish homosexual male went to frequent the facility at night and solicit delinquent young men was found naked, bludgeoned and stabbed to death in his flat in the suburb, the second white male homosexual there to die thus in two months, the fourth in four months in Greater Cape Town, and (by my count), the thirteenth since such murders began in 1984 (as well as one elite coloured victim). Early the following evening several police cars whizzed past with lights flashing and sirens blaring on their way to an armed robbery by a white male at a nearby restaurant. Just before midnight the patrolmen (who were being deployed in force)

encountered a middle-aged, obese, schizophrenic Afrikaner female, who had been frequenting the beach above the facility for five weeks in quest of men, in one of the copses, copulating fore and aft with two coloured Rastafarians. The sweltering afternoon thereafter (the final day of fieldwork at the facility for this thesis), as a pall of smoke from a large mountain fire blanketed the suburb, the city and much of the Peninsula, causing the evacuation of homes, the closure of office blocks, long traffic jams aggravated by a strike by bus drivers, and a heated debate in Parliament about whether members might remove their jackets, I encountered four nude white homosexuals sitting in a circle at the facility, swigging sparkling wine from a bottle and festooning each others' genitals with cubes from an ice bucket. For the rest of the afternoon sirens wailed every few minutes in the distance as fire-engines and ambulances bearing firemen overcome by smoke and heat raced back and forth. By evening the blaze was extinguished and the wind had driven the smoke out to sea. After a glowering sunset a group of five working-class coloured youths arrived on the promenade and sat on a bench opposite the facility. Two strummed guitars, one rapped with a furled newspaper, another crooned and the youngest glowed with pride as they gave honeyed jazz to passersby for an hour, tenderly offering therapy, sanity. I remembered the musicians, all musicians hounded away for generations. Most of the whites smiled; everyone else appeared uncertain and suspicious except for three working-class coloured delinquent youths who, to the musicians' masked dismay, joined them, one undoing his belt and the top of his fly and dancing suggestively to the music. After half an hour these left. The musicians remained anxious that the affluent whites might take offence, and though I evinced obvious contentment while lounging opposite, they experimented with cold glances at me and sardonic hints to each other about the presence of a **private** (plainclothes detective; English; respectable lex). Once more I had been appointed a representative of dominative white middle-class male identity. I sat down on the edge of the bench, offered them cigarettes and (in their dialect) told the lead guitarist accurately that they were playing with talent and love. He grew radiant, exclaiming joyfully that all in his family were like that, blurting that I made him feel good. They asked what I would like to hear. They heard that their taste was mine, and the choice theirs. There was more music. The liminal breeze swirled, alternately warm and chill. Mist billowed orange in the glow over the deserted amphitheatre. We left. To each, in stigma on the limen, his

sacrament.

(That night, more than thirty thousand policemen, soldiers and traffic officers carried out a national crime-prevention operation, arresting nearly two hundred people in and around the city. [On this and the fire, see the Cape Times: 9.2.91: pp. 1-3].)

Rarely, the construal of anomic liberty on the intercommunal limen is explicit:

Case Example 9

An unmarried Muslim painter in his early thirties, with an airy manner and tendencies to gossip and sneer, was painting my home and struck up conversation. He soon discovered that I had connections with his community, spoke its dialect and appeared to be living alone. He speculated and fished. Did I know "Moegsien", a strikingly handsome man of his age? He supplied additional detail and it turned out that I did. Did I know that Moegsien was homosexual? I did not. Well, this was a few years back. Moegsien had been going out with his sister. One day Moegsien invited him to go for a drive and they parked in an isolated spot. Moegsien was a bit drunk and suddenly mumbled, "Yes, I like it any way". The astonished but intrigued painter asked whether he was a "bunny". Moegsien repeated his hint. "I said to him, 'prove to me that you're a bunny', and took out my cock. He sucked. Then I screwed him. I've never told anyone before, but I can tell you because you don't belong to our community" (translation). (Thus the objective charter. Subjectively his gossip was frivolous and he did not care that I was sufficiently connected with his community to know a randomly selected mutual acquaintance and carry the story back and stigmatize both parties.)

In the anomic field between subordinate and dominant, politely volunteered confidences of paradoxical honour in disreputability were by no means uncommon. Countless informants, both strangers and acquaintances, casually, proudly disclosed drug-taking, drunkenness or bisexuality as interesting hobbies or careers affording individual identity.

Case Example 10

A group of several young adult women and men, as well as two small children, were sitting on the beach. One man was a short distance away, tending a barbecue. I strolled past with my dog and struck up a casual conversation with him. Another male in the group, obviously an

effeminate homosexual, came up and conversed briefly with my companion, and then returned to the group. I asked whether he was a friend of my companion's. "Oh yes, I like them, you know. They don't give you trouble, like women do. But I've had intercourse with him only once" (translation). My informant was sober and showed no signs of disorientation, nor was he obviously homosexual, delinquent or even disreputable. He was merely making polite conversation, and when I moved on shortly afterwards he cheerfully resumed his attention to the barbecue. (The charter is optional. Others with sexual experience of effeminate homosexuals mythically represent them as more troublesome than women in possessiveness, and in vengefulness when dropped.)

Case Example 11

Similarly a white female academic doing research in a working-class coloured community, a spinster known for her strict religious observance, and befriended by a young couple, reported to me with astonishment that the husband had casually volunteered to her that he had had considerable sexual experience with effeminate homosexuals -- which he subsequently volunteered to me as well. (The use of informants' actual names in her study makes it necessary to preserve his anonymity here by not identifying her, the date or her work.)

The speaker assumes that his stigmatized Nature and Culture are assumed by the solitary middle-class white stranger; this is, after all, the cosmically ordained social order framing the encounter; in middle-class and respectable working-class terms he is *kaalgat*, but in working-class disreputable terms he is honourable, a Naturally potent, adventurous man of diverse experience; and within this frame he confessionally presents interesting, objectively real markers of his identity, his career as a vital man of the world.

As long as homosexual activity is merely disreputable, then, and insofar as it is construed as a casual bisexual option and not an irrepressible confirmation of homosexual identity, it is as honourable to a large proportion of delinquents and a somewhat lesser proportion of disreputables as any other enactment of disreputability. Only from the thirties on does it become rejected as contrary to the respectability of a family man with growing children. Some disreputable unattached men continue in it well into middle age.

The risk of taunting and gossip about homosexuality is high, since

sexuality is a very frequent topic of discussion, and taunting about lack of manhood and joking about homosexual activity is a daily form of peer group discourse, but disclosures such as the above will never be thrown up in a peer's face if he is respected as an equal. Men who scrupulously guard their honour, however, will not divulge such experiences except perhaps to a close friend.

Homosexual group rape may also be employed by delinquents to punish by dishonour a traitor to the gang, just as anal rape of one's girlfriend, alone or with a male peer included for the purpose, may be employed to punish her by dishonour for arrogance or infidelity. The victim, male or female, is then said to have been made a **spy** (a contemptible, furtive, outcast creature; delinquent disreputable lex), a term also applied to anyone treated or behaving as a despicable fool.

All these activities are chartered by myths of victimization, either by Nature, or Culture (the imposed necessity of revenge to restore one's impugned honour). Rationalized thus, these bisexual forms of homosexuality are construed as essentially no different to disreputable heterosexual activity. "A hole is a hole" is a myth grandiose in its Natural flaunting of omnipotent contempt for every Cultural marker of identity and indeed Culture and identity themselves. However, subscription to the myth is by no means universal among male disreputables. Many dismiss it as "shit" (translation). The following example is ambivalent:

Case Example 12

"A hole is not a hole", joked a heavily tattooed young adult married labourer to his workmates and me. "The one is a hole, the other is a ,gat'!" (middle-class Afrikaans slang for anus, connoting the owner's mortification, the code-switching signifying Natural, earthy vulgarity). He went on to explain that he disdained homosexual anal copulation. On the other hand -- gleefully plunging into self-contradiction -- heterosexual anal copulation was exotically exciting. The point was that he was a man of heterosexuality: he already had six children. Equally, there seemed little doubt that he had had bisexual experience.

Among male disreputables, women are to be manipulated, exploited, mocked and otherwise ignored, with the mythic exception of one's mother, whose dignity personifies the honour of her family and her son's manhood, but in actuality is politely and pointedly ignored in her attempts to persuade her wayward son to **regse**. For the rest, women are mythified as envious,

domineering but ineffectual creatures to be manipulated, used, despoiled and humiliated. A male who shows signs of personal attachment to a female or allows her to dictate to him is an object of derision and taunting. Equally, an **ou** is expected to pursue women promiscuously, and to flaunt sexual experimentation and mischievous devilment, such as group copulation (whether couples together or between two and twenty-odd men lining up for one female in a **[tournament] squad** [disreputable lex]) or the imposition of a variety of sexual techniques and positions on an excited or unwilling partner, sometimes in public locales, such as surreptitious copulation hidden by a coat during a **blues** (slow, intimate dance; respectable lex) under dim lights at a public dance, or sexual assault of an adjacent young woman in the crush of an overcrowded commuter train. A self-respecting **ou** is expected to cheat his woman regularly and boast of his daring and accomplishments in detail to his male friends. Delinquents commonly hate and mistrust women as ecstatically desirable for sex but treacherous and vindictive in love. Thus while a vagina may humorously be termed **honeygold** (i.e., a sweet and precious acquisition; from the name of a brand of cheap wine; disreputable lex), women as persons are mythified as **poison** (delinquent lex and tattoo inscriptions) and generically as a **devil** (delinquent/disreputable lex and tattoo inscriptions).

These characterizations are of course all mythic, and if an **ou** values his relationship with his woman greatly he must take care to conceal disreputable sexual activities. The prevalence of gossip makes this extremely difficult in the long run if he lacks a car to escape the neighbourhood, attract girls and afford seclusion for sex. Moreover, many disreputable boyfriends and husbands deliberately drop hints to their spouses of their infidelity to indicate their contemptuous defiance of control by women. Perhaps the majority of those who remain disreputable or delinquent in adulthood maintain intermittent and alternating associations with several women, apart from casual conquests. Even so, very many steady girlfriends and wives reported to me that during moments of peaceful intimacy such men seriously enquire whether they are loved, and show every sign of attachment, usually recognized by the women as infantile in its dependence, passivity and querulousness. Some men who are happily monogamous lie to their peers that they are adulterous to maintain their masculine reputation. Indeed, if one has a disreputable reputation to maintain among peers, such claims are obligatory.

Friendship groups are usually segregated by gender, each forming a protective conspiracy against the other gender. Since wives and steady

girlfriends tend to be far more housebound when not at work than the males -- unless they are themselves delinquent -- they remain ignorant of much of the men's more disreputable enactments of sexuality. Perhaps the majority even of confirmed male delinquents -- especially after the age of about thirty -- attempt to preserve a field of respectability in their relationship with their spouses and children, and most appear to settle increasingly into sexual fidelity from their late thirties on, except when away from home for more than a week or two.

On the other hand a considerable proportion of delinquents who remain confirmed bachelors into their thirties continue to drift from one disreputable or delinquent woman to another. Such highly aggressive couples tend to stay together only until an orgiastic romance of sex, liquor and drugs palls. All their interaction tends to be severely stigmatized and stigmatizing: for instance many delinquent women mythically claim to prefer a member of the 28 prison gang as a lover, because his homosexual experience in dominant anal copulation signifies his capacity for unbridled, exotic sexual performance. Such sexual relationships appear to constitute the solidary, grandiose flaunting of erotogenic symbiosis in stigmatized Nature as capital (compare with the disreputable public erotic flaunting of adolescent *communitas*), an exclusive, luxuriant, inexhaustible source of gratificatory wealth amidst manifold material and psychocultural bankruptcy, which is eventually destroyed by escalating episodes of violence alternating with the sexuality (Stone [1987d]).

Adolescents who subjectively impute disreputability to themselves refer to their parents as **my public** (first word Afrikaans; disreputable/respectable lex) or **die public by die joint** (the public at home; **joint**: disreputable/respectable lex). **Die public** can also refer to neighbours or bystanders. It essentially describes respectable adults who morally observe and judge one's self-presentation. It is another example of the condensation of the private and the public, and the externalizing displacement of the former on to the latter. Essentially it denies objectification to the private and the personal as well as to guilt, which is reconstituted as shame and can therefore be more easily disavowed by honourable identification with peers and generation.

The converse is manifested in usage of the terms **jou ma** (your mother/mum) and **jou pa** (your father/dad; both disreputable lex). These are used derisively and scornfully to characterize the antics of any adolescent or

adult who takes herself or himself seriously:

Case Example 13

Excerpt: Ek skaaf teenaan haar. Jou ma raak highly, wat praat djy!
(I rub against her. Your mother gets highly [keen], what are you talking about!)

Case Example 14

Excerpt: Ek sê toe vir hom ek het 'ie die geld 'ie. Hyy, jou pa wil niks wiet 'ie. (So I say to him that I haven't got the money. Hey, your father doesn't want to know.)

Cynicism and contempt are signified for mythic parental identity as such: in the consensual consciousness of the grandiose disreputable/delinquent male peer group it goes without saying that parents are sexually disreputable fools and has-beens. They have no moral claim on one; if they have any effectual authority it is scorned. This identity is conferred equally on anyone for whom one has contempt, who does not understand one, who has something that one wants or makes claims on one, and responds with self-interest to one's manipulations. In this instance it is non-parents who are equated with parents, but again the characterization is alienative, impersonal and generalized, and manifests the solidary consciousness of disreputable masculinity. This characterization differs fundamentally from that of the **public** only insofar as it is inherently cynical and derisive, whereas the **public** have claims which must in principle be taken seriously. Thus **jou ma** and **jou pa** are never used in reference to one's own parents, who must be mythically referred to with respect, at least in principle. They are essentially a displacement from one's own parents of the myth of the corruption and hypocrisy of the respectable.

Fundamental to all the constructions described in this section is the condensation of private and public identities and of formality and informality. For instance, whereas **pa** and **ma** mean "dad" and "mum" in middle-class Afrikaans, they respectively mean both "father" and "dad", and "mother" and "mum" in respectable working-class Afrikaans. The middle-class terms are never used except in selfconsciously formal discourse with middle-class whites, which always appears strenuous for the working-class participant. Similarly the double handshake simultaneously signifies both formality and the intimacy of oppositional communitas, connoting working-class and/or Third World membership.

Adolescents who pursue a disreputable identity may have their upper incisor

teeth removed, the consequent appearance being termed **hasbek** (rabbit-mouth; i.e., tending to munch; disreputable/respectable lex) or **passion gap** (respectable/disreputable lex). This is said to symbolize readiness to engage in "French kissing and other things", the hint alluding to fellatio by females, cunnilingus by males, and generally the more mobile erotic deployment of the tongue, especially in stimulating erogenous zones other than the mouth. Thus it mythically symbolizes the readiness of the bearer to engage freely in disreputable sexuality without personal involvement, but is not construed a sign of substantive sluttishness in females, nor is it assumed that such a female will indeed engage in fellatio or even promiscuous sex -- or is even no longer a virgin. It is another example of the ambiguity and optionality of the disreputable identity. After a year or two, many bearers fit dentures, partly because the dental gap soon leads to the premature formation of naso-labial folds giving the appearance of early ageing, partly because the continuing absence of dentures implies poverty and lasting disreputability. The practice appears to be becoming less common, and replaced (between 1985 and 1991) by the wearing of one earring on each or both ears (or two on one) or a bangle on an ankle; i.e., adorning instead of spoiling identity, and also indicating the possession of financial capital to purchase the ornament. (Compare below with the replacement of the wear of no underpants with the simultaneous wear of two pairs in contrasting fashions.) The wear of earrings and bangles both appear to originate overseas and be transmitted by local whites as signs that the wearer is a prostitute or promiscuous homosexual, i.e., more generally as sexually available and disreputably unconventional.

Nicknames are commonly conferred on individuals during childhood -- mostly males, but many females as well. Most are conferred by peers, but some by one or both parents. Nicknames in the first instance repudiate formality and anonymity, domesticating and individualizing the bearer as a peer in the stigmatized communitas. They are not conferred on, or by the scrupulously respectable, and only infrequently on respected peers with dignified demeanour. Since there is an element of whimsy in the conferral, some individuals eligible in terms of these rules simply never acquire them. Some nicknames allude to an individual's admired ability: a keen young soccer player may be given the nickname of his adult idol. Others abbreviate forenames. This is extremely common with Muslim forenames, many of which are usually abbreviated to one or two phonemes: for instance, Abubakar always becomes "Abu", "Bubi" or "Ka"; Abduragiem usually becomes "Giem" or "Giempie"; Ebrahim or Ibrahim usually becomes "Ibi", "Braum", "Braimpie" or sometimes "Brian"; Igsaan usually becomes "Saan"; Isgak

usually becomes "Gakkie"; Moegamat often becomes "Gamat"; Riedewaan usually becomes "Waanie"; Sedick often becomes "Dickie"; and Yusuf usually becomes "Yusie" or "Yu". (Female forenames as well: Mareldia becomes "Marel", Zainuniesa becomes "Zainu", etc.) A non-Muslim forename may be also be played with: Basil can become "Babes", Gerald can become "G" and "G-Boy", Richard can become "Ree", Walter often becomes "Wakes", sometimes "WallyWakes". The alliterative association can be more tenuous: Allan can become "Ertjie" ("Pea"): Patrick can become "Piel" ("Cock", i.e., penis). Others may allude to an amusing incident: one boy was repeatedly called "Skullers" (the name of a brand of ginger beer) by the local village idiot. This amused the bearer's peers, and the name stuck.

However, most non-Muslim nicknames reflect an element of stigmatization, mockery and disreputability. Among the more disreputable and delinquent, many nicknames are obscene and refer to genitals, appendages, orifices, excretions, or a particular characteristic of the bearer's identity (usually his body) which is mocked as hilariously unusual, ugly or grotesque: the most common example is "Kaffir" for a negroid boy or girl; a cripple may be called "Tammang" ("mank": crippled); a boy with a chronically runny nose may be called "Snotty"; one with large buttocks, "Holle" (Buttocks); a tall boy, "Lange" (Tall [one]); one reputed to have a large penis, "Piel(e)(man)" (Cock[s][man]); etc. Disreputable and delinquent parents may give their children stigmatizing nicknames: one boy's mother nicknamed him "Bal" (cock, i.e., penis; disreputable lex) from infancy; a girl's mother nicknamed her "Lang Toet" (long vulva; toet: vulva; literally: hoot (referring to the noisy emission of air that can be occasioned by copulation); respectable/disreputable lex). A boy who was reputed to land regularly in trouble was called "Bad Lok" ("Unfortunate", also implying the effect of a witchcraft curse and a consequently bad-tempered disposition contagiously infecting others with both ill temper and ill fortune; literally: bad luck; disreputable/respectable lex). The consequence of such a disposition is that one tends to *dja geluk weg* (be one's own worst enemy; literally: chase good fortune away; respectable lex).

Unless grossly obscene, nicknames usually stick for life among age-set peer groups. But parents tend to use a nickname for their son only if they have conferred it. Otherwise they use the forename (which is consistent with their characterization as the **public**). Only disreputable or delinquent wives address husbands by their disreputable nicknames. Children never use the disreputable nicknames of their parents' friends.

Congruent with the stigmatizing and domesticating purposes of nicknaming is the phonetic and semantic relexicalization of the standard Afrikaans verb, "to call" (i.e., to name, in appellation: he is called John) as the standard Afrikaans verb for "shout" or "scream": "Hulle **skree** hom John" (literally: they shout him John; respectable/disreputable lex). Clearly, both standard Afrikaans items are condensed, and constitute a displacement from the English "call". Indeed, the latter is used as a code-switching option in respectable lexis, but the middle-class Afrikaans "noem" is never used. This construction of appellation, playfully founded on the use of shouting to mortify a respondent, is congruent with nicknaming as an attempt to elicit embarrassment and mock the formal name of the person addressed, thereby informalizing and domesticating his identity in the *communitas* to preclude any grandiose pretension to middle-class formality. The construction, with its connotations of mortification and violence to identity, is also congruent with the usage *hom* cited above. Indeed, the mortification of already suffering individuals is extremely common. Insult is gleefully heaped on injury, and a person, even a small child who accidentally hurts himself, even very painfully, may be greeted with sadistic excitement, cackles of derision and taunting. Similarly a common adult male ritual at the beach is suddenly to plunge a small, terrified child up to its neck in cold, rough surf, laugh uproariously, hug it and playfully mock its shrieks and shivers.

Disreputable adult mortification of children between six months of age and puberty is chartered by a myth that "children have no feelings" (translation), i.e., no self-restraint by shame, guilt or even the memory of previous pain or fear. Boys especially are mythified as incorrigibly irresponsible, mischievous, troublesome, exploitative and indifferent to, or rebellious against adult authority unless it is physically enforced at the time. "You do not feel until you get hurt!" (translation), one highly sadistic mother would shout at her son when she regularly laid about his head with a broomstick which left scars. Short of gross physical neglect and lethal cruelty one is therefore licensed to treat children as one likes, and especially without inhibition of one's feelings or reflection on what one is doing. The children of disreputables are socially inconsequential. From early infancy no concessions are made to them except as an indulgence, and they may be freely used as recipients of one's frustrations, to be obscenely cursed and sworn at without restraint. To mortify them with obscene nicknames, humiliate and frighten them are no more than idle jokes. Indeed it is good for them to learn their place in

society, community and family, and be brought up tough. (But that place is changing. Since the 1970s childhood socialization practices and their mythic charters, except among the more impoverished, are becoming less disreputable and more respectable, although not rigorously so. Children are becoming more valued as assets to the family -- especially in the presentation and pursuit of upward mobility -- and some, indeed, loved as individuals in their own right.)

Mordant ritual taunting (to **gwara** or **pick**) constitutes a large proportion of disreputable and delinquent male adolescent and young adult peer-group discourse, punctuating and alternating with the detailed, incessant gossip that formulates, reviews and updates the identities of virtually everyone known to the discussants. Taunting is framed by the religio-political terms of humour: the mortification of Culturally pretentious individuals by their own uncontrollable Natural disreputability. The terms of taunting include all the disreputable terms of nicknaming, as well as the slippage of the mask of respectability when uncontrollable greed, lust, alimentary processes, anxiety, embarrassment, etc. are exposed.

Limited violations of ideal norms of respectability are not regarded as detracting from one's respectability, provided that they can be presented as offences of impulse and not premeditation, that others are not seriously harmed nor their honour gravely impugned, and that the offence is followed by resumed adherence to the norm. A male victim of such offence is expected to display moderation and maturity in his reaction, and restitution is not required. Females are expected to become spiteful and abusive, but equally to recover their composure and restore harmony. A widely anomic range of personal idiosyncrasies may be tolerated among those whose respectability is optional rather than confirmed.

Case Example 15

An impoverished working-class mother with an alcoholic husband reared all her six children to be respectable/disreputable and upwardly mobile except for two delinquent sons, one nineteen, the other twenty-eight, professional thieves and burglars, who are prone to steal any saleable possession left lying around by their siblings, and raid the homes of neighbours. Mother protects them militantly, to the extent of giving one son money to return his stepfather's watch found on him despite his vehement denials. Although the pair frequently go out on nocturnal forays and return with a wide variety of relatively small items -- on one occasion, a blustering primus stove complete with lidded saucepan,

wherein a simmering chicken (this reported to me with hilarity by an otherwise outraged sibling) -- the neighbours have never seriously pressed criminal charges, which would be most unneighbourly to "Aunt Stienie", who is having such a hard life, is always friendly and generous, and always makes an (initial) effort at reparation. The offence is construed as more against the right to respectable honour than the right to property. The latter is not strongly valued among the very poor: to be honourably poor is to value membership of the family and *communitas* above material possessions. Both sons steal mainly to fund their addiction to cannabis and methaqualone, and are chronically ill and emaciated from it, but occasionally give their mother a few rand. They do not steal from one upwardly mobile and burly brother, a school teacher who has nicknamed them "the klepto's" and has vowed to thrash and send them to prison if they touch his possessions when he visits.

Play and agony are evident in this farce, which continued for several years, but equally it reflects the consciousness and reality that anomie is optionally culturally normative among the more disreputable and impoverished, who accept a range of personal eccentricity and antisociality limited only by equally optional individual intolerance. The murderer or rapist of a relative, even of a child, may be accepted back into such a demoralized household, whose resources are told primarily in terms of the numbers of its members, even including psychotics and the mentally retarded, to banish the gnawing fear of destitution, isolation and outcastness. The first rule is preservation of domestic numbers as capital in *communitas*; thereafter, optionality. The laying or at least pursuit of a criminal charge may optionally be construed a betrayal of solidarity among the subordinate. However, many other options, such as personal honour or practical deterrence, may be accorded higher priority, temporarily or otherwise.

Delinquents are disreputable, but there is a disreputable identity which is differentiated from the delinquent, repudiates confirmation in the delinquent (but engages in delinquency as a masquerade, flirtation or option) and values itself as more positive and hierarchically superior. The in-group term for such a disreputable adolescent or young adult working-class male is an **outie** (first phoneme Eng., second, Afr.; from outlaw; disreputable lex): impoverished, tough, rough, unpretentious and authentically masculine, working-class-coloured (and thus different to the Transvaal white version of **outie**, which includes white vagrants). Thus

outie relexicalizes mere disreputability as heroically rebellious banditry and retains the option of delinquent manhood without consequentiality. The identity of **outie** subsumes that of **ou roeker** but is not equivalent to it. Thus every **ou roeker** is an **outie**, but most **outies** are explicitly not **ou roekers** but merely disreputable: masculine toughness demands readiness to flirt with delinquency and compete with delinquents for masculine prestige, but relative self-respect, sense and judgment may advise that serious delinquency "doesn't pay" (translation) and is "junk". **Outie** is thus an extended collective identity, and **ou roeker** is a focussed communal identity (see 6.223).

Prior to 1970 **outies** and **ou roekers** were distinguished by their delinquent or quasi-delinquent uniform: exceptionally low-slung trousers (**hanggat** [hang-arse; disreputable lex]), often revealing buttocks and pubic hair, conspicuous back-pocket flaps, always tailored bespoke; highly polished and pointed leather shoes (preferably Italian), or open-toed sandals or white sandshoes (plimsolls) for leisure wear, with the top clothes variable depending on whether the wearer was dressed for leisure or relative formality. The trousers might form part of a suit. Accompanying this was an expensive **fiedor** (fedora hat; disreputable lex) which was treasured and carefully preserved. Denim jeans might also be altered to be worn **hanggat**, and underpants or bathing costume would be worn similarly.

More casual or rougher wear would include a balaclava and a silk scarf with fringe, often wrapped around the neck and mouth.

These consciously traditional styles became almost entirely confined to middle-aged delinquents and to the peripheral suburbs heavily populated by rural emigrants, such as Elsies River, Belhar, Bellville South and Eerste Rivier, until 1989, when the tradition was revived by adolescent disreputables, with sophisticated reservations, who wore trousers slung on the hips (but not low enough to be fully **hanggat**) with pipes that were wide from crotch to ankle. From the mid-seventies a **Joster** (Johannesburger; disreputable lex) style replaced the above as delinquent uniform integrated increasingly with the disreputable and respectable. This style included the wearing of a casual lumberjacket inside out, label and all (reversing the rule of respectability). Another sign of opposition (to Christian, Western respectability) is the wearing of an **onder-koeffiya** (Muslim lace skull-cap; Java lex) by a Christian, or underpants or shorts **hanggat**. However the pre-1970 uniform is now being increasingly adopted by working-class adolescent and young adult blacks recently immigrant from the country

to the city, apparently filling a communal identity niche during upward mobility by all.

Nevertheless, phallic display of Nature in tough masculine sexual rebellion against primly ordered respectability has continued as a suggestion in the slightly less disreputable style of leaving the belt, waistband and top of the fly open to reveal underclothes. Or the style may be still more subtle: the belt alone may be left undone. Whereas many disreputable and delinquent young men formerly went without underpants, their successors now luxuriate in stylish underpants, wearing two pairs, boxer **mangha** (disreputable lex) shorts over briefs, and, in winter, additional tracksuit or pyjama trousers for warmth under jeans or trousers. There is generally an increasing tendency for disreputables to dress respectably and delinquents to dress disreputably or respectably.

Both optionally continue phallic display by genital clutching, in which the actor walks, stands, sits or lies with one hand clutching his genitals, either inside or outside clothing. When he is not asleep, such display is always accompanied by facial blankness: dissociation, entrancement by Nature, is simulated. The display is unlexicalized and wholly subjectified. I have never heard it mentioned, but have often observed respondents silently glancing at it. It may be used to impress, seduce or mortify females or males, but it is also commonly engaged in when the actor is (non-erotically) excited, anxious or uncertain in an unfamiliar public situation, and restores a sure sense of identity (i.e., the subjective reality of its ready capacity for enaction) by clutching "himself", obtaining and displaying information that the objective indexical signs of Natural integrity, vitality, power and direction in identity are still all present, warm, comforting and uplifting. It is also common during drowsiness or sleep without cover -- especially outdoors -- when identity remains objectively exposed but subjectively dissolves. (Genital clutching also appears common among Levantine working-class disreputable and delinquent male adolescents and young adults.)

During the late 1970s the popularization of Black ideology and especially Caribbean music introduced the **Rasta** (Rastafarian; disreputable lex) identity, which has become established in a small communitas of adolescent and young adult male retreatist bohemians, always alienated from their parents, occupationally unstable, impoverished and heavily dependent on cannabis, usually negroid and slender in build, and tending to a self-presentation of average intelligence or above, rootlessness, gentleness, sensitivity and philosophical introspection. Like the **cat** identity (see

below), the **Rasta** is a local version of a universalist identity and can cross-cut ethno-racial communities, although it is relatively uncommon among whites. The **Rasta** uniform includes **dreads** (dreadlocks, a long, shaggy, drooping mop of plaits; **Rasta** and disreputable/respectable lex) ostensibly to lend fearsomeness; but the identity attracts individuals who construe themselves as outcast, and evangelically preach a non-violent rejection of corrupt white, Western industrialization and capitalism (**Baabylon**; **Rasta** lex), and salvation in a millenarian Black religion which is a syncretic version of Christianity, but has no Christian or other distinctive ritual except the smoking of **ganja** (dagga; **Rasta** and disreputable lex), had no individual founder, rejects the physical hygiene, order, respectability and materialism ideologically inherent in evangelical Christianity, and revolves around reggae music. Since 1989 the uniform has included colourful knitted berets, scarves and beaded necklaces in red, yellow and green, and **Rastas** have publicly demonstrated in solidarity with revolution against white domination. They are characterized by other working-class actors as **wil-'ie-werk-'ie** and can be described as disreputable/respectable.

The identity of **outie** is contrasted by its actors with a third major category, that of the **cat** (disreputable lex; termed a **Beatie** during the decade after the mid-sixties), a sheltered, upwardly-mobile, smart-dressing, dance-loving, working-class adolescent or young adult male or female dissociating him- or herself from **outies** and **ou roekers**, code-switching considerably into English or being English-dominant. The lexis of **cats** tends towards that of working- and middle-class white adolescents, with whom many mix at public dances and in some cases in other leisure activities as well, and with whom they share a highly gregarious and public subculture idealizing modernity, pop music, material display and adult sophistication. A **cat**, then, may be respectable/disreputable or disreputable/respectable, and the ambiguity affords unique opportunities for prestige, pleasure and profit. An **outie** may amuse himself by passing as a **cat** for the exploitation of **cats**, especially for transportation in their cars, accompaniment to private parties, access to higher-prestige and putatively more attractive girls, and opportunities to sample middle-class drugs from the scientific pharmacopeia, which, in exotic admixtures with liquor or softdrinks (beginning with mundane aspirin in mundane Coca-Cola) are construed magical for spiking the drinks of girls to render them rapidly disoriented and defenceless against sexual advance. Thus **outies** (as well as **ou roekers**) commonly use aliases (the Muslims tending to use

Christian forenames), false addresses and occupations, and other masks, often claiming higher prestige than the reality, when out on roguish (disreputable) adventures, as do disreputable **cats**. Some disreputable **cats**, on the other hand, seek the company of **outies** and **ou roekers** for ready access to drugs, easy sex with promiscuous women, and the prestige of association with rebels who do not merely dabble but live dangerously.

From 1986 the **cat** identity began to be replaced by the punk, shared with working-class white adolescents, but the only significant difference from the **cat** seems to be in ostentatiously bizarre style of dress and hair, and the fact that the white style of dress grimly suggests working-class male brutality in the British idiom of punk, whereas the coloured commonly suggests genteel bourgeois affluence masquerading stylishly as disreputable poverty -- la nostalgie de la boue (nostalgia for the mud, homesickness for the gutter; a nineteenth-century term coined by Emile Augier [Oxford Dictionary of Quotations, 2nd ed.: 1953: 21] for "a favorite motif whenever a great many new faces and a lot of new money enter Society" [Wolfe, 1970:38])).

With the summer of late 1988 lexicalization of the **cat** identity became increasingly confined to **outies** masquerading as **cats**, and the identity very rapidly elaborated into over thirty variants on a new theme: the boy who belonged to an all-male peer group which dressed and danced at discotheques (musical nightclubs-cum-dance-halls) in imitation of local or foreign style. Each group constituted a dancing team dressing and performing in unison. Depending on the dance (breakdancing, burn-dancing, boogie, dirty-dancing, derived from American films, video-cassettes and television programmes) each member might also step out to perform a solo turn. Similar groups appeared among females. A middle-class coloured journalist specializing in locally popular culture characterized the male groups to me as "peacocks strutting in sexual display" and reported that working-class coloured adolescents in Cape Town were rapidly developing their own unique amalgam -- bricolage -- of these dances.

The significance of these groups is that each is named, usually after a professional music group or television programme, as a gang in the community, dresses for nearly all occasions (some even to work) in a distinctive uniform associated with the identity, and specializes in the associated music and dance (rap, house and jack, all descended from disco). They are commonly described as "gangs". Although lacking in antisocial activity, they are assertive and competitive for display and dominance in sexual identity, in which style -- the aesthetic signification of Cultural

competence -- is all.

Among the variants in November 1989 (including the females): Bad Boys, Battle Boys, Beastie Boys, Beat Boys, Bee Boys, Boogie Boys, Bronsco Fricks, Cool Boys, Dynamic, Exterminators, Fly Girls, Fuck You Freaks, Futures, Home Boys, Jack Boys, Jack Operators, (Michael) Jacksons, Jet Girls, Le Freak, Le Punk, Moonwalkers, Nasty Girls, Nazi Punks, Ninjas, Pantsula Boys, Punk Rockets, Purple Punks, Rock Punks, Sexy Le Friques, Thunder Cats.

Of these, the **pantsula** (disreputable lex) is borrowed nationally from urban working-class class blacks. Enacted in dress, dance and musical preference it has become increasingly popular among **outies** and **cats** since 1985. Founded on **pantsula** music -- a national urban working-class black disreputable male form -- the dance is strenuous and exhibitionistic, performed mainly by males standing in a ring, each taking his turn in the centre. **Pantsula** uniform include **bumpers** (tackies, sneakers, plimsolls; respectable lex), baggy, tapering trousers worn low on the hips and well above the ankles, woollen or peaked cap and free choice of shirt, jersey or windbreaker. Coloured **pantsula** gear tends to be more expensive and well-kempt than blacks' and often includes one or two earrings on one ear, although this is not confined to the form. (Blacks' uniform optionally require the shirt to hang outside the trousers and many wearers go without socks. The black respectable characterize them as delinquent -- "tsotsi" -- although many are evidently not.) Enthusiasm for the uniform, music and dance might be combined into a cohesive identity style, when the actor is accordingly termed a **pantsula boy**. The coloured variant of **pantsula** reflects an increasing tendency since 1985 for the identities of urban working-class black and urban working-class coloured, and of coloured **outies** and **cats** to converge, and especially for **outies** and **ou roekers** to pass as **cats**, which some of the latter resent, claiming that the **pantsula** identity is thereby indiscriminately stigmatized as delinquent.

Essentially the **cat** identity and its subsequent variants creatively and ambiguously enact masquerade in hierarchically adjacent identities, ranging from middle-class white or black to outcast black. In popular music throughout South Africa since 1985 a comparable, equally creative and energetic phenomenon has been termed "crossover", with whites and blacks, working- and middle-class, adopting each other's musical forms. The alienative barriers are disintegrating, White and Black are integrating, Nature and Culture are reintegrating. Within this new framework, music

construed as traditionally distinctive to Peninsular coloureds, both the working-class Coon Carnival idiom as well as middle-class jazz, is being increasingly accepted and honoured with performance as well as intellectual review in the press. The community is reclaiming its Cultural history, on its own terms.

When disreputability is compulsively driven by Nature, rather than enacted as a controlled, optional indulgence, any option of respectability is eventually eroded to a mask which cannot but slip increasingly, and the ambivalent individual finds an unredeemed disreputable identity imposed, precipitating dishonour. Common disreputable identities are those of **djintoe** (whore; disreputable/respectable lex), **naai(er)** (slut; disreputable lex) among females, and "skelm" (rogue, sly cheat and thief), **winery** (drunkard: disreputable lex), **buttonkop** (methaqualone addict; literally: buttonhead: a Mandrax tablet is termed a **button**; disreputable lex), **stroller** (vagrant: disreputable lex) and "moffie" (cissy, effeminate homosexual male). If such individuals are solitary, however, they tend to be construed as outcast (see 6.224). There is no lexicalization of a category of the very impoverished as such, possibly because poverty implies disreputability and threatens all working-class speakers: "Ons is almal **brynmense**".

The imputation of "moffie", and the insults **jou moer** (std Afr: dam, i.e., mother of an animal; also womb, dugs) **jou ma se moer** (or **jou ma se poes** (your mother's cunt) are the gravest possible taunts to the masculine honour of an **outie** or **ou roeker**, and are very often met with serious physical violence. However, **jou mal antie se moer** (your mad auntie's dugs) is humorous and inconsequential, and **jou mal antie se linker poeslip dra brille** (your mad auntie's left cunt-lip wears spectacles; all disreputable lex) is dismissed as childishly inane in its conferral of Cultural achievement (spectacles signifying education) on Natural disreputability in ridiculous minutiae.

Disreputable lexis is construed as the poor man's (and the coloured man's) only cultural capital, moreover self-created. "Hjurre, Dope, 'is al wat ons het!" (Lord, Dope, it's all we've got!; respectable/disreputable lex), a husband wryly commented to me when his wife expressed irritation with his practice of rolling disreputable terminology expressively off his tongue. **Ou roeker tale** is treasured as a source of endless entertainment, cheer, creativity and identity by both disreputables and delinquents who construe it as their unique invention, possession and cultural wealth, and sometimes discuss it with mirth and fascination, displaying lexical items for their

wit and humour. "Maar **djy** praat **lekker** Afrikaans!" (But you speak nice Afrikaans!; respectable lex) or "goeie Afrikaans" (good Afrikaans) is usually the surprised response of a disreputable or delinquent speaker on hearing me use his vernacular for the first time. Disreputable and delinquent speakers constantly listen for lexical innovation and note it to themselves and each other with much amusement and pleasure. Respectables and middle-class speakers secure in their identity, although not speakers of disreputable and delinquent lexis, commonly evince mild interest, curiosity and entertainment at it.

Insofar as the entire working-class dialect is characterized by speakers as disreputable, some explain this in such terms as "you're lazy; you break the rules of pure Afrikaans and you fuck it up; and you use English to emphasize" (translation). One such informant thought the technical term antilanguage delightfully apt.

Use of disreputable lexis begins with the readiness to use obscene expletives, as Trevor ambivalently indicated in the discourse cited above. The focal concerns covered by the disreputable lexis pertain to various forms of hedonism, deceit, the control, exploitation and humiliation of peers (especially by males of females), the deliberate or whimsical stigmatization of respectability, the repudiation of commitment to family and respectability, the ambivalent flirtation with delinquency, and the quest for all the above in the pleasures of masterful movement or travel repeatedly from one situation or place to another (see 8.11 below).

6.223 Delinquency

The term delinquency is used here to refer to a mythic communal identity, termed the **ou roeker** (old smoker, i.e., one who had rebelliously been smoking cigarettes and perhaps cannabis long before he reached adolescence).

The delinquent identity is the disreputable writ large, stripped of its ambiguity, optionality and ambivalence, and taken to its sadistically rebellious and violently omnipotent conclusion within the social network of the community (beyond which the actor becomes outcast [see 6.224]). It is construed ideally as inhering generally in flaunted honour through inviolable omnipotence, particularly in rebellion against the respectable morality that dictates deprivation and outcastness to the stigmatized; and specifically in the flaunting of claim to omnipotence enacted in depredation and violence to person and property, and in the flaunting of

stigma. In oral myth, graffiti, tattoo and enaction, actors of the identity dramatize and romanticize themselves as heroic criminal warriors, bearers of a tradition of vengeful, triumphant defiance of the violently sanctimonious, deprivatory and exclusive authority of parents, the respectable, the coloured middle class, the dominant white stratum, and the identity style of the Christian West. They are contemptuous of the merely disreputable, who are ineffectual, timid and **phony** (inauthentic; disreputable lex), whereas **ou roekers kyk** their **ding** and **dala** (do the deed, act boldly, consequentially, ruthlessly and remorselessly; delinquent from prison lex).

Delinquency is the flaunting of stigmatized Nature, the malignant triumph of indexical Nature over arbitrary Culture. The Cultural nudity of stigmatized Nature may be disclosed, displayed and flaunted in a wide variety of enactions ranging from material poverty, nudity, dirt, self-mutilation (through tattoo and neglect of physical injury) and illness; through public, polymorphously perverse and promiscuous sexuality; to casual violence to identity in mundane interaction with children, kin and peers, and calculatedly antisocial criminality.

If disreputability is an omnipotent attempt at the social reversal of stigma, delinquency is an omnipotent attempt at the material reversal of nonentity, outcastness. If disreputability pursues self-aggrandizement through exploitative pleasure and profit, delinquency pursues self-aggrandizement through violent material power over the property and bodies of others. It is a malignant rebellion against the starvation of identity, of the material resources for Culture. For the disreputable, he who has nothing Cultural is **kaalgat** but retains Natural identity, however stigmatized. For the delinquent, he who has nothing material, is nothing. Natural identity, irredeemably stigmatized, is created and enacted in violent consequence to the identity of others, by the destructively appropriative and/or disintegrative imposition of material power. If disreputability semantically proclaims Natural vitality grandiosely manifested in options of psychosocial omnipotence -- and especially the pursuit of self-aggrandizing options by seductive manipulation, deceit and the mocking stigmatization of respectable Culture -- it may proceed to delinquency, which proclaims grandiose omnipotence through flaunted violence. This transformation may occur when the actor is frustrated, discontented, merely opportunistic or simply sadistic, especially when slightly drunk and in a group or crowd of peers actively or passively enacting the same identity.

Case Example 16

Late in the spring of 1987 a companion and I were walking through a scenic reserve at the seashore, which is used by large numbers of beachgoers and was crowded at the time. Through a gap between two rocks in a partly secluded area we noticed a young man in swimming trunks lying on top of a clothed woman, attractive and well-dressed. On our way back a few minutes later we saw bare buttocks: the trunks were now around his knees and he was arguing with her. She began to struggle and shout, but he held her down and laughed. While gripping her wrists he lifted himself, flaunted an erection and, laughing and gloating, kicked off his costume completely, forcibly inserted his penis and began to copulate. Seven of his friends stood around and grinned; one, standing conspicuously on top of a relatively high rock, clutched his own penis and invited the rapist to "let me know if you need any help". A child aged about five, who turned out to be her daughter, was evidently nearby and eventually began to cry. The struggle continued for several minutes, during which her assailant thrust her about a metre across the sand, into which he twisted her face, continuing to copulate all the while. Unarmed and outnumbered, I went to call the law enforcement patrolmen. When I returned with them about five minutes later the woman was still struggling and, as the constable who pulled him off observed, the rapist "was still inside her". Slightly drunk, he struggled with the police, shouting about his "witnesses" while they dragged him to their van; and as I returned to my car with perhaps a hundred people watching, I heard several jeers and a loud, mocking political taunt: "What a country!", implying that only a white would interfere with disreputability or delinquency among the subordinate, thereby deservedly bearing the white man's burden of sanctimony. And indeed the woman declined to lay a charge, on the grounds that she was neighbours with her assailant (whose attack clearly enacted personal contempt and perhaps revenge); and the patrolmen, who were about to end their shift, displayed resentment towards me for disturbing their routine, and merely clouted and left him to sober up for four hours and be released without charge at the local police station without so much as fining him for disorderly conduct (which included public indecency) under local authority by-laws. My companion too, a schoolteacher of working-class origin, had instantly walked off when I told him that I was going to summon them, observed the rest of the proceedings as a distant spectator two hundred

metres away and was coy and subdued when he rejoined me afterwards, obviously ambivalent towards what he construed as an assertion of white authority founded on alien white moral consciousness. On this seemingly universal subcultural consensus of anomic licence the rapist and his companions had depended with confidence bred of lifelong membership of the *communitas*. They had not appeared obviously delinquent: they bore no tattoos, were not disreputably dressed and conversed easily in English. The entrance of a middle-class white man, to them no more than typically sanctimonious and authoritarian, had been unpredictable and unfortunate. Even the white policemen at the police station thought me an idealistic, prim and interfering nuisance, and their Duty Officer explained their construction economically: "My friend, they're coloured. It's in their nature!". White authority too tolerated such delinquency, as long as all the adults concerned were "coloured" and, true to their "nature", were themselves tolerant. The trauma to the child did not feature, and in any event her destiny was, by common consensus, "coloured", i.e., disreputable and delinquent.

The **ou roeker** actor is assumed to be male except for a small proportion of adolescent and young adult females referred to as **ou roeker kinders** (**kind**: female adolescent or young adult, girlfriend; literally: child; disreputable/respectable lex), who are regarded as masculine in character, some to the point of being a "tomboy" or **lisbian** (lesbian; disreputable lex).

The **ou roeker** male is adolescent or young adult unless the term is qualified by reference to his also being a **lightie** (boy, kid; respectable lex) or **tôppie** (old man; disreputable lex). An **ou roeker lightie** is commonly given the nickname of **Ougat** (cutely precocious [one]; literally old anus; respectable/disreputable lex).

The identity of **ou roeker** involves the flaunted enactment of a working-class, Afrikaans-dominant identity style and antagonism towards middle-class identity styles. The exotic may be pursued in quest of an oppositional anti-Christian-Western identity. Thus Christian delinquents may wear an **onderkoeffiya** (Muslim skull-cap; **Java** and respectable lexises) and be tattooed with the Jewish Star of David and/or the Muslim star and crescent moon or even a detailed picture of a complete mosque; they tend frequently to use a few items of **Java** lexis seldom or never used by other Christians; and some of those who are more impoverished, with families of

relatively recent rural origin, may be seen on a cold day draping their shoulders in blankets in rural Xhosa style.

Ou roekers publicly pursue an antisocial reputation for mean, tough and devil-may-care masculinity by engaging aggressively in disreputable activities both privately and in public, e.g., ostentatious urination, defaecation, pubic or genital display and copulation, gambling, drinking and drug-taking. But essential to the reputation is at least some putative or substantive record of ritual engagement in crimes against person or property -- ritual because it is an enactment construed a marker of authentic delinquent identity. Minimally this involves depredation and violence against other delinquents, disreputables and timid respectables. But a respected reputation comes only with actual and more sensational, consequential crime: murder of a working-class man or serious economic crimes against middle-class whites or coloureds, involving planning, large rewards and the risk of commensurate punishment: armed robbery, large-scale burglary of commercial or industrial premises, large-scale dealing in drugs, etc.

Delinquents are characterized by themselves and others as having a **skelme gedagte** (sly turn of mind; disreputable lex) and a **kak gedagte** (suspicious, malignant, destructive turn of mind; literally: shit [turn of] thought; disreputable lex). Such a person is also likely to be an **afbreker** (sadistic destroyer of the happiness of others for the sheer fun of it, by destroying worthwhile objects, situations or people; disreputable lex). **Afbreker** is the single most common characterization of **ou roekers**. An individual **afbreker** is mythified as **nie goed vir die samelewe nie** (not good for, nor deserving of society; respectable lex), therefore deserving to be cast out or even killed.

One is likely to develop into an **ou roeker** if one "word swaar groot" (grows up hard, in deprivation, tribulation and cruelty), when one's "hart word van kleins af hardgemaak" (heart is hardened from an early age). "'Is deur jou **wat** ek so is!"* (It's through you that I'm like this!) bitterly raged one twenty-five year old gang leader (and close friend of mine) at his mother shortly before he was shot dead by a member a few weeks after he had laughed at my foreboding that he wanted to die and was courting death.

* 'Is: abbreviation of "dit is": literally: it is; respectable/disreputable lex; **wat**: that; literally: what; respectable lex.

Most **ou roekers** seeking confirmation pass through the **form** (reformatory; disreputable lex), humorously referred to as the **skool van crime** (school of

crime; delinquent lex), and virtually all have been in the **mang** (prison; literally: crippling [place]; disreputable/delinquent lex), also termed **Die Point** (The Point; derived from a former Durban prison known as The Point; delinquent/prison lex), and humorously described as the **djuniversity van crime** (the university of crime; delinquent lex). In their early twenties, the vast majority **bedaar** (settle down: literally: subside; respectable lex) or **koel af** (cool off, relax, calm down; disreputable/respectable lex), become respectable, and humorously say that they **retire** (disreputable/respectable lex), **hang hulle guns op** (hang up their guns; respectable/disreputable lex), each becoming a **family man** (respectable lex). They are mocked by confirmed delinquents as those who cannot **die pyn staan** (stand the pain, i.e., endure the ordeal honourably with toughness and success; disreputable lex) or **die pyp roek** (std A: smoke the pipe, i.e., take the test of initiation; construed by working-class disreputable and delinquent speakers as smoking the dagga and Mandrax pipe, although this does not constitute a formal initiation ritual and there are some confirmed **ou roekers** who do not smoke Mandrax, others who smoke neither Mandrax nor dagga and some who do not smoke at all; disreputable lex).

There is no formal initiation into **ou roekerskap** (old smokerhood; disreputable lex), nor any crucial initiation. The commission of antisocial crime does not itself qualify one as an **ou roeker**, although the absence of engagement in crime renders one vulnerable to taunts of inauthenticity. There is indeed no crucial marker of **ou roekerskap**. Style in consciousness, reality, lexis, discourse, kinesis, dress, tattoos; readiness to engage in enactions distinctive to delinquency, such as antisocial crime; friendship with **ou roekers** and familiarity with gang histories and activities; all contribute to the identity, placing one within the delinquent communitas, on its limen, or without.

Prison is loathed as the **mang** (crippling [place]) where one **bad** (is locked up; literally: bathes -- i.e., submits to the rigorous imposition of order and purity; disreputable lex), **lê** (lies; disreputable/respectable lex) or **vrot** (rots; delinquent lex) after having been **aangegee** (by **die boere**) (criminally charged; literally: given or handed over [to the police]; respectable/disreputable lex), **gepan** (criminally charged, also pawned; disreputable lex), or **toegestoot** (criminally charged; literally: closed up; disreputable/respectable lex). (I have included the synonyms to illustrate the poignant, metaphorically consistent consciousness with which this area of reality is construed.) Given incarceration, the worst aspects of prison life are mythified as being forced to **„werk [vir niet] vir die wit**

man" (work for the white man [for nothing], i.e., wholly for white exploitation; delinquent myth which may well derive from historic communal consciousness of slavery), and, for those without sufficient courage, influence or shrewdness, the depredations by prison gangs -- especially sexual depredations, institutionalized, obvious and gossiped about to all prisoners within range of communication, and therefore -- since 1980, when the taboo collapsed against disclosure outside prison -- to the peer communitas outside as well.

Nearly all **ou roekers** bear a nickname, and formal names may be known to most acquaintances only through official discourse in court and prison. More than others, **ou roeker** nicknames tend to the exotic and to menace, and are sometimes derived from tattoos on the face or neck. Thus more than one man is known as **What Kind?** (what's the matter?, i.e., why are you looking at me?; disreputable lex), another as **Nice Times** (hedonistic pursuits, wine women and song; disreputable lex), and a third, a quiet person with a reputation for sudden, ruthless brutality, as **Silence Is Violence**, which is also tattooed across his forehead. The latter name is relished by his peers.

Most tattoos are inscribed in reformatory or prison. Many adolescent disreputables who flirt with delinquency bear two or three tattoos, usually on the arms, hands or back. In general, the degree of immersion in delinquency is indicated by the extent of tattooing, although some longstanding, senior delinquents bear few or no tattoos, or perhaps merely a prison gang tattoo indicating senior rank. Such unusual restraint in self-display and self-stigmatization by a senior is construed as a sign of distinctive good judgment, taste and competence. Others are tattooed on every visible part except the palms and soles: face, forehead, neck, buttocks and penis may be included. (See Slabbert and Van Rooyen [1978] for a sociological monograph on such tattoos, censoring all sexual signs and significance -- which are very common -- without acknowledging, let alone justifying, such censorship.)

Tattoos are commonly inflicted during adolescence and young adulthood, but may be found on **ou roeker lighties** and vagrant children.

In summary, amateur tattooing renders identity outcast. Industrial dirt (burnt rubber, the contents of discarded batteries) is inserted artistically under the skin, imposing alienating, deadening Culture on living Nature so that one paradoxically becomes the other, the mask of public stigma becomes private identity, and vice-versa, but the whole

signifies the triumph of stigmatized Nature over the victimizing Culture of the respectable, middle-class and white. The painful ordeal of infliction while the bearer is secluded, has become subjectively alienated from society and receives instruction in delinquent identity, and the construed irreversibility of the act at the time, signify it as ritualized initiation confirming outcast identity. Tattoos visibly, dramatically signify the self-inflicted brand of stigma in outcastness, mythically embraced when the childhood quest for maternal love and familial membership is abandoned for masculine adulthood in outcastness on the streets and in reformatory or prison. They signify a communal tradition of stigma; impassivity and toughness; readiness to endure and inflict pain; and the violent delinquent rebellion of adolescent masculine identity against impotence and nonentity, the starvation of identity. The amateur infliction of tattoos signifies material poverty, but their stereotyped art fashioned by peers signifies cultural wealth in membership of the *communitas* of outcasts, and the working-class strategy and style of resort to bricolage for Cultural capital. The extent of outcastness is indicated by the extent of tattooing, from **outie** to **ou roeker** to "tronkvoël" (jailbird, connoting a life of inurement to outcastness in institutions).

Gang names may be grandiose, and be derived from popular films depicting violent, heroic rebels against injustice; or they may display mastery of hedonistic style, and be derived from the titles or lyrics of popular songs. A small proportion of gangs glory in bastardy (e.g., The Mongrels, founded in 1964, derived from "The Mongols", a film shown that year, featuring sabre-wielding hordes conquering central Asia) or menace (The Scorpions; various other names including the word "Killers"). (Pinnock's claim [1984a: 10] that the film was "The Moguls" is incorrect; comprehensive cinematic catalogues show that no such film has been made; his misinformation was provided by a self-appointed "leader" of the gang creatively attempting to lend a touch of affluence to its exceptionally scruffy reputation; the gang, now nationwide, was founded by members of my boys' club and their extended male kin a year after I took over the running of the club. By yet more remarkable coincidence the "leader", who also claimed falsely to have founded the gang in the late nineteen-seventies, went by the nickname of "Stone" [Pinnock, 1984b].) In grandiosity, gang names reverse the mortification inflicted by the nicknames borne by many members, and reflect the mythic grandiosity and power that membership lends to the identity of an adolescent who is **kaalgat**, an impoverished, stigmatized nonentity in the respectable world, with no possibly respected abilities other than skills in delinquency. (Erikson [1959b: 110] makes a

similar observation.)

The introduction of the prison dialect into delinquent lexis has also influenced grammar and phonetics as well, to the extent that although delinquent lexis has been markedly more cryptic, elliptical, condensed and metaphoric throughout research from 1963 to the present, it is becoming even more so, and of course increasingly mystifying to the outsider and older delinquents. The Zulu lexis is especially valued both for the option and the style of mystery, secrecy, exclusiveness and integral oppositionality, as well as its exotic repudiation of Western, Christian culture.

The strategy of discursive mystification had no name until about 1980, when it was lexicalized as *wom iemand wiwa te sabela* (to talk someone disoriented, mixed up; delinquent/prison lex).

The vast majority of gang members are peripheral, part-time, and after three or four years abandon membership in their early twenties, when many try to remove tattoos signifying membership. A small proportion of **ou roekers** are solitary; very many gang members are ambiguously or optionally **ou roekers** or not at all, merely being **outies**, and have no history of delinquency.

All the evidence, my research experience and that of experienced communal informants indicates that confirmed **ou roekers** remain a very small proportion of the Capetonian working-class adolescent and young adult coloured male population, and even those optional **ou roekers** and other gang members who flirt with delinquency during this life-cycle phase remain by far a minority. I have never encountered a non-delinquent, working-class, adult male informant who, either spontaneously or after a request for thoughtful consideration, disagrees with these conclusions.

6.224 Outcastness

The outcast identity is located below the hierarchy of working-class communal identities, and is construed as outside society and Culture. Actors are construed as territorially in the community, but not socially of it. Outcastness inheres in the succumbing to victimization by both persecutory Culture and stigmatized Nature -- whether the stigma be external (racial physiognomy, physical deformity, crippling or profound injury) or internal (animal [anti-Cultural] Nature; severe or recidivistic antisocial criminality; addiction; promiscuity in females and homosexuals;

effeminate homosexuality; paedophilia and parent-child incest; ritualistic sadomasochistic sexual perversion; madness; optional vagrancy; childhood, middle and old age; profound illness and dying). This is the adolescent and young adult male perspective. The disreputable, delinquent and outcast identities alienate and re-include the outcast with instability, disorder or chaos. The respectable attempts to include the outcast on its own orderly terms; failing that, orderly alienation.

Outcastness is construed as the suffering of a living death. Outcastness in terms of phasic status in the life cycle, i.e., childhood, middle and old age, is construed Natural, but the rest elicits moral religio-political questions. What, if anything, has the sufferer done to deserve such a fate? Outcastness is accordingly construed as achieved or imposed. Outcasts by achievement include adult vagrants, alcoholics and drug addicts. Criminal prisoners are outcasts, who undergo enforced exclusion. If one is respectable, one construes this as achieved; if delinquent, as imposed; if disreputable, as either. Outcastness is imposed on children, the impoverished, deformed and crippled, on schizophrenics by witchcraft or catastrophe such as exceptionally deprivatory childhood or disappointment in love, and on blacks, who are construed or at least ambivalently proposed as paradoxically humanoid animals -- Natural beings with a flimsy mask of real Culture -- from the bush.

The identity themes constituting the parameters of outcast identity are (i) the severely masochistic alienation of identity from others and from self, determining self-victimizing ordeal in terms of any degree of (ii) social death: the exclusion from, or breakdown of ritualized and institutionalized integration of individual identity within family, community and society (beginning in infancy with the maternal bond); (iii) psychosocial death: the disintegration of individual identity; (iv) the risk of physical death; (v) flaunted defiance of death, by rebellion against Culture and Nature in the cosmos; and (vi) an anomic therapeutic quest for relief, solace and regeneration, usually in transient, impersonal and material terms (intoxicants, sex, violence, theft and the infliction of ordeal on members of the public by flaunted begging, verbal abuse, pollution and vandalism). I had no access for participant observation on outcasts while they were institutionalized in prison, but these parameters are in any event most fully illustrated in the case of vagrant children and adolescents, in whom the identity themes and issues are writ large and clear.

