

**World
Englishes**

The study of
New Englishes varieties

Rajend Mesthrie
and Rakesh M. Ghate

KEY TEXTS IN SOCIOLINGUISTICS

Language in South Africa

edited by
RAJEND MESTHRIE

**A SYMPOSIUM IN HONOUR
OF RAJEND MESTHRIE**

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SOCIOLINGUISTICS IN SOUTH AFRICA
– PAST, PRESENT, FUTURE

**A Dictionary of
South African
Indian English**

11 AND 12 DECEMBER 2014

AFRICAN STUDIES GALLERY, UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN

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and James Howard



South Englishes

SOCIOLINGUISTICS IN SOUTH AFRICA – PAST, PRESENT, FUTURE

This symposium, *Sociolinguistics in South Africa – Past, Present and Future*, honours the work of Professor Rajend Mesthrie on the occasion of his 60th birthday. Over the past twenty years, South African sociolinguists have played an active role both nationally and internationally. First and foremost among them is Prof. Mesthrie, who has established a strong sociolinguistic research program in South Africa since the 1980s and put South African sociolinguistics 'on the map'.

Prof. Mesthrie grew up in Umkomaas in KwaZulu-Natal. He did his MA in Linguistics at the University of Austin, Texas and his PhD at the University of Cape Town. He also has two honours degrees in English and Mathematics (cum laude). He began his career as an English and Mathematics teacher and went on to lecture in the Department of English at the University of Durban-Westville before joining the University of Cape Town.

Prof. Mesthrie is one of the world's foremost scholars on language contact and variation. His research experience covers language and social history in South Africa, minority sociolinguistics, dialect lexicography, South Asian languages in South Africa, language islands and migration, Bhojpuri world-wide, the sociolinguistics of migration, varieties of English in South Africa, world Englishes, sociolinguistic theory, pidginisation and language contact, especially Fanakalo, youth languages (tsotsitaals) and sociophonetics.

He has published 16 monographs and edited books, including *Language in South Africa* (CUP 2002), *World Englishes* (with Rakesh Bhatt, CUP 2008), *Introducing Sociolinguistics* (second edition 2009, with Joan Swan, Ana Deumert and William Leap), *A Handbook of Sociolinguistics* (CUP 2011), 27 invited entries in encyclopedias of Linguistics and over 100 journal articles and book chapters. He is the series editor of CUP's *Key Topics in Sociolinguistics*, was co-editor of the Cambridge University Press journal *English Today*, and currently serves as advisory editor. He is a board member of another 12 journals in the fields of sociolinguistics.

Prof. Mesthrie has been at UCT for 28 years and currently holds the National Research Foundation (NRF) research chair in Migration, Language and Social Change. He is an A-rated NRF scientist. In recognition of his achievements, he was elected honorary life executive member of the Linguistics Society of Southern Africa in 2012. He is currently an executive member of the International Society for English Linguistics and an elected member of the SA Academy of Science.

Not only is Prof. Mesthrie one of UCT's most distinguished academics, he is a brilliant teacher and supervisor who has inspired many young scholars in linguistics. He is also a generous colleague who has given much to both established and young academics in his field.

Framed by the three themes of his NRF chair, migration, language and social change, this symposium pays tribute to Raj Mesthrie and invites us to reflect on his contributions: past, present and future.

PROGRAMME

DAY 1

9:30 **Welcome and opening address**

Sakhela Buhlungu, Dean of the Faculty of Humanities

10:00-10:45 **Plenary**

Salikoko Mufwene (Chicago), *Indenture and Language on South African Sugarcane Plantations*

10:45-11:15 **TEA**

11:15-12:45

Panel 1: The sociolinguistics of mobility and contact

Chair: Chris Stroud

Christine Anthonissen (Stellenbosch), *Considering Multimodality in Profiling the Linguistic Repertoires of Mobile Multilinguals*

Christiane Meierkord (Ruhr-Universität Bochum), *The Sociolinguistics of African Migration – From Immigrant Englishes to Diasporic Englishes*

