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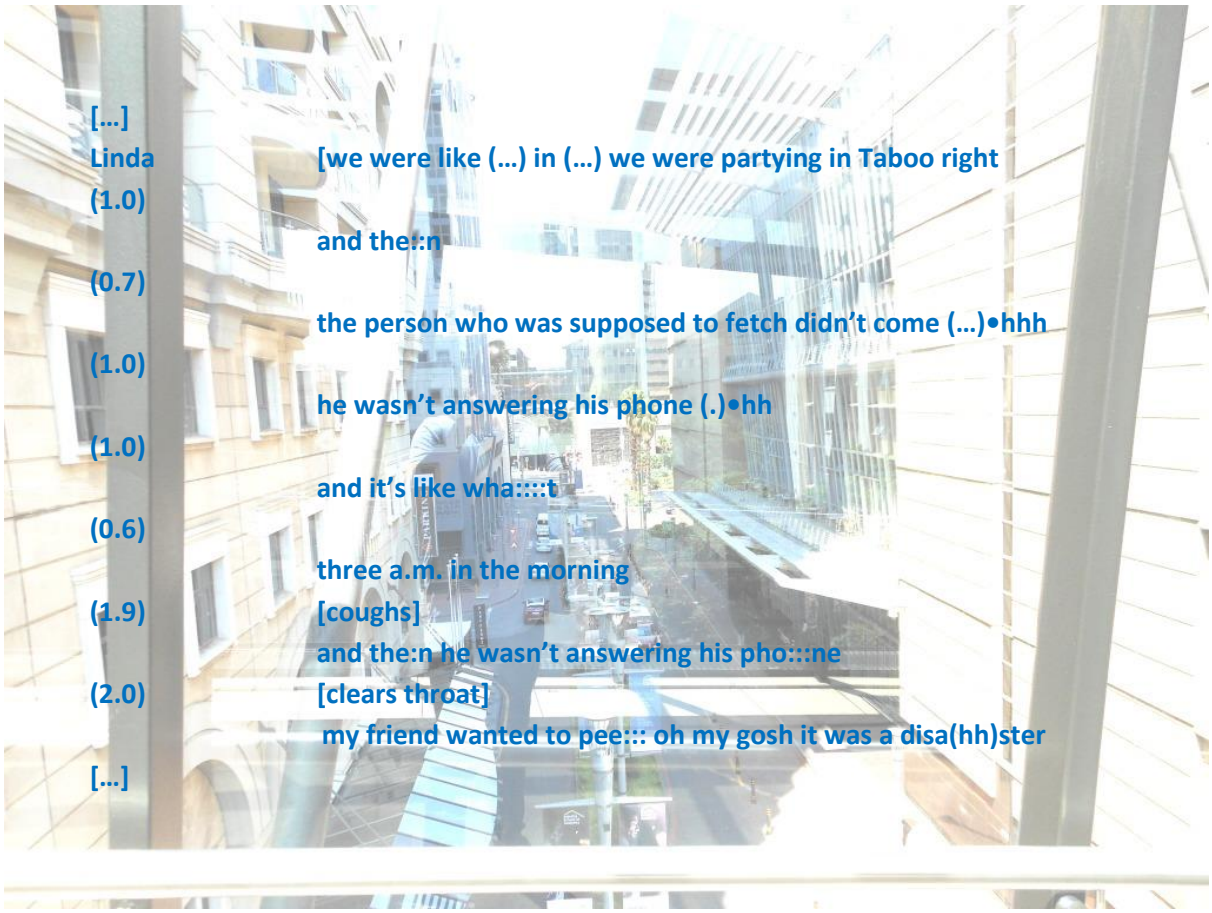
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Department of Linguistics

School of Literature, Language and Media

University of the Witwatersrand

SANDTON: A linguistic ethnography of small stories in a site of luxury



By William Kelleher

Student number 566746

Professor Tommaso Milani, Supervisor

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ABSTRACT

This is a linguistic ethnography that focuses on small stories (Bamberg and Georgakopoulou 2008, De Fina 2009, De Fina and Georgakopoulou 2015, Georgakopoulou 2006a and 2006b, 2008, 2014) within Bucholtz and Hall's (2005) approach to identity and interaction. These two intersecting theoretical scaffoldings are completed by a geosemiotic approach (Scollon and Scollon 2003) to the discursive environment. The research therefore studies narrative interactions within communities of practice (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 1992, 2007) across the spaces and fields of the research site of Sandton, Johannesburg; investigating both participant behaviour and discursive environment, in particular with respect to the semiotic landscape. It is a 'new' ethnography in that its aim is to better understand the new spaces of South Africa's cities (Duff 2014). Methodologically the narrative interactions of participants are plotted onto the space of Sandton using GIS technology. This allows attention to be brought to the trajectories of participants and thus to change in interactive style, role and behaviour as participants enter, remain within and leave the site. Three principles of identity and interaction are explored and unpacked in depth for this linguistic ethnography: emergence, positionality and relationality. In addition to a focus on the site itself and its socio-historic processes, this thesis examines the trajectories across the space of the site, institutional discourse and practice through four emblematic companies and, finally, the 'Born Free' or 'millenial' participants. Through the different participants the research seeks to give an account of the subjectivities and understandings that will be relevant to the present, and future, of the site, and of the country. Axes of investigation are emergence of identity work, masculinity, religion, modernity, codeswitching, positionality with respect to macro, meso and micro discourses and interaction, and tactics of intersubjectivity (Bucholtz and Hall 2004b).

KEYWORDS

small stories; narrative; interaction; identity; field; semiotic landscape; geosemiotics; ethnography; Sandton; emergence; masculinity; religion; modernity; codeswitching; translanguaging; positioning; discourse; intersubjectivity; relationality; Born Frees

DEDICATION

To Lucie, Ida, Lena and Dudu. To my family. To Tommaso.

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- All of the participants to this study who gave their time and their patience and of which full details are provided in Appendix 2-2

DECLARATION

I declare that this thesis is my own work. All citations, references and existing research have been duly acknowledged. I confirm that I did not use an external editor. I further confirm that none of the present work has been submitted previously for any degree or examination in any other university.

_____

Student name

_____

Date

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Introduction

Sandton. A mythical enclave of branding, luxury and business in Southern Africa, that attracts tourists, diplomats, CEO's, and a legion of shoppers, visitors and employees. It is an exception. An inversion of predominant socio-economic dynamics and constraints. In choosing to study this site, I have wished to also invert the power relations that can exist in research between researcher and participant. As such, this work, in many senses, runs against the grain; collecting the narratives of participants not in a space of marginalisation or conflictive social relations, but rather in a busy, well-managed, modern space that has become an example of urban design as this intersects with international movements of capital, consumption and exclusive living (see Mbembe 2004).

As I will argue throughout this thesis, understanding the practices and interactions that take place in sites of 'luxury' (Stroud and Mpendukana 2009) is central in appreciating South Africa's current social conjuncture and imaginary at a macro level, but also in reference to the micro processes of identity work. If identity is seen as emergent, positioned and relational (Bucholtz and Hall 2005), then a vital aspect of what it means to grow up and live in this country can be captured by its detailed study. What this hints at is what the 'now' (Nuttall 2004b) means in South Africa and its consequences in terms of structure, interpersonal relations and values.

Lying slightly North West of Johannesburg, Sandton is a gleaming cité of high-rise architecture, retail outlets, modern hospitals, and clean residential areas. It represents a particular kind of modernity in an otherwise down-at-heel, infrastructurally-challenged Johannesburg[1] and a shanty Alexandra. Sandton, additionally, as business district, as location for head offices, investment banks, international companies and as host for conferences and forums, represents the specific kind of materiality that is necessary to flows of capital and skill (Appadurai 2005). This is to say that its buildings are not just brick and plaster, but have generators, high speed fibreoptic cabling, a network of related services, and offices that attract and retain these representatives of world capital. Its mall, its restaurants, its nightclubs and hotels offer, furthermore, the possibility of conspicuous consumption. In this respect – in the spaces, commodities and services that are available – Sandton epitomises the cultural consumption, classification and power (Warde 2011) that operates at both an inter- and an intra-individual level (Lahire 2008).

Within this study of a site I will capture the narratives of a broad range of participants, and in so doing gain a vision of the liberties, the constraints, the working and lifestyle changes that have been wrought in South Africa following its transition to a constitutional democracy. The research sample is heterogeneous in terms of age (see Eckert 1997) class, ethnicity and gender. This is important because not only will the research be able to distinguish between variation due to gender, socio-economic, occupational and class differences, but also the relational networks and distributed knowledges (Heller 2007) that are so important to developing a complex and rich analysis.

The choice of Sandton corresponds to a 'new' ethnography (see Duff 2014 - WISER), whose underpinning is that studies from the global South must also provide reflection on self in sites that are affluent, that host international movements of people and capital and where public space is not

1 See de Boeck (2011 : 276) for an equivalent in Kinshasa (La Cité du Fleuve), and Nuttall and Mbembe (2008) for a discussion of Johannesburg specifically.

uniform – taking account of meaning within and across socio-economic classes, fields, racialised, cultural and religious categories.

The above discussion gives rise to a simple question that is at the heart of this research: *what identities emerge in a site such as Sandton?*

A first, central aspect, of an answer to this question concerns the choice of narrative interaction as approach. Rather than doing text-based research into discourse through newspaper articles, or through other textual sources I feel that it is fundamentally important to engage with practice (Bourdieu 1992, Blommaert 2015) and to investigate the meanings that are embedded in real-world interactions. This choice is motivated by the 'emergence' (Ochs and Capps 1996) of identities during linguistic interaction and the observation (noted by both Rampton 2014 and De Fina and Georgakopoulou 2012 : 91-92) that telling is an occasion for making sense of events with others - an occasion for collaboratively reflecting upon specific situations. Thus, as opposed to the investigative activity of retrospectively deconstructing discourse from an analysis of text-based material, this research plunges into the sense-making process in real time.

Underlying this approach, is a conception of identity as emergent in interaction. Bucholtz and Hall's (2005) approach to identity is particularly apt to capture the specificity of the emergent trait of identity. They note five principles that compose an analysis of identity: 1) that rather than being homogenous, psychological and prior to interaction, identity is constructed by linguistic and other semiotic practices; 2) that identities encompass macro categories (such as race, gender etc) but also locally occasioned and temporally specific positions and roles; 3) that they may be indexed through markers in interaction; 4) that they are relational, and 5) that identities may be in part intentional, in part an outcome of negotiation and in part habitual, less than fully conscious.

Bucholtz and Hall's emphasis on social and interactional processes resonates well with a current turn in narrative research (see Bamberg 2004, 2006, Georgakopoulou 2006a, 2008, 2014, and De Fina and Georgakopoulou 2012) which has shifted attention from big to small narratives. This turn consists in moving study away from what De Fina and Georgakopoulou (2012) refer to as 'canonical structure' i.e. lengthy, monologic, homogenous tellings nd participation roles ordered in analysable units such as abstract, orientation, complicating action, resolution, coda and evaluation (2012 : 29). Instead, the 'small stories' movement, focuses on the conversational interaction within which narratives are embedded. What is of interest is the negotiation of roles, the epistemological value accorded to turns at talk (see Raymond and Heritage 2006), the manner in which both storyworld figures and telling roles embody identity claims through phenomena such as quotative style. Research moves to, "tellings of ongoing events, future or hypothetical events, shared or known events; also allusions to previous tellings, deferrals of tellings, and refusals to tell." (Georgakopoulou 2008 : 599).

A study of identity through a small stories approach therefore takes into account interaction, role and setting. It is on setting that I would like to expand before closing this section. Underlying Bucholtz and Hall's framework is a clear acknowledgement that identities are partial and locally occasioned in response to what can be termed the 'discursive environment' (De Fina and Georgakopoulou 2012 : 115). There is, in analysing any discursive environment, full reason to include work on semiotic landscapes (see Jaworski and Thurlow 2010). Semiotic landscapes research examines the textual and visual artifacts of a space and allows sociolinguistic research to reach conclusions as to language use, discourses of consumption, the role of 'top-down' and 'bottom-up' cycles of institutional and non-

institutional constraint, and the commodification of space. Stroud and Mpendukana (2009) in particular, use textual and visual artifacts to access a 'material ethnography' that is sensitive to the discourses and the intertextuality of these artifacts and how they are relevant to participant talk. The artifacts of the semiotic landscape are, from another theoretic perspective, important nexuses of indexical practices (see Scollon and Scollon 2003) that are central in investigating aspects of societal structure such as field in the Bourdieusian sense (see Hanks 2005). I would therefore like to ally a study of verbal interaction with the textual and visual artifacts that are so central a component of the environment within which interaction takes place.

Where does this research fit in?

This research project uses an interactional narrative approach ('small stories') to understand a research site – Sandton, Johannesburg – through its interpersonal, relational and discursive meanings. It contributes to the field of narrative and ethnographic research in four key ways.

Firstly, it explicitly adapts Bucholtz and Hall's approach to identity and interaction (Bucholtz and Hall 2004b, 2005) within a linguistic ethnography of small stories. The combination and reconciliation of small story research and Bucholtz and Hall's framework, leads to a very clear and detailed passage, in analysis, from micro to meso to macro, and to inclusion of both the fine details of narrative interaction and a powerful consideration of macro structures, discourses and ideologies.

Secondly, this research can be considered a particular application of a task-orientated linguistic ethnography. The term 'task oriented' is used by Davies and Mehan (2007 : 597) in discussing Cicourel's approach to specific fields such as health and schooling. The defining features of a task-oriented ethnography are that it takes account of field, and that additionally it is attentive to the institutional, the everyday and the features of those settings:

> Observations of organisational settings, interactions and language use, accompanied by ethnographic descriptions of institutions' layout, working arrangements, and daily social interactions, verbal, nonverbal, paralinguistic communications, are at the core of task-oriented ethnography. (Davies and Mehan 2007 : 598).

This project will be orientated to how participant interaction emerges in the different spaces (retail malls, transport hubs, nightclubs, hotels, restaurants, banks, businesses, educational insitutions etc) and fields (hostelry, banking, health, retail, education and religion etc) of Sandton. As will be discussed below, whilst some small stories research has tackled specific fields such as education (Georgakopoulou 2008), or family interaction (De Fina 2012) the application of the small stories approach to a *site* and its different spaces and fields is new, as is generally the use of a small stories approach in ethnography.

Thirdly, Bucholtz and Hall (2005 : 588) in their first principle, emphasise that roles and positions are locally emergent, "As with performance, culture, and grammar itself, we maintain that identity emerges from the specific conditions of linguistic interaction" (Bucholtz and Hall 2005 : 588). 'Specific conditions' here would refer to participants, space, discursive environment etc in which narrative – seen as a dialogic, co-constructed process – is responsive and situated. I would like to make the *trajectory* of participants (De Fina and Georgakopoulou 2008a : 384), and their localisation within different discursive environments, fields and spaces of Sandton a defining aspect of this project. To do this I have chosen to plot the narrative interactions of participants as they move *through* the research

site using GIS technology. All narrative interactions are mapped against the physical space of Sandton and the artifacts of its discursive environment. This cutting edge approach, that imbricates the geospatial and the narrative can be seen in figure 28.

Finally, through geolocalisation and work on spatiality, this project extends analysis of narrative interaction to the discursive environment itself, through work into semiotic landscapes. There is a large body of work into the discursive interpretation of artifacts of the semiotic landscape and their articulation within spatialities. I will be using a 'geosemiotic' approach (Scollon and Scollon 2003) to these artifacts. The harmonisation of research into interaction and of that into discursive environment is a strong value added of this research. It also represents a move away from semiotic landscapes as a field of research that has, until now, been mostly concerned with questions related to its growth and coherence *as a field*, and towards semiotic landscapes as a *tool* and a *resource* in ethnography.

Aims

The aims of this research can therefore be formulated as follows:

- To provide a linguistic ethnography of a site of luxury (Sandton, Johannesburg) that investigates participant identity as constituted in narrative interaction (small stories);

- To offer an analysis of narrative interaction that recognises identities as emerging across and within the different discursive environments of the research site and that is sensitive to the material semiotic artifacts of these environments.

Chapter overview and thesis presentation

Whilst the overarching framework for this thesis, Bucholtz and Hall's 'Identity and interaction: a sociocultural linguistic approach' (Bucholtz and Hall 2005) contains five principles: emergence, positionality, indexicality, relationality and partialness; this thesis will devote chapters to only three of these: emergence, positionality and relationality. This is because only these three principles are in need of a full, specific, unpacking and reconciliation with small stories and geosemiotic approaches. Indexicality is much more an *underlying* principle, an underpinning for linguistic investigation. It is the 'how' of signification within narrative and interaction, and as such is subjacent throughout, rather than in need of a specific reinterpretation or application. As concerns partialness, it is, perhaps similarly, better understood as a methodological caveat. This thesis as a whole is conceived as an exploration of the application of small stories to a linguistic ethnography of place. As such, each chapter will explore both theory and data, in a successive investigation of diverse aspects of place, and maintain the methodological caveat of partialness throughout.

In addition to a division into three principles, several decisions have been made with respect to participant transcripts and the presentation of this thesis, that are discussed at greater length under methodology (chapter 3). Firstly, transcripts that are in a language that is not English have been presented in both their original form, and in a full translation. This is to afford the reader a fuller sense of the actual interaction. Similarly, where participants code switch or mix, an English translation has been provided in square brackets at the end of the turn. Finally, small stories are interactively accomplished. In the literature on small stories it is habitual to provide full transcripts of the story as it develops over numerous turns at talk. This leads to bulky transcripts that would unduly interrupt the flow of the argument in the body of the thesis. I have therefore provided separate appendices with full transcripts. As the thesis progresses, the appendices may be kept open, next to the text of the thesis, and be read in parallel with the thesis itself.

This leads to the following chapter contents:

Chapter 1

An exploration of the site of Sandton, and a first use of geosemiotics in an ethnographic approach to dominant language and discourses. The history, topography and spatiality of the site is explored, its insertion within the Johannesburg area, its infrastructure and daily flows of people, the dynamics of its development and capital, the types of architecture, logistics and the way in which the public and the private interact. Demographic information is also presented, such as age, gender, spoken languages and employment. The artifacts of the semiotic landscape are analysed in order to access discourses of place, choices as to language priorities and predominance at the site, and to understand how Sandton, as a district, writes back to culture, institution, other urban spaces, its past and socio-historic process, and to its demographics.

Chapter 2

A review of the literature on narrative research and a discussion of both small stories and the framework for research on identity and interaction. The discussion extends to the choice to focus on small stories rather than 'canonical' narratives, and the implication of this for data and methodology. Within these implications, two of the most important are the need for a manner to adapt small story research to a linguistic ethnography of place and the need for a way to analyse the discursive environment, through geosemiotics.

Chapter 3

Given the three frameworks for this thesis: small story research, identity and interaction and geosemiotics, this chapter examines a methodology for data collection through participant recordings and GIS technology. Participant trajectories and specific sites for interaction are plotted on the geospatiality of Sandton and this then allows analysis to include the artifacts of the semiotic landscape that are photographed. Ethnography, participant rights and ethics, photography and GIS are the central subjects of the chapter.

Chapter 4

An exploration of how the first principle 'emergence' of Bucholtz and Hall's framework on identity and interaction can be applied to the small stories of Sandton, through a consideration of participant trajectories from home *through* the site, plotted using GIS. Geosemiotics is used to complement the recorded interactions of participants with the discourses of the site. Four participants' narratives are presented in depth and through this, the chapter deals in particular with masculinity, community of practice, religion and codeswitching.

Chapter 5

An exploration of how the second principle 'positionality' of Bucholtz and Hall's framework on identity and interaction can be applied to the small stories of Sandton, through a consideration of institutional space. This is a central chapter in the thesis and revolves around four emblematic spaces of Sandton: the mall, the stock exchange, the convention centre and an advocate's group. It deals in depth with the macro discourses and categories of these sites, the meso of the kinds of interaction and roles that are dominant and the micro of specific genres of narrative.

Chapter 6

An exploration of how the fourth principle 'relationality' of Bucholtz and Hall's framework on identity and interaction can be applied to the small stories of Sandton, through a consideration of the axes of relationality or tactics of intersubjectivity and an important cohort, the Born Frees. Geosemiotics is used to construct the semiotics of place and thus the norms and structural constraints and affordances of Born Free distinction, authentication and authorisation.

Chapter 7

Conclusions for the thesis as a whole.

Appendices

These appendices contain site clearance and participant information sheets, an overview of participants and places covered in this research and full transcripts of segments of recordings.

In these transcripts full translations have been given of interactions that are not in English, and where participants code switch or mix, English translations have been given in square brackets. Appendices have been printed separately so that they may be consulted in parallel to the reading of the body of the thesis.

Chapter 1 – Sandton

Introduction

A linguistic ethnography seeks to draw conclusions through a fine-grained study of speech and language (Rampton, Maybin and Roberts 2014). It investigates and problematises the contexts for communication and understands that not only is there a dynamic essential relationship between language and context, but also that within the micro details of language lies the key to understanding the macro dimensions of our lives:

> i) the contexts for communication should be investigated rather than assumed. Meaning takes shape within specific social relations, interactional histories and institutional regimes, produced and construed by agents with expectations and repertoires that have to be grasped ethnographically;
>
> ii) analysis of the internal organisation of verbal (and other kinds of semiotic) data is essential to understanding its significance and position in the world. Meaning is far more than just the 'expression of ideas', and biography, identifications, stance and nuance are extensively signalled in the linguistic and textual fine-grain. (Rampton, Maybin and Roberts 2014 : 4).

This chapter is devoted to the first caveat of the above quote: the investigation of the contexts of communication. As such it can be conceived best as research into, and complexification of, the Sandton CBD 'story' as this is presented on the key internet sites and in several pivotal studies such as the Sandton Urban Development Framework (Johannesburg 2008).

This story, is a fairly linear acount of accelerating modernity on a timeline that extends from the iron age to the fast capitalism of the early 21st century. Thus on the web page for Sandton Tourism Association one can read:

- 10 000 years ago, the plains of Sandton were traversed by Stone Age hunters;
- 1 000 years ago, tribesmen watered their herds at Sandton's many streams and springs;
- 400 years ago, the tribesmen ran an iron smelting economy;
- 120 years ago, the richest gold field on earth was discovered;
- 100 years ago, Sandton comprised Johannesburg's lush market garden;
- 50 years ago, Sandton was home to a world of rich estates and sandy horse trails. Sandtonians were dubbed the 'mink and manure' set. The hunt, which began at the Inanda Club, used to pass over the land on which Sandton City is now built. When promulgated in 1969, it was described by former Town Planner, B Bristow, as a 'community of 30 000 whites and 15 000 horses';
- 30 years ago, the country's premier shopping centre – Sandton City – was built. This was nearly called the Knoppieslaagte City Shopping Centre!

(Sandtontourism.com 2010)

It is this timeline that was reproduced almost word for word by the Sandton City Mall website (Sandtoncity.com 2010) and, disconcertingly, by the wiki page devoted to Sandton (Wikipedia.org/wiki/Sandton 2016). The history that is endorsed is therefore one that, discursively at least, harks back to a pastoral innocence of the 1850's and the cadastral activity that led to the registration of the Zandfontein, Rietfontein and Driefontein farms (Doucakis 1997 : 3) that would

become Sandton a century later. The images conjured are those of the initial surveying of the site[2] and of the black and white stillness of photographs from period; such as that given in figure 1.



Figure 1: 1887 view of the Doornfontein farm that would later become the South East portion of Johannesburg CBD (reproduced from Doucakis 1997 : 16).

The early 19th century is a contradictory period in South African history with, on the one hand, sparse population, and on the other huge drifts and shocks of culture. These can be framed, in a reference to Bakhtin (1981), in terms of centripetal and centrifugal pulls. Converging on South Africa from abroad were the settlers of the Dutch East India company, and the French speaking protestant Huguenots who had escaped European persecution following the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. These peoples would become the Afrikaans, who in turn were forced from the Western Cape by British expansionists. Their migration, by ox wagon, to what is now known as the Gauteng, led them to adopt the name of Voortrekkers. In turn, they would meet a large, centrifugal, secessionist movement, Mzilikazi's Ndebele, that had split away from the zulu King Shaka's authority, and spread up, towards present day Zimbabwe. Within the region, already, were the Kwena members of the Sotho-Tswana. Enormous strife, and waste, that hides behind what is often a dearth of words in South Africa's accounts. One can only imagine the pain and frustration of the Ndebele party that attacked the

[2] An ingenious technique called the 'plus sign' method (Doucakis 1997 : 11) where a surveyor rode at right angles twice through the farm plot and then extrapolated the corner points. Five farms a day could be surveyed using this method. One that recalls, incidentally, the Spanish surveying of S America and the negotiation of local and international meanings that resulted (see Hanks 1987).

Voortrekkers in 1836 (Doucakis 1997 : 4) or the terrible gulf separating conceptions of religion, wealth and social organisation that has been so carefully detailed by the Comaroffs (Comaroff and Comaroff 2005).

It was a period whose course was profoundly affected by the discovery of gold in the region in 1884 by one Jan Gerrit Bantjes (Sahistory.org.za 2011) that would lead to a fantastically rapid growth in activity and the charting of the city of Johannesburg by Von Brandis in 1886 in just six months. It is this subterranean history, that of a surfacing of motivations, constraints and possibilities from the reefs underneath, that, has so marked Johannesburg (see Nuttall and Mbembe 2008 : 20).

In the present though, is Sandton Central's more immediate history also that of an 'instant' city, a superposition of architecture and need, rather than an organic development and structuring of society (see Matshikiza 2004)? Perhaps. Certainly Sandton represents well the ruse and hussle but also that pioneering optimism joyfully effacing the traces of any past, that must have presided over those early gold fields. Two participants to this study, whom I feel very privileged to have met, recount Sandton from a perspective that is very relevant to the discussion at this point. Geoff Rothschild was ex-chairman of the Johannesburg Stock Exchange and moved it to One Exchange Square in September 2000. This move would be definitive for the characterisation of Sandton CBD as financial hub. Beryl Porter is a chartered accountant and keen supporter of making Sandton a place to explore and live, through her WalkTours project. Beryl, incidentally, coined the phrase "Africa's Richest Square Mile" that was adopted by the Sandton Tourist Association. Both describe the concentric development of Sandton from the perspective of one who takes pride in the logistic and business success of the place, but who is also slightly nostalgic for that lost time of smallholdings and restful afternoon teas at the Balalaika Hotel (see figure 2 below).



Figure 2: The Balalaika Hotel survives in the heart of Sandton. Here, photographed from the steps of the JSE[3].

[3] Unless noted all figures, photographs and maps are by author. Maps are produced using either Mappable ™ copyright Willem Badenhorst, or using the QGIS opensource GIS platform.

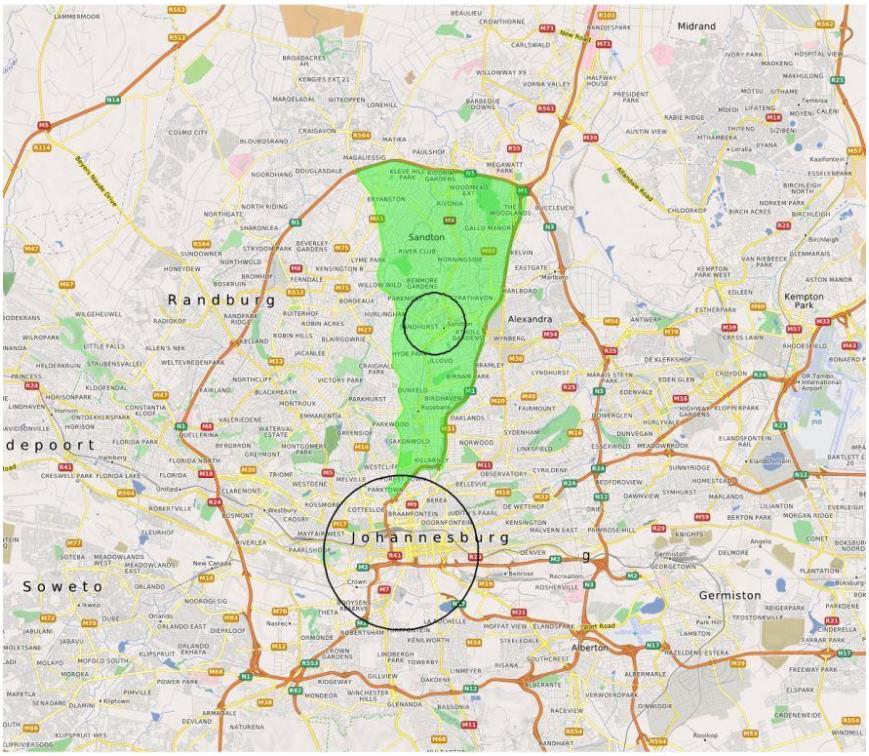
The transformation from rural to urban was sudden and irreversible. In 1969 the Northern 'Sandown' and the Bryanston Local Area Committees combined into the Sandton Municipality. In and about that time Barry Bristow, chief town planner, promoted the development of a single dominant centre as opposed to the low-rise low density solutions otherwise favoured. Land acquired by the municipality in 1956 would serve as the base for this highly visible CBD at the intersection of West St and Rivonia Drive. Since the land was 'high', constructions there would become landmarks. In 1968 Rapp and Maister had acquired plots on the other side of Fifth Street, and in 1973 after a brief dispute between what Beryl would call the 'mink-and-manure' set and the land developers that went all the way to the Townships Board, Sandton City was built (Beavon and Larsen 2014 : 374 – 377). It immediately offered provision for 90,000 m^2 of retail space and 60,000 m^2 of office space, in what was a R20 million project. From one high-rise in 1973, to three in the 80's to seven in the 90's to ten in the first five years of 2000 to twenty-one high rise buildings by 2011 (Beavon and Larsen 2014 : 388) the incremental development of this new CBD mirrors the history with which we began this section.

So, from small estates, to the construction of the mall in the 70's to an increasing density of hotels and offices to the current high rise transformation, Sandton lives up well to its initial characterisation as, "apex of a transportation funnel and an interceptor position vis-à-vis both Rosebank and the Johannesburg CBD" (Beavon and Larsen 2014 : 378). And it is this history that is given by the remainder of those sites accessible in a keyword search dedicated to Sandton that returns pages maintained by Property24 (Mhlanga 2012a and 2012b), the Gauteng Conference Centre (Gautengcc.co.za 2016), or the Sun International site (Suninternational.com 2014).

Within this seemingly smooth and exponential high-rise development, there is, nevertheless, a continuance of ruse and hussle. One learns for instance, through Mel Urdang, Director of Liberty properties, of how two lots were blocking construction of the Sandton City complex. One owner sold immediately at the going price of R40,000, but the other owner hung on until he was made a 'godfather' offer of R100,000 (i.e. two and a half times the going rate). There is also the early international inspiration for the site from Versailles, France (the Centre Commercial Parly 2) and Toronto, Canada (the Yorkdale Centre) (Mhlanga 2012a). How incredibly telling is the anecdote recounted by Cesman (the managing director at Liberty Properties) who felt that Woolworths absolutely had to be present in the Sandton retail space. He offered the group a nominal rental of R100,000 a year should the opening of a store in Sandton adversely affect the turnover at Rosebank. The low rental clause never came into effect, but Cesman had been very worried … asking his wife to rather shop at Rosebank and to encourage her friends to do the same (Mhlanga 2012b).

However, the Cesman anecdote also introduces a sombre note to the Sandton narrative as it has been presented so far. During a visit to the site by a UK construction company, someone raised the question of the shocking state of safety on the site, Cesman replied "We do it faster than you can, our shoppers don't object and not too many people die!" (Mhlanga 2012 a). And this of course was because South Africa at the time was still heavily reliant on cheap, unqualified, labour that would arrive in the 'Northern Suburbs' of metropolitan Johannesburg from the neighbouring township of Alexandra. This spatialised inequality, what Harvey (2003, 2008) analyses very cogently as a horizontalisation of structural disadvantage, still applies today. This can be quite startling in its clarity. In figure 3 below I have placed side by side a map of the sought-after property locations of the northern suburbs with another map showing percentages of those holding tertiary education. In this latter map the density of dark green represents the percentage of people in the census areas that hold a tertiary qualification.

The two maps overlap almost exactly with the feeder areas of Alexandra and Soweto being home to very low percentages of people who have been able to achieve qualifications higher than a matric certificate.



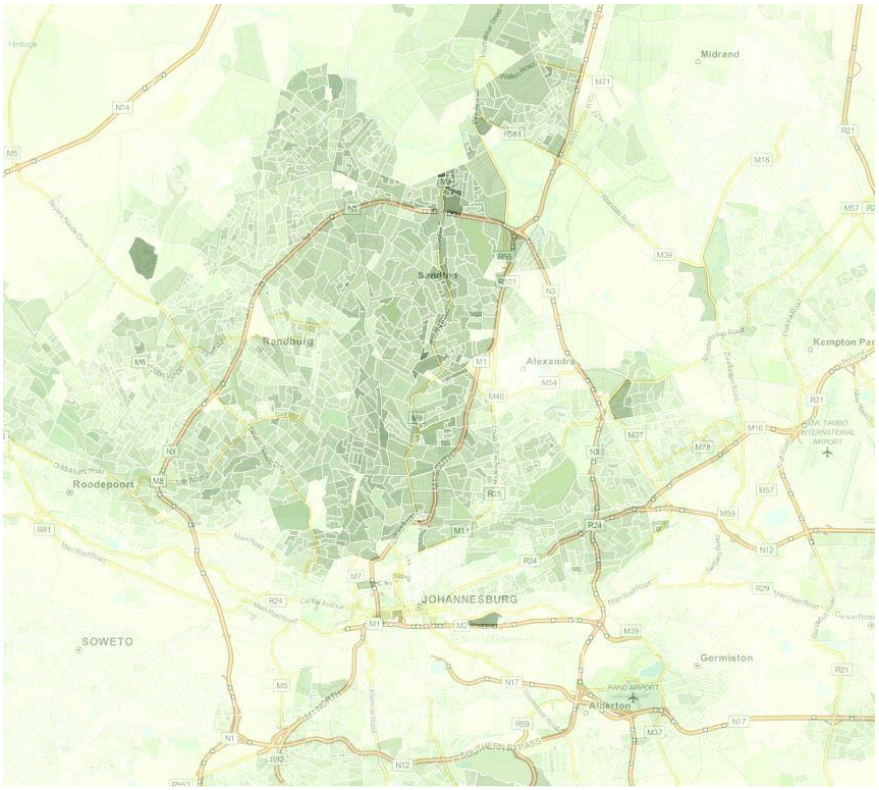


Figure 3: Northern Suburbs of which the most valuable is situated in the 'wedge' of prime development land, juxtaposed with 2011 census data on education.

Indeed, even the founding date of 1969 for what would be the ‘new’ city (The Star November 1969 in Mhlanga 2012a) must be inserted into the politics and dynamics of the Apartheid city. And it is this nuancing of the Sandton narrative; its recomposition within broader considerations of age, gender, culture, language and power that is sought by this thesis as a whole and by the following sections of this chapter.

The place

The focus on this section will be on the population composition, the shape and the density of the Sandton CBD and on its use of space. It is important to delimit the site for this research as this hyper dense, retail 'hard core' (Beavon and Larsen 2014 : 371). However, although this node is the focus, I have adopted de Boeck's (2013) conception of the urban as being social as much as physical, constructed around rhythm. We thus 'make' place as we move *through* a site, and the amalgamation and combination of different temporalities and parameters mean that the before's and after's of our movement are just as important as the during's.

The Sandton CBD has remained relatively unchanged in its spatial limits since 1969. Maintaining its distinctive dipper shape (see figure 4 below), and being demarcated by Grayston Drive, Sandton Drive and Rivonia Road. In terms of management and city planning however, Sandton has been much less static. Concerning city planning, the Sandton 'node', that existed since 1969 with independent municipality and local authority, was integrated into the 'Eastern Metropolitan Sub-Structure' after the 1994 elections and the transition to a post-Apartheid South Africa. In 2000 it became a second CBD for Johannesburg under the Johannesburg unicity, belonging to Administrative Region 3, that essentially reproduced the 'wedge' of figure 3 above. Since 2006 however, Sandton is part of administrative Region E (Beavon and Larsen 2014 : 372). This is important because Region E explicitly links Sandton to Alexandra, and thereby involves Sandton in several new logistical frameworks such as the 'corridors of freedom' that will be discussed in the following section.

Contemporaneous to Sandton's inclusion in a Johannesburg unicity, the CBD was placed under private management. The 'City Improvement District' model imported from North America proved to be robust, and versatile, promoting what is certainly a neo-liberal agenda that adapts itself to local constraints and affordances[4] (Didier, Peyroux and Morange 2012, Baro 2017). In the case of Sandton, from 2001 the Sandton City and Convention Centre Improvement District was set up to cover essentially the spaces around Sandton City, the square and the Convention Centre. From 2002 the Sandton Business Improvement District was added and covered the wider CBD. In 2004 these two improvement districts were wrapped up under the 'Sandton Central' label that included a new brand logo (Finance Week 2004). In 2013 the Wierda Valley Management District was added (Beavon and Larsen 2014 : 371) and this is in the process of substantially transforming road and pedestrian dynamics through the Growthpoint project (StudioMAS 2015), of which I would like to speak in the following section, under 'access'. 2013 also saw the addition of two blocks, containing three major hotels, to the North East in the interstitial segment between Grayston and Rivonia.

From 1994 to 2002 as the Johannesburg CBD declined due to a perceived sense of security issues and crime, Sandton, inversely, began to massively densify (see also Baro 2017 : 96). I have alluded above to the incremental acceleration in the building of high rises, but here what is also at issue is the expansion of the Sandton Square, that would later become Nelson Mandela Square, to offer nearly 200,000 m2 of retail space, the move of the JSE, the relocation of the Johannesburg Bar Council, and the decision by dozens of South Africa's top companies to move their head offices here. By 2012 in the Central district itself, or contiguous to it, there were the 17 floor head office for the Chinese African branch of Sinusteel, the head office of IBM, almost all the major banks of China, Europe, India and

[4] Since the Constitutional Court case of Randburg Management District vs West Dunes in 2015, it should be noted that the CID model has changed somewhat, being run as a voluntary association of property owners, rather than with a more legally enforceable model.

Africa, Investec, the 12 storey Convention Centre, all the major South African legal and accounting firms, of which the 14 floor Ernst & Young head office, a high speed Gautrain and transport interchange and the health insurers Discovery. The retail space offered by Nelson Mandela Square and Sandton City alone, after its latest revamp, represents almost twice that of the Johannesburg CBD retail 'hard core' in its prime (Beavon and Larsen 2014 : 388). This massive densification is shown graphically in figure 4 below. It has resulted in the metal crane becoming the unofficial mascot for Sandton (interview with Beryl).

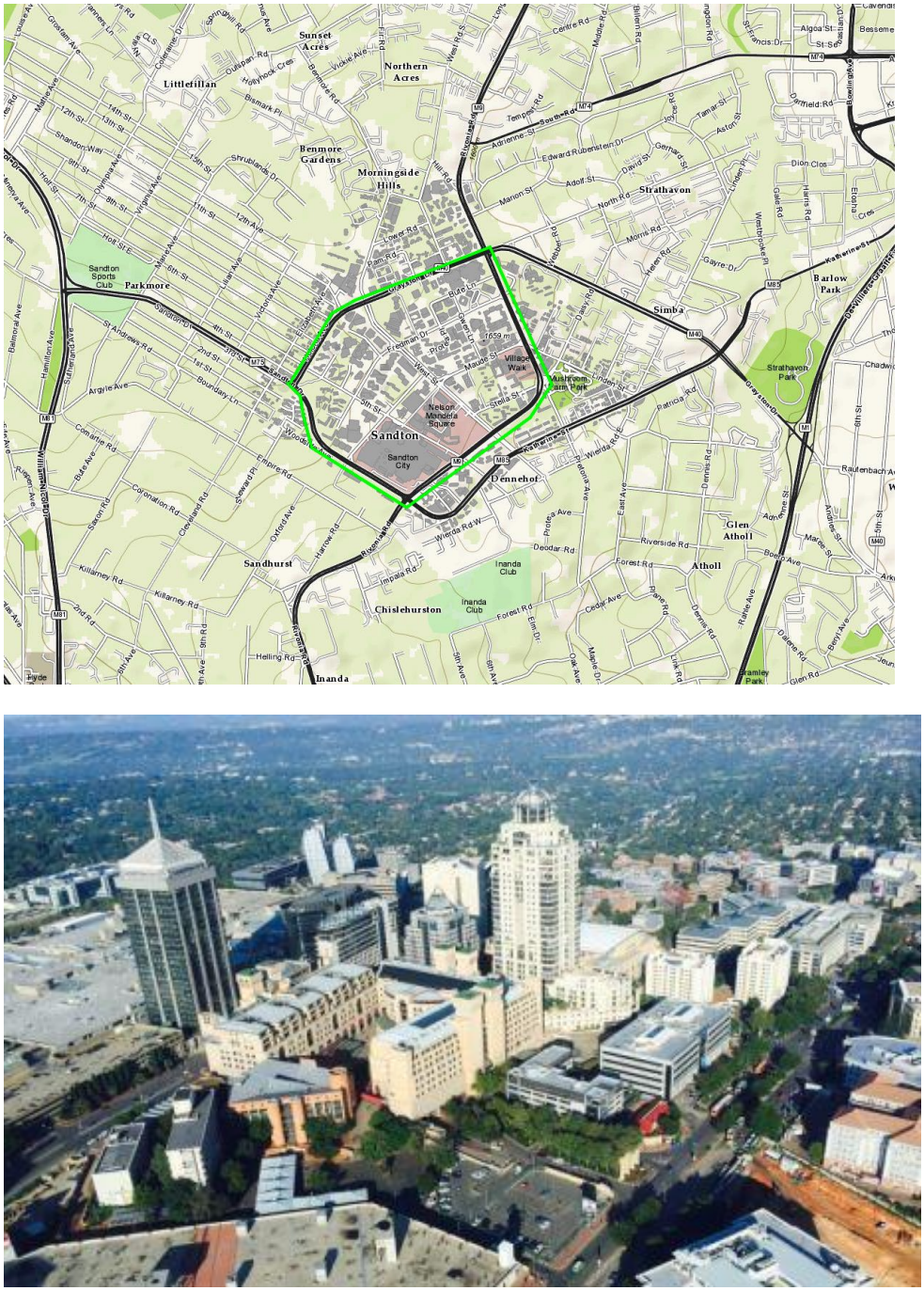


Figure 4: Map of Sandton CBD outlined in green combined with a photograph taken from Rivonia Road with the Gautrain station and public transport interchange at bottom (photograph by Aki Anastasiou).

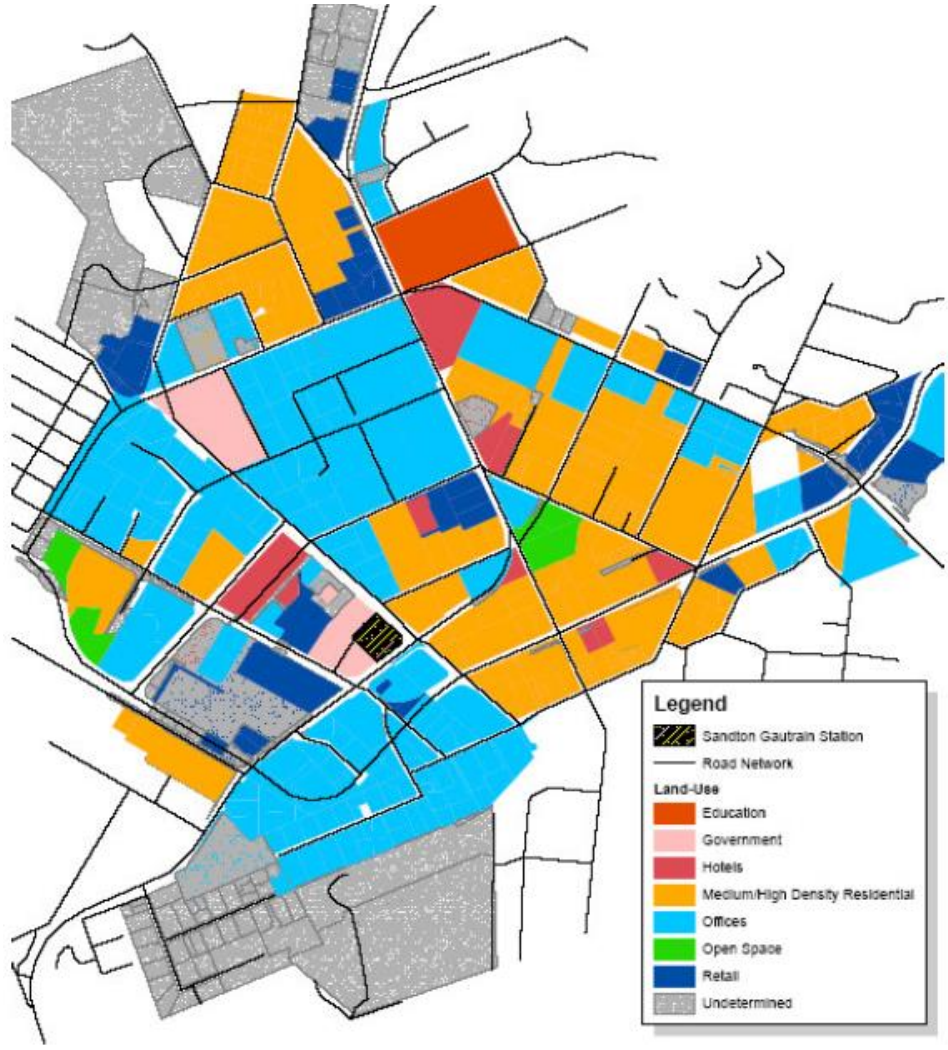
The demographics of Sandton are as one might expect, given the history and development of the place outlined above. Sandton Central falls within ward 103 for the STATSSA 2011 Census, which extends from the centre to the North until Bryanston Drive. The total population for this area is given as 17,295 male and 19,113 female, of which 75% live in either self-standing or semi-detached houses. 57% of this population are actively employed, with the vast majority earning well in excess of R153,000 and some in excess of R2,500,000. It is an aging population with nearly 50% sitting in the 35 to 64 year age range. It should however be remembered that approximately 150,000 people commute to Sandton daily, quadrupling this population sample (Sandton Transportation Masterplan Report, ARUP 2015 : 15). Elaine Jack of Urban Genesis who is the manager of the Improvement District accorded me one of the first interviews for this research. She uses the over R4 million rand monthly budget to promote the public space, the security and the services that make Sandton viable; employing over 70 security officers. Among the projects she manages are the benches, the signposting, the rubbish collection, and the branding of the Sandton space. Her goal is to turn Sandton into a viable and attractive living space *all* the time, and to staunch the outflow of people come 18h. She has been involved in many initiatives, such as the executive sleep out in which CEO's from all the companies in Sandton sleep out on the street in solidarity (Cele 2015).

So what exactly does Sandton look like in terms of public space and land use? A factor that, in many ways, defines the site, is the size of the blocks that compose Sandton. Sandton was never 'plotted' in the way Johannesburg was. As a result, blocks are enormous, up to six or seven times Johannesburg city centre blocks, but in some cases nearly thirty times. This is graphically represented in the chart of figure 5 below. Walking in Sandton is a nightmare. Long straight lines of roads, with little shade, less variation in surroundings, and over long distances. There is none of the organicity that defines an older CBD for example, no shortcuts or oblique lines are possible, everything is vectorial. Then there is the blank regard of the 'eyes on the street' phenomenon where office windows offer an opportunity to look out and survey pedestrians, but these cannot return the gaze because of mirror glass or simple verticle angle. The feeling is one of tedious, hot, surveillance, or worse, sheer blank walls. Almost everyone who can, prefers to drive in and around Sandton, provoking massive congestion. In fact, one of the principal challenges of Sandton moving forward into the next 25 years, will be to prompt people to use alternate sources of transport. We will discuss this more in the next section.



Figure 5: Graphic representation of Sandton block size compared to the 5946 m² Johannesburg city block (reproduced from Sandton Transportation Masterplan Report, ARUP 2015 : 27).

This block size also has two other direct results that are particularly important in understanding the site, and in understanding the methodology adopted in this thesis, that will be discussed in the following chapter. These are land use distribution and ratios of public to private land and service. To deal with the first, the calculation is fairly simple. Because the blocks are big and because they have often given rise to single development projects, the distribution of business activity sector – what can also be referred to in the Bourdieusian sense as 'field' – is limited. Figure 6 below gives land use schematically and by percentage. As one would imagine, Sandton is dominated by office space followed by medium-high density residential. Retail, despite dwarfing Johannesburg's CBD in its heyday, is only 7%, and public space, which here would comprise services, clinics, cultural initiatives etc. represents only 5%. This produces a homogenisation of space.



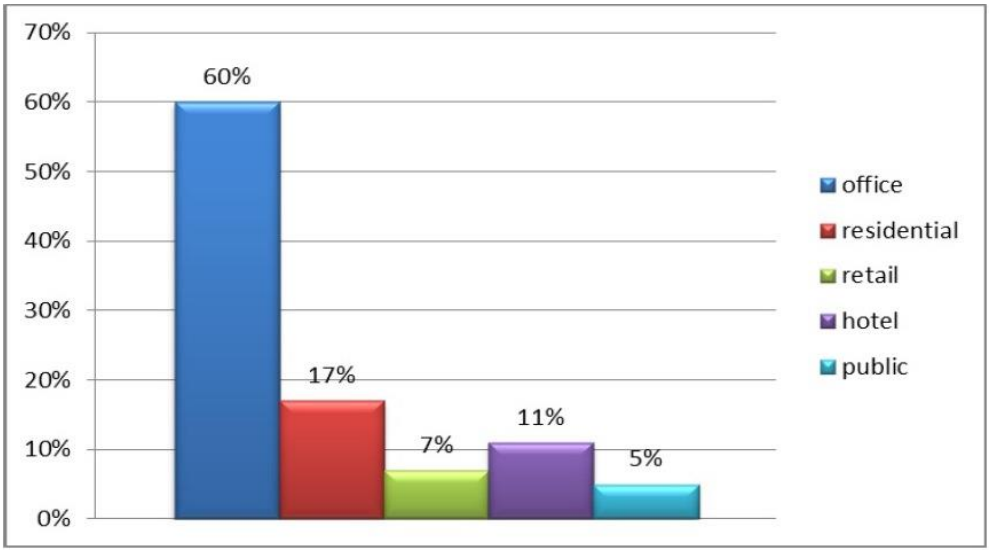


Figure 6: Map of land use (reproduced from Sandton Urban Development Framework, Johannesburg 2008 : 60) combined with a graph with land use by percentage (reproduced from Sandton Transportation Masterplan Report, ARUP 2015 : 29).

The ratio of 5% public to private space can be unpacked in a little more detail. Sandton management is a willing partner in Johannesburg City initiatives. It voluntarily closed down its already strained road system during EcoMobility week, it consults, but there is a power imbalance. From my talks with staff down at Civic Boulevard, Braamfontein, one gets the feeling that the City is *invited* to meetings rather than *holding* them. The overall impression therefore is one of syncretic property development that makes bare concession to the necessities of social fabric. On the other hand, Elaine Jack, from the CID, made it very clear that construction of public space is a priority for her and for Sandton management. Thus to paint a truer picture, one finds scarce spatial allocation but costly provision and furnishing. Thus, in figure 7 below, in terms of greened areas (public space) Sandton Central has only the Sandton Central Park where Graystone meets Sandton Drive and the sports facilities marked by the Hyundai Montgolfier that mounts into the air for R70 on Rivonia. Both are well-kept. Sandton Central Park has brightly-coloured fibreglass parasols and chairs for those who want to sit down and eat. The Rivonia facilities have a series of running and weight-lifting apparatus that one can use completely free of charge. The CID in addition, promotes the space of Sandton through thought-provoking urban furniture that often recalls Sandton's business orientation, such as the bench in figure 8 below, or through sculptures that play with banking and financial jargon.

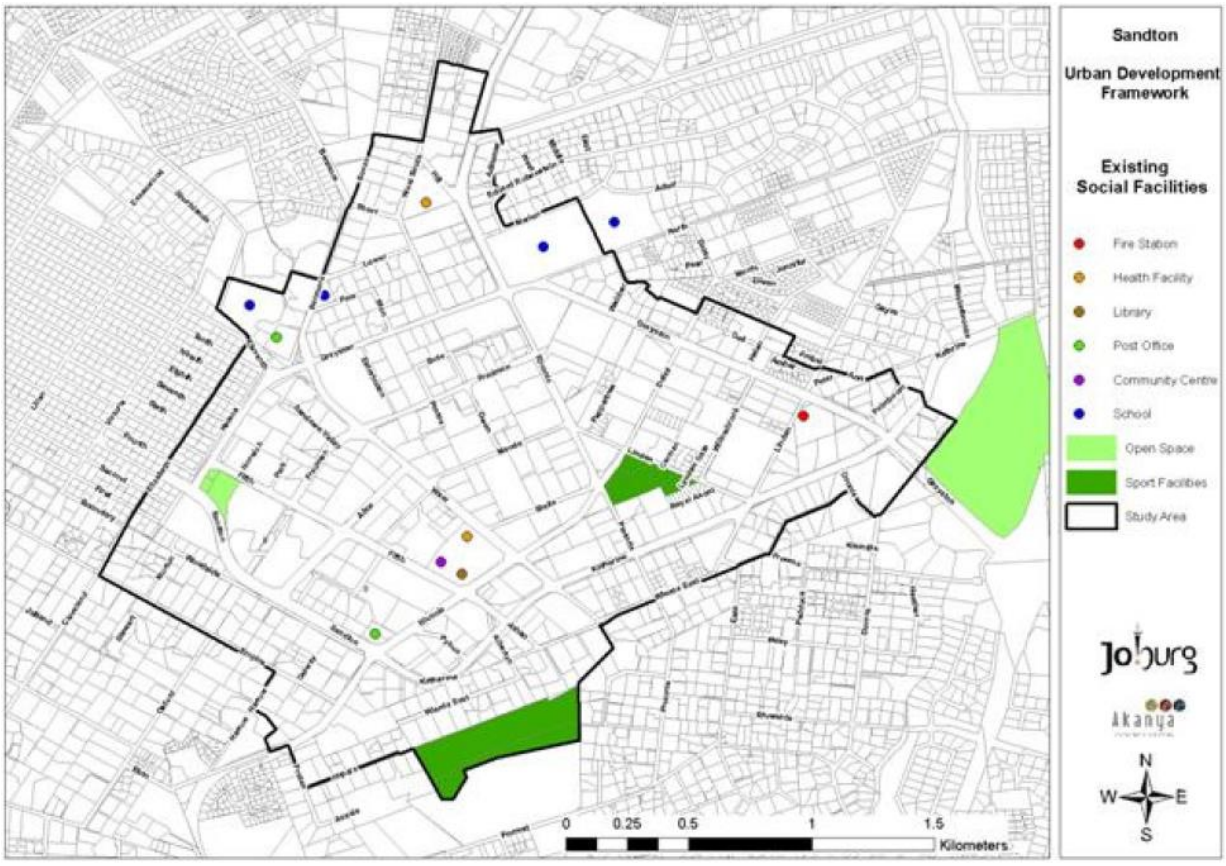


Figure 7: Map showing public facilities in Sandton. The points represent fire stations, health facilities, libraries, and community centres whilst the light green indicates parks and the dark green, sports facilities (reproduced from Sandton Urban Development Framework, Johannesburg 2008 : 67).



Figure 8: Examples of promotion of public space that includes signage, urban furniture, sculpture and Beryl's own WalkTalk initiative.

These efforts, however, run into a set of dynamics that it is almost impossible to counteract productively, at least not in the present socio-economic and political configuration: security and the gated community (see Landman and Badenhorst 2014). Each building is responsible for its own security gating, in addition to secure access for cars, and the necessary ratio of built to unbuilt land. Sandton, counter-intuitively, despite its density, is in fact largely 'interstitial' (see Tonnelat 2003). 67% of the site is composed of land that is not 'claimed' but which is fenced off and inaccessible (Sandton Transportation Masterplan Report, ARUP 2015 : 26). Additionally, these are head offices for the most part with their own strict hierarchies of employment and responsibility. There is a firm corporate hand on both internal and external space. This can be understood visually by examining 'active edges'. The active edge of a building is where it interacts with its surroundings (the street, public open spaces etc).

In Sandton, one must note, has only 5% active edge (see figure 9 below). The repurcussions of this on the feel of the place, on its organicity and its possibilities for interaction between field and site are devastating, and counteracted only by the work done on façades. Sandton counts some daring, imaginative and well-wrought buildings as illustrated in figure 9 below.



Figure 9 : A view of a façade on West Street

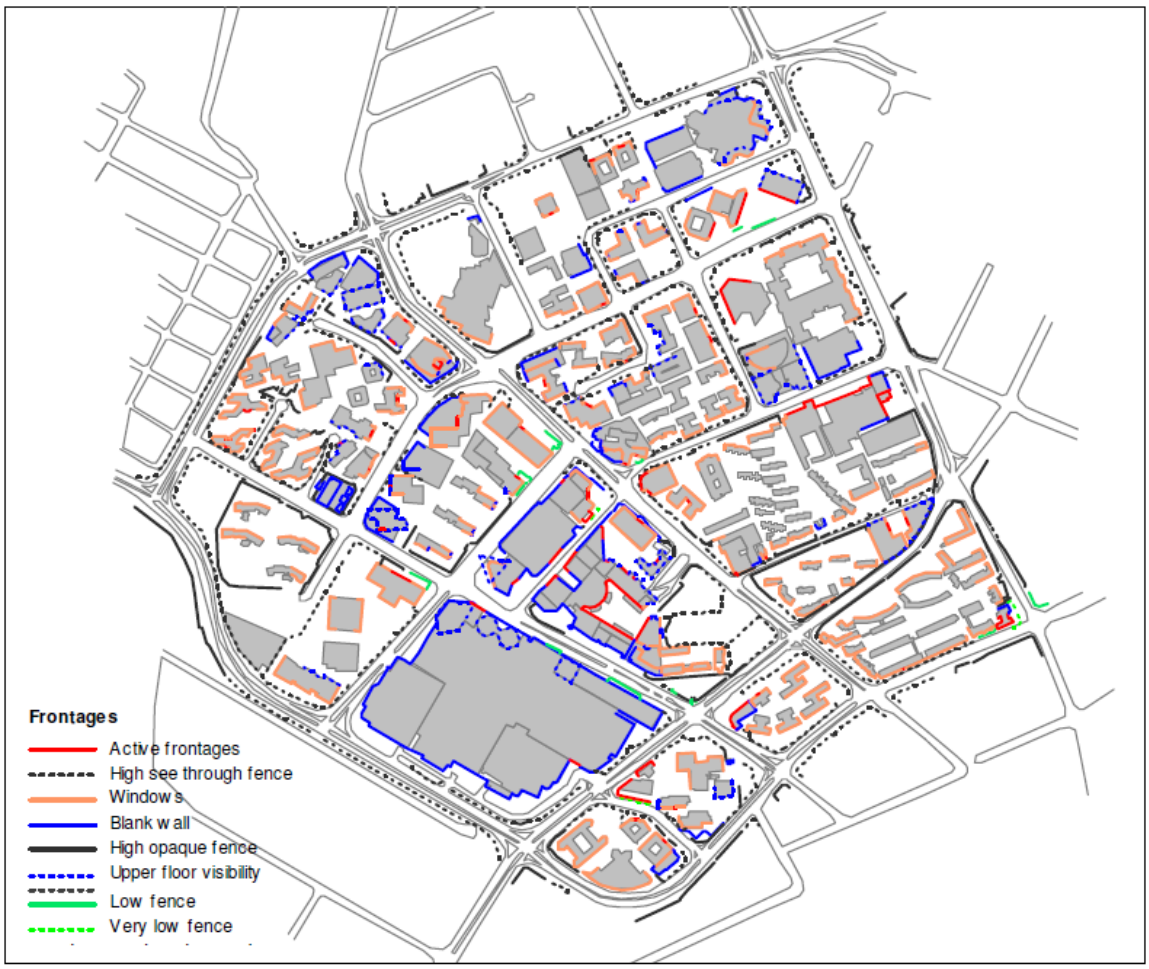


Figure 9: A view of a façade on West Street, and a diagrammatic representation of Sandton with active edges in red (reproduced from Sandton Urban Development Framework, Johannesburg 2008 : 61).

It is fitting to end this section with another gaze down, to the underneath. Whilst Sandton glitters and blusters with its angular concrete and glass head offices, with its machined and imaginative facades, the movement from below that was evoked in reference to the gold rush and its subterranean reefs continues into the present. The gold dust on which Sandton is built today is its globality, its capacity in terms of energy and speed to communicate with the world (see Appadurai 2005). Almost all buildings in Sandton have their own generators, and private access as discussed. The divorce from the rest of Johannesburg is almost complete. It is when one looks underneath a service cover that one realises how deep the divide is. Here, in figure 10, is a sight that is almost impossible to find anywhere else in Africa – a complete, reliable fibre-optic network that renders our considerations of public space almost irrelevant, since what is at issue is the communication from one office or business hub to another, the speed of information transfer, and the networked existence of Sandton in the virtual world. I will be talking, in chapter 5, of my visit to a trading floor. The screens, scrolling numbers, messages and connection of Sandton to global finance has little to do with streets or block size. And it is this new kind of materiality to which I alluded in the introduction. Here, one can note how much Sandton has prioritised and invested in this respect.



Figure 10: View under a service cover in Sandton central, Maude Street.

Access and the broader spatiality

How does Sandton fit into its surroundings? How does it give sense to the trajectories of those 150,000 people who migrate daily to this CBD and that complement its static population of some 20,000? There are three key issues with which we can engage: a) the sheer physicality of access to the node, b) how Sandton can be inserted into the spatial imbalances of the Gauteng that also map linguistic rights, and finally c) some of the resources that are on offer and that must inform a more optimistic charting for this model of urban development.

Figure 11 below graphically represents inflow and outflow. Sandton is composed – firstly, in my opinion – of its overseas visitors. It is a retail, conference and business hub, and has been presented and branded as such since its beginnings in the early 70's. There are many hotels in Sandton, with perhaps the most prominent being the Radisson, Legacy and Sun chains. These cater to a blend of business and consumer clients who contribute significantly to linking Sandton to a globalised money stream. Secondly, Sandton has a large catchment area in the Northern Suburbs themselves. The offices that constitute 60% of the square meterage require and provide for the full management hierarchy which gives a fan of salaries and social origins. Some of the participants to this study are very good examples of the versatility and flexibility of the South African labour market. Tebogo, for example, who was born in Baragwanath Hospital in Soweto, and now heads up brand management at the JSE. Thirdly, Sandton has an army of lower ranking office, cleaning and security personnel that are, in fact, its most visible face. The first participants to this study were recruited among these personnel, and it was interesting to unpack what they reveal about South African modernity and its splicing of aspiration and constraint.

Figure 11 shows the movements of the second and third categories above, and should be read in conjunction with figure 12. Total inbound am and pm is given as almost 100,000 with a corresponding outflow of 50,000 (what are in effect the populations that are concerned by diurnal and nocturnal activities). Sandton has a thriving hotel, nightclub, casino and entertainment scene and also several financial activities that never really sleep as such. Of this total flow of 150,000, cars account for 70%, taxis account for 22%, and buses account for 8%, although there is a slight difference here between am and pm traffic. To give an idea of the shear volumes, there are 3000 taxi trips during the afternoon peak (Sandton Transportation Masterplan Report, ARUP 2015 : 20). There is an obvious socio-economic split between these modes of transport, and so, for instance, the Gautrain fast train service can be regarded best as an alternative for private vehicle owners, in which case it would take up 7% of this flow (Sandton Transportation Masterplan Report, ARUP 2015 : 16).

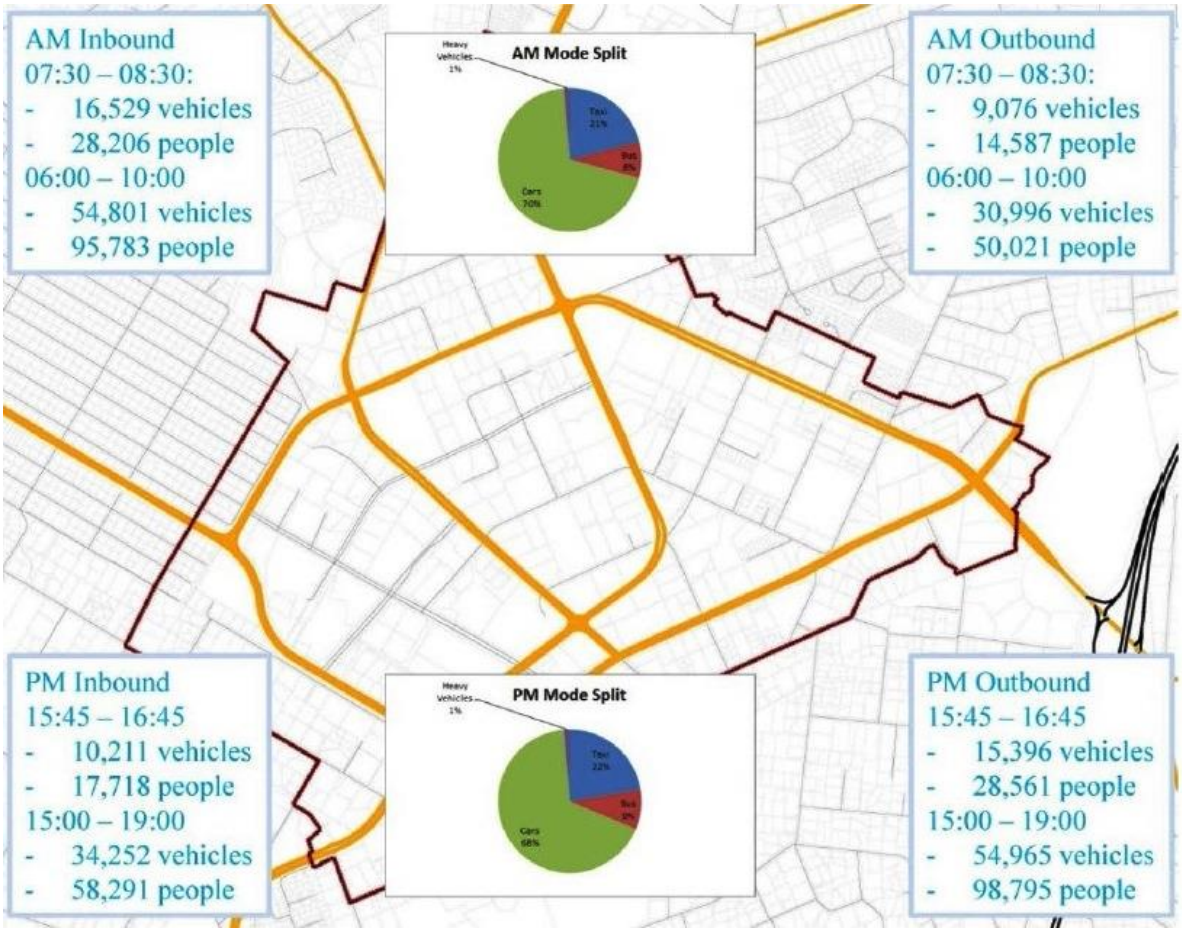


Figure 11: Daily flow into and out of Sandton city by transport type (car in green, bus in red, taxi in blue) (reproduced from Sandton Transportation Masterplan Report, ARUP : 15).

It would be a mistake, however, to think that means of transportation is a *decisive* indicator of one's socio-economic status. In the course of the hundreds of trips that I have made to, around and from Sandton, I have met all kinds of people on all kinds of transport. One of the participants to this study, Marty, who is a merchant banker, and who lives in the Northern Suburbs (the 'wedge' referred to in figure 3) calls his car the 'purple horror'. And it is, with missing licence plate, hanging doors, rotten suspension. In the maelstrom of Sandton's traffic congestion, incessant reorienting of access routes during innumberable building construction projects, road closures and deviations, everyone does what they can to get to work – some leaving home at 6am and remaining in Sandton until 8pm. There are TukTuks, private taxis, minibuses, Putco buses, Gautrain buses, cycle lanes[5]… No. what is much more interesting to study is *provenance*. Provenance allows one to look at several indicators of relative advantage: time to work, spatial imbalances in the Gauteng such as unemployment, housing conditions and access to services, and linguistic trends.

[5] TukTuks are the small, motorised and covered three wheelers that were developed in India, and that were brought into South Africa as an initiative of the Old Mutual insurance company. Minibuses are used in South Africa on an informal and collective basis as a form of taxi service. Putco is a large transport company that uses buses imported from Brazil, whose bodywork is in fibreglass, and that has a reputation for low maintenance and the employ of dangerous drivers. Finally, Gautrain is the fast train service linking Johannesburg to Pretoria. It has an associated bus service that operates from the Gautrain stations and that allows passengers to contrinue their journey to their place of work.

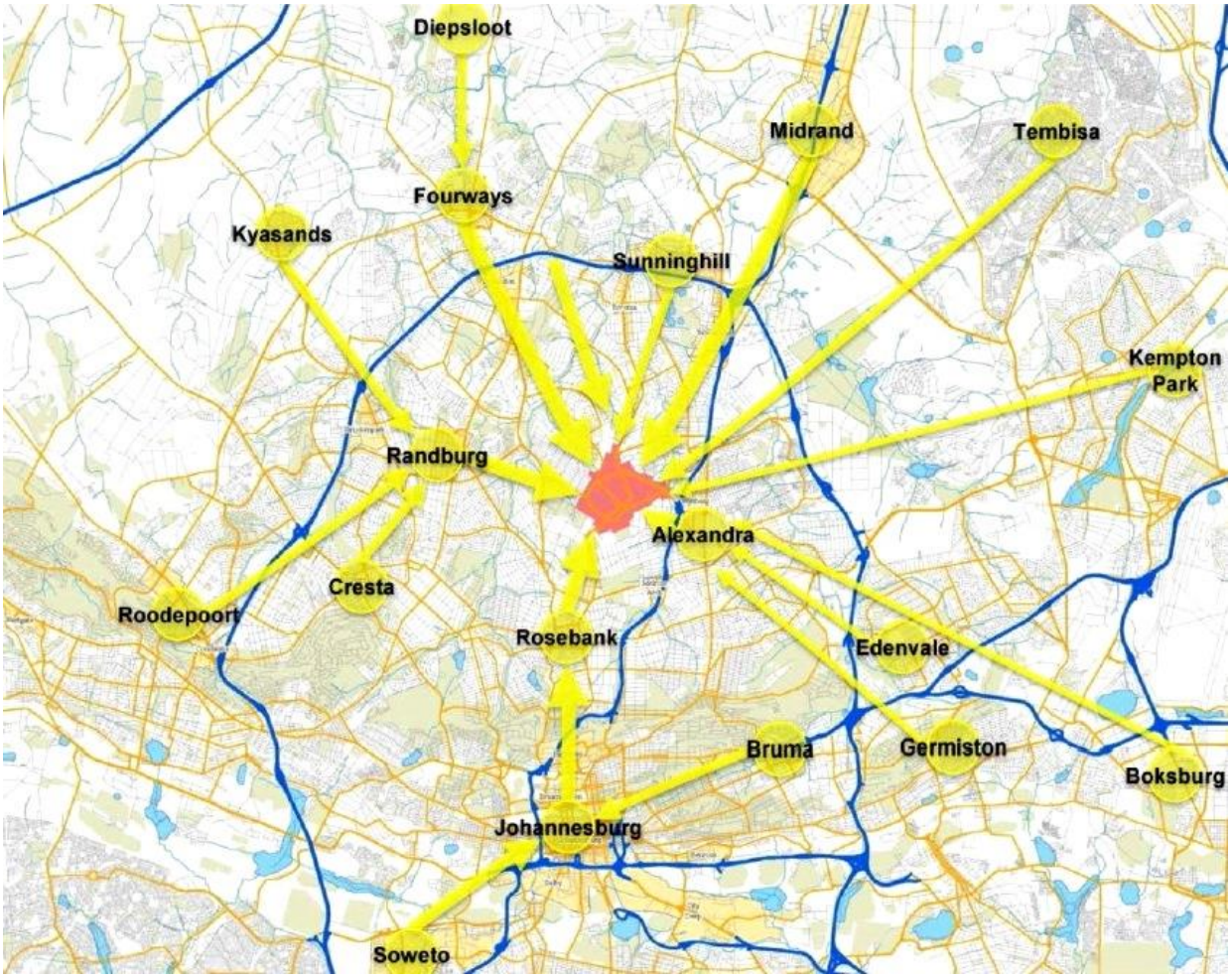


Figure 12: Daily flow into and out of Sandton by provenance (reproduced from Sandton Transportation Masterplan Report, ARUP 2015 : 7).