Vagrant children abandon home (if there is one) because of the chronic

absence or failure of the maternal bond and family support. Some have developed a modicum of viable identity, and will grasp at the opportunity to reintegrate with society and develop. Extremely valuable rehabilitative and developmental work can be done with such children, transforming the course of their lives.

For others, outcastness may be complete, torturous, apparently irreversible and potentially fatal. Many belong nowhere and do not tolerate even a modicum of domestic intimacy, stability and regulation, let alone steady participation at school or work. Vagrancy is freedom from these but it is also grinding torture and decline; food, clothing, shelter and safety are daily at issue. In summer, roaming and sleeping outdoors may be managed for several months, but permanent, unremitting vagrancy is simply unendurable, and especially in winter vagrants alternate between sleeping outdoors and in transient shelter in derelict buildings, yards, toilets, outhouses on the business premises of casual employers, vehicles, the homes of sympathetic householders (usually the very poor) and, when apprehended for trespassing, briefly in police cells and prison. (A very small proportion of adults become hermits squatting in caves.)

To prove their invulnerability -- or die -- vagrants flaunt cosmic rebellion against Nature and Culture and take defiant risks with death in the winter weather, the traffic, with illness and addiction, and among the violently criminal and mad. Vagrant children tend to flaunt their invulnerability and vitality in a ritual of whimsical solitary dancing, and may be seen merrily prancing and skipping alone in the city traffic, especially when rebuffed while begging from drivers at traffic lights. Since infancy many have learned calculatedly to manipulate, exploit and punish adults by displaying and in fact prostituting their extreme suffering.

Many vagrants, irrespective of age, aggressively flaunt social rebellion in ritual, stereotypic tantrums, liable to be thrown, especially by females, with shrieks signifying that the actor is being murdered, and/or abuse shrieked in the most mortifying sexual terms conceivable to the actor, who proposes that the victim's most intimate and disreputable sexual secrets are being publicly broadcast. The tantrum is an enactment of **kaalgat** identity, Culturally denuded, Naturally stigmatized, the very identity assigned to the victim of the attack. The attacker stigmatizes and pollutes the victim's identity by proposed association. The tantrum is thus a ritual simultaneously of rebellion and confession. Desperate

indignation is simulated in an omnipotent attempt to afflict the envied, recalcitrant male victim who threatens physical attack or jural apprehension, has mortified and caused the attacker serious difficulty, e.g., by calling the police to arrest him or her for antisocial conduct in public, or will not share material good fortune. The tantrum aims to control or avenge dishonour by publicly mortifying and afflicting the victim with repellent abuse, and it sadomasochistically invites -- and often elicits -- violent retaliation to silence the attacker. It is a strategy employed only in hope of success, when the attacker construes the victim uncertain and perhaps amenable to intimidation or vengeance, or else too helpless, embarrassed or indifferent to retaliate. It is never utilized when certainly overwhelming force threatens, nor when the solicited audience of passersby, nearby residents or police is lacking. Since 1985 tantrums have been increasingly directed against whites, with racist terms added, honourably -- even fashionably -- to flaunt defiance of white authority proposed as evil and construed as no longer total, but weakening.

In abandonment of communal membership, yet equally in yearning for transient human warmth, the sexuality of vagrants may be anomic: precocious, unstable, even chaotic. This too may be marketable for money, shelter and even patronage. Although young male vagrants may be solicited by solitary, surreptitiously disreputable middle-class white women, these heterosexual opportunities to trade sex for money are unusual and arise from the preference of such clients for stigmatized, demoralized and anomic sex. More attractive promiscuous sexual partners -- if only lusty young labourers -- are readily available to such women, and at no material cost. Middle-class male clients, whose bisexuality or homosexuality is surreptitious, perhaps paedophiliac, who cruise and linger alone at known meeting-places, are far more common and may in addition offer shelter and care; and there is frequent gossip and fantasy among vagrant boys and youths (from as young as six years of age) of the quest for such patronage, the hilariously squalid idiosyncrasies of a minority of these patrons (during self-masturbation: some to be whipped, some to be squatted over and defaecated on so that they can watch the stool slowly emerging from the anus, some to watch the stain spreading as the boy urinates within closed trousers, some to watch homosexual or heterosexual copulation), the strategies and tactics of trade, and the spoils thereof. What could be more heavenly than the very converse of their lifelong experience, the utter reversal of all deprivation, injury, insult and fate itself: transportation into a universe of endless love, luxury and freedom in which

they pragmatically have power over their adult clients, privately scorned as unmanly, gullible fools? An exceptionally attractive, socially skilled adolescent vagrant stands a small chance of good fortune, at least until the romance palls after a few weeks or months. For the rest, the objective reality is that all means of making money from a base in outcastness yield lean and unreliable pickings at best.

Without the psychosocial resources and aggression necessary to achieve and sustain a modicum of integration and self-care, and under the ordeal of vagrancy with all its attendant risks, identity may attack itself rather than society, and break down. If disintegration predominates indefinitely, a vagrant outcast will be hospitalized as psychotic or physically injured by the police or a member of the public, or will die of one of the hazards of life on the streets. Among those who survive in vagrancy, disintegration is of necessity partial or intermittent. Indeed, the outcast may even flaunt or prostitute his madness for advantage.

An adolescent or adult member of the working-class *communitas* becomes an outcast by achievement (other than as a prisoner) by a process whereby one **brand af** or **vergaan** (goes down in life; literally: burns down or decays; respectable *lex*). This may refer to any marked process of impoverishment, isolation and self-neglect, but is specifically a mythic process of self-destruction and downward mobility followed by loners, drifters and mad people, as well as alcoholics, drug addicts, delinquents, promiscuous women and vagrants.

Going down is characterized in terms of a myth of victimization, not as a charter for disreputability or a communication of distress, but as a tragedy because the pathetic victim, far from complaining, inexorably, inexplicably pursues it headlong. Observers characterize the deepening ravages to grooming, physiognomy, physique and material possessions as self-ruin. The fall arouses both disgust and intense pity, and may be attributed to **vuilwerke** (malignant witchcraft; delinquent *lex*), especially by a dishonoured and vindictive wife or girlfriend, her siblings or parents, or a former friend turned enemy; to satanic possession; to sheer, stupid obstinacy; or to destruction of a "saghartige" (softhearted) personality by a personal disaster, such as a catastrophic childhood, or the loss of a beloved parent, spouse or child. The friends of such a person will commonly make tender efforts to counsel him morally, suggesting remedial witchcraft, medical treatment, religious conversion or self-control. They may try (usually without success) to help him with emotional

and material support and shelter. A close adolescent or young adult friend, witnessing his former comrade dying socially and physically by degrees, may weep, shake and even beat the mute, afflicted man in desperation, and mourn for weeks after he drifts with apparent irrevocability into outcastness, and is transformed into a wretched, doomed Stranger.

The construal of tragedy and even bereavement was mine too. Of my gang of twenty in my key fieldwork neighbourhood, nearly all healthy, active, sociable adolescents and young adults in 1965, approximately half were reduced thus, including one in five who had died unnaturally, by 1990; and this proportion appeared typical of other gangs that I knew well, and was common in the experience of informants who had survived and developed. From the outset of fieldwork I had become familiar with disaster and even death among informants of my generation, and in middle age it was a great pleasure to meet those who had settled and developed after a decade or two of lost contact, but many of my friends had been disreputable and delinquent, and the news would invariably be grievous in part or whole.

More than their peers, senior members of violent gangs had tended to evince intelligence, and, knowing their own capacities, to be more open and generous, even tender and protective towards me -- especially the Muslims, and others of part-Muslim descent -- but by 1980 the majority of close friends that I had made in such circles were dead by unnatural causes, usually violent. The wall of my study, and my photograph album bore pictures of some of the dead, my memory far more -- dead young, in futility. In several instances I had detected their suicidal interests in advance, and I too had helplessly watched them lose heart for life, had met with smiled denials, had parted from them in foreboding, and subsequently learned of its appalling accuracy -- one killed in a gang feud, another in a drunken fight with a friend, a third in a needless shoot-out with the police. These had been hard men, precociously wise and weary in their youth, scarred with the stigmata of ordeal by violence, with long records of criminal mayhem but none of dishonesty, for which they had contempt.

Case Example 17

The remnants of one of my fieldwork gangs in District Six had based themselves in a block of flats undergoing reconstruction as the suburb was being demolished. I visited them and met an old friend of mine, now in his early thirties, whom I had last seen about six months before. I was shocked at the change. He was as warm as ever but --

for the first time -- wasted, shabby and grubby. Around one calf was a makeshift bandage; he had been shot three weeks before by a security guard during a fight outside a nightclub. Although the bullet was still in his leg he had sought no medical treatment, and smilingly declined my offer of a lift to hospital. We sat together, apart from the others. He said little, apparently glad merely of my company, but there was an air of dreamy resignation about him that alarmed me, and his gentle rebuff of every enquiry and offer of help left me helpless. Eventually I had to leave. As I returned to my car the thought occurred that I would never see him again, and I hopefully dismissed it as melodramatic, for he was, after all, a skilled survivor. Three weeks later, still bearing the bullet, he was shot dead by the police, in the company of another man who had unnecessarily, suicidally fired at them first.

These had not been paranoid psychopaths (as claimed on inadequate diagnostic grounds by Yablonsky [1962: 195-221] in his otherwise profound ethnographic study of violent gangs in New York). They had, for instance, no pre-adolescent histories of marked antisocial conduct. Instead, they had come from torturously turbulent extended families with a religio-political tradition of violent gang honour and little else, whose constructions and styles of honour were similar to those represented in internationally popular myths of the Mafia. They had been desperately impoverished in identity, and in adolescence had become criminally ruthless warriors of honour, to whom honour had meant violence as a way of doomed life, bound by rules of loyalty scrupulously exempting those men (but not women) who honoured them. They had been elite in the world of gangs, and their stigma had been legend among the Capetonian delinquent and disreputable. They had killed, maimed, raped (in which they used terror rather than battering to coerce women they knew, although they were wont to torment their own women brutally, as their mothers had tormented them). For years on end they had endured calculated brutality to break them in maximum-security prisons. One had actually broken out. Another had wearied and succumbed, committing suicide by blatantly murdering a fellow-prisoner in the confidence that he would be hanged.

There was no need to dishonour oneself with suicide by one's own hand when one could flaunt honourable defiance of the cosmos by risking one's life until chance or calculation provoked another into killing one. (Throughout the period of fieldwork, I had never heard of an informant who had killed himself by his own hand, although suicidal wishes and threats

were not uncommon. Suicide was mythically proposed as characteristic of whites only -- mythically tender whites who could not stand misfortune and had placed the hardy subordinate as a liminal buffer between themselves and the vagaries of cosmos and society. Ironically, it was many of my disreputable and delinquent informants who eventually inflicted death on themselves by disaster or attrition. However, from mid-1988 to mid-1989, 0,4% of all deaths among jural coloureds in Cape Town was attributed to suicide [City of Cape Town: Annual Report of the Medical Officer of Health 1988/1989: vol 1: 18]; the figure for jural whites was 2,0% [op. cit: 17].)

I had witnessed the ability of all these violent gang members casually to elicit terror, yet had never needed even to consider the question of distrusting them. They had never lied to me, exploited or offended me, even when drunk. On the contrary, I had made friends with those who had threatened me because of my association with, or even armed protection of an enemy, simply by approaching them alone and conspicuously unarmed in their territory, always to surprise them with this indisputable proof of confidence in their honour, and to find myself hospitably and graciously received. In one instance my visit had itself sufficed to end a feud which a gang had begun by an unjustifiable attack on a friend of mine, even though I had visited to propose no more than respect for my honour in loyalty to him, as I now honoured them with my trust.

One of my violent delinquent friends who was to die by precipitating his own murder had gone out of his way to protect me from considerable danger when I had been menaced by a peer of his. I had sheltered another when he was in danger, taking him with me to Johannesburg and finding him lodging, a job and the opportunity for a fresh start there -- only to run into him, flimsily disguised, six months later in Cape Town, homesick. Those whose stigma ultimately proved fatal had known by my deeds that I had spontaneously prophesied in faith the human good in them, and in their self-inflicted torture they had been grateful. Of this there had been no discussion; it had been shown and understood that each had given of himself.

Informants based in disreputability were able to stigmatize and exploit another's decency; those seniors based in violent gang delinquency acknowledged honour even when they violated it, and were defenceless against the guilt -- except in violence itself paradoxically accruing them further guilt -- which eventually destroyed them or challenged them to successful reparation, redemption and development.

The murderers whom I knew (with two exceptions, who were loners) were quiet, muted by the knowledge of guilt in the intentional death of another even as they had construed no alternative to it, and knew that they might construe themselves obliged to kill again, and might well die by the same fate. Inured to a lifetime of unpredictability in others and themselves, yet heirs to a tradition of outcast honour apparently rooted in slavery and vagrancy, if not before, they were remitted and redeemed in one of the few relationships they had known with another whose care was disinterested, predictable and informed. I had seldom experienced friendships so innocent, simple and consistent, to an extent unnoticed by -- indeed, concealed from -- their peers. My homicidal-suicidal friends had done nothing by halves, and we had shared a common identity, Strangers to a degree that others preferred not to contemplate. As each of them lost heart for life, he became a Stranger to me too. My only consolation was that apart from the trail of damaged lives, fatherless children and painful memories left behind, their deaths had ended the extreme suffering that they had inflicted on themselves and others.

Given the inexorable malignance of their stigma, the only arguments that could be raised against their suicide were religious, scientific and not necessarily practical: that all human life is precious, and its course ultimately unpredictable. With other individuals I had wrestled literally by every means at my disposal against their own stigma for many years (in one instance over two decades), only to watch helplessly as they still succumbed and went down, trying malignantly to damage and drag wives, children and me with them, determined to die not merely friendless, but hateful and hated. To die a nonentity was dishonourable; to die accursed in the objective evidence of destruction left behind, honourable. Thus the proposed, subjective reality, the romantic hope; in objective reality they created their own outcastness, and became squalid nonentities.

Their fathers and grandfathers had died thus, unmourned, possessions dispersed and memories erased on return from the funeral, attachment to them long before; it was stigma that was preserved and transmitted from generation to generation. For stigma, paradoxically, signified identity, honour, tradition beyond human undoing. A very wide, consistent array of ethnographic evidence indicated that in stigma lay eternal, unconquerable resistance to every alien identity, respectable and middle-class, white and black; and children learned that their parents' neglect, torture and exploitation of them constituted the wisdom and integrity of their

ancestors, and the continuity of their *communitas*.

What, then, did it matter that individuals destroyed themselves young? They had reproduced at the earliest opportunity, had assured the survival of their community, and sacrificed themselves before their consuming malignance could threaten the community at large; or, already outcast nonentities demoralized to the point of resisting even the question of reversibility, they had entered upon a finite future of desolation and decline. When they knew that they were unwanted, and with good reason, they obligingly destroyed themselves, to the relief of their families. Thus was love constituted as hatred, and vice-versa. I attended funerals at which I was the only one in tears, and the others stared at me, not only at the novelty of a white's vulnerability and attachment to a coloured, but puzzled. What loss had there been? As a person, the deceased had been long gone. Who had died? What tragedy could occur in a *communitas* Naturally merged with an eternally repetitive cosmos? The existence of tragedy was disavowed to the extent that even kin giggled at it and would pointedly but easily change the subject if pressed.

Case Example 18

One woman in early middle age, enduring a husband in raging decline, smiled at my distress and gently chided me. In his absence she was happy unless she dwelt on the tragedy; why do so? She went on to solicit my support and counselling in her efforts to reduce her obesity, which was causing orthopaedic problems.

To enact the identity of **Gam** was to sustain sacramental morale by rendering oneself defiantly invulnerable to tragedy, and therefore to time and history -- precisely as the dying or dead outcast had done. Thus stigma itself was a sacrament of omnipotence, and to him his suicide subjectively restored him to the *communitas*. This was an interpretation which every consulted member of the *communitas* would disavow (except those about to be hanged, and one man, previously ferociously malignant, who wept wretchedly when alone with me at his hospital bedside two days before his early death from alcoholism).

Below all members of the working-class coloured *communitas* who become outcasts is the "kaffir" or **darkie** (respectable/disreputable *lex*), the black on whom it is inherently imposed by Natural stigma. The following mythic constructions are fading, especially since the mid-1980s, but are still common among more impoverished and disreputable speakers.

Members of black communities in general are proposed as **rou** (uncivilized, vulgar and obscene; respectable *lex*), except in the case of those who are of urban origin, educated and respectable. The remainder are mythified as brutal, especially in husbands' treatment of wives, and are regarded as situated at the lowest, outcast stratum: savage, aCultural humanoids fated to behave and suffer like exploited, degraded animals. "Suffer soos 'n kaffir" (suffer like a kaffir) is a common mythic axiom. (Xhosas refer to coloureds as "amalawu": a nation without traditions, customs and manners, i.e., aCultural, bastardized and authentic in neither blackness nor whiteness.) Some delinquents bear tattoo slogans explicitly indicating their espousal of outcast identity as black: e.g., BRUIN KAFFER (coloured kaffir).

Black identity is construed as sharing with white identity an evil capacity for communal savagery construed lacking in coloured identity, whatever the deeds of delinquents, gangs, and those violent in attack on white and middle-class coloured domination. If white savagery is attributed to grandiosity, sadism and greed, black savagery is attributed both to lack of civilization and to frenzy born of extreme suffering.

However, Zulus are construed as a proud "fighting nation", utterly barbaric and inherently rebellious against white domination. This characterization is undoubtedly fed by Afrikaner nationalist myths of history taught in primary school, most notably the central myth of the decisive Battle of Blood River late in 1838, a few months after the treacherous slaughter of the expansionist (and equally treacherous) Voortrekker leader Piet Retief by Dingane, half-brother and murderer of Shaka, the military genius and tyrant who himself had his predecessor killed, and greatly expanded the Zulu kingdom by conquest (Wilson and Thompson [eds] [1969: vol 1: 334-364]). After a popular romantic television series, "Shaka Zulu", late in 1986 on his origins, rise and achievements, male adolescents in the scenic reserve could be heard grandly calling Zulu greetings and war-cries to each other for several weeks.

This suggests ambivalence towards black identities, on the one hand scorned for their construed primitiveness and savagery, on the other admired for the vitality and integrity of their opposition to white domination. The ambivalence extends further. Blacks are equally construed as maintaining a Cultural integrity lacking among coloureds: respectable blacks are construed fundamentally respectable, whereas respectable coloureds are construed optionally so, and invariably lapsing into disreputability.

Case Example 19

The scenic reserve, used almost wholly by people of colour, was filled with black schoolchildren, primary and secondary, and teachers on a picnic which appeared to be efficiently managed. The preparation of food was well organized; children were supervised while swimming. All seemed disciplined; none wandered off alone. The only sign of disreputability was the casual scattering of garbage all over the lawns despite the many empty bins within a few metres' reach. I was strolling among the crowd with a working-class coloured acquaintance, a public amenities official, who remarked sadly on the predominant respectability: "They don't go off screwing in the bushes like our kids" (translation). When I pointed out that coloured pupils who came to the reserve under supervision were similarly behaved, he did not reply.

There is thus a modicum of consensus between Xhosa and coloured on the stigmatic terms of coloured identity.

Bantu languages are construed uncivilized but also exotic (i.e., non-Christian) and therefore classifiable with those of Muslims, Indians and Jews (at least one Yiddish word has been imported into the disreputable lexis) for the purpose of relexicalization. At least 73 Xhosa items have also been used for relexicalization, and occur most commonly in the Disreputable Lexicon. In the Delinquent Lexicon there are over six hundred items which are Zulu or of Zulu origin, imported from the Outcast (Prison) Lexicon.

Prison is characterized as "another world" (translation) in the daily desperation and normative brutality that renders every prisoner potentially vulnerable to domination by prison gangs, robbery, rape, violence and death, especially in the long-term and maximum-security prisons and prison wings. Prison staff are mythified as the epitomé of the "Boer": cunning, incompetent, corrupt and brutal, driving long-term prisoners viciously in hard labour, violently breaking the will of any rebel, and offering a prisoner no protection whatever against violence by others unless it suits them. However, prison conditions are commonly said to have been improving steadily during the past decade.

Prison gangs were founded by Zulus around the turn of this century on the Witwatersrand (van Onselen [1982: 171-201]). Three main gangs, identified by the numbers 26, 27 and 28, have predominated and spread through South African prisons. Evidently in the early 1950s a small proportion of

coloured criminal prisoners began to join, and membership became idealized and widespread among them from the mid-1970s. Beginning in 1976, but especially between 1978-1980, the prison lexis began to infiltrate delinquent lexis outside on an increasingly large scale, and the formerly rigorous segregation between gang life inside and outside began to disintegrate, with certain large gangs outside becoming increasingly identified with particular prison gangs.

From the outset the prison gangs had their own dialect, mainly antilinguistic Zulu, with a small proportion of Afrikaans and English lexis. The data suggest that the full dialect runs to up to a thousand lexical items. It is largely incomprehensible to native Zulu speakers, not only because of the antilinguistic transformations, but also because lexis, grammar and discourse are highly cryptic, elliptical, condensed and metaphoric, and many mythic constructs have mystic religious connotations. Senior coloured members can discourse entirely in prison lexis. Among Zulu-speaking prisoners the dialect is known as S(h)alambom. The Zulus were originally concentrated in the hilly and mountainous regions of south-east South Africa. In working-class Zulu in Soweto, the amashalambom are vagrants (Tshabalala, personal communication [1986]). The word appears to derive from shala (of shunning) or ishalashala (unsociable person) and ubombo (range of mountains) (Doke, Malcolm and Sikakana [1958]), i.e., isolates who live in the mountains. The gangs began in the 1890s as vagrant bandits living in the veld and disused mine shafts of the Witwatersrand, and initially called themselves Umkosi Wezintaba -- The Regiment of the Hills. The codification of outcast identity is total. In prison lexis **berge** (mountains; delinquent/prison lex) refers to solitary confinement, individual social death; and the **berge in Pretoria** to the death cells themselves in Pretoria Prison.

6.3 Conclusions

The evidence indicates the myth and enaction of four intracommunal identities corresponding to the four hierarchical lexicogrammatical codes of the dialect, the code of each identity constituting the lexicogrammatical code of a corresponding intracommunal sub-lexicon of the dialect. The dialect as a whole, and especially in the disreputable and delinquent lexises, is construed uniquely coloured, stigmatized, spoiled, insignificant, entertaining, beloved, frivolous, informal, intimate, domestic, expressive, destructive of middle-class dialects (both Afrikaans and English), yet plundering them in certain respects. Irrespective of

sub-lexicon, speakers of the working-class dialect are acutely conscious that it is their own creation and enacts their own communal identity.

Middle-class dialects are construed by the working-class speech community as signifying an identity superior in rank, more positive in valence, and internalized in self-possession. Disreputables and delinquents codify working-class identity in ascribed terms as coloured rather than in achieved terms of class; antimonially codify middle-class identity as white, and construe it and its lexises -- although idealized -- also as fundamentally grandiose: pompously formal, luxurious, sanctimonious, corrupt, dominative and exploitative. This ambivalence is manifested in the splitting of middle-class white identity into relatively stigmatized Afrikaaner, and relatively idealized English, and is manifested throughout the working-class Afrikaans dialect in the avoidance of middle-class Afrikaans lexis construed as (metonymically) signifying grandiosity, and in its relexicalization in middle-class English lexis construed as signifying educatedness, intelligence, sophistication and expressive verbal dexterity. In addition, the delinquent relexicalize semantics in lexis construed as exotic and oppositional: Zulu, Xhosa, **Slamse woorde** (Muslim terms; the lexis of Java Muslims; respectable lex), and a few lexical items associated with Mexicans, Italians and Jews.

Yet the Peninsular working-class coloured Afrikaans dialect is fundamentally Afrikaans. Its consciousness is substantially Afrikaans, albeit in syncretism or conflict with others as described above. Afrikaans consciousness is manifested (except by practising Muslims) in construction of the boundaries of communal identity as Christian-Western, its origin as rural and Afrikaans and the identity itself as parochial, predominantly non-verbal, physically violent, tough, ambivalent towards sanctimony, ambiguous in respectability/disreputability, crude, concrete, simple, blunt, passionate and collectivistic rather than individualistic (Stone [1985: 31]).

Both the respectable and the prison identities are characterized by the idealization of commitment free of ambivalence, the former positive, the latter semantically paradoxical, i.e., positive enacted as negative and vice-versa ("So farewell hope, and with hope farewell fear, /Farewell remorse; all good to me is lost; /Evil be thou my Good." [Milton, 1674: "Paradise Lost": Book iv: 1: 108-110]). The disreputable identity, however, is characterized by the idealization of optionality between itself and both respectability and delinquency.

Upward mobility from delinquency to disreputability, disreputability to respectability, and respectability to the middle class, as well as downward mobility to long-term prison gang membership are enacted in a career identity, in which the actor's hierarchic identity is determined primarily by the pursuit of commitment to an occupational position determined by work (including the work of preferred unemployment and of optionality) in which he pursues competence. The respectable pursuit of secure stability may also be evinced in bourgeois manual hobbies, such as gardening and other domestic ornamentation, graphic art and indoor games and sports, or in comparable group activities, e.g., recreational, religious or political.

A fundamental distinction between the delinquent and the disreputable identities is the disreputable's retention of the option of a mask of respectability, displayed in formal middle-class intellectual and dialectal code-switching ability and sophisticated empathy with middle-class consciousness and reality. When naiveté or ignorance cause the mask to slip, the presentation may appear pretentious or comic to both working- and middle-class observers. The disreputable identity, then, is marked by ambivalence and lack of commitment, which, since disreputability merges with respectability, extend into respectability unless it is totalistically defensive, or the respectable agent pragmatically pursues middle-class affiliation. Ambivalence towards stability in gender preference, marital and parental fidelity, occupation, peer-group relationships -- indeed towards any consequential commitment or confirmation of identity -- is characteristic of disreputability. Only formal but inconsequential recreation, such as soccer, may be pursued with consistently enthusiastic interest and stable attendance at practices, club meetings and matches, and even then the formal rules are opportunistically violated ("tactics, my brother, tactics!" [translation]), and the match may be followed by some disreputable peer-group activity such as mordant mutual taunting, liquor- or drug-taking or sexual exhibitionism in the showers. (A large proportion of soccer players are, of course, respectable or middle-class.)

The path to prison-gang outcastness is through delinquency. Gangs outside prison are construed as informal but enduring organizations of consequence, if not substance. Although informal group processes of initiation and enactment are ritualized (e.g., tattooing, criminal acts, intimidation of the respectable by flaunting markers of delinquency and by threat of attack, smoking of the **pyp**, vandalism, gang fights and rapes), and there is a strict hierarchy of extreme deference and authority when leaders are men of wealth and influence and the followers are impoverished, there are

no consistent formal rituals as such, nor is there a formal organization. However, the more confirmed a delinquent, the more he is likely to present a totalistic negative identity, which is marked by covering the torso, limbs, neck and face with tattoos; among the more impoverished by wearing a selection and style of dress displaying both pollution (dirt) and sexuality; by using only delinquent lexis and in histrionic style; and by generally confining himself to circulation within the underworld and with the police (who are construed disreputable and with whom there is always an ambivalent relationship characteristically marked by reciprocal hatred, joking [Radcliffe-Brown, 1940] and trade [Bailey, 1971: 1-25, 280-301]). As each disreputable and delinquent age-set initiates itself into adult identity, it appropriates the preceding age-set's identity, in the metonymic form of lexis, and consigns the previous actors to nonentity as **timers**, has-beens, socially dead.

The intercommunal and intracommunal variants of identity described in this chapter constitute a complex system of enaction, but there is no objectified verbal myth encompassing them. Indeed, such myth tends to be limited to simple representation of conflict between communal identities; other enaction remains subjectified in stigma.

DATA:

THE DISREPUTABLE LEXICON OF OU ROEKER TALE

7.0 Introduction

This chapter introduces and sets out the lexical data of the study: 2,211 items in the Disreputable Lexicon of **Ou Roeker Tale** (see 7.028 on the rules of enumeration).

This Introduction covers three main fields peculiar to the research lexicon: problems of allocation of items to particular lexicogrammatical codes and communal identities, orthographic problems, and conventions of dating, orthography, translation, etymology, annotation, abbreviation, cross-reference and enumeration. Many lexicographic issues derive from ethnographic data.

7.01 Lexical Allocation to Lexicons

Criteria for allocation of a lexical item to a particular Lexicon have been highly complex and problematic in perhaps five to ten percent of all items set out in this chapter. The issues are revealing in methodological, ethnographic and semiotic terms, and are accordingly explicated.

Unpublished research beyond the scope of this thesis has indicated conflict between folk myths of continuity and discreteness between disreputable and delinquent identities and between their respective lexicogrammatical codes as well as certain fields of consciousness, reality and identity enactment -- focal concerns -- common only to both. In summary, **outies** (disreputably tough adolescent and young adult males) propose their identity and lexis as **ou roeker** (delinquent); all **ou roekers** are **outies**; but **vollende** (authentic, confirmed) **ou roekers** reject those **outies** as inauthentic whose **ou roeker** identity is optional, as the latter themselves do optionally. Nevertheless, there was pragmatic consensus between the two identities regarding their differentiation. Both concur on the distinction between disreputable and delinquent identities and lexises.

The unpublished research concluded that scientific and folk consciousness coincided in assigning pragmatic communication (ethnographic data)

precedence over (inferred) finite logic in differentiating between the two identities and their Lexicons. The ethnographic data indicated employment of a form of logic -- infinite (in-finite) logic utilizing infinite sets -- which was wholly subjective, and tolerant of contradiction and the equation of non-identical terms, including opposite terms. Both folk and scientific considerations, as well as limitations on space have led to the formulation of the following rules in decisions on the allocation of particular lexical items to particular Lexicons.

(i) When the usage of a lexical item constitutes a regionally unique lexical and/or grammatical and/or semantic and/or phonetic marker of a communal identity enaction, the item is assigned to the Lexicon communally, consensually construed as a codal manifestation of that identity.

(ii) Fidelity to the ethnographic data overrides fidelity to inferred finite logic.

(iii) Fidelity to major trends in patterns of communal identity overrides fidelity to more minor variations.

Nearly all the phonetic markers are to be found in the Respectable Lexicon. The burden of rule (i) is that an item is assigned to a Lexicon because its (pragmatic) usage constitutes a sign of its lexicogrammatical-phonetic code. Rules (ii) and (iii) may be summarized thus: when there is conflict between ideology and action, what informants do is given precedence over what they say; and when there is conflict between major and minor ethnographic trends, major trends are given precedence. Major implications are spelt out below as they arise.

7.010 Differentiation between Respectable and Other Items

In the Disreputable Lexicon, essentially the distinctive lexis of working-class Afrikaans-speaking adolescent and young adult males and especially outies (including ou roekers), "Resp" alone indicates that the item is disreputable/respectable, and "Respectable Lexicon" that it is wholly or predominantly respectable, and is excluded from this study except when noted for special relevance. A few disreputable/respectable items are becoming respectable and are noted. (Temporal changes during the period of fieldwork strongly suggest that probably many respectable items were originally adolescent and disreputable or even delinquent.) The remaining, unmarked items in the Disreputable Lexicon are wholly disreputable.

The general linguistic codal rule is that items are excluded from the

Respectable Lexicon and allocated to the Disreputable or Delinquent Lexicons if they are generally, consensually construed by both the respectable and others as (1) predominantly adolescent and young adult male in origin and (2) predominantly disreputable and/or delinquent innovations or relexicalizations of respectable or other disreputable or delinquent lexis, and therefore in combination as **ou roeker tale**; and if they (3a) mark the style of, and (3b) are used entirely in enaction of the **outie** identity and its focal concerns, and (3c) manifest its consciousness, including the consciousness of **ou roekers** as well as those **outies** who repudiate enaction of the **ou roeker** identity but associate in leisure activities with **ou roekers** to some degree. Informants were asked to assign an item to the Respectable or other Lexicons in terms of a simple, fundamental criterion: would your respectable mother use it? The differentiation of communal identity and lexicogrammatical code between working-class respectable and all other working-class hierarchic identities is well-defined, especially from the respectable perspective.

In summary, the usage of disreputable items marks the speaker as disreputable.

7.011 Differentiation between Disreputable and Delinquent Items

This issue is raised by the instance of some disreputable items which extend into the enaction of delinquency and have apparently infiltrated from delinquent lexis; but this process of infiltration would be too rapid to be temporally distinguishable because disreputability and delinquency constitute a continuum of voluntary group association, identity options, focal concerns and lexicogrammatical codes except in individually optional fields that mutually exclude each other. (When this process has been identifiable during the period of fieldwork these items are marked in the Disreputable Lexicon.)

In general linguistic terms, items in the Disreputable Lexicon are very likely to be of delinquent character and origin (i.e., markers of relatively delinquent identity) if they (i) are syntactic hints and allusions -- grammatical circumlocutions such as expressive archaisms, redundancies, hints, allusions or connotations (i.e. implicitly omitting disreputable, respectable or middle-class grammar) -- passing as, and caricaturing the rules of disreputable, respectable or middle-class lexis and grammar; or (ii) are pronounced with Nguni (Xhosa or Zulu) phonetics; or manifest (iii) the grossest sexual sadism (rather than mere obscene

explicitness and contempt) or (iv) the most brutal cynicism in deception and exploitation; or (v) pertain to brutality, delinquency, crime, and their civic control and punishment. Semantic hints and allusions are more likely to be euphemistic, and therefore disreputable/respectable. Ideologically, delinquency is flaunted commitment; disreputability is flirtation.

Items distinguishable in terms of the same linguistic criteria are far more common in the Delinquent Lexicon, but here the ultimate criterion is ethnographic. Items allocated to the Delinquent Lexicon are only those used spontaneously in discourse between **ou roekers**, or by non-**ou roeker outies** and **cats** in discourse with, or reference to **ou roekers**, and that mark the style and enactment of **ou roeker** identity and its focal concerns, and manifest its consciousness. In other words they are confined to the **ou roeker** lexicogrammatical code.

7.012 Summary: The Management of Diacritical Ambiguity and Paradox

Nearly all the respectable lexis was differentiated formally by one experienced informant and myself, and the remainder, about a hundred items, by three other informants and myself. At the respectable pole of the working-class continuum of communal identity and lexicogrammatical code, ethnography coincides with inferred finite logic.

For the rest, all standardizers, and all other speakers interviewed readily and warmly agreed to a distinction in principle between those items of **ou roeker tale** that pertain to delinquent consciousness, reality and identity, and those that pertain to disreputable consciousness, reality and identity -- particularly **outie** identity -- and/or are merely **rou** (raw, uncivilized; Respectable Lex) and **onbeskof** (rude, vulgar, obscene, stigmatizing; Respectable Lex).

In a small proportion of items there were conflicts between finite logical and ethnographic allocation. An example is the antonyms **swak** (broke, penniless, connoting social insignificance; lit: weak) and **sték** (flourishing financially, flush with money; lit: strong). These entered the Delinquent Lexicon from the Prison Lexicon around 1978. **Swak** proceeded rapidly into the Disreputable Lexicon, mainly in complaints of pennilessness and cadging of money from peers. **Sték** remained in the Delinquent Lexicon, mainly in discourse pertaining to financial ambition and financially successful criminals. However, **swak** is also used in a phrase (**swak maak**: render penniless, especially by burglary or robbery;

cause to lose valuable opportunity, situation, connection, influence, get into trouble) used virtually in the Delinquent Lexicon only, although disreputables are familiar with it. **Swak** is therefore entered in both Disreputable and Delinquent Lexicons -- in the former as the single word, in the latter as key to the phrase, and **sték** in the Delinquent Lexicon only.

A prime illustration of optionality and ambiguity occurs in the case of lexis pertaining to the use of, and trade in dagga and Mandrax. Introductory terms, familiar to casual and light smokers, more inclined to confine themselves to dagga, are in the Disreputable Lexicon. Items concerning finer detail are in the Delinquent Lexicon. These pertain to the illicit retail trade and the variety of products familiar to smokers who are heavily dependent, crave daily consumption of both drugs, in some cases in massive quantities and at great cost in money and health for years, and tend to be delinquents or ex-delinquent disreputables retaining strong delinquent associations. The trade is operated by delinquents employed by entrepreneurs who are delinquent, disreputable, or even otherwise respectable but descend temporarily into disreputability for rapid financial gain.

Dagga and Mandrax are almost universally taken by gang delinquents, and widely by disreputables. Unless one is of middle-class origin with predominantly English-speaking parents, the more extensive one's use of the drugs, the more likely one is to be delinquent or to form friendships predominantly with delinquents and hardly or not at all with respectables. The vast majority of **guards** who protect a dagga **merchant** from robbery by gang delinquents, screen would-be purchasers, alert the **merchant** to the approach of the police, and usually live on the premises and are fed and paid, are themselves necessarily delinquents with a reputation for ability in the use of violence.

The crux of my argument in the case of lexis pertaining to drugs is ethnographic, founded on trends in patterns of voluntary association, lexical usage and communal consciousness. The distinction between Disreputable and Delinquent Lexicons generally holds up well -- as inspection of the Lexicons will show -- but a division of lexis pertaining to drugs between Disreputable and Delinquent Lexicons is unsatisfactory in terms of finite logic; and even ethnographically it is founded on major trends and not discrete, mutually exclusive configurations of voluntary association, communal identity and lexicogrammatical code. There are many minor instances of individual disreputables, formerly delinquents, who

have subsided into heavy drug-taking and constitute a minority of disreputables in a somewhat younger delinquent peer-group -- the senior, retired members of the club, as it were, who organize and administer its rituals.

The vast majority of adolescent delinquents do not master instability between commitment and ambivalence towards delinquency, and most settle into disreputability with the establishment of membership in the senior age-set (aged twenty to twenty-five). Since lexical innovation appears to be the work largely of the junior age-set (fifteen to nineteen) acutely preoccupied with rebellion against the parental generation, innovation tends to originate and be popularized and treasured largely in delinquent circles (networks of peer-groups) idealized by disreputable circles flirting or masquerading as delinquent -- and is of course named as **ou roeker tale**. The most violent delinquents and seriously professional criminals are not much entertained by lexis, but they are a very small minority.

In summary, then, the differentiation between the Respectable Lexicon and the others was clear. Differentiation between Disreputable and Delinquent was problematic in perhaps one percent of items as a result partly of the lack of clear, objectified, lexicalized diacritical boundaries, partly of the conflict between the logical and ethnographic markers of communal identity and lexicogrammatical code, especially during a period of rapid sociolinguistic change and particularly when previously maintained differentiation between identities is being replaced by integration (phenomena beyond the scope of this thesis), and partly of a focus in this thesis on the most major trends in communal identity, lexicogrammatical code and communal consciousness. Differentiation between Disreputable and Delinquent items was also problematic because of the tendency of some items which began currency as Delinquent to become merely Disreputable after a decade or two as their usage became confined to **timers** -- of the generation of fathers of adolescent or adult children.

7.02 Conventions

7.020 Introduction

This section deals with the lexicographic conventions used in the dating of lexical items, translation, etymology, orthography, notation of lexicogrammatical code, selection and identification of prison sub-lexises, referencing (the selection of a key item for entry of an item comprising

more than one word), cross-referencing and abbreviations.

7.021 Dating

Unless otherwise specified, the period of usage in the adolescent and young adult speech communities should be assumed to be at least (and almost certainly well beyond) from March 1963 until December 1990. Since precision is impossible in specifying dates of innovation and archaism, a specified year includes the previous and subsequent years, thus indicating a period of three years. This effectually extends the period covered to 1962-1991, but excludes innovations and archaisms which would be assigned centrally to 1991. A specified period between two dates should therefore be regarded as including one year each previously and subsequently. A date preceded by a hyphen (e.g., -1978) indicates that the term was current from at least (and almost certainly before) March 1963 until one year before or after the date stated. Thereafter the item apparently fell into total disuse among adolescent and young adult age-sets, although it may well have remained far more common among former adolescents and young adults who had entered their thirties and forties, and were identified as **timers** by the successive generation in terms of such lexicogrammatical generational identity markers, which they term **timers' taal** (old men's language; Disreputable Lex). A date followed by a hyphen (e.g., 1970-) indicates that the term has been current since a year before or after that date until at least (and almost certainly beyond) 1989.

Although very many items dated from a particular year are innovations -- i.e., new lexical creations -- many have been introduced to the researched speech community at that date after currency in another speech community -- which may or may not be Peninsular working-class coloured -- for a long period. The infiltration of Outcast prison lexis into the Delinquent Lexicon is an example on a large scale.

7.022 Translation

When formal English does not suffice in translation, colloquial, idiomatic terms may be used, and obscene terms may be used for precision when there is no adequate alternative in standard English. E.g., the term "screw" is used for copulation when the item connotes that a male disreputably, actively takes a female or another male as an impersonal subordinate, passive object of self-aggrandizing, self-gratifying conquest and exploitation, that the term is metaphoric and more euphemistic than "fuck",

and that the metaphor connotes repetitive, mechanical, oscillating, masterfully busy action. In particular, the connotation is that one partner dominates the physical interaction and especially the pelvic thrusting. "Have intercourse with" or "copulate with" substantially lack these meanings. (In the researched speech community the Afrikaans translation of "fuck" is used almost entirely as a grave insult or forceful expletive, very seldom in direct reference to copulation, as in English.)

Items for which there are many synonyms are identified and analysed in the next chapter. Many items have two or more meanings, in some cases each falling into a different Lexicon. Those meanings which are solely Respectable, solely Prison, solely Java, etc., are excluded from this study unless cited in reference or explication.

Items which are of crucial significance in the consciousness, myth and constructions of speakers are explicated at considerable length, especially when denotative precision is difficult.

7.023 Etymology

Etymology is of manifold interest. For instance, it provides data as crucial to the social or sociolinguistic historian as artifacts are to the archaeologist: in the Disreputable Lexicon a considerable number (73, 3,73%) of longstanding apparently Afrikaans items turned out on closer inspection to be standard formal, colloquial Xhosa, Afrikaansified Xhosa, or disreputable or delinquent urban, working-class antilinguistic Xhosa or Zulu variants belonging to Cape Lingo (Cape Provincial black urban disreputable or delinquent codes known as Lingo, essentially in Cape Town and Port Elizabeth) or Flytaal (Witwatersrand black urban disreputable and delinquent) dialects. Nearly all the items shared with Cape Lingo were evidently borrowed between the nineteen-forties and early nineteen-sixties, when large numbers of Capetonian black migrants from rural areas and coloureds shared impoverished residential areas prior to segregation in terms of the Group Areas Act. Items shared with Flytaal were apparently transmitted to the latter by similar rural black migration to the Witwatersrand, as well as by visits and migration by speakers of **ou roeker tale** to the Witwatersrand. Other Xhosa items have evidently been derived from the shared workplace, most commonly the construction and allied industries. Even so, the Nguni origin of many items appears to be unknown to speakers from the nineteen-sixties on. (Similarly, some of these items were originally derived by Xhosa- and Zulu-speakers from English and Afrikaans; and by the mid-nineteen-eighties working-class adolescent and

young adult black males of recent rural origin in Cape Town had begun to absorb the working-class disreputable and delinquent coloured lexises -- and other identity markers, such as dress -- on a large scale.

Etymology also has extensive linguistic -- especially phonological and syntactic -- implications, particularly in permitting access to codes of transformation between dialects, languages and cultures or subcultures. Since such transformations are highly creative acts, etymology can also provide considerable, profound and unique information about the consciousness and the construct codes (codes by which constructs are organized, inter-related and used) of speakers.

The term "standard" denotes the referent language or dialect, i.e., the lexicon from which the item in the research lexicon was derived. In the case of Afrikaans and English, this is the middle-class dialect. Xhosa and Zulu, on the other hand, have undergone considerable change from their traditional rural lexicons, even as they stood at the turn of the century, when prison-gang lexis was developed. Their traditional rural lexicons at that time constitute the etymological standard for this study except where a colloquial code or Westernized urban working-class relexicalizations or innovations are noted.

An attempt to provide the etymology of every item would be far beyond the scope of this study. A systematic effort has been made in the case of items which are Nguni or derived from this group of dialects. Beyond that, etymological information or at least speculation has been entered wherever obscure, possible and of particular interest.

7.024 Orthography

The working-class lexis is construed as quintessentially oral, although some speakers occasionally write letters or notes in their vernacular. Three different orthographies are used in this study: Afrikaans, English and Nguni (minor differences between Xhosa and Zulu are indicated). This creates challenging problems, not so much in the duplication or even triplication of cross-references for easy reference in all three orthographies, but in the choice of orthography of the entry itself.

To compound matters, working-class Afrikaans speakers use a wholly middle-class Afrikaans orthography when using both standard and working-class lexis in writing letters (rendering, e.g., the item pronounced **djy** as "jy"), and use both Afrikaans and English orthographies for working-class

relexicalizations and innovations in terms of a complex orthographic code. Some wholly English items are rendered partly or wholly in Afrikaans orthography, depending on the writer's literary knowledge of English: e.g., "taidkone" for "tight corner" (from a document cited in Lotter and Schurink [1984: 76]). Conversely, Afrikaans lexis may be orthographically Anglicized in an English letter by a bilingual writer: e.g., "sprikkles" for **sprikkels** (freckles; also common nickname; from std A: spikkel: (v t) speckle; Respectable Lex; [letter of 1st February 1985 from working-class male in mid-thirties to me. This partial Anglicization was not a casual spelling error or obscure idiosyncrasy: it was consistently repeated five times more and was evidently intended to lend an individualistic touch of Anglicizing style in a document competently composed and spelt by middle-class standards. In this case the individualism was a conspicuous identity marker in the form of highly histrionic, eccentric exhibitionism in the writer, his father and paternal uncle, each in his own memorably distinctive way. All three were conspicuously shorter in stature than average, and were construed by acquaintances as intelligent and talented but loud and slightly mad.

The ethnic identity of the language is indicated when it may be unclear: e.g., **bad** (A), i.e., Afrikaans, and **bad** (E), i.e., English. Beyond that I have been guided by the following ideological rules and methodological goals.

The first is to reflect the consciousness of speakers as far as possible. To speakers of the working-class, fundamentally Afrikaans dialect, the Afrikaans integrity of the working-class identity (i.e., the integrity of the working-class lexicogrammatical and phonetic codes) is ideologically primary, and evinces ambivalent alienation from the Afrikaans-speaking middle class and greater affiliation with the English. Therefore the working-class Afrikaans and middle-class English orthographies are entered as primary. The consequent orthographic rules are as follows:

- (1) Fully Afrikaans or fully Afrikaansified items are entered in Afrikaans orthography; e.g., **skatties**, derived from the Xhosa "isikhathi". When the working-class phonology is different to the middle-class or standard, the spelling is modified to conform to Afrikaans orthography; e.g., j becomes dj, ee becomes ie when phonetically applicable.
- (2) Fully English or fully Anglicized items are entered in English orthography; e.g., **wheatie** from the Xhosa "withi".
- (3) Fully Nguni or fully Ngunicized items are entered in Xhosa and/or Zulu

orthography; e.g., **themba** (Xh and Z), pronounced "temba".

(4) But partially Afrikaansified items of English or Nguni derivation, and neologisms composed in English or Nguni by Afrikaans-speakers are entered as far as possible in their original orthography: e.g., **chômmie** (buddy; from chum) is preferred to **tjômmie**, **berole** (from parole) to **beroul** (in this item the semantics are different to, but substantially associated with the original "parole"). However, if the original orthography is grossly different and inadequate phonetically, items are entered in Afrikaans orthography in terms of rule (1) above; e.g., **skatties** and not "isikhathi" (Xh and Z).

(5) And stylized, Ngunicized vowel phonology in Afrikaans or Afrikaansified items of English origin is rendered in Afrikaans orthography (which is codally appropriate and most suitable for the purpose in the absence of phonetic orthography); e.g. **kên**, **chômmie**.

(6) When there are one or more variants of an item, the entry is made under, and referred to the variant most commonly used. E.g., **bla:** var of **bra**.

(7) Some words have both Afrikaans and English syllables, and some phrases both Afrikaans and English and/or Nguni words. Each syllable or word is rendered in its original orthography, which is explicitly indicated: e.g., **pleabaadjie** (EA); **die blok is umjojo** (A A A Xh).

(8) All Nguni items are cross-referred in Afrikaans orthography unless they are phonetically identical or very similar to the Afrikaans, and in English orthography unless identical or very similar to the English.

The crucial advantages of this system are conformity to the major rules of ideological integrity of speakers' religio-political linguistic codes (manifesting the absolute valence, integrity and boundaries of the communal identities enacted), maximal simplicity, and uniformity throughout the Disreputable and Delinquent Lexicons. The system's disadvantage is that it does not reflect the still greater complexity of the codal ideologies described in the literary orthographies cited above; but relevant items are cross-referred to permit utilization of the research lexicon by both working- and middle-class readers, Afrikaans, English, Xhosa or Zulu.

In summary, the crux of the fundamental ideological difference between the orthographic codal ideologies of vernacular writers of working-class Afrikaans and prison lexis, and the simpler system employed here, is

evinced in vernacular writers' rules that non-Afrikaans ethnic lexises are code-switching options to be appropriated and optionally modified in terms of the fundamental integrity of working-class Afrikaans. There are rules reflecting general and particular options, and rules permitting individualistic, even whimsical options. Individual writers vary according to their literary knowledge of English and Nguni, as well as in utilization of individualistic licence in options of orthographic style. Their fundamental ideological rule is that the working-class Afrikaans phonetic and orthographic codes are omnipotent, even if optionally applied.

On the other hand the orthographic system used in this research rigorously, consistently reflects the ethnic integrity and etymology of the phonetically Afrikaansified English and Nguni options as far as possible, for easier reading and research as befits the purpose of the study, which should record the divergence but leave no room for ambiguity and ambivalence in the absence of adequate data and the explication of rules governing them. Even so, the available data suggest that a lexicon incorporating phonetic orthography and all the orthographic rules of the etymologically original speech community would differ from this study in a maximum of less than one percent of the items.

The following dictionaries were used:

Afrikaans: Bosman, van der Merwe and Hiemstra (8th ed: 1984): *Tweetalige Woordeboek/Bilingual Dictionary*; Odendal, Schoonees, Swanepoel, Du Toit and Booysen (2nd ed: 1979): *Verklarende Handwoordeboek van die Afrikaanse Taal*;

English: The Compact Edition of the Oxford English Dictionary (1971); Partridge (1972): *Penguin Dictionary of Historical Slang*; Phythian (2nd ed: 1976): *A Concise Dictionary of English Slang*; Beeton and Dorner (1975): *A Dictionary of English Usage in Southern Africa*; Branford (3rd ed: 1987): *A Dictionary of South African English*;

Xhosa: *Learner's English-Xhosa Dictionary* (1987); McLaren (2nd ed: 1963): *A New Concise Xhosa-English Dictionary*;

Zulu: Doke and Vilikazi (2nd ed: 1953): *Zulu-English Dictionary*; Doke, Malcolm and Sikakana (1958): *English and Zulu Dictionary*.

Branford's (1987) work is discussed in 7.029 below. Makhudu (1980) contains about two hundred items of Flytaal lexis. Those which are also in the Lexicon below are noted, but no systematic attempt was made to survey Flytaal for further items common to both. Sydney Zotwana, lecturer in the Department of African Languages at the University of Cape Town, his

colleague Clifford Dikeni, and three black acquaintances (one Mr Zotwana's) assisted valuably in explicating the standard Xhosa or Zulu etymology and/or orthography of items in the Lexicon of **Ou Roeker Tale** that I could not satisfactorily or accurately derive from dictionaries (but responsibility for the representations in 7.1 remains mine). Mr Zotwana and Mr Dikeni also drew my attention to several items shared with Flytaal or Cape Lingo. Mr Dikeni advised that the working-class disreputable dialect in Durban is named Thamunda.

Exemplifying statements cited in quotation marks are excerpts from actual spontaneous discourse acquired from speakers other than myself orally or in writing.

7.025 Notation of Lexicogrammatical Code

Items in the Disreputable Lexicon are implicitly disreputable/delinquent unless marked as disreputable/respectable ("Resp").

7.026 Key Entry

When an item is composed of more than one word, or a phrase, it is entered under the noun. E.g., **op 'n wit klip staan** (lit: stand on a white rock) is entered under **klip** (rock). When there is more than one noun, the item is entered under that which is semantically more crucial. E.g., **pen in die spaarblikkie wegdruk** (lit: put [one's] spike away in the moneybox [forcing it open to exploit and enjoy the contents]) is entered under **pen** because it is extended metaphorically from that term, meaning to have sex with, specifically, to penetrate phallically. A small proportion of phrases have been entered twice, each entry under a different key word. The second entry is made to explicate the word's meaning, or because both key entries might be regarded as equally crucial semantically.

7.027 Cross-reference

The term "see" is used for cross-referencing only, and does not indicate a variant ("var") or synonym ("syn") unless so indicated. All other cross-referencing is provided for the following purposes:

- (i) Orthographic: between Afrikaans, English and Nguni orthographies. E.g., **tjōmmie**: see **chōmmie**.
- (ii) Semantic: to an item of related meaning, mythic significance or psychosocial interest.

An item marked "Also in Respectable" (or Delinquent or Prison) "Lexicon" is also present with one or more different meanings (to the Disreputable) in the indicated Lexicon of the dialect. An item prefaced "Respectable Lexicon:" or "Delinquent Lexicon:" is merely in that Lexicon and of related interest to the entry under which it is noted.

7.028 Enumeration

Every entry is counted unless it is an orthographic cross-reference varying only in spelling from another entry, e.g., **bieza**: see **biza**. If there is any phonetic difference between two items, each is counted even if they share the same meaning; e.g., **smackers** and **smeghas**. Where an item has more than one meaning, or a meaning is additionally used in one or more idiomatic phrases, each is counted as an entry.

7.029 Abbreviations

abbrev: abbreviation.

adj: adjectival, adjective.

adv: adverbial, adverb.

A, Afr: Afrikaans.

Angl: Anglicized.

antil: antilinguistic.

coll: colloquial.

conn: connotes, connotation.

delinq: delinquent.

derog: derogatory.

disrep: disreputable.

E: English.

euph: euphemistic, euphemism.

expr: expresses, expressive, expression.

lit: literally.

n: noun.

neol: neologism.

Ng: Nguni, in this instance, both Xhosa and Zulu.

p: pronoun.

phon: phonetics.

pl: plural.

Pris: has entered Disreputable or Delinquent Lexicons from Prison Lexicon.

pris: prison.

prob: probably.
 pron: pronounced, pronunciation.
 ?: possibly.
 q v: to which the reader is referred.
 ref: refers, reference.
 Resp: disreputable/respectable in Disreputable Lexicon, in which unmarked
 lexis is disreputable/delinquent.
 resp: respectable.
 s: singular.
 S A: South Africa, South African. Thus: S A E: South African English.*
 std: standard.
 syn: synonym.
 var: variant.
 v i: intransitive verb.
 v t: transitive verb.
 Xh: Xhosa.
 whims: whimsical.
 Z: Zulu.

These notations are indicated only where clarity is necessary. E.g., a
 syllable or item will be marked as English only when the reader may be
 expected to be in some doubt, or as a noun to distinguish it from usage as
 a verb as well, or when the reader who does not speak the dialect might
 otherwise find the grammar unclear.

Where the letter heading an alphabetical section would fall at the bottom
 of a page it is set forward to the top of the next page for easier reading.

* I define as South African English any complete lexical item (as
 contrasted with a phonemic part) distinctive to South Africa and
 customarily used as English. Since Branford's (3rd ed: 1987) dictionary is
 entitled "South African English", it is necessary to point out that my
 definition is a far cry from her treatment, which includes any item either
 incorporated in a written English text assigned as distinctive to at least
 one South African source, or of an indigenous language merely familiar to
 some middle-class white South African English-speakers. This accordingly
 includes wholly Zimbabwean items. Many of these written sources,
 especially of working-class Black urban oral dialects, argots and slangs,
 are of a rhetorical genre displaying the middle-class writer's rare and
 esoteric familiarity with the lexis of an exotic working-class world of
 colour to the uninitiated, middle-class white reader. Indeed, not a single
 working-class informant appears among Branford's very numerous

acknowledgements. The result is that many items are included which are not construed by speakers as English. Moreover the meanings given are often grossly imprecise and incomplete. Accurate, comprehensive oral lexicography cannot be achieved by confinement to written sources, nor indeed without ethnographic information both objective and subjective.

One detailed example must suffice: Branford defines a **pantsula** as "a young African, sometimes a 'tsotsi' (q. v.) more usually elaborately and expensively dressed" (sic; p. 261). Apart from the ambiguous and clumsy grammar, the reader is left wholly to the three sources cited, all journalistic and rhetorical (one misspelling the item), for the implications that the **pantsula** evidently excludes children, females, the rural, the respectable and the affluent and is urban, working-class, male, adolescent or young adult, disreputable or delinquent and flashily dressed. Some of these implications would not be evident to a non-South African reader. No mention is made of **pantsula** music or dance, none (even in her terms) of usage in the dialect studied here. **Pantsula** is construed as English only by Branford. Compare with the entry in 7.1 below.

Her entry on **gamtal** (incorrectly lower-case; p. 111) is grossly inaccurate. This item too is not English. Her representation, derived from, and repeating Pinnock's, (1984a), implies that all "Cape Coloureds" belong to gangs.

Branford stresses that "we of the Dictionary Unit at Rhodes University are working in a tradition of scholarship a hundred years old" (p. viii). The problem is that South African oral lexicons -- especially those of the working-class and non-respectable, still more those of colour -- are so poorly researched that the unfamiliar reader is wholly at the writer's mercy. In this instance the writer neither states nor attempts to justify her exclusion of members of working-class speech communities as informants, and of wholly oral information on their own lexicons, but includes whatever fragmentary representations, South African or not, English or not, come her way by written sources. Indeed, she never states her criteria of inclusion at all. But the more items, evidently, the merrier; one can modestly confess to under-inclusion (p. xi) here, and hardly go wrong by over-inclusion there.

Finally, precision would dictate that since English distinctive to South Africa is not used by an integral speech community there is no South African English but many speech-communal varieties of English within the external borders of the state of South Africa, which must then necessarily

include the "homelands" and "independent states", as well as Walvis Bay, but now exclude Namibia.

Synonyms are listed where appropriate. However, a meaning for which there are six or more synonyms is classified in this study as overlexicalized, and these synonyms are set out in chapter 8. Some overlexicalizations run to over twenty, thirty and even forty items, and there was no point in reproducing the entire list at each relevant entry in this chapter as well.