Silvester Ron Simango (Rhodes), *'Yitaal yethu ... esiyibuildileyo leyo': Language Contact, Lexical Innovations and the Construction of a Language in the Eastern Cape*

Clarissa Surek-Clark (Washington), *Methodological Considerations on Data Collection on Fanakalo*

13:00-14:00 **LUNCH**

14:00-15:30

Panel 2: Variation and social change

Chair: Sean Bowerman

Ian Bekker (North-West), *Language Contact and Sociophonetic Transfer: Perceptions of /s/-Fronting among Afrikaans Speakers*

Tracey Toefy (UCT), *Investigating 'fish' and 'chips': A Sociophonetic Update on the KIT split in Coloured South African English*

Alida Chevalier (UCT), *Cape Town English: The Southern Limit of the Canadian and Californian shifts?*

Yolandi Ribbens-Klein (UCT), *Sociophonetics in Interaction: From Patterns of Frequency towards Moments of Meaning*

15:30-16:00 **TEA**

Multilingual

16:00-17:30

Panel 3: Sociolinguistics and Youth

Chair: Ian Bekker

Sifree Makoni (Penn State), *An Integrationist Approach to Supervernaculars: From Monolingualism to Multilingual Francas*

Leketi Makalela (Wits), *Kasi-taal Youth Language Practices and Leaking Boundaries: Implications for a 'Multilingual Turn' in South Africa*

Ellen Hurst (UCT), *Tsotsitaal and Decoloniality*

Heather Brookes (UCT), *We've been studying tsotsitaals all our lives without 'knowing' it: Mesthrie's Contribution to the Study of Urban Youth Varieties*

17:30-18:00 **Joan Swann** (Open University): Response to the day's presentations

18:30

RECEPTION – CAS GALLERY

Featuring Clint Webster (MA Linguistics student, UCT) and Touch

DAY 2

9:30-10:15 **Plenary**

Cécile Vigouroux (Simon Fraser), *Genre as Social Action: Performing and Styling Urban Identity in Stand-Up Comedy à la Française*

10:15-10:30 **TEA**

10:30-11:00 **Interlude**

Tales of the Metric System by **Imraan Coovadia** (UCT)

11:00-13:00 **Round Table**

The Future of Linguistics, An Interdisciplinary Debate

Chair: Ana Deumert

Opening: Chris Stroud (UWC), *Coming Communities, Whatever Singularities, Future Perfect in Sociolinguistics*

Participants: Jane Bennett (AGI); David Cooper (Sociology/AXL); Divine Fuh; (Anthropology/AXL); Harry Garuba (CAS/AXL); Liz Lanza (University of Oslo); Mbulungeni Madiba (CHED); Mastin Prinsloo (Education); Rose Mantoa Smouse (African Languages); Bernhard Weiss (Philosophy)

Vote of thanks: Sean Bowerman

13:00 **LUNCH**

Indenture and Language on South African Sugarcane Plantations

Salikoko S. Mufwene (University of Chicago)

Mesthrie (1991, 1992) has shown that some of the linguistic consequences of the Indian indenture in South Africa (SA) involved the expansion of Bhojpuri as a lingua franca and vernacular among Indians, the adoption of Fanagalo for communication with non-Indians, and the gradual shift to English as a vernacular through several generations of schooling. He associates the latter evolution with the advantage that the contract laborers' children had in attending English schools (notwithstanding the fact that Afrikaans was less important officially and demographically in KwaZulu Natal), the fact that the children became increasingly more fluent in the school language than in their heritage languages, and the dwindling of numbers of parents and grandparents who could speak the heritage languages (fluently). A concomitant of this social process was the influence that the parents' and grandparents' attempts at communicating with their children in English exerted on structures of the latter, which led to the emergence of SA Indian English (SAIE).