The question of provenance boils down to inquiring into the *spatial distribution* of the absolutely staggering total of 27 million hours in private vehicles and 82 million hours on public transport, spent by those travelling to work. The importance of commuter time in the Gauteng is pivotal. It amounts to the equivalent of 62,000 8-hour-jobs in a city that has a total of 520,000 employed residents (Mokonyama and Mubiwa 2014 : 194). There are several factors that need to be taken into account in calculating travel time. The time on foot to get to the closest travel interchange, the time spent in a specific trajectory and any time on foot to the place of work. Any additional interchanges along the trajectory increase this time. In figure 12 most trajectories require at least one additional interchange, if not two. Additionally, for 80% of households in Johannesburg, the closest interchange is 25 minutes' walk away (Mokonyama and Mubiwa 2014 : 201). The general rule in Johannesburg is that those areas in which there is work are strongly aligned along key arterials (Gotz and Todes 2014 : 122) and that there is a strong spatial mismatch between the geographic position of those seeking work and the geographic position of employment offer. The key developers in Sandton, Rapp and Maister (Mhlanga 2012a and 2012b), were visionary in the positioning and scale of their initial development. Since then the tendency of business to push North has only accentuated. Figure 13 shows graphically the key areas of economic activity in the Gauteng.

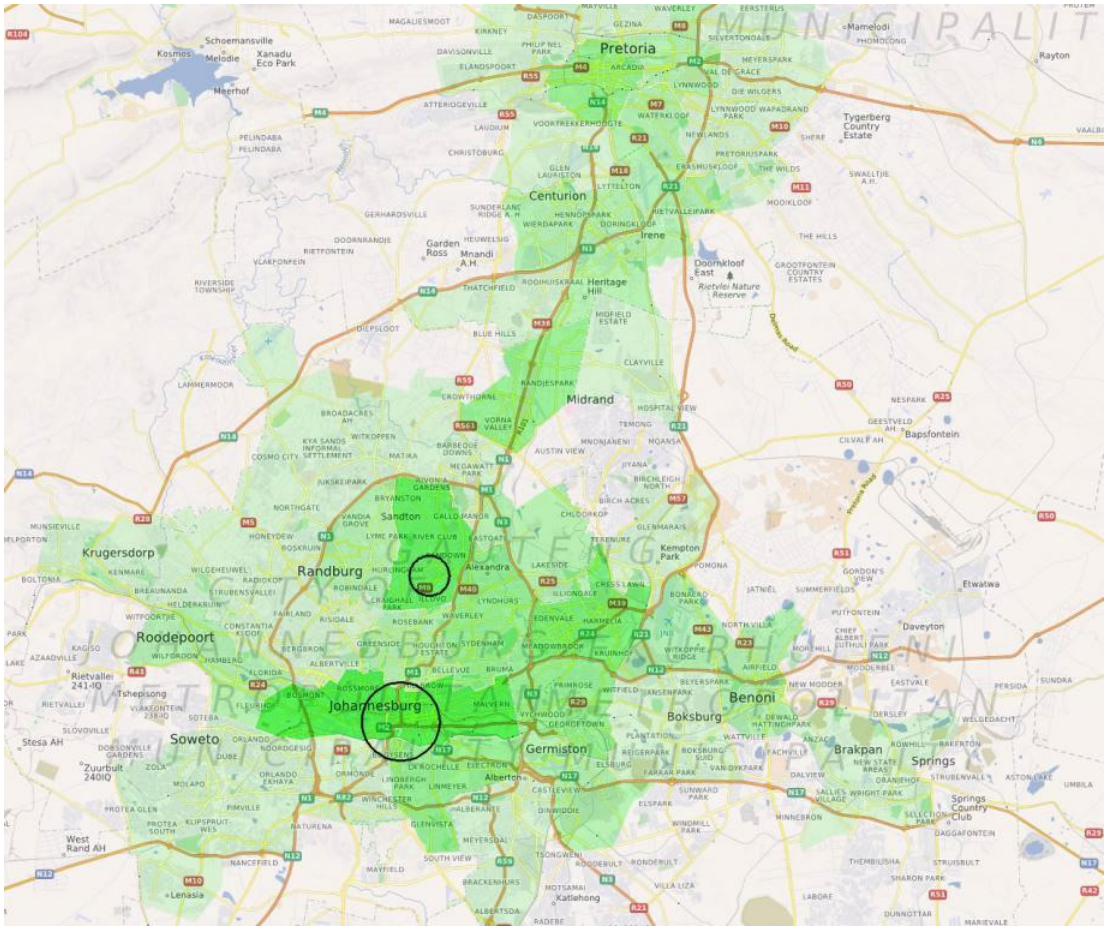


Figure 13: Relative percentages of GVA (gross value added) a measure of business activity which here shows the 'northward push' of service and industry (generated using CSIR data from 2009 where increase in colour density reflects increase in GVA).

With economic activity comes property development and, currently, the areas under heavy development in the greater Johannesburg are situated on the periphery defined by Roodepoort, Fourways and Midrand. This move advantages the informal settlements in Alexandra and Diepsloot for example, but only serves to exacerbate the difficulties and transit times of those who live in the more historic Johannesburg settlements such as Soweto or Katlehong. From Soweto it can take up to 1h45mins to get to work in Sandton. But even taking Alexandra as an example the spatial mismatch is startling. Of those employed in Alexandra only 17% work in the settlement itself, 35% work in the Johannesburg CBD and 9% work in Sandton. However, of those seeking work none look in Alexandra, 60% go to Johannesburg CBD and 10% go to Sandton. Here what must be understood is that the ingrained view is that there is no work to be had locally (Gotz and Todes 2014 : 131).

Economic activity underlies other spatial dynamics in the Gauteng. The following maps (figures 14 to 16) can be compared with figures 3 (tertiary education) and figure 13 (GVA). They illustrate the distribution of three key variables: employment, competence in English, and political affiliation. In preparing these maps I was struck by how close the overlap between the four variables of education, language, unemployment and political affiliation is. I would like to unpack the consequences of this close overlayering in chapter 5 since it is gives rise to some marked participant reactions in terms of the 'macro' of identity. Here, one can begin to understand the dynamics of the Gauteng by discussing unemployment. Newspapers publish statistics such as 40% unemployment, but to see the

concentrations mapped onto the space of the Gauteng (figure 14) brings home how many people are affected. It also explains why several of the participants to this study are prepared to spend up to 3h30 in transport every day to receive what is sometimes a salary of R6000[6]. Although the Northern Suburbs are to some extent protected from South Africa's unsustainably high levels of unemployment, even here the average is from 4 - 10%.



Figure 14: Relative percentages of unemployment (generated using STASSA Census 2011 data where increase in colour density reflects increase in unemployment).

[6] At the present rate of exchange ZAR6000 is equivalent to £350, or $460.



Figure 15: Relative percentages of people who list English as their principal language (generated using STASSA Census 2011 data where increase in colour density reflects increase in use of English).



Figure 16: Relative voting percentages. ANC in yellow, DA in blue, EFF in red (generated using voting information from the Municipal Demarcation Board 2014 where increase in colour density reflects increase in voting percentages).

The above maps also bring out, fairly starkly, the overlapping of competence in English, the de facto language of business, with that of achievement of tertiary educational, and (resulting?) political affiliation. The African National Congress, the majority party in South Africa, with its history of struggle against the Apartheid regime, and its recent emphasis on 'radical economic transformation' dominates in areas with high unemployment, lower competence in English, and lower levels of education. The Democratic Alliance is favoured by those living in areas of high GVA, high levels of tertiary education, and whose mother tongue is majoritarily English. Finally, the Economic Freedom Fighters, with a clear stance against the racialised inequalities inherited from Apartheid, and with a complex and nuanced ideological line, occupy an intermediary position.

Sandton can therefore be placed into a network of educational, linguistic, employment and political dynamics. With regard to figures 14, 15 and 16, those commuting to Sandton from the high unemployment areas of Soweto, Alexandra or Mthambeka combine educational and logistic disadvantage. There is also an ideological breach since these areas are those that most strongly support the ANC, whilst the northern suburbs come out strongly in support of the DA. But if Sandton can be considered the champion of the growth of the Northern Suburbs, the question then is, what are the factors that, historically and in the present, favour this growth?

These seem to be due, above all, to capital accumulation, and the functioning of mobility spines, combined with the ecology and geology of the Gauteng region. These later aspects bring us back, once again to the 'underneath' of the city, to its prehistory, and to the repercussion of the subterranean on the socio-politics of the surface. The 'Johannesburg dome' was a granite intrusion into what became a 8km thick sedimentary layer. It was this layer that would accumulate the gold and other heavy metals so necessary for its boom in the late 19th century (Storie 2014 : 139). But over and above this distribution of precious metals, the South of Johannesburg, in the lee of the ridges, or 'rands' is colder, with poorer soil, and its slower running watercourses have a tendency to pool. Its natural ecology is one of wetlands with scrub trees (Storie 2014 : 140). These conditions have foiled many attempts by the municipality to plant trees, or to harness the biodiversity in other ways. Additionally the Southern areas of Johannesburg are those that are affected by the dolomite strata, and construction here, especially given the mining, the excess loading of stormwater drains and the pooling of water, is particularly prone to subsiding and collapse. The Northern areas, on the other hand, are warmer, the water runs faster and clearer, trees and undergrowth are fast-growing and luxurious, topsoil is richer, more plentiful. There is no dolomite, and since the two gold-bearing reefs pass East/West through the old Johannesburg CBD - from whence names for streets like Main Reef Road etc. - there has been no mining or other fragilisation of the ground (Storie 2014 : 140).

Within these ecosystemic parameters came to bear the turn-of-the-century rapid changes in logistics and settlement. These pre-date Apartheid, but can be inscribed within colonial expansion. As money was made in the CBD there was a growing need by both the extremely wealthy 'randlords' and by the accompanying middle class, to escape out, to the peri-urban areas. In light of the above discussion, it was of course the Northern fringes that were valued. Parktown was the first to set an example of low-density property development (Mabin 2014 : 396) and this was followed by Orange Grove and then other areas along the old main road to Pretoria (again, the 'wedge' of figure 3). In fact, this is also the origin of Alexandra that was established in 1904 and named after the then Queen of England (Mabin 2014 : 397). The disputes over land tenure in Alex have at their heart this distinction between the older owners whose land was expropriated in 1963 and the newer arrivals … between formal and

informal tenure (Harrison, Masson and Sinwell 2014 : 346). Serving these low-density pavilion-orientated suburbs were the first mobility spines of Johannesburg: an electric tram, then a bus network. It was when returning service-men from the Second World War gave a tremendous boost to demand, coinciding with increasing prevalence of car transport (Mabin 2014 : 400) that development began to expand rapidly. This was fuelled by a change in zoning legislation and the advent of sectional title. Apartheid legislation also offered a socio-cultural hedge in what otherwise would have been a more volatile labour and property market. Sandton, it can be appreciated, fits well in this historic movement to the Northern Suburbs. In fact it is a movement that continues today, but in the slightly altered form of gated communities.

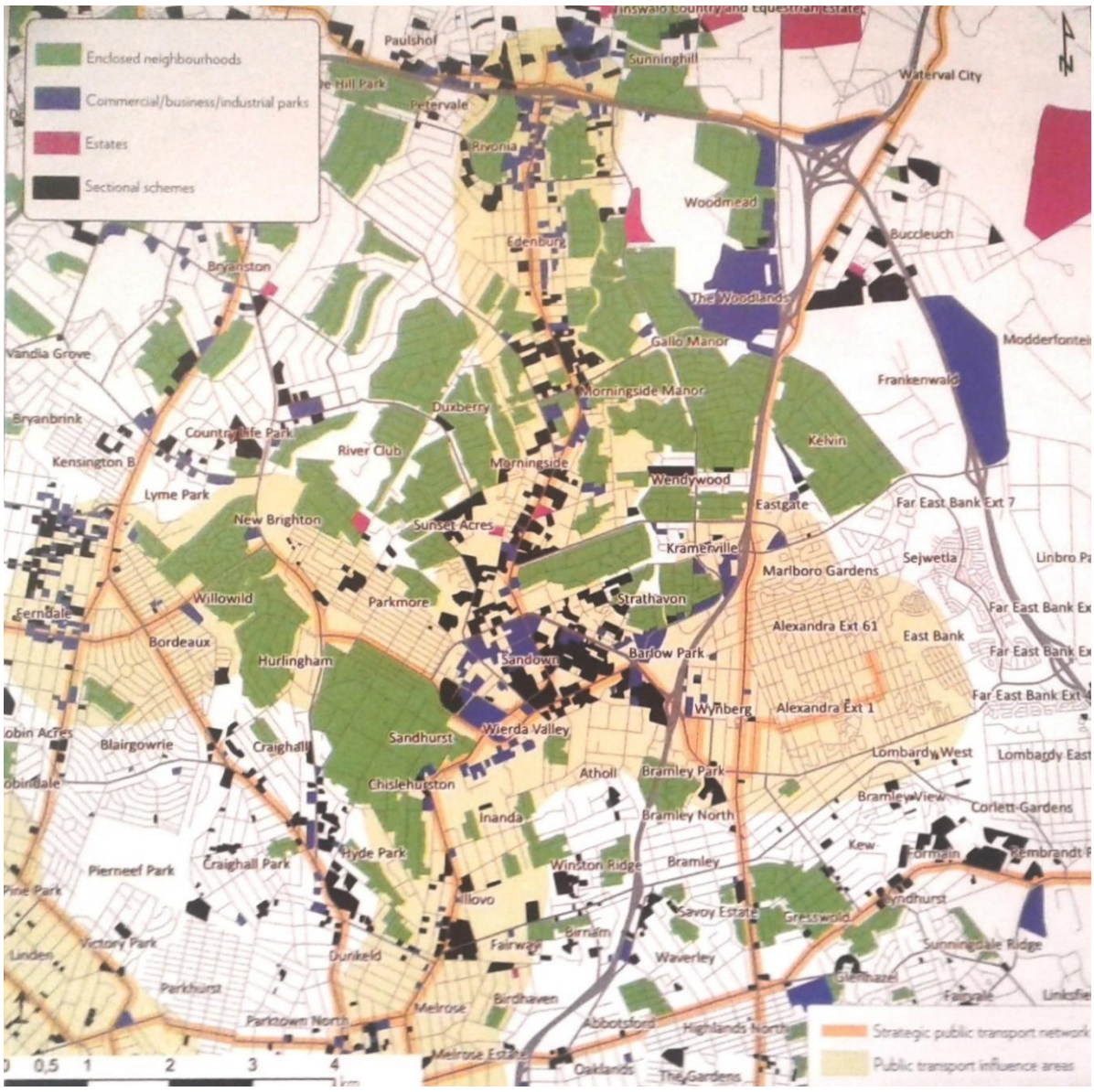


Figure 17: Gated communities in and around Sandton – enclosed neighbourhoods in green, restricted access business premises in violet, security estates in red and restricted access sectional schemes in black (reproduced from plate 45 chap 11 Landman and Badenhorst 2014).

Given their history, their ecosystemic advantages, their enclosing into gated communities, and their accumulation of educational, logistic and linguistic capital, it could be easy to condemn the Northern

Suburbs, and therefore Sandton, as just another example of spatial inequality (see Harvey 2003 and 2008 and the 'right to the city'). However Mabin (2014 : 407) makes the point that this is to analyse their present day operation too simplistically. In the first place these zones represent a point of upwards mobility. What Mabin, in reference to Bloch, terms 'Africa's new suburbs' (Mabin 2014 : 413) that conjoin a triad of economic growth, middle-class formation, and changing social forms of economy. These changing social forms refer perhaps to the delocalised hubs of creativity and productivity – many situated in gated communities – that include studios, galleries and even theatres (Mabin 2014 : 412). These suburbs have also adapted to changing mobility solutions, hosting minibus networks. Sandton for instance has included a complete minibus transit interchange in its Gautrain development. Finally these suburbs are active members of the enlarged single metropolitan councils that are a revolutionary step in terms of urban planning. Sandton, one must remember, is a part of Region E and thus shares the same planning documents and priorities with a huge swathe of land to the East and North, that includes Alexandra.

And neither was the linking of Sandton to its neighbouring settlements a purely top-down measure. Randburg and Sandton sat down at a negotiating forum with Alex as early as 1990 - 1993 (Mabin 2014 : 404). Today this move continues with Sandton's participation in the City of Johannesburg and French Development Agency funded 'corridors of freedom'. This is a transport orientated development project that in some ways returns to the Apartheid era densification and reworking of mobility spines, but that revisits these themes through the Rea Vaya BRT (Bus Rapid Transport). The corridors of freedom refer to the Rea Vaya bus routes, and along these routes nodes are created for mixed use low-income residential and business development. Figure 18 below shows the Louis Botha route that at the Wynberg node will link the Alexandra Pan-African mall directly to Sandton.

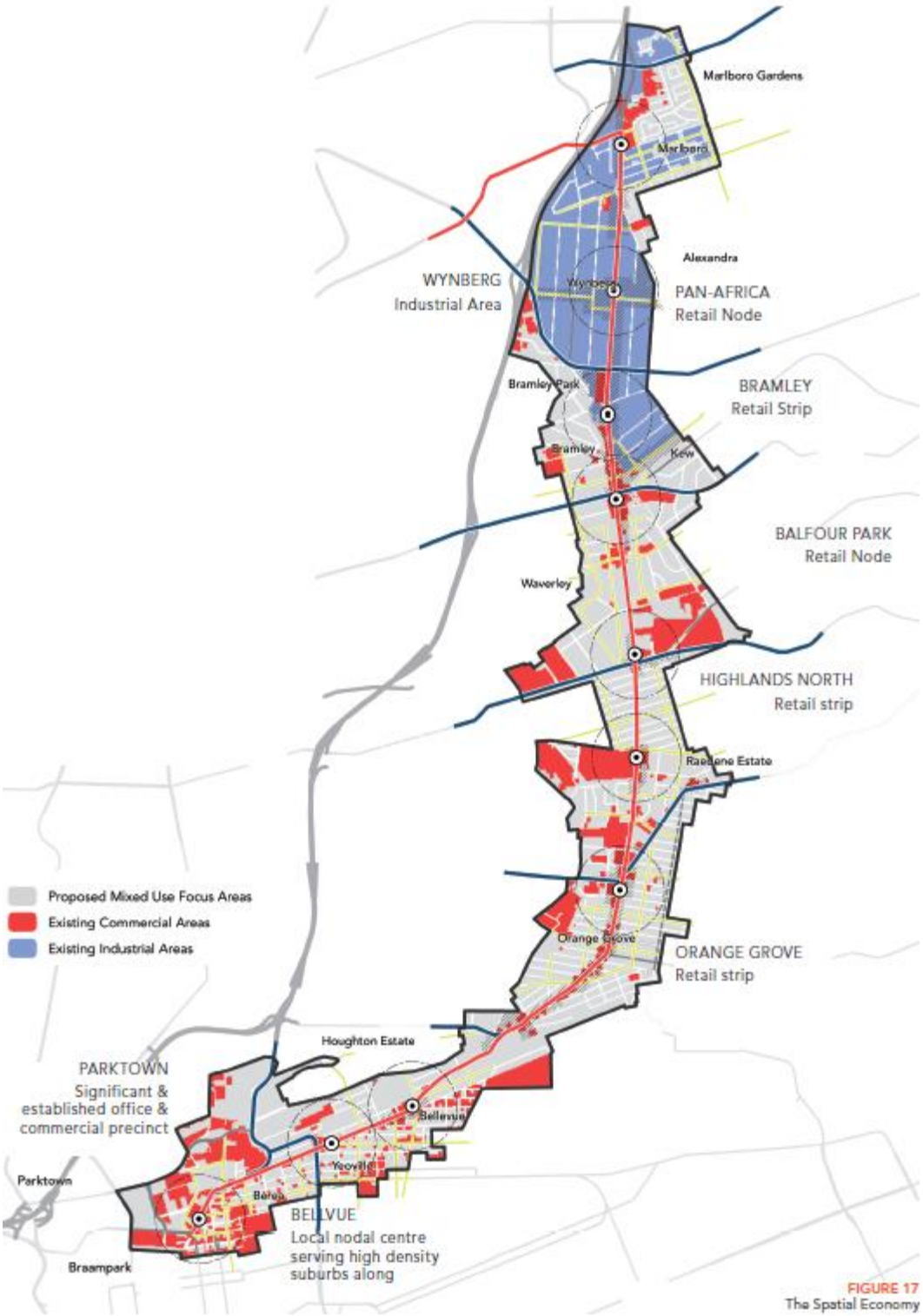


Figure 18: Corridor of Freedom transport orientated development and densification project – (reproduced from Strategic Area Framework: Louis Botha Avenue development corridor, Johannesburg 2014 : 56).

This kind of project will have several direct repercussions for Sandton. In the first place it will offer a solution to what is called the 'great walk' (Strategic Area Framework: Louis Botha Avenue development corridor, Johannesburg 2014 : 117) in which workers walk to Sandton at a peak rate of 1000 pedestrians per hour. Secondly, it makes Sandton's projects as to transport and access relevant

to the wider metropolitan area. That said, the scale of operation of Sandton's projects when compared to other zones is without common measure. The Alexandra Renewal Project painfully allocated R2 billion in a protracted negotiation process and an equally protracted length of operation from 2001 to 2005 extended to 2010 and then again to 2013 in a downscaled form (Harrison, Masson and Sinwell 2014 : 356). By 2011 it had managed to create the necessary infrastructure and land tenure for 6896 accommodation units that were mostly RDP[7] units (Harrison, Masson and Sinwell 2014 : 357). A similar report is offered by Harber (2011) for Dieplsloot. Can either of these really be compared to the Growthpoint piloted Wierda Valley development, that will completely reshape access and infrastructure for the South West portion of Sandton? Figure 19 gives the scale of the project with access routes marked in red. This project will completely remodel the Sandton urban environment. The Growthpoint property group alone operates with a capitalisation of R56 billion.



Figure 19: Wierda Valley Growthpoint development (reproduced from StudioMAS 2015 : 16).

Of all the things, therefore, that Sandton offers, I think that foremost is 'drive'. It is not just workers that are prepared to travel hours to get there, Sandton appeals educationally, religiously, culturally. In a recent study (Bell and McKay 2011) hundreds of schoolchildren spend up to R80 a day in bus fare in order to attend public and private schools in Sandton and adjoining suburbs through a mix of bursaries, discounts for dependants of staff, and through a wiley play on residence and catchment areas. Their reason for attending school there is simple. They feel that it is the best guarantee of achieving Matric[8] and then university entrance. Similarly, religious groups such as the 7th Day Adventist movement (Parker and Hendriks 2003) have set up places of worship in the areas adjoining the CBD. Finally, for many recent populations that have migrated to South Africa from Congo, Nigeria or from smaller West African countries such as Gabon, Sandton represents the ineffable pull of

[7] It should be noted that this project, at R2 billion for a hard delivery of 6896 housing units works out at R290,000 / unit!

[8] Matric is short for 'matriculation exemption' and refers to exemption from university entrance examinations by a candidate who has passed the examination offered at the end of secondary education. It is therefore the equivalent of the European bachalaureat or the American high school diploma.

modernity. It is to some of these voices that we will be paying attention in this research. Sandton, is at the heart of a bustling reorganisation of the city, and it always has been. A revolutionary, iconic space with many of the contradictions of South Africa and many of the opportunities.

The activity, entreprise, complexity and vibrancy of Sandton - the mixing of its peoples and their origins and aspirations, is reflected in many aspects of a place: its architecture, its flows and its management of public space. I would like now to turn to the artifacts of Sandton's semiotic landscape[9] in order to capture the *discourses* of Sandton's space, what is signified, and oriented to by the people who frequent, manage or interact within this site. In looking at these artifacts, there is a transition, that must be acknowledged, from what have been hard statistics, and data, to a slightly softer, qualitative slant on the place.

[9] There is divergence in sociolinguistic research over whether the artifacts of public space should be understood as 'linguistic' or 'semiotic'. The distinction hinges around whether 'artifact' should be used to designate uniquely the visual/textual ensembles that are displayed in a street, such as notices, posters, billboards, signage etc., or more broadly to refer to any meaning-making ensemble such as a sculpture or an architecturally designed part of city space. In the former case, these artifacts are usually referred to as 'linguistic' (LL – linguistic landscape), in the latter, they are referred to as 'semiotic' (SL – semiotic landscape. In this thesis, I will be using the term 'semiotic' landscape as, in my opinion, it better captures both the wide range of artifacts themselves, but also the socio-historic processes that inform the production and reception of these artifacts.

Artifacts of the semiotic landscape

Blommaert and Maly (2014) use the artifacts of the semiotic landscape(SL) in the initial fieldwork of an ethnography, as we are doing here. SL artifacts represent a very phatic communication within the public sphere. This communication includes the verbal or linguistic content of a sign, but it also includes other 'modalities' (Kress and Van Leeuwen 2001) such as the manner in which languages and visuals are organised within the frame of an artifact, its colour, font and interaction with its context such as through placement, or size etc. In line with Blommaert and Maly's comments, I would like to approach Sandton through its SL as a useful tool in dressing a portait of Sandton and introducing some of its key dynamics.

When analysing public space through the lens of SL artifacts Blommaert and Maly point out that these artifacts exist in 1) "public space [that is] also an *instrument* of power, discipline and regulation: it organises the social dynamics deployed in that space"; 2) "Communication in the public space, consequently, is communication in a field of power. The question thus becomes: how does space organise semiotic regimes?"; and 3) since signs have tense (past, present and future) one can "understand the social function of public signs: signs *demarcate* public space, they cut it up into smaller fragments and regulate these in connection to other fragments" (Blommaert and Maly 2014 : 3).

These considerations are very important to understanding the SL of a site, and extremely important to understanding Sandton. Blommaert and Maly (2014) insist that they should inform the initial study of a site through its SL, which should be to: a) understand sociolinguistic regimes…monolingual or multilingual and in what languages?; b) protect researchers from major errors concerning expectations of the site, i.e. to bring research face to face with pragmatic considerations; c) bring researcher attention to bear on literacy, the different forms of literacy that are displayed in a site; and finally, d) move analysis towards understanding social change and transformation. In the following sub-sections we will discuss Sandton within these foci.

Sociolinguistic regime

The first thing that strikes one about Sandton's SL is that the entirety of the site corresponds to what Stroud and Mpendukana refer to as a site of luxury:

> […] sites of luxury, attract predominantly commercially oriented signage around products and services at the higher-end scale, while spaces lower in the economic hierarchy, sites of necessity, are more predisposed to products of quotidian necessity. Signage in sites of luxury employs high-tech modes of production. It also often involves chains of representations across different types of media […] what primarily differentiates the two forms of representation are the semiotic implications of their being tied to different resources and modes of production that reflect the hierarchical nature of the sites in which they are produced and displayed. (Stroud and Mpendukana 2009 : 367).

Stroud and Mpendukana go on to refer to what is often, at heart, the 'authorised' nature of signage in sites of luxury, noting how these spaces are removed and enclosed from their surroundings by barbed wire fences or the spatial politics of squares and busy shopping centres. In figure 20 there is shown the topographical isolation of Sandton, as also a photograph of the fence that runs almost continuously around the site seen from Sandton Drive, Grayston Drive and Rivonia Road. Figure 21 in turn gives some examples of advertising in the site that are typical in terms of their subject matter (finance and

business needs) and their technology. The Telecom fibre internet advert, on the corner of Alice and Grayston is particularly impressive and is in the immediate vicinity of the Apple store, which constitutes a small ITC hub in Sandton.

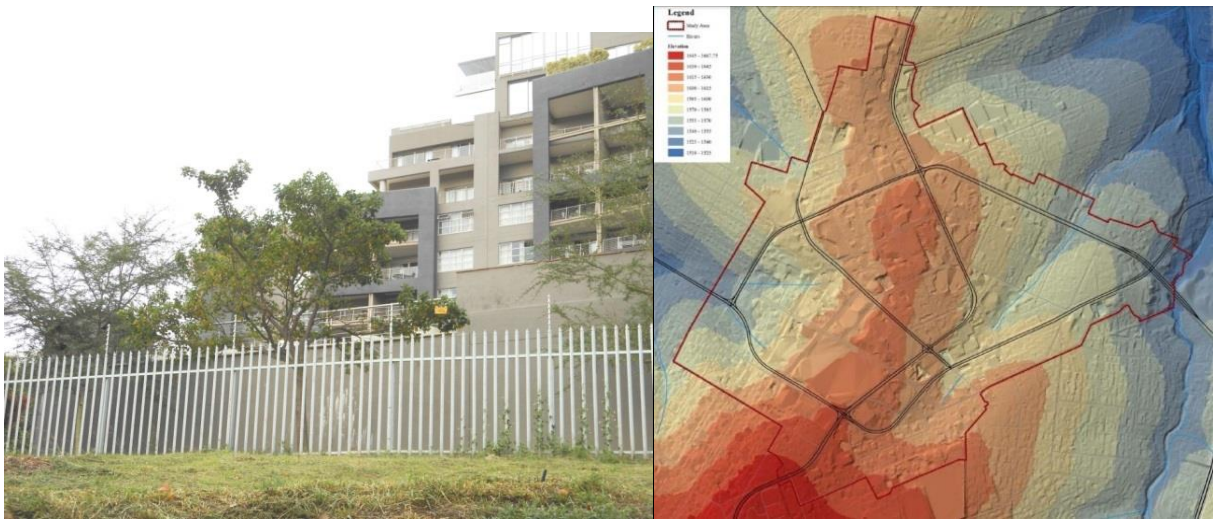


Figure 20: Photograph of part of the surround of Sandton Central (the yellow sign reads 'Danger – Electric Fence') and a topographical map with the main road arteries overlaid.

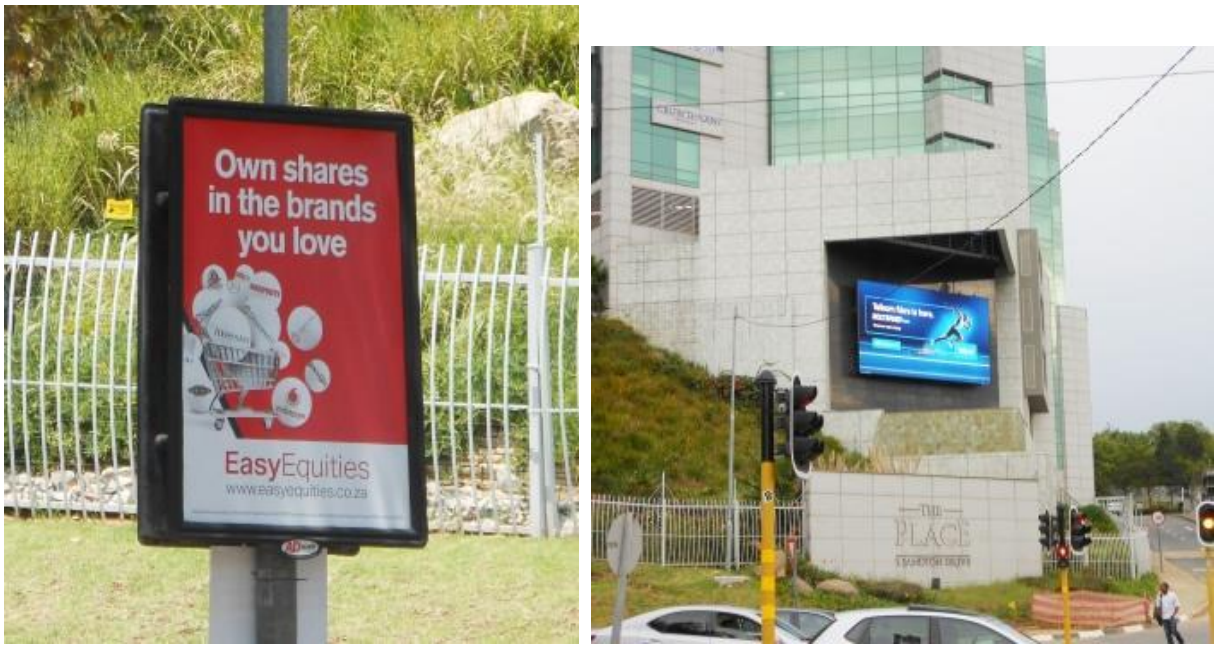


Figure 21: Some examples of advertising in the SL of Sandton.

As a management district, Sandton exerts a control over SL that is impressive in its reach. Thus, of the 1200 artifacts that I photographed – excluding those related to specific fields such as the mall, or the SCC etc – no signs at all were in any language other than English. Additionally a mere dozen were 'informal' signs such as hand-written notices. In the entire site I only encountered 3 examples of graffiti, and these were fairly rapidly dispatched with. This control is perhaps inevitable given the history and drive of Sandton as sketched in the preceding sections, but it raises questions with respect to languages in the Gauteng and in South Africa as a whole. Figure 15 gave the distribution of English speakers within the broader spatiality of the Gauteng. Who then are those who do *not* speak English?

The traditional academic answer is to give the other 10 official languages of South Africa, but one of my initial findings in this research challenges that finding … pointing to a net of migration and language that extends far beyond the borders of South Africa.

Control over the site can also be seen in the large proportion of SL devoted to flow management. Figure 23 gives examples of SL that indicate entrances, parking spots and even sites for 'spaza'[10] stalls, but also those signs – and they are legion – that prohibit parking or that indicate security measures. To these must be added the examples of Figure 8 that are also the imposition of the ideological theme of finance, and the market, onto public space.



Figure 22: Five examples of flow management in the SL of Sandton.

[10] 'Spaza' stores are informal stores that are set up on city pavements and that allow their owners to make a small living by selling items like cigarettes, sweets, biscuits and juice with a slight markup. Sometimes, as in the example of figure 26, they are more permanent and offer fried foods such as chicken or steak.

Sandton then, in respect of its public sociolinguistic regime, reveals itself to be enclosed, totalising, intensely controlled, monolingual English and finance orientated. It is a site whose vocation and space have been fixed by its developers over a short period of time (40 years) and whose axes have continued unaltered, coherent and efficient.

Expectations of the site

This brings us to the second part of Blommaert and Maly's use of SL for preparatory fieldwork: to protect researchers from major errors concerning expectations of the site. This is linked to the previous discussion, in that the sociolinguistic regime exemplified in the SL will also have a huge bearing on participant interaction etc. However, here what I think is more germane to the methodology adopted in this thesis, is the way in which a majority of SL demarcate *field*. Figure 6 gave the land use of the site. This is caught up and expanded upon in those SL (see figure 23 below) that relate directly to what is on offer or being developed in specific areas of the site. To choose just two examples from figure 23, the Diamond Walk is a part of the Sandton mall that is devoted entirely to haute couture brands such as Prada or Luis Vuitton. Here the mall is associated with a woman chosen to represent an idealisation of canons of beauty from the 30's, and the billboard that is situated just below the mall, in Alice Street, is realised in a muted colour scheme with matt finish that corresponds well with the field. This advertising will be caught up and expanded upon in various parts of the mall and in the Diamond Walk itself. Similarly, Kgoro Central which is a development linked to the Growthpoint Wierda Valley project, uses the branding and vocabulary ('mixed-use' 'real estate') that has accompanied the development from its beginnings through its opening exhibition in the Sandton gallery and civic centre to its billboarding on the perimeter of the site. Both of these SL are tied physically and formally with the fields they promote. The same could be said of the Sandton Convention Centre (SCC) SL that often deal with development orientated symposiums such as, for example, Africities, and are positioned on each street that communicates with the SCC; regularly changing to reflect the events at the centre.

These SL clearly show what Sandton is about: property, finance, development politics and high-range retail shopping. Of course, Sandton is about other things too, and we will explore these in this thesis, but principally that is the place, and what participants say must be understood within the context of the materiality shown here. Certainly my interviews with Megan Meas from Sandton Mall and Elaine Jack from the CID were framed by these fields, as were participant recordings with Geoff Rothschild and Nicky Nelson-King of the JSE. Even other participants such as Thobile from the Mall and Elliot, a personal assistant, were bound to their fields of activity in sometimes quite surprising ways. To ignore these SL in any case would be to ignore an essence of what Sandton is.















Figure 23: Some examples of SL in Sandton that address the opportunities offered within the management district itself.

It could be added that a significant portion of Sandton SL forms part of its rise as a world city. Regularly advertised – and thereby indicating the perception by advertisers that these campaigns are worthwhile – are events in other parts of the country, in other improvement districts, other institutions and other forums. These represent a wide cultural cross-section. In figure 24 below I have reproduced advertising for an event at the Durban ICC (a similar structure to the Sandton Convention Centre) and a theatre evening that will take place in Johannesburg.



Figure 24: Some examples of Sandton's links to, and promotion of, other cultural events.

Literacy

What then of Blommaert and Maly's third point of inquiry, the 'literacy' of the site? The almost total absence of informal signs is in itself a strong indication of the norming and 'top-down' control of the means of written communication. Additionally, those SL that are displayed and that have been given in figures 8 and 21-23 show a command of English that clearly indicates the level of education (see figure 3) that is expected of those frequenting the site. There are plays with words, plays with font and use of lexis that is specialised and accurate.

This is especially true of brand names. Branding is associated with the management district itself, with every single company, and with the products and services that are on the market. This is a visual code that is often pushed to great lengths. For instance, there is an initial and visible association of logo with company name and address, often even a brief service description, and then the colour scheme and logo is repeated in and around the premises in an impressively coherent way that brands the building, access points, elevators and windows. I have photographed the lower access point for Michelangelo Towers in figure 25. Fifteen brands are displayed. But branding can also be 'architectural' (Iqani and Baro 2017) in that it does more than mark a building, it *becomes* the building. The side of the mall bordering Protea Court is walled with billboards that cover hundreds of square meters and that define the visual impression of the exterior of the mall.

Branding continues in the night-time entertainment sector. The ultimate club for this kind of thing, Taboo, in Gwen Lane, has numerous digital screens around the venue that regularly display the different brands that clients are expected to consume. In the case of the brand of champagne that is currently being promoted (Moët & Chandon for instance) when it is ordered it comes borne by a slim glamorous girl surrounded by sparklers who pours it for the client amid the admiration of onlookers, like myself. Branding can also be massive. The branding of Sandton extends in the opposite direction too, to the small objects of daily life, such as the rubbish bin that is part of Sandton Central's service remit.



Figure 25: Some examples of branding in the SL of Sandton.

The use of brands, conversely, may be considered to require little syntactic competence. To recognise and repeat a brand orally is easily possible for tourists, or recent or long-term arrivals to South Africa such as some Congolese diplomatic participants who took part in this study. Their narratives revolved around brands, particularly of telephones and clothes, and their loose, associative style of participation suits well the punctual, incisive piercing of brand iconography into the landscape and in our personal lives. The formal, legitimate, authorised and again, totalising, implications of branding in terms of language use are perhaps best drawn out by looking at their opposite, which is to say the informal, non branded, fields of activity. In figure 26 I have reproduced a photograph of a spaza where I often came to eat during this study. It serves a range of meat, chicken and 'hard' chicken, chakalaka[11] spicy relish, with either pap or rice. This spaza is frequented by a range of clients from policemen to personal assistants such as Elliot, the participant of chapter 4, to those who work in and around the neighbouring institutions of the JSE, the SCC and the Advocates' group in Maude Street. The informal character of this spaza, that resides in its mobility and susceptibility of relocation by the CID, is well shown by its complete absence of any branding, but its materiality, the way it is self contained, transposable, built in light, sturdy fibreglass, speaks to its status within the hierarchy of the CID.



Figure 26: Photograph of an unbranded spaza stall in Maude Street, Sandton.

Sandton therefore contains within its semiotic landscape a contradiction. On the one hand an expectation for a high level of literacy, as marked by the complexity and finish of its SL in English, and, on the other, a branding and an iconography that is accessible, and that can be inserted into any language or culture in a transversal, readily available way. This contradiction mirrors the socio-historic process of the place, and its striving towards the modern, at the same time as it preserves a backwards glance to its gentleman farmer days.

[11] 'Hard' chicken is a little cheaper, and refers to the meat from laying chickens. Chakalaka is a mix of baked beans with onions, green peppers and chilli.

Social change and transformation

In interviews with participants, I found an awareness and a willingness to conserve an active memory of Sandton's history. This is perhaps because the rapid development of its built environment spans only forty years, and can be easily grasped, conceptually; framing this transition to a more tightly managed, branded, contemporaneity. Two artifacts of the semiotic landscape bring this out, and they have been reproduced in figure 27.



Figure 27: Artifacts chosen because of their link with the past of Sandton.

The drum is one of two on display in the JSE and the SCC. The stained glass windows are on display in the reception foyer of the JSE where they form part of the conference facilities and the digital share indexes. Both are visual reminders of the historic past of Sandton. The drum recalls the inhabitants of the area before the arrival of the Afrikaners and the British, but it also harks back to the days of more rudimentary communication, such as the Stock Market in the early 20th century when selling was still done through an open outcry system and a bell was rung to indicate opening and closing of selling that

could be heard from the old premises down in Diagonal Street, Johannesburg CBD, right up to Commissioner Street. The stained glass windows were discovered by Geoff Rothschild in the basement of the old Stock Market when he was organising its move to its new location in Sandton. They depict scenes from the city in the 50's such as panelbeating a red car or scaffolding going up for new constructions.

Both these artifacts bring this research back to the founding myths of both colonial expansion in South Africa and to the Gauteng. They are in content very similar to the photograph of figure 1 in that they inscribe Sandton's meteoric rise within the conditions of possibility and the hierarchy of power of the Gauteng and in doing so provide an opportunity to close this chapter on a bittersweet note of nostalgia for something ineffable that still rings in Sandton, but whose note is hard to analyse, containing as it does the residue of so much success, waste and curtailment.

Conclusions for chapter 1

This chapter has extended discussion from the early days of the Johannesburg region to the modernist discourses that account for the settling of the place, to the effects of geography, gold mining and rapid cadastral activity in the development of the city and the district. It has situated Sandton within the broader dynamics of the growth and post-Apartheid decline of the historic city centre, the move of gross value added to the Northern Suburbs, and the complex present with its realities of densification, flow, transport, unemployment and security. Sandton emerges as a site of high inwards and outwards traffic, of scarce but expensively managed public space, of large blocks with little active edge, a blankness and an exponential build upwards to the high rise head offices of prestigious and valuable firms. Its construction has been accompanied by huge investment in logistics and infrastructure, but also, paradoxically, by congestion and overburdening of many of the networks (water, sewerage, transport) that are necessary for efficient functioning. And yet, more than anything else, Sandton is perceived as viable, even creative.

In Sandton one can find employment, education, business initiatives, venues for meetings, high-end shopping, huge amounts of retail and office space, fast development and a managerial attention to the piloting of the district and its positioning both nationally and globally. Armies of security and service staff monitor its streets and conciliate its formal and informal activities. There is, importantly, a push towards endowing Sandton with more organicity and of retaining its daytime visitors past the afternoon rush back to its feeder zones, by promoting night life, events, and a sense of ethos and belonging. This begins to raise what is a key theme in this thesis, namely, the field of power that operates in Sandton, and the control that is exerted on the people that both compose and move within this field. In sketching a first analysis of the space and institution of Sandton, this chapter has used data as to business and development, and artifacts of the semiotic landscape. The image that coheres is one of a mobilisation of capital and resources that dwarfs governmental operations. This, in turn, both occasions, and justifies, a totalising, branded, discourse that is monolingual, and that rejects the informal, the messy, the ad hoc. In lieu of this, finance, property, politics and retail dominate the semiotics of the place in clean cut lines of façade and artifact. All of which is further delimited by security fencing, high angles, and the topographics of the site.

Sandton, then, projects a sheerness, a modernity and an elevation that is, nevertheless, belied by many of the findings of this thesis. Within its spaces, the participants to this research engage in interactions that challenge, subvert or introduce humour into what is Sandton's projected identity. In doing so, they allow us to read depth and complexity into this space.

Chapter 2 – Theorising the work of this thesis (literature review)

Introduction

To begin this chapter, perhaps I could tell a story about one of my many encounters while I was preparing the material for this thesis. Lynne, an events and crafts teacher at Pembury (the retirement home which participated in this research), was animating the arts workshop group while she spoke to me of her ex-husband and her son who was in matric. Lynne is a tall, laconic kind of person who can simultaneously make Valentine's day decorations, watch out for the members of her class and tell dirty jokes in the ear of one of the pensioners. She was talking about going into town on missions for her son, but the point of the story was elsewhere. There, with me, a sympathetic audience but hurried because I had to be back at university, she was building up to the assessment of the story – where she expressed her resignation faced with her ex-husband's actions and how the son, the embedded character in the story, had in turn been on the receiving end of similar kinds of treatment. But there was a hitch. The story was taking too long, and I was late. There I stood, with one foot inching towards the door while she did her best to wrap up as soon as possible. We brought it off, and were smiling at each other in understanding of the situation. Looking out from behind the social mask as it were, caught by that pivotal place storytelling has.

This story of a story is a good example of De Fina and Georgakopoulou's remarks on stance taking and the process of storytelling, and how story components can be expanded or contracted in the eliciting of continued talk as we do the interactive work that allows positioning and narrative self-construction (De Fina and Georgakopoulou 2008b). There is a sense of relevance and appropriateness to the stories that we tell. And a loudness! The exuberance, joy and togetherness that unites, is at its best in the stories that join us in these moments of the day to day. In researching small stories in Sandton, one of the driving forces of this research is to *account* for our modernity and provide a thick description of a site in the words that we use when we are busy doing the job of communicating.

Narrative research and small stories

In sociolinguistic research, *narratives* can be conceived of as relatively long achievements with a monologic structure, fairly rigid and identifiable roles for tellers, that are told in an interview situation. One, often cited[12], exponent of such an approach to narrative is Labov (1972b). As against this, research into *talk* (for instance, Sacks 1992) is perceived to refer to the quick to-and-fro of interaction, more volatile roles for participants, and to be captured in 'natural' data that does not involve interview methodologies. This thesis partakes in a relatively new movement named 'small story' research (Bamberg and Georgakopoulou 2008, De Fina 2009, De Fina and Georgakopoulou 2015, Georgakopoulou 2006a and 2006b, 2008, 2014) that can be understood as sitting at the nexus of talk and narrative. To better frame what this entails, we can more closely examine what constitutes narrative research, and then examine how the 'small stories' movement may be understood within this.

De Fina and Georgakopoulou (2012 : 1) make a distinction between narrative as 'text' and narrative as 'mode, epistemology and method', which is a useful entry point to the discussion. As 'text', what is of interest is the structure and properties of a narrative, largely irrespective of context. Structure was the subject of much of Labov's work (see Labov 1972a and 1972b for instance). Labov was concerned to provide both an analysis in terms of syntax, by looking at the kinds of phrases that were recurrent and necessary in narratives, and in terms of structure, examining the components of a narrative. Labov is often criticised for confounding functional and formal analysis and for not including interactional processes (De Fina and Georgakopoulou 2012 : 35). Despite the criticisms levelled at his analysis, Labov's work is still highly persuasive, and some components such as the 'abstract' (where the teller offers an opening summary of the story) and 'evaluation' (where the point of the story, its reason for being told, is emphasised and brought out) are still referred to frequently in the literature. The strength of identifying and labelling such components is that they can then be demarcated for analysis. Narrative as 'text', also includes narratology and cognition. Whilst narratology is a means of defining a story as such - which is to say its *genre* - and bears a close resemblance to taxonomic or genealogic approaches, a cognitive critique sees narrative as a means of categorising information into schemas, scripts or mental models.

Central in an approach to narrative as *mode* is that it is not based on 'truth', but on 'verismilitude', "Its value does not lie in the ability to describe reality, but rather in the capacity to give meaning to human experience." (De Fina and Georgakopoulou 2012 : 16). This idea of verisimilitude is one that is also very pertinent to a conception of narrative as an epistemology. The 'narrative turn' that occurred in the social sciences in the eighties, and which is traced back to two issues of *Critical Inquiry* (Mitchell (ed.) 1980 and 1981) containing articles by Derrida and Ricoeur among others, highlights this. Narrative is a way of knowing (*epistemology*), as well as a way of being and doing (*mode*). The epistemology of narrative is:

> […] interpretative, meaning-seeking, subjective and particularistic, all elements which have stood in contrast to the experimentation and the core values of scientific research, such as reliability, validity and generalisability. The contrast is frequently put in terms of an anti-positivist (*sic* narrative) vs. a positivist epistemology. (De Fina and Georgakopoulou 2012 : 20).

[12] See Patterson (2013) for a discussion of Labovian narrative analysis.

The difference between a phenomenological view of the world as expressed through narrative, and the view of the world as objective, value neutral etc. has been a theme running through much work on language. Benveniste's work on temporal structure and intersubjectivity (2011 : 67 – 88), which is often referred to as an early example of investigation into indexicality, is an example. A strong line of argument in narrative as epistemology is that scientific investigation opposes conceptions of time and causality to what is often a very different lived experience. This is an ongoing line of research as, for instance Mishler (2006) shows. Mishler discusses the particularities of a narrative apprehension of time and contrasts it explicitly with the theoretical frameworks and research strategies of much experimental design.

This, in turn, indicates what narrative constitutes as *method*. It is a way of apprehending and analysing the social world that, in contrast to being behind the content of the story, subsumed by the artifact (as in narrative as text), insists on the context-specificity of tellings and on the fact that there is a relativity in what is known. Methodological questions have a huge impact on narrative. Interview techniques, for instance, tend to favour longer, monological, narratives since they are often 'evoked' either by the researcher or in the context of a methodology that allows a participant to speak with more confidence and with little interruption.

In terms of its genesis, the small stories narrative movement was dressed, primarily, against the length and monological structure of the interview elicited stories that constituted the 'canon' of narrative research. The movement started with Bamberg, who is clear:

> Yes, I decidedly wished to complement or supplement the life historian's interest in grand lives with what I called the analysis of small stories – the ones we tell in passing, in our everyday encounters with each other, and which I considered the 'real' stories of our *lived* lives. (Bamberg 2004 : 367).

From Bamberg, Georgakopoulou expanded the term, applying it as a means for a *new* narrative turn. This new narrative turn can be discussed, as above, in terms of the classification of narrative as 'text' or as 'mode, epistemology and method'.

In terms of narrative as 'text' the small stories approach focuses on the interactive, participative structure of these narratives, to the extent that:

> We can refer to this shift as a move away from narrative as text (i.e., defined on the basis of textual criteria and primarily studied for its textual make-up) to narrative as practice within social interaction. (De Fina and Georgakopoulou 2008 : 275).

This is not to say however that the small stories approach breaks entirely away from previous narrative research as concerns textual definitional criteria, genre and structure. As far as textual definitional criteria are concerned, at many points in articles by both Georgakopoulou and De Fina, there is an effort to proffer definitional elements of small stories. This is necessary because otherwise there would be a lack of clarity as to where small stories sit between interactional analysis on the one hand, and more conventional narrative analysis on the other. The definitional criteria centre on telling and situation. In terms of situation, small stories take place within ordinary conversation. This then leads to telling that concerns, "ongoing events, future or hypothetical events, shared or known events;

also allusions to previous tellings, deferrals of tellings, and refusals to tell." (Georgakopoulou 2008 : 599).

Essentially, with respect to conventional or 'canonical' narratives, small stories offer a shift in temporality. For instance, in Labov's structural criteria (abstract, orientation, complicating action, resolution, coda and evaluation) (Labov 1972b : 363) the implication is that a story happened in the past, and that in the present telling, participants must orient to and evaluate events in the storyworld that are separated temporally from the present. Small stories challenge this, and place the storyworld very much in the present (and the future) of interaction and practice. This comes to the fore in the heuristic for narrative analysis that Georgakopoulou (2014) presents as comprising: ways of telling, sites and tellers. Ways of telling are characterised as demonstrating, "iterativity in the types of stories told as recurrent ways of (inter)acting, embedded in recurrent social practices and engendering expectations about the ongoing activity." (2014 : 5). This is not to say, though, that small stories aim to dismiss previous work on narrative. Rather, what is sought is to find a place in narrative analysis for stories that do not fit the canon, and that participants orient to as a practice (rather than in tems of their content or structure).

In terms of narrative as 'mode, epistemology and method', Georgakapoulou (2014) critiques the vision of self that is entailed by a conventional monologic view of narrative. The critique is based on, "anti-essentialist views of self, society and culture which stress the multiplicity, fragmentation, context-specificity and performativity of our communication practices" (2014 : 3) and notes the empirically supported findings that many of our stories are 'messy' with "no easily identifiable endpoints" but also the "different environments and media" within which they develop (2014 : 4). She notes the divergence in ways of telling (performance management, positioning, variations in interactional participation) and the spaces in which telling takes place which allow "certain language and interaction choices and not others" (2014 : 5). Finally she notes that participants are 'complex entities' with particular roles, particular manners of embedding themselves and others as figures in their tales - changing over the course of the interaction in ways that are multi-linear, re-contextualisable, co-constructed (Georgakapoulou 2014 : 6-7). These divergences and particularities in both speech, positioning and interaction index different 'large identities' (Georgakapoulou 2006b) which is to say communities of practice, values, ideologies and orientation to aspects of our lives like gender, race, socio-economic access etc.

There is therefore a paradigmatic shift that is encapsulated in small stories, and that Georgakopoulou (2006a : 128) characterises as based, firstly, on a 'practice' approach that sees narrative and interaction as a means of producing social life. Secondly, following Appadurai (1996), small stories are a part of late modern theorising, that seeks to render an account of complexity and heterogeneity. Thirdly, the identities that emerge are locally accomplished within processes of interaction. This last, it should be noted, is a point that already shows the convergence between small stories and the sociocultural linguistic approach framed by Bucholtz and Hall (2005).

The 'small stories' movement, focuses on the conversational interaction within which narratives are embedded. It consists in moving away from what De Fina and Georgakopoulou (2012) refer to as 'canonical structure' i.e. lengthy, monologic, tellings ordered in analysable units such as abstract, orientation, complicating action, resolution, coda and evaluation (2012 : 29), that represent clear and fairly homogenous telling, setting and participation roles. What is rather of interest is the negotiation

of roles, the epistemological value accorded to turns at talk (see Raymond and Heritage 2006), and the manner in which both storyworld figures and telling roles embody identity claims through phenomena such as quotative style. Research moves to:

> […] tellings of ongoing events, future or hypothetical events, shared or known events; also allusions to previous tellings, deferrals of tellings, and refusals to tell. (Georgakopoulou 2008 : 599).

Big stories and small stories

Overlapping the distinction made in the previous section between narratives as 'text' and narratives as 'mode, epistemology and method', is the further debate between 'big' and 'small' stories. It is overlapping, because what is at issue is rather the methodology of their collection and the import of the big and small genres for the depth and reach of research projects. It is also against big stories that Bamberg and Georgakopoulou explicitly promote small stories (Bamberg 2006, Bamberg and Georgakopoulou 2008).

Freeman (2006) is perhaps the writer who best expresses the difference between big stories and small stories, approaching the question from the basis of psychology rather than linguistics. He characterises big stories thus:

> […] big stories are those narratives, often derived from interviews, clinical encounters, and other such interrogative venues, that entail a significant measure of reflection on either an event or experience, a significant portion of a life, or the whole of it. (Freeman 2006 : 132).

In essence then, big stories:

> [entail] a going-beyond the specific discursive contexts in which "real life" talk occurs. It is an effort after meaning — often "big" meaning. Indeed, it is a making-meaning, an act of poiesis, in which one attempts to make sense of some significant dimension of one's life (Freeman 2006 : 133).

The advantages of big story research are immediately palpable from this perspective: through them research can access the made meanings of the self, and the events and reflections that accompany lives lived in society. In the previous section I referred to the 'narrative turn' that occurred in the 80's. This narrative turn hinges on these characteristics of big stories (see for instance Raine 2013). Fields such as education, sociology and youth studies have benefitted from these advantages, leading to a vast literature on many aspects of narrative activity.

In applied linguistics, Prain (1996) examines the texts and the processes of narrative writing in the English classroom. Against the backdrop of critiques that touch on the gendered and discursive disciplinary effects that insistence on a hetero-normed 'western' identity produces in the classroom, or the negative aspects of an alignment with dominant ideology through a discursive 'self', Prain points out the very positive aspects of narrative writing. Among these are the ability to 'write one's life' and to consider 'patterns of response and desire' (Prain 1996 : 16). Very much in the same vein as the comments offered by Freeman, for Prain, it is above all an opportunity for writers to make sense of their experience. It is this insight, the possibilities offered by narrative for development, and for exploration, that are capitalised upon, for instance, by Myhill in her approach to writing as 'design' (Myhill 2006).

Ochs and Capps (1996), also writing in educational studies, resume in a seminal article the kinds of things that they think narratives (here to be broadly conceived as big) can do. For them it is a fundamental genre – one that is both universal and relevant to childhood development. The authors assert the multimodality of narrative and its role in the increasing complexification of childhood cognition. This is a point that has been researched extensively in cross-cultural contexts in South Africa (see Ferreira and Mendelowitz 2009, Stein 2008a and 2008b, and Kunene Nicolas, Guidetti and

Colletta 2016). In addition to its developmental role, narrative, that is structured temporally, plays a role in a reflective awareness of past and future. In fact this temporal structure (see also Mishler 2006) is one of the defining aspects of narrative research, complemented by a constructed viewpoint on the world. Indeed, narrative, for these authors, begins the work of providing a boundary for the self, "[situating] events against a larger horizon of what we consider to be human passions, virtues, philosophies, actions, and relationships." (Ochs and Capps 1996 : 30). Finally, and most interestingly, like Prain, Ochs and Capps see in narrative the opportunity for asymmetry and resistance with respect to dominant discourses. What is at issue is the way in which these discourses can be challenged or reworked through narrative (see also Gee 1996).

In the South African context, one may underline several studies that are all 'big' narrative investigations in that they are looking much more at the *content* of the narratives, the stories themselves, a fairly monological structure and static roles, rather than the interactional practice and ongoing *achievement* and of these stories. But this is not to say that the narratives collected do not bring out the words, subjectivities and positionings of the participants in topics as diverse as access to housing, health and the trauma of Apartheid. In Cape Town Leilde (2008) offers a scalar interpretation of residents' stories and their attitudes to class, race and culture. In Durban, Erwin (2011) uses a narrative approach to unpick people's relationships with urban change in a contested and poor neighbourhood. Squire's work on HIV (see Squire 2013 : 51) also assembles narratives of women subjected to the indifference of the South African health care system.

The power of narrative approaches for social change and healing are evident in projects such as the Apartheid Archive (see Duncan, Stevens and Canham 2014) where people's stories of discrimination are collected and made available to the public through a forum and through academic work that engages with the archive. Here narrative research is privileged as the means of, "giving voice to the marginalised as well as to capture the nuances, complexities, and contradictions that form part of the human experience." (Duncan, Stevens and Canham 2014 : 286). This project is mirrored in two others. One is the intensely moving project promoted by the Department of Education that encouraged people to submit their stories of education under Apartheid (Education, D. O. 2004). Another is headed by Bradbury and Frankish (2012) and focusses on the stories that (grand)mothers tell their (grand)children about their experiences under apartheid. This study also, it should be noted, begins to bridge the gap between big and small stories by opening analysis to shifts in telling role. Both of these works are examples of the crucial work that narratives accomplish in providing a platform for the healing of the past.

Youth studies provide another instance of the application of narrative approaches – here, again, best conceived of as 'bigger' rather than 'smaller' – and of their importance. To retain the focus on research pertinent to South Africa, Moiloa (2012) uses narratives that centre on political experience to understand how parties are mobilised on the ground and how seemingly contradictory ideologies and motives can be accepted and furthered by youth in connection to an historical struggle. Similarly Welschen (2012) uses youth narratives, collected in focus groups, to examine questions of national identity, race and growing up. Welschen's work is particularly interested in the xenophobic attacks of 2008 and critically examines the narratives of her participants. The result is a disarticulation of the 'rainbow nation' narrative as expounded by the governing party.

Finally, I would like to point out that narratives, especially the kinds of narratives that we have been discussing so far, lend themselves to quantitative research as well as qualitative. Leslie and Finchilescu (2013) provide stark evidence of the pessimism of the young faced with South Africa's ongoing political turmoil and racial and socio-economic conflict. In these studies, whilst the participants provide long (fictional) narratives, these are analysed for content and occurrence following a quantitative, and not a qualitative, methodology.

Given the power and the possibility of narrative research as this has been conducted using broadly a big stories approach, the obvious question for this thesis, as indeed for the entire endeavour upon which this research is built is…Can small stories do as much as big stories can?

The answer of course will be, "yes, but differently.", but to accept that answer we need to look firstly at what big stories *can't do,* and then look objectively at what small stories *can do*. Now, in the previous section we briefly drew some characteristics and implications of the small stories paradigm. These included an emphasis on naturally occurring talk in interaction, and on a means to trace the discursive context of talk, since context is part of the 'emergence' or local occasioning of interactive narrative work. Big stories, from the perspective of small stories, can be seen to have differences in terms of content, structure and temporal framing. These are due to the fact that research into big stories tends to be concerned with the text of the story itself - eliciting this text in interview situations - and is therefore is not overly concerned with the context (and the *effect* of that context) on narrative production. Secondly, big stories, because of this eliciting, and this concern with the text of a story, tend to be longer, monological, and a more polished achievement than small stories. Thirdly, the temporal frame of big stories is resolutely in the past, with a sequential/chronological ordering of information.

Given these remarks, where big stories fall short should be fairly evident. In terms of textual content, these stories represent a divorce from the social dimension of their conception, the, "fleshy immediacy of the present moment" (Freeman 2006: 133). Not only this, but in their crafting these stories project a coherent image of the teller far removed from the subtle shifts of footing that Goffman describes (Goffman 1981 : 124). The result of this narrative 'smoothing', closure seeking and (re)ordering of events narrated (Freeman 2006 : 133) is a fictionalisation of the self even when the story purports to be based on fact. Finally, big stories present a distillation of the events, positionings, alignments, and assessments that gave rise to their telling. Freeman refers to the way in which they are removed from the narrative archive or foundation of the 'real' (Freeman 2006 : 133).

Of course, these are not necessarily irremediable vices. For Freeman, on the contrary, the narrative distance that is implied in big stories is a positive thing, since it allows us to disengage objects of importance from an otherwise indistinguishably unreflexive mass of impressions. However, what these points do raise is the ways in which we can begin to look to the efficiency of small stories and their relative advantages and disadvantages. This can be done by critically approaching the literature on small stories. The most extensive literature on small stories, and the most representative, is generated by the key thinkers in the movement: Bamberg, De Fina and Georgakopoulou, and it is to this that we shall turn in the following section.

Adopting small stories in research

What we are looking at here is the literature on small stories in order to see how this genre can accomplish the deep investigative work that has so far been mostly the domain of big stories. It is unlikely that small stories will accomplish the same things in the same way, but what is important is their being able to address the same kinds of issues in a convincing and meaningful way. We can take up here the criteria with which we framed the discussion in the first and second sections of this chapter: namely the responsiveness of small stories with respect to content, structure, temporal framing, self, social context and (re)ordering of experience, and examine each in turn.

As concerns content, a first aspect of narrative analysis that can be discussed is the possibility of applying a critical discoursive analysis to the text of a story. Critical discourse approaches typically focus on recurrence of terms, subject position, and characterisation of events and storyworld figures in order to engage with larger societal discourses and ideologies (see Purvis and Hunt 1993). What is of interest is the passage from micro (the particular story) to macro (ideology). If small stories can furnish a response to this kind of analytic direction then this would be a powerful argument in their favour.

In small story research a 'critical' approach involves analysis of the positioning that is accomplished by tellers in what is a much more interactive situation of talk. Positioning therefore has at least two levels, the content of the story and the interactive work:

> In working from these two levels of positioning (one with respect to the content of what the story was designed to be about, the other with respect to the coordination of the interaction between speaker and audience), we are better situated to make assumptions about the ideological positions (or master narratives) within which narrators are positioning a sense of self, i.e., as signalling complicity or opposition in order to mark off segments that can be countered. The analysis of the first two positioning levels is intended to progressively lead to a differentiation of how narrators work up a position as complicit with or countering dominant discourses. (Bamberg 2006 : 145).

De Fina (2013a) makes the point that positioning is what can best bridge the gap, "between interactionally-oriented and more traditionally oriented studies of narrative identities" (De Fina 2013a : 40). De Fina bases her arguments on the Small Stories Analysis (SSA) work done by Bamberg and Georgakopoulou (2008) and supports an approach to positioning that works on three levels, where:

> […] level 1 positioning refers to the way characters are positioned in relation to one another within the story world, while level 2 deals with the way narrators position themselves vis-à vis their interlocutors in the story-telling world. Level 3 explores 'how the speaker/narrator positions a sense of self/identity with regards to dominant discourses or master narratives' (Bamberg and Georgakopoulou 2008 : 385) and how s/he 'makes these relevant to the interaction in the here and now'. (De Fina 2013a : 43).

Level 3 positioning distinguishes then, essentially, between the highly local interactional work and more 'portable' (De Fina 2013a : 43) selves, and reinforces the work done by Georgakopoulou (2008) on 'solidification' of roles. Georgakopoulou's point is that identity claims (the 3rd level positioning referred to above) even though locally occasioned, can be identified as longer-term productions that have habituality and resonance for the participants. The key mechanisms for this solidification of roles

are iterativity (repetition of semiotic resources), narrativity (emplotment) and stylisation (performance-oriented shifts in phrasing and footing). Indeed Georgakopoulou (2005) convincingly shows the power of story lines to situate individuals (whether present or absent) in social space.

Small stories can therefore definitely connect with the needs of critical discursive approaches, but they do it less in a 'textual' manner and more in terms of 'practice' and 'interaction'. This has the advantage of making small story research more sensitive to 'context' in terms of both the physical space in which interaction occurs and in terms of the interactants and institutional setting. This is an important aspect of positioning, since the indexical operations that are at the heart of positioning are also operations that have as their 'origo' (see Hanks 1992 : 51) either the speaker or embedded characters in the storyworld. However, the consequences of adopting a small stories approach for treatment of social context extend beyond positioning.

These consequences can be seen clearly in De Fina and Georgakopoulou's programmatic assertion of what they call a SIA (social interactional approach - SIA):

> The SIA attempts to synthesize the local occasioning of narratives in conversations with their role in a variety of macro-processes, such as the sanction of modes of knowledge accumulation and transmission, the exclusion and inclusion of social groups, the enactment of institutional routines, the perpetration of social roles, etc. In this process of synthesis, narratives take different shapes and generic forms that are intimately related to those macro-processes and practices that constitute them. (De Fina and Georgakopoulou 2008a : 382).

Within an SIA, small stories can use a plethora of analytic tools. These can concern the strategic moves that people make in the process of jointly constructed narrative, and an analysis of the categorisation devices that speakers mobilise. A small story approach can therefore flag up elements of interpretation that would otherwise remain hard to observe or interpret within the content of the story itself. In De Fina's (2008) exploration of an Italian American card-playing club, for instance, whilst stories seem on first analysis to be concerned with disparate and unconnected events, when the practice of the club is taken into account, along with the biographies of the players, what is at issue is the doing being of an Italian-American identity, and a claim to Italian heritage. This comes out much more in the code switching, the use of ideophones and in the indexicality of place names and cultural artifacts than it does in the content, or text, of the stories themselves.

Turning to the second organisational theme of this section, that of structure, this is best approached through a discussion on genre, where this term can be understood to refer to a recognisable pattern of interactive organisation and orientation by the participants. In this respect it is important to note that Georgakopoulou and De Fina devote specific attention to genre in their early work on small stories as in their joint reader on narrative analysis (De Fina and Georgakopoulou 2012). De Fina (2009) makes a case for considering genre in light of four aspects that focus on behaviour and expectation:

- a sense of the likely task at hand,
- the roles and relationships typically involved in an activity,
- the ways the activity can be organised, and
- the kinds of resources suited to carrying it out. (De Fina 2009 : 238)

In my own data collection I found the genres that they have established remarkably robust. The genres given are: 1) accounts, told to justify, mitigate or repair a participant's alignment, or in response to evaluative questions (De Fina 2009 : 240); 2) breaking news, which encompass events that began either the previous day or on the morning of the telling and are in the process of unfolding (Georgakopoulou 2008 : 601); 3) projections, in which possible future scenarios are jointly pieced together by participants; 4) shared stories, where condensed references, a punchline or a one-liner that form an indexical link with previous tellings and events are enmeshed in story telling activity (Georgakopoulou 2006a : 127); and 5) *refusals* to tell that highlight the negotiation around telling and telling roles (see for example De Fina and Georgakopoulou 2008b : 279). Moreover, Georgakopoulou (2008 : 601) refines breaking news to include 2) a) Reports of recent mediated interactions that are episodically organised and often contain quotatives and reported speech, and 2) b) Stories-in-the-making that involve the imbrication of text messages or other information in a present situation of speech.

Small story genre	Sub-genre	Characteristics
Account		justify, mitigate or repair a participant's alignment or in response to evaluative questions
Breaking news		events in the process of unfolding
	Reports of recent mediated interactions	
	Stories-in-the-making	
Projections		possible future scenarios are jointly pieced together
Shared stories		previous tellings and events are indexically enmeshed in story telling activity
Refusals to tell		negotiation around telling and telling roles

Table 1: Recapitulation of the genres of small stories.

The importance of genres to narrative study is that they allow a refinement in an appreciation of the kinds of participant activity that are involved and consequently a refinement in identification of data and its context. Methodologically, when furnished with a robust and nuanced taxonomy of story types one can design data collection to focus on one or the other and in turn achieve comparability in data. Reliably identifiable and robust genres for small stories bring these firmly into the fold of approaches to 'narrative as text' and therewith open them up to analytic techniques developed within that line of inquiry (see De Fina and Georgakopoulou 2012 : 26). Put simply, one can measure participant

realisation of a genre and reasons for deviation from a norm. This is particularly relevant to the data of this research as concerns the genre of 'accounts' which were used in interesting ways by participants in institutional settings such as the mall and the Sandton Convention Centre. Indeed the deployment of genre is necessary to an SIA approach, which, slightly modified, is the research direction taken by this thesis.

Study of choice of genre is therefore a very productive line of inquiry within small story narrative research, and De Fina goes on to make the point that:

> […] a consideration of conditions of production (including expectations on topic, structure and roles) focuses the attention of researchers on the constitutive influence of contexts with respect to narrative form and narrative development. (De Fina 2009 : 253).

The question of participant orientation to, and production of, genre brings this discussion around to another powerful attribute of small story research, namely the ability of small stories to focus on the interactive construction of narratives. A focus on interaction is pursued so as to reach from the micro to the macro, from the local occasioning of narrative to the kinds of ideological, discursive, and categorisation work that is done by tellers. This is to say that what is of interest is *what motivations* participants have as they go about the work of constructing the story with which they are engaged and what that says about their relative power and agency, their respective telling roles and considerations of gender, age, identity, etc. The understanding that story telling is an accomplishment, a process, an achievement that is both sequential and chronological is put to the service of observing *in what way* it is that tellers combine their activity to produce narrative and what that says about the meso and macro contexts within which the telling takes place.

Small stories, by including both story *and* telling in analysis, can, for instance, contribute fantastically rich work on temporal framing. Whereas, in a Labovian (1972b : 363) approach to narrative, the events are recounted in the past, and chronologically ordered by the teller, in a small stories approach this chronological framing and ordering is disrupted. As the genres of breaking news and projections indicate, these are stories that emerge in the present and extend to the imagining of events in the future. Not only this, but often chronological ordering is disrupted by the tellers as events in the story world are embedded in the real time of the story-telling. In doing so, small stories open analysis up to the desires and unrealised wishes of participants. As against a subjectively ordered series of events in the past, therefore, small stories offer the possibility of making sense of the inter-subjective tellings of stories that straddle the present.

As tellers negotiate the unfolding of small stories they do something very interesting, which is to establish a common temporal frame that allows contributions from different speakers. So, against the conception of small stories as impoverished by their short duration, or the lack of crafting that Freeman (2006) notices, one must rather see short stories as *distributed* tellings, rich in allusion, in identity work and with a stronger reliance on, and constitution of, the situation of telling. This is of course one of the principal reasons that prompted me to choose small stories as the phenomenon to study in this linguistic ethnography.

In judging small stories as against big stories, we have looked at content, structure and temporal framing, social context, self and (re)ordering of experience. To conclude this section, we can examine

what self can be captured in the analysis of small stories? And if this self is as rich in consequence as that of big stories?