7.1 THE LEXICON

A

aairie: (adj) fine, fixed up. From **Rasta** Lexicon via reggae lyrics. Resp. 1984- .

aangie: (1) (v i) thrust the pelvis during copulation or in simulation of it. Lit: give on, present. (2) (v t) - **met:** illegally tout or trade in liquor, dagga and/or Mandrax. Lit: give on with, present with.

aankap: (1) go, leave, depart. (2) hurry up, get a move on in departing. Lit: chop on. 1988- .

aanklop: (v i) cadge, supplicate. Lit: knock on (a door). Hence **aanklopper:** cadger; **aanklopperig** (adj): making a pest (of oneself) by cadging. Resp.

accor'ing: about, with reference to.

afbriek: (v i) disrupt or destroy (goodwill, friendship, trust, objects) maliciously, gratuitously; start trouble for fun. - **op:** (v t) do this to (someone or something). Hence **afbrieker:** person who does this. Lit: demolish. 1975- .

af daar: hands off, keep away, lay off. Lit: off there. Resp.

afhak: (v i) attack. Hence **Hak af!:** Attack! Instruction usually by gang member to peers to attack others. Std A: **afhaak:** begin, let loose, let fly. Lit: - **op:** (v t) attack. Lit: let fly on.

afkap: (1) (v t) say, respond or reply, in reported speech: "Ek vertel hom, daai's myne. Wiet dji wat **kap** hy af? 'Is 'ie! 'Is myne!" "I told him, that mine. Do you know what he comes back with? 'It's not! It's mine!" (2) (n) response, reply. Lit: knock or slam down, slash or chop

off. Syn **afsak**. 1970- .

afkoel: (v i) (1) stay awhile, relax. Syns: **anker (gooi)**, **lam**, **peg**, **station**, **vasbrand**, **vaskap**, **vasstiek**; and in Delinquent Lexicon: **phola**. (2) relax and have fun. (3) retire from active **ou roeker** life. Resp. Lit: cool off. Syn **bedaar**.

afkop: (n) ugly, sexually repellent adolescent or young adult regarded as such because of negroid hair and physiognomy, and lack of grooming. Usually female. Lit: off-head. Resp. 1975- .

aflek: perform cunnilingus (stimulating female genitals with tongue); less commonly, fellatio (stimulating male genitals with mouth or tongue); both usually until orgasm. Lit: lick off. Syns for fellatio: **afsuig**, **sing oor** (or in) **die mike**. See **mike**.

af me'jou: go away, buzz off. Lit: off with you.

afsak: (1) (v t) say, respond or reply, in reported speech. (2) (n) response, reply. See syn **afkap**. Lit: sinks down. Conn muttering. 1970- .

afskommel: (v t) masturbate to orgasm. See **skommel**.

afstaan: let down (in time of trouble). Std A: cede, surrender.

afsuig: perform fellatio, suck penis off. The standard term. Lit: suck off. Syns are all vars of std A **lek**: lick, or **suig**: suck, except **sing oor die mike**.

afsuiwer: var of previous item.

age: (E) - **het short: (sy, my)** - **het (hom, my) short**: (he's, I'm) in the grip of (old) age. Lit: (his, my) age has (him, me) short, i.e., on a short rein. Ref usually to inability to attain performance characteristic of younger days. Resp. See **short**.

agent: (adj) detective, as in - **stuk**: detective film. - **move**: slick, nifty gadget, perhaps with mysterious mechanism. Resp.

agteruit: - **staan**: desert one's friends when trouble comes. Lit: stand behind, stand back-out. Similar to **op 'n wit klip staan** (see **klip**).

aija, aijas: working-class man's peaked cap. From manufacturer's name: Ayres & Smith. Also in **Flytaal**.

alkant: - **kyk**: is bisexual (of male). Lit: seeks both sides, both female and male, the front of the female, the rear of the male; colloquial

bad: (E) (adj) badly beaten up. Hence - **maak:** beat up badly. Lit: make bad.

bad lok: (E Afrikaansified E) (adj) (1) unlucky, unfortunate. (2) in sour mood. (3) therefore contagiously spreading ill temper and misfortune to those around one. Resp.

bad luck: (E) var of previous item.

bafaana: (? Z) (n) in 'n - : be confused, confounded, worried. Lit: in a - . **Jou - klap:** you worry. Lit: your - knocks together. Syn: **poepstorm.** ? from std Z: bhabhama: confused; ? from Prison Lexicon: **bafana:** catamite (Delinquent Lexicon); ? from Thamunda (Durban working-class black dialect): **bafusa:** confused.

bagaaza: (Antil Xh) gun. Std Xh: **bakatha:** attack; **bhakaxa:** attack broadside; std Z: **khaza:** get the better of, be master of; **bhaklaza:** slam. Also in Cape Lingo, Flytaal, Thamunda. 1976- .

bageiks: whims var of **bagaaza.**

bagoelas: in 'ie - : in dead trouble, doomed. ? whims var of **bedominis.** Resp.

baiza: (Ng) (1) depend needlessly (on someone). (2) object, complain, hold up proceedings. (3) hesitate unreasonably, balk, hassle, obstruct, dawdle. Also in Flytaal. Hence - **vir die naiza:** hesitate when presented with pleasurable opportunity. Std Xh: **thandabuza:** hesitate; std Z: **doubt;** **bayiza:** act confusedly, without plan; **buyisa:** cause to go back or come back; withdraw.

bak: lower part of woman's torso, usually ref to rear view of. - **van voor:** mons veneris. Lit: container from the front. - **dowel:** screw (sexually, female object only). See **dowel.**

bal: (1) (n) male genitals, particularly penis. (2) (v t) screw (sexually) 1983- . Lit: ball. See **ballas, balsak(kie).**

bala: see **bhala.**

baliepens: big paunch (of male). Lit: tub-belly, pot-belly. Resp.

ballang: (? Java) (v i) fall. Hence **ge-** : unbalanced, disoriented, swaying, swaying to the ground like a falling kite, intoxicated with liquor or cannabis (dagga).

ballas: penis and testicles, or testicles only. Std A: **ballas:** ballast;

also from balle: balls.

ballie, ou ballie:: old boy, old chap. Resp in reference, but not in address.

balloon: style of long trousers popular among **outies** and **ou roekers** until early 1970s, when it came increasingly to be regarded as coarse and parochial; with pipes very widely flared around the knee and tapered narrow at the ankle, **hanggat** (very low-slung) waist, large flaps on fob and back pockets, loops for belts, usually in black or dark brown, navy or grey with chalk-stripe. Still found among middle-aged **ou roekers**. **semi-balloon**, less flared, was also popular then, now enjoying revived popularity among adolescent sons of wearers, as well as newly urbanized disreputable or delinquent working-class blacks. These styles were construed the most characteristic ornamental visual marker of delinquent identity.

balsak(kie): condom. Lit: (little) ball-bag. Resp.

bambino: (n) baby. (Affected.) ? from American films. Std Italian. Also in Flytaal. Also in Delinquent Lexicon.

band: (E) **ek speel nie vir daai - nie:** I don't go in for that sort of thing. Euph, conn polite disdain for activity or interest construed as too disreputable, delinquent or unmanly. Lit: I don't play for that band. Syn **club, team**. Resp.

bandiet: (v i) (1) serve sentence in prison. (2) work like a slave in serving sentence. (3) Can be used metaphorically to describe extremely taxing work anywhere. Std A: (n) sentenced prisoner.

band trek: (A A) see **bun trek**.

banggeroek: highly intoxicated with dagga to the point of experiencing terrifying paranoid delusions. See **geroek**: Lit: smoked frightened.

bang vi' die ding wat hang: scared of sex (ref to girl). Lit: scared of the thing that hangs.

barry white: Mandrax. See **wit**. From name of Black American singer popular in mid-seventies. 1974-84.

basement: (adv) secretly. 1982- .

battery-kop: (n) (E, A): fool, idiot. Lit: battery-head, conn powdery or watery contents. 1980- .

bease: (E orthography) (1) bioscope, cinema. (2) cinema show. Abbrev of std A: bioskoop: bioscope.

beat: (E, but pl **beate**, A) difficult to translate: conn the subjective rhythmic continuity of an objective characteristic central interest, by the vital, energetic enaction of which one is identified; self, will, rhythmic flow, activity, act and effect can be condensed in the construct. The merger of subjectivity and objectivity, Nature and Culture, is implied. The flow of musical rhythm, heartbeat, vitality, competence, identity enaction are all implied. (1) (n) habitual interest by which one is identified, line, focal concern as identity marker. „Daai's nie my - nie": that's not my line, I don't go in for that. -1980. Replaced since then by **ding** (Delinquent Lexicon). (2) (n) self-assertion. **vol -** . (i) full of nonsense, of presumptuous, overweening self-assertion, shamelessly pushy. (ii) very lively and cute (of small child only). Lit: full of beat. - **stoot:** (i) assert (one's)self, have (one's) way; (ii) go about doing (one's) thing. Lit: push (one's beat). Thus **Hie' slat ek 'ie -** : Here I say what goes. Lit: Here I knock out the rhythm. Colloquial middle-class A: **Hier slaan ek die kitaar:** Lit: Here I hit the guitar, i.e., set the pace. (3) (n) effectual, competent continuity. **Daai's 'ie -** : that's the way, that's the idea, that's how. **met 'n - (saame):** in a competently smooth or sly way. Lit: with a beat. **to de -** : fine, fixed up, just right. 1982- . (4) (n) event, matter, affair. **kak -** : bad business, unfortunate event. Lit: a shit beat. (5) (v i) go, leave, depart. Term extremely popular in 1960s and 1970s, has since largely faded. The construct is not wholly Western, and may be described as a precursor of terms of Black Consciousness that have been diacritical of Black music. Resp. See **dowel, move, beweging, ding;** latter three are successors to - .

because why: because. „My ma kan nie saamgaan nie, - - my suster is siek." "My mother can't go with because my sister is ill." Expr form of explanation. Resp.

bedominis: in 'ie - : in dead trouble, doomed. Lit: in the damnation. Resp. Std A: verdoemenis: damnation. See **bagoelas.**

befok: (1) (adj) superlatively fine, marvellous. (2) (adj) nuts, crazy, talking nonsense. (3) (adj) confused, exasperated, enraged. (4) (v t) - (**maak**): confuse, deceive, exasperate, drive mad. Lit: befucked.

beghrie: (n) thing, matter, occurrence (less commonly). Whims, deliberately vague or euph. general term, conn either one's own mystification or attempt to mystify respondent. Used most commonly to

refer to object that one cannot or prefers not to identify. 1976- . ? whims.

bek: Hy het 'ie op sy - geval 'ie: He's not backwards in coming forwards, he doesn't fail to speak up for himself. Lit: he didn't fall on his maw.

bells: o'clock. „Ek sal eight - uitstiek." "I'll be along at eight o'clock." Lit: I'll stick out at eight bells. From seafarers' language. 1975-85.

bel(t): onder die - (betaal): (remunerate) at unfairly low rate. Lit: (pay) under the belt. Resp.

bemesterend: intensive whims var of **bemoer(d)**.

bemestris: intensive whims var of **bemoer(d)**.

bemoer(d): (adj and adv) marvellous(ly), wonderful(ly). Conn exceptional enthusiasm. „Hjê, daai kind sing - , jong." "Hey, that girl sings wonderfully." See **moer**.

bemoerende: (adj) expr var of **bemoer(d)**.

bene-oor-die-skouers: position during copulation in which the female or subordinate male lies supine with legs resting over the shoulders of the (dominant) male, who raises himself on hands and knees to watch the genital interaction; performed mainly for voyeuristic stimulation and playfulness. Lit: legs-over-the-shoulders. Syn **Kentucky**. See **style**.

benoude: see **boude**.

berg: (A) **annerkant die - :** ref to coloured woman who has had sex with black with large penis, or who seeks or has sex with blacks. Lit: on the other side of the mountain. Conn outcastness into rural Natural wilderness. See **bos**.

berole: dominate, intimidate, browbeat with unilateral rules invented for the purpose, use these tactics to extort. From parole, conn **probation's** (probation officer's) treatment of parolee.

beroul: see previous item.

besit: (v i) be wealthy. Lit: possesses. See **possess**.

betrekskoot: (n and adv) (1) ineffectual blow. (2) neither here nor there. Std A: **betrekskoot:** surprise attack.

bets: ready, willing and able, game (for a venture). Resp.

beu: pal, buddy. Used as friendly address only, often to stranger when seeking a favour. Prob var of **broer**.

bewe: be frightened. Lit: tremble. ? 1980- .

beweeg: go, leave, depart. Lit: move.

beweging: events, the action (at place), activity happening now. Hoe's 'ie - ?: How are things going? What activity is going on here? Lit: How's the movement. 1976- .

bewig: in - : in circulation, somewhere around (ref to person). Derived from **beweging**. Lit: in movement. 1980- .

bewus: is - : know about, be familiar with (event, activity, identity of person). Lit: conscious. 1980- .

bhala: (Z) (v i) (1) register at a job and receive identity card. (2) buy goods on credit and have transaction entered in credit book. Std Z: **bhala:** write. From Pris through Delinquent Lexicon. 1984- . Also in Delinquent Lexicon.

bicycle pomp het: (E A A) be sexually impotent or infertile (ref to male). Lit: have bicycle pump, i.e., penis that ejaculates mere wind after much effort. See **waterbal**.

bieghor: (Afrikaansified Ng) stare at, goggle at. Std Xh and Z: **buka:** look at intently, peer at.

bieries: drunk. Resp.

biesmagheid: affair, business, concern. Whims var of std A: **besigheid**. Resp.

bieza: see next item.

biza: (Ng) (n) buddy. Address only. From std Xh and Z: **biza:** (v t) call, summon, name; ? also from **umbiza:** (n) attractiveness, fascination.

B. J.: (E) Angl syllabic acronymic var of **boe'jong**.

bla: var of **bra**. Also in **Flytaal**.

blade(tjie): (E[A]) small quantity of dagga, perhaps wrapped as a stop, sufficient for one cigarette. Lit: (little) blade. See **arm**, **baal**, **groen**, **hand**, **parcel**, **stop**, **vinger**.

blik: lig op - : becomes easily intoxicated on small amount of alcohol. Lit: light on tin (i.e., the container). From syn **lig op petrol** (see **petrol**). - **poes: djy makeer 'n** - - : you gossip like a woman. Lit: you need a tin cunt, i.e., you need an artificial vagina because you're like a woman.

blikslat op: wish (someone) harm, somehow cause harm by predicting misfortune or trouble for him. (Wish and consequence not clearly distinguished.) Lit: hit tin on. ? conn hitting on head with tin, or beating drum.

blind: (E) very unpleasant, unfortunate, undesirable. - **move**: unfortunate, terrible incident. - **maak**: act unpleasantly, disappointingly, troublesomely. Resp. Also in Flytaal.

block: (1) (v t) obstruct or prevent. (2) (v t) intercept, buttonhole (person). (3) (v t) steal or find. (4) (n) road-block manned by police or army.

blockstack: (n) (1) considerable quantity put by, hoard (ref to anything solid, substantial and stacked, e.g., bricks, wood, banknotes). (2) stack or pallet of bricks or concrete blocks. Used in ref only to rectangular objects that can be stacked, whether bricks or banknotes. ? in part from coll E: **stack**: considerable quantity (of objects) or number (of people). 1975- .

blok: (n) situation or place under siege (usually ref to threat of serious trouble from police or other gang). Lit: block (of buildings bounded by streets or other demarcated area). **die - is benoud**: Lit: the block is hot and stuffy, causes one to sweat and seek escape); **die - is umjojo**: (A A A Xh; Std Xh: umjojo: being sniffed at, being under suspicion); **die - skroei**: Lit: the block scorches.

blom: (v i) (A) (1) hang around habitually, be firmly established, enjoy (oneself) and flourish (at a place). (2) flourish and burst with pride, e.g., when looking smart, well dressed and out with girlfriend. Std A: flower, blossom. 1972- .

bloodsuck: (1) miser, stingy fellow. (2) parasite (ref to person). (3) country bumpkin (male or female). (Respectable Lexicon: **bloodsucker**: bull terrier, dumb, avaricious and violent.)

blou: very dark-skinned. Humorous. Lit: blue. Also in Delinquent Lexicon.

bloubaadjie: Cape Provincial traffic policeman. Also in Delinquent Lexicon.

bloue(tjie): (n) pornographic film or video tape. Lit: (little) blue one. 1980- .

blouvlam: methylated spirits as an alcoholic beverage (taken by vagrants and severely deteriorated alcoholics). Lit: blue flame.

blueprint: (n) pornographic film or video tape. Std E: visual plan of structural design. Conn visual illustrations of sexual techniques and positions (**styles**).

bo: - **vasmaak:** keep quiet, say nothing. Lit: fasten above (i.e., one's mouth). Resp.

bobdjan: (n) baboon. Comic pron of std: bobbejaan, to ref to person with baboon-like features such as unusual hairiness.

bodice: mince jou - : move over, shift over, get a move on. Lit: move your body. From Cloragail Lexicon (of moffies, effeminate homosexuals). Syn skyf jou lyf.

boedel: (n) (1) money. (2) total amount of money. Std A: testamentary estate.

boe'jong: country bumpkin. Conn ex-rural agent of Afrikaner domination, often petty state official, outcast among city slickers and given to simple-mindedness, obduracy, spitefulness, arrogance and corruption. See B. J., bosbeer, djapie. Lit: farmer's boy.

boekie: (iemand) met 'n - **slat:** persuade cunningly with plausible, impressive, complicated idea. Lit: hit (someone) with a little book. See gedagte, Mickey Mouse, (in Delinquent Lexicon: **special**).

boem: dagga. Most common term until about 1970, almost completely replaced by **gunston** and in late seventies by **groen**. Lit: tree.

boer: Until about 1985 (1) white policeman. Since then (2) can include coloured policeman as well.

boesie: diminutive of **boesman**.

boesman: seriously insulting reference to coloured person, denoting putatively San features: sparse peppercorn hair, flat nose, wizened face, dry yellow skin, steatopygic posture, small stature; conn insignificance,

ugly, poverty, vagrancy, treachery. Ref usually to upstart, often country bumpkin (male or female). Sometimes used by white policemen to abuse and intimidate. See **bos**.

boesmanian: (A, Angl.) comic version of **boesman**, usually ugly young woman. Conn alien, outcast from peer group. 1982- .

bol: **sy - rol:** he enjoys remarkable magical protection against misfortune and malice. Lit: his bulb rolls. Rhyming. Respectable Lexicon: **bolletjie:** amulet consisting of Islamic religious text (over which ritual prayers have been recited) enclosed in small cloth bag, hung around one's neck and believed to offer protection against evil. Rejected by orthodox Islam, but widely subscribed to by poorer people, and supplied by **doekoem** (diviner and sorcerer, Respectable Lexicon). Often put on sick child. Lit: little bulb. Derived from syn **sy stomp is sték** (see **stomp** below). See **vuil**. Resp.

bollewange: pouting and sulking. Lit: bulbs-cheeks. Resp.

bolling: lot of people. (Iemand) **vetterig on'er die - ken:** know (someone) intimately, sufficiently to pick (him) out instantly among a crowd. See **vetterig**. Syn **ghieliegh**. Std A: bundle.

bom: (1) (v i) try (one's) luck, seek good fortune, usually monetary. (2) (v t) fire, dismiss (from job). Lit: bomb. (3) (iemand) **'n - gooi :** teach (someone) a lesson, spite (someone) by betraying (him). Lit: throw a bomb to (someone).

bombai: fraudulent, especially loaded dice. Resp.

bôn: **'is - :** it's only to be expected that. Std E: it's bound to.

bonks: sleep. ? derived from E bonk, and/or onomatopoeic illustration of blow to the head in children's cartoons and comics. Resp.

Bontas: Bonteheuwel. Municipal coloured residential township.

Bonties: Bonteheuwel. Resp.

bos: mass of pubic hair, usually female. Lit: bush. Resp. (Respectable Lexicon: bush, i.e., the wilds, std denotation but with special conn: the mythic Natural origin of coloured people, associated with tribal origins, isolation, rurality, poverty, vagrancy, squatting, outcastness and Cultural ignorance and "raw" [Respectable Lexicon: **rou**] -- crudely disreputable -- manners before they acquire city ways, respectable

polish, sophistication and cultural equality with middle-class whites.)

bosbeer: (1) country bumpkin, usually male (derog). Syn **boe'jong**.
(2) squatter living in the bush (derog). Lit: bushbear (neol). See **bos**.

bos los: betray secret, betray friend to police. ? from "bors los":
loosen chest.

bot: unpleasant (atmosphere or weather). ? from std Z: bot: stupid, slow-
witted. -1975.

bou: (1) deceitful tactic, dishonest move. Hence - **maak met:** deceive
with. Std A: structure, erection, fabrication. (2) incident.

boude: **benoude** - : (1) serious or consequential (but humorously phrased).
niks - - : nothing serious or consequential. (2) ineffectual, weak,
incompetent. Lit: hot, clammy thighs (rhyming).

bo val: (v t) attack physically. Lit: fall (from) above (upon).

bo vasmaak: keep quiet, keep mum. Lit: seal (the place) above.

bowl: (v t): request, propose, nag, supplicate. ? from cricket, i.e.,
approach (respondent) with a tactic that might achieve something to one's
advantage.

boxmeid: (EA) adolescent or young adult female domestic worker living on
employer's residential premises. Derog. Conn lonely young woman who
lives in tiny box-like room and is susceptible to exploitation for board,
lodging, sex and money. Lit: box-menial-woman. 1985- .

bra: soul brother, comrade, buddy. Ref or address, sometimes in
initiating discourse with stranger. - **van my!**: expr cheerful greeting to
buddy. Lit: brother of mine! **my** - : extremely common expr, rhetorical
interpolation in conversation. ? elided form of **boeta** (Java Lexicon:
eldest brother, or of std A **boetie**: pal, little brother, with Nguni suffix;
var of **broer** (q v). Common in Flytaal.

brakes trek: (E A) (1) jam on brakes while driving vehicle. (2) practise
coitus interruptus: withdraw penis from vagina just before orgasm to
preclude pregnancy. Lit: pull (up) brakes. See **fyn draai**.

break maak (met): (E A A) make plan to steal or hustle (from). Lit: make
a break (with).

briek: (1) tame, conquer, subdue (person). (2) deflower (virgin). Prob
abbrev of std A **inbreek**: break in. Syn **kraak**. (3) abbrev of **inbriek**.

Lit: break.

brigade: buddy, comrade. Also in Flytaal. See **broer**.

bright: (adj) (**jou-**, **hom-**, **haar-**)**self** - **maak:** advertise (your-, him-, her)self, boost (oneself) unjustifiably. Resp.

brilletjies: mocking address to stranger, usually female, wearing spectacles. Lit: little spectacles.

briston: (adj) sardonic ref to male adult show-off. 1982- .

broad: (v i) sing. Abbrev of broadcast.

broek: **uit die - uitpraat:** reveal intimate secrets, usually sexual, about another. Lit: speak out of the trousers. Syns **uit die gulp** (or **komberse** or **kooi orlakens**) **uitpraat**.

broer: (1) intimate friend, comrade in arms, especially in disreputability or delinquency. (2) friend in need. (3) peer in communitas. Hence **my - :** (n) address to peer, stranger or familiar, connoting intimacy, loyalty, familiarity and claims of community. Lit: my brother. Also common among evangelical and ecstatic religious sects. Hence - **van my!:** expr, cheerful greeting. Syns **beu**, **bra** (becoming most popular usage), **brigade**. **my - volgens colour:** affected, untranslatable: lit: my brother in terms of colour (see **my bryn -**, **my brynes:** my brown brother. See **bryn**). Resp.

broken palace: derelict residential building inhabited by **strollers** (vagrants).

brommer: (n) dustman, municipal garbage collector or street sweeper (derog, comic). Std A: blue-bottle, blowfly, that buzzes around garbage; **brom:** grumble, rumble. (It is inadvisable to address a dustman by this term.)

brood: (1) (v t) rob, cheat, rip off. (2) (n) proceeds of robbery or fraud. (3) (n) easy profit, money for jam, something for nothing. Hence - **kraak:** meet with good fortune in the way of acquiring something valuable, often by disreputable or delinquent means. Lit: crack a bread. (4) (n) fool, gullible person, easy meat. See **kroets**. (5) (n) illicit advance information about examination question paper. Lit: bread.

broster: (v t) beat up. Also in Flytaal.

bryn: (adj) **my - broer:** my comrade (affectionate). Lit: my brown brother. Resp. (Respectable Lexicon: - is by far the most common term

used by actors of the communal identity to ref to themselves. Primary conns are positive: *communitas*, cheer, home, hearth.)

brynes: (n) **my** - : var of **my bryn broer** (see **bryn**) and **broer:** **my broer volgens colour** (see **broer**). Lit: my browns (superlative, my coloureds' coloured, as precious to me as the whole community)).

bump: (1) (v i) leave, depart. (2) (v t) fire, dismiss (from job). 1975- .

bun: - **move:** misfortune, nasty, deplorable event. See **move**. Prob derived from **bun trek** (q.v.). Name of prominent gang in District Six for decade during 1960s, still surviving: Bun Boys. This was generally taken to signify "nasty boys, bringing trouble", but the name was chosen in ironic whimsy on the founding of the gang one Easter, in reference both to members' menace and their enthusiasm for hot cross buns.

bungalow: shack erected as additional accommodation in backyard, usually by adolescent or young adult sons for themselves and their friends, girlfriends or wives. Syn **cabana**. 1985- .

bun trek: (E A) defaecate. Prob from std A band trek: pull belt, but **bun** became connotatively associated with faeces, and more particularly with shit as nastiness or trouble. See **bun**, **kak**.

burg, burk: (E) guy, fellow, chap. Very commonly used. Resp. S A E: **burg**. prob from E slang: **berk**: foolish or unpleasant man; but ? from E slang: **burk**: avoid work; ? from burglar; ? from various E rural dialects in Britain: **berg**: a castrated male pig; ? from 19th century E slang: **burke**: murder secretly by suffocation or strangulation; hence: **burking**: the act of stifling or quietly suppressing, i.e., of deceit; ? from Dutch and S A E: **burgher**: citizen of the Cape Colony or one of the Transvaal or Free State republics. Conn disreputable and delinquent toughness, dishonesty and slyness. See next two items, which conn disgust at the realization of suspected untrustworthiness. Syns **crook**, **guard**, **outie**, **skelm**, **skurk**.

burg draai (op): (E A A) withdraw from, or break an agreement (with), betray, turn traitor (on). Lit: turn guy (on).

burg trek: (E A) var of **burg draai**. Lit: pull guy, i.e., pull out.

burns: (E) brandy.

bus: **uit die - uit val** (or **gegooi word**): receive a thrashing. Lit: fall (be thrown) out of the bus.

bush-racket: machete, panga, as weapon. (The -racket is not derived from tennis racquet, a term not used.) 1982- .

bushy: coloured person. Derog. increasingly used by working-class Capetonian blacks. See **bos**.

butler: junior male, either child or adolescent who accepts orders; fag. Syn **skippie**.

button: Mandrax tablet. See **M. X.**, **wit**. 1970- .

bymekaar: (1) have friendly relationship, usually male with female. Hence - **met:** go steady with. (2) (i) busy. (ii) - **met:** busy with (person or thing, often illicit hedonistic activity). (3) - **om:** ready to, about to. Lit: together (i.e., gathered). An important construct in disreputable working-class consciousness, introducing the notion of social and personal concentration and integration in purposeful activity. 1982- .

C

cab: car. Resp. Flytaal: **khep**.

cabana: (E) shack erected as additional accommodation in backyard, usually by adolescent or young adult sons for themselves and their friends, girlfriends or wives. Exotic (Mexican) var of **cabin**, prob from films. Syn **bungalow**. 1984- .

cabin: (1) (n) house as home. Flytaal: **kheben**. (2) live, reside.

can't-get: (n) extremely desirable but rare or unobtainable thing, situation or person.

capella: (A phon) close friend, buddy (ref to males only). From syn **coupling**. Other syns **kopchômmie**, **sendigate**. 1987- .

cat: (E) cool character, usually adolescent, often English-dominant, upwardly mobile, whose communal identity enacts display of expensive, middle-class, stylish casual clothes, devotion to pop music. Many **cats** are respectable/disreputable, many are disreputable/respectable. Promiscuous sex and drugs are optional; not tough or violent, and often contrasted with **outie** and **ou roeker**, who pursue toughness and perhaps violence and crime. **Cats** do not confine themselves to all-male peer groups, like **outies** and **ou roekers**. Thus usually ref to males, but can collectively imply their females as well. 1975- . Formerly termed a **Beatle**. Resp.

challam: pipe used for smoking mixture of dagga and Mandrax. This item comes from either India or from the West Indies, where it is rendered as chillum. Archaic, has been replaced by **pyp**. See also **hubbly-bubbly**. -1975.

check: (1) (v t): look at, notice. (2) (v i and t) think, assess, believe, assume, conclude, realize, take note. Hence - **'ie score:** take note of implications or consequences. Conn self-restraining thought before action. (1) and (2) are implied in (3) (participle) **word ge-** : is respected (in disrep and delinq circles). Syn **gesien** (see **sien**). (4) (v t) meet, meet again (in due course), look up. (5) (v t) reprimand. (1) to (5) are resp. (6) (n) paper-backed foil wrapping from cigarette box folded into thin strip, rolled into whorl and stuffed horizontally as filter in **pyp** (broken bottleneck) for smoking of dagga and Mandrax. Syn **diamond**.

chickie: girl, girlfriend.

chillies: (E) cold, chilly (ambient temperature, weather). Resp.

ching: (1) Chinese person. (2) description or nickname for person with mongoloid features, especially eyes. (3) money. ? antil Xh: tshing: money (onomatopoeic); ? Flytaal and Thamunda: chinnies: money.

chocolates: easy, simple task, no problem. From the ease of chewing and swallowing chocolates. Resp.

chômmie: (Xhosalized E) personal friend, buddy. Hence **kop-** : best friend, whom one takes seriously. Syns **capella**, **coupling**. Coll Xh: itshomi, from E chum. Resp.

chops: **'it hop soos -** : things are swinging. Rhyming. Lit: it hops (or springs) like chops. 1990- .

chow: (1) (v i) eat. (2) (n) food. Resp.

clêver: smartie, bright boy, can conn one who knows a bit too much for comfort. Coll Xh: uclever: an urban, educated, upwardly mobile person. Flytaal: kleva: fly young man displaying sophistication as style.

client: person (usually male) whom one exploits while posing as a sincere, generous friend.

cloak: (v t) grab, steal.

clock: heart. Syn **horlosie**.

club: **ek speel nie vir daai - nie:** See **band (E)**, **team**.

clutch: **onder - :** (A E) under exploitative control, readily accessible. Conn desired possession. "Daai ou het drie kinders - - ." "That guy's got three chicks under control." Lit: under clutch.

coin: money. 1975- .

cold-blood: in the act of committing a crime. 1977- .

coma: **in 'n - :** oblivious to surroundings, transported by sexual excitement or the psychotropic effects of drugs or alcohol. Lit: in a coma. 1976- .

compromise: contribute equal shares to purchase of goods (usually liquor, food or drugs) to be shared equally. 1980- . See **kazat**.

connec': (v t) meet by arrangement.

connection: useful friend.

conquer: **Wie kan vi' my (or jou) - in die donker!:** Who can beat me (or you)! Can have sexual conn. Lit: Who can conquer me (or you) in the dark!

control: **onder - :** under exploitative control. Syn: **onder clutch**, **onder hande**.

cool: (1) fine, fixed up (affirmation of arrangement, or in farewell). (2) nice, socially attractive (person). (3) attractive, comfortable (home). Resp.

correspond: share common outlook, empathize with and enjoy (each other's company), click. 1976- .

corrup': (adj) (ref to person or situation at dwelling, street or neighbourhood) wild, vicious, evil, engaging in any form of chaotic, violent, unscrupulous activity; pertaining to a den of iniquity and the cruel, corrupt, violent people running it. Moderate social and domestic disorder is construed as a common marker of disreputable working-class identity, but extreme social and domestic disorder is construed as marking a propensity to violence and destruction, leading to the perpetration of any form of crime in a breakdown of social control. A - person or place can become **deurmekaar** (terrifyingly chaotic through sudden or episodic wild violence, riot, rapine, robbery, burglary, etc., Respectable Lexicon; many

residents of severely impoverished neighbourhoods -- especially women -- have an abiding terror [which some also find exciting] that their neighbourhood might unpredictably become **deurmekaar** through gang rampage or feud or civil riot: **evil** [q v] people abound). - conn brooding tension, unscrupulousness, chaos and violence in persons and places whereas **evil** additionally conn sadism and malignance -- intentionality -- in persons. Resp.

cough: sing.

couple: (v t) **ge-** : (ref to male) paired off with girlfriend in a couple, not moving alone. 1985- . See next item.

coupling: (n) bosom buddy, inseparable male friend (of adolescent or young adult male). Derived from plumbing, electrical and engineering artefacts: tubular joint consist of part known as "male" screwing into part known as "female"; ? also from horse-racing: ref to two horses from same stable. Syns **capella**, **kop-chômmie**. 1985- .

cover-up: (1) (adj) fine, fixed up (of arrangement, in farewell). Resp. -1975. (2) (v i) stand together, support each other (usually instruction to group of male peers).

Crawf: Crawford, suburb in coloured residential district of Athlone in Cape Town.

cream: powdered Mandrax tablets sprinkled on **pyp** filled with mixture of cannabis (dagga) and cigarette tobacco. See **duwwele**. Metaphor is luxurious cream on coffee. Syn **cremora**. 1985- .

creature: loathsomely ugly (person), usually filthy and ragged. Humorous.

creepy: Used more commonly and widely than in E. Std A grieselig is never used. Resp.

cremora: powdered Mandrax tablets sprinkled on **pyp** filled with cannabis (dagga) and cigarette tobacco. brand name of powdered milk for coffee. var of **cream**. See **duwwele**. 1985- .

crew: group of men, usually toughs. Resp.

crib: - **save:** (iemand se) - - : save (someone) from trouble. Std A never used. - **slat:** fail in an attempt. Term from dice game.

crook: (n) ref to any disreputable or delinquent adolescent or young adult male. Syns **skelm** (q v), **skurk**.

crystal-clear: (n) crystal (liquor glass). 1985- .

D

daai ou: see ou.

daa' kom 'it in: that's the point. Lit: that's where it comes in. Resp.

daa' vi' dit (daai, darrels): ready, willing and able. Lit: there for it (that, darrels is whims neol).

daa' wat 'it inkom: See daa' kom 'it in. Lit: there that it comes in. Resp.

dadda: see dera.

dairies: very large, sexually desirable female breasts. Humorous.

dairy belles: syn previous item. From name of dairy. 1982- .

daskroef: ugly, ignorant country bumpkin (male or female). Lit: roof-screw (flanged nail for securing corrugated iron roof). From syn **gattekop** (lit: holes-head).

dangerous: fantastic, excitingly impressive. Resp.

dangerous weapon: (1) criminal offence of possessing a dangerous weapon. "Hy's in vir - - ." "He's in(side) for (possessing a) dangerous weapon." (2) large penis (humorous).

deck-toe (slat): (knock) to ground (ref to person). Lit: knock to deck.

dent: beat up thoroughly.

dera: address to middle-aged or elderly man. Conn deference and affection, but also pride in one's own youthful powers. From Respectable Lexicon: boy's address to father. Lit: dadda, i.e., daddy. Syn **pops**. See also **mums**. Resp.

derby: (E) (pron durby) (1) (v i) eat. (2) (n) meal. Var of **dite**.

desert: (E) (n) **in die - los:** leave in the lurch. Lit: abandon in the desert. Resp.

deurgetrek: - van, - aan (iets): know (something) through and through. Lit: saturated with, saturated to. .

deurkyk: (iemand of iets) - : be unimpressed or unaffected by (someone or something). See **dwasdeur**. Lit: see through. 1980- .

deurmaak: (v t) (1) share (something). (2) 'n kind - : copulate with female, especially by group of males. Std A: experience, suffer, pass through.

deurmekaar: - met: wildly, chaotically involved with (usually drugs or girlfriend). (Respectable Lexicon: **deurmekaar** [ref to person]: leading a hopelessly chaotic life, wildly, chaotically delinquent and violent.) Std A: confused, disordered, littered, delirious, mentally affected. 1980- .

deurmeketaar: emphatic form of **deurmekaar**.

diamond: See **check** (6), **pyp**.

Die kind, sy...: expr introduction to dramatic description of girl's behaviour or features. "- - -'s reg!" "The girl's alright!" (for having sex with). Lit: The girl, she....

Die man, hy: expr introduction to dramatic description of adolescent or adult male's behaviour or features. Lit: The man, he

diff: head. Contemptuous. From abbrev for differential of vehicle.

dik: confirmed, actively practising (delinquent gang member). - **ou roeker:** thoroughly confirmed and active **ou roeker** (q v). - **ses:** highly active member of the 26 prison gang (see **ses** in Delinquent Lexicon). Lit: thick.

dikgeroek: torpid, stuporose, staggering or giggly under the influence of dagga with or without Mandrax. Lit: smoked thick. See **banggeroek**, **dronkgeroek**.

dik sosys: see **sosys**.

dim lights: soft, seductive artificial illumination in a room.

ding: (n) (1) matter, affair, business. Lit: thing. 'Is jou - : it's your affair. - **wat sit (stink):** affair that causes a stir (stink). Lit: thing that sticks (std A: vas sit) (or stinks). (2) matter, problem. **Wat's 'ie - me' jou?** What's the matter with you? What's eating you? Lit: What's the thing with you? **Daai's 'ie - .** That's the problem. That's the point. Lit: That's the thing. (3) affair, dispute. **die - dik maak:** stir dispute, initiate violence. Lit: make the thing thick. - **straight maak:** resolve dispute. Lit: make the thing straight. **as die - dik kom:** if (or when) things get hot. Lit: if (or when) things come thick. (4) euph

for penis, usually one's own. (5) **die - : sonder die - bly:** stay without sex. Lit: stay without the thing. Ref to female body and/or sexual gratification. (6) **en enige - :** and so on, and whatever. Lit: and any thing. (7) **'n - van:** (i) a question of. (ii) such a thing as. Lit: a thing of. Also in Delinquent Lexicon.

Dinges!: Thingamajig! Mocking call to passing girl, conn sneering sexual invitation.

dinges en dingies: and so on and so forth. Lit: thingamajig and thingamajig.

dip: (E) go, leave. 1980- .

dirty trek: (iemand) **'n - - :** deceive or disappoint (someone) deliberately. From play a dirty trick. Lit: pull (someone) a dirty.

dismiss: see **dizmiz.**

dite: (1) (v i) eat. Also in Flytaal. (2) (n) rough meal of loaf of dry bread and tin of pilchards. See **arm en 'n graad.** Hence - **insit:** relieve hunger by having a meal. Lit: put a diet in. **spare - :** spare diet. From diet, prob from prison: spare diet.

dizmiz: (A pron) (adj) (ref to person, usually male) (1) (dismissed as) a failure, a flop. (2) drugged insensate. (3) hopelessly drunk. Std A: **disnis:** finished, done for.

djag: (1) (v t) pursue (desired thing, person, situation, activity). (2) (v t) habitually pursue (violence, **nice times**, etc.) as an interest, focal concern and marker of identity (as a **cat**, **outie**, **ou roeker** [violent or non-violent]). Largely replaced since 1980 by **kyk** (Delinquent Lexicon). (2) (v i) rush, make great haste. Std: **ja(a)g:** chase, pursue.

Djan: **ou - :** friendly, intimate address to fellow male. Lit: old Jan.

djapie: (n) (1) country bumpkin. Std A: **plaasjapie.** See **boe'jong.** (2) vomitus.

djas: (a) (1) randy, sexually restless, either on a particular occasion or habitually. (2) reaching advanced stage in sexual excitement at which orgasm is actively pursued. **hoeg - :** expr syn for (1) and (2). Lit: high randy. (3) obstinately, exasperatingly persistent, often ref to person's decision, judgment or conduct, passive or active, and implying that it reflects an idiosyncratic, private, egocentric obsession, like randiness. Hence **moet jou nie - hou nie!:** stop pawing me! Or: stop being so

interfering (or impervious to reason)! Similar to **oorlams** (Respectable Lexicon). From Black American jazz. Coll A: jaars, jags.

djaspuisies: acne pimples on face, chest and back during adolescence. Lit: randy-pimples.

djaswater: penile secretion of few drops of Cowper's gland fluid during sexual excitement before orgasm. Lit: randy-water. See **water**.

djars: See **djas**.

djep: (v t) (1) steal. (2) acquire. (3) collar, arrest. ? from American slang: gyp (v t): cheat, swindle out of money or possessions.

djidj: (1) (adj) popular var of **djas**. (2) (adj) extremely enjoyable (event). (3) (adj) highly desirable (person or thing). **djas** is not used as in (2) and (3). 1980-. Also in Delinquent Lexicon.

djie: (Xh) (v t) deceive, lie to (someone). Std Xh: ji: hole in a path; secret, underhand proceeding; jibiliza: turn around, break faith.

djiet: (Afrikaansified Xh) (n) party, dance. From jita jive, dance popular among urban working-class Xhosa men in 1960s. Delinquent Lexicon: 'majita.

djintoe: (1) (n) female prostitute, implicitly diseased. (2) (v i) engage in prostitution, sexual or otherwise. Derog. -**hys:** brothel. Lit: prostitute-house. From diseased prostitutes who arrived aboard a shipwreck, the "Gentoo", in 1846 (Manuel and Hatfield [1967: 73]).

djoelheid: (1) (n) job, occupation. (2) (n) place of (one's) work. (3) (v i) work (at one's job). (1) to (3) are in Flytaal, and are resp. (4) (n) enterprise, usually illicit. - **pull:** (A, E): pull a job (e.g., burglary). (5) (v t) work over, thrash. (6) (v t) work over sexually, screw thoroughly. ? from std A: jolyt: jollity, festivity, party spirit. If so, the conns of sardonic mockery are striking, even though the term is used neutrally: work may be a celebration for the employer, but is the converse for the employee, who customarily attempts to sustain morale with banter, gossip, **gwara**, **wheatie** and other entertaining discourse. See **goba** for a comparable construction borrowed from Xhosa-speakers. ? from std Z: jula: sink deep down. See **sak** below (also **sak** in Delinquent Lexicon). ? Afrikaansification of Xh mockery in pidgin E of employer's complaint: "You late!". Makhudu (1980: 25) claims that the term derives from std Z: juluka: sweat; Dikeni (1988: personal communication) that it derives from E: joule: scientific unit of energy.

djoems: (1) (n) black man (derog). ? Ng. (2) onomatopoeic expletive: "– ! Daar val hy!": "Bump! There he fell!". (2) is resp.

djoep: cheap, sweet wine. Also in Flytaal.

djôl: (1) – **met:** go steady with (girlfriend or boyfriend). – **saam:** go out together as a steady couple. Resp. (2) (v i) move around from place to place, seeking enjoyment. (3) (n) party or public dance with pop music. Hence (v i) **gaan** – : go dancing; – **kap:** (i) go dancing; (ii) engage in hedonistic pursuit. 1978– . (4) hunt for promiscuous sex on occasion or habitually.

djôller: male or female who is habitually promiscuous, especially one who is married.

Djood: die – **betaal:** defaecate. Lit: pay the Jew.

Djy mean!: (A, E) Is that so! Really! From hippie argot: You mean! 1967– .

Djy speel: (1) – – or – – , **djy:** rebuke that one is too flippant, underplays or underestimates the seriousness of the matter, may even be lying. Lit: you play(, you)!. (2) – – **met** (my, hom, haar): you underestimate (me, him, her). Lit: you play with (me, him, her).

Djy wie'dan!: You know, then! Remark supporting the views of another, or confirming their accuracy. E version common among working-class white adolescents and young adults.

djy wieta: you know, you see. Rhetorical statement to supplement preceding explanation. Prob from previous item.

doeks: var of **duck**.

Doen 'it!: (A) Do it! Go for it! Consummate your plan. 1976– .

dog-style: copulation a tergo: male penetrating from the rear while standing or kneeling, and perhaps clasping the midriff of the other party (female or male) bent over forwards. Regarded as mischievous, exhibitionistic prank. Partridge (1972: 267): "dog. 2. v.i. To have sexual connection on all fours, i.e. like a dog". Syns **hondjie**, **tiekies optel**. See **style**.

dôl: var of **dowel**.

dollar: (one) rand. 1984– .

Domgekom!: Incompetent, clumsy! Observation about a male peer. Lit: dumbcome. 1985- .

don: (1) leader of racketeering gang. (2) Affected term for leading gang member or wealthy man who controls gang members. From film, "The Godfather", about the Mafia. 1980- . See **mafia**.

donkey-size: (adj or n) enormous, monstrous (penis). "And (Jerusalem) doted upon concubinage with them, whose members are like those of asses, and whose issue is like that of horses" (The Bible: Ezekiel 23: 20, Revised Version).

dood: -**praat:** (v t) give damning information or evidence (against someone), e.g., at place of work or in court. Lit: talk (someone) dead, kill (someone's) prospects. (Respectable Lexicon: -**sweer:** in court only.) -**stiek:** (v t) obliterate (amateur delinquent tattoo) by bleaching with injections of condensed milk, covering with commercial tattoo, or simply excising with blade. Lit: stab dead.

double: (1) (v i) leave, depart. (2) (v i) run. (3) (n) **op 'n - :** (A, E) quickly. Lit: on a double. Also in Delinquent Lexicon.

double-check: (v t) meet again. 1978- .

dowel: Difficult to translate, connoting both the process of smooth, rhythmic activity and the marker of identity that it may constitute. (1) (v i and t) move, in flowing, rhythmic activity: "Dié kos - !" "This food goes down well!" "Dié music - !" "This music swings!" Also in Flytaal. **bak - :** wiggle hips seductively while walking (female). (2) (v t) play musical instrument, game or sport. (3) (v t) pass as, pretend to be, act as if. - **net muis:** act small and insignificant to avoid attention. Lit: act just (like a) mouse. Lit: gamble, prob ref to smooth, rhythmic activity of shuffling dice, cards and participating in game, construed as marker of competent gambler, therefore of competent disrep person. See **beat**.

draad: Difficult to translate, best defined as self-assertiveness made possible by special influence, licence, scope to take advantage. - **het:** has influence, licence, privileges. Lit: has wire. - **gie:** allow special influence, licence, privileges. Lit: give wire. - **kry:** get, be given such influence, licence, privilege. Lit: get wire. - **vang:** take unfair advantage, go too far, abuse privileges. Lit: catch, snatch wire. **vol - :** impertinent, presumptuous, obstreperous, taking unfair advantage, abusing privileges. Lit: full of wire. - **knip:** put an end to the taking

of advantage. Lit: pinch wire off. **haba** - : no licence or scope to take advantage, under strict rein. Lit: no wire. See **haba**. ? from std A: kort van draad: short-tempered; lit: short of wire. Wire is evidently a metaphor for special scope for self-assertive, self-aggrandizing freedom of action, similar to E "rein" or "rope"; the implication is that mundane, institutionalized relationships give one little scope; but it also implies a psychosocial integration of assertiveness ("wiriness") and opportunity. Resp, now fading from Disreputable Lexicon, shifting to Respectable Lexicon and becoming used by resp parents in disciplinary discourse with children. (iemand) 'n - **slat**: (v i and t) telephone (someone). Lit: hit (someone) a wire). 1986- . Respectable Lexicon: wire fence, string or cord.

drape: (1) (v i) dress well, stylishly. Syns **slaan, yak, zloep**. (2) (n) stylish clothes.

dreads: dreadlocks, long matted plaits worn by **Rasta**. From **Rasta Lexicon**. 1978- .

dress: (1) (v i) pay one's share into a gambling pool. (2) (v t) give (someone) money to gamble. (3) **pyp** - : prepare dagga and Mandrax pipe for smoking. See **pyp**. 1975- .

drie druk: (1) (v i) defaecate. (2) (v i) have sexual intercourse (male, ref to tripartite genitals: penis, two testicles). (3) (iemand) 'n - - : cause (someone) grief deliberately, frustrate (someone's) plans deliberately. See **traan druk**. Std A: score a try (3 points). Lit: press a three.

drink: (A) (v t) screw (sexually). Lit: drink. See **iet** (4). In Delinquent Lexicon: **dors**.

drips: gonorrhoea in the male, characterized by the dripping of pus from the penile urethra.

droeg: boring (place, situation). Lit: dry.

droe snoek: see **snoek**.

drol terugdruk: (iemand se) - - : put (someone) in their box. Lit: press (someone's) turd back (up into his anus).

dronkgeroek: stuporose under the influence of dagga, with or without Mandrax. Lit: smoked drunk.

droog: see **droeg**.

druk: (1) (v t) screw (sexually). (2) (n) (i) a screw (the act or event). (ii) a screw, i.e., a slut. (3) (v i) go, leave, depart. Lit: press.

duck: (v i) sleep. Resp.

dungeon: (1) basement den or hideout, often used by vagrants for sleep and sex. (2) house as home.

dust: (v t) dodge (someone) by deceit or feint. ? Conn ridding oneself (of him) as if by dusting oneself off, or by leaving him in the dust.

duty: (v t) order around, treat as servant. Resp.

duwele: (n) pyp with two instead of the usual one Mandrax tablet. See syn **two-split**, also **button**, **t'ree-split**, **four(t)-split**, **six-split**. Std A: dubbele (adj) double. 1978- .

dwasdeur: - (iemand of iets) **kyk:** expr var of **deur kyk**. See **deur**. Lit: see clean through. 1980- .

E

early bird: (adv) early in the morning. Popularized by television advert of television repair firm of that name, showing perky comic bird. Also: the early bird catches the worm (well-known). 1984- .

een ding maak (met): euph allusion to screwing (someone, sexually) or thrashing (someone). Lit: do one thing (with). Also in Flytaal.

eet: See **iet**.

eetbol: See **ietbol**.

egte regte: of perfect quality. Rhyming. Often used regarding Mandrax. Std A: egte: pure; regte: right. 1974- .

Eh: Huh. Expr when noting or acknowledging something significant or poignant.

Ei!: staccato, high-pitched exclamation of emphasis and surprise, determination, perplexity or delight.

eier: die - weg lê: have extra-marital sex. Std A: weglê-eier: egg laid in hidden nest. Lit: lay the egg hidden. Resp.

Eina, vurkie!: Stylish rhetorical exclamation of delight to the world at

large, with sexual conns. Lit: Ouch, little fork! 1982- .

enige ding: en - - : et cetera. (Humorous.) Lit: ...and any thing.

êntjie: (Afrikaansified, Ngunicized E) cigarette. Lit: little end.

eva: (Xh) always, reliably, forever. Conn sincerity, appreciation. Abbrev of forever. Antil Xh. Resp.

evens: even, evenly distributed. Resp.

êver: see eva.

everytieng: expr term for "everything"; otherwise std "alles" is used.

evil: evil-minded, ruthlessly ready for, even sadistically, malignantly devoted to violence and destruction. See **corrup'**, **evil spirits**, **vuil**. Resp.

evil-kanevil: (n) evil person. Named after Evel Knevel, famous American film stuntman on motor-cycle. 1978- .

evil spirits: the temptation or urge to steal, less commonly to become violent. Many habitual thieves claim not to understand why they steal; something comes over them: an itch, an excitement, a hunt for opportunity, a yielding to temptation, a thrill, finally triumph, in some cases tinged with guilt. This may be politely described -- especially in self-apology -- as - - , a mysterious possession, possibly the result of witchcraft. Thieves are often effectually indulged as naughty rather than **evil** (q v), which requires malignance, and in many cases criminal charges are not laid by victims, especially if the thief is a relative or member of the victim's peer group, as is commonly the case. Instead, honour dictates that the victim gives the offender a hiding if he can readily be found. Becoming archaic. Resp.

Ewing (Oil): Best quality Mandrax tablet. From television soap opera "Dallas" featuring rich and corrupt Texan family owning Ewing Oil. Originated as code-word in presence of outsiders, often used by **merchant** announcing his wares at soccer match. Syns: **foilie**, **number one**, **original**. 1986- .

eye-blind: (E-E) appearance intended to deceive. (Syn in Delinquent Lexicon: **spaaza**.)

eyes: (n) (E) **in die** - : (A, E) (1) (of situation) open to embarrassing exposure, too public. (2) in bad books, in bad odour. Lit: in the eyes.

(iemand) in die - sit: embarrass, spoil the reputation of (someone). Lit: put someone in the eyes. Hence **Eyes!:** Watch out, we'll be seen!. We're exposed! (to embarrassment, ridicule or serious trouble). Syn: **oe:** 1970- .

F

facts: the truth. "Is - , my broer!" "It's the truth, my brother! I'm giving you the facts!"

Fair praat!: (E A) rhetorical exclamation indicating acknowledgement of the self-evidence of a fact or the truth of a statement. Lit: Fair talk!

familielat: **Ek sal jou slat met my - !:** rhyming banter by randy male to female. Lit: I'll hit you with my family cane! See **lat**.

fashion: **daai's nie 'n - nie:** that's nothing new, strange, unusual (to me).

ferns: hair. Often humorous ref to hair receiving beauty treatment.

fiedor: man's smart felt hat, usually with brightly coloured feather in band. In 1960s and seventies an essential item in the smart **outie's** and **ou roeker's** uniform, worn indoors as well. From Std E: fedora.

files: (E) in **(iemand) se - krap:** poke (one's) nose into (someone's) business. Lit: nose around in (someone's) files. Resp.

fiver: (n) smack (i.e. with five-fingered hand). -1975. Replaced in Delinquent Lexicon by **miver**.

five tackle one: allusion to male manual masturbation. Hence - - - **dowel** (or **gooi**): masturbate. Lit: throw five tackle one. See **dowel**, **gooi**.

five yards: (iemand) - - **gie:** give (someone) scope. Lit: give (someone) five yards.

fix-up: fine, fixed up (of arrangement, in farewell). Lit: fixed up.

flash: (v t) pay (someone, as gift or debt).

flêbbê: (Ngunicized E) down and out, penniless, broke, limp, lethargic. Lit: flabby. 1975-82. Replaced by **swak**.

floor: (E) (v i) pass out (from drunkenness). Hence **ge- :** (adj) passed out drunk. See **tiep**.

floppy: man's soft, round canvas hat for sunshading. 1980- .

flou: (1) boring (place, event, situation). (2) dull, boring, lethargic, ineffectual (person). Resp. Lit: insipid, weak.

flougat: expr var of **flou**. Lit: weak-arsed.

fluffy: var of **floppy**. (Also Maltese poodle in Respectable Lexicon.)

fly: (1) (v i) (ref to person): be taken away by police. (2) (v i) (ref to thing): vanish or be lost, often implying its theft.

fly-boy: habitually cunning working-class youth or man. Sometimes a nickname, usually for male who has traded illicitly in drugs or liquor since adolescence. From E slang: fly: artful, knowing (also in Respectable Lexicon, but almost archaic and very seldom used locally outside this speech community); E slang: fly-boy: artful, knowing man. Working-class Black dialect on Witwatersrand is known as Flytaal (usually spelt Flaaitaal), i.e., fly language.

fly-fly: (adv) casually, briefly, in passing (ref to encounter or sighting). Resp. Syn **skrams**.

fly padda: sly chap. Lit: fly frog. See **fly-boy**. Resp.

F. M.: (n) person who cannot keep a secret, broadcasts whatever he or she hears. From about 1972, shortly after introduction of Frequency Modulation radios, until 1980. Resp.

foilie: (EA) Mandrax tablet retailed in foil packing. Antonym **uitgedopte**. See **button**, **wit**. 1986- .

fok-all: (A-E) (adv) expletive indicating repudiation. "Ek is - geworried!" Lit: "I'm fuck-all worried!" (i.e., not at all). As an obscene noun meaning "none, nothing" the item is far from unique to this speech community. - **tyd het:** See **min tyd het**.

follie: cigarette. Also in Delinquent Lexicon.

foo: see **fu**.

footie: see **futhi**.

force: (v i) coerce, intimidate, intrude into, and dominate situation by threat of violence. Hence **forcester:** (E prefix, A suffix) male (usually del) who habitually attempts to have his way by coercion. Resp.

form: (1) reformatory (at Tokai, in Peninsula; only reformatory for coloured adolescents in country). (2) industrial school (for neglected or delinquent younger adolescents). Hence **formboy:** inmate of reformatory. Resp. Also in Delinquent Lexicon: **skool van crime.**

fo' sho': definite. Std A sekerlik seldom used. Lit: for sure. Resp.

four(t)-split: pyp with four Mandrax tablets instead of the usual one. See **button, duwele, t'ree-split, six-split.** Lit: four-split, i.e., four tablets shared among the smokers of the pipe. 1985- . INNOV

fout: **Is daar dan - ?:** What's the matter, what are you griping about? Lit: Is there a mistake, then? Resp.

freshers: (n) face. ? from cockney flashers (eyes).

fridge: **in die - vir** (iemand): (A, E, A) frightened of someone. Lit: in the fridge for someone, i.e., shiver. Std A: vrees: fear. Resp.

Frikkadeldorp: Factreton (coloured municipal residential township). Humorous, alliterative. Lit: Meatball (Rissole, Fricandelle) village.

front (koerant): (E [A]) (1) pushy, forward, loud. (2) showing off. Lit: front (page) (newspaper). Rhyming.

fu: (Ng) cigarette. From std Xh: fu: (n) cloud; std Z: fufuza: puff at. Onomatopoeic from sound of exhaling smoke. Also in Flytaal. Also in Delinquent Lexicon.

full-force: (1) (adj) devil-may-care. (2) (adj) - **chômmie:** totally loyal friend. (3) (adv) rapidly, powerfully violent, ref to forward motion of object or person.

function: (v i) (1) cogitate, think clearly; (ii) comprehend, catch on, work out solution (3) have sufficient wits about one to do this. from coll E: (one's) mind functions, i.e., is capable of intellectual activity and is not distracted, weary, worried, etc. 1976- .

funky: **in 'n - :** under the influence of liquor or drugs. Lit: in a funky. Syns **in 'n motion, in 'n speed, in 'n vibe.** 1984- .

furniture: **haar - raak vol stof:** she never has sex. Lit: her furniture is getting full of dust. Ref usually to younger woman only. Sometimes used by philanderer's peers to tease him about his wife's complaints.

futhi: (Antil Xh) soccer. Antil Xh: futhi: soccer. From E football.

fyn draai: **die** - - : penultimate stage of sexual excitement, just before self-control is lost and orgasm supervenes. Lit: the sharp bend (around which one loses control of vehicle when accelerating). See **brakes trek**.

G

ga: (Antil Ng) (v i and t) give. ? from vars of std E: give, std A gee: give, Std Xh and Z: pha, nika: give, and std Z: gaba: overflow, go beyond; ? Cape Lingo; ? Thamunda: take. 1970- .

gaan: (1) (v i) be arrested. See **fly** (v i). (2) (v t) **haar** (or **hom**) **gaan:** screw her (or him sexually). (3) (v t) beat up.

gaan vir: (1) pass permanently as. "Hy - - wit". "He goes as, passes as white". (2) go for, wave one's fist at.

gaar: (adj) brilliant, outstanding (in performance). Lit: fully-cooked, ready-to-eat.

gaargat: expr var of previous item. Lit: fully-cooked-hole, ready-to-eat-hole; -gat: suffix conn either perfection (of thing) or disgust (with person).

