Exploring the positioning of multilingual Kaaps and Cape Flats English-speaking university students' linguistic choices and identities.

Salaamah Ariefdien

(ARFSAL001)

arfsal@myuct.ac.za

Minor Dissertation

2025

Language and Literacy Stream

Supervisor: Carolyn Mckinney

Declaration

This work has not been previously submitted in whole, or in part, for the award of any degree. It is my own work. Each significant contribution to, and quotation in, this dissertation from the work, or works, of other people has been attributed and has been cited and referenced.

Signature: Signed by candidate Date: 14/02/25

Acknowledgements

First and foremost, all praise and glory be to my Almighty for allowing me to come this far in my academic career and for granting me the guidance, assistance, knowledge, skills, resources, strength, understanding, and patience to complete my master's degree and produce my minor dissertation. Thank you to my parents, who have supported me throughout my academic journey. Their prayers, sacrifices, and hard work have always provided me with everything I needed. I will forever be grateful to you.

Professor Carolyn McKinney, my supervisor and mentor, thank you for all the guidance, support, feedback, wisdom, motivation, and reassurance you have offered me throughout this journey; I will always carry it with me. It has been an honour to be both supervised and taught by you.

To my postgraduate lecturers, thank you for helping me grow as a student and an individual. Thank you for imparting your knowledge and creating a decolonised academic space that laid the foundation for me to decolonise my thinking, embrace Afrikaaps, and learn more about my linguistic and cultural identity. This led to the idea and inspiration behind my honours research project and master's thesis. It has been a privilege learning from you.

To my research participants, thank you for taking time out of your busy schedules to contribute to an integral part of this project. Thank you for sharing your journeys and validating rich lived experiences with me. I hope I did justice to your stories and raised awareness for Afrikaaps.

To my classmates who became friends, thank you for the knowledge, guidance, and camaraderie throughout this degree. You made studying enjoyable during these two years, especially during stressful times.

To my friends, who have listened to my complaints, supported me, constantly checked in on me, and motivated me, thank you for the laughter and kind words that made difficult times more manageable. I will always appreciate it.

Thank you to the esteemed scholars and empowering individuals who continue researching and promoting Afrikaaps through various means, highlighting the language’s significance and history.

Abstract

"*English is the language of the colonisers, but Afrikaaps is the language of my ancestors" - Teddy.*

Language ideologies have played a significant role in marginalising speakers of racialised languages within society. The dominance of standardised colonial languages has led to the suppression of indigenous languages, such as Afrikaaps and Cape Flats English (CFE). This phenomenon not only influences people's language choices but also encourages them to adopt dominant identities. As a result, many speakers, including myself, grapple with balancing our identities with our cultural heritage and our connections to indigenous communities.

This study delves into the complex power dynamics involved in language ideologies, particularly how colonialism affects them. It focuses on indigenous Afrikaaps and CFE-speaking students at an English-medium university in Cape Town. While numerous studies have examined the relationships between colonialism, language, and racial identity, few have specifically addressed Afrikaaps and CFE. This research aims to contribute towards filling that gap.

I utilised critical sociolinguistics, which frames language as a social practice, as the foundation of my research. This approach is grounded in Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) framework, combined with a decolonial perspective and Bourdieu's theorising of symbolic dominance. To collect data, I employed ethnographic methods, particularly linguistic ethnography, to explore the language and identity experiences of eight university students (both male and female) who speak Kaaps and CFE. I explore how these students understand their language choices and the identities they construct. To this end, I utilised various data collection methods, including language body portraits and questionnaires, audio-recorded semi-structured interviews, audio recordings of naturally occurring conversations, participants written texts, and my own field notes. I employed Fairclough's three-dimensional discourse analysis and thematic analysis to analyse the data.

The findings illustrate how participants navigate their hybrid identities as multilingual speakers of Kaaps in a predominantly English-speaking environment. Prevailing ideas in different spaces, such as home and university, shape their identities. Participants indicated that the university environment—often seen as a hybrid space—required them to perform

particular identities. At the same time, home, provided a supportive environment where they felt free to express rather than perform themselves. Consequently, many participants maintained a separation between their academic and home identities, with a few notable exceptions.

Additionally, the research highlights how colonial ideologies, such as Anglonormativity and language purity, influence participants' identity construction and language choices. Other significant factors include family language policies and the racialisation of languages. For instance, Kaaps are frequently associated with being "Coloured", serving as a marker of an "authentic" Coloured identity. However, using Kaaps can also challenge narrow views of race and ethnolinguistic characteristics. Overall, the study also emphasises the complex racial dynamics surrounding the perception of being Coloured in post-colonial South Africa, often placing individuals in an "in-between" space.

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1. INTRODUCTION

In South Africa, language has long been a significant emotional and political concern (Le Cordeur, 2011). As in many other postcolonial contexts, language and cultural hierarchies are essential components of the colonial matrix of power (Quijano, 2000). In many postcolonial contexts, language hierarchies are dominated by English. As Lin and Martin (2005: 2) observe, there is a common thread among many postcolonial states: "English has often been perceived as an indispensable resource that postcolonial societies and their governments seek for themselves and their younger generations in light of their socioeconomic circumstances." Furthermore, language is inextricably linked to racialised identities. Sapir (1928: 208, cited in Alidou and Mazrui, 1999: 107) noted, "Human beings are very much at the mercy of a particular language which has become the medium of expression for their society". This underscores the notion that people's cultural identities are frequently shaped by the languages they use (Webb and Kembo-Sure, 2000: 122, cited in Makoni and Trudell, 2006: 21). Language ideologies have been pivotal in marginalising speakers of racialised languages in South African societies and influence their identities and language choices in various social settings. Following Bourdieu's (1977) concept of habitus, these ideologies become embedded in social practices, influencing how language is used and determining access to dominant languages, their associated linguistic capital and access to specific social spaces.

The enduring impact of colonial language ideologies has relegated fluid language use to an inferior status, while monolingual standardised languages are considered superior. This dynamic continues to undermine the rich indigenous multilingualism that exists in South Africa (McKinney and Molate, 2022), particularly the multilingualism within Kaaps-speaking families and communities. Consequently, colonialism has profoundly influenced the identity and language choices of Kaaps and CFE speakers. The marginalisation and suppression of indigenous languages, such as Kaaps and Cape Flats English[1] (CFE), have resulted in standardised forms of colonial languages, shaping individuals' language preferences and their assimilation into dominant identities. As a result, many speakers,

[1] **Cape Flats English (CFE)** originated in the working-class areas of inner-city Cape Town. It is spoken in the Cape Flats region of Cape Town, South Africa. Some people call it Coloured English, but this term is not widely accepted, as it homogenises 'Coloured's 'as not everyone labelled 'Coloured' during Apartheid speaks this dialect. People identified as 'Coloured' come from different regions and social classes. Additionally, some individuals do not accept the term 'Coloured' to describe themselves (Finn, 2008).

including myself, grapple with the conflict between their identity, cultural heritage, and connection to indigenous communities. A conversation between Monox and Coloured Afrikaaps (Kaaps) speaking students (cited in Alim, Haupt, Jansen, and Williams, 2021) reveals that students are acutely aware that they do not speak the so-called "Suiwer" (pure) Afrikaans. They also recognise that various dialects of Afrikaans are categorised along racial lines, with their variant being viewed as "impure" and deemed socially, ideologically, and historically inappropriate.

Consequently, many Kaaps and CFE-speaking individuals still face or have faced external and internalised discrimination and prejudiced views on their indigenous language, often seen as inferior, informal, or uneducated. As such, I believe it's important to raise consciousness by shining a decolonial light on how indigenous languages are viewed and deconstructing the immense influence colonialism has imposed on language choices and the formation of linguistic identities claimed by multilingual Kaaps and CFE language speakers. By recognising the historical context and systemic power dynamics that have marginalised Indigenous languages, we can work towards promoting their revitalisation and preservation.

As a Coloured bilingual speaker of Kaaps and CFE, my journey with Afrikaaps reflects the participants' shared experiences in my study. In earlier years, I identified only as an English language speaker, distancing myself from Afrikaans, particularly the "standard" variety promoted in schools. Influenced by stigmatising thoughts and colonial ideologies, I was unaware of Afrikaaps' rich history and origins, leading me to reject both the language and a vital part of my identity. However, my relationship with Kaaps has evolved from struggle to powerful reclamation. Through my postgraduate studies, I have cultivated a profound appreciation for the significance of Afrikaaps and the diversity of being Coloured, transforming my previously negative perceptions and wholeheartedly embracing them as an essential element of who I am. Therefore, my research study is dedicated to understanding the continuing power dynamics between language ideologies, subjectivity, and race and how they intersect with colonialism, especially for indigenous Kaaps and CFE speakers.

Therefore, the main research questions I aim to answer are:

1. *How do multilingual Kaaps and Cape Flats English-speaking university students position themselves in relation to their linguistic identities and language choices?*

2. *What language ideologies inform how multilingual Kaaps and Cape Flats English-speaking university students position themselves in relation to their linguistic identities and language choices?*

With more in-depth exploration into the following sub-questions:

3. *What are students' perceptions towards Kaaps and Cape Flats English, and its use in an educational/formal setting?*
4. *How do students use language to navigate the ethnolinguistic and apartheid/colonial ideologies attached to their identities?*

My research study is theoretically informed by critical sociolinguistics, notably the Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) framework, integrated with a decolonial perspective and Bourdieu's theorising of symbolic dominance. It aims to identify students' linguistic identities and explore and analyse the language ideologies that shape the positioning of Kaaps and CFE-speaking university students in relation to their linguistic identities and language choices. In addition, I aim to understand students' beliefs regarding Kaaps and CFE and analyse their language practices, exploring how they leverage their language practices to navigate ethnolinguistic and colonial ideologies tied to their identities. Furthermore, I would like to illuminate the stigmatisation faced by speakers of Kaaps and CFE, adding to the body of work aimed toward decolonising the marginalisation of indigenous languages and language varieties.

Qualitative and interpretive, this research study was contextually situated at the University of Cape Town (UCT), commonly viewed as an institution "emerging from a colonial past, favouring white supremacy. It is also an English-medium university, both historically and in the present day. I recruited eight (seven females and one male) Kaaps (including Mengels[2], Kombuis Afrikaans) speaking university students to partake in my study. They were aged 20-26 and racially self-identified as Coloured, with the male identifying as mixed. Employing linguistic ethnographic methods to collect data via semi-structured interviews, language body portraits, written texts, audio recordings and fieldnotes, my study explored the interactions

[2] **Mengels** is a play on words meaning "mixed English" that refers to speaking a mixture of mostly English with Afrikaaps words in a sentence. The Afrikaans term meng translates to mix in English. Mengels thus combines 'meng' (mix) and Engels (English).

between participants' linguistic practices, their attitudes towards language, and the context in which they occurred.

For the remainder of the study, so-called “Suiwer” [Pure] Afrikaans will be referred to as “standard” Afrikaans, unless necessary, or to quote terms that participants use and reference. This decision was made to cease the narrative of “standard” Afrikaans as “Pure” as this alludes to other varieties of Afrikaans being positioned as “impure” or not the standard. In addition, “Kaaps” will be referred to as Afrikaaps to symbolise my stance in supporting the Afrikaaps language movement mentioned in Chapter Two. Using the label of Afrikaaps is also a means of demonstrating my stigmatised prior beliefs about Kaaps, as mentioned in above, being reconstructed and claiming the language as part of my identity as a Coloured bilingual Afrikaaps speaker. In addition, it also challenges the traditional beliefs of Afrikaans that bilingual Coloured Afrikaaps children are growing up with because of the “standard” Afrikaans variety taught in educational or familial environments and stigmatised views of Afrikaaps imposed on them in these environments and broader systems.

1.1 CHAPTER OUTLINE

Chapter Two: Theoretical Framework and Literature Review

In this chapter, I present the theoretical and conceptual framework that underpins my research. The main theoretical framework presented entails language as a social practice, which underpins Fairclough’s' (2001) Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) framework. This will be combined with a decolonial lens and theorising of Bourdieu's symbolic dominance. I then provide an overview of the relevant literature focused on colonial language ideologies; language and race in post-colonial South Africa; Family language policy; Afrikaaps and Afrikaans, its intertwined history and significance; and Language and Identity, Identity Negotiation in English-Medium Tertiary Institutions and the influence of (white) dominant spaces and well as the resurgence in the assertion of Coloured identity and appropriation of the apartheid-constructed category is also discussed.

Chapter Three: Research Design and Methodology

This chapter outlines the research design, identifying the nature of my study, which uses linguistic ethnography. I describe the research site, participants, data collection methods, data

analysis methods, and ethics procedures. Furthermore, I justify why each method chosen is suitable for this study and how it aligns with the research questions and aims.

Chapter Four: Data Analysis I- Language and Identity

In this chapter, I introduce the study's participants and discuss their language body portraits. I also examine the relationship between language and identity by thematically analysing the collected data, illustrating how participants construct and navigate hybrid identities.

Chapter Five: Data Analysis II- Language Ideologies and Language Practices

This chapter unpacks and explores the different language ideologies that inform students' identity positionings and the languages they associate with their linguistic identity and claim as part of their repertoire. Furthermore, it will explore how participants use language and their choices based on their language ideologies. Additionally, it will examine how participants position themselves at home as opposed to at university.

Chapter Six- Conclusion

In this chapter, I reflect on and conclude the findings of my data analysis and answer the respective research questions. I also identify this study's limitations and contributions of this research study.

2. Theoretical Framework and Literature Review

In this research, I will draw on critical sociolinguistics, specifically the theorising of language as a social practice, which underpins Fairclough's' (2001) Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) framework. I will combine this with a decolonial lens and Bourdieu's (1977; 1982; 1991) theorising of symbolic dominance. While the decoloniality framework and post-structuralist framework maintain different ontologies, Bourdieu's work focuses on social class and de/coloniality (Wa Thiong'o, 1986; Maldonado Torres, 2007; Mignolo, 2007, 2011), bringing race into focus, both of which are necessary in this study. The concept of pluriversality (Mignolo, 2003) from de/coloniality also enables one to draw from different theoretical approaches. After discussing these theoretical concepts, I will proceed to review the literature on colonial language ideologies, language and race in South Africa, and family language policy. In addition, I will discuss the history and significance of Afrikaaps and Afrikaans, the influence of (white) dominant and English-dominant spaces on identity negotiation and the resurgence in the assertion of Coloured identity and appropriation of the apartheid-constructed category

2.1.1 Language as a Social Practice

According to Fairclough's critical discourse theory, communication is an influential instrument that, through time, moulds our environment and establishes social meaning in a given society (1992:63). The theory also asserts that different types of speech are organised hierarchically, and that language is a social construct. Fairclough emphasises how language and society are intertwined, with social norms impacting how language is used and interpreted (Fairclough in Makoe, 2007:61). This suggests that language learning processes significantly influence the development of cultural values and norms.

Fairclough (1989; 2015) asserts that sociocultural circumstances influence language and are a social conditioning method. He contends that language and speech are constrained by social practice orders or the social norms that specify how things should be done. These norms control how language is employed in social settings. Viewing language as a social activity helps us better comprehend how language is used as an instrument of power in various social contexts. It also enables us to recognise the discursive hierarchies surrounding specific languages and how they influence participants' language ideologies, informing the positioning of their linguistic identities and social language usage.

Luke (2002) has criticised CDA for its subjectivity. However, since CDA relies heavily on interpretation, the researcher must determine its significance. Words themselves do not hold meaning; it is people who give them meaning as social agents (Bourdieu, 1977). Social language usage is closely tied to the social environment in which it occurs. Therefore, "Discourse" encompasses both social usage and the cognitive connection between form and function (Gee, 2004). Analysing ideology within language use requires an interpretive approach to connect discourse with power. In this respect, Fairclough's (1992) paradigm serves as a critical theoretical foundation for my study.

2.1.2 De/Coloniality Framework

My use of the de/coloniality framework is influenced by the writings of Ngugi wa Thiong'o (1986), Maldonado Torres (2007), and Walter Mignolo (2007, 2011). Maldonado Torres (2007) defines coloniality as a pervasive power dynamic resulting from colonialism that affects culture, labour, interpersonal interactions, and knowledge creation. According to Mignolo (2011), colonialism actively devalued non-dominant colonial languages by constructing them as inferior and unfit for logical reasoning, thereby devaluing indigenous existence and ideas. Mignolo (2007) posits that the colonial matrix of power (Quijano, 2000)—a framework of control and exploitation—operates across five key domains of human experience: economy, authority, gender, and sexuality. This matrix plays a crucial role in shaping subjectivity and knowledge. It is founded on racial classifications and notions of race that are deemed "objective" and "scientific." These classifications establish the basis for the racial division of capital, resources, and labour, significantly influencing the structure of modern societies.

Ngugi wa Thiong'o (1986) contended that colonial authorities used language as a tool for oppression and spiritual slavery. Makoni and Pennycook (2024) demonstrate how apartheid institutions used African languages as colonial scripts to separate and racialise people, leading to a nationalised and racialised social order by replacing indigenous ideas of language and how it functioned. Consequently, the value of people was lost, and their linguistic endowments were disregarded when indigenous, local languages were dismissed because of colonialism. Ergo, Mignolo (2011) and Yellow Bird (as stated in Waziyatawin and Yellow Bird, 2012) contend that it is essential to strongly oppose colonialism's exploitation and oppression of people, land, and culture in order to achieve decoloniality and decolonisation. This is further supported by Ngugi wa Thiong'o's (1986) advice to liberate oneself from

colonial and neocolonial conceptions of reality by unlearning colonial linguistic hierarchies and ideologies (Mignolo, 2007).

Using this framework, I aim to identify and analyse language ideologies that shape people's identities and attitudes towards Afrikaaps and Cape Flats English (CFE) in a post-colonial context. While simultaneously aiming to work at decolonising the marginalisation of Afrikaaps and CFE, it is crucial to highlight how colonial language ideologies, including Afrikaner nationalism as a catalyst in the context of Kaaps, have enabled the positioning of standard language varieties as superior, perpetuating the positioning of Afrikaaps and CFE as inferior.

2.1.3 Symbolic Capital/Dominance

According to Pierre Bourdieu's (1977, 1982, 1991) theory of symbolic dominance, linguistic practices can operate as unequally distributed symbolic capital within a speech community. The dominant group's acceptance of a linguistic variety and establishments like schools and the media determines its perceived worth in a symbolic market. Bourdieu's concept, however, contends that a group that is symbolically privileged could inadvertently think that their linguistic variety is superior. Thus, rather than being only about language, linguistic ideologies are socially situated and linked to issues of identity and power in cultures (Woolard, 1985). While linguists typically consider all languages and dialects equal, in political, widespread debate and social institutions, official languages and varieties considered standard are frequently preferred over nonstandard ones. Adopting Bourdieu's basic premises, Gal (1989), Heller (1992), and Woolard (1985) argued that Bourdieu's view of symbolic domination is flawed because it excludes the possibility of resistance and links hegemonic power to relative numbers of speakers of a particular variety. His theory was thereby elaborated in slightly different ways by the three researchers. Consequently, Woolard (1985) expands Bourdieu's market metaphor by demonstrating that various settings may have different markets with unique linguistic norms and values. Regional language differences might be seen as acts of solidarity and defiance against symbolic hegemony in local marketplaces. Subsequently, Gal (1989) suggests that speakers might alter linguistic norms and stigmatise social identities by utilising interaction microstructures.

Bourdieu's theorising of symbolic dominance allows one to delve into the impact of discursive categories on power dynamics at both local and global levels. It holds that people who speak the official language, or the standard variety, are perceived as more intellectually

valuable, while those who do not are vulnerable to symbolic dominance. The influence of symbolic dominance often operates unnoticed and necessitates the acquiescence of individuals who either choose to remain uninformed or deliberately engage with this power for their purposes. Therefore, Heller (1992) suggests that analysing language practices entails examining how language ideologies support and legitimise these behaviours and how language choice and usage standards are developed, maintained, and changed through these practices. Such an analysis is instrumental in identifying the language ideologies that influence people's language choices and identities while also enabling them to navigate the ethnolinguistic or colonial ideologies that may be associated with their identities.

2.1.4 Power Exertion through Language Ideologies

Language ideologies are the beliefs and values in society that shape how we see, use, and express language (Makoe and McKinney, 2014: 659). Blackledge and Pavlenko (2001), building on Woolard's definition (1998), assert that social contexts influence these ideologies and are closely related to identity and power within society. They are formed through discussions that shape our values and beliefs about language, including how we use it, institutional practices, and everyday behaviours.

Pierre Bourdieu's (1977) concepts of habitus and field offer valuable insights into how individuals learn to navigate language in specific contexts, especially with non-standard or minority languages. Habitus refers to the ingrained norms and patterns influencing our behaviour (Bourdieu, 1990). The interplay between habitus and field can create conditions that reinforce dominant beliefs and facilitate symbolic violence (Blackledge and Pavlenko, 2002). Symbolic violence arises when individuals accept the social order as natural, which leads them to avoid questioning it (Everett, 2002). For example, in my experience, schools upheld 'standard' Afrikaans as the norm, while Afrikaaps were regarded as inferior. This belief system led me to conclude that 'standard' Afrikaans was the only proper form of the language, making me reluctant to embrace my identity as a speaker of Afrikaaps.

Language ideologies can create divisions within society by designating specific languages as superior. This occurs when individuals misinterpret specific languages within established frameworks. The dominant language typically becomes the one that influential institutions endorse (Bourdieu, 1991:153). Such perceptions are often reinforced through socialisation and education (Schieffelin and Doucet, 1998). Bourdieu (1990) argues that failing to recognise the arbitrary nature of this power perpetuates existing hierarchies. Language

ideologies frequently mirror societal divisions, framing a narrative of 'self/other' or 'us versus them.' These ideologies evolve in response to social, political, and historical contexts (Gal, 1998). Language ideologies serve as instruments for those in power to exert control over others, sometimes resulting in the exclusion and discrimination of individuals who do not conform (Blackledge and Pavlenko, 2002). Language oppression can develop gradually over extended periods. Bourdieu (1992) highlights that a history of bias shapes communication. To comprehend contemporary language ideologies, it is essential to consider previous ideologies. Acknowledging these invisible power dynamics is vital for understanding today's complex social structures (Blommaert, 1999). Aligning with the theoretical framing above, concepts that I will draw on throughout this literature review are Language Ideologies, specifically the ideologies of Anglonormativity, Monoglossic ideologies, and Raciolinguistic ideologies and the relationship between language, discourse and identity. The following literature review will focus on the discourses around colonial ideologies and how they may be continually reproduced, as well as the colonial history/ relationship between Afrikaans and Afrikaaps and the significance of Afrikaaps. Furthermore, the complex relationship between language and identity and how the discourse of power is constructed and continually interwoven throughout will be considered.

2.2 LITERATURE REVIEW

2.2.1 Colonial Language Ideologies

Deumert et al. (2020:15) contend that coloniality in linguistics reduces languages to essential forms, thereby shaping how people communicate. This simplification results in the appropriation and marginalisation of alternative perspectives on language and literacy. According to Maldonado-Torres (2007), inequalities stem from colonial power dynamics, which give rise to concepts of superiority and inferiority that influence local and global power relations. These foster beliefs associating intelligence with whiteness and European languages (Makoe and McKinney, 2014). The elite notion of "authoritative literate multilingualism" in standard European languages is often regarded as superior to indigenous multilingualism, which is typically dismissed as a "linguistic jumble" (Garcia and Lin, 2018: 81). Such perceptions originate from the colonial matrix of power (Quijano, 2000).

Indigenous multilingualism in the Global South highlights the interactions between languages, whereas the Northern perspective views multilingualism as simply the capacity to

know multiple distinct languages (McKinney, Zavala, and Makoe, 2024). Blommaert (2010:102) suggests that multilingualism should be understood as a spectrum of semiotic resources, including accents, language varieties, and registers, shaped by specific language beliefs in defined contexts.

Colonial language beliefs, such as language hierarchy, language standardisation, linguistic purism and monolingualism, have negatively impacted indigenous multilingualism (Phillipson, 1994; Garcia and Lin, 2018). These beliefs treat languages as discrete entities and promote a "correct" way of using language (Chang-Bacon, 2021), often privileging English over regional languages (McKinney, 2017). Linguistic purism dismisses variations and perceives ‘foreign elements’ as detrimental (Trask, 1999). This perspective contributes to the notion of a stable "main official language" (Holquist, 2014), where standardisation aims to eliminate perceived undesirable features (Van der Sijs,1999: 11). Such norms reinforce the belief that standardisation defines what is considered ‘undesirable’ (Langer and Nesse, 2012) and promotes national unity through purism (Badwan, 2021). However, Langer and Nesse (2012) point out the reality that standard languages can exclude those who do not speak them.

2.2.2 Language and Race in Post-colonial South Africa

In post-colonial South Africa, a prevailing belief is that speaking "standard" English reflects education and intelligence (Makoe and McKinney, 2014). This gives rise to a dominant belief system known as "Anglonormativity," which posits that everyone should communicate in English. Those who do not conform to this expectation may be perceived as lacking or different (McKinney, 2017: 80). Anglonormativity is often intertwined with issues of race, privileging "White South African English" over Black South African English or Cape Flats English, which are influenced by indigenous African languages (McKinney, 2017). McKinney et al. (2024) highlight that in Southern contexts characterised by a long history of linguistic diversity, racial issues frequently overshadow the appreciation of that diversity. Language significantly shapes perceptions and classifications of race. Additionally, remnants of apartheid-era thinking continue to inform South Africans' views on language and identity today.

In the United States, Alim, Ball, andRickford (2016) explore the connection between language and race through what they refer to as Raciolinguistics ideologies. Rosa (2018:2) elaborates that languages are often intertwined with racial identity and communication styles,

capturing the essence of Raciolinguistics ideologies. These ideologies merge language and race, typically reflecting the views of a “white listening subject” who assesses speech quality based on the speaker's race (Flora and Rosa, 2015). Whiteness is perceived as an "ideological position" that influences societal norms and can be embodied by any speaker, not exclusively those who identify as white (Flora and Rosa, 2015: 151). Although race is a social construct without a biological basis, it continues to play a significant role in shaping social organisation and identity (McKinney, 2017:ch4; Kubota and Lin, 2006; 2009; Luke and Lin, 2006).

During apartheid, the South African government implemented the 1950s Population Registration Act to establish racial categories: Black (African), Coloured, Indian, and White. This initiative was part of the Apartheid system, which sought to maintain the separation of racial and ethnic groups. Makoni (2003) noted that this ideology was enforced through physical segregation. McKinney (2017) emphasised that the apartheid regime also aimed to regulate language, which was evident in the labels assigned to various demographic groups. The idea behind racial hierarchy coincides with Harris and Rampton (2009: 2), who argue that notions of race normalised the idea of "white European" superiority and "black" inferiority, with "brown" people in between. This hierarchy extended to language, linking different forms of English—such as White South African English, Coloured and Cape Flats English (CFE), and Black South African English—with specific racial identities (Lanham, 1996; Mesthrie, 2010). Rosa and Flores (2017: 11) illustrated how raciolinguistics connects language with racial identities, forming social categories that imply inferiority for racialised people and racialised language use. This relationship influences societal perceptions of language practices and the participants involved in them.