Sensitive to the very important gap between observable behaviour and subjective experience, small stories also focus on what is a fantastically understudied phenomenon in narrative research: *refusals* to tell (see for example De Fina and Georgakopoulou 2008b : 279). This fifth genre (in addition to accounts, breaking news, projections and shared stories) can serve as an example of the depth and poignancy of small stories in treatment of individual experience. In discussing this, I am reminded of Silverman's (2001) discussion of delicate objects in counselling, and of my participant, Buhle to whom I refer in chapter 6. When talking of her previous boyfriend, "no he was just an **ass**" (Buhle transcript 3, line 59) she marks a pause of 2.0 seconds. As has been indicated by Pomerantz (1984) and by Kitzinger and Frith (1999) a pause of anything longer than a 0.1 of a second indicates a negative assessment of a preceding turn. We will never know the full details of Buhle's story, but that is not the point. This reference obviously marked her personally, and gives an indication of how deep these seemingly everyday references can run. In turn it indicates to us the power of small stories to provide an entry into this depth of personal experience, which, as opposed to Freeman, I would qualify as at least as rich as the distillation offered by big stories.

The needs of this thesis, genre, and Bucholtz and Hall's framework for research into identity

As concerns the needs of this thesis, which is to say, the project of providing an investigation of a site, Sandton, what is at issue is the possibility of a linguistic ethnography to be able to make the passage from micro to meso to macro in a way that is productive. In this research project therefore, small story genres are better conceived of as a tool to harness analysis, by bringing to the fore *groups* of behaviours, and specific components of the genre that *associate* participants and situations. This is an important point, and must be emphasised. The project is not a study of genre *per se*, but ethnographic research into site and interation, and therefore some aspects of genre, as outlined in table 1 above, will be more pertinent than others. This is the case in chapters 4 and 5 where repair of alignment is more significant to analysis of 'accounts' than the idea that these respond to an explicit or implicit question demanding an explanation. It is also the case in the 'breaking news' analysis of chapter 5, where what is sometimes brought to the fore is the recency of events.

This raises two crucial questions that must be dealt with immediately: how did I decide that a certain fragment was a token of a certain type? And how were the definitions of genre in table 1 above operationalised? The first question goes to the heart of the excerpts that are reproduced in the pages that follow and that, in several cases, at first glance do not seem to have anything of a story. To answer this thoroughly one must understand that De Fina and Georgakopoulou's genres are analytic and not productive. They are *a posteriori* analytic categories that assemble and prioritise specific traits. Participants do not orient to these genres as they would, for instance, in writing a letter rather than a report, or watching a detective film as opposed to a horror film. From this perspective then, each genre can be parsed for its constitutive elements and this parsing applied to the transcripts in appendix, of which certain excerpts have been reproduced in the body of this thesis. 'Accounts', for instance, often mobilise a chronological or sequential ordering of several events in their assemblage of a situation that then can serve the function of mitigating or repairing alignment or responding to an evaluative question. 'Shared stories', comparatively, need to index previous tellings and events in the construction of the present story, and these indexes need to be present in the contributions of the different participants, which is to say distributed amongst them, and not reserved for one teller.

In each case then I took the constitutive elements of narrative present in a transcript, such as event, chronology, embedded characters, indexical relations, evaluation, markers of causality etc and applied these to the genres given in table 1 in order to achieve a fit between constitutive element and genre, keeping in mind the aim of grouping narratives in a productively analysable way. In several cases there were elements in a story that could lend themselves to inclusion in a different genre. Breaking news and shared stories are a case in point. Both have something of the networked, the reticular, and it is the unpacking of this commonality that, in fact, leads to such a productive use of genre in the analysis of chapter 4 where breaking news and shared stories flag up a difference in activities and participant relationships throughout the site of Sandton.

The question of the commonality of constitutive elements in small story genres allows us to now answer the question of their operationalisation. Underlying all of the genres listed in table 1 is the recognition of a body of knowledge that is reserved, shared or mobilised by participants. It is mobilised in accounts in order to respond to evaluative prompts. It is reserved in the case of refusals to tell. It is shared among participants in shared stories and breaking news. This body of knowledge, the knowledge of a participant with respect to the world, is a theme which we have already discussed

when considering the portability or solidification of role (De Fina 2013a and Georgakopoulou 2008). This sharing, reservation or mobilisation of knowledge is a fundamental operation, and one that can be studied ethnographically. In the research of this thesis, it is an operation that was highly noticeable in the interactions of participants, and that needed to be brought out in the data that I have reproduced. The value of this knowledge to participants was an essential facet of their doing being. As such, on some occasions, I have given more weight to this underlying knowledge than I have to the analytic features of a story.

This is particularly true of three transcripts that have been included in this thesis and that can be discussed briefly as an example of the operationalisation of small story genres. The first excerpts, numbers 6 and 7 (Dikeledi segment 2 4) of Appendix 2-3-3) concern a manager of an online learning platform in talk with a client who introduces a parable and a biblical exegesis. Their interaction is definitely neither talk nor socialisation at this point, as both Dikeledi and the client are involved in rhythmical prosodic marking and assent that indexes religious observance. The body of knowledge that is shared between them is *narrative*, a strong, codified narrative that encapsulates a particular charismatic vision of the life of Christ and its repurcussions for the interpretation of their everyday. This data is therefore essential to understanding one role of narrative at the site under study, but it requires a fairly substantial reorientation of the genre of shared story to include codified and ritual indexes.

Similarly, transcript excerpt 58 (Grace segment 2_2 2) Appendix 2-5-2), where a student from the Congo raises the events that surround completion of secondary studies in the city of Kinshasa, contains a body of knowledge that is immensely relevant for the participant. Because of the effects of civil war in the Congo, schooling in Kinshasa is hard to obtain and complete. The fact that Grace could finalise her studies and then come to South Africa to continue with tertiary education is an enormous testament to her courage and tenacity. The events she only alludes to in this excerpt contain valuable ethnographic insights, and their inclusion as an account againt involves a reanalysis of the genre and of what it means to align or to respond to evaluation. A final example concerns excerpt 10 (Elliot segment 4 1) of Appendix 2-3-2) where the personification of the moon by Elliot's son involves so much that goes beyond mere socialisation. Elliot repairs his son's turns at talk, insists on use of English, adopts a pedagogic strategy that can best be understood as an example of translanguaging etc. To consider this excerpt as an account of the moon, means giving the aspects of narrative that are present (personification, embedded story world, characters etc) more import than they could, from other perspectives, warrant. And yet, again, it is in service of the ethnographic project that this step has been taken.

In short then, small story genres have been operationalised within an ethnographic focus on participant knowledge in addition to the emphasis, already discussed, on interactional features. The overarching aim is to provide a comprehensive analytic grid that harnesses small stories, but that completes and reconciles existing approaches, particularly as concerns positioning and the imbrication of the micro and the meso of narratives within ethnographically researchable macro processes, categorisations and discourses, and that provides clear axes for the analysis of intersubjective relationships. This framework will enable investigation into demographics, structures, and the drawing of comparisons across data collected from different participants, social spaces and communities of practice. Through such a framework, what will emerge in the following chapters will be, I hope, a thick description of narrative interaction that throws a light on one of South Africa's new cities and on the

situated work that is done by people of all walks of life in accomplishing a sense of a vibrant, but complex, modernity.

Small Stories Analysis (SSA), as proposed by Bamberg and Georgakopoulou (2008) and adopted by Oostendorp and Jones (2015) in South Africa, although not fully framing the axes along which intersubjective relationships may be analysed, nor completely accounting for macro processes and structures, is however a powerful consideration of relationships between tellers and of their positioning. The Social Interactional Approach (SIA), that was also discussed above (De Fina and Georgakopoulou 2008a, and De Fina 2003), brings the focus of analysis down sharply on practice, and interaction. It is, again, a very powerful tool in narrative analysis. The points it raises as to micro and macro levels, historicity, variability and trajectory of narratives, are pressing issues for research. Both of these frameworks indicate the power of small stories approaches and the potential that could be gained from their harmonisation and reconciliation within a more explicitly ethnographic framework. In this thesis I have chosen to adopt the sociocultural linguistic approach for investigation into identity and interaction that is formulated by Bucholtz and Hall (2005) and to reconcile this with small stories research. The project is to provide a coherent structuring of an approach to linguistic ethnography.

A first reason for adopting this framework is its compatability with the views of interaction and identity that are put forward in the small stories approach as this has been discussed above. Secondly, Bucholtz and Hall's work offers a scaffolding for the ethnographic analysis of positioning that completes and reconciles the investigation of this theme within small stories. This is particularly true of the passage from the micro-analysis of a specific interaction to the meso of solidified roles, practices and categories, to the macro of institution, discourse and societal structure. The framework, finally, also provides a great deal of clarity with respect to axes of intersubjective relations, which is to say the construction of identity through complementary and oppositional deployment of similarity/difference, genuineness/artifice or authority/deligitimacy.

To get to the specifics of the framework, Bucholtz and Hall (2005) note five principles that should frame sociocultural linguistic investigation into identity and interaction: 1) the emergence principle, 2) the positionality principle, 3) the indexicality principle, 4) the relationality principle, and 5) the partialness principle. Through these five principles the approach articulates a full consideration both of the concept, functioning, mechanisms and analysis of identity, as well as methodology, as this is understood from a point of view of interaction. The five principles can be resumed in a table as follows:

Identity and interaction		
1	**Emergence**	"Identity is best viewed as the emergent product rather than the pre-existing source of linguistic and other semiotic practices and therefore as fundamentally a social and cultural phenomenon." (Bucholtz and Hall 2005 : 588)
2	**Positionality**	"Identities encompass (a) macro-level demographic categories; (b) local, ethnographically specific cultural positions; and (c) temporary and interactionally specific stances and participant roles." (Bucholtz and Hall 2005 : 592)

3	**Indexicality**	"Identity relations emerge in interaction through several related indexical processes, including: (a) overt mention of identity categories and labels; (b) implicatures and presuppositions regarding one's own or others' identity position; (c) displayed evaluative and epistemic orientations to ongoing talk, as well as interactional footings and participant roles; and (d) the use of linguistic structures and systems that are ideologically associated with specific personas and groups." (Bucholtz and Hall 2005 : 594)
4	**Relationality**	"Identities are intersubjectively constructed through several, often overlapping, complementary relations, including similarity/difference, genuineness/artifice, and authority/delegitimacy." (Bucholtz and Hall 2005 : 598)
5	**Partialness**	"Any given construction of identity may be in part deliberate and intentional, in part habitual and hence often less than fully conscious, in part an outcome of interactional negotiation and contestation, in part an outcome of others' perceptions and representations, and in part an effect of larger ideological processes and material structures that may become relevant to interaction. It is therefore constantly shifting both as interaction unfolds and across discourse contexts." (Bucholtz and Hall 2005 : 606)

Table 2: Recapitulation of the five principles of Bucholtz and Hall's approach (Bucholtz and Hall 2005).

The first principle, emergence, introduces comparability into a small story approach. As De Fina and Georgakopoulou (2012 : 86 – 124) acknowledge, narratives are instantiated and actualised in the telling. 'Emergence' retains the focus on the fact that any story, even small stories collected for a narrative research project, will be just one instance of many possible tellings, and each of these possible, parallel, tellings will be something that is constructed jointly, within the socio-historic, physical and participative context of the telling; responding to and constituting the participants. In Chapter 4, on emergence, we will be looking at some examples of stories that are re-told several times, and the manner in which they respond to Sandton's discursive environment will be one of the first ways in which we will begin to come to an understanding of what Sandton 'is' for the participants concerned.

The effect of this principle is therefore to treat identity as something that is collaborative, temporary and contingent. In this respect, one needs to observe two things: firstly, Bucholtz and Hall are not advocating a hard-line conversation analytic perspective in which there is nothing outside of the situation of talk, rather, they are acknowledging the 'doing' of identity, its 'accomplishment' and the ways in which this doing is dialogical, cultural etc (Bucholtz and Hall 2005 : 587 -588). Secondly, one needs to come to terms with a very simple analytic problem when researching identity, and that is the fact that the only person who has any hope at all of seeing all of one's actions, all of one's accomplishments, all of one's desires and realisations, is oneself. Which is to say that everyone else sees only one's kinesics, hear's only one's words, and pays attention only to one's turns at talk, and this in a very circumscribed and particular setting. Thus one literally 'is' to a person what one 'does' at that time, in that place, and with those means that are locally available. And it is only this 'doing' that can be researched, analysed and be used to draw conclusions about participant and site.

'Emergence' is almost a sine qua non of linguistic ethnography. As concerns this research into Sandton, it's purpose is to address aspects of the telling world such as audience design, intertextuality, alignment and distancing, indexing, style (and style accretion) and passing. Passing, is a very good example of the kind of thing with which we are concerned here. It is no accident that it is a staple of linguistic ethnography from Gumperz (1968, 1982) to Rampton (2014). As Bucholtz and Hall note:

> […] it is perhaps easiest to recognise identity as emergent in cases where speakers' language use does not conform with the social category to which they are normatively assigned. (Bucholtz and Hall 2005 : 588).

The authors go on to discuss cross-gender performance. The case is fascinating, of African American drag queens whose identity can be understood as polyphonous and performed (Barrett 1999 : 317). The analysis is one of 'stance' where these drag queens take on the characteristics associated with 'being' white, rich, female and heterosexual, but of course a part of the performance consists in lapses in the passing, in the veiled transpiercing of other identities:

> Are you ready to see some muscles? (audience yells) … some dick?
> Excuse me I'm not supposed to say that …
> Words like that in the microphone …
> Like shit, fuck, and all that, you know?
> I'm a Christian woman.
> I go to church.
> I'm *always* on my knees. (Barrett 1999 : 324).

The 'doing' of identity refers to the epistemic paradigm shift begun by Garfinkel. His poignant study of Agnes, and her performance of a 'natural' 'normal' female resonates in Barrett's study even though not explicitly referenced in the bibliography:

> In Agnes' case it is of particular interest because the change of sexual status was accompanied by her paying marked and deliberate attention to making the new identity secure against some known and many unknown contingencies. […] Her concern to escape detection had a value of highest priority. Almost every situation had the feature therefore of an actual or potential "character and fitness" test. It would be less accurate to say of her that she has passed than that she was continually engaged in the work of passing. (Garfinkel 1967 : 136).

The second principle, 'positionality', builds logically on from that of 'emergence'. If 'identity' conceived interactionally, is *performed* - a product of a 'doing' - then the *kinds* of identity that are relevant become those of the a) macro-level demographic categories such as race, gender, age, b) the local ethnographically relevant cultural positions, and c) temporary and interactionally specific stances and participant roles. This second principle writes back very efficiently to Bamberg, De Fina and Georgakopoulou's work on positionality, as discussed above (the Small Stories Analysis – SSA - of Bamberg and Georgakopoulou 2008). It gives an ethnographic precision to their positioning level 1 (the storied world), level 2 (the story telling roles), and level 3 (macro discourses and processes). Indeed, at this point, Bucholtz and Hall offer a significant deepening of levels 2 and 3 by including demographic categories and cultural positions as well as discursive and ideological ones. What this also adds is the reminder that research must take account of the terms in which the participants themselves conceive their roles. Which is to say that, for instance, in the research of this thesis, the fact that one participant – Buhle, whom we discussed above, in terms of refusals to tell - should

position herself as 'kasi' (from the township) is a category that must be taken seriously, understood, and analysed for its implications on narrative interaction. This positionality will inform both content and structure and this will be something that will surely be picked-up upon by other participants. The advantages for research are evident.

The third principle, 'indexicality' underlies linguistic interaction generally, and is as relevant to small stories approaches as it is to Bucholtz and Hall's framework. Indexicality is, for instance, specifically mentioned in Blommaert and De Fina (2015) and De Fina (2013a). Bucholtz and Hall define indexicality as, "involv[ing] the creation of semiotic links between linguistic forms and social meanings" (Bucholtz and Hall 2005 : 594). A study of indexical relations is a manner of approaching interaction (and narrative interaction) as text. It offers the advantage of once again bridging the gap between the micro interactions of a particular story and the macro-level context in a simple and direct way, since what is at issue is the *social* and *cultural* meaning-making resources that have been mobilised in a particular component of a story. Since it is such as fundamental principle, and one that is applied in such a tranversal way in both small stories and Bucholtz and Hall's framework, in the chapters that follow, indexicality will be integrated within considerations of emergence, positioning and relationality.

'Relationality', the fourth principle, refers essentially to what the authors term 'tactics of intersubjectivity' (Bucholtz and Hall 2004a and 2004b) that are mobilised consciously, unconsciously or habitually in interactions. 'Tactic' is used in the sense that de Certeau (1984) gives the term, which is to say in a bottom-up way, as the manner in which individuals can subvert and find creativity within the constraints of a structure. Intersubjectivity refers to the dialogic constitution of self. These tactics revolve around the distinction between self and other, and between in-group and out-group. Their strength as concept resides in the way, once again, that they can lead directly to the macro from the micro-details of interaction.

The nature of this passage, from micro to macro, can be seen clearly in the first of the paired oppositional relations that are discussed: 'adequation and distinction' (Bucholtz and Hall 2005 : 599). Adequation refers to the human tendency to group even disparate elements by reference to some element that they share, or *seem* to share. As such this relation can refer to membership categorisation, but also to the ideological work that is performed through associational use of attributions. As concerns 'distinction', this refers of course to the work of Bourdieu on the social differentiation of markers of in-group belonging, and therewith to cultural capital and social reproduction (Bourdieu 1984). The passage from micro to macro then operates within the powerful concepts of bourdieusian analysis: habitus, field (1985, 1989, 1992), cultural capital and the linguistic market (1978). Once again, I feel the affinity of Bucholtz and Hall's framework with small stories analysis. The linguistic market, for instance, was the analytic lens adopted for Georgakopoulou's consideration of the small stories of female students and how these constructed understandings of masculinity (Georgakopoulou 2008).

However, tactics of intersubjectivity are not limited to relations of same/difference. The second oppositive pairing is, 'authentication and denaturalisation' (Bucholtz and Hall 2005 : 601), which is essentially an opposition between the genuine and the artificial. Through these relations it is possible to explore the social processes that are played out in discourse. Thus the discursive verification of certain types of identities, or, contrarily, the processes of disruption of imposed identities. Bucholtz and Hall also explore, through the relation of 'authorisation and illegitimation', how institutions and

structures generally impose certain types of identity and dismiss, censor, or ignore (Bucholtz and Hall 2005 : 603) other types of identity. What is at issue here is the selective practice of certain identity characteristics and what that says about the place in which they are practiced.

The principle of relationality turns in a significant way around communities of practice. This is one of the stronger points of Bucholtz and Hall's framework, since a communities of practice approach (see particularly Bucholtz 1999) is much more ethnographically sensitive than the more totalising 'speech community'. It allows indexical features of narratives, for instance, to be analysed locally in terms that are relevant to participants and which take account of local and institutional contexts. For an ethnography of place, being able to bring out the communalities in participants that are the result (and constitutive) of common involvement in fields such as tourism, hostelry etc is essential.

Finally, the fifth principle, 'partialness' is much more a methodological and analytic caveat than specifically a heuristic for a certain kind of analysis. As Bucholtz and Hall note:

> Whereas the critique of ethnography has been most interested in the partialness construed by one kind of identity relation – that of researcher and subject – our fifth principle attempts to capture not only this dynamic, but the entire multitude of ways in which identity exceeds the individual self. Because identity is inherently relational, it will always be partial, produced through contextually situated and ideologically informed configurations of self and other. Even seemingly coherent displays of identity, such as those that pose as deliberate and intentional, are reliant on both interactional and ideological constraints for their articulation […] (Bucholtz and Hall 2005 : 605).

The pertinence of this framework to a small stories approach is therefore how it brings together the strands of this research project by including ethnography, practice theory and discursive environment. The first principle encapsulates how small stories are embedded in communities of practice and in the production and reproduction of social processes and structures. It thereby opens analysis to the trajectories of narratives (as emphasised in the Social Interactional Approach) and how these adapt to participant transitioning through social space, adapting to discursive environment. The second principle identifies the need for ethnography in drawing up locally and interactionally relevant categories and clearly outlines the ways in which research can pass from micro analysis of the fine grain of narrative interaction to the meso and macro discourses, processes and categories with which, at heart, I am concerned in this research. The third principle emphasises a fundamental linguistic operation that is as relevant to positioning as it is to intersubjectivity. The fourth principle tackles the way in which participants can be understood to mobilise resources, and is highly important to the analysis of a specific cohort. The fifth principle, finally, must be understood as a methodological caveat to which I have endeavoured to do justice through the use of GPS technology in how I worked with participants, and in how I will be analysing their narratives.

In this section I hope to have demonstrated the potential of Bucholtz and Hall's framework for interaction and identity, and the way in which it can serve as a guiding heuristic for the research work of this thesis. I do however wish to complete their framework with a geosemiotic lens as concerns the artifacts of the discursive environment, and a discussion of this move is what will occupy us in the following section.

The discursive environment and the semiotic landscape

Underlying Bucholtz and Hall's framework (2005 : 605) is a clear acknowledgement that identities are partial and locally occasioned. This is turn resonates with De Fina and Georgakopoulou who link narrative interaction to what they term the 'discursive environment' (De Fina and Georgakopoulou 2012 : 115). There is, in analysing any discursive environment, full reason to include work on semiotic landscapes. The field of semiotic landscapes as introduced by Jaworski and Thurlow (2010) covers space, language and identity and is a powerful means of undertaking sociolinguistic research. Building on concurrent work in the field of 'linguistic landscapes' (see for example Shohamy and Gorter (eds.) 2009 or Shohamy, Ben-Rafael and Barni (eds.) 2010) the aim is to study the:

> Interplay between language, visual discourse, and the spatial practices and dimensions of culture, especially the textual mediation or discursive construction of place and the use of space as a semiotic resource in its own right. (Jaworski and Thurlow 2010 : 1)

Semiotic landscapes research examines the textual and visual artifacts of a space and allows sociolinguistic projects to reach conclusions as to language use, discourses of consumption, the role of 'top-down' and 'bottom-up' cycles of institutional and non-institutional constraint, and the commodification of space. Stroud and Mpendukana (2009) in particular, use textual and visual artifacts to access a 'material ethnography' that is sensitive to the discourses and the intertextuality of these artifacts and how they are relevant to participant talk.

Firstly, these artifacts are moments in the circulation of discourses, secondly they are an important aspect of space and field. The first point may be understood from a perspective of artifacts as publicly displaying specific choices of form and content. Stroud and Mpendukana (2009) regard material artifacts of the semiotic landscape as being:

> […] semiotic moments in the social circulation of discourses (in multiple languages), and view signs as re-semiotised, socially invested distributions of multilingual resources, the material, symbolic and interactional artifacts of a sociolinguistics of mobility. (Stroud and Mpendukana 2009 : 363).

What is at issue is the way in which material artifacts such as billboards and other signage, capture multilingual and symbolic language use. Within the forum that is publicly accessible space (such as the street, the corridors of malls, the facades of buildings etc) artifacts of the semiotic landscape contribute to the, "restructuration of urban sociolinguistic space" (Stroud and Mpendukana 2009 : 364). They do this by a process of 'enregisterment' which is to say the "consolidation of repertoires of socially recognised forms" (Stroud and Mpendukana 2009 : 364, and also Agha 2005b). These forms may concern multilingual resources such as slangs, mixings and crossings. They may also concern, the expression of practices. In either case, the artifact actualises discourses that are a vital part of the interactional environment.

The second point is linked to the first. If artifacts are understood as moments in the circulation of discourse, then they must also be understood as forming part of field. Field, in the Bourdieusian sense, is the symbolic space within which practice takes its sense. A field is a configuration of structured practices inculcated in both the body (hexis) and in the perceptual schemas of the individual subject - habitus. Field and habitus together constitute the capital (social, economic, cultural and symbolic) of a person (Bourdieu 1989). Field therefore is not a physical space but rather a configuration, a hierarchy,

a historical process (Hanks 2005). However, field can also be associated with space. At Sandton, for example, and as discussed in the previous chapter, its architecture has reserved specific spaces for fields such as hostelry, banking, health, retail, education, religion etc. A very visible manifestation of these fields is the ensemble of semiotic artifacts that, in themselves, actualise relevant discourses. Thus, in the retail space of the mall, for instance, the artifacts of the semiotic landscape contain incitements to buy, certainly, but they also attribute roles, affect, hierarchies and modalities that are manifestations of the field to which they appertain. Including analysis of these artifacts within Bucholtz and Hall's framework (2005) and Georgakopoulou and Da Fina's narrative approach, provides a means of accessing an important aspect of the discursive environment to which participants orient.

In order to analyse these artifacts, we will be using a 'geosemiotic' lens (Scollon and Scollon 2003). Geosemiotics (Scollon and Scollon 2003) is a heuristic for the study of artifacts of a semiotic landscape (signage, notices, posters etc) within a nexus approach (Scollon and Scollon 2001) that sees such artifacts as a site of encounter of four intersecting 'cycles': interaction order, social actor (habitus), place semiotics and visual semiotics (see table 3 below). The first cycle consists of the interaction order (Goffman 1983b) which is to say the norms, tactics and subversions of presentation of self within institutional and extra-institutional constraints. Scollon and Scollon (2003) expand the original Goffmanian concept to include considerations of haptic space and proximal distance. This cycle, the manner in which people interact - and which finds expression in the way elements such as time, affect and modality are portrayed in the artifacts of the semiotic landscape – is in turn dependant on the second cycle of the social actor and habitus. The point of this second cycle is to bring analysis of textual/visual artifacts to reflect the taken-for-granteds (reading direction for example) and the recurrent situational interpretations without which many aspects of an artifact would be incomprehensible. However, Scollon and Scollon (2003) also have in mind, under this cycle, a broader understanding of practice and habituality which is endebted to both Bourdieu (see for example Bourdieu 1989, 1992 and 2008) and Nishida's 'bundles' of histories (Nishida 1958), which is to say the affective and associative networks upon which we base interpretation.

The third and fourth cycles of the geosemiotic approach consist of the semiotics of place and visual semiotics. These cycles apply directly to the artifact and concern, firstly, the norms and dialogicity (intersemiotic expansion) between artifacts, and, secondly, a multimodal analysis of a specific artifact. The understanding that texts comprise an interplay of language, visual and spatial elements – that texts are 'multimodal' (see Kress 2010a and 2010b, and Kress and Van Leeuwen 1996 and 2001) - has been a powerful tool within the methodologies and conceptual frameworks that characterise Linguistic Landscape and Semiotic Landscape research. Multimodality has opened up, for instance, considerations of salience, temporality, modality, perception, and the contribution of vectors, colour and represented participants in understanding text. This, in turn, has allowed research to confront important themes in sociolinguistics such as subject position and the interaction or dialogicity between producer and receiver and between artifacts.

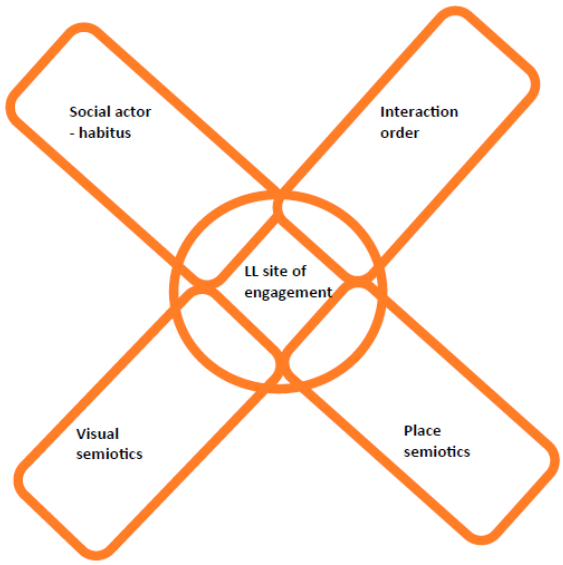


Table 3: Schematic representation of the four 'cycles' of geosemiotics (adapted from Scollon and Scollon 2003).

A geosemiotic analysis has many points of comparison with Bucholtz and Hall's (2005) framework. There is an emphasis on practice and on the situatedness of meaning. There is also an emphasis on interaction and habitus that echoes Bucholtz and Hall's comments concerning structure, habitual action and agency. In fact, geosemiotics fits incredibly well into the 'meso' of analysis; allowing a deeper theorising of the local contexts for interaction. It also however, through place semiotics and visual semiotics, allows research into macro discourses and ideologies. This is because a visual semiotic analysis of an artifact brings out the discourses that are realised through that artifact in, for instance, the gender or race of a represented participant, or the kinds of linguistic choices. The combination of small stories, Bucholtz and Hall's framework, and geosemiotics represent a cohesive interlocking of frameworks, that will be explicative and powerful. The theory of this thesis may be represented graphically as in table 4 below.



Table 4 : Schematic representation of the three interlocking theoretical axes of this research.

On the integration of three theoretic axes

A final discussion of this chapter must deal with the advantages and disadvantages of integrating three different research axes. This integration has been considered and motivated. Nevertheless there is the question of the sometimes divergent directions in which each axis might take the analytic work of this thesis. Primacy is given to Bucholtz and Hall's framework (2005) for a sociocultural linguistic approach to identity and interaction. It is this framework that forms the organisational logic of each chapter, and in turn, that guides the analysis.

A first, important, point is, therefore, to note the compatibility of Bucholtz and Hall's framework (2005) and small story research (in for instance De Fina and Georgakopoulou 2008a). A powerful warrant, in fact, for their integration is their compatibility. The intuition that guided my decision to merge them, and that was later borne out in the data analysis, was that the one provided a useful and necessary extension of the other. Small stories research is concerned above all with a phenomenon, and then, secondarily with the research orientations that flow from the inclusion of this phenomenon in the canon of narrative research. De Fina, Georgakopoulou, and indeed Bamberg, to whom I referred above, are very clear as to the kinds of interactional data that are included in research through the different genres of small stories, and what analysis these kinds of data allow. Small story genres are therefore a classification and delineation of interactional data. They move the focus from situations of talk, to situations of storytelling, but fundamentally, are a means of studying verbal behaviour. Bucholtz and Hall's framework is explicitly formulated for the study of identity within such situations of verbal interaction. It is thus a narrowing and deepening of the kinds of meanings that one would feel justified in extracting from the data. The epistemological and cognitive foundations of each are highly similar, as can be gathered from the shared focus on trajectory, agency, and the weight accorded to socio-cultural concerns.

There are areas of divergence, however, that will have an impact on the organisational and analytic work of the following chapters. The first concerns the status that Bucholtz and Hall (2005 : 587) accord the social ground of identity work. They are explicit in their refusal of essentialist structural or phychological approaches to identity, and their first principle, 'emergence', covered in chapter 4, is a statement of the local occasioning of interactional behaviour with an attendant focus on social framing. Small stories research gives more weight to solidification or portability in roles (De Fina 2013a and Georgakopoulou 2008). The consequences of this divergence are most felt when inquiring into participant positioning, and this will necessitate detailed unpacking in chapter 5. At heart, the divergence concerns the fact that Bucholtz and Hall's framework (2005) is not a narrative approach, and therefore the storied world constitutes an 'infra' level in their macro, meso and micro analysis. As I argue in chapter 5, this should not, however, be seen as a disadvantage to their integration, but a valuable extension of each. Bucholtz and Hall offer a more detailed analysis of social categories, whilst De Fina and Georgakopoulou contribute analysis of the positionings of characters in the storied world (which is to say a level of embedded interaction) to Bucholtz and Hall's very comprehensive analysis of participant alignment.

The advantages, rather than the disadvantages, of integration also apply to the addition of geosemiotics. Geosemiotic theory (Scollon and Scollon 2003) concerns textual/visual artifacts such as notices, billboards and posters that one can broadly refer to as signs, or signage. In Scollon and Scollon's exploration of the theory it can be used, for example, to determine language preference in a specific situation of multilingualism and the geopolitical and ideological content of that preference. A

very large part of the theory is dedicated to restituting the social conditions of the production and reception of a sign through a study of the habitus and the interaction order that contextualise the sign. Geosemiotic theory, as I note in the next chapter when discussing material ethnography, is usually harnessed to an exploration of linguistic landscape, or semiotic landscape studies. In integrating geosemiotics to an application of Bucholtz and Hall's framework, we are, in a sense, moving in the opposite direction. Rather than use the social context to understand a sign, we are adding analysis of textual/visual components of the linguistic landscape to give warrant and depth to an analysis of social interactional behaviour. And yet, the tooling of linguistic landscapes to other axes of sociolinguistic research is a productive one. It represents a maturity and a strength in this emerging field of research that demonstrates its usefulness and the power of its analysis.

The extension of, and challenge to, a body of theory (small stories, geosemiotics) immediately raises questions as to its longevity, its resistance. If a theory is being bent, or tested, then its paradigm, and the ontological and epistemological foundations on which it rests, is in turn put to the test (see in this regard Kuhn 1962). Bucholtz and Hall's insistence on local occasioning of identity work is reminiscent of Gergen's work on social construction (see Gergen 1971). It is a vision of identity that is opposed to the symbolic constructionism of Bourdieu, and indeed to much of the theoretic underpinning of Goffman's research into interaction (see for instance Goffman 1981). And yet Bucholtz and Hall integrate these authors as key theorists in the diverse principles that make up their framework. Geosemiotics, does as much, in combining visual analysis with habitus, and the interaction order. Bucholtz and Hall's five principles, just as the four 'cycles' of geosemiotics, are purposely designed as inclusive, comprehensive, frameworks that give the field of sociolinguistics tools to gear analysis to the production of valid, and applicable, qualitative data. This is data that can do much in informing policy decisions in realms such as housing development, education or transport. Each framework represents a reinterpretation and a programmatisation of the theories that make it up, and indeed a realignment of the research paradigm of each. In extending and combining the three research axes of this thesis, therefore, I feel I have been faithful to the kind of project that they envisage, which is to say a holistic framework that furnishes a detailed and incisive research programme. The programme, in this case, is the study of small stories in order to offer a linguistic ethnography of a site.

Conclusions for chapter 2

This chapter has considered some key aspects of narrative research: what narrative is, the kinds of narrative that will best respond to the needs of a linguistic ethnography of place, and the best framework for research. As such, it has clearly set out the theoretical founding for this thesis as a focus on small stories (Bamberg and Georgakopoulou 2008, De Fina 2009, De Fina and Georgakopoulou 2015, Georgakopoulou 2006a and 2006b, 2008, 2014) within Bucholtz and Hall's (2005) approach to identity and interaction. These two intersecting theoretical scaffoldings are completed by a geosemiotic approach (Scollon and Scollon 2003) to the discursive environment. The research therefore studies narrative interactions within communities of practice (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 1992, 2007) across the spaces and fields of the research site of Sandton, Johannesburg; investigating both participant behaviour and discursive environment, in particular with respect to the semiotic landscape. The reconciliation of the primary frameworks of identity and interaction and small stories analysis leads to the project of this thesis as being the exploration of a full theory and methodology for a small stories linguistic ethnography of place.

Within the discussion of the chapter as set out above a first, significant, task was to define what narrative *is*. We looked at the difference between talk and narrative, and then the conception of narrative as 'text' and narrative as 'mode, epistemology and method'. This distinction was useful in defining the kinds of research that a small stories approach can effect, and particularly the difference between the small stories with which we are concerned and the canonical, 'big' stories of much other narrative study. Big stories, it was seen, offer a narrative smoothing and a divorce from immediate context, with, additionally, a fictionalisation of the self. But these features should not be conceived in a negative way. Through the work we do in big stories there is a great deal of reflection and ordering that is very necessary to our development and healing. Similarly, whilst small stories are in the 'real', what Freeman termed the "fleshy immediacy of the present moment" (Freeman 2006: 133), and therefore would seem to offer less of an insight into more long-term processes, the shifts in footing, the adaptation to context, and the ordering of information on the go as it were, allows, when analysed, many of the same critical, thematic and developmental insights as their big counterparts. The communality between both big and small stories is the role of research in exploration, healing and investigation of the self and of development. This, of course, is the strength of narrative research generally, and certainly one of the primary aims of this thesis.

Chapter 3 – Methodology

Introduction

At present we have a place (Sandton), a linguistic behaviour (small stories), and the understanding that our methodology must privilege partialness and local occasioning through a combination of Bucholtz and Hall's framework on identity research (Bucholtz and Hall 2005) and Scollon and Scollon's work (2003) on geosemiotics and the discursive environment. But of course, this is only the beginning. It is time to see how the originality and usefulness of the small stories movement can be given shape on the ground. This chapter then is about how the theory of the preceding chapter can be applied in researching Sandton as a site, and will unpack some of issues surrounding linguistic ethnographies, research design, phases of research and ethical questions.

The research, briefly, has been conducted using an ethnographic fieldwork methodology that relies on both participant and non-participant observation (Gobo 2011 : 17). Ethnography, as we will discuss in greater depth below, remains marked by the early Chicago schools, and the need to really invest a site, to feel first hand as much of its social and sensory fabric as is possible. In my mind at least, although not fully in the facts, since I never managed to smoke crack and smash whisky bottles in public parks at night as did Bourgois and his participants, this was inspired by Bourgois' ground-breaking work in Harlem (Bourgois 2003). The fieldwork did see me returning home drunk at midday, though, to look after my one-year-old baby! after I had been 'participating' with a group of renegade merchant bankers and TV men. It also saw me hunkering down to eat 'tough' chicken and chakalaka at the stall photographed in figure 25, running round the gym track at the Radisson, posing with some incredibly well-dressed Nigerian businessmen at the Gautrain bar, and attending Shul in Stella Street. Most intimidating for me it threw me up to the top floor of the JSE where, for a short space of time, I could look out at Sandton from behind impeccable plate glass windows surrounded by Chagals, with, in the room behind me, some movers and shakers of finance. More nostalgically, in the traces of Cicourel (2007: 741) and the founding moments of sociology, it also saw me playing bingo in a retirement village or uneasily eating a braai in an English home with some lawyers for human rights. In between the two were evenings dancing Congolese rumba at the Sankayi club, bumpy tuk tuk rides, Gautrain trips, and participation in the meetings of the SCC.

There were many other events however where I was not present, either because my presence would have irremediably biased the narrative behaviour that was taking place, or because the language was not accessible to me in any case. On these occasions I adopted a delegated approach that is much indebted to Brice Heath (1983) in that I gave participants a gps log and microphone, research information sheets, and asked them to record their own interactions. In this way this thesis data was able to include arguments between taxi drivers, evenings out with Congolese Diplomats' wives, charismatic church services, police work, Born Frees[13] as they hung out at the mall, and the peripteries of a personal assistant around Sandton.

Fundamental to the methodology is the lived space of Sandton and the places and trajectories (see De Fina and Georgakopoulou 2008a : 384) that give it life. Discursive environments can be plotted using gps logs and later mapped. The result is a Sandton that reflects Bucholtz and Hall's (2005 : 605)

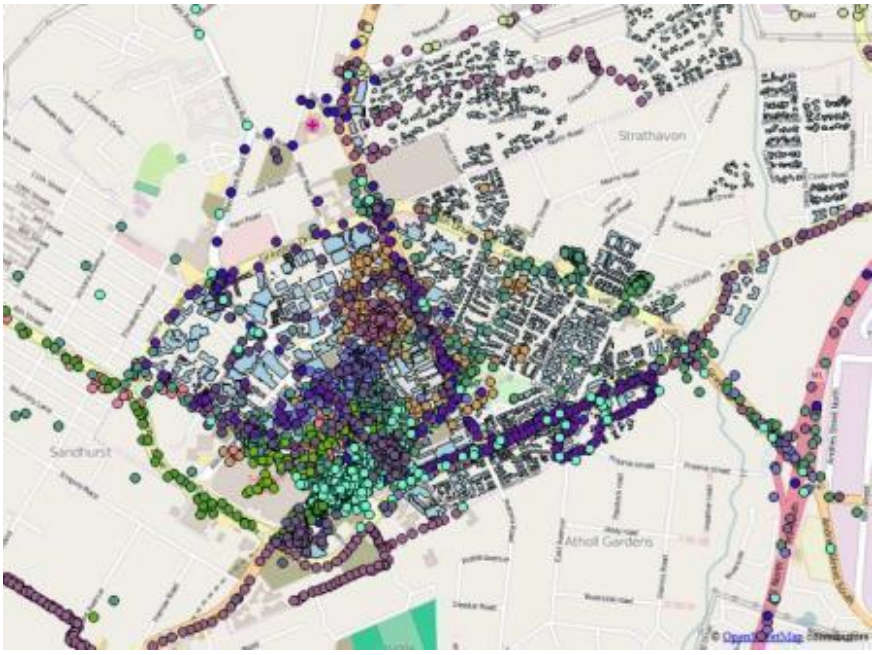
[13] The Born Frees are those youth who were born 'free' in the sense that they were born after the 1994 transition to majority party democracy in South Africa. This cohort broadly corresponds to 'millenials' in that they are born in and around the turn of the century.

principle of ‘partialness’. It is also a Sandton that reflects movement and pause, the ‘lignes d’erre’ mentioned by de Certeau (1984). If this is a ‘reading’ of the city (de Certeau 1994) then, as discourse analysis, it is the vectors and conversational nodes as would be returned by content analytic software. This is shown graphically in figure 27 below that assembles data from several different participants. The dots are the gps ‘pings’ of the logs, colours are arbitrarily generated by the QGIS software for each new trajectory. The stars are the locations for narrative interaction that is the essential focus of study for this thesis. Again, stars are in colours generated by the software for each participant. From left to right I have shown the empty building footprint of the site, the trajectories of participants, the locations of narrative interaction, and the extension of a trajectory beyond the limits of the CBD and into the spatiality of the Gauteng as a whole.



a)

Figure 28 a: Sandton’s building footprint



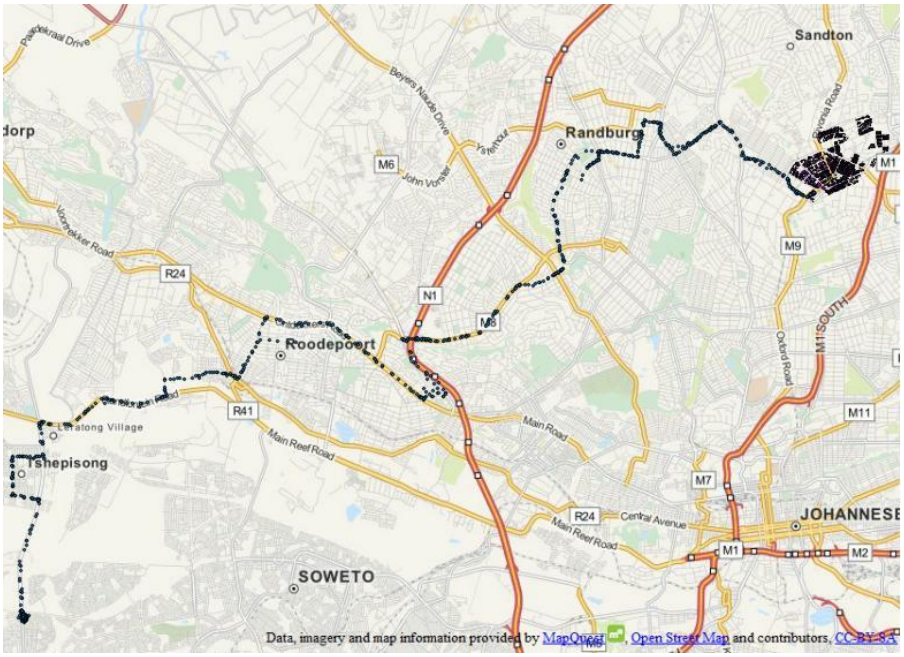
b)

Figure 28 b: Superposition of participant trajectories



c)

Figure 28 c: Location of some examples of narrative interaction



d)

Figure 28 d: Recontextualisation of participant trajectory within the spatiality of the Gauteng

Figure 28: Four maps showing a) Sandton's building footprint, b) the superposition of participant trajectories on that footprint, c) the location some examples of narrative interaction, and d) the recontextualisation of a participant trajectory within the spatiality of the Gauteng.

In total this research project involved me in over 90 meetings, that in turn lead to full research in 39 fields involving 15 individual trajectories, 76 direct participants in 111 different places of Sandton, the recording of 72h43 minutes of mp3 and the ancillary involvement of 230 people. In all I isolated 356 small stories in fields as diverse as: tourism, library services, banking, church, television, finance,

university, nightclubbing, informal retail, health, policing, diplomacy, taxi services, information services, youth consumption, advocacy, human rights, retirement accommodation, religion, hotel industry, politics (please consult appendix 2 for an overview of participant data and of transcripts). Additionally, I accompanied participant interviews with photography of 1304 artifacts of the semiotic landscape pertinent to the site as a whole and the specific discursive environments for narrative interaction.

There are several implications of methodology for the presentation and reading of this thesis itself. Firstly, in order to give full justice to the interactional shifts, registers and styles of participants, all segments of interaction are fully transcribed in their original language and then a full translation is offered in English. For the same reason, where participants code switch or mix, square brackets offer a subsequent English translation. Finally, since small stories develop over numerous turns at talk, and the interactional shifts and alignments of the story telling are as important to analysis as the developing storied world, I have fully transcribed all segments of interaction and have added preceding and subsequent talk. This gives rise to bulky transcripts that, although necessary for a full comprehension of the story, and its analysis, would unduly interrupt the flow of the arguments of the body of the thesis. Since in small story analysis it is however habitual to provide these full transcripts (see De Fina 2003, or Georgakopoulou 2008) I have done so in separate appendices that may be kept open next to the body of the thesis and read in parallel.

Linguistic ethnography and interaction

As noted in the opening to the first chapter, the title of the thesis, and now, in this subheading, this research is a 'linguistic ethnography'. However, it is not because a term gets repeated in a commonplace sort of a way, as if self-evident (see Thompson 1984 and 1990) that one should avoid at least a small discussion of what the term means. It would be tempting to start with Rampton's systematisation of its component parts (Rampton, Maybin and Roberts 2014) but I would rather discuss that in due course, since the elements that they adduce are, in fact, good examples in themselves of the development in use of the terms, and their increasing respect for heterogeneity and practice. Rather, then, I will start with a historic overview.

Ethnography is related to anthropology and ethnology, and is a study of culture. Anthropology has been strongly linked to the colonial enterprise, and the point of view of the metropole, in its emphasis on physical and biological assumptions. Ethnology also, although this discipline was more concerned to understand artifact and symbol. Ethno*graphy*, as the word indicates, began the move away from a preoccupation with a centralising, normative, logic and towards a *writing about* a culture, a people or a place. Although initially this writing about was based on secondary sources, from very early on, ethnographers began to use the essential tool of participant observation. Malinowski for instance, spent two years (between 1914 and 1918) in the Trobriand islands, learning the language and culture (Malinowski 1986 [1922]) and much of his writing is committed to establishing the validity of his findings through participant observation but also through field notes, photography and interviews.

Also in the first few decades of the twentieth century, the first Chicago School, through the works of Thrasher (1927), for instance, on gang membership, gave lustre to the discipline. Ethnography, in many many respects has remained profoundly marked by these early figures. As an example, the note by one of Ezra Park's students, reproduced in Bulmer (1984) is still as valid to my work as it was in its day:

> But one more thing is needful: first-hand observation. Go and sit in the lounges of the luxury hotels and on the doorsteps of the flophouses; sit on the Gold Coast settees and on the slum shakedowns; sit in the Orchestra Hall and in the Star and Garter Burlesque. (from Bulmer 1984).

What emerges very clearly in the history of ethnography, from this first Chicago School onwards, is a progressively pronounced break with positivism and materialism. Thus in the interactionist school the situated nature of behaviour comes to the fore, as does an emphasis on process (Gobo 2011 : 20). A little later, in the structuralist ethnography of Foote Whyte (Foote Whyte 1969 and 2004a and 2004b), what Gobo terms the 'second' Chicago school (Gobo 2011 : 20), 'hard' data as to bowling or voting processes competes with the personal appreciations and more empathic conclusions of the ethnographer. In a similar vein, the ethnographic work of Goffman carried out in the Hebrides and related in The Presentation of Self (1959) again gives pride of place to the contingent management of interaction. Finally, Hymes' inauguration of the ethnography of communication (for instance Hymes 1962) stresses a comparative methodology and the need to take into account the subjective ordering of participants' social, linguistic and symbolic lives. The ground-breaking works that aligned with Hymes, such as that by Brice Heath (1983, 1994) opened a social engagement and a new direction in ethnography towards action that is well documented by Scollon (see Scollon and Scollon 2007).

Indeed, as ethnography traverses the currents of post-structuralism (for instance Barthes 1973 and 1985 or de Certeau 1984 and 1994) studies focus increasingly on the detailed interactive processes implied in identity work and on the implications of these for society as a whole. This must be in part attributable to the reverberations of the epistemic earthquake provoked by ethnomethodology from 1962 onwards in the Conferences on Ethnomethodology that included Garfinkel and Sacks (Garfinkel 1967 : 73). What is so important about ethnomethodology is that, firstly, it shifted the object of social inquiry from the overt formal product of social mechanisms (protocols, documents, artifacts etc) to the informal operation of members' accounts and 'et cetera' reasoning (Garfinkel 1967 : 74). Secondly, ethnomethodology completed the work that had been begun by the second Chicago school in moving analysis from isolated situations and episodes to the consistent *achievement* of identity (Garfinkel 1967 : 164). Thirdly, ethnomethodology introduced the concept of indexicality, the manner in which words point to complex realities and understandings that subtend speech.

Indexicality becomes a central part of the oeuvre of Bourdieu (see Hanks 1992, 2000 and 2005). But of course, the contestation, opposition and resistance that attaches to Bourdieu's work stems precisely from his almost anachronic insistence on *structure* as determined and determining. Ethnography, in the later part of the 20th century, becomes inextricably linked with what Blommaert pithily formulates as its capacity to address complexity (Blommaert 2007 : 682).

As concerns linguistic ethnography, Rampton, the author of such seminal works as *Crossing* (1995) is also firm. The combination of the methods of linguistic analysis and ethnography must be understood as closely related to interactional sociolinguistics (Rampton 2014). In an earlier paper he makes the same point, participants should be studied *in the process* of "trying to make some kind of intersubjective sense of their worlds from one moment to the next" (Rampton 1997 : 12). To return then the systematisation of linguistic ethnography proposed by Rampton, Maybin and Roberts (2014) with which we proposed beginning this section, it consists in using the analysis and data preparation techniques of linguistics in addition to what it can reveal of the, "highly intricate processes involved when people talk, sign, read, write or otherwise communicate" (2014 : 4). The point is that social processes and linguistic meaning are co-constructed (2014 : 8) and that analysis of the fine grain of verbal interaction can lead to an understanding of social process and context (2014 : 4).

Linguistic ethnography then is a combination of disciplines. On the one hand the vast array of tools used in linguistic analysis, and on the other the reach for complexity through methods of individual, group and societal observation that are the domain of ethnography. In terms of the linguistic toolkit that is most applicable to the ethnographic enterprise as this is framed in the early 21st century, it should by now be fairly evident that what is of most concern is, firstly, codeswitching and passing, which is to say the macro identity work that is performed at a meta-linguistic level in terms of choice of *code, style and register* (see for instance Kamwangamalu 2001 for a discussion of the South African context, or Eley 2015 for a discussion of this in relation to place). On the other hand, secondly, what is perhaps even more relevant is the meso and micro levels of *practice* and *realisation*, which is to say the choices that pertain to prosody, lexis, footing and stance within and across communities of practice. Phrased less formally, what is of interest, for instance, is the choice of youth slang in Johannesburg (see Bembe and Beukes 2009) or the inclusion of 'twang', which is to say a realisation of accentual contours more closely aligned with African American English (AAE) and of which I will be speaking more in this thesis. To return to Rampton's work on 'crossing' (1995), which is a form of

passing marked by socio-economic and cultural contestation, what is at issue is the way in which this *linguistic* process sheds an immediate and piercing light on forms of youth culture and organisation.

A 'material' ethnography?[14]

Whilst the immediate object of study of this research comprises the narrative interactions of participants in Sandton, it is perhaps worth turning the analytic lens away a bit from the interaction itself, towards the artifacts that also constitute the data, in order to conceive of this research as a 'material' ethnography: one that seeks to account for the semiotic landscape and people's movements through the space of the site. This is a return both to the idea of trajectory which is so central to this methodology, but it is also a direct response to the convictions of Blommaert (Blommaert and Maly 2014, Blommaert 2016) concerning the task of ethnography and the value of research that takes account of practices, the local and participant understanding. There is certainly a lot of justification for a discussion of Blommaert's views at this point. Not only does this thesis include artifacts of the semiotic landscape, it is also, in its adoption of Bucholtz and Hall's framework (2005) for identity in interaction, and in its inclusion of Scollon and Scollon's geosemiotic approach (2003), very much in line with what could be called a second wave of 'semiotic' landscape research.

Blommaert (2016) is very clear in his criticism of the 'first wave' of such studies, inaugurated with the well-known article by Landry and Bourhis (1997) on 'linguistic' landscapes and extended by three very successful edited books, namely: Gorter (2006), Shohamy and Gorter (2009), and Shohamy, Ben-Rafael and Barni (2010). These collections have constituted what can be called the field of linguistic landscapes, with a further extension and solidity being provided by a Wikipedia page and a journal (Shohamy and Ben-Rafael 2015). It is a field that begins to have its own discursive coherence in fact, with many of the articles re-appearing in the bibliography that is dedicated to the subject by Zotero (https://www.zotero.org/groups/linguistic_landscape_bibliography/items/).

This first wave can be typified as being essentially quantitative. Methodologies given are in many cases based on: counting of artifacts, an enumeration of languages used, and different ways of accounting for the discursive changes wrought by prominence on the artifact of different languages or different textual/visual messages. Counts allow data to be generated as to the presence of one language or another and this can be comparative if it takes into account viewpoints of people surveyed. Data can then lead to conclusions as to the presence and the vitality of cultural, linguistic or ethnic groupings in a research paradigm that supports European observatories of migrancy as in the case of Barni and Bagna (2009, 2010).

Fairly readily, however, one can begin to see the weaknesses of such approaches, and the reason for Blommaert's (and indeed Stroud's) positioning against them. Firstly, any counting of artifacts comes up against taxonomic problems in respect of the size, the prominence, the quality, the cost of production etc of the artifact. At essence this is the problem of establishing a 'class' of artifact and its equiparity with other classes, and is a problem that is especially important when analysing minority languages or less readily identifiable features of an artifact. Secondly, samples come up against problems of representativity, delimitation and intertextuality. Can one admit the acceptability of methods that revolve around the photography of individual artifacts and their entry into a database when what is excluded by such a methodology are the interactions and semiotic expansions (Stroud and Mpendukana 2009) that occur between and among artifacts? And even if one replies in the affirmative to this kind of question, the exact meanings of these kinds of interactions are often overlooked or ignored by quantitative research.

[14] The arguments in this section are a version of those I presented in Kelleher (2017).

In fact, when an artifact is enumerated and isolated from its context and conditions of display there is considerable loss of meaning. A project such as that undertaken by Muth (2014) and which relies upon a virtual reconstruction of the street from which artifacts are taken, is in part a response to this kind of critique. But, over and above the problems linked to photography as unique method for data collection, there is the question of the selection of a site's contours and delimitations. Any selection of a site must confront the use made of the urban architecture and its resistance to static and unequivocal borders or divisions. Finally, there is the issue of selection. This cannot be underemphasised when a 'linguistic' landscape is so varied and so dense (with several thousand artifacts in the space of just a couple of city blocks). Furthermore it is a space in continuous renewal, with artifacts being replaced, superimposed, torn down and modified through graffiti or other actions. I addressed some of these questions in my Master's thesis on the subject (see Kelleher 2014).

It is against this that a second wave of ethnographic methodology can be captured by movements such as ELLA (Ethnographic Linguistic Landscape Analysis – Blommaert and Maly 2014), by a shift towards 'semiotic' rather than 'linguistic' landscapes (see for instance Jaworski and Thurlow 2010) and by the material ethnographies of Stroud (for instance Stroud and Jegels 2014, and Stroud and Mpendukana 2099 and 2010). The term, 'material ethnography' was coined by Stroud and Mpendukana (2009). Just as in the material turn in historiography, the study of textual/visual artifacts forms part of a broader movement that seeks to make possible a bridge between linguistics and social, educative and urban practices (see for instance Ogborn 2007 and 2009).

What further separates the second wave from the first is the emphasis on practice. Which is to say the practices of the groups among and between which artifacts take their meaning. In combining artifact and practice, one could see the influence of Goffman (1981, 1983) and his work on speech *situations*. One could also look to the research of Goodwin (2000), often cited, that investigates how artifacts dictate the possibilities of expression and interpretation in an interactional context. Nevertheless what is certainly much more at the heart of this emphasis on practice is the possibility that it offers to evolve beyond the restrictive 'speech community' within which, it must be said in passing, the first wave of semiotic landscape research is very much still captive, and, in contradistinction, to study those communities of practice that are at the 'margins' (Bucholtz 1999 : 207) or the 'periphery' (Blommaert 2002).

It is therefore, in light of the above, that I see the second wave of semiotic, material *ethnography* as translating research that privileges the atypical and assymetric, the practices, the margins, gender and contestation rather than consensus, speech community etc. These research currents, that have a lot in common with what Blommaert has named ELLA, take root in out of the way places, with participants whose practices are thought-provoking, and with methodologies that highlight their experience of social meaning making. Dowling (2010) for instance, to back her analysis of linguistic 'fragility' refers to practices that occasion artifacts that encourage discussions as to the price of merchandise, or injunctions such as "no peeing here" ("Akuchanywa apha" in isiXhosa).

The methodology of this thesis integrates the essential of Blommaert's programmatic statements concerning both the treatment of artifacts and their insertion into local, participant understandings. As should be clear from the adoption of Bucholtz and Hall's framework (2005) and geosemiotics (Scollon and Scollon 2003) not only is this thesis sensitive to communities of practice, but through a qualitative approach tries to give an account of the locally motivated social semiotic processes that

extend diachronically through the site and beyond. In fact it is the capturing of the socio-historic that is at base the motivation of the adoption of GPS technology in the involvement of participants in the research. In a true sense therefore this thesis must be understood as a material ethnography that articulates participant interaction within the spatialities and conjunctures of Sandton.

Research design: participant observation, questionnaires, gps logs, mp3 recorders, isolation of small stories and transcription

The questions that arise from the above discussions are therefore: a) how to record participant narrative interaction; b) how to localise participants within the space of Sandton, and c) how to visualise this data.

The use of GIS technology was my response to the last two questions. GPS logs such as the Catnip© logs that I used in this project generate a comma separated value file that is very similar to an Excel spreadsheet. It contains time in UCT or 'satellite' time, the latitude and longitude of the gps ping, the altitude, the temperature, and number of satellites used for the reading. The Catnip© logs (see figure 29) are incredibly accurate and are usually used for ornithology. They are also very powerful and could be carried in either a bag, a pocket or just on the dash of a car. When the time is set against the mp3 recorders that I also asked participants to carry and the pings are set for intervals of 5 seconds then both talk and narrative interaction can be plotted against the building footprint of Sandton and the spatiality of the Gauteng as a whole.

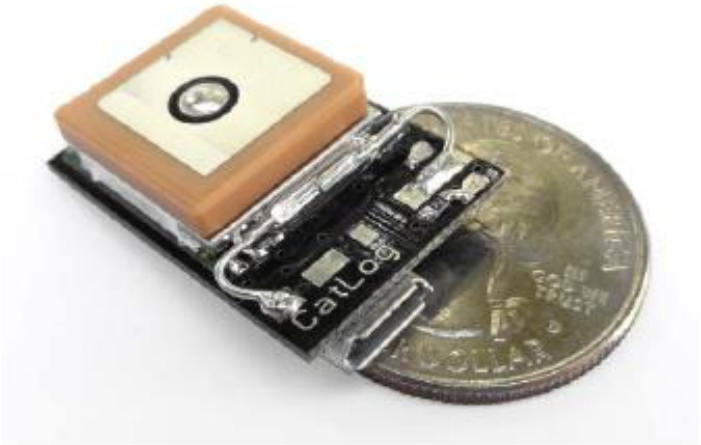


Figure 29: A photograph of the Catlog© gps log taken from the Catlog catalogue (reproduced from Perthold 2015).

When the gps data is imported into GIS software such as QGIS (http://www.qgis.co.za/en/site/) (see figure 30) it can be used to generate a 'shapefile' that is the data projected (using a pseudo Mercator projection) onto the physical or infrastructure map of Sandton and surrounds. These shapefiles were used to generate the maps of figure 28. However, using the QGIS software it is also possible to work in the opposite direction. From a geo-tagged photograph of an artifact of SL one can identify its location on a map, mark that location and then also generate a shapefile for that artifact.

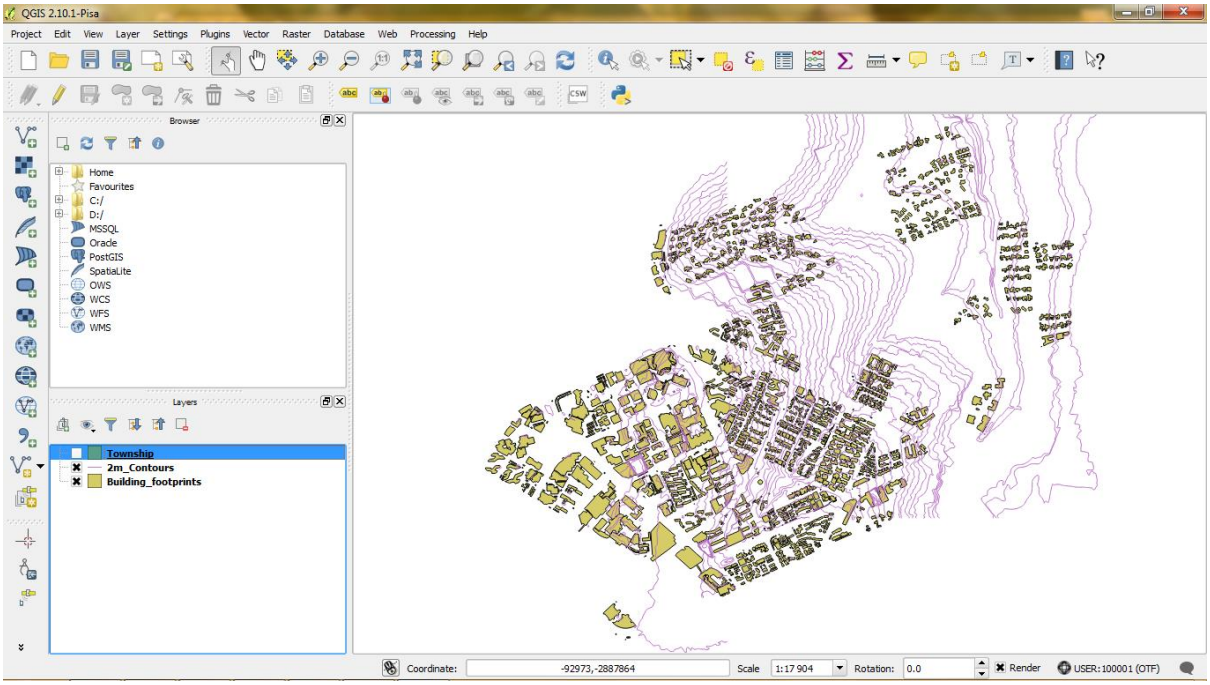


Figure 30: Screenshot of the desktop interface of the QGIS software.

GIS software therefore represents a powerful means of linking narrative interaction to place. In using this technology I was particularly inspired by the work done in the domain of sociology by Mei-Po Kwan (2015). It should be noted however that in this study I am using GIS above all as a representative tool. GIS, methodologically, is an inductive process, moving from data to mapping (Alexander 2008) and in addition a generally quantitative one (Schuurman and Leszczynski 2006) that makes it hard to include the qualitative and subjective understandings that are so pertinent to the research work of this thesis. Nevertheless, one must respond to Jessop's observations (2008) about the need on the part of the humanities to integrate spatial technologies in their work. I hope in this thesis to provide an example of a simple yet effective technique, that will also try and illustrate subjectivity - choosing redder shades for a sense of urgency and bluer shades for more languid interactions.

The use of GIS software is one part of the response to the question with which I began this section: how to record participant narrative interaction. If narrative interaction is the focus, what becomes central is the way in which linguistic data is collected. This must be done in a way that respects the interaction, the co-constructed meanings and the tentative exploration of the world through language that is at issue in Bucholtz and Hall's (2005) heuristic for work on identity, and central to the enterprise of linguistic and material ethnography as this was discussed above. Participants should be studied in the process of "trying to make some kind of intersubjective sense of their worlds from one moment to the next" (Rampton 1997 : 12).

There is a paradox (often called 'Labov's paradox') in collection of naturally occurring data however, which is noted by Heinrichsmeier (2015 : 3) in that systematic observation is necessary for data collection, yet it is exactly this systematicity that prevents 'natural' speech. Heinrichsmeier remarks further that even where orientation to a recording device is not 'overt' this can be noted by the researcher in terms of participant deviation from the norm, in truth claims that seem destined for transcription and in self-censorship. In conducting the fieldwork I became acutely aware of dynamics such as this. Particularly at the SCC which is a tightly organised workplace with a clear command

hierarchy, participants requested the removal of information they had given, or requested assurances that I would indeed treat the recordings with respect.

Miller and Glasner (2011) challenge the need for a strict dualism between 'naturally occurring data' and 'elicited' data, however, pointing out that:

> Qualitative interviewing produces accounts that offer researchers a means of examining intertwined sets of findings: evidence of the nature of the phenomenon under investigation, including the contexts and situations in which it emerges, as well as insights into the cultural frames people use to make sense of these experiences. Combined, they offer important insights for theoretical understanding. (Miller and Glasner (2011 : 145).

In essence, whilst recognising that an interview or interview situation fractures the stories being told, interviews are still instances of social action that prompt self-reflexivity and thus are not purely local events. The point is that interviewees respond to the interviewer in an authentic way that does point to the cultural frames and subjective experience of the world outside the interview situation. The question therefore is not so much how to avoid any interference as how to capitalise on the interference that exists – making it a part of the research design.

In this project I have integrated gps and mp3 recording devices into the design through the notion of trajectory. Trajectories are a central part of the social interactional approach to small stories (De Fina and Georgakopoulou 2008a : 384). A trajectory can be physical, socio-historic or linguistic. Physically, de Boeck (2011) uses the idea of a trajectory through the space of a city to elaborate how a city's texture is informed by concrete structures but also the more fluid bodily infrastructure. This analysis brings to the fore how a city is composed of the bodies that move through and articulate within it. Socio-historically there is growing recognition that research, and particularly research into discourse, needs to:

> […] open up our traditional analytic concern with communicative events to a concern with social processes that consist of many events, ordered or linked to each other in time. They invite us to locate traditional models for thinking about discourse within larger socio-historical frameworks. (Agha 2005b : 1)

The import of Agha's argument is to shift the focus to social processes and logics that frame and give continuity to encounters. Finally, Heller (2007) refers to trajectories as an analogy for the distributed knowledges that lie behind interactions. These knowledges may be linguistic (such as one participant's use of a language that is not accessible to another) but also socio-cultural or institutional.

By making trajectories, in all these three senses, a central part of research, and by recording participants on their trajectories, the research design is like dominoes really, with each direct participant involving further ancillary participants. This led to a very important part of the research design, which I would like to emphasise strongly, and that is participant autonomy. In all the cases of participants self recording their trajectory and their conversations, I left it entirely open to the participant to record as much or as little as s/he felt, and to select what s/he felt pertinent to the research process. I also asked each direct participant to complete a questionnaire (see Appendix 1) with their details, their own self-assessment and information about their upbringing in order to also trace their *personal* trajectories: the way in which their lives differ or are similar to, those of their

parents (an important consideration given the enormous socio-political and demographic changes in South Africa over the last 20 years).

Full details of the 39 formal research fields involving 76 direct participants to the study are given in Appendix 2 with length of recording, places concerned, number of ancillary participants and type of data collection. I have also indicated in this appendix where the participant preferred to use a pseudonym. In essence, the methodology that sought naturally occurring data and that relied on familiarisation with a participant, the completion of a questionnaire, the issuing of a gps log and mp3 recorder and then collection, listening, isolation of small stories, their transcription and a feedback session with the participant, was used with 15 individual participants who in turn involved 217 ancillary participants. These direct participants represent a diverse slice of Sandton's populace and included: a chartered accountant, a librarian, a personal assistant, a television cameraman, one university student from the Congo, four South African university students, an informal seller from Kenya, a policeman, a member of the Congolese diplomatic circle, a taxi driver, a mall assistant, and a township girl hanging out in Sandton.

The remaining 13 research fields that involved 61 direct participants and 13 ancillary participants, sought contextualised data and a participant observation methodology. These were the Pembury Retirement Home, The Shul on Stella St, the public spaces of Sandton (Gautrain transport interchange and Nelson Mandela Square), a residential house on Stella St lived in by a lawyer and a financial manager, and the Sandton Convention Centre who were kind enough to invite me in for three full meetings with the Sales and Marketing team, the Outsourcing team and the Events team. Participant observation in these contexts involved meetings with the participants and recordings at different moments. It should also be stressed that to many of these places I already had a link. The Pembury Retirement home for instance is where my aunt's mother resides and I had already spent several mornings there. Questionnaires were not always used in these situations since it was not always appropriate. At the Pembury retirement home it would have frightened the participants who relied on me being 'a part of the team' and preferred to overlook my status as researcher. Similarly at the Shul and in the public spaces of Sandton, a questionnaire would have been out of place.

The final 3 research sites were those where neither a natural nor a participant observation methodology were practicable. This was because of the confidentiality of the information that these participants dealt with, constraints of time and access. These last three fields therefore relied on focus group and individual interviews and involved 5 direct participants and no ancillary participants, the research fields were: Advocates' group, the executive board of the Johannesburg Stock Exchange and a ono-on-one interview with Geoff Rothschild, the ex-chairman of the JSE. Although interview sheets were given to these participants not all were returned. In essence therefore the research methodology is a bifocal one, focusing on representatives of institutions and on individual participants; as Milani and Jonsson (2012 : 45) point out:

> […] a bifocal analytical lens enables us to tap into larger societal discourses about the cultural value of a particular linguistic phenomenon; at the same time, it allows us to delve into more localised instances of the ways in which speakers strategically mobilise available "ideological resources in complex and creative ways" (Cameron and Kulick 2003 : 136). (Milani and Jonsson 2012 : 45).

Trajectories, participant observation and focus groups led to gps data that localised the sites for talk and long mp3 files that had either accompanied a participant throughout at least a day or two, or that had kept a track of the entire progress of participant observation. The gps data was processed using QGIS (http://www.qgis.co.za/en/site/) and the mp3 tracks were listened to either by the researcher alone, or in the presence of either the participant or a translator for languages such as isiZulu, Sesotho, Lingala, kiSwahili or kiKuyu. Detailed notes were made of the contents of the recordings, the direct participants and the ancillary participants. From these tracks I isolated the small stories from the surrounding talk, annotating and cutting the audio using Audacity (http://www.audacityteam.org/download/). For each audio track I also typed a full second by second record of the activities, words and sounds of the track. Since small stories are embedded in talk, like a pocket or dimple in their surface, I left from thirty seconds to a minute of talk both before and after the small story itself when cutting from the original track.

A derushing of the selected segments of audio recording was provided by a professional transcriber. This derushing is just a typed version of the audio recording, with no information as to participants, or incidental noises. It helps though in selecting what passages to include, and which passages would receive a full small stories transcription in the appendices to this thesis. These full transcriptions were made by myself, using the notation of De Fina and Georgakopoulou (2015 : 7, and appendix 2) in company with a L1 speaker of the language concerned by the recordings (often the participants themselves). When it was not the participants themselves, a single participant's recording had sometimes to be transcribed with the aid of two different transcribers working together with me in the case of code-mixing or switching. Transcriptions were then forwarded to participants.

In an effort to offer a fuller image of participant interaction, full transcripts have been appended. These transcripts contain original version of participant stories, and then a translation to English. They also contain English translations of code-switches in square brackets. The aim is to provide a full linguistic representation of the recordings gathered by participants, and for the reader to be able to consult these stories in an appendix that may be read in parallel with the body of the thesis.

At heart, the methodology of this research can be conceptualised in terms of five phases:

Phase 1: beginning the fieldwork

- Field study of spaces within Sandton (the mall, hospitals, informal stalls, taxi ranks, restaurants, hotels …);
- Meetings with personnel from the City of Johannesburg in order to obtain documentation on demographics, development frameworks, municipal policies, business implantation, institutional presence, socio-economic divergence etc, for the site and to obtain GIS documents such as the Sandton building footprint;
- Meetings with Sandton CID managers, Urban Genesis, and managerial department of Sandton City in order to obtain permission for the study;
- Meetings with the Sandton library and Mall staff both as sources of quantitative data and in order to obtain the back copies of the Sandton Chronicle which is the site-specific newspaper;
- Photography of the artifacts of the semiotic landscape;
- Keeping of a field notebook (I got through 2!).