Gam: generic ref to one, more or all coloured people, usually derog, sometimes neutral or even modestly proud. Implicitly conn disreputable comparison of coloured identity with white identity, usually with regard to worth, fate and fortune, trustworthiness, attractiveness, dignity, wisdom, self-restraint, effectuality, industriousness and development. Also conn disreputable but superior vitality, sexual stamina, earthy integrity and unpretentiousness. Nearly all speakers are unaware of its Biblical ref and historic origin in teaching by white missionaries. Biblical ref is to Canaan and his offspring (Genesis 9: 21-25). Canaan was one of the four sons of Ham, Noah's dark-skinned son. In response to Ham's mockery of (and implicitly, incestuous copulation with) his drunken father, Noah laid a curse of enslavement on Canaan and his offspring by the other descendants of Ham and his brothers Shem (putatively brown) and Japeth (putatively white); and Joshua subsequently used the curse as a charter for the Israelites' enslavement of the Canaanites (Joshua 9: 1-27). The curse was also inaccurately used as a charter by Christian European colonists and traders for the enslavement and domination of people of colour. Until the past decade or so, Afrikaans dictionaries translated "Gam" as "black person, person of colour" and "servant". Lit: Ham.

Gamtaal: Predominantly Afrikaans dialect used by working-class coloured residents of Cape Peninsula, especially Capetonians. Derog but affectionate. Lit: Ham-language. See previous item.

ganja: (E) dagga. From **Rasta** Lexicon. Also in Flytaal. 1980- .

gap: (E) fine clothes, usually ref to male. Pron ghep. ? from garb, get-up.

gat: (1) (v t) pron of std A: gaan: go, goes, except as in **gaan** above and in **Gaan!** (Respectable Lexicon). Hence 'is - : things are. E.g., " - - swaar." "Things are going badly." " - - lekker." "Things are going well" (or "are nice"). Var of std A: dit gaan: it goes. (2) body orifice, anus or vagina. Hence 'n **gat is 'n gat**: a hole is a hole. Conn justification of promiscuity and heterosexual or homosexual anal copulation. **Sy (haar) gat!:** Fuck him (her)! Lit: her (his) hole! **met die -** : pregnant. Lit: with the hole. Syn: **met die lyf** (or **poep**). - **optrek**: take offence, sulk. Lit: pull hole up. - **vat**: (i) run away. (ii) leave, depart. Lit: take (one's) hole (away). ? std A rugby term. (iemand se) - **kap**: put an end to (someone's) influence. Lit: chop (someone's) arse. Syn **poes kap**. (iemand se) - **vernaai**: betray, stab (someone) in the back, gossip behind (someone's) back. Lit: screw (someone's) arse away (sexually). (3) (n) fool, arsehole - **maak van** (iemand): make a fool of (someone). (iemand) **vir 'n - vat**: take (someone) for a fool. **die - speel**: play the fool. **die - skeur**: var of previous. Lit: tear the (arse)hole. (4) abbrev of **Kriefgat**.

Gat: abbrev of **Kriefgat**.

gathond: (n) sycophant, one who betrays his friends to authority to curry favour. Lit: hole-dog, i.e., arse-licker.

gatte: **onder - lag**: laugh (oneself, himself) silly. Lit: laugh (oneself, himself) full of holes, to bits.

gattekop: (1) holes-head. jeering address to ugly junior male. (2) ignorant, ugly country bumpkin with San features. Conn scalp disreputably disfigured by sparse peppercorn hair, scars or disease.

gavriet: (1) (n) face (derog). (2) (adj) greedy (derog). Var pron of **gevriet**. Lit: eaten (ref to animal, not human eater). (3) - **koop**: curry favour, buy favour, ingratiate (oneself). Lit: buy eaten (i.e., face). 1970- .

gear: (1) set of clothes comprising uniform or sports outfit. (2) set of

clothes comprising Coon Carnival uniform. Resp.

geBaabylon: drunk. From **Rasta** lexis: **Baabylon:** liquor as sign of the sinfully corrupt and materialistic white world. 1980- .

gedagte: (1) wisdom, profound understanding, insight, judgment (both intellect and passion). Hence **'n hell of 'n - :** a hell of a powerful mind. Lit: a hell of a thought. (2) cunning, plausible, deceptive idea intended to persuade. Hence **onder -s:** artful, full of sly talk. Lit: under thoughts. **vol -s:** artful, full of sly talk. Lit: full of thoughts. (iemand) **iet met -s:** convince and exploit (someone) by means of a seductive idea. Lit: eat (someone) with thoughts. See **iet.** (iemand) **klim in** (iemand se) **-s:** convince (someone) seductively. Lit: climb into (someone's) thoughts. **slat met 'n - :** convince (someone) by means of a seductive idea. Lit: hit (someone) with a thought. **speel met** (iemand se) **-s:** (i) tempt (someone) with (his) own desires. (ii) treat (someone) contemptuously, toy with (him). Lit: play with (someone's) thoughts. **-s uithaal (op)** (iemand): present (someone) with overwhelmingly seductive ideas to hoodwink. Lit: take (one's) thoughts out (on) (someone). Syn: **boekie, skelm.** Resp.

geduiks: var of **gedagtes.** Whims.

gegjie: see **gie.**

geheim: (iemand se) - **klap:** give away (someone's) secret. Lit: hit (i.e., dislodge, someone's) secret. Resp.

gelaalies: drunk. From **lala** (Z): sleep. 1986- .

geluk: **buk vi' jou - :** sweat for your reward. Lit: bend (over) for your fortune. Rhyming. Conn hard work, self-mortification. Has humorous sexual connotation of having to entertain, flatter and plead with girl for sex, having to engage in prostitution for money, and being obliged to submit to sexual penetration from the rear to obtain a favour. 1990- .

genemmas: drunk. Whims neol, euph.

genuine: (pron jenwin) genuine leather jacket. 1972- .

genwin: (E) see previous item.

ge-olie: see **olie.**

gepluck: see **pluck.**

geroek: wild, frenetic, action-packed (of activities within room, house, dance-hall, etc.). Ref to group physical activity such as dancing or fighting. Syn **hot**. Lit: smoked. Respectable Lexicon: smoked up with dagga, under the influence of dagga. Also in Delinquent Lexicon.

gesig: **by die - kyk:** misjudge as stupid, timid, soft or ineffectual. Lit: look by the face, i.e., adjudge (someone) by (his bland) face.

gesuip: drunk. Std A: suip: (v i) booze.

get: (E) (n) abbrev of getaway, escape (from scene of trouble, crime).

getjwaps: see **tjwaps**.

getjweiks: see **tjweiks**.

getoor: intoxicated by liquor or drugs. Lit: bewitched.

getrek: see **trek**.

getroud: - **slaap:** sleep nightly with girlfriend as if married to her. Lit: sleep married. Resp. 1984- .

ge-turbo: (A-E) (1) charged up (with liquor). (2) charged up and running like the wind. Resp. 1984- . Lit: turboed, i.e., turbo-charged.

'Geur: Lenteguur, a suburb of Mitchell's Plain. Resp. 1978- .

gevaarlik: syn **dangerous**. Lit: dangerous. Resp.

gevriet: see **gavriet**.

gewap, gewaps: (w is soft, Angl or Ng) stupid.

geweps: (w is soft, Angl) var of previous item.

G. F.: syllabic acronym for **ghoffel**. 1982- .

ghaa: see **ga**.

ghammavrag: (first two phonemes Afrikaansified Xh and Z) large group of people. Std Xh and Z: gama: space, distance. Lit: space-load, a load taking up space.

ghammera: var of previous item. 1987- .

ghenna: (Afrikaansified Z) value and pursue (habitual interest which also marks one's identity). **die nice times - :** value and pursue hedonistic pleasures: wine, women and song (as opposed to crime). Fading, replaced by **kyk** (Delinquent Lexicon). See **nice time**. from std Z: ngena: come in,

go in, set out, start off. Conn activism and activity. Prob Pris.

ghep: see **gap**.

ghibbes: girlfriend or wife (humorous, whims). 1974-80. Old people's and Java Lexicons, revived.

ghiebaana: var of **cabana**.

ghieliegh, ghieliek: (? Antil Ng) (1) (adj) very many (usually ref to number of people). (2) (n) large number (usually ref to people). Flytaal: very many, large quantity of. ? Xh: khihlika: foam over; ? Z: ningi: many; iliningi: most. 1970- .

ghiemba: see **gimba**.

ghôba: see **goba**.

ghoef: (1) (adv) fine (of arrangement). Sometimes **sommer** (or **soema**) - : just fine. Resp. (2) onomatopoeic sound of an impact. Hence **ghoefghaf(ghoef):** represents the sound of a quick punch-up: two punches and a kick, and the victim is **deck-toe, lights-out**.

ghoemahare: (1) negroid hair (humorous, derog). (2) pubic hair (humorous). From Respectable Lexicon: candy floss.

ghoen: (1) (n and adj) expert, champion. (2) (adj) very likeable: **ghoen burg:** nice guy. See **burg**. (3) small white disc used in snooker-like game known as **kerrem** (Respectable Lexicon). From S A English slang term for a large marble.

ghoenie: (iemand se) - **hang:** (someone) looks (1) down and out; (2) bone-weary, ready to drop; (3) deeply dejected, dispirited. From game of marbles, when one seems about to lose. Lit: little ghoen hangs.

ghoffel: (1) ugly person, usually coloured (extremely derog term). (2) coloured female prostitute. Also used by working-class white disreputable and delinquent males to refer contemptuously to coloured female as loathsome but readily available sexual object.

ghounie: (Afrikaansified Antil Ng) (1) (n) knife. (2) (v t) stab with knife. Also in Cape Lingo and Flytaal. -1980.

ghwai: (w is soft) see **'gwayi**.

ghwarra: see **gwara**.

giddy-up: fine, fixed up (of arrangement or farewell).

gie: (Angl consonant) tell. Lit: give. - !: Tell (me)! Hence **ge-** : concerned with, bothered about, interested in. "Ek is nie **ge-** van hom nie." "I couldn't care about him." Lit: I'm not given about him. See **van**. 1975- . See **kry**.

gieries: randy, sexually restless. Std A: **gier:** drive, urge.

gimba: (? Antil Z) (n) greedy person. Syn **hyena**. ? Xh, **Java** Lexicon or std Z: **gimbiliza:** gulp down whole, wolf down. ? from **Pris**.

girlie: (E) steady girlfriend.

gly: leave, go, depart. Resp. Std A: slide, slip.

go (met): (v t) (E, A): (1) (v t) beat up. (2) sell fast and furiously, usually Mandrax tablets. "Hy - - daai **buttons**": "He shifts those Mandrax tablets", sells them very rapidly. See **dowel**, **skiet**, **slat**.

goba: (Xh and Z) (1) (v i) work. (2) (n) (place of) work. Std Xh: **goba:** bend down, humble oneself; std Z: **goba:** bend over, stoop.

goblet: glass (out of which to drink liquor).

goeie goed: (1) superior quality dagga. (2) sexually attractive female. Lit: good stuff.

going line: fine, going well (of arrangement or one's state of wellbeing and progress in life). From a going line, a product that sells well. 1978- .

gomgat: (1) fool, idiot, nonentity. (2) catamite. (3) passive homosexual. Lit: gum-arse, i.e., one whose rear is covered with semen. From **Prison** Lexicon: **saadnaat:** catamite, nonentity. 1970- .

gooi: difficult to translate: subtly associated with **beat**, **dowel**, **skiet**, **slat**; all conn action, vitality, vigour, boldness and competence in identity enaction and especially in style. Derived from notion of projecting ("throwing") oneself by action in sound, word, music, idea. (1) (v t) produce, give, do a sensuously, aesthetically gratifying social performance. - '**n number**: do a number, sing or play a tune. - '**n scene**: throw a party, dance. "Djy - die taal lekker." "You give the dialect well". Lit: You throw the language well. (2) actively create or maintain a (particular) interpersonal situation by projecting an impression. Hence **skim** - : (v i) hint. Lit: throw shadow. - **ziep**: keep mum, say nothing,

keep one's lips sealed. Lit: throw zip. (3) do (especially in sex): **five tackle one** - : masturbate (ref to male). See **five tackle one**. **styles** - : copulate in unconventional postural positions. See **styles**. (4) (v t) screw (sexually). (5) (v i) depart, leave. Lit: throw. All except (3) and (4) are resp.

goose: (1) adolescent or young adult woman. (2) girlfriend. Resp.

Gorella Ek: Immorality Act, ref to section proscribing marriage or sexual intercourse between people of colour and whites. Humorous. Lit: Afrikaansified pron of Gorilla Act.

grand: (E) (1) (adj and adv) fine, fixed up (of arrangement, farewell). (2) (v t) -, - **van**: like very much, adore. Resp. - is the most common term indicating approbation and farewell.

grandstand: expr form of **grand** (adv).

'grave: Belgravia, a suburb in the coloured residential district of Athlone in Cape Town.

grease: (1) (v t) screw (sexually). (2) (n) a screw (episode of copulation). Prob from servicing of vehicle.

grip: (A) fool. Hence - **maak van**: make (a) fool of. (Iemand) **vir 'n - vat**: take (someone) for a fool. Std A: grap: joke. Resp.

groen: dagga (contrasted with **wit**: mixture of dagga and Mandrax). 1978- . Lit: green.

grondte: neighbourhood, vicinity, territory. Std A: ground, earth, soil, land, bottom.

groot wa: see **wa**.

gryp, rape en escape: (1) (v i) quickly seduce (girl) and then disappear, love and leave. (2) (n) quick seduction and then disappearance. Humorous. Lit: grab, rape and escape.

G. T.: (E) Angl syllabic acronym var of **djintoe**: (n) female prostitute. Resp. 1982- .

guard: guy, disreputable or delinquent. Also in Delinquent Lexicon. See **burg** for syns. 1985- .

guitar: **Hie' slat ek 'ie** - : I run things here, I control things here. Lit: Here I hit the guitar. Syns **beat** (2) (ii), **pengha-pengha**.

gulp: uit die - uitpraat. Lit: talk out of the (trouser-)fly. Syns uit die broek (komberse, kooi, lakens) uitpraat. See broek. Resp.

gun: (E) (1) (n) dagga. abbrev of **gunston**. (2) (v i) smoke (dagga). 1972-6.

guns: (E) (1) fists, as opposed to a weapon such as a knife. Syn **poppe**. (2) - **ophang:** abandon ou roeker identity, activities and peers. See syn retire. Lit: hang up (one's) guns.

gunsakkies: (EA) steatopygic or fat buttocks, soft, fat protruberant buttocks and hips, "saddle bags" (ref to female only). Lit: holsters.

gunston: (E) dagga. From name of brand of cigarettes introduced about 1970. 1970- .

Gwaan!: (E) (1) Stop talking rubbish and (2) Buzz off! Lit: Go on! Conn irritation and wish to be rid of nonsense and nuisance. Resp.

gwara: (Sotho) (v i and t) tease, taunt, especially in ritual exchange of outrageous, mordantly witty, humorous but perhaps extremely obscene insults, usually before peer group. The rule is to give better than one gets, and above all, shrug, laugh and never flinch or lose one's temper. This is jousting, ostensibly playful, to sustain or promote one's own honour, dishonour one's victim and thereby establish a pecking order in wittiness and articulateness in the peer group. The victim who is less articulate but a better fighter may legitimately transform verbal into physical wrestling which remains within the bounds of play. However, verbal blows below the belt (such as reflecting on the honour of the opponent's kin, especially mother or sister, or taunting of a junior which amounts in frequency to bullying and provocation) are unacceptable unless one's aim becomes wholly serious, and therefore no longer - but of lasting consequence to the group, which may intervene to restore its integrity. Occasionally a serious fight, even a stabbing, may result from - which has gone too far, been aimed at too sensitive a victim, or been disorganized by liquor. Identical to game of The Dozens among Blacks in the U. S. A. See moer, piel, poes. Std Sotho: gwara: poke fun at; std Xh: gwala: behave in cowardly fashion (e.g., by bullying; Respectable Lexicon: **coward:** [adj]: sadistically cruel, vicious); std Z: gwala: coward. Also in Flytaal. Resp.

'gwayi: (Z) cigarette. Std Z: ugwayi: tobacco. ? Pris. Also in Flytaal.

H

haatie: 'n - : a (bit of) bad luck. Hence -s!: bad luck! too bad! Afr pron of hardie. From hard luck or hard lines.

haba: see next item.

habha: (Antil Ng) (1) (adj) no. Hence - **draad!**: You can't try your luck (here), you'll get no scope for taking advantage (here). See **draad.** ? from std Xh: habahaba: what a story!; or std Z: hayi-bo!: stop that!. Also in Flytaal. Syns **ha, ga** (Delinquent Lexicon). (2) (n) none.

habskiet: expr syn for **haba:** none.

hak: (v i) marry - **met:** marry to. Hence **gehak:** married. Resp. Lit: hook. E slang: hitch.

Hak af!: see **afhak.**

Hak vas!: see **vashak.**

haloep: voor - vi' : Lit: runs ahead for. Ref to leading armed attack on another gang; metaphoric ref to leader of gang, especially in fighting and corporate criminal activity, who takes very grave personal risks to lead gang into such activities, and personifies its honour. Commensurately high prestige attaches to the role, which emerges informally, wholly from its actor's aggressive personality and skills in violence, and is not to be found in every gang, or indefinitely in a particular gang (because of the sheer likelihood of maiming, death or imprisonment, or the actor's progressing to less risky activities, such as drug-trading). However, gang organization and leadership remain informal, and such a person is more likely to be referred to as one who **haloep voor vi'** the gang than as the leader. See leader.

hand: (A) handful of cannabis (dagga). Lit: hand. See **arm, baal, groen, stop, vinger.**

hande: (1) **onder - :** under exploitative control. Syn **onder clutch, onder control.** Lit: under hands. (2) - **splash:** (A, E with A pron) (unfairly) wash (one's) hands (of a matter), repudiate responsibility unfairly, disengage selfishly. See **splash.** Lit: wash hands.

hanggat: sexually suggestive **outie** and **ou roeker** style of trousers or jeans cut or slung with the waist around the hips, sometimes disclosing buttocks and pubic hair. Liable to drop to ankles when running unless clutched;

useful for dropping swiftly when desired. Intrinsic to **balloon** style until 1986. Since 1970 increasingly considered ignorant and crude by all but the most impoverished or middle-aged disreputables and delinquents, but becoming somewhat more common since the economic depression beginning in 1985, and also among large numbers of adolescent and young adult black migrants to the city. Lit: hang-hole, hang-arse.

happening: (1) incident. (2) fortuitous event. 1970- . Resp.

hare: - **gat slaap:** hair goes to sleep. Humorous ref to inevitable reversal of negroid hair to its natural state when wetted by rain or mist after painstaking straightening. Resp.

hart: (iemand se) - **is wit:** (someone) is happy. Lit: heart is white. - **is swart:** is disappointed and downhearted. Lit: heart is black. **vêr van die - af:** an insignificant bit of misfortune, one which does not distress. Lit: far from the heart. 1978- .

hasal: (Antil Ng) (1) I have none. (2) You may not do that. ? from std Z: hayi-bo!: stop that! Was in Delinquent Lexicon, still in Cape Lingo, originally from Prison; became archaic in adolescent and young adult **ou roeker tale** from 1965-1985. In Flytaal. See **habha**. In Delinquent Lexicon: **ga** and **ha**.

hasbek: style of self-mutilative display with four upper incisor teeth removed, usually in adolescence. Unrelated to dental decay, affected by many adolescents, female and male, more popular among the poorer. Although said to be acquired the better to permit deep kissing (with the tongue) "and other things" (i.e., use of the tongue in erotic contact with other parts of the body), it is not necessarily a sign of sexual availability, but rather that the girl or boy wishes acknowledgement as a conforming adolescent who is sexually mature and aware. Usually regretted once adulthood is reached, and dentures are likely to be inserted. Some individuals have upper incisors removed solely to make way for dentures adorned with a gold inlay, or small rubies -- considered vulgarly ostentatious by many. Construed as mildly disreputable, becoming less popular since 1980. Lit: rabbit-mouth, i.e., antilinguistic reversal signifying mouth with prominent upper incisors. Respectable Lexicon: **Syn passion gap**. Resp.

hawker: buddy, pal.

heat: **op - :** randy, sexually restless (male or female). Lit: on heat.

Heit!: var of **Hooit!**. - **pa!:** Hi, dad! Greeting to friend.

Heita!: expr var of **Heit!**. Common in Flytaal.

hele: **die - :** (1) a hell of a lot of (things, money). (2) lots of (persons associated with one: girlfriends, connections, etc.) (From Respectable Lexicon: every last [of category of persons]. Hence - - **djamaa:** the whole congregation [**Java** Lexicon]. "- - Plain was daa' gewies." "The whole of Mitchell's Plain was there", every last person. - - **happy lot:** the whole happy lot.) Lit: the whole (of). Resp.

hele intention: whole intention. Cliché. Std A bedoeling not used.

help: (**Ek**) **Kannie - 'ie!:** (I) Can't help it!. Humorous justification and apology for indulging in disreputable activity: I am controlled and victimized by my Natural appetites, so I might as well enjoy them. Lit: (I) Can't help (it).

helse hou: hell.of a lot. Lit: hellish blow.

het: (1) (v t) have (someone where one wants them). (2) - or **'it:** be wealthy. Lit: have or have got it (i.e., wealth).

'Heuwel: abbrev of Bonteheuwel.. See **Bonties**.

Hie': rhetorical device for enhancing the drama of a tale. "- sê die ou ek moet uit." "Here the guy says I must get out." Lit: here.

Hie's hulle!: This is what I want to tell or show you. Lit: Here they are!

Hie' vind hy uit hy moet: Here he finds out (that) he must cliché expr ridicule of someone's decision. Equally applicable to females. Resp.

highly (op): selfishly lusting (for), highly excited, greedy or desperate to obtain (something). Lit: highly (on). 1980- .

hijack: (v t) rob. 1970- .

Hjy!: Hey, you! Bark or shout intended to mortify and stop respondent in his or her tracks. Construed impertinent or insolent when addressed to an innocent peer or stranger.

hobby: one of the common hedonistic pursuits, usually sex (perhaps specifically homosexuality in a bisexual), but can be liquor or drugs. Hence tattoo slogan: Sex Is My Hobby. See **nice times**.

hoeg spring: aspire to unjustified superiority, give (oneself) airs. Resp, infiltrating Respectable Lexicon. Lit: jump high.

koek: vagina. Lit: cake. In Flytaal. - in 'ie **hoek:** (1) fine, fixed up. (2) wine, women and song, hedonistic pleasures. Syn **nice times**. Lit: cake in the corner. Rhyming.

hoeks: var of **hak**. **ge-** : married. Resp.

hoer: (v t) (1) - **by:** frequent (place). (2) abuse or overuse and wear out. Lit: whore. Std A: whore (n).

hoe's djy, dan?: what's the matter with you? Rebuke only. Lit: how're you, then? Resp.

Hoijaa!: cheerfully shouted greeting to acquaintance or friend. Similar to **hooit!**. (Hence children's term for dustman or street-sweeper who shouts - ! as he rides past on garbage truck.) Lit: elided form of "O, ja": oh, yes.

hol: hie' - hulle!: Here I am, here we are, here you are, here's what you want. Can refer to anything. Intimate or conspiratorial; e.g., these are the facts, these are the way things really are. Lit: here they scamper. From Prison Lexicon. 1975- . - **op die kop:** see **kop**.

holhang: (v i) (1) beg, cadge (derog, usually of male). (2) idle around. (3) loaf, refuse to work. Lit: hang (on to another's) arse. Hence **-er:** (n) one who does the above.

honde: lat die - huil: to an extraordinary or amusing extent. "Hy skree - - - ". "He yelled unbelievably." Lit: until the dogs howl.

honderd: (1) at very great speed (driving a vehicle). (2) expr of admiration for outstanding performance or activity. "Hy **dowel** - op daai **kitaar**." "He plays brilliantly on that guitar." Lit: hundred. Resp.

hondjie: (1) match (incendiary). (2) copulation a tergo. Syn **dog-style**. Lit: little dog.

honeygold: vagina. From name of brand of cheap, sweet wine. 1985- .

Hooit!: abbrev of **hoe's 'it!** cheerful greeting to friend, more common than all other vars: **Heit!, Heita!, Horra!** Lit: how's it (with you)?

hoor: (1) hear about. "Het djy daai **speech** ge-?" "Did you hear about that business?" (2) (v t) smell. "Kan djy my voete hoor?" "Can you

smell my feet?" "Do my feet stink?" Lit: Can you hear my feet? Lit: hear. See **klank**.

hoppel, hoppels: man's short trousers just covering the kneecap, usually formed by cutting off full-length trousers, sometimes by wearing shorts **hanggat**. Intended to give disreputable, impoverished, boyish look and display calves. Common **ou roeker** uniform, especially until 1970s. Resp.

horings: **bokant** (iemand se) - : beyond (someone's) comprehension. Lit: above (someone's) horns.

horlosie: heart. Lit: clock. Syn: **clock**. Cockney: ticker.

Horra!: (1) exuberant greeting to peers, especially delinquents. Expr var of **Hooit!**, especially among **ou roekers**. (2) var of std A: hoor daar: hear there, listen! Respectable Lexicon: **Kyrra!**: Look at that! Lit: Kyk daar: Look there. Used especially with young children.

hossie: (A) hospital.

hot: (E) swinging, action-packed. "'Is gat - by daai joint." "It's swinging at that joint."

hotrod: expr var of previous item. From USA term for sports car.

hot stuff: alcoholic spirits (such as brandy, whisky, rum, etc.) as opposed to wine. Resp.

houtkapper: derog term for impoverished black, usually of rural origin. Std A: woodcutter, i.e., someone who lives as squatter in the bush and ekes out a living by chopping and selling firewood.

hubbly-bubbly: device for drawing dagga smoke through water to refine and increase its potency; hookah. Smoker sucks through a pipe attached above water-level either to a water-filled bottle or even a water-filled hole in the ground, from which another pipe below water-level leads to the container of burning dagga. Very rarely used since 1970. See **pyp**, **challam**.

huk: **naai haar** (or **hom**) **lat sy** (or **hy**) - : screw (sexually) her (or him) very forcefully. Lit: screw her (or him) until she (or he) hiccups. Conn sexual mastery, stamina and contempt. See **naai**.

hustle: urgently seek money by one's wits, disreputably and even criminally but non-violently. 1975- . Resp.

hyena: greedy-guts. Syn **ghiemba**.

I

I-don't-care: (1) (n) person (usually youth or man) who lives without concern for consequences of any kind. (2) (adv) shrugging off all concern for consequences. Can connote any form of unconcern, hedonism, impulsiveness, irresponsibility, disreputability, delinquency, violence, criminality, etc. See **neverminder**. (3) (n) liquor (which induces unconcern, etc.). Humorous.

ienlik: even, actually. From std A: eintlik.

iet: (v t) (1) persuade, convince, deceive. (iemand) **van agter after** - : deceive (someone) without their becoming aware of it. (iemand) **met 'n gedagte** - : persuade or deceive (someone) with a seductive idea. See **gedagte**. Lit: eat (someone) from behind. (2) exploit inequitably. (3) beat (at game). (4) screw (sexually). Lit: eat.

ietbol: (metaphor for) appetite for food. Std A: bol: bulb. -**bol** derives from folk anatomy: an illusional organ of the body, construed as the seat of an appetite, a metaphoric gland. See **naaibol**, **roekbol**.

in: (A) in prison or police cells, inside. Resp.

inbriek: deflower (virgin). Lit: break in, burgle (Eng "break in", coll for deflower, is not used).

inchime: (AE) interrupt (another's conversation). From chime in. Resp.

in daa': (n, or v i in past tense only) allusion to penile sexual penetration; state of having one's penis in an orifice, or act of copulation. Lit: in there. "Ek het ge- - ." "I had sex there", i.e., with her. Mildly humorous.

in dié: (1) on top of it all, ironically. (2) with that (the consequence or next event followed). Lit: in this, i.e., with this. Resp.

ingaan vir: go in for, engage in. std A not used. Resp.

ingooi: (1) ejaculate semen into vagina (as opposed to **brakes trek**, coitus interruptus). (2) drink heavily. Lit: throw in.

involve': pron of "involved", i.e., engaged in or with. Std A betrokke seldom used. Resp.

irony: jou - wêk: you are smart, your brain is working. SAE: irony: ball-bearing used in games of marbles, spherical like one's head.

'is: (1) elided form of std A: dit is: it is, it's. Hence - , ja: that's right. Lit: is, yes. - **'ie:** it's not. Lit: is not. (2) var of std A: dit: (it) „- pyn." "It hurts." (3) be present. „Ek moet môre daar - .": "I must be there tomorrow." Std A: wees. 1980- . Delinquent Lexicon: **ge-is.** (4) **Nay, hy is :** expr of high appreciation of someone. Lit: No, he is; i.e., a wonderful guy.

J

jackpot: (v) vomit. Resp.

jammie: (E) car.

Jap: (A) (n) (1) Japanese or Chinese sailor, as prostitute's client, easily fleeced. (2) fool, idiot. 1984- .

Jewish: (1) (v t) titivate. (2) (adj) fine, superb. (3) (n) fine clothes, jewellery, finery. Also in Flytaal. (4) (v i) dress stylishly and expensively.

job: (E) **op 'ie - :** busy copulating (ref to male). Lit: on the job. Syn: **nes: op 'ie nes.**

joint: house, home. Most commonly used term. Resp. Also in Flytaal. Syns: **cabin, kula, phozi, zla;** and in Delinquent Lexicon: **khaya, koesta, posta.**

joke: **vir die - val:** (A, E) be easily hoodwinked, fall readily into a trap. Lit: fall for the joke. Resp.

jonka: guy. Std A: jong.

Joster: (E) (1) (n) person from Johannesburg. (2) (n) dance with shoulders held stiff while turning body from side to side and clicking fingers. (3) (adj) originally Black American style of unisex clothes, vaguely associated with Black Consciousness, imitated by Johannesburg youth, copied in turn by Capetonians: high waisted trousers with straight or narrow pipes and turnups, braces short-sleeved open-necked shirt with wide lapels and patch pocket; optional V-neck jersey and broad-brimmed raffia hat. All the above lexis and style popular from 1976 to 1980. Resp.

Jou mal antie se linker poeslip dra brille!: See **poeslip.**

Jou mal antie se moer!: See **moer.**

jou ma: see **ma**, **pa**, **moer** (6), **poes** (2).

Jou ma se moer (or **poes**)!: See **moer**.

Jou moer (or **moerin**)!: see **moer**.

jou pa: see **pa**, **ma**.

juba: (Ng phon; ? Ng) (1) guy. (2) buddy. -1965.

jump: (E) (1) (v i) escape from police or prison custody. (2) (v i) escape from responsibilities as father and spouse. (3) (v t) screw (sexually). 1978- .

junper: (E) female prostitute (who jumps into cruising cars). 1985- .

jumpers: (E) time. **Wat sê die - ?:** What's the time? Lit: What do the jumpers say? Syn **skatties**. 1976- .

June: **tussen 'n - en 'n July:** (A, E) (1) in a puzzle. (2) on the horns of a dilemma. Lit: between a June and a July. **Flytaal:** in June-July: in trouble, shivering from fear as if in winter cold.

juvenile: young male **ou roeker**, usually gang member, fifteen to seventeen or eighteen years old. Term used by disreputable or delinquent, aged about thirty or more, often accompanied by mythic claims that "the juveniles are taking over" (translation), i.e., assuming control of gang and territory from the previous generation, and perhaps overthrowing it. From term used in criminal procedure, specifying Juvenile Court and more lenient treatment for accused and offenders under eighteen. Also used as in std E to denote accused or offender under eighteen.

K

kaal: (1) (adj) broke, penniless. Resp. (2) - **kap:** see **kap**. Std A: naked.

kaalgat: (n) (person who is) bankrupt materially, culturally, socially and morally, impoverished, disreputable, disgusting and without influence. Grave insult implying rank vulgarity and equating poverty with moral failure, sometimes traded in dispute between female neighbours. Lit: bare-arse, naked.

kaantie: see **kanti**.

Kaap: **Was 'it nie vi'jou, is 'ie - nie gebou nie!:** Whims rhyming banter

to passing girl: Were it not for you, the Cape would not have been built!
1986- .

kaart: (n) (1) clever, witty, charming explanation or rejoinder to banter.
(2) deceitful, persuasive explanation, excuse, lie. Hence - **skiet:** shoot
an entertaining line of wit, give a cunning or deceitful account, shoot a
line. Lit: shoot (a) card. (3) - **trek:** (i) become frightened and retreat.
(ii) size up situation and become wary. Lit: pull (a) card.

kaartjie: small packet of dagga sufficient for one or two cigarettes.
Rare. Syn **stop** (common).

kabollang: Javafied var of **boling**. -1975.

kaffirdop: very large tot of liquor. Lit: kaffir tot. Syn **noenghadop**.

kak: shit, generally associated with profusion, rubbish (literally and
figuratively; also common usage in surrounding speech communities),
undesirability, offensiveness, trouble, a malignant disposition. Extremely
common in usage. (1) (n) trouble. Hence **diep in 'ie** - : in deep trouble.
Lit: deep in the shit. **Daar's** - : (Now) there's (going to be) trouble.
Lit: There's shit. - **aandjag:** Look for trouble. Lit: chase shit. -
aanvang: get up to mischief, make trouble, therefore land in trouble. Lit:
get up to shit, take on shit. - **maak:** make trouble. Lit: make shit. -
ruik op (iemand): look for trouble with (someone). Lit: smell shit on
(someone). Delinquent Lexicon: **ruik op. daar's - in die land by ...** (or
van Kaana): there's trouble. Lit: there's shit in the land at ... (or of
Canaan). (2) (n) **vi'** - : gratuitously, for no good reason, out of sheer
recklessness or malice. Lit: for shit. (3) (n) **skaars** (or **nie eers**) - **in**
my maag: I'm flat broke. Lit: scarcely any (or not even) shit in my
stomach. (4) (adj) - **beat:** (i) unfortunate incident, (ii) offensive manner,
bad habit. Lit: shit beat. See **beat**. (5) (adj) - **gedagte:** nasty,
malicious, suspicious turn of mind. Lit: shit thought. (6) (adj) -
dronk: wretchedly drunk, lurching, vomiting and falling all over the place.
Lit: shit-drunk. (7) (adj) - **gesuip:** drunk and incapable, not knowing or
realizing what one is doing. Lit: shit-drunk. See **suip**. (8) (adj) -
pluck: heedlessly reckless courage or cheek. Lit: shit courage. Syn **vuil**
pluck (see **pluck**). (9) **geld soos** - lots of money. Lit: money like shit.
(10) **rande soos** - : the same. Lit: rands like shit.

Kakebeen Straat: pertaining to the joys -- and jaws -- of eating. Lit:
Jawbone Street. **ou van** - - : guy who loves food. Lit: guy of Jawbone
Street.

kampie: - **skuif:** move (from one situation or place to another). Lit: shift little camp. Resp.

kamsakpluck: (AAE) - **het:** has faint heart, no grit. Lit: comb-sleeve pluck, i.e. is soft and spineless like the sleeve of a pocket-comb. Alliterative. See **pluck**.

kanalladop: gift of a tot of liquor stood by friend or barman. Lit: please tot. Resp.

kannie kom nie, kannie gekom (or **gecame**) **het nie:** Unacceptable, not to one's liking. Lit: cannot come, cannot came. 1970- .

Kan 'n man dan nie?: (1) sexually suggestive banter to passing girl. (2) hinted request for a gift of money. Rejoinder: **As djy die tools het.** Lit: Can't a man, then? Rejoinder: If you've got the tools.

kanonkels: very large female breasts. Syn **dairies**. Elided var of std A: **kanonkoeëls:** cannonballs.

kante: way, direction. Lit: ways, sides. Hence **Watter - :** What are you going to do now? Lit: Which way? **se - :** around, about (specified time). „Four o'clock - - .“ "About four o'clock." Lit: "Four o'clock's sides." Resp. Std A: **se kant.**

kanti: (Xh and Z) while in fact, yet, what do you know?, would you believe it? Expr irony of previous surprise. „Ek wag vir 'n hele uur; -, hy staan net om 'ie draai!“ "I waited for an entire hour; would you believe it, he was standing just around the corner!" Std Xh and Z: **kanti:** on the other hand, notwithstanding. Also in **Flytaal**.

kantie: see previous item.

kap: (1) (n) screw (copulatory encounter). Hence - **vat:** take a screw. (2) (v i and t) fire (from job). (3) **naked** (**kaal, koud**) - : strip naked. Lit: knock (or slash or chop) naked (bare, cold). - **safe:** see **safe**. - **toe:** see **toekap**. - **af:** see **afkap**.

kappielaan: leader of work crew. Std A: **kapelaan:** chaplain. Var of std A: chaplain, shop steward. See **laanie**.

kar: **teen die - skop, in die - skop:** (v i) baulk, refuse to cooperate. Lit: kick against (or in) the cart. Apparently allusion to donkey and cart. Resp.

karate water: (A) cheap wine.

karbriek: (1) (v) break into one or more cars. (2) (n) criminal offence of burgling a car. Lit: car-break.

kat: (1) sexually desirable adolescent or young adult female. Std A: cat. (2) **die - naai:** rule the roost. Lit: screw the cat. Coll A: naai: screw (sexually).

katkop: half a loaf of bread for **dite**, rough and ready meal. Lit: cat-head. Also in Delinquent Lexicon.

kats, katch: grab, or steal furtively. ? from Yiddish: gaps: steal, pinch; std Z: **cathapawu:** frisk and rob, prowl and steal (In Delinquent Lexicon).

kau: buddy, friend, comrade. Uncommon usage. Also in Flytaal.

kawoppel: buckled, bent, dented perhaps beyond repair. ? from std E: wobble (e.g., in bicycle wheel), but certainly onomatopoeic. Resp.

kazat: (Afrikaansified Xh) (1) (v i) contribute to (group pool). (2) (v i) share (food, money, resources in equal shares with one or more peers). Coll Xh: inkazathi: collection to pool resources and divide into equal shares; std Xh: khazi: dowry; std Z: khaxaka, khazaza: fit together well, dovetail; ? Cape Lingo.

kên: (Ngunicized A) (1) (v i) have special, empathic or esoteric knowledge of person or situation. (2) (v i) understand, empathize and sympathize. Hence - **van ...:** know about (in either of these modes). (3) substitute for std A: wiet: know (information), know (about event). Lit: know, be personally acquainted with (person or information).

kentucky: a **style** (unconventional postural position of copulation) with the female or subordinate male lying on back with knees over the shoulders of the dominant male, who raises himself on knees and hands, partly to watch his penile thrusts. From Kentucky Fried Chicken, a popular brand advertising a picture of a succulent fried chicken. 1986- . Syn **bene-oor-die-skouers**. See **style**.

kerrie werk: (my, sy, haar) - - : (I, he, she) becomes exasperated. Lit: (My, his, her) curry works, gets one steamed up, hot, bothered and spluttering. Resp.

kers(ie): - hou: (1) keep watch for approaching strangers while friends are engaging in illicit activity. Often ref to sexual activity. (2)

voyeuristically watch couple copulating. (3) disclose confidential copulation by couple. Lit: hold (little) candle.

khakiboontjie: coloured policeman. Ref to khaki uniform that distinguished coloured policemen from whites, dressed in navy, until late 1970s. Lit: little khaki bean. Syn in Delinquent Lexicon: **mazantiya**. -1980.

khakipil: dagga cigarette rolled in brown paper. See **pil**.

'kierie: abbrev of Bokmakierie, municipal residential township for working-class coloureds.

kierie: (1) (n) man who fathers many illegitimate children far and wide. Std A: knobkierie, cudgel. Phallic ref to virility. (2) - **bêre:** screw (sexually). Humorous. Lit: put (one's) cudgel away into.

kill: (E) (1) **ingaan vir die** - : (A, E, A) involve oneself totally. Lit: go in for the kill. Resp. (2) - **my (jou, haar, hom) aan (iets):** I (you, she, he) overindulges in (something). Lit: kill myself (yourself, herself, himself) to (i.e., with) (something).

kind: (A) girl or girlfriend. Abbrev of std A: meisiekind: girl. Lit: child. Resp.

kind-moeilik: (adv) girl-mad, girl-crazy. Lit: girl-difficult. See **moeilik**. Resp.

kit: (E) (1) (n) clothes. (2) (v i) dress well. (3) (v i) dress (plus adv qualifier, e.g., badly, brightly, etc.). Resp.

kite: (1) cheat, rip off (of money). (2) secretly spy on, peep at, catch in the act.

kitegat: boastful person, braggart, snob. Lit: kite-hole, one who elevates his anus high above the heads of others.

klaarmaak: **Wie kan vi' jou (or my) - ?:** Who can beat you (or me)? Facetious banter. Syn **conquer**. Resp.

klank: (n) distinctive smell, odour. **Kry djy die - ?:** Do you smell (i.e., dagga)? Lit: do you get the sound?. See **hoor, lyk** (2).

klap: **Wat - so?:** (1) What's going on? (2) How does this business work? Lit: What knocks thus? Prob ref to car engine. **'it - :** it's going hot, there's much activity and excitement. 1970- .

klas: (adv or adj) very fine, very attractive, classy. Lit: class. -1975.

kleintjie: (n) (young) guy, chap. Conn peer, not one of higher reputation or influence. Construed as insulting if used by rank outsider. Lit: little one. Resp. Approximate syn **ou**, **skelm**. Also in Delinquent Lexicon.

klip: - **gooi:** talk incomprehensible language (usually Xhosa) in presence of others who do not understand it. Lit: throw stones. Conn anxiety that speakers are not merely impolite but may be casting aspersions or even plotting harm against those who do not understand their conversation; comparable to hiding away and stoning unsuspecting passersby. **op 'n wit - staan:** (i) distantiate (oneself), avoid involvement. (ii) repudiate responsibility. Lit: stand on a white stone, i.e., put oneself on a pedestal. Conn pretence of lofty piety, innocence. Resp. Also in Delinquent Lexicon. **agter die - :** (i) unrefined, culturally backward. (ii) stupid. Lit: behind the rock. Conn Cultural ignorance due to rural origin. See **bos**. Resp.

klits: beat up, assault. Std A: beat (culinary ref, e.g., egg).

knick-knacks: **Ek worry my - :** I couldn't care less, it doesn't bother me. Lit: I upset myself knick-knacks, i.e., not significantly.

knoes: (1) large handful (of dagga) (2) mound of pubic hair on mons veneris. Lit: knot, node, gnarl (in wood).

knōp: (Ngunicized A) (1) (v t) screw (sexually). (2) (n) a screw (sexually) (i) the act; (ii) a slut or contemptible person (female or male). Lit: knob, lump. E Slang: knob: penis. (3) - **ha'loep**, - **kom:** fail in attempt to carry out plan or quest. Lit: run knob, come knob. ? conn receipt of a lump on the head when seeking entry. (4) (iemand) '**n - stiek:** break an arrangement (with someone), let (someone) down. Lit: stab (someone) a knob, i.e., knock (someone) a lump.

knopie: Mandrax tablet. Allusive. Lit: little button. Syn of **button**. 1978- .

knowledge: heightened, focussed perceptual acuity, acute sense of profound insight into life, induced by the taking of dagga. **tobacco of - :** dagga.

knox: (E) (1) man's peaked cap. From name of manufacturer. (2) name of psychoactive pink tablet with manufacturer's name engraved on it, misused

to induce elation. ? Eventin, an appetite-suppressant. 1977-82.

knyp: (1) (v i) be selfish, stingy. (2) (v t) stab (with knife). (3) (v t) screw (sexually). Lit: pinch, nip.

knypers: anal sphincter. Lit: pinchers, squeezers.

koek: (n) vagina. Lit: cake. Conn desirability, sensual gratification.

koeks: (v i) consume alcohol, booze. Hence **ge-** : sozzled, somewhat drunk. Flytaal: khuk.

koela: see **kula**.

koelêmie, koelênie: (? Afrikaansified Xh) cheap wine. ? from std Xh: iqula: well (for drawing water).

koenyn: (1) money. -1978. Also in Flytaal. (2) **main -** : (E A, rhyming) (i) respected, important, influential person, usually male (sardonic). (ii) leader of any group or gang. See **main**. Std A: konyn: guinea pig.

koerrek: see **korrek**.

koesta: var of **kula**.

koil: (1) (v i) drool with anticipation, anticipate avidly. (2) (v i) secrete **djaswater**, a few drops of Cowper's gland fluid from penis during sexual excitement prior to orgasm. Hence '**Is lank wat die wolf - , 'Is lank wat die leeus -** : I've fancied you for a long time now. Banter to passing maiden. Lit: It's long now that the wolf has been drooling, It's long now that the lions have been drooling. (3) (n) saliva dribbling down chin. Std A: kwyl: (n and v) dribble.

ko' kry: (1) (v t) encounter, come upon. "Ek - - 'it so." "I found it like that." (2) (I) find out that.... "Ek gat soek vi' hom. - - , hy lê en slaap." "I go looking for him. I find out that he's lying there sleeping." Lit: I go looking for him: Come get, he lies and sleeps. Lit: come get.

kole: (iemand se) - **krap:** screw (someone, sexually). Conn arousal of great sexual excitement in partner. Lit: stoke (someone's) coals.

kom: - **met hulle**, - **met 'ie ding:** (i) give, spill the information. Invitation. (ii) fork up, hand over (thing or amount owed). Lit: come with them, come with the thing. Delinquent Lexicon: **hulle**.

komberse: **uit die - uitpraat:** reveal intimate secrets, usually sexual, of

another. Lit: talk out of (from under) the blankets. Syns **uit die broek (gulp, kooi, lakens) uitpraat.** Resp.

kooi: uit die - uitpraat: reveal intimate secrets, usually sexual, of another. Lit: talk out of the bed. Syns **uit die broek (gulp, komberse, lakens) uitpraat.** Resp.

kop: (n) (1) (iemand) 'n - **aansit:** cheat (someone) by failing to return borrowed item or money, or by disappearing with money given to make purchase. Lit: put a head on (someone). (2) (iemand) 'n - **skuld:** (i) be obligated (to someone); (ii) owe reparation (to someone) for offence. Lit: owe (someone) a head. 1984- . (3) (iemand se) - **afbyt:** deceive, double-cross (someone). Lit: bite (someone's) head off. (4) (iemand se) - **in 'n (or die) sak druk:** deceive (someone). Lit: push (someone's) head into a bag (or the bag). (5) (iemand se) - **oepskiet:** (i) open (someone's) eyes to a reality of which he was unaware. (ii) restore the faculties of a person dependent on dagga or liquor with the first puff or tot of the day. Lit: shoot (someone's) head open. (6) (iemand) **oor die - kyk:** ignore (someone). Lit: look over (someone's) head. (7) **uit die - uit:** (adj) perfect. Lit: out of the head (or top). (8) **hol op die - :** bald pate. Lit: cavity on the head (or top). Humorous. Syn **vinyl top.** (9) - **(weg)druk:** screw (sexually). Lit: press head (away). (10) (adj) - **chômmie:** bosom pal, best friend. Lit: head-chums, chief-chums. „Ek is -s met daai ou." "I'm best friends with that guy." Syns **capella, coupling.** Lit: head, top, chief.

kôppa: policeman. Ngunicized pron of Cockney "copper".

kopskiet: tot of liquor to banish hangover. Lit: headshoot, i.e., tot that clears one's senses. 1981- .

kopstaan: (1) (n) mystery, hopelessly confusing problem. (2) (v) be amazed, confounded. „My broer, ek **staan kop** ." "My brother, I was dumbfounded." Lit: head-stand. ? from std A: die wêreld staan op sy kop: the world is topsy-turvy. Also in Flytaal.

korrek, koerrek: (1) fine, fixed up (of arrangement, or in farewell). Lit: correct. 1974- . (2) trustworthy, nice (guy). Indicates approbation and recommendation. **met 'n -, moet 'n - :** expr var, del style. Lit: with a correct. 1978- . From Prison through Delinquent Lexicons.

kort klawers: (adj) (1) nearby and within quick reach (of walking distance). (2) (n) short cut. Lit: short clubs. ? from card game. std A: klawers: clubs.

kort ses: syn of previous item. Lit: short six.

koud kap: see **kap**. Lit: knock (or chop) cold.

kraak: (1) (v t) deflower (virgin). Syn **briek**. (2) (v t) burgle. (3) (n) burglary. Lit: crack. (2) Prob from safe-cracking.

kraantjie: five-litre container of wine. Lit: little tap, from retail packaging of wine in cardboard box with spigot since early 1980s. 1984- .

krag: (iemand se) - **sny:** put an end to (someone's) influence or power. Lit: cut (someone's) power (usually ref to cutting of domestic electricity supply for failure to pay account). From Pris. Also in Delinquent Lexicon. 1985- .

kratjang: (adj and adv) spoiled or of inferior quality (ref to dagga only). Syn in Respectable Lexicon: **madjat:** (adj) inferior in quality. Can apply to any product, often used in ref to dagga. ? Java lexis.

Kriefgat: **die - :** nickname commonly given to an extremely poor, dirty, neglected, overcrowded residential area of a block or two in municipal township, in which the poorest, most demoralized families have been settled, and which attracts drifters, alcoholics, outcasts, etc. Lit: the crayfish-hole: nook or depression on seabed filled with sewage and garbage, crawling with scavenging crayfish.

kroets: (1) (n) fool, idiot, nonentity. (2) (adj) stupid, idiotic. 1970- . ? from std A: kroeskop: negroid-, frizzy-, curly-headed fellow. Syn: **miggel**, **nwaata** (Delinquent Lexicon), **niks**, **pop**.

krom: (iemand) - **stiek:** maim or cripple (someone) by stabbing. Lit: stab (someone) bent. Syns **pap**, **vrot**. Also in Delinquent Lexicon.

kroon: (1) money. Lit: crown. From sterling coinage bearing the crown when South Africa was a Union in the Commonwealth. (2) Hence '**n - :** some money, a sum of money to buy admission to a dance, cinema, or for food, travel, etc. Lit: a crown. From Prison through Delinquent Lexicon. 1975- . (3) **haar - dra:** have deflowered her, and can therefore count on her continuing attachment. Lit: wear her crown. (4) **haar - van haar kop afhaal:** deflower her. Lit: take her crown off her head, dethrone her. Hymen metaphorized as crown. Conn predatory role-reversal in which formerly supplicant male usurps female's grandiose identity.

krulle: foibles, difficulties idiosyncratically posed to others. Lit: flourishes, curls. Resp. Syn **styles**.

kry: (v i) comprehend. Hence - **hie!:** get this, come and listen to this! 1976- . **Hoe - djy!:** Expr rhetorical banter, usually to passing girl. Lit: How do you get? 1976-82. From Prison through Delinquent Lexicons. Also in Flytaal. Lit: get, receive. See **gie**.

kula: (Antil Ng) home. From **afkoel:** relax, cool off. Cape Lingo. See **phola, phozi**.

kwaai: (1) fine, fixed up (of arrangement, farewell). Hence - **skiet!:** good shot! Lit: fierce shoot! - **lappies:** expr whims var of foregoing. Lit: fine lengths of cloth (for tailoring). - - , **kak tailor!:** even more whims, banter: fine lengths of cloth, shit tailor!. -1980. (2) (adj, adv) pleasant, desirable (situation, thing, person). Std A: fierce, ill-tempered. Std A: fierce.

kyk: (v i and t) (1) be preoccupied with particular illicit pursuit. Hence **my ding - :** do my thing (alluding to such pursuit). Lit: look (for, or to) my thing. (2) pursue, concentrate on activity or object, pursuit of which is construed as distinctive ritual marker of actor's identity; characteristically go in for. Lit: look (for). - **vas (aan):** attend wholly to, devote (oneself) wholly to, pursue to the hilt. Lit: look firmly (to) Hence - **nie vas (aan) (...)** **nie:** am not interested in, pay no attention to. 1989- from Delinquent Lexicon (wherein 1980- from Prison).

Kyk'ie-hooru: Look here, listen (to me). Seductive, urgent solicitation prefacing suggestion or request. Lit: Kyk hier, hoor u: Look here, listen (idiomatic).

L

laag: **hou 'it laag:** keep quiet about it, keep it to yourself. Lit: keep it low.

laanie: (1) male employer, owner of business, man in authority at a firm (e.g., manager). (2) man of wealth, leisure and prestige. Hence **vrou(mens) - :** female employer. **milaanie:** my boss (servile address). Abbrev. of **kappielaan**. Flytaal: usages above and also ref to white man. Urban middle-class white adolescent E "larney": nice, smart, fashionable, derived from - . Resp.

laat: unfamiliar with a situation, inexperienced and unentitled to

respect. Lit: tardy, late. 1986- . (Hy, ek) **ken hoe - dit is:** (He, I) know what it's all about, how to do it, what's going on. Lit: (He, I) know what the time is.

laat dit word!: See **word**.

lakens: uit die - uitpraat: Lit: talk out of (from under) the sheets. Syns **uit die broek** (gulp, komberse, kooi) **uitpraat**. See **broek**. Resp.

lam: (v i) (1) relax and enjoy (oneself, himself). Syn **afkoel**. (2) - **by:** is presently at (domestic place of informality and relaxation, such as home, friend's home). (3) stay and relax. Syn **peg**. Std A: lame (adj). 1976- .

land: (A) (v i) arrive. Lit: (v i) land. Conn omnipotent power to fly. Syns **toeslat, uitslat, uitstiek** (latter is resp).

lange, langes: address or ref to tall stranger, usually male. Also common nickname of tall person. Lit: tall one.

lange soek vi' lippe: male seeks female. banter and hint to passing female. Lit: long one seeks lips. See **lippe soek vi' lange**. 1984- .

langeidj: expr var of **langhaana**.

langhaana: Ngunicized var of **laanie**.

lang jare trek: expr var of **lank trek**. Lit: pull long years.

lank trek: receive or undergo lengthy prison sentence. Lit: pull long. See **trek**.

lank wat die leeus koil: See **koil**.

lank wat die wolf koil: See **koil**.

lap: soos 'n - wat skeur: full of nonsense. Lit: like a cloth that tears. Resp.

lappeside: (Angl Ng E) (1) the other side. (2) another world, another generation, time or place, alien. Std Xh: -lapha: here; std Z: lapha: here. 1980- . Associated with **portside**.

las maak 'n - : contribute to a pool for the purchase of an item to be shared. Lit: make a splice.

lat: penis. Std A: cane.

lê: be remanded in police or prison cells pending trial. Lit: lie.

leader: gang leader. The organization of gangs outside prison is always informal, and the informal position of - exists only in a minority of gangs. Leadership is enacted in the form of initiative in gang activity, and representation to senior members of other gangs, as well as to the outside world. Leadership, in the sense of initiative in the name of the gang, tends to be shared among two to four or five individuals, sometimes brothers or cousins. In comparison with **haloep voor vi'** (see **haloep**), the title signifies status rather than role, external image (and public relations) rather than internal reality, and a touch of pretence that the position and group are more formally constituted than in reality. The - essentially becomes the spokesman for the most senior, active members, first among equals.

leeus: 'Is lank wat die - koil : I've been lusting (after you) for a long time. Lit: the lions have been drooling a long time now. Syn 'Is lank wat die wolf koil. See **koil**.

legal: as freely as one likes, especially ref to disreputable, delinquent or illegal activity. 1986- .

lek: (v i and t) perform cunnilingus (licking the lips of the vagina) or fellatio (licking or sucking the penis). Lit: lick. See **aflek**.

lekker loep: criminal charge of public drunkenness. Lit: walk happily.

lekker maak: syn for **nice maak**.

level: fine, fixed up. 1986- .

lezzie: (E) abbrev of lesbian.

lid: **uit - uit:** thoroughly beaten up. Lit: out of joint. Resp.

lielike: (adj) large and ugly, dirty great (person or thing). Lit: ugly. Similar to **vieslike**.

lig: (v t) do in, knock out of action (of person). "Hy't eers gemert, toe - 'ie gangsters hom." "He used to sell dagga, but then the gangsters put him out of action." Lit: lift, lighten (v t). Hence -**maak:** give hiding to. Lit: lighten. From Prison through Delinquent Lexicons. Delinquent Lexicon: **layithela**. Resp. (**gangster:** Respectable Lexicon: [A] member of gang; does not connote stylishness or highly organized criminal corporation.)

lights-out: out cold, unconscious (drunk or knocked out by a blow). Resp.

ligtig, ligtag: (adv) slightly, a little. Lit: lightly. Resp.

ligtigies, ligtagies: intensive form of **ligtig**. Lit: little-lightly. Resp.

line: (E) (v i) go, leave, depart. 1968- . ? in Flytaal, Cape Lingo. From Pris, then Delinquent Lexicon: '**malaina**.'

lining: (E) food, especially before taking liquor or to relieve hunger. Hence **-insit:** have meal, fill stomach. Lit: put a lining in.

lippe soek vi' lange: rejoinder of sexual banter, **lange soek vi' lippe**. Female seeks male. Lit: lips seek long one. 1984- .

lisbian: (n) disrep pron of lesbian. Conn sexual disreputability.

local: (n) local yokel, parochial ignoramus attempting to pass as international sophisticate, man of affairs.

loep: - **met:** habitually move with (gang).

Loep lê: - - , **Rex!:** Buzz off! Go away! Half annoyed, half-humorous advice to nuisance. Lit: Go and lie down, Rex! (instruction to troublesome dog). 1987- .

longe: large breasts (of female). Syn **dairies**, **kanonkels**. Lit: lungs.

long tong: tall tin of beer, from brand name, Long Tom. 1986- .

loop: (A) see **loep**.

loop: (E) **deur die - gly:** get out of, or evade difficult situation. Lit: slide through the loop(hole). 1985- .

los: (1) abundantly available. (2) numerous and all over the place. (3) unattached and wandering (especially of sexually available female). Lit: loose, detached.

losgooi: (v i) depart, leave. Lit: throw loose, unhitch.

losse: (adj) loose (coinage making up an amount, as opposed to a single coin or banknote of same value). Lit: loose. Resp. Antonym: **vaste**.

lucky lips: thick, protuberant negroid lips. Humorous, conn desirability for erotic purposes. From pop song of same name by Cliff Richard in early 1960s. Similar to **worsielippe**, but positive in valence.

lurf: (E) disrep pron of **lif** (Respectable Lexicon: [n] lift [in vehicle]).

lurk: (E) cheapest variety of sweet wine, consumed in quantity to induce oblivion. Since mid-seventies has become disdained by all but the most impoverished drinkers.

lus: maak hom - en gie hom niks: banter to female of passing courting couple: make him desirous and give him nothing.

lyf: (1) girl. (2) girlfriend. Conn vulgarity and construal as nothing more than sexual object. Lit: torso. Hence (2) **met die -** : pregnant. Lit: with the torso. Syn **met die poep**. **skyf jou -** : move over, get a move on. Lit: shift your body. Syn **mince jou bodice** (see **bodice**, **mince**).

lyk: says (in reported speech, conn derision for reported speaker). "Hie' lyk hy: Eina!" "Here he says: Ouch!" Lit: resembles. Conn looks like, resembles, i.e., sounds and looks like. See **hoor**, **klank**. Syn **afkap**, **afsak**.

lyn: 'n - **sny:** go, leave, depart. Lit: cut a line. 1986- .