Van de Waal (2012: 450) outlines the history of Afrikaans, highlighting efforts to establish a 'standard' version of the language that would represent white individuals during Apartheid. Afrikaner nationalism, which emerged in the late 19th century, played a significant role in creating a racially exclusive version of Afrikaans that marginalized its creole roots and non-white speakers, particularly those who spoke Afrikaaps—a vernacular form predominantly used by Coloured communities in South Africa (Van der Waal, 2012: 449; Giliomee, 2003a). Rooted in the Afrikaans Language Movement of 1875, this nationalist project institutionalised a purified, white, Calvinist form of Afrikaans, excluding nearly three million non-white speakers from educational and cultural recognition (Le Cordeur, 2016: 96; Odendaal, 2013: 186). While “standard” Afrikaans gained acceptance from the state,

Afrikaaps was stigmatized as substandard, which reinforced the racial and class hierarchies prevalent during the apartheid era (Alim et al., 2021: 198; Willemse, 2012: 81). Afrikaans became a symbol of white identity and a divine entitlement to land (Devarenne, 2009: 634), while speakers of Afrikaaps faced systemic marginalization and internalized linguistic shame (Orman, 2014: 62).

Although originally positioned as a counter to English imperialism, “standard Afrikaans” ultimately supported the segregated language ideologies of apartheid (Van Heerden, 2016: 31). This led many to "linguistically alienate" Afrikaaps in favor of English or the standard forms of Afrikaans (McCormick, 2006: 66). The Afrikaner nationalist movement and ideology nurtured a racial identity (Grebe, 2009, quoted in Van de Waal, 2012: 450). The language spoken by white Afrikaners was viewed as superior to the working-class variety used by Coloured communities and the Dutch spoken by the white elite. Consequently, “non-standard variants” such as Afrikaaps, primarily used by Coloured speakers, were seen as impure and inferior. Society often regards standard languages as the benchmark for educated communication, which leads to any deviation being labelled as incorrect or merely a dialect. As a result, Afrikaaps was deemed ‘inferior’ Afrikaans, "purified" through standardisation to eliminate its mixed heritage, ultimately becoming a symbol of white Afrikaner nationalism (Van de Waal, 2012). Other non-standard forms of Afrikaans, like Afrikaaps, are frequently viewed as inferior and are associated with 'ghetto' language or humour, often linked to 'Colouredness' (Le Cordeur, 2016; Van Wyk, 1997). Speakers of Afrikaaps may also be unjustly perceived as simple-minded or incapable of understanding complexity (Le Cordeur, 2016). This illustrates how societal perceptions of Afrikaaps and other non-standard forms of Afrikaans are influenced by historical racial and class dynamics, shaping judgments about individuals' speech and abilities (Cooper, 2018: 31).

Reddy (2001:68) notes a conflict between essentialist and social constructivist perspectives on racial identities in South Africa. The concept of "Coloured" came to represent people or groups that are seen as "impure," "mixed," "borderline," or "doubtful,". Thus, Coloured came to be perceived as the extreme "Other" and ambiguous centre of the mainstream racial discourse between those who are classified as Black or White. It is important to acknowledge that the term 'Coloured' has been the subject of much contestation, and it is crucial to understand its historical context.

In 1950, the Population Registration Act defined a “Coloured” person as someone who is neither white nor native (Posel, 2001), which often resulted in individuals having to choose between identifying as black or white, while being labelled as Coloured often meant being viewed as a privileged black person or a 'not quite white' person. This perspective is based on the belief that Colouredness is the result of mixing 'purer' cultures (Erasmus, 2001). These beliefs highlight the complexity of being classified as Coloured in South Africa, as it reinforces an essentialist perspective on race. Individuals who are perceived as or who self-position as not white or black are automatically placed in this category, which highlights the difficulties faced by those who identify as Coloured. They are often boxed as being 'in-between', not quite belonging to one group or the other. These associations and contestation of the 'Coloured' term are further highlighted by various scholars (Erasmus and Pieterse, 1999; Erasmus et al., 2001; Posel, 2001; Adhikari, 2004; Petrus and Isaacs-Martin, 2012; Nilsson, 2016; Rassool, 2019). Accordingly, I will further develop an in-depth discussion regarding this contestation in my research project. While I intend not to essentialise Coloured identities and link Afrikaaps and CFE to “Colouredness”, it would be inaccurate to overlook the crucial role of Coloured people in the development and history of Afrikaaps and CFE. With the reductionism of political and racial categories further assuming that blackness and whiteness are themselves given coherent and homogeneous identities, my usage following Erasmus (2001:14) of the term “Coloured” embraces a repurposed form that embodies the “ambiguity and ceaseless fluidity of Coloured identity formations while remaining conscious of the conditions under which they are produced”. Evidently, language can serve as a crucial symbol of race and ethnicity. In many families, the language spoken at home may not align with the language used in schools, highlighting the complexities of language practices and family language policies. These language choices are often intertwined with power dynamics and social relations.

2.2.3 Family Language Policy

The concept of Family Language Policy (FLP) provides a framework for examining language use within the home and among family members (Curdt-Christiansen and Lanza, 2018). FLP is important to my study, as I found in my data analysis that most participants' language ideologies and language use are influenced by their family language socialisation. FLP, thereby, plays a vital role in facilitating child language development through explicit and implicit planning and covert policies (King and Fogle, 2017). It is instrumental in promoting

multilingual development and language maintenance, as well as shift and cultural continuity by considering child-caretaker interactions, parental linguistic ideologies and broader societal perspectives in multilingual households (McKinney and Molate, 2022: 128). Explicit and overt FLP involves adults' conscious efforts to create linguistic environments and materials for language acquisition and literacy development. Conversely, implicit and covert FLP is influenced by ideological beliefs and values associated with specific languages. According to Curdt-Christiansen (2018), decisions regarding language practices are shaped by intergenerational speech resources, socioeconomic status, and various domains such as education, culture and religion. Furthermore, parental aspirations for their children's multilingual development and academic performance can impact FLP decisions. In essence, FLP is a complex process that demands thoughtful consideration and effort from adults.

Curdt-Christiansen and Lanza (2018) propose that Family Language Policy (FLP) encompasses three interconnected components: how family members perceive different languages, their language practices, and language maintenance. Within a family, fundamental rules and conventions for speaking, behaving, believing, and perceiving are the foundation for language socialisation and development (Duranti, Ochs, and Schieffelin, 2011; Lanza, 2011).

Parental beliefs and attitudes significantly influence parenting practices and child development, contributing to cross-cultural variations in behaviour and outcomes (Harkness and Super, 2006). Understanding the linguistic beliefs that underlie parenting practices, and their formation is crucial for research on family language policies. The family domain can be a battleground for ideological clashes, as evidenced by the efforts of indigenous groups to revive local languages (King, 2000). For bilingual children, parental beliefs are also pivotal in shaping language outcomes. At least three parental beliefs or attitudes impact linguistic practices in bilingual families: clear notions about language usage, attitudes concerning specific interactions, and beliefs about language acquisition and bilingualism (De Houwer, 1999). These beliefs can influence child-directed speech, language acquisition, and interactional strategies, underscoring the importance of examining them within the framework of language policy research (King, Fogle,and Terry, 2008). Accordingly, the FLP theme is relevant as it assists in identifying and understanding how FLP influences participants' language ideologies and language practices, in addition to identifying family language use and language ideologies that underlie the construction of FLP.

2.2.4 Afrikaaps and Afrikaans: History and significance

Afrikaaps, a linguistic offshoot of Dutch and English colonial rule in the Cape, originated in the 17th century as the Afrikaansification of Dutch at the Cape. Influenced by Asian and indigenous slaves, Kaaps was primarily used by the working class of Cape Town, including Cape Muslims and Coloured people. It was a sociolect and geolect, incorporating various influences from Asian, Malay, Creole Portuguese (Van Rensburg, 1989: 463, 1997: 10, Kotzé 2001: 108), and English (Hendricks, 2016: 9) languages.

Kaaps, originating from Bo-Kaap and District Six in Cape Town, but also developed in the slave lodge, in kitchens, at the harbours etc. has faced marginalisation and stigmatisation since the 1960s due to white nationalist ideologies. During the 1950s, the Group Areas Act was enacted, which had the effect of separating individuals classified as White, Coloured, and Black and causing linguistic and cultural segregation (Carstens and Raidt, 2015). As time has passed, Afrikaaps became distinct from Afrikaans as a result of apartheid (separation) and through formal, grammatical studies, as a language system, resulting in a racialised division between those who speak “standard” Afrikaans and those who speak Afrikaaps. This division has led to an "us and them" dynamic between the two groups, as noted by Le Cordeur (2016). Consequently, Afrikaans and Dutch are associated with whiteness and purity. According to Stroud and Williams (2017), the standardisation of Afrikaans in the early 20th century was a deliberate process linked to apartheid ideology and Afrikaner nationalism. The Afrikaaps language was not recognised as a legitimate language , and was considered a deviation from “standard” Afrikaans. This marginalisation of Afrikaaps speakers led to feelings of inferiority compared to “standard” Afrikaans speakers.

Shaheen Ariefdien in his interview with Samy Alim (in Haupt, Williams, Alim and Jansen, 2019: 293)

> Mentioned how for many, the term ‘coloured’ is a colonial racial category that was constructed as part of a divide-and-rule strategy. I hesitate to use the term, but I also realise that it’s an identification that resonates with millions of people; therefore, the rural-urban divide plays a huge part in how Afrikaaps varieties are spoken and understood, and also the assumptions about the speakers associated with it.

Consequently, “standard” Afrikaans was considered the "civilised" version, while Afrikaaps were regarded as being uncivilised (Van de Waal, 2012). In addition, Ariefdien and Alim (in Haupt et al., 2019: 293) highlight how

> Afrikaaps is not only viewed as a language of disempowerment but also not acknowledged as the language of people with indigenous ancestry. It's coloured. It's disturbing to see how indigenous voices are presented and then also become erased in the way the language is framed. The way Afrikaaps is presented doesn't recognise the heterogeneity WITHIN the language.

Contradicting the hegemonic position of Afrikaans, an alternative linguistic history portrays Afrikaans creolisation as the birthplace of pure "Suiwer" Afrikaans. Neville Alexander and Patrick Tariq Mellet (in Alim, Haupt, Jansen, and Williams, 2021) argue that Afrikaans would not have been created without the forced learning of Dutch by the Khoi, San, and slaves. They also claim that the new Creole language (Afrikaaps) was first created by Indigenous Africans, thereby announcing Kaaps as "Afrikaaps" (cited in Alim and Haupt et al., 2021). The Afrikaaps linguistic movement, which involves South African hip-hop artists and activists, questions and revises white supremacist constructs of Afrikaans to disrupt white neo-colonial semantics of language, race, and property. The invention of Afrikaaps serves as a symbol for counterhegemonic reform, reclaiming Afrikaaps as a language developed primarily by indigenous Africans rather than white Dutch colonisers (Alim and Haupt et al., 2021).

In contrast to Alim et al. (2021), Hendricks (2016) reasons that Afrikaaps should be considered a dialect of Afrikaans rather than a separate language. Hendricks (2016) states that Afrikaaps has a long history of use as a linguistic code (e.g., in poetry, hip-hop and rap, and television series), religious code, and singing code in Cape Malay folk music. He argues that Afrikaaps is extremely capable of being employed in formal contexts. Afrikaaps must be liberated from its marginalisation and stigmatisation to flourish as a full-fledged communication code alongside 'standard' Afrikaans and as a productive source of supply for the standard variety (Hendrick, 2016).

According to Odendaal (in Van Heerden, 2013), normative and ideological planning should take precedence during the re-standardisation of Afrikaans, considering the needs of the entire speaking community. This would empower its speakers on a psychological, ideological, economic, and academic level. As Ariefdien (cited in Haupt et al, 2019: 299) argues:

> to bring your point back to Afrikaaps, that multilingualism always must come with owning and valuing ours. Our linguistic varieties are actually more technically complicated than, say, standardised Afrikaans. It's not a reach to argue

> that embracing this realisation impacts self-confidence and celebrating who we are as full human beings.

If this happens, the words of Afrikaaps poet Adam Small, become relevant

> Kaaps is a language, a language in the sense that it bears the full fate and destiny of the people who speak it; their whole fate, their whole life ‘with everything that is in it’; a language in the sense that the people who speak it, give their first cries in this language, all transactions in their lives are concluded in this language, and their death rattle is rattled in this language. Kaaps is not a joke or a comedy” (Adam Small, 1962, Kitaar my Kruis forward cited in Le Cordeur, 2016: 92).

Accordingly, this theme is important to my study, as it provides contextual understanding and highlights the true history and significance of Afrikaaps, as recognised by most participants.

2.2.5 Cape Flats English

Cape Flats English (CFE) is a complex and socially significant variety of South African English (SAE), primarily spoken by individuals identified as ‘Coloured’ in the Cape Flats region of Cape Town. Its origins trace back to the working-class, multilingual neighborhoods of apartheid-era Cape Town, where language contact played a key role in its development (Finn, 2004, as cited in Brown, 2012). Finn (2004: 967) describes CFE as a variety closely resembling White South African English (WSAE), associated with the working class, yet emerging from multilingual communities where English served as a lingua franca. Despite these common origins, the linguistic practices of Coloured speakers differ based on geography and socio-economic status (Wood, 1987), complicating a unified understanding of CFE.

The label "Cape Flats English" originated from linguistic research at the University of Cape Town, particularly within the Logopaedics Department. Early studies conducted by Hastings (1979), Steenkamp (1980), and Douglas (1984) identified phonological features influenced by Afrikaans, including vowel shifts, variations in /r/ sounds, and distinct intonation patterns (Wood, 1987). These findings suggest that CFE is a product of sustained contact between Afrikaans and English, shaped by socio-historical pressures as well as internal community dynamics. Subsequent research detailing the phonetic and phonological characteristics of CFE has been conducted by scholars such as Malan (1981; 1996), Shirk (1985), McCormick

(1989b; 1995; 2002; 2004), Mesthrie (1999; 2007; 2010; 2012b), Finn (2004), Dennis (2008), and Brown (2012).

Historically, the rise of CFE reflects the sociolinguistic impacts of significant language contact, particularly between English, Afrikaans, and earlier Cape Dutch, in communities affected by forced removals, multilingualism, and marginalisation (Toefy, 2014; Lanham, 1996). The term 'Coloured English' itself is controversial due to its essentialist implications and its failure to capture the diverse ancestry and linguistic practices of those labelled 'Coloured' (Finn, 2008). McCormick (1989a) highlights code-switching and code-mixing between non-standard varieties of English and Afrikaans as central elements of the vernacular, reflecting the community's multilingual heritage and its marginalised status in broader South African society. Brown (2012) emphasises the tension between the perceived prestige of English and the socio-political marginalisation of its Coloured speakers, advocating for a more nuanced understanding of CFE that considers identity, class, and language ideology. Thus, the development of CFE should be contextualised within a broader sociohistorical framework of linguistic hybridity, racial categorisation, and aspirational dynamics in both apartheid and post-apartheid South Africa. This context provides insight into the origins of the term CFE and its significance.

2.2.6 Language and Identity

At the beginning of this chapter, I emphasised that language is a key tool for communication. It helps us express our ideas and thoughts and shapes our worldviews. Pienaar (2014, cited in Le Cordeur, 2016) points out that language is closely connected to how we see and express ourselves, highlighting the relationship between language and identity. According to Merleau-Ponty (2002), language is mainly a physiological act. This means that, like gestures and emotions, language helps us relate to our environment and connect with others. Only after this connection does language become a way to represent and symbolise ideas. Therefore, we need to recognise how language influences individual and group identities and its significant role in communication and perception.

In multilingual settings, political structures, power relationships, language beliefs, and speakers' identities all affect language choices and attitudes. Social, economic, and political changes can shift these structures and influence identity options and beliefs (Pavlenko and Blackledge, 2004). In different contexts, languages can help validate, challenge, or negotiate identities, giving new opportunities to marginalised groups. At the same time, in other cases,

they may serve as a means of social control or advantage (Pavlenko and Blackledge, 2004). According to Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004) and Norton (2013), from a post-structuralist viewpoint, identity options are shaped and confirmed by the discourses people can access at a specific time and place. These discourses help define how individuals view themselves (Weedon, 2001). Weedon (2001) argues that we are not just influenced by language; we also experience conflicts within our own thoughts. As individuals with memories and identities already formed by language, we can reject specific influences or create new meanings through the conflicts and interactions with existing discourses. Language gives us the tools to build and negotiate our identities, and our beliefs about language and identity guide how we use these tools to express ourselves and understand others. In this way, language and identity shape each other (Pavlenko and Blackledge, 2004).

In McKinney's (2007) study of language use in four formerly all-white schools, students noticed how black people use English while labelling other English forms with racial terms. They looked down on English varieties linked to black people and those from townships or rural areas while favouring those associated with white people and historically white schools. While these young students appreciated 'white' behaviours and speech, they also used racial labels to support their ability in African languages and their identity as 'being black' (2007:20). In this environment, they had more chances to explore their identities and shift their relationships. However, these options were limited by cultural beliefs and the resources available for forming identities, such as their skills in African and English languages. So, the choices made by these students were influenced by their social status and the language resources they could access (McKinney, 2007).

According to Gumperz (1964: 138), a linguistic repertoire includes all the ways people communicate. It consists of various languages, dialects, styles, and norms that help us in everyday conversations. Speakers choose from this repertoire based on what they want to express. However, their choices are limited by grammar rules and social contexts. This means available resources are categorised into informal, technical, literary, and humorous expressions. The linguistic repertoire is also internalised, serving as a tool for positioning ourselves in different situations, and it exists as a whole across different languages or dialects, from which speakers select as needed (Busch, 2017).

Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004) state that diversity is crucial for identity because people's status depends on inclusion, acceptance, and equality. Fragmentation can create new hybrid

identities and language repertoires. Although some identity options may fade away, new discussions around gender, sexuality, class, or ethnicity can produce different possibilities. Recognising these hybrid identities allows people to negotiate their own identity rather than just accepting those imposed by dominant social norms. Weedon (2001: 102) emphasises that "subjectivity is a process open to change." McKinney (2017) focuses on a student who uses hybrid identities and flexible discussions of identity to reject the racially loaded term "coconut." She adapts to various situations because she understands the power dynamics at play in the "linguistic marketplace" (Bourdieu, 1977: 651, cited in McKinney 2017: 134). Utilising linguistic capital (Bourdieu, 1997), she reports using English, Tsotsi-taal, and Xhosa in different areas, illustrating her ability to express identity as an ongoing series of social actions instead of reflecting a fixed identity (Pennycook, 2004:8 cited in McKinney, 2007). Moreover, the dominant ideas of "whiteness" and "blackness" show the complex cultural blend of groups labelled as Coloured, which can be seen as troubling and disruptive (Gilroy, 1993; Bhabha, 1994). The belief in pure identities and essentialist ideas creates dominant racial narratives that attempt to box individuals into fixed categories.

In her research during apartheid, McCormick (1986) looked at how adults and children in District Six, Cape Town, navigated complex economic, language, and social factors when making language choices. She found that residents often struggled to identify strictly as speakers of English or Afrikaans. If someone only spoke English, they risked being seen as snobbish, while speaking only Afrikaans could suggest support for the oppressor's language. Exclusively using 'Kombuistaal,' a mix of English and Afrikaans, could lead to accusations of being uneducated or not adapted to city life. This combination of languages helped facilitate code-switching (McCormick, 1986). Because the community encouraged code-switching and standard language use in schools, children did not think of themselves as just English or Afrikaans speakers. Instead, they learned when to use different registers, dialects, or languages. As a result, they encountered irregular vocabulary and grammar, which they needed to manage while speaking in the expected dialect. Symbolic capital comes into play here as the children practice hybrid identities (McCormick, 1986).

Linguistic means of identity negotiation can be divided into two types, according to Eastman and Stein (1993: 87). One is language display, while the other is a strategy where one group claims traits associated with another. This approach communicates messages about social, professional, and ethnic identity. Verlan is a youth language used mainly by multi-ethnic teenagers in poor areas outside Paris, France, as Doran (2004) studied. The multilingual and

multicultural nature of communities that speak Verlan is shown through the language's unique mix. Doran describes Verlan as an alternative code that allows users to express and recognise their complex working-class identities in ways that are impossible in a broader society. Like Afrikaaps and Kombuistaal, Verlan reflects linguistic identity negotiation, and the diverse cultures present where Afrikaaps is spoken. Different language varieties and the identities they connect to are valued in various ways. Some language options are accepted, while others are imposed or assumed. People seek new social and linguistic tools to challenge language restrictions and dominant narratives (Pavlenko and Blackledge, 2004). Weedon (2001) highlights that a post-structuralist view of identity helps individuals reshape their sense of self through discourse, which is constantly changing. Languages can act as tools of discrimination, resistance, freedom, and unity while also being important identity markers. Language plays a crucial role in how we express ourselves (Le Cordeur, 2011). The link between language and identity is key to my research. It helps to understand how participants build, negotiate, and present their multiple identities through language use. This perspective also reveals how participants deal with ethnolinguistic stereotypes related to being 'coloured' or 'mixed' and using Afrikaaps. Additionally, it highlights possible identity conflicts that may arise among participants.

2.2.5 The Resurgence in the Assertion of Coloured Identity And Appropriation of the Apartheid-Constructed Category

Raddock (2024) draws on Gloria Anzaldúa's Borderland theory to articulate the discomfort experienced by Coloured people in post-apartheid South Africa. Anzaldúa argues that borderlands arise from oppression, resulting in a "shock culture, a border culture, a third country, and a closed country" (1987: 11). Living in these borderlands involves confronting feelings of alienation, difference, and a lack of belonging amidst contradictions, violence, and exploitation. In a similar vein, Coloured South Africans find themselves in a marginalised position, trapped in a political no-man's land. Anzaldúa characterises identity as fluid and evolving rather than fixed or uniform. This struggle to define a group that merges two cultures while being marginalised by both reflects the broader identity challenges faced by Coloured South Africans.

Under the apartheid regime, South Africa established distinct racial categories for Coloured individuals, positioning them between White and Black populations (Adhikari, 2005; Lewis, 1987; Pirtle, 2021). While these official racial classifications were eliminated following the end of apartheid, race continues to shape the social dynamics of present-day South Africa

significantly, influencing many lives (Nilsson, 2016) and carrying legitimacy in policies of redress. Racial identities carry global weight, as institutional racism frequently determines access to resources and power (American Anthropology Association, 2016, cited in Nilsson, 2016). In contemporary South Africa, often referred to as a democratic racial state, racial distinctions are still prevalent within many institutions, highlighting entrenched racial hierarchies (Coates, 2018: 47). Ironically, the current government denies the existence of overt racism while promoting a non-racialist approach, thereby downplaying the importance of race in everyday life (Ansell, 2006; Whitehead, 2012). During apartheid, the racial category of “Coloured” was consistently reinforced within social structures (Bonilla-Silva, 1997; Omi and Winant, 2015). However, following the end of apartheid, the concept of “Colouredness” underwent significant transformation (Adhikari, 2004). The dismantling of the prior racial hierarchy complicated intergroup relationships and allowed for greater flexibility in social identity. This shift has led to increased confusion and debate regarding Coloured identity. However, it has also created opportunities for innovative thinking and more creative solutions to the challenges surrounding its role in South African society (Adhikari, 2004).

The 'Coloured' category in post-apartheid South Africa has undergone reinterpretation and extensive debate among researchers, including Zimri Erasmus (2001) and Ruiters (2009). Erasmus (2001:14) argues that Coloured identity is not simply the byproduct of blending other 'purer' cultures (Erasmus, 2001, cited in Raddock, 2024: 51). Rather, it emerges as a manifestation of cultural innovation shaped by South Africa's history of colonialism, slavery, segregation, and apartheid. In this context, Erasmus presents a classification of racial identity alternatives for Coloured individuals, encompassing aspirations toward Whiteness, the adoption of an authentic Black identity, acknowledgement of Khoisan heritage, or transcending traditional racial classifications. Conversely, Ruiters (2009) highlights the diverse experiences within the Coloured community, noting that some individuals embrace an essentialist Coloured identity, while others connect with identities rooted in the history of enslavement and abolition, creole or African identities, or align with their Khoisan heritage.

Scholars such as Tewold (2006), Pirtle (2021), Nilsson (2016), and Khan (2018) investigate the classification of racial identity options, self-definition, and identity formation among individuals classified as Coloured in post-apartheid South Africa. Pirtle (2021) specifically analysed the identity development of Coloured individuals in Cape Town and discovered a

range of self-identifications among her respondents. Some identified as 'Coloured', while others chose 'Black', perceiving Black identity as a cohesive racial category aligned with the ideology of Black Consciousness. Additionally, some respondents identified as Khoisan, drawing on their indigenous heritage. Some individuals opted not to categorise their identity racially and preferred to identify simply as 'human'. These racial identifications and ways of identifying were common across scholars. People who identify as Coloured often reshape their understanding of what it means to be Coloured, especially in environments free from oppression (Pirtle, 2021).

In South Africa, participants express their identities in different ways based on their history. Some see themselves in non-racial terms, moving beyond traditional racial categories (Erasmus, 2017), while others use specific terms like multiracial, Coloured, or Black. This challenges the idea of a post-racial society (Tewold, 2006).

In Nilsson's (2016) study, participants also highlight that being Coloured is a key part of their identity. They believe the Coloured community is a distinct racial group with its own identity and culture (2016: 83). Thus, being Coloured involves a mix of diversity, adaptability, and sometimes a lack of validation, similar to other mixed-race groups (e.g., Rockquemore and Brunsma, 2008; Sims and Njaka, 2020; Telles and Sue, 2009, cited in Pirtle, 2021). This shows how their position in the racial hierarchy affects their experiences.

Khan (2018) points out that South Africa's political history has influenced how Coloured identities develop. These identities constantly evolve, allowing individuals to redefine themselves across racial, cultural, and class lines. They no longer fit into a single category meant to exist after apartheid and interact with history in ways that oppose authority and oppression. While some reject the label of Coloured, others see it as a chance to change their social and material reality and find redemption (Khan, 2018).

One of the most consistent findings from the previous research was that "Coloured" did not signify the same thing to everyone. Racialisation and perceptions of "Colouredness" significantly impact people's lives, as evidenced by the majority of respondents who identify as Coloured and how they give meaning to their identities (Pirtle, 2021). This is also evident in the participants in my study. Therefore, to fully comprehend the complexities of race outside of the binary logic imposed by white supremacy, new perceptions in viewing Coloured identities are needed. Ergo, the aforementioned theme is pertinent to my research study as my own research study continues to grapple with the complexities of Coloured identities and the construction thereof.

2.2.6. Identity Negotiation in English-Medium Tertiary Institutions: The Influence Of (White) Dominant Spaces.

De Swaan (2001: 4-5, as cited in Preece,2019) introduced the concept of a 'linguistic galaxy' where specific languages, particularly standard English, employed in higher status domains (e.g. education, the law) are considered 'hypercentral'. English is seen as a standard language associated with whiteness and colonial power. The official languages of nation-states are termed 'central' languages, while all other languages are viewed as peripheral (Preece, 2019). This system connects the linguistic galaxy by enabling long-distance and international communication in a global economy. Because of its association with whiteness, the preference for English perpetuates White cultural dominance in educational institutions (Von Esch, Motha, and Kubota, 2020). Through practices that uphold standard English ideology, students who speak standard English are idealised, while those who speak other languages and dialects are marginalised (Fránquiz and Ortiz, 2017: 335). This positioning equates the acquisition of standardised language codes with the acquisition of whiteness in institutions (Fránquiz and Ortiz, 2017: 335, as cited in Von Esch et al., 2020).

Ahmed (2007) defines higher education institutions in the Euro-American context (i.e. UK and Australia) as embodying "whiteness" (institutional whiteness). She illustrates how institutional spaces are influenced by the presence of certain bodies over others, whereby white bodies come together to define the boundaries of these spaces, making whiteness the institution's focal point. Therefore, even non-white bodies must conform to whiteness to be included (Ahmed, 2007: 157–158). In essence, Ahmed (2007: 157-158) suggests that:

> Becoming a part of an institution involves sharing in it, which requires not only physically occupying its buildings, but also adopting its ethos: using inclusive language, acknowledging its successes and failures, engaging with its internal documents, establishing lines of communication, and interacting with others who are part of the institution. Joining an institution means not just becoming a member but also aligning oneself with its specific values and principles, effectively embodying and reciprocating its identity.