Phase 2: recruitment of participants for the study

- Meeting and first interviews with participants (often these meetings came from my frequentation of a place, sometimes participants were recommended to me through other participants or through research information forms that I distributed liberally, occasionally, as in the case of the JSE participants, they came from professional networks);
- Fieldnotes;
- Distribution of a questionnaire touching on familial situation, socio-economic situation, self-perceptions of status and interactional roles, language and attitude to cultural and consumer products within the space of Sandton;
- An information séance to learn about recording, tracking using GIS and about how to avoid recording bystanders and non-ratified participants, or how to best inform them of the research.

Phase 3: involvement of participants and participant observation

- Distribution of the gps and mp3 recorders;
- Fieldnotes;
- Photography of artifacts of the semiotic landscape;
- Participants record their usual activities and interactions in Sandton and particularly their trajectories across the site.

Phase 4: GIS and mp3 treatment and transcription

- Raw data is treated using QGIS and Audacity, it has identifying information blanked out where necessary and is annotated and cut from the surrounding talk;
- Analysis of the audio tracks focusing on small stories;
- Transcription and translation;
- Small stories are mapped onto GIS software;
- Identification of artifacts of the semiotic landscape.

Phase 5: Analysis

- Collation of the transcripts per field and participant;
- Reflexive interviews where possible with the participants checking the transcripts, going over some points of analysis – comparing in particular researcher and participant understanding of narrative interactions;
- Return of transcripts;
- Drafting of analyses.

Ethical considerations

Copies of site clearance letters from Urban Genesis and Sandton City are attached in Appendix 1, in addition to the information sheets that I distributed to participants.

Ethically there are three things to be taken account of in this project: a) the relation of participant to researcher, b) the way in which data was collected which involved audio recording, and c) the fact that recording occurred in public space. I will discuss each of these in turn.

Relation of participant to researcher

Details concerning participants are given along with further information of data collected in Appendix 2-2. As mentioned under research design, the research data consisted of interviews and gps/mp3 recordings with an opportunity sample of participants in Sandton. This meant, concretely, that I met participants through my fieldwork on site, or through professional and friendship networks. In each case I tried to spend as much time as I could getting to know their field of activity and building a research relationship. This relationship also served to understand and interpret the raw data.

There are several things that, I feel, impacted very significantly on this relationship: my status as a PhD student, my institutional affiliation, participant expectations as to research, and depth of transcription. My status as a PhD student, who is responsible for conducting all of the phases of research alone, with little institutional support, reinforced the inversion of power that I referred to at the very beginning of this thesis. Some of the participants to this research are decisive people in a district, Sandton, that is also a hub of finance, business, and indeed, politics. My status, very much below theirs, meant that their contribution was circumscribed. Conversely, with participants who are less able to write back to the nexus of power of Sandton, the fact that I did not have an office, or a clear role at the University of Witwatersrand (I am not a lecturer, or tutor there) meant that they were deprived of an institutional reference. Participants, generally, were unaware of research methodologies other than interviews and questionnaires. Many participants started with the unstated assumption that their participation would be short, that they would 'do their bit' and that that would be the end of it. This is an underreported aspect of research that very definitely affects follow through and researcher reflexivity. Finally, as concerns small story transcriptions, I was not prepared for how close a transcription comes to the being in the world of participants, and what many of their reactions were, when confronted with the marks of hesitation, breaks in trains of thought, and incoherencies, that an in-depth, small stories transcription of people's talk, reveals.

So, whilst many participants used the research process to express themselves and to analyse their language and their world (I am thinking here particularly of Thobile who interspersed her recordings of her interactions with her reflections on the heterogeneity and discrimination of South African social fabric) for many other participants, this process was a challenging one that gave food for thought and pause. I have tried to respect this, and to offer an analysis that does not delve too deep into the person of the participant, but that rather retains a focus on practice and on the space of Sandton. However, it is right that, "[…] as in all relationships, the relation between teller and listener in narrative research is a power relation." (Hydén 2013 : 237).

In the literature on ethnography there are several instances of this, fairly negative, fairly unequal, return on the part of participants. In the seminal Street Corner Society, Foote Whyte (1969) recalls the disappointed reaction of a mob boss to what was written about him, thinly disguised by the use of a

pseudonym. In fact, the neighbourhood and the participants remain obvious enough in this work that some decades later another researcher (Foote Whyte, Richardson and Denzin 2004b) returns to conduct secondary interviews, that in turn offer a very different, critical, interpretation of Foote Whyte's impressions. Ethnographic analysis is contingent, gendered, racialised, very much informed by the person of the researcher, and in some cases conflictual. We find evidence of this conflict as early on as in the work of Malinowski (1986 [1922]) whose findings were later contested by the Trobriand islanders themselves, in Rampton (1995) whose participants could be aggressive and disdainful of the research process, and in Bourgois (2003), a significant influence for this thesis, whose participants, despite their colourful presence in the ethnography, remain trapped in the structural contraints that Bourgois analyses so well. One participant, Primo, for instance, when Bourgois returns to catch up on him some years later, has become a heroin addict, and the divergence in the lives of the researcher and the researched is only too painfully obvious.

The ethnography of this thesis does not fall into exactly the same category as the studies mentioned in the previous paragraph. I have also tried to keep the focus on the site itself, and what the small stories reveal about the site, rather than what they reveal about the participant. But some analysis of person, place, story and identity were necessary. I have tried to do my best, and in as many cases as possible I have given participants the opportunity to go over their transcripts and talk with me about their perceptions of the narrative interaction recorded there. I sent off transcriptions to all participants who feature in this thesis, and whose recordings were fully transcribed. However, in only a very few cases have I felt comfortable in giving participants the analysis as it is presented here, in full, in the thesis. This is for several reasons. Firstly, the impression of participant fatigue to which I alluded above meant that, with those participants who did not display any further interest after a reflective interview or the reception of the transcript, I did not insist on more interviews or emails. Secondly, the approach that I have adopted here of interlacing participant data meant that it was not always easy to disentangle the parts that related specifically to each participant. Thirdly, the incredible time constraints and academic requirements of thesis writing meant that it simply was not always possible to submit the full analysis to participant review. But in several cases, particularly with those participants who were more actively involved in the research, I could, and did, submit the analysis as presented in the thesis. This, unfortunately, was mostly greated with a treatment of the pages of the thesis as an artefact, rather than something with which the participant could critically engage.

Perhaps this reaction points to something that is at the heart of ethnography, and of the relation of participant to researcher. The kind of reflexivity that is dealt with in Andrews (2013) is not essentially that which is possible in ethnography or in any approach that is centred on participant observation. What is of concern in the latter is the relation of subject to structure, whether this be conceived of horizontally (as in communities of practice) or vertically (in terms of power and movement through social space). And this reticulation of subject and structure can only be perceived when one is at the place of the subject, enmeshed in the same logics, preoccupations and constraints as the subject. Once those are removed, perception changes, symbols and significations no longer have the same weight. This is, in some ways, the *inverse* of Labov's paradox mentioned earlier, which is to say that displacement of the observed challenges analysis as much as does the involvement of the observer. It is, more than anything else, what goes to the heart of Bourdieusian social theory (see Bourdieu 1992 [1980]) and his observations concerning habitus, and its inculcation. Certainly it is a preoccupation that arises again and again in edited collections on research methodology (see for instance Seale 2004).

There is no easy solution to this paradox, and I felt more than ever, in these moments, the weight and cumbersomeness of my research model, with its large number of participants, fields and activities. It is with this in mind that I would here, again, like to sincerely thank all of the participants who have made this research possible despite its limitations.

Recording of raw data, researcher notes and photographs

I informed both Urban Genesis who manage the Sandton Central city improvement district and Sandton City mall of the details of my research project, including interviews, gps and mp3 recording. Photography of the artifacts of the semiotic landscape involved no participants and took place in the public domain.

In all interviews and contact with participants I made available the participant information sheets and consent forms that are in appendix 1. I confirmed with participants whether to the use their names and position, or not, in the transcription of narrative interaction before beginning any data collection, except with those few participants who were included in the research expressly because of their function (managers and CEO's of key institutions). On this note, I would like to signal that in some of the institutional settings of this research (the Sandton Convention Centre, the Johannesburg Stock Exchange) I did not have the possibility of further direct contact with participants, since emails and telephone contact passes through the company organigram. In these cases I made available information sheets and consent forms before contact with participants, and then freely distributed information sheets during my time with them. I clearly explained the methodology and purpose of my research and where they could contact me should they so wish. I forwarded all participants, or heads of department, for whom a full transcription was made, a copy of the transcription.

Recorded material that contained personal information, names of friends, interactions that are revealing etc. has been either deleted (using Audacity) during the annotation process, or changed and masked in the derushing and transcription process.

Recording in public space:

Some participants recorded their interactions in public space, and this implies that they have included participants who have not been directly informed of the research in advance. In this respect there are several things to be noted: a) they are not directly mentioned in the research and therefore there is no question of a breach of anonymity since, where their names are mentioned I have either changed or effaced those names; b) although there will be passages that are incidental to the research, the analysis as such will focus on the formal participants for whom I have obtained consent; and c) I supplied formal participants with an information sheet containing my details and details of the research that they could give out in these kinds of circumstances and which made clear how to exercise a right of access and revision of data collected.

Conclusions for chapter 3

This chapter has explored the methodological axes of this research and implications for the structure and presentation of the thesis.

In the discussion on ethnography, we looked at a move in the discipline from a focus on alterity, to a preoccupation with structure and then interaction. Certainly, the present emphasis of the field is on accounting for complexity. The effect of this evolution in ethnographic research work has been felt in methods of observation and researcher involvement with a site. But above all it has been felt in the way in which participant interaction is theorised and accounted for. Here, in this thesis, the stance is an interactive one, that seeks to account for participant narrative as a process of making sense of their world.

A second discussion concerned the links of this research with what Stroud and Mpendukana (2009) have termed a 'material' ethnography. The imbrication of participant talk within the discursive environment, and particularly the material artifacts of the semiotic landscape, qualify this research project as a material ethnography, in that what is sought is to account for the circulation of discourses in artifacts of the semiotic landscape and participant orientation to these. Indeed, the work of this thesis comprises a major contribution to the investigation of semiotic landscapes, since, through participant trajectories, captured with GIS technology, the materiality of artifact and interaction is brought to the fore. Narrative interaction is mapped onto space and artifact in a very visual and legible way, allowing data to be interpreted at this nexus of practice.

Research design was also discussed, and therewith the use of questionnaires, gps logs, QGIS software, mp3 recorders, and the annotation of the mp3 files using Audacity software. Participant observation, non-participant observation and contextualised interviews were discussed. All three methods have been used in this thesis, in order to collect participant talk that is reflective of the research site, Sandton, and of the place of participants within this research site.The upshot of this approach to data was the need for full transcription of segments, and their parallel translation into English so as to conserve both the fuller interactional features and the original language, style and register. Full transcripts, containing features and prosody of talk have been appended separately so that they may be read in parallel with the body of the thesis. This was also a key aim of this research project: to provide a representation of participant talk in Sandton that may be grasped in all its complexity and that may be used by the reader as an archive and guide to a linguistic image of what Sandton sounds like, and how participants orient to the site and each other in real time.

Finally, the chapter ended with a consideration of reflexivity in research, questions of ethics and power, and the need to respect participant wishes concerning discretion and anonymity.

Chapter 4 – Analysis of participant data 1: 'Emergence' and participant trajectories through the spatiality of Sandton

Introduction

The introduction to this first analytic chapter will offer a discussion of the principle of 'emergence', how it may be understood within an adaptation of Bucholtz and Hall's framework (2005) to a linguistic ethnography, a consideration of the participant data that we will be using, and finally how we will be imbricating the frameworks of small story analysis and geosemiotics, not in terms of analysis, but rather, in terms of their exposition and discussion.

Bucholtz and Hall clearly frame emergence as opposing essentialist structural or psychological approaches to identity. Against these currents they emphasise the, "social ground on which identity is built, maintained, and altered." (Bucholtz and Hall 2005 : 587). This is to say that, although sense of self and structure are important, on the one hand discourse mediates between self and the social world, and on the other hand, meaning is dialogic and interactional. One is reminded here, of the work of Bakhtin for whom, "verbal discourse is a social phenomenon - social throughout its entire range and in each and every of its factors, from the sound image to the furthest reaches of abstract meaning" (Bakhtin 1981 : 259). The social constitution of meaning is also very important to Kress and Van Leeuwen (see for instance Kress and Van Leeuwen 2001), whose investigation of textual/visual meaning making informs the geosemiotic framework that will be integrated into this research.

Although simple, the principle of emergence is incredibly powerful, and in many ways serves as the underlying for Bucholtz and Hall's framework. This is because it is the justification for continually returning to the micro, the local, and the temporary, in analysis. This has a profound effect on the ways in which the other principles of positionality, indexicality and relationality are realised within the framework. By introducing emergence in this chapter then, it must be understood that it will be given a motive force for analysis, and the other principles (of positionality, indexicality and relationality) will be introduced here within the broad lines of this first principle.

There are two aspects of emergence as presented in Bucholtz and Hall's framework that will be important for this chapter, and that need to be unpacked here. Firstly, their work is related to gender and to debunking essentialist discourses of masculinity and femininity. The two examples that they give in their paper (at pages 589 and 590) are not anodyne. One deals with the Hijras, people in India who expressly adopt cross-gender patterns – both linguistically and semiotically. The other example deals with Korean men who adopt AAVE (African American vernacular English) identities in a North American context. Both of these examples illustrate how people can maintain interactional identities that contrast sharply with their physical appearance and the categorisations (of Korean, male, etc) that are *ascribed* to them. Secondly, in these examples, certainly, but also in the paper as a whole, Bucholtz and Hall explicitly link identity and interaction to community of practice. Community of practice allows research to look at the very *local* ways in which practices 'construct' members (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 1992 : 463). Additionally, through the 'comparative' and 'relational' axes (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 2007) different communities of practice can be compared to each other and to wider networks and institutions.

Adaptation of Bucholtz and Hall's framework to a linguistic ethnography must therefore take into account this focus on gender and on community of practice; taking seriously the relational axis and the

links between communities of practice within a broader approach to the site as a whole. In many ways what this amounts to is a recognition of the *subversive*. This is to say that the participant data that will be looked at in the following sections will:

> […] illustrate in diverse ways that identities as social processes do not precede the semiotic practices that call them into being in specific interactions. Such cases are striking only because they sever the ideologically expected mapping between language and biology or culture; that is they *subvert* essentialist preconceptions of linguistic ownership. (Bucholtz and Hall 2005 : 588, emphasis added).

To do this requires that the data selected for analysis come from a full trajectory into and out of the site. Although intra-site change will be useful at other stages of analysis, here, what is fundamentally in question is the way that participants react to the site – the shifts in style, register, code and interaction that signal their adaptation to the context that is Sandton. Two participants, Dikeledi and Elliot, recorded their household interactions, their trajectory to Sandton and their days in Sandton. Their recorded data is very well adapted to the theoretic slant of this chapter since it allows comparison of their interactions and a study of the shift, or emergence, of their identities-in-interaction. Two other participants, Ric and Linda, kindly let me tag along with them (well, to be honest Linda tagged along with me) as we went on what was more a participant observation tour of Sandton. In Ric's case, this consisted of drinks with friends at the Brazen Head pub, and in Linda's case of a visit to the Honey Bear, a maker of medicinal honey. The details of recordings, fields and participants are given in full in Appendix 2 – 2, but here we can resume that in Ric we have a representative of media, in Elliot, a personal assistant in the banking sector, in Dikeledi a manager in the IT and higher education fields and, finally, in Linda, a university student involved in a student publication that is being financed through its links with Sandton.

As we tease out their transcripts, looking at the principles of emergence, positionality, indexicality and relationality, we will also be threading in the two frameworks of small story analysis and geosemiotics. This chapter will therefore consist of the analysis of the gps data, the artifacts of the semiotic landscape and of the transcripts of the recorded small stories of these participants as they move in and out of Sandton, and in and out of different communities of practice. The first data that we will look at comes from the day I spent recording interactions with Ric, but as will become apparent from the transcriptions, I spent a lot of time with Ric and the friends we met at the Brazen Head and there is a close familiarity that makes this also a more comfortable terrain on which to start analysis. It is also very exciting to note that Ric's data takes us directly into a very active community of practice, and into a consideration of gender and masculinity.

Ric's trajectory through Sandton – 'accounts'

Geolocalisation and introduction of Ric's small stories

This section refers to the transcripts that are given in full in Appendix 2 – 3 – 1, to the gps data and artifacts that will be introduced in the course of the section. The stories that are transcribed are the most representative of the 10 versions that Ric told of his recent work trip to Qatar. Segments 2) (transcript 1) and 3) (transcript 2) were collected in Ric's car as we went for a swim, whilst segment 11) (transcript 3) was collected at the Brazen Head. The total trajectory is shown in figure 31, whilst figures 32 and 33 illustrate the three stories that are transcribed in Appendix 2 – 3 – 1, and the location of the Brazen Head with respect to Sandton Central. I have used blue for the mapping of Ric's stories to reflect the self-questioning and alignment repair that is a big part of these interactions.

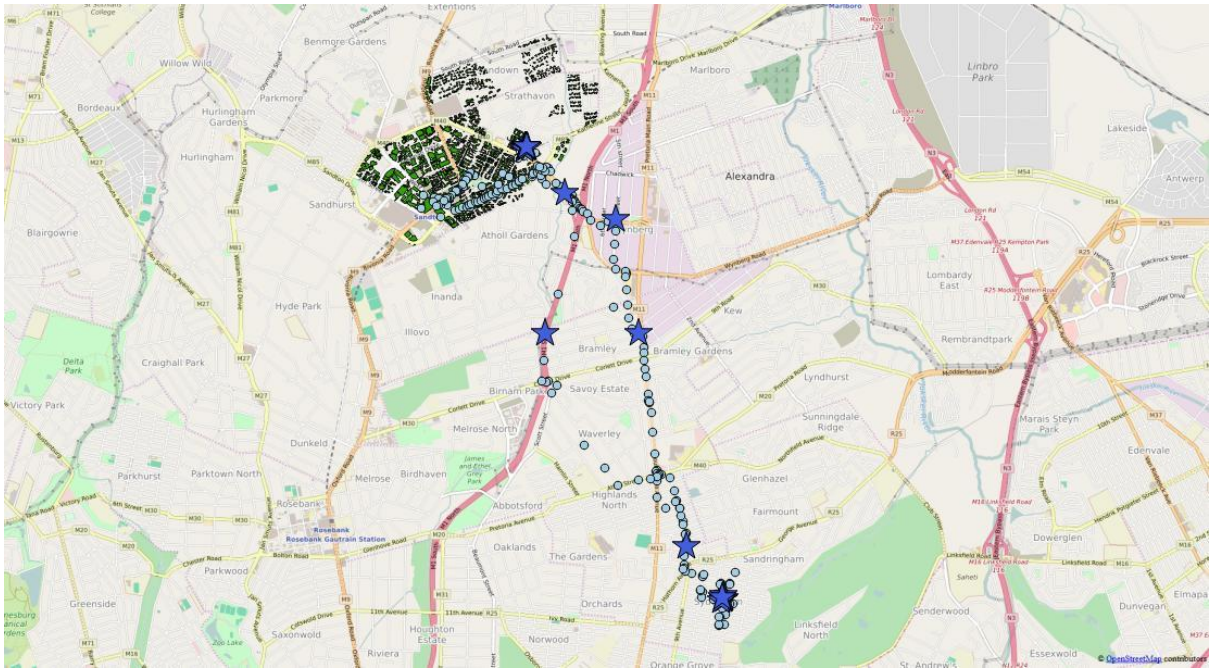


Figure 31: View of Ric's trajectory to Sandton with blue stars depicting the location of small stories.

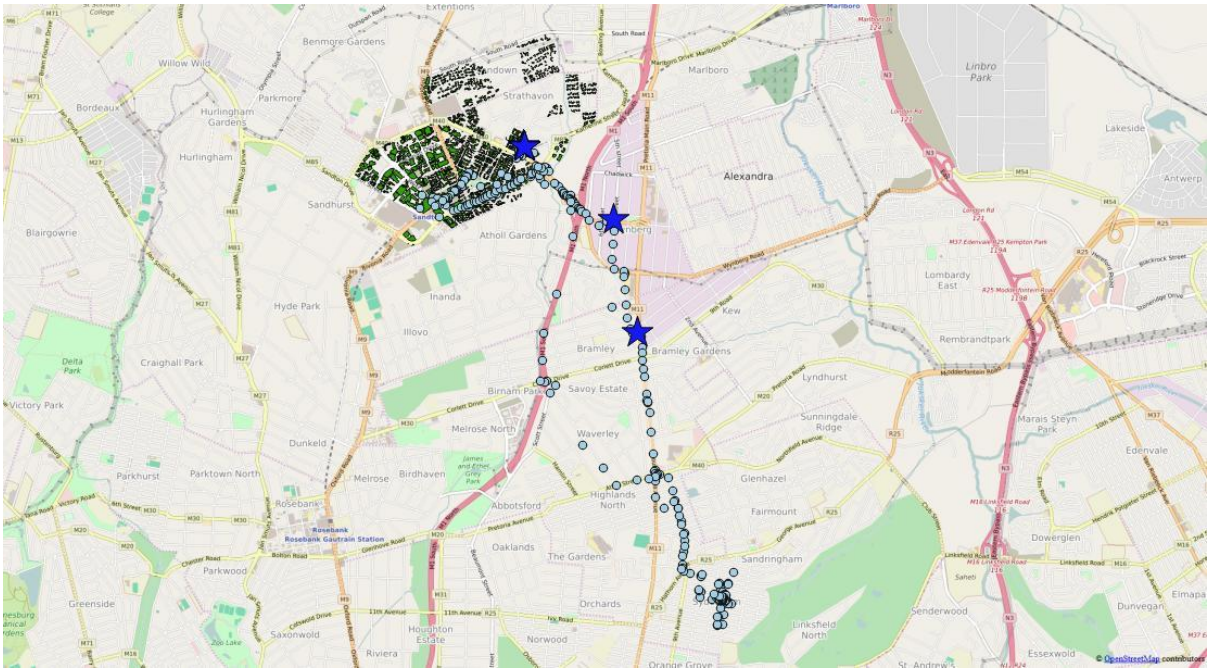


Figure 32: Locations of Ric's three small stories that are transcribed in Appendix 2- 3 – 1.



Figure 33: Location of Ric's segment 11) that was collected at the Brazen Head Pub, Sandton.

What happened is that Ric, a freelance cameraman and colorist for documentary film and televisual series, had gone to Qatar to film what he thought was going to be a documentary on falcon hunting. Instead he found himself in the middle of a reality TV show with an overbearing and demanding director. Since Ric is more the reserved, quiet and independent type, this situation didn't last long, and he left the set to return to South Africa. I caught up with him once he'd been back a few days. In this first analysis of participant data, we will be looking in great depth at the first version of this story, and then in the changes that are wrought in its structure and interactive achievement through Ric and myself's trajectory into Sandton, and our participation in Marty's community of practice at the Brazen Head pub.

Ric's emerging positioning with respect to discourses of masculinity

Here below, is the first version (segment 2) of the story told before we got to the Brazen head.

Transcript excerpt 1 : Ric segment 2) of Appendix 2-3-1

Teller and story: Ric, the cameraman, introduces his story about leaving the set in Qatar before being paid. The features of the story will evolve throughout our trajectory together to a swimming pool and then a bar in Sandton, and the final transcript excerpts will be in the context of that bar, the Brazen Head, where we will meet other participants.
Participants: Ric and William.
Occasioning: We are catching up, having not seen each other for several weeks. Ric had asked me about my personal situation and I had responded as honestly as I could. He in turn recounts his most recent turn in fortunes.
Actions and events during telling: This excerpt involves myself and Ric as we are driving from Sandton Central to a swimming pool nearby. Ric's driving explains some of the longer pauses in narration.

13	Ric	[so you're having an anxi:ety attack
14	William	ah no (.) Jesus
15	Ric	you should
16	(1.3)	
17		look I (.) I (..) I was very depressed
18		when I got back from this job
19		because it was meant to pay me such a lot of money
20	William	[and did did they pay any↑thing
21	Ric	[and now (....)
22		I haven't even got that little bit of money
23	(0.6)	
24		they're st- dithering over it
25	(1.4)	
26		[which is nothing I can do about
27	William	but why↑ what happened↑ bru
28	Ric	a::nd
29	(1.2)	
30		I fucked it up (....)
31		and I feel so stupid that I fucked up the job
32	(1.0)	

I then asked Ric, in excerpt 2 below, what exactly he meant, and he explained the misunderstandings that had grown between himself and the rest of the film crew in Qatar.

Transcript excerpt 2 : Ric segment 2) of Appendix 2-3-1

Teller and story: Ric, the cameraman, is fleshing out the storied world of Qatar and the working conditions he faced there before leaving the set. The features of the story will evolve throughout our trajectory together to a swimming pool and then a bar in Sandton, and the final transcript excerpts will be in the context of that bar, the Brazen Head, where we will meet other participants.
Participants: Ric and William.
Occasioning: We are catching up having not seen each other for several weeks. Ric had asked me about

my personal situation and I had responded as honestly as I could. He in turn recounts his most recent turn in fortunes.

Actions and events during telling: At this point in the telling we are stuck in a traffic jam and Ric is able to turn towards me and tell me his story in a closer more attentive way.

39		I just couldn't (….)
40		they kept complaining and and and putting me in different ↑roles
41		and eventually they completely ostracised me from the crew
42		and then uuhh I wa-
43		and eventually I got to the point where I was like
44		well
45		I mean
46		you don't ↑**like** me
47		you don't like what I'm **do**ing
48		what is going **on** here
49	(0.5)	
50	William	ja
51	(0.7)	
52	Ric	you know why are you even keeping me
53	(0.6)	
54	William	ja
55	(1.2)	
56		and why were they I- =
57	Ric	=they said why are you
58		well if you put it like that well
59		then (….)
60		g(h)o ((short chuckle))
61	William	oh really hey
62	Ric	it was kind of like (.) my own (.) fault (..) in a way
63		'cause I should have just been hard-arsed and said
64		well look
65		this is how I work
66		I don't know what you're **wor**ried about
67	(1.0)	
68	William	what were they complaining about
69	(0.7)	
70	Ric	ah, technical things like (….)
71		camerawork wasn't steady enough and it
72	(1.2)	
73		it wasn'thh
74		then they were moaning about the exposure (.) which was fine::
75	(1.5)	
76		they were confusing me with somebody else (….)
77		and then er:: (.) something else came up what was the other thing
78		erm (…)
79		then they said my shots weren't **long** enough (….)
80		I'm not leaving my shots **on** long enough
81	(1.0)	
82		I said what do you me:an
83		>I've been making movies for like 25 years
84		and now you're moaning about (…) like trivial things< and there's **no** creative
85		conversation at all↓ ever↓

Segments 2), 3) and 11) (transcripts 1, 2 and 3) are all 'accounts' as defined by De Fina (2009 : 240). The small stories approach offers an interactional approach to genre, and links the genre of accounts to alignment between participants. Often, De Fina (2009) notes that accounts are studied in connection to, "dispreferred social behaviour such as rejections of proposals and offers" and they, "are offered after some delay, and they include reports that detail activities and circumstances of an action" (De Fina 2009 : 239). Similarly she differentiates 'accounts' from 'explanations', where the latter are, "about events where untoward action is not an issue and does not have critical implications for a relationship" (De Fina 2009 : 239). These remarks are certainly true for the interaction at hand. It concerns what Bowman (2008) terms 'self disclosive behaviour' which, as a gendered behaviour, involves a closeness and a construction of intimate male friendships (see also Kiesling 2007) with roles that include counselling, advising, commiserating, arguing and proposing.

The segment 2) story starts with an overt alignment at lines 17 to 19, "look I (.) I (..) I was very depressed / when I got back from this job / because it was meant to pay me such a lot of money". I had been talking about the recent birth of my daughter, how it had given rise to a pretty stressful situation what with myself and my partner getting used to our new roles as parents, and having to cope with lots of other stuff like cultural adaptation, being far from our families, and not having much support in those first few months. At lines 28 to 31 Ric offers a self-assessment, and an evaluation of the story to come that serves as an orientation device, "a::nd / (1.2) / I fucked it up (….) / and I feel so stupid that I fucked up the job". What is fascinating is that we see here the long pause that precedes dispreferred behaviour. The story itself occupies lines 38 to 92. From line 109 to 122 Ric discusses the director. From line 122 to 164 we discuss machism and racism. And then at line 182 Ric effects an exit from the story as this is discussed by Jefferson (1978), which is to say by the deployment of another topic. These segments are reproduced below in excerpt 3.

Transcript excerpt 3 : Ric segment 2) of Appendix 2-3-1

Teller and story: Ric, the cameraman, is fleshing out the storied world of Qatar and the working conditions he faced there before leaving the set. The features of the story will evolve throughout our trajectory together to a swimming pool and then a bar in Sandton, and the final transcript excerpts will be in the context of that bar, the Brazen Head, where we will meet other participants.
Participants: Ric and William.
Occasioning: We are catching up having not seen each other for several weeks. Ric had asked me about my personal situation and I had responded as honestly as I could. He in turn recounts his most recent turn in fortunes.
Actions and events during telling: At this point in the telling we are stuck in a traffic jam and Ric is able to turn towards me and tell me his story in a closer more attentive way.

109	Ric	=that's how they talk
110		this woman was [**ter**rible
111	William	[fuck=
112	Ric	=I tell you there's this woman running the show
113	William	yah
114	Ric	she's **only** got men working for her
115	(0.8)	
116		and there's **one** woman working for her (....)
117		uhm
118		and a cleaner
119		type of an accountant ◦woman
120	William	ya:
121	Ric	and there's no women on the set
122		there's about 50 guys

122		there's about 50 guys
123		there's this very **macho**↓ vibe going on
124		↑which I don't really relate to
125		I I don't think I [don't need to=
126	William	[oh you're like me I mean it's (..) e:r (.) you know ...
127	Ric	[you don't know me as macho do you
128		and I mean
129		I don't mind compe↑ting
130		if you want to play
131	(1.0)	
132		cricket or something
133		I've (.) I'll try my best to beat you (....) or whatever.
134	William	ya:
135	Ric	but it's not like a::
136	(1.0)	
137	William	well like you're like me
138		[I mean you don't
139	Ric	[we have to **run** after these **cam**els right↑
140		I was like
141		what the fuck is this about you know
142		why are we doing this
143	(1.4)	
144		and everything's the same (....)
145		like they just keep repeating the same thing over and over↓ and over↓ and
146		over again↓=
147	William	=ja >I know what you mean< like soup (.) just like
148	(0.4)	
149	Ric	and and it's all a macho game with the guys (....)
150		like (.) who's going to be there first (...)
151		[who's going to get
152	William	[Australian okes=
153	Ric	=their pictures
154	Ric	no
155		South Africans
156	(1.0)	
157	William	**white** South Africans=
158		=and Lebanese
159	William	**white** South Africans
160	Ric	ja↓
161		there are no blacks around
162	William	agh
163	Ric	so it was that kind of (.)
164		set up

[…]

181	Ric	they tried to put me in my place=
182		=I used to have a car like this
183	William	yah a Giulietta
184	Ric	exactly like it
185		beautiful car hey=

What is, again, so captivating about this segment, that is in many ways a typical example of 'man' talk, itself an ideological construction, is that the story exit is provided by a reference to an 'ultra rich' topic (Sacks 1992 Vol II : 67-86) that for men is provided by … cars. The ideological content (masculinity, and its doing) therefore extends throughout the story to its exit, and the conditions of its realisation, in Sandton.

Masculinity, in the literature, emerges as being at once discourse, desire and resistance. A first *discursive* framing of masculinity has been in terms of its influence, or hegemony. As noted by Gramsci (1971), one of the ways in which power disguises itself is through its naturalisation. One doesn't even speak about it anymore so obvious is it to the functioning of society. Connell (see for example Connell and Messerschmidt 2005) coined the term 'hegemonic masculinity' to describe how dominant discourses about masculinity fed into patriarchy and gender hierarchy, social reproduction and power. Concomitant with this emphasis however, they did also note the socio-historic changes effected in masculine discourses and clearly charted masculinit*ies* in the plural; recognising how subordinated masculinities were also a source of change within the dominant discourses. Nevertheless, their formulation, despite critiques, reinterpretations and tweaking (see for instance Beasley 2015) was basically that:

> Hegemonic masculinity was distinguished from other masculinities, especially subordinated masculinities. Hegemonic masculinity was not assumed to be normal in the statistical sense; only a minority of men might enact it. But it was certainly normative. It embodied the currently most honoured way of being a man, it required all other men to position themselves in relation to it, and it ideologically legitimated the global subordination of women to men.
>
> Men who received the benefits of patriarchy without enacting a strong version of masculine dominance could be regarded as showing a complicit masculinity. It was in relation to this group, and to compliance among heterosexual women, that the concept of hegemony was most powerful. Hegemony did not mean violence, although it could be supported by force; it meant ascendancy achieved through culture, institutions, and persuasion. (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005 : 832)

This view of masculinity sparked an intense debate when it was introduced in the middle 80's, and the debate is still raging today, with a special issue devoted to the theme by Men and Masculinities (Beasley (ed.) 2015). What is of interest to us, though, is to see what hegemonic masculinity looks like in practice, what cues and linguistic markers it is associated with. An author who is particularly clear in this respect is Kiesling. His analysis concerns specifically the US context. Although, in South Africa, hegemonic masculinity overlaps with racialised discourses (Levon, Milani and Kitis 2017), what Kiesling notes in terms of linguistic cueing and marking is certainly applicable.

Kiesling (2007) associates masculinity with four cultural discourses – which is to say, "qualities and practices that people value, desire, and strive for, and it is the combination of these cultural discourses that yield hegemonic masculinity." (Kiesling 2007 : 657). The four discourses that he gives, and which must also be understood as interacting amongst each other, are: 1) gender difference, that sees men and women as different in biology and behaviour; 2) heterosexism, where masculinity is associated with being heterosexual; 3) dominance, where masculinity is associated with dominance, power and authority; and 4) male solidarity. This discursive taxonomy is associated in Kiesling's work with **stance**, which is to say, "the location of the structural coupling between performativity and structure; it is in the stances that identity performativity takes place. Stance is defined here as 'the specific interpersonal relationship constructed by talk in interaction." (Kiesling 2001 : 252). The markers of stance that Kiesling feels are relevant to masculinity are: 1) direct indexing of status asymmetry; 2) indexing of linguistic items associated with a particular group; 3) use of speech such as directives to create a hierarchical relationship between interlocutors; and 4) the use of speech acts associated with a powerful group (for instance epistemic modality to index expertise).

The consideration of stance as central in construction of masculinity, and the kinds of markers of stance that can be examined, leads Kiesling in a later article (2011) to continue work in this perspective and to link interactional cues to desire. Desire represents an important subject of debate in gender studies. A consideration of desire frees gender studies from the constraints of sexuality, and allows research to focus on homosociality for example; the point being that desire is interactionally achieved and not essentialist (Benwell 2011 : 190). As Bucholtz and Hall (2004a) point out, further, the imbrication of desire and identity allows this latter to be studied as the outcome of intersubjectively negotiated practices and ideologies. Kiesling (2011) makes the point that desire must not be understood restrictively, and that an important wellspring of identity is ontological desire, which in the context of the present discussion would be the the pursuit of being and becoming masculine (Kiesling 2011 : 215). The **alignment cues** that are mentioned by the author in this regard are tokens that encourage a teller to continue (the paralinguistic features that provide backchannel ratification), overlapping or phrase completion by an interlocutor, recall of previous conversational contexts[15], assessables, preference markers, intonation and lexical items.

In addition to alignment cues such as these, another author (Kulick 2003), who frames language and desire in terms of performance and **identification**, insists that desire is present where it can be understood to frame the interaction. Desire, from this perspective, can be indexed through affect-laden adjectives, through the adoption of an infantile style, through thematic repetition, attributed speech and the functional equivalence of various forms of expression such as indirect and direct, through hedging (or lack of it), and through markers of prohibition that index taboo. Kulick is referenced by Bucholtz and Hall (2005 : 588), but their own examples tend to illustrate the last term of our brief discussion which is ***resistance***.

In their discussion on the Hijras and on Chun's (2001) work with Korean American men who adopt African American Vernacular English (AAVE) of import is the way in which participants adopt language traits that would normally belong to a very different group of speakers. These are acts of resistance, above all, to the membership categorisations of society, where appearance and behaviour enter into confrontation, with verbal behaviour being at the forefront of the struggle for recognition. The

[15] Which reminds one of Sacks' work (1992) on second stories.

interactional tools that these participants use range from explicit gender markings in languages that allow this (such as Hindi) to the assignation of gender to another, to the use of idiomatic phrases associated with a certain group, to 'emblematic grammatical structures' (AAVE use of zero copula for example) (see Bucholtz and Hall 2005 : 590).

In Ric's transcripts, similar to what Kiesling notes (2007, 2011), there is reference to gender differences, in that the female director is seen to be transgressing gender roles in that she shows no gender solidarity, no empathy and no fragility as one could expect from dominant discourses on femininity, "and there's **one** woman working for her (….) / uhm / and a cleaner / type of an accountant ◦woman / and there's no women on the set / there's about 50 guys" (lines 116 to 121). Ric does not make a claim to heterosexism in this segment, but he does associate masculinity with dominance, power and authority at lines 63 to 66 where he retrospectively details a *desired* attitude, "I should have just been hard-arsed and said / well look / this is how I work / I don't know what you're **wor**ried about". Finally, he points to a potential sense of male solidarity at lines 129 to 135 where he talks about the competition between the men on the set.

However, Ric also specifically *resists* this dominant discourse. At lines 123 to 125 he acknowledges the discourse only to distance himself from it, "there's this very **macho↓** vibe going on / ↑which I don't really relate to / I I don't think I [don't need to= " which latches onto line 127 where he seeks ratification for this stance, "=[you don't know me as macho do you". In fact, there are numerous markers of a departure from a dominant discourse of masculinity towards a more idiosyncratic, personalised life history and subjective understanding of being in the world. The car that provides a transition point at line 183 for example is a Giulietta, a small, beautifully crafted reminder of a different time, rather than a high-performance status symbol such as an Audi, or BMW. Ric, similarly, uses irony in his presentation of a discourse of competitiveness, "I'll try my best to beat you (….) or whatever" (line 133). This resistance can also be noted in the way in which Ric does not take up my proffered interpretation of a racial slant to the events of the filming. He acknowledges that in this case the masculine discourses are linked to other discourses of race (white South Africans) but does not play on the consequences. This is in keeping with his lifestyle generally that is non racial, cosmopolitan, living and working with a broad-section of South African society in the media profession. It also fits in with Marty's community of practice which has a very multi-racial, multi-cultural membership.

So far we have only been considering segment 2). Let's move on about 4 minutes in the trajectory (see figure 32) and see what's going on in segment 3).

Transcript excerpt 4 : Ric segment 3) of Appendix 2-3-1

Teller and story: Ric, the cameraman, gives the details of the documentary film that he was shooting in Qatar, and the technical aspects of the subjects and kind of filming he was doing. The features of the story will evolve throughout our trajectory together to a swimming pool and then a bar in Sandton, and the final transcript excerpts will be in the context of that bar, the Brazen Head, where we will meet other participants.
Participants: Ric and William.
Occasioning: Having recounted why he left the set, here, in response to a prompt about reality shows, Eric is developing the technical aspects of the filming and its constraints.
Actions and events during telling: At this point in the telling we are nearing the swimming pool where we

will swim for a bit, before meeting Marty and his group of friends at the Brazen Head bar in Sandton.

12		I just (.) don't (.) know what it's ↑like to- (....)
13		I usually shoot on my own you know
14		I don't shoot with 20 people and- (..)
15		if I do it's all very simple
16	(1.0)	
17		you know?=
18	William	=you were shooting a reality show hey
19	Ric	yah I didn't realise it was a reality show
20	William	oh no:: man
21		oh well that's obviously that's why it's obviously so like (....) bullshit
22		you know [it's
23	Ric	[content is everything bra
24	William	[you know you know
25	Ric	[it's **low-grade television**=
26	William	=yah it's low-grade bullshit
27	Ric	there's no thought involved it's just (...)
28		let's show it as it is and I'm keep telling well
29		and then they keep telling you not to show (....)
30		you can't show the people smoking (....)
31		you can't show them (...) erm
32	William	[alright so you've got the whole (.) geez
33	Ric	[in a
34	William	[yah yah yah
35	Ric	[compromised situation↑
36	William	no because you want to keep it kind of cle::an
37	Ric	and these people don't wanna be filmed that's the other thing
38	(2.0)	
39		[so they haven't really agreed
40	William	((long inbreath))
41	Ric	[they've agreed to be filmed but they don't really want to
42		so they know that (....) they can't be put on television with smoke (...)
43		so whenever they don't **feel** like you (...) they just fucking light up a cigarette
44	(1.0)	
45		and you're talking about rich people=
46	William	=oh no:::
47	Ric	so you're constantly shooting and the next thing you see (.) oh the oke's smoking
48		oh fuck so that fucked that↑ shot up (....)
49		okay let's try someone else

[...]

71	Ric	[it's pathetic	
72	Ric	it's like they hunt with th: falcons right	
73		so I thought it was going to be some romantic (.) thing like really (....) cool you	
74		know	
75		ride on a camel with a falcon (....) going off into the [desert=	
76	William		[no:: no sss no:
77	Ric		=[to look for some
78		unsuspecting pigeon and then (..) and then hunting it right	
79	William	[no it's rich brats	
80	Ric	[no no no	
81	William	[it's like rich brats	
82	Ric	[it's rich brats	
83	(0.6)		
84		who no:w have left the Mercedes (...)	
85		and got on the camel	
86	(1.2)		
87		for a weekend away	
88		kind of like well let's you know fuck around a bit	
89	(1.3)		

At lines 12 to 15 Ric represents himself in the story world as again going countercurrent to discourses of power and authority. He represents the 'simple' character of his usual work, and how underexperienced he is in reality TV shooting. Segment 3) offers an interesting development with respect to segment 2). Firstly, it is now the people being filmed who attract critique from Ric, who signals their lack of cooperation at line 43, and then the 'pathetic' nature of their hunting (line 71). The whole hunting activity becomes a mere 'fuck around' at line 88. There is also something that will come out a lot more strongly in segment 11) and that is the technical nature of the critiques. In this story Ric is much more into the detail of filming, what it means to have to cut footage, work with participants and animals, etc.

In segment 11) of excerpt 5, it is this *technical* side to the story that is emphasised, and that is caught up on by the other participants; framing the interaction in many ways. The species of bird used as prey is named specifically at line 5, and it is this precision that gives rise to the rejoinder at line 9. The narration of the story is very interactive in the Brazen Head (see figure 33) and this subject of man/animal performance opens up to a consideration of the Saluki dogs, kites, camels etc. It's taken a bit off course by Marty's account of his night in jail (lines 106 - 127, and my own rather inept contributions, but brought back on course by Ric before the cut at line 162 where the friend at table transitions to talk about farming and animal rearing generally while Ric also moves to more general considerations of filming.

Transcript excerpt 5 : Ric segment 11) of Appendix 2-3-1

Teller and story: Ric, the cameraman, is telling the story of filming in Qatar, focusing on the technical aspects of the subject (falcon hunting). The stories told in this bar represent the end point of a long trajectory from Sandton to a swimming pool and then back to Sandton with multiple retellings and developments of the same story.
Participants: Ric, William, Marty and some of Marty's friends.
Occasioning: One of Marty's friends has prompted Ric on some of the ethical and technical aspects of

what he was filming.

Actions and events during telling: We are being seated, ordering food, more of Marty's friends are arriving, Marty is introducing everyone and there are several other stories in parallel to Ric's, such as Marty's arrest.

3	Ric	you've got a (..) [falcon
4	William	[what's up bru ((sitting down))
5	Ric	and they (.) only hunt Houbara which are (...) Kori bustard
6	(1.5)	
7		and errr it's not really much of a
8	(0.7)	
9	Friend	Kori bustard's not a mobile creature
10	Ric	no::: not a mobile creature
11		so that's (....) pathetic
12	(0.8)	
13		I mean they **breed** the Kori bustard in a ↑cage (...) in a pen↓
14	(1.1)	
15		'cause they [then **release** it
16	William	[how's it going (..) u:m I'll just have a
17		[I know yeah order
18		[did you order
19	Waiter	[Amstel draught
20	William	[did he order (....) he **has** ordered one
21	Ric	[and then they run after it on a camel and then (.) then release your (.) your
22		falcon and you know the falcon is an incredible bird hey
23	William	[I just thought I'd have something **light** myself hey (..) and a menu because I'm
24		hungry hey yo we were swimming
25	Ric	[((inaudible)) bird of prey rah (..) you know
26		and
27	(1.0)	
28		↑so (.) within **ten minutes** the Kori bustard's ((inaudible))
29		ripped its neck off and then
30	(0.6)	
31		so you have all these Arabs (...) shouting hoo↑ray and it's [((inaudible))
32	William	[are you
33		guys going to **eat** anything you going to eat
34	Ric	((inaudible)) hunt a wild animal and then take **time** over it you know
35	(0.6)	
36		actually spend
37	(1.0)	
38		a bit of effort
39	(1.3)	
40		obviously they track this (...) Kori bustard (....)
41		you know (....) desert where's there's nothing higher than about that ((gesture))
42		so
43	(1.0)	
44		Kori bustard's quite a big ↑bird you know °>it's a ↑hell of a<° big bird (....)
45		stands::: about (...) the (.) head stands about a cable
46	Friend 2	does it **fly**↑
47	Ric	it **can** fly but (..) you know it's a ground bird =
48	Friend	[the biggest land bird in the world
49	Ric	= and it flies about from here to that gate there (....)
50		then it (.) sort of needs to run again you know °the type

[...]

106	Marty	well when I was arr↑ested (..) ja::
107	Friend	I'm sure
108	(1.8)	
109	William	>when were you< arres-↑
110		oh ja shit bru
111		ja (...) hey
112	(1.4)	
113	Ric	what are we having↓ (...) food↑
114	William	did you manage to get out of it↑
115	(0.9)	
116	Marty	ja::::: ah a bri:be
117		we:::::ll [I
118	Friend	[((unclear)) (....) in the wild
119	Marty	[I I I mean- I didn't **off↑er** a bribe
120	Ric	[imagine (..) natural feeling (....) going for a fucking ((unclear))
121	Marty	[((unclear)) they put me in a cell (....)
122	Friend	[expect a ca- (....) boo-
123	Marty	[and then they come and **boot** me every hour and say (...) [what're we going to
124		do about this
125	William	[and
126		so:: what what 're you going to do:: ◦o::h↓
127	Friend	[unlike ((unclear)) **clip** on the back of the head here
128	William	oh bullshit
129	Friend	while the falcon (..) it (..) goes past
130		or **even a kite**
131	(1.4)	
132		or even a bloody kite can do it and that ((unclear))
133	Ric	was swooping you see
134		when you see a falcon swooping it's very relaxed
135	Friend	[sure

Noteworthy from the perspective of small story genres is the move, in segment 11) much closer to an 'explanation'. Gone, in this last segment, are the self-deprecatory remarks and interrogations of the previous segments. Ric's role in this segment is much clearer cut, as is the othering and distancing of the storyworld that becomes laden with negative assessments as to its characters ("so you have all these Arabs" line 31). The storytelling world also changes to reflect roles that are more focused on eliciting technical information and that allow Ric to position himself as an expert in photography. It is this change in positioning, and its emergence in the space of The Brazen Head in Sandton that is, in fact, the subject of the analysis that follows. The affect-laden adjective 'pathetic' is repeated three times in this segment 11), while the overall impetus of the story is that the prey is bred, defenceless and that the hunting vaciates the virility and natural grace of animals. This is supported, at line 86 for instance, by a much more graphic rendering of the hunting scenes, "these dogs run these gazelles to (..) to pieces (....) then eventually the man on horseback (....) charges after them" (lines 86 – 87).

There is thus a *movement* and a *trajectory* in these stories. A movement that is particularly evident in evaluative techniques. In segment 2) the assessment is much more self-concerned, more reflexive. In segment 3) it moves to the filming and in segment 11) to a characterisation of the hunting activity as pathetic. It is my contention that this transition is not entirely explicable in terms of a trajectory towards Sandton. Rather, the self-disclosure of which this story forms a part is also a working out of

Ric's and my opinions with respect to the (dispreferred) story outcome. It is a shifting of assessment in preparation for our participation in the group of Ric's friends (Marty's community of practice) that we would be meeting at the Brazen Head. This can be seen, I feel, in the immediacy of the assessment (pathetic) at the Brazen Head, and the excision from that story of Ric's character.

The community of practice at The Brazen Head and its discursive environment

Within Bucholtz and Hall's framework (2005), but also for Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (2007), it is communities of practice such as those with which we are concerned in studying Marty's friendship group, that provide the mediation between individual behaviour and opinion and wider context and discourse. And in now weaving the principles of positionality, indexicality and relationality into this discussion we can shed light on exactly this community of practice.

This is made easier in that Marty, Ric's friend whom we meet at the Brazen Head, is conscious of, and actively promotes, his friendship group as such a community. He maintains a Whatsapp group to which he invited me, but from which I was then removed, with one of the members remonstrating, "Come on Marty, you know the rules!" (in other words, I needed to be vetted). He introduces Ric to the friend, at line 98, with reference to previous activities that also characterise the group (playing bridge) and thus placing himself in a position of host. When I met Marty he was definite about the Brazen Head constituting the group headquarters. There is also maintenance of shared counter-cultural markers such as atheism and a rejection of traditional work ethic in favour of a more maverick stance that privileges skill and speed over a routine or regular work output. It must be emphasised that this community is multicultural, multi-ethnic and multilingual, cutting across many of the caveats of South African society, but respecting class, education and professional aptitude (in a diversity of fields, but with a tendency to involve finance).

My point is that it is to this community of practice that both Ric and myself orientated in sitting down at that table in the Brazen Head, and it is this that accounts for some more of the changes that can be observed in segments 2), 3) and 11) such as the movement from a more interspersed interactive structure (with regular pauses of a second or more) in segment 2) to the faster turn taking in segments 3) and 11). There is also a shift in Ric's lilting intonation adopted in segment 2) to a downward, more ironic intonation. I noticed these shifts in myself too. I talked politics, GDP, economies of petrol and importation / exportation when usually, well, this is hardly what characterises my main interests.

Let's look at Ric's stories and the community of practice of The Brazen Head from the standpoint of positionality, relationality and indexicality. As will be discussed in more detail in the following chapter, positionality, for Bucholtz and Hall (2005 : 592) involves above all an ethnographic slant, where their point is that participants are positioned, and align with, macro distinctions (such as age, gender and race), the meso, locally pertinent roles and positions, and the micro details of the specific interaction or interactions under study. The term is resumed slightly differently, however, by small story researchers Bamberg and Georgakopoulou (2008) or De Fina (2013a) who explain positioning in terms of three levels where level 1 refers to the positioning of characters in the story world through their actions, motives and characteristics (De Fina 2013a : 53), level 2 refers to the, "[…] embedding of the story in surrounding talk. How was the story occasioned and with what objectives was it told? How does it contribute to the reciprocal alignment of interlocutors?", and level 3 refers to how the narrator positions him/herself with respect to dominant discourses, which in this case would be those of

masculinity. These models are not contradictory however, and levels 1-3 can add a further dimension to the distinction between macro, meso and micro.

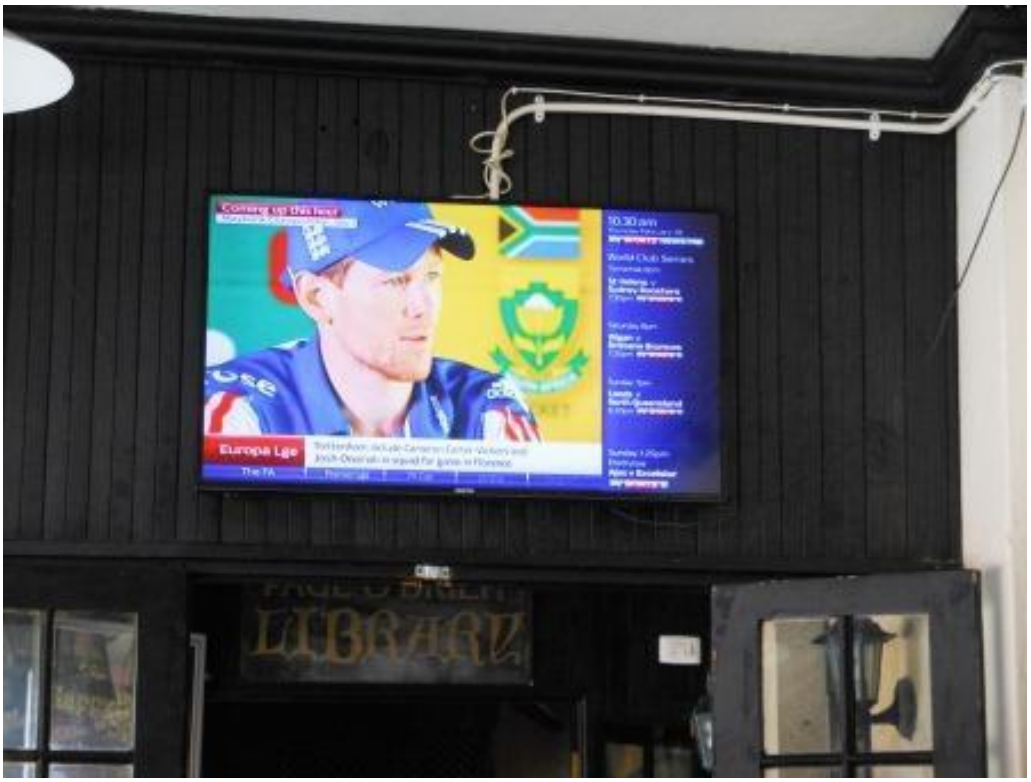
In Ric's stories then, and as I have briefly mentioned above, the macro – which is both oriented to and resisted, much as Connell and Messerschmidt (2005) and Kiesling (2006, 2007) state – is masculinity as this is enacted not just by Ric and myself, but also by Marty's group. This involves heavy drinking, a brush or two with the law, a healthy disdain for the requirements of work etc. At one point, that is not recorded in the transcripts, Marty was asked when he would return to his office. He brushed off the remark by saying that whoever was phoning him was phoning him about a problem that he would be able to fix in ten minutes at most. This macro (or level 3) discourse obviously intersects with the gender and age of the participants, and other key categories, such as their professional status and career. In turn, at level 2 (which is also the meso level of locally specific roles) this gives rise to telling of jokes, showing off of technical prowess, a fast and sharp interaction that is based on competing knowledge and that I alluded to above. Finally, at level 1 which is the micro level of the specific story and interaction around that, one can now fully appreciate why Ric's segment 11) suddenly gains in the attributes that were noted previously. What is important is above all the *role* shift that Ric's story typifies, where all hesitation is gone, and the story is told from the perspective of an experienced, highly competent cameraman, who also happens to be getting pissed in a bar.

This shift in positioning can also be understood from the perspective of the principle of relationality. In introducing relationality Bucholtz and Hall (2004a, 2004b and 2005) wish to highlight the ways in which our identities gain their sense from their interplay with others' identities. They propose three axes along which this interplay can be analysed: similarity/difference, genuineness/artifice and authority/deligitimacy. Although there is obviously a homogenising effect in any community of practice as concerns key values and discourses, I do not feel that Marty's group aimed, particularly, to establish relations of sameness. The cultural differences between some of the members were too vast, and I myself (an oddball to say the least) was completely welcome. Rather, the discourse and practice of masculinity here sought to establish genuineness. The drinking and the open, honest, talk that accompanied it, the frankness with which Marty talked about his heartbreak and disappointment with life – opening out and showing me his salary slip for instance – as well as the gestures that accompanied talk – frequent eye contact, moving of chairs to accommodate speakers – all pointed towards a need for this space to be 'genuine'. This of course, is one of the aspects of hegemonic masculinity, an ideal, a value. And the principle of relationality here allows us to see that Ric was not disguising his story in the segment 11), nor really consciously rethinking his role. Rather, his story at this point became a performance that responded to three key constraints of tellability (Sacks 1992), genuineness and masculinity. In this light, one may reinterpret the contents of Ric's stories, and particularly the othering that was noticed in regard of the person of the director and of the Qattari's and their cultural activities that are, above all else, non-genuine. Ric is particularly insistant on the staged and contrived nature of the Saluki and falcon hunting and this meets with assent and a positive evaluation by the other participants.

In terms of the principle of indexicality, at this stage we have already discussed much of the small story data that is relevant to understanding the dynamics of Ric's transcripts. These have included overt mention of identity categories in segments 2, 3 and 11, the strong implication in segments 2 and 3 that Ric considers himself a loser as this category is popularly understood (one may think here of the 'burnouts' of Eckert's famous study 1989), and the move in segments 3 and 11 to a characterisation of

his story-world figures as 'pathetic'. Similarly Ric's move from a pause-laden lilting enunciation in the earlier segments to a faster-paced, more competitive realisation of the story in segment 11 has also been raised. At this stage, therefore, I would like to introduce some of the artifacts of the semiotic landscape and draw some conclusions as to the space of the Brazen Head and its significance within this present study.

To do this I will be relying on a geosemiotic approach to artifacts of the semiotic landscape (Scollon and Scollon (2003). As briefly explained in the second chapter, a geosemiotic approach looks at artifacts as representing the nexus of four discursive cycles: the social actor (habitus), interaction order, semiotics of place and visual semiotics. Now, in looking at Ric and Marty's group as a community of practice, and in discussing masculinity and professional class in the context of the narratives collected, we have gone a long way towards discussing social actor and interaction. To keep our momentum, and dig deeper into the speech situation as this unfurls at the Brazen Head, I would therefore like to look at the semiotics of place and visual semiotics of those artifacts given in figure 34 a), b) and c) immediately below.



a)

Figure 34: An artifact of the semiotic landscape from the Brazen Head, Sandton.



b)



c)

Figure 34: Artifacts of the semiotic landscape from the Brazen Head, Sandton.

On consulting the pub's web page (The Brazen Head http://www.brazenhead.co.za/) there is a curious mix of the old and the new, where the old lends an 'authenticity' to the new - what Appadurai (1996 :

75-76) names 'patina'. So the original Brazen Head in Dublin with it's more than 800 year history linked to Irish independence, becomes re-interpreted in a franchise where:

> All of our branches are designed and operated under the guidelines of the "Irish Pub Concept" a highly successful programme that has established 1,850 Irish restaurants and pubs around the globe. While they're all related, no two pubs look exactly alike. In addition to the authenticity of the design, real Irish drink and food are also central to the concept. Incorporating all of these things, The Brazen Head is unlike anything yet seen in South Africa. Patrons will genuinely feel as if they have entered one of the many great restaurants and pubs of Ireland. (The Brazen Head 2016 : 'About').

The artifacts of the semiotic landscape reproduce this patina, with their artificially aged surfaces, their Celtic typefaces, and their juxtaposition with flat screen television screens and local products such as Valpre water (Figure 34 a) and c). But what strikes me about these artifacts is the backdrop they provide to the conversation taking place between Ric, Marty and myself. In the same way that Marty's friend engages Ric on the species of Kori Bustard, and in the same way that at segment 11) lines 83 and 89 Marty raises little points of order concerning the running surface and the mounting of the hunters, the artifacts in figure 34, raise discussion points that can be pursued or not, ascertained or not.

Thus, in figure 34 a) the 'Paul O'Brien LIBRARY' could refer to the Home and Away star Paul O'Brien who gave life to the character of policeman Jack Holden in the series, and like many Australians is presumed to have an Irish/Scottish background. Paul O'Brien could also refer to an author whose main research topic is Ireland's involvement in the event of World War I. O'Brien generally could refer to any number of independantist soldiers recruited by the IRA since its inception in 1919. Similarly figure 34 b) the 'Munster Balcony' could refer to a region in Ireland, that includes the famous site of Limerick, to a kind of cheese, to an independent city in Germany etc. One can easily imagine anyone at the table where the story in segment 11) took place looking up, and saying, "where's Munster?". Indeed, while participating in this conversation I was tempted to do so more than once!

These artifacts of the semiotic landscape participate in a real way in both the community of practice that coheres around Marty, and in the shift in interactive patterns that are so noticeable when one compares segments 2), 3) and 11). These are deliberate *indexical* concordances that are also aligned along the axis of genuineness/artifice that we discussed above. The owners of the pub are marking the Brazen Head for a certain type of clientele, and a certain type of interaction. One thinks here of Goffman (1959, 1983a) and the staging of interaction with props and cues. Before I can conclude the discussion of this section it is very necessary to retrace our trajectory and to re-engage with Ric's first version of his contract in Qatar. What emerges for me very clearly, and this responds also to my own feelings as I entered the Brazen Head, is that this was a space where I could leave behind the daily anxieties of children, work, responsibility … There is a protection in this kind of technical jousting discursive activity in that it deliberately does not engage with affect, in the way in which it judges the other (in this case Qatari hunters) and in the way it mirrors the kinds of subject that would be available 'locally' (see Sacks 1992 vol II : 87 – 97 for this local occasioning). While writing this section I have been thinking of a way to term this transitioning and this shift in interaction. The only term that comes to mind is 'fragility'. The fragility of the participants around this table is one of ontology, of being in the world in a society in change, it is also one of middle age, and of personal affordances and

constraints that rigidify as we age, it is a fragility born of responses that are often out of place. And for me it is a particular kind of subversion, for were one to ignore the segment 2) story one could not possibly extrapolate its existence from attention to segment 11). Story-telling is a particular kind of palimpsest that leaves its traces almost invisibly on the lumen of the present moment.

Conclusions concerning Ric's stories

In the above discussion we have moved from the structure of the stories that Ric tells; looking at the shift from account to explanation. This was seen to be mirrored in a changing intonative and interactive pattern, and a shift in story telling whereby characters reflected a move from self-depreciation, to othering, to claims of artificialness. Within Bucholtz and Hall's framework (2005) we examined Ric's positioning with respect to discourses of masculinity, and the ensuing relational and indexical modifications that ensued. These were seen to be tied up to the community of practice that was Marty's group, and to the place of the Brazen Head, that through the artifacts of its semiotic landscape could be regarded as a sympathetic context for exactly the kinds of practice that this group engaged in. In terms of Sandton, the principle of partiality would prevent us from drawing hard and fast conclusions from this sample of stories and participants. Nevertheless, within the context of these stories, Sandton does emerge as a space of masculinity, and of discrete communities of practice that subversively reinterpret and enact these discourses.

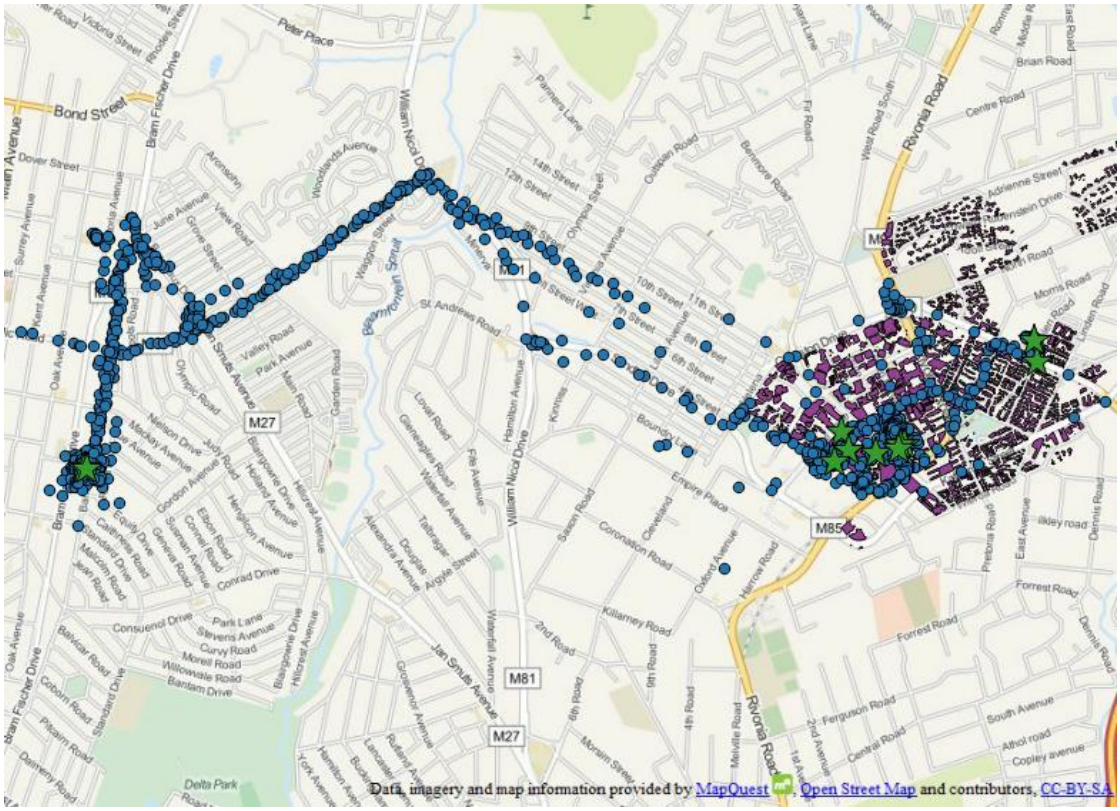
Dikeledi, Elliot and Linda's trajectories through Sandton – 'shared stories' and 'breaking news'

Geolocalisation and introduction of Dikeledi, Elliot and Linda's small stories

With respect to the previous discussion concerning Ric's small stories, the following three participants have been grouped together on the basis of the temporal and spatial shift that their stories represent. Whereas Ric's stories concerned an event in the past, and were told in circumscribed environments, Elliot, Dikeledi and Linda's stories are 'shared' and distributed. They take place on the taxi, in different places around Sandton, and are often 'breaking news' in that they concern events that are unfolding in the now of narration, or in the very recent past.

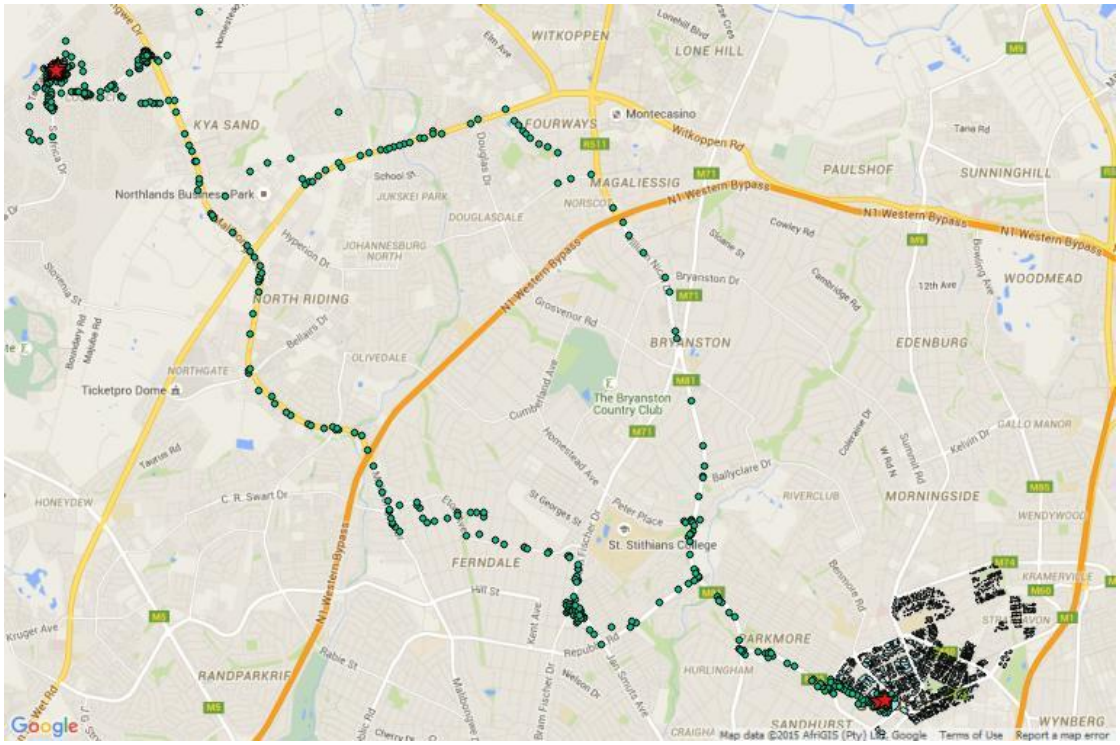
Figures 35 a), b) and c) below give the trajectories of Elliot (a), Dikeledi (b) and Linda (c) with an overview of the loci of narrative activity. As opposed to Marty, who at the time of the data collection lived in Sandhurst, or Ric who is a freelancer and who comes to Sandton for meetings with clients and colleagues, Elliot and Dikeledi form a real part of that huge daily flow into and out of the city centre that was illustrated in figure 11 of chapter 1. Elliot who uses the company car (he is the PA for an offshore banking corporation) travels through the Randburg hub as illustrated in figure 12, and forms part of the 54,801 daily vehicles that transit into Sandton. Dikeledi who lives further out in Cosmo City, takes a taxi through either the Randburg or Fourways nodes and is one of the more than 10,000 people who commute on foot. If the maps of figure 35 below are superposed on the maps of GVA (figure 13), English usage (figure 15) and unemployment rates (figure 14), what should be immediately obvious is that both Elliot and Dikeledi come from areas of low GVA, standard to low (particularly in Dikeledi's case) English usage, and higher than average unemployment although not peaking to the extent of areas such as Soweto or Alexandra. As such they really are the footsoldiers of Sandton who face long transit hours, low job security but, parallel to this, high aspiration of socio-economic advancement through the elevator that is the Sandton job pool.

This is backed up by their personal trajectories that changed significantly over the course of this research. Dikeledi, whose father is a delivery driver, and whose mother a domestic worker in Hartbeesport, has now become the regional manager for the Cosmo City branch of MOOV (the Massive Open Online Varsity) the educational initiative for whom she is the personable face of client relations. Elliot, whose mother is a pensioner, has remained with his firm through a change of director, and on our meeting to go over the data that will be presented in this section, seemed more confident, more assertive in his role. Both have children who attend school in the home neighbourhood, and both are in long-term relationships. Both attend church also in their home neighbourhood.



a)

Figure 35 a) : Elliot's trajectory to Sandton showing overview of locations of narrative interaction.



b)

Figure 35 b) : Dikeledi's trajectory to Sandton showing overview of locations of narrative interaction.

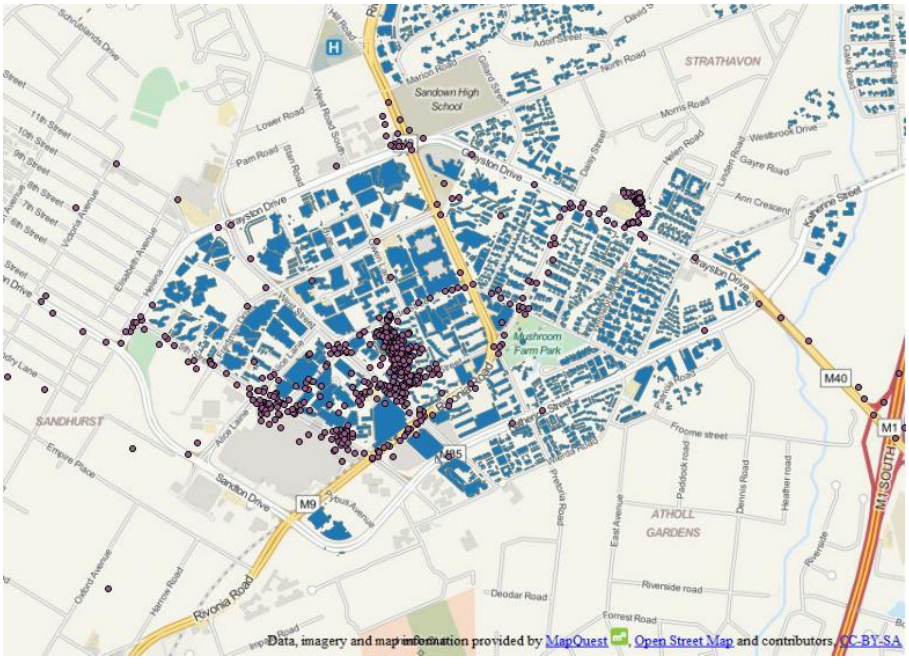


c)

Figure 35 c) : Linda's trajectory to Sandton showing overview of locations of narrative interaction.