M

ma: (1) **jou -** : that girl (or woman). Expr derog pronominal ref in narrative. "Ek skaaf teenaan haar. **Eh**, - - raak **highly**." "I rub against her. Hey, your mother gets keen." Lit: your mother (or mum). **Ma:** std A: mother; Respectable Lexicon: mother or mum; there is no formal term; std A: moeder never used. See **pa: jou pa**. (2) **ma-se-kind:** (i) sibling. conn loyalty among siblings. (ii) mother's favourite child, usually male, but does not conn coddling or unmanliness. Lit: mum's-child. Resp.

maag: uit die - uit: hungry. Lit: out of the stomach. Resp.

maak: (1) (v i and t) offer, give, produce, arrange, organize, stand (i.e., donate), make available (material gift that can be immediately used, usually a meal, cigarette, beer, tot of liquor, cannabis (dagga) cigarette or pipe of dagga and Mandrax; see **pyp**) . "- 'n **entjie**." "Give (me) a cigarette." "- **hie**". "Give here." "Ek het hom 'n **beas** ge- ." "I stood him a cinema show." Lit: I made him a cinema. 1974- . (2) (v t) screw (sexually). Lit: make. (3) - **uit:** see **uitmaak**. (4) **wat 'it -** : (i) that does it, that causes it. (ii) 'Is X **wat 'it -** !: It's X that does it! (X being any forename or nickname). Expr exclamation appreciating or mocking someone's presence or achievement.

maalie: see **mali**.

maatja: (Afrikaansified Xh) money. Std Xh: **matye:** stones, i.e., (money made of) gold-bearing stones, gold ore.

Mac, Mackie: (E) friendly address to strange man. Syns **Annerpang, bra, pjêl**.

mackle: (E) (1) (n) whims ref to small object, similar to "dingus" in S A English. (2) - **met:** fiddle with, disarrange. ? from Yiddish: **shmackel:** lovable small thing. Becoming archaic. Resp.

mafia: (n) very stylishly dressed, individual racketeer used to giving orders to his juniors. Derived from American film image of Italian Mafia leader, but does not necessarily denote membership of Mafia, and usually ref to character in film or flashy local disreputable or delinquent. 1976- .

main: (E) (adj) centre of attraction, dominant one (derog). "Hy wil net - wies." "He only wants to be the centre of attraction", the one who dominates the scene. Hence - **koenyn, - ou:** (i) important man. (ii) leader of gang or any group, e.g., manager or boss of firm. (iii) big-time older gangster.

majoin(t): (Afrikaansified Xh and Z) rural, black male migrant to city, unsophisticated in city ways, "red blanket". Contemptuous, conn ignorance and brutality. Std Xh and Z: **amajoyini:** migrant contract labourers.

Makka grip: (A, E). in a tight spot, trapped in trouble. Syn for **apie grip**. **Makka:** Java Lexicon and Arabic for Mecca. Item is of non-Muslim origin, ? conn especially firm religious constraints imposed on those who have undertaken the Haj (pilgrimage; Java Lexicon and Arabic) to Mecca.

makoi: (? Afrikaansified Ng) (1) important man (but not necessarily wealthy). (2) leader of group. ? from Xh: **inkokeli:** leader; Z: **umkhokheli:** leader, coll American E: "the real McCoy"; ? var of next item. Flytaal.

makonya: (Afrikaansified Xh) important man (but not necessarily wealthy). Std Xh and Z: **khonya:** (v i) bellow, roar, express discontent; (n) big man, boss, man in charge. Also in Flytaal.

mal: (adj) (1) amazing, startling (phenomenon). (2) expr ref to silly, crazy, carefree (activity). "Ons vat 'n - kaalgat duik!" "Let's take a mad, nude swim!" (3) fine, fixed up (of arrangement or farewell). Lit: mad, crazy. Resp.

mali: (Xh and Z) money. Std Xh and Z: money. -1980. In Flytaal.

malkop: (1) expr var of **mal** (1) and (3). (2) mad, crazy, difficult and full of nonsense (of person). Lit: mad-head. Resp.

malossie: (Ng A) (1) loose change. (2) small amount of money. Lit: loose ones.

mamok: (v i) vomit. ? Java lexis.

mamoksels: vomitus, contents of vomit. Afr suffix.

man: (1) 'n **man:** one (ref to oneself, whether male or female). Lit: a man. (2) - **staan vir:** take the rap for (someone). Std A: sy man staan: stand his ground, hold his own. Lit: stand man for. Resp. (3) - **vat:** (i) be humiliated by entrapment in relationship of sexual submission to a male (applies to either female or male). Delinquent Lexicon: **spy: spy maak.** (ii) begin to have sexual relationship with man (ref to female or male). Conn loss of sexual innocence. (iii) work hard (of male). Conn absolute submission to driving male authority at work, but can be used figuratively even when working alone for oneself.

Manentjatjies: Whims expr var of Manenberg (working-class coloured municipal township). See 'Tjatjies.

mang: (1) (n) **die - :** prison. Lit: the cripples, i.e., the crippling-place. (2) (v t) catch, arrest, detain (by policeman). Lit: cripples, i.e., is crippled. (3) (v i) be in prison. But also figuratively: "My geld - ": "I've lost my deposit" (of money). Lit: My money detains (i.e., is detained). **Die tyd - my:** I have no time. Lit: The time detains me. Syns **bad, was** (Delinquent Lexicon). (4) (v t) beat in game. Std A: **mank:** crippled, lame; **vang:** catch. Also in Flytaal.

mangha: pair of boxer shorts used mainly by disreputable and delinquent adolescents and young adults as additional underpants (over briefs) and pyjamas (used as long underpants in winter), occasionally as casual wear. Popular since 1986, when term was introduced.

man-man: (A) one for each man (ref to whatever: girlfriend, bottle of beer, sentence of six months). Lit: man-man. Resp.

Mannies: (E) Mandrax tablets. 1972- .

ma-se-groot: var of **massa groot.**

massa groot: enormous, gigantic, massively large (person, crowd, thing,

aggregation of things). Std A: massa: crowd, multitude, pile. Die groot massa: the common herd, great majority (of people). E: massive. Lit: pile big, multitude big.

massie groot: var of **massa groot**. Resp.

master: (E) (n) (1) expert, usually in a game, sport or manual craft. Resp. (2) **ou -** : middle-aged or elderly white male client of female coloured prostitute. Mocking play on std A: oubaas: respectful or servile address or ref to adult middle-class white male, especially employer and/or Afrikaner. Lit: old master.

maul: (E) rush, push, scrabble and grab. From the game of rugby.

mdjôdjô: see **blok**.

meet: (E) meet halfway in sharing expense. Resp.

meid: (1) vulgar, derog ref to girl or woman, conn disreputability and promiscuity. Std A: coloured female domestic worker (derog). (2) - **soek:** hunt for promiscuous woman to have sex with. Lit: seek menial woman. (3) womanish male: fussy, nagging, spiteful, ineffectual; implies possible homosexuality.

merchant: dagga-trader, usually retail, but can be wholesale. See **mert**.

merk: price quoted for service or product. Resp. Lit: mark. 1987- .

mert: (E phon, A morphology) (1) (n) abbrev var of **merchant**. (2) (v i) deal in dagga. (3) - **met:** deal (illicitly) in (either dagga, drugs or liquor).

mettÿde: (Ngunicized A phon) eventually, in time, in due course. Std A: mettertyd: in due course. Resp.

Mickey Mouse: (n) fast, smooth ideas or talk; seductive, persuasive, disingenuous proposition. Hence (iemand) **slaan met 'n - -** : shoot (someone) a line, try one's luck (with someone). Expr var of **met 'n boekie slaan** (see **boekie**). Syn **boekie, gedagte**. From E coll adj: cheap, unreliable (contraption), like a cheap toy.

mieding: var of **miering**.

miering, mierieng: (1) money. (2) a sum of money (e.g., sufficient to pay for attendance at a dance, refreshments, etc.) Syn **kroon**. Also in **Flytaal**. 1976- .

miggel: insignificant person, nonentity, fool. Std A: red stumpnose (fish). ? var of std A: **moegoe:** ne'er-do-well.

mike: (E) **sing oor** (or **in die** - : perform fellatio, suck penis. Lit: sing over (or in[to]) the mike.

milaanie: see **laanie**.

min: (adj) socially insignificant, little (guy). Lit: few.

mince: (E) (1) depart, leave. From Cloragail (moffie) Lexicon. Hence **mince jou bodice** (see **bodice**). (2) (v t) give, hand (to). 1982- .

minors: (E) (n, pl only) small matters, unimportant matters. 1980- .

missie: see **mussie**.

mission: (E) (1) unspecified project, usually illicit. Hence: **op 'n - (uit):** (out) on a job. - **pull:** pull a job. (2) fine, fixed up (of arrangement, farewell). 1965-75. From American films.

Mister Man: (E) Mr Big Shot. **Hy dink hy's - - :** He thinks he's Mr Big Shot.

mix: **in die** - : in the thick of it, in the fray, mixing in. Resp.

mjojo: see **blok**.

M-Net: cheap wine (presented as expensive, like equipment and licence for reception of popular television channel, - , a commercial television station). 1988- .

mobster: (E) tough, violent gangster. 1970- .

model: (E) (1) (v i) show off (body, clothes or intellect) by pose or parade in informal interaction. Sardonic. See **uitgie**. (2) **sports** - : (n) nubile but infertile woman. Resp.

moeg: - **vir** (iets): lose heart, lose enthusiasm (for something). Lit: tired for (i.e., at) (something). Resp.

moer: difficult to translate. In std A: dugs of female. Conn raddled vagina and womb, sexually messed up, worn out, inflamed and wrecked to the core. Hence: (1) **die moer in:** (i) furious, the hell in. (ii) extremely vulgar expletive. Lit: the dugs in. (2) (Iemand se) - **raak dik** or - **raak seer** or - **trek dik** or **seer**, or - **werk (vir):** (someone) becomes increasingly angry, about to lose temper (at). Lit: (someone's) dugs get

or become thick or sore, or work (conn urination or defaecation) (at).
 (3) **in sy - (kry), op sy - (kry)**: (be) badly smashed, beyond repair (of thing or person, i.e., badly beaten up). Lit: (receive, get) in its (or his) dugs. Hence (iemand) **op sy - speel**: thrash, beat (someone) up thoroughly. Lit: play (him) on his dugs. (4) **Jou -(in)!**: extremely vulgar insult or expletive: (In) your dugs! I.e., your mother's dugs, whence you come. Lit: Your dugs-in! (5) **Jou ma (or pa, broer, suster) se - !**: even worse: Your mother's (or father's, brother's, sister's) dugs!; relatives are usually preferred, and some curse-singers like to review the entire family in ascending or descending order of seniority.) Sometimes abbrev to **Jou ma!** (or **pa!**, etc.). Finally, the coup de grâce: (6) **Jou mal antie se - !**: Your mad auntie's dugs! Humorous. For more, see **piel, poes, poeslip**.

moerland: **-toe geslat** or **-toe geskop**: knocked or smashed to bits, to hell. Ref to vehicle irreparably damaged in collision, or person beaten to pulp. Lit: slammed to, or kicked to dugs-land. 1980- .

moet: pron of std A: met: with. **Javafied** var (in this instance showing phonetic influence of Malayu or Arabic), more common among Muslims and old people, as well as among younger disreputables and delinquents who favour exotic elements of style.

moffie: weak-willed, ineffectual adolescent or adult male. Coll A: sissy, male homosexual, especially effeminate and histrionic. Resp.

monkey: peanut. See **apies**. Resp.

môre: **Hy sê nie - nie**: ref to daring young man who does not hesitate to do wrong, especially engage in violence. Lit: he doesn't say good morning. Resp.

morning glory: erection of penis on awakening in morning. Syn **pispiel**.

motion: (E) **in 'n motion**: happily intoxicated, pleasantly disoriented under the influence of alcohol or a drug, usually dagga. Syn **in 'n speed** (see **speed**). Lit: in a motion. Resp.

motor: (E) (v i) leave, depart. 1980- .

mou: **in 'ie -** : secretly, surreptitiously. Lit: in the sleeve. Prob from E: up one's sleeve.

move: (E) (1) (n) incident, event. **blind -** : unfortunate incident, lousy thing to happen. (2) (n) action (often but not necessarily

criminal): **uit op 'n** - : out on a job. - **pull**: pull a job. (3) (n) (vague or euphemistic ref to) object or article. Often used to refer to penis. Conn either preference for allusion -- "Waar het djy daai - gesit?" "Where did you put that thing?" -- or inability to identify the inner workings of the object: **agent** - : nifty gadget. See **agent**. (4) (v i) depart, leave. (5) (v t) carry out (activity). "'Is klaar ge- al." "It's been done." Term always used for hinting or allusion. Resp. 1970- .

mu: (E) **Hoe's 'ie -, my beu?**: How are you doing, my brother? abbrev of music, to rhyme with **beu**. Lit: How's the mu, my brother? 1984- .

muchacho: comrade, buddy. Prob from films about Mexican bandits.

mu: **dowel net** - : keep low profile, inconspicuous, stay in background, pretend insignificance. See **dowel**. Lit: act just mouse. Resp.

multi: (E) very wealthy man, millionaire. Abbrev of multi-millionaire. Resp.

mum: (E) (v i) keep mum, keep the secret.

mummy: (1) address or ref to middle-aged woman. Conn contempt, but can be used with sly politeness. (2) businesswoman.

mums: address or ref to middle-aged or elderly woman. Conn deference and affection. See **dera**, **pops**. Resp.

mure: (A) **'Is pure - !**: whims, rhyming expr of delight. Lit: It's pure walls!

mussie: balaclava cap. Std A: bivakmus. Resp.

M. X.: Mandrax. Ref to initials on pharmaceutically produced tablet. See **wit**. 1970- .

my bene is af: I am broke, penniless, down and out materially and socially. Syn for next item. Lit: my legs are off, i.e., amputated; I am materially and socially crippled. Delinquent Lexicon: **bene**.

my bene is swak: See **swak**. Delinquent Lexicon: **bene**.

my broer: See **broer**, **bryn**.

mysekselwers, **myse selwers**: very expr var of **my selwers**. Dutch: my sick self.

my selwers: expr pron of std A: myself.

N

naai: (1) (n) a contemptibly promiscuous girl affording good sex. (2) utterly contemptible person, usually male (ref or extremely grave insult, implying secretly promiscuous passive homosexuality). Lit: sew. (3) **deur die** - : talking rubbish, unnecessarily obstructive. Lit: through the sew. Syn **deur die pis** (see **pis**). (4) **hoenders** - : screw fowls. Humorous mythic explanation for early baldness, egg-head, in males: one secretly screws fowls (reputed to have vaginas just like humans', and one's secret is betrayed as one's pate becomes as smooth as an egg). Coll A: naai: (v t) screw (sexually).

naaibol: (1) expr var of **naai** (3): utterly contemptible person, usually male. (2) appetite for screwing. Lit: sewbulb. Ref to mythic gland responsible for libido. From **ietbol**: appetite for food.

naaier: screwer. Derog. Similar but not identical to **naai** (2) and (3): (1) girl who readily engages in casual sex. (2) extremely insulting ref or address to utterly contemptible male, implying secretly promiscuous passive homosexuality. The suffix **-er** implies not merely expr insult but imputation of fact: the person thus described actually, characteristically behaves as alleged. Lit: sewer, one who sews.

naaierig: adj (1) describes one who seeks frequent copulation (male or female). Euph syn **vrouerig**: lit: womany (of male only; implies preoccupation with seeking women. Syn **poes-moeilik**. (2) describes one who is nuisance, troublesome, pest, as if badgering one for sex. Lit: sewy.

naat: uit die - uit: perfect, magnificent (possession, usually clothes, car, any object of prestige and display). Lit: out of the seam. Syn **uit die kop uit**. Resp.

naeltjie: onder die - geskop: pregnant. Lit: kicked below the navel.

naiza: (? Ng) pleasure as a pursuit: wine, women and song, drugs, dance, etc. Syn **nice times**, prob Ngunicized var of **nice times**, and coll A "naai": screw (sexually). ? from pris. See **baiza**. Flytaal: naiza-naiza: (n) party.

nak: (1) (v t) clout or admonish and effectually deter. (2) beat in game or fight. ? onomatopoeic for sound of knuckles hitting head; or from std A: knal: bang, crack, detonation, crash.

naked kap: see **kap**.

nannas: penis or male genitals. Humorous. ? From banana, and especially radio and television advert jingle by Natal Building Society inviting customers to obtain their "golden banana"; Delinquent Lexicon: **khanakhana** and **banana**. 1984- . - sometimes contributes to humorous neologisms. One good-looking young man (of low intelligence and education) was asked why he had taken up residence with a single, middle-aged mother of several children. He considered, then smirked: she had "remarkable vagannas" (E).

nat: - **gooi:** (1) proceed with hedonistic activities. (2) screw (sexually). (3) go, leave, depart. All three conn decisive, consequential action. Lit: sprinkle, wetten. 1978- .

nay: disrep expr var of std A: **nee:** no.

'nca: (Afrikaansified Xh) (1) (v t) like (thing or person) very much. (2) (adj) very likeable (thing or person). (3) fine, fixed up (of arrangement or farewell). Pron expressively with Xh nasalized click. Coll Xh: **mngca:** (adj) nice. Also in **Flytaal**. 1970- .

nekskoot: deep, potent inhaled puff of dagga smoke. Lit: neckshot.

nes: op 'ie - : (1) busy copulating (ref to male only). (2) about to begin copulation, already lying on top of the female. Lit: on the nest.

nevereverminder: expr var of **neverminder**. Resp.

neverminder: (E) (1) (n) male who is cool and carefree irrespective of circumstances. (2) (n) reckless, callous person (usually male). (3) (n) forgetful person. (4) (adj) unconcerned. Syn **I-don't-care**. From never mind, don't worry. Resp.

never-nie: (E-A) definitely not, never. Emphatic. Lit: never-not.

nice maak: (E A) - - **vir** (iemand): entertain (someone) well, give (someone) good time. Lit: make nice for (someone).

nice time: pleasurable experience of being hedonistically entertained by host. Hence - -**s:** hedonistic pleasure as a pursuit: wine, drugs, women (or men, for some), song, etc. Conn hedonistic, disreputable but non-delinquent and especially non-violent identity. Hence - - **iet:** go in for, enjoy wine, women and song. See **hobby**.

nick: money.

nick-nacks: see **knick-knacks**.

niemand: (1) (adj) no. (2) (adv) none. Lit: no-one. 1987- .

niks: (n) nonentity, insignificant person. Lit: nothing.

Niks daa' nie?: Nothing there (for me)? Hint in (i) cadging or (ii) proposition of illicit business (e.g., could signify "Have you got any dagga to sell me?", or (iii) as suggestive banter to passing girl. The alert rhyming rejoinder: 'Is baat 'ie djy vra nie: There's no point in your asking. 1978- .

Niks maak 'ie: (1) as question: - - - ? : Allusive enquiry about the availability of secret or illicit trade, or sexual banter, but not cadging. Syn **Niks daa' nie?** (2) nothing doing, no luck. 1976- . Lit: nothing doing.

Njongolôs: (Afrikaansified Z) var of **Nongolôs**.

noengha: (? Ng) courage, guts. ? from std Xh: ngqungu: be full to overflowing; std Z: gunga: invigorate, strengthen, encourage.

noenghadop: (? NgA) very large tot of alcohol. Syn **kaffirdop**. ? from std Xh: ngqungu: be full to overflowing; std Z: gunga: invigorate, strengthen with magical medicine, encourage, hearten. Std A: dop: tot.

Nongie:(Afrikaansified Z) abbrev of next item.

Nongolôs, Nongolôsh: (Afrikaansified Z) (1) member of **ag-en-twintig** (28) prison gang (Delinquent Lexicon). (2) male who pursues dominant anal homosexual copulation. Delinquent Lexicon: **Nongoloza**. From Prison through Delinquent Lexicons.

nôppie: var of **tôppie**.

nôftch: (Ngunicized E phon) (1) see, peep, glance, examine. (2) Also figuratively: meet. „Ons sal mekaar weer - .” "We'll see each other again." E adolescent lexis: notch: see. ? from std Z: naka: take notice of, have concern about; ? from std Xh: nakana: get glimpse of. Also in Flytaal.

nugget: (E) **nie ge- nie:** not concerned with, not bothered about, not interested in. Lit: not nuggeted. Name of shoe polish commonly used as term for all brands of shoe polish (Respectable Lexicon); i.e., not shoe-polished. Prob conn not fussing over appearances. Syn **nie gegie nie**. See **gie**.

number: pop music number or song (when heard or played). Resp.

number one: (1) haircut style in which head is shaven smooth. Popular among **ou roekers** until 1970s, since increasingly regarded as vulgar or exotic. See next item. (2) best quality Mandrax tablet. Syns **Ewing**, **foilie**, **original**. 1986- . (3) fine, fixed up. 1986- .

number two: haircut style in which hair is cut to a stubble. See previous item.

nwaata: (Afrikaansified Ng) (n) (1) fool. (2) lie, falsehood. Derived from **nwaatas**. Std Xh: yatha: fool; Z: ncwayiza: (v i) act foolishly, be a simpleton; std Z: lwathe: of darkness; coll Z: of fumbling, mistake. 1970- . See **nwaza** below and **lowaata** (Delinquent Lexicon, from Prison, which speakers claim is original item).

nwaatas: (Afrikaansified Ng) nonsense, rubbish. Hence - **in jou indja:** fill your head with nonsense. Lit: chase nonsense into you. ? from std Xh: yatha: fool; ? from std Z: ncwayiza: (v i) act foolishly, be a simpleton. 1970- .

nwaaza: see next item.

nwaza: (Z) (1) fool. (2) habitually sleepy, lethargic male. (3) (v i) act foolishly, be a simpleton. (4) (v t) stare at. Std Z: nwaza: slow, sleepy person; std Xh: ncwasa: watch, spy on. 1970- .

O

odds, odd: 'n - : (1) (n) few cents, small change, often as (2) (n) small amount of money to be spared for loan or gift. Lit: an odds. Resp.

oë: **in die** - : exposed to detection and embarrassment. Lit: in the eyes. Syn **eyes**. Resp. 1970- . **Ek soek hom met rooi** - : I'm after his blood. Lit: I seek him with red eyes, i.e., vengefulness.

oeg: **Ek sien hom (or haar) met een** - : I've got no time for him, I don't think much of him. Lit: I see him with one eye. **Die - kyk by:** screw anally (sexually). Lit: seek the eye by (? the eye of the needle -- a hole difficult to penetrate).

oemtaghat: see **umthakat**'.

oepe lōllie: (second word Ngunicized phon) with spreadeagled legs so that panties or vulva are visible. Syn **toetie wawyd**. Lit: open lolly.

oepegat: (adj) brash, forward, too uninhibited. Lit: open-arsed.

oepskiet: (iemand se) **mind** -: (E A) open (someone's) mind, widen (someone's) understanding (of particular event, situation, etc.). Lit: shoot (someone's) mind open.

offside: (iemand) - **vang:** catch (someone) unawares, unprepared. From soccer. Resp.

okapi: (pron ou kaapie) pocket knife with wooden handle, larger than **t'ree-star**, often used as weapon. From brand name of knife. 1970- . Also in Flytaal.

olie: **ge—:** drunk. Lit: lubricated.

omkom van die bom: rhyming syn for **omkom van die speel** (see **speel**).

omlê: refuse, resist (a proposal). Hence - **vi' die prys:** refuse to cooperate. Lit: balk at the price. Std A: upset (thing, arrangement).

omry: (v t) give hiding to, thrash. Std A: run over, knock down (with vehicle).

omte, omtes: vicinity. Resp. Syn **quarters**.

om te sê: Difficult to translate: in fact to say, what I mean is, what it means is. Lit: (that is) to say.

omval: give birth. Lit: fall over. Resp.

onder: all over, throughout (of person or large object). - **bloed:** covered with blood. Lit: under blood. - **pyn:** in agony. Lit: under pain. Lit: below, beneath, under. Resp.

onder clutch: see **clutch**.

onder control: see **control**.

onder gatte: see **gatte**.

onder hande: see **hande**.

one and a lose: (E) (adj and n) describes brief involvement (with desired person or thing). "Gee skyf, ek wil net 'n - - - trek." "Give here, I just want to pull a quick puff." Lit: Give puff, I just want to pull a one and a lose. One encounter and then the desired object is lost.

one-out: (adj and n) describes one who moves habitually on his own,

doesn't fit in (usually male).

one tieng: (E. A pron) See **een ding**. Lit: one thing.

one time: (ref to determined completion of planned act, usually chore) in one go, in one pass. Resp.

one-way: (adj) (1) clearly, directly. (2) consistently, remaining unchanged. Resp.

oog: see **oeg**.

oondstok: black man. derog. Lit: oven-stick, poker used to stoke coals in oven, blackened, dirty and dusty.

oogpat: see **oepgat**.

opcharge: (A,E) become sexually aroused, especially after orgasm shortly before. Lit: charge up.

opdruk: (v i) object, complain. Lit: push up, importune.

operate: (E) habitually frequent and conduct one's activities (in a particular area). Resp.

opgetoff: see **uitgetoff**.

ophang aan: (v t) overindulge in. Lit: hang (oneself) up to.

opkap: (1) screw (sexually). 1984- . (2) assault violently with sharp weapon. 1984- . Lit: chop up.

opklim: (v t) have sex with. Ref to male in unacceptable sexual advance with a view to copulation, such as incest, paedophilia or in any relationship institutionalized as, or expected to be platonic. Lit: climb on. Resp.

optel: (1) - **vir:** respect, honour, support. From Prison Lexicon, through Delinquent. Lit: lift up (hands) for, i.e., salute. (2) **optel ding:** slut, pick-up. Lit: pick-up thing. Conn garbage picked up in street.

oraait, orait: (adj and adv) considerable, considerably. expr ref to quantity, quality, degree, etc. Lit: alright. „Dit het - gereënd." "It rained like hell." Lit: It alright rained. „Daar was - 'n paar mense daar gewies." "There were quite a few people there." Lit: There were alright a few people there.

order: out of - : out of court, going too far, saying or doing the wrong

thing. Conn mild humour and reproach. Prob from sports club meetings, especially soccer.

original: (1) genuine (article or friend). 1970- . Thus (2) genuine pharmaceutically produced Mandrax tablet (as opposed to those produced for illicit trade). Syns **Ewing, foilie, number one**. 1980- .

ou: (pl **ouens, ouense**) (1) tough guy (as opposed to moffie, sissy), tough, ready to engage in disreputability. (2) man worthy of warm respect for his toughness, courage, modesty, sociability, generosity; man's man. Also several meanings in Respectable Lexicon. (3) **daai** - : expr ref to special, superior guy, the bees' knees. Lit: that guy, but to be distinguished from the solely denotative, demonstrative meaning. Lit: guy, chap. Resp.

ou ding, 'n ou ding: nothing new, old hat. Lit: (an) old thing. Resp.

Ou Djan: see **Djan**.

ou girl: (A, E) mother. Lit: old girl.

ouman: penis. Lit: old man, shrivelled little being.

ou master: see **master**.

ou roeker: (n and adj) delinquent. Communally recognized, highly significant identity which may be dramatically marked by appearance (e.g., uniform, tattoos, gait, gestures) and behaviour (language, accent, antisocial interests and conduct). Usually acquired in adolescence, commonly abandoned in adulthood. Assumed to be male; exceptions are qualified: - - **kind:** delinquent girl. - - **lightie:** delinquent boy (pre-adolescent). - - **timer:** delinquent middle-aged or old man. Lit: old smoker, one who has been smoking (cigarettes and perhaps dagga) long before adolescence. In-group term only. - - **tale:** dialect created and used by working-class **outies** and **ou roekers**. Lit: old smoker terms. **dik** - - : one utterly immersed in the identity, reality and consciousness of delinquent life, not merely out of enthusiastic adolescent conversion, but knowing no other way. Lit: thick old smoker. **rands en cents** - - : (E,A,E,A) middle-aged - -'s derisive term for modern - - allegedly lacking toughness, cunning and integrity of previous generation. From introduction of decimal currency to replace sterling in 1961. **Ou roekers** construe the Respectable Lexicon term **skolly** as a grave, sanctimonious insult implying that their identity lacks integrity and honour, and is merely a mask for scavenging and begging.

ou roekerskap: delinquenhood, delinquent ways, delinquent activities and interests, the honour and integrity of delinquent identity. Ref essentially to an individual's adoption, enaction, maintenance and integrity of the identity in the face of opposition. Lit: old smokerhood.

outie: (first phoneme E, second A): (n) tough guy of poor, relatively uneducated background, but with integrity and honour as a man and unpretentious member of the working class. Communal identity acquired in adolescence, but tends to fade in significance as one becomes adult. Lacks the constant, acute, self-dramatization of the **ou roeker** identity. Whereas all **ou roekers** are -s, many -s are not **ou roekers**, despising the wantonness, destructiveness and self-destructiveness of delinquency, in which, they stereotypically assert, "you just make it hard on yourself and everyone else", accordingly is "stupid" and "doesn't pay" (translation). -s are therefore ideally men of moderation, restricting themselves shrewdly to cautious indulgence in delinquency; but in practice many periodically go too far (perhaps under the influence of liquor or in the quest for prestige) -- especially in the flush of adolescence -- and get into trouble. Lit: little outlaw (diminutive conn preciousity). Also in Flytaal.

overpower: (v t) persuade (someone) to reverse previous attitude.

overs: (E) all over, finished. Conn fateful end to saga.

P

pa: jou - : that guy. Conn derision. Lit: your father (or dad). Respectable Lexicon: pa: father or dad; std A: vader never used; there is no formal term for father. See **ma:** jou ma.

paal: - **daar:** always at hand. Lit: pole there, i.e., firmly fixed in position. Also in Delinquent Lexicon.

paanies: see **pannie**.

padda: die beste - in 'ie vlei: one who excels and wins a prize. Humorous. Lit: the best frog in the lake. **fly** - : deep, cunning guy. Lit: fly or sly frog. Resp.

padjie: 'n - van: approximately, at a moderate guess, a number of perhaps Lit: a part of. Respectable Lexicon: **pad:** part.

padop: (1) gone, disappeared. (2) dead. Lit: road-up. 1981- .

pal: see **pjél**.

pale: (1) - **koop:** take sides. Lit: buy poles. ? var of **padde:** buy parts. ? from **Respectable Lexicon:** **gavriet koop:** curry favour. Lit: buy face. (2) **Hoe lyk 'ie - as 'ie goalie só lyk?:** sexually suggestive banter to passing girl. Lit: How do the goalposts look when the goalie looks like this? I.e., seeing that my penis is aroused like this, how does your vulva feel and look?

pampiere: news (usually unwelcome). **pampier** is pron of std A: papier: paper, in **Respectable Lexicon**. Lit: papers, i.e., newspapers (std A: koerante is also used). - **brand:** (i) **die - -** : things are tight, one is under suspicion or threat, or in danger. Lit: the papers are burning. See **blok:** **blok is benoud.** (ii) **die - lat -** : start a fight, usually justifiably. Lit: start the papers burning.

pan, lat pan: (v t) lay criminal charge against (someone). Originally conn selling (someone) down the river, but now has no negative conn. Lit: pawn, have (someone) pawned. **Respectable Lexicon:** **pan:** pawn, i.e., desperately exchange a valued possession for a little money.

panga: penis. Humorous, bragging. Std A: machete. See **kierie.** - **kyk:** sharp look, dirty look. Lit: machete look.

pannie, pannies: (? Afrikaansified Z) (1) (v i) **dit -** : it's raining. (2) (n) rain. **die - stort:** it's pouring. Lit: the rain gushes. ? from std Z: mpanya: pour out in volume; mpanza: liquid in uterus; Flytaal: mpanishi: water.

pansoela: see **pantsula.**

panta: (A) (1) sucker, suitable victim of exploitation or robbery. Conn contempt. Hence: **'n - maak van:** rob (someone. (2) fellow, guy, chap. Conn contempt as a disrep peer. ? Ngunicized pron of E: punter: one who backs horses and usually loses; ? from std Xh: umphathwa: one ruled, subject; std Z: imphatha: clumsy novice; ? from **Delinquent Lexicon:** **'mphatha.** 1978-84.

pantjoela: see **pantsula.**

pantsula: (? Xh or Z) Ref to males only. (1) **outie** or **cat** uniform consisting of tackies (plimsolls, sneakers) baggy, tapering trousers with narrow turnups worn well above the ankles, and woollen cap. Style of

shirt, jersey, lumberjacket, etc. optional, but should be tasteful. May be in punk colour, i.e., black (and optionally white as well), then termed "- punk". (2) strenuous solitary dance, to characteristic township music, in which (mainly) males form a ring which each enters to perform for a while. Enthusiasm for uniform, music and dance may be combined into cohesive style; actor may then be termed a - **boy**. Borrowed since 1985 from urban working-class black equivalents of **ou roekers** and **outies**, who introduced these forms locally in 1983, and among whom they are extremely popular in the late eighties. Black **pantsulas** are construed by their respectable elders as delinquent. Coloured **pantsula** gear often includes one or two earrings on one ear and tends to be more expensive and well-kempt than blacks', which often excludes socks and looks shabby. In Flytaal. ? Std Xh: phantsi: poor, mean, degraded; ? Std Z: phansula: slap, strike a cutting blow. 1985- .

pap: (iemand) - **stiek:** stab (someone) badly. Lit: stab (someone) limp. Syns **krom**, **vrot**.

paggeld: financial maintenance by father of child. Lit: porridge-money.

parcel: (E) large packet of dagga, sufficient to make 50-100 **stoppe** (small packets) or 50-200 **pille** (cigarettes).

Park: abbrev of Hanover Park, working-class municipal township on Cape Flats.

parole: see **berole**.

Pas op daa', 'is nat daa', daa's 'n gat daa', djy gat gly daa'!: sexually suggestive banter to passing girl. Lit: watch out there, it's wet there, there's a hole there, you'll slip there! I.e., be careful, I'll slip into your wet hole.

patrekskoot: var of **betrekskoot**.

peg: (E) stay awhile.

pegha: var of **piegha**. 1988- .

pelielé: (1) used up. (2) penniless. From Pris through Delinquent Lexicon. Std Xh: phelile: be over, gone, weak, worn out. Std Z: phelelwa (passive v): lose all, be short of.

pen: (v t) screw (sexually). Hence **pen in die spaarblikkie wegdruk:** expr var of - . Lit: put (one's) spike well away in (or well into) the little moneybox. ? prise the box open; ? stake one's claim in paradise.

Humorous. Lit: spike, peg.

pencil: packet of Durban Poison dagga (one of the most favoured varieties) sufficient for one cigarette only.

pengha-pengha: (? Ng) **hie slat ek die - :** I run things here, I control things here. Lit: Here I hit the - . see **beat, zieng.** ? from std Z: phengezela: flap up and down (as in strumming guitar).

pepper-time: an episode of love-making, including copulation. See **pieper.** 1972- .

perde: trouble, undesirable events. - **maak:** (v i) cause trouble, disrupt situation. Lit: horses. Resp.

petrol: **lig op - :** gets drunk on only small quantity of alcohol. Lit: light on petrol. Resp. Syn **lig op blik.**

phony: (E) (n and adj) describes fraudulent person who seeks but fails to impress.

phozi: (? coll Ng; pron pōzzie) home. ? from std Xh: phola: cool, abate, subside; pholela: become relaxed; ? from std Z: phozisa: cool down, calm down; ? from E: position. Also used in urban working-class Black disreputable dialect throughout South Africa, and borrowed by working-class white Afrikaans- and English-speaking delinquents. See **afkoel, kula.** Delinquent Lexicon: **phola** and **posta.** Syns **kula, koesta,** and **joint** above, and **posta.**

phuma: (Xh and Z) run like hell. Xh and Z: phuma: come or go out.

pick: (E) (v i and t) tease, taunt, criticize, nag. From pick on. Resp. See **ghwarra.**

piegha: go, leave, depart. abbrev of **phikelela** (Delinquent Lexicon, from Pris). 1985- .

piel: (1) (v t) screw (sexually). (2) abbrev of **pielkop** (2). Coll A: penis, cock (vulgar). Hence **Ek gat my - in jou gat afbriek:** I'm going to break my cock off in your hole, I'm going to screw and humiliate you violently. Taunt to female or male.

piele: **sy het meer - as verjaarsdae weg:** she's utterly promiscuous. Lit: she's put away more cocks than birthdays.

pielhare: pubic hair (male). Lit: cock-hair.

pielhoege: short in stature. Lit: cock-height.

pielkop: (1) head of penis, glans penis. (2) pompous, insignificant fool. E: prick.

pieltax: (second syllable E) financial maintenance by father for child of girlfriend or estranged wife. Humorous. Lit: cock-tax.

pieltester: (second syllable E) (1) flirtatious girl who will not allow sexual intercourse. (2) slut, promiscuous girl. Lit: cock-tester. Coll E: cockteaser.

piemp: (Afrikaansified Ngunicized E) (v i and t) betray (someone or his wrongdoings), squeal. Cape Lingo, Flytaal and other urban working-class Black disreputable dialects: mpimpi: (n) spy, squealer, traitor; E: male agent/manager for female prostitute, one who sells another for profit. 1976- . Syn **squeal**.

pieper: (v t) screw (sexually). Lit: pepper. See **pepper-time**.

pikwit: very dark-skinned. Humorous. Lit: pitch-white. Std A: pikswart: pitch black.

pil: (n) (1) dagga cigarette, rolled in cigarette papers (**bladjies**; Respectable Lexicon), brown paper or even newspaper, filled with mixture of dried, fragmented dagga leaves and tobacco removed from cigarette. Lit: (medicinal) tablet, drug. See **slowboat**. - **swaai:** roll dagga cigarette. Lit: turn - . (2) Mandrax tablet. Item acquired this meaning as an allusive code-word, only after dagga cigarettes were largely replaced in popularity by the dagga and Mandrax **pyp**; then usage faded as many synonyms were introduced and technical jargon in drug products and preparation elaborated, but resumed popularity as a technical generic term for any variety of Mandrax tablet after 1985. Syns **button**, **knopie**, **M. X.** 1970- .

pimp: see **piemp**.

pis: (1) **deur die** - : talking rubbish, full of nonsense, unreasonably uncooperative. Lit: through the piss. Syns **deur die naai** (see **naai**), **deur die sex** (see **sex**). (2) **kan nie straight** - **nie:** still acts like a child despite his adult appearance and airs; childish, immature. Lit: can't piss straight.

pisgat: youngster, kid (male). Condescending, derog. Lit: piss-arse.

pispiel: erection of penis on awakening with full bladder. Lit: piss-

cock. Syn **morning glory**.

pispoesie: young girl without sexual experience, virgin. Lit: piss pussy, i.e., one whose vagina has never known sexual fluids.

pjêl: (1) pron of pal. (2) **ou -** : old pal. Extremely common rhetorical address informally to male stranger. (Has become associated with middle-class and white caricatures of working-class disreputable male.)

plaat: **jou - raak alweer warm**: you're acting up again. Lit: your (hot)plate is warming up again. 1986- .

plat: - **maak**: bankrupt (someone) in gambling. Respectable Lexicon: **plat**: broke, penniless. Abbrev of std A: **platsak**: penniless, flat-pocket. Lit: flat.

plea: (E) (v i) plead, implore. Hence - **by**: implore (someone). Resp.

pleabaadjie aantrek: emphatic var of **plea**. Lit: put on (one's) pleading jacket, humble oneself. - - **by** (iemand): plead with (someone). Resp.

please: (v t) satisfy (someone) sexually. Resp.

pluck: (E) (1) Respectable Lexicon: courage, determination, inspiration, enthusiasm, from which following disrep terms are derived: **vuil -** , **kak -** : (i) brazen impertinence, outrageous cheek. (ii) reckless daring, courage or determination. (iii) reckless, malignant cruelty in violence. Also in Respectable and Delinquent Lexicons. (2) intoxicating quantity of consumed alcohol. Hence (i) - **in het**: be somewhat affected by alcohol. Lit: have a pluck in. (ii) **ge-** , **in 'n -** : affected by alcohol, moderately or totally drunk. All these conn disinhibited or regrettable conduct as a result of intoxication. Lit: plucked, in a pluck. (3) shoot with gun, assault with weapon. ? from American E: plug, i.e., shoot.

pluk: (v t) (1) collar, arrest. (2) take or steal. (3) beat in gambling game. (4) beat up (and perhaps rob). 1985- . Std A: pluck.

plus: and, in addition. Expr. Resp.

poema: see **phuma**.

poenangkies: cute, sweet. Ref or address to baby, child or adolescent girl. ? Java lexis. Resp.

poep: (1) **met die -**: pregnant. Lit: with the fart. Syn **met die lyf** (see **lyf**). (2) (my, sy) - **raak koud**: (I, he) give up, withdraw. Conn contempt for person lacking determination. Lit: (my, his) fart grows cold. Std A:

sy poep is koud: it's all over with him, he's a goner.

poepstorm: in 'n - : worried and confused. Syn: in 'n bafaana. Lit: in a fartstorm.

poes: (1) disgusting fool, idiot. (2) **Jou ma se - !:** Your mother's cunt! Extremely grave insult. (3) **Jou - stink!:** Your cunt stinks! Very grave insult to female or male. (4) **Jou poes!:** Your cunt! Very grave insult to female or male. (5) (iemand se) - **kap:** cut (someone) down to size (male or female). Lit: chop (someone's) cunt. Std A: poes: cunt, puss.

poesbek: expr var of **poes** (1). Conn disgust at person's statements. Lit: cunt-mouth (of animal).

poeshare: pubic hair (female). Lit: cunt-hair. See **pielhare**.

poeslang strieke: unpleasantly sly ways. Lit: cuntlong dodges. Std A: streek: dodge, prank, quirk. ? Java.

poeslap: sanitary towel. Vulgar. Lit: cunt-cloth.

poeslip: outer lip of vulva, labium majorum. Hence **Jou mal antie se linker - dra brille:** Your mad auntie's left cunt-lip wears spectacles. Obscene taunting. See **gwara, moer**.

poes-moelik: cunt-crazy, i.e., mad about cunt, talking about, pursuing and having sex at every available moment. Lit: puss-difficult, puss-troublesome.

pomp: (v t) screw (sexually). Lit: pump.

pōnd: (Afrikaansified Xh) (1) money. (2) considerable sum of money. Hence **dik in die - :** (i) flush with money. (ii) wealthy. Lit: thick in the pound. Std Xh: ipondi: money. From pound (sterling).

pool: 'Is cool in (or by) die pool (A E A A E): It's fine. Whims banter. Ref to luxuriating in or around swimming pool. 1987- .

poot: (Angl Z) screw (sexually). Std Z: phutha: of groping, grabbing with immoral intent (e.g., for sex or pickpocketing). From Prison through Delinquent Lexicons. 1978- .

pootjie: (A) (v t) kick (someone's) feet out under him during a fight. Lit: little-paw. Syns **tail skop, two-feet**.

pop: (1) (A) (n) fool, idiot. Lit: doll. (2) (E) (v t) ingest (illicit drug) by swallowing (as opposed to crushing and smoking with dagga and

tobacco). (2) since 1975- . ? from pop into the mouth (common nursing instruction to patient).

poppe: (n) fists. - **stoot:** (v i) fight with fists. Lit: push dolls.
opkom met die - : fights well with fists. Lit: dolls, i.e., glove puppets.

pops: address to middle-aged or elderly man. Conn deference and affection, but also pride in one's own youthful powers. Syn **dera**. See also **mums**. Resp.

por-por: car. Onomatopoeic ref to engine revving. Resp. Std A: **tjor-tjor**.

portside: (E) (adv) (1) on one side, on the side (of a mutually known place). (2) nearby and secluded, out of the way. Conn side of docked ship closest to wharf, not necessarily left-hand side. See **lappeside**. 1980- .

possess: (v i) is wealthy. Syn std A translation: **besit:** possesses.

potdeksel: (1) ignorant, ugly country bumpkin with San (Bushman) features. Syns **gattekope**, **dakskroef**. (2) fool, nonentity, idiot. (3) male fool who takes woman with children by another man. Lit: saucepan-lid. Thus **die - opsit:** have sex with girl pregnant by another man. Lit: put the saucepan-lid on. 1986- .

pote: - klap: go, leave, depart. Lit: clap paws. 1987- .

pōzzie: see **phozi**.

praam: substantial female breast. Conn adequacy of size (for breast-feeding or erotic purposes), but not necessarily outstanding size as in **dairies** and **kanonkels**. ? from Java lexis.

previous: (n) record of previous criminal convictions.

probation: probation officer. Resp.

produce: (v i) make good one's promise of an important contribution, gift, service, loan, etc. Conn speaker's doubt about fulfilment.

public: (collective n) (1) parents or adult relatives. Sometimes emphasized as **die - by die joint:** the public at home. (2) neighbours or strangers in vicinity. (1) and (2) conn the respectable expectations that these people have of one, and their critical judgment on one's conduct. ? From public opinion. (3) people (any people, simply conn the presence of people). ? from members of the public.

pull: (E) carry out (project, perhaps illicit, but not necessarily so). Hence **djoelheid** - : pull a job, i.e., burgle or rob. See **djoelheid**. ? from pull off, or pull a job.

putty: (E) mons veneris. Syns **uitduirie**, **vy**. See **knoes**. ? lesbian argot. 1987- . Hence —**poes**: promiscuous woman. Lit: putty-cunt. 1987- .

puzzle: (E) in 'n - : puzzled, confused. Std A verward not used. Resp.

pyn: (n) (1) **die - staan**: endure (an ordeal). Lit: stand the pain. (2) - **vang**: (i) take offence. (ii) become envious and disaffected. Syn **stiek vang**. Lit: catch pain.

pyp: (1) broken-off, trumpet-shaped narrow neck of 750 ml. bottle, used for smoking mixture of dagga, crushed Mandrax, and tobacco from cigarettes. A rolled-up length of cigarette packet paper (see **diamond**, **check**) is inserted as a filter and stopper, then a small layer (**backstop**) of tobacco to prevent the dagga from penetrating the filter, and the trumpet-shaped, inverted neck is tamped about half full with the smoking mixture as the smokers squat or sit around. One of the two or three (or occasionally more) participants in a single pipe lights the smoking mixture with two or three matches held and struck together while the device is cupped in another's clasped hands with the neck clenched between the outer palms and the trumpet protruding outwards and upwards (to prevent smoke in the eyes and burning of the hands — the pipe immediately becomes extremely hot and will crack if one's hands perspire). The smoker sucks very rapidly and powerfully several times through the palms between the parallel thumbs, immediately passes the pipe on to a fellow-smoker, holds the smoke in the lungs as long possible, and exhales as slowly as possible. Intoxication occurs within seconds, and the group very rapidly sinks into stupor or at least torpor for one or two hours. The pipe-smoking ritual is unobtrusive, nonverbal, grave and deliberate, the quintessential ritual of union and communion in disreputable, outcast, oppositional identity between **outies** and/or **ou roekers** and the **cats**, middle-class individuals and others who associate with them peripherally, perhaps mainly to smoke. Solitary individuals smoke a dagga cigarette (**slowboat**, **pil**) only. It is very unusual for a solitary individual to smoke a pipe unless he is exceptionally dependent on the drugs. Lit: pipe. See **challam**. **wilde** - : very strong dagga and Mandrax pipe, with powerful kick. Lit: wild pipe. 1972- . **die - roek**: endure the ordeal in order to derive the consequent pleasure. Std A: make the grade, pull off a thing. Lit: smoke the pipe. (2) (n) bottle of cheap wine.

Q

quarters: area, vicinity. Syn **omtes**.

quick charge: cheap wine.

R

raak: (1) screw (sexually). (2) achieve success in venture. 1986- . Lit: touch, affect (but prob associated with - in Delinquent Lexicon: assault, injure.)

rakke: **uit die - uit:** (food or goods which are) highly desirable, expensive and of high quality. Conn admiration or pride in possession. Lit: out of the shelves. Resp.

rande: money (in one's possession). Lit: rands. Hence **klomp -** : financial wealth. Lit: lots of rands. 1970- .

rands en cents ou roeker: see **ou roeker**.

Rasta: Rastafarian, follower of the Jamaican religious movement popularized since the late seventies in South Africa by reggae music and particularly by the example of a popular exponent, Bob Marley. -s tend to be slender, negroid, impoverished, introverted, articulate and gentle, criticizing all others as "Baabylon" -- belonging to a world of corrupt materialism. Female -s are uncommon in Cape Town except among the very small proportion of white adherents. Stereotypically a - wears **dreads**, smokes **ganja** and is characterized by outsiders as **wil-'ie-wêk-'ie** -- won't-work, i.e., work-shy (Respectable Lexicon). From **Rasta Lexicon**. Resp. 1978- .

ratoes: (Afrikaansified Xh) shoes. Term uncommonly used in Cape Town, more common in eastern Cape. Also in Flytaal. ? from std Xh: **ratyula:** wander; **iratyuratyu:** wanderer, vagabond; coll Xh: **bhathu:** shoes.

rattle: (1) screw (sexually). (2) screw vigorously (sexually). (3) force to be screwed (sexually).

rawlie: (E) see **rôlie**.

raybaanas: (Ngunicized E phon) sunglasses. From popular brand of sunglasses: Rayban. 1982- .

reabob: alright, fine. -1975.

rêd: (? Ngunicized pron) very keen. Lit: red. - **op:** very keen on. Lit: red on. ? from E slang: red hot: champing at the bit.

reendjas: condom. Lit: raincoat. Syn **balsakkie**.

regmaak: (v t) (1) screw (sexually). (2) beat up thoroughly. 1975- . Lit: put right.

reis: **Waarn'toe's 'ie reis?:** Where are you going? Lit: Where's the journey to? Resp.

retire: abandon **ou roeker** identity, interests and peers, usually in early adulthood, sometimes after overdoing things in proving one's manhood by getting into minor trouble with the law once or twice, and often with the encouragement of a good woman to become a "family man" and begin the pursuit of respectability and upward social mobility (while, for many, covertly retaining the option of a modicum of disreputability, such as a little adultery and drug-taking on the side, shared with the conspiracy of male peers). Mildly humorous. Syn **guns ophang** (see **guns**). Resp.

rib: in 'ie - **skop:** make pregnant. Lit: kick in the rib. Syn in 'ie **rug skop** (see **rug**).

Right!: drawn-out punctuational exclamation of pause, review and proceeding in long dramatic narrative. Resp.

rigting: 'n - **inloep:** walk for a considerable distance. Lit: walk in, take in a direction. 1982- .

rigtings: in - **praat:** speak in riddles, hint incomprehensibly. Lit: talk in directions, i.e., obliquely. Resp.

riot: (E) (1) (v i) create a disturbance (ref to any kind of disturbance by one or a few individuals anywhere, including a private home). (2) - **op:** (i) scold, descend on angrily. (ii) attack, beat up. 1977- . Ironic ref to mass urban civil revolt of 1976.

road: Athlone, a coloured residential, commercial and light industrial district of Cape Town, especially ref to central business district and the railway line, and more generally to the areas surrounding the arterial Klipfontein Road running through the district. 1980- . **op 'ie - :** along the road, i.e., while moving around or travelling. Conn a place of disreputability, impersonality, transience, possible adventure and good

fortune -- a vagabond's view. Lit: on the road. - **vat**: depart, leave.
Lit: take (the) road.

road-runner: female prostitute soliciting from the sidewalk. From television cartoon about comical bird, flightless but able to run at great speed, blandly hooting "beep-beep" as it passes. 1985- . Syn **jumper**.

rock: go, leave, depart. ? antil from coll E, rock up: turn up. 1989- .

roe baan: (v t) rob. Hence **-er**: robber, one who characteristically engages in robbery. Syns **robie**, **roofie** (both in Delinquent Lexicon). Delinquent Lexicon: **maroe baan**. From Prison through Delinquent Lexicons. 1977- .

roek: in 'ie - **draai**: be confused, flap around, not know which way to turn. Lit: spin in the smoke, i.e., spin around in vortex of whirlwind. Resp.

roekbol: appetite for smoking cigarettes. Lit: smoke-bulb, i.e., gland that produces appetite for smoking. See **ietbol**, **naaibol**. Resp.

roekstop: (1) small quantity of dagga for one's own use. See **stop**. (2) bulge of mons veneris in tight slacks. Lit: smoking-plug (of tobacco). (2) conn soft and furry handful that gives pleasure when fired and consumed. Std A: rook: smoke.

roes: characteristically rough and violent. Lit: rust, i.e., ugly, rough, likely to injure in contact. 1972- .

roesbolling: (1) (adj) expr var of **roes**. (2) (n) characteristically rough and violent delinquent. Tr as **rusty bundle**. 1972- .

rol: (1) (v t) beat up, assault. (2) (v i) fight. (3) (n and v i) (walk with) rapid gliding gait on balls of feet with rolling hips and left arm dangling immobile (common marker of **ou roeker** identity style until mid-1970s). Lit: roll. Also in Delinquent Lexicon.

rôlie: pistol or revolver. Ref to cylinder of revolver, which can be rolled or rotated by hand. -1976.

R-one: (E) one rand. From denomination R 1 embossed on coin. 1985- .

rooipootjie: name of high quality dagga from Natal. Lit: little red-paw.

rooi vlag: **die** -- **waai**: (she's) menstruating. Lit: the red flag flies. There is a generally observed taboo on copulation during menstruation, which is thought to be unacceptably messy and unhygienic, and to cause venereal disease in both partners. Specifically, menstrual blood is

construed as dirty and germ-ridden, and the uterus raw and vulnerable to infection. In the Respectable Lexicon the synonymous term is **siek**: sick. The sea is said to be identically **siek** monthly during spring tides when it is congested, distempered and purges itself by depositing dirty foam, jetsam and torn seaweed on the shore. Lit: the red flag waves (i.e., the show of red signifies no thoroughfare, no passage here).

rot: (A) (1) contemptible woman dirtied and messed up by promiscuity. (2) male treacherous in any way. 1984- . (3) guy (conn gross disreputability). 1984- . Lit: rat.

rotte: **tussen die - kriel**: associate with the very poor and disreputable and delinquent. Lit: crawl among the rats. 1984- .

ruffle: (n) - **vat**: masturbate (ref to male self-masturbation only). Lit: take (a) ruffle. Syn **skommel**: shuffle.

rug: (1) **in die - skop, in die - trap**: impregnate (woman). Lit: kick in the back. See **naeltjie: onder die naeltjie geskop**. (2) - **skoonmaak**: have sex (ref to male). Lit: clean out or drain (one's) back. See **ruggraat**.

ruggraat: - **is vol**: keen on sex because (one) has not had orgasm for long time (of male). Lit: spine is full. - **is leeg**: not keen on sex because (one) has recently had it (ref to male). Lit: spine is empty. Ref to fading belief that semen is formed and stored inside the base of the spine, the coccyx (giving one "backbone", the ability to stand up for oneself aggressively as a man), and almost universal belief that orgasm and especially heterosexual copulation grossly depletes physical energy and assertiveness of male. Hence many working-class males, tired after a day's hard work on weekdays, prefer to confine intercourse mainly to weekends and especially Saturday nights, after which they can recuperate at leisure.

ruk: (1) (v t) beat repeatedly in game. (2) (v t) beat up badly. Lit: pull roughly. (3) ('n) - **vat**: masturbate (of male). Lit: take (a) pull. (4) **die ding - :** (i) the situation is giving dramatic trouble. (ii) the pace is dramatically hectic. Lit: the thing pulls. 1980- .

rush: (1) (v i and t) rush and violently assault (by group). (2) (n) charge and attack by gang. (3) (n) moving crowd or group, usually of gangsters.

rushie: diminutive var of previous item.

rusty bundle: see **roes:** **roesbolling.**

S

saag: (1) (v t) screw (sexually). (2) (n) a screw (sexually, the act).
Lit: saw. -1980.

sable: very large pocket knife, with blade broader than **okapi's**. Used as weapon. 1986- .

safe: (E) (1) okay (expr acquiescence). (2) fine, fixed up (arrangement or farewell). Hence **safe kap:** stay safe, unharmed, not arrested. **Kap - !:** go well, be safe, look after yourself. Lit: chop safe. **Kap op 'ie safe kant!** Expr var of **Kap safe!**. Lit: chop on the safe side. See **kap**. S A E slang: safe: nice, smart (clothes, possessions).

safe in 'ie huis: expr var of **safe kap**. Lit: safe in the house. Resp.

sak: **Sak, jou naai!:** get down to it, you screw! Stereotypic verbal caricature of slavedriving overseer, enacted when man of leisure passes and teases sweating group of labourers, or when one attempts to push an ill-fitting object into its place. Lit: sink, you screw. Also in Delinquent Lexicon. ? from Pris.

sallawat: cock (penis). ? **Java** or Ng lexis.

Salon: (A) Athlone, working- and middle-class coloured town on Cape Flats.

samosa: tastelessly large and sloppy necktie knot. Humorous. From samosa: spiced triangular meat pie popularized by **Java** Muslims. Resp.

sat: (1) dead. (2) none. Std A: (siek en) sat: sick and tired. Resp.

Sauls: abbrev of Salt River, a suburb of light industry and mainly working-class coloured residence. Resp.

scene: party, dance. Std A never used. Resp.

score: (1) (v i and t) acquire (sought-after object or goods). (2) **die - check:** size up situation, come to conclusion, learn from an experience. Resp. See **check**.

sê: **Djy - daai ding!:** difficult to translate: lit: You say that thing! Remark conn embarrassment and amusement at slightly indiscreet observation. **Djy sal 'ie kô - nie:** You've got no say here, you'll get no chance to throw object (or throw your weight around). Lit: You won't come say. Syn **Djy**

het niks om hie' te - nie: Lit: You've got nothing to say here.

seergat: (1) (adj) stingy. (2) (n) stingy person. Lit: sore-arse.

see-through: (1) (adj) transparent (clothes). (2) (n) white wine. Resp.

Se-Grass: (A-E) Grassy Park, coloured residential suburb.

sêkie?: abbrev of next item.

sêketie?: isn't it so? Rhetorical, only at end of sentence. Lit: sê ek dit nie?: don't I say it?

selwers: expr var of std A: self: myself.

semi-balloon: see balloon.

sendigate: (E) (1) group of adult male partners in business venture, lawful or otherwise. (2) closest friend, buddy. Syns **capella**, **coupling**, **kopchômmie**. 1983- . From E: syndicate.

serious: (adj) impressive (thing, action).

service: (v t) screw (sexually), often cynical ref to sex with randy older woman ("sugar-mummy") in return for payment in cash or kind. Conn servicing of vehicle. See **grease**.