Higher education institutions frequently overlook the multilingual diversity of their staff and students in predominantly English-speaking environments (Preece, 2016). Preece (2016), referencing Morgan (2002: 12), underscores that mastering academic language is intricately linked to issues of power and identity. Individuals shape their identities based on their access to various material, linguistic, and cultural resources. To participate effectively in academic

discussions, newcomers must learn to think and communicate according to established norms (Kress, 1989; Gee, 1990). This requirement can conflict with their home values, compelling them to adopt new identities. Gee (1990) notes that home discourses provide a neutral stance until individuals encounter new ideas that challenge their sense of self. Bangeni and Kapp (2005) assert that while identities are adaptable, they are not arbitrary. Poststructuralist theorists argue that “specific historical and social conditions, along with power dynamics, significantly shape an individual's access to subjectivity” (Weedon, 1992:95). Additionally, Gee (1990) explains that dominant discourses often categorise individuals as insiders, colonised, or outsiders. However, Herrington and Curtis (2000) and Norton (2000) argue that individuals can sometimes resist these classifications. Bangani and Kapp (2005) examined two first-generation university students, focusing on how their identities are shaped by institutional discourses and their rejection by their home community. Their research indicates that the students' relationships with both the university and their home environment are fluid and marked by ambivalence. According to Bhabha (1994), these students become "unhomed," navigating the competing expectations surrounding their identities. Both home and academic settings are not neutral; they carry specific expectations of appropriate subjectivity (George, 1996). Furthermore, Busch (2017) contends that individuals interact with various social and linguistic contexts throughout their lives, each with its own distinct rules and criteria for evaluating linguistic resources. In addition, Ahmed (2007) argues that public spaces are shaped by the movements of the bodies that inhabit them.

Blommaert, Collins, and Slembrouck (2005) contend that changes in spatial contexts influence how individuals utilise their language resources. This can impose limitations, particularly affecting those with valuable multilingual skills, who may feel "out of place" and experience a potential loss of communication abilities in environments characterised by distinct linguistic systems. It is important to note that not all spaces hold the same value; some are prestigious and inclusive, while others impose strict entry requirements. These spaces are shaped by prevailing power dynamics, as discussed by Bucholtz and Hall (2005: 605; 2010: 21), who state that established ideological associations can significantly impact interaction dynamics, influencing communication and sociolinguistic identities. Additionally, Blommaert et al. (2005) suggest that agency emerges from the interaction between individual objectives and external language systems, with the significance of language skills differing across various contexts (Urciuoli, 1996). Individuals possess the ability to actively shape their identities in accordance with language ideologies. The negotiation of identity is contingent

upon the social environment (Bucholtz and Hall, 2005), making it crucial for this study to investigate how a monolingual English-medium university setting influences students' identities and language usage compared to their experiences in different environments, such as their homes.

Based on my literature review, I found a wealth of research examining the relationship between language and identity and colonial language ideologies. However, research on Afrikaaps remains in its early stages. While individual themes have been investigated, there is insufficient research integrating Afrikaaps and CFE with the previously discussed themes. This gap is the primary focus of my study. My research leverages theories of language as social practice, de/coloniality, and symbolic violence (including language ideologies) to explore the implications of colonialism for multilingual indigenous language speakers of Afrikaaps and CFE. I will specifically investigate their linguistic identities and language ideologies within the context of an English-dominant, historically white university environment. The following chapter will discuss the research design, detailing the research site and participants, methodology, data collection and analysis methods.

3. RESEARCH DESIGN

This chapter provides a detailed overview of the methodology applied in my study. I discuss and provide a background for the participants chosen for the study, the research context, and data collection methods. Furthermore, I describe transcription conventions, methods of data analysis, and the ethical approach implemented.

3.1 Research Methodology

This qualitative research study will maintain an interpretive and critical paradigm drawing on ethnographic methods (Lillis, 2008), particularly linguistic ethnography (Copland and Creese, 2014; 2020). My research aimed to gain an in-depth understanding of the subjective encounters of the participants and their experiences with language, specifically Kaaps and CFE. I focused on what is meaningful and relevant to them through how they position themselves in relation to their language choices and their chosen linguistic identities and navigation thereof. I analysed how meaning and experience are co-constructed. My research simultaneously aimed to problematise how colonialism is still present in post-apartheid South Africa through existing colonial language ideologies which continue to maintain and promote the dominance of standardised languages, particularly English and Afrikaans and the consequences thereof on indigenous languages and indigenous language speakers, their language ideologies towards Afrikaaps and CFE and the identities they construct. Furthermore, my research aimed to raise consciousness about stereotypical/ stigmatised views of Afrikaaps and CFE, beginning with its speakers.

An ethnographic approach was appropriate for this research study in collecting and analysing empirical data following the above because ethnography collects data from real-life contexts over an adequate amount of time and uses tools such as observations and interviews with participants, in addition to texts, to convey and clarify the reason they have chosen to conduct themselves in specific ways (Lillis, 2008). Thus, the emphasis was on analysing the behaviours that occur during literacy practices from the participants' viewpoints (Lillis, 2008).

Linguistic ethnography (LE) explores the interplay between language and social behaviour, recognising that language is a means of communication in everyday social situations (Rampton, 2004; Copland and Creese, 2020). This study area sheds light on broader societal structures, institutions, and beliefs by analysing how people use language (Copland and Creese, 2004; Creese, 2008). To fully grasp the complexities of linguistic ethnography, one

must understand both linguistic and ethnographic concepts (Creese, 2008). By incorporating analytical frameworks from linguistics into the process of participant observation and field notes, ethnography can benefit from a more comprehensive approach. Meanwhile, linguistics can gain valuable perspective from ethnography's reflexive awareness and contextual interpretation techniques (Creese, 2008). By taking an interdisciplinary approach, linguistic ethnography offers a deeper understanding of language use in diverse settings. In my research, I utilised this approach to investigate the interactions between participants' linguistic practices, their attitudes towards language, and the context in which they occurred.

3.2 Research site and participants

My research was conducted at the University of Cape Town, a historically white university during apartheid that is emerging from a colonial past that favoured white supremacy. In addition, it is historically and currently an English-medium university. This is also a diverse space with a diverse group of people, therefore with varying and similar experiences.

The participants of this study consisted of eight multilingual Afrikaaps and/or CFE-speaking, 20 to 26-year-old female and male university students. This age range was dependent on the range of participants willing to participate in this study. Participants were not determined or limited to particular racial categories. However, they had to identify as well-versed in Afrikaaps and/or CFE and have grown up in or be living/ in Cape Town, Western Cape, in a predominantly Afrikaaps and/or CFE-speaking community, family or household.

The sampling method utilised was purposive sampling. Purposive sampling was beneficial as only participants who met the required characteristics based on the population and research questions were selected (Du Plooy-Cilliers, Davis and Bezuidenhout, 2014). These participants assisted the research by granting the researcher an in-depth understanding needed to answer the research questions and interpret research interlinked to the research topic. To choose university students who fit the population parameters, I approached the UCT Department of Student Affairs (DSA) and completed an application process for a research invitation to be emailed to all students. Participants who were willing to participate were invited to partake in a 5–10-minute pre-interview qualitative questionnaire administered through Google Forms (see Appendix 3) that was used to assess which participants would be best suited for this project according to the required characteristics. Participants who were willing to participate were given the option to select if they would like to participate further in the study. Based on the participants' answers to the questionnaire and proficiency and/or

experience with Afrikaaps, the eight participants were selected and personally emailed to invite their further participation in the study and complete the required logistics to continue the data collection process. The table below introduces the participants in this study and gives an overview of some aspects of their reported linguistic repertoires:

Name	**Age**	**Faculty**	**Reported Race**	**Familiarity with Kaaps, Kombuis Afrikaans Mengels and Cape Flats English (CFE)**	**How often is it used?**	**Language/s represented on Language Body Portrait LBP**
Nelly	20	Humanities	Coloured	Kaaps, Mengels and Kombuis, CFE	Less than a few times a month	French English Afrikaans
Sunny	20	Humanities	Coloured	Kaaps, Mengels and Kombuis	Spoken everyday	Standard Afrikaans English Mengels/Kombuis Afrikaans Xhosa
Lilly	24	Humanities	Coloured	Kaaps, Mengles and Kombuis	A few times a month: Not spoken by her but rather by the community and family	English Afrikaans Arabic
Teddy	24	Humanities	Coloured	Kaaps, Kombuis and CFE	A few times a month	Suiwer Afrikaans Afrikaaps English Arabic
AD	24	Environmental and Geographical Science (EGS)	Mixed	Kaaps, Mengels and Kombuis, CFE	Everyday	Arabic English Afrikaans Urdu Farsi Malay
Rina	25	Engineering and Built Environment	Coloured	Kaaps, Mengels and Kombuis	Spoken everyday	English Afrikaaps/Mengels Afrikaaps
Cara	26	Humanities	Coloured	Kaaps, Kombuis and CFE	Used when communicating within my community or with some friends within a particular	Afrikaans English Japanese Korean Portuguese Spanish

					setting but I hardly use it.	
Al	22	Health Science	Coloured	Kaaps, Mengels and Kombuis, CFE	Everyday	English Afrikaans Arabic Xhosa

Table 3.1: Overview of participants' background

In summary, the study included eight participants, of whom seven were female and one was male. Five participants hailed from the Humanities faculty, while one each was from the Health Sciences, EGS in the Faculty of Science and Engineering and Built Environment Faculty. All participants incorporated Kaaps into their linguistic repertoire, but their references to it varied. Some explicitly referred to "Kaaps" while others used terms like "Mengels," "Kombuis," or referred to it as "Afrikaans," clarifying which variety they meant during the interviews. Participants' familiarity with the terms "Kaaps," "Kombuis," and "Mengels" was rooted in their personal experiences. In contrast, I introduced the term "Cape Flats English" and its explanation, as most participants had not previously heard it or, rather, the term for it.

3.3 Data Collection and Tools

Data was collected over 2 months, from March to May, in the following order:

1) Language Body Portraits
2) Individual Interviews
3) Fieldnotes
4) Written Responses from participants
5) Audio recordings of individual interviews.
6) Audio recordings or written WhatsApp conversation texts from participants

3.3.1 Language Body Portraits and Questionnaire

Language Body Portraits involve filling in a body silhouette with different colours to convey various aspects of participants' language resources (Busch, 2012). The completed illustration is then used to elicit narratives about linguistic practices through interviews. The silhouettes may strengthen the usage of body metaphors in building narratives about linguistic practices and facilitate the articulation of emotions associated with languages (Busch, 2010). Visual

representation aids in deconstructing internalised categories, reflecting embodied behaviours, and generating tales that are less restricted by genre expectations (Busch, 2010).

Through various colours, forms, and symbols on a sketched silhouette of a body, the LBP will allow participants to show their understanding of the languages they speak, and their linguistic identities, and specifically, grant me the understanding of which languages they associate with their identities. Participants then partook in a separate short individual interview and answered a few questions based on their LBP. The LBP was used to stimulate and encourage discussion in interviews with participants regarding their linguistic identity. Questions regarding the LBP (see Appendix 4) were combined with the semi-structured interview questions (see Appendix 5), whereby only one individual interview took place.

3.3.2. Dual Onsite/Online semi-structured Interviews

Semi-structured individual onsite interviews took place on the university campus, whilst online interviews were conducted via MS Teams. These semi-structured interviews were utilised to create a conversational atmosphere, as the interview was guided by the researcher with predesigned questions. They also allowed the participant to respond in their own words and feel more comfortable answering. In addition, it provided me, as the researcher, the flexibility to develop/improvise new or follow-up questions, following particular topics as participants raised these during the interview and used to follow up on participants' responses to their LBP questionnaire.

3.3.3 Fieldnotes

After the interviews, I used my notebook to record general thoughts and what I noticed in participants' non-verbal body language during the interviews.

3.3.4. Written Responses from participants

Participants were invited to submit a brief paragraph outlining their motivations for participating in this study, their overall reflections on its aims and objectives, and their recommendations for de-stigmatising Afrikaaps and CFE. By encouraging participants to recognise their agency in engaging with the study and to reflect on the stigmatisation of Afrikaaps and CFE, the objective was to raise awareness about these language varieties. The study aimed to emphasise the significance of using and perceiving Afrikaaps and CFE non-stereotypically while challenging the prevailing views of standardised languages and the colonial and racial ideologies that influence perceptions of being Coloured and speaking Afrikaaps and CFE.

3.3.5. Audio Recordings

An audio recorder was used to record individual interviews, which were then transcribed. Capturing participants' naturally occurring linguistic practices outside of the interviews mainly depended on what they were comfortable with. Participants were asked to record themselves in conversations with friends, family, or acquaintances. Alternatively, they were asked to send me WhatsApp text messages or voice note messages and conversations they participated in with family or friends, which they felt comfortable sharing for me to analyse.

3.4 Data Analysis

The displayed transcription conventions used in presenting the spoken data are as follows:

Symbols	**Purpose**
Italicised words	Language use translated into English.
{}	Researcher/Interviewer notes and explanations
(.)	Indicating a pause of less than a second
(1.7)	Indicating a pause of more than a second
|	High stress/emphasis on words
I	Low stress/ emphasis
[Speaker:]	The speaker interjects the current speaker in the background but relates to the current sentence being said by the person speaking.
Bold	Indicate a strong emphasis on words.
<Speaker: >	Speaking over the current speaker
/	High rise and low rise in the speaker's voice
\	Low rise and low fall in the speaker's voice
text	Expresses emotion, sound, or action of the speaker
[	Latching onto the previous speaker's sentence
↓	The speaker's tone of voice rises and then falls.
^	The speaker's voice tone rises.
~	Does not finish sentence/thought
Te-ext	Changing a word in mid-saying (shows a change of thought)
? , . ""	Punctuation- fulfils its original purpose for written grammar.
I-I-I	Indicates a stutter or repetition of a word/letter

3.4.1 Thematic Analysis:

Thematic analysis is usually applied to a set of texts, such as an interview or transcripts. Using thematic analysis, I could closely examine the data to identify similar topics or codes

across the data collected. In identifying the codes, transcripts and data collected were analysed and marked with varying colours for each code, in addition to making notes to identify reasoning for a particular code or extract that belonged to a particular code. These codes were then grouped into common themes – topics, ideas, and patterns of meaning that come up repeatedly (Braun and Clarke, 2006). These themes and sub-themes are identified and discussed in chapters 4 and 5.

3.4.2 Critical Discourse Analysis

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) is my chosen method for thoroughly examining textual elements such as interview transcripts and LBPs. This approach aims to reveal the underlying forces of power and ideology present in texts and describe and explain social conditions. As Janks (1997:341) notes, ideology is most potent when it is invisible, and discourses have become a part of our everyday common sense. By analysing the ideology of language, CDA allows us to investigate how the naturalisation of inequality and inferiority is achieved.

To accomplish this task, I used Fairclough's three-dimensional representation of discourse (see Figure 1 below), which clearly and concisely illustrates how the forces of power and ideology operate (1992). Blommaert (2005) outlines Fairclough's approach to using CDA, which involves examining discourse as text, discursive practice, and social practice. Discourse as text involves analysing the linguistic characteristics and structure of specific speech instances, such as language choices, patterns and grammatical choices. Discourse as discursive practice entails analysing speech actions, coherence, and intertextuality as they relate to a text's broader social environment. Finally, discourse as a social practice involves examining the ideologies and hegemonic processes through which discourse is perceived to function.

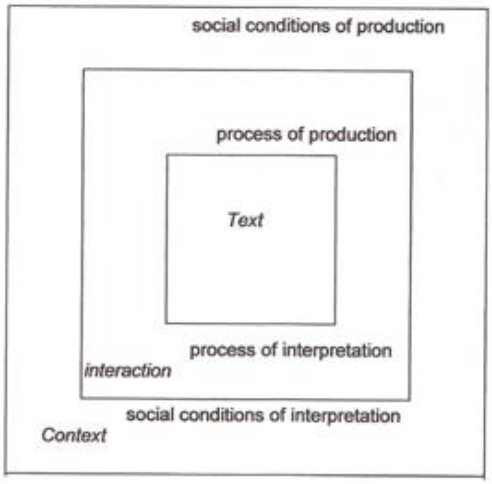


Figure 1: Fairclough's three-dimensional representation of discourse (Fairclough,1992)

Language is a social activity that is difficult to separate from ideological forms, as CDA (Fairclough, 1992) asserts. Language is often taken for granted as a social phenomenon that is responsible for the production, maintenance, and constant change of social relationships of power. CDA aims to make these assumptions more visible (Pennycook, 1996:121). Therefore, CDA views language as a way of being rather than just a practical skill that can be acquired in a controlled setting. CDA draws on Foucault's Discourse theory/analysis (DA) as it is also concerned with ways in which language and discourse shape our understanding of the world and our place within it. DA sheds light on how particular discourses, which are reflective and shaped by societal structure, mould meaning and gain significance. This results in the exclusion of alternative discourses, which could present opportunities for resistance against dominant practices. A prime example of this is the racial labelling and language racialisation constructed during apartheid that continues to influence how individuals perceive themselves and their surroundings. In using DA, particularly CDA, we can identify how participants navigate the predetermined definitions of their racial and linguistic identities in their everyday lives. Consequently, this is a fitting approach for my study as it examines how language shapes an individual's experiences within a social and historical context.

3.5 Ethical Considerations

Ethical clearance was obtained from UCT to conduct this study in alignment with the principles of no harm, informed consent and voluntary participation. Participants were invited to participate after receiving a comprehensive description of the study and the details regarding their involvement. Participants' consent was secured through consent forms that participants were asked to sign (Appendix 1 and 2). Participation was entirely voluntary, and

individuals could withdraw at any time. As the researcher, I was explicit about the precise nature of the research and the information being examined, providing clarity to participants before they gave their consent. I communicated the specific purpose of the research and ensured that data collection was carried out with sensitivity and integrity. To uphold confidentiality, I guaranteed the privacy of participants' identities and personal information, employing appropriate pseudonyms to ensure their anonymity throughout the study. Additionally, to enhance the validity of the research, I employed multiple data collection tools and methods that corroborated with one another, thereby supporting the reliability of the findings. In this chapter, I have detailed my research design and the methods of data collection and analysis. The subsequent chapter will present the data and the findings of the research.

4. DATA ANALYSIS I: LANGUAGE AND IDENTITY

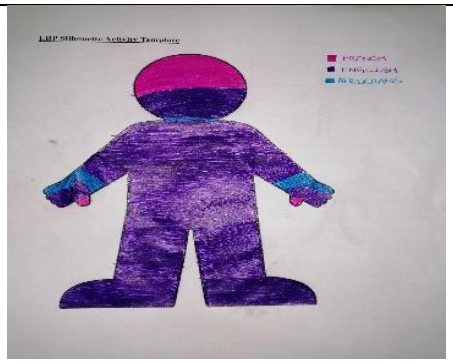
The data analysis chapters unpack language ideologies that inform participants' linguistic identity and language choices, language and identity negotiation and the decolonisation/destigmatisation of Afrikaaps. I will then demonstrate and unpack how each theme is revealed in each data source using extracts from interview transcriptions below. Within these analysis chapters, I argue that the dominant discourses strongly influence participants' language use and choices in the environmental spaces in which they find themselves. In addition, I will draw attention to highlighting the intricate racial dynamics of being perceived as "Coloured" in post-colonial South Africa, often situated in an "in-between" space, creating a binary of" self-versus other".

4.1 Language and Identity

This theme examines the relationship between language and identity, illustrating how participants construct and navigate hybrid identities. They position themselves within dominant discourses while, at times, also rejecting these narratives. The languages they use are closely tied to these identity positions, with Afrikaaps being recognised as a significant marker of "authentic" Coloured identity. I will emphasise the commonalities found across the participants' data, which includes their language body portraits (LBPs), written responses to questionnaires, both written and audio text messages, as well as individual interview transcripts.

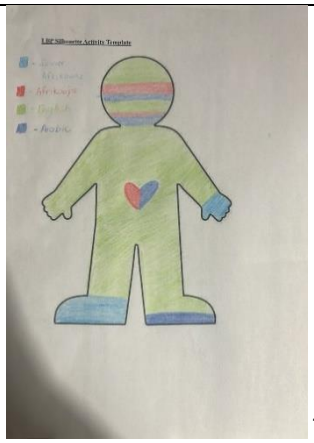
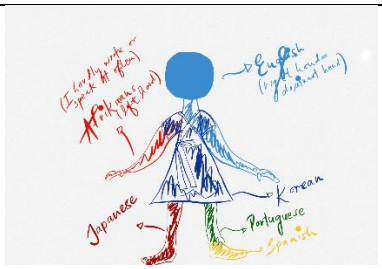
4.1.1. Language Body Portrait Commonalities

Due to space limitations, it is not possible to provide a thorough analysis of each participant's language body portrait. However, to give some insights into participants' linguistic identities, I offer a brief summary of commonalities that have been identified across these LBPs (See Appendix 6 for LBPs)



Nelly

Sunny

Lilly 	 Teddy
AD 	 Rina
Cara 	 AL

4.1.1.1 The inclusion of multiple languages

Common across all LBPs is the presence and inclusion of three or more languages in participants' linguistic repertoires. Even though there are a multitude of languages across the LBPs combined, English and Afrikaans remain recurring. Visible here is the participants' positioning of themselves as multilingual individuals, with a particular bias/dominance of English and Afrikaans.

4.1.1.2 Distinction of languages in LBP ‘s

Even though participants position themselves as multilingual language speakers, the possibility of this positioning encompassing ‘separate multilingualism or bilingualism’ is apparent. In most of the LBP’s, it is noticeable how each shading/colour representing each language is clearly defined. In other words, there is no overlap of colours, and distinct lines

between each colour are visible. Thus, it is possible that for participants, languages are seen as bounded entities, whereby a multilingual person is someone who "can command several named languages that is distinguishable from one another" (Makoni and Pennycook, 2012; Martin-Jones, Blackledge and Creese, 2012, cited in, McKinney, Zavala, Makoe, 2024: xxii/23) or 'two or more monolinguals in one body' (Gravelle,1996: 11).

4.1.1.3 The distinction of Afrikaans versus Afrikaaps

When naming the languages in their LBP, most participants wrote Afrikaans as a language they spoke, while three distinctly mentioned Afrikaaps/Mengels[2]/Kombuis and Afrikaans/ "standard" Afrikaans. When participants were asked in interviews which Afrikaans they were speaking about, they referred to Afrikaaps. Accordingly, it is possible that we can see that what they associate with Afrikaans is Afrikaaps, potentially seeing the two as varieties of one language, not separate languages. More importantly, the Afrikaans they report associating with their linguistic identity is Afrikaaps. Those who specified and labelled/identified both varieties on their LBP as part of their linguistic repertoire sees Afrikaans and Afrikaaps as two separate languages or language varieties. Furthermore, there is also the positioning of a bi-dialectal identity (Preece, 2009) regarding Afrikaans and a more direct claim (i.e. actively/proudly associating and linking Afrikaaps to their linguistic repertoire in interviews) as part of their identity.

4.1.1.4 English Dominance

Most of the LBP's have been customised to show English as the dominant language. For example, the Teddy, Lilly, and Nelly LBP's, as illustrated in the table above, predominantly feature colours that participants associate with English. This design suggests that other languages are positioned to orbit around English, indicating that participants primarily communicate in English and identify themselves as home-language English speakers (Preece, 2009).

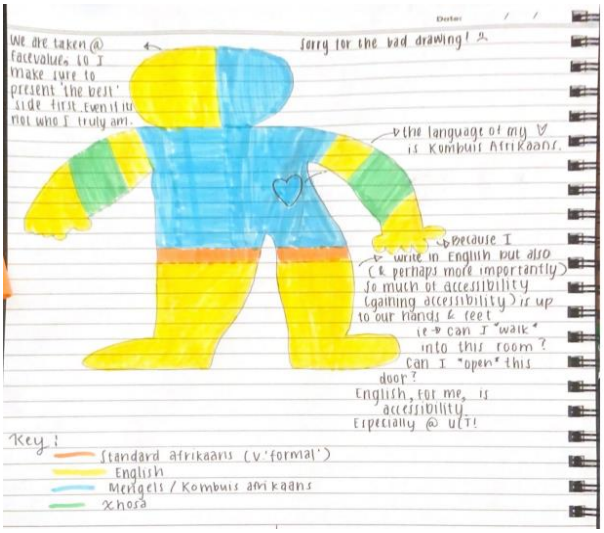
4.1.2 Identity Construction and Negotiation

On her LBP, as seen in extract one below, Sunny split her face and coloured one-half yellow for English and one-half Blue for "Mengels[2]/Kombuis Afrikaans." Here, as per the

[2] **Mengels** is a play on words meaning "mixed English" that refers to speaking a mixture of mostly English with Afrikaaps words in a sentence. The Afrikaans term meng translates to mix in English. Mengels thus combines 'meng' (mix) and Engels (English).

description next to her face, Sunny alludes to the English side of her face as the ‘best side’ but confirms that this is not who she truly is, contrasting her best self with her true self.

Data Extract 1: Sunny LBP and Interview transcript



Sunny: So ^uhm the best meaning\ that when I go for interviews or(.) even here at school (.) like even now I'm doing it where I'm like filtering where I'm like filtering myself (.)\ and its nothing that the other person is doing (.) its that's I| know I'm in a white occupied space (.) like I cannot speak (.)/ how I do at home↓ and that's not me (.) so it's like when I'm home I'm free (.) and it's like (1.9) it-its / really who I am (.) here I have to uhm (1.6)\ make sure my r's are a bit elevated *laughs* orr\ otherwise people will think I'm stupid or how did get here uhm (.) or interviews especially now (.)↓ with internships now it's like 'I don't think you are the best person to present if there is anything'↓ so that's what I meant.

In extract 1, Sunny explains what she means, with the ‘best side’ of her face being the English side of her. She associates English with professional/work settings and academic environments (referring to ‘interviews… with internships’) and ties whiteness to English, i.e. “I’m in a white-occupied space.” Accordingly, the image in her head of the ‘ideal person’ in these spaces, is not her ‘true self’, a coloured person who speaks Kombuis Afrikaans or CFE, because she believes that people will think she “is stupid” or question her intellect and skills, (showcasing an example of generational internalised racism/stigmatisation). It is instead her “best self”, someone who speaks English with an accent approximating WSAE (“my r’s are a bit elevated”). Sunny employs two metaphors to contrast her ‘best self’ with her ‘true self’. She views her "best self" as someone who must constantly "filter" her thoughts and actions. A filter serves to clean or refine, creating a version that’s cleaner and more polished than the original. However, it’s important to note that a filter is also porous, meaning that while it removes impurities, it inevitably leaves behind some residue. On the other hand, she connects

her true self with feelings of home and freedom—specifically, the ability to act, speak, and think freely, without constraints. Essentially, Sunny suggests that when she is at home, her 'true self' emerges. This is evident in the way she speaks: using Kombuis Afrikaans or speaking English in a way that distances her from whiteness. For Sunny, this authentic expression is central to her identity and is where she feels free to express herself. Whilst performing her 'best self', she associates English and speaking English with being rigid, whereby considering the environment, i.e. field (Bourdieu, 1977); she feels caged/restricted, as she is expected to act in a very particular way. These behaviours and ways of being constitute Sunny's individual habitus (Bourdieu, 1977). The metaphor of "filtering herself" refers to the process of removing impurities from her true self—how she genuinely speaks and acts. This leaves a residue of her authentic self behind, akin to leaving it by the door. In this way, she presents a polished or altered version of herself i.e. her "best self," as she enters predominantly white spaces and institutions. According to Ahmed (2017), higher education institutions are centred around whiteness. Consequently, individuals who do not appear to be white often feel compelled to embody traits associated with whiteness to gain acceptance.