Mesthrie (1991) also explains that the Indians were brought to SA initially to work on the sugarcane plantations, though the work conditions and low salaries were so bad that more and more Indians went to work in the mines or engaged in small artisanal self-employment. He also notes something that Vigouroux (2008) elaborates on: this contract-labor migration of Indians coincides with the relocation of some Mauritian planters to SA, after the island was taken away from the French, just like Trinidad in the Caribbean, and became a British colony. Incidentally, Mauritius itself was also being peopled with Indian contract laborers (like many other British colonies, such as Fiji, Trinidad, and Guyana) around the same time, and in all those places, as also noted by Mesthrie, Bhojpuri was expanding momentarily at the other Indian-heritage languages, before they were displaced by the relevant creole or pidgin. However, unlike in Mauritius, Trinidad, and Guyana (where the local creole had already emerged before their arrival), the influence of substrate languages on SAIE is quite remarkable.

Limiting this discussion to places where the contract laborers experienced language shift, SA sugarcane plantations are reminiscent of those of the Caribbean, the Indian Ocean, and Hawaii. However, Hawaii was not colonized on the model of the Caribbean and the Indian Ocean (Mufwene 2004, 2008); nor was its contract laborers regimented in the same style, despite similarities in how creoles emerged in all these territories. Regardless of whether or not SAIE may be called a creole (Mufwene 1994), I add SA to this typology of language evolution in the colonies in order to formulate some questions on the population structure of SA sugarcane plantations and assess how adequately it accounts for differential language evolution.

Mesthrie, R. 1991. *Language in indenture: A sociolinguistic history of Bhojpuri-Hindi in South Africa*. Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press.

Mesthrie, R. 1992. *English in language shift: The history, structure and sociolinguistics of South African Indian English*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Mufwene, S.S. 2004. Multilingualism in linguistic history: Creolization and indigenization. In: *Handbook of bilingualism*, ed. by T. Bhatia and W. Richie, 460-488. Malden, MA: Blackwell.

Mufwene, S.S. 2008. *Language evolution: Contact, competition, and change*. Continuum Press.

Vigouroux, C.B. 2008. From Africa to Africa: Globalization, migration and language vitality. In *Globalization and language vitality: Perspectives from Africa*, ed. by C. B. Vigouroux and S.S. Mufwene, 229-254. London: Continuum Press.

Genre as Social Action: Performing and Styling Urban Identity in Stand-Up Comedy à la Française

Cécile B. Vigouroux (Simon Fraser)

I intend this presentation as a contribution to a reflection on the way in which speakers unsettle language boundaries and, to a certain extent, challenge racial categorizations by using heteroglossic linguistic resources. It also problematizes the category URBAN often used in the literature to characterize contact languages (Methrie and Hurst 2013, Hurst and Methrie 2013) or speakers' multiple alignments and identification work (Rampton 1995).

Heteroglossia is analyzed here through the communicative genre of stand-up comedy. Following Bakhtin (1986), who argues that a genre reflects the social changes taking place in a society, I argue that the appropriation of the stand-up comedy genre by French performers of North and sub-Saharan African descent should be considered as an important sociolinguistic fact that gives us privileged access to Hexagonal France's contemporary sociopolitical dynamics. I show that through their display of heteroglossic repertoires (viz., Maghrebi Arabic, several varieties of vernacular French, Hexagonal standard French, mesolectal African French, stylized chunks of English) the comics challenge, at least symbolically, France's monoglot and highly centralized linguistic ideology (Silverstein 1996). They also contribute to unsettling France's Republican model, which is marked by the institutional denial of the social and cultural diversity of the French population. I show how bounded identity categories based on ethnicity, race (although not official in France), or nation-state membership (i.e. French) are no longer valid (if they have ever been in the first place) to account for the diversity that characterizes modern France.

While stand-up comedy can be seen as a form of symbolic disruption of France's dominant social structures and models, the risk for performers to consolidate social stigma and linguistic hierarchies is all too real. Indeed, stand-up comedy as a genre and social practice cannot be disconnected from other social practices in the ecology in which it is performed and evaluated. I conclude by saying that the break in the politics of representation may not be as radical as both the performers and their receptive audience call or hope for.

Bakhtin, M. 1981. *The Dialogic Imagination*. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Bakhtin, M. 1986. *The Problem of Speech Genres*. In *Speech Genres, and Other Late Essays*, ed. by C. Emerson and M. Holquist, 60-102. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Hurst, E. and Methrie, R. 2013. When you hang out with the guys they keep you in style: the case for considering style in descriptions of South African Tsotsitaals. *Language Matters* 44(1): 3-20.