Ses: District Six, a coloured, largely working-class residential suburb bordering the city centre of Cape Town, declared a white group area in 1966, and razed after the eviction of perhaps fifty thousand people during the following fifteen years. Although overcrowded, largely impoverished and the **territory** of delinquent gangs, it was also construed as the source and home of the Capetonian coloured community's vitality, creativity and development in the arts, education and politics, with a unique, magical ambience. Has since come to acquire virtually sacramental significance, symbolizing the unforgiveable suffering inflicted on an excluded, exploited community under apartheid; the futility of hope for spontaneous justice from the politically dominant; and the crucial provocation that mobilized mass political activism and repeated rebellion against domination, especially among the younger generation. Lit: Six. Resp. See **mzukwana** in Delinquent Lexicon for comparable construct of abruption from the Golden Age of Paradise in prison-gang myth.

sex: (E) (1) (v t) screw (sexually). (2) **deur die -** : talking rubbish, unnecessarily uncooperative or obstructive. Syns **deur die naai**, **deur die pis**. Lit: through the sex. 1984- .

shaandie, shandie, shaandies, shandies: (? Afrikaansified Ng) (1) genral whims term for any object, damned thing, bloody thing. (2) ref to utterly contemptible person. Conn exasperation while trying summarily to find, identify, manipulate or dispose of thing or person. ? from std Z: shanduza: roam about; shangaza: vagabond (hence "Shangaan"); shanda: hairless spot, scar. Also in Cape Lingo, Flytaal. Flytaal: things.

shap: see **sjap**.

shapshoet: see **sjapsjoet**.

shorety: see **surety**.

short: (E) dominated, under (someone's) thumb. Hence (iemand) - **het:** (1) have the measure of (someone or something). (2) dominate (someone), have (someone) under one's thumb for one's own purposes. (iemand) - **kry:** get (someone) under one's thumb. ? From on a short rein. See **draad**.

shot, shotjie: big shot, influential, wealthy person. See **tjôtjie**.

shottit!: (1) good shot! (2) that's fine, dead right (of assertion). (3) that's fine, fixed up, dead on (of arrangement). Resp.

show: (iemand 'n) - **gie:** (1) give (someone a) good time. (2) give (someone an) opportunity (to do something desired). (3) give (someone a) fight. Lit: give (someone) a show. Resp.

shunt: (v t) shun, get rid of, especially by scolding or insult. From E: shun, and work experience of railway operations in dockyard.

siemelkas: arse. Hence (iemand se) - **krap:** screw (someone's) arse. Lit: scratch (someone's) bran-box. Std A: **semel:** bran; **kas:** box.

sien: (1) **ge-** : acknowledged and respected. Lit: seen. Hence **-de ou:** respected guy; ref to man respected in **ou roeker** circles. Lit: seen guy. Syn **gecheck** (see **check**). (2) - **djy?:** do you see, do you understand, recall, picture in your mind's eye. Rhetorical, common marker of stylized del or disrep discourse. (3) - **djy hulle?:** Lit: do you see them? Expr var of (2). (2) and (3) 1978- .

Sies Djan!: Wow! Exclamation of pleasant surprise or admiration. Lit: Sis Jan!. Resp.

Siessa!: Exuberant exclamation of admiring delight, approval, pleasure. Resp.

sif: (1) money. Also in Delinquent Lexicon. Lit: sieve. ? mining metaphor from Pris; ? from coll Xh: isefo: cash register, from safe. (2) police van. From diamond-mesh grilles of cage, resembling sieve. (Compare with Cape Lingo: nylon, ref to transparency of grilles on side of van.) -1975.

sit: (A) (v i) be in prison. Lit: sit.

site: place (sought in any organization, but especially for work). Job at firm, place in team.

six-split: pyp with six Mandrax tablets instead of the usual one, shared among the smokers. See **button**, **duwwele**, **four(t)-split**, **t'ree-split**, **two-split**. 1985- .

six-shooter: five-litre (one gallon) jack of wine.

sjap: (1) fine, fixed up (arrangement and in farewell). (2) very fine (thing, action). (3) fast. Hence **maak** - : hurry up. From sharp: E adolescent term: fine; also as in punctuality on the dot.

sjapsjoet: (1) expr var of **shap** (3). (2) - !: quickly, exactly done! From sharpshooter.

skapie: fool, idiot, nonentity. Lit: (a) little sheep.

skarramonk: rogue, scoundrel. Mildly humorous, used as tongue in cheek insult. ? from alliteration with **skelm** and **skurk**, as well as **skorrie-morrie** (coll A: rogue), applied to whimsically chosen term, **karramonk** (cardamom, a sweet spice; **Java Lexicon**), sometimes used as nickname. See **burg**.

skatties: (Afrikaansified Xh and Z) time, hour. Hence **laat** - : late at night. **Wat sê die** - ?: What's the time? Lit: What does the time say? I.e., what does your watch say? Std Xh and Z: **isikhathi**: time. Prob condensed with std A: **skat**: (v t) estimate; thus lit: little estimates.

skelm: (1) (n) cunning. **jou** (or **my**, etc.) - **gebruik**: use (your, my, etc.) cunning. (2) (n) deceptive stratagem. **met 'n** - : cunningly, with a cunning, deceptive ploy. Conn effectuality. (Iemand) **'n** - **gooi**: deceive (someone). Lit: toss someone a ploy. (3) (n) ref to any disrep or del adolescent or young adult male, occasionally to any male who has intelligent ideas. Conn capacity for dissembling, calculation, implies that everyone is a rogue to some extent and is not entitled to overmuch respect. **lekker** - : pleasant guy, pleasant rogue. Lit: rogue, reprobate,

deceitful person. Syns **crook**, **skurk**.

skiet: (1) (v i) dress (either well or badly). Conn projecting one's image. (2) (v t) lie. Hence **kaart** - : lie, shoot a line. Lit: shoot a card. (3) An effectual lie, nimble line of banter or well-aimed move in any game or sport may be appreciatively described as **kwaai** - !: good shot! lit: fierce shooting! (4) (v i and t) ejaculate (semen), have orgasm (ref to male). (5) (v t) screw (sexually). Lit: shoot.

skippie: fag, young man who takes orders from an older one. ? from skivvy. Syn **butler**.

skoemaan: var of **skomaan**.

skoenlapper: fool, idiot, inconsequential man. Lit: butterfly.

skomaan: (Afrikaansified Xh) large group (of disreputable or delinquent young men). Std Xh: kumanda: camp or body of people; from Dutch: kommando. Syns **skwal**, **skwarrie**. ? Cape Lingo.

skommel: (1) (v i) masturbate (ref to male or female). (2) (n) masturbation. Hence - **competition:** hilarious exhibitionistic competition of self-masturbation among group of young adolescent boys to see who can reach orgasm first. Stakes might be a packet of cigarettes. This ritual game is increasingly construed unmanly and appeared to be fading in 1980s. Lit: shuffle, shake. See **afkskommel**.

skool: (iemand) **in die - sit:** (1) teach (someone) a lesson. (2) impart wisdom (to less experienced person). (3) screw (woman) so that she will remember the experience. Lit: put (someone) into school. Resp.

skraap: (1) (v i) run away. (2) (v t) arrest, take away. Lit: scrape.

skrams: (1) (adv) briefly and by chance. Syn **fly-fly**. (2) (adj) broke, penniless. Resp. Std A: grazingly, glancingly.

skree: (1) (v t) call, address by name. "Hulle - hom aan sy bynaam." "They address him by his nickname." Lit: shout. Syn **koeza** (Delinquent Lexicon). (2) Djy (hy, sy) - **skoons!:** (i) You (he, she) talk too loudly, shout unnecessarily, don't have to shout! (ii) raise embarrassing topic in presence of others. Lit: You even shout!

skrik: be taken aback or thoroughly surprised. Hyperbolic. Lit: catch a fright. (iemand) - **maak met:** surprise (someone) pleasantly with (unexpected generosity). Lit: frighten (someone) with. 1976- .

skrop: (v t) screw (sexually). Lit: scrub.

skud: (1) (v t) search, shake down (person, container or place). (2) (v i) leave, depart. (3) **gat - :** (v i) go dancing. Resp.

skuil: avoid contact with someone to whom one owes something as a result of having wronged him, loaned money or possessions from him, etc. Lit: hide. 1980- .

skurk: guy. ref to any disreputable or delinquent young adolescent or adult male. Lit: scoundrel, villain. Syns **crook**, **skelm** (q v). 1978- .

skwal, skwaal, skwalletjie, skwaaletjie: (1) large sum (of money). (2) large group (of men). ? from squad, squall or std A: skool (visse): school (of fish) or Ng. Syns next item, and **skomaan**. ? Cape Lingo, Thamunda. -1976.

skwarrie: large group (of people). ? from **skwal**. ? Cape Lingo.

slaan: (1) (v t) abbrev of **square - :** burgle. (2) (v i) dress well, usually formally. Also in Flytaal. Syn **drape**. (3) (v t) beat thoroughly (at game). Never pron **slat** (q v) in present tense, although past tense of (1) can be **geslat**. Lit: hit.

slange: (iemand) **hang nie - nie:** (someone) doesn't waste time, moves fast and decisively. Lit: (someone) doesn't hang snakes (i.e., he immediately crushes them). Resp.

slangetjie: **Hoe's my - vi' jou gangetjie?:** How's my little snake for your little passage? Rhyming banter to passing girl. 1982- .

slat, slaat: (v t) tackle (task) with vigour and rapid success. "Hy - daai **buttons!**": "He sold those Mandrax tablets!" (moved them quickly, got rid of them quickly). Expr var of std A: slaan: hit, except as cited in **slaan**. **slaat** is Ngunicized var. See **gooi**.

slaughter: (v t) (1) defeat ignominiously in game. (2) beat up thoroughly in fight.

sletch: (E) piece of phosphorus paper economically broken off a matchbox, and given with a few matches instead of box to acquaintance or friend.

slice: (1) go, leave, depart. (2) desert, let down, pull out of arrangement. (3) make a serious mistake, a mess of things, letting oneself down. - **op** (iemand): let (someone) down. Hence **slicer:** one who deserts or disappoints for selfish reasons. 1970- .

slim: fine, fixed up. Lit: clever. 1986- .

slowboat: (n) dagga cigarette, as contrasted with pipe of dagga and Mandrax (see **pyp**, **wit**), which has more rapid and potent kick. Prob from idiom: take the slowboat to China: i.e., a languid trip into exotic regions. Old item, revived since 1987, when very many smokers suddenly abandoned Mandrax and returned to dagga alone, claiming considerations of finance and health. However, economic depression also coincided with civil rebellion and an increase of communal political pride among many adolescent and young adult male disreputables, who began to dress and behave with noticeably greater decorum in public. Syn **pil**. See **wit**.

smackers: money. ? from Cockney: smacker: one pound sterling. ? Cape Lingo, Flytaal and other urban working-class Black dialects. -1976.

smacks: var of **smackers**. -1976.

smeghas: Ngunicized var of **smackers**. Flytaal: smeka: money. -1976.

smokkie: abbrev var of std A: smokkelhuis: shebeen.

smyt: go, leave, depart. 1986- .

snaaks: - **speel:** obstruct, dawdle, hesitate, beat around the bush, be difficult. Lit: play around in an obstructive way. Respectable Lexicon: snaaks: difficult, deliberately obstructive; std A: peculiar. Resp.

snapsie: pleasant interlude of sexual intercourse. Humorous. Std A: snapsie: schnapps, spot of liquor. Resp.

snare: **hou jou - :** (1) keep quiet. (2) keep your head, don't be hasty. Lit: keep your (guitar) strings (still).

snoek: **droe - :** black woman, very commonly mythified as slower to sexual arousal and vaginal lubrication, but possessing infinitely more sexual stamina than coloured or white woman. Lit: dry snoek, i.e., (at first) a cold, dry, weathered fish.

snoes: (Afrikaansified E) (v i) sleep. From E snooze.

snot sjambok: penis of adolescent or adult. Conn use in copulation. Humorous, vulgar. Lit: snot whip, ref to semen.

sny: (1) (v t) wear a particular style of clothes or haircut. Resp. (2) (v t) cut dead, ignore previous acquaintance or friend. (3) (n) vagina. Std A: cut.

soellat: (Ng) (v i and n) work (at place of employment). ? **Java** lexis.
? std Xh and Z: sula: wipe, dust, polish; std Z: of dawdling, of
pretending to be busy when wasting time. Also in Flytaal.

soema: pron of std A: sommer, somaar: just, for no particular reason.
Hence - **ghoef:** expr var of **ghoef**. Resp.

soetes: sweet wine. Lit: sweet (things).

só maak: ironic, euph allusion to sexual intercourse. Lit: do thus.
Resp.

sonny: (E) (1) guy. Conn youth. (2) kid, youngster.

sosys: hou (jou, hom, haar) soos 'n dik - : put on airs. Lit: keep
(yourself, himself, herself) like a thick sausage.

sout: (1) **Sout!:** Chips, watch it, someone's coming! Lit: salt (goes on
chips). (2) quantity of tobacco removed from cigarette and mixed with dagga
for smoking, usually in ratio by volume of one part tobacco to two parts
dagga. (3) unfortunate, miserable, sour, uncooperative (person). Syn:
bad luck. Also **sjêl** in Respectable Lexicon.

spaanas: (? Z) ou - : old matters, events, fashions. ? from Std Z: phanda:
sound, for information, "pump". From Pris. 1972- .

span: (A) (v i and n) work (in occupation). Std A: team. ? from **spangeni**
(Delinquent Lexicon, from Pris, probably from **spangeni**.) 1984- .

spare, sparey: (E) girl or girlfriend for casual sex, not taken
seriously.

speccie: (E) bus inspector.

speech: incident. Conn interesting, dramatic event.

speeches: disturbance, trouble. - **maak:** cause disturbance, trouble.

speed: (E) (1) **met 'n -** : very fast, at great speed (of vehicle). Lit:
with a speed. (2) **in 'n - , in 'n - in:** drunk. Lit: in a speed. Syn **in**
'n motion. Resp.

speel: (n) incident, affair, situation. Hence **in 'ie -** : (involved) in
the affair. Lit: in the play. **omkom van 'ie -** : upshot of the affair.
Lit: outcome of the play. From card game, **klawerdjas** (Respectable
Lexicon). Std A: play (v i).

spieg: be prepared to pay amply for goods or services; cough up.
Respectable Lexicon: spit. See next item.

spiegie: small sum of money (cadged from friend). Lit: little spit. See **spieg**.

spien: (A pron of E spin) (1) (v i) go, travel. (2) depart, leave. (3) customary kind or direction of activity, usually hedonistic. similar to **beat**. Also in Flytaal. (4) (v i) go out regularly, move often together (with friend or girlfriend). Hence - **met**: move often with. (5) (v i) wander promiscuously (usually of adult woman). Similar to **djôl**. (6) (n) customary direction of activity (similar to **beat**) or travel. (7) (v t) give, pass, hand. (8) donate, give.

spin: see previous item.

splash: (E with A pron) (1) (v i and t) wash (oneself or hands, face, etc.) (2) (n) a wash or sprinkle (of self or possession usually kept outdoors, such as dog or car). Resp.

splitter, split: (E) (incendiary) match.

spoek: (1) (n) black man (derog). (2) (n) fool, idiot, insignificant person. (3) (v i) struggle (to make satisfactory arrangement. 1978- . (4) (v i) perform unsatisfactorily, break down (ref to machine, car). 1978- . Lit: ghost, being without substance.

spoekpis: cheap wine. Lit: ghost-piss, i.e., lacking substance.

spring: (A) (1) (v i) escape from custody. (2) (v t) screw (sexually). Lit: jump.

springe: dinge loep op - : things are going well. Rhyming. Lit: things walk on springs.

spul: - geld: lot of money (perhaps easily and illicitly come by). Std A: disreputable crowd. 1982- .

spy: (E) despicable, furtive, dissembling fool. (Also in Flytaal.) Hence - **maak van** (iemand): (i) make a fool out of (someone). (ii) rape anally to dishonour, humiliate and take revenge for treachery (male or female victim). Lit: make a spy out of. (iii) - **wat nie sy hol was nie:** fool who seeks impressive reputation. Lit: fool who doesn't wash his arse, i.e., continues to stink irrespective.

squad: (E) (1) (n) police. (2) (n) gang bang, serial copulation by

three to twenty-odd males with one female or male, who may be willing, drugged, retarded, intimidated or injured. Syn **tournament** - . (3) (v t) put (female or male) through gang bang.

square: (E) (n) haul from a burglary. - **slaan:** carry out a burglary. Lit: hit a square, i.e., break a window pane. See **slaan**.

squash(ie): fool, idiot, nonentity. -1975. Lit: (little) squash (soft vegetable).

squeal: (1) (v i) gripe, complain unnecessarily. (2) (v i and t) report, betray (someone) to authority or person to whom that person has responsibilities, e.g., wife. Syn **piemp**.

staan: abbrev of **man** -. See **man**.

staan-staan: a **style** of copulation with both partners standing and facing each other, sometimes for excitement and exhibition, or furtively and quickly in a secluded but cramped public place. Std A: standing, in an upright position.

stall: (E) (v i) reside, live. -1980. Syns **phola**, **stolla** (both Delinquent Lexicon), **stuck**. Also in Flytaal.

stalls: (E) provisions (food or refreshments, for an outing or stored at home).

stamp: (A) (v t) screw (sexually). Lit: knock flying, knock over.

stamps: (E) - **opplak:** interfere in, and add fuel to an argument. Lit: stick stamps on, i.e., seal and adorn for sending on way.

start: money,

'**State:** (E) abbrev of Kensington Estate. Coloured residential suburb originally known in 1940s as Kensington Estate, then part as Windermere (which became heavily stigmatized for poverty and crime) and part as Kensington, and simply as Kensington since influx of middle-class residents in late 1970s. The "Estate" has been long forgotten, and very few residents know the origin of the abbrev. Resp. Also in Delinquent Lexicon.

station: (v i) stay awhile. Like train in station.

steek: see **stiek**.

steenkool: black man (derog). Lit: (lump of) coal.

sterns: (E) buttocks (usually prominent and female). From rear end of ship. Std A: ster'e, elided from sterte: tails.

sterre: Djy het 'n lekker paar - om 'n piepie in te bêre: You've got a nice pair of buttocks to put a little penis away in. Heterosexual rhyming banter implying copulation a tergo but not excluding sodomy. 1985- . See previous item.

stert: (iemand se) - **kap:** cut (someone) down to size. Lit: dock (someone's) tail.

stiek: (1) (v t) screw (sexually). (2) (n) a screw (sexually, the event). Lit: stab, jab, stick. (3) - **kry,** - **vang:** become painfully envious and spiteful. Lit: get a pain, catch a pain. Syn **pyn vang** and **stiek** (both in Respectable Lexicon).

stinkmeid: (1) unmarried female sexual partner (derog). (2) slut, promiscuous woman. Conn vaginal odour. Lit: stinking menial woman. 1984- .

stinkvleis: vagina of adolescent or adult (derog). Lit: stink-flesh. Vagina is commonly mythified jokingly as unpleasant to smell, ugly to look at but lovely to feel. Syn **vrotvleis**. 1984- .

'Stock: abbrev of Woodstock, racially mixed working-class residential and light industrial suburb adjacent to downtown Cape Town.

stock vat: (E A) check up. Lit: take stock. Metaphor from commerce and industry. From Pris through Delinquent Lexicons. 1984- .

stomp: special root, powdered and used in witchcraft as poison, protection or constituent of medicine. **sy - is stêk:** he enjoys powerful magical protection by the **doekoem** (diviner and witch; **Java** and Respectable Lexicons) against misfortune and malice. Lit: his stump is strong. See **bol**. Resp.

stompa: (pl **stompas**, **omstompa**; ? Afrikaansified Ng) (one) rand. ? from std Xh and Z: umthombo: fountain; ? from std Z: isithoma: money; thoma: influence; ? from pris. 1976-82.

stoot: (1) (v i) go, leave, push on. (2) (v i and t) screw (sexually). (3) (n) a screw (sexually, the event).

stop: small packet of dagga, sufficient for one or two cigarettes (**pille**) or a pipe (**pyp**). The standard retail packaging of a small quantity, cost

ten cents for a two-cigarette packet in 1965, one rand in 1986. Std A: plug or pipeful of tobacco.

stoute motor: (A, E) naughty boy, mischievous lad. Humorous rhyming ref to adolescent delinq. Lit: naughty car. Spelt Stoute Mouter by gang of that name.

straight: **die** - : the direct truth, facts (as opposed to dissembling or beating about the bush). Lit: the straight. - **stap:** (i) get going, be immediately on way. (ii) take off, leave with alacrity, get out. Lit: step (out) straight. Resp.

striep: (iemand) 'n - **trek:** vengefully or spitefully teach (someone) a lesson, or exploitatively take advantage and let (someone) down, usually by stealth or deceit. Lit: pull (someone) a stripe. ? conn lashing, or from E: tear a strip off, i.e., scold severely. Similar to **dirty trek** (see **dirty**).

stroll: (E) (1) (v i) be vagrant and homeless, having run away from home, in childhood and adolescence usually in rebellion against severe, longstanding domestic poverty and conflict, disruption, drinking, parental coldness, hostility, brutality, exploitativeness, etc. Hence **-er:** child, adolescent or young adult male vagrant (but older vagrants are simply termed hoboos or bergies). - **kind:** (E A) female vagrant in same youthful age range. See **kind**. (2) play truant and wander with disreputable friends for the day. Often invitation to young adolescent schoolgirl to play truant by adolescent or young adult male for sexual purposes. 1985- .

strooimeisie: (1) female prostitute. (2) moffie, histrionically effeminate male homosexual. Lit: bridesmaid.

stuck: (E) (1) reside, live. Syns **cabin**, **stall**, **stolla** (Delinquent Lexicon). (2) break down, stick fast (in sand, mud, etc.; ref to vehicle).

stuk: (1) cinema or television film. Hence **agent** - : (E, A) detective film. See **agent**. (2) dramatic incident (which is narrated). Syn **speech**. (3) narrative, story, account. (1) to (3) are resp. (4) contemptuous or affectionately disparaging ref to person. Hence - **ding:** ugly or contemptible girl. Lit: piece of thing. - **bra:** generous friend, buddy (male). Lit: piece of brother. See **bra**. (5) - (or **stukkie**) **vat:** have sex. Lit: have piece (or little piece). Std A: piece, article (in newspaper, magazine).

sturfie: (E) (n or a) snobbishly respectable and exclusive, working- or middle-class (coloured or black, but never white), scorning, betraying and exploiting the authentically disreputable working-class, given to Cultural rather than Natural pursuits, therefore namby-pamby rather than tough. This extremely common class distinction has begun to fade since the civil revolt of 1980 but is by no means rare. Resp.

style: (E) (1) erotic, exotic or mischievously hilarious postural position other than the missionary position during sexual foreplay and copulation, usually initiated by male for exhibition and mastery in stimulation. Mythically most popular and named are **dog-style**, syns **hondjie** and **tiekies optel**; **kentucky**, syn **bene-oor-die-skouers**; and **staan-staan**; others are merely described vaguely. (2) **met 'n - (saam or saame)**: obliquely (but not necessarily with negative conns), craftily, deviously, biding one's time. Lit: with a style (together).

styleable: (1) relaxing, cooling off in style, but perhaps (2) concealing one's true intentions. From **style** (2). 1987- .

styles: (n) (1) generic term for **style** (1). Hence **styles gooi**: perform an unconventional (sexual) position or positions. Lit: throw styles. **Gooi** is also used with any of the named - under previous item. See **gooi**. (2) pl of **style** (2): tricks, stratagems, habitually cunning ways. (3) annoying foibles, quirks causing difficulty to others. Resp.

succeed: succeed in application to authority, especially for employment.

suck: (1) (v t) exploit parasitically. (2) (v i and t) perform fellatio, suck penis. See **afsuig**.

sug: (v i) be stingy, uncooperative, reluctant. Std A: sigh.

suie, suif: var of **afsuig**. Archaic std A: suck.

suiwer: var of **afsuig**. Archaic std A: suck.

sukkel: (v i) (1) persistently try but fail where a competent **ou** should succeed or at least grow wiser. (2) try unsuccessfully to deceive, exploit or take advantage. Conn contempt. Std A: struggle (v i). Resp.

sunnies: sunglasses. Resp.

sunroof: (E) bald pate. From sliding panel in roof of car. Humorous.

surety: (E) (1) (n) 'n - : a certainty. (2) (adv) definitely, absolutely, certainly.

survive: succeed (in application to, or contention with authority, as in obtaining employment or being acquitted of a criminal charge). See **score**, **tôl**; **vrykom** in Delinquent Lexicon. Resp.

suures: sour wine. See **soetes**. Lit: sours (pl n).

swaai: (1) (v i and t) turn or swing (direction of vehicle; usually advice to driver). Resp. (2) - , **verswaai:** (v t) sell (informally for quick cash). Expr. Lit: swing (v i and t).

swak: broke, penniless, down and out materially and socially. Lit: weak. **my bene is -** : expr. Lit: my legs are weak. Syn **my bene is af**. From Prison through Delinquent Lexicons. Also in Delinquent Lexicon. Delinquent Lexicon: **bene**. 1978- .

swanghel: (Angl pron) penis. Humorous. ? Whims.

swartgat: severe insult to negroid person. Lit: black-arse, also implying failure to observe hygiene. Antonym: **witgat**.

sway: (? Afrikaansified Xh) money. ? from std Xh: **wahla:** jingle, rattle, throw down (money) **waya:** a great number; **wayi:** be thrown down all at once.

sweet: (1) (E) fine, fixed up (of arrangement, in farewell). (2) (A) see next item.

swiet: (v i) want a winner badly in gambling, e.g., betting on horses or in card-game. Lit: sweat.

swietes: (n) hard-earned income, valued because earned with sweat. Lit: sweats.

T

T: to the - : fine, fixed up. Std E: to a T: perfectly complete, correct or precise.

taamlik: moderately well. tersely allusive reply to query about state of health, energy, readiness for action. Std A: moderately.

taatie: nuts, crazy, has a screw loose. From Respectable Lexicon: - : mentally defective, schizophrenic. Speakers say that - is derived from E: retarded. Resp.

tahoerra: whore. Used mainly by Java Muslims.

tail: (iemand) 'n - **skop:** (physically) kick (someone's) feet out under (him, during fight). Lit: kick (someone) a tail, i.e., so that he lands on his backside. Syns **pootjie, two-feet.** 1983- .

takke: in die - **skop, teen die - skop:** object fussily, be recalcitrant, uncooperative. Lit: kick in (or against) the branches. Syn **in (or teen) die kar skop.** Resp.

tamaties: Hoe's jou - dan nou? Suggestive banter to passing girl. Lit: How're your tomatoes then now? 1970-1980.

tammahawk: axe, chopper (used as weapon). From tomahawk.

tande-nat: drunk. - **maak:** drink to get drunk.

tânie: (Ngunicized A phon) (1) ref to mother (conn resp person of mature age, i.e., from early thirties on). (2) woman of mature age. Std A: tannie: auntie. Also in Flytaal. See **mummy, tōppie.**

ta-ra-ra: var of **te're're.**

team: Ek speel nie vir daai - nie: var of **band** (E; q v). Resp.

teatime: anytime is - : anytime will do. Resp. 1983- .

teef: see **tief.**

teenaan: see **tienaan.**

tellie: (E) message. ? from telephone, telegram. - **slat :** (1) send a message. -1978. (2) make a telephone call (since 1978, when residential telephones became commonplace in the speech community). sResp.

temba: see **themba.**

te're're: (1) insignificant fool, lightweight. (2) damned thing (that keeps giving one trouble, e.g., a lock that jams). Whims, euph.

terrible: (n) child or youth who is naughty and a nuisance but amusing. Syn - **Joster, terror.**

territory: gang territory, neighbourhood over which locally resident gang lays claim to at least ritual rights of domination to flaunt honour, intimidate, exploit and prey upon residents and entrepreneurs, conduct illicit business and exclude other gangs' claims. Claims are idealistic, i.e., they can be realized only in relation to other gangs and residents amenable to intimidation, since the police limit attempts to establish absolute violent domination, especially when a grandiose gang attracts

press publicity by its rampages or depredations. Claims to - are marked by graffiti on the walls of property passed by the public, bearing the gang's name or acronym (Delinquent Lexicon: **stam**, **stoeka**) and flaunting criminal power; and by less common slogans and drawings flaunting phallic potency in public toilets; but outside the acknowledged neighbourhood of the gang these constitute an advertisement of existence and a ritual flaunting of presence beyond the parochial bounds of neighbourhood, rather than a serious claim to consistent rights.

terror: (1) Syn **terrible:** (2) evil-minded, brutally violent male, usually adult gangster. Syn **vuilgat**.

tette: girlfriend. Lit: tits. From kinesic gesture in which one silently signifies one's girlfriend by passing the fingers of one hand rapidly across one's chest from one breast to the other. 1986- .

themba: (Xh and Z) (v t) - **op:** depend on, rely on. Std Xh and Z: themba: depend on, rely on, trust.

'thetha: (Xh) (n or v i or v t) talk. Std Xh and Z: uthetha: (v i) talk.

three-star: see **t'ree-star**.

ticket: **min ge-** : unconcerned. Lit: little ticketed. Syn **nugget**. **min - van:** not interested in (someone). Lit: little ticket of. ? from E: traffic ticket, spot fine for traffic offence. Resp.

tickey-line: (adj) insignificant, phony (male). Respectable Lexicon: **tickey:** (n) midget, dwarf. Construed as derived from Tickey, the name of a circus clown famous in 1950s and 1960s, who was a dwarf; originally from the name of a thrupenny piece, a very small coin. S A E slang: cheap female prostitute; cheap and of inferior quality.

tief: bitch. Ref also to contemptibly spiteful, stingy or stupid heterosexual males. Similar to **naai**. Std A: teef: bitch.

tiekies optel: copulation a tergo (ref only to female or subordinate male bending over). See **dog-style**, **hondjie**, **styles**. Lit: pick up tickeys (obsolete coin, two and a half cents or thruppence).

tiemies: (Afrikaansified Ng) (1) (n) food. (2) (v i) eat. Coll Xh, Flytaal: **tamas:** food; **Thamunda:** **thimasi:** food; std Z: **tamasa:** (v i) feast, be well off; **timiti:** (n) feast, banquet. Resp.

tienaan: (adj) (1) eager, enthusiastic for further acquaintance or

collaboration. (2) forward, too familiar, too intimate. Lit: close up against. Resp.

tieng: (v i) feels very hot, scorches (ref to sun only). See **allie**.

time: (v t) monitor (someone's) perambulations to establish their significance.

timer: (E) old man. Ref to any male over forty. Hence **-s taal:** disreputable adolescent lexis of fathers and grandfathers of present generation of adolescents and young adults. Resp.

timing: (1) (adv) slowly, especially with deliberation and steadiness. (2) - !: (imperative): (take it) easy, (do it) slowly, (do it) carefully!

titles: (E) good reputation, good name (in a particular person's estimation). Sardonic. Hence - **djag:** show off to impress. Lit: chase, pursue titles.

tjaaila: (Afrikaansified Xh) (1) (v i) leave, especially leave work at - **tyd:** knocking-off time. (2) (v t) get rid of, finish off (someone). (3) (adv) dead, finished off, the end. "Is - met hom". "He's had it" (e.g., he's dead, he's trapped in fateful trouble). Std Xh: **tshaya:** (v i) smoke (tobacco); **tshayile!** time's up! stop work! (time to smoke).

tjaak: (v t) like, be attracted to (someone), usually romantically or sexually. -1980.

tjais: go, leave, depart. Prob Afrikaansified var of **tjaaila**. -1980. Also in Delinquent Lexicon.

tjallam: see **challam**.

tjap: (1) (n) tattoo. Resp. (2) (n) screw (sexually, the act or event). (3) (v t) screw (sexually). Std A: stamp (i.e., rubber stamp or its mark). Delinquent Lexicon: **stam**.

tjat: (n) face (insulting). **Hou jou - !:** Shut your face! Shut your mouth! **Jou ma se - !:** severe insult, almost as bad as **Jou ma se poes!**. Lit: Your mother's face! See **poes**. ? from E: chat. ? Java lexis.

'Tjatjies: popular abbrev of **Manentjatjies** (seldom used).

tjiemau: (? Antil Ng) money. Also in Flytaal. ? from Xh: **imali:** money. -1976.

tjoekoe: (1) dud firework. (2) impotent or infertile man who cannot

father children. (? Khoi) Resp.

tjoet: (v i and t) converse, talk with. -1976. Prob from
tjoetjoe: onomatopoeic mimicry of whispering (Respectable
Lexicon). ? from E: chat.

tjôntjie: (? Afrikaansified Ng) cheap white wine. ? from std Xh: tshona:
drown; or Z: tsho with various suffixes pertaining to swallowing, gulping,
vomiting fluids.

tjôtjie: (Afrikaansified Xh) tough guy, **outie**, usually applied to blacks.
? from std Xh: tshotsha: (v) be experienced, accomplished; tshatsha: (v) be
hostile; iyantshatsha (n) robber; ? from std Z: ntshontsha: (v t) steal.

tjwaala: (Afrikaansified Xh) (1) (n) alcohol. (2) (v i) booze. (3) (adj)
ge- : drunk. Std Xh: utywala: strong drink.

tjwaps: **ge-** : inebriated. var of above.

tjweiks: **ge-** : inebriated. var of above. 1982- .

tobacco of knowledge: dagga. Affected, humorous. Ref to heightened
consciousness of insight under influence of dagga. See **knowledge**.

to de beat: see beat.

to do: (1) (ad) fine, fixed up (of arrangement, in farewell). ? from well
to do. (2) - - **met** (iemand): involved with (someone). From nothing to do
with. 1980- .

toe: stupid. Hence **-spoek:** idiot, fool, twit. Lit: closed ghost.

toegewap, toegewaps: (w is soft, Angl) expr var of **gewap**.

toe hol: (v t) ambush. Lit: run closed. Also in Flytaal.

toekap: (v t) (1) close off from view (with blanket, curtain, shutter,
etc.). (2) lock up. Lit: chop closed. Resp.

toeslat: arrive, stick out. Lit: slam closed. 1970- .

toestoot: (v t) lay criminal charge against. Lit: push closed, i.e.,
have locked up behind cell door. Resp.

toet: (1) cunt. (2) idiot, fool. Lit: hoot (v).

toetie wawyd: legs akimbo (ref to female). Syn **oepe lóllie**. Respectable
Lexicon: **toetie:** little vulva; parents' euph for small daughter's vulva.
Lit: little hoot wide open.

toewa: (w is soft) see **twa**.

Tokai boy: present or former inmate of Tokai reformatory in Peninsula. Conn proto-outcast status in society. See **form**.

tôl: (Ngunicized A) (v i and t) be found not guilty (of criminal charge).
saak - : as previous. Lit: spin off case. Std A: **tol:** (n) spinning-top (that spins merrily and shakes off any hindrance).

tol kom: expr var of **tôl** (v i).

'Tone: (E) city centre of Cape Town and adjacent suburbs such as District Six and Bokaap (Schotsche Kloof). From Capetonian.

tong: (1) (v i and t) peep (at someone) from hiding place, usually to watch sexual activity voyeuristically. Hence **tonger:** voyeur. Lit: tongue (? of shoe; ? as organ of initial intimate sexual contact; ? from peeping Tom).
(2) (n) - in **'ie long:** French kissing, i.e., mutual stimulation of each partner's mouth by the other's tongue. Lit: tongue in the lung. See **long**. 1986- . **die - klap:** (i) speak, say. (ii) be fluent in language other than Afr or Eng, especially Bantu language. (iii) talk indiscreetly, without judgment. Lit: hit (with) the tongue.

too much!: wonderful! 1978- .

tôppie: (Afrikaansified Xhosalized E) (1) father (familiar ref used among adolescent peers). (2) elderly man (sixty and older). From Xh: **itopi:** middle-aged or elderly gentleman, from E **topi** or **topee:** the pith sun-helmet worn by Victorian and Edwardian white men, especially the middle-aged and elderly. S A E slang: **toppie:** older generation (male or female). See **tânie**.

totally: completely, utterly. Ref only to trust, attachment, affection, love. Resp.

to the T: see **T**.

tournament: (1) (n) gang bang. Syn **squad**. Also - **squad**. (2) (v t) put female or subordinate male through gang bang.

trap: (A) (v i) conduct (oneself. Ref to proceeding with or without forethought and caution). Std A: step, walk. Resp.

trap-boy: (E) man who traps or informs for the police. Resp.

trap-girl: (E) woman who traps or informs for the police. Resp.

trawl: (v i and t) inspect, prospect for information in (an area or neighbourhood). Resp.

t'ree-split: **pyp** with three Mandrax tablets instead of the usual one, shared among the smokers. See **button**, **duwwele**, **four(t)-split**, **six-split**, **two-split**.

t'ree-star: (E) pocket knife, often used as weapon. Ref to ornamental tartan pattern of cover, consisting of vertical row of three crisscrosses. Also in Flytaal.

trein steel: ride on train without paying, steal train ride. Lit: steal train.

trek: **ge-**: intoxicated, under the influence of liquor. Lit: pulled. Also in Delinquent Lexicon.

treurig: stingy, uncooperative, lousy. Std A: joyless, cheerless. Resp.

tril: (n) cock (penis). Std A: (v) vibrate, quiver, throb, shake. Becoming rare.

triple C: Municipality of Cape Town as employer. From label "C C C" (City Council of Cape Town) formerly embossed on labourer's overall. Becoming archaic. Resp.

tronktale: dialect used or originating in prison. Includes **Shalambom** (Delinquent Lexicon) and all other prison language. A subdivision of **Ou Roeker Tale**, which is construed as occurring fundamentally but not exclusively outside prison. Lit: prison-terms.

tros: **lonely -** : man who moves alone. Syn **one-out**. Lit: lonely bunch (of grapes on a vine).

true: (E) yes, **mmm**, uh-huh. 1980- .

true-true: (1) expr var of **true**. (2) (adv) genuinely, honestly, truly. Delinquent Lexicon: **verstaanbaar**. 1980- .

try: (E) (v i) (1) attempt deception, try (one's) luck. (2) be pushy socially. Hence **tryer**, **tryertjie**: one who behaves in these ways.

tupperware: (E) (n) cheap junk. - **Scheme:** low-income housing scheme in Bellville South. From brand name of plastic translucent kitchenware containers.

tur: hair, usually woolly. Derog. - **toor:** apply straightening

treatment to woolly hair. Humorous. Lit: bewitch hair. -1978.

turfie: (E) (n) detective.

twa: (Z) gun. Z: tuu: of whistling through the air; twa: of piercing easily, penetrating deeply, sinking in; (onomatopoeic). ? Flytaal. -1976.

twak: cigarettes. **pakkie** - : packet of cigarettes. Lit: tobacco. Resp.

two-feet: (v t) kick (someone's) feet out under (him, during fight).

twyfel: in 'n - : in doubt. Lit: in a doubt. Std A: in twyfel: in doubt. Resp.

tyd: (1) (i) **die - vang my:** I haven't got enough time, it's getting late. Lit: the time catches me. (ii) **die - mang my:** var of foregoing. Lit: the time cripples me. Delinquent Lexicon: **mang.** 1978- . (2) **min** (or **fokall**) - **het van** (iemand): have no time for, refuse to be interested in (someone). (3) **ek het nie - saamgebring nie:** I'm not going to tolerate beating around the bush, I'm not going to tolerate nonsense. Lit: I didn't bring time with, i.e., I've got no time to spare.

U

ugum: (pron like simulated cough) girlfriend. Revived since 1987 from old people's lexis.

uitduirie: mons veneris. Humorous. Std A: uitdui(e): indicate, point out. I.e., conspicuous bulge indicating the way to the vagina.

uitgedopte: Mandrax tablet removed from foil packing. Lit: shelled. See **button, wit.** antonym **foilie.** 1986- .

uitgenaai: (adj) (1) sated, exhausted by much sexual activity. (2) ref to promiscuous woman messed up and worn out by sexual activity with many men. See **naai.**

uitgavriet: wantonly greedy. See **gavriet.** Lit: eaten out. 1970- .

uitgie: show off, spread (one)self, hold forth arrogantly or overbearingly. Djy (hy, sy) **gie** jou (hom, haar) **uit:** You (he, she) show off. Lit: give (one)self out. 1978- .

uitgetoff, opgetoff: (AE) dressed to kill. Cockney: toff: well-dressed upper-class gent. Resp.

uitegevrek: (adj) describes a cunning loafer. Lit: bone-lazied out.

uitgevriet: see **uitgavriet**.

uitgooi: **saak** - : dismiss criminal charge in court, for lack of evidence. Lit: throw case out. Syn **saak uitskop** (see **uitskop**). Resp.

uithaal: (1) (v t) practise, enact. **gedagtes** - **op** (iemand): use seductive and/or deceitful tactics on (someone). See **gedagte**. Lit: take out. (2) - **en wys:** (i) fork up. (ii) produce your best, give of your best. Lit: take out and show. Std A: uithaal: achieve, do one's best. Resp.

uithou: (v i) frequent, hang out. Lit: hold out. Respectable Lexicon:
uitvind waar hy - : find out what his attitude is. Lit: find out where he hangs out. Resp.

uitkom: (1) - **by** (iemand): approach (someone) to discuss a matter. Lit: come out (i.e., emerge, arrive) at (place). (2) - **met** (iets): reveal, disclose, express (something). Lit: come out with (something). Resp.

uitlig: (v t) rebuke. Lit: lift out.

uitmaak: (1) understand, comprehend. ..., **djy maak uit:** ..., you understand. Common rhetorical device. Lit: make out. (2) - **van** (iemand of iets): like, appreciate (someone or something). Lit: make out of.

uitemkaar, uitemkaar uit: thoroughly (beaten up). Lit: in smithereens. Hence - - **geskeur:** beaten and stabbed to a pulp. Lit: torn to pieces. - - **ruk** (or **maak, slat**, etc.): thrash thoroughly. See **ruk**.

uitpak: (v i and t) explain, disclose. Lit: unburden, unpack. Resp.

uitskiet: go, leave, depart. Lit: shoot out. 1985- .

uitskop: (v i) (1) run away. (2) depart, leave. Uncommon usage. Lit: kick out. (2) **saak** - : kick criminal charge out of court for lack of evidence. Syn **saak uitgooi**. See **uitgooi**.

uitslat: (1) (v i) arrive, turn up. Lit: hit out. Respectable Lexicon: come out (in rash).

uitstap: (1) leave. (2) walk out (in anger). (3) - **met:** go for walk (with girl, for company and privacy). Resp.

uitsteek: see next item.

uitstiek: arrive, turn up. Conn arrangement. Lit: stick out. Resp.

uitvind(e): (1) decide or act solely on the basis of imaginary evidence. Lit: find out, discover (imaginary evidence). **Hie' vind(e) hy uit hy moet:** So he goes and Sardonic. Lit: Here he finds out (that) he must Conn contempt for stupid or offensive decision or act founded on idiotic mistake or sheer imagination. (2) **Daai kos vi' jou om uit te vinde:** You'll just have to find out for yourself. I'm not going to tell you. Lit: That costs for you to find out. Resp.

umjojo: see **blok**.

umtagat': see next item.

umthakat': (Afrikaansified Xh and Z) (1) witchcraft, malignant or protective. (2) diviner and sorcerer. Syn in Respectable Lexicon: **doekoem**. (3) protective amulet worn to ward off ill fortune and malignant witchcraft. Syn in Respectable Lexicon: **bolletjie**. See **bol:** **sy bol rol**. Std Xh: **umthakathi:** witch, std Z: **umthakathi:** witchcraft.

V

vaak: dumb, stupid. Lit: sleepy. 1986- .

vaal: (iemand) - **stiek:** stab (someone) bloodless. Lit: stab (someone) grey.

vang: (1) (v i) understand, comprehend, catch on., **djy - :**, you understand. Rhetorical. (2) (v t) get hold of. **dite vang:** get (or make) a meal. Lit: catch a meal. See **dite**. (3) (v t) intercept, catch (someone on their way). (4) (v t) rape (a girl walking alone). Euph. (5) (v t) catch out. Also in Respectable Lexicon. Std A: catch.

varkoor: - **gooi:** eavesdrop. Lit: project pig-ear (pig is ostensibly self-absorbed and lazy, not to be suspected of watchfulness).

vas: 'Is - !: (1) it's fine, fixed up (of arrangement, in farewell). (2) it's definitely been arranged, finalized. Lit: it's fast, i.e., firm.

vasabbas: expr var of **vas**. Abbas: Muslim male forename.

vasbrand: stay put, stay where one is. Std A: seize up, jam. Syn **vaskap**, **vasstiek**.

vasdruk: (v t) (1) catch and thrash. (2) catch and pet with (girl).

(3) hike up with (girl at dance). Lit: squeeze tight.

vashak: stand fast. Hence **Hak vas!:** Stand fast!: instruction by gang member to peers in gang fight. Std A: vashaak: stick, clasp, grapple.

vaskap: (1) (v i) stay put. Lit: knock firm, fast. Syns **vasbrand**, **vasstiek**. (2) (v t) handcuff.

vaskyk: see **kyk**.

vassteek: see next item.

vasstiek: stay put. Lit: stick fast. Syns **vasbrand**, **vaskap**.

vaste: (adj) unbroken (coin or banknote of specified value, as opposed to several coins and/or banknotes totalling same sum). Lit: fast. Antonym **losse**. Resp.

vat: (v t) attack with physical violence. Lit: take (by storm).

vat dit so: **Ek** (of **ons**) - - - : I (or we) think so. Lit: take it so.

Vat jou figure weg: (A E A) Buzz off, remove yourself. Lit: Take your figure away.

vat vyf, vat my vyf: shake my hand (usually after quarrel). Lit: take five, take my five.

verby: (v i) go, leave depart. Std A: (adj) past. 1972- .

Verder, hoe?: whims friendly greeting and enquiry to acquaintance or friend. Lit: Further, how? I.e., how are you?

verkoop: (iemand) - : betray (someone) for one's own benefit. Lit: sell.

verkoop: see previous item.

versak: withdraw, retreat. Std A: subside, sag, crumple.

verswaai: expr var of **swaai**.

vetterig: (adv) very much, very well. Std A: (adj) fatty, greasy.

vibe: in 'n - : well under the weather, considerably drunk. 1980- .

vieslik: disgusting, horrible. Ironic. Hence **-e wa:** horribly huge penis.
- met 'n yster: horribly good with a gun. Std A: filthy, disgusting.
Similar to **lielike**.

Vim: (E) **Jou ding is - :** Your ploy will fail. usually ref to advance to girl. Lit: Your thing is Vim. Ref to brand name of detergent scouring powder in cylinder with holes at the top (? phallic), but significance unknown among informants; possibly from advertisement rhetoric.

vinger: quantity of cannabis (dagga) sufficient for a **stop**. See **arm, baal, groen, hand, parcel**.

vingertjie: (n and v t) practice of digital stimulation or masturbation of vagina. Lit: little finger.

vinyl top: bald pate. Humorous ref to car roof. Resp. 1980- .

virgin: **Djy (hy, sy) hou jou (hom, haar) soos 'n - :** You (he, she) act innocent and naive. Lit: you act like a virgin.

vis: nubile girl. Lit: fish.

vis, vissies: - **vang by** (iemand): try to pry information out of (someone), fish. Lit: catch fish by (someone). Std A: **visenteer:** frisk; std E: fish: try to pry out information without actually asking.

vlag: (1) **die rooi - waai:** see **rooi**. (2) **sy - (or vlaggie) sak:** (i) lose erection of penis, cannot obtain erection. (ii) withdraw in helplessness or fear of humiliation. Lit: his flag sinks.

vlam: abbrev of **blouvlam:** methylated spirits as beverage.

vlottaal: mainly Afrikaans lexis and discourse of working-class Capetonian coloureds when used as **wheatie** -- nimble and charming rhetoric, as contrasted with putatively stodgy and pompous middle-class language. Includes Respectable, Disreputable and Delinquent Lexicons only. Term was popular in District Six. Lit: fluent- (or smooth- or accomplished-) language. Resp. -1970.

voel: (iemand) - : sound (someone) out. Lit: feel (someone).

voetsek: - **is poeslek, omdraai is holnaai:** rhyming retort to girl who says "voetsek" (buzz off) to boy's advances. Lit: buzz off is cunt-lick, turn around is arse-screw; i.e., I'll excite and degrade you sexually if I get the chance.

voete: **doppe loop op - :** liquor flows like water. Lit: tots walk on feet. 1978- .

vol: **is - :** (1) has absorbed, is informed, enlightened. Lit: is full.
Maak my - : Fill me in, tell me, enlighten me. Lit: Make me full.

Antonym **leeg**: (Delinquent Lexicon) ref to knowledge of secrets of, and therefore membership of numbered prison gangs. **Ek is nie vol nie**: I don't know (about it). Lit: I am not full. (2) be knowledgeable about and pleased and impressed with, like very much (person, thing or proposition). **Raak** - : take note, be impressed, show respect, become enlightened. (Often gang graffito. E.g., MGs **raak** - : take note, show respect, the Mongrels are around.) **Ek raak 'ie - nie**: I'm not impressed. (3) be fed up with, have enough of. **Ek is - van die ding**: Lit: I'm full of the thing. Conn absorbing or stomaching something pleasant and impressive, or the converse: I'm sick and tired (of you and your problem). Coll A: **gatvol**: fed up to the teeth, sick and tired. Lit: arse-full. - translation from **gcwala** (Delinquent Lexicon, from Prison). Delinquent Lexicon: **bene, wys**. 1978- .

volkies: corner boys, guys. Lit: little folk (diminutive conn preciousity).

vollende: (adj) genuine, authentic. Lit: fulling.

voom: (E) car. Onomatopoeic repetition of engine revving. Also in Flytaal.

voomgears: (E) expr var of **voom**.

vrek: epithet indicating the features of decrepitude. - **oud**: extremely old. - **lielik**: extremely ugly. Lit: dead (applicable to animals and plants only).

vrete: see next item.

vriete: (1) food. (2) slut. From std A: (v i and t) eat, guzzle (ref to animals only).

vrot: (1) (iemand) - **stiek**: stab (someone) all over, full of holes. Lit: stab (someone) rotten. (2) (iemand se) **kop - praat**: distract or persuade (someone). Lit: talk (someone's) head rotten. Used pejoratively.

vrotmeid: vulgar, derog ref to someone's woman. Lit: rotten menial woman. Syn **stinkmeid**. See **meid**. 1984- .

vrotvleis: (1) vagina. Syn **stinkvleis**. (2) chronically infected, suppurating sores and ulcers. Lit: rot(ten) flesh. (1) since 1984- .

vry: die - lewe: life outside prison. Lit: the free life. Syns **jikwan, mzuwana** (both in Delinquent Lexicon). Very similar to **die - natuur**:

normal heterosexual life outside prison. Conn contrast with homosexuality due to unavailability of women inside prison. Lit: the free nature. - **spring**: be found not guilty on criminal charge. Lit: jump free. Syn - **kom** (Respectable Lexicon).

vuil: lit: dirty, filthy. Conn association of filth with malignant rebellion against the cosmically ordained social order, in the forms of promiscuity, corruption, immorality, anti-Christian sin, anti-Islamic rebellion, malignance, treachery, evil power and magic. Ambivalence about personal and environmental hygiene and care, cleanliness and order is extremely common among disreputables and delinquents, most of whose jokes are anal. A modicum of personal dirt, e.g., dirty nails and malodorous feet, and environmental filth or at least neglect and disorder is construed by many disreputables and delinquents as honourable, both grandiose and modest, marking manliness (men mess, women clean up), rebellion against orderly (oppressively white, middle-class) respectability and sanctimonious snobbery, and authentic Natural black working-class identity (extending optionally in the form of ostentatious middle-class poverty signified by neglect of maintenance of buildings, cars, etc., to Third World ideological rejection of materialistic, bourgeois First World identity). Delinquent facial tattooing is termed **-gesig** or **-gavriet**: filthy-faced; and many delinquents and disreputables allow themselves to suffer needlessly for years from tinea versicolor, a fungal, itchy, patchy depigmentation of the face, neck, arms and torso. Some delinquents allow untreated ulcers and even deep, gaping intramuscular stab wounds to fester for months until they eventually heal, leaving deep, extensive scarring. On the other hand dirt and disorder are also construed as shameful, disreputable signs of generalized religio-aesthetic demoralization, destructiveness and passivity under conditions of deprivation; of malignant spoiling of the environment for others, and corruption of their identity by association. Hence **vuiligheid**: metaphor for promiscuous adultery as vehicle of corruption of both the health (through infectious venereal disease) and honour of the adulterer's family; lit: filthiness (Respectable Lexicon); **stinkmeid** and **vrotmeid**: contemptuous terms for sluttish girlfriend; lit: stink-girl and rot(ten)-girl, **stinkvleis** and **vrotvleis**: contemptuous terms for vagina: lit: stink-flesh and rot(ten)-flesh. (1) suffering from venereal disease (**vuilsiek**: std A: venereal disease). (2) brazenly unscrupulous and corrupt. Hence - **pluck** (see **pluck**) and **vuilgat**. (3) protected from harm (including punishment for crime) or causing harm to someone by obtaining the magical assistance of a witch (**doekoem**; **Java** and **Respectable Lexicons**). Hence - **loep**: operate under magical protection of **doekoem**. Lit: walk

filthy. Also in Delinquent Lexicon. Delinquent Lexicon: **skoon**. Resp.

vuilgat: (1) (n or adj) filthily treacherous, unscrupulous or malignantly violent (person). (2) (adj) filthy, malodorous, perhaps diseased (of promiscuous woman only, conn ref to genitals). Lit: filthy-hole.

vuilgavriet: see **vuil**.

vuilgesig: see **vuil**.

vy: (1) mons veneris, vagina. (2) woman (for sexual purposes only). Syns **putty, uitduirie**. Lit: fig (succulent, soft, bulging).

vyf-ster: (1) policeman. (2) police station. Lit: five-star. 1984- , since television series of romantic fictional episodes of that name about South African Police, who have copied badge with five-pointed star from American law enforcement officers.

W

wa: (1) penis. Conn large size. (2) **groot** - : five-litre (gallon) wine flagon. Std A: wagon, van, truck. Lit: big wagon.

waai: go, leave, depart. Lit: blow.

waentjie: train. Lit: little wagon. 1980- .

wakes, wakey: (E) (1) alert. (2) smart, intellectually sharp. Resp.

wake-up: var of previous item. Resp.

wakker skrik: begin to take impending trouble seriously. Conn previous inattention or heedlessness. Used far more commonly than in std E and A. From Respectable Lexicon: wake up. Lit: awaken with a start. Resp.

walking-tall: long, heavy pick-handle stave used in combat. From film title. 1973-78. Resp.

wanted: hiding from and wanted by police or enemy gang, or even when in parents' bad books. Resp.

warm: (A) (iemand) - **maak:** (1) beat (someone) up. 1985- . (2) screw (someone) (sexually). 1985- . Lit: heat (someone) up.

wat: (1) abbrev var of **wat-wat**. (2) **en** - : and so on, and whatever. Lit: and what. Syn **en enige ding** (see **ding**). (3) **die ... - hy het:** dramatic ref to attribute of another. Lit: the ... that he has. "Die

draad - wat hy het! My **broer!**" "The influence and privilege that he has! My brother!"

waterbal: - **het:** be sexually impotent or infertile (of male only). Lit: has waterball, i.e., reproductive gland that produces watery fluid and not semen. See **bicycle pump**. (In Respectable Lexicon, **saad** [seed] refers to the existence or substance of semen as such, but **water** [water] to the emission occurring on orgasm [**water breek:** water breaks], male or female. It is widely believed that females have an emission of fluid on orgasm. **Waterbal**, then, contrasts with **saad**, and conn its internal absence.)

wat-wat: (n) (1) whims term ref to anything. (2) copulation (the act or event, among humans only). Lit: what-what. Euph. 1978- .

wave: (E) leave, depart. From wave goodbye.

way: 'n - **maak:** arrange, make a plan. Lit: make a way. Resp.

weak: ineffectual, lacking will-power, overly sensitive and easily upset (ref to male).

weatie: see **wheatie**.

weed: (E) dagga. Becoming rare. Also in Flytaal.

wegvat: **vat jou weg:** buzz off, remove yourself. Lit: take yourself away.

werk: (1) (v t) work over thoroughly (usually in sexual intercourse or violence). (2) (v i) work out, resolve successfully. Hence 'It -, 'Is -, 'Is kan - : it will work out, it will be successful. Abbrev of std A: uitwerk: work out. (3) - **op:** irritate. Hence - **op** (iemand se) **nerves:** play on (someone's) nerves. - **op my moer:** exasperating me, making me extremely angry. Lit: work on my dugs. **My moer - vir** (iemand): (someone's) making me boil, I've had a bellyful of (someone). See **moer**. Lit: my dugs are working for (someone). Also in Delinquent Lexicon.

weskant: - **kyk:** (1) go in for adultery. (2) be bisexual (ref to male). Lit: pursue both sides, i.e., (1) have sex inside and outside marriage; (2) with both females and males, female from the front, male from the rear. Syn **alkant kyk**. Delinquent Lexicon: **kyk**. - **blank:** (A A) drawing a blank. From name of blank domino. **weskant:** both sides (Respectable Lexicon); std A: weerskante.

wet: **die - :** the police. Lit: the law.

wetslaner: person in authority, who lays down rules and gives orders.

Lit: law-slammer i.e., person who lays down the law and forcefully imposes it.

whack: (1) (v i) leave, depart. (2) (n) money. (3) (n) large sum of money. Coll E: whack: high income, decent share of income.

whack-whack: (v i) jabber, cackle. Onomatopoeic with sound of quacking or clucking flows. Resp.

what kind: (E E from Ng E) (1) - - ?: What's the matter? What's going on? Can also be used as belligerent challenge: What's the matter? Who the hell are you staring at? Is therefore occasionally found as nickname and/or tattoo on forehead of gangsters. (2) what's the matter, what the matter is. „Ek wiet 'ie - - by daai **burg** 'ie." "I don't know what the matter is with that guy." Lit: I don't know what kind by that guy. Also in Flytaal. Ng E: of what kind is, what is the matter (interrogative).

what you have (and what you got): whims, vaguely witty allusion to anything: and so on. Sometimes used to conceal meaning from third party. 1970- . Std E: what-have-you: conn general range of possibilities.

wheatie, wheaties: (Angl Ng) (1) (v i and t) speak, say, converse, discuss, talk. (2) (v i) speak up and persuade. (3) (n) news, talk. (4) (n) admirably effectual oratorical rhetoric, creative discourse, both verbal and nonverbal, successfully, stylishly displaying the self, influencing the respondent. (5) (v i) to discourse thus. (6) (v i and n) special synthesis of the foregoing, conn the expr talk of an **ou**, which delights and impresses by virtue of its fluency, vivacity, wit, intelligence and oratorical power to move the listener (whether in his own dialect or one familiar to him); the gift of the gab in dramatic, seductive, poetic discourse. Success with women is often attributed to the ability to - , and failure to inarticulateness because one is shy, clumsy or brutal. (Some impoverished young men turn heavily to drink or drugs or dabble in homosexuality because they are too shy to **wheatie** with women, and are tortured by sexual frustration, humiliation and loneliness.) The ability to **wheatie** among peers affords popularity and perhaps prestige; one who has nothing more than this ability (e.g., cannot fight, is ugly, skinny and scruffy, too poor for material generosity to peers, therefore tending also to be unsuccessful with the most attractive women, etc.) is very welcome for his capacity to entertain and communicate the experience of less articulate peers, and, if he is modest and unassuming, may be treated even with affection and remission from taunting, like a divinely favoured,

beloved child, an innocent oracle of the voiceless. In prison one among a bored group of friends may suggest that the group **howl** (console and divert themselves with lively, interesting, entertaining discourse; Prison Lexicon), and a man known for talent in - may be asked by a bored, depressed friend to **vat my weg** (take me away; Prison Lexicon) with a narrative of a film seen or drama witnessed. "Die ou se - is **dangerous, dangerous my broer!**" "The guy's talk is marvellous, marvellous my brother!" "Hy **rol** (or **ry**) **met hulle!**" "He rolls them off!" (Prison Lexicon). The working-class dialect, and particularly the creative articulateness of disreputable adolescents, is subjectively construed as religiously and aesthetically precious by all but the scrupulously respectable, affirming the vitality and integrity of the stigmatized and subordinated -- numinous rebels against the cosmic order that decrees subordination, deprivation and suffering deserved in the social order -- because of construed flaws in communal identity:

"Time that is intolerant
Of the brave and innocent,
And indifferent in a week
To a beautiful physique,

Worships language and forgives
Everyone by whom it lives;
Pardons cowardice, conceit,
Lays its honours at their feet."