Data Extract 2: Sunny LBP written descriptions

For able-bodied people, hands and legs are what we use to gain accessibility to rooms or other places" and in her LBP she writes the reason "Because I write in English but also more importantly so much of accessibility, gaining accessibility is up to our hands and feet. i.e. can I "walk" into this room? putting my best foot forward, Can I "open" this door? English for me is accessibility especially at UCT!

In her LBP, Sunny shaded her hands, part of her arms, legs, and feet in yellow, tying it to English. In extract 2, from her written descriptions of the LBP, Sunny links English to accessibility and classifies UCT as a white-occupied space, similar to extract one. Through the exclamation point after "especially at UCT", she emphasises how she sees UCT as a route to gaining access but also sees English as the language that will allow her to gain access or be able to walk into a room (i.e. putting your best foot forward) and opening doors (i.e. to learn/education but also opportunities). The metaphoric use of hands and legs (LBP) to gain access refers to the symbolic value of her linguistic resources and how she is aware of the need to draw on different resources depending on where she goes. Moreover, she describes linguistic resources that grant her mobility and movement, allowing her to gain access to these spaces. Furthermore, with the metaphorical 'movement of body parts, opening doors and entering rooms', she questions her position at UCT and whether she is allowed to

participate in and take up the opportunities afforded by the campus space. In addition, she considers what identity, language, or kind of person she needs to be, what linguistic resources will allow her access to space at UCT, and whether it is only for other people. As such, Sunny demonstrates learning how to utilise language in certain marketplaces while acknowledging that not all speakers have an equal footing (Blackledge and Pavlenko, 2002). Consequently, questioning and concluding her thought process, that the ideal person in this space is someone who speaks WSAE, Sunny is equating English once again with the power to access opportunities and different spaces, recognising English to be more valuable in symbolic capital in this field (Bourdieu, 1990) or linguistic marketplace (Bourdieu, 1977). Sunny's adoption of her 'best self' identity at UCT is shaped by her individual habitus and the established rules that govern this social environment (Blackledge and Pavlenko, 2002), allowing her to navigate the ethnolinguistic stereotypes associated with being Coloured. The interplay between habitus and field creates conditions that perpetuate common assumptions, reinforcing monolingual English hegemony's dominant ideologies and "white dominance" within institutions (Ahmed, 2007). As Ahmed (2007: 157-158) notes, "joining an institution entails not only becoming a member but also aligning oneself with its specific values and principles, effectively embodying and reciprocating its identity."

Data Extract 3: Sunny Interview Transcript

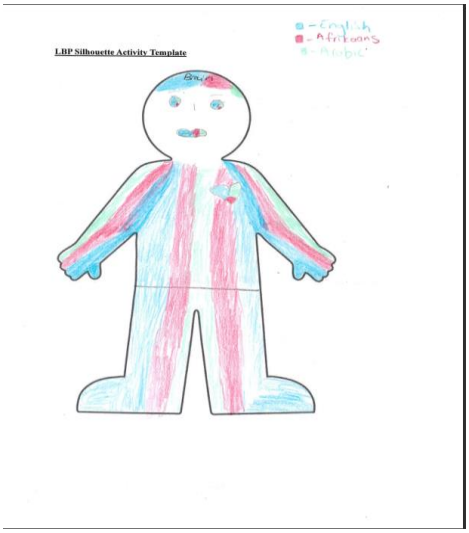
Sunny: /uhm English| is like a language I speak but don't necessarily resonate with it as in claim it as my own\ (.) so like I don't see it as uh/ I don't see myself as an English person so (.) I feel like\ sometimes I do myself an injustice having to assimilate and codeswitch which is not good/ it makes me feel so repressed (.) so I feel like I need to overcompensate a little bit because I(.)\ need to prove to myself but also to everyone else I have a language I still have a culture (.) this is who I am (.) so I do have to compensate for that like/ how else can I prove my coloured-ness to people/ (.) uhm in short / it doesn't make me feel good and\ I feel like I have to work overtime to remind myself of who I am and whatever (.) I don't want anybody taking that away because that is what I feel like that what people have tried to do for very long(.) yeah

Following extract two, even though she mostly uses English, in extract three above, Sunny also tries to distance herself from it, acknowledging that while she speaks it, she doesn't "resonate with it as in, claim it as her own". In her mind, she maintains a particular image of what being Coloured is, which is tied to her true self, and English does not fit in with that. In addition, speaking Afrikaaps and having heartfelt ties to Afrikaaps, it being her true self, she emphasises how she feels repressed when she always has to resort to English, despite having more personal and significant emotional ties to Afrikaaps. Here, she alludes to subduing who she is in certain environments. Sunny's experiences somewhat relate to what Alim (cited in

Haupt et al., 2019: 285-287) has termed “Soul Murdering”. Soul murder refers to the necessity of performing and code-switching, including the use of body language. In essence, the politics of respectability dictate that "we must behave in a civilised manner to avoid judgment," leading us to adopt the language and cultural norms of the oppressor, specifically, whiteness and the use of standard language varieties to assert our humanity in certain environments. This concept is related to the expectations placed on students of colour in schools, where they are often policed regarding the types of language and body language they are expected to use (Haupt et al., 2019). Consequently, this creates a sense of conflict as Sunny somewhat suppresses her Colouredness, so that people can perceive her in a certain way. Yet, she also feels the need to overcompensate and “prove” to people that she is Coloured, and that she has a culture and language that are important to her.

Double consciousness, a concept introduced by Du Bois in 1903, is evident in Sunny's experience. She is acutely aware of the stereotypes and stigma that Coloured people face, as they are often judged and evaluated based on dominant (racial) standards, particularly whiteness and the hegemony of English. To navigate this reality, Sunny feels compelled to assimilate to these dominant identity positions. As a result, she exhibits a sense of desperation and defensiveness, striving to “hold on to who you really are.” This arises from her fear that by assimilating, she might lose sight of her roots and true identity, ultimately risking the erosion of her culture and sense of self. Sunny also demonstrates identity conflict marked by an individual losing their ingrained societal identity and seeking new identities that align with their need to adapt to evolving social conditions (Booysen, 2007). Weedon (2001) explains that discursive identity struggles occur inside a single consciousness as people are sites for these conflicts. In some sense, Sunny indirectly essentialises race and culture to being homogenous (i.e. being Coloured means speaking in a particular way) without considering the plurality of cultures within one racial category.

Data Extract 4: Lilly LBP



Data Extract 5: Lilly Interview transcript

S: Okay (.) And then the next question is uhm the Afrikaans that you referring to is it the standard Afri-like Suiwer Afrikaans or is it uh Kaaps Afrikaans?

Lilly: (3.1) \ Sooo for that it would be (.) I think I'm-I'm more fluent in Kaaps Afrikaans like the Suiwer Afrikaans no, like/ definitely| Kaaps Afrikaans
S: Okay, (.)/ so then the so the Afrikaans to on your body portrait that you referring is that uh Kaaps Afrikaans?
OK.
Lilly: (1.4)\Oh, yes| definitely yes. Oh, I was supposed to be specific. Sorry.

In extract 4, Lilly's LBP represents three languages: English, Afrikaans and Arabic. In response to prompting, she specifies in extract five that the Afrikaans she refers to here is Afrikaaps. It is evident through her shadings in her LBP how all three languages flow through her. However, her LBP was drawn with a focus on English as blue predominates, thus positioning English as the central and dominant language in her repertoire (Preece, 2009). This is further evident in how certain places like the brain, hands, heart, and legs in her LBP are shaded in blue, with the second most, shaded in red and then green, per the order in the key on her LBP. As such, she positions herself as primarily an English speaker, with Afrikaans and Arabic as second and third languages. In addition, it is also evident how the sectioning of shadings is visible in the LBP, possibly representing how her identities, even though hybrid (Pavlenko and Blackledge, 2004), are kept separate and not necessarily connected or drawn on simultaneously. Maintaining her identities separately is evident in extract six below, where Lilly explains how each language is an integral part of her identity,

specifying where and with whom she distinctly uses each language to express different facets of herself.

Data Extract 6: Lilly Interview Transcript

English is the part of my identity I show to the world as it the only language I speak to all who are not part of family circle. Afrikaans is part of my identity I show when I am with my family. Arabic is part of my religious identity as I show it when I am with my family and friends who are Muslim.

Data Extract 7: Lilly Interview Transcript

Lilly: (.)/Yes| I wish I did only because uhm (.) It's it (.) It's like part of your identity in a way\, and it's very hard to (.) to not be able to speak it {i.e. Kaaps} cause you kind of feel disconnected in a way like this is your identity (.) and this is the the people that's like your close family members that can speak it and you can't (.) So it does feel like there is like a disconnect (.) but because I'm so uncomfortable 'cause (.) I know I can't speak it well, so I don't really speak it more, but I do try because I feel like it's such uh important part of my identity(.)/ And just like in I think a lot of that just like makes you think like this is such uh connected language to my family| But I can't speak it, so I just just feel so removed↓ in a way (.) But whenever I'm in an Afrikaans speaking environment or Kaaps Afrikaans speaking environment, it represents a sense of belonging (.) There's always a lot of like loudness and there's a lot of uhm mmh vibrancy (.) So, I think in in it's just\ because its language you use when you around your close family that you can be sort of (1.2) at ease with that/ You want to speak anyway that you wanna speak and that there's no sort of expectation that you must speak a certain way or you must use the proper grammar like you can just speak how you feel like speaking. That's why\. So, it's like just this place where you can be sort of freeing.

S: So/ when you are outside your family circle, do you feel a like I guess as somewhat less (.) of belonging?

Lilly: No|\, I think I would feel more uhm, like the version that I'm putting to the world is the version that I know is the (.) not the faulted version, but the uh mhhm the like the hmm Appropriate| version, so to speak↓ like it's the version where I speak proper English (.) I speak the correct language (.) I don't/ I have a lot of like when I'm speaking to someone I know how I should express myself in the appropriate manner. So, I would if you say it's a more (.) I guess, constrained version of myself where I'm very just to the point and very, yeah. So, there's no like. That that's all sort of gone. Hmm. ↓Like I have to fit a mould that I know. Like a like a language mould. And I have to speak it like that (.)

In extract 7, Lilly was asked if she wished she could speak Afrikaaps more now that she is older, even though she was raised as an HL English speaker. She responds with a strong "Yes|," emphasising her desire to speak more Afrikaaps. In addition, Lilly repeats "part of my identity" four times and "family" three times, highlighting how vital Afrikaaps is to her

sense of self and her strong association with Afrikaaps and family, i.e. “close family members”. In addition, Lilly describes her family environment as “loud and vibrant,” evoking a sense of fondness and a strong feeling of belonging. Thus, for Lilly, Afrikaaps has deeper personal connections compared to English. In relation to language and identity, Norton (1997:410) states that “Individuals constantly reposition themselves in relation to past and present interactions and individual emotions such as excitement, insecurity, nostalgia, loss, fear, and desire; the desire for recognition, the desire for affiliation, and the desire for security and safety”.

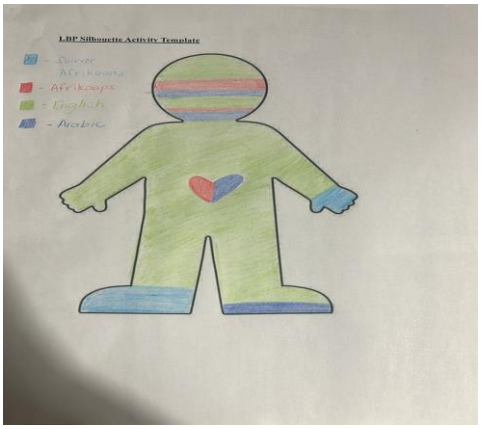
Lilly metaphorically connects her family environment and her identity in this space to a sense of being “freeing.” In this setting, she feels comfortable being herself, free from the judgment regarding how she speaks and without the constraints of having to police her language choices and practices. This contrasts sharply with the restrictions she experiences when using standard varieties of language, where she must be mindful of grammar rules. Lilly describes this as the “appropriate version of herself,” in which she feels a sense of imposed confinement when required to conform to a particular standard to “fit into a language mould.” This mould shapes how she communicates and defines what she knows to be acceptable, leading to what she calls the “constrained version of myself.” The metaphor of a mould suggests that it does not preserve the raw form of a material; instead, it shapes the material to develop in a specific way. Thus, Lilly feels that she is not seen as her original self or her raw form but rather shaped to speak and act in a particular manner, as demonstrated in extract eleven.. As the emphasis is placed on “appropriate”, there is also a drop in tone and pause to demonstrate her self-awareness of identity assimilation. Thus, the theme of double consciousness (Du Bois, 1973) is present here as it is with Sunny.

Lilly's reasoning reveals an irony: although she feels “freer” in her family environment and associates Afrikaaps with a sense of belonging, she also experiences a sense of “removal” because she cannot speak a language that she strongly connects with her family. Her inability to communicate fluently in Afrikaaps makes her feel disconnected from her family identity, which in turn affects her relationship with the language itself. As Busch (2017) highlights, the significance attributed to a language or linguistic variation within a specific social context greatly influences people's perceptions of language. Regarding linguistic repertoires, this suggests that linguistic classifications' exclusionary or restrictive nature becomes particularly apparent when language is not easily accessible. This often occurs when individuals are either not recognised as, or do not consider themselves to be, authentic speakers of a particular

language or speech pattern. Essentially, Lilly expresses that a piece of her is missing or incomplete, as in this instance, she's like an outsider looking in. As a result, she contrasted her efforts to avoid speaking Afrikaaps because she feels she lacks proficiency in it, reflecting her all-or-nothing approach to language. Yet, she states that "she tries" to use Afrikaaps because it is an important part of her identity. The frequent pauses and changes in her tone suggest feelings of defeat and regret, as she acknowledges her limitations in speaking Afrikaaps while also expressing a longing and sadness to communicate in the language. Therefore, I would argue that she experiences a sense of constraint regardless.

There is a dynamic tension between Lilly's navigation of multiple identities and the language ideologies that shape them. Lilly refers to her hybrid identities as "versions," indicating that the persona she presents to the world is the "proper" one. In her view, this version aligns with her environment and represents the use of "proper English," or the "correct English." This is the "non-faulted" version, which is restricted and monitored. In contrast, her true self is represented by the "faulted" version, where she finds freedom in speaking Afrikaaps. For Lilly, the languages she uses for each version illustrate her belief that a proper or acceptable person speaks English. From her perspective, Afrikaaps is considered inadequate, faulted, or improper, rendering it inappropriate in certain contexts. Lilly describes Afrikaaps as deficient for not adhering to "proper grammar," showing her dual relationship with the language. While she has a strong affiliation with Afrikaaps as a means of connecting with close family, she simultaneously distances herself from it by viewing it as not "proper."

Data Extract 8: Teddy LPB and Questionnaire



The other half of my heart is Afrikaaps because there is a yearning to connect with the language more. I chose red for Afrikaaps to signify the deep significance this language has to me in terms of my culture but also to signify the newly found love I have for this language. Afrikaaps has a special place in my heart. Afrikaaps connects me more to my ancestors than English does. English is the language of the colonisers, but Afrikaaps is the language of my ancestors.

In extract 8, whilst it is evident that Teddy's LBP depicts a predominance of English, showing this as possibly her primary language (Preece, 2009), it is important to draw attention to the heart, which does not include English but rather splits between Arabic and Afrikaaps. In extract nine, Teddy explains that despite being an English HL speaker, she holds a deeper and more personal connection with Afrikaaps, claiming it as part of her culture in extract 9. When asked in extract nine how her perception of Afrikaaps has evolved since high school and her arrival at UCT, Teddy describes how she has claimed and re-claimed the language, which she connects to her "culture." She states, "I claim it, like re-claiming, reclaiming our culture." This assertion is personal, as evidenced by her use of the pronoun "I," and reflects her recognition and acceptance of Afrikaaps. Teddy links Afrikaaps to her identity by saying, "I found myself; I found my identity." This suggests that, in the past, she assimilated to a "white" identity and rejected her Coloured background, expressing, "I don't wanna be Gham; I wanna fit in." Despite feeling a sense of familiarity with Afrikaaps, she pushed it away and invalidated it, resulting in a feeling of being "lost" and an unclear identity.

After distancing herself from and stigmatising Afrikaaps in high school, and assimilating to Western Standard Afrikaans English (WSAE) due to the linguistic marketplace's values (Bourdieu, 1977), she now embraces Afrikaaps as a part of her identity and culture, ultimately accepting who she is. By repeatedly using the term "colonised," Teddy emphasises how her prior beliefs about Afrikaaps were influenced by colonial attitudes. This highlights

her strong realization and admission of the racist and problematic nature of her past thoughts, positioning her former self as embodying a coloniser's mindset when she rejected and dissociated from her culture and identity.

The second claim is more holistic as Teddy emphasises the “re” and uses inclusive pronouns such as ‘our, we and us’. She evidently links herself and her identity to the coloured community, emphasising how we need to take back what was ours in the sense of recognising the actual history, significance and origin of Afrikaaps, decolonising the stigmatisation of Afrikaaps caused by apartheid purism. Additionally, this re-claiming was aided by what Teddy learned about Afrikaaps in linguistics lectures; learning the history thereof has exposed her to an alternative story about Afrikaaps compared to what she believed before. Through this wholistic claim, she, by extension, makes a plea/stance not to push her away from her true self, force her to assimilate to a white identity and reject being Coloured. She resists the expectation to stigmatise her culture and maintain the hegemony of English and white superiority because this is what “they” want. She makes a plea to herself to no longer fall for it. Here, Teddy very evidently embraces the premise of the Afrikaaps movement (Alim and Haupt et al., 2021), demonstrating new consciousness and identity resistance to dominant hegemonic and assimilationist discourses (Pavlenko and Blackledge, 2004; Heller, 1992 and Woolard, 1985).

It is interesting to note that, in addition to this plea, there are her feelings of indifference to English and its history when she states that she is “a living representation of a success of colonisation” yet, annoyance, as she reasons that coloniality is why she speaks English, as opposed to describing how she feels grateful for English. Accordingly, an emotional contradiction is evident here because remaining indifferent toward something means not caring, whilst being annoyed and grateful are two opposite emotions that require one to feel.

Thus, I argue that her various identities are in conflict. On one hand, her academic and professional identity views English as a pathway to success and expresses gratitude for it. On the other hand, her cultural identity distances her from English, leading her to express disdain for its hegemonic dominance. This situation exemplifies the concept of double consciousness as described by Du Bois (1961). Ironically, it is her academic knowledge—specifically what she learned about Afrikaaps in English-medium lectures—that empowers her to reclaim and connect positively with the language.As a result, Teddy feels that by speaking English, she is perpetuating its colonial dominance, effectively “speaking/acting” like a coloniser and thus

undermining the struggles of her ancestors. As Weedon states (2001: 93), “Discourse structures govern the discursive constitutions of humans as subjects; nonetheless, discourses embedded in social institutions and processes constantly battle for the loyalty of individual agents.”

Data Extract 10: Rina- LBP & Questionnaire

Rina: I was particularly interested in the way I coloured in the face on my LBP. To me this depicts the tensions that exist within my own body and how I often struggle to unify these different expressions of myself.

Interview transcript- Follow-up question:

Rina: When I came to UCT like a lot of people would ask me like “what are you? “ and I was like ‘^yoh guys *shocked expression* hectic ‘ *laughs* uhm/ I think (.)So from the then on, I kind of realised that the way I perceive myself and the way other people perceive me, they don't always l-link (.) And then I kind of went through like a really hectic identity crisis because of that (.) uhm So my mom's /co-coloured and my dad is Jewish and Afrikaans\, and I think the Jewish Afrikaans mixture for me has always been like very very| difficult to have to like confront (.) So I've always kind of like, naturally (.) Imbedded myself, like within my coloured heritage, coloured identity and stuff. Uhm so yeah, those tensions do exist within me/.

In Rina’s LBP, drawing attention to the face, you can see the line separation/division made for each language, without overlap, identifying how each language is distinctly a part of her, emphasising the tensions she mentions in extract 10 of her questionnaire. However, it is also interesting to note how she associates Mengels (wordplay on meng [mix] and Engels

[English], which are both Afrikaans words), mixing/ simultaneous use of English and Afrikaans, with Afrikaaps and this is situated in the middle of her face and torso, between English and Afrikaans. Accordingly, Rina uses Afrikaaps as the middle ground, a bridge to unify two parts of her identity to form a holistic centre via language and self, which is illustrated in extract 13.

In extract 10, Rina, in her interview, explains how, coming to UCT for the first time, she had to sit with the question of who and what she is regarding race and identity. Rina's reaction to questions from her peers reveals her shock and discomfort when they tried to categorise her racially. Despite their attempts, she has always identified as Coloured and has been deeply embedded in Coloured culture throughout her life. According to Gee (1990), primary discourses create subject positions that seem natural and neutral until individuals confront challenges to their self-perception. When Rina's understanding of her identity as Coloured is questioned, she encounters secondary discourses that suggest new ways of viewing herself. Consequently, self-perception of being Coloured versus external colonial perception of what Coloured looks like positioned Rina as being neither here nor there (Erasmus, 2001), leading her to question what it meant to be coloured, whether she is Coloured, but also what you need to be like to be seen as Coloured. In this situation, Rina experiences herself through external observation, i.e. through the eyes or ears of others as an object, as someone being observed (Bush, 2017).

Thereby, Rina is perceived as someone who is not conforming to the imagined purism/ homogeneity of racial categories, having a diverse heritage, one in which she embedded herself (Coloured) and one that she distances herself from (Jewish/ Afrikaner), yet she must confront, resulting in an identity crisis/tension (Booysen, 2006; 2007), in trying to understand how they unify. The tension between her Coloured identity and her Afrikaans/Jewish identity is exemplified in her LBP (Life Biographical Portrait). In this depiction, her gut is represented by a spiral, coloured in brown and orange to symbolise both Afrikaans and Afrikaaps cultures. The spiral symbolises a situation that is difficult to control and can feel overwhelming, while the gut represents inner feelings, instincts, or intuition. Rina conveys that her instincts are clouded by the brown (Afrikaans), leading to feelings of unease and being overwhelmed. She navigates the comfort of one heritage and identity, juxtaposed with the absence of heritage and identity from her Afrikaner and Jewish backgrounds. This struggle makes her doubt her instincts as a Coloured individual. Thus, Rina considers two languages, which give her two distinct identities. The language of the Other is constantly

there, and she perceives herself as belonging to two language worlds, one more so than the other (Busch, 2012).

Data Extract 14: Rina Interview transcript

Rina: Hmm, so for me \uhgh (.)\I didn't like Afrikaans, even at school. The fact that it was a compulsory language. I feel like I would have wanted more freedom to choose what I wanted my second language to be, and I think that's also there's just like this very hectic| oppressive| /Forceful (.) quality to Afrikaans you know. Uhm / yeah, so I feel like betrayal with Afrikaans and that I feel like that's just a personal thing uhm again my father (.)/ So, I feel like by speaking that language it's me also sometimes having to affirm or even confront that (.) I don't want to do that uhm, but when I think of Afrikaans, I just think of someone telling you, you know, there's like a right way and you must be this way. This way like to me it's just it's such a harsh language (.) So to me, I really don't like Afrikaans *laughs*

In extract 14, Rina's discomfort is conveyed through her use of onomatopoeic sounds like “urgg” and her emphasis on the words “hectic,” “oppressive,” and “you have to.” These elements highlight her dislike of Afrikaans, linking the language to feelings of imposition, control, and a lack of voice and agency. Being forced to learn Afrikaans in school took away her freedom to choose her second language and significantly impacted her sense of identity.

She articulates the oppressive nature of being required to adopt a specific narrative about how to act and speak, which enforces assimilation and creates conflicts with her identity. Although Rina tries to avoid acknowledging her connection to Afrikaans, it remains heavily associated with feelings of betrayal stemming from her father's abandonment. She explains that if she speaks Afrikaans, it will mean accepting and affirming it as part of her identity, which makes her uncomfortable. Furthermore, doing so would feel like a betrayal to another part of herself that she has identified with throughout her life—being Coloured.

The use of the words “freedom” and “forceful nature of Afrikaans”, additionally symbolises how her Afrikaans/Jewish side and the colonialism of racialised categorisation, brought into question the race that she associated with (Coloured) and took away her freedom of choice when choosing only to embed herself in Coloured heritage, forcing her to confront another part of her that she didn’t want to. Moreover, navigating a white-dominated space like UCT initially removed her agency and freedom of expression and mobility, with being able to embody her Coloured identity within this space, forcing her to assimilate into the dominant culture, in turn suppressing and denying a part of her to be validated and legitimised in this space. Erikson (1986) states that significant shifts in a person's social surroundings can cause phases of identity crisis, marked by moments where individuals need to analyse, reflect upon,

reevaluate, or make decisions about the identities that contribute to their self-concept. Verily, Kress (1989) and Gee (1990) state that to be accepted as part of dominant institutional discourses, such as academic disciplines, newcomers must learn to behave, think, and communicate within their ideological frameworks. As these discourses may conflict with their home norms and values, this process may require new forms of identification.

Data Extract 15: Rina Interview transcript

Rina: When I was twelve, we moved to a more uhm coloured community|. And I felt a little bit out of place within that co-community as well. Cause like I was, I'm quite fair skinned *laugh* (.)\ so when I would walk around and stuff a lot of people would like always make comments and stuff and call me whitey which I was like "^yoh guys. Do I not belong anywhere?' *mock laughter cry". Uhm so even within that community, I kind of also felt then like I needed to adapt in order to survive (.) So I guess my way of adapting was becoming familiar with the l-language and also starting to incorporate it into, like, my own vocabulary and stuff just to find a sense of belonging in that community (.) And I think over time then, it just also became a part of my identity (.)

In extract 15, Rina explains that when moving to a Coloured area, even though she identified as Coloured, she was perceived as not "Coloured enough" according to community standards. The distinctive binary of 'Me vs Them' is present here through her use of the pronoun "my" when referring to her heritage and culture, indicating that she positions and perceives herself as being Coloured. When speaking about the Coloured community as a whole, she uses the phrase "that community" instead of "my community." This choice of words indicates that she does not claim this community as her own, as she does not feel a sense of belonging or acceptance within it. Raddock (2024) explains that in cases where individuals experience prolonged exposure to feelings of loss and ambivalence, they may internalise a sense of in-betweenness, lacking a fixed location or connection to their identity. Essentially, Rina was "Double Othered", as termed by Ariefdien (Haupt et al., 2019). This term refers to being marginalised by enduring legacies of colonialism and apartheid, like Rina when coming to UCT; on the other hand, some cultural nationalists deem you not Black enough or Coloured enough if you're unable to speak languages associated with these racial categories, like Rina when first transitioning into the Coloured community. Identity construction is evident here, where even though Rina identifies as Coloured, she felt she had to learn to "assimilate" to fit the "generic" way of being deemed Coloured in the community: "*I needed to adapt to survive"*. This assimilation was mostly through language, particularly the use of Afrikaaps. As Rina says, "My way of adapting was becoming familiar with the l-language**"**. Thus, Rina's efforts at linguistic assimilation are motivated by the hope that she will no longer be

perceived as ‘other’ (Busch, 2017). Put differently, she felt she had to demonstrate her Colouredness to feel like she belonged. Moreover, when she uses an analogy through the phrase “adapt to survive”, whereby survival is seen as a means to continue existing or living despite difficult or destroying/threatening circumstances, she expressed that in order not to have her identity taken away or threatened when being questioned by the Coloured community, her means of survival was to adapt and act like the community perceived and categorised a “Coloured” person to be. According to Butler (1997:135), "When the ability to speak becomes a condition for a subject's survival, the primary censorship—the subject's entry into the normativity of language—resurfaces in political life. When language is not readily accessible, particularly when individuals are not recognised or do not see themselves as authentic speakers of a particular language, the restrictive influence of categorisation is especially prominent.”