Methrie, R. and Hurst, E. 2013. Slang registers, code-switching and restructured urban varieties in South Africa. *Journal of Pidgin and Creole languages* 28(1): 103-130.

Rampton, B. 1995/2005. *Crossing: Language and Ethnicity Among Adolescents*. New York: Routledge.

Silverstein, M. 1996. Monoglot 'Standard' in America: Standardization and metaphors of Linguistic Hegemony. In: *The matrix of language*, ed. by D. Brenneis and R.K.S. Macaulay, 284-306. Westview Press.

THE SOCIOLINGUISTICS OF MOBILITY AND CONTACT

Considering multimodality in profiling the linguistic repertoires of mobile multilinguals

Christine Anthonissen (Stellenbosch University)

This paper will introduce a few recently developed perspectives on the theoretical concept 'linguistic repertoire'. It will show how concepts such as 'plurilingualism' and 'super-diversity' have become important in characterizing the position of mobile communities with complex social and linguistic formations. It will turn attention to how the concepts of 'repertoire', 'plurilingualism' and 'superdiversity' are illustrated in migrant narratives presented in different modes. Multimodal "portraits" of individuals provide an innovative instrument to access authentic language biographical data. The narratives of two groups of migrants, youngsters barely into their twenties from Zimbabwe, and older men mostly in their mid-thirties from the DRC, will serve to illustrate how variables of language, age and level of education co-determine experiences of displacement and homecoming in a new context.

The sociolinguistics of African immigration – from immigrant Englishes to diasporic Englishes

Christiane Meierkord (Ruhr-Universität Bochum)

The English language has a long history of being linked to (im)migration, initially of the English and British to other areas and later on of speakers of very diverse first languages to English speaking areas, which gave rise to what Raj Mesthrie (1992 and following) has called immigrant Englishes. Recently, a similar but somewhat different type of migration has been increasing. It involves speakers who have English as their second language and move into non-English-speaking countries, e.g. West Africans in Germany, Italy, Saudi Arabia, or China.

In fact, many countries are now home to Englishes that can be labelled "diasporic Englishes", varieties spoken by a clearly confined speech community, composed of individuals who share a migration history and maintain close contacts with their home countries. Often these Englishes are used as lingua francas, both in the African (mainly Cameroonian, Ghanaian, and Nigerian) communities, which tend to live in trans-local (Appadurai 1996) neighbourhoods held together by social and communicative practices, as well as in interactions with the original local population and other immigrants.

Focusing on the Cameroonian diaspora, I shall describe how what has come to be known about immigrant Englishes serves to understand the sociolinguistics of diasporic Englishes and how they differ from the original second language Englishes (Standard Cameroonian English and Cameroon Pidgin English in this case) when they blend into new codes that serve the diaspora's identity construction through code-mixing, borrowing and semantic shift.

Appadurai, A. 1996. The production of locality. In *Modernity at Large. Cultural Dimensions of Globalization*. ed. by A. Appadurai, 178-199. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Mesthrie, R. 1992. *English in Language Shift: The History, Structure and Sociolinguistics of South African Indian English*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

“Yitaal yethu... esiyibuildileyo leyo”: Language contact, lexical innovations, and the construction of a language in the Eastern Cape

Silvester Ron Simango (Rhodes University)

The Eastern Cape is the confluence of different languages which include isiXhosa, English and Afrikaans; a situation which has given rise to high degrees of multilingual competence among the inhabitants of the region. This has, in turn, led to language practices in which speakers draw from the different linguistic varieties – notably code-switching – in their daily interactions. This paper examines data from naturally occurring conversations among urban youths with the purpose of establishing the mechanisms through which linguistic features are blended in creating what seems to be a ‘new language’. This variety displays unique features not only in terms of lexical innovations but also in the apparent grammatical convergence of the languages in the mix. It will be argued that this variety emerges when code-switching is the ‘unmarked choice’ (Myers-Scotton 1993a) in the wider community due to high degrees of individual bi/multilingualism. The paper also draws on theoretical insights from the Matrix Language Frame model and the 4-M model (Myers-Scotton 1993b, 1998, 2002, 2003, Myers-Scotton and Jake 1995, 2000, *inter alia*).