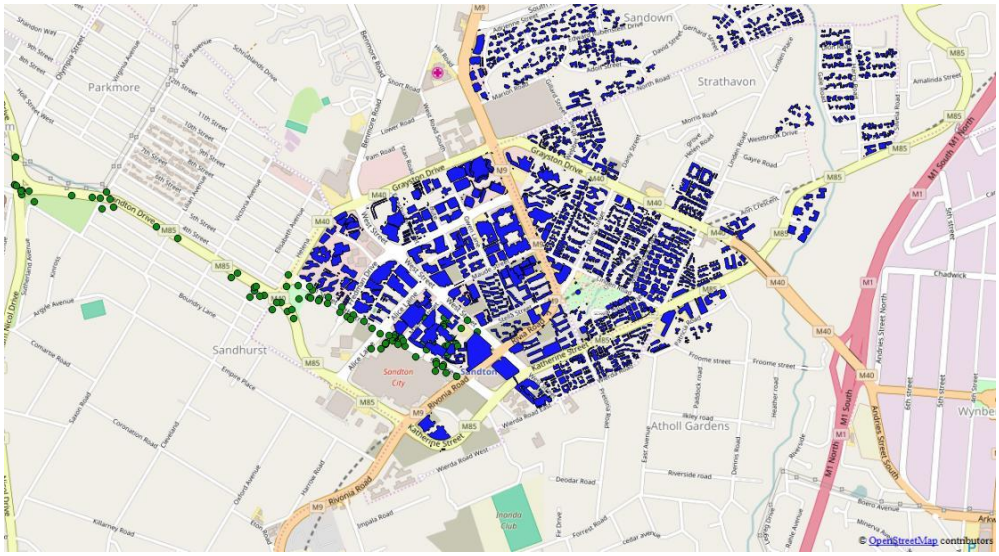
Figure 35: Elliot (a), Dikeledi (b), and Linda's (c) trajectories to Sandton showing overview of locations of narrative interaction.

Their trajectories within Sandton (figure 36 below) however, flag up significant differences. Elliot (figure 36 a) maintains an active presence throughout Sandton Central where he is required to deliver packages, collect documents, and therefore enter into relation with a wide variety of socio-economic and socio-cultural fields and people. Dikeledi however (figure 36 b), remains in and around her place of work, in a peripheral position with respect to the district, and this is reflected in both her attitudes and her stories about the place (such as segment 3 2). This relative difference in ease and constraint will be part of our discussion below.



a)

Figure 36 a) : Closeup of Elliot's movement within Sandton



b)

Figure 36 b) : Closeup of Dikeledi's movement within Sandton

Figure 36: Closeup of Elliot (a) and Dikeledi's (b) movement within Sandton.

Linda's trajectory in Sandton is slightly different. She was the first participant with which I piloted the methodology of this research. As a university student at Pretoria, she has numerous ties with Sandton (friendship group, journalism, event management etc). I had picked her up in Pretoria, and as a way of testing the equipment (audio recorder and gps) I drove with her to meet the Honey Bear, a retired fashion photographer who had set up a highly original apiary and honey business. By placing the bees next to certain essences (blue gum, rosemary …) he could infuse the honey with specific properties, which he then enhanced with other herbal extracts. His view is that honey is a medium for health treatment, and Linda was possibly going to use this meeting to aid her with a future article on beauty products for the magazine that is the subject behind recording segments 1) and 3) where she tells of her meeting with a Sandton magnate, the CEO of Hastings Models.

Indeed, the stories that we will look at from Linda's recordings (participant details in Appendix 2-2 and full transcripts in Appendix 2-3-4) concern the events that occurred at the Honey Bear and at this CEO's office. At Hastings Models (segments 1 and 3), Linda was concerned above all with the mediation and mise en scène of the experience, and of course the experience itself. Her older sister is becoming a powerful media presence, and Linda was excited to start being admitted into this world. At the Honey Bear (segments 7 and 8), Linda's 'shared' stories concern a husky dog that the ex-fashion photographer kept at his house. Linda was amazed at its size and power, and repeats the word 'wolf' with an almost incantory effect. The two stories represent a re-telling of the same event with two different interlocuteurs and highlight the stylistic, linguistic and prosodic effects that Linda mobilises.

Concerning Elliot, I have appended four transcriptions that are a good representation of the kinds of narrative activity in which he engaged over the course of the days that he spent recording. Segment 4 1) is a story that his two and a half year old son is telling him about the moon. The telling moves from the cars pulling out of their neighbourhood church to a personification of the moon, to a recitation of the days of the week. In what is a 'breaking news' format this story is interesting for the telling roles and the linguistic shifts. Segment 1 5) is also a breaking news story, this time told in response to events at a building site. The story involves a colleague of sorts of Elliot's, the gardener, and both

respond to the bleating of a goat with some hilarious suppositions as to its origin. Segment 2 2) is a story told by a carwasher at Virgin Active Sandton. This story is an 'account' that in a certain way repairs an alignment, where this alignment must be understood in the person of the carwasher and the situation of the telling. The story refers to Motsepe, a famous billionaire in South Africa, whose foundation is a primary source of funding for social upliftment initiatives. Finally, segment 6 1) is, once again, a 'shared story' that involves the practice of religion, and the events that occurred to a certain Vukosi who touched a gold chain and fell ill.

Many of Dikeledi's stories are similarly religious in character. Whilst segments 2 1) and 3 1) are examples of 'breaking news' and concern the articulation of her maternal and professional roles in the event of her son's falling ill that morning, segment 3 2), which is told to the same work colleague as in segment 3 1), is about a girl who was drugged and behaved as if possessed. Segment 2 4) which is a 'shared story' rather than breaking news however, shows, as with Elliot's segment 6 1), a particular community of practice at work – one that draws on the evangelical congregations that both Elliot and Dikeledi attend, and it is this community of practice that we shall discuss first. All of the stories chosen were done so with the aim of representing different moments in the participant trajectories from home to Sandton, and then through the space of Sandton. This should be borne in mind when recomposing a thematic analysis such as that below.

To the work of this first chapter in operationalising methodology and trajectory, I would like, at this point, to add that of introducing some of the language varieties that will be pertinent to the following stories, and those of chapter 6. I do this unwillingly, not least because the linguistic complexity of South Africa is frought with contradictions, but also because it was my wish in this thesis to focus on South Africa's modernity, giving prestige and value to all kinds of participant interaction rather than harking back to a cultural and historic categorisation and separatism. As I explained in the introduction, through the manner in which I have presented the transcripts, I have hoped to allow readers the possibility of appreciating this linguistic vibrancy. However, to the speakers whose words are collected in this thesis, some of the indexical values that I will briefly discuss here are relevant, as is an unpacking of language variety to a reader who is less familiar with South Africa's linguistic economy.

Very briefly then, in pre-colonial South Africa a handful of language groupings were dominant, these were the Khoi, Nguni and Sotho-Tswana groupings. In the Cape, the four languages associated predominantly with the Khoi and San peoples (Sandawe, Khoi, Tuu and Kx'a) would quickly become all but extinct due to acts of a horrific brutality and the intermingling of the Dutch settlers in the 17th and 18th centuries with the Khoi people. In this region, then, Afrikaans (a South African variant of Dutch with simplified syntax and morphology) is the lingua franca, and its use covers the full range of socio-economic and occupational categories. In the Southern and Eastern parts of South Africa, the Nguni group of Bantu languages (principally isiXhosa, isiZulu, isiNdebele and siSwati) were, and are still very much, spoken. There are some interesting historical episodes pertinent to the Nguni grouping, such as the reign of Mzilikazi who led isiNdebele to be spoken as far North as Zimbabwe and to whom I referred in Chapter 1, or the association of 19th Century isiZulu with Shaka Zulu's opposition to British rule. It was from present day Kwazulu-Natal, also, that many workers were conscripted to the mines in Johannesburg. SiSwati, that is spoken in Swaziland, and isiZulu, are both languages that are strongly associated with patriarchy and monarchy, as the Zulu and Swati Kings are recognised in the present constitution of South Africa and their cultural and legal force was very much mobilised by President

Jacob Zuma, who was an outspoken proponent of Zulu culture. The Sotho-Tswana grouping of languages comprise Southern Sesotho spoken in the kingdom of Lesotho, Setswana spoken in present day Botswana, Sesotho sa leboa spoken in Northern Gauteng, and Venda spoken further North are also associated with cultural heritage and independence, but differently, since these were countries that were excluded from the direct operation of Apartheid.

Of colonial languages, English, the language of British imperialism, can be seen as mobilising values of globalisation, commerce, governance and discrimination. It was certainly from this perspective that Plaatje (2002 [1916]) wrote and published his Native Life in South Africa in English, and used it in his representations before the British parliament. It was very rapidly the lingua franca in 19th Century Natal, and, with the transition of South Africa to constitutional democracy in 1994-1995, became a de facto lingua franca for the country, and for teaching and learning. This has been brought out in a very recent Constitutional Court case (AfriForum v University of the Free State CCT 101/17) that allows universities to use English as sole language of instruction. Afrikaans, which has become indelibly associated with Apartheid, is viewed as the language of Afrikaner nationalism in the Gauteng and the Northern provinces, but in the Cape is viewed, on the contrary, as a language of the people, especially given the Cape's non alignment with the majority African National Congress. Afrikaans as a result is the source for much of South African slang, but with specific socio-economic and gendered markings, as we will discuss in chapter 6.

Broadly then, and as applies to Sandton, and the province of the Gauteng, English is the lingua franca of business and education. Afrikaans can be spoken, but here sometimes indexes specific political and cultural views that are perhaps retrograde to the post-Apartheid discourse of a 'rainbow nation'. IsiZulu and Sesotho are majority languages, where isiZulu can index strong cultural values, rurality, but also a history of minework and a long-term tie to Johannesburg. Sesotho would tend to index a person as coming from North of the province. All of these major languages in the Gauteng are also obviously influenced by the urban development of the province, as Lafon examines in the case of isiZulu (Lafon 2005). Finally, any other languages such as siSwati, isiNdebele, or Setswana would tend to index someone as coming to the Gauteng to work and of a modest socio-economic status. Although, I emphasise, these are only very broad, general observations designed solely to help situate the reader, and must be read as merely underlying discussion on other themes, such as religion.

Religion as community of practice and its discursive environment

For both Elliot and Dikeledi, religion was something that came out strongly in their interviews, and that was oriented to as an identity claim. This was so much the case that Elliot chose to record an entire church service for this research. As I listened to the voices of the congregation, that took me to the services in which I have participated at several key moments in my life, I thought of Brice Heath's vivid description of the power of language (Brice-Heath 1983) in these social settings. And this power, the phatic aspect of language, is clearly evident in Dikeledi's segment 2 4). Both Elliot and Dikeledi are concerned, active members of their congregations (such as 'New Creation Ministeries') that are also both situated within walking distance of their homes, and both run by English-speaking pastors (from Ghana for instance, or English speaking from Bloemfontein). I talked to Dikeledi and Elliot about this, and their responses revived a memory of my assistance at the congregations of the Seventh Day Adventist church (see for instance Parker and Hendriks 2003). This is a shared story (see Georgakopoulou 2006a), but one that is markedly different to the genre as it was originally conceived. Whereas Georgakopoulou did much of the research for small stories with adolescent girls in school

settings, and therefore focused on the role of new media in their interactions, here, in excerpt 6 below, the story that is subjacent, and indexed, is the canonical story of the Bible.

Transcript excerpt 6 : Dikeledi segment 2 4) of Appendix 2-3-3

Teller and story: Dikeledi, regional manager for an online learning centre, is talking with a student about their respective churches, with, as co-text, the story of the bible.
Participants: Dikeledi and a student.
Occasioning: The talk has moved from a compliment the student paid Dikeledi, to talk about her fiancé, and marriage, to the church associated with these events.
Actions and events during telling: This story is being co-constructed with Dikeledi at the MOOV premises next to the Sandton library. Dikeledi is simultaneously attending to other students and staff, and the computers and software needed.

158	Male client	church
159	Dikeledi	which church New Creation
160	Male client	New Creation is where
161	(0.4)	
162	Dikeledi	in Cosmo **Ci**:ty
163	(1.4)	
164	Male client	aahh: with (.) the nice pastor the pastor [doesn't make you to eat the snakes
165	Dikeledi	[no the pastor is
166		no↑:: no no no no he is a very nice
167	Male client	the pastor is he South African
168	Dikeledi	ye:s he's a South African he is fro::m: (.) Bloemfontein
169	Male client	ah:: yes
170	(0.8)	
171	Dikeledi	no he doesn't make us eat grass a:::nd [snakes no(h)
172	Male client	[maybe <he doesn't eat a lot>
173		If a pastor: doesn't eat snakes but then he says: the congregation must eat
174		snakes
175	(1.4)	
176		↑I::'ll tell him you eat it first then I'll eat it [afterwar(hh)ds ((laughs))
177	Male client	[you have to belie::ve
178	(0.7)	
179		and no-one [must start in line
180	Dikeledi	[oh but then (....) yaa::h
181	Male client	then you must start in line
182	Dikeledi	you just believe anything
183	Male client	yes (...) you believe in anythi::ng (....) and then you think (.) you will get
184		everything
185	(1.0)	
186	Dikeledi	↑su:re
187	Male client	you know (.) in life
188	(0.7)	
189		wh↑en people say be positive
190	Dikeledi	mmh
191	Male client	be positive in everything your attitude be positive (.) about your life (....) [be
192		positive for your outfit
193	Dikeledi	[yee::s
194	(0.6)	
195	Male client	you say you are positive and then you cause death
196	(0.4)	
197	Dikeledi	yee::s:
198	Male client	you can't tell **me** you are still positive
199	Dikeledi	mhhm::
200	(0.7)	
201	Male client	you know everything must uhh::::
202	(1.0)	

The transcribed segment as a whole was recorded with a client who was training at MOOV concurrent to his degree at Wits, and who came from Nigeria. As such, the talk is in English, which here represents a certain pan Africanism, as Nigeria is a huge exporter of African cultural products such as

film and music on the continent. This segment 2 4) is one of the longer transcriptions of this chapter and contains several transition points. The first is at lines 32/33 which moves from a discussion of Dikeledi's marital status to that of her age and her role as a mother. At line 98 Dikeledi shows a picture of her fiancé and raises the theme of love. At lines 158 to 160 the interactants align with respect to the church as both a meeting place and as doxa. This is the segment that has been reproduced above. There are several 'shared' stories in this segment, several accounts too, as the participants align and re-align over questions of Dikeledi's son being ill, love, faith, parenthood etc. Line 164 is, for example, an allusion to the story that was breaking in the headlines at that time, of a controversial pastor who had convinced his congregation to eat grass. Gender resurges here, in that what is crucial to the alignment is the sexed status of the participants. This is recognised by them, where for instance at line 21 the client worries about being arrested by Dikeledi's fiancé. Lines 191 to 316 take us however into a 'projection' (Georgakopoulou 2006a : 126) as the participants piece together a future scenario that turns around God as a storied figure who is both actor and acted upon, authority for conclusions reached and justice in a story-line that is recounted in the generalising 'you' and includes several smaller allusions and references. The entire story of excerpt 7 is in English, chosen, as I have mentioned, as a lingua franca with links to religion, to church, and as a medium in which both are comfortable in interaction around the theme.

Transcript excerpt 7 : Dikeledi segment 2 4) of Appendix 2-3-3

Teller and story: Dikeledi, regional manager for an online learning centre, is talking with a student about their respective churches, with, as co-text, the story of the bible. In this excerpt the student takes the lead in a parable about teaching and the correct attitude to have with respect to God.
Participants: Dikeledi and a student.
Occasioning: The talk has moved from a compliment the student paid Dikeledi, to talk about her fiancé, and marriage, to the church associated with these events, to here, a specific religious attitude and observance.
Actions and events during telling: This story is being co-constructed with Dikeledi at the MOOV premises next to the Sandton library. Dikeledi is simultaneously attending to other students and staff, and the computers and software needed.

203		be adjusted
204	Dikeledi	yee::s:
205	Male client	and then you can tell me you are positive
206	Dikeledi	mhhm::
207	(0.7)	
208	Male client	and then some people when you are getting ((unclear)) (..) and then you don't
209		have the meaning you don't have the words (..) you don't find money
210	Dikeledi	mhhm::
211	(1.2)	
212	Male client	and then
213	Dikeledi	nah nah nah I believe that all of these things you have to ask them from god
214	(0.6)	
215	Male client	ye::s: (...) and then (..) you must know one thing
216	(0.8)	
217		God is like that (..) you can't reveal (..) the world is (done) like that
218	(0.6)	
219	Dikeledi	mhhm::
220	(0.6)	
221	Male client	sometimes
222	(1.1)	
223		you can wake up (....) you are in the darkness::
224	Dikeledi	ye::s:
225	Male client	**wait**
226	(0.4)	
227	Dikeledi	mhhm::
228	Male client	because the sun will ◦come
229	Dikeledi	mhhm::
230	(0.9)	
231	Male client	sometimes the darkness (...) **God**
232	(1.3)	
233		allow the darkness (..) in your li::fe
234	Dikeledi	ye::s:
235	Male client	because has to teach you (...) **something** (.) new in your life
236	Dikeledi	ye::s and he want you to see the li::ght
237	Male client	to see the light
238	Dikeledi	ye::s:
239	Male client	because when you'll (...) you'll be (...) **in** the light
240	Dikeledi	mhhm::
241	Male client	you will know now (....) you will **never** (in another) place
242	Dikeledi	ye::s:
243	(0.6)	
244	Male client	sometimes you wake up without (.) anything
245	Dikeledi	mhhm::
246	Male client	don't cry
247	(0.7)	
248		and ye:s hey I don't li:ke it every time but I don't I don't(...) (unclear)
249		everything
250	Dikeledi	mhhm::
251	Male client	God (....) God
252	(0.7)	
253		he like to teach you (..) a new things

254	Dikeledi	ye::s:
255	Male client	then you (want) you don't know
256	Dikeledi	mhhm::
257	Male client	if your door is open because many people think give them the money today
258	Dikeledi	ye::s:
259	(0.7)	
260	Male client	and then tomorrow
261	(0.6)	
262	Dikeledi	and if you look at these things you will find that someone has
263	(0.7)	
264		he's a millionaire (....) but then he just got sho:↓t
265	(1.2)	
266		and you are waking up without ten rands but you still have your life (1.4) and
267		you are (..) you have you::r (...) family (.) and everything
268	(0.4)	
269	Male client	one of the (.) the judge in the country said ◦last time
270	Dikeledi	mhhm::
271	(1.2)	
272	Male client	**God** (...) doesn't need
273	(2.2)	
274		(place) of **every**thing (....) that is the
275	(1.0)	
276		you must know
277	(0.5)	
278	Dikeledi	that
279	(0.8)	
280		mhhm::
281	Male client	you must not despair (....) if everything in your li:fe
282	Dikeledi	ye::s:
283	Male client	because some people have money
284	Dikeledi	mhhm::
285	Male client	(and then get degrees)
286	Dikeledi	ye::s:
287	Male client	some people that living
288	Dikeledi	mhhm::
289	(1.1)	
290	Male client	without money
291	Dikeledi	mhhm::
292	Male client	some↑ peo:ple ha:ve got mo:↑ney
293	(0.6)	
294	Dikeledi	[but then there's happiness
295	Male client	[but then there's happiness (....) ya:h
296	(1.7)	
297		and then if you know (..) e:ve:verything about th::at
298	Dikeledi	mhhm::
299	Male client	and then you can (want more)
300	(0.7)	
301	Dikeledi	ye::s::
302	(0.9)	
303	Dikeledi	no↑ we↑ must↑ (..) learn↑ to <appreciate what we have>
304	(1.0)	

305		mhhm::
306	(0.7)	
307		<and god can't give you problems that you: won't be able to:>
308	(1.2)	[to ach- (....) yes
309	Male client	[to achieve or to resolve
310	Dikeledi	and any challenge that comes (....) your way (..) god knows that (...) he will be
311		there to help you at- (..) erm conquer that challenge=
312	Male client	=exactly
313	Dikeledi	ye::s:: (....) so↑ we: as people we are verr:y impa:tient (...) we want things to
314		happen **no:w** (...) [I want money **now** I want a uh car **now** all these things
315	Male client	[((inaudible))
316	Dikeledi	ye::s:: oka:y can I just answer this ca::ll↑
317	Male client	hey you're [(breaking)
318	Dikeledi	[((laughs)
319	Male client	((inaudible))
320	Dikeledi	Dikeledi hello::↑
321	(2.6)	
322		*ke teng okae* ((I am alright how are you))

The practice of religion is seen dramatically in how the male participant (and here, one could think also of masculinity and its enactment) initiates a call and response turn taking that is bound tightly to the themes under discussion. Look at the rhythmic alternation of Dikeledi's 'ye::s:', 'mhhm::'. Notice the phrase onset patterns of the male participant, "be positive…", "you say…", "you can't tell **me**…", "you know …". There is also the rhythmic (masculine) casting of God, "**God** (1.3) allow the darkness …", "he want you to see the li::ght…", "He like to teach you…". Finally, the way the power of God is explicitly bound up with the power of words for instance at line 208, "and then you don't have the meaning you don't have the words (..) you don't find money". This story is interrupted at line 316, where Dikeledi asserts her position as personnel at MOOV and the professional responsibility to answer a call. It is notable that this assertion of status cuts across the participant roles that have been maintained up to that point.

The way in which status intervenes makes us aware of the fact that this story is not so much called into existence by Dikeledi's move to Sandton, as it is a *recall* of outside structures and alignments within the space of Sandton. The emergence with which we are dealing here is the emergence of another literacy and another world view within a space (the MOOV) that is in fact dedicated to rationalism and information technology. As such, both Dikeledi and the student are positioning themselves not just with respect to a shared, foundational, story, but also to the religious discourse that this story actualises and channels. What is at issue here is the *indexing* both of participant roles (the call and repeat sequence) but also their identity positions. Theirs is an interaction, that relationally, calls into existence patterns of similarity and authority that find their origin in an oft repeated and habitual *practice* of praise and worship. It is the mobilisation of the resources and the practices of worship that constitutes the genre of this small story as a 'shared' story (see De Fina 2009 : 238 for a discussion of genre).

When analysing the small stories of Dikeledi and of Elliot in this light (which is to say with regard to resources and practices that are mobilised within the space of Sandton) I wish to draw a distinction between the *account* of Dikeledi's segment 3 2) which is told to her colleague, and the *shared stories*

of Dikeledi's segment 2 4) and Elliot's segment 6 1). These shared stories correspond to the distributed networks of affiliation, work contacts and physical proximity that are animated through Dikeledi's and Elliot's participation in the space of Sandton. In contradistinction, the account partakes in the notional, in the fixity of place and employment. I would not venture to stake a claim to this distinction as an immutable one, but it certainly does help us to understand the very real difference in narrative activity between Elliot's segment 6 1) (excerpt 8) and Dikeledi's segment 3 2) (excerpt 9) although both deal, in content, with the phatic, as I evoked this briefly at the opening paragraph of this section.

Transcript excerpt 8 : Elliot segment 6 1) of Appendix 2-3-2

Teller and story: Elliot, the personal assistant in the banking sector, is prompting a development of a story about someone who picked up a chain and fell ill. The female colleague contributes more scandalous details about a possible liaison between them. The story is told in a mix of isiZulu, Setswana and Sesotho. Here I have given the English translation.
Participants: Elliot, female colleague, and other colleagues in this coffee and refreshment space.
Occasioning: A direct prompt by Elliot.
Actions and events during telling: This story is being told in the staff coffee and refreshment space at the Atrium, in Sandton City Mall. Colleagues arriving and leaving, coffee and tea being sipped etc form the background to the recording.

47	Elliot	I have been meaning to ask (...)
48		who
49		they've been saying is in hospital
50	(0.8)	
51	((sounds of dishes)	
52	Female colleague	hu::↑h
53	(0.3)	
54	Elliot	who's in hospital
55	(0.9)	
56	Female colleague	who did what
57	(4.1)	
58	Elliot	who's sick who's in hospital
59	(1.2)	
60	Female colleague	when↑
61	(1.2)	
62	Elliot	a week or two weeks ago >I don't know<
63	(0.8)	
64		who they say he picked up a chain and got [sick
65	Female colleague	[ooh
66	(0.8)	
67		it's Vukosi
68	(0.7)	
69	Elliot	which Vukosi
70	(0.5)	
71	Female colleague	Vukosi
72	(0.5)	
73		Vukosi the tall one who used to come and work for me in the office
74		◦who's Shangane
75	(0.9)	
76	Other female colleague	you're
77	(1.0)	
78		bringing in ((unclear))
79	((laughs))	
80	Elliot	no I don't I don't know him
81	Other Female colleague	u:(h)m↑
82	(4.4)	
83	Other male colleague	((unclear)) it's like ((unclear)) I wear size 31
84	((laughter))	
85	Elliot	uhmhehe
86	(1.2)	
87	Female colleague	uu:h:::m
88	(3.1)	
89		not Vukosi (.) Vuko:si who's Shangane
90	(2.2)	
91		the one that liked coming to my office
92	Elliot	[hmmm
93		it's Vukosi
94		who's Shangane
95	(1.2)	
96		◦Vukosi◦
97	Female colleague	Vukosi [surname]

98	Elliot	uhu:m↑
99	Female colleague	when Vukosi saw me when we were going into (...) the office
100	Elliot	[wa-
101	(0.9)	
102		what
103	Female colleague	ask me
104	(0.4)	
105	Elliot	what what >what what<
106	((laughing))	
107	(2.0)	
108	Female colleague	ask me what happened
109	Elliot	okay tell me
110	((laughter))	
111	Female colleague	he wanted us to go and talk in the toilet
112	((laughter))	
113	Elliot	yooo::
114	(0.6)	
115		>why<↑
116	(3.5)	
117	Female colleague	he said
118	Elliot	okay
119	Female colleague	he was going to want me more in the toi:let
120	((laughter))	
121	(2.7)	
122		I wasn't going to be out of there till around one or two o'clock
123	((sounds of tea drinking))	
124	(3.2)	
125	Elliot	>hmm<
126		((unclear)) with his friends [((unclear))
127	Female colleague	[my prob-
128		my problem is that I need **two** men to handle me
129	((laughter))	
130	(4.5)	
131		wo::w
132	(2.8)	
133		we need to go it's twenty past nine
134	Elliot	twenty past nine
135	Female colleague	what are you going to buy today on a Thursday↑

Transcript excerpt 9 : Dikeledi segment 3 2) of Appendix 2-3-3

Teller and story: Dikeledi, regional manager for an online learning centre, is telling the story of a possessed girl that her fiancé, a policeman, had to intervene to calm. The story is told in Sesotho. Here I have given the English translation.

Participants: Dikeledi and a male colleague.

Occasioning: This story is told in the context of work. The transition from work related activities to this story is fairly abrupt, and must correspond to an underlying shared theme.

Actions and events during telling: This story is being told at the MOOV premises next to the Sandton library. Dikeledi is simultaneously attending to other students and staff, and the computers and software needed.

1	Dikeledi	Stephen said that the last time
2	(0.7)	
3		when he was at work
4	(1.5)	
5		late around eleven when they were on duty in (..) in Sa:ndton you see this side
6	(2.4)	
7	Male colleague	where
8	Dikeledi	this side (...) here
9	(0.3)	
10	Male colleague	ja
11	(0.6)	
12	Dikeledi	he said when they were passing by > they saw people< running awa::y at
13		about eleven at night
14	(1.6)	
15		they said they go::ing (.) there
16	(1.1)	
17		·hhh ↑**they** ↑**were** ↑**running away** (..) from a girl
18	(1.6)	
19		he said the gi↑rl was just wi::ld
20	(0.6)	
21	Male colleague	she was what
22	(0.3)	
23	Dikeledi	she was wi:ld: (.) like (....) ((imitating growling sounds))
24	(1.4)	
25		people were sca::red of her ◦and running away
26	(3.7)	
27		apparently they poured so:mething in her dri:nki
28	(0.8)	
29		here in Sa:ndton she was here to meet someone > discussing business issues<
30	(0.9)	
31	Male colleague	mmh:
32	(0.6)	
33	Dikeledi	the person that she came to meet
34	(0.6)	
35		was an agent (..) an agent of::↑ (...) of the de:vil
36	(1.8)	
37		so: they wanted that girl
38	(2.2)	
39		o:↑ when they took her home her mum was the one (...) the one who was
40		explai:ning that
41	(0.5)	
42		even that person she went to meet she really really **wasn't** meant to meet
43	(3.8)	
44		she smashed her pho::ne
45	(0.4)	
46		·hhh when she did that her mother was praying against demons
47	(0.6)	
48		of the social (.) me:di:a
49	(1.2)	
50		that's when the girl smashed her pho::ne
51	(0.9)	

52		her name is Relebogile her su:rname (….) Mo- [surname] (…) she's from
53		↓Turfloop tha- that girl
54	(3.5)	
55		they say that she was cli:mbing **on top of a BMW**
56	(1.0)	
57	Male colleague	she climbed on top of it
58	Dikeledi	mmh:
59	(3.4)	
60		yes Stephen said (.) that they first started by **ru::(h)nning away** ((laughs))
61	Male colleague	((laughs))
62	Dikeledi	·hhhh↑ (…) but then remembered that as policeman they are supposed to
63		stand up to such things:
64	(3.8)	
65	Male colleague	((inaudible))
66	(0.4)	
67	Dikeledi	I said yo:↑
68	(0.9)	
69		you see: thi:ngs shame↓
70	(5.4)	
71		they said the girl is smart so::
72	(2.2)	
73		that is why: things are happening like this
74	(4.1)	
75		[they said they ↑wanted
76	Male colleague	[they they wanted to use her
77	(0.7)	
78	Dikeledi	mmh: they wanted to use her
79	(0.6)	
80		after they- (.) spiked the girl's drink
81	(1.5)	
82	Male colleague	ja
83	Dikeledi	she then started to swear at people at the sho:ps (..) buying clothes even
84		though she didn't have enough money ·hhhh things like tha::t
85	(2.6)	
86	Dikeledi	where are the dishcloths
87	(2.4)	
88	Male colleague	the drawer in the kitchen
89	(1.2)	
90		inside
91	(0.6)	
92	Dikeledi	mmh::↑

The phatic power of language is analysed extensively by Faavret-Saada in her ground-breaking work on witchcraft in France (1977). It is an ethnography that confronts the cultural premises of previous research by such as Malinowski, or Evans-Pritchard, and seeks to find the source of the ambivalence underlying two logico-cultural systems (scientific rationalism vs belief systems) not in some far flung territory, but in the heart of 'modern' Europe. Her discussion is wide ranging, but one of the points she raises is that belief fundamentally interpells the subject, and this interpellation is inavouable, intimate, life-threatening. Although Elliot later explained to me that he was sceptical about the claims advanced in segment 6 1), this story does illustrate both the way in which narrative contravenes, and calls into question, the discourses of Sandton's semiotic landscape (see figure 37 below), the way in which it

cuts across socio-cultural and socio-economic lines, and the way, finally, that the interpellation that is at the heart of belief, here has devastating consequences, as it does also in Dikeledi's segment 3 2).



Figure 37: The Atrium, artifact of the semiotic landscape for Elliot's segment 6 1) (that for reasons of permission was taken from http://www.magmaacrylics.com/images/products/atrium/Reception-desk_Atrium-on-5th-1.jpg accessed 07/02/2017).

Segment 6 1) was recorded in the Atrium (see figure 37) above. The Atrium is a kind of ante-chamber or meeting place that allows a visitor (like myself) to wait while being collected by a person who works in the offices above. The reception desk in pure white lines, the steel and glass, the view out over Sandton and the green wall off to left, combine to make one feel a little of the power of business. A feeling of being at the heart of things. It was echoed for me by the sentiment I had when visiting the CEO of the JSE some weeks later. The story that occupies 6 1) is told by a cleaner who is Venda, and the shift from isiZulu to Setswana to Sesotho is accounted for by continual efforts of alignment to find a medium of communication. I will go straight to the moment at which Vukosi, a fellow cleaner, and one who used to apparently try and get the cleaner to make love with him in the toilet (see lines 111 to 128) picked up a chain in the toilets (at line 64) and got sick and then spent several weeks in hospital. This story obviously has a bragging, provocative flavour, and is accompanied by loud sips of tea, pronounced guffaws, and signs of approval.

Elliot's focus in this story is in verifying the identity of Vukosi. He has heard about what happened (the "they say" of line 64) and follows up on the shared information. He does not position himself particularly however with the events within the story, contenting himself with a "I don't know him" at line 80. The structure of this small story as shared between people who work in the same space, but who have no hierarchical or institutional relationship to each other allows a very different theme of the story to come to the fore, and that is in the overlapping of the physicality of the fate that Vukosi

suffered from touching a chain that he was warned not to, and the sexuality of the context within which this story takes place.

What comes to the fore in this story, other than its absolutely startling break with the discourse of the semiotic landscape (figure 41) is the play with the differing indexical processes that recalls Bauman and Briggs' (1990) contribution within Bucholtz and Hall's (2005) consideration of emergence. Bauman and Briggs emphasise the social production of discourse and its continual contextualisation and recontextualisation. In this case the stance of the female colleague (see Du Bois 2007) repositions the toilet from a place of work, to a place of seduction, to a place of physical harm (where Vukosi suffered his accident) to a place of sexual prowess … "I need **two** men to handle me" (line 128). In so doing she controls the realisation of this version of the story that is circulating, to the obvious approval of the other interlocutors (the laughter of line 129).

This shared story therefore is very different to the account that Dikeledi provides although in its acceptance as plausible and in its theme, it does, just as in the first story that we discussed here, (Dikeledi's segment 2 4) illustrate the widespread practice of religion and of religious performance and interpretation. To close this section I would like to turn to Dikeledi's segment 3 2) that is concerned with her account of her fiancé's arrest of a girl who had been drugged in Sandton. It is an account that is told, unprompted, in a situation of work. Its function is therefore double: to pass the time, but also to illustrate to Dikeledi's colleague the kind of work her fiancé does, and the kind of analysis that Dikeledi makes of this kind of event. It is not so much correcting alignment, as preemtively demonstrating alignment. Compared to the very interactive telling of Elliot's female colleague above, Dikeledi's male colleague does not give much feedback, often providing only murmured assent ("mmh:" at line 31 for instance). As with her earlier story, this one is illustrative of a very specific kind of positioning that shows Dikeledi as being reserved, cautious, pious and a little suspicious of the power of social media. A positioning, globally, that aligns with that of her church and of her beliefs. It is the mother, the embedded figure (see Goffman 1981 : 124-159 for a discussion of footing) that allows Dikeledi to insert many of the aspects of this discourse, and carry out what is a complex piece of self definition.

Codeswitching, community of practice and discursive environment

In this section I would like to turn to another practice that is diffused throughout the space of Sandton - the codeswitching that is such a manifest part of Elliot's segments 4 1), 1 5), and 2 2), Dikeledi's segments 2 1) and 3 1), as also Linda's segments 7 and 8.

Almost all of the stories that we will be looking at in this section are 'breaking news'. Which is to say that they are either a) 'reports' of recent mediated interactions that are episodically organised and often contain quotatives and indirect speech, or b) 'stories-in-the-making' that involve the imbrication of text messages or other information in a present situation of speech (Georgakopoulou 2008 : 601). However, against the text and facebook messages of Georgakopoulou's school students, and against what one might expect in the context of Sandton as hub of modernity and finance, the stories that we will examine here are mediated in a very analogical, down-to-earth way. Elliot's interaction with his son (segment 4 1) revolves around the cars leaving the local church and moves on to an observation of the night sky. Similarly, segment 1 5) turns around the bleating of a goat that gives rise to supposition and rumour. Dikeledi's stories 2 1) and 3 1) hinge on the prosaic events of day-to-day life such as a forgotten key and a sick son.

What all of these breaking news stories *do* do though is to reconstruct the networks of friendship and acquaintance to which I referred in the previous section as I discussed shared stories. And their functioning is very similar. As the events of a possible story unfold, the participants orient to those events, negotiate roles and reinforce alignments and disalignments in the 'stance accretion' (see for example Du Bois 2007) discussed by Bucholtz and Hall (2005 : 596) under the principle of indexicality. In the stories of this section I have also included an 'account' (Elliot's segment 2 2) that is, in my opinion, being told to repair a possible *perceived* appreciation, by Elliot, of one of his regular contacts – a carguard at Virgin Active Sandton. In all cases though, language choice is a fundamental style choice (see Kroskrity 2004 who, interesting, also sees language as a *cluster* in the maintenance and representation of *various* social and cultural identities).

For Elliot, the languages in which he interacts are isiZulu with traces of Ndebele, Sesotho and Setswana, Tshivenda and English. Dikeledi interacts in Sesetho and English. This codeswitching is inscribed for both participants in very different patterns of socialisation and of trajectory to and within Sandton, and this will be our first line of access into their narratives.Following their trajectories, I would like to begin by looking at the stories that are associated with Elliot and Dikeledi's home environment. For Elliot this was captured in segment 4 1) (reproduced below, English version first, with location marked in figure 38). For both Dikeledi and Elliot the home environment involves a tension between Sesotho and English.

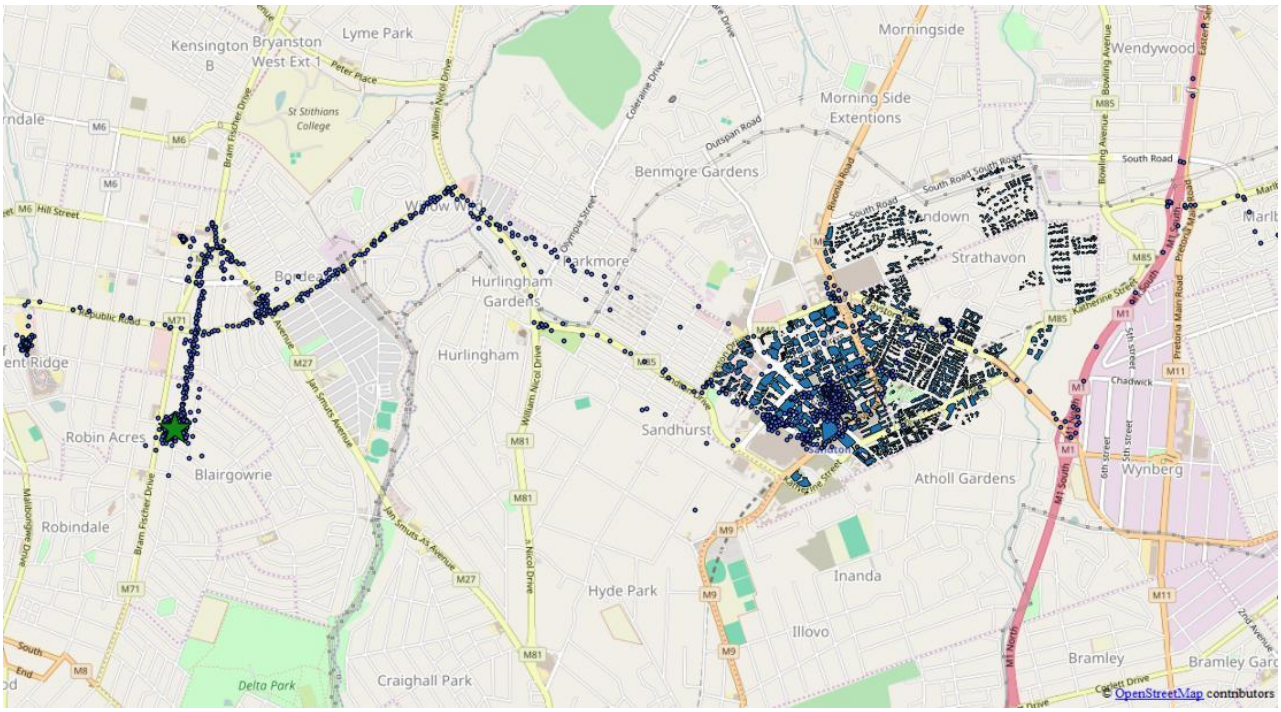


Figure 38: With green star, location of Elliot's segment 4 1).

Transcript excerpt 10 : Elliot segment 4 1) of Appendix 2-3-2 (English version first, Sesotho/English version second)

Teller and story: Elliot, the personal assistant in the banking sector, is talking with his two and a half year old son at the end of the day. The story is in Sesotho/English. I have given the English translation first.
Participants: Elliot and his son.
Occasioning: A direct prompt by Elliot's son in response to their seeing the moon from their position at the window.
Actions and events during telling: This story is being told at Elliot's home in the evening, while Elliot and his son are talking, cars outside are turning into the local church, and there are the end of day activities in the house itself: preparing the dinner, going over the day, checking that affairs, bags and toys are in order etc.

31	Child	uh↑mm::
32	(4.6)	
33		da(.)ad (....) what's that thing (..) that's lighting up there
34	(0.6)	
35	Elliot	it's the moo:n
36	(0.6)	
37	Child	ooh ke de moon
38	(0.4)	
39	Elliot	the moo::n
40	(0.4)	
41	Child	moo:n
42	Elliot	yah
43	Child	↑what does it do
44	(1.2)	
45	Elliot	no the moon (...) it shines every night
46	(0.8)	
47		when the sun is not here
48	(2.3)	
49	Child	oo:::↑h (....) it comes out
50	(0.4)	
51	Elliot	mm:
52	(0.7)	
53	Child	that thing like a circle mi:ne
54	Elliot	mm:
55	(2.3)	
56	Child	m- m- mooni
57	(1.2)	
58		mooni ·hh d- d- does it have eyes a- a:: and a nose or a mouth
59	(0.6)	
60	Elliot	no:↑ ◦it doesn't
61	(0.9)	
62	Child	doesn't↑ it↓
63	(1.8)	
64		oo::h↑
65	(2.5)	
66		sss::: so↑
67	(1.1)	
68	Elliot	you see now it's:: up
69	(0.6)	
70	Child	ooh↑
71	(1.3)	
72		where is it going to
73	(0.6)	
74	Elliot	it brings light (...) ◦it b- brings light
75	(0.8)	
76		it brings li:ght at ni:ght
77	Child	no I'm asking where is it going↑ to
78	(0.8)	
79	Elliot	it's not go- going anywhere
80	(1.6)	
81	Child	it just stands there

82	Elliot	mm:
83	(2.6)	
84	Child	would you go-
85	(0.7)	
86	Elliot	mm:↑
87	(0.8)	
88	Child	would you go >and stand< next to it
89	(1.2)	
90		ho: o↑ if you can be next to it
91	(0.4)	
92	Elliot	mm hh mm:
93	(0.5)	
94	Child	go let me see
95	(1.0)	
96	Elliot	it will never follow me
97	(0.3)	
98	Child	why↑
99	(1.0)	
100		oh↓ it's because it doesn't know you
101	(1.1)	
102		do you know who it knows
103	(0.7)	
104		nn:::a↑ ·hhhh me and Tsepani
105	(1.6)	
106		mm::
107	(2.4)	
108		now it's (....) it's Wednesday
109	(0.4)	
110	Elliot	mm:
111	(0.4)	
112	Child	after it's Frida::::↓y
113	(0.3)	
114	Elliot	ye::s
115	Child	Friday and after Friday it's Ss:a:tu:rday
116	(0.3)	
117	Elliot	ye::s

[Sesotho/English version]

31	Child	uh↑mm::
32	(4.6)	
33		pa(.)pa: (....) nthwela keng (..) ela ethsumile mola keng
34	(0.6)	
35	Elliot	it's the moo:n
36	(0.6)	
37	Child	ooh ke de moon
38	(0.4)	
39	Elliot	the moo::n
40	(0.4)	
41	Child	moo:n
42	Elliot	yah
43	Child	↑yirang
44	(1.2)	
45	Elliot	no the moon (...) it shines every night
46	(0.8)	
47		when the sun is not here
48	(2.3)	
49	Child	oo:::↑h (....) yatswa
50	(0.4)	
51	Elliot	mm:
52	(0.7)	
53	Child	ntwela e circle ya:ka
54	Elliot	mm:
55	(2.3)	
56	Child	m- m- mooni
57	(1.2)	
58		mooni ·hh h- h- hayna matlo le- le::dinko le molomo
59	(0.6)	
60	Elliot	haai↑ ◦hayna tstona
61	(0.9)	
62	Child	hayna↑ tstona↓
63	(1.8)	
64		oo::h↑
65	(2.5)	
66		sss::: so↑
67	(1.1)	
68	Elliot	wabana nou it's:: up
69	(0.6)	
70	Child	ooh↑
71	(1.3)	
72		iyakayi
73	(0.6)	
74	Elliot	it brings light (...) ◦wabona go- goba le de light
75	(0.8)	
76		it brings li:ght at ni:ght
77	Child	hauwa kere eyakae↑
78	(0.8)	
79	Elliot	hau- hauna ko eyang
80	(1.6)	
81	Child	eno yema ko fela

82	Elliot	mm:
83	(2.6)	
84	Child	wena ukase yemi-
85	(0.7)	
86	Elliot	mm:↑
87	(0.8)	
88	Child	wena ukase >yemi< koyona
89	(1.2)	
90		ho: o↑ ka lebana leyona yago sala morago
91	(0.4)	
92	Elliot	mm hh mm:
93	(0.5)	
94	Child	tsamaya kebone
95	(1.0)	
96	Elliot	anever ensale morago
97	(0.3)	
98	Child	why↑
99	(1.0)	
100		oh↓ ayegewitsi
101	(1.1)	
102		waisti etse mang
103	(0.7)	
104		nn:::a↑ ·hhhh le:::: tse::pani
105	(1.6)	
106		mm::
107	(2.4)	
108		gona byanunung ke (....) ke Wednesday
109	(0.4)	
110	Elliot	mm:
111	(0.4)	
112	Child	after ke Frida::::↓y
113	(0.3)	
114	Elliot	ye::s
115	Child	Friday and after Friday ke Ss:a:tu:rday
116	(0.3)	
117	Elliot	ye::s

Codeswitching is a complex phenomenon. The very name 'code' switching implies homogeny and speech community, since language as 'code' refers back to that dyadic conception of expression and reception that was more pertinent to the positivistic post-war period (see discussion in Kress 2001). Intra-speaker variation and communities of practice were less important in this more monolithic model that looked at normative language use and the intersection of langauges perceived along national and ethnic boundaries. Increasingly the term 'translanguaging' is gaining currency, "[…] to explain mixed and alternate use of languages and to valorise speakers' complex linguistic repertoires that embed and interweave languages into one another […]" (Makalela 2015 : 116). This latter term well captures situations of fluid language use such as those stories in which Elliot participates.

There are three aspects to codeswitching that we can discuss briefly in preparation for the analysis of participant narratives that follows: globalisation and prestige/dispreference, in-group/out-group, and

literacy. These, broadly, must be understood in terms of the principles of positionality – as language choice intersects with perceived or allocated identity characteristics. They may also be overt indexical choices in that participants choose language varieties to mark belonging of a certain group. Similarly, in-group/out-group alignment is a tactic of intersubjectivity (Bucholtz and Hall 2004b) in that it validates, or authentifies similarity and genuineness.

Authors such as Canagarajah (2007), or Blommaert (2002) point to the scalar effects of language and globalisation, and the way in which countries of the developing world, in adopting English as their de facto lingua franca, also import the modernist (and colonial) philosophies and ontologies that are associated with this language. This importation can be viewed positively or negatively depending on one's position, as one author notes:

> English has become far more hegemonic than it was in the Apartheid era. […] English is the language of power, prestige, and status; it is seen by many as an open sesame by means of which one can achieve unlimited vertical social mobility; it is the language that some believe "can get you anywhere and everywhere''; it is a language that, "if you know it [English] you are everything''. (Kamwangamalu 2001 : 81).

So whilst one can note how English shoulders other languages out of the way (see for instance Mufwene 2006) one must also note its evocation and symbolic power. In fact, one branch of studies into semiotic landscapes (see for instance Cenoz and Gorter 2009) looks specifically into the different 'values' of languages in multilingual settings.

For in- or out-group belonging, codeswitching is a very sensitive marker of linguistic practice that can run the gamut from extensive syntactical and prosodic intermixing to the mere inclusion of some symbolic words. 'Crossing' (see Rampton 1995) is, for instance, an out-group phenomenon, where, through some marked vocables, an interlocuteur can signal different cultural vistas of belonging and experience (see also Kamwangamalu 2008 : 75). As a regular translanguager, or code-mixer myself, I am fully aware of the power of this type of activity that, essentially, indexes alternative interpretations to the those norming the here-and-now of the interaction. In fact, from this angle, one better understands the stance and behaviours of the Italian card club members described by De Fina (2008) and discussed in chapter 2. At Il Circolo della Briscola what is taking place in the narratives is a default operation of indexing to cultural symbols that is designed to compensate for a lack of proficiency in Italian. What is so vital to codeswitching here is the way in which it is, "restricted to those who share the same expectations and rules of interpretation for the use of the two languages." (Kamwangamalu 2001 : 76).

Finally, codeswitching is very relevant to any discussion of literacy. The ability to learn in a language, to read, to write and to understand, continues to be an enormous stumbling block for those students who cannot transition from a language that is perhaps more habitual in the home and in familial circumstances, to one that is reserved for the more formal contexts of institution and of schooling. This is a subject that is both vital and thought-provoking, especially in Africa (see for instance Prah 2008, or Rubagumya 2009) but not only. Marsh (2010) indicates how essential it is to unpack the relationship between home and school literacy practices, whilst Moll, Amanti, Neff and Gonzalez (2001) and Martin-Jones and Saxena (2003) discuss a conception of students' different skills as 'funds of knowledge' that can be capitalised upon. Translanguaging is very relevant in this discussion, and provides a way to access the, "complex language practices of multilingual speakers who shift between

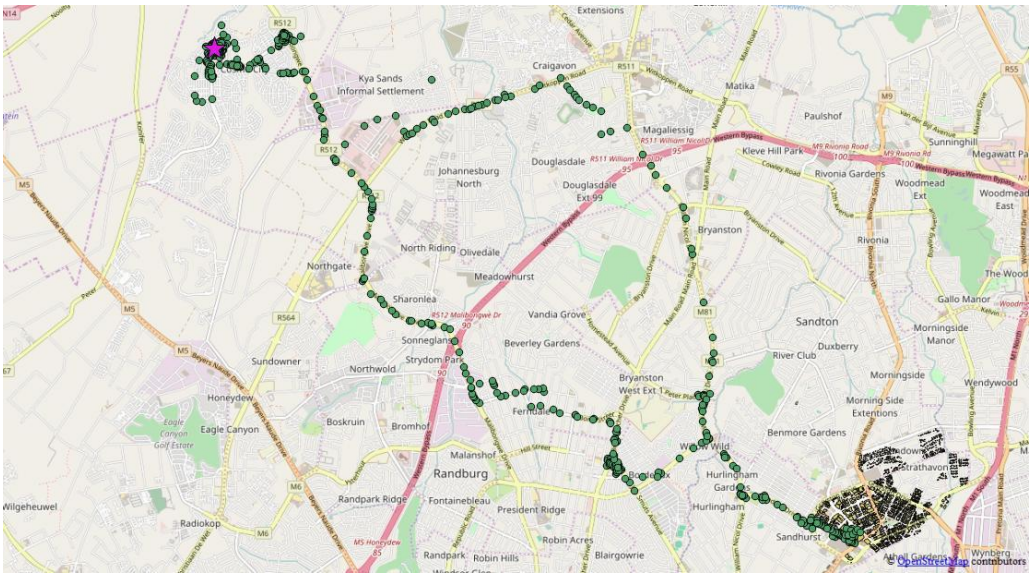
languages in context" (Makalela 2015 : 118) addressing how, "students from multilingual backgrounds are cognitively disadvantaged and socially alienated by policies that favour monolingualism" (Makalela 2015 : 116). And it is to what is essentially a situation of translanguaging that we now turn, because, as Elliot indicated to me in our meeting to discuss this story, what he and his son are engaging in is designed expressly to boost his son's marks at school!

This story (Elliot segment 4 1) is the very tiniest of small stories. In fact, as I transcribed it, I wondered if it could really be considered an explanation, as this genre is presented in De Fina (2009 : 240). There are some factors that allow us to say yes. Firstly, there is repair of alignment. Elliot's small boy who has been trying out the recorder that I had given Elliot in lines 1 to 19, and then commenting the cars coming out of Elliot's church in lines 21 to 31, notices the moon and at line 33 asks his father for clarification. At line 37 the boy uses the Sesotho determinate article for the *plural*, and then at line 43 asks what it *does*. Elliot repairs these turns, insisting on the singular in English at line 39, and then explaining the alternation between the sun and the moon at lines 45 and 47. Secondly, there is a personification of the moon. It is a character given eyes, a nose, and a mouth at line 58, but above all the child imagines a situation where the moon knows him and his best friend Tsepani at lines 100 to 104. Finally, there is a spatial orientation with the son insisting on a movement, and Elliot refuting this at lines 79 and 96.

The recognition of these elements as constitutive of a 'story', and their subsequent inclusion in the data of this research, relies on my comments as to operationalisaton of genre in chapter 2, on methodology. There, I underlined that over and above the focus on interactional features that is a constitutive part of small story analysis, there was also an import, a body of knowledge proper to participants, that needed to be given emphasis in order to achieve the ethnographic purposes of this study. The interaction in and around the moon story carries weight for both participants in this recording. For Elliot's son, this passage testifies to his first forays into embedding of characters and personification. Had he been older than two years and a half, this would have been a full story, whose inclusion would have been unproblematic. For Elliot himself this interchange indexes his desire for scholarly success for his son who attends a school where English is necessary to teaching and learning. It also indexes his role as a father and his ability to recognise and encourage his son's efforts at narrativisation.

In terms of our discussion of codeswitching, what is notable about this story is the way in which Elliot introduces English, and this is at story onset at line 35. In fact his use of English is limited to the (narrativised) subject of the moon. Furthermore, there is a rhythmicity to his interactions in English with his son, that deserve attention, since they aide memorisation, "it brings light (…) ◦wabona go-goba le de light / (0.8) / it brings li:ght at ni:ght". In our interview, Elliot was very clear about the objective of his use of English – he wishes to familiarise his son with this language, and boost his confidence. He also reported with pride that his strategy is working, with his son doing well in his English lessons. I'd like to say in passing that this is also the approach that I adopt with my baby girl who is learning English, French and Ndebele/isiZulu (through friendships and other children in our complex in Sunnyside, Pretoria, aka 'the hood'). But it is an approach that can be contrasted, radically, with Dikeledi who speaks only in Sesotho with her son, and who marks her interactions in English with a strong prosodic trace of that language. The point to which we are gradually leading in our analysis of Sandton, is double. Firstly, that any pre-conception of language use in Sandton being uniquely in English must be abandoned immediately. Sandton presents a rich fabric of overlapping languages and

attitudes to language. Second, that although language use is marked socio-economically and culturally (here for instance Dikeledi and Elliot both belong to more or less the same social category) within those classifications there are different interests and motivations in play. Dikeledi for instance has a strong proprietorial attitude to Sesotho that contrasts with Elliot's plurilinguism. And it is this that we will explore in Dikeledi's segment 2 1) and Elliot's segments 1 5) and 2 2). The location of these stories is given below in figure 39.



a)

Figure 39 a: Starred, Dikeledi's segment 2 1)


b)

Figure 39 b: Starred, Elliot's segment 1 5)



c)

Figure 39 b: Starred, Elliot's segment 2 2)

Figure 39: In stars, Dikeledi's segment 2 1) (a), Elliot's segments 1 5) (b) and 2 2) (c).

Transcript excerpt 11 : Dikeledi segment 2 1) of Appendix 2-3-3 (both an English translation and a Sesotho original with mixing have been reproduced here)

Teller and story: Dikeledi, the regional manager at an online learning academy, tells the story of being late for work because her son has flu and needs care.
Participants: Dikeledi and a fellow female commuter.
Occasioning: The fellow commuter has noticed that Dikeledi is late (it is 11h10), and prompts her on this lateness.
Actions and events during telling: Dikeledi and her fellow commuter are arriving at the Sandton taxi rank, which is underneath the same structure as the Gautrain station. As they are talking, passengers are getting on and off taxis, taxis are hooting for attention, and Dikeledi and her fellow commuter are leaving the rank to access Sandton by Nelson Mandela Square.

English

1	((tuk tuk drives-off in the background))	
2	Female friend	h↑ello::=
3	Dikeledi	=be careful where you're go(hhh)ing ((laughs)) how are you:↑
4	(0.4)	
5	Female friend	agh they've left me behind I'm sharp (..) you
6	Dikeledi	a::↑y I'm alright
7	Female friend	you're a bit late today
8	(0.7)	
9	Dikeledi	yeah I'm late today (..) >I'm not even< stre:ssing
10	Female friend	((laughs))
11	(0.5)	
12	Dikeledi	even if I arrive at ni::ne
13	(0.8)	
14	Female friend	you'll see when you get there-
15	Dikeledi	((laughs)) I'll see when I g(h)et the(hh)re
16	(0.5)	
17		·hhh hh [sharp
18	Female friend	[◦where is the child◦
19	(0.5)	
20	Dikeledi	·hh he is not well I'll be going ba:↑ck (...) I'm only delivering the key I'll be returning back=
21	Female friend	=what is it flu
22	(0.3)	
23	Dikeledi	ha:↑o he was ho:t (.) so the stomach could be dirty (...) and flu all these sort
24		of things and his mucus has blood (...) [so
25	Female friend	[and it's hot
26	Dikeledi	mmm::
27	(0.8)	
28	Female friend	mmm: so you'll be returning >early<
29	(0.6)	
30	Dikeledi	I'm only delivering the ke:y because I'm the one who's responsible
31	(0.4)	
32	Female friend	o::↑h
33	Dikeledi	then when I'm done I'll be coming ba:ck
34	((taxi hoots in the background))	
35	(1.6)	
36	Female friend	I'll see you then
37	(0.5)	
38	Dikeledi	alright sharp
39	Female friend	((unclear))
40	Dikeledi	oka::↑y

Sesotho

1	((tuk tuk drives-off in the background))	
2	Female friend	h↑ello::=
3	Dikeledi	=o dula o shebile ko o yang(hhh) ((laughs)) o kae:↑
4	(0.4)	
5	Female friend	mara ba ngsile ke shap (..) wena
6	Dikeledi	a::↑y ke right
7	Female friend	o late nyana kajeno
8	(0.7)	
9	Dikeledi	e:: ke latei today (..) >lebile a ke na< stre:ss
10	Female friend	((laughs))
11	(0.5)	
12	Dikeledi	>le he ngka fihla< ka ni::ne
13	(0.8)	
14	Female friend	o tla bona ko pele-
15	Dikeledi	((laughs)) ke tl(h)a bona ko pe(hh)le
16	(0.5)	
17		·hhh hh [sharp
18	Female friend	[◦o kae ngwana◦
19	(0.5)	
20	Dikeledi	·hh o te:ng lebile ga a righti ko bo:↑a (...) ke isa fela key ke a boa=
21	Female friend	=keng ke flu
22	(0.3)	
23	Dikeledi	ha:↑o ne a fi:sa (.) so o ka re le mala a vuil (...) le flu linto tsena kao fela plus
24		ge a mena o ntsha madi (...) [so
25	Female friend	[plus hoa chesa
26	Dikeledi	mmm::
27	(0.8)	
28	Female friend	mmm: so o boa >early<
29	(0.6)	
30	Dikeledi	ke isa fela ke:yi cause ke nna o ke tshwarang key
31	(0.4)	
32	Female friend	o::↑h
33	Dikeledi	then ge ke fetsa ke a bo:a
34	((taxi hoots in the background))	
35	(1.6)	
36	Female friend	ke tla go bona ge
37	(0.5)	
38	Dikeledi	alright shap(h) ne
39	Female friend	((unclear))
40	Dikeledi	oka::↑y

Transcript excerpt 12 : Elliot segment 1 5) of Appendix 2-3-2 (the original situation of talk was in isiZulu with the friend having traces of Ndebele)

Teller and story: Elliot, the personal assistant in the banking sector, is talking with a friend, who is the gardener for his employer.
Participants: Elliot and friend.
Occasioning: Both Elliot and his friend react to the sounds coming from across Nelson Mandela Square. These sounds are initially taken for those of a child crying.
Actions and events during telling: This story takes place relatively late in a Sandton morning (at 7h51) so Nelson Mandela Square is already coming to life with people walking, shops opening, etc. Elliot and his friend are carrying out their duties. The gardener is going to carry out maintenance, and Elliot is beginning his working day of office duties, and delivery and postal rounds.

1	Friend	YEY
2	(1.3)	
3	Elliot	ha::
4	(0.9)	
5		but it's↑ not a child
6	(0.7)	
7	Friend	>a child<
8	Elliot	ha-ah
9	(2.5)	
10	Friend	I've he::ard it since mo:rning
11	(2.8)	
12	Elliot	didn't you go look
13	(0.6)	
14	Friend	ha-ah (....) >heard this time<=
15	Elliot	=let's go and see (.) what it is I can hear it too↑
16	Friend	((unclear))
17	Female friend	be:lla↑
18	(5.8)	
19	Elliot	oh **he**re↑'s the goat (....) **he↑re**
20	(13.7)	
21	Friend	>here's the goat<
22	(0.4)	
23	Elliot	and it's only a baby ba (...) ba (..) baby goat
24	(0.6)	
25	Friend	yah
26	(1.7)	
27	Elliot	whose **is it**
28	(1.0)	
29	Friend	that **mea**ns >it belongs to the those white people<
30	(0.4)	
31	Elliot	wh↑ere
32	(0.8)	
33	Friend	door for number 9
34	(1.0)	
35	Elliot	does she like it
36	(0.4)	
37	Friend	what (....) yah
38	(1.7)	
39	Elliot	it's in her home
40	(0.3)	
41	Friend	ya::
42	(2.0)	
43		I he:::ard↑ it in the morning
44	Elliot	why does she have a goat wa::s she allowed to buy it (...) is she allowed to put it
45		here
46	Friend	no: (...)
47		so what is it going to eat
48	(1.2)	
49	Elliot	eya
50	Friend	>a goat li::kes to< [e::::at

51	Elliot	[leaves
52	Friend	likes to eat leaves
53	(1.0)	
54	Female friend	be- (.) be- (.) **be:::**↑lla
55	(1.0)	
56	Friend	I'm putting out the lights I'm coming
57	(5.6)	
58	Elliot	eish
59	(5.7)	
60	Female friend	be::::::↑lla
61	(3.6)	
62	Elliot	this man's wife is Ndebele
63	(1.1)	
64	Friend	do you kno::w her man

Transcript excerpt 13 : Elliot segments 2 2) of Appendix 2-3-2 (the original situation of talk was in a Sesotho/Setswana mix where the acquaintance, the carwasher, speaks Tswana)

Teller and story: Elliot, the personal assistant in the banking sector, is talking with an acquaintance, who looks after and washes cars that are parked in the street. He tells of two people he has done this service for, and the telling moves to conspicuous consumption (for one, a maroon Mercedes, for the other, elite fashion).

Participants: Elliot and acquaintance.

Occasioning: Elliot has hailed the acquaintance who is waiting to wash cars, and who tells him stories linked to his activity as a car washer.

Actions and events during telling: This story takes place in the controlled environment behind the Sandton Virgin Active gym. Elliot must surely be waiting near his car and the car washer either washing cars, or sitting and surveilling them.

1	Elliot	yah
2	(1.9)	
3	Friend	((inaudible))
4	(1.2)	
5		you might even find Mr Motsepe aro:und
6	Elliot	e:hh↓ (....) **ey**↑ I saw him yesterday at the Sandton Convention Centre
7	(0.8)	
8		driving around in two maroon (....) >Mercedes< the exact same type
9	(1.0)	
10	Elliot	ya::h
11	(0.7)	
12	Friend	yes he had **dri:**vers
13	Elliot	ya::h (...) ya:h tha:t's his way of life
14	(1.5)	
15	Friend	Mr Motsepe is a regular at Sandton Sun
16	(0.9)	
17	Elliot	oke:::ya
18	(2.6)	
19	Friend	and there's another guy I was washing his car for him
20	(1.5)	he was Zulu from Natal
21	Elliot	[e:↓h
22	Friend	and he owned a shop inside Sandton
23	(1.1)	
24		inside there
25	(0.3)	
26	Elliot	e:↓h
27	(2.5)	
28	Friend	as I was saying the guy used to pay me weekly every Friday
29	Elliot	oke:::y
30	Friend	he'd gym here **every**day
31	(0.4)	
32	Elliot	e:↓h
33	Friend	but he didn't give me at the >same time<
34	Elliot	a:**ho::**↑
35	(0.6)	
36	Friend	so at two o'clock on Fri:↑days I would go to fetch my payment
37	(1.4)	
38		that I worked for=
39	Elliot	= for the whole week oke:::y
40	Friend	that's what we had agreed on
41	(0.7)	
42	Friend	that guy owns a really expensive shop
43	(0.7)	
44	Elliot	ehmm:
45	(0.8)	
46	Friend	the cheapest (.) thing in his store
47	(1.3)	
48		was a t-**shi:rt**
49	(1.3)	
50		for one thousand >five hundred<

51	(0.5)	
52	Elliot	((laughs))
53	Friend	**t-**shirt not a **shi::**rt
54	Elliot	((laughs))
55	(4.1)	
56		**eih↑**
57	Friend	he selling some shoes for women (....) twenty (....) twenty s**o:**mething thousand
58	((sound of a moving truck))	
59	Elliot	**Je::↑sus**
60	Friend	it's called a Cav**a**na
61	(2.2)	
62	Elliot	so now where do you go to wearing shoes like that
63	(1.0)	
64	Friend	hey: (....)
65		hey only people with money went into that shop
66	(1.0)	
67		not just a::nyone
68	(0.9)	
69		in a day >maybe< >two or one< people will come in

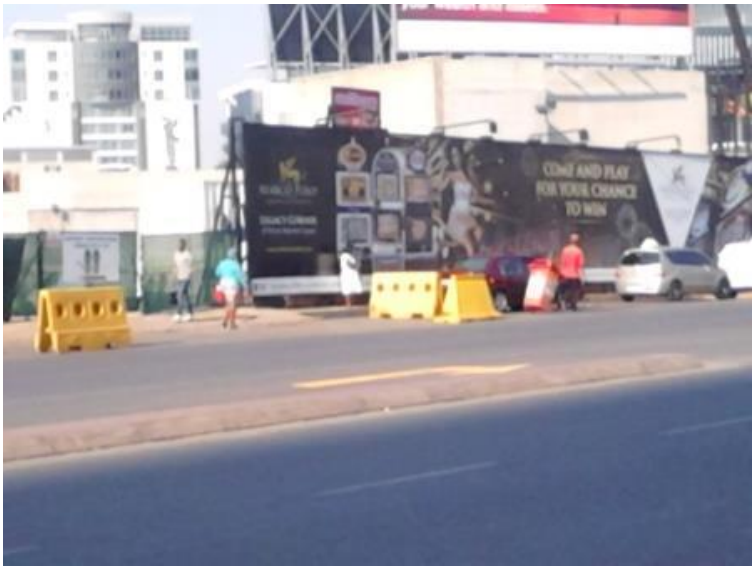
These three stories (also reproduced in Appendices 2-3-2 and 2-3-3) are very good examples of the kinds of 'local news' (Sacks Vol II 1992 : 3 – 16) that we tell on our way to work, or with people that we see frequently. They are 'local' because they're recognisably to do with the everyday events that are imbricated within a particular place (Sacks himself re-recounts a story that happened on a particular highway associated with Santa Barbara). They are also – and here is the unexpected effect of daily proximity – richer in unfolding detail than the stories (sparser, with a larger spatio-temporal canvas) that we tell to those such as distant loved ones with whom we do not share a day-to-day. The genre of 'breaking news' is very close to that of 'local' news. And, as discussed above, their functioning is very similar – tracing and reinforcing a network of roles, alignments and disalignments.

In Dikeledi's story (segment 2 1), where English is used as a calque for analogue Sesotho expressions, these English terms intersperse and recapitulate the moving themes of the story: line 7 'late', line 9 'stre:ss', line 17 'sharp' (which is Gauteng slang for 'fine'), line 21 'flu'. Line 9 is a very good example of the way Dikeledi imports prosodic features of Sesotho into English, taking up her friend's observation of lateness, but realising it thus, "e:: ke latei today". My sense, and this relies on the transcripts, but also on the interviews that I had with Dikeledi, is that here this importation of prosodic features enables a very specific marking of socio-economic and cultural categories. This is the belonging of Cosmo City (a relatively recent government-driven property development) and the socio-economic solidarity of those who rely on public transport to get to work. The difference in Elliot and Dikeledi's trajectories is most striking in figure 35 that shows how Dikeledi literally has to travel four times more than either Elliot or Ric, or especially Marty (who lived in Sandhurst). The inclusion of English is marking difference, an out-group, not the communities of practice that are being engaged here, which is to say taxi commuting and mother. Note how Dikeledi reports on her son in lines 20 to 26.

This is of course very different to Elliot's situation. Socio-economically Elliot is on a par with Dikeledi, but the advantages of his work (company car) and of the choice he has made to live in Randburg, place him in a very different set of constraints. His job is also much more dispersed, networked, convivial.

This is evident in segment 1 5) where Elliot runs into his CEO's gardener near Nelson Mandela Square. This extract juxtaposes the architecture and modernity of Sandton at this place with what actually happens in the breaking news. They hear a goat, and start wondering whom it belongs to. There is a trace in Elliot's attitude to code choice of the bourdieusian 'linguistic market' that is analysed amongst others by Mufwene from an 'ecological' perspective (Bourdieu 1978 and Mufwene 2015). He explained to me that although he is most at ease in Sesotho, he is speaking isiZulu here because his colleague/friend Kajawa is from Malawi and does not speak that language. A similar dynamic is at work in segment 2 2) where Sesotho and Setswana overlap as Elliot accommodates this acquaintance who is a 'mantshingilane' or carguard, who washes people's cars for R50 or so. Within the question of a relative 'value' of languages, Elliot's accommodation, as Dikeledi's, has to be understood in terms of the social space of Sandton (see Bourdieu 1989), and this, I would argue, is best understood in terms of constraint.

My argument returns at this point to the figures of chapter 1: figure 5 concerning block size, figure 6 illustrating land use, figures 7 and 8 dealing with public space, and figure 9 concerning building active edges. As we noted in that chapter, Sandton need not, but *can* be seen as monolithic, oppressive, vertical, obdurate and unattainable. Indeed, one of the reasons that I chose to study it for this research was because of its sheen, its ability to resist characterisation. Certainly, within this space that is Sandton then, the stories of Elliot and of Dikeledi carve out a breach first in its architecture (the goat, and the gossip of segment 1 5) and then in the fabric of the place by the insertion of narrative within its seamless dynamics. Thus, even as Sandton literally pulverises the socio-economic differences that do exist between Elliot, Dikeledi, Ric and Marty (with Marty's salary being nearly 6 times higher than that of Elliot) it is also reversed, opened up, and liens of communality created between participants that find points of contact across language and culture.



a)



b)



c)

Figure 40: Artifacts of the semiotic landscape for Elliot's segment 1 5) (a) and 2 2) (b + c).

This is seen very clearly in Elliot's segment 2 2) for which some of the artifacts of the semiotic landscape are reproduced in figure 39. Now, this story is immediately recognisable as a shared story (see Georgakopoulou 2006a : 127). This is not the first time that this subject of conversation has come up between the interactants, and its function is aspirational in a way similar to that described by Nuttall (2004a and 2008) in that it marks the 'new', the modern, the differences in South Africa's social fabric, but it also simultaneously marks the old, the unchanged, the distance between these two speakers and their changing world. The sharing of the topic gives rise to some lovely intonative and ideophonic effects at lines 6, 13, 34 etc. It also gives rise to some beautiful examples of hyperbole such as those at lines 6 to 8, and 54 to 69.

But importantly for the analysis at this point, this story takes place *next to* the Sandton Virgin Active gym, and *within a* space that is discursively marked with directives. The texts of all of the artifacts are marked with prohibitions, directives and warnings. They interpell a subject who is *in breach*, in infraction, who is overdetermined by the semiotic landscape. Witness the texts of the signs that I have reproduced below:

> *"Service entrance NO PARKING in front of the gate"*
>
> *"TAKE CARE These parking bays are not managed by Virgin Active. Members please use designated Virgin Active parking areas. Thank you. Virgin Active"*
>
> *"GRAYSTON CENTRE Tenants parking ONLY Any vehicle illegally parked will be towed away."*

For Dikeledi constraint operates in a similar manner. She moves in her trajectory from the long, tight confinement of a taxi (which is the locus for her segment 2 1) to the quiet, studious environment of a library (see artifacts in figure 41). The relative calm, and the longer hours, of his latter space is responsible for the increased length of stories 2 4), 3 1) and 3 2) compared to 2 1).



a)



b)

Figure 41: Artifacts of the semiotic landscape Dikeledi's 3 2) (b + c) (for reasons of availability and permission b) was taken from internet).