Data Extract 16: Rina Interview transcript

S: Afrikaans Afr-ugh Afrikaaps represent the most authentic version yourself. How is that?

Rina: /I think with that diversity of identities within this one language is something that resonates with me so strongly is because obviously my genetic makeup is like all over the place *laughs*/ So so there's a lot of, there's a lot that I hold dear to me because of that (.) because I feel like because of its uhm its history as such a diverse language from u-such like a lot of cultures and stuff, it actually al-allows me to express myself. The way that I wanted to be expressed, yeah. So yeah, the specifics and the stories of my ancestor’s kind of allows me to hold on to, to live with and through that. I think that's where the beauty of Afrikaaps is, is that it gives such a beautiful expression to all of those differences. It represents an absence of unease and freedom to accept express myself with all parts of my heritage and identity and live my life as the person I am, which denies any racial categorisations and stereotypes.

In addition, as explained in extract 16, in conjunction with extract 10, Rina uses Afrikaaps in a symbolic way as something that is more than just language; it’s tied to her expression, her thoughts, her emotions, and her voice. Even more importantly, it enables her being able to claim her identity in a way that allows multiple identities to co-exist with one another. It acts as a bridge but also a reflection of who she is, as Afrikaaps, like her, is rooted in an amalgamation of diversities and cultures, with many identities embedded within. For Rina, Afrikaaps acts as a ‘language of in-between’ (Busch, 2012). Accordingly, she can resonate and express her identities embedded in different cultures through herself holistically, through Afrikaaps, instead of having to choose or conform to only one part of her. Nonetheless, interesting to note is that even though Rina uses Afrikaaps as a means of denying racial

categorisations, she also uses Afrikaaps as a means of demonstrating her Coloured-ness. Thus, Afrikaaps is seen as an identity marker for being Coloured.

Data Extract 17: Rina Interview Transcript

Rina: (.) I feel like my natural mode of expression is always to write in Afrikaaps (.) And then whenever I would have to write like an essay or an or an assignment for university, it would then just have to be like pure proper English, in order for my knowledge or my feelings to be validated, cause (.) that's what other people will see as being like legit. Soo coming to UCT that was very dominantly white space, during my undergrad years and last year as well I had to like suppress that side of me to be able to assimilate into, you know, a particular uhm uhm environment (.) I feel like it's something that you just automatically accept, you know, because it's one of those things that's just so embedded (.)Soo by us always having to then have to resort to English to rationalise our ideas (.) I find it annoying. So I always kind of felt like, you know, you kind of have to adapt and deny part of you so that you can be like legitimised and you and your value towards a space is seen as some worthy. It's like you have to prove yourself in a way.

Rina: LBP questionnaire

Rina: I see this as a symbolic of the ways I feel and how I feel I must rationalise my emotions, so they make sense in some way, especially in academic and professional setting.

Rina Interview transcript

S: When you have to resort to English in these spaces (.)/ do you feel like you not being your true self?

Rina: [Yes, definitely] (.)\ I feel like when I was younger, I used to pick up that social cue from my mom as well, like when she was in all white spaces (.) She kind of like switched in a way (.)Like in a more English Anglican anglicised uh uh way and I-I when I started university, I adopted that in like a very subconscious way as well and I think that also comes with trying to understand white people as well and I just stopped it because I was just like /"I'm so tired. Like, what am I? What am I doing? What am I trying to prove even by doing that?" \(.) So, then I just began to uhm hang out with people that had the same life experiences as me that had the same like cultural connections as me, just like I could be myself. Yeah. But I wouldn't actually say that there is any distinction between who I am at university and who I am at home (.) uhm and that's just because I've learned that I need to carry(.) all parts of myself within a space uhm and like I say before, if it isn't welcome that then that just means that that is not space for me.

In extract 17 above, Rina's immediate answer and emphasis on "definitely" , indicate a strong admission/ realisation of having to resort to English in specific white dominant spaces like UCT is not who she is. Rina constructs a narrative about how rational thoughts, feelings and words are only validated and legitimised when expressed in English at UCT, particularly in certain faculties "that are saturated with white people, and English is valued as the dominant

language and culture ". Thereby, for your existence/identities to be legitimised, you must assimilate to speaking WSAE and acting in a particular way to be deemed acceptable. Ahmed (2007:157-158) explains how institutions embody “whiteness” as these spaces are influenced by the presence of certain bodies over others, whereby white bodies come together to define the boundaries of these spaces, making whiteness the focal point of the institution. Therefore, even non-white bodies must conform to whiteness to be included. Consequently, the assimilation to “whiteness” creates conflicting ties between Rina’s academic identity and her true identity, as she questions herself, her identity, and her actions. Rina states you must “deny and suppress” (i.e. restrain) being Coloured and speaking Afrikaaps because this is not an identity/ language that is valued in the linguistic marketplace (Bourdieu, 1977). This is further depicted in her LBP and questionnaire answer in extract 10, where she shares how her heart, shaded in orange, depicts her love, feelings, expressions and emotional ties to Afrikaaps, but it is surrounded by blue for English.

Rina's language choices and academic identity during her undergraduate years were subconsciously influenced by her family's language policy at home. When this environment changed, Rina became more aware of her actions and choices. This increased self-awareness allowed her to navigate her conflicts by surrounding herself with people who appreciated her true self. However, this navigation presents a contradiction: by choosing to associate with not only Coloured individuals in general but also those who share similar diverse heritages, she inadvertently pushes racial segregation. Yet, in finding a community that reflects her identity, Rina resists the dominant culture and the pressure to assimilate. This way, she asserts control over her social spaces, expressing herself through her language and identity, thereby granting herself agency and voice. Through this, Rina exhibits pride in her Coloured identity while also resisting dominant linguistic influences and the societal expectations of assimilation into mainstream culture.

In the case of Teddy and Rina, where identity resistance is apparent, they illustrate that the positioning of individuals as subjects within specific discourses is never absolute and is always subject to challenge. Individuals are compelled to commit to particular subject positions and may embrace contradictory modes of subjectivity at various points in time. The need to regulate diverse forms of subjectivity in service of existing power relations drives the language of common sense (Weedon, 2001: 94). Consequently, researchers such as Herrington and Curtis (2000), Norton (2000), and Thesen (1997) have shown that individuals

also possess a degree of agency in determining which positions they adopt within discourses and in resisting the constraints imposed by those discourses.

4.1.3 Kaaps as a marker of an “authentic” Coloured identity

A commonality among participants, e.g. Lilly, Rina, Teddy, and Sunny, is the association of Afrikaaps with being Coloured and, therefore, by extension, Coloured culture. Language choices significantly influence how racial identities are expressed. Both racial groups and individuals, whether intentionally or unintentionally, convey their identities by favouring specific expressions and accents over others (Bailey, 2010, cited in Nilsson, 2016). To participants, an important factor in being perceived as Coloured is the ability to speak Afrikaaps and embrace Afrikaaps as part of your cultural identity. Cultural beliefs and practices can be utilised to enhance and uphold a sense of identity. As a result, culture acts as both a reflection of and a basis for the formation of shared identities (Stinston, 2009). In other words, as explained by participants, in Coloured communities, to be seen as an “authentic” Coloured, one needs to be able to speak or at least understand Afrikaaps, which is a common stereotypical expectation of Coloured people. This is made evident by Nilsson (2016: 61), who identifies how one of her participants went as far as saying that “if you don’t speak Afrikaans, you are not a real Coloured.”

In extract 10, Rina connects "Afrikaaps/Mengels" to her sense of being Coloured by using a brown and orange shaded spiral symbol to represent her gut feelings. This symbol reflects how her association with Afrikaans—rooted in her Afrikaner and Jewish heritage—causes her to doubt her instincts linked to Afrikaaps, and, by extension, her identity as Coloured. Furthermore, in extract 15, Rina explains that in order to fit into the Coloured community where she lived at the time and to protect her Coloured identity, she needed to adapt to the community's standards of what it meant to be Coloured. This adaptation included the specific ability to speak Afrikaaps. Therefore, a crucial factor in establishing her Coloured identity and being recognized as an "authentic Coloured" by the community is her use of Afrikaaps.

Data extract 18: Lilly interview transcript

S: So what is like (.)/ your perceived race?

Lilly: Coloured (.) /Yes

S: Now have you ever/ had an (.) experience where you being coloured assumptions were made about you or the languages you speak?

Lilly: (2.5)/ Yes|, because I work in uh a Public Library and it's in a, it's in a coloured area, so a lot of the time every patreon will come in (.) they'll just assume I speak Afrikaaps/ and then it will put them back/ (.) they assume that I speak Afrikaaps because of how I look, how I present myself. And then when I speak in English/ you you can just see the shock and then they'll be like, "oh↓", she doesn't speak Afrikaaps and sometimes they'll retreat.

Lilly, in extract 18, identifies herself as being Coloured and notes that at her workplace, located in a predominantly Coloured area, many patrons assume she speaks Afrikaaps due to her racial background. However, when she communicates with them in English, they are often taken aback and may even withdraw from the conversation. This reaction reflects a common stereotype that people who are Coloured are expected to speak Afrikaans, and when they don't, it can be perceived as surprising or "not normal." In extracts 6 and 7, Lilly emphasizes that Afrikaaps is "a part of her identity," expressing her desire to become more fluent in it. She shares that her inability to speak Afrikaaps fluently makes her feel disconnected from that aspect of her identity, linking Afrikaaps to her cultural heritage and what "connects" her to that identity.

In extract 8, Teddy, who reports her race as being Coloured, reasons that Afrikaaps holds a "deep significance to her as it connects to her culture" and further connects it to identity in extract 9. Thus, she sees that Kaaps is attached to a Coloured cultural identity. Deumert indicates that Afrikaans was occasionally strategically employed by Coloureds to convey a sense of community unity (Deumert, 2004:120).

Sunny associates Kombuis Afrikaans with her 'true self' and expresses "heartfelt ties to the language", as shown in extract 1 in her LBP, which expresses in extract three how she feels she has to "overcompensate" to prove her coloured-ness and remind herself that she "still has a language, still has a culture, this is who I am." Therefore, Sunny, associating Afrikaaps with her true self, sees it as a marker or tool to exercise and prove her Colouredness or 'Coloured identity' to herself and others. She, thus, sees Afrikaaps as an identity marker.

In this chapter, I present a thorough analysis of data collected from participants regarding their language backgrounds (LBP), incorporating their written explanations and interview responses. My findings demonstrate that participants possess shared characteristics in their LBPs, such as showcasing their bilingualism or multilingualism, and primarily focusing on English as the dominant language. They strategically position themselves within prevailing discourses while effectively challenging these narratives when necessary. The languages they choose to use are strongly intertwined with their identity positions, with Afrikaaps standing out as a defining marker of "authentic" Coloured identity.

5. Data Analysis II: Language Ideologies and Language Practices

In this chapter, I will identify and explore the different language ideologies that inform students' identity positionings and the languages they associate with their linguistic identity and claim as part of their repertoire. These language ideologies include colonial language ideologies such as Anglonormativity and Language Purism. In addition, I will demonstrate how family language policy (FLP) influences participants' alternate language ideologies. My analysis of language ideologies will also demonstrate the heteroglossia within Afrikaaps and how participants tie race to language.

5.1. Colonial language ideologies held by participants.

The ideologies of Anglonormativity, language purism, and Afrikaaps deficiency presented below were common and recurring among participants. Therefore, the data analysed here is only a selection of examples that strongly represent each ideology. I will begin with Anglonormativity, the normative hegemony of English, or compulsory command of English.

5.1.1 Anglonormativity

Data Extract 19: 'Sunny' LBP Questionnaire

Sunny: My professional and academic career is tied to English, probably forever. English is a way of gaining accessibility @ UCT. Accessibility into good institutions, jobs, neighbourhoods etc. I would speak English so I could be perceived as intelligent, upstanding, professional, polite.

In extract 19, when Sunny was asked about her reasons for including English in her LBP in her questionnaire, she emphasised seeing English as providing her with access to "institutions, jobs and neighbourhoods". In other words, she sees English as a means of accessing a range of opportunities, including obtaining a degree at UCT. In addition, she believes that by speaking English, she will be perceived as "intelligent, professional and polite". Through these descriptions, Sunny hierarchises English as a language of opportunity and recognises it as a language of power that is more valued in the university space and, therefore, one that can grant her access to social goods. Therefore, English is afforded a higher linguistic capital in this space, as perceived by Sunny (Bourdieu, 1977). Sunny thus expresses the 'coloniality of language' (Veronelli, 2015), which associates the European languages with intelligence and modernisation, evident in how English is seen and valued as the language that enables development and provides opportunities to thrive within the 21st

century (Veronelli, 2015). Consequently, this maintains English hegemony, which cyclically repurposes the colonial belief that fluency in "standard" English is a marker of education and intellect.

Data Extract 20: 'AD' Interview transcript

AD: Umm (.) look, \I know that there are other uhh groups within South Africa, cultural groups that speak different languages and as many people don't even (.)/S-Africans don't know English (.) people /rural people so I do think that we should have an option for Instruction in all of our official languages (.) particularly because there are people that can only understand in those languages (.) /but I feel at the same time those same people as they are learning should be required to speak English as well (.) because I mean, if you want to study, most likely you will have to work in a global system and if you can't even speak English (.) I'm sure you won't be able to speak whatever the other major languages are (.) you will be at the major disadvantage globally.

In extract 20, when 'AD' is asked whether he would consider adding any languages to English as a medium of instruction at UCT, he acknowledges the need for South Africa's official languages to be offered as options. He recognises that we live in a highly diverse country with multiple languages, and not everyone speaks English. However, he generalises that only African individuals and rural communities are unable to speak English, which is an oversimplification. While it is true that some rural individuals may not be proficient in English, his assumption overlooks the diverse linguistic capabilities of many rural people. Notably, he contradicts this recognition of diversity by upholding an Anglonormative ideal, suggesting that everyone should be proficient in English. Individuals who do not meet this standard may be labelled as deficient or deviant, as described by the ideology of Anglonormativity (McKinney, 2017). He argues that it "should be a requirement to speak English" for anyone wishing to attend UCT, given that it is an English-medium university. Essentially, proficiency in English is viewed as the bare minimum for attending and learning at UCT and for integrating into a global system, whether through "working" or "studying."

AD equates English with being a universal language of education, making a strong assumption when he states, "I'm sure" that those who cannot speak English will also struggle to learn other dominant languages. Consequently, English is closely tied to opportunity and success and is exclusively regarded as a global 'hyper-central' (De Swaan, 2001) language of learning. Speaking English is perceived as a vital skill that signals mobility (De Swaan, 2001; Makoe, 2014; Dixon and Peake, 2008; McKinney, Carrim, Marshall and Layton, 2015). According to AD, without proficiency in English, one cannot succeed internationally, as they would likely face difficulties in learning any other dominant languages. Thus, he emphasises

that those who do not speak English are at a "major disadvantage" and are viewed as inadequate.

5.1.2 Language Purity

Language purity is mainly based on the idea of linguistic monism, which envisions a homogeneous society that encompasses a monolithic cultural and linguistic life. In other words, the view is that there is one nation, one language (Badwan, 2021). Consequently also also upholding the ideology behind Afrikaner Nationalism. Language Purism, therefore, only values a single standard variety of a language often deemed “named languages” and devalues so-called non-standard varieties (Trask, 1999) like Afrikaaps with Afrikaans and language mixings like Mengels or Kombuis Engels/Afrikaans. In this sub-theme, I argue that Lilly and Nelly see “standard” Afrikaans (i.e. “Suiwer” [pure] Afrikaans) as a reference point to identify ways of speaking Afrikaans that are “correct” and “incorrect” or rather “proper” and “improper” (Langer and Nesse, 2012). This echoes Chang-Bacon (2021), who points out that treating languages as distinct entities perpetuates the notion that there is a single "correct" way to use language. This ideology is evident in extract 21 below:

Data Extract 21: Lilly Interview Transcript

S: Hmm. Hmm. OK, cool. And then? Umm(.) And then the next question is. To you hey is like Kaaps Afrikaans and Suiwer Afrikaans like? Two separate languages in your head or like to you.

Lilly: (1.9) Yes, I would say so. I would, at least when I'm speaking in uhm (.) like for me, in my mind (.) if I speak (1.3)/ Proper Afrikaans like Suiwer Afrikaans then it would definitely be in a place uh where we are speaking to people, maybe in an a (.) working environment or like and like an academic environment or something (.) so not not and with like the Kaaps Afrikaans, I could see it as like with when I speak with family or friends. Even (.) So, it's definitely like I do see it as /different languages in my mind because I associate them with different things. And it's like a variation of each other.

In extract 21, Lilly explained that Afrikaaps and “standard” Afrikaans are seen as two separate languages in her head or separate varieties. However, language hierarchy is prevalent here as she sees “Suiwer Afrikaans” or “standard” Afrikaans as the “proper” and, I argue “, original form”; as such, placing it above Afrikaaps. Therefore, I would further argue that instead of variations of one another, she sees Afrikaaps as a variation and “Suiwer” Afrikaans as the standard. Furthermore, with repetition of the word “would” when referring to seeing the languages as separate and where she envisions speaking Afrikaans, high modality is present as she emphasises with clarity that “proper Afrikaans” as “standard” Afrikaans would only be used or spoken to people in a particular environment such as work or academic environment, thus further equating Afrikaans with being “formal and correct”.

When speaking about Afrikaaps, where she uses the word “would”, indicating medium to high modality, she is assured that Afrikaaps is a language you won’t use in a formal setting because it would be “inappropriate” for the setting. However, when using the word “could” instead, indicating lower modality, it demonstrates that she is unsure where Afrikaaps can be used since it’s informal but then goes on to associate it with family, friends, in other words, an informal environment where “improper” Afrikaans is allowed.

Data Extract 22: Nelly Interview Transcript

S: Why did you stop using Kaaps and CFE varieties when you got to high school?

Nelly: So uhm (.) my primary school (.) I don’t know how to say this \properly/ I guess (.) you know gham right [S: yeah] so I gue-guess my primary school was more like that (.) but my high school was more uhm (1.5) like (.) I don’t know people who speak like normally| you know (.) it was just like English (.)\ / and also the people there were more like uhm (5.5) kind of (2.1) *exhale*↓ how do I say uhm| like more prim and proper in a sense| yeah”.

Afrikaaps and CFE were varieties that Nelly spoke of but stopped using when she got to high school. In extract 22, one can sense hesitation and mindfulness/awareness in Nelly’s answer with the long pauses, low fall and rise in her tone when she questions how to describe her primary school vs high school. I argue that because of the stigmatisations of these languages that have been passed on for generations (as demonstrated by Teddy's FLP in extract 24 and Lilly’s FLP in extract 26), the way we come to describe something reflects how we are told it is or how we have heard it being spoken about. In this case, Nelly draws on stereotypes when hesitantly referring to her Coloured primary school as “Gham”. Alim et al. (2021) highlight how Afrikaaps are often referred to as “Gham” or as ‘talking “Gham” where “Gham” is used to describe a particular style of pronouncing Afrikaans words. In my experience, “Gham” can be used as a derogatory term to insult a person. In other words, it describes someone who acts in an ‘uncivilised manner’ or refers to a lower-class person. I thereby argue that Afrikaaps and CFE are considered uncivilised or a lower form of Afrikaans. In contrast, when speaking about high school, she emphasised that it was “just” English, meaning that only English was spoken. Here, she equates English to normality and acting “prim and proper” as she emphasises how people in high school spoke “normally”, a further expression of Anglonormativity. As such, I argue that as she ties language to action, here language purity is prevalent as only pure forms of languages are seen as the norm or “usual” or “proper”. By extension, non-standard languages are deemed improper.

The above is supported in extract 23 below, where Nelly explains how she won’t use Mengels at UCT (being an English medium university) because she sees it as a “kind of, formal

space", thus equating English with formality. But she explains that she would use Mengels if it was at home with friends, because it's a more or less formal setting, thus equating Mengels with informality.

Data Extract 23: Nelly Interview Transcript

Nelly: (.) Yeah\| cuz I think if like here| {referring to UCT} I probably wouldn't speak mengels or anything like that/ because I kind of feel like its formal / here\ but if it was at home or out with friends then probably\ (.) yeah just coz uhm it's more its less formal

5.1.3 Deficit positioning of Afrikaaps in comparison to Afrikaans

Amongst the participants, the deficit positioning of Afrikaaps was a commonality. In contrast to how Afrikaans was seen as "standardised, formal and proper", Afrikaaps were negatively positioned through various terms such as "Gham"; "not proper"; "not appropriate"; and "informal", evident in data examples analysed below.

In extracts 21 and 24, Lilly consistently positions "standard" Afrikaans as "proper" or "Suiwer" (pure) Afrikaans, meant for formal environments. This characterisation suggests that "Suiwer" is seen as the purest form of the language, representing the correct way to speak it. In contrast, Afrikaaps is positioned poorly in extract 21, as a language used only in informal settings, such as with "family and friends." In extract 24, it is referred to as an "informal way to speak Afrikaans" and labelled as "not the proper use of the language." Furthermore, in extract 7, Afrikaaps is described as not adhering to "proper grammar and rules."

In extract 22, Nelly describes the demographics of her coloured primary school and their way of speaking as "Gham," indirectly positioning Afrikaaps with this stigmatised term, which devalues the language as "uncivilised." By contrast, Afrikaans is perceived as "civilised and proper." Additionally, Mengels, discussed elsewhere as a variety of Afrikaaps, is also classified as "informal" in extract 22. Similarly, in extract 9, Teddy refers to Afrikaaps as Gham, reflecting her previous beliefs about the language in high school.

In extract 14, Rina associates Afrikaaps with "freedom" and a "lack of rules," while she connects Afrikaans to rules and correctness, asserting that "there's a right way and you must act this way." Moreover, Lilly, in extract 7, indirectly links standardised varieties to Afrikaans, emphasising a "certain way of speaking and using proper grammar." Across these extracts, Afrikaans is associated with maintaining a correct way of speaking, while Afrikaaps

is depicted as lacking rules and a "correct" form of expression. However, the reality is that both languages contain rules regarding what is considered normative.

5.2 Family Language Policy (FLP)

Family Language Policy (FLP), as discussed by McKinney and Molate (2022:128), plays a crucial role in fostering multilingual development, maintaining languages, and ensuring cultural continuity. It does this by considering child-caregiver interactions, parental linguistic beliefs, and broader societal perspectives within multilingual households. This section will illustrate how FLP, influenced by generational colonial ideologies held by family members—particularly parents—has shaped the language use and practices of the participants. This, in turn, has contributed to the formation of their language ideologies and identities, as underscored by Erikson (1986), who highlights the influence of interactions with important figures such as parents, family members, and community groups in the development of one's identity. This is a common thread identified among participants like Teddy and Lilly.

Data Extract 24: Teddy Interview Transcript

Teddy: Okay *exhale* story time *giggles*/ my mother my father and all their brothers and sisters are first language Afrikaaps speakers and they speak to each other even at home/ my parents or when my parents speak to their\ parents or they speak to their brothers and their sisters they speak Afrikaaps to each other and then one day I sat down and then I was like 'listen here \why did you raise me to speak English' and their answer was (.) uhm (.) [*whisper explanatory tone*] "Afrikaaps (.) we wanted you to go to a good school and you know Afrikaaps isn't really a language you could speak if you want to go forward to (.) if you want to move forward the world" so they made the decision to raise their children in (.) English.

Teddy, whose parents are first-language Afrikaaps speakers and communicate with each other in Afrikaaps, explains that she was raised as a first-language English speaker, as shown by extract 24 above, because her parents chose to raise their children as English speakers. Her family's implicit FLP (Curdt-Christiansen, 2018) was based on Teddy's parents' belief that English is a language with which you can "move forward in the world" and, by implication, Afrikaans will hold you back. Taking on double voicing (Bakhtin, 1986: 1984), reporting what her parents said in English, Teddy demonstrates how they position English as having the power to produce success. Their belief is that proficiency in English will enable the children to get into a "good school" to prosper and receive a "good" education. Their beliefs coincide with Curdt-Christiansen and Lanza (2018), who argue that parental aspirations for their children's multilingual development and academic performance can impact FLP decisions.

Anthonissen (2009, 2013) has demonstrated that shifts from Afrikaans to English occur within specific Coloured communities in the Cape Metropolitan region. This highlights the choices made by Afrikaans-speaking parents to enrol their children in English-medium schools (De Klerk, 2000; Anthonissen, 2013; Farmer and Anthonissen, 2010). Furthermore, one participant in Nilsson's (2016) study indicated that many Coloured parents promote English usage among their children rather than Afrikaans, as they believe this will provide them with greater opportunities in life.

Consequently, language hierarchy is evident as Afrikaaps is seen as lesser than/ inferior to English, incapable of allowing the children to move forward, thus limiting them. Therefore, Teddy's FLP is informed by the generational colonial ideology, including Afrikaner nationalist ideology that continues to reproduce the hegemonic dominance of English and Anglonormativity (McKinney, 2017), as English is seen as the only "legitimate language" (Bourdieu, 1977) to be used in high-status domains.

As evident in extract 25 below, this Anglonormative ideology was passed onto Teddy, even though she shows guilt and disdain for being an HL English speaker and questions why she was raised to speak English in extract 24.

Data Extract 25: Teddy Interview Transcript

Teddy: / I mean (.) given my job *giggles* right now / Def-definitely| being a native speaker English definitely got me the job that I have now uhm (.) from the university degrees to the school education, and it provided me a lot of opportunities in terms of my students offering me jobs in Saudi and Qatar.

Utilising the high modality word "definitely," she asserts her belief that being a native speaker of English is the language that has given her opportunities in life, i.e., getting a job as a university English tutor, which allowed her to obtain university degrees and an education.

Data Extract 26: Lilly Interview Transcript

S: Hmm. No, I get that (.)/ So where is it that you like, learn like Kaaps Afrikaans I would say?

Lilly: Uhm\ Definitely from the commun-like from extended family(.) /I wouldn't say from my uh immediate family like my father or my mother because my parents are very (.) uhm uh (.) They don't like to speak| because if you're gonna speak Afrikaans. You should speak Afrikaans\ If you're gonna speak English you're gonna speak English (.) That's how my parents raised me, but definitely from like immediate family. Like my aunts, my uncles, my cousins. I was.
Lilly: (3.1)\ I would yes| I would say yes, I would say so because (.)\ my parents where my so my father would grew up in a house where they only spoke Afrikaans (.) So in our house it's different. My parents speak to us in English, but they'll speak to each other in Afrikaans (.)But in my father's house it was very different|\He just spoke Afrikaans, they just spoke Afrikaans and my father, my grandfather was very sort of uh\ militant about it (.) like he it would be like a punishment if they spoke in English or if they spoke in like Kaaps Afrikaans(.)/ So I would say because of that and how my father was raised, it would be like in the view of like myself| uhm like how I speak english and Afrikaans (1.5)\ Like not if-the like not like not the proper use of the language\ or (1.1)\like the informal| way to speak Afrikaans. Like if you're gonna go into a(.) professional setting and you're gonna speak Afrikaans, it must be like the proper Afrikaans (.) Or you just rather just speak English, because that's that's sort of my father's belief (.)Like, you-he would always say, "just rather speak English" because you know, you can speak that language (.) the proper way.