Methodological considerations on data collection on Fanakalo

Clarissa Surek-Clark (University of Washington)

Raj Mesthrie’s work on Fanakalo and on South African Indian English inspired Surek-Clark to conduct fieldwork on the pidgin Fanakalo in various coastal farming communities of KwaZulu-Natal in the early 2000’s. This memoir addresses methodological considerations encountered while trying to document a stigmatized but nonetheless vibrant Southern African pidgin.

Language contact and sociophonetic transfer: Perceptions of /s/-fronting among Afrikaans speakers

Ian Bekker (North-West University) and Erez Levon (Queen Mary University of London)

Research in bilingualism has demonstrated that situations of long-term language contact often result in phonetic and phonological transfer in both speech production and perception (e.g., Flege 1987, Major 1992, de Leeuw et al. 2010). What has attracted less attention, however, is the possibility that such transfer can also involve the borrowing of sociolinguistically meaningful patterns of variation from one language into another. In this paper, we examine the extent to which this type of sociophonetic transfer has taken place among Afrikaans-English bilinguals in South Africa. Specifically, we investigate whether the social meanings associated with /s/- fronting in White South African English (WSAfE) have been borrowed into Afrikaans, resulting in the emergence of a new sociophonetic variable in the language.

The fronting of /s/ is a socially salient, if relatively understudied, phenomenon in WSAfE. In popular discourse, /s/-fronting is associated with the speech of young Jewish white women who live in the wealthy suburbs north of Johannesburg and, to a lesser extent, with the speech of gay men. In a spectral moments analysis of the feature, Bekker (2007) finds that young white women from these northern suburbs do indeed produce variants of /s/ that are significantly fronter than those of white women from elsewhere in the country. Bekker's analysis also reveals a pattern of prestige linked style-shifting among these women, such that they produce fronter variants in more formal speech contexts. Based on these findings, Bekker argues that /s/-fronting serves as a marker of "prestigious femininity" in the Anglophone South African context.

More recently, anecdotal evidence suggests that /s/-fronting and its associated meaning of "prestigious femininity" have been borrowed into Afrikaans by Afrikaans-English bilinguals living in the Pretoria and greater Johannesburg area. In this paper, we report the results of a matched-guise experiment (Lambert et al. 1960) designed to test this assertion and to determine whether /s/-fronting carries similar indexical meanings in Afrikaans as it does in WSAfE. For the experiment, we recorded two balanced Afrikaans-English bilinguals (one woman, one man) each reading translated versions of the same passage in Afrikaans and in English. We then digitally manipulated these recordings so as to create both fronted and non-fronted versions of the stimuli (cf. Levon 2006; Campbell-Kibler 2007). The resulting eight recordings (2 speakers x 2 languages x fronted/non-fronted) were then presented to a group of Afrikaans-English bilingual listeners, who rated the passages on a series of attitudinal scales.

Preliminary results indicate that some of the meanings of /s/-fronting in WSAfE have in fact transferred into Afrikaans. For example, in both languages we find a salient association between /s/-fronting, femininity and social class, though in WSAfE the feature also carries with it additional ethnic connotations of "Jewishness" that are absent in Afrikaans. This finding is interesting because it suggests a level of cross-linguistic malleability in the sociophonetic repertoires of Afrikaans-English bilinguals, complementing research elsewhere in sociolinguistics on other forms of contact-induced change (e.g., Thomason and Kaufman, 1988). Socially, findings such as these could also be indicative of an ongoing reinterpretation of existing patterns of ethnolinguistic differentiation among Afrikaans-speaking South Africans more generally (cf. Fought 1999, Eckert 2008).