Other aspects of codeswitching – Linda's wolf stories and condescension

In both Elliot and Dikeledi's stories there is a contradiction and a complexification of the ambient discourse. The narrative opens a breach that allows in many ways a cross social and a cross cultural interaction. The stories themselves bring to the fore aspects of Sandton that one could never glimpse were one to remain on the level of its semiotic landscape. They are stories that are hidden within communities of practice. Nevertheless, I think that I have oversimplified some of the tensions and fault lines in these liens and communalities. Before closing this chapter I would like to look briefly at Linda's story of a wolf (see figure 42 below), and see how its multiple interpretations are in fact multiple ambivalencies and tensions that illustrate the complexity of switching and passing in Sandton.

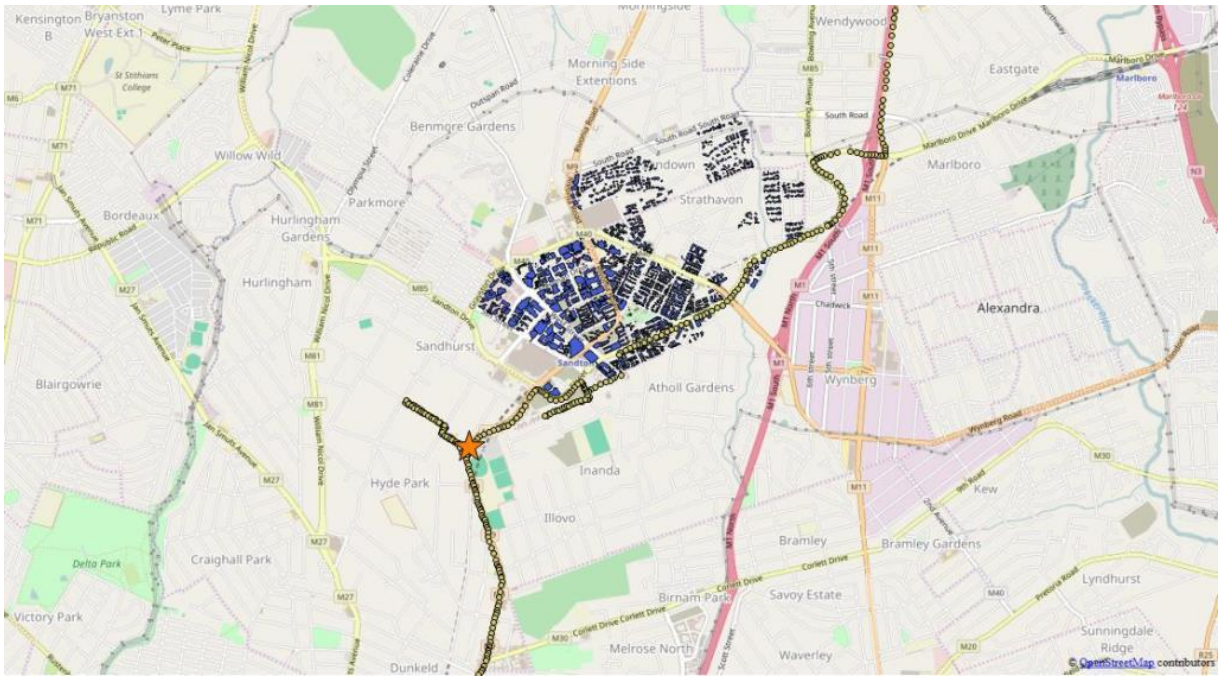


Figure 42: Location of Linda's wolf stories (segments 7 and 8).

Within the genre of 'breaking news' that has been the focus of this section, what is pertinent in these stories as they are told by Linda *with* Bridgette is that, in reading the transcripts (Appendix 2-3-4) we can witness a real time negotiation of roles, and of content, much as this is described in Bamberg and Georgakopoulou (2008). These two people are meeting for the first time, and as telling is negotiated, so are the kinds of identities, roles and stances. In many ways, what is being captured here is the kind of interactions that would have typified the first meeting between Elliot and the carguard, or between Dikeledi and her friend on the taxi. And of course, this is the power of small stories as the phenomenon with which we are concerned in this thesis.

Linda does a lot of identity work with me in segments 1), 3), 7) and 8). She gives her English a slight indexical 'twang' (which is to say a slight hint of an 'American' accent broadly conceived), she uses the exclamatory phrase 'oh my gosh', the particle 'like', and the quotative 'be + like' in marked positions which aligns her with the West Coast (see Blyth, Recktenwald and Wang 1990) and with a more fashionable friendship group. In fact, as Bucholtz points out (Bucholtz and Hall 2005, and Bucholtz 1999) stylistic elements such as these signal her belonging to an extended community of practice with specific values concerning one's place in society, one's attitude to work and study etc. The following extract (segment 1) lines 5-6 and 13-32) gives a good example of the kind of speech style:

Transcript excerpt 14 : Linda segment 1) of Appendix 2-3-4

Teller and story: Linda, the Drama student, is telling me of the recent events in her life, linked with Sandton, and her meeting with a billionaire (the owner of Hastings Models).
Participants: Linda and William.
Occasioning: This story was one of several that Linda told me on our pilot trip to Sandton to test methodology. The story is prompted by her duties as journalist for the student magazine and by the need to produce an article that is part of the reason for our trip to Sandton.
Actions and events during telling: Linda is in the passenger seat, talking animatedly as we drive to Sandton.

5		◦so◦ that's just me and then I (..) I'll (..) oh my gosh (..) I was speaking (.) to (.) a
6		(.) **bill**↑ionaire
7	(1.0)	
8	William	a billionaire
9	(0.6)	
10	Linda	ja::uh
11	(0.5)	
12	William	ni::ice (....) [Jesu-
13	Linda	[u:::m::
14	(0.6)	
15		for the ma:gazine yoh↑ William I don't know (.) like my life↑ (...)
16		[becomes zero to a hundred
17	William	[wha- wha- wha:t's ((laughs))
18	(1.1)	
19	Linda	I swear I've be::en (.) like going to meetings I've been doing a lot of sort of
20		like↑
21		so
22		I thought I had free ti::me but like [**no↑**
23	William	[no: ◦no:
24	Linda	[I'm even from a meeting
25		>oh my gosh↑<
26	(0.7)	
27		u:m↑ I was talking to this billionaire William it's ss: so amazing
28	(0.4)	
29		he's (...) part of (..) d'you kno::w?
30	(0.8)	
31		**Hasting's** (....) Models

Over and above the style of Linda's telling there is a general use of hyperbole in her framing of events. For instance, to return to the billionaire she met in Sandton for funding of the magazine, she paints a larger-than-life image of the person where at lines 52 to 55 he is given as having so many companies that he has forgotten some of them, and has to consult an index on his phone. This of course, is also a reflection of Linda's conception of Sandton that she shared openly with me, talking of a 'honeymoon' period where she had been amazed by the opportunities and design of the place.

In segment 7), excerpt 15 below, there had been a misunderstanding of the price of the honey, and I had left Linda with the Honeybear's assistant Bridgette while I went to get more cash from the local garage. I have painted the trajectory and the location marker in figure 42 in orange to reflect the

generally excited, emphatic and breathy ambiance of Linda's storytelling – she is a drama student after all.

Transcript excerpt 15 : Linda segment 7) of Appendix 2-3-4

Teller and story: Linda, the Drama student who came with me on a pilot of the methodology, is telling Bridgette, the assistant for a producer of medicinal honey, of seeing a wolf at the Honeybear's house (where we had gone to buy honey and perhaps interview him as a possible story for Linda's magazine).
Participants: Linda and Bridgette.
Occasioning: Linda has literally just seen a wolf while I left her with Bridgette to go get money for the Honeybear, she indicates this to Bridgette who then prompts her to tell more.
Actions and events during telling: Bridgette looks after the maintenance of the medicinal honey that the Honeybear produces: stirring the pots, making labels, fitting lids etc, and she would have carried on this activity while Linda told her story with the gestures and prosodic effects that I have eluded to.

English

1	((sounds of walking))	
2	Linda	oh this is nic::e
3	(2.9)	
4	Bridgette	oh you didn't go to the garage
5	(0.8)	
6	Linda	no **he** went
7	(0.3)	
8	Bridgette	okay
9	(1.2)	
10	Linda	yah::
11	(0.7)	
12		I chose to stay (....) ·hh so he really has a **wo**:lf
13	(2.3)	
14		↑aa::hh
15	Bridgette	◦you're scared of the wolf::
16	(0.6)	
17	Linda	↑yehewo↑ooo ·hh my gosh
18	(0.7)	
19		I **did** go see it hh
20	(0.6)	
21	Bridgette	o:h
22	Linda	·h it's so beautiful
23	(1.4)	
24		do you like
25	(1.1)	
26		play with it
27	Bridgette	yes
28	(2.0)	
29	Linda	doesn't it (.) like u [hhhh::
30	(0.5)	
31	Bridgette	[no
32	Linda	(h)I'm so hh **shocked** uh ·hhhhhh (..) like ↑you're not afraid of it you can just
33		walk around just like that
34	(1.3)	
35	Bridgette	ya huh you just keep walking
36	(0.8)	
37		i i i it it doesn't attack females (....) only men
38	(0.9)	
39	Linda	w:·hhhh (...) whe::w (...) cause he said (...) he was talking nicely you know (...)
40		just said to me (...) no::↓ (...) just get in (.) if you see a big wo:: (..) ·h a big dog
41		(...) just (....) ignore (....) yho::↑ what I just saw hhhh
42	((laughter))	
43	(2.1)	
44		·hhhh (..) yho::::↑ I thought I was gonna die he h- hee::
45	Bridgette	ha ha:
46	Linda	hhhh I was gonna die (...) phela we see these things in the movies (....) so e:::r
47		okay
48	(0.4)	
49	Bridgette	uh
50	Linda	I didn't think like it (....) was actually there
51	(0.9)	

52	Bridgette	where did you find it now
53	(0.7)	
54	Linda	like (....) the wolf (....) >is it a wolf<
55	(0.6)	
56	Bridgette	yeh it's a wolf
57	(3.7)	
58	Linda	he's living with a wolf
59	(2.1)	
60		and this is normal for you hhh
61	(0.3)	
62	Bridgette	uh huh
63	(1.5)	
64	Linda	you know wha:t sis'Bridgette (....) hh ·hhhh (...) ay ay ay ay (....) I won't
65	Bridgette	he ha ha ha
66	Linda	I won't
67	(2.1)	
68		mm:- okay so if I go there now can I play with it
69	(0.4)	
70	Bridgette	yahh
71	Linda	yho:↑ (....) mhh mhh
72	Bridgette	it won't bite you
73	Linda	mhu↑:::m
74	(0.4)	
75	Bridgette	it likes women
76	(1.4)	
77		not men
78	(1.0)	
79		not men but (...) only the man it lives with
80	(2.1)	
81	Linda	so:: (..) what does it do like (...) when it sees a person
82	(0.6)	
83	Bridgette	someone it doesn't know
84	(0.9)	
85		◦it starts to bark
86	Linda	w·hhhhh (...) yw↑o:h (...) <I would fre:ak ou::t> (....) yho I would freak out hh
87		yho
88	Bridgette	((laughs))
89	Linda	yho I would freak out so much (....) he also told me:: he said I mustn't like run
90	(0.6)	
91		I(h) I wasn't (.) gonna run though (....) I'd freeze
92	Bridgette	hu:: (....) ·hhh
93	Linda	I'd freeze
94	((laughter))	
95	(1.0)	
96	Linda	and you know it was looking at me it was playing next to me
97	Bridgette	it won't do anything to you (....) as long (....) as you are a woman
98	(1.8)	
99	Linda	wh ·hhhh (....) so is it a girl
100	(1.2)	
101	Bridgette	no (...) I (...) think it's a male
102	(0.7)	

103	Linda	is it
104	Bridgette	yah
105	(1.2)	
106	Linda	wena you how long have you been staying here
107	(0.6)	
108	Bridgette	mm::::::::h (....) I thi:::nk it's::: for five years
109	(0.8)	
110	Linda	yho five years
111	(0.5)	
112	Bridgette	mmm:
113	(0.7)	
114	Linda	ww ·hhhh and you've been staying with this wolf
115	(2.0)	
116		hey at least it's used to you it doesn't know some of us=
117	Bridgette	=of course it's used to me and it's used to you too because you went to see it
118		today
119	(1.7)	
120	Linda	·hhh yho: (....) <I can't erase it in my h(h)ead>
121	Bridgette	((laughs))
122	Linda	hehe::↑ I am going to tell my mom that I saw a wolf
123	(0.9)	
124		I was standing next to a wolf today
125	(1.1)	
126		ho:: okay (....) so what do you do here like you just help them out with the:::
127	(1.3)	
128		honey (.) and stuff
129	Bridgette	mmm
130	(1.0)	
131	Linda	does he also sell the lemons and all these things
132	(1.0)	
133		he just does them for himself

isiZulu/English

1	((sounds of walking))	
2	Linda	oh this is nic::e
3	(2.9)	
4	Bridgette	oh you didn't go to the garage
5	(0.8)	
6	Linda	no **he** went
7	(0.3)	
8	Bridgette	okay
9	(1.2)	
10	Linda	yah::
11	(0.7)	
12		I chose to stay (....) ·hh so he really has a **wo**:lf
13	(2.3)	
14		↑aa::hh
15	Bridgette	◦you're scared of the wolf::
16	(0.6)	
17	Linda	↑yehewo↑ooo ·hh my gosh
18	(0.7)	
19		I **did** go see it hh
20	(0.6)	
21	Bridgette	o:h
22	Linda	·h it's so beautiful
23	(1.4)	
24		do you like
25	(1.1)	
26		play with it
27	Bridgette	yes
28	(2.0)	
29	Linda	doesn't it (.) like u [hhhh::
30	(0.5)	
31	Bridgette	[no
32	Linda	(h)I'm so hh **shocked** uh ·hhhhhh (..) like ↑awuyisabe unga hamba nje nje nje
33	(1.3)	
34	Bridgette	yaha uya hamba
35	(0.8)	
36		a a a ay ayI cabane na bantu bes'fazI (....) i'cabana ne bantu bes'lisa k'phela
37	(0.9)	
38	Linda	w:·hhhh (...) whe::w (...) cause uthi (...) yaz ukhuluma ka'mnandi neh (...) uthi
39		'kim (...) no::↓ (...) just get in (.) if you see a big wo:: (..) ·h a big dog (...) just
40		(....) ignore (....) yho::↑ mang'bona hhhh
41	((laughter))	
42	(2.1)	
43		·hhhh (..) yho::::↑ I thought I was gonna die he h- hee::
44	Bridgette	ha ha:
45	Linda	hhhh I was gonna die (...) phela we see these things in the movies (....) so e:::r
46		okay
47	(0.4)	
48	Bridgette	uh
49	Linda	I didn't think like it (....) was actually there

50	(0.9)	
51	Bridgette	oithole kuphi manje le
52	(0.7)	
53	Linda	like (....) the wolf (....) >is it a wolf<
54	(0.6)	
55	Bridgette	yeh it's a wolf
56	(3.7)	
57	Linda	he's living with a wolf
58	(2.1)	
59		and this is normal for you hhh
60	(0.3)	
61	Bridgette	uh huh
62	(1.5)	
63	Linda	yazi ini: sis'Bridgette (....) hh ·hhhh (...) ay ay ay ay (....) mina ang'geke
64	Bridgette	he ha ha ha
65	Linda	ang'geke
66	(2.1)	
67		mm:- okay ma'nga hamba manje ngi'yo dlala nayo
68	(0.4)	
69	Bridgette	yahh
70	Linda	yho:↑ (....) mhh mhh
71	Bridgette	ang'geke ik'lume
72	Linda	mhu↑:::m
73	(0.4)	
74	Bridgette	iya bathand' abantu bes'fazane
75	(1.4)	
76		aba ama'◦doda
77	(1.0)	
78		ama'doda i'thand' laba i'hlala nabo(...) k'phela
79	(2.1)	
80	Linda	so:: (..) iyenzani like (...) may'bona umtu
81	(0.6)	
82	Bridgette	umtu enga'maziyo
83	(0.9)	
84		◦iya cala u'k nkonkotha
85	Linda	w·hhhhh (...) yw↑o:h (...) <I would fre:ak ou::t> (....) yho I would freak out hh
86		yho
87	Bridgette	((laughs))
88	Linda	yho I would freak out so much (....) wantjela naye:: he said I mustn't like run
89	(0.6)	
90		I(h) I wasn't (.) gonna run though (....) I'd freeze
91	Bridgette	hu:: (....) ·hhh
92	Linda	I'd freeze
93	((laughter))	
94	(1.0)	
95	Linda	and yazi ing'begile idlala kgona la
96	Bridgette	ang'geke i'kwenze lutho (....) as long (....) as um'fazI
97	(1.8)	
98	Linda	wh ·hhhh (....) so is it a girl
99	(1.2)	
100	Bridgette	no (...) I (...) think it's a male

101	(0.7)	
102	Linda	is it
103	Bridgette	yah
104	(1.2)	
105	Linda	wena you how long have you been staying here
106	(0.6)	
107	Bridgette	mm::::::::h (….) I thi:::nk it's::: for five years
108	(0.8)	
109	Linda	yho five years
110	(0.5)	
111	Bridgette	mmm:
112	(0.7)	
113	Linda	ww ·hhhh and you've been staying with this wolf
114	(2.0)	
115		ay wena vele seyik'jwayele phela thina asazI=
116	Bridgette	=vele ing'jwayele ↑nawe futhI ing'jwayele ◦as long as ik'bonile namhlange
117	(1.7)	
118	Linda	·hhh yho: (….) <I can't erase it in my h(h)ead>
119	Bridgette	((laughs))
120	Linda	hehe::↑ ngi'yo tjela umama wam uk'thI 'mama uyazI beng'ne iwolf
121	(0.9)	
122		beng'hlele ne wolf namhlange
123	(1.1)	
124		ho:: okay (….) so what do you do here like you just help them out with the:::
125	(1.3)	
126		honey (.) and stuff
127	Bridgette	mmm
128	(1.0)	
129	Linda	does he also sell the lemons and all these things
130	(1.0)	
131		he just does them for himself

Where Linda speaks alone with Bridgette and where she has just met the Honey Bear's husky, one can note several differences with respect to the other segments: at line 17 the ideophone changes to "↑yehewo↑ooo ·hh", she also provides direct turn taking cues, such as at line 32 where she breaks into sustained isiZulu and indicates a topic transition. At line 38 the quotative has become 'uthi' (literally 'he said' rather than 'be + like'), and there are markers of familiarity such as the 'sis' (short for sister) at lines 63-64, "yazi ini: sis'Bridgette (….) hh ·hhhh (…) ay ay ay ay (….) mina ang'geke". At line 85 Linda breaks back into English for the exclamatory sequence, "w·hhhhh (…) yw↑o:h (…) <I would fre:ak ou::t> (….) yho I would freak out hh yho" which I think is understandable since this kind of expression is marking Linda's community of practice of Drama student, directly indexing certain facets of her current identity, and needs to be expressed in English. This is beautifully recombined with isiZulu at line 88 though, "yho I would freak out so much (….) wantjela naye:: he said I mustn't like run". What is so fascinating is that Bridgette echoes Linda's expressive style, and also code-switches, here with an adverbial phrase in English (lines 95-96), "ang'geke i'kwenze lutho (….) as long (….) as um'fazI". The story ends with Bridgette inserting the wolf into her everyday at line 116, and with Linda marking another clear topic transition point, accompanied by a code switch at line 124-126, "ho:: okay (….) so what do you do here like you just help them out with the::: // (1.3) // honey (.) and stuff".

If one were to follow the analysis that I have proposed for Dikeledi or for Elliot, one could note the way in which the cross-cultural themes of health and fear allow storytelling, and the way in which narrative invests the space of Sandton with unexpected and vivid experiences that break with the previous talk about companies and billionaires. However, there are clearly differences. The first is that in some way this experience of meeting a wolf is of the same calibre as Linda's meeting with the CEO of Hastings Models. Secondly Linda when going over this transcript with me later, mentioned how she had perceived the difference in social space. She explained her story with Bridgette (who has not gone to university, who does not have the friendship group or the social advantages of Linda) as 'making her feel comfortable'. I explained Bourdieu's conception of 'condescension' as a vector across social space (Bourdieu 1989) and she felt that this was exactly what had been going on here. Thirdly, though, when I asked whether Linda's two identities (that of Soweto girl and privately educated university student) were parallel, with no solution of continuity, she strongly disagreed with me (see also McKinney 2007 for a discussion of this topic). She explained that for her, these two identities are an *extension* of each other, with the university adding on to her early identity as a girl raised in Soweto (see figure 13 to 16 a visualisation of this region of Johannesburg). In fact, for Linda her identities extend each other as at line 88 (above) the English and the isiZulu also extend each other.

Is Linda passing? Does her, "language use [not] conform with the social category to which [she is] normatively assigned" (Bucholtz and Hall 2005 : 588)? I would argue that no. That on the contrary she is a very good representative of a particular social category, and that her speech reflects the differences between her and Elliot or Dikeledi socio-economically, culturally, educationally, in life biography etc. However, Linda also brings to light what is so fascinating about all of these speakers, and that is the manner in which code switching is not an immediately recognisable aspect of Sandton. It is easy to overlook it, tied in as it is with various communities of practice. Were one *not to know* of this linguistic activity. Were one to arrive from Europe for instance and to stay in Sandton, one would be confronted with the impression that South Africa had adopted a wholesale transition to English. Elliot's gregarious multilingualism is completely effaced in his other interactions (with me for instance), as is Dikeledi's strong marking of her belonging and its link to Sesotho.

Sandton presents, in fact, an incredible multiplicity of linguistic interactions. I met Tuk Tuk drivers from the Congo speaking French and Luba, runners from Ghana, sales people from Israel… some I would have loved to have participate in this research. Sadly, it was not to be, but the traces of their languages lives on in this brief analysis of the gregarious *non*-Englishness of Elliot, Dikeledi and Linda.

Conclusions concerning Elliot, Dikeledi and Linda's stories

In the discussion of this last section we have seen how the genres of shared stories and breaking news partake in the construction of the space of Sandton, through the actualisation of liens of acquaintance and the negotiation of roles. Within this process the constraint of the space itself, and of architecture and semiotic landscape can readily be appreciated; offering as it does a smooth, prohibitory, context that is often at odds with participant narrative interaction. The community of practice of religion was the lens that allowed us to look at aspects of interaction such as the phatic in language, and self positioning. In continuation of the analysis of religion, we also examined another practice, code switching, that is distributed across communities of practice. This fascinating attribute of much participant talk as captured at Sandton, was discussed in terms of globalisation, prestige and in-group. It also has a strong developmental impact that is often captured under the term translanguaging. What is in play is the marking of a language, the indexical meaning it has for participants.

Finally, although the breaking news and shared stories that we have examined in this chapter have often a very different structure to the social platform mediated stories that were studied by De Fina and Georgakopoulou (see for instance Georgakopoulou 2008) the similarity of function is highly pertinent to analysis. In parallel to an application of genre, this section has looked at the emerging roles that the narratives evince. The principles of positioning, indexicality and relationality have allowed us to better understand the kinds of identities that emerge in Sandton. And particularly in Linda's wolf stories we see a fascinating *initial* negotiation of roles that is a good example of the crossing of social and symbolic space.

Conclusions for chapter 4

This first analytic chapter has uncovered the profound effect of Sandton on narrative interaction. This was particularly the case in the adaptation, at the Brazen Head, of Ric's telling of his experience in Qatar, but it also applies to Dikeledi, Elliot and Linda's stories. Each participant has inflected their storying behaviour in contact with Sandton. This applies both to the genre and features of the story. We have looked here in depth at the genres of account, shared stories and breaking news and how these genres change over the course of the participant's trajectory. In terms of features sometimes a similar evolution occurs, sometimes in counter intuitive ways. For instance, where the expectation, from chapter 1, would be a Sandton that is mono-lingual, ordered, and corporate, we have collected examples of both story content and telling that challenge this. In terms of story content, we have investigated stories about religious conversion and malediction, or stories about failure at work that overtly resist hegemonic interpretations of gender and role.

In terms of telling, an important feature has been the use of code, where Elliot speaks English at home, Dikeledi 'uses' English – injecting it with patterns drawn from religious observance and from Sesotho, and where Linda switches to isiZulu in condescension. In other words, English is not necessarily 'prestige' and Sandton is definitely not mono-lingual. Certainly also, in terms of the semiotic landscape, although the artifacts of the Brazen Head reinforce and echo the community of practice there, in other examples, participant orientation to their discursive environment is not straightforward, and in several examples, overtly counters the discourses and processes of Sandton as these were discussed in chapter 1. From these artifacts, tellings, and storied worlds, Sandton can be seen as a space of masculinity but also of resistance, of religion, and of a varied, complex linguistic activity.

This chapter has been the first test of the methodology of this research. It has shown itself to be robust, and practicable. Robust, because of sample size. Full details of participant participation are given in Appendix 2-2. But taking just indirect participants for Ric, Elliot, Dikeledi and Linda, this research has involved a sample of over sixty people. Practicable, because we were able to work back from the data to the exact location of each narrative interaction, and map this against the space of Sandton and its material artifacts. The actualisation of the space of Sandton through trajectory, and a vectorial reading of its space has also been very convincing, giving full expression to the distributed and shared nature of small stories.

One aspect of this reading concerns the orientation of participants to the discourses of the semiotic landscape, and indeed, the transportability of their stories. Whereas Ric's trajectory clearly does respond to the environment, and the community of practice, of the Brazen Head, and whereas the constraining discourse of the Virgin Active parking is an important part of analysis in Elliot's story, in the other transcripts of this chapter, the question can be raised of the link between participant positioning and the attributes of the semiotic landscape. In some cases the stories seem to overtly contradict the artifacts and discourses of that landscape, or to be indifferent to it. The stories of witchcraft that jar with the modernist aesthetics of the atrium and of the MOOV offices are particularly good examples. The issue concerns the trajectory of the story itself, and how its telling was prompted.

In the data of this research project, there was one other story trajectory that I managed to capture on tape and that concerned a policeman who had been seducing a young female colleague. The stories

were collected by Mark (see overview in appendix 2-2) a superintendent who picked up police officers at certain points and then dropped them off in others during the Ecomobility week. As each officer was picked up they contributed a different angle to the shared story. This example gives further insight into the discussion above on how shared stories intersect with communities of practice, and the actualisation of the space of Sandton that they provide, since the police officers were sharing this story through their walkie talkies. But it also highlights the complexity of the interrelation between space, discourse and story as these aspects informed the particular realisation of the story components that were contributed by each officer. Whether overtly orientated to or overtly absent from participant behaviour, the semiotic landscape is always implicitly present and certainly it is an element of discourse that must be taken account of in analysis of narrative interaction. This is especially true of institutional space, and it is the analysis of the discourses of this space that will provide the core of the next chapter.

Chapter 5 – Analysis of participant data 2: 'Positionality' and institutional space

Introduction

The focus of analysis here will be the principle of positionality, but, as in the previous chapter, this will depend, firstly, on an approach to the phenomenon and its structure that is based on the reconciliation of small story research with Bucholtz and Hall's (2005) framework for identity and interaction, and, secondly, on an interweaving of the other principles of this framework within analysis. The overarching aim is to provide, over the course of this chapter, a consideration of the different spaces of Sandton that also unpacks the small stories that bring them to life, and the different principles of the framework. Bucholtz and Hall (2005), understand positionality as follows:

> On the one hand, the interactional positions that social actors briefly occupy and then abandon as they respond to the contingencies of unfolding discourse may accumulate ideological associations with both large-scale and local categories of identity. On the other, these ideological associations, once forged, may shape who does what and how in interaction, though never in a deterministic fashion. (Bucholtz and Hall 2005 : 591).

Intimating earlier work on the community of practice of college 'nerds' (see Bucholtz 1999) they insist that local and interactionally specific choices indexing particular dimensions of identity take place *within* and *across* broader categories. So, whilst broader (macro) social categories such as gender, age, language and culture do continue to be oriented to in an interaction, and whilst one can index these in one's speech, one is also simultaneously positioning oneself with respect to more locally pertinent, context dependant, apsects of the interaction, *and*, in line with both the macro and the meso, adopting temporary (micro) roles and stances. Positionality therefore escapes a deterministic analysis based on macro category and becomes ethnographically more relevant, allowing research to include the local and the temporary.

The primacy of identity *categories*, and thereby their ideological *associations*, means that Bucholtz and Hall's treatment of positionality differs from that of small stories research, which connects the micro and meso of *narrative* interaction to macro social processes and discourses. Small story research, thus, adds the embedded world of the story to a study of the interaction. Thus, if one were to return to Bucholtz' discussion of nerd girls and their linguistic and interactional patterns (Bucholtz 1999 : 217) rather than content ourselves with the 'theme' of gross language such as 'crusty', we can further engage with the story that is embedded in talk, and which in that article, involves a fantasy depiction of a King who chooses to live in a moat. This story world, replete with speech, positioning and evaluation by characters (the King does *not want* to live in his crusty castle) is shared with the other participants such as Bob, who wonders just how 'crusty' the castle is, at line 65. The inclusion of the story world in analysis is both valuable and incisive, throwing up positionings therein that inform those in the story-telling world, much as Goffman explains in his consideration of footing (Goffman 1981), where speakers become 'animators' rather than 'authors' of the words spoken.

The two models are highly complementary. Bucholtz and Hall contribute an ethnographic understanding of an interaction that is very clear on the role that macro and meso *categories* play in shaping how interactants orient to each other. Small story research brings in the dimension of the storied world, and its relation to *discourse and process*. As can be seen in the recapitulative table 5

below, perhaps the only real point of contrast, rather than complementarity, between the two models concerns the time-frame of analysis at the meso and micro levels. In this respect, Bucholtz and Hall are more concerned with cultural positions and roles that are 'local', which is to say, enacted with some degree of regularity or habituality. They reserve the contours of the specific interaction for the 'micro' level. This is a moot point with De Fina and Georgakopoulou (see Bamberg and Georgakopoulou 2008, and De Fina 2013a), but generally their level 1 and 2 analysis contrasts the *story* world with the *story-telling* world, and therefore with a focus on the context of the specific narrative interaction, rather than recurrent or habitual participant narratives:

> At this level the analysis takes us to the embedding of the story in surrounding talk. How was the story occasioned and with what objectives was it told? How does it contribute to the reciprocal alignment of interlocutors? (De Fina 2013a : 53).

Bucholtz and Hall	Small Stories
Macro-level demographic categories (age, gender, social class, race)	
	Level 3 explores 'how the speaker/narrator positions a sense of self/identity with regards to dominant discourses or master narratives' and how s/he 'makes these relevant to the interaction in the here and now'
Meso, local, ethnographically specific cultural positions (communities of practice, styles etc)	
Micro, temporary and interactionally specific stances and participant roles (the interactional positions that social actors briefly occupy and then abandon as they respond to the contingencies of unfolding discourse)	**Level 2** deals with the way narrators position themselves vis-à vis their interlocutors in the story-telling world
	Level 1 positioning refers to the way characters are positioned in relation to one another within the story world

Table 5: Comparative table that resumes the different levels of Bucholtz and Hall and small story research with respect to positioning (adapted from Bucholtz and Hall 2005 : 591 - 593, and De Fina 2013a : 43).

In applying Bucholtz and Hall's interactional framework to a linguistic ethnography of place, this articulation of local and ideological, of macro and micro, could best be studied with respect to Sandton's institutional space. This is the space cut out discursively, architecturally and hierarchically by the head offices, the chambers, the trading floors and the moneyed interests of Sandton. This chapter will present narratives collected in four institutions that are all emblematic, iconic, symbols of Sandton's power and reach. They are the Sandton City Mall, the Johannesburg Stock Exchange, the Advocate's group that represented City Press and the artist Brett Murray against President Zuma, and the Sandton Convention Centre.

Geolocalisation and introduction of participant data – distribution by site of breaking news, shared stories and accounts

Against the vectors of the previous chapter that were drawn on the space of Sandton and of the Gauteng, this chapter opposes the points of an institutional fixity and the richness of a plunge into *place*. Figure 43 below gives the location of the four participating institutions.



Figure 43: Location of the four participating institutions: the Sandton City Mall, the Johannesburg Stock Exchange, the Advocate's group, and the Sandton Convention Centre.

Some of the data that was collected in these institutions offers some significant differences with respect to the data of the rest of the thesis. And this is for fairly evident reasons of confidentiality and of respect for the information that is being treated at these companies. It consists of: a) participant observation in the case of the Convention Centre who opened wide their doors and invited me to several team meetings and managerial events; b) a series of informal interviews with an Advocate in and out of meetings and court appearances; c) of more formally convened interviews with the current and previous CEO's of the JSE; and finally of 'natural data' collected as outlined in chapter 2 and involving several days of gps and mp3 recording with an employee of Sandton City Mall combined with more formal interviews and documentation with the City management.

As Miller and Glassner (2011) and indeed De Fina and Perrino (2011) note, the distinction between 'natural' and 'interview' data is by no means a self-evident one. In both cases the role of the participant must be contextualised, and in both cases 'responses' are skewed by institutional, research-based and interactional constraints. Rather than treating either inteviews or 'natural' data in an unreflexive way, what counts is to contextualise interactions and narratives, and to be clear about the impact the role of researcher had on the data. This is, substantially, the point of the fifth principle of Bucholtz and Hall's approach to interaction, which is to say that:

> The feminist commitment to explicitly positioning oneself as a researcher rather than effacing one's presence in the research process, a practice which echoes the politics of location in reflexive ethnography, has exposed the fact that reality itself is intersubjective in nature, constructed through the particulars of self and other in any localised encounter. (Bucholtz and Hall 20058 : 605).

This fifth principle of partialness further raises what I think is an understudied aspect of ethnography – and that is the potential amplificatory and distorting effect of the mirror that it holds up to the world. The powerful businessmen and women of this chapter were unaccustomed to participation in a research project such as this. In typing the transcripts for this chapter, I felt how close and personal an audio recording can be, how revealing, especially when we get down to analysis of subtle phenomena such as breathiness, or overlapping. So, it is with caution that I would like to present the analysis of this chapter, and sincerely thank again all of those who volunteered to take part.

The significant, and unavoidable, difference in methodology also gave rise to a similarly important difference in genre. One that echoes the discussion of shared stories and accounts of the previous chapter. Briefly put, the transcripts for Thobile at the Sandton City Mall, and the Sandton Convention Centre (SCC) are almost all examples of 'breaking news' or 'shared stories'. Particularly at the SCC, these contain complex changes in footing and direct and reported speech. The transcripts collected with Geoff Rothschild, Nicky Newton-King[16] and the Advocate are all 'accounts' (although some aspects of these are 'shared'). These accounts are resolutely in the past, they are short, and although they do contain embedded characters, they hardly ever make use of reported speech. The fact that accounts predominate in interview situations explains the preponderance of this genre in De Fina (2003) and in King and De Fina (2010). It of course illustrates both a participant preoccupation with alignment, but also shows how context directly impinges on interaction.

In the case of the Advocates' group and the JSE, participants were there to explicitly represent the 'branding' (see Nicky Newton-King's transcript 4 Appendix 2-4-2) of their company and stories told were done so for specific purposes. In terms of our analytic framework (positioning) what this does is to make these stories less pertinent in terms of the micro of the specific interaction, and much more relevant to meso, local, roles and to macro categories and discourses. The Advocate's stories (presented in Appendix 2-4-3) are three accounts. All speak back to the very specific ideological grounding of the Group, and to the insertion of the participant within the South African person categories of blackness and femininity and the socio-economic category of well-paid professional. For the JSE I have presented both the stories collected at the JSE and those collected individually with Geoff Rothschild. Again all of these stories are 'accounts'. Segments 1 to 3 at the JSE concern the origins of participants, and align, similarly to those of the Advocate, with specific discourses of belonging, race and gender. The 4th transcript concerns the internal organisation of the JSE and of the market. The account itself is very short (lines 11 – 18) and is quickly inserted into the discursive talk of the rest of the transcript. The 5th transcript (segment 7) has been included above all for lines 22 to 34 where Nicky speaks very personally about her foster daughter. This segment is a personal account, with a very powerful alignment to the discourse of transformation in South Africa.

Geoff's transcripts 6 to 10 (still in Appendix 2-4-2) have been cut with a large margin around what are very short, almost eliptic, accounts. The accounts of transcript 6), for example, run from lines 61-71, from 92-115, from 123-128, and from 139-152. In each case however Geoff appended additional information at a subsequent turn (lines 121, 136, and 159). The accounts of transcript 6) concern the changes wrought in Sandton at the Balalaika hotel, with the JSE's relocation, the new premises and its furnishing. Those of transcript 7) concern the initiation practices and camaraderie of the old stock market. Those of transcript 8) offer a juxtaposition between the stained glass windows found at the

[16] Geoff Rothschild and Nicky Newton-King are the former and current CEO's of the Johannesburg Stock Exchange, respectively. Geoff commands a huge personal fortune.

old stock market with the electronic trading at the new. Transcript 9) is an interesting account of market forces and a pub, the Lazy Upgraders, at Gold Reef City. Finally, transcript 10) though still an account, is a much longer, more coherent, and 'story-like' recapitulation of the founding and development of Geoff's foundation, Grootbos.

In contrast, the 'breaking news' and 'shared stories' of Thobile at the Mall and the teams at the SCC, offer what is often a *questioning* and an exploration of company discourses and categories. Thobile's stories do this through the complicity between Thobile and her colleagues. In her transcript 1) (Appendix 2-4-1) Thobile prompts a colleague for the 'real' story behind a late change in shift. This story is interrupted at line 56 by the arrival of a musician requesting information, and the interaction shows interesting shifts in voicing and language before being resumed at line 126. This story is, properly, both an example of breaking news and an account, in that Thobile's colleague is sharing current happenings, but also accounting for her lateness. In transcripts 2) and 3) Thobile offers a breaking story that needs a little unpacking. Whereas breaking stories as conceived by Georgakopoulou (see Georgakopoulou 2008 : 601) involve the imbrication of social media messages in an existing interaction, what happens here is that a colleague calls Thobile and explains to her what is happening as a result of not having logged off on the computer. So there is mediation here in the telephone, and a joint construction between Thobile and her colleague of an 'alternate' story that explains the error. However the situation of talk, the story-telling world, is one-sided, in that we only have Thobile's contribution to the unfolding narrative.

The stories collected at the meetings of the SCC represent the genres of shared story, account and breaking news. Transcripts 1 to 4 (Appendix 2-4-4) are those stories collected at the Sales and Marketing Team meeting, and involve both shared referential content (the indexicality of Bucholtz and Hall 2005) but also prosodic and interactional signs of tight cooperation between members, such as synchrony in turns, frequent non-competitive overlap and second stories. Transcript 1) is a story about the Diamond Walk in Sandton Mall, and of how friends used selfies to pretend that they were often there. Transcript 2) involves a first story and two second stories about the construction of Sandton and its rapid expansion. Transcript 3) is an account that is also a shared story, and that leads to a second story about the Sales and Marketing team itself. Transcript 4) is a shared story and four second stories about famous sporting figures. This segment contains several overt occasions on which the team did *not* follow company instructions and is alive with shifts in footing, embedded characters and reported speech. Transcript 6) is taken from the Events Team and the breaking news is the unfolding and account problems that the team is experiencing in organising a Meetings Africa event. Here the genres of breaking news, shared story and account are used in a way that reinforces the company organigramme. This use of small stories has not often been explored and will need a fuller discussion.

The four institutions whose stories have been compiled for this chapter therefore represent an original use of small story genres, with participants that either position themselves with or against company discourse and macro categories, and that do this through a key distinction between accounts, and breaking news and shared stories. This distinction will, in fact, be used here to structure the analysis of the following sections.

Before beginning our plunge into the three levels of positioning analysis, I would like to emphasise that these institutional spaces are, in fact, communities of practice, and that the findings and conclusions of the discussion below, are the result of a (contrastive) exploration of these communities

as this is recommended both by Bucholtz (1999), by Bucholtz and Hall (2005), and by Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (1992, 2007).

Positionality – the macro (discourses and categories)

This section will be organised following the difference, noted above, in the genres of stories favoured by spaces of the Johannesburg Stock Exchange and the Advocate's group (accounts), on one hand, and by the Sandton Convention Centre and the Mall (breaking news and shared stories), on the other. We will then, following this distinction, move to a consideration of the discourses and processes of the four institutional spaces, and some macro categories that are pertinent to discussion.

It was in collecting the data for this chapter that I felt, more than at any other time, a 'researcher'. The themes of masculinity and of the constraints of the site that were raised in the chapter 4, and the considerations of discourse and ideology that are central to this chapter, were overpowering at times. Their power and their pervasiveness can be felt not only in the data presented here as in the data that I could *not* present because of withdrawal of the institution from the research. This withdrawal came from Nedbank and from ABSA Capital. And a small story of my own should illustrate my point.

ABSA Capital is an active trading floor. I had a meeting with one of their brokers. This man came downstairs, produced the security clearance that would let me in through the triple electronically activated glass doors, took me up in the glass elevator, past banks of vacant computers, before letting me into a huge, dark space where other brokers sat in front of rows of screens, studying the market. My potential participant led me further, into a sound-proofed, isolated, and again, electronically access controlled interview room. I felt intensely uncomfortable, both in terms of the content of my research itself, which seemed almost ridiculous to this person habituated to dealing in millions, but also in terms of a growing and present sense of alienation and claustrophobia. I managed to stay calm and smile, but after a short talk we both decided that perhaps I should try to find a different participant. What had so unnerved me in our interaction? Above all I feel it was the naturalisation of discourses of productivity and competitiveness allied with the configuration of the place itself, and this nexus will be at the crux of discussion in the sections that follow.

The discursive environment and artifacts of the semiotic landscape (Level 3)

In applying positionality to institutional space, I am looking at what processes and discourses are relayed by the companies under study, but also the specific discursive and ideological boundary that is framed by the institution; providing a parcelling and a segmentation of the discursive space of Sandton. It is the macro as distributed and segmented institutionally that is of interest in this section and that I would like to introduce in the paragraphs that follow. The question is therefore not so much, what are the possible macro discourses that can be found in the stories of participants, but rather, given the macro discourses that one can identify for each of the institutional spaces, in what ways are these interpreted and actualised in the stories we have collected.

In order to access company discourse, I have taken the artifacts both of the physical environment (the buildings, the billboards and the branding), but also the virtual semiotic landscape that is available on the webpages of each of the companies. There are several reasons for this choice. Firstly, in chapter 2 I addressed Bucholtz and Hall's interactive model and what I perceived to be the need to complete it with a geosemiotic approach. If one is to combine Bucholtz and Hall's treatment of positionality with De Fina's work on level 1 to 3 positioning, then the discursive environment, and the way participants orient and position themselves with respect to that environment, is vital. Secondly, as discussed in chapter 3, this research is in many ways a 'material ethnography', in which semiotic artifacts such as those mentioned above are, 'moments' in the circulation of discourses (Stroud and Mpendukana

2009, Blommaert and Huang 2010). This circulation, and its materiality, are best captured through ethnographic work and through artifacts of the semiotic landscape. Indeed, this chapter will in many ways flesh out the institutional discourses as we seek to see how participants orient and position themselves thereto. Thirdly, and as concerns the use both of artifacts of the semiotic landscape and of the 'virtual' semiotic landscape, I would like to signal a growing body of work into the spaces and articfacts of virtual, or CMC (computer mediated communication). The articles that investigate this semiotic cyberlandscape (Ovkovic and Lotherington 2009, Jones 2010, Moshnikov 2016 and Wee 2015) do so from a theoretic perspective that, whilst valuing the different affordances and constraints of these mediated interactions, do also recognise the manner in which we create the 'sites of engagement' (Scollon 2001 and Scollon and Scollon 2003) by orienting to the semiotic resources available in these spaces (Jones 2010).

From a geosemiotic perspective these sites of engagement involve the four cycles of habitus, place semiotics, interaction order and visual semiotics. Since this research is, however, using geosemiotics at this point to complete the interactional framework proposed by Bucholtz and Hall (2005), what is of interest will be, above all, the visual semiotics of the artifacts in question rather than the semiotics of place as this was investigated in chapter 4. The visual semiotics of an artifact concerns above all its discourse, and this is attained through analysing the disposition of textual/visual elements, their typography, represented participants and the grammar of their gestures, and of course the kinds of work these represented participants perform with respect to dominant discourses and to macro categories. In conducting the analysis of visual semiotics we will be using Reading Images (Kress and Van Leeuwen 1996) and the research into multimodal analysis (Kress and Van Leeuwen 2001, Kress 2010b, Van Leeuwen 2006, and O'Halloran 2011). As Jaworski and Thurlow (2010) note however, artifacts must also be approached in light of socio-historic processes, and this is a point that is also made by Blommaert and Maly (2014). It aligns well with a similar point made by De Fina (2013a) who also insists on processes, rather than a static or mechanistic approach to discourse.

These processes, as they concern Sandton as a whole, were sketched in chapter 1. Briefly to recap here the key aspects of that discussion, one can place Sandton into the longer history of colonisation, turn of the century industrial expansion and the effects of the gold rush. In the shorter term, Sandton was also the locus of an exodus from Johannesburg City Centre that represented a reaction to the end of Apartheid, but also to the neoliberal policies of the new majority-party democracy ushered in by Nelson Mandela and Thabo Mbeki. In more recent times Sandton has re-expanded, and re-capitalised, and offers a density of head offices and logistics that is really quite exceptional in Africa. This is the reason that Beryl Porter coined the term, "the richest square mile". However, these processes of densification and massification of capital took place whithin a drift of GVA further North, and of impoverishment and isolation of Soweto and Alexandra. An isolation that is being addressed by the Rapid Bus Transport network. Finally, a changing political spectrum as concerns city and regional management have also had effects in terms of gated communities, tailoring of infrastructure routes and of the flows to and around Sandton. By focusing attention on commuter traffic, and daily pedestrian numbers into and out of Sandton, the image with which one is left is of a district that certainly has a high concentration of skilled and well-paid salaried workers, but also a huge, under-skilled and under-paid floating population of those for whom Sandton represents a place of precarity and toil. This population is overwhelmingly black, and majoritarily female.

A space of accounts – the discourses of the JSE and the Advocates' group

Within these processes therefore, one can understand the overt discourses of the Advocates' group. This Advocates' group offers a simple, yet historically resonant and powerfully sincere discourse. In the space of the street there is little to indicate the presence of this group. It has, certainly, the bronze plaque and monographed windows of any cabinet, but these are in the turn of an office complex. Situated on the first floor, the various offices are also deprived of any direct contact with passers-by. May it be noted, in that respect, that advocates litigate for attorneys and rarely have direct contact with clients. The webpage, therefore, is one of the few places where the group has an analysable presence. The webpage is straightforward: the group is presented, contact details are given, and then each advocate of the group is photographed in a head-and-shoulders shot that is either straight into the camera, or tilted slightly to offer a vector towards the 'ideal' as this is theorised by Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996, 2001). Thereafter follows a caption with the areas of specialisation of each advocate, their qualifications and brief biography.

It is on the 'about' page that this group gives such a powerful explanation of the reasons for their assembly as a group. The ex Chief Justice of South Africa, Pius Langa, has written an introduction that resumes the biography of the struggle hero whose name has been used as the name of the group, and the ways in which this legacy can be carried forward. In it the Chief Justice once again outlines principles of social justice, transformation and a new democratic order:

> To us, as lawyers, her life and works stand as a shining beacon beckoning to us to hasten the day of full equality, human dignity and freedom! (accessed 09/03/2017)

This quote refers therefore to a discourse of constitutional transformation (see Langa 2006, Moseneke 2002) in which it is through the rule of law, and a transformation of the legal professions of judge and advocate, that South Africa will achieve a true, lasting democracy. The Advocates' group overty positions itself with respect to this discourse both in the choice of its members, in their fields of law, and in their attitudes towards certain key cases. Certainly, as we shall see in the section on the 'meso', the Advocate who participated in this study positioned herself strongly with respect to the empowerment of black people, and with respect to the rule of law.

The JSE has many affinities to the Advocates' group. It is a place of business, not of leisure, and there is a unity in the artifacts of its semiotic space that is due, surely, to the oversight provided by Geoff Rothschild in the relocation of the exchange to its current One Exchange Square address. The font on its architecture, documentation and website is unadorned, but symbolic of the graphics that are essential to the monitoring of financial markets. There is also a strong evocation of solidity in the use of materials (see figure 44), but also in the emphasis on company history and longevity (that we will see forms a strong elements in the accounts of Nicky Newton-King). There is a secret kind of absence in the building though, and this is because when the relocation of the JSE from downtown Johannesburg was beginning, Shares Transactions Totally Electronic (Strate) was introduced, moving the JSE from an 'open outcry' system to the current delocalised, digitalised trading format. So the move from a bustling disorganised 19th Century trading floor to the sleaker lines of Sandton, also meant an emptying out of the premises as the IT and communications teams took over. The premises record this by a multitude of symbolisms. Three such are given in figure 45. The stylised, minimal, chrome sculpture of the bull and bear symbolise the move to a different platform of that age-old Keynesian struggle. There is a painting of the old trading floor in the meeting room. Whilst the

pathway to the building has a paved representation of the old chain that used to separate brokers in the older, outcry, system. The building is now accessed from the back, in a cramped way typical of South Africa, where security is tight, and one must pass through metal detectors and answer a few questions, before being admitted.





Figure 44: Two views of the JSE entranceways with address.

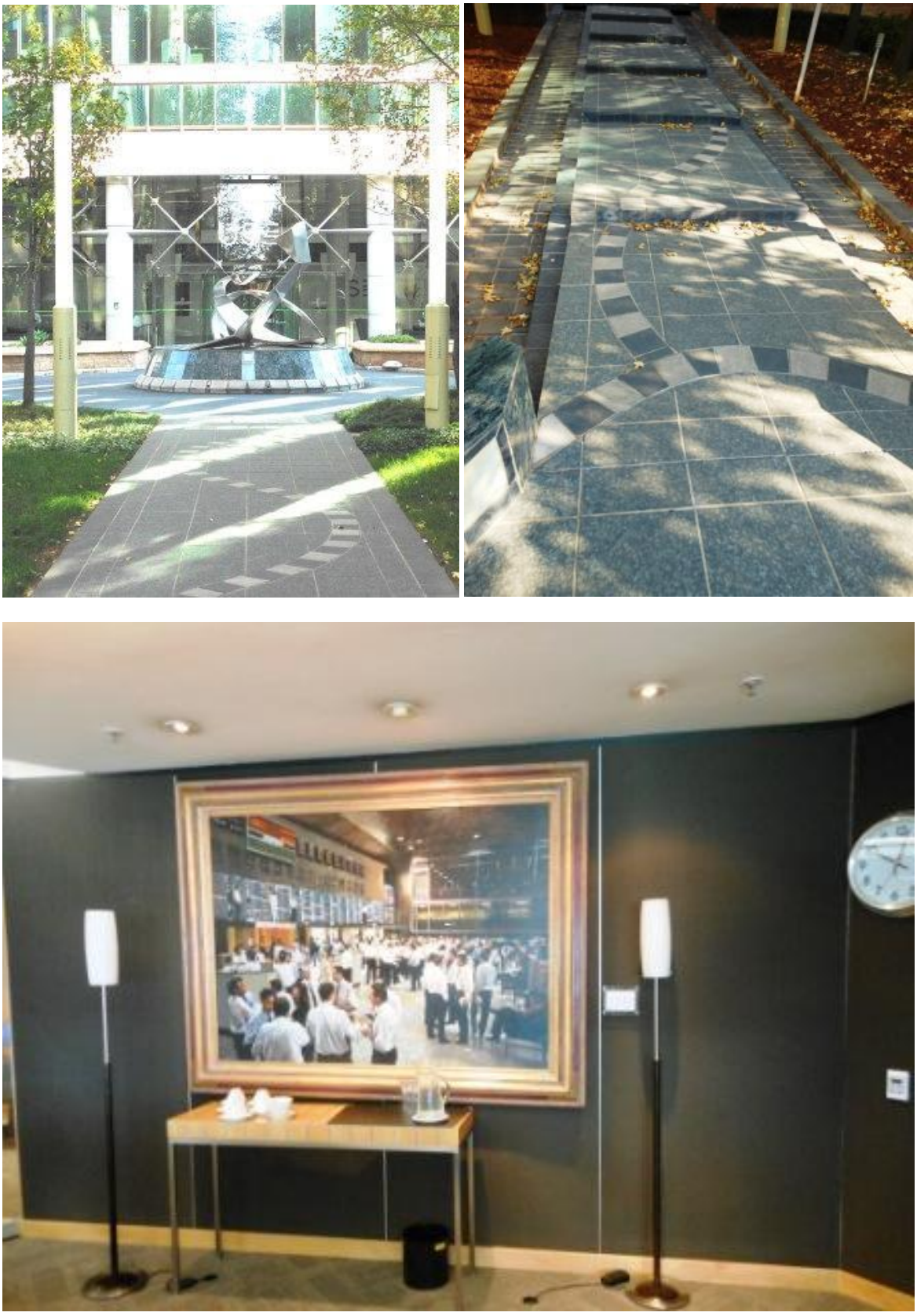


Figure 45: Three of the semiotic artifacts of the JSE premises: a 'bull and bear' and a symbolic rendering of the chain that used to separate brokers in the old 'open outcry' system, that is also represented in the meeting room.

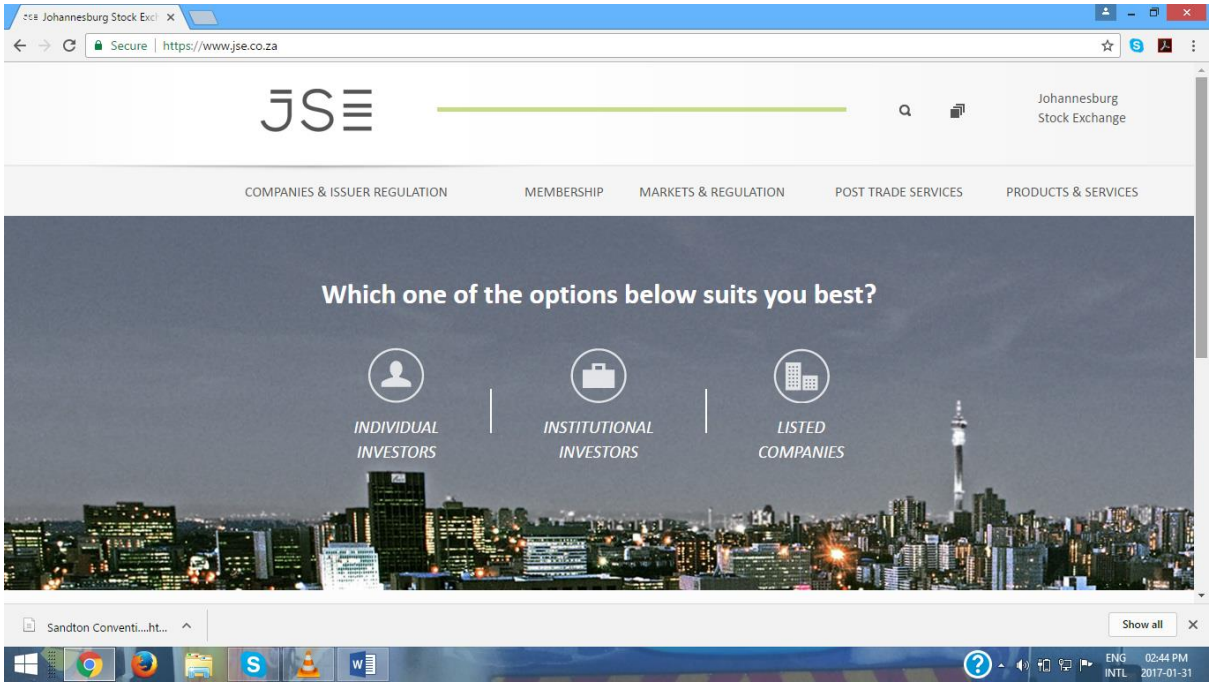


Figure 46 : Screen capture of the JSE landing page (https://www.jse.co.za/ accessed 02/07/2017).

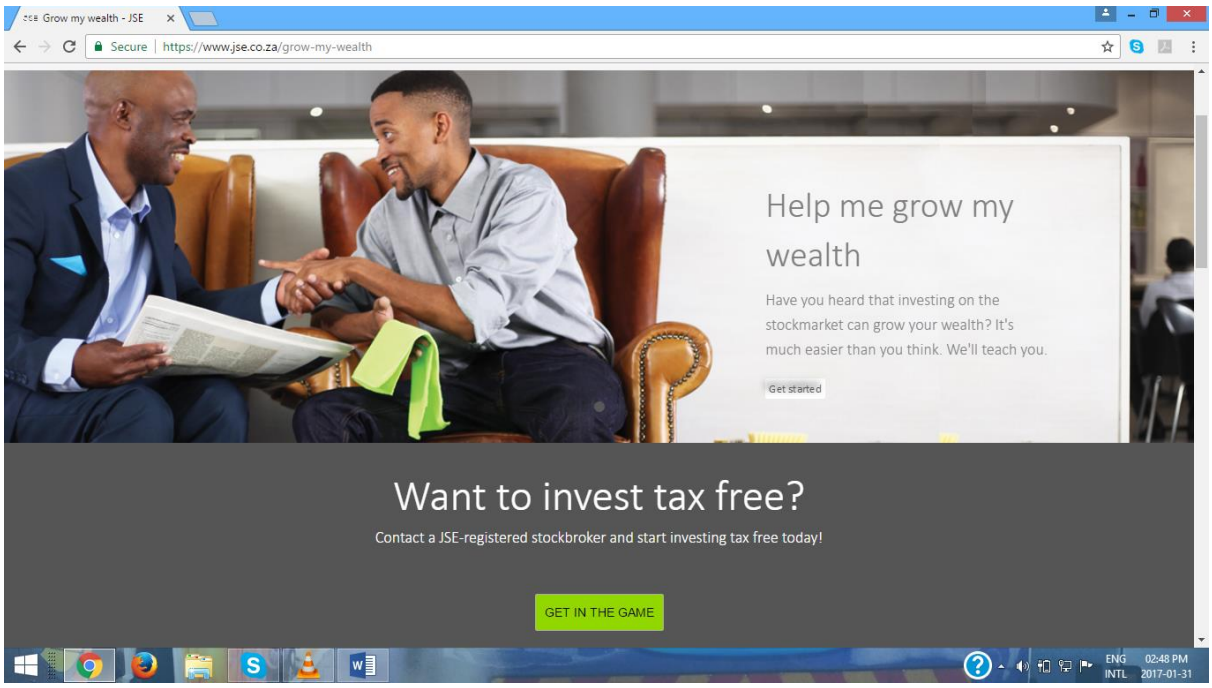


Figure 46 : Screen capture of the JSE individual investor page (https://www.jse.co.za/ accessed 02/07/2017).

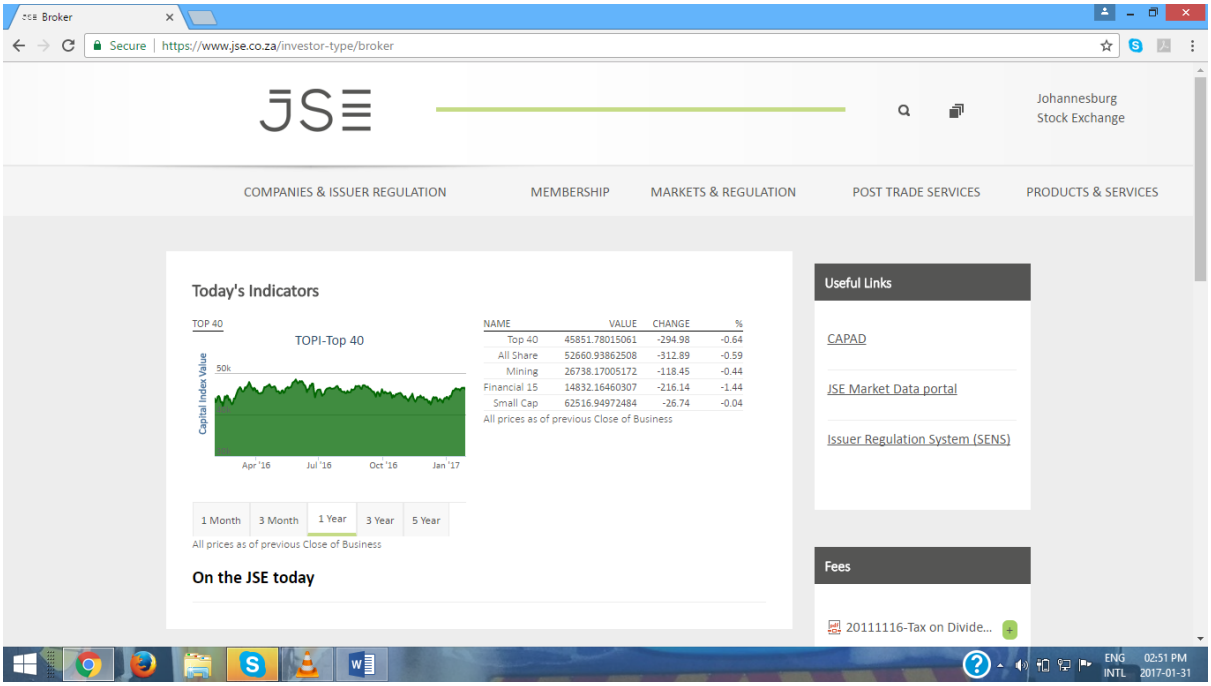


Figure 46 : Screen capture of the JSE institutional investor page (https://www.jse.co.za/ accessed 02/07/2017).

Figure 46: Three screen captures of the landing page, the individual investor and institutional investor pages (https://www.jse.co.za/ accessed 02/07/2017).

So. Solidity. History. Longevity. But what about the other discourses that must concern us in terms of the 'macro' of the JSE, as these are revealed and actualised in the artifacts of the semiotic space…gender, culture, capitalism etc? Well. Like much of Sandton generally, this is a very masculinised space. Geometry. Steel and glass. Reduced active edges. Blank facades. This is the rule. In terms of culture, the dominant is a kind of modernity, conceived broadly as globalised capital. But in terms of capital itself, there is a twist. As will be more clearly understood in going over the transcripts with Nicky Newton-King, the stance of the JSE towards capital is that it is a question of social responsibility, a tool of transformation, a means of empowerment. In fact, although not framed in terms of political struggle, the two discourses of the JSE and of the Advocates' group are very similar. In figure 46 above this discourse is captured clearly in the represented participants, the gestures and the distribution of information (the vectorial arrangements) of the second screen capture. Where the 'help me grow my wealth' is in 'new' position according to the grammar of visual semiotics (Kress and Van Leeuwen 1996, 2001). But, more subtly, it's there in the proposition of the first screen capture ("which one of the options below suits you best?") and in the ready availability of information in the third screen capture. The JSE website is a marvel of accessibility and it is this accessibility, linked to transformation, that must be retained as one of its key discourses.

A space of breaking news and shared stories – the discourses of the Mall and the SCC

As outlined in chapter 1, the Sandton City mall is, in many ways, the heart of the Sandton district. It was the motive behind the original development, and continues to be the reason for which many travel to Sandton. Its shops are a huge employer for the daily commuters – particularly those who fill the positions of cashier, assistant and reception as well as security, service and cleaning. The exponential increase in its floor area over the last three decades has mirrored (or impulsed) the

successive stages of Sandton's redevelopment, and in terms of the topography of the area it is the 'City' that occupies the high ground and the visibility in Sandton. The artifacts of its semiotic environment have been successively remodelled, from the pointy white steel and glass of the '70's, it now forms a whole with the remixed, neo-Renaissance of the 'Michelangelo' Sun complex.

There is an effacement of history, an amnesia, but also an aporia (see also Mbembe 2008) in this combination of the highly technological with the stereotypical evocation of a bygone Italy. This aporia is perhaps the gate that opens on the oniric that is necessary for enhanced consumption. Certainly it has little to do with the realities of the Gauteng as these were outlined above and in chapter 1, and even less to do with the geography and origins of the place (see Storie 2014). The oniric, the ethereal, continues in the 'gestalt' (see Ben Rafael 2009, 2010b) of the artifacts of the semiotic landscape, as these accumulate and cohere to both inscribe and shape the materiality of Sandton. This is, essentially, the 'place semiotics' of the Scollon and Scollon (2003) model, that here are applicable to a single, vast, institution. Two examples of the branding of the structures of the complex are given in figure 47 below.



Figure 47: A view of the entrance to the Michelangelo Hotel.



Figure 47: A view of the entrance to Sandton City Mall.

Figure 47: Two views of entrances to Sandton City Mall and the Michelangelo Hotel.

Van Leeuwen (2006) notes that font can be regarded as either a medium or a mode. As *medium*, "meaning comes about in a relatively adhoc, unsystematic way, through one of two principles, *connotation* or *experiential metaphor*" (2006 : 146). In the example of figure 47, what is connoted is the opulent, but what it is reminiscent of is the *signature* – the embroidery that one finds on towels and sheets in five star establishments as also on letterheads and business correspondence. The combination of the opulent and of business creates a matrix with the masculine of the space. It also finds expression in typography as *mode*, where the distinctive elements of a signature (here: serifs, flicks, curls and slope) emphasise solidity, expansiveness and the formal.

Sandton mall also reunites the branding and discourses of its various shops of which there are, literally, hundreds. An important device for their coherence is the work that is done on lighting. The mall, despite its thousands of metres of corridor, remains light, vertical, unoppressive. Two examples of natural lighting are given below in figure 48. And these strike an echo with the irreality and aspiration of the advertising, both for individual brands, and, on the website, for the mall itself.

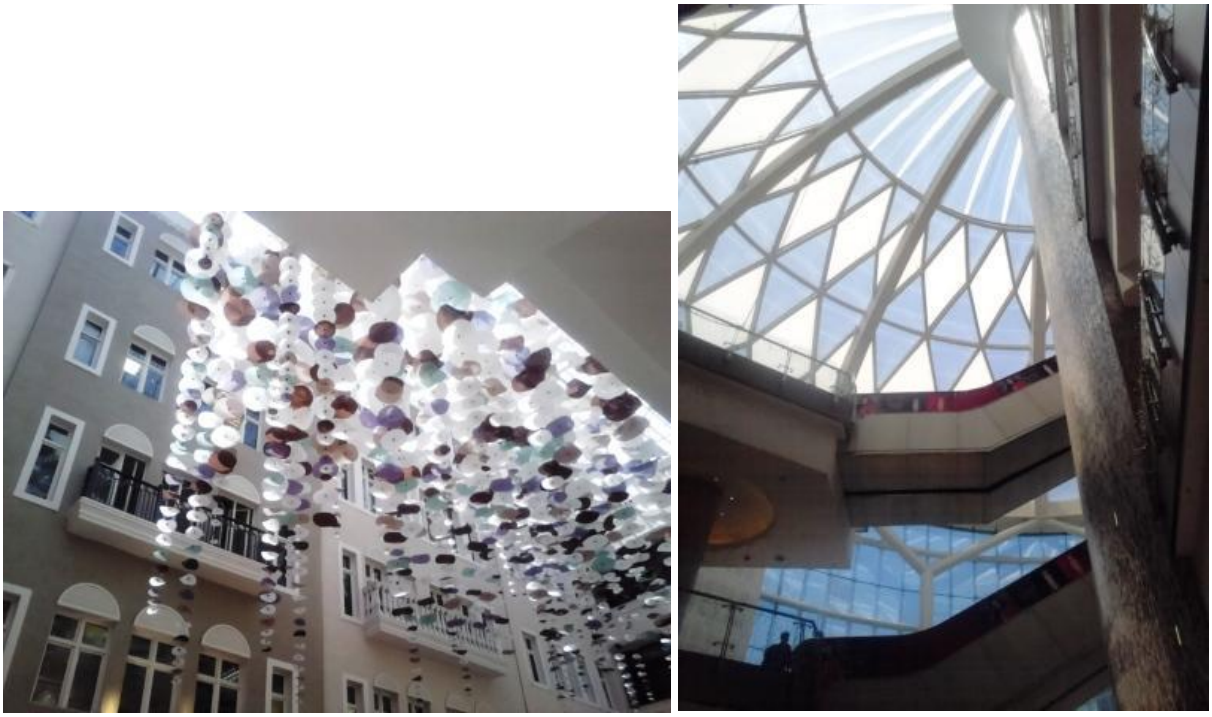


Figure 48: Two examples of light and its use at Sandton City.

At the time of doing the fieldwork for this research, Sandton Mall was being remodelled, and scaffolding was up on the entrance to Nelson Mandela Square. The billboards in figure 49 show two successive advertisements. Figure 49a represents a local advertiser, the casino that is an integral part of the hotel complex. Figure 49b is commissioned for H&M which at this time was launching a new, Sandton, outlet. I find fascinating the age, clothing and type of physical beauty represented by the models in each case, as also their represented interaction and gesture. Certainly H&M has chosen to exemplify a very Western discourse through the visual semiotics of this artifact, that would be shocking to any Islamic viewer, and that precludes any mimetism in the gaze of an African viewer. Its discourse, with respect to the racial, social and social-economic dynamics of South Africa can only be understood as totalising – effacing, in the same way as the architecture, any vestige of local context.



a)



b)

Figure 49: Successive views of the advertising surface outside of Nelson Mandela Square, Sandton.

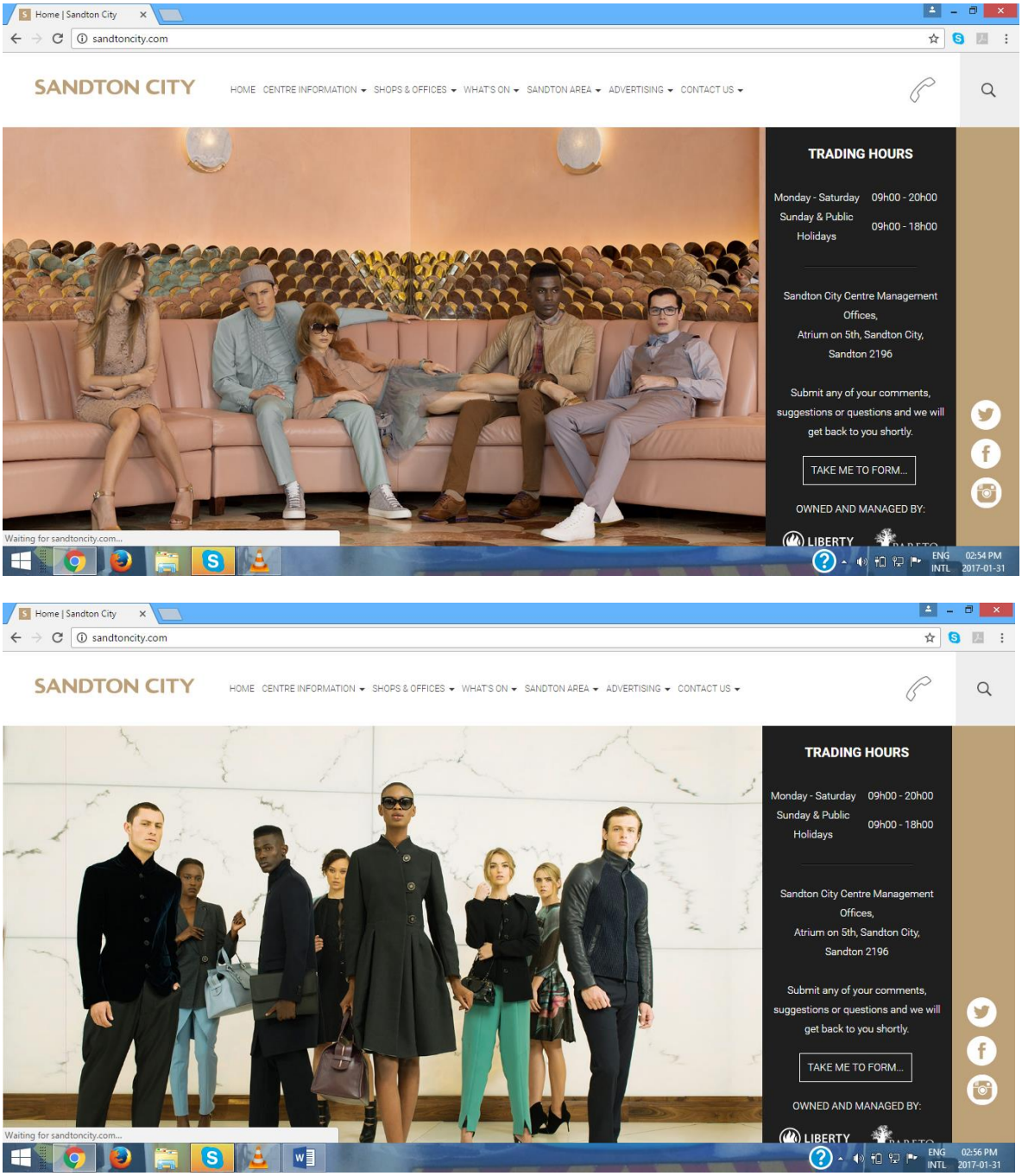


Figure 50: Two screen captures of the dynamic layout of the Sandton City website (http://sandtoncity.com/index.html accessed 07/02/2017).