S: /So policing yourself with how you speak (.) where does that come from?

Lilly: So (.) I would say I would think my parents 'cause my parents were very like you can't speak such (.) you know when you're in company have to speak a certain way. But definitely my parents.

In extract 26, through using the high modality word "definitely" Lilly emphasises that she learnt Afrikaaps through extended family like aunts and uncles and further emphasises that it was not through her parents. She emphasises with stress in her tone that her parents "don't like speaking Kaaps". Their reasoning indicates that they hold the colonial ideology of linguistic purism and Afrikaner nationalism, where "standard" English is seen as "proper" English and "standard" Afrikaans as 'proper' Afrikaans. It's important to note the use of the word "should", which shows that when speaking Afrikaans, the parent believes speaking "standard" Afrikaans is the "best" or "proper" way. This is an example of parental beliefs and attitudes about languages that inform the corpus planning (i.e. forms of languages to be used) of the FLP (King, Fogle, and Terry, 2008). Lilly's reference to Afrikaans when discussing her parents' language contrasts with her use of "Kaaps Afrikaans" when referring to her extended family. This highlights the distinction between Afrikaans and Afrikaaps. Additionally, the phrase "going to" is employed to predict the future when giving commands, indicating that a

decision was made before speaking. I argue that it was already predetermined for Lilly that if she were to speak English, she would be expected to use only standard or monolingual English. Furthermore, Lilly's experiences of being corrected or policed in her speech illustrate that she was instructed to use "standard" English. Hence, it seems that the only acceptable variation is "pure" “standard” English, with no allowance for fluid translanguaging.

Further demonstrated in extract 26 is how an FLP carried through generational colonial ideologies, influenced Lilly from an early age, as she was assimilated and moulded into a particular linguistic repertoire. In this extract, Lilly emphasises with repetitive mention of “definitely” and how her “parents” are an important influence on how she uses language and thereby her linguistic identity. Lilly explains that her parents' language use, particularly her father’s (the word is mentioned 6 times), generational monoglossic view of language in terms of English and Afrikaans affected her perception of Afrikaans. Growing up, the FLP in Lilly’s father’s house maintained a purist view of language, where either one or another standard language (Afrikaans or English) should be used without mixing. Her father was raised in an Afrikaans-only household, emphasised by the “spoke Afrikaans/just spoke Afrikaans” repetition, indicating that no other language was allowed. However, the Afrikaans that was spoken was monolingual “standard” Afrikaans, as seen by the repetition of the word “Afrikaans Afrikaans” twice, where this Afrikaans means the “real” and “proper” Afrikaans. It is important to mention that her father was raised during apartheid, where standard varieties were enforced in schooling and seen as “pure” (Le Cordeur, 2016) and Afrikaaps was not recognised as legitimate and considered a deviation from “standard” Afrikaans (Stroud and Williams, 2017, cited in Alim et al., 2021), thereby upholding a linguistic purist and Afrikaner nationalist ideology. Accordingly, Lilly reports that in her household, an FLP that maintains these purist language ideologies is also enforced by her father, whereby if you’re going to speak either language, you’re going to speak it “properly”, i.e. no mixing, and with standard grammar, especially in a professional setting.

In addition, providing an example of FLP status planning (Kloss, 1969; Cooper, 1989), Lilly explains that even though her parents speak Afrikaans to each other, they only really speak English to the children, rarely ever mix the two languages, thus modelling particular language uses/ choices. Accordingly, “parental attitudes concerning particular types of interactions, such as mixing or use of slang, impact their own child-directed speech” (King, Fogle, & Terry, 2008: 912). Ergo, when Lilly was asked if hearing different varieties of Afrikaans from

her parents and school, as opposed to her family, ever influenced her perception of Afrikaans, her thrice repetition of the word “would” [which is a medium modality word, indicating probability or when something is likely] in the first line, emphasises Lilly’s consideration (the long pause) of the role her upbringing played in her perception her belief and acknowledgement of the likelihood and purposefulness of this possibility, rather than viewing it as unlikely and merely coincidental, is quite significant. Consequently, Lilly equates "proper" English and Afrikaans with standardised versions, which are regarded as the appropriate forms. In contrast, speaking “Mengels”/Afrikaaps is perceived as informal and unsuitable for professional contexts. This viewpoint leaves little room for fluid translanguaging. A clear hierarchy of languages emerges, whereby standardised varieties are valued above indigenous ones. Named languages are treated as autonomous, bounded entities. This illustrates how colonial ideologies are transmitted through generations and reflects how one's linguistic upbringing can influence language use and perceptions.

5.3. Heteroglossia of Afrikaaps

Ariefdien and Alim (in Haupt et al, 2019: 295-296) argue that the presentation of Afrikaaps does not acknowledge the heterogeneity within the language. Heteroglossia refers to the dynamic dimensions of the diversity of voices, genres, and social languages inherent to any form of a living language, establishing a dialogue of languages (Bakhtin:1981:294-295, cited in Maybin, 2001:65). There are multiple varieties of Afrikaaps in urban, peri-urban, rural, and regional areas, each with its own linguistic rules and norms. Alim and Ariefdien explain that “The way we speak to our elders is very different to the way you speak to our friends. Within our friend circles, there are varieties. Some conversations might involve Sabela and others not. Some Afrikaaps code-switching involves the sarcastic use of white Afrikaans. There are LAYERS TO THAT SHIT. There isn’t just one Afrikaaps.” (Alim and Ariefdien cited in Haupt et al, 2019: 295-296). This highlights the diversity within Afrikaaps and, as discussed below, the different ways it is referred to by present-day youth. Participants in language body portraits and interviews often say "Kombuis Afrikaans/Engels and Mengels" when asked about Afrikaaps, highlighting the diversity within the language. This is evident in examples from Nelly, Lilly, and Cara and other data extracts analysed in the themes. Overall, the presentation of Afrikaaps does not fully recognise the diversity within the language and its linguistic norms.

This is evident in how participants, when asked various contextual questions about Afrikaaps, would sometimes say “Kombuis Afrikaans/Engels and Mengels” in their language body

portraits and during interviews. We see this in examples from Nelly, Lilly, and Cara extract 27 below, but also elsewhere in data extracts analysed in the themes below.

Data Extract 27: Interview Transcripts

Nelly: (1.3) it was a lot of uhm (.)/ Mengels.

Lilly: Like they couldn't speak Kombuis Afrikaans (.) They couldn't speak like Mengles nothing like that.

Cara: I think for the first time also I got exposed to what Kombuis *giggle* Kombuis was for the first time, I think it was at my Gran's house.

Al: even though they spoke to me in English they also spoke in Kaaps or Mengels.

Mengels, according to my understanding, is the simultaneous use/mix of English and Afrikaaps words, and Kombuis Afrikaans/Engels or "Kombuistaal" which, as stated by McCormick (1986) is "Kitchen language" that contains many loan words from English Afrikaans and other loan languages, therefore, facilitating translanguaging. Therefore, these varieties encompass Afrikaaps words but are not the same as mainstream Afrikaaps. Like the variety of Afrikaaps, which encompasses the influence of Sabela or Tsotsi taal or the ironic use of "white Afrikaans" words, therefore, in my opinion, Kombuistaal or Mengels could also be seen as a variety of Afrikaaps.

5.4 Raciolinguistic Ideologies

Smith (2019) argues that to understand discrimination across various language varieties, we must consider how it is intertwined with national histories of conquest, colonisation, and occupation in all major languages. Rosa and Flores (2017:3) highlight that "linguistic practices of racialised populations are systematically stigmatised regardless of how closely these practices might align with standardised norms". Consequently, race is employed as a construct to create hierarchies of language and to establish language use associated with blackness as inferior (Von Esch, Motha, and Kubota, 2020). This sub-theme will illustrate how participants associate specific languages and language varieties with particular apartheid racial categories. Additionally, it will explore how Afrikaaps and CFE-speaking individuals and minority racial groups, such as Coloured individuals, face ongoing racialisation, marginalisation, and discrimination. This occurs especially when they either conform to or deviate from the homogenous apartheid categorisation—or "blueprint"—of being or acting Coloured. Participants' racialised experiences are fuelled by essentialist generalisations about

racialised bodies, which dictate expectations around how language should look and sound for specific racial groups (Rosa & Flores, 2017).

Data Extract 28: Sunny Interview Transcript

S: Yeah\ and then uhm (.) so you mentioned that you hid your Kaaps identity when you were younger why was that?

Sunny: Uhm it just didn't feel right like *giggles* so like it just didn't feel like it was welcomed and that it was a safe space ever for me to express that (.) I remember there was girl in grade 5 *laugh* and I-I feel like I was at that stage where I was finally acknowledging the (.)\ years and years of being repressed, since I was 4 or 5 because I also went to a Montessori , but also in grade 5 uhm (.) there was a girl who I spoke Kaaps to more than once and this was like for weeks straight\ but it wasn't like to be rude or anything it was just like... and then she went and told her mom that I was bullying her (.) and it was like a whole thing with the whole grade and all the girls in the office because she- like she wasn't coming to school and she was like throwing up (.) and then the principal like saying "and who said this to her" because I remember I said something like "*wys*"{show something or to say something} or whatever it was like **Oh oh okay** *face realisation* so uhm like after that that was very traumatic|(.) for me at the time because like after that I was like I can't speak to anybody this way and if I want to be perceived as a certain way you know like/ feeling like I just had to hide it.

In extract 28, Sunny explains that when she was younger, she felt like she wasn't welcome in her school [a historically white school]. Specifically, her identity wasn't welcomed, and she did not feel safe to express herself using Afrikaaps. Sunny documents an exemplary incident of how coloured people and the way they speak are marginalised and stigmatised as "threatening". She shares how in grade 5, one of her classmates interpreted her speaking Afrikaaps as Sunny bullying her, consequently, making this girl physically anxious. The way Sunny spoke was interpreted as threatening, and she ended up being reprimanded by the principal for speaking Afrikaaps. Accordingly, she holds an internalised notion that if she speaks Afrikaaps, she might come across as threatening, indirectly marginalising the language as well. Consequently, it is a racialised listening that then gets taken on and re-enacted by the student, i.e. the white listening subject (Flores and Rosa, 2015).

Data Extract 29: Cara Interview Transcript

S: OK. So, you mentioned that you speak English and Afrikaans fluently uhm What Afrikaans are you referring to?

Cara: As I got older (.) My Afrikaans became more articulated (.) so people would tease me 'cause like specifically like my like friends in the community or like from the coloured community would tease| me because I speak like a AKA a "white person" (.) so it's like I speak Suiwer Afrikaans and it's like, it's like "Oh my goodness. Why do you sound like that? Why do you speak like that?"

In extract 29, Cara addresses how her identity is perceived within the Coloured community. She observes that “Suiwer” Afrikaans, a result of Afrikaner nationalist ideology, is regarded as more articulate and associated with a "white accent" or "whiteness" (van de Waal, 2012). Identifying as Coloured, Cara reveals that she has encountered teasing for speaking in a manner reminiscent of white individuals, emphasising the pressure to conform to racial expectations shaped by historical segregation. Her choice of "my" when referring to friends within her community, contrasted with "the" for the broader community, reflects her connection to her Coloured friends while also indicating a disconnect from the wider community. This distinction underscores the binary of "self-versus-other."

Data extract 30: Cara Interview Transcript

Cara: So, once again, like, you know, what coloured people get stereotyped as and how they sound (.) /like these days the jar is only there's only so much in the jar (.) There's nothing else. You know, we and I'm saying for sure (.) but there's this belief that (.) the coloured person is to sound a specific way to act, a specific way to be a specific way, /and I (.) often the reason why I felt guilty about that was always because sometimes that created the barrier of me versus them (.) because I also, like I said, I was the outlier, you know I was like the outlier, I was the bougie one (.) I never wanted to acknowledge I was coloured and you know those kind of things↓. So yeah

In extract 30, Cara employs the metaphor of a jar to illustrate the restrictive nature of racial categories and stereotypes, which confine individuals. A jar symbolises a rigid structure that contains stereotypes about Coloured people and sets expectations for how they should act and speak, leaving no room for individuality, differences, or variations. Those who do not conform to these stereotypes often feel excluded, leading them to question their identity and sense of belonging. Cara describes herself as an “outlier” (Erasmus, 2001) who is regarded as "bougie" (bourgeois) because she does not fit the expected mould of Coloured people. This situation creates a binary of “self-versus other,” as she is perceived to be too Coloured to be white and too white to be Coloured. The harmful effects of racial stereotypes stem from the colonial narrative that groups are homogenous in appearance and behaviour (Rosa and Flores, 2017). Failing to fit these stereotypes can lead to rejection from both racial communities and the languages associated with them, perpetuating colonialism. According to Ross (1997), culture serves as a "structure for making sense of the world," shaping individual actions and reinforcing collective identities, which can strengthen self-image but also create exclusion (Stinson, 2009; Joseph, 2004).

5.5 Language Use and Choice

This theme examines how participants utilise language in accordance with their language ideologies and how they position themselves within their homes. Bangeni and Kapp (2015:17) discovered that UCT university students, while adept at navigating dominant discourses, often feel less at home in their communities and more at ease in the university environments. In contrast, my data indicates that students frequently create home settings where they can genuinely "be myself," as formal contexts necessitate a performative aspect. As proficiency in these dominant discourses grows, feelings of alienation may develop in predominantly "white," English-speaking spaces. Bhabha (1994:122) emphasises that boundaries of ethnicity, class, language, and race serve as reminders of individuals' "otherness." The concept of "space" plays a critical role, informed by Lefebvre's (1991) notion that space is socially constructed and continuously reshaped through social actions, with some spaces requiring identity assimilation for entry. Busch (2017) proposes that individuals navigate various linguistically constructed environments throughout their lives, each governed by unique language rules and evaluations. The identity positions that individuals adopt are "ideologically informed" (Bucholtz and Hall 2005: 605) but do not rigidly dictate their interactions (Bucholtz and Hall, 2010: 21). These ideological relationships influence participants' identity positions, shaped by the expected language practices in different contexts (Chang-Bacon, 2021).

Data Extract 31: Nelly Interview Transcript

S: Do you think you speak or use language differently at home vs how you do at school or any general like formal setting and if you do how and why?

Nelly: (1.9) Uhm Yes| I think at home I would probably say a sentence (2.2) that's more| (.) like/non-correct in proper English but then here I'd probably speak proper English because (.) you know you speaking to a lecturer or you speaking to someone else (1.3) and you don't know if they going to understand you more (3.5) because I think I'm more reserved at university and I'd pay more attention to my surroundings and people because like I said I would like to fit in with people around me (.) / but at home I'm\ not like that because I just feel comfortable at home.

Two participants, Nelly and Lilly, described using only English at UCT as opposed to using 'Mengels' with people they are close with. For example, in extract 31, Nelly describes what languages she uses in which environment. She utilises "proper" English at UCT as she associates this with a formal environment, and this choice is based on wanting to fit in, and to be understood, thus she polices how she speaks. Ariefdien (in Haupt et al., 2019: 285)

characterises this as a means of "acting 'civilised' so that we don't get judged, thereby we police ourselves". As such her language choice and use of language at university, positions her as a monolingual English speaker and is underlined by colonial ideologies of monoglossia and by extension language purity (see extracts 22 and 23). This is further, demonstrated by her exclusive use of English during our interview, which took place at UCT, a space she sees as formal and professional. In addition, she addresses me as ma'am in our initial WhatsApp text exchange (see extract 32). The term 'Ma'am' is a contraction of 'madam', a term of respect used to address a woman. The contraction is often used in formal settings. Therefore, one can conclude that she deemed our interactions as formal, and thus, she needed to speak a specific way and use English. Contrastingly, when speaking to friends, be it at home or in an "informal" environment, she utilises what she calls 'Mengels', incorporating more Afrikaans words into her speech in conjunction with English. This is further demonstrated in a WhatsApp audio message that she sent to her friend (see extract 32 below). In this setting, she positions herself as a bilingual speaker drawing on her linguistic repertoire and home identity.

Data Extract 32: Nelly WhatsApp message

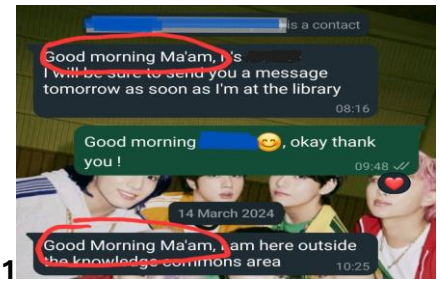


Figure.1

Data Extract 33: Teddy Interview Transcript

S: Okay so do think you speak or use languages differently at home then how you would in a formal setting [Teddy: [Yes|] okay *laughs* how and why?

Teddy:/ at home I'm more plat {flat} with my English but also throw in a Kaaps word here and there and I think it's because my parents are plat {flat} and they speak Afrikaaps yeah (1.6)*laughs* it's true actually like when I speak to my old aunties it's usually because they throwing in like some Afrikaaps words (.) they usually initiate it (.) otherwise (.) no (1.1) / not on like a daily basis unless (.) it's more of like with people I'm really close with and I know you can understand my vibe then yes| then it gets like thrown in (.) Whereas here (at UCT) you want to be more pronounced and more pronounced with your speaking and you know just wanting to fit it (.) so just English (.) because I think that English is very much pushed at the university (.) / environmentally (.) everything's in English uhm socially (2.2) as well because I feel like all our courses are in English so it feel natural (.) because everything around us everyone around us.

In extract 33, Teddy explains how her language use and choices are influenced by her environment, thereby I argue that her language use and shifting identities are influenced by who she is around, owing to adapting to the environment's dominant language and wanting to fit in. Teddy speaks only English at university, because it is the dominant language, stating that she believes English is “pushed” in this environment. She reasons that her choices for speaking English, particularly “proper” English with reference and repetitive emphasis to “being more pronounced with your speaking” at UCT, are to fit in and not be judged. Whilst at home and around people she is close with or who she knows will understand her, she speaks more “plat” [Afrikaans word for flat], drawing on both CFE in conjunction with Afrikaaps. However, this is to be initiated by the person she is speaking to, as if to confirm that she can speak like this in a particular environment. The action of assimilating into the dominant culture at UCT and the thought of being judged if she doesn’t, could also presumably be a current manifestation, reflecting her experiences and language choices in high school. Thus, Teddy's identity assimilation could be an emotional response to events in her life, and the desire to achieve individual success (see extract 25) (Bangeni and Kapp, 2005***).*** Consequently, she recognises English as the symbolic capital that is more valued in the linguistic marketplace of UCT (Bourdieu, 1977), drawing more on her academic identity, whereby she positions herself as a speaker of standard English. Thus, Teddy's identity shifts illustrate how the value placed on a language or linguistic variation in a certain social context greatly influences people's views towards language as well as their language practices (Busch, 2017).

In extract 34, Teddy highlights the idea of “only speaking English” to people she does not know on a personal basis. By doing so, she associates speaking English with using the socially accepted language, positioning it as the norm or what feels natural. As a result, there is “nothing to judge her by, as she is speaking the language everyone is using.” This allows her to control how she presents herself and how others perceive her, reflecting her intention of “manipulating people” in their judgments. This behaviour illustrates the concept of double consciousness, as described by Du Bois (1973). Therefore, it can be argued that Teddy adapts to different situations and environments because she is aware of the power dynamics that govern the "linguistic marketplace" (Bourdieu, 1977, cited in McKinney, 2017: 134).

Data Extract 35: Cara Interview Transcript

Cara: Oh yes|, I would /never| like unless I'm talking to someone like that (.)I'm close to (.) I'd never throw like a Afrikaans phrase, just randomly or whatever. Or if I'm angry, I know I can be like the coloured can't jump out of me (.) I need to be, think about it diplomatically (.)I need to think of some as a professional setting (.) I need to do that. But obviously how I (.) articulate myself is very, very different because like I say when I, that's why, what's his name? Shakespeare says "we are all performers on a stage. we all wear masks". And I definitely think there is me and then this professional me\ that also has to overcome certain things that personal me doesn't like either ↓So yeah.

In extract 35, Cara strongly admits that her language use at home as opposed to school or in a professional setting is different, emphasising the environment and who she is speaking to determine how she speaks. Accordingly, in a professional or school setting, she emphasises how she speaks differently i.e. "very very different", essentially only speaking English, making sure she sounds "professional". Cara describes consciously controlling or policing how she speaks. This was demonstrated in her interview as shown in previous extracts. She only used English and spoke in what is recognised as a WSAE accent. Contrastingly, when she is around people, she is close to or when feeling intense emotions, the "Coloured jumps out of her". In other words, she is more relaxed in how she speaks, drawing on CFE, utilising Mengels and using Afrikaaps words. This was demonstrated in extract 36 below, a WhatsApp voice note Cara sent to a friend where she speaks using the phonological features of Afrikaaps when pronouncing certain words like "apparently" and "lag-ghing" (See Appendix 7 for IPA Chart), which is the Afrikaaps variety for "laggend" (laughing) in "Suiwer" Afrikaans. She also utilises Mengels when she joins English and Afrikaans words together in sentences.

Data Extract 36: Cara Whatsapp Voice Note Transcript

Cara: Apparrently| {pronounced "Appæeruhntely"- flat "a" and "r"} (.) all the Korean people (.) the Korean netizens were talking about (.)/ they were saying her(.) her lawyer were lagghing {said lag-gh-ing / læg-gh-ing/ not laggend} \ I'm also wondering because (.) Hai shame no yoh(.) vi {not vir} my soe vir n' joke vat (.) didn't they cancel her (.) she was ge'warned {pronounced guh-warned} she was ge'told { pronounced guh-told}

Therefore, Cara draws on different identities in different settings, i.e. professional versus home. She emphasises this, quoting Shakespeare: **"**We are all performers on a stage. We all wear masks", alluding to the fact that outside of her home and close friend circle, she is more conscious of performing her identity or wearing a mask. This is a metaphor whereby she is concealing who she is, her true self and identity. To fit in and not be judged or discriminated

against, she assimilates to the environment, thereby her language choices and use are altered in each setting to perform according to others' expectations. I would argue that she is subconsciously influenced by generational colonial ideologies, but not necessarily disadvantaged by them, as she feels able to control how people view and perceive her. She describes recognising how to use language in certain markets (Blackledge and Pavlenko, 2001) and shifting between identities and languages to navigate ethnolinguistic stereotypes. Cara's identity shifting here is somewhat informed by the notion that students or individuals who speak standard English are idealised, while those who speak other languages and dialects are marginalised (Fránquiz and Ortiz, 2017: 335). Cara also demonstrates a form of "Soul Murdering" (Alim, in Haupt et al., 2019:287), which refers to the forced adoption of the language and cultural codes of the oppressor to establish one's humanity. This process of assimilating to the language and behaviours expected by the oppressor reinforces their power. It also highlights the pressures that students of colour face in schools, where their languages and cultural practices are often policed and scrutinised (Smitherman in Haupt et al, 2019).

Data Extract 37: Al Interview Transcript

Al: Eng-English is my main| (.) like spoken language and stuff (.), but, I'm very proud to be coloured to be honest\ it's a thing I had to like (.) when when you asked me earlier did I ever reject it (.) it wasn't a thing of rejecting it was a thing of fitting in (.)it was uhm the fact that you from marginalised communities (.) when you come to Stellenbosch and UCT and all these fancy professor thingies it's like you also want to take up space and like you don't wanna just (.) no have that type of Afrikaans just be in those like hanover park and you know we just all like norm normal people just because of a language doesn't mean you like less you know or whatever so yeah (.) with that inclusivity (.) I try to speak like how I normally would sound so like you know you always keep the place you grew up in with you (.)\ and then with the marginalised where like the fact where we don't come from privileged places but we are in privileged spaces so then you also wanna not uhm undermine yourself and the language. So yeah for me its I feel very proud to be who I am and I don't try and change it like even when because I'm that friend who tries to teach everyone about the slang *giggle* so then okay when I speak to when I just explain to my one friend uhm what falooda is and I tried to like explain to her what falooda is and I (.)\ try to speak to her in like normal and then if someone doesn't understand I will give context for it afterwards (.) so within my family and my sister them I speak Kaaps Afrikaans and English but if I'm in a professional setting uhm (.) I still will say the words that I use like if I'm for example I will say like I'm going to boeka now like I won't say iftar I'll say the words that like actually me an then I'll explain it afterwards like I said try to be true to myself.

In extract 37, it is evident that Al uses Afrikaaps and Mengels to proudly express her Coloured identity. This is further demonstrated as she states that whether she is at home speaking to family or in a professional or academic setting, she will still use Afrikaaps words

in conjunction with English i.e. Mengels. Instead of only utilising one language per setting, she instead teaches others what the words mean or provides context, as this is her way of remaining true to herself, drawing on hybrid identities. In doing so, she showcases resistance to hegemonic discourses (Bangeni and Kapp, 2005), as she is trying to change the narrative regarding Coloured people and challenge ethnolinguistic stereotypes. This was evident in our interview, as she spoke drawing on phonological features of what has been categorised as CFE and her use of words such as "jy" {pronounced jay} "sak me off" "mos" "sieker" "bokked" when describing things. In addition to her way of communicating with friends or family on WhatsApp (see extract 38 below), it is evident that she chooses to speak and uses Mengels, fluidly code-switching between English and Afrikaaps.

Data Extract 38: Al Whatsapp Text Exchange

Figure 2

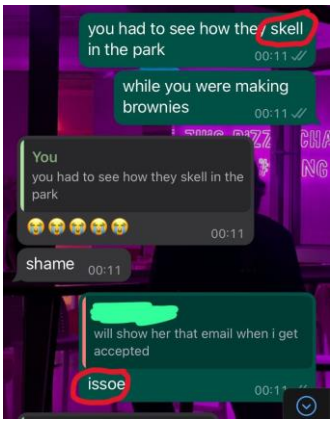
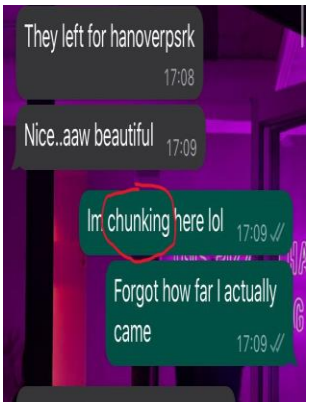


Figure 3

Figure 4



In extract 38, figure 2, Al utilises the Afrikaans word 'skell' {spelt 'skel'} instead of scold in her sentence. In addition, Al utilises the Afrikaaps word "issoe", which doesn't exist in standard Afrikaans and the direct English translation that would be "is so", does not grammatically make sense. In addition, the contextual meaning of the word from Afrikaaps to English is not transferable; however, the context in which the word "issoe" is used is to encourage and show agreement with someone or something (e.g. "Yes, that's right"). In Figure 3, the word "laykom" said in Afrikaaps is used as a shortened form of the Islamic Arabic greeting "Assalamu'alaikum" {peace be upon you} and is often used by Cape Muslims. The second sentence is an almost complete Afrikaans sentence with the Afrikaaps word 'gepwasa', which is a loan word from Malay 'Puasa' that means fasting. Lastly in Figure 4, her use of the Afrikaaps and English slang word 'chunking', referring to crying, which in standard Afrikaans would be 'huil'.

Data Extract 39: Sunny Interview Transcript

S: Okay (.)/ and then the next question is do you use languages or language varieties in a particular setting environment\ or with certain people and (.) if you do why?