Investigating ‘fish’ and ‘chips’: a sociophonetic update on the KIT split in Coloured South African English

Tracey Toefy (University of Cape Town)

Much has been written about the so-called KIT-split in South African English (SAfE) (e.g. Taylor 1991, Lass 1990, Bekker 2014), with little reference to the particularities of this phoneme as used by Coloured SAfE speakers. This paper seeks to provide a detailed sociophonetic analysis of the state of the KIT vowel in CSAfE.

Recordings of sociolinguistic interviews with forty Coloured speakers (20 male; 20 female) from both middle-class and working-class backgrounds were analysed using P2FA and extractFormants – tools for automatic forced alignment and vowel formant extraction (Yuan and Liberman 2011, Evanini 2009). 2253 tokens of KIT were isolated into phonological environments known to condition the split (following Lanham and Macdonald 1975, Wood 1987) i.e. before and after velar consonants /k, g/, before /ŋ/, before palatal consonants /tʃ, ʃ, dʒ, ʒ/, after /h/ and word initially.

The results show that working-class CSAfE speakers display a wider split in the set: a higher and fronter variant is used in all conditioning environments, approximating [ɪ], while tokens in the unconditioned environments are produced in the region of [əə]. Middle-class speakers also display a definite split in this lexical set, conditioned by the same environments, but with a smaller distance between the two values i.e. more centralised [ɪ] and slightly more fronted [əə] in unmarked environments.

Cape Town English: the southern limit of the Canadian and Californian shifts?

Alida Chevalier (University of Cape Town)

The old South African English Chain Shift involves the raising of KIT (/ɪ/) DRESS (/e/) and TRAP (/æ/) when compared to Received Pronunciation (Lass and Wright, 1986). Bekker (2009) studied South African English (SAfE) vowels, comparing data he collected to the descriptions and findings of Webb’s (1983) acoustic study and the impressionistic descriptions by Lass and Wright, among others. Bekker’s findings support Lanham’s (1965, 91) prediction of continued raising, with the exception of TRAP lowering. The study at hand set out to test Lanham’s prediction and Bekker’s findings. It also seeks to test the extent of TRAP and STRUT (/ʌ/) merger as suggested by the auditory perceptions of the researcher. In doing so, 50 young, middle class Capetonians were recorded taking part in sociolinguistic interviews. The participants include 40 white and 10 black speakers (to track post-apartheid social change), who are split evenly for sex. The data was subsequently analysed using the Forced Alignment and Vowel Extraction Toolkit (Rosenfelder et al. 2011) with a slightly modified version of the British English Example Pronouncing dictionary. This is the first study on South African English to use FAVE package. Where necessary, linear mixed-effects models were run via the statistical package R.

Analysis shows evidence of innovation involving lowered and centralised KIT. DRESS remains largely raised (though some lowering is also evident), and overlaps to a large extent with KIT. This extreme, unexpected overlap suggests the possibility of a merger. The lowering and centralising of TRAP results in overlaps with STRUT. Minimal pairs tests show a difference in production and perception: for male speakers casual style tokens overlap to a higher degree than tokens in minimal pairs style. The same holds for female speakers,

though the extent of overlap between TRAP and STRUT is higher in both casual style and in minimal pairs, suggesting that females are leading this change. This difference between perception and production suggests a near merger of TRAP and STRUT.

Reversal of the chain shift described by Lass and Wright (1986) is underway in the speech of young, middle class English speakers from Cape Town, with potential mergers included. Speakers of English in Canada (Boberg 2005), California (Kennedy and Grama 2012), South-east England (Torgersen and Kerswill 2004), Dublin (Hickey 2013) and Australia (Cox and Palethorpe 2008) have shown similar trends in vowel lowering and retraction, indicating that South African English in Cape Town is shifting vowels alongside its global counterparts.

Bekker, I. 2009. The Vowels of South African English. Unpublished PhD Thesis: North West University.

Boberg, C. 2005. The Canadian shift in Montreal. *Language Variation and Change* 17: 133-154.

Cox, F., and Palethorpe, S. (2008). Reversal of Short Front Vowel Raising in Australian English. *9th Annual Conference of the International Speech Communication Association 2008 (INTERSPEECH 2008)*, 342-345. International Speech Communication Association.