And this discourse, of the foreign, the branded and the exotic, is what, finally, characterises the artifacts of the Sandton City mall. Certainly, when one turns to the artifacts of the virtual semiotic landscape this is the case. The webpage was recently redesigned, replacing what had been a fairly simple layout by various scroll-down menus that drop down over a revolving background image. Two of the five images used to compose the revolving layout are given in figure 50. There is an irony here, created by the overly stylised postures and choreography of the represented participants, as well as by the contrasting washes of colour. But the represented participants, although more plausibly concordant with South Africa's heterogeneity, are serious, actively taking part in this mise en scène,

veiling the ‘demand gaze’ of Kress’ analysis (Kress and Van Leeuwen 1996 : 119 - 159) with sunglasses, staging the mystery and the desire of conspicuous consumption.

Given the opportunity to directly express a discourse on the mall, the webpage is unambiguous, straightforward, unreflexive in its contrast with the realities of life for the vast majority of people in South Africa :

> Imagine a place where the likes of Hugo Boss and Louis Vuitton, Carrol Boyes and Apple showcase their very best ranges; a place where you can sip on the world's finest coffee or enjoy a French croissant or a slice of local milk tart - all under one roof.
>
> If you can imagine it, then you've pictured Sandton City, one of Africa's leading and most prestigious shopping centres. Sandton City offers an unparalleled shopping experience that combines the world's most desirable brands with everyday leisure and entertainment.
>
> […]
>
> With more than 300 leading local and international retailers, Sandton City is a one-of-a-kind premier fashion and leisure destination. It's an energetic hub of Afro-cosmopolitan glamour - international shopping with South African flair. Sandton City is owned by Liberty Group and Pareto Ltd and managed by JHI Retail. (http://sandtoncity.com/about-us.htm accessed 07/02/2017)

The SCC offers a similarly sparse, decomplexified discourse, both in and of its own artifacts, as through the continuity of the Convention Centre (which is managed under Tsogo Sun) with the other hotels and franchises of the Sun chain. This means that a simple typeface of chromed, ariel font, has been chosen (see figure 51). One can, further, note the role of bolding and positioning in this play of similarities and logos. The Convention Centre *hosts* events. It designs spaces to meet the specs of the clients and to offer facilities that are flagships of their brand or sector. Diverse political, religious and social configurations must be able to use the SCC with the same confidence and the same excellent quality of service. The sheer scale of the SCC halls can be gathered from the last photograph in figure 52.

Any discourse then, is effaced behind the services the SCC offers. It is for this reason too that the SCC is such a massive user of outsourced personnel. Certainly the outsourcing meeting that I participated in covered almost every conceivable aspect of service provision. The SCC also advertises, as does Sandton City, on behalf of clients. It therefore disposes of a series of banners in the streets contiguous to the centre that are regularly changed to reflect the events being hosted at the centre. Both the banners and the interior signage that are given in figure 52 indicate that any discourse at the level of the centre itself, reinforces only values such as availability, efficiency, reliability and exclusivity. It is once again therefore to the artifacts of its virtual space that one must turn for an indication of the discursive space of the SCC.



Figure 51: Two views of the façade for the Tsogo Sun Convention Centre and the Sandton Sun hotel, both are within a block of each other.



Figure 52: Views of the Sandton Convention Centre advertising banners, and of the interior of the centre.

Figure 53 gives two screenshots of the SCC webpage. Like the landing page of Sandton City this also has a revolving background and a series of drop down tabs. Unlike the Sandton City landing page though, it accompanies the revolving background with a series of soundbites concerning the SCC. These soundbites overlap each other as they are replaced, giving rise to interesting combinations of

sense and syntax. What is at issue of course is that whereas what is sought by the City is mimetism (the 'demand' gaze) what is sought by the SCC is to *exemplify*, to show. The represented participants – a rather uptight looking couple, and a stiffly dressed model – are just that…representative. Their value is that of *token*. Can they be taken then to offer a discursive interpretation? Only insofar as they bow to the South African imaginary on this level, which, stated crassly, could be resumed in that's it's okay to be heterogeneous, mixed, trans-category if you're young, beautiful and wealthy.

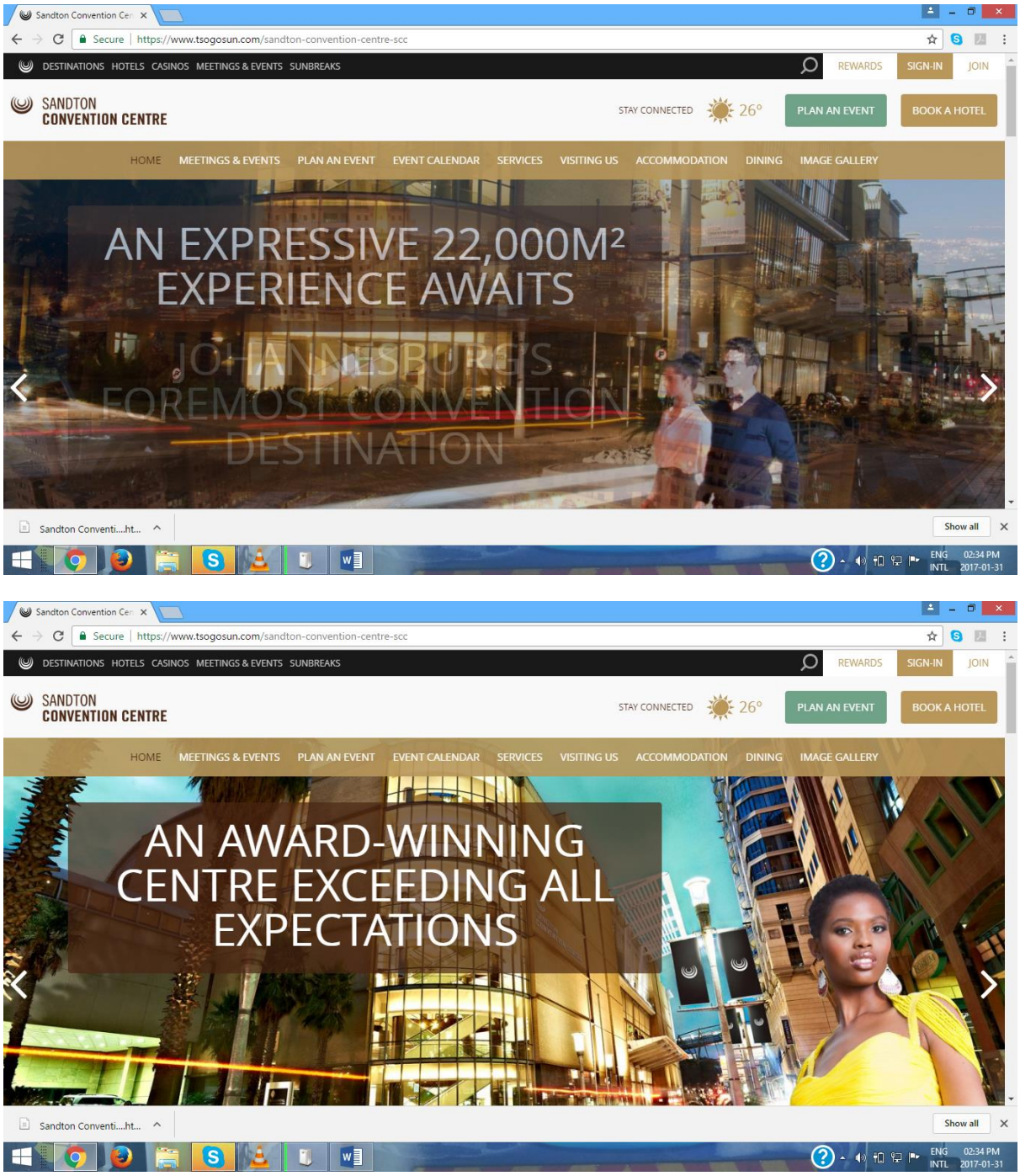


Figure 53: Two views of the revolving landing page banners of the Sandton Convention Centre webpage (https://www.tsogosun.com/sandton-convention-centre-scc accessed 07/02/2017).

Conclusions for discursive environment and artifacts of the semiotic landscape

The four institutions under study have adopted different discursive positions. Sandton City has a discourse that is largely pro-West, pro-affluence, pro-conspicuous consumption. The Advocates' group and the JSE have adopted positions that are pro-change, pro-transformation. The SCC obviates both of these positions to focus on service provision and market-sector related discourses that, nevertheless, do capture something of the South African imaginary and its social, demographic and economic exclusion. The discourses that we have discussed in this section could also be read against Sandton as a whole. Sandton, as a district, with its own management, logistics and services, is marked by a particularly pro-active and self-conscious way of doing things. An event such as the CEO sleepout (S'Thembile 2015), that sees all of the CEO's of all of the firms spend a night in the street to raise money for outreach projects, is an example of discursive coherence at this level. And the aim, certainly, of chapter 1, was to give an introduction to some of these other macro positionings and discourses.

Macro-level demographic categories

Not all of the institutions under study had complete information as to their associates and employees, and of those that did, not all could share it with me, for the same reasons of confidentiality that have so profoundly marked the methodological changes of this chapter. Of those that did have information, and could share it with me, it must be borne in mind that the information, as presented, is for some, only the tip of the iceberg. Both the SCC and Sandton City make massive recourse to outsourcing, and through the veil of service provision companies, can efficiently mask the true dynamics of the employment situation on the ground…what it means to work within that hierarchy and how gender, age, race and social status intersect.

The graphs that are provided in figures 54 to 65 have been compiled using the data that was sent to me by the respective HR heads or collated from public databases, and I would like to very warmly thank Mandy from the JSE, and Shantal from the SCC who facilitated this information. Megan from Sandton City who has been incredibly helpful in granting access to this research, and in supporting it with documentation, felt that this information should not be publicly available, and her view has been respected. I was asked by the Advocates' group to compile any information myself from the profiles on their website and I have therefore added to those figures more reliable graphs that I collated using data from the Department of Justice (Department of Justice and Constitutional Development 2017) concerning advocates specifically, both at the Johannesburg High Court, and nationally. I would like to start with this Group (see figures 54 – 60 below), and then move on to the situation at the JSE, and the SCC.

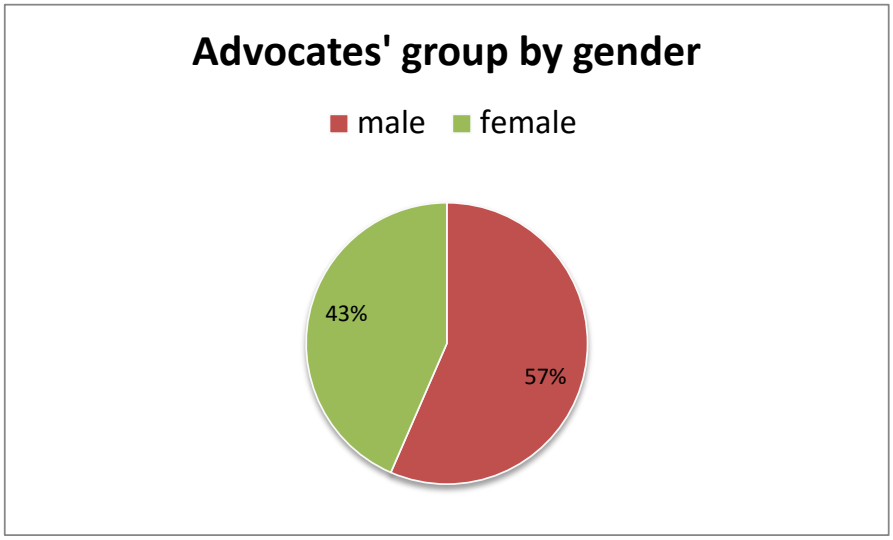


Figure 54: Breakdown of the Advocates' group by gender.

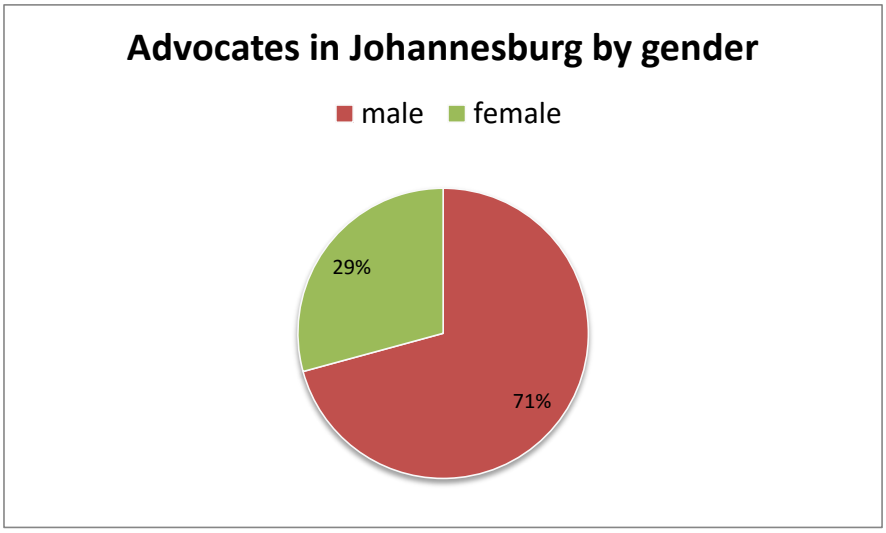


Figure 55: Advocates in Johannesburg by gender.

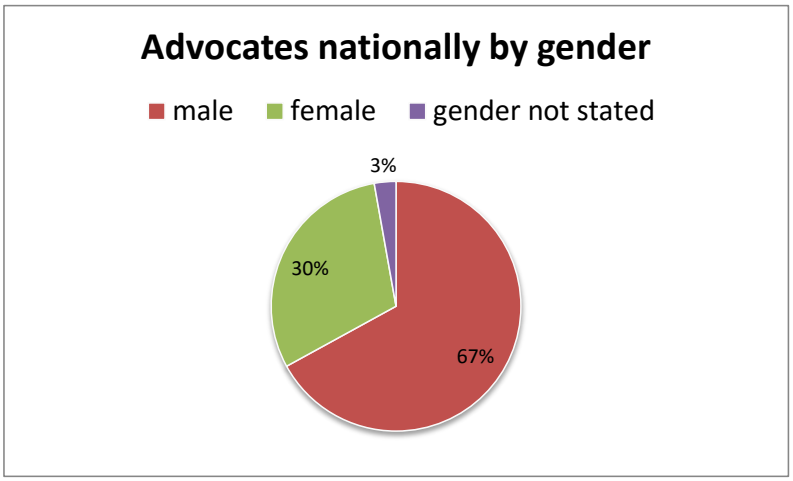


Figure 56: Advocates nationally by gender.

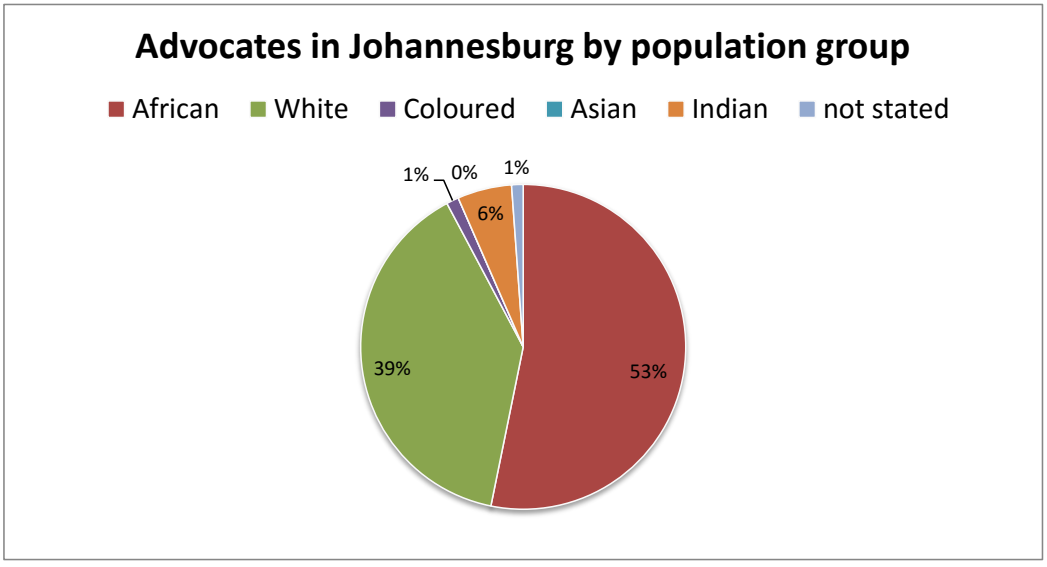


Figure 57: Advocates in Johannesburg by population group.

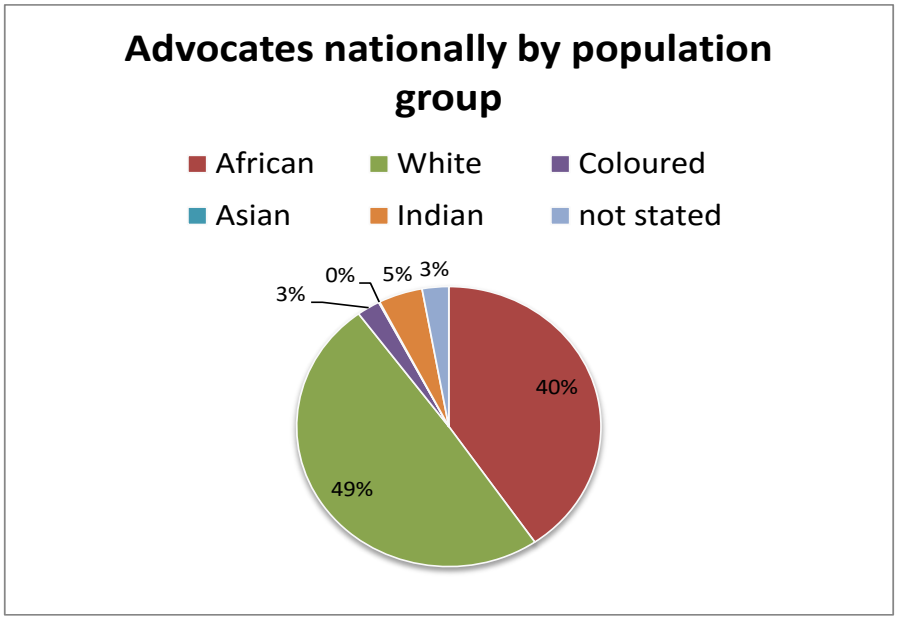


Figure 58: Advocates nationally by population group.

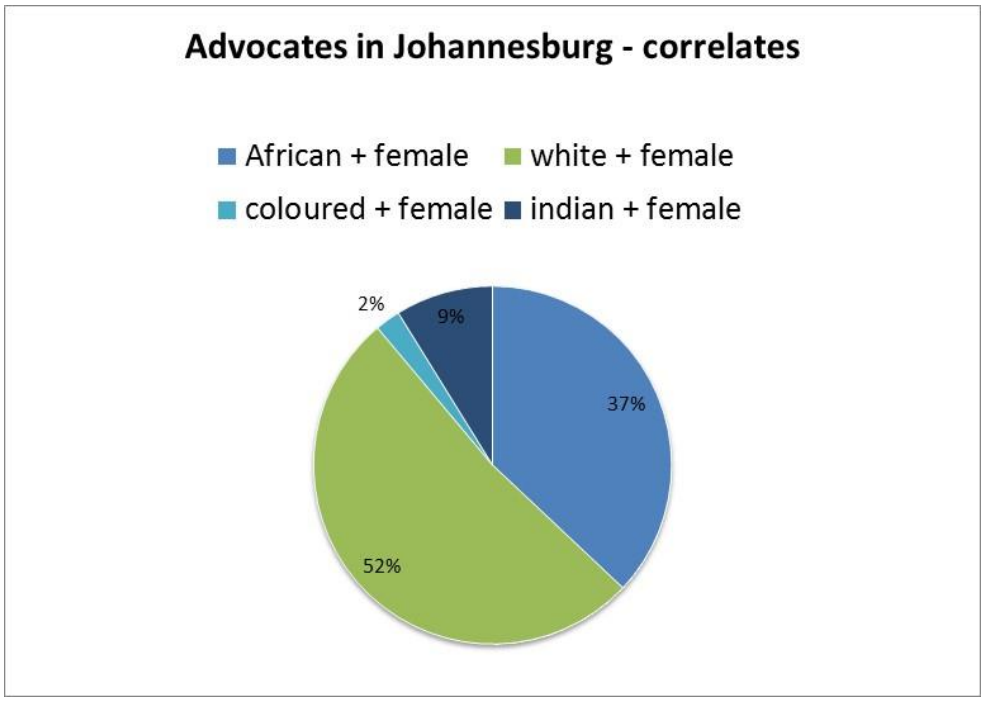


Figure 59: Advocates in Johannesburg correlated by gender.

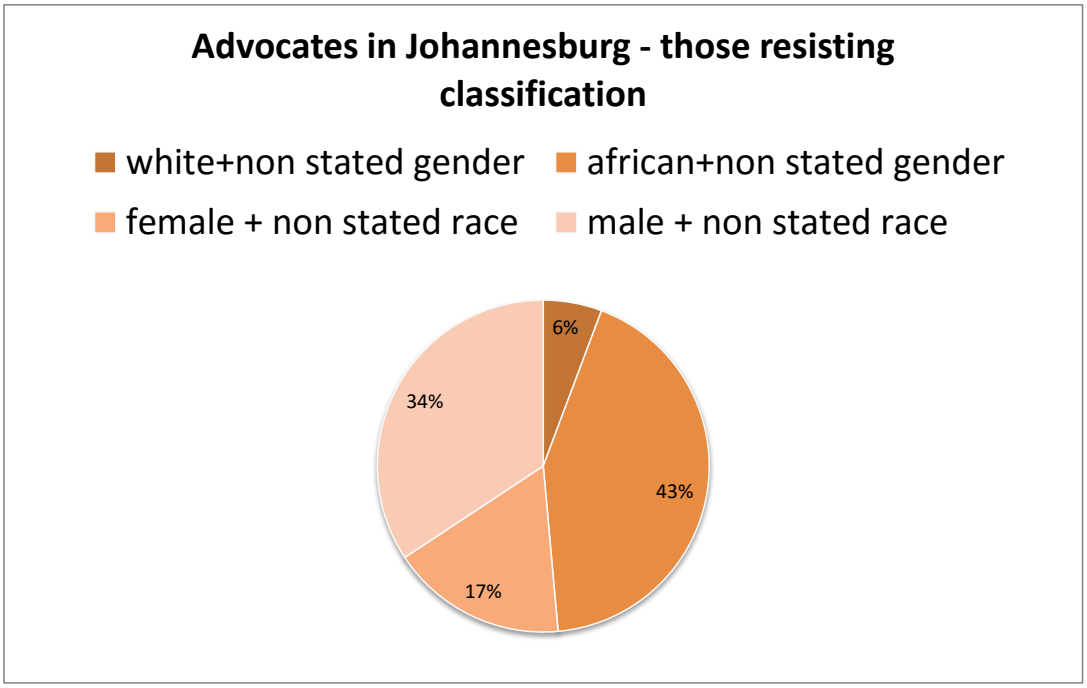


Figure 60: Advocates in Johannesburg...those resisting classification! (1.9% of sample).

The above figures 54 – 61, should be read as representative of a sector, and of a specific group within that sector. Advocates are self-employed, they are specialised in a branch of the law, and since they operate in the high courts they are closer to law making through interpretation of the law, or jurisprudence. What is immediately striking is the gender split in the profession, and how this plays out nationally, locally and in the specific group under study. Both nationally and regionally men outweigh women by 7 to 3. Against this, the group that we are studying has a 57% / 43% split. This accords with the pro-transformation discourse of this group as sketched above, as also with the strength of the theme of gender in the stories of the participant that will be given below. In a similar vein, in Johannesburg, the split between white and black advocates is approximately 4 to 5 that is much more progressive than the national split white/black of 5 to 4. I did however, out of interest, collate the Department of Justice data for some correlates. It's noteworthy that within the broad categories of gender and race, other intersections come to the fore. Thus, white advocates are 52% female, compared with black advocates that are 63% male. What is at issue is not so much the drawing of some kind of cultural, ethnic or racial propensity, but rather understanding the unequal access that different cohorts have to education, specialisation and professionalism. On this note, it is fascinating to note that *resistance* to classification (see figure 60 above) is more widespread among male respondents, and black African respondents. The reasons for this resistance could be multiple, but certainly a respondent will usually avoid classification where he or she fears discrimination for membership of a category that is either over, or under-represented.

In line with the Advocates' group, that has sought greater parity and representation in what is evidently a mostly male-dominated sector with strong racial disjunctures, the JSE have achieved a fairly balanced workforce in their 'professionally qualified' cohort, but this equality does tend to disappear when when moves up or down the scale of employment position (see figures 61 and 62 below).

JSE personnel breakdown

		MALE				FEMALE				FOREIGN				
Categories	Grade	AF	C	I	W	AF	C	I	W	M	F	Total	Ave Age	Ave Tenure
Unskilled and defined decision making	03-Jan					3						3	56	21
Semi-skilled and discretionary decision making	07-Apr	4	1			2	1					8	50	17
Skilled technical and academically qualified workers, junior management, supervisors, foremen, superintendents	11-Aug	45	2	11	7	56	12	16	17			166	35	5
Professionally qualified, experienced specialists and mid-management	14-Dec	36	10	30	48	24	4	24	50	3	2	231	39	7
Senior management	15 - 16	4	1	3	28	1	2	6	18	1	0	64	45	12
Top management	Exco	2			3		1	1	3		1	11	48	11
		91	14	44	86	86	20	47	88	4	3	483	39	7

Figure 61: Breakdown of the personnel of the JSE.

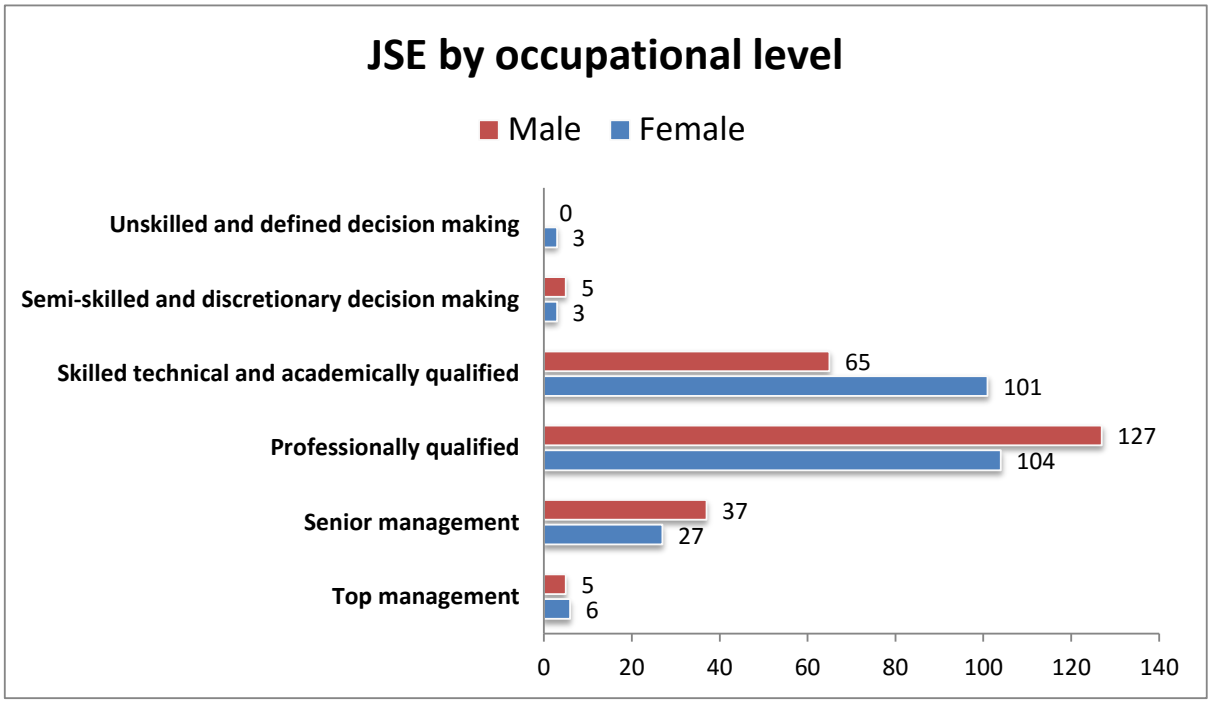


Figure 62: Breakdown of personnel of the JSE by gender and occupational level only.

As should be clear, in senior management, whites outnumber blacks by almost twenty to one in the female cohort, and seven to one in the male cohort. This is diametrically opposed to the figures for skilled technical and academically qualified personnel. A similar split is provided in figure 62 by the gender split at skilled, professional and senior levels. Indeed, the employment figures at the JSE portray a complex picture of personnel growth and transition. It is a picture that Geoff Rothschild talks

about when discussing the move of the JSE from downtown Johannesburg to Sandton. It is also a picture that Nicky Newton-King refers to both in her discussion of length of tenure, but also in her person, and the story (transcript 5, segment 7) in which she considers social change. Categories combine and overlap, thus Nicky, Tebogo and Cleola, the participants at the JSE, are at once good instances of the JSE's responsiveness to transition on certain levels, but not others. This intersection of category and discourse for the JSE will be discussed in the next section.

The SCC, finally, provided me with data that is hard to analyse in the absence of correlates (see figures 63 to 65 below).

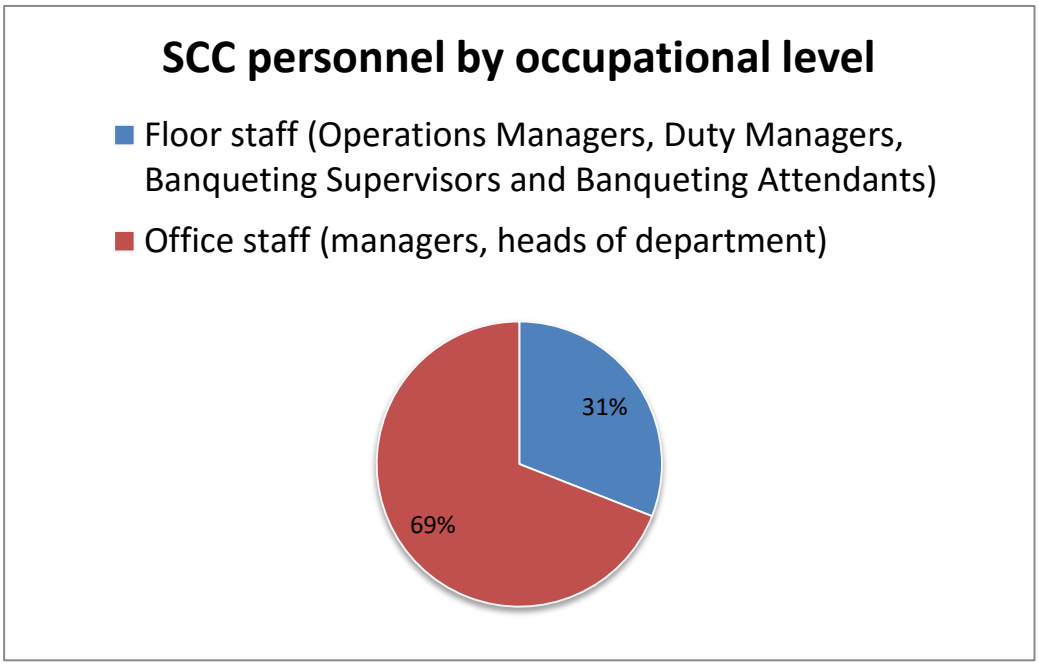


Figure 63: Breakdown of the SCC by occupational level.

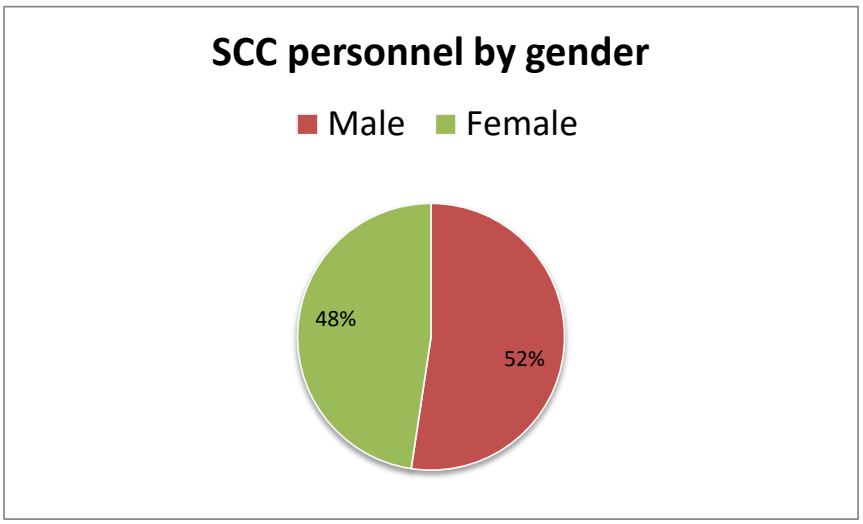


Figure 64: Breakdown of the SCC by gender only.

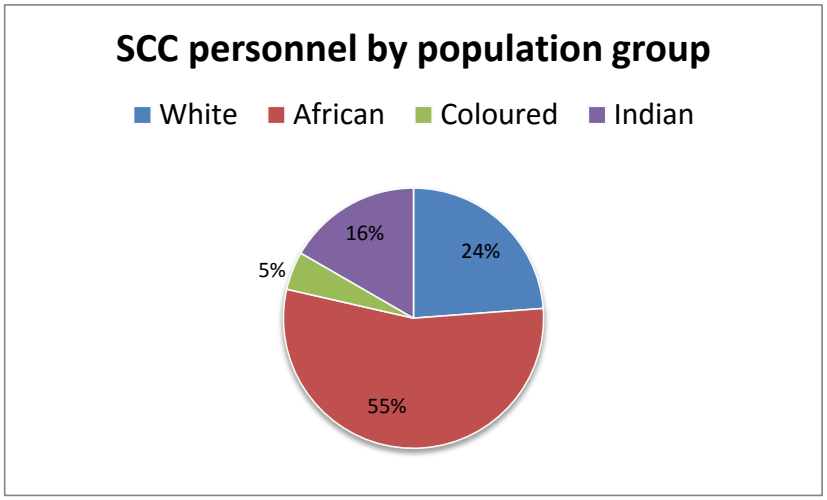


Figure 65: Breakdown of the SCC by population group.

In figure 63 one must think of 'floor staff' as being skilled and of office staff as being academically qualified, for, as I have noted, the SCC has recourse to outsourcing, which means that floor staff are coordinating events, whilst the office staff are booking and administrating costs, budgets, attendance lists etc. Gender is at near parity, which is also something that I witnessed myself in the meetings I participated in. Personnel numbers by race group (see figure 65 above), in the absence of correlates, and since outsourcing personnel are excluded, could have several different interpretations.

Conclusions for macro-level demographic categories

To sum up the discussion of this section, one can note that both the institution (as given by four companies) and the broader national sphere, are still marked by structural differences and inequalities. The space of Sandton generally is masculine, business-orientated and marked by socio-economic disparity. The outsourced semi-skilled work force is huge and little accounted for. In-house it is harder to accede to senior management positions if one is female, and harder if one is a black and female. Some sectors such as the finance sector favour a large proportion of qualified personnel that may be more balanced in terms of gender and population group, others, such as legal representatives, are markedly male and African male dominated.

Positionality – the meso (storytelling and local, ethnographically specific cultural positions and roles)

With respect to the genres, discourses and demographics of the previous section, the task at hand is to now examine the narrative interaction of the participants to this study. Reconciling Bucholtz and Hall's framework (2005) with small story research, at this level, means accepting a two-fold analysis: on the one hand an understanding of habituality and recurrence at the local level in terms of roles and positions, and on the other hand the alignment of interlocutors and their doing being of identity within categorisation, discourse and process that would tend to forefront the specific narrative interaction but which would move beyond that. And it is the combination of orientation to someone's insertion within macro *categories* with the content and unfolding of the story within macro *discourses and processes*, that we will be pursuing here. It is therefore in line with the difference in narrative activity between the JSE and the Advocates' Group on the one hand, and the SCC and Sandton City, that we will continue to structure the discussion of positioning that follows. Given the two-fold nature of analysis mentioned above, I will be looking at identity and category under the genre of accounts, hierarchy and role under the genre of breaking news and shared stories, and in both cases linking this up to discourse and process.

Accounts and story-telling

Accounts: categories and origins

We begin with the genre of account, and the implications for identity work, as this extends, through categorisation, to discourses and processes. The identity work that we will focus on is the question of origin, of the way that participants orient to their categorisation, which, in South Africa, means age, gender and race primarily. The socio-economic or the possession of cultural capital (see Bourdieu 1984) are subsumed to these categories in a process of overlap that, terribly, twenty years after the end of Apartheid, remains startingly accurate. Although there has been some change and an increasing demographic of flow and flux, of which the promotion of Fourways as economic hub, and GVA flight towards places such as this, as discussed in chapter 1, are an example, the rule remains. A participant can therefore position him or herself with respect to macro categories through a mention of their origins. I would like to engage with this positioning by turning, first, to the Advocate's accounts.

The genre of the account, as was noted above, in chapter 4, is particularly suited to repair of alignment. As such it well fits the needs of institutional discourse, where it serves as exemplar, as justification, and as a support that is recipient designed (see De Fina 2009). Indeed, as noted in the introduction to the stories in Appendix 2-4, that were compiled for this chapter, often the accounts that constitute narrative activity per se are very small, even for small stories, and quickly subsumed into surrounding talk about ethos and world view. De Fina and Georgakopoulou link genre and community of practice in their introduction to a special issue of Text & Talk, (2008b):

> […] relationships between tellings and contexts are complex, dynamic, and multifaceted: not only is storytelling shaped by specific cultural values but also conducive to the construction of a cultural-professional identity in tune with the stated ethos of the company, i.e., to an extent 'pre-allocated' and prescribed by the context. (De Fina and Georgakopoulou 2008b : 279).

And it is within this ethos, and the macro processes, discourses and categories that the question of origins is framed, and oriented to by participants, in what is a play on indexicality and relationality. To be born in a place is to be born in a specific racial and socio-economic environment (see Dlamini 2009 for a further discussion of this point). Reference to one's origins is thus a resource, an index that can be mobilised efficiently within the context of interaction. In the case of the Advocate, what is most noticeable in her story telling, is her use of pronouns, an example of those 'shifters' that are famously discussed by Benveniste (2011 [1974]), but which, for our purposes, indicate the negotiation of subject position (see Phoenix 2013). Within the three segments that have been transcribed for the Advocate (below and in Appendix 2-4-3), the story that talks about her growing up (transcript 1, segment 5) is in the first person (see excerpt 16 below). The question of gender and of discourses about masculinity/femininity is treated in a personal way, that does however contain a shift in line 51 to the focuser, 'you know' and then in line 57 to the generalising, phatic, 'you'. This shift is much more pronounced in transcript 2 (segment 6), where almost the entire story of parenting and change after Apartheid is narrated in the second person and in the past simple. In the third story (transcript 3, segment 10), which is one of a case that the participant won against President Zuma, she shifts from first person singular, to the inclusive first person plural, but with a continuing use of the focuser 'you know' that is, in some ways, a marker, also, of the interview context and the fact that this participant wants to be clearly understood.

Transcript excerpt 16 : Advocate segment 5) of Appendix 2-4-3

Teller and story: The Advocate is telling a story of her growing up, and of her father who wasn't stable with women. As a result the Advocate grew up in a largely male space. The things she learned in that environment are being relearnt as a professional in Sandton (especially the gendered role of listener).
Participants: Advocate and William.
Occasioning: Since this was a one-on-one interview, I was using the questionnaire in appendix as schedule and eliciting stories from the participant about her environment growing up.
Actions and events during telling: The Advocate and William are sitting in her office at the table she reserves for meetings with clients.

5	Advocate	look I (..) grew up in a hou:se with
6	(1.6)	
7	William	mmhum
8	Advocate	at some point with ffive brothers I was the only girl cause my [sisters the two
9		were (....) older they were gone
10	William	[yeh
11	Advocate	the younger ones were not born yet
12	(0.8)	
13		[so:: (.)→
14	William	[right
15	Advocate	yah I'm very comfortable in a male sp- sma- male space [because
16	William	[yeh
17	(0.8)	
18	Advocate	you know that's:
19	(2.2)	
20		or I suppose **more comfortable** than most women
21	(0.9)	
22	William	oh you reckon hey
23	Advocate	oh absolutely because (..) agh that's what you kno:↓w like you know I mean=
24	William	=yeh
25	(1.0)	
26	Advocate	cause for example the reason why I don: (..) **touch** people you know is
27		because of that (....) distance
28	(0.5)	
29	William	**yeh**
30	Advocate	of just being in a male space [because
31	William	[yeh
32	Advocate	as when my father wasn't (....) tsk >what you call< aah he **wasn't** stable with
33		women so they were always [changing
34	William	[yeh
35	Advocate	so I wasn't **clo:ser** to **any** woman >including my mother because I was moving
36		with my father< so
37	(1.0)	
38		hh then the male space was just the (....) the comfortable one because **then**
39		you know you don't have to feel things >or at least not< (....) be exp**ressi**ve
40		and (...) you just have to **talk** and let it **be** so I think (....) yeh↑
41	William	yeh
42	Advocate	that's why I'm comfortable with **that** space •hh (....) >but I mean< **look** (..) now
43		obviously being olde:r
44	(1.2)	
45		hhh
46	(1.1)	
47		almost all my close friends are female now

48	William	yeh
49	Advocate	so there's **that** shift now where I'm supposed to no:w learn all the:se
50	(1.1)	
51		you know↑ **things**↓ you know like
52	William	yeh
53	Advocate	**list**eni:ng **prop**er:ly: for a person (..) >you know you know< like with men th-
54		men
55	(0.6)	
56	William	[yeh it's much more (....) yeh
57	Advocate	[actually me:n don't even prefe::r you to say anything (....) but if you say
58		something they don't expect you to have answers (..) while with women ·hh
59		(....) you can **listen** because they don't wanta **act**
60	(0.7)	
61		[they just want to **talk** and your like **why** you telling me you know so
62	William	[yeh
63	Advocate	I think I think yeh↑ I'm getting the (...) yah I'm getting schooled
64	((laughter))	

Transcript excerpt 17 : Advocate segment 6) of Appendix 2-4-3

Teller and story: The Advocate is telling a story of her growing up, and of the living conditions/access of her parents.

Participants: Advocate and William.

Occasioning: Since this was a one-on-one interview, I was using the questionnaire in appendix as schedule and eliciting stories from the participant. At this stage I had asked her specifically about conspicuous consumption and the space of Sandton.

Actions and events during telling: The Advocate and William are sitting in her office at the table she reserves for meetings with clients.

1	William	[...] in Europe I mean I spent **many** years of my life just kind of like living like a
2		**hobo** ((laughs))
3	Advocate	yeh yeh yeh (...) look I [mean
4	William	[·hhhh >and I and I and I< I find it I find
5	(0.7)	
6		I'd love you to unpack that feeling of of (..) of an un-reflexive (....) desire fo:r
7		accumulation I I I I don't have I mean >I don't have< so I'd love you to talk
8		more about it you know
9	Advocate	oo:↑w I don't [know man I think I think I think look uhm
10	William	[°you know (...) yeh
11	(2.4)	
12	Advocate	what happens as you grew (...) [grew up is that **you** grow up in a (..) family
13		where
14	William	yeh
15	Advocate	there was not even **access** for your parents right
16	William	yeh
17	Advocate	but I mean
18	(0.7)	
19		ug(h) <that's why they take you to school> because **they** know that whatever
20		they've **tried** isn't working
21	William	yeh
22	Advocate	so then you become that ho:pe right (...) but ·hhh they wa- also wa:nt to
23		acquire things (....) through you as you get
24	(1.0)	
25		things you know [they want you to improve their lives
26	William	[right
27	Advocate	because there were certain things that (..) were just a no-go (..) you know
28	William	yeh
29	Advocate	for example (..) none of my parents could be lawyers because the law didn't
30		allow it
31	William	[okay
32	Advocate	[so even if they wa:nted to
33	William	yah
34	Advocate	it just couldn't have happened (.) but the thing is the fact that **I** ca:n (...) it also
35		means what **I can** (..) bring home right
36	William	[right↓
37	Advocate	[((unclear)) with **cha:nge** get a bigger house get this get whatever
38	William	yeh
39	Advocate	but the:n also for yourse:lf↑ you know (..) **now** that you've got these chances
40		you have to live up to (..) what they bring
41	William	yeh
42	Advocate	you know and **then** obviously
43	(1.2)	
44		the: most
45	(1.8)	
46		<overt **way**> in which you sw- so >I mean you show< it would be <through
47		material acquisition>
48	William	yeh

49	Advocate	**not** to show off but >for yourself you know< →
50	William	[yeh
51	Advocate	[you work you get you: (....) you know what I mean like it's >it's it's it's< (....)
52		almost a measure of progress
53	William	yeh
54	Advocate	ye:↑h so that's what it i:s
55	William	okay cool
56	Advocate	yeh
57	William	that's really interesting thanks
58	(1.1)	
59	Advocate	that's cool
60		

Transcript excerpt 18 : Advocate segment 10) of Appendix 2-4-3

Teller and story: The Advocate is telling a story of a case she worked on. The case was fought on behalf of City Press and their publication of artist Brett Murray's painting of Zuma called 'The Spear'. This painting depicted Zuma, the president of South Africa, with the fly on his trousers down, and his sex out.
Participants: Advocate and William.
Occasioning: Since this was a one-on-one interview, I had been using the questionnaire in appendix as schedule. At this point the schedule is completed and we are talking generally about her job in Sandton.
Actions and events during telling: The Advocate and William are sitting in her office at the table she reserves for meetings with clients.

18	Advocate	[ooph uh: I don't know man um:: what case I think I remember >I don't know<
19		(....) I think of o:ne (....) that [uh:
20	William	[yah
21	Advocate	when the artist (..) Brett Murray uh:: (..) painted a [picture of Zuma:
22	William	[**ohh:** yeh
23		yeh The Spear [yeh yeh yeh
24	Advocate	[yeh yeh yeh so: I got involved in tha:t and it was (.) s
25		special because in my in my first **mo:nths** of practice you know
26	William	**coo:l** yah tell me more↑
27	Advocate	and then I [wo:rked for city press with >a colleague of mine< Helen→
28	William	[yeh (....) yeh
29	Advocate	and obviously we we:re (...) **sued**↑ because (.) <**they** published the image> so
30		that the the City Press (.) guy went to the: (.) gallery
31	William	[yah
32	Advocate	[and then he: (.) took (.) the image and then he wrote a story and put the
33		image up so we were sued because the public dissemination really
34	(0.7)	
35		[then
36	William	[oh you were working for City Press=
37	Advocate	**yah** we were representing City Press [because no: most people would na-
38		never have found out about it if City Press didn't write the story ya↑
39	William	[right (....) ye:h (....) right
40	Advocate	so ya:h man that was cool because (...) what it did is that (...) I think it (.) spoke
41		more abou:t (....) the limits of ·hh (....) right to dignity
42	William	right nice=
43	Advocate	=on the o:ne fo:r the president [>because he was saying it's infringement but
44		then that versus< freedom of expression
45	William	[yah (....) yeh
46	Advocate	but freedom of expression in a different way where it's: (....) **art**
47	(1.2)	
48	William	[yeh

49	Advocate	[you know where (.) what you represent is not what you say with your mouth
50		(.) ordinarily
51	William	[yah
52	Advocate	[it's not (.) talk [you know it's not like I (.) insult you (..) **you**
53	William	[yeh (....) yeh
54	Advocate	but I use (.) another form
55	William	[yeh
56	Advocate	and how tha:t is still <taken to be expression nonetheless and ·hh it can
57		infr**ing**e> (..) >because that was the debate you know<
58	William	yeh=
59	Advocate	=was he saying
60	(1.2)	
61		**tha:t** (....) the genitals were that of Zuma **or** >was he saying something else
62		because he was< (.) he ↑wasn't talking you know
63	William	yah yah
64	Advocate	**art** speaks a different language from (..) the language [you and I speak
65	William	[yah yah
66	Advocate	·hh so I think ↑ya:h (.) that that was the fun part (..) you kno:w=
67	William	=jas- and what was your role as as a to just (.) to defend and did you: (...) and
68		did you: (..) [>did did did did< did you defend→
69	Advocate	[ya:h defend ya:h
70	William	[the City Press
71	Advocate	[yeh no no we defended them at the High Court obviously: then we:: (...) sort
72		of won because they withdrew a sort of sort of many things but we had to go:
73		to the f films and publications board
74	William	[right
75	Advocate	[because they are (..) you know a [newspaper and they are
76	William	[yah (..) yah
77	Advocate	bound by certain things so (...) the complaint there was tha:t (...) by us::
78		disseminating the picture (....) um: (.) what we did is that we:
79	(1.3)	
80		p potentially:: (...) published pornographic material so we had to- ↑no really
81		(....) yah [so we had to go into what→
82	William	[ya:h: ↑
83	Advocate	qualifies as pornographic material and whethe:r (....) thi:s was that and yah so
84		>it was fun< (..) we went to (..) [different forums
85	William	[and did yo- and on
86		that one did you::
87	Advocate	no >we won we won< [uh: (..) yah

But what to make of these shifts, in dealing with origins, and with this participant's sharp indexing of Apartheid, and post-Apartheid transition, of this phatic second person[17], and of the projection of this story onto the listener. This is a very patent example of control, where this participant not only accounts for her alignment with discourses of blackness and of transition, but also *designs* her story (Bauman and Briggs 1990)so as to involve her listener, to make the story 'mine' in a way, so that it may be reproduced, as it is here, and for its message to inform the content and analysis of this research. As both Bucholtz and Hall (2005) and De Fina (2013a) point out, this kind of design, and performance, operate at many levels. At the level of community of practice, this habile use of speech

[17] Following Benveniste (2010, 2011) these changes in operators to mark relation between interlocutors are called 'shifters'.

is a trademark of the legal profession, but this story also serves to differentiate this participant from her community of practice – because she is black, and she is a woman. At the level of genre this account is repairing this participants alignment in some way, but also serving to influence mine, to bring me into line with her ethos and her understanding of macro processes. Finally, it is marking also the differences that are there between us in this interview: of age, of culture, of language, of education and family. It is a resource that has been mobilised to differentiate, in the negotiation of roles that De Fina speaks about (De Fina 2009 : 242). And of course this differentiation occurs along the relational axis of adequation and distinction (see also tactics of intersubjectivity in Bucholtz and Hall 2004b) where a specific value is given to education and to conspicuous consumption.

The stories that I collected at the JSE offer a similar speaking back to the categories and discourses of South Africa. Both Tebogo and Nicky provided brief autobiographical stories (below, segments 1 and 3, and in Appendix 2-4-2). Both position themselves with respect to the spatial and the temporal, and deepen the theme of this section, which is the transformation to a post-Apartheid dispensation, and the contradictions this entails.

Transcript excerpt 19 : JSE, Nicky Newton-King segment 1) of Appendix 2-4-2

Teller and story: Nicky, the CEO of the Johannesburg Stock Exchange, is telling of her early education and career.
Participants: Nicky, Tebogo, Cleola and William.
Occasioning: This was a focus group situation where I prompted general talk about participant lives, the Johannesburg Stock Exchange, and Sandton as a district.
Actions and events during telling: Nicky, Tebogo, Cleola and William are sitting at a meeting table in the management floor of the Johannesburg Stock Exchange.

1	Nicky	·hh so I grew up in:: >I(h) I(h)< I started up (...) growing up in:: not far from
2		he↑(h)re uhm [when I was young→
3	William	[yah
4	Nicky	and moved to Cape when I was **eight**
5	(0.8)	
6		·hh uhm: a(h)nd then and then after studying hh uhm (..) here and
7		internationally >then I came to work at the JSE when I was about tw- I don't
8		know< when I was about [twenty-nine→
9	William	[yah
10	Nicky	but we were here in town
11	(0.9)	
12		·hhhh uh::m and I've been here ever since (..) uhm (..) which if you're counting
13		is twenty-one years (..) nearly 20 years [↑actually→
14	William	[yah
15	Nicky	·hh uhm an::d uh:(hh)m and ya:h I kno↑w uh it it's been it's been quite uh >I
16		consider myself a Capie< although I have to say I've spent most of adult life
17		here
18	William	is it hey
19	Nicky	ya:h

Transcript excerpt 20 : JSE, Nicky Newton-King segment 3) of Appendix 2-4-2

Teller and story: Tebogo, the information systems manager of the Johannesburg Stock Exchange, is telling of his early education and career.
Participants: Nicky, Tebogo, Cleola and William.
Occasioning: This was a focus group situation where I prompted general talk about participant lives, the Johannesburg Stock Exchange, and Sandton as a district.
Actions and events during telling: Nicky, Tebogo, Cleola and William are sitting at a meeting table in the management floor of the Johannesburg Stock Exchange.

1	Tebogo	uhm
2	(0.7)	
3		born and bred hh (...) in Johannesburg↑ ·hh
4	William	yeah
5	Tebogo	uh born Baragwanath hospital
6	(0.8)	
7		uh:: lived in Soweto most of my li:fe↑
8	(0.7)	
9		and then uhm as things changed in the country↑ (....) ·hh I started mo::vin:g
10		northwards (....) currently:: (..) live in Randburg: (...) work in Sandton (...)
11	William	yah huh
12	Tebogo	you know (.) and tha:t's: so:rt of ho:w I live

Tebogo is clear, his move from Soweto is explicitly linked to the changes wrought in the country. He sets in motion an alignment along the axis of authenticity (Bucholtz and Hall 2005 : 601). It is instructive to compare the use by Tebogo (in segment 3) of a reference to the iconic public hospital of Baragwanath[18], with the vaguer references employed by Nicky. Nicky's vagueness is reinforced by the frequent use of hedging, brusque changes in speed, and markers of hesitation such as the inbreaths and uhm's. It was my feeling at the time, and it still is, having composed these transcripts, that the participants were talking in parallel, in reference to different socio-historic processes. For Nicky, and for Geoff, their stories were prompted, I am sure, by what they felt were my research interests, and an effort to place themselves within the development and expansion of Sandton as a whole. It is thus that in segment 2, Nicky provides a story of her mother's experience of Sandton as a rural area of Johannesburg (Beryl's famous 'mink and muck' set):

Transcript excerpt 21 : JSE, Nicky Newton-King segment 2) of Appendix 2-4-2

Teller and story: Nicky, the CEO of the Johannesburg Stock Exchange, tells a story of her mother riding a horse in the early, preconstruction, days of Sandton. Her telling is joined in by Tebogo on the prompt of a Liberty Advertisement.
Participants: Nicky, Tebogo, Cleola and William.
Occasioning: This was a focus group situation where I prompted general talk about participant lives, the Johannesburg Stock Exchange, and Sandton as a district.
Actions and events during telling: Nicky, Tebogo, Cleola and William are sitting at a meeting table in the

[18] The Chris Hani Baragwanath Hospital is an iconic hospital that serves the SOWETO area of Johannesburg.

management floor of the Johannesburg Stock Exchange.

1	Nicky	ya:h
2	William	from Diagonal Street to::
3	Nicky	my mother used to ride a [**horse** ·hhh on Sandton City
4	William	[yah (....) ((laughs))
5	Nicky	[when my mother (..) when my mother was in→
6	Tebogo	[ah (...) okay
7	Nicky	[school (.) in (Roedean) she drove (.) she rode a horse >at Sandton< that that
8		uh that advert from (.) is it (.) uh=
9	William	[yah
10	Tebogo	[yes
11	Tebogo	=it's a Liberty ad
12	Nicky	**Liberty**↑ ad→
13	Tebogo	yes
14	Nicky	where they go backwards
15	Tebogo	>yes yes yes<
16	Nicky	she says >that's↑ where I was< [((laughter))
17	Tebogo	[go- ((laughter))
18	William	((laughter)) ·hhh↑
19	Tebogo	I think Beryl Porter had a:(h)also has (.) very similar stories about ↑how this
20		was [farmland and
21	William	[yah exactly yah
22	(1.0)	
23	Tebogo	so she does the [tours around Sandton for people
24	Nicky	[yeh

What is noteworthy in the above transcript is that Tebogo aligns himself with Nicky in this re-setting of Sandton, and of one's personal histories within this space, as shown at lines 11, 12 and 15, although one could note the role of media in this reconstruction. As such Tebogo is showing himself to not only be aware, but also to position himself positively with respect to this history. There is a duplex quality though in this alignment, for Tebogo is also very forthright about his roots in Soweto and his origins (see lines 5 – 7 segment 3) and the socio-economic transformation that his own trajectory represents. This capacity to position oneself simultaneously with respect to two different discourses is thought provoking, and in many ways ties in with the discourse of the company itself, and its alignment with history and solidity simultaneously with other values such as flexibility and technology. The JSE runs a specific kind of market, and in the accounts of Nicky and of Geoff (see transcripts 6 – 10 of Appendix 2-4-2) this comes very much to the fore.

Within this context, Nicky offers repair of her alignment in transcript 5 (segment 7) lines 22 – 35 where she recounts both the experiences of her foster daughter and of the reactions of her family. This section offers at once a ratification of Tebogo's story of his origins and an interesting change in footing with Nicky foregoing her role as 'principal' (see Goffman 1981 : 145) in a production format that emphasises her foster daughter's own words and feelings. That Nicky feels authorised to do this, to represent this foster daughter, is perhaps one of the aims of the story, for it aligns Nicky with this

theme of socio-economic transformation and places her on the axis of adequation with regard to Tebogo and, by extension, to the story the Advocate was telling.

Transcript excerpt 22 : JSE, Nicky Newton-King segment 7) of Appendix 2-4-2

Teller and story: Nicky, the CEO of the Johannesburg Stock Exchange, tells of the generational gap and the chances afforded her foster daughter, compared with those of her mother.
Participants: Nicky, Tebogo, Cleola and William.
Occasioning: This was a focus group situation where I prompted general talk about participant lives, the Johannesburg Stock Exchange, and Sandton as a district. Here I had introduced a point from my interview with the Advocate.
Actions and events during telling: Nicky, Tebogo, Cleola and William are sitting at a meeting table in the management floor of the Johannesburg Stock Exchange.

1	Nicky	[...] bu- but if what she's **meaning** to say (.) or °you know she's [meaning to say
2		is
3	William	[ye:h
4	Nicky	is that it's comple:tely fai(h)r to [aspire (.) to to to climb **the socio-economic**
5	William	[yeah (..) yeah (.) I think yeah(h) the fact that h- yeah
6	Nicky	I think that's completely fair [·hh and a proper ·hh
7	William	[yeah
8	Nicky	and **all of us** in(h) business and government should be: ·hh **want**ing to create
9		an environment where it is **pos**sible for people >not only to< aspire but to
10		ach**ie:ve** ·hh →=
11	William	=mm right
12	Nicky	progresh- ·hh progressively **hi:gher** um socio-economic aspiratio↓ns
13	William	yah=
14	Nicky	=okay so (.) so that ↑that's fair and I can u(h)nderstand why: <in a very tricky>
15		socio-economic [space that might feel like→
16	William	[°yah
17	Nicky	one is achieving at the **cost** of [somebody else
18	William	[•hh yah
19	Nicky	o::↑r that one is suddenly leaving one's: um: fa:mily behind >you moved up
20		the [ladd(h)er and →
21	William	[yah
22	Nicky	people- and your mother is still a domestic worker °okay but but (..) but I(h) if I
23		look at my u(h)m >if I look at my< foster daughter I've had I(h)::: have a **black**
24		foster daughter who is (.) >you know< twenty-**seven** now ·hh and I: brought
25		her up since s::he was si:- **four** she was more educated than her mother and
26		her grandmother (...) but **both** of them came to me when she was four and
27		said we **nee:d** you (..) to help her on this path (...) ·hh so (.) they would hu-
28		hate for Mandy to think (...) uh(h) to be **guilty** that she is on a path in fact↑
29		Mandy looks at it and says ·hh I'm on this path I am so much better educated
30		than **my** mother and **my** grandmother I have now things I: I >have a
31		responsibility< ·hh to help upl- to uplift **he:r** socio-economically so so granny's
32		not going to become a uh computer scientist ·hh but granny's not going to live
33		in a **shack** because Mandy can help her because she's now gone up the ladder
34		do >do you know what I mean< so (.) if >**that's** what she's expressing< I can
35		understand that that that as one mo:ves:
36	William	yah(h)
37	Nicky	·hh but I hh but I(hh) I mean it shocks **me** to sort of express it in the sense o::f
38		(.) capacity to **su**ffer I I I
39	William	·hh that's also why I me- I was in**terro**gating you hh you know [what do you
40		wha-

41	Tebogo	yah ((short laugh)) because I was actually thinking she- it's probably: (.) >she
42		was talking about< the **willingness** to [sacrifice ·hhh you know if you look at
43		our history
44	William	[yah (...) mm
45	Tebogo	you know um as South Africans we've been **willing** to sacrifice for a greater
46		good ·hh you know and and I think to Nicky's point ·hh our culture also speaks
47		to neve:r leaving: anybody behind you know if if you make it in life ·hh you
48		know it becomes your responsibility ·h for the younger brother for for the next
49		ge- generation to (.) **bring** them along as well °you know so ·hh um I think
50		**yah**(h) maybe: she was misunderstood

I mentioned in the overview to the stories of this chapter that Thobile's transcripts offer one example of an account. This is transcript 1) (segment 3 1) that is both an account (by Thobile's colleague) of why she was late, involving her disposal of the sum of R39,000, and breaking news in that it recounts their supervisor's reactions and their effect on Thobile's shift. In the previous chapter 4, we dealt with participants who used code switching. In lines 1 – 54 the account of why the colleague who was supposed to relieve her arrived late is done in isiZulu predominantly, but interspersed with times and quantities in English, as well as certain idiomatic expressions such as, "late to begin with" at line 30 (see Lafon 2005 for a discussion of Gauteng isiZulu). The origins of the two colleagues are here clearly being marked by the choice of language, and these origins overlap with their locally defined role as consultants at the mall, and with the discourse of the mall in respect to foreign prestige brands and an exotic shopping experience. This overlapping of language choice and discourse is seen at line 56 (line 57 in the isiZulu/English version) where Thobile switches to English to greet the musician Richard, who is Venda. In fact, this switch to English occupies lines 56 – 127 and intercalates the story of the colleague's lateness. In the next section we will examine this extract in greater depth, but at this point what should be retained is the mobilisation of a resource that marks origins, and that simultaneously is used to align interlocutors. In this case, both Thobile and her colleague, even if late, have an in-group (the axis of 'adequation') that is indexed through language choice.

Transcript excerpt 23 : Thobile segment 3 1) of Appendix 2-4-1 (transcription in English followed by transcription of the original isiZulu/English code mix)

Teller and story: Thobile, an information officer at the Sandton City Mall,talks to her colleague at the Sandton City Mall who tells a story to explain why she was late. She had to drop off ZAR 39,000 in cash.
Participants: Thobile, a female colleague and a musician.
Occasioning: The female colleague is relieving Thobile late. She explains her lateness and also why the Supervisor was shouting at her.
Actions and events during telling: Thobile is logging out of the information and coupon software that she uses on her workstation in order for the female colleague, who has just arrived, to be able to log in.

English

1	Thobile	what ti↑me is it
2	(1.5)	
3	((inaudible))	
4	Thobile	I need to know what time is it
5	Female colleague	did your phone switch off
6	(0.9)	
7	Thobile	it just lost time
8	(0.8)	
9	Female colleague	it's before five
10	(0.9)	
11	Thobile	((inaudible))
12	Female colleague	wait let me check for you
13	(1.5)	
14		[(supervisor) shouted at me
15	Thobile	[oh a-
16	(1.6)	
17		oh aski:es
18	(1.5)	
19		why was shouting this time because of lunch
20	Female colleague	mmm:
21	(4.2)	
22	Thobile	and another thing is ((inaudible)) ended up [returning to fetch the numbers
23	Female colleague	[mm:
24	(0.9)	
25		nah ah (.) it went bad before that I was supposed to get here at twelve but I
26		got here at half past one
27	(0.4)	
28	Thobile	ehe
29	(0.7)	
30	Female colleague	so she was saying why (...) I took my lunch late to begin with
31	(0.6)	
32	Thobile	you took lunch late
33	Female colleague	**mm:** (.) why I relieved you late instead of relieving you at twelve
34	(1.2)	
35	Thobile	what were you doing re↑ally ((inaudible))
36	Female colleague	I had a lot of money and had to go and drop it off first before coming here
37	Thobile	[oh::
38	Female colleague	[I had thirty nine thousand something (...) close to forty thousand I had to go
39		drop (.) first
40	(2.0)	
41	Thobile	so why isn't (supervisor) understanding that you had to go drop it off first
42	Female colleague	you know how (supervisor) is when she doesn't want to understand
43	(0.6)	
44	Thobile	but I was expecting you at twe↓lve
45	(0.4)	
46	Female colleague	mm::
47	(1.3)	
48		(supervisor) was busy shouting >shouting shouting< (...) and I just listened to
49		her >shouting shouting shouting< and I said sorry:
50	Thobile	mm::
51	(0.9)	

52		weren't you supposed to drop off that money
53	(1.4)	
54		yes↑
55	(0.4)	
56	Male musician	how are you
57	Thobile	I'm okay
58	(0.7)	
59	Male musician	◦I'm fine (..) my name's Richard

		Isizulu / English
1	Thobile	what ti↑me is it
2	(1.5)	
3	((inaudible))	
4	Thobile	I need to know what time is it
5	Female colleague	iphone yakho icimile
6	(0.9)	
7	Thobile	ilahle is'khathi
8	(0.8)	
9	Female colleague	it's before five
10	(0.9)	
11	Thobile	((inaudible))
12	Female colleague	yima ithi ngikucheckele
13	(1.5)	
14		[azange ang'rasele kanje u(supervisor)
15	Thobile	[oh a-
16	(1.6)	
17		oh aski:es
18	(1.5)	
19		ak'raselelani manje, yindaba ye
20	Female colleague	mmm:
21	(4.2)	
22	Thobile	ende enye into angisho usale wajika ((inaudible)) [wazolanda amanumber
23	Female colleague	[mm:
24	(0.9)	
25		nah ah (.) imosheke k'dala lento le bekufanele ukuthi ngifike la ngo twelve
26		ngifike half past one vele
27	(0.4)	
28	Thobile	ehe
29	(0.7)	
30	Female colleague	so uthi why (...) ngithathe ilunch late to begin with
31	(0.6)	
32	Thobile	wena uthathe ilunch late
33	Female colleague	**mm:** (.) why ngizoku reliever late ngingazange ngi relieve ngo twelve
34	(1.2)	
35	Thobile	bowe:↑nzani kanti ((inaudible)) benginemali eningi
36	Female colleague	ngayo dropha imali k'qala before ngize lana
37	Thobile	[oh::
38	Female colleague	[bengine thirty nine thousand something (...) close to forty thousand I had to
39		go drop (.) k'qala
40	(2.0)	
41	Thobile	manje why engafuni uku understanda u(supervisor) ukuthi ubuyodropha
42		k'qala
43	Female colleague	uyamazi u(supervisor) masekangasafuni uku understand-a
44	(0.6)	
45	Thobile	kodwa mina bengiku expect-a vele ngo twe↓lve
46	(0.4)	

47	Female colleague	mm::
48	(1.3)	
49		yo wamane warasa >warasa warasa< u(supervisor) yazi (...) ngamane
50		ngam'mamela >arasa arasa arasa< ngathi sorry:
51	Thobile	mm::
52	(0.9)	
53		kanti bowungamelanga udrophe yini
54	(1.4)	
55		yebo↑
56	(0.4)	
57	Male musician	how are you
58	Thobile	I'm okay
59	(0.7)	
60	Male musician	◦I'm fine (..) my name's Richard

In conclusion of this section, through the accounts of participants with respect to origins, we see a deepening and a complexification of the discourses as to transformation and post-Apartheid of the previous section. Also in respect of categories, participants mark out the historiographies and the shared values that allow a reinterpretation, if not, specifically, a challenge to these discourses.

Accounts: breathiness

In the same way that invocation of origins is a vital tactic of intersubjectivity (Bucholtz and Hall 2005 and 2004b), other prosodic and voice effects are also mobilised by interlocutors in the recording segments with which we are concerned in this chapter. One that stands out particularly, is breathiness.

Breathiness is a voice quality that is, in most respects, added onto other prosodic effects since it stems not from the vocal tract but rather the glottal area, where a complex tightening and loosening of the muscles allows air to pass, creating an effect of noise that does not affect phonemic realisation, although it may be associated with, for example higher frequencies (Ishi, Ishiguro, Hagita 2009). As a voice *quality* it may be used over long stretches of talk, or even form part of the standard phonation for an individual. Like many other voice qualities it does have semiotic value, although this is complex and relational. Yuasa (2010) studies the recent semiotisation of the quality of creakiness to signify a combination of the urban, the career-orientated and the feminine. Newman and Wu (2011) study a tendency to longer voice onset times in voiceless stops allied with the quality of breathiness in the Asian American variety of American English. Breathiness, like other qualities also has a developmental aspect. Studies show a 50% integration of laughter (and therefore aspirational noise) in mother-to-child talk (Nwokah, Hsu, Davies and Fogel 1999). Finally, effects such as breathiness have a role to play in performance of gender roles (see for instance Batstone and Tuomi 1981 and Munson 2007).

In the present case, I would like to look at Thobile's realisation of breathiness and draw some conclusions for what is, in Thobile's case, a very public role of consultant, with many interactions a day. The first thing to notice in Thobile's transcripts is that breathiness is almost entirely absent from the account, in segment 3 1), which is predominantly in isiZulu. Breathiness as a voice quality appears at line 69 where the account is interrupted by Richard who requests information about the mall. It is not however a change in *audience* so much as a change in *language* that provokes a change in voicing, since, in other extracts (for instance segments 8 1) and 8 2) where Thobile is speaking to a close

colleague in English, there is as much laughter, aspiration, rising intonation and noise that can be attributed to breathiness, broadly conceived. And this is confirmed in her other audio recordings, even though these have not all been attached in the appendix. In fact, Thobile's breathy, lilting laugh is one of the things that forms her appeal and on which she capitalises, it is a part of her repertoire in English, in the specific context in which this is used, as consultant in a prestigious mall in Sandton, Gauteng.

Transcript excerpt 24 : Thobile segment 3 1) of Appendix 2-4-1

Teller and story: Thobile, an information officer at the Sandton City Mall. This is the excerpt immediately following the one above where Thobile's colleague at the Sandton City Mall explains why she was late. Here Thobile gets into role as provider of information to visitors to the Mall.
Participants: Thobile, a female colleague and a musician.
Occasioning: The female colleague has relieved Thobile late. She is in the process of explaining her lateness and also why the Supervisor was shouting at her when a musician arrives asking for information.
Actions and events during telling: Thobile is logging out of the information and coupon software that she uses on her workstation in order for the female colleague, who has just arrived, to be able to log in.

60	Male musician	°I'm fine (..) my name's Richard
61	(0.8)	
62	Thobile	your name is↑
63	Male musician	I'm Richard
64	(0.7)	
65	Thobile	Richard
66	Male musician	ja
67	(0.6)	
68	Thobile	oka:y↑
69	Male musician	Richard
70	Thobile	aah(h)
71	Male musician	ndi mu Venda
72	Thobile	muVenda(h):
73	Male musician	ya(h)
74	Thobile	aah okay
75	Male musician	so (.) aah: I need information about- ah ho::↑w do we do it (.) I'm a mu:sician
76		(....) ah I'm managing >like a< ja:zz: >group of musicians<

Breathiness, in this respect – that of an attribute of style – has been shown to correlate with emphasis and attention, "breathiness often appeared in emphasised (focused or prominent) word/phrases, and has the effect of calling/ catching the attention of the listener." (Ishi, Ishiguro, Hagita 2009 : 7). As such it forms part of the turn negotiation that characterises interaction where 'doing the same' often initiates a change of topic, whereas 'not doing the same' signals an engagement with the current topic (Sikveland 2012, and Zellers and Ogden 2014). In terms of Thobile's occupation, one can well understand the use of breathiness in this respect, and does therefore explain the appearance of breathiness *along* with the switch to English.