Sunny : Uhm (.) I only use Kaaps at home and like in those (.) like maybe with people who have watched me grown up my whole life who are also coloured (.) Uhm I think because it feels- sometimes it's a matter of they don't speak English and maybe they would feel threatened if I spoke English to them like (1.6) "Jy hou vir jou kwaai" {You keeping yourself cool/ trying to be cool} yes *giggle scoff*\ and uhm or if it's really like they cannot understand if. speak. anything else (.) uhm (1.1) more than that it's just like I said like I remember I think I said it's like (.) coming home so to me it's like *exhale* okay I can relax now.

In extract 39, the repeated shifts between the pronouns "I" and "them" highlight a binary distinction of "self vs. other." Sunny positions herself as someone navigating two identities, drawing on both English and Afrikaaps, which sets her apart from those who can only speak Afrikaaps. Afrikaaps is strongly linked to a sense of home and community, particularly among Coloured people and those with whom she feels comfortable speaking this language. In my experience, this dynamic is common among younger generations, such as Generation Z, who embrace or begin speaking Afrikaaps later in life. For them, the people they associate with Afrikaaps are often the only ones with whom they can speak it "confidently." In this context, Sunny expresses a view that contradicts the notion of Afrikaaps as threatening. She believes that speaking English at home could be perceived as confrontational or boastful. This perception is commonly observed in the Coloured community among older generations. Due to the imposition of English during apartheid, which was associated with whiteness and superiority, many people of colour internalised the belief that speaking English in a predominantly Afrikaaps environment might come off as trying to assert superiority or show off (McCormick, 1986).

Sunny associates' home with relaxation. Her physical "*exhale*" emphasises this, where being at home, you can be yourself, so you don't have to be so aware and self-conscious. She can literally breathe more easily in this environment. Sunny demonstrates how being accepted into dominant institutional discourses may entail new ways of identifying (or at least a pretence of doing so) and, in Sunny's case, accommodation to hegemonic discourses as the discourses of the institution may conflict with home norms and values. Here, Sunny embodies what Bhabha (1994:44) terms "unhomed", which signifies the ambivalent space a person occupies as they straddle multiple (and often conflicting) discourses. Hence, neither home nor academic places are neutral, as each has preconceived notions about what

constitutes suitable subjectivity (George, 1996). In extract 40 below, she juxtaposes her language choice and use at home with her language use at university or a formal setting.

Data Extract 40: Sunny Interview Transcript

Sunny: Uhm yes (.) I feel more comfortable and so speak Kaaps (.) I also feel like I (1.4) I'm better at expressing myself at home (1.1) uhm yeah like so when I'm speaking English in formal setting or whatever uhm I'm mindful of what I'm saying before I say it like I do like a check in my head like is this what I mean to say or whatever.

In formal settings, such as at university, Sunny speaks English, admitting that to avoid being stereotyped, she is more mindful of what she says and how she speaks. As evident in previous extracts and in my experience in our interview at UCT, she will speak WSAE, and this is what she deems appropriate and the ideal language in a formal or academic setting.

Data Extract 41: Rina Interview Transcript

S: Yeah. OK/ So, do you ever find yourself switching between language that you speak or using languages simultaneously?
Rina: Yes| A lot| *laughs* (.) Especially when I go home. So obviously my default uhm mode of expressions (.) since I was born with, it is always English (.) but when I go home it's like a more fluid mixture of English and Kaaps uhm (.)/ But then when I'm at UCT uhm It's more English, but I've I've also noticed something very interesting happen is that I've actually begun to like do like the way that I speak at home is now also the way I speak like at university as well and I feel like that maybe just points to me with also growing more comfortable with who I am like you know (.) I don't feel like I have to suppress parts of me to be in certain spaces and If I do, then I know that that's not the space that I need to be in. Yeah.

In extract 41, Rina explains that her language use at university consists mainly of English. However, more recently, she reports incorporating Afrikaaps into her interactions at university and thus her academic identity. Therefore, her language use consists of drawing on and fluidly mixing English with Afrikaaps. In other words, she expresses who she is and how she is through her 'flexible bi-dialectalism' (Preece, 2011) and 'flexible bilingualism' (Creese and Blackledge, 2011), where multilingual repertoires are viewed as functioning holistically. Consequently, she positions herself in places that are accepting of her language diversity, allowing her to be more comfortable in herself and express who she is. Rina demonstrates how Afrikaaps speakers in present day are changing their attitudes to their speech-form (to proudly acknowledge that it is 'as good as any other'), and rejecting negative views from the

ignorant (Dickie, 2025) as presently seen by contemporary scholars, artists, activists and individuals who are now challenging these stigmatised views.

In the following chapter, I will summarise the theories presented so far by providing an overview of the study, discussing the findings, and concluding this chapter to answer the research questions outlined in Chapter 1.

6. Conclusion

6.1 Overview of the study

This small-scale qualitative linguistic ethnography delves into the linguistic choices and identities of eight multilingual university students who speak Afrikaaps and Cape Flats English and "standard" English situated within the context of a contemporary English-medium, historically white university. By employing individual interviews, questionnaires, audio recordings, and written materials, I aimed to capture the rich perspectives and experiences of these eight indigenous language speakers between 20 and 26 years old and study across various faculties. My research critically examines how these students position themselves and are positioned by dominant societal discourses, exploring their language choices and the linguistic identities they construct and navigate. Grounded in a theoretical framework that views language as a social practice (Fairclough, 1981; 2001), combined with a decolonial lens and insights from Bourdieu's (1977) theory of symbolic dominance, this study sought to illuminate the persistent power dynamics at play between language ideologies, subjectivity, and race, as well as the lasting influence of colonialism in post-colonial South Africa.

By applying these frameworks, I provide a thorough analysis of how colonial ideologies continue to shape the linguistic landscape of post-apartheid South Africa, reinforcing the dominance of standardised, official languages and imposing negative consequences on speakers of marginalised indigenous languages. This includes examining their attitudes towards Afrikaaps and CFE and the complex identities they both construct and resist. Furthermore, the study aimed to challenge and shift the stereotypical and stigmatised perceptions of Afrikaaps and CFE, beginning with the voices of its speakers. This research was designed to answer the following pivotal research questions:

1. *How do multilingual Kaaps and Cape Flats English-speaking university students position themselves in relation to their linguistic identities and language choices?*
2. *What language ideologies inform how multilingual Kaaps and Cape Flats English-speaking university students position themselves in relation to their linguistic identities and language choices?*

With more in-depth exploration into the following sub-questions:

3. *What are students' perceptions towards Kaaps and Cape Flats English? And its use in an educational/formal setting?*

4. *How do students use language to navigate the ethnolinguistic and apartheid/colonial ideologies attached to their identities?*

6.2 Findings and Reflection

In addressing the first question, my research reveals that most participants identify as multilingual, primarily speaking Afrikaaps, English, and Afrikaans, with English emerging as the dominant language. However, they maintain a distinct form of multilingualism (Makoni and Pennycook, 2012) and often emphasise a significant cultural connection to Kaaps and Mengels, viewing themselves as bi-dialectal (Preece, 2019) as they navigate various dialects of Afrikaans in their language practices.

Participants position themselves within dominant discourses, while at times, they also reject these. The languages they use are closely tied to their identity positions, with Afrikaaps recognised as a significant marker of "authentic" Coloured identity. Ergo, participants navigate complex hybrid identities that are frequently compartmentalised across different contexts, such as academia (university) and home life. This dynamic reflects a state of double consciousness (Du Bois, 1903;1961), as they are acutely aware of the stereotypes associated with being Coloured and often feel pressure to conform to the dominant norms of monolingual English, characterised by whiteness and English hegemony. Consequently, their academic identities can feel performative and restrictive. To navigate this landscape, most participants shape their academic identities in alignment with their individual habitus and the prevailing social norms (Blackledge and Pavlenko, 2002). In contrast, at home, many participants identify as speakers of English or "plat" [flat] English, frequently mixing Afrikaaps and English (i.e. Mengels and CFE). This linguistic environment fosters a deeper emotional connection to their cultural roots, allowing them to communicate authentically and "be themselves," free from judgment. This links their identity closely to their experiences as Coloured individuals and their cultural heritage.

Participants' navigation of identity aligns with Butler's concept of "performativity," which posits that identity is constructed through actions rather than being an inherent, stable set of traits (2002:33). Butler (2002) contends that identities emerge from repeated performances and reflections that correspond with mainstream narratives related to gender, race, and class. Likewise, Goffman (2011, cited in Nilsson, 2016) emphasises that societal norms shape identities, where adherence to these norms significantly influences individuals' ability to attain acceptance and a sense of belonging within particular groups (Nilsson, 2016). Although

my participants demonstrate double consciousness and often engage in "managing impressions" (Goffman, 2011, cited in Nilsson, 2016)—a performance of 'enactments' intended to project a desired self-image and align with others' expectations— to fit in, Goffman observes that such performances can occur subconsciously as instinctive reactions to social norms. I argue that my participants' enactment of identity frequently happens subconsciously, driven by the need to conform to societal expectations, until they arrive at an epiphany regarding their identity assimilation or their actions. My participants feel compelled to adhere to pre-established 'scripts' that dictate appropriate behaviour and acceptable identities in specific environments, such as 'passing as' monolingual English speakers, by embodying the ideals of monolingual English speakers in university settings (Nilsson, 2016).

Participants often navigated the tension between their identities, feeling pressure to conform to an "ideal Coloured" or "ideal student" identity in formal settings versus more familiar environments. This struggle reflects the conflicting expectations from home and academia, presenting challenges for students, balancing their self-perceptions and who they aspired to be (George, 1996; Bangeni et al., 2005). Sara Ahmed (2011) argues that all identities require a form of 'passing,' as individuals must align themselves with specific social categories, and the complete embodiment of the ideal representation of any given social group is unattainable. While some find it easier to represent their identities confidently, others face difficulties when they don't fully conform to the standards associated with their assigned labels (Ahmed, 2011: 51).

In contrast to the pressures of assimilation imposed by dominant institutional discourse, some participants actively resisted imposed identity labels by embracing their full linguistic repertoires and unified hybrid identities. They became increasingly aware of how their identities shifted between home and academia, challenging the imposed classification of 'monolingual English speakers' by surrounding themselves with peers who shared similar linguistic identities. This fostered a sense of authenticity and empowered them to resist the pressure to conform to dominant cultural norms. Additionally, the use of Afrikaaps in predominantly white academic settings countered stereotypes that its speakers are "uneducated," allowing participants to assert their identity and agency. Bailey (2010:80) asserts, "Ways of speaking associated with less powerful groups can provide a resource for expressing pride in one's class or racial community. By embracing marginalised forms of communication, they showcased pride in their cultural backgrounds and defied social hierarchies, even in the face of stigma" (Bailey, 2010: 80).

Another example of identity resistance involved a participant who initially adopted a “white” identity and utilised White South African English (WSAE) after distancing herself from Afrikaaps and her Coloured identity in high school. However, during her university experience, she embraced and reclaimed Afrikaaps as a significant aspect of her identity. By learning about the significance and historical context of Afrikaaps through her linguistics course, she was able to challenge her earlier negative perceptions of Afrikaaps and Coloured culture. This newfound understanding fostered a constructive sense of consciousness, empowering her to resist dominant, homogenising narratives.

Khan (2018: 28) contends that the involvement of oppressed individuals in repressive systems should not be dismissed as mere acts of self-interest or betrayal, whether this involvement is coerced or voluntary. For many, conforming to a system that endangers their existence can serve as a strategy for survival. In a society that condemns one’s very being, the act of persevering becomes a form of resistance. Consequently, complicity may be understood as a strategy of resistance within creolised communities, whose historical focus has been on survival. In my study, in some sense, participants who assimilated into the dominant language and identity discourses—often labelled as monolingual English speakers or compelled to deny or reject their “Colouredness” to fit in and avoid marginalisation—illustrate this dynamic. Their negotiations of identity and language may also be viewed as a form of resistance.

Additionally, many participants identified Afrikaaps as a key marker of “authentic” Coloured identity. They viewed fluency in— or at least a strong understanding of— Afrikaaps as essential for being recognised as an “authentic” Coloured individual and effectively representing Coloured culture. Participants who felt less proficient in Afrikaaps reported somewhat of a disconnect from their cultural or familial identity. They often expressed a strong desire to improve their Afrikaaps language skills, linking this growth to a more profound connection with their cultural identity and enhanced communication with close relationships. This desire for proficiency reflected participants’ commitment to their Coloured identity, as some felt they needed to demonstrate their connection to this identity by using Afrikaaps more prominently in their daily lives or with trusted peers. As a result, Afrikaaps emerged as a significant identity marker for these individuals.

In answering the second research question, my research suggests that language ideologies significantly shape identity construction and linguistic choices among participants. These

ideologies, influenced by colonial viewpoints such as Anglonormativity (McKinney, 2017) and language purity (Badwan, 2021), elevate English to a status of greater linguistic capital. Participants' colonial beliefs position proficiency in English as essential for accessing academic and professional opportunities, thereby marking it as a symbol of intellect and social mobility. In a similar vein, the ideology of Afrikaner nationalism is also evident as "Suiwer" or “standard” Afrikaans is regarded as the standard form of the language, while Afrikaaps are seen as ‘non-standard varieties’ devalued and deemed "incorrect." This fosters the perception that these varieties lack structural integrity compared to "standard” Afrikaans, reinforcing the notion that languages exist as distinctly separate entities, with only one correct way to speak a language.

Several factors influenced participants' language practices and identity constructions, including FLP and the racialisation of language varieties. The research highlighted the impacts of colonialism on indigenous language speakers, demonstrating how upbringing and the beliefs of parents and communities shaped participants’ perceptions of language. FLPs, which were influenced by colonial ideologies such as Anglonormativity, often socialised participants into specific linguistic identities. This led many to identify solely as English speakers, indicating their home language, which in turn affected their proficiency in Afrikaaps. These ideologies also contributed to participants' negative perceptions of "non-standard" English and Afrikaans varieties, creating a disconnection from Afrikaaps and aspects of their identity they had associated with in their youth. Furthermore, my research revealed that participants often linked Afrikaaps and its varieties to apartheid-constructed racial categories, such as “Coloured” or “Coloured culture.”

Additionally, the concept of “whiteness” associated with "standard" English and Afrikaans creates a boundary between “self and other.” As a result, Coloured individuals and Afrikaaps speakers face ongoing discrimination and marginalisation, as language is tied to racial categories. This complexity reflects the restrictive nature of racial identities formed during apartheid, often placing individuals in an "in-between" space. Those who do not conform to the "Coloured" “blueprint” risk being marginalised within their own racial community, while those who do conform may still face stigmatisation and judgment in predominantly white environments, particularly regarding stereotypes associated with Coloured individuals and Afrikaaps speakers, as evidenced by participants' experiences. Participants navigated ethnolinguistic stereotypes by intentionally adjusting their language choices and varieties according to the context. A notable similarity among them was the influence of space on their

communication; they typically utilised specific languages in designated settings. In university and formal environments, there was often a pressure to conform to a particular identity, as these spaces were predominantly “white” in ethos and English-speaking (Bangeni and Kapp, 2015:17). Conversely, the home provided a comfortable environment where they felt at ease expressing themselves freely among family and friends.

In environments where whiteness is dominant, such as the elite university participants attended, they often opted to communicate exclusively in English, perceiving the use of "standard" English as essential for institutional and formal contexts. This approach was considered necessary for fitting in and helping avoid experiences of discrimination and marginalisation. During onsite interviews, participants aimed to project an image of being "civilised" and "professional," thereby adapting and assimilating into the university's dominant culture while practising a form of separate bilingualism. In contrast, as shown in the analyses, participants felt more at ease and fully understood in informal settings with friends and family, where they utilised Afrikaans. Identifying as bilingual and multilingual speakers of English, CFE, and Afrikaaps allowed for shifts in their identity. They recognised that English holds greater symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 1977), which translates to an increased value within the linguistic marketplace of UCT, reinforcing their engagement in a practice of separate bilingualism.

In comparison to the limited use of specific language varieties in designated contexts, two participants, Al and Rina, demonstrated 'flexible bi-dialectalism '(Preece, 2011) and 'flexible bilingualism,' (Creese and Blackledge, 2011) using a seamless blend of English and Afrikaaps in various contexts, including academic and home environments, engaging in fluid dynamic translanguaging practices. This fluidity allowed them to perform their hybrid identities and embrace their Coloured backgrounds, challenging ethnolinguistic stereotypes and the constraints of a monolingual English identity in prevailing institutional discourses.

Accordingly, as per the discussion above and data analysis, participants' perceptions of Afrikaaps and CFE juxtaposed one another. While most participants positioned Afrikaaps and CFE as deficient against "standard" varieties, viewing Afrikaaps and CFE as "non-standard", and often refrained from using them in formal settings, these varieties held significant emotional value. Afrikaaps and CFE often represented home, family, racial and cultural identity. In these contexts, Afrikaaps and CFE were spoken about more positively and fondly.

Participants expressed their support for including Afrikaaps in educational settings like UCT, emphasising the university's hybrid environment. Despite its cultural and racial diversity, UCT is predominantly shaped by a white ethos, which often leads students, most of whom are black, to adopt traits associated with whiteness in pursuit of acceptance (Ahmed, 2017). This dynamic can compel students to assimilate into the dominant culture and institutional discourse, potentially requiring a shift in their identity and language use. This may result in conflict as they navigate their hybrid identities. However, UCT also serves as a platform for raising awareness and learning about coloniality and the marginalisation of indigenous languages, thereby fostering a deeper appreciation for and reclamation of linguistic heritage. While many students embrace Afrikaaps as an integral part of their cultural identities and language practices, for Afrikaaps to be legitimately utilised in an academic context, individuals must first undergo a personal deconstruction and destigmatisation of the language within themselves.

6.3 Limitations

It is important to acknowledge certain limitations of this study, such as the small sample size and the relatively brief data collection period of two months. Ethnographic research thrives on extensive and rigorous approaches to establish trustworthiness and validity. This study effectively brings to light the experiences of Afrikaans and CFE language speakers regarding the stigma and linguistic racialisation associated with Afrikaaps and coloured individuals. However, the findings are not necessarily generalisable due to its small-scale nature. Additionally, since the research took place at a historically white university, it is crucial to recognise that it does not fully capture the diverse experiences across different contexts, where dominant discourses can vary significantly.

6.4 Contribution

This research study enhances the ongoing discourse surrounding Afrikaaps and its decolonisation (e.g. Alim et al., 2021; Stroud and Williams, 2017; Williams, 2016). By illuminating our participants' experiences and identity negotiations, we assert their representation, agency, and voice in articulating the intricate, multifaceted nature of their lived experiences and identity transformations amid prevailing narratives. Our goal is to emphasise the profound and lasting impacts of colonialism on the intricate relationship between language, identity, and race. We strongly seek to contest and deconstruct racial and linguistic stereotypes, along with the dominant and unified ideologies that influence how

racial groups and languages are perceived. Moreover, by presenting Afrikaaps in a revitalised and positive light, we can empower individuals to fully acknowledge and embrace the history and significance of Afrikaaps and other indigenous languages, inviting others to connect with the experiences explored in my analysis. I close with the words of participant AL, who powerfully expresses the place of Kaaps and CFE in her own identity:

"Kaaps and Cape Flats English (CFE) have become more than just means of communication; they are vessels of my memories, experiences, and cultural connections, the essence of who I am, affirming the significance of my upbringing in shaping my unique identity" *– AL*

7. Reference List

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8.Appendices

Appendix 1: Information letter and consent form 1 sent out to all participants.

Exploring the positioning of multilingual Kaaps and Cape Flats English-speaking university students' linguistic choices and identities.

Dear student,

My name is Salaamah Ariefdien, and I am a master's student in the School of Education at the University of Cape Town. I would like to invite you to participate in my research study which aims to understand how students in Western Cape, Cape Town who speak Kaaps (also referred to as Kombuis Afrikaans/English or Mengels) and/or Cape Flats English (which are varieties of English and Afrikaans particular to Cape Town or the Western Cape) think about their language identities and the language choices they make.

Extensive research has been conducted to explore the vital role of language in shaping individual and collective identities, as well as the effects of colonialism on languages and language use. However, limited research has been done on the implication of colonialism on indigenous language varieties and their speakers, specifically focusing on Kaaps and CFE-speaking individuals' language identity and language choices in South Africa particularly in Cape Town. Therefore, I believe this research study is important as through this study, we can raise awareness of how indigenous languages are viewed and highlight the influence of colonialism on language choices and the formation of language identities. Through this study, I aim to empower the preservation and revitalisation of indigenous languages and language varieties.

As part of this study, a pre-interview survey will be used to select participants who are suitable for the research study. Participants eligible for the study will be selected students ranging in the age group of 20- 45 years with the ability to speak and are familiar with Kaaps and or Cape Flats English or who have lived in for a while or grown up in Cape Town/Western Cape in a household, or family or community that predominantly speaks these language varieties. Should you be willing to participate, you will be required to complete a short 5-10 min pre-interview survey. Once completed there will be an option to indicate if you'd like to and are willing to participate further in an individual and group interview for this research study.

Participation in this study is completely voluntary and you may withdraw at any time. Your responses and name will be kept fully confidential as you will be given a pseudonym (different name) which will be used in the writing up of the research.

If you are interested in completing the survey, please use the following link: https://forms.gle/5bpEFFjAUYpnnpmA8

Please fill out and email me the attached consent form should you wish to participate further in this study.

If you have any queries regarding this study, please contact me at:

Email: ARFSAL001@myuct.ac.za

Thank you for your time!

Salaamah Ariefdien: Researcher

Participants Consent Form (General): Pre-interview survey.

Name:

Date:

I _____understand that my participation is voluntary and that I can withdraw my participation at any time. I _____understand that the confidentiality of my name and responses will be maintained.

For this research study I consent to:	**Yes**	**No**
1. Participating in completing the pre-interview survey.		
2. Participate further in an individual interview		
3. Audio recording of individual interview		
4. Participate further in a group interview/workshop		
5. Audio recording of group interview/workshop		

Signature:

Date:

Appendix 2: Information Letter and consent form

Information Letter 2– [For Final Selected Participants]

Exploring the positioning of multilingual Kaaps and Cape Flats English-speaking university students' linguistic choices and identities.

Dear Student,

My name is Salaamah Ariefdien, I am a master's student in the School of Education at the University of Cape Town. I would like to invite you to participate in my research study which in broad strokes aims to explore the implications of colonialism on indigenous language varieties and their speakers. Through this exploration, my study aims to understand how students in Cape Town, who speak/understand Kaaps (*also referred to as Kombuis Afrikaans/English or Mengels)* and/or Cape Flats English (*which are varieties of English and Afrikaans particular to Cape Town or the Western Cape)* view their language identities and makes choices about the languages they use at different times.

Extensive research has been conducted to explore the vital role of language in shaping individual and collective identities, as well as the implications of colonialism on languages. However, limited research has been done on the implication of colonialism on indigenous language varieties and their speakers, with a specific focus on Kaaps and CFE-speaking individuals' language identity and language choices. Therefore, I believe this research study is important as through this study, we can raise awareness of how indigenous languages are viewed and highlight the influence of colonialism on language choices and the formation of language identities. I aim to empower the preservation and revitalization of indigenous languages and language varieties.

Via the pre-survey interview, you have been selected as an eligible participant for this study. Should you be willing, you are invited to participate and complete a language activity with a short questionnaire based on the activity (to provide yourself and me with a visual narrative and insightful understanding of your language identity), a ±30 min individual interview and a focus group interview/workshop that will take place. While remaining conscious of participants' availability and daily schedules.

I aim to interview selected participants ranging in the age group of 20-30 years for 30-40 minutes should they be willing. The eligibility of participants is limited to the ability to speak and be familiar with Kaaps and or CFE or who have lived for a while or grown up in Cape

Town/Western Cape, in a household, family or community that predominantly speaks these language varieties.

Furthermore, audio recordings will be taken during interviews and focus group /interview workshops which will only be accessible to the researcher(me) for transcribing interviews and this research project. The individual interviews, language activity and audio recordings, will offer the opportunity to gain insight into how participants position themselves regarding their identity and the language choices they make, in addition to, their views and experiences regarding Kaaps and CFE. The focus group interview/workshop aims to introduce decolonized views of these indigenous language varieties via my sharing of Kaaps material in different mediums and through discussion.

Participants, only if they are comfortable and willing, will also be asked to (once) record themselves when having a naturally occurring casual conversation with friends, family, or acquaintances (with their consent). Alternatively, participants will be asked to send me a picture of basic casual text messages/conversations or VN messages with friends, family, or acquaintances (with their consent), which they participated in on social media platforms (e.g., WhatsApp, Instagram etc). These messages or recordings will only serve the purpose of capturing and analysing participants' language practices outside of the interviews that I will conduct and will be securely stored only to be used for this research purpose. All names and identity information will be concealed/blocked out to ensure confidentiality.

Participation is entirely voluntary, and participants may withdraw permission to participate in the research study at any time. The confidentiality of participants' identities will be guaranteed as participants will be given a pseudonym (different name) which will be done for all participants in the writing up of the research. All data will be securely stored and only be used for the intended research purposes.

Please fill in and email me the final consent form to indicate your consent to partake in this research.

You are welcome to contact me and ask any questions you may have regarding this research via my email ARFSAL001@myuct.ac.za

Kind Regards,

Salaamah Ariefdien: Researcher

Participants Consent Form: Selected Participants for Data Collection

Name:

Date:

I _____understand that my participation is voluntary and that I can withdraw my participation at any time. I _____understand that the confidentiality of my identity will be maintained.

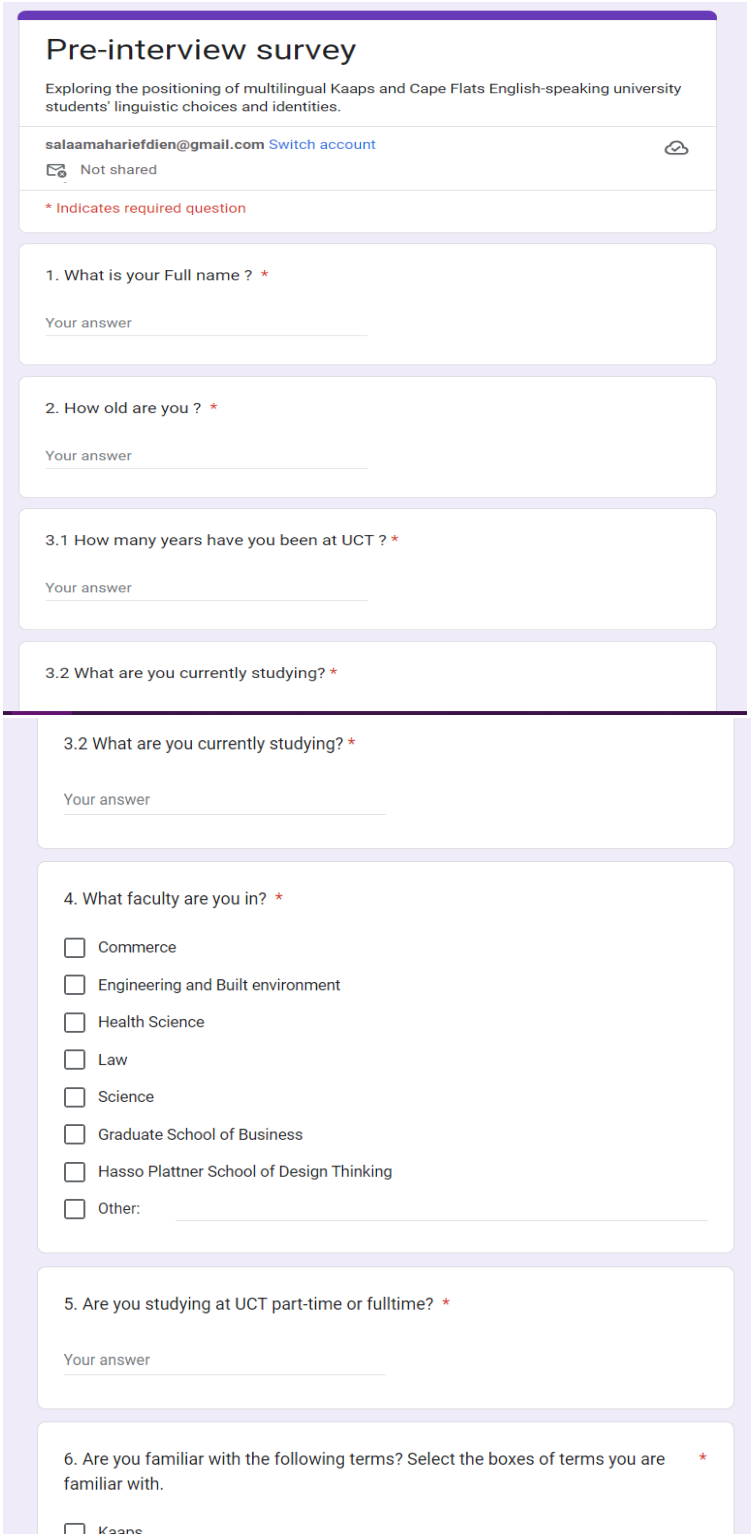
I consent to:	Yes	No
1. To complete a language activity and questionnaire		
2. To be interviewed individually.		
3. To participate in a group workshop.		
4. To be audio recorded during interviews.		
5. Sharing conversational audio recordings or written texts for analysis.		