(Auden [1939]: In Memory of W.B. Yeats.)

Disreputable **wheatie** always ambivalently mocks the code of respectability by hint and allusion, even if mockery is absent in the semantics. For a highly successful, lyrical, calculatedly outrageous example of academic antilinguistic **wheatie** see Mfenyana (1981, in Mutloase [ed] [1981: 294-302]) claiming that Flytaal is a westernised Black linguistic art, "Isjita-Scamto", which descends partly, via African languages, from Arabic, Chinese and other Middle- and Far-Eastern languages, including "the Shumirian language which flourished in Mesopotamia-Iran as early as 50,000 B.C." (p. 296); advocates the inception of a linguistics course, "Slang 1" at university (p. 298); and hints that "Isjita-Scamto" has evolved by the rule of "Stoop to conquer, that's the secret!" -- stooping to raid and conquer the conquerors' languages (p. 298). Makhudu (1980), an Honours project in applied linguistics, is a more pedestrian instance of academic **wheatie**, also pertaining to Flytaal; Pinnock's (1984a) ostensibly academic book on

working-class coloured delinquent gangs in Cape Town is another instance, agitprop ambiguous in content and style between social science and slangy journalese, containing much hyperbole and many factual inaccuracies. - is very similar to Afro-American "rapping". ? from std Xh and Z: wi: of grunting, of flowing; -thi: say, mean, intend; uthetha: talk. Also in Flytaal, Thamunda. ? from Pris. See **vlottaal**.

whitey: (1) white man (usually ref to individual[s]) only); conn impersonal mythic typification and familiarity, contempt or loathing. (2) fair-skinned coloured person, usually male. Common nickname for such person.

whole night: - - hou: keep on the go with hedonistic activities all night. Usually ref to dance, party or sexual activity. Lit: keep (or hold) whole night.

wieletjies: - onder sit: run very fast. Lit: put little wheels under.

wietie: see **wheatie**.

wikkel: (1) (v i) go, leave, depart. Std A: get a move on, skedaddle. (2) (n) police van. ? also from E vehicle.

wild: (A) wild-eyed, manically aggressive and viciously brutal. (Respectable Lexicon: manically excited, impulsive and clumsy.)

wim: see **Vim**.

wind: teen die - : obstructive, difficult (ref to person). Lit: against the wind. Resp. **haar - uitskop:** make her pregnant. Lit: kick her wind out (of her), i.e., boot a baby into her abdomen, filling it. **die - het:** have the courage, toughness, determination. Lit: have the wind, i.e., stamina.

winddrunk: moderately drunk, merely swaying as if buffeted by a wind rather than flattened by a storm. Lit: wind-drunk. Resp.

winery: (E) boozier, alcoholic.

wine-swine: boozier, alcoholic, conn daily drunkenness. Becoming archaic.

winkel-tjappie: tattoo professionally done in tattoo shop, as opposed to amateur tattoos signifying delinquent identity. Lit: shop-tattoo. Resp.

wisie: (E) smart fellow, shrewdie. From wise guy.

wit: (1) Mandrax (Quaalude in the USA; methaqualone), a euphoriant

hypnotic sedative tablet for depressive insomnia, introduced pharmaceutically in 1965 and banned in 1977 after widespread misuse and the development of a large illicit trade. The tablet may be swallowed (see **pop**) but usually it is crushed and mixed with dried and crushed cannabis leaves (**dagga**) and cigarette tobacco for ritual smoking in disreputable and delinquent male communities (see **pyp**), and induces euphoric torpor or stupor within seconds, enhancing disinhibition and sexual arousal provided that one fights off the tendency to fall asleep. Heavy chronic dependence results in general ill-health, emaciation, respiratory damage, anorexia, nausea, impotence and other organic impairment; and chronic heavy smokers look unhealthy and can readily be distinguished by deep phlegm-ridden cough, pallor, dull skin and eyes with inflamed conjunctiva, and some degree of muscular wasting, as well as the stains of tobacco and dagga tar on the palms. In the speech community Mandrax became the only popular drug other than dagga and alcohol, and by 1980 had very largely replaced the smoking of dagga alone (see **groen**), which had become construed as too mild by comparison. The profits of a retail price up to eighty times the nett wholesale price have made it the preferred means of extremely rapid if risky acquisition of large-scale capital by many working-class entrepreneurs who are either members of gangs or employ them as **guards** (Delinquent Lexicon). Over five years (as at 1987) highly successful **merchants** may acquire well over a hundred thousand rand, depending on frugality, commercial acumen and abstinence from smoking their stock (many are themselves very heavily dependent on the drug). Canny dealers use the capital for lawful business, especially the acquisition of residential property, and are highly ambitious for upward social mobility, but attempt to avoid banking the profits for fear of providing evidence of taxation, and may keep large amounts of cash at home. The trade can corrupt policemen and become extremely violent, leading to feuds between gangs and the torture and murder of enemies. One well-known dealer ended up a millionaire with a farm, racehorses and substantial residential property before lengthy imprisonment for murder and drug-dealing; his wife then divorced him and married another well-known dealer who was murdered to end his own ambitious violence against smaller dealers; the killer received life imprisonment and his two companions lengthy terms. In mid-1987 large numbers of adolescent and young adult male smokers suddenly reverted to smoking dagga only, allegedly on the grounds of high price and damage to health. However, on occasion the price had previously been higher, income lower and unemployment more widespread; and grounds existed to suspect the reversal as a reflection largely of change in political consciousness,

since it was accompanied by a decrease in disreputable public behaviour and dress, and an increase in hostility towards whites. The trend has since developed into a public campaign by Muslims for observance of Islam and against drug-taking and -dealing in their neighbourhoods and community. (2) mixture of Mandrax and dagga, contrasted with dagga only (**groen**). Syns **Barry White**, **button**, **knopie**, **M. X.**, **pil**. See **pyp**, **tjallam**. See also **cream**, **cremora**, **duwele**, **Ewing**, **foillie**, **four(t)-split**, **original**, **six-split**, **t'ree-split**, **two-split**, **uitgedopte**; and in Delinquent Lexicon: **drunken monkey**, **German**, **gholfstok(kie)**, **graveyard**, **hot cross bun**, **kunyathi**, **lizard**, **ninja**, **no-name**, **one-sider**, **press-out**, **rollerskate**, **strawberry**, **two-sider**, **waxie**, **XR3**. 1976- . (3) **Hou 'it in, is -** : Lit: Keep it in, it's white. Whims banter. (i) originally implying that one should save one's strength by refraining from sex, alternatively prolong erotic vitality and gratification during sex by delaying orgasm (ref to retaining semen); (ii) hinted advice to keep quiet, not disclose a secret; (iii) subsequently (1976-) banter alluding to the retention of the smoke from Mandrax and dagga in one's lungs as long as possible for maximal psychoactive effect. Lit: white.

witgat: abusive term for white person. Lit: white-arse, one "who thinks his shit doesn't stink". See **swartgat**.

wolf: 'Is lank wat die - **koil**: see **koil**.

worl(d): amazing, marvellous, wonderful. -1970.

word: (A) **Laat dit - !**: Let's get started! Lit: Let it become, let it happen! Resp.

worries: (E) **jou laaste -** : girlfriend or spouse and children; family responsibilities. Lit: your last worries. Ambiguous: the responsibilities, burdens and restrictions that remain to the very last, preferably the last thing on one's mind.

worry: **Ek sal nie - nie**: I shan't bother (thank you). Polite refusal. From E syns **bother** and **worry**. Also in Respectable Lexicon.

worsielippe: thick, dark negroid lips. Derog. Lit: sausage-lips. Syn **lucky lips** but with opposite valence.

'wus: abbrev of **bewus**.

wynkop: alcoholic. Syns **winery**, **wine-swine**. See **buttonkop**. Lit: wine-head. Resp.

wys: (adj) (1) (iemand) - **maak:** (i) inform, fill in, enlighten, demonstrate with deeds. (ii) demonstrate loyalty or generosity, or keep promise by gratifying (someone) with gift, desirable experience, etc. Lit: make (someone) wise; or make (someone) show. Conn making wise by enlightening through verbal explanation or demonstration in action. (2) - : abbrev of - **maak:** inform, tell, fill in. (3) **is -** : knows, has been shown, is acquainted. Lit: wise; also conn (having been) show(n) (v i). (4) **-raak:** take serious note. **-raak van** (iemand): take (someone) seriously, show respect to (someone). Hence common delinquent gang graffiti outside the gang's territory: e.g., MGs **Raak Wys**; i.e., We, The Mongrels Are Around; Take Note; Show Respect. Lit: become wise, become wise about (someone). From Prison through Delinquent Lexicons. 1976- . (5) see **uithaal:** **uithaal en -** .

X

Y

yak: (A) (v i) dress well. Syns **drape, slaan, zloep**.

yakkie: (A) foreign merchant sailor visiting Cape Town. Usually ref to capacity as prostitute's client, suitable victim for exploitation or robbery, or as tough knife-fighter. ? originally from American sailor: Yankee; ? onomatopoeic with sound of Chinese, Japanese or Korean language to Occidental ears.

Yap: see **Jap**.

Yoh!: (Xh) expletive indicating amazement.

yster: (1) penis. (2) exceptionally fierce, tough, durable fighter. Lit: iron. Also in Delinquent Lexicon.

Yusteday!: (E) expletive indicating amazement. ? from yesterday.

ywe: (v i and t) screw (sexually). Std A: **uiwe:** archaic form of **uie:** (n) onions.

Z

zak: (A) money. ? Ng.

zaltie(s): (? Afrikaansified Ng) (1) dead. Syn **sat**. (2) none. Becoming archaic. ? from std Xh and Z: **zala:** ashes, dumping ground for

garbage; conn consummation, completion, fulfilment, finality. In Flytaal.

zela: (1) - **kap:** go dancing. From Flytaal: formerly popular dance. 1982- . (2) go, leave, depart. 1985- .

zieng: (1) (v t) move very rapidly. - **jou lyf:** move your arse. Lit: move your body. (2) (v i) leave, depart. ? from cartoons and comic books, in which the word "zing" denotes whizzing movement or impact. (3) guitar. **Hie' slat ek die - :** I say what is to happen here, I control things here. Lit: I hit the guitar here. ? from popular song: "Zing go the strings of my heart". See **beat, pengha-pengha.** -1976.

ziep: - **gooi:** keep quiet, keep a secret. Lit: throw zip. See **gooi.**

zla: (? Afrikaansified Xh) home. ? from std Xh: ili-ntla: the back part of a hut, the master's place; dladla: granary. Flytaal: dla.

zloep: dress well. Syns **drape, slaan, yak.**

zoegha: see **zuga.**

zoek: (1) small packet of dagga, **stop.** Esoteric word used in presence of uninitiated outsider. Flytaal: zoek: cigarette. (2) dagga.

zol: (1) dagga cigarette. Syn **pil.** (2) penis. Humorous.

zônkiya: (Afrikaansified Xh and Z) all, to the last man. Std Xh and Z: zonke: (adj) all.

zoot: (v t) (E) (1) narrow the pipes of trousers. From American style in 1950s: zoot-suit, with very narrow trousers. (2) give less than due, short-change. -1970.

zorroes: (E) black gymnastic shoes, black tackies with high ankles popular in late 1970s. Resp. From film hero Zorro. Becoming archaic.

zuga: (Z) sixpence, five cents. Std Z: zuga: sixpence. ? Pris. -1976.

Zulu blues: (Hy het die) - - : He's drugged (or drunk). Lit: He's got the Zulu blues.

CHAPTER EIGHT

DATA AND EXEGESIS: THE LEXICON

8.0 Introduction

This chapter examines and interprets major instances (as defined) of overlexicalization in the Disreputable Lexicon, in terms of the antilinguistic model and the focal concerns of speakers. It concludes with observations on the scope and limits of antilanguage in the Disreputable Lexicon in particular and the dialect in general.

8.1 The Overlexicalization of Focal Concerns

8.10 Introduction

This section interprets overlexicalization in terms of interaction between denoted focal concerns, the meanings of the metaphors in terms of which the concerns are overlexicalized, and the socio-political position of the speech community. The crucial questions addressed in the exegesis of overlexicalization are:

- (i) (8.120) why overlexicalize particular semantic fields?;
- (ii) (8.121) what does overlexicalization signify in terms of linguistic code and communal identity?

Overlexicalization is a complex phenomenon. Lexical items of identical denotation may vary considerably in dialectal region, speech community, age-set, connotation, register, style, degree of archaism, etc. The phenomenon of considerable numbers of items of contemporaneous identical denotation within a speech community usually reflects specialized connotative differentiation of complexities of the reality (semantic field) of an important focal concern in the community's culture.

However, it is heuristically useful to distinguish clearly between the denotative (objective) and connotative (subjective) aspects of overlexicalized lexis, and to address each in its own right as well as the interrelations between the two. And since this section addresses the overlexicalization of focal concerns as a pragmatic rather than a syntactic phenomenon, it can be appropriate and useful to ignore such relatively minor denotative differences as transitivity and intransitivity in verbs

referring to the enaction of a focal concern.

There is a further distinction to be made. In the research lexicon all the overlexicalized items pertaining to a particular focal concern share the same pragmatic connotations, even though they differ in the purely semantic.

For example, in the focal concern of masculine gender identity enacted in copulation, the verbs "rattle", "pump", "saw", "eat" and "drink" reflect two categories of action: oscillation (the first three) and oral ingestion. The series of forty-four lexical items for copulation can be classified into the categories of oscillation, oral ingestion, collision, (phallic) penetration, friction, inflammation, processing, mortification and (in one case) wettening. In turn all these categories can be summarized as connoting masculine, masterful, impersonal technique in mechanically processing a passive person as a thing.

In all cases, then, the same pragmatic connotations are condensed with the various overlexicalizing denotations of each focal concern.

These distinctions are especially applicable to the usage of overlexicalizing items in the research lexicon, in which (see 8.121) there is a ubiquitous tendency to use them interchangeably in lexical play (to the extent that some items are merely English translations of Afrikaans items) in which overlexicalization itself is of major significance to speakers, and irrespective of purely semantic differences between them in connotation. (All of the six informants questioned about overlexicalization were thoroughly conscious of it and entertained by it. In response to questions about overlexicalization of focal concerns, such as "what other words or expressions are there for 'screw'?" [translation], they casually reeled off a large variety of well-known lexical equivalents without the slightest remarking of purely semantic connotative differences. Even though the dialect was sometimes ostended as an object in peer-group discussion, and extensively so in my interviews with informants, throughout the entire period of research I have no recollection of ever hearing a purely semantic connotation of an overlexicalized item objectified in explication, except by my fictive brother and one other longstanding informant, well experienced in discussion of the research, during the course of interviews to standardize items -- and then their response tended to be brief. Such objectification constituted translation to an outsider or middle-class, academic discourse only. For the rest, the only attention paid to purely semantic connotations occurred when the pithy or poignant

wit of a previously unknown or unconsidered item elicited amusement. Both the dialect and its speakers' individuality are after all, heavily if ambivalently stigmatized, and to that extent tend to remain subjectified in folk myth.)

The semantic variations, then, are not used objectively to ostend different realities but constitute play with words and meanings in terms of well-defined themes.

An apt, culturally congruent metaphor, a mellifluous or comical neologism, are always appreciated as entertaining, artistic markers of *communitas*. Respondents admire the speaker's skills therein and warm to him. (I have often had the *communitas*'s ritual double handshake silently but joyfully proffered to me in congratulation by disreputable strangers weighing every word spoken by a middle-class, English-dominant white anomalously performing with passable competence in their style of lexico-semantic art and wit when I have not construed my discourse as mere humour and not as performance at all; but the ability to play in their style signifies mastery of their sociolinguistic code of play and therefore eligibility for admission.) Lexical play with a particular meaning may itself may become ritualized. Speakers may whimsically compose their own transient overlexicalizations in innovative metaphor or nonsensical neologism for a heavily overlexicalized meaning. I have repeatedly experimented with this manoeuvre and almost always found that respondents quickly recognize the meaning not only -- or even -- from its semantic context but by the ritual play itself. The ritual play, and respondents' success in identifying the manoeuvre and solving the semantic puzzle, usually evoke a grin. Standard overlexicalizations unknown to particular respondents are similarly interpreted.

The term overlexicalization is accordingly used here to refer to contemporaneous lexical items in a dialect which all denote the same focal concern with the same pragmatic connotation and are used in a single register, and in which any differences in the age of items are either unknown or construed as insignificant in all aspects of usage except communal lexicogrammatical code (disreputable, delinquent or outcast) and style(s) of discourse (e.g., the present adolescent generation's, in the tradition of the paternal generation, exotic, euphemistic, violent, humorous).

In terms of antilanguage, overlexicalization may be defined as the creation and/or usage of lexical items identical or virtually identical in

denotation of focal concern and identical in pragmatic connotation beyond the point of redundancy in these respects. Creation and usage occur in terms of two codal rules: the antilinguistic rule of negation of, and substitution for, referent lexis and/or meaning; and a rule of denotative, pragmatically connotative and antilinguistic redundancy: beyond any one of the interchangeable lexical items, the overlexicalizing series is redundant in signifying the focal concern, the pragmatic connotations and antilinguistic negation and substitution. Overlexicalization may be summarized as semantic variation on a pragmatic theme beyond the point of pragmatic redundancy.

The series is of course less redundant in metaphorically signifying various facets of both the semantic field and the pragmatic connotation, although it is arguable that some redundancy occurs at this level of construction as well: e.g., "saw", "scrub" and "pump"; "jump", "push" and "knock over" for active masculine copulation.

Operationally, overlexicalization is defined here as a minimum of six to seven items. This lower limit and its specification as a marginal range are proposed on five grounds:

- (i) considerations of length (casual inspection of the research lexicon very strongly suggests that the number of meanings with from six to one denotative synonyms increases in inverse proportion to the number of synonyms per meaning: there are far more denotative meanings with one synonym than with six);
- (ii) since it cannot be shown that all the lexis used in a particular communal code during the research period has been collected, caution is appropriate in the absence of a demonstrated total representation of all items;
- (iii) especially since a small number of denotative equivalents in a relatively large speech community may merely constitute discrete, autonomous instances of relexicalization in several speech sub-communities which are unconnected in networks of voluntary, face-to-face association and unacquainted with, or do not use other relexicalizations of the same meaning; in which case the construed aim is not redundancy and the series does not constitute overlexicalization;
- (iv) confinement to clear cases illustrating the hypotheses proposed below;
- (v) ethnographic experience of speakers' idiolectic usage: within the marginal range and below, speakers become more likely to use a synonym as

the only lexical item in their idiolect of usage, and not as one of a range of options. This is a trend rather than a rule. An exception is the verb "to arrive, turn up", in which two of the four items, **uitslat** (hit out) and **uitstiek** (stick out) are used interchangeably by many speakers.

(A useful test of overlexicalization in usage is to ask a speaker to repeat himself, which very often elicits a synonym of an overlexicalized meaning.)

For these reasons, numerical inspection of the overlexicalizations listed below suggests that it is useful to divide the data into:

- (a) clear cases: eight items or more;
- (b) marginal cases: six to seven items.

All overlexicalizations of six or more synonyms in the Disreputable Lexicon of **ou roeker tale** follow. Purely phonetic variants with no phonemic abbreviation or lengthening of the referent item (e.g., **smeghas** from **smackers**: money) are excluded. If the mostly commonly used item (key item) is in the research lexicon it is entered and underlined. In some cases the key item is in middle-class or colloquial Afrikaans or English, and is not entered.

Verbs should be assumed to be intransitive except where indicated by "(v t)". Translation is added only where necessary. Lexical, socio-semantic and psychosocial comment is added in explication where pertinent.

8.11 Data and Comment

SCREW (SEXUALLY) (v i and/or v t) 44 items.

apple: (v t) possibly connotes noisy penetrating and devouring woman as if succulent fruit. Speakers explicate with reference to the Biblical forbidden fruit of the Tree of Knowledge, which Eve was tempted to taste by the mischievous phallic snake.

(haar) **bak dowwel**: work her container with rhythmic vitality.

djoelheid: (v t) work (over).

drink (A) (v t) drink.

druk: (v t) press, squeeze.

een ding maak met (haar): do one thing with (her).

gaan: (v t) go.

gooi: (v t) throw.

grease (v t).

iet: (v t) eat.

jump: translation of **spring** (below).

kap vat: take a chop.
 (my) **kierie bère:** put away (my) cudgel.
knôp: (v t) knob, lump.
knyp: (v t) pinch.
 (haar) **kole krap:** stoke (her) coals.
 (haar) **kop wegdruk:** press (her) head away (i.e., with the force of copulatory thrusting).
maak: (v t) do, make.
natgooi: sprinkle, wetten, connoting the creation of fertile ground for hedonistic activity.
die oeg kyk by: (v t) seek the eye by (the vagina is equated with an eye, the sensitive organ of interpersonal perception).
opkap: (v t) chop up.
pen: (v t) spike.
 (my) **pen in die spaarblikkie wegdruk:** press (my) spike away into the money-box (raid the container for its valuable contents).
piel: (v t) cock (penis; noun relexicalized as verb).
pieper: (v t) pepper.
pomp: (v t) pump.
poot: (v t) (Anglicized Zulu: phutha: of groping, grabbing with immoral intent, e.g., for sex or pickpocketing).
raak: (v t) touch, affect.
rattle (v t).
regmaak: (v t) put right.
saag: (v t) saw.
service: (v t).
sex: (v t).
in (haar) siemelkas krap: scratch in (her) bran-box (screw anally).
skiet: (v t) shoot.
in die skool sit: (v t) put into school (i.e., cut down to size).
skrop: (v t) scrub.
spring: (v t) jump.
stamp: (v t) knock over, knock flying.
stiek: (v t) prick, stab, stick.
stoot: (v t) push.
tjap: (v t) stamp.
warm maak: (v t) warm up, heat up.
ywe: (v t) onions; possibly testicles and/or referring to the elicitation of vaginal inflammation and lubrication, as the splitting of onions with a knife causes the eyes to burn and water.

The key item is colloquial middle-class Afrikaans: *naai*: (v t) sew. *Stoot* is perhaps the next most commonly used transitive verb, and *kap vat* the most commonly used intransitive verb. All the items connote impersonality and brisk mastery, and most connote mechanical action. The English and Afrikaans items refer metaphorically to one or more of the following: a phallic instrument, sexuality, collision, penetration, friction, oscillation, processing, consumption, inflammation or mortification.

The sexual object in the items above is given to elucidate the syntax. Although it is given as female, it can equally be male and refer in that case to anal copulation, or even bestial and refer to vaginal or anal copulation.

The developmental tasks addressed in this focal concern are the establishment and maintenance of masculine gender identity by socio-political success in seduction and domination, and psychosexual vigour and technical success in copulation.

The proposed reality is the socio-sexual omnipotence of masculine males, an extremely common and popular myth in discourse between male peers. The extant reality is that the ultimate right of females (or males in homosexuality) to refuse copulation or promiscuous engagement or unconventional techniques in it is generally respected except in violent enactment of delinquent identity, although intimidation by threat or mild use of force is common in promiscuous attempts at copulation when the partner persistently resists. The exculpatory myth is proposed that the female (or male) "really wants" sex (translation) but also wants to avoid a reputation for promiscuity and/or submissiveness to males and will yield only after a combination of stimulatory foreplay and due face-saving coercion.

Outside prison a male peer will not be explicitly approached for sex leading to orgasm in the enactment of disreputability (as contrasted with delinquency) unless the protagonist construes reason to hope for acquiescence, or both parties are drunk to some extent and sharing the same bed, in which case the influence of liquor is cited in any subsequent exculpation. Rape is an enactment of delinquency, and is eschewed by protagonists eschewing delinquency. However, non-manual, bisexual bodily contact leading to, and inviting arousal (for instance, in lying immobile at right angles with one's aroused genitals against another's body but one's hands kept to oneself) but not proceeding to orgasm -- indeed

avoiding increasing excitement -- is common among disreputables, occurs on ritual occasions, such as shared intoxication following the smoking of the white pipe or shared arousal during the watching of pornographic heterosexual films in which females are dominated and mortified, and signifies union in disreputable masculine communitas.

GO, LEAVE, DEPART (v i) 37 items.

aankap: chop on, connoting masterful ploughing through challenging territory.

beat: probably connoting rhythmic movement, possibly derived from beat it.

beweeg: move.

bump.

dip.

double: from on the double.

druk: press.

gat vat: run away.

gly: slide.

gooi: throw, project.

line.

losgooi: cast off.

mince: from **Cloragail** lexis.

motor: English pronunciation.

move.

piegha: also var **peggha:** from Outcast (Prison) through Delinquent Lexicon: abbrev of **phikelela**, pron **pieghielêla**; in std Zulu: persist, persevere; Afrikaansified metaphorization of Zulu identity as warrior-outcast.

pote klap: knock paws, connoting animal-like tenacity.

(die) **road vat:** take (the) road.

rock: possibly from colloquial English, rock up.

skud: shake.

slice.

smyt: "uitsmyt": throw out.

spin.

stoot: push.

straight stap: step straight.

tjaaila: especially, leave work at **-tyd:** knocking-off time.

tjais: probably abbreviation of **tjaaila**.

uitskiet: shoot out.

uitskop: kick out.

uitstap: walk out.

verby: from adverb: past.

waai: wave or blow (as in wind).

wave.

whack.

wikkel: get a move on.

zela kap: also means performance of a formerly popular dance among urban working-class blacks: chop zela.

zieng: probably onomatopoeic.

Connotations of freedom, vigour and decisiveness are to be found in all the non-Nguni items.

Comparison of antonyms and other items of contrary significance may well be an interesting and worthwhile line of enquiry in analysing overlexicalization. In exemplification the following are provided:

(1) Stay awhile, linger (v i) 8 items.

afkoel (cool off), **anker (gooi)** ([throw] anchor), **lam** ([be] numb or paralysed), **peg**, **station**, **vasbrand** (burn fast, i.e., inextinguishably), **vaskap** (chop fast, i.e., inextricably), **vasstiek** (stick fast).

(2) Arrive, turn up (v i) 4 items.

land (Afrikaans pronunciation), **toeslat** (knock closed), **uitslat** (colloquial English: hit out), **uitstiek** (colloquial English: stick out).

Only **uitstiek** is disreputable/respectable. The remaining synonyms are entered under the most popular of the three: **land**: to land. This connotes the power to fly in defiance of the reality of gravity: (narcissistic) omnipotence.

Note the paucity of synonyms for arriving and lingering in comparison with those for departing.

(3) Home 6 items.

cabin, **dungeon**, **joint**, **kula** (antilinguistic Xhosa from **afkoel**), **phozi** (probably from English: position; and Zulu phozisa: calm down, abate), **zla** (probably from Xhosa: ili-ntla: the recess of a hut, the master's place).

Three of the six items are either Nguni or Ngunicized variants. Why should one use exotic syntax in relexicalization? In antilinguistic adolescent rebellion against the **public** at home, the respectable, conventionally Western parents who observe and judge one. If the syntax is defined in exotic terms and especially by outcast black standards, it is

removed from the realm of comparison with the respectable and established -- rather like touring indefinitely in a caravan: not to be taken as a consequential marker of one's communal position. As an adolescent male on the move, one does not take one's family and home of origin seriously, nor does one wish peers to do so. The key item **joint** reflects dismissiveness, casualness, disrespect. On the other hand: one relexicalizes exotically also to adorn linguistically the reality of a family and dwelling that are often all too impoverished, shabby, disorganized and spoiled. It was extremely common to observe the embarrassment of disreputable and delinquent peers when I visited them at home.

In summary, comparison in terms of overlexicalization and socio-semantics of the items for departure with those for arrival, lingering and home discloses idealization of the former and relative devaluation of the latter. This is consistent with the psychosocial interpretation of adolescence as a phase of social exploration and increasing independence from the family of origin and indeed families as such, in favour of the age-phase-specific peer group. In this there is nothing distinctive to the researched speech community apart from the choice of some of the lexical items.

FINE, FIXED UP (adv) 27 items.

aairie: Rastafarian term from reggae music.

A-one: connotes perfect quality.

to de beat: connotes perfect harmony.

befok: befucked; connotes passion in approval of perfection.

cool.

cover-up: connotes perfect social organization and personal control.

fix-up: fixed up.

ghoef: possibly whimsical nonsense term.

giddy-up: from horse-racing; connotes perfect social organization and personal control.

going line: from commerce; a "going line" is a line of produce that sells rapidly; connotes perfect social organization and personal control.

grand.

Jewish: connotes luxurious perfection, the highest standard.

(met 'n) korrek: from militaristic prison-gang lexis; connotes complete acquiescence.

kwaai: middle-class Afrikaans: bad-tempered, furious; connotes passion in control.

level.

mal: mad; connotes total whimsicality and fascination.

mission: from films about war; connotes perfect social organization and personal control.

'nca: Xhosa: mngca: nice; connotes exotic whimsicality.

reabob: derivation unknown, possibly from English slang: bob: shilling.

safe: connotes perfect social organization and personal control.

shap: sharp; connotes perfect effectuality.

shottit: i.e., good shot; connotes perfect effectuality.

slim: clever, smart.

sweet: connotes blissful acquiescence.

to do: possibly from well-to-do, affluent.

to the T: from to a T, achieved and completed to perfection.

vas: firm, fast; connotes perfect social organization and personal control.

These terms are most commonly used to indicate consensus over a proposal or at greeting or farewell. Consensus is signified in manic hyperbole reflecting delight in perfectly satisfactory reality -- again a form of narcissistic omnipotence over one's world.

In terms of the antilinguistic code, honour is placed at issue during ritualizations such as consensus, and rituals such as greeting and farewell. The issue of honour is introduced by ambivalence over consensus between rebellious underdogs versus competition between masculine men. Reserve during promixity and during the passage from company to parting could be construed as hostile. One politely resolves uncertainty by re-affirming one's approbation of one's experience of the respondent, inviting or having been offered his.

Farewells are usually given and taken with studied nonchalance -- one does not wish to disclose what might be construed as unmanly over-attachment -- but semantically the terms are sincere, expressive, even passionate, often cheerful, brisk, humorous and playful, and above all, confidently shared in communitas. Semantically the disreputable terms tend to connote the brisk and perfect progress of events in one's own life and that of the respondent(s). Communitas is invoked, and one successfully defies the helplessness of one's mundane lot as a subordinate.

ASSAULT, BEAT UP, THRASH (v t) 24 items.

bad maak: make bad, i.e., put in a bad way.

broster: derivation unknown.

uit die bus uitgooi: literally, throw out of the bus, i.e., injure as if

this had been (and was occasionally) done.

dent.

een ding maak met: do one thing with.

djoelheid: work (over).

gaan: go.

go.

uit lid uit maak: put out of joint, disjoint.

op sy moer maak: untranslatable: literally, put on his dugs.

op sy moer speel: play on his dugs.

nak: possibly onomatopoeic from sound of knuckles on skull, or of domino being slammed down hard as is customary in game. This item also refers to winning a round or game.

omry: knock down (as by vehicle of pedestrian).

opkap: chop up.

pluk: pluck (from victim's preferred physical position or course).

regmaak: put right.

riot op: riot on.

rol: roll.

ruk: pull, yank.

slaughter.

uitemkaar uit maak: take apart.

uitemkaar uit skeur: tear apart.

uitemkaar uit slat: knock apart.

vasdruk: corner, trap.

Two very commonly used (key) items are not in the research lexicon but in colloquial middle-class Afrikaans: "pak gee" and "moer". With regard to the lexicon, the two most commonly used items, unlike all the others, are disreputable/respectable and refer in general terms to attack rather than the violence of assault: one may be attacked but escape unhurt. These are **vasdruk** and **bo val**: fall upon, attack, the only dialectal terms used in reference to an assault on oneself unless one goes into the details of being stabbed, kicked, cudgelled, etc. **Bo val** is therefore not listed above; **vasdruk** is listed because it may imply injury, in which case further information is given (or self-evidently visible).

All the items listed above again reflect the issue of omnipotence: mastery in inflicting violence with impunity, the drama of its devastatingly omnipotent infliction on others. All the items connote omnipotence; none connotes fear. By way of contrast, it is interesting that there is only one item for the verb "to fight": **rol** -- because this is purely

denotative.

Een ding maak met, djoelheid, gaan and opkap are equally overlexicalizations for screw (sexually). The linkage is sadistic, of erotic pleasure in omnipotent attack.

(MALE) FOOL, IDIOT, SUCKER, NONENTITY 23 items.

battery kop: battery head (filled with dirty powder).

brood: bread, i.e., source of sustenance.

gat: hole.

gomgat: gum-ar-se, catamite, one whose posterior is covered with semen.

grip: "grap": joke.

Jap: Japanese seaman, exploited by prostitutes, pimps and robbers.

kroets: possibly from "kroeskop": curly-head, negroid person.

miggel: red stumpnose fish; possibly also from "moegoe": ne'er-do-well.

niks: nothing.

nwaata: possibly from Xhosa: yatha: fool; Zulu: lwatha: of fumbling, mistake. From prison lexis.

nwaza: Zulu: nwaza: slow, sleepy person. Possibly from prison lexis.

panta: possibly from punter, one who gambles on horses and usually loses; or from Xhosa: umphathwa: one ruled, subject; or Zulu: imphatha: clumsy novice.

pielkop: glans penis, cock-head, whose head is as featureless, brainless and polluted as that of a penis.

poes: cunt.

pop: doll.

skapie: little sheep.

skoenlapper: butterfly, ephemeral, insubstantial, ineffectual.

squash(ie): (little) vegetable squash, soft and insubstantial within.

spoek: ghost.

spy: i.e., contemptible, furtive creature.

te're're: nonsense term.

toespoek: ignorant ghost.

toet: vagina; literally: hoot.

One has power over a fool. Indeed, the epithet connotes that. It also implies that the speaker is no fool, and is therefore a socially competent and influential agent.

DRUNK, SOMEWHAT DRUNK 23 items

bieries: possibly, beery.

in 'n coma: in a coma.

in 'n funky: in a funky.

geBaabylon: Babyloned, from Rasta lexis in which liquor religiously signifies Babylon, the white man's materialistically corrupt world.

geflood: flooded.

gelaalies: slept, asleep, from Xhosa: lala: sleep.

genemmas: possibly whimsical term.

gekoeks: from koeks: literally, cakes: guzzle liquor, booze.

gepluck: from pluck: intoxicating quantity of consumed alcohol; also means courage, pluck, as in the English "Dutch courage".

gesuip: from suip: booze, consume liquor steadily.

getjwaala: from tjwaala: liquor; Xhosa: utywala: strong drink.

getjwaps: probably var of previous item.

getjweiks: probably var of previous item.

getoor: bewitched.

getrek: soaked.

ge-turbo: turbocharged.

in 'n pluck: in a pluck.

in 'n speed: in a speed.

in 'n vibe: in a vibe.

lights-out.

in 'n motion: in a motion.

tande-nat: teeth-wet.

Issues of self-control and vulnerability to the power of others pervade speakers' discourse on drunkenness. However, those items beginning with in 'n ... are used euphemistically or to imply retained self-control, especially in describing oneself. Even when helplessness is referred to in describing one's own drunkenness, the implication is invariably made that this state was arrived at by design or the malicious lacing of one's drinks by others. One who cannot hold his liquor or control his drinking is regarded with derision as a fool. The proposed reality is that the speaker has perfect self-control but others have none. The extant reality is that he is no different to them. Since drunkenness is common, dramatic and unmaskable, a fall-back proposal is required. This ritually entails one or both of two myths of victimization. The speaker, unawares, was made drunk by companions spiking his drinks and/or plying him with liquor while he conversed or danced, and/or the quantity and perhaps admixture of liquor imbibed would overwhelm even the toughest of drinkers. The extant reality is that he was greedy or drank for intoxication or to exhibit toughness.

MONEY (n) 17 items.

boedel: testamentary estate.

ching: probably onomatopoeic.

coin.

koenyn: guinea pig; association unknown; possibly from **coin**.

kroon: crown; from prison lexis.

maatja: from Xhosa: matye: stones, gold-bearing ore.

mali: Xhosa and Zulu: money.

miering: derivation unknown.

nick: ? cockney lexis.

pônd: Ngunicized pronunciation of pound, former sterling currency in South Africa.

sif: possibly from colloquial Xhosa: isefo: cash register (in turn from English "safe").

smackers: smacker: cockney for one pound sterling.

start: to start one up in an enterprise.

sway: possibly from Xhosa: wahla: jingle, rattle, throw down (money); or

waya: a great number; or wayi: be thrown down all at once.

tjiemau: possibly from Xhosa: imali: money.

whack: English slang: a good amount of income.

zak: derivation unknown.

The synonyms are notable for their allusiveness or resort to exotic Nguni terms, another form of circumlocution metaphorically signifying masterful play with money. The proposed reality is unlimited access to money. The extant reality is the converse.

BROTHER, COMRADE, BUDDY 14 items

beu: probably alliterative from **broer**.

biza: from Xhosa and Zulu: biza: call, summon, name; umbiza: attractiveness, fascination.

bla: variant of **bra**.

bra: common through South African black working-class dialects. Probably from **broer**, possibly elision of **boeta**: oldest brother (Java lexis).

brigade: probably from fire brigade, i.e., team of men who collaborate closely in heroic activities.

broer: brother.

broer volgens colour: brother in terms of colour; unusual term of endearment.

bryn broer: brown brother.

brynes: browns; abbreviation of above.

chômmie: from chum.

hawker: Cockney: guy, close friend.

kau: derivation unknown; also in Flytaal.

muchacho: from films about Mexican bandits.

sendigate: from syndicate of close associates, playfully connotes partnership in crime.

Nine of the items begin with "b". This may be alliterative: five of the nine are variants of **broer**, brother. **Broer** and its variants may be construed as proposals of classificatory kinship with non-sibling peers, i.e., of reciprocal claims and rights as if they were **eie**: children of the same mother; **lit**: own; used among working-class coloured Christians (Respectable Lexicon).

Coupling and its synonyms **capella** and **kopchômmie** signify one's closest friend only, and are accordingly excluded. However, all the items above connote uninhibited intimacy, warmth, affection, comradeship -- more than mere friendship: *communitas* in stigma and subordination.

Why overlexicalize friendship -- especially when the semantics seem so free of ambivalence? Because the extant reality is that friendship tends to be unreliable, certainly unworthy of the abovementioned connotations. And much as one may wish for such friendship, and generosity sometimes goes much further than is common among the middle-class, the reality is that one does not give or obtain friendship stably or predictably. The ambivalence, then, is founded on mistrust of oneself and others, which is in fact ritualized in the common taunting (**gwarā**) of peers. Indeed, throughout fieldwork I frequently encountered disreputables who were deeply lonely, preferring to do without friends after repeatedly painful experiences of disappointment.

The more stigmatized and outcast the peer group, the greater the ambivalence and conflict between its members. Male child and adolescent **strollers** (vagrants; disreputable lex) are commonly subjected to robbery and assault, including sexual assault, by stronger peers and passing delinquents, and such attacks are equally common in police cells and among prisoners on remand.

PENIS: (IMPLICITLY, SUBSTANTIAL) COCK 14 items

bal: ball (male genitals but focusses on penis); antilinguistic metonym, also connotes the sphericity or cylindricality of all the parts, their

use in play, and their bouncing motion in action.

dangerous weapon: used humorously.

ding: thing.

lat: cane.

nannas: whimsical allusion, possibly derived from "vagina".

ouman: old man, i.e., shrivelled little thing, but wordly-wise and with hidden potential.

panga: machete.

sallawat: ? derivation unknown.

snot sjambok: snot whip, i.e., whip that excretes mucoid fluid.

swanghel: derivation unknown.

tril: std Afr: (v) vibrate, quiver, throb, shake.

wa: flagon, substantial container of intoxicating fluid.

yster: iron (bar).

zol: also dagga cigarette, i.e., cylindrical object that transports and gives pleasure.

The key item is colloquial Afr: piel. Note that for vagina, cunt, there are only 7 items, all disreputable: **gat** (hole), **honeygold**, **koek** (cake), **sny** (cut), **toet** (hoot), **stinkvleis** (stink-flesh) and **vrotvleis** (rotten flesh). Three of these (the first, and the last two) connote contempt, whereas none of the terms for penis do so. There is a far greater preoccupation with the male organ and with masculinity and sexual potency, and the implication in referring to one's own penis is always that it is substantial and ever ready for sex. The majority of disreputable informants voiced or otherwise displayed preoccupation with penile size in themselves and other adolescent and adult males; many were mortified that theirs was smaller than they would have preferred, which was always decisively above average; and far too many to be plausible proposed that theirs was so. When they happened to be aroused, many flaunted and joked about erections in the latter terms to peers.

GUY 12 items

burg: (E) used in general to connote the proposed reality that all peers are unreliable, as in **burg draai:** break an agreement, withdraw from an arrangement; literally, turn burg.

crook.

guard: from the term for an illicit wine or dagga trader's guard; connotes toughness.

jonka: from std Afr "jong", fellow.

juba: evidently of Nguni origin.

kleintjie: little one, often used in precious self-reference.

ou: used neutrally, but can also mean tough, masculine male who is respected as such, is ready for disreputability, and will not have his honour impugned.

outie: little outlaw; the diminutive connotes preciousness.

panta: can also mean a fool.

rot: rat, scoundrel, connotes mistrust of all male peers.

skelm: std Afr: cunning rogue, cheat.

skurk: std Afr: scoundrel.

Burg, crook, panta, rot, skelm and **skurk** are all stigmatizing, **panta** signifying a sucker, the others crooks (rogues). **Outie** connotes delinquent cunning and daring, but idealizes these qualities as masculine. (However, another term for a rogue, **skarramonk**, is humorous and is used only as a humorous and not a general synonym for guy.) **Kleintjie** is mildly patronizing, connoting that the speaker has the measure of the person thus described. It connotes a peer not superior to the speaker in masculine accomplishments, and is not used in his presence.

In summary, all twelve items connote familiarity and lack of deference or admiration, implying that the man described is no better than the speaker, and to that extent may be a rogue, or inferior. The proposed reality, then, is that at the least the speaker has the measure of every other male and is socially competent to deal with him. The extant reality, especially with middle-class and white males, is that this may not be the case.

DECEIVE, CHEAT (v i and/or v t) 10 items

befok: befuck, i.e., make confused or mad.

bou maak met: construct a fabrication with.

brood: exploit by deceit, make a fool of, from the noun **brood**, sucker, one off whom one feeds.

dirty trek: pull a dirty (on), i.e., a dirty trick.

djie: deceive; from Xhosa: **ji:** underhand proceeding; **jibiliza:** break faith, turn around.

iet: eat, i.e., consume for one's own benefit.

(iemand 'n) **kop aansit:** put a head on (someone); derivation obscure, possibly implying hoodwinking, pulling a hood over (someone's) eyes.

(iemand se) **kop afbyt:** bite (someone's) head off, i.e., hoodwink.

(iemand se) **kop in die sak druk:** put (someone's) head in the sack, hoodwink.

(iemand 'n) **skelm gooi**: throw (someone) a cunning ploy.

The explicit issue throughout is power over others.

GIRL AND/OR GIRLFRIEND 9 items

baby.

chickie.

ghibbes: derivation unknown apparently to nearly all speakers, but one claimed that it originated in **Java** lexis, had become archaic among adolescents and young adults, and had been revived.

girlie.

goose.

kind: child.

lyf: torso, trunk.

tette: tits.

ugum: whimsical term resembling the sound of a cough, dismissing females as not worth meaningful lexis.

Girls and girlfriends, together with fools, drunks and homosexuals, are proposed as wholly subject to the power of male speakers, and insignificant as social actors or friends. All the disreputable terms are patronizing or impersonal; two are avine metaphors. The extant reality is of course that women have considerable power as mothers, sisters, wives, lovers and so on.

SAY, TELL, TALK (WITH) (v i and/or v t) 8 items

afkap: (v i or t) chop off or down. See 7.1 for explication of the metaphor.

afsak: (v i or t) sink down, subside, i.e., deliver oneself of a statement and then subside.

gee: (v i or t) give.

lyk: (v i) look like, i.e., sound like; connotes statement that stereotypically characterizes speaker's personality.

tjoet: (v i and t) probably from **tjoetjoe**: onomatopoeic mimicry of whispering (respectable lexis).

volmaak (met): (v t) make full (with), i.e., supply with substantial information. From prison lexis.

wheatie(s): (v i or t) see 7.1 and 8.123 for extensive explication and analysis.

wysmaak: (v t) make wise, make show. From prison lexis.

All these items connote oral, verbal communication as rhetoric, i.e., as

dramatically discursive performance designed to influence the respondent, which must be critically assessed. The issue is whether the speaker has power over the respondent.

KNOW, KNOW ABOUT (v i or v t) 7 items

is bewus: (v i) am aware.

kén: (v i) std Afr: know (v t). Here the pronunciation is Ngunicized, and the item signifies full acquaintance and profound empathic understanding, capturing the essence and the finer details.

uitmaak: (v i) make out, i.e., discern the significance.

vang: (v i) catch.

is vol: (v i) am (or is) full; can also signify approbation.

is 'wus: (v i) elision of **is bewus**.

is wys: (v i) am (or is) wise (to the information), familiar with.

Knowledgeability, sophistication and intelligence are idealized as markers of speakers' identities and are commonly proposed in boasting and taunting. The proposed reality is omniscience. The extant reality falls short, especially concerning the idealized culture of the middle-class and white, and tends to be construed as mortifying.

BLACK MAN (STIGMATIZING) 6 items

djoems: derivation unknown.

houtkapper: woodchopper, i.e., impoverished bush-dweller.

majoin(t): from Xhosa and Zulu: amajoyini: migrant contract labourers, those who join up.

oondstok: oven-stick, i.e., blackened fire poker.

spoek: ghost, can also mean fool.

steenkool: coal.

All the above connote rural origin and barbaric ignorance, brutality and obstinacy. The latter three items connote non-human identity, two of them the status of material commodity. Like fools, drunks, homosexuals and women, black men are proposed as socially insignificant and readily toyed with.

8.12 Analysis

8.120 Introduction

Overlexicalization by six or more items constitute 290 out of 2,211 items in the Disreputable Lexicon, 13,12% of it. The generalization prefacing

each meaning is the postulated identity theme at issue.

MALE GENDER OMNIPOTENCE: SCREW (SEXUALLY).	44 items.
TERRITORIAL OMNIPOTENCE: LOCOMOTOR MOBILITY: GO, LEAVE, DEPART.	37 items.
COSMIC OMNIPOTENCE: MANIC AFFIRMATION: FINE, FIXED UP.	27 items.
INTER-PEER PHYSICAL OMNIPOTENCE: ASSAULT, BEAT UP, THRASH.	24 items.
INTER-PEER SOCIAL OMNIPOTENCE: FOOL, IDIOT, SUCKER, NONENTITY.	23 items.
INTER-PEER SOCIAL OMNIPOTENCE: DRUNK, SOMEWHAT DRUNK.	23 items.
SOCIO-MATERIAL OMNIPOTENCE: MONEY.	17 items.
OMNIPOTENCE IN COMMUNITAS: BROTHER, COMRADE, BUDDY.	14 items.
GENDER OMNIPOTENCE: PENIS: (IMPLICITLY, SUBSTANTIAL) COCK.	14 items.
INTER-PEER SOCIAL OMNIPOTENCE: GUY.	12 items.
INTER-PEER SOCIAL OMNIPOTENCE: DECEIVE, CHEAT.	10 items.
GENDER OMNIPOTENCE: GIRL AND/OR GIRLFRIEND.	9 items.
COMMUNICATIVE OMNIPOTENCE: SAY, TELL, TALK WITH.	8 items.
TERRITORIAL OMNIPOTENCE: LOCOMOTOR MOBILITY: STAY AWHILE, LINGER: COOL OFF.	8 items.
SOCIO-INTELLECTUAL OMNIPOTENCE: KNOW, KNOW ABOUT.	7 items.
INTERCOMMUNAL SOCIAL OMNIPOTENCE: BLACK MAN (STIGMATIZING).	6 items.
TERRITORIAL OMNIPOTENCE: LOCOMOTOR MOBILITY: HOME.	6 items.

(If the Delinquent Lexicon is included to encompass the adolescent and young adult male age-sets, the list of meanings with six or more items extends in descending order to: non-prison-gang member [in prison], vagina, gun, stab, steal, and confused or puzzled, there are additions to the items above, and the rank order above changes in some cases.)

In purely objective terms, the overlexicalization presented above is first and foremost a syntactic phenomenon insofar as it is the redundant replication of single lexical items all with the same grammatical form and function. Secondly, it is a semantic phenomenon, particularly insofar as a purely denotative meaning is always replaced by connotative meanings.

Thirdly, it is pragmatic insofar as this substitution always takes the form of metaphor, transforming a critically problematic objective reality into a perfectly resolved subjective reality.

8.121 Metacommunication: Antilanguage and Identity in Overlexicalization

I propose that overlexicalization is the extreme case of antilinguistic relexicalization insofar as relexicalization is repeated beyond the point of antilinguistic redundancy. Since overlexicalization creates redundancy it can reasonably be suspected of additional significance beyond the lexico-semantic communication itself. This can be described as metacommunicative in that it lies in communication about lexico-semantic communication. This section will concentrate on metacommunicative features of overlexicalization.

Antilinguistic metaphor, I suggest, is the most fundamental of these.

I suggest that lexis itself is a metaphor for the creation and mastery of reality, that the rule of antilinguistic and lexical redundancy constitutes a metaphor for power to create and maintain reality, and enactment of the rule of redundancy constitutes a metaphor for omnipotence (unlimited power over reality). In keeping with the identity themes prominently manifested in the dialect's adolescent and young adult lexis and its lexicogrammatical codes, the religio-political terms of identity and linguistic code are now explored further in the semantics and pragmatics of their metaphoric enactments in overlexicalization.

Play, I propose, is the pragmatic crux of overlexicalization.

I suggest that play with lexis in the research lexicon constitutes adolescent play with adult reality and identity on adolescent terms, in which antilanguage in general and overlexicalization in particular codally signify and enact omnipotence over and/or repudiation -- negation -- of a reality. One denies, by a metaphoric assertion of unlimited power, indifference or both, that one is personally vulnerable to the person, act, circumstance or thing signified. One playfully, cheerfully, dramatically exalts and exults in one's numinous power as a representative member of the male, adolescent working-class communitas. The strategy is grandiose and disreputable. It is also defensive against the social realities of one's world: in every case of overlexicalization cited above, extant reality threatens to impose the identity opposite to the one proposed. This identity is construed as the repudiated identity of childhood, construed as

respectable -- in disreputable terms, impotent under conditions of stigmatization. As play, however, overlexicalization is inconsequential insofar as it does not pose a threat to extant reality.

Play, however, is always paradoxical. In this case, the paradox is that play is the proposed reality, but the extant reality is a consequential attempt at mastery of identity enaction pertaining to the major focal concerns construed necessary for the development of adult identity.

Mischief is enacted in such play. The sobriety, respectability and moral simplicity of the dominant identities are humorously, wittily repudiated and mocked in a pointedly frivolous dis-play of unpredictable, varied, potentially innumerable instances of linguistic rule-breaking at the whim of the *communitas*. This is the antilinguistic element in overlexicalization (as distinct from mere relexicalization).

Ambivalence is fundamental to the pragmatics of overlexicalization: one negates the realities powerfully proposed by respectable, middle-class and dominant white identities, all of which are pragmatically condensed with authoritative parental identity. One repudiates attachment and aspiration to these identities, and especially envy and respect for their power and authority. Indeed, one opposes and negates them. By negation one repudiates the self-regulatory, self-deprivatory, mortifying guilt imposed by the religio-political hierarchy of family, generation, class and community, which one overrides lexically in a playful, luxuriant plethora of socio-semantic equivalents pragmatically creating and celebrating a cosmically new, wonderful, infinitely superior working-class adolescent male reality, in which time, omnipotence and self-perfection begin in this generation with one's own generational *communitas*.

There are complexities of ambivalence. For example, in the overlexicalization of brotherhood, *communitas* itself, desire is signified semantically but abandoned pragmatically: one wants, but does not impose. The latter identity enaction -- the exploitative imposition of brotherhood -- like all disavowed but extant reality, is not lexicalized but (I suggest) communicated in the redundancy of its overlexicalized opposite, and in the totalistic ideology of the semantics of the overlexicalized items: since I honour you as my (classificatory) brother, you must reciprocate with brotherly accession to my desire for assistance.

A role reversal repudiating impotence and establishing omnipotence is codally enacted in creation and usage of each lexically redundant item. The pragmatics of the codal rule of redundancy in overlexicalization

reflect totalistic ideology, in which personal vulnerability to the semantic opposite -- impotence in the face of deprivation, loss, pain, grief, apathy, hatred, mortification, subordination, guilt, guilt-inducing love, tenderness suspect of effeminacy, or the blandishments of a dominative identity fundamentally opposed by the *communitas* -- is rigorously, militantly disavowed and repudiated. Such helplessness (I suggest) stigmatizes the honour of the working-class adolescent or young adult male, inactivating the integrity of his identity in his subordinated *communitas*. In other words he is no longer of it, and therefore no longer has an identity. In the pragmatics of overlexicalization, play addresses themes and issues of the gravest consequence.

The playful optionality enacted in overlexicalization is the antithesis of totalistic rigour. One plays creatively, humorously, paradoxically and disreputably with the grim, rigidly simple rule of totalistic rigour itself. For instance, there is overlexicalization of the verb "to assault, beat up, thrash", in which omnipotence is played with, but none of the verb "to fight", introducing the issue of the possibility of defeat, of power itself fatefully at issue.

There is no overlexicalization of terms for parents, the respectable, the middle-class and the dominant whites. There is marginal overlexicalization for black males, who are socio-politically subordinate but not entirely to be trifled with.

Research beyond the scope of this study indicates no overlexicalization in the Respectable Lexicon, and far less overlexicalization in the Delinquent Lexicon than the Disreputable. Since 1980 the Delinquent Lexicon has been aggrandized by plunder of the Outcast (prison) Lexicon of all overlexicalization. Both respectable and delinquent identities are proposed as serious and consequential, whereas the disreputable is proposed as playful, frivolous, optional. Indeed, a fundamental pragmatic difference between disreputable and delinquent identities is that the latter attempts -- impulsively, chaotically and therefore unsuccessfully -- to enforce omnipotence over others consequentially in shared extant reality. (A crucial lexical item is the verb *dala*: act consequentially, do [the deed] effectually, usually referring to criminal activity; Delinquent Lexicon, from prison.) A comparable pragmatic difference between disreputability and respectability is that the latter consequentially attempts omnipotence over the self in perfect, rule-bound self-control.

From the interaction between play and rigour described above it is evident

that disreputable optionality and paradox rescue from dishonour and disintegration the adolescent identity that cannot sustain totalistic rigour indefinitely.

Paradoxically, overlexicalization repetitively produces lexical novelty with relatively little semantic novelty in its metaphors, which are merely minor variations -- or none at all -- on a semantic theme. Compared with the high rate of lexical innovation in overlexicalization, overlexicalized focal concerns have remained constant from one generation to the next during the period of research.

Overlexicalization metaphorically establishes symbiotic interaction between the speaker and the reality of the person, event or situation ostended in lexis by proposing that the ostended reality can be interacted with in terms of a potentially infinite variety of constructs. Similarly overlexicalization transforms finite, digital information (lexis) into infinite, analogic information by proposing that lexical representation itself can be potentially innumerable in its variants.

In its paradoxical and symbiotic features, and in its denotative redundancy, overlexicalization is literally antilinguistic: in lexico-semantic terms it negates language and communicates nothing, by cancelling itself paradoxically and negating digital communication. (In these respects its pragmatics are identical to those of psychotic communication.)

Identity is derived in the creation and maintenance of reality. Chief among the objectified metacommunicative significances of identity for subordinated working-class male adolescents is style.

Choice of style is construed as the enaction of a claim to uniqueness in identity, whether of the person or group. Uniqueness is construed to inhere in the selection of identity terms and in the manner of their combination. Style is signified in the unique selection, combination and enaction of identity terms. All three steps are construed as important, but enaction is the ultimate criterion by which style is judged. If the selection and combination are acceptable but the enaction falters, style is construed as lacking. On the other hand, the selection and combination may be thought inadequate, but the enaction can still be carried off "with" style. Only in the enaction can uniqueness become individuality, whether of the person or group. Style is the idiom of individuality, even when a member identifies with the idiom of the group.

Style therefore reflects identity differentiated and displayed for

judgment. It is a metonym of identity, signifying aesthetic mastery and fluency of enaction. If one "has" style one has possessed and mastered identity as such to the point of being able to select, compose and enact a valued identity with ease and grace. The judgment is in aesthetic terms. It is also in religious terms: the enaction of style is the numinous celebration of Self, of identity as such.

The semantics and pragmatics of style as a construct are lexicalized by the speech community in three constructions. All are disreputable, and all signify mischief.

The first is to accomplish a manipulative stratagem unacceptable to a respondent, such as a deceit, not by force or directness but **met 'n style** (with a style) -- artfully, deviously and easily, signifying accomplishment in manipulative strategy.

The second is that enaction of **styles** (unconventional, exotic copulatory positions) signifies one's playful, mischievous mastery and fluency in sexual technique, rejecting the missionary position construed as respectable, discreet, personal and serious. (Disreputable male informants uniformly report that women enacting respectable identity dislike **styles** and refuse to cooperate in them.)

The third is that a person who is **vol styles** (full of styles) **lex** or **vol krulle** (full of flourishes, curls or curlicues) is a difficult individual inconveniencing, frustrating and offending others by celebrating his self in a variety of insouciant idiosyncrasies -- for example, the disreputable male engaging in copulatory **styles**; more generally the working-class version of the inspired bohemian artist, charming, exploiting and exasperating his respectable friends, women and patrons.

Style is enacted in relexicalization. Both style and overlexicalization signify the possession of pragmatically redundant capital in resources of identity -- the resources to create, master and sustain the reality in which identity is enacted. Overlexicalization signifies the luxurious possession of denotatively redundant lexical capital, and becomes a metaphor for style in the speech community's material and political resources, and therefore in its communal identity.

Case Example 20

This was poignantly verbalized early in 1976 by a young adult informant who as a child had been grievously taunted by his sisters and peers for

a mortifying stammer, and since adolescence, when it had abated, had indulged in the habit of playfully, loudly, lovingly rolling off disreputable lexis -- and especially sequences of overlexicalizing variants -- with exclamatory relish and in measured pace as if triumphantly heralding the annunciation of a new cosmic order (as indeed adolescence and adulthood were for him in ability to communicate honourably). Often the soliloquy consisted of playfully issuing orders and taunts to an imaginary male subordinate at work, in which various overlexicalizations for a tiresome fool or nonentity would be luxuriantly reviewed; and when eventually rebuked by his wife for repetitively indulging in these ritual lexical flourishes in front of her and their young children, he turned to me wryly and grinned, "Hjurre, Dope, 'is al wat ons het!" (Lord, Dope [my nickname], it's all we've got!; Hjurre: respectable lex). The dialect, and especially the style of its disreputability, were all that his (putatively foolish, insignificant) *communitas* had ever Culturally created, established and possessed of its own; and he, in celebration and consolation, was himself tiresomely **vol styles**.