Hickey, R. 2013. *Variation and Change in Dublin English*. Retrieved July 2014 from <http://www.uni-due.de/VCDE/>.

Kennedy, R., and Grama, J. 2012. Chain shifting and centralisation in California Vowels: and acoustic analysis. *American Speech* 87(1): 39-56.

Lass, R., and Wright, S. 1986. Endogeneity vs. Contact: 'Afrikaans influence' on South African English. *English World-Wide* 7(2): 201-223.

Lanham, L. 1965. South African English Pronunciation 2065 AD. *Taalfasette* 1: 59-95.

Toefy, T. 2014. Sociophonetics and Class Differentiation: A study of working- and middle-class English in Cape Town's Coloured Community. Unpublished PhD Thesis: University of Cape Town.

Torgersen, E., and Kerswill, P. 2004. Internal and external motivation in phonetic change: Dialect levelling outcomes for an English vowel shift. *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 8(1): 23-53.

Rosenfelder, I., Fruehwald, J., Evanini, K. and Yuan, J. 2011. FAVE (Forced Alignment and Vowel Extraction) Program Suite). <http://fave.ling.upenn.edu>.

Webb, V. 1983. On a South African English vowel system. *Stellenbosch Papers in Linguistics*, 10: 134-164.

Sociophonetics in interaction: from patterns of frequency towards moments of meaning

Yolandi Ribbens-Klein (University of Cape Town)

In the South African sociophonetics field, leading scholars such as Rajend Mesthrie have studied variation in South African English that correlates with social factors like gender, age, ethnicity/race and social class. In a recent study, Mesthrie (2012) investigates the interaction between variation, ethnicity and place by looking at the linguistic variable (t), which has alveolar and dental variants. He found that robust regional dialectology is possible for Indian and Coloured speakers, where "place" is as important as ethnicity. While Mesthrie's study is based on a large data set of speakers distributed across five South African cities, my presentation is an exploration into place identity and the sociophonetics of Afrikaans (r) in one geographical location: Pacaltsdorp, located in the South Cape where the majority of residents are Coloured Afrikaans-speakers.

Quantitative analyses of (r) in Pacaltsdorp found that the supralocal standard alveolar trill [r] and regional dialectal uvular trill [R] form part of Pacaltsdorpers' linguistic repertoire. The results show that younger speakers and older men use uvular-r most frequently.

In this presentation, I focus on individuals' use of a regional accent feature in the construction of social and place identities and individual personae by looking at how (r) variation plays itself out in interaction. The

interactions took place in the context of sociolinguistic interviews. Following Mendoza-Denton (2007), I argue that it is not only the frequency that a linguistic variant is used by a speaker: a variant's recency (whether and how often it clusters in particular types of discourse), its salience (its ideological associations or indexicality), and the agency of the speakers involved (how actively speakers are designing their talk) should also be considered. I explore how variation is shaped not only by factors particular to the interview as speech situation (e.g. audience, topic, setting, style), but also by interactional stances and personae (or local social categories) that the speaker employ during conversational moments in the interview.

Mesthrie, R. 2012. Ethnicity, substrate and place: the dynamics of Coloured and Indian English in five South African cities in relation to the variable (t). *Language Variation and Change* 24: 371-395.

Mendoza-Denton, N. 2007. Sociolinguistic extensions of exemplar theory: Comments on Flege, Khattab, and Darcy, Peperkamp, and Dupoux.. In *Laboratory Phonology 9: Changes in Phonology*, ed. By J. Cole and J.I. Hualde. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

SOCIOLINGUISTICS AND YOUTH

Kasi-taal youth languaging practices and the leaking boundaries: implications for a 'multilingual turn' in South Africa

Leketi Makelela (University of the Witwatersrand)