Signature:

Date:

Appendix 3: Pre- Interview Survey

https://forms.gle/5bpEFFjAUYpnnpmA8



Pre-interview survey

Exploring the positioning of multilingual Kaaps and Cape Flats English-speaking university students' linguistic choices and identities.

salaamahariefdien@gmail.com Switch account

Not shared

* Indicates required question

1. What is your Full name ? *

Your answer

2. How old are you ? *

Your answer

3.1 How many years have you been at UCT ? *

Your answer

3.2 What are you currently studying? *

3.2 What are you currently studying? *

Your answer

4. What faculty are you in? *

- [ ] Commerce
- [ ] Engineering and Built environment
- [ ] Health Science
- [ ] Law
- [ ] Science
- [ ] Graduate School of Business
- [ ] Hasso Plattner School of Design Thinking
- [ ] Other:

5. Are you studying at UCT part-time or fulltime? *

Your answer

6. Are you familiar with the following terms? Select the boxes of terms you are familiar with. *

- [ ] Kaaps

6. Are you familiar with the following terms? Select the boxes of terms you are familiar with. *

- [ ] Kaaps
- [ ] Mengels
- [ ] Kombuis- Engels/Afrikaans
- [ ] Cape Flats English

6.1 Based on what you selected above, explain what you understand by the terms below?

6.1.1 Kaaps/ Afrikaaps

Your answer

6.1.2 Mengels

Your answer

6.1.3 Kombuis- Afrikaans/English(Engels)

Your answer

6.1.4 Cape Flats English (CFE)

Your answer

7. If you are able to communicate in these varieties how often do you use them? *

- ◯ Everyday
- ◯ A few times a week
- ◯ Few times a months
- ◯ Less than a few times a month
- ◯ Other:

8. Have you grown up or lived in Cape Town/Western Cape in a community, household, family where these varieties are frequently spoken?

8.1.1 Spoken by you? *

- ◯ Yes
- ◯ No

8.1.2 Spoken by family members? *

8.1.2 Spoken by family members? *

- Yes
- No

8.1.3 Spoken by community members? *

- Yes
- No

9. Are you interested and willing to participate further in this research study by partaking in an individual interview? *

- Yes
- No

10. Are you interested and willing to participate further in this research study by partaking in a group workshop? *

- Yes
- No

9. Are you interested and willing to participate further in this research study by partaking in an individual interview? *

- Yes
- No

10. Are you interested and willing to participate further in this research study by partaking in a group workshop? *

- Yes
- No

11. Should you be willing to participate further in this research study please provide your UCT email address or contact detail? *

Your answer

Submit Clear form

Appendix 4: LBP Activity and Questionnaire

Language Body Portrait (LBP)

A language body portrait is an illustration used to tell stories and experiences about people's language practices. Through various colours, forms, and symbols on a sketched silhouette of a body, it allows participants to show their understanding of the languages they know and represent their language/linguistic identities. LBP involves filling in a body silhouette with various colours to physically convey aspects of participants' language resources and linguistic repertoire. A linguistic repertoire (LR) refers to languages including varieties, speech styles, accents, and dialects within that language that individuals who have varying levels of communicative skills (could or can **either/and/or:** reading, writing speaking and understanding to be it fluent or just words here and there and have or had knowledge about). LR also depicts individuals' social relationships with languages.

I have included some examples of LBP in the document that you can refer to.

Instructions/Guide for the activity

1. Think about and identify/select the languages that form part of who you are/your identities. These can be languages that you use daily, your primary language and secondary language, languages that you have learnt at some point, languages that you are still learning and languages that you have the desire to learn and know or even remember. These can also be languages that you can **either/ and/or** read, speak, write, or understand, be it fluently or in bits and pieces, any languages that you can or could draw on. These can also be languages that you don't use but are stored somewhere in your brain. These can also be languages that you once knew.

2. Now select a colour for each of these languages. Use a different colour for each language. Think carefully about what colour you choose for each language and why you choose this colour. The colour you choose could maybe be colours you like or dislike, colours that represent an emotion, an environment/place where the language is spoken, an experience you had with the language, cultural aspects or cultures/people who use this language etc basically the colours have something to do with the language.

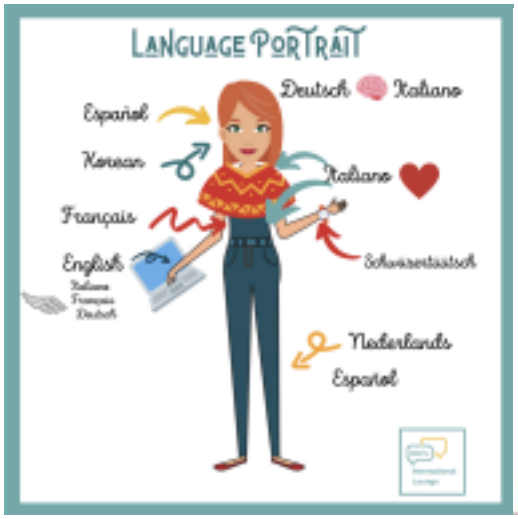
3. Once you have selected your languages and colours, think about how you want to represent your language identities/linguistic repertoire on your silhouette. Think about where you might position each language and colour on the body portrait what body part(s)/portion(s) you

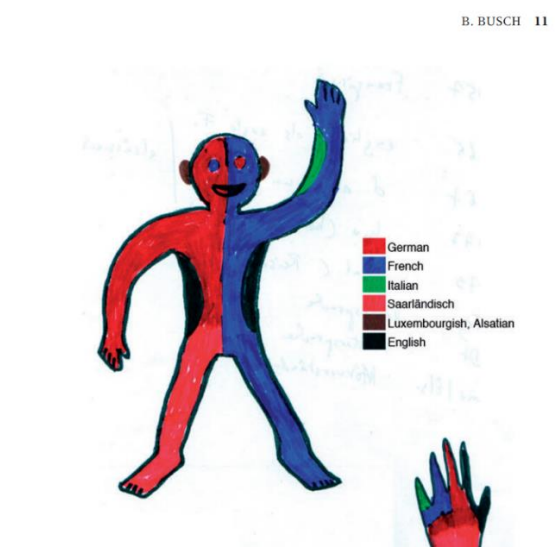
going to colour in for each language and what you want this to represent regarding how you use the languages, what you use the languages for and how they are a part of your identity. For example, the hands are coloured in xx because you write in this language etc.

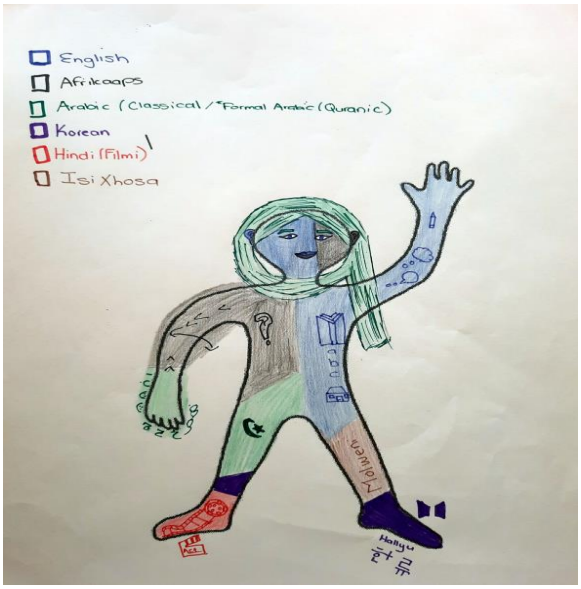
4. Once you have thought about and selected the above, customise the silhouette below to your liking to represent your identities, language identities and linguistic repertoire. You can add symbols, patterns, clothing, accessories, extra body parts or organs etc. Anything that represents/relates to you as a person and that represents/relates to the languages that you have chosen. Make it as colourful and creative as you, please. You can colour in the lines or even over the lines, whatever you want.

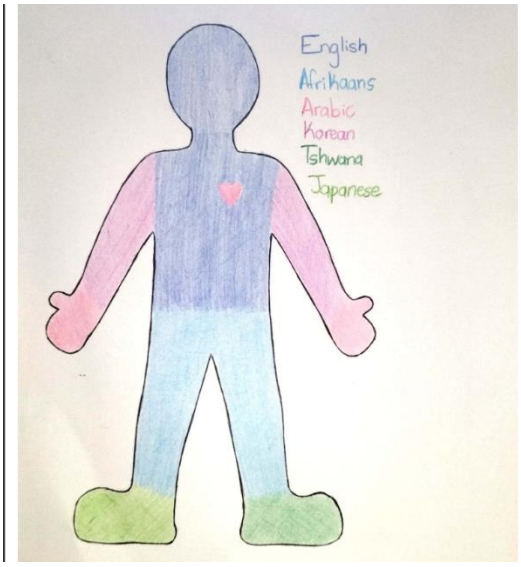
5. There are some examples below of Language Body Portraits that you can look at.

Examples of Language Body Portraits

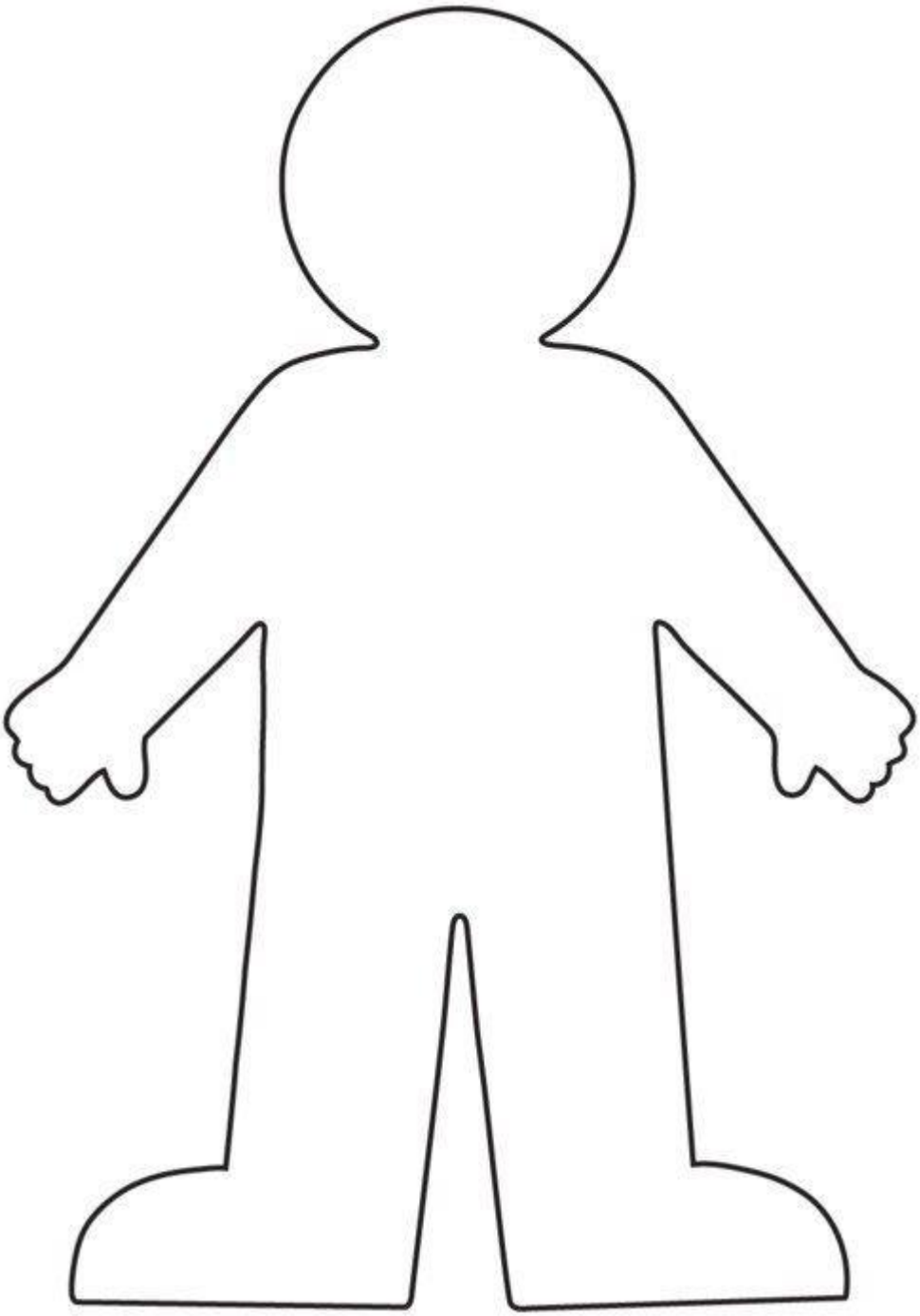



B. BUSCH 11
German
French
Italian
Saarländisch
Luxembourgish, Alsatian
English


English
Afrikaaps
Arabic (Classical / *Formal Arabic (Quranic)
Korean
Hindi (Filmi)
Isi Xhosa


English
Afrikaans
Arabic
Korean
Tshwana
Japanese

LBP Silhouette



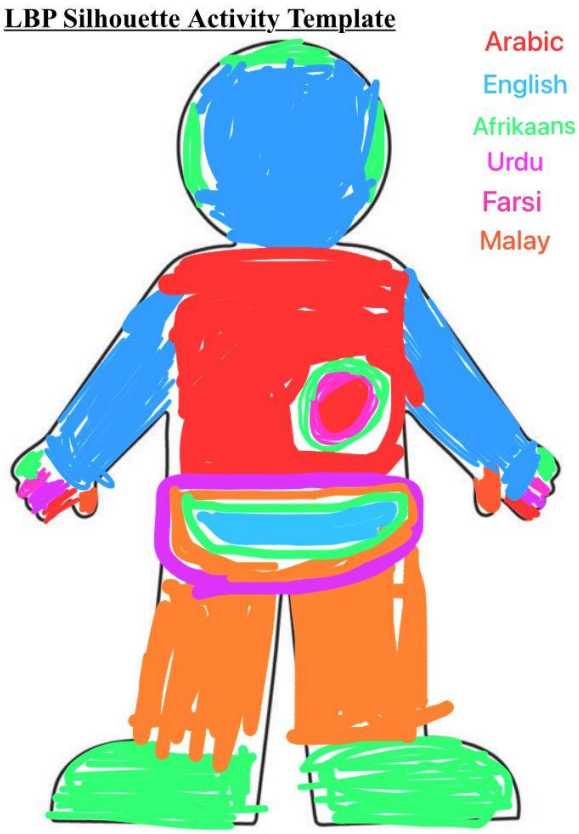
LBP Questionnaire (To be asked once LBP is completed)

1. Can you share your thoughts on the Body Portrait Activity? How did it make you feel?
2. Which language/s do you speak?
3. Which language/s do you feel most comfortable speaking in?
4. Which languages can you communicate in? (i.e. can either/or read, write, understand, speak in. This can be languages that you know fluently but also not fluently i.e only know a bit of)
5. Can you explain your choice of colours for your body portrait or similar based on the language body portrait?
6. Can you explain your choice of body parts that you shaded in for your body portrait or similar based on the language of the body portrait?
7. Can you explain why you drew or customised your language body portrait the way you did?
8. Are there any language/s you feel more linked to than the other language?
9. What do you think about the languages that you have included? Like what does each language mean to you?
10. What emotions do you feel if any, when you think about the languages that you have included?
11. What are your reasons for including those languages?
12. How are the different languages a part of you/ your identities?
13. What are Kaaps and Cape Flats English (CFE) to you? In other words, would you claim these language varieties as a part of you? If you do how so? If not, why?
14. Has Kaaps and or CFE had a role in shaping who you are today as a person?
15. What does Kaaps and or CFE mean to you?

Appendix 5: Semi-Structured Individual Interview Questions Exemplar

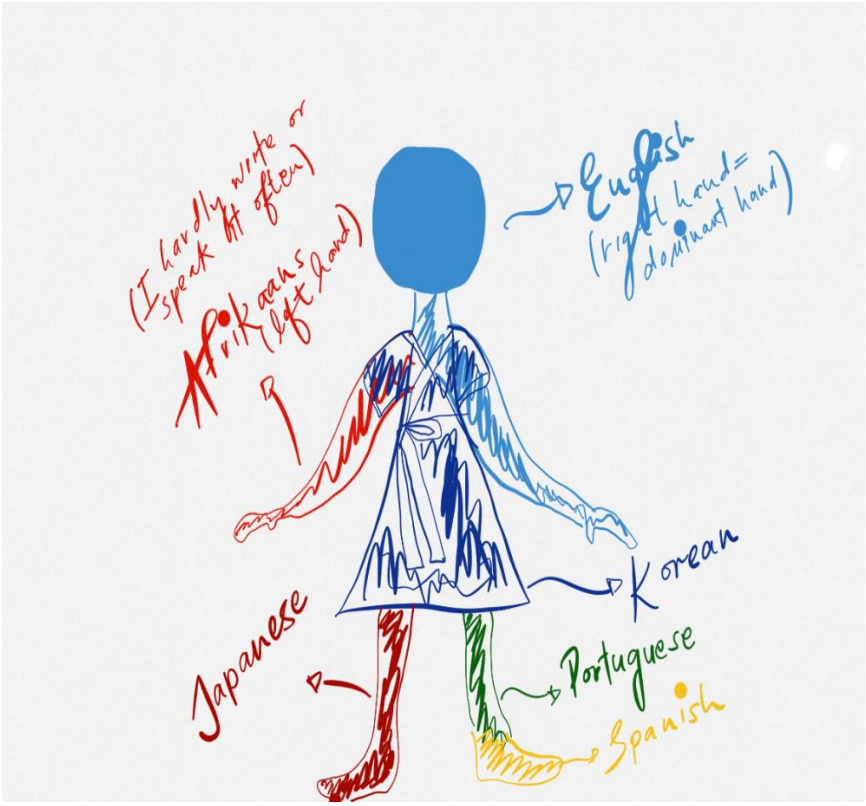
1. What area have you grown up in and where do you currently live?
2. Who do you live with and what language/s do you communicate in at home? What language/s do the people you live with communicate in?
3. Do you ever find yourself switching between languages that you speak or using languages simultaneously? If so when/ could you share an instance when this happens and does this happen consciously or subconsciously?
4. Do you use any language/s and language varieties only in a particular setting or environment or with certain people? If you do why?
5. Do you switch languages when you feel intense emotions like happiness, get angry, feel sad, want to impress, etc? Is this a conscious or subconscious thing?
6. Have you ever had an experience/s where because of your perceived race, assumptions were made about you or the language/s that you speak?
7. Have you ever had an experience/s where your perceived race and the languages you speak worked to your advantage and gave you affordance or disadvantages and limited you?
8. What comes to mind when you hear the words English and Afrikaans and how do you feel when you hear these words?
9. What comes to mind when you hear the term Cape Flats English (CFE)? How do you feel about this language variety?
10. What comes to mind when you hear the term Afrikaaps/Kaaps? How do you feel about this language variety?
11. What do you think about UCT being an English-medium university? Has this caused any challenges or allowed opportunities for you?
12. How would you feel if Indigenous language varieties such as Kaaps and CFE were used as a medium of instruction or language of learning and teaching at UCT?
13. Have would you describe your persona at university vs at home?
14. Do you think you speak or use language differently at home from how you do at home? If so, how, and why?
15. Do you ever feel that you have been discriminated against or judged for how you use language or the variety of languages that you speak?

Appendix 6: Participants LBP's



Participant 'A'

Participant 'AL'

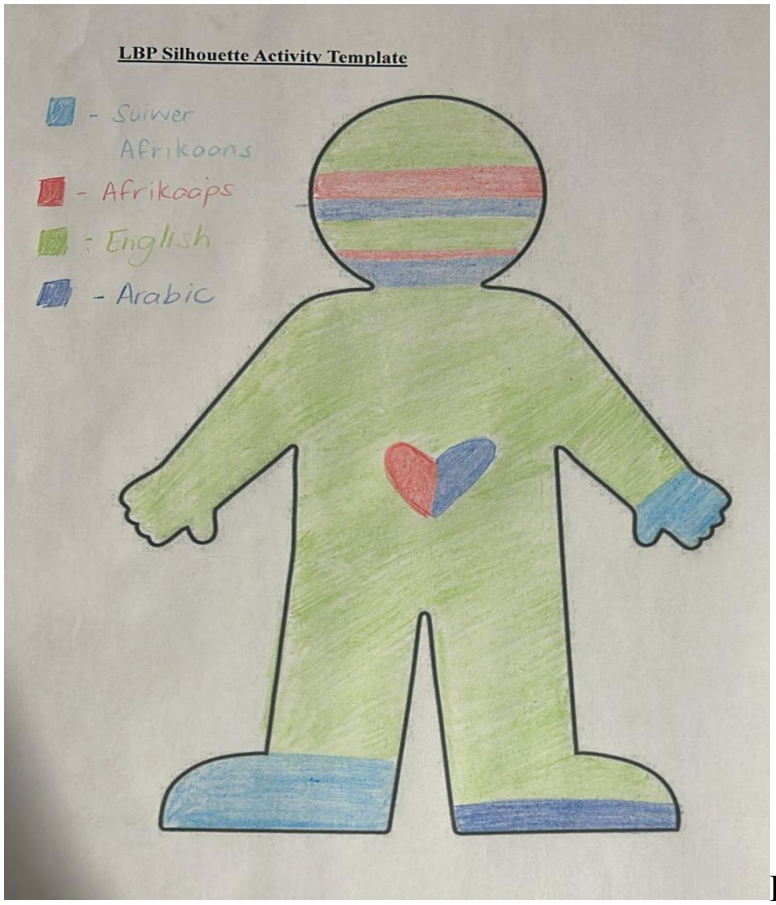


Participant 'Cara'

Participant 'Lilly'

Participant 'Nelly'

Participant 'Rina'

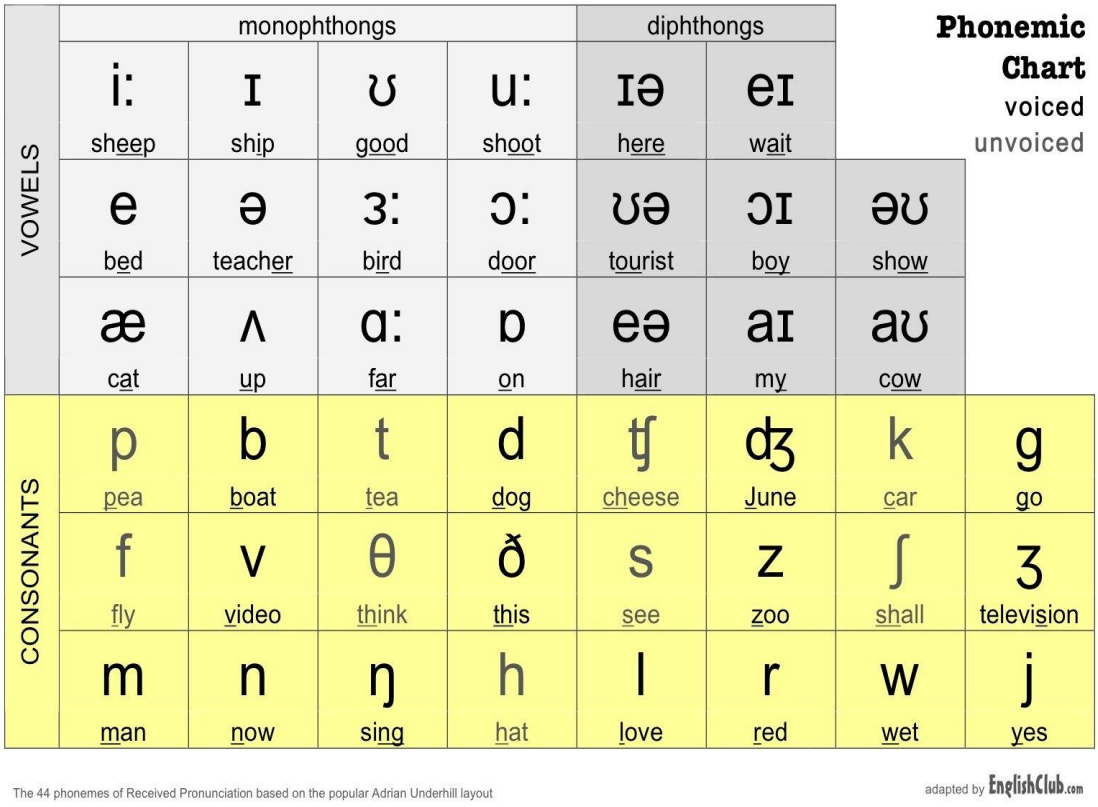


Participant ‘Teddy’

Sunny: So ^uhm the best meaning\ that when I go for interviews or(.) even here at school (.) like even now I'm doing it where I'm like filtering where I'm like filtering myself (.)\ and its nothing that the other person is doing (.) its that's I| know I'm in a white occupied space (.) like I cannot speak (.)/ how I do at home↓ and that's not me (.) so it's like when I'm home I'm free (.) and it's like (1.9) it-its / really who I am (.) here I have to uhm (1.6)\ make sure my r's are a bit elevated *laughs* orr\ otherwise people will think I'm stupid or how did get here uhm (.) or interviews especially now (.)↓ with internships now it's like 'I don't think you are the best person to present if there is anything'↓ so that's what I meant.

Participant 'Sunny’

Appendix 7: IPA Table



	monophthongs				diphthongs			
VOWELS	iː sheep	ɪ ship	ʊ good	uː shoot	ɪə here	eɪ wait		
	e bed	ə teacher	ɜː bird	ɔː door	ʊə tourist	ɔɪ boy	əʊ show	
	æ cat	ʌ up	ɑː far	ɒ on	eə hair	aɪ my	aʊ cow	
CONSONANTS	p pea	b boat	t tea	d dog	ʧ cheese	ʤ June	k car	g go
	f fly	v video	θ think	ð this	s see	z zoo	ʃ shall	ʒ television
	m man	n now	ŋ sing	h hat	l love	r red	w wet	j yes

Phonemic Chart
voiced
unvoiced

The 44 phonemes of Received Pronunciation based on the popular Adrian Underhill layout

adapted by EnglishClub.com