Overlexicalization affords options not merely in lexis but in style of discourse, and especially in the style of the oratorical discourse known as **wheatie**. The choice of particular items from a range of overlexicalizations signifies that one is not merely communicating register but enacting and displaying style.

As a metonym for capital, style can also mask its lack. A superabundance of lexical capital masks religio-political impotence, powerlessness to create the proposed reality of omnipotence in focal concerns crucial to identity development. Indeed, I suggest that the antinomial tension between middle-class style and working-class lack of substance that fails to create a transcendent middle-class identity is a crucial dialectic of working-class adolescent male disreputable (and more recently delinquent) identity. In 1988 a new lexical item concerning style was introduced, wholly lacking in mischief towards the respectable and those above. On the contrary, if one disavowed working-class vulgarity and dressed and moved tastefully, discreetly and confidently in middle-class style, one was **stylable**, stylish. This, of course, being working-class, was masquerade.

8.122 Overlexicalization and Liminal Discourse

Overlexicalization, then, is the lexical enactment of **wheatie**, an enactment of the subordinated, materially and politically impoverished working-class

adolescent speech community as verbal artist, which, with consciousness as canvas, lexis as palette and discourse as composition, becomes iconographer creating and celebrating the numinous reality of its new-found adulthood, the linguistic homologue of adult sexuality -- and metonym of it.

However, the realities of subordination imposed externally by generational and socio-political speech communities are not the only religio-political forces opposed by working-class adolescents and young adults. The other major conflict is internal, between Nature and Culture (6.221 and 6.222), what one aspires to and what one achieves, what one says and what one does, and what one did yesterday and does today. In other words, speakers are obliged to contend with the even more mortifying reality of their own construed limitations: impulsivity, instability and inconsistency in identity enaction; with the conflict between their own internal, psychosocial ideals and the construed reality of their manifold failures. The reality of self-distrust and self-mistrust remains alexicalized except in myths of victimization by Nature. (Some delinquents occasionally cite the romantic tag that "I don't trust anyone; I don't even trust myself!" [translation], which simultaneously incriminates and exculpates self and society.) The paradoxicality of overlexicalization is evident also in the manner in which its pragmatics semantically merge Nature and Culture; obscene, brutal stigmatization with intellectual acuity and aesthetic sensibility; the semantics of linguistic discourse conflicting with those of the discourse of nonverbal identity enaction; signifying all as religious themes and issues to the greater glory and stigmatization of the working-class adolescent and young adult male speech community.

In prison an individual known for talent in **wheatie** is valued even more than outside, and may be asked by a friend to **vat my weg** (take me away; prison lex) with a graphic narrative of a film seen or drama witnessed. **Vat my weg**: tell me a story, fly me omnipotently to freedom. Similarly, one of a group of bored prisoners may suggest that the group **howl** (have an interesting, entertaining discussion to lift their spirits; prison lex). **Wheatie** not only articulates and represents; it distracts and transports from painfully oppressive, depriving, boring reality. Like music and poetry, **wheatie** can be therapeutic in its effect on an afflicted respondent, banishing consciousness of persecution of the alienated self tormented from without and within; restoring wordless communion between self, ego and communitas; soothing, charming, even intoxicating. Antilanguage and overlexicalization create the cosmic (religious) illusion of innocence, power and wealth in the creation and choice of reality,

easing the irreversible transition from subordination, stigma and deprivation in childhood to anticipated subordination, stigma and deprivation in adulthood, and fortifying the initiate with capital reserves of resources to create reality, at least when identity is threatened.

Similarly, my company was often sought by working-class disreputables oppressively bored with their own company and that of their own kind, and explicitly seeking therapeutic stimulation and entertainment in their own dialect by one construed rich in the resources, and willing in the supply of such communication. Indeed, some informants -- especially those formerly delinquent and constrained to disreputability by bitter experience of the consequences of delinquency -- would demand such therapy to abate and preclude the mounting of incipient rage and hatred which they feared would lead to delinquency and the return of grave trouble, such as prolonged imprisonment after a record of previous convictions. In these cases the demands invariably extended to the supply of liquor and perhaps food, the playing of music or television and the provision of money; and my invariable, mortifying rebuff at some stage would elicit grandiose jeers that I was ignorant, useless and a failure as a **broer**. The proposed reality was that I had acceded to some extent only in my own exploitative middle-class quest of honour as a classificatory working-class **broer**, that the demand on me was an honour by a protagonist authentic in membership of the heroically suffering subordinate communitas.

Of all Western speech communities the Irish are construed as best known for the luxuriant lyricism and "mad" paradoxicality of **wheatie** (rhetoric; see next section). On the eve of the second world war of his century the poet Auden, in a eulogy immortalizing the Irish revolutionary poet Yeats, captured all the religio-political terms of the **wheatie** of this oracle of the subordinate:

Follow, poet, follow right
To the bottom of the night,
With your unconstraining voice
Still persuade us to rejoice;

With the farming of a verse
Make a vineyard of the curse,
Sing of human unsuccess
In a rapture of distress;

In the deserts of the heart

Let the healing fountain start,
In the prison of his days
Teach the free man how to praise.

(Auden, W H [1939]: In Memory of W.B. Yeats. In
Mendelson [ed] [1979: 83].)

Auden takes this analysis of **wheatie** and overlexicalization further,
observing of Yeats that

mad Ireland hurt you into poetry.

and that

poetry makes nothing happen: it survives
In the valley of its saying (.....)
A way of happening, a mouth.

(op. cit.: 81, 82)

In **wheatie** and especially overlexicalization, pleasure, play, cheer and sharp, repetitive wit in potentially endless lexical and metaphoric variations constitute the negation and reversal of pain, grief, apathy, confusion and hatred. The sources of these, I suggest, lie in ambivalence towards all the identity terms negated and reversed by overlexicalized focal concerns, which are distinctively adolescent.

Adolescence is a paradoxical, liminal phase of the life cycle in which enactions of the identities of childhood and adulthood overlap, merge, conflict and alternate. Subordinated disreputable and delinquent working-class male adolescents are in transition from an ambivalent childhood of powerlessness, stigma and deprivation (especially at the hands of dominative females) which also inconsistently provided timeless symbiosis and innocence. Their focal concerns and the overlexicalization of those concerns constitute an ambivalent attempt to reverse the psychosocial process of adolescence itself: the irreversible onset of linear time and the anticipated approach of a consequential adulthood of subordination, stigma, deprivation, drudgery and shabbiness which is anything but new, exciting, wonderful and infinitely superior and powerful -- anything but numinous.

Ambivalence is overridden by psychosocial development in the life cycle. The transition is therefore embraced with a vengeance. Childhood is precociously foreclosed by developmentally premature engagement in enaction of adult identity -- omnipotently without consequence -- and an attempt is

made to prolong the moratorium and forestall irreversible passage into adulthood until consequential reality is ambivalently precipitated by self-damaging, self-confirming initiation into adulthood -- in such extremely common forms as girlfriend's premarital pregnancy, developmentally and financially premature parental responsibility (including expense), conflict with family and girlfriend or wife, trouble with the law, injury through fighting and/or other consequences of drunkenness, and intermittent pennilessness through squandering on wine, women and song or through optional unemployment or underemployment. Thereafter the joys of adolescence -- and overlexicalization -- begin to cloud, and the common phenomenon of adolescence preserved with increasing desperation beyond young adulthood, including attachment to antilanguage as such, becomes an attempt to negate and reverse the fading of youth and the approach of respectability and middle age.

In summary the paradox generating both **wheatie** and overlexicalization, I suggest, consists of the conflict between the pragmatics imposing religio-political silence on the stigmatized *communitas* in symbiotic subordination to, and dependence on the identities that dominate it, and the pragmatics necessitating its members' differentiation of their identity and linguistic communication of their shared reality. The achievement of lexical wealth for the display of identity within the *communitas* is contradicted by political poverty in the control of reality. The paradox constitutes an intolerable pragmatic reality, and although **wheatie** and overlexicalization "make nothing happen" insofar as they do not overthrow the stigmatizing external actuality of subordination, they constitute a metaphor which is the resultant of the paradox, creating a subjective religio-political reality in which hope, vitality, endurance, cheer, integrity (however unstable and inconsistent) and creativity are mundanely if ambivalently sustained and shared throughout the passage from childhood to adulthood in lexis multiplied well beyond the point of redundancy. Adulthood is synthetically achieved out of the critical antinomy between childhood and adolescence.

8.123 **Wheatie** as Rhetoric

Wheatie (**Withi** in Cape Lingo and Flytaal) is mythified and named as the characteristic form of lexis and discourse of all South African Black urban working-class disreputable male dialects (excluding the Durban *Thamunda*). Although this form is ideologically proposed in South Africa, the United States and the Caribbean as uniquely Black, it is fundamentally identical

to disreputable cockney lexis and discourse, and apparently to lexis and discourse in many other western urban working-class disreputable male dialects.

Wheatie is used expressively and promotively. It displays identity and influences the respondent's action. As such, it constitutes rhetoric, the craft and art of linguistic (and nonlinguistic) expression, display and influence, currently taught in academic terms as communication. The term rhetoric is preferred here to distinguish the technical construct from the theoretical construct of communication, and to restore the classical aesthetic, political, anthropological and historical context.

The act of displaying identity is lexicalized in the verb **gooi**, as in **gooi 'n number** (sing a number, i.e., a song, literally: throw a number), **gooi ziep** (keep mum, say nothing; literally: throw zip), **gooi styles** (engage in unconventional copulatory positions; literally: throw styles), **gooi die taal** (speak the dialect fluently and expressively; literally: throw the language) or **gooi five tackle one**: masturbate [one's penis]; literally: throw five [members] tackling one), all disreputable lexis. **Gooi** apparently derives from shuffling and throwing dice. It connotes playfully taking the chance of projecting the self, putting oneself forward, putting one's best foot forward to create an advantageous, impressive effect. It is self-advertisement.

This step is a risk because the self is inherently stigmatized; one's identity base is stigmatic; one proceeds from nonentity; and the projection of self to achieve a favourable impression is always a strenuous, daring act of self-creation, an enterprise that may fail and be rebuffed as ineffectual or incompetent.

Decisively irreversible entrance into the ritual and enterprise of **wheatie** (and other self-disclosing ventures) is lexicalized in the disreputable verb **kap** (chop), connoting an emergence of the differentiated, discoursing self that cannot be cancelled. **Kap** is both verb and noun for an act of copulation, for which one **kap oneself naked** (or **kaal** [std Afrikaans translation] or **koud** [cold]; all disreputable lex). A speaker's **afkap** (off-chop; disreputable lex) is the pragmatic statement he makes in **wheatie**, synonymous with his **wheaties** (semantic statement). **Afkap** is used only in reporting the statement critically to a third party, in terms of its rhetorical success or failure, usually to convey and elicit amusement or indignation. Commonly, such reportage is dramatically prefaced with „Hie' **kap hy af**:“ "Here he chops off:", followed by the statement. This

may be succeeded by reportage of the statement's effect, introduced by an equally dramatic "Daaa" (i.e., "Daar": "There"). The report itself, of course, is **wheaties**.

The successful rhetorical enaction itself is lexicalized in the disreputable verb **dowwel** (std Afr: dobbel: gamble), connoting both the process of smoothly rhythmic activity and the demarcation of identity that it constitutes. **Dowwel** has three meanings: (1) move in flowing, rhythmic activity, as in "Die kos **dowwel**!": "This food goes down well!"; "Die music **dowwel**!": "The music swings!"; **bak dowwel**: wiggle hips seductively while walking (referring to female). (2) The fluent playing of a musical instrument, game or sport. (3) Pass as, pretend to be, act as if: **dowwel net muis**: act small and insignificant to avoid attention; literally: act just (like a) mouse. **Dowwel** probably derives from the smooth, rhythmic activity of shuffling and throwing dice or cards, construed as the mark of an accomplished gambler, therefore a competent enaction of disreputability. Disreputable style is crucial in the performance of gambling, the epitomé of disreputability in its optional, exploitative risk-taking with ostensible indifference to misfortune in play with limited material resources and responsibility towards dependants.

Enterprise, flow and style, then, mark the rhetorically successful performance of **wheatie**, irrespective of content.

In semantic terms **wheatie** is also used non-discursively insofar as it displays identity and seeks to elicit pragmatic rather than semantic communication. The truth sought by the speaker lies in the respondent's action rather than words. Similarly, the truth communicated by the speaker lies in the identity enaction that accompanies his artistic display of words. In both cases the truth remains subjectified. A crucial paradox of **wheatie** is that words mask antithetical action. More precisely, linguistic communication contradicts and masks the nonlinguistic communication that forms its context: objectified semantics contradict and mask subjectified pragmatics. This distinguishes disreputable from respectable rhetoric. Even therapeutic **wheatie** is enjoyed only while it lasts, for its provider is invariably construed as untrustworthy in the long run.

In middle-class rhetoric, semantic and pragmatic communication are integrated. In respectable working-class rhetoric, semantic dominates pragmatic communication in orderly control of self and others. In disreputable working-class rhetoric, semantic and pragmatic communication

simultaneously or alternately oppose one another in stigmatization of self and others. In delinquent working-class rhetoric, pragmatic communication dominates and silences semantic communication in chaotic predation and violence. In outcast working-class rhetoric there are (ideally proposed) no semantics prior to the totalistic establishment of the pragmatic rule of violence.

Disreputable rhetoric is thus ambivalent: analogic (subjective, connotative, paralinguistic, kinesic) and digital (denotative) communication are alienated from each other and occur simultaneously in temporary, creative paradox or alternately in temporary, disruptive disorder. The most developed form of **wheatie** is that in which paradox artistically creates a metaphor and metonym of transcendent identity as it stigmatizes that identity, signifying working-class honour with middle-class style as it stigmatizes middle-class identity.

As an enactment of disreputability, **wheatie** is sadistic. The self-aggrandizing speaker lovingly seduces the admiring respondent to stigmatize and exploit him or her. Equally, **wheatie** is also creative and reparative, comforting, consoling, sustaining, cheering and amusing. **Wheatie**, like music, is the food of love, and is created by the *communitas* in plenitude to sate the appetite and unite the sated in indolent repletion, the linguistic homologue of the **wit pyp** (dagga and Mandrax pipe).

As bricoleur's capital, the lexises of **ou roeker tale** and other urban working-class disreputable dialectal codes are also the homologues of **lappies kasaram** -- motley masks -- and **blikkies kasaram** -- geosocial jumble -- all objectified metaphors of the sustaining resource of egalitarian modesty and cheer within the working-class *communitas*, redeeming the mortifying developmental poverty of **kaalgat** identity. The hierarchy of intracommunal identities and lexicogrammatical codes -- and particularly the disreputable -- necessarily remains subjectified in the agonistic quest for survival and vitality.

8.2 The Scope and Limits of Antilanguage

in the Disreputable Lexicon of **Ou Roeker Tale**

The final issues to be addressed in this chapter: (i) Does the disreputable code evince integrity and integration of identity beyond symbiotic, ambivalent dependence on referent, dominant codes? (ii) Is consciousness and reality created -- perhaps with certain terms maintained from generation to generation -- which are fundamentally autonomous? (iii)

Thus, does the code of disreputable lexis extend beyond antilanguage and become dialect?

The answers to these questions are increasingly dependent on the accelerating religio-political change occurring in the working-class speech community, in which developments at the time of writing are critical. Suffice it to say that the working-class lexicon is losing its antilinguistic significance, and that its denotative significance is consolidating as the historically stable, integral dialect of an increasingly large speech community with an ever wider dialectal isogloss.

The last question is readily answerable in terms of data, and would resolve the first and the second. The respectable lexicon is construed decisively respectable relative to the disreputable, delinquent and outcast. Relative to the middle-class lexicon, it is construed disreputable yet honourable in the integrity of working-class respectability. The respectable lexicon is outside the scope of this study. Suffice it to say that the lexicon affords abundant evidence of an antilinguistic code of lexicalization and relexicalization both differentiating itself from, and merging with the middle-class lexicon.

Moreover, disreputable, delinquent and outcast discourses constitute the switching, mixing and integration of these codes with the respectable.

Clearly, there is a degree of paradoxicality in interaction within and between these codes, which is reflected in folk linguistic mythic constructions of the codes, and their names or lack thereof.

The dialect is construed a dialect, a mother-tongue vernacular, to be transmitted -- language, consciousness, reality and identity -- from generation to generation. Equally, it is construed quintessentially oral and formally nameless, as merely the slang of a stigmatized communal identity which is equally a nonentity.

Options are thus preserved, of a linguistic sanctuary for those who have failed to acquire middle-class identity and may indeed be far from doing so -- perhaps even downwardly mobile within the working class; a linguistic medium of transition to middle-class identity; and the integral, historically stable Peninsular working-class dialect of speakers construing themselves **bryn** and/or coloured. Within that working-class identity, the dialect can be all things unto all speakers.

Of the four working-class identities reflected in lexicogrammatical code,

only the disreputable requires no commitment to a particular code, indeed eschews commitment opportunistically. Yet it is differentiated from the other identities and enacted in terms of a code; its integrity is constituted by its paradoxicality.

Scrutiny of the disreputable lexicon discloses a large proportion of items with no semantic equivalent in middle-class Afrikaans or English, reflecting consciousness, reality and identity which are not antagonistic or ambivalent towards, nor dependent upon the middle-class, but simply different and integral not only to the working-class but to this working-class speech community in particular. Depending on the rules of differentiation between difference and ambivalence, and bearing in mind the incompleteness of the recorded lexicon, that proportion could be quantified. There are, as usual, complexities: many such items reflect both ambivalence and differentiation.

Such lexis has been appropriated from surrounding speech communities and, to coin a neologism, such lexis has been resemanticized, given new meaning. The appropriation has been opportunistic, the work of bricolage: it is far easier to communicate in lexical innovations (i.e., innovations within the speech community) readily comprehensible by familiarity with the lexis of other speech communities, and by known codes of semantic transformation, than in innovations which are wholly neologistic. To restrict innovations to neologisms would in fact have required rules of rejection of all the language of other speech communities, and the composition of morphological and lexicogrammatical rules of neologistic innovation. That would in fact have been impossible, since a beginning would have had to be made on a wholly innovative basis, and the enterprise would have had to reject the speech community's existing vernacular, replace it and abolish it. That historic transformation, the eventually total rejection of Khoikhoi dialects, constitutes the antilinguistic foundation of the contemporary dialect. That foundation has long become insignificant in folk myth: Khoikhoi identity is construed historically and culturally remote. But no language, not even that of mathematics, is wholly independent of all other languages, and those dialects were replaced, as was religio-politically and socio-economically necessary and convenient, with a dialect formed selectively out of those of surrounding speech communities. As far back as can be traced, affiliative and differentiative options have been reserved in Cape Town.

The resemanticizing of lexis is antilinguistic in the consensual construction of dominant and subordinate speech communities, but far more

so to the former than to the latter. To the former it has been wholly stigmatic as an attack on their own linguistic code and speech communal identity, to the latter both stigmatic and sacramental. They had to form and maintain a new communal identity with options for further development. To the extent that negation of the dominant identities has been construed necessary and desirable, the significance of the transformation of dominant linguistic codes has been antilinguistic. To the extent that the transformation has come to constitute a dialect of lexis and grammar denotatively arbitrary (in the semiotic sense), taught to children as an integral mother tongue, and to adolescents as dialect appropriate to their age-set and choice of intracomunal identity, the significance has developed beyond the antilinguistic.

We may thus conclude that the creation of the dialect -- including continuing lexical innovation, and particularly in overlexicalization -- has been antilinguistic, but that usage has become increasingly denotative and arbitrary.

8.3 Conclusion

The meanings explicit or implicit in the focal concerns constitute myth of ritual markers of identity enaction. In the semantics, syntax and pragmatics of the religio-political code of antilinguistic relexicalization and redundancy, overlexicalization is a metaphor for the pragmatic enaction of the vitality, power and creativity of the rutting, rollicking, brawling, boozing, subordinated working-class adolescent and young adult male *communitas*, and of the differentiation of its identity from all others. The fundamental identity theme at issue is the rightful power of the *communitas* to create and maintain its own reality for its survival and development, and its according opposition to the dominant. Self-assertion and opposition are coterminous. Where the dominant (the middle class and respectable working-class adults) are construed as totalistically malignantly negating the identity of the subordinate in pragmatic action, the latter repetitively declaim affirmation of their identity by negating the identity of the dominant in lexical and metaphoric code -- and vice-versa. The dominant are construed as proclaiming: wealth and power are not for you. YES THEY ARE! And demanding: submit in stigma and deprivation totally to our power. NO WE WILL NOT! By virtue of the lack of manifold wealth and power to compete with the dominant, the subordinates' affirmation is self-limiting in terms of pragmatic development beyond the mere establishment and survival of identity. But antilanguage unites the

subordinate in communitas, creating and sustaining hope of development -- the systemic openness of identity -- when subordination signifies closure, retrogression and ultimately disintegration. Antilanguage creates, **wheatie** represents and displays, and overlexicalization sustains the honour -- the communally confirmed integrity of identity -- of the stigmatized, youthful subordinate in quest of their own development.

CHAPTER NINE

CONCLUSIONS

9.0 Introduction

This chapter addresses issues resolved or raised in the methodology, ethnography, lexicography and psychosocial semiotics of the study, and lines of further, related research on the speech community.

9.1 Methodology

In his climactic "The Crisis of European Sciences and Transcendental Phenomenology", uncompleted at his death in 1937, Husserl, the founder of modern phenomenology, refers to "the enigma of subjectivity and (...) thus (...) the enigma of psychological subject matter and method" (1954, tr 1970: 5; his emphases).

Although Berger and Luckmann (1966) acknowledge no direct influence on constructionism, Husserl prefigures its rise:

Knowing the world in a seriously scientific way, "philosophically", can have meaning and be possible only if a method can be devised of constructing, systematically and in a sense in advance, the world, the infinitude of causalities, starting from the meager supply of what can be established only relatively in direct experience, and of compellingly verifying this construction in spite of the infinitude (of experience) (p. 32; his emphases).

He proceeds to address "the objective sciences as subjective constructs" (p. 129). His observations regarding the methodology of his "incipient" philosophy apply equally well to the participant observation of identity and thus subjectivity:

Its beginning course (...) is necessarily one of experiencing and thinking in naive self-evidence. It possesses no formed logic and methodology in advance and can achieve its method and even the genuine sense of its accomplishments only through ever renewed self-reflections. Its fate (understood subsequently, to be sure, as an essentially necessary one) is to become involved again and again in paradoxes, which, arising out of uninvestigated and even unnoticed horizons, remain functional and announce themselves as incomprehensibilities (p. 181).

He proposes that the fundamental paradox of individual identity is that of the subject as object and vice-versa, resolvable in terms of intersubjectivity and thus shared identity (pp. 182-183). Koestler (1967: 65-76, 302-303, 383) successfully risks a neologism for this systemic phenomenon, which he terms a holon, self-assertive whole as integrative part and vice-versa -- each whole synthetically more than the sum of its parts -- from the classical Greek: the prefix signifying a whole, the suffix a part. But these constructions substitute one paradox for another: of I as We and vice-versa -- neither possible without the other. And they do not resolve the paradox of conscious as self-reflexive: of identity as its own subject, object and indefinitely more.

Erikson begins the Preface to "Youth: Identity and Crisis" (1968), the summation of his formulations of identity, as follows:

One of my teachers in the Vienna Psychoanalytic Institute in the late twenties was Dr Paul Federn, a fascinating man equally inventive in new concepts and in slips of the tongue. At the time, his concept of "ego boundaries" was much discussed as important but opaque. We students, in some desperation, asked him to give us as many seminars in succession as he deemed necessary to explain it to us. For three long evenings he held forth, and on concluding the last one he folded up his papers with the air of one who has finally made himself understood, and asked: "Nun -- hab ich mich verstanden?" ("Now -- have I understood myself?").

I have asked myself this question more than once in rereading what I have written on identity, and I hasten to declare that I will not offer a definitive explanation of it in this book. The more one writes about this subject, the more the word becomes a term for something as unfathomable as it is all-pervasive (p. 9).

And I have asked myself why it should be that the identical self-question has occurred to me about this study, and at the identical juncture; and have concluded that the central, synthetic, unanalysable paradox of identity, of interaction between finite and infinite constructions, occasions the bewilderment and the silence that follows, in the experience of having objectified information in advance of self-reflection, yet subjective consciousness that both understanding and bewilderment are appropriate.

Analysis alone, then, is inherently an inadequate methodological procedure

in acquiring and representing the construed phenomenon of identity. Synthesis -- of participant observer and observed into group -- is necessary in the acquisition and representation. The latter may seem inapplicable to a study by the observer.

It is inapplicable insofar as the observer is not, and never was, the observed: I as We is not identical to Thou as We. On the other hand, the observed -- any individual or group observed -- are inarticulate in verbally encompassing their own identity. The observer can hope only to retain openness to whatever data are communicated, and objectify them as far as possible.

Synthesis in representation can arise by virtue of two dialogues: between the participating and the observing selves of the participant observer, and between participant observer and participant observed. This can be claimed of the lexicographic data of this study, systematically checked with speakers and self. This procedure has produced confirmation of the formulation of the intracommunal hierarchy of four identities representing, and represented by, lexicogrammatical codes. But in finer detail, the ethnographic data are more open to question. Space does not permit case examples for every ethnographic statement, and in any event case studies alone cannot be claimed as representative of all actors of an identity.

The ethnographic data were acquired and checked by discourse with actors throughout the period of fieldwork, but not to every last statement. In principle, they are defensible only in terms of the criteria of methodological adequacy and the extent to which they demonstrate adequate acquisition of the relevant codes of the researched identities. Claim of the latter can be substantiated only by repetition by other participant observers or reference to the lexicographic data. Complete repetition is impossible: no other researcher conducted the same investigation at the same time. Apart from methodological criteria, then, the critic is left only with the possibility of disprovability in terms of paradigm, logic or any other data, including data extracted from the lexicography. Equally, the ethnographic data can be proposed only as tentative (unless one colludes in the common if unspoken practice of proposing subjective cogency as adequate objective demonstration in the absence of any other; which accounts partly for the phenomenon of scientific consensus in paradigm shifts, when, without individual self-reflection, the *communitas* of participants enthusiastically agree -- lest they be construed incorrigibly incompetent or eccentric -- that they were all mistaken but have since

gracefully advanced. Still, considerable progress has been made: even psychoanalysis now enjoys the passing of authoritative criticism by eminent scientists -- and especially academic psychologists -- that it alone resorted to metaphor and was accordingly beyond the scientific pale, to which I am consequently no longer relegated).

In objective reality, subjectivity remains as enigmatic in published psychology and philosophy as it was in 1937. There is as yet no verbal language to encompass it; there can accordingly be no science to do so.

9.2 Ethnography

Clearly, the ethnographic and lexicographic data reflect bricolage. And it is evident that the *communitas* of bricoleurs, as both creative and rebellious against transcendental order to create and maintain a reality opposed to it, enact disreputability. It is likewise evident that such identity is developmentally transitional between the stigma of nonentity and the sacrament of fundamental internal and external differentiation.

In response to the ambivalent folk stigmatization of the cultural work of the speech community examined in this study, a case can be made that in terms of the conditions under which its formation and development has occurred, and the historic, exponentially accelerating pace of the latter during the period of fieldwork, its culture constitutes an achievement adequate for its purpose of the formation, maintenance and development of actors' identity. This is not a tautological statement: the evidence is there (if beyond the scope of this study) in the extensive growth of the speech community's sociolect, and extremely rapid upward mobility during the period of fieldwork. To detach a culture conceptually from its conditions and purposes, and evaluate it in terms of another is ethnocentric and scientifically indefensible. However, scientific comparisons in terms of systemic development are wholly legitimate.

What emerges from such a comparison, I suggest, is that the working-class communal identity examined in this study is far more developed in the capacity for bricolage and particularly for oral linguistic art (as Mfenyana [1981] accurately observes of working-class "Black European Vernacular" in this country, even if he equates the middle class and working-class respectability with white identity), and for intersubjective communication than middle-class identity in general. This is crucial for the formation of Cultural identity from Natural sources. On the other hand, middle-class communal identity is far more developed in self-

reflexive and particularly scientific capacity. This is crucial for the transcendence by Cultural identity of Natural sources.

There is a strong developmental case to be made for middle-class identity which preserves -- instead of disavowing and alienating -- the developmentally constructive capacities of its working-class antecedents. Gauld and Shotter (1977) propose that "the 'self system', whatever its nature or putative physiological basis, has a certain intrinsic unpredictability, spontaneity, creativity, which render it a true 'source' or agent. If evidence be demanded for this assertion, we can only refer to the biographies of creative people" (p. 179). This is an ethnocentrically bourgeois, individualistic, adult construction. It can be complemented by far more massive, indeed communal evidence adduced by reference to working-class communal identity itself, and to adolescent identity in all Western social classes.

My proposal that religio-politically subordinate communal identity is transitional in developmental terms is psychosocial and thus systemically more comprehensive than the sociologistic construction that its ambivalence reflects no more than the exogenous structural contradictions of its class position. These obtain, but they do so for putatively monovalent dominant identity as well, obliged to depend on the subordinate for its position. I suggest that there is an intrinsic congruence between the exogenous (social) and endogenous (psychosocial) dialectics: that these are paradoxically the terms of the development as well as the subordination of subordinate identity -- a congruence exploited in the ideology of apartheid which proposed coloured identity as a "nation-in-information" (translation).

The construct of transitionality is founded in the construct of all identity as paradoxical in objective differentiation and intersubjective, symbiotic fusion, and as objectively semantically tautological beyond epigenesis. In conclusion of my account of participant observational method I proposed identity as the language of life. But life lived and observed signifies no more than that; in its own terms it is meaningless -- semantic tautology. However, just as language can be proposed a metaphor for omnipotence over reality, identity, as language, can be proposed a metaphor for omnipotence over life. Identity is formed in resolution of quest for meaning; culturally it is constituted as answer to question, and religiously as resolution of riddle. In these limited terms, provided that the metaphoric illusion is sustained (as myth), it resolves the riddle of the meaning of life.

Objective resolution of semantic tautology is commonly proposed in terms of teleology -- construal of the life-cycle in terms of natural or supernatural purpose. But there is no objective resolution of the riddle of the meaning of life; the riddle itself reflects semantics fallaciously divorced from pragmatics -- the fallacy of analysis; and the riddle is posed by those who seek to free identity from the paralysing inactivation which Erikson terms identity diffusion and confusion, in the construed absence of numinous ideological source as superpersonal charter. Hence the quest for totalistic ideology by all who construe the formation of their identity threatened by pragmatic confirmation as meaningless. Religious reality is fundamentally pragmatic: objectively, existentially given in terms of presence or absence of significance. If consciousness requires self-reflexive meaning, this, I suggest, is its extent. In proposing religion as illusion, Freud omitted to consider all myth as illusion, including psychoanalytic myth and the construction of religion as illusion. If humankind is diacritically differentiated as homo sapiens, it is in terms of the unique ability to construct and live by illusion -- signification -- as culture. Semiotics is the science of illusion. The most advanced form of illusion, arbitrary signification, is construed signifying no relationship whatever to the objective reality that it signifies. It paradoxically constitutes the return, in cultural terms, of religio-political reality as existentially contingent in terms of presence or absence of significance. It signifies the mastery of Nature by Culture. The more differentiated, complex and integrated its evolution, the more advanced the culture is construed.

9.3 Lexicography

The lexicography is of such manifold interest that any initial review of conclusions must necessarily be highly selective.

Perhaps the overriding feature is the paradox of codal integrity in code-mixing and code-switching between Afrikaans, English, Xhosa, Zulu (among the delinquent and outcast), middle-class, working-class, respectable, disreputable and delinquent speech communal identities. The integrity of the code lies precisely in its competence as bricolage, its stigma in disreputability as **Gamtaal, kombuis Afrikaans, die slang** -- and yet its sacrament as **vlottaal**. Stigma constitutes sacrament and vice-versa. This is the mythic template differentiating the speech communal sociolinguistic code from its most fundamental referent code: of thralldom in silence, no language, nonentity, outcastness, disintegration and death. For the most

striking feature of the lexis is the apparently total absence of the lexis of non-Western, major predominant communal antecedents, Khoisan and slave, which the code has rigorously rejected and obliterated. The objective historic reality of these antecedents, then, has been totalistically disavowed and destroyed. It is the totalism of the extirpation that is most noteworthy -- all the more so by an identity hypostasized as ambivalent -- for some lexis from these sources remains in middle-class Afrikaans dialects. Actors, then, have constituted the revolutionary vanguard of stigmatic destruction of their own communal history, and thus identity; and on this destruction, coloured identity was founded.

9.4 Psychosocial Semiotics

There would be no point in repeating Halliday's complex account of antilanguage in order to evaluate the data in terms of it. Suffice it to propose that they fully illustrate his formulations, as well as my criticism that the antilinguistic code is ambivalent towards the referent language(s) and itself.

His continuum of progression from standard to antilanguages reflects two intermediates, nonstandard and ghetto language. The data of this study disclose four codes reflecting antilinguistic progression from the standard, middle-class referents: the working-class respectable, disreputable, delinquent and outcast. The outcast itself remains liminally so. Beyond it is a fifth code, that of Bantu languages, irredeemably outcast, beyond the pale of speakers' society.

It is interesting that each lexicogrammatical code is the sociolinguistic code of an intracommunal identity proposed by actors as a representative variant of the speech community. The respectable, disreputable, delinquent and outcast each propose themselves quintessentially, authentically **bryn**. These mythopoeic proposals oppose each other. Equally, I suggest, they all constitute opposition to the subjectified, consensual proposal that it is the middle-class who are quintessentially, authentically **bryn**, and beyond that, white identity which is construed quintessential, authentic communal identity as such -- for **bryn** identity has (until the past decade) been consensually construed essentially flawed as a communal identity.

Antilanguage becomes dialect when it becomes mother tongue. To the infant learning the language, it has no antilinguistic significance. The child learns that significance only when the referent language is learned. This, then, is the codal significance of mother tongue as antilanguage: that the

speaker acquires irresolvable ambivalence towards his or her vernacular as well as the referent languages -- and the capacity for lexical creativity.

Relexicalization is antilinguistic when it reflects a code of negation of the code of the referent language to attack the reality that it generates, which imposes nonentity, and to propose an alternative reality, which affords identity.

Overlexicalization generates reality affording the ritual confirmation of crucial markers of the identity of working-class disreputable adolescent and young adult male. The rank order of overlexicalized meanings tends to reflect the degree of centrality of each marker to the identity. Foremost is sacramental competence in gender enaction; then competence in the enaction of locomotor mobility (put simply, the freedom and power to leave the parental home and master the world as religio-political territory); then manic affirmation of cosmic confirmation -- a wholly religio-political construction that the cosmos favours one's life, and in particular the acquisition of competent adult male identity. (It is interesting that if overlexicalization in the Delinquent Lexicon is included, the rank order of the second and third meanings is decisively reversed; delinquent identity construes itself under still more powerful religio-political threat.) In these, there is nothing unique to the speech community, nor even to the working class or Western culture; they are characteristically transitional, adolescent, and in recapitulation of the exuberant transition from infancy to childhood.

More than any other lexical phenomenon in the speech community's lexicon, overlexicalization reflects omnipotent play with identity, and particularly with the identities of male and female peers.

9.5 Further Research

The Respectable, Delinquent and Outcast Lexicons, and their corresponding identities in fuller detail, all await presentation. This work is largely completed in draft, and includes an account of overlexicalization in the Delinquent Lexicon as well, thus completing representation of overlexicalization in the adolescent and young adult male age-sets.

I have been unusually fortunate in the opportunity to conduct ethnographic research for nearly three decades, moreover at an undoubtedly critical juncture in the history of the speech community and the country. The changes during this period in communal identity, lexicons and their codes, and their interpretation, await presentation. This work too is largely

completed in draft.

Participant observation and interview of older age-sets, now grandparental and great-grandparental, could extend the historic period researched in limited respects, and record data which would otherwise apparently be lost. There is, as far as I know, no-one working in this field.

All these data could be contextualized far more extensively in demographic, political, economic, geographic and social information. Indeed, a more conventionally social anthropological ethnography of the speech community could integrate very successfully with the psychosocial and lexicographic data of my own research.

Perhaps the most crucial lack, however, is of a social history of the speech community and its antecedents. The processes of formation of its communal identities and lexicogrammatical codes remain unresearched.

Also completed in draft is a far more extensive account of constructions of coloured identity by actors and outsiders; interpretation in terms of transitional identity; and adduction of data on transitional identity elsewhere in space and time. The formulation of transitional identity is, as far as I can determine, an innovation.

The lexicography is amenable to a very wide variety of sociolinguistic and dialectological research, which I hope it will stimulate. One readily accessible semiotic line of investigation is the semiotics of metaphor and the styles generated by the codes of metaphorization in this speech community. Literally every informant interviewed was crucially conscious of, familiar with, and alert to such codes and styles construed unique to the speech community, and thus markers of its identity. Many informants were able instantly to guess the meanings of many innovations in the Disreputable Lexicon accurately in these terms -- and equally were clueless about the meanings of lexical archaisms in usage in the nineteen-fifties, which appear far closer to those of working-class and especially rural Afrikaners. This suggests that the codes changed substantially during that decade, perhaps in reaction to demographic growth in the speech community undergoing the ordeal of imposed differentiation by the implementation of the policy of apartheid.

Another line worth pursuing, in the study of subjectivity, is the psychosocial and semiotic exploration of discourse in the various Lexicons of the speech community, and comparison in these terms with discourse in other working-class and in middle-class dialects.

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All research undertaken in this present enterprise is, as far as I know, the first systematic psychosocial and semiotic ethnography and lexicography of communal or societal identity.

Apart from the formulations of identity base, identity style, and transitional identity, an apparent innovation is the semiotic construal of stigma versus sacrament as the epigenetic template of all identity crisis, in terms of the stochastic assignation of signs to identity as an open, dialectical system of information. As far as I know, the postulation that the two triads of semiotics are ontogenetically founded and related -- the indexical sign with pragmatics, the iconic with syntax, and the arbitrary with semantics -- is also also an innovation which can readily be integrated with the first three psychosexual and psychosocial phases of development in psychoanalytic terms.

More generally, it is evident that the codal, socio-semantic and semiotic analysis of lexis is very useful in the investigation of fundamental religio-political consciousness, reality and identity, and particularly of subjective information which would otherwise be inaccessible, and can throw unique light on the religio-political history of a dialectal speech

community in these terms.

For instance, if the codal destruction of historic antecedents, and thus of communal identity, is examined further, the same paradoxically sacramental quest for destruction and creation of communal identity is to be found in working-class creative stigmatization of coloured identity. And it is pursued in middle-class stigmatization of coloured identity as racist, which is a quest for destruction of coloured communal identity in creation of symbiotic merger in an inclusive South African societal identity. Such an identity could then, in subjectified terms, remain coloured insofar as it would be syncretic. There is a cogent case to be made that coloured communal identity is the quintessential, authentic, objective communal antecedent of South African national identity. The working-class view the middle-class attack with suspicion as alienated, self-interested betrayal. It would of course require the cessation of marriage, voluntary association, bonds of kinship, speech communal dialects and indeed of all identity enaction in terms of communal identity throughout the country. And in the case of totalistic socialism it extends to flaunted millenarian innovation of a socialist order to succeed despite its failure throughout the world precisely because of its totalistic disavowal and subordination of individual, communal and societal identity. Socialism proposes these a central mythic, antinomial issue.

This chiliastic proposal, I suggest, is an enaction of outcast identity, and constitutes the centuries-old continuation of sacramentally indomitable religio-political defiance in confrontation with, and ambivalent quest for destruction of Western society. It is a quest for identity where the threat of nonentity is construed, for without it protagonists would have no religio-political ideology differentiated by revolutionary antithesis from that of the dominant and proposing omnipotence over them -- and it is predominantly in terms of symbiotic antithesis, the rule of the code of antilanguage, and not transcendence, that they seek such differentiation. This totalistic variant of socialism, then, constitutes the myth of a political antilanguage to establish a counter-reality. It is necessarily symbiotic on a largely capitalist national or international economy; and in opposing instead of transcending individual, communal and societal identity, it promotes their survival and its own stigmatic inactivation by own internal contradictions. Every totalistic ideology generates a paradox resolvable only by its own ethical transformation in self-transcendence. Meanwhile, the identity it charters, yet to undergo ritualized initiatory development in institutionalized, consensually legitimated religio-

political power, paradoxically enacts subjectivity as objectivity, and forms community as grandiosely aggressive communitas, in which power -- omnipotence over the symbiotic host -- is construed sacramental. Objective ordeal is generated; the identity is destroyed or collapses, or repetitive reversals of role occur between dominance and subordination, or development of differentiated identity proceeds in which the antinomy is transcended.

Such mutual alienation occurs wherever identities construe each other mutually malignant. I suggest that it is to be found wherever society founded in nonliterate culture, and society founded in literate, urban culture inescapably confront each other in conflict over territory, and thus over religion, polity, economy and culture itself.

This paradoxical phenomenon, of primal trauma to the identity of the subordinate, still subjectified in South Africa, is undoubtedly worthy of psychohistorical research. What distinguishes Khoisan societies from the equally nonliterate Bantu-speaking societies in this regard? One may propose that the Khoisan, like the slaves, were totally, rapidly, catastrophically abrupted from territory (for comparison with an even more extreme, lethal case, see Turnbull's [1973] account of the Ugandan Ik) without the numinous resource of scriptural religio-political text and thus transportable religio-political identity independent of territory. To this the proposal can be added that in Western folk anthropology, preWestern culture is commonly construed preCultural, and no society accepts its subjective history in origins construed wholly preCultural, which have been recovered scientifically only since Darwin, and with intense ambivalence. No individual or group subjectively accepts origins prior to the mythic development of Culture. The notion of tracing one's personal and societal lineage back to "savages" and apes, let alone reptiles, insects, amoebae and viruses, is construed alien, even though each human generation alternates with a generation of single-celled ova and spermatozoa unified by interaction universally more subject to stigma than any other except its antithesis, homicide.

Coloured identity, its foundations, nomination and constitution consensually construed (by coloured, black and white identities) predominantly in Nature rather than Culture, and intermediate between the two, still abhors its construed preCultural antecedents. Such ethnocentrism is characteristic of all literate society, but in objective reality those antecedents were of course cultural, identical to the antecedents of all literate culture.

I suggest that the totalism of destruction of identity construed pre-Cultural is equally reflected in the working-class construction of Bantu speech communal identity as preCultural and outcast, i. e., fundamentally in conflict with, and beyond the pale of Western society. A fundamental conflict of codes is construed between Western and non-Western identities -- and the conflict remains reflected too as integrity, indeed honour, in ambivalence in mixing and switching of the codes mentioned above. This integrity is proposed by actors as the integrity of coloured identity, and is objectively enacted as communal identity. It is an established integrity, thus affording the potential of further development. Their ambivalence is paradoxically proposed and managed by integrity, and prefigures the crisis of transcendental development versus antithetical malignance and therefore retrogression.

Finally, what is needed most in research on subjectivity and identity is a verbal language -- and especially grammar -- more adequate for the purpose of encompassing their quiddity in folk and scientific myth. It would be unsurprising if this were to come from non-Western sources. I note one false plural in the lexicography -- **brynes** -- used crucially, as in Biblical Hebrew, to signify the ethical numinosity of identity, the whole who is creatively, ambiguously more than a part, and creates other wholes in interaction. It is not unusual to find plurality used to signify singularity for that purpose, and singularity to signify plurality in the numinosity of subjective relation between identities. The recently popular English colloquialisms, "the buzz" and "vibe", are instances. Buzzing, vibration, resonance, oscillation, tension, quiver, blur, rhythm and echo are commonly used as metaphors to signify such communication, and particularly to signify reciprocity between three-dimensional perspectives -- four if one includes time. These constructions, I propose, signify the inherent paradox of ambiguity in clarity and vice-versa in identity and relationship as self-transcendently creative of information. We do not know objectively whether information is supernaturally created from nothing -- the universe may oscillate endlessly between cycles of expansion and contraction, of fission and fusion -- but it is clear that more is naturally and epigenetically created from less, order from chaos. Such constructions approach constitution of non-musical language as music, and of science as art. Music, I suggest, is a transitional phenomenon universally associated with religio-political identity enactment.

Ethically, this research enterprise has been intended as a developmental contribution to an extensively stigmatized and stigmatizing speech

community eminently worthy of historic record and productive scientific investigation -- equally a community which, in historical terms, and under the rigours of adversity, has developed very rapidly and extensively indeed during the period of fieldwork. My ethnographic community has sacramentally violated its own stigma and done well for itself. Perhaps it will be understandable, then, that I have conceived of the research as a musical work composed by community and ethnographer, for community and ethnographer; and have construed it a sacramental act of rebellion against, and transcendence of stigma, whether by outsiders or insiders, and a foundation for research in due course by full members of the community or their descendants.

Be that as it may, it has equally been intended as a scientific contribution. Non-scientific constructions and aims, and in this case the shared, illusional construction of specialness in the relationship between ethnographer and community, can and should contribute to, rather than vitiate the priority of ethical pursuit of scientific objectivity. In this instance there is an additional challenge to self-reflexivity, which arises from the inherently stochastic vicissitudes to which the dialectical development of identity is subject and destined to contend with for mastery:

(...) to write or to have written about identity presents a special object lesson to the writer on human development: he cannot escape the necessity of re-evaluating his thinking in the light of acute historical change (Erikson [1968: 10-11]).

Acute historical change, in which perhaps all of the participants in this research have participated, has made its record and exegesis possible.

APPENDIX A

FOLK AND JURISTIC COMMUNAL IDENTITY IN DISTRICT SIX AND WOODSTOCK:

OBSERVATIONS BY AN UNIDENTIFIED SOURCE IN 1978

The statement below is reproduced from Ridd (1978), a scrappily organized, unpublished seminar paper presented at the Centre for Intergroup Studies, University of Cape Town, on the 8th June 1978. She demarcates the statement typographically, does not identify the source and includes a bibliographic footnote which is not indicated in the statement; nor does the reference cited contain it. Judging by the register, the statement is oral or informally written. It has cursive and typed emendations and erasures. She herself may have composed it (and many of its formulations are to be found in Ridd [1981]). The date of the paper's presentation, coupled with the text's remark in parentheses about plans to declare Zonnebloem College an historical monument, date the statement at 1978. Ridd herself is not readily locatable for enquiry. If she is not the source, she apparently solicited the statement, and the informant was evidently an elderly priest from the parishes of St Mark's, St Mary's and St Bartholomew's, St Philip's, Zonnebloem College or one of the Cowley Fathers formerly at Cowley House next door to the latter, where Ridd lived during part of her social anthropological fieldwork in District Six from 1976-1978, in which I assisted her. The text suggests strongly that the informant was based in Woodstock, and that she or he had considerable experience of life in England. Despite my own familiarity with likely clergy and suggestions by various informants, my enquiries to identify the author have proved fruitless.

The statement refrains from addressing the common phenomena of racism and class conflict, of middle-class residents and working-class disreputables and delinquents, and of the large proportion of Muslims, in District Six and Woodstock. Its consciousness is Anglican High Church, focussing on respectable Anglicans and Roman Catholics suffering as working-class and subordinated in terms of colour. It is genteel, restrained, articulate, well-organized and sensible -- both matter-of-fact and acutely observant, and is to my knowledge unique in its succinct yet rich portrayal of the mundane complexities, ambiguities and paradoxes of working-class communal identity in District Six and Woodstock, and the incongruities of the imposition of antinomial juristic "racial" classification on them. It is

entirely consistent with my fieldwork experience and reports by very many informants.

For all these reasons it merits wider attention than it has received:

"Most people living in this part of Cape Town have a very mixed ancestry. It is one of the oldest industrial areas of the city with a strong artisan residential population. Like the industrial areas of the English Midlands it's the area that has attracted newcomers in search of work. St Helenans, settled here, Javanese, Jews from various parts of Europe, Portuguese from Madeira and latterly from Angola. African chiefs sent their sons to be educated at Zonnebloem College (there have been plans afoot to declare it a national monument) and a few Zulu and Xhosa political exiles came to live in this part of Cape Town where there was work to be found. Bernard Mizeki was among those to come during the eighteen-sixties and -seventies as a young man. He was educated there at night school, baptised and later ordained, to become the first Black South African missionary and martyr.

This was all too long ago to fall within the living memory of even the oldest present-day inhabitants. Since then the area's position as the residential area closest to the docks and railway station has brought a continuous stream of comings and goings with peak periods during war time. British soldiers arrived in the eighteen-nineties and a number of them married local girls; some didn't marry them but are still remembered by their children's children who are grandparents today. Seamen find their way to Woodstock to sit down to roti and curry in one of the small Indian cafés along the main road, as they've done for several generations. Many have been entertained by the Anglican and Roman Catholic churches; some have taken wives away with them. Local men go to sea where they can earn good wages in addition to seeing the world. Many Woodstock homes are festooned with prized souvenirs from faraway places with almost fairy-tale significance to those who were left behind and have never travelled beyond Cape Town.

This was the stuff of Woodstock, and indeed of District Six: the people liked to be 'respectable' as a solid artisan class. They knew each other and if they didn't then they knew someone who knew the person spoken of in the latest piece of news that was circulating: 'Oh, yes -- Joe lives just next door to my grandmother's cousin's daughter'. People were much of a muchness even within this highly cosmopolitan framework. But in one factor they varied more than the inhabitants of any other part of Cape Town, and that was in the colour of their skin. It was the luck of the draw whether

you turned out to be as dark as your Portuguese grandfather or as fair as your St Helenan grandmother. Few were very dark; most looked Mediterranean, fitting to the Mediterranean climate. But the gradations of 'Mediterranean' became crucial when it came to population registration, and 'Mediterranean' became synonymous with 'Coloured'. Some called themselves 'Coloured' anyway because to them 'European' meant someone direct from Europe with a clear-cut accent, a good education, managerial skills and a strong sense of self-confidence. 'Coloured' meant something more like 'working class'; it was never a racial category in Woodstock -- people were too mixed.

When the government introduced population registration and 'Coloured' became an intermediary category between Black and White or African and European the term didn't fit. People did not see themselves in that light. Those who were able, registered themselves as 'White', but the threat of the heavy hand of the law against false documentation as White by any person of colour mitigated strongly against taking the chance, and many put down 'Coloured' in order to avoid trouble, accepting the term only as one, if not imposed upon them, then at least suggested to them.

The rapid switch from an implicit class and territorial designation to an explicitly racial classification brought a never-ending string of complications, with headaches for government officials and heartaches for the people concerned. Some people had 'White' on their birth certificates, 'Coloured' on their identity documents; others had discrepancies between their baptismal and their birth certificates. One lady I came across discovered only in her forties that she had a 'White' birth certificate when she sent her daughter to check on it for the latter's identity documents. 'If I'd known that when I was younger I would have got myself a White identity card, but it's too late to worry about that now, I'm nearly seventy', she told me. In the old days, people remember, government officials didn't ask any questions. The baby was taken to be registered: if he looked fair they put down 'White', otherwise they put down 'Mixed' or 'Coloured'. It wasn't always the mother who took the child in; a friend, relative or the midwife might do the job for her, and there were stories of officialdom registering the baby in accordance with the appearance of whoever happened to be holding him.

Nearly everyone in this part of Cape Town (unless he arrived as a rural migrant within the last couple of generations) can tell stories of this muddled situation. If they themselves were too dark to enter into the fray then they have brothers, sisters or cousins who did."

APPENDIX B

A NOTE ON THE DIALECTICAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE IDEOLOGICAL TERMS

OF PENINSULAR URBAN COLOURED IDENTITY

Examination of the semiotic interaction between hierarchic identities within the parochial, and between parochial, national and universal variants of coloured identity discloses a dialectic which progresses in scale from delinquent to respectable, and from parochial through national to universal identities. The perspective is Peninsular urban working-class.

Thesis: parochial outcastness (vagrancy, madness, stigmatic institutionalization, e.g., imprisonment).

Antithesis: individual opposition to cosmic imposition of demoralization, disintegration: cosmic, social, psychosocial and material death.

Synthesis-thesis: parochial delinquency/disreputability.

Antithesis: outcast nonentity imposed by the parochial (respectable) and national (middle-class and white).

Synthesis-thesis: parochial respectability/disreputability.

Antithesis: disreputable nonentity imposed by national variant; outcast nonentity imposed by totalistically dominant parochial Afrikaner identity.

Synthesis-thesis: national, trans-class variant (in the Peninsula, extending from the previous synthesis to putatively inauthentic middle-class, elite and ex-rural migrants).

Antithesis: parochial nonentity imposed by pragmatically dominant national white identity.

Synthesis-thesis: universal variant.

Antithesis: national nonentity imposed by universal white and/or capitalist and/or First/Second World dominant identities.

Final Synthesis (putative): universal utopian world order. Transcendent variant: human, communally diverse. Grandiose variants: Black, Third World, socialist, fundamentalist Christian, fundamentalist Muslim.

The dialectic progresses, I suggest, by virtue of epigenetic development in temporal and spatial scale, i.e., historic economic development and population growth parochially, nationally and universally (globally, in identification with other communal identities). However, repression by the dominant identity and ambivalence in the subordinate identity elicit

regressive tendencies in the latter that lead ambivalently and unstably to the reversal of the dialectic chain and conflict between dialectic syntagms which set up antinomies between the theses of each successive syntagm.

Thus the parochial and national theses become antinomial. In national terms this is enacted in national conflict between coloured and Afrikaner nationalist identities. Prior to its inception of universalistic transformation in 1990, Afrikaner nationalism proposed that coloured identity was inherently parochial and owed the development of its national variant wholly to symbiotic support and protection from its Afrikaner nationalist host.

Similarly, the national and universal theses become antinomial. In universal terms this is manifested in conflict between South Africa and an alliance of other states supporting the subordinate universal identity in development. In national terms it is manifested in episodes of civil rebellion by the revolutionary against the dominant evolutionary identity -- in party political terms, between the extra-parliamentary, broadly socialist alliance and the parliamentary House of Representatives governed by the Labour Party, ambivalently both a client and an opponent of Afrikaner nationalism.

A dialectical syntagm cannot be traced between disreputability and its vertically proximal identities because of its instability and optionality in merging with, and differentiating from each.

In parochial terms, the parochial-national antinomy is enacted in class conflict within Peninsular coloured identity.

APPENDIX C

A NOTE ON THE TRANSLATION OF HEBREW BIBLICAL MYTH

This note refers to the texts set out on pp. 232-233.

They reflect my translation and emphases from the Masoretic Text, which are based on the Revised Version in English, Hertz [ed] [2nd ed] [1940] and the philology and etymology of Biblical Hebrew [Young, n. d.] and early Sumerian [Allegro, 1970: 19-28, 215-225]. All personal names have meanings in Biblical Hebrew myth, in which all deities have names; the meanings of this deity's names are wholly subjectified; there is no denotative lexical term for deity; arbitrary signification [in semiotic terms] is introduced in the construction of the deity as invisible, omnipotent, fundamentally unpredictable and ineffable but remains unlexicalized; and transcendent mystic construction is communicated and immanent in indexical [pragmatic] and iconic [syntactic] terms only. Other evidence for the subjective meanings of the ineffable names is too extensive to present here.

In outline: El: Hebrew: (e: where) objective meaning: approaching (horizontally or upwards); subjective nominal meaning: (Unknowable) Source, commonly rendered in false plural to signify superlative transcendence, creative ambiguity and interaction between finitude and infinity: Source(s), Source encompassing and transcending All Sources unto you, Source of Sources, always used in ostension in the worshippers' perspective, the singular always solely in self-annunciation by, or personal address to El; the ambiguity and resonance between singular and plural signifies the prescribed objective reality of the singular, the proscribed illusion of the plural (there were other Els worshipped by the pre-Hebrews and neighbouring societies), the prescribed reality alluding to the proscribed illusion, but in natural terms the illusion prescribed as supernatural reality; Sumerian: life-fluid: water, resin, semen. Jehovah: Hebrew: Y'hovah: objectification of the Name taboo as ineffable (except in nomination once each year on the Day of Atonement by the high priest in the Temple); subjectively: FLUX-BECOMING (life, cosmological knowledge [consciousness, reality] and identity [for transhumant pastoralists in search of sanctified patrilineal identity and territory] from sacramental and sanctified fire, ingestion and copulation); Sumerian: Iaua: fluid-fecundating (life, cosmological knowledge and identity [for agriculturists] from water and semen); Sanskrit: Dyaus; Greek: Zeus, Latin: Iovis(-pater), Iuppiter, all storm-deities, all but Iaua usually based in remote, taboo

mountaintops construed hierophanously uncanny, especially volcanoes and in regions subject to earthquake (the margins of the Jordan Rift Valley, Asia Minor, the Aegean); Greek: theos, Latin: deus: deity. At a time when secular legal and political texts were wholly laconic, the Hebrew religious text was clearly intended to remain pregnant with subjective meaning and thus prescribe and encompass a lived relation between deity and humankind, unlike canonized Talmudic exegesis and English translations.

In comparison with contemporary middle-class European languages, Biblical Hebrew, like the dialect studied in this thesis, is lexicogrammatically taut, i.e., the pragmatics of terseness signify the semantics of power over reality -- and equally is pregnantly ambiguous (systemically open) in constructions of relations between, and named identities of humankind and deity. However, the preservation of disreputability in representations of reality has evidently been obligatory throughout orthodox Judaism and Christianity (and Islam). Canonized Christian and Jewish translations into English of the religio-politically charged Hebrew syntax continue to sacrifice Hebrew meaning for English meaning and concision, selectively misrepresenting text and mystifying laity. The result, from one text, is a Babel of contemporary translations (e.g., literally: "Abram fell (up)on his face" -- as archaeological data show, an Ancient Near Eastern ritual prostration signifying total obeisance by a vassal; but the Anglican New English Bible: "Abram threw himself down on his face"; and the Roman Catholic Jerusalem Bible: "Abram bowed to the ground". "Threw down", "bowed" and "ground" are not in the original text, the literal translation of which is wholly adequate in English and in the King James and Revised Versions).

In Hebrew, performative incantation of the text with sedulously selective homiletics serves similarly to maintain totalistic ideological authority and popular fidelity. Minor participant observation has indicated that translation such as the above commonly elicits anxiety and ritual avoidance of the objectification as a construed threat to orthodox fidelity even though the subjective meaning is well known. Self-mystification separates religious Jewish *communitas* from secular Jewish community and thus manages the risk of syncretism, assimilation and loss of both *communitas* and community. The price is rigidity and long-term unsustainability; antithetically, the religious baby is thrown out with the traditionalist bathwater. There is apparently a paradigm shift coming, founded on archaeological retrieval of pre-Christian data, the religio-political transformation of Jewish identity into Zionist variants, and fundamental

liberation from anti-Jewish attack -- and solidary opposition to it. I suggest that religious myth is altogether too crucial culturally and scientifically to be left to its professional protagonists.

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