While South Africa is one of the highly multilingual countries in the world, the framing of multilingualism reflects a monolingual bias of languages as fixed entities that are capable of being placed in boxes. In this paper I examine discursive language practices among young Black township natives who consider *kasi-taal*, a fluidlect variety from major Black townships in Johannesburg, their home language. Analysis of data from second-year university students from five townships reveals that traditional linguistic boundaries between indigenous African languages have been re-negotiated to express expanded views of the self. While the variety reflects a large repertoire from Nguni and Sotho languages, lexical borrowings, semantic shifts and morphological derivations from Afrikaans and English as source languages, it seems to be a fluidlect in its own right. Using a translanguaging framework, I argue that *kasi-taal* languaging practices challenge traditional conceptualisation of language and provide a gaze into future possibilities for merging African 'languages'. In particular, I advance a view that *kasi-taal* embodies a heteroglossic South African multilingual turn: disruption of orderliness and domestication of strangeness in tandem with the pre-colonial languaging patterns and value systems.

Tsotsitaal and decoloniality

Ellen Hurst (University of Cape Town)

Tsotsitaal in South Africa is often maligned as 'undisciplined' language, which can 'corrupt' the 'pure' forms of African languages. However, the concept of standard language in Africa has been problematized by authors such as Makoni and Pennycook (2005) who have highlighted the colonial history, or 'coloniality' of linguistic knowledge in this context.

This paper will outline how recent developments in research on tsotsitaals in South Africa intersect with these recent shifts in sociolinguistic theory. Picking up on the work of Makoni and Pennycook (2005), the paper will discuss the implications of tsotsitaal for disinvention and reconstitution of African languages. The paper will furthermore draw on the work of Walter Mignolo (ref) and other decolonial theorists to argue that tsotsitaal in South Africa can be considered to be a subaltern, or 'decolonial code', where speaking is simultaneously subversion, (re)creation and a manifestation of 'border thinking'.

Makoni, S. and Pennycook, A. 2005. Disinventing and (re)constituting languages. *Critical Enquiry in Language Studies: An International Journal* 2(3): 137-156.

We've been studying *tsotsitaals* all our lives without 'knowing' it:

Mesthrie's contribution to the study of urban youth 'varieties.'

Heather Brookes (University of Cape Town)

In his seminal article, 'I've been speaking Tsotsitaal all my life without knowing it: towards a unified account of Tsotsitaals in South Africa,' Mesthrie (2008) succeeds in sifting through a myriad of seemingly contradictory and patchy research to present a succinct and coherent theoretical framework for understanding the phenomenon of what he has called 'tsotsitaals.' Applying Mesthrie's framework to current ethnographic and historical data from Johannesburg townships demonstrates the extraordinary pertinence of his insights and how these lay the foundation for understanding the communicative practices of urban youth. Why we have ended up studying tsotsitaals without 'knowing it' until Mesthrie (2008), lies fundamentally in both ontological and methodological approaches to language in previous studies of this phenomenon. In unpacking these approaches and establishing a valid empirical base for accounting for urban youth varieties, one is impelled to return to the approach of variationist sociolinguistics and sociophonetics that Labov (1972) outlined in his chapter 'The Linguistic Consequences of Being a Lame' in 'Language in the Inner City'.

Mesthrie, R. 2008. 'I've been speaking Tsotsitaal all my life without knowing it': towards a unified account of Tsotsitaals in South Africa. *In Social lives in language – sociolinguistics and multilingual speech communities*, ed. by M. Meyerhoff and N. Nagy, 95-109. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Labov, W. 1972. *Language in the inner city: studies in black English vernacular*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Multilingual

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Clayton Cupido (guitar), Darron Cupido (drums), Dylan Cupido (bass), Ashley Davids (guitar), Janice Cornelius (vocals) and Clint Webster (vocals).



Photo: Gary van Dyk

A SYMPOSIUM IN HONOUR OF RAJEND MESTHRIE



ON BEHALF OF THE
ORGANISING COMMITTEE,
THANKS TO EVERYONE FOR
MAKING THIS SYMPOSIUM A
SUCCESS!

THANKS TO THE FOLLOWING FUNDERS:

UCT'S UNIVERSITY RESEARCH
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THE NATIONAL RESEARCH FOUNDATION
OF SOUTH AFRICA

MATTHIAS BRENZINGER

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