However, in terms of style, I would like to raise the possibility that this is also a tactic of intersubjectivity (Bucholtz and Hall 2004b) a positioning, and a discourse. That for Thobile the semiotic of breathiness instantiates a discourse of cosmopolitanism and class, and that in adding aspirational

noise to her speech she is aligning herself with this discourse. To unpack this a little, I would like to look from this perspective at Nicky Newton-King's transcripts. Nicky is, of course, incredibly self-possessed. She has had decades of experience in both internal and external company communication, and obviously, she has little need of *adding* an effect of cosmopolitanism to her speech. Rather, she is a *example* of what this kind of voicing can represent. Let's look at segment 6 lines 42-56:

Transcript excerpt 25 : JSE, Nicky Newton-King segment 6) of Appendix 2-4-2

Teller and story: Nicky, the CEO of the Johannesburg Stock Exchange, tells of the ethos of the Johannesburg Stock Exchange, length of tenure, and of attitude to change.
Participants: Nicky, Tebogo, Cleola and William.
Occasioning: This was a focus group situation where I prompted general talk about participant lives, the Stock Exchange, and Sandton as a district. Here we had been talking about the Johannesburg Stock Exchange specifically.
Actions and events during telling: Nicky, Tebogo, Cleola and William are sitting at a meeting table in the management floor of the Johannesburg Stock Exchange.

42	Nicky	we're standing on the ·hh on the shoulders of gia↑nts and it's **only** because
43		we're standing on those shoulders that we can do what we are doing now
44	William	[yeh:
45	Nicky	but ↑**now** ou(h)r job is not to: ·hh is to is to leave it be↑tter than we found it
46	William	yah
47	Nicky	and so that better than you find it is you you have **go-** to enable people (...)
48		especially because we have long service here
49	Cleola	yah:
50	Nicky	I mean I've done twennie years (..) I've got an executive with **thirty** years ·hhhh
51		the pote↑ntial i:s that people **new** people come in and say o::↑h the >CEO's
52		been here for twenty years if it was **her** idea I had better not touch it< ·hh and
53		you: actually have to phy↑sically create ·hhh the uh th(h)e permi↑ssion to
54		break (..) to break a **model** (..) you actually wa↑nt to encourage them to say
55		hey hold on >it might have been your idea Nicky< ·hh and >it was good<
56		**fifteen** years ago but it's not good enough **now**

In transcribing this excerpt I was struck by the sheer linguistic control, in particular the effects of pace, intonation, the pauses and … breathiness. Here this breathiness is surely conveying something along the lines of interest, real feeling and emphasis that can be compared for frequency in the example of figure 70 below. Nicky was a powerful and convincing orator. And beathiness undoubtedly forms part of her repertoire.

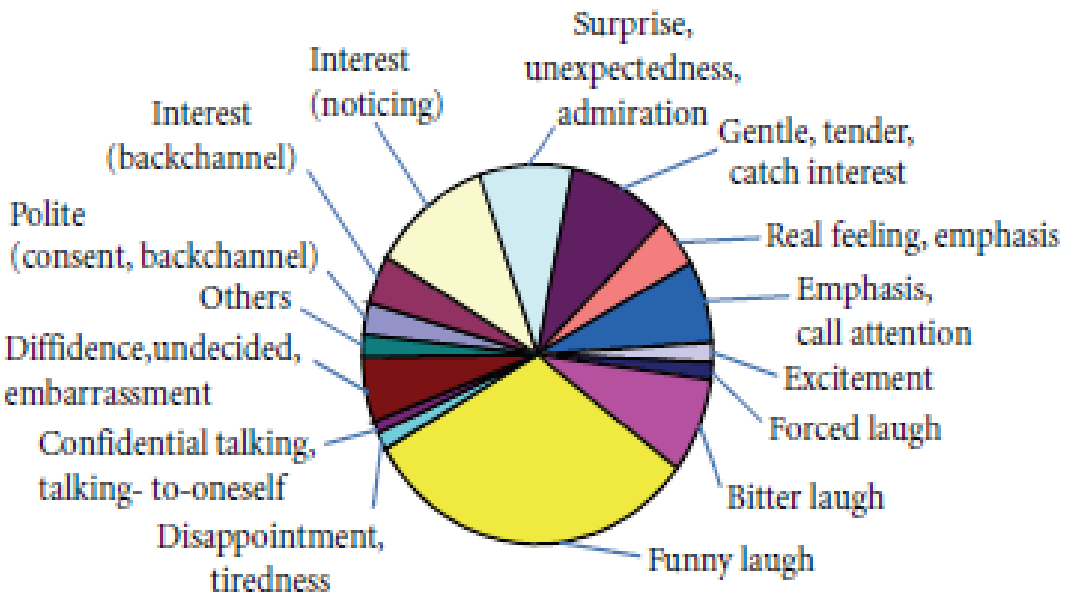


Figure 66: Paralinguistic information associated with breathy/whispery voicing (reproduced from Ishi, Ishiguro, Hagita (2009 : 6).

Now my point is that Thobile, as with the speakers of Asian English in Newman and Wu (2011) is at the forefront of linguistic dynamics in Sandton, and at the Mall. She is the representative of a new generation of second language English speakers, she is trained, educated, and a savy user of English who has a foot in both the worlds of Sandton and Soweto. As such I would like to think that breathiness is part of a Sandton repertoire that at a local, ethnographic level, forms part of what characterises some of the interactions in Sandton, and that symbolises its affluence and its style. Certainly, it is a reflection of the channels of power, information and service that converge on the space of the mall.

Accounts: latching and overlapping

In the final section of this consideration of the genre of accounts in the settings of the JSE, the Advocates' group and the Mall, I would like to return to the stories collected with Geoff Rothschild and the Advocate, and locate the specificities of these as they were told to me, the researcher. I would like to bring out my place in the research, and their responses to me, since these two recorded interviews were really directly with me personally. Through a reflexion on my place as researcher, I would like to end this chapter with a discussion of positioning as latent power, and a last discourse of Sandton that revolves around the *weight* of the institution. As indicated by the subheading, this discussion will involve a consideration of latching and overlap.

An overlap is the result of two speakers talking at the same time. In conversation analysis this is understood as an incoming turn that is in advance of a transition relevance place, which in turn is marked syntactically (a unit of sense) and prosodically (with a major tonic accent for instance) (see Wells and MacFarlane 1998). Latching is when a turn at talk is begun with not even a beat (a tenth of a second) between utterances, but is slightly different to an overlap in that the first speaker stops talking for the time of the incoming turn. Which is not to say that either speaker relinquishes the floor automatically or cedes telling rights. Often the first speaker merely *delays* completion (see Lerner

1989) and resumes, intrudes or overlaps with the second speaker and accompanies this with raised pitch, volume and speed for instance. This kind of behaviour is often associated with more masculine discourses and leadership styles (see Walker and Aritz 2015 : 455).

One of the stated aims of this research was to reverse the power relations that are tacitly upheld in most research, where the researcher disposes of more cultural capital and institutional power than the participants. A by-product of this approach was, though, that I felt distinctly out of place at some moments. This was true of both my meeting with Geoff and with the Advocate. The result in both of these transcripts is that one can see me jumping the gun, overlapping, latching, trying my best to be complicit in the construction of stories and of unfolding talk. This is sometimes successful, for instance at Geoff segment 1) lines 77 – 81 where I interject a line about having 'lived the change' and there is uptake of this phrase by Geoff. But this is more often than not unsuccessful. At line 99 in the same segment 1) I raise the speed of my utterance and get a question in, but this is given only minimal acknowledgement by the 'well' of line 103 and then deleted from talk. With the Advocate things were slightly smoother. We were closer in age, had mutual colleagues, and closer education and interests. In segment 10) (reproduced above) at lines 23-24 and 25-27, for instance there is good utterance synchronisation and the talk was generally smoother.

Transcript excerpt 26 : JSE, Geoff Rothschild segment 1) of Appendix 2-4-2

Teller and story: Geoff, the ex-CEO of the Johannesburg Stock Exchange, tells of the transformation of the Johannesburg CBD and of the move of the Stock Exchange to its new headquarters, that he had commissioned.
Participants: Geoff and William.
Occasioning: I had tried to get Geoff to talk about the process, the people and events involved in the move of the Johannesburg Stock Exchange, instead he recapitulated the details of the move (the location, the office furniture etc).
Actions and events during telling: Geoff and I are seated at the BluBird coffee shop. The arrival of croissants, coffee and hot chocolate, and Geoff's greeting of familiar faces, intersperses our conversation.

57		I thi::nk
58	(1.6)	
59		what one also fi:nds is that uh:
60	(1.6)	
61		you know if you if you talk about Grayston Drive Grayston was (....) a (....) in
62		the old days there were **stables**
63	(1.2)	
64		and **horses**
65	(1.0)	
66		and the Balalaika [was a trip out into the cou:ntry on a→
67	William	[yah
68	(0.7)	
69	Geoff	a Sunday afternoon to go and have a coffee or tea at the Balalaika
70	William	yah=
71	Geoff	=uhm today it is:: (....) a commercial hotel
72	William	uhum
73	Geoff	uhm::
74	(2.0)	
75	William	yah that's uhm 'cause uhm
76	(1.0)	
77		Beryl also talked about that because I mean Beryl has also lived really lived
78		that cha::nge
79	Geoff	she has lived the change (....) >and I mean< she's been there and that is why
80		she has taken that interest
81	William	yah
82	Geoff	uhm when you talk about the JSE: obviously an opportunity::
83	(0.6)	
84		uh: we were in the (.) heart of Johannesburg fo:r (.) sho- (.) since its inception
85		in 1886
86	William	yah huh
87	(0.6)	
88	Geoff	and uh:
89	(3.8)	
90		the::
91	(3.7)	
92		stock exchange itself tried very very hard to stay downtown
93	(1.0)	
94		but i::n (....) in those days in the 90's
95	William	mm:
96	Geoff	uh: when (....) you know we eventually called a point to make a decision
97	(1.0)	
98	Geoff	[the::
99	William	[>how did that how did that< breakdo:wn (....) [I mean why would it why why:
100		would it be like that to be in the city than:
101	Geoff	[we-

102	(1.7)	
103		well it wa- it was: always where the JSE had been
104	William	yah
105	Geoff	uh:m
106	(1.3)	
107		and uh:m (....) but you you hit the the sna:g with uh:m (..) with what was going
108		on in the city centre with safety→
109	William	yah huh=
110	Geoff	=people not wanting to work the:re (....) regardless of what e:r (....) population
111		group they came from (....) and if you were going to have a first world
112		exchange→
113	(1.0)	
114		with all the bells and whistles and what is expected (....) you needed to (..) to
115		have top class people
116	(0.6)	
117	William	yah
118	Geoff	there's (....) which gives me no longer the opportunity in the city centre to
119		achieve that
120	(0.8)	
121		so the decision was made to move out more
122	(2.1)	
123		but if you look at the: the new s- the new property where (..) the JSE is still
124		today (....) it was: built by Group Fi:ve it was:
125	(1.0)	
126		it came in→
127	(1.5)	
128		ahead of (...) schedule(..) ahead of budget
129	(1.3)	
130		so which is quite remarkable
131	(0.8)	
132		uh: a tremendous display of lighting: you know [so it is a very light building
133	William	[yah it's fantastic
134		yeah
135	(0.7)	
136	Geoff	and also:: (..) it got an award for its: architecture
137	William	yah
138	(1.2)	
139	Geoff	so: it was (..) quite amazing you know I mean the sort of things that one thinks
140		of (....) uh one wanted to be proudly South **African** but then when we looked
141		for furniture for the JSE (....) uh:m it was pretty obvious that (....) uh:m the
142		furniture that we **got** which was from **Twice** which was uh:m (....) I think from
143		(....) **Holland**
144	(1.0)	
145		uh:m it was expe:nsive (....) but you couldn't compare it to: (..) the locally
146		manufactured [stuff
147	William	[yah (..) yah
148	Geoff	and (.) you know u(h) when I left (.) the stock exchange: in March last ye:ar
149		(....) the desks and everything that came from Twice were as [good as new→
150	William	[is it hey=
151	Geoff	=it was it was that sort of quality (...) so we had gone through those sort of
152		things:

What is noticeable about both Geoff and the Advocate is that within the *narrative* sections of the transcript, talk is faster and with better coordinated, less negotiated transition points. Narrative operates to allocate clear turns at talk, and this is something that has been remarked upon by Sacks (1992) whilst Jefferson (1978) looks at the entrance and exit from stretches of narrative. In the rest of the transcript however - and once again, I would like to emphasise that I cut large segments of talk around what were often very brief and elusive sequences of narrative – both Geoff and the Advocate control the interjacent pauses in talk. With each it was different. With Geoff, he would often pause mid-phrase, leave often as much as 3 seconds silence, and then just when I was wondering if I should say something, would resume with slightly increased volume and debit, and above all, would continue the same intonation contour from the previous turn. With the Advocate pauses were more reduced (a second or so) and were accompanied by a regard, and a posture that seemed designed to obtain assent. Indeed, most of my interjections in the Advocate's segment 5) for instance are markers of assent.

This capacity, to bend talk to one's rhythm, to impose the cadence, and to either acknowledge or delete other contributions, was a facet of Sandton that carried a discourse of power and influence. Of course, I was at an interactive disadvantage from the beginning, but I would imagine that what I experienced – the gentlest and most sure of control – must have been a mark and an achievement of what is at heart in Sandton, a question of discursive agency. The ability to set the key words, to frame the debate, and to direct the discussion (see Foucault 1970).

Breaking news, shared stories and storytelling

In this section, on breaking news and shared stories, we will be looking at hierarchy and role. It will be apposite to first, therefore, introduce the institutional hierarchies with which we will be concerned.

Turning first to Sandton City Mall, Thobile is a member of the outsourced, skilled personnel. Her post is as consultant. She is responsible for information as to the shopfloor, for issuing coupons, for promoting certain brands and for guiding clients around the mall. She needs to be able to handle a computer and to speak impeccable English as well as several African languages. In her hierarchy, by her skills she is a rank above the (equally outsourced) cleaning staff, but directly answerable to the Operations Manager. This manager is in the City personnel headquarters run by Excellerate in the Atrium (see figure 37) and shares these offices with six other managers: Marketing, Building, Portfolio, Technical, Business, Assistant Operation for Services. There is no solution of continuity between Excellerate and the investors in Sandton City that are Liberty and Pareto. However, it must respond to the JHI property group that manages the property. Interestingly Excellerate is a division of two other property investors, Cushman and Wakefield. The sentiment that Thobile has, and that comes out clearly in the stories that we will be looking at, of being a fairly disposable element of a hugely powerful machine, can be understood as being fairly accurate.

The SCC has a more vertical structure, with a board of directors, and from there downwards General Manager (for the Tsogo Sun), Heads of Departments (for instance operations, building, marketing), and then the managers, supervisors and staff within each of these departments. Since there is both a lot of paperwork at the SCC but also a lot of site inspection and on the ground management (often involving present and potential clients) that requires regular meetings, offices are of a fair size and flanked by meeting rooms.

Bearing in mind both the locally relevant participant roles and the macro data and discourses as these were presented in the previous sections, our focus here will be on bringing out participant positioning with respect to roles, responsibilities and their place within the company organigram.

Breaking news and shared stories: la perruque, a subversion of organisational discourse

La perruque, as a term, was brought out of the factory floor and into sociology by de Certeau (1984). A perruque is a wig, and it is the term that some factory workers in France use to refer to work that is carried on for oneself in a factory. De Certeau, using Foucault's distinction between institutional *strategy* and personal *tactic* (see for instance Foucault 1975), uses la perruque as a means of underlining the creativity and risk taking that escapes institutional surveillance. It is creative, because nothing is stolen or lost, the person is at work, but the energy and implication in the institution is subverted towards more personal aims:

> *La perruque* may be as simple a matter as a secretary's writing a love letter on 'company time' or as complex as a cabinetmaker's 'borrowing' a lathe to make a piece of furniture for his living room. Under different names in different countries this phenomenon is becoming more and more general, even if managers penalise it or 'turn a blind eye' on it in order not to know about it. […] *la perruque* re-introduces 'popular' techniques of other times and other places into the industrial space (that is, into the Present order). (de Certeau 1984 : 25 – 26).

This strong sense of subversion of the established order, and of irreverence and challenge, is what I would like to discuss in this section, basing myself, firstly, on Thobile's segments 8 1 and 8 2 (reproduced below and in appendix 2-4-1). These two segments are two halves of a telephone conversation she had with a colleague. They are clearly an example of breaking news (Georgakopoulou 2008 : 601) since the events that Thobile is being told are still unfolding. However, segment 8-2 also contains a projection, where a future scenario is pieced together by the participants, and this projection one may add, will soon become the 'account' that both will use to explain the error.

Transcript excerpt 27 : Thobile segment 8 1) of Appendix 2-4-1

Teller and story: Thobile, an information officer at the Sandton City Mall, elicits information regarding a problem in the system where her colleague entered voucher codes under the wrong login information. This is the beginning of a scenario that will see co-construction of a narrative that explains this error to both Thobile and her colleague's advantage.
Participants: Thobile and a female colleague.
Occasioning: The female colleague furnishes information as to the glitch in the computer system.
Actions and events during telling: Thobile receives a phone call from another colleague requesting information as to the vouchers that she has sold under her login.

1	((phone rings and she answers))	
2	Thobile	hi::↑
3	(2.0)	
4		how are yo:↑u
5	(2.0)	
6		**wh::**y
7	(4.6)	
8		ha↑ e:h(h)
9	(2.0)	
10		I didn't se:ll >anything< **yest**erday
11	(6.3)	
12		((chuckling)) you're serious↑ ·hhh
13	(5.8)	
14		in:: in::
15	(1.5)	
16		info s:: ah eh info six
17	(1.7)	
18		I didn't **log** o:ut
19	(2.5)	
20		ho:w so::
21	(2.2)	
22		**ye:↑s**
23	(4.2)	
24		>se↑rious<
25	(2.0)	
26		>be**caus**e this:<
27	(2.6)	
28		**aah↑** 'cause the system was kinna like you know ((inaudible))
29	(2.0)	
30		ye:::s: ya:h so I couldn't even re- (..) oh↑ my go::d (....) so what's going to **ha**:ppen
31	(3.4)	
32		oh my g↑o:::↓d ((laughs)) ·hh a:::h ·hh are you **serious**
33	(3.1)	
34		ya::h
35	(6.6)	
36		Okay I'm goi- who are we supposed to exp**lain** to
37	(1.8)	
38		<who are we supposed to explain to>
39	(2.1)	
40		<explain to>
41	(2.5)	
42		<when>
43	(3.8)	
44		↑when did you rea:li:ze that you'd been sending on my name
45	(6.5)	
46		so you sold the **whole** day on my name
47	(1.8)	
48		o::::h
49	(1.8)	
50		o**ka↑:::::↓y**
51	(8.1)	ye::s and you just (.) uh went to the sy:stem

Transcript excerpt 28 : Thobile segment 8 2) of Appendix 2-4-1

Teller and story: Thobile, an information officer at the Sandton City Mall, and her colleague co-construct a narrative that explains why vouchers were sold under the wrong login.
Participants: Thobile and a female colleague.
Occasioning: The female colleague had phoned Thobile to inform her of the error.
Actions and events during telling: Thobile receives a phone call from another colleague regarding vouchers, login information and timetable organisation.

1	((on the phone))	
2	Thobile	you know what
3	(2.2)	
4		let's just sa:y (....) I(h) went the:↑re a:nd (....) when I **got** there I had a cu↑stomer
5		(....) and the syste↑m (.) when after I **lo:g**ged i:n the system just (....) **fro::**ze so I
6		couldn't **log** ou:t
7	(2.4)	
8		ye::s
9	(3.4)	
10		yes the same time **we** came in **you** had a custome:r
11	(0.9)	
12		you had a customer I'm sure you (....) you- I'm sure you just (....) logged in (....) go-
13		didn't even see that (..) I didn't log ou:t
14	(5.7)	
15		ei↑sh
16	(3.3)	
17		**o**kay ·h
18	(0.9)	
19		can you explain something for me here
20	(1.0)	
21		when you can see the schedule ·hh <whe:n you::'re under the:: the la:te shi::ft> half
22		past three ·hh ahh(h): (....) <I::: see there(h) (.) it does say full day> which means on
23		your fu:ll day, are you starting half past eleven or you're starting half past eight
24	(2.3)	
25		in the morning ·hh (....) a(h)nd then <when you: have the::> the work shift as in W::
26	(4.5)	
27		ye:s
28	(10.4)	
29		mm: I just-
30	(1.8)	
31		Really I don't understand so:mething ((laughs)) ·hhh how it **go:es** actually (.)·hh you
32		see u:mm: (..) o:n err:: from the thirtieth I'll be on the:: late shift that's half past
33		eleven ·hhh↑ so you're saying <if I have a fu:ll day> that means I'm starting half past
34		(..) eight
35	(2.0)	
36		no(h)t (....) half past eleven
37	(5.4)	
38		**o**kay (..)·hh if I ha:ve the:: umm: the W::
39	(3.9)	
40		mm Monday's going to be the thirtieth
41	(5.2)	
42		yes (.)·hh so I'm sayi:ng (.) umm (....) it's I'm going to start half
43	(3.3)	
44		no ·hh ((laughs)) ·hhhh
45	(1.5)	
46		I'm go-
47	(6.5)	
48		yes so we shouldn't
49	(1.9)	
50		o:kay (..)·hh and then (..) Tuesda:↑y

51	(3.3)	
52		oka:y (....) and the:n
53	(3.4)	
54		ye:h half past ei:ght so
55	(3.7)	
56		o:↑h that's an early shift o::↓h (....) >so which means< (....) hh and the morning and
57		then I knock off at five
58	(4.7)	
59		Later
60	(6.0)	
61		o::↑h okay (....) okay that's what i didn't understand yah yah
62	(3.2)	
63		oh that **Mo:**nday the seventh (....) yes it's fi:ne you can take that one (..) yah (....)
64		okay then I'll: be:: uh off on your Thursday (....) on Thursday
65	(1.5)	
66		ye:s
67	(0.9)	
68		yah
69	(2.5)	
70		okay then ↑tell me what (supervisor) sa:ys: then
71	(2.4)	
72		okay
73	(0.7)	
74		bye:
75	((hangs up))	

What has happened is that the colleague failed to log out of the system and has sold a number of coupons under the wrong account. The assistant manager will not be happy. However, Thobile seeks to find a way of protecting her colleague and herself. She invents a story that both can use to explain the mistake. The invention and the ruse are clearly seen in the slower pace, pauses for thought and long drawn vowels of lines 4-6. Then there is the emphatic attribution of roles at line 10. At line 12 this story, that in fact is not so far removed from the real events, reveals itself to be above all about motivation. About ethos. Whereas in reality Thobile was impatient with the system, and her colleague too absent-minded to check. In the story, Thobile has become busy with work and her colleague, a victim of the 'freezing' of the system. There is also humour in the situation, albeit a little cynical. When the colleague phones Thobile with the news (segment 8 1 line 32), her first reaction is to laugh.

Through this laughter Thobile forms an echo with Dikeledi whom we met in the previous chapter and who was just going to work to drop off the key before returning to her sick son, and who brushed off another's comments with a confident attitude to work and her ability to not go. Or even with Marty who made it clear that he would be able to solve a problem that was causing a colleague a headache in twenty minutes flat. Thobile who has a diploma in banking, like Dikeledi, sees herself at the beginning of a career that will outperform that of her parents. But in what ways is this trait something we can consider a part of the meso of Sandton and of its institutions?

In the accounts that both Geoff Rothschild and Nicky Newton-King provide of company *ethos* we find evidence of this disregard for hierarchy, and of the innovation that results. Their stories, as one would perhaps expect from the powerful, authoritative people they are, are evidently less rich in

metalinguistic detail than those of Thobile. In fact, the story is reduced to a minimum, and quickly cedes to discourse.

Transcript excerpt 29 : JSE, Nicky Newton-King segment 6) of Appendix 2-4-2

Teller and story: Nicky, the CEO of the Johannesburg Stock Exchange, tells of the first Trader Fund that had been listed by the Exchange.
Participants: Nicky, Tebogo, Cleola and William.
Occasioning: This was a focus group situation where I prompted general talk about participant lives, the Stock Exchange and Sandton as a district. Here we had been talking about the Johannesburg Stock Exchange specifically.
Actions and events during telling: Nicky, Tebogo, Cleola and William are sitting at a meeting table in the management floor of the Johannesburg Stock Exchange.

14	Nicky	=it was [one of our you:ngsters=
15	William	[right (...) okay
16	Nicky	=who raised the concept of ·hh ↑wouldn't it be good if we did something like
17		this ·hhh and then (.) >before you know it< that's:: uh(h) that is something (.)
18		ordinary people trade↑ ·hhh and and so:(h) so:(h) you know what we don't
19		sort of have a (.) >as Cleola was saying< you don't you know we have this long
20		heritage but we don't say **only** certain people are allowed to have [ideas
21	Cleola	[mm:
22	Nicky	what you actually↑ want is a whole **lot** of ideas and not all of them: become:
23		[ideas we can do something with
24	William	[yeah (..) yeah right
25	Nicky	·hh but you want people to feel free to sort of uhh to: to to create and
26		innovate make mistakes if [necessary
27	William	[yeah (.) yeah
28	Nicky	and sometimes↑ we're (better at) that than others (.) but what you really- you
29		really want **new** things ·hh and so that okay hold on ·hhh w:we can do this
30		better I(h): when I speak to: staff when they join(h)

In Nicky's segment the story is begun at line 14, continued into line 19 but then discontinued. It is not a 'refusal' to tell, but rather a discontinuity in the narrative activity, and this cedes to a general discussion of roles and responsibilities.

We must therefore turn to the recordings collected at the SCC for story telling (shared stories) that encapsulates this attitude to work, this simultaneous disregard and creativity which is certainly an aspect of the space of Sandton. Of the numerous examples of the perruque that were told to me at the SCC, I have chosen the best, and completely eliminated any names in the transcripts.

Transcript excerpt 30 : SCC Sales and Marketing team segment 1 8) of Appendix 2-4-4

Teller and story: Female team member 5 of the Sales and Marketing team at the Sandton Convention Centre is telling a story of when a colleague met Ryan Giggs in the mall.
Participants: Sales and Marketing team members at the Sandton Convention Centre and William

Occasioning: In this focus group session we had been talking about the space of Sandton, and here, in particular, of the space of the Sandton City Mall.

Actions and events during telling: The team members and I were in one of the meeting rooms of the Sandton Convention Centre talking animatedly about events that members had seen in Sandton.

1	female team member 2	[...] so (....) Sandton's the place to be (..) twenty ten
2	(0.7)	
3	female team member 1	mmm:
4	female team member 2	[**<Sandton was the place to be::>**
5	female team member 4	[**oohh::: ye:::s**
6	female team member 5	[in our centre (Eva) ran into Ryan Giggs in the **ma:↑ll ·hh hh** ·hh
7	((laughter))	
8	female team member 4	[((unclear)) a date
9	female team member 5	[(yes she was) she just took **a:ll** her food and her lunch and dumped
10		it ((unclear)) and said ↑here I'm [standing next to you
11	female team member 1	[she went
12		ru running she was **ru:nning**
13	female team member 5	take the picture please and then the picture didn't
14	William	who's this guy
15	female team member 1	a-
16	female team member 4	[Ryan Giggs
17	female team member 5	[one of our colleagues
18	William	oh really=
19	female team member 5	=Ryan Giggs
20	William	oh alright okay yah yah yah okay
21	female team member 5	so she got (.) so excited [she go- told
22	female team member 1	[and she's a Man United **fa:n**
23	William	[oh right okay
24	female team member 5	[and she's a big fan and she told her other colleague please just
25		>hold **all this** (.) **and** take the picture for me and then the picture
26		didn't come out clearly<
27	William	oh no
28	female team member 5	·hhh so he walked off with his bodyguards and [she went after him
29	female team member 2	[she ran
30		after him
31	((laughter))	
32	female team member 1	like I met I mean I know nothing about soccer my husband and my
33		son are [fa**na:t**ics
34	William	[yah
35	(0.5)	
36	female team member 1	·hhh and Man United
37	William	yah
38	female team member 1	·hhh so I I went to them I said who's who's Messiah do you know
39		anyone by the name of Messiah °my fu- →
40	female team member 5	[yah Messia(hh) ((laughs)) Messia(hh)h
41	female team member 1	[they couldn't figure out who I was ·hhh it was **Messi:**
42	((laughter))	
43		**we met Messi**
44	((laughter))	
45	female team member 1	I said ((unclear)) he's a short **short** little man
46	William	ya(h)h
47	female team member 1	he said ↑you met **Me:ssi**

Transcript excerpt 31 : SCC Sales and Marketing team segment 1 9) of Appendix 2-4-4

Teller and story: Female team member 4 of the Sales and Marketing team of the Sandton Convention Centre is telling a story of when Bryan Habana came to the office and left a bag containing the World Cup.
Participants: Sales and Marketing team members at the Sandton Convention Centre and William
Occasioning: In this focus group session we had been talking about the space of Sandton, and here, in particular, of memorable events for the team.
Actions and events during telling: The team members and I were in one of the meeting rooms of the Sandton Convention Centre talking animatedly about events that members had seen in Sandton.

20	female team member 4	one day Bryan Habana comes into the offi:ce and he says ladies any
21		of you got a piece of stri:↑ng ·hhh a:nd er we're like all **hot** and
22		**flu:shed**
23	((loud laughter))	
24	[…]	
25		with his **big chest** and (wide shoulders)
26	((laughter))	
27		the best part was (…)
28	William	yah↑
29	female team member 4	when the (.) coach came in with this (..) **ba:g**
30	William	yah↑
31	female team member 4	I should not >say this story<
32	((laughter))	
33		>but he< came in with this bag
34	((laughter))	
35		and he said la ↑ladies can you guys please er keep this bag here for
36		me I don't want to leave it in my roo:m ·hhhh you know it's actually
37		it's the **World Cup** that we just won so I don't want to leave it in my
38		room
39	((laugh))	
40		so we said ↑yah sure no problem (….) we took it to our manager's
41		officer we shut ou:r banqueting room office door ·hhhh °we took the
42		World Cup out of the (box)
43	((loud laughter))	
44		all tog**ether** because it's in two pie:ces
45	((loud laughter))	we put it together ·hh and we thought we can (..) **ho:ld** it but it's
46		**he:avy** ·hhh so we are like ((groans))
47	((laughter))	
48	female team member 4	and we all took pictures °>but to tell you the truth I don't know
49		where my picture went<

At this 'meso' level of analysis we are not yet interested in the story itself, but rather the interactions that surround the story, and on this level, one could note the laughter, and the obvious complicity between the interlocutors. This is a complicity that is revealed at several moments in the transcripts of Appendix 2-4-4. Not least in that the story tellers are engaged in the activity of telling a 'shared' story, but also in the simultaneity and completion of for instance segment 1 8) (transcript 3) lines 1 to 5. That the uptake of this story, whose introduction begins with the slogan that had been so prevalent a part of Sandton's participation in the world cup, should be so spontaneous and so open-hearted reveals a common alignment among the participants, and therewith a common sympathy for activities and

positionings. During the course of my ethnographic research into Sandton I came across this many times, and indeed often it was what allowed a participant the security to involve him or herself in this research.

Writing back to the discourses and categories of the previous section on the 'macro' I feel that it is a fundamental part of institutional ethos that remains hidden, not because it is undervalued, but because it is, quite rightly, called upon and utilised. In terms of Bucholtz and Hall's framework (2005 : 603) what we are dealing with is 'illegitimation' but an illegitimation that is inverted, ground-up, and that is in many ways recouped by the institution and reutilised in processes of authorisation.

Breaking news and shared stories: irony

In this last section devoted to the meso of interaction and ethnographically specific cultural positions, I would like to look at the reconciling of incommensurate roles and discourses. Sandton is a heterogeneous space, and work teams contain members that issue from what are sometimes radically opposed cultures and ideologies, backgrounds and qualifications. This was particularly the case at the Outsourcing meetings of the SCC. Faced with these incommensurabilities, the response of team leaders is often humour.

There are three broad theories of humour (see Chefneux 2015 : 382 for a discussion) and these are: incongruity, hostility and release. Incongruity is when humour is generated by a conflict between prediction/expectation and the real turn of events. Hostility emphasises the role laughter can have in belittlement. Release (such as also discussed by Janks 2010b : 213) involves humour in the treatment of the person and taboo. Within humour, irony is a much studied theme, due, largely, to the variety and wealth of its acoustic effects (such as the divergence of fundamental frequency and amplitude noted by Bryant (2011). Irony is also a key technique of both power, gender and team construction that may either be hostile, incongruous or releasing and occurs in 7% to 8% of turns (Tannen 2001 and Gibbs 2000). Irony can either be 'echoic' (referring implicitly or explicitly to a previous turn at talk) or 'pretence' (where interlocuteurs engage in joint construction of an alternate interpretation of events) (see discussion in Wilson 2013).

At the Outsourcing meeting I attended the team leader began the meeting with an ironic comment concerning the rugby matches over the weekend and the Lions' loss. Since this was rugby, one can see straight away the exclusionary role that irony can sometimes potentially play. Gibbs (2000) gives relevant quantitative data as to different types of irony across genders: Jocularity (48% male), sarcasm (64% male), hyperbole (41% male), rhetorical (46% male), and understatement (83% male). The rhetorical question concerning the Shark rugby team's win on that last Friday night, also contained a bite of sarcasm, and is therefore fairly normal in an Anglophone context. It contained prosodic effects that are also typical such as vowel lengthening and a slower debit. What I would like to focus on is the preparedness of the team for this kind of comment and the joint laughter that followed. Laughter is the most typical response for echoic irony. However, this comment referred to something outside the situation of interaction, whilst very often (30-40%), irony concerns the present context of talk.

A comment that did very much concern the situation of talk followed soon after, when I was introduced to a large bearded man who runs the exhibition space and who is nicknamed Jan Van Riebeck. Now, the colonial, racial, cultural and physical overtones of this nickname, and the fact that this man occupies, in many ways, the role of team mascot. Well, this is a slice of the heterogeneity of the Sandton context and how it is transformed into strength, but also how macro discourses (such as

BEE) are in fact referenced through the operation of irony. Later in the same meeting the team leader used irony in praise of an employee who had successfully completed a NQF 20 diploma, and become employees of the month. It is rare for sarcasm to be used in praise, usually, the 'normative bias' (see Wilson 2013) works to ensure that it is easier to say something ironic that must be interepreted negatively.

In the Events Team, I noticed another use of irony in praise by the team leader. The mechanism of the irony in this case is based more on understatement, which is more unusual statistically for female interlocutors:

Transcript excerpt 32 : SCC Events team segments 3 1) of Appendix 2-4-4

Teller and story: Female team member 1 of the Events team at the Sandton Convention Centre is telling a story of the atmosphere at work during a big Sandton Convention Centre event.
Participants: Events team members at the Sandton Convention Centre and William
Occasioning: In this participant observation group session the Events team had been going through their normal agenda, which is to say a recap of the business of the last week, and then logistics for the weeks ahead. Here team member 1 addresses me directly to explain what they had been saying about the event that had just been completed.
Actions and events during telling: The team members and I were in one of the meeting rooms of the Sandton Convention Centre going through the weekly meeting agenda.

18	female team member 1	=you can imagine our bosses are like
19	(1.8)	
20		running around [behind us the whole time
21	female team member 2	[panic mode
22	female team member 1	>make sure is this is done is that done< ·hhh so I was just
23		congratulating Tracey cause she did the whole event now

What emerges in this analysis is that irony is used as a tool of leadership. Both team leaders have recourse to irony in their direction of the meeting. Its uptake is a sign of good discipline and a tight esprit de corps. This aspect of irony is little studied and would merit further investigation. What is particularly of interest is the way in which, through irony, the team leaders can reference macro discourses such as diversity, efficiency and performance in the interactions that surround stories, but also derogate and distance themselves from the implications of such.

Conclusions for the meso (level 2)

In this section on storytelling and the meso of interactions in and around stories, we have discussed several aspects of positioning in Sandton. The first has been positioning with respect to origins, that complexifies and nuances discourses around race and gender, and the reality of the situation as this is revealed statistically. Reference to origins was seen to be a resource that was mobilised within participant tactics of intersubjectivity and that could lead to a revision along the axis of adequation and distinction. Secondly we dealt with breathiness and overlap. The former was seen to invoke discourses of cosmopolitanism and exclusivity that do indeed tie in well with the mall, whilst the latter manifested the agency and control of interlocutors. We then turned to a consideration of different genres, those of breaking news and shared stories, and examined the ways in which participants

derogated from their roles in Sandton, and how they mobilised the tactic of illegitimation. Finally, we discussed irony as a leadership technique that allowed reconciliation despite incommensurable discourses, roles and categories.

Positionality – the micro (stories: accounts, breaking news and shared stories)

At this level of analysis, the two models that we are reconciling in this chapter offer differences in aim and focus. For Bucholtz and Hall the essence of the undertaking is to get to the, "temporary and interactionally specific stances and participant roles" (Bucholtz and Hall 2005 : 592) that inform longer-term ethnographically informed positions and macro categories. They therefore, at this level, would propose a fine-grained analysis of the interactional situation itself, much as was carried out in the previous section. For De Fina (2013a), Bamberg and Georgakopoulou (2008), the aim is to investigate, "how characters are positioned within the story (level 1)" (Bamberg and Georgakopoulou 2008 : 385), and this is subsumed to their 'level 2' that would include the interactive situation. This divergence can be resumed as the result of the respective fields within which each analytic model is grounded: interactional studies on the one hand, and narrative research on the other. Again, though, rather than viewing this as an incompatibility, my point – and this is why I have chosen to apply Bucholtz and Hall's framework to small story research – is that each model offers a valuable extension of the other. And it is therefore this analytic route that we shall adopt, by turning to the storied world, and to the accounts given by the participants in the Mall, the JSE and the Advocates' Group.

Accounts, and the meaning of capital in Sandton

What is remarkable about accounts is their closeness to discourse. In terms of a shift in footing, the speaker ceases to be the author, which is to say that he or she has no longer "selected the sentiments that are being expressed and the words in which they are encoded" (Goffman 1981 : 144). These, rather, are selected and expressed by the character in the story. But, most often, this character is either the interactional participant him or herself, or someone as in Nicky's story above who, as 'one of the youngsters' (line 14 Nicky Newton-King segment 6) is so thin, so shadowy in form and outline, that his autonomy is in doubt. The speaker therefore remains the 'principal', in that their, "position is established by the words that are spoken, someone whose beliefs have been told, someone who is committed to what the words say." (Goffman 1981 : 144). And it is as principal, as origin of discourse, that accounts, very often, are told.

This is certainly the case in Thobile's story (segment 3 1), transcript 1, Appendix 2-4-1, reproduced above in English and isiZulu) where, as we have already seen, what is at issue is both 'breaking news' in terms of the unfolding events that are irrupting into Thobile's schedule (the interview with the supervisor and the reason for the late arrival), and an account of the events that lead the colleague to have the interview with the Supervisor…the R39000. Central to the interest of both Thobile and her colleague in the story is this amount of R39000 that the colleague was carrying around, in cash, in Sandton. Behind this story one can imagine what this sum represents for someone on Thobile's salary, and the negotiation that must have been necessary to carry it on taxis and by foot into Sandton. This kind of risk taking, and the independence that it symbolises, is central to the story, as it is to the evaluation of the supervisor who does not understand the predicament (segment 3 1), transcript 1, Appendix 2-4-1, lines 41-42). Above, we discussed the 'perruque' and this of course is another example. The colleague has taken company time to conduct her own business, and it is the tacit acknowledgement of this fact that, further, informs why she is shouted at, "(the supervisor) was busy shouting >shouting shouting< (…) and I just listened to her >shouting shouting shouting< and I said sorry:" (line 49). Is this story a defence of frontier adventurism? I think that in a way it is. Thobile's colleague has braved both the risks of transport and the ire of her supervisor, and come away

unscathed, and with the approbation of Thobile, “weren’t you supposed to drop off that money (1.4) yes↑” (lines 52 -54).

Geoff’s stories present a refinement on those of Thobile. And it is worth studying two in depth: a brief reference to a bar in Gold Reef City[19] (segment 8, Appendix 2-4-2), and a much longer account of the establishment and development of Geoff’s Grootbos Foundation (segment 11). In discussing Geoff’s stories, one should again note that a large margin has been cut around what were incredibly brief narratives, sometimes of only a few lines. The closeness mentioned above between accounts and discourse is very pronounced, as Geoff would tell small stories, then discuss matters in a general way, then perhaps return to the original story to draw consequences with, throughout, the strong possibility that he would provide another story in support or in preparation of the discourse with which he was engaged. In these accounts, what is most obviously at work is a profound positioning with respect to market operation. And this is true of his transcripts as a whole, that often do explicitly refer to the stock market itself or use market analogies. At segment 1) (reproduced above and in Appendix 2-4-2), line 114, Geoff explicitly links supply to demand and the conditions of demand to the possibility of supply. He explains that since they wanted top class persons working for the JSE they had to move it out of the Johannesburg City Centre. In the same segment, he makes a similar point at line 148 where he explains the purchase of foreign manufactured furniture by its quality and capacity to last. In segment 3) he tells the story of an initiation into the market (that he avoided) and the story indexes the aggressive, masculine atmosphere of the open outcry trading floor. A floor that is described well in Decapua and Boxer (1999). In segment 5) line 27 he tells the story of shares getting lost to explain the transition to electronic format.

Transcript excerpt 33 : JSE, Geoff Rothschild segment 8) of Appendix 2-4-2

Teller and story: Geoff, the ex-CEO of the Johannesburg Stock Exchange, tells of a bar, the Lazy Upgraders, that had been built at the amusement park in South West Johannesburg called Gold Reef City. As they changed their security protocol, many of the nightly fights disappeared.
Participants: Geoff and William.
Occasioning: I had wanted to find out from Geoff whether the transformation in Sandton from elite rurality to a luxurious business and shopping district, and the increase in conspicuous consumption, had led to a change in ethos as regards display and protection of capital.
Actions and events during telling: Geoff and I are seated at the BluBird coffee shop. The arrival of croissants, coffee and hot chocolate, and Geoff’s greeting of familiar faces intersperses our conversation.

[19] A Casino and fairground attraction in South West Johannesburg at the entry to Soweto.

1	William	and also what kind of **business** are they **do**ing though I mean wha- wha-
2	(0.9)	
3	Geoff	can't answer you↓ (....) [bu-
4	William	[is it
5	Geoff	but what I what I **do** know
6	William	yah
7	Geoff	uh:m it's something (....) in the early days of Gold Reef City
8	William	yah
9	Geoff	they had uh:m (....) a pub there called Lazy Upgraders
10	William	right okay
11	Geoff	and they had uh:m →
12	(1.2)	
13		security gu:ards there→
14	(1.7)	
15		and I think within a (...) shortish period of time 6 months or a year
16	(1.3)	
17		they got rid of the security guards
18	(1.2)	
19		and what they used to experience was ni- (....) <nightly **fights** disappeared>
20	(1.1)	
21	William	oh right okay (..) yah
22	(1.5)	
23	Geoff	so what does it say about security what does it say about bouncers what does
24		it say about these (guys)=
25	William	=no no definitely that's for sure (..) yah
26	Geoff	you know it's a different world
27	William	yah
28	(0.9)	
29	Geoff	uh:m (....) so I do- I I can't comment on the security industry I don't have
30		sufficient
31	(1.5)	
32		but you know (..) the >the the< threats of (..) of of (..) the threats to (....) South
33		Africa: (....) was (..) isolated for many years
34	William	[◦yah
35	Geoff	[you couldn't travel (..) if you travelled and people heard you were South
36		African they turned off

Transcript excerpt 34 : JSE, Geoff Rothschild segment 11) of Appendix 2-4-2

Teller and story: Geoff, the ex-CEO of the Johannesburg Stock Exchange, tells of the creation and development of the Grootbos Foundation.

Participants: Geoff and William.

Occasioning: I had finished my interview with Geoff, but sensed that he had wanted to tell more about his social outreach activities. I turned the mp3 recorder back on and he told me about this foundation and his other activities in retirement.

Actions and events during telling: Geoff and I are seated at the BluBird coffee shop. The arrival of croissants, coffee and hot chocolate, and Geoff's greeting of familiar faces intersperses our conversation.

1	Geoff	[…] yuh (.) I was approached in about two-thousand six seven to go on the SA
2		football (….) foundation
3	William	right okay
4	Geoff	a:nd (.) in that ti:me (….) uh::m (….) we had a meeting with all the who's who
5		in that space (….) a:nd I: kept na:gging and saying what's going on what's going
6		on and nothing happened
7	William	yah huh=
8	Geoff	=but I got very friendly with the chairman of the: premier league in the UK
9	William	alright okay↑
10	Geoff	and he did a hell of a lot in South Africa around the world cup
11	William	yaah I di- I **heard** about that I **heard** some of the stuff yah apparently [yah
12	Geoff	[a:nd a:nd what what happened i:s we we formed a thing called
13		the Football Foundation (….) a:nd (….) everythi:ng that happened (..) arou:nd
14		(….) the: Bafokeng (.) the Royal Bafokeng (..) stadium [and everything
15	William	[all right okay
16	(0.7)	
17	Geoff	so: (…) the: renovations of the Royal Bafokeng the five-star hotel ·hh the High
18		Performance Centre a:ll went through: the Football Foundation
19	William	cool
20	(1.0)	
21	Geoff	and (….) as you know that eventually landed up to be the home of the England
22		(…) team that [were out here→
23	William	[right
24	Geoff	for the world cup
25	(1.6)	
26		we also put fifty-seven kids through Mafikeng University on soccer bursaries=
27	William	coo:l
28	(1.0)	
29	Geoff	a:nd (….) >you know< some pla:yed (….) national some provincial some
30		became referees but it was very (…) very successful
31	(1.0)	
32		and then we had the hope of setting up various venu:es (….) a:nd we did <set
33		up one in Gansbaai>
34	(1.8)	
35		and that <was with> (….) uh:m contribution of la:nd from the: Overberg
36		Municipality
37	William	mmhm
38	Geoff	so: we've go:t turf fields there (….) uh: we la:id (..) uh: (….) synthetic fields
39	William	mmhm
40	(1.2)	
41	Geoff	a:nd (..) th- (….) the facility toda:y runs (….) e:h (….) and betwee:n it's it's got a
42		a an arm in (..) Hermanus and an arm in (…) uh Houtba:y (..) we look after
43		fifteen hundred kids a **week**
44	William	**yo:h**↑
45	(1.2)	
46	Geoff	a:nd uh they get uh not only (…) uh not only uh
47	(3.5)	
48		not only socce:r (..) uh:m (….) but there's we've also expanded into: (….) uhm
49	(3.3)	

50		mm
51	(0.9)	
52		netba:ll tennis (....) and athletics
53	(1.8)	
54		and the- that is in the (..) the Gansbaai one (....) and (..) uh (....) it's received an
55		international **Olympic** award
56	(2.1)	
57		it still runs very successfully today after many ye:ars
58	(1.3)	
59		a:nd
60	(1.2)	
61		yah and la:: (....) last year the year before we decided (....) to colla- apse it into
62		(..) Grootbos Foundation
63	William	how do you spell that Kro-
64	Geoff	Groot G R O O T (....) BOS (....) Foundation
65	(1.3)	
66		now (..) Groot (....) u::h:
67	(1.5)	
68		Grootbos is actually a **lodge** (....) on a fa:rm
69	(1.8)	
70		which i:s (...) fynbos
71	(1.0)	
72	William	uh huh
73	Geoff	and in that a:rea (....) besi:des the soccer which I've mentioned
74	(1.0)	
75		there's fynbos protection
76	(1.6)	
77		a:nd we have cleared (...) alien plants
78	(2.1)	
79		wild animals are starting to come back
80	(2.2)	
81	William	yah [that's good hey
82	Geoff	[uh:m (...) there's a there's a **farm** which does produce for the actual lodge
83	(1.4)	
84		uh:m (..) we produ:ce our own **honey** (...) water (...) candles and (....) meat
85		products↑
86	(4.7)	
87		we made <a hell of a differe:nce> in the community in addition (....) we run a
88		nursery so we sell pla:nts
89	William	yoh sounds [fantastic hey
90	Geoff	[we train we tra:in about twelve kids from the disadva:ntaged commu:nity
91		into the horticultural space
92	William	mmhum
93	Geoff	where today well ove:r (..) a hundred and twenty of them are out in (..)
94		different uh: areas of nurseries etcetera with proper qualifications
95		[throughout the country
96	William	[ah sounds incredible hey
97	(1.4)	
98	Geoff	a::nd yah more recently <we have also started to grasp verge planting> (...) on
99		((unclear)) roads

To return to segment 8) (above) he explains that in a pub with which he was associated called the Lazy Upgraders, when the bouncers were removed (and with them the institutional catering to and demand for violence) the nightly fights disappeared (line 19). Notably, no evaluation at all is offered of the action of the bar owners, who are referred to in a general, non-particularising way. Rather, the listener must draw his or her own conclusions based on the empirical observation of a drop in the violence. A similar logic is subjacent to the account of the Grootbos Foundation (segment 11) above). The story, which is one of a fantastic success and a great initiative, is presented almost without agency, as if the events that compose the account as such (founding, expansion, outreach…) happened through the inertial effect of a logic of push-pull that in turn gears aspiration and consumption into macro social organisation.

So, from the frontier bravura of Thobile's colleague to the silent mechanism of liberalism, the accounts that we have looked at so far give an insight into the meaning and symbolism of capital at Sandton. I would like now to turn to a third understanding of liberalism (democracy and freedoms), in the Advocate's account of her defence of the City Press newspaper. This defence was in the case of the newspaper publishing a reproduction of an artwork by an artist, Brett Murray, entitled The Spear. The Spear is a depiction of president Zuma with his trouser zip down, and his sex out. The title is in reference to, and satire of, Umkhonto we Sizwe[20], and the perversion of the ruling ANC party that has been embroiled in sex scandals, and corruption. In the case of its president, these scandals even extend to rape, and of challenges to the judiciary. In publishing the artwork, the newspaper launched the image into the public domain, and it was this that was attacked by Zuma's lawyers, who sought to have it removed. The Advocate's story of her defence of the newspaper is reproduced in segment 10 (Appendix 2-4-3). Above, lines 18 to 87 were included in the discussion of the meso, accounts and alignment. Here below, are lines 88 to 176.

Transcript excerpt 35 : Advocate segment 10) of Appendix 2-4-3

Teller and story: The Advocate is telling a story of a case she worked on. The case had been fought on behalf of City Press and their publication of artist Brett Murray's painting of President Zuma called 'The Spear'. The painting depicted President Zuma with the fly of his trousers down, and his sex out.
Participants: Advocate and William.
Occasioning: Since this was a one-on-one interview, I had been using the questionnaire in appendix as schedule. At this point the schedule is completed and we are talking generally about her job in Sandton.
Actions and events during telling: The Advocate and William are sitting in her office at the table she reserves for meetings with clients.

[20] Umkhonto we Sizwe of Spear of the Nation was the name of the armed wing of the ANC during the struggle against Apartheid.

88	William	[you won yah cause it's obviously not pornography
89		[yeh
90	Advocate	[yah
91	William	·hh >but you know Brett< uh what's the artist's name Brett Murray↑ hey or
92		something r- yeh Brett yah he got into trouble later on in London hey last year
93		[you know→
94	Advocate	[yeh
95	William	they the- you heard the (.) the whole thing
96	Advocate	uh no
97	(0.8)	
98	William	↑he did a: he did an exhibition on on colonialism in the Congo
99	Advocate	okay
100	William	you know (...) but with **black** people
101	Advocate	yah
102	William	you know
103	(0.9)	
104		as kind of **live exhibits** like a kind of a kind of almost like a **happening**
105	Advocate	[yah
106	William	[you kno:↑w
107		like a kind of like a:: (....) what do they call it now
108	(1.5)	
109		·hh uhm
110	(1.8)	
111		and the **black activists** in **London**
112	(1.3)	
113		were up and then jeez and they got (...) **thousands** of signatures they **stormed**
114		the gallery they closed they **closed** the exhibition down
115	(0.7)	
116	Advocate	[but I think that's what makes him tick you know
117	William	[you know (...) yah
118	Advocate	ya:h I think I think he's just that guy you know he:
119	William	yah
120	Advocate	it's it's he he likes that type of controversy because
121	(0.9)	
122		art in a way **i:s** supposed to provoke (....) it's: just always about the extent
123	William	yah
124	Advocate	you know
125	William	what did **you** think about The Spear of the Nation though
126	Advocate	hh look I mean the thing is
127	(1.2)	
128		hh look I didn't (.) buy the uh African argument you know [to say that
129	William	[yah
130	Advocate	uh:::m that was a: t- <you know disrespectful to an African man> type of thing
131		(.) [right↑
132	William	[yah
133	Advocate	because there was that as well that culturally you don't do that because ·hhh
134		whatever ugh hh >I don't kno:w< I I I (.) loo:k
135	(1.0)	
136		I thi:nk
137	(1.0)	
138		art is a strange thing (..) [you know

139	William	[yeh
140	Advocate	and then I thi:nk
141	(1.7)	
142		it gets us speaking (.) but
143	(1.0)	
144		>in in in in< this particular: **thi:ng**
145	(0.9)	
146		I thought what (....) really angered the ANC [mo::re
147	William	[yeh
148	Advocate	>or it or maybe the ANC< **not** because
149	(0.8)	
150		you know a (..) eh
151	(1.0)	
152		a company or a a a a a **non** (.) natural person >a juristic person< like [a party (.)
153		doesn't have dignity I think our courts have ruled on that
154	William	[yeh (...) yeh (....) yeh=
155	Advocate	=but what angered Zuma in particular is tha:t (....) **he** said it represented him
156		as a
157	(1.4)	
158		you know as: wha:t um **morally** loose or whatever(hh) whi::↑ch isn't a lie
159		>either so for me it was [ju:st interesting that→
160	William	[mm
161	Advocate	·hh at that time >↑remember there were stories about him having<
162		impregnated Khoza's daughter:r thi:s and other women ·hh so ug:h (...) you
163		know↑ hh >I don't know< man I think ↑I think the guy had to say what he had
164		to say you know
165	William	[mm mm
166	Advocate	and ya:h (.) so that's why uh I think I was on the right side
167	William	mm
168	(0.7)	
169		·hh >yah Zuma definitely when he was- he was in Paris for the Cop 21 ooof yah
170	(1.0)	
171		you know the French ((indistinct)) you know he's a s s sex **addict** [hey like he's
172		like he's
173	Advocate	[yah I know I know I know no boundaries hey
174	William	((laughs))
175	Advocate	no no boundaries well that's what I **think** at least °that's what I think
176	William	((laughs)) ·hh but anyway thanks **so much** Advocate

When we were talking, I had vividly in mind some aspects of the court case, such as the advocate for Zuma breaking down and crying with the indignity of the artist's portrayal of Zuma's sex, or of Brett Murray's later scandal in London where he was the subject of outrage for what was felt to be institutionalised racism. The Advocate herself frames this story in terms of the two legal arguments of right to dignity (line 41) and the right to freedom of expression (line 46). She expressly rejects a cultural argument, or the idea that different values should apply to an African, as opposed to a European, man. And it this that is so tantalising about this story, that, in defending a newspaper's right to disseminate what is a damning depiction of a president, this Advocate is also defending the values that are associated with neoliberal democracy, such as freedom of speech, the rule of law, and the value of art. Indeed (at line 64) art is personified, given a role as animator within the story, but in a

language that is qualified as ‘different’ and in some ways equivocal. For the purposes of this discussion about capital though, what emerges clearly from the story is the instrumentalisation of these values. The newspaper is quickly tied into its commercial role and responsibilities as publisher, whilst the artist, Brett Murray is qualified as liking the provocation, as it making him ‘tick’ (line 116). Even more, art itself is, for this participant, *supposed* to provoke. And in this lies, perhaps, its commercial value.

Cash, market and liberal values should not however be understood in an uncomplicated way. As noted in the previous section under the discussion around origins, South Africa in general, and Sandton in particular, occupy a step on what is a long and painful process of transition from the unjust regime of Apartheid to a values-driven post-Apartheid. This process, or trajectory, is both a physical and a figurative one. Let’s go back to the gps data that I collected with Thobile. This is given in figures 67 and 68 below, and I would once again ask that these maps be mentally superposed with those of chapter 1 as to unemployment, GVA, education etc. In this long, expensive and tiring journey that Thobile undertakes everyday from Soweto to Sandton there is much that changes, from average educational levels for each place, to average wage, to average house size etc.

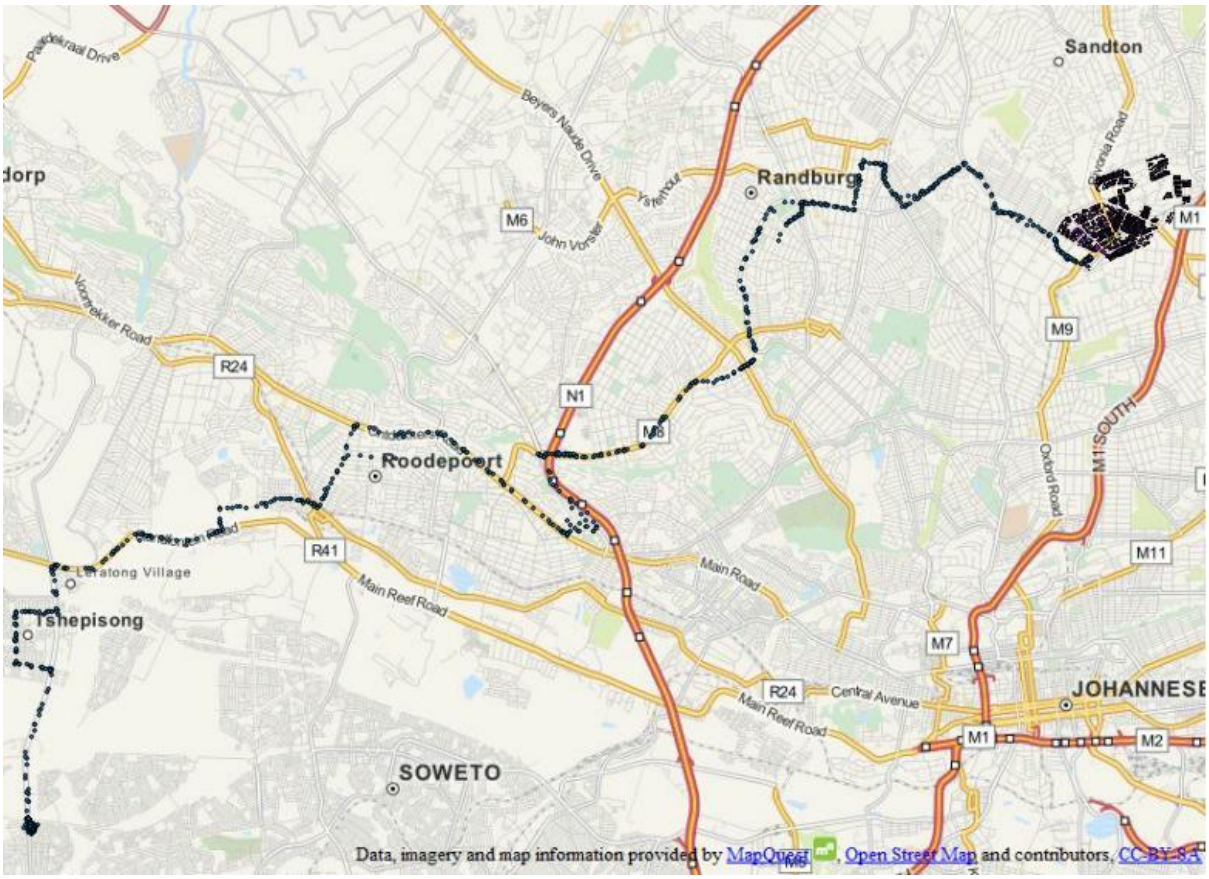


Figure 67: Thobile’s trajectory from Soweto to Sandton.

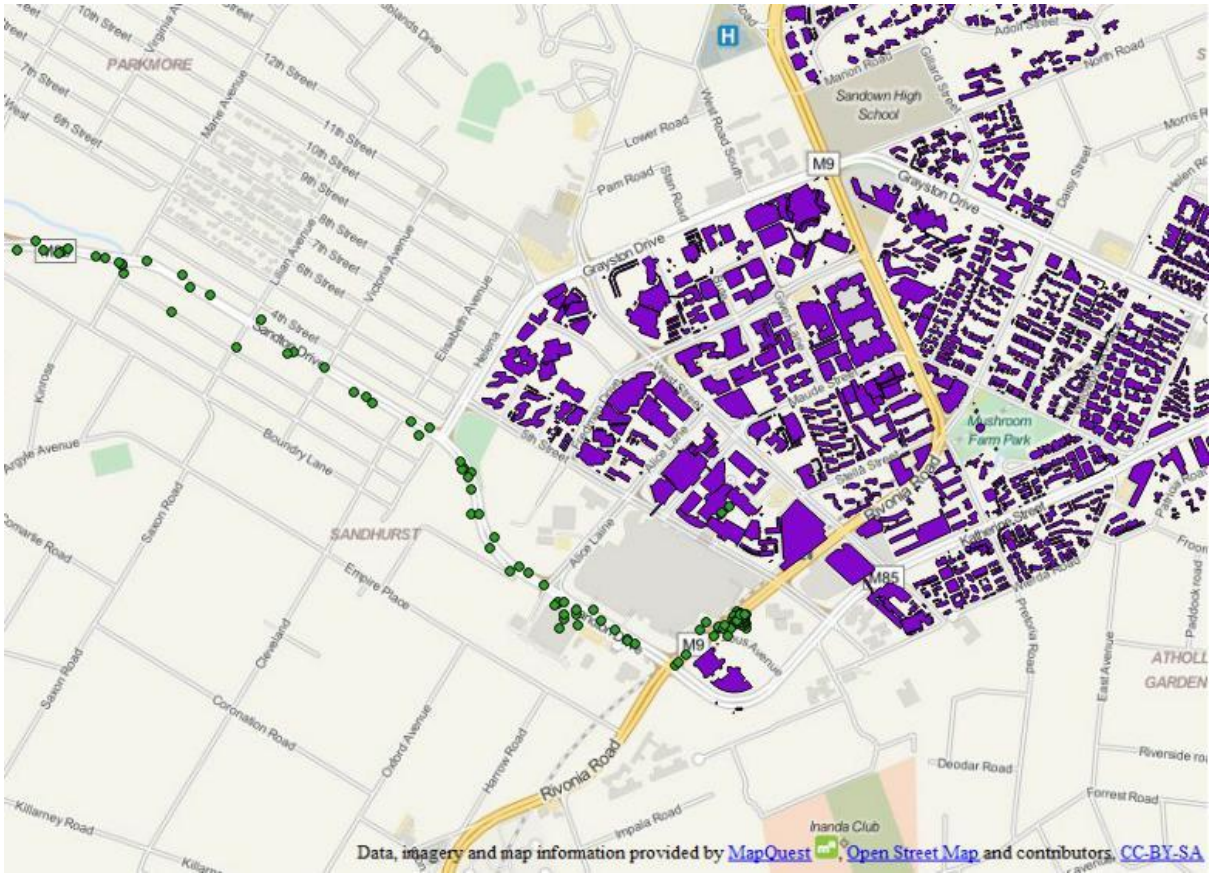


Figure 68: Closeup of Thobile's movements within the space of Sandton.

In their own ways Tebogo and the Advocate have perfomed a trajectory similar to this, but one that has been inscribed in their career and their lives, rather than in the day-to-day of a commuter journey to work. I had just come from my second meeting with the Advocate when I sat down with Nicky and Tebogo, and asked them about the thoughts that were forming concerning this biographic trajectory. It is this questioning that gave rise to Nicky's segment 7) lines 22 – 35 (reproduced above), where she recounts her adopting of a foster daughter and her thoughts with respect to the contradiction that this daughter must feel as enormous declivities in culture, education, opportunity and career gape open with her maturing and entrance into adulthood. This was in fact the substance of the Advocate's story at segment 6) (reproduced again below) which is, interestingly, framed both with a generalising 'you' and in a distancing, discursive narrational present that takes the story-telling away from what is in fact autobiography and personal reflection.

Transcript excerpt 36 : Advocate segment 6) of Appendix 2-4-3

Teller and story: The Advocate is telling of growing up and the generational difference in terms of career access and disposable income.
Participants: Advocate and William.
Occasioning: Since this was a one-on-one interview, I had been using the questionnaire in appendix as schedule. At this point I had been prompting stories on home environment as contrasted with the space of Sandton.
Actions and events during telling: The Advocate and William are sitting in her office at the table she reserves

for meetings with clients.

19		ug(h) <that's why they take you to school> because **they** know that whatever
20		they've **tried** isn't working
21	William	yeh
22	Advocate	so then you become that ho:pe right (...) but ·hhh they wa- also wa:nt to
23		acquire things (....) through you as you get
24	(1.0)	
25		things you know [they want you to improve their lives
26	William	[right
27	Advocate	because there were certain things that (..) were just a no-go (..) you know
28	William	yeh
29	Advocate	for example (..) none of my parents could be lawyers because the law didn't
30		allow it
31	William	[okay
32	Advocate	[so even if they wa:nted to
33	William	yah
34	Advocate	it just couldn't have happened (.) but the thing is the fact that **I** ca:n (...) it also
35		means what **I can** (..) bring home right
36	William	[right↓
37	Advocate	[((unclear)) with **cha:nge** get a bigger house get this get whatever
38	William	yeh
39	Advocate	but the:n also for yourse:lf↑ you know (..) **now** that you've got these chances
40		you have to live up to (..) what they bring
41	William	yeh
42	Advocate	you know and **then** obviously
43	(1.2)	
44		the: most
45	(1.8)	
46		<overt **way**> in which you sw- so >I mean you show< it would be <through
47		material acquisition>

What I would like to emphasise in the above transcript is lines 35 to 41, where the Advocate explicitly links the deprivation and injustice of Apartheid to conspicuous consumption and acquisition. This is a fascinating story, and one that reaches out to many many South Africans, not just in Sandton. It is a story that can be found, in essence, in Thobile's R39,000. But it is not the same as Geoff's accounts. On the contrary, Geoff offers an overview of the mechanisms of a system that are perceived at an individual level by Thobile and the Advocate. And these, index their trajectory in stories where characters, fundamentally, align with a consumptive conception of modernity, that emphasises wealth and success.

This process can best be captured by Bucholtz and Hall's (2004b, 2005, 2010) relational understanding of the tactics of subjectivity. Under 'distinction' they discuss the ways in which speakers suppress, "similarities that might undermine the construction of difference" (2005 : 600). The difference in question though, it must be underlined, is one of class and power. It frames participant negotiation of social space (Bourdieu 1984, 1989) and, in this nascent South African context, delineates the creation of a new class that is, however, more 'creative' (Ollivier 2011) and certainly more aligned vertically rather than horizontally (Daloz 2011, Üstüner and Holt 2010).

With respect to the discourses of the companies that participated in this research, and in contrast to the positionings of participants as these emerge through local, meso, roles, the inclusion of the actual accounts that were collected reveals a very deep vein of alignment with respect to capital and class that I found both surprising and thought-provoking. It reveals Sandton as a space that is much more homogenous, in respect to discourses of capitalism and liberalism, than I could ever have expected, and must be a major conclusion of this section.

Breaking news and shared stories – buy-in

In our discussion so far, the breaking news between Thobile and her colleague has come up several times. It flags up different hierarchies of the managerial chain, and therefore different degrees of education, training, and socio-economic power. There is also the aspect of incomprehension, and a tacit rejection of behaviour that deviates substantially from corporate models:

Transcript excerpt 37 : Thobile segment 3 1) of Appendix 2-4-1

Teller and story: Thobile's female colleague (both are information officers at the Sandton City Mall) recounts her meeting with the Supervisor following her lateness to work.
Participants: Thobile and a female colleague.
Occasioning: The female colleague had arrived late, and had then told Thobile about the Supervisor and the ZAR 39.000 in cash that she had had to deposit.
Actions and events during telling: Thobile is logging off from the Sandton City Mall computer system and the other colleague is logging on.

46	Female colleague	mm::
47	(1.3)	
48		(supervisor) was busy shouting >shouting shouting< (...) and I just listened to
49		her >shouting shouting shouting< and I said sorry:
50	Thobile	mm::
51	(0.9)	

But a divergence and a disjuncture such as this is rare in the data that I collected for Sandton. In the overwhelming majority of cases, employees are active in the co-construction and upholding of a company ethos. And it is the operation of this co-construction that I would like to study in this last section of the chapter by turning to the breaking news and shared stories of Thobile and the participants at the SCC that write back, in their own way, to the stories by Geoff of his (almost) initiation and the esprit de corps of the stock exchange in those heady days of the seventies, or the story by Nicky of junior insubordination and its subsequent uptake into a successful market tool. These are all, finally, both stories of independence and cooperation.

Faced with a situation in which a colleague had sold coupons under her name, Thobile participates in the construction (Thobile, segments 8 1) and 8 2), Appendix 2-4-1, reproduced above) of what is an account, but that will become a shared story when it is retold to the supervisor:

Transcript excerpt 38 : Thobile segment 8 2) of Appendix 2-4-1

Teller and story: Thobile and a female colleague, both information officers at the Sandton City Mall, co-

construct a narrative that explains why vouchers were sold under the wrong login.

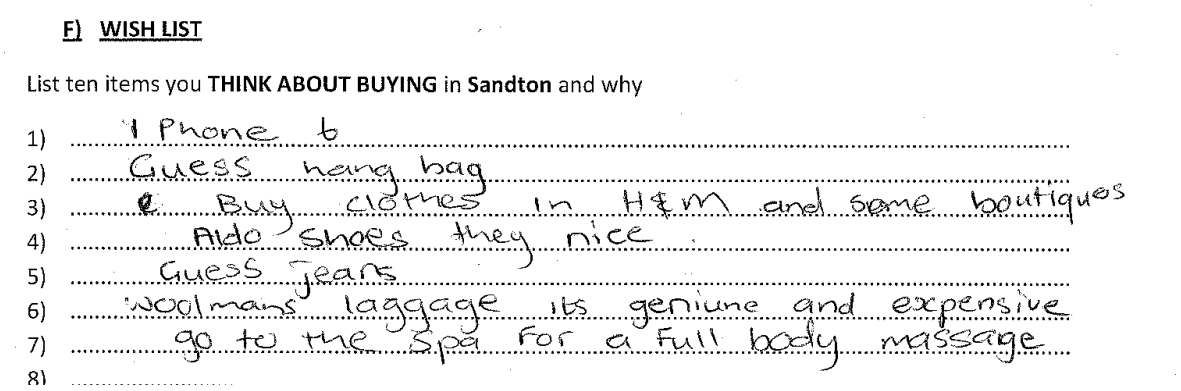
Participants: Thobile and a female colleague.

Occasioning: The female colleague had phoned Thobile to inform her of the error.

Actions and events during telling: Thobile receives a phone call from another colleague regarding vouchers, login information and timetable organisation.

2	Thobile	you know what
3	(2.2)	
4		let's just sa:y (....) I(h) went the:↑re a:nd (....) when I **got** there I had a cu↑stomer
5		(....) and the syste↑m (.) when after I **lo:g**ged i:n the system just (....) **fro::**ze so I
6		couldn't **log** ou:t
7	(2.4)	
8		ye::s
9	(3.4)	
10		yes the same time **we** came in **you** had a custome:r
11	(0.9)	
12		you had a customer I'm sure you (....) you- I'm sure you just (....) logged in (....) go-
13		didn't even see that (..) I didn't log ou:t
14	(5.7)	
15		ei↑sh

As already noted in the discussion of the meso, Thobile is complicit with her colleague. Their construction of a convincing story-world is participative and fluid. Looking specifically at the story itself though, what is key is the computer failure – a *system* failure – that resists Thobile's attempt to log out. Central then, to the story, is the role of technology, just as it was at three different places in her colleague's story of R39,000 where Thobile insists on knowing the time because her phone is not working, where she directs Richard past the i-Phone store (as she did me when we first met), and when the story moves to a conclusion that hinges on another colleague fetching her phone. In fact digital applications are a recurrent theme in Thobile's stories. This centrality of technology in her working life, and its reappearance in the story-world, indicates Thobile's alignment with many of the values and discourses of the mall as environment. This comes out more clearly when compared to her wish list for Sandton (see figure 69 below) that is topped by the desired, but inaffordable, luxury of an i-Phone 6. This wish list is also a collection of the more affordable, more tangible offerings of Sandton City: branded jeans, shoes and handbag, and a full body massage. The body, and the care of the body, is the subject of an interesting discussion by Ally (2013), that highlights the need for dignity within relationships informed by racialisation and discrimination. Given the context of Thobile's stories, technology, aspiration and care, represent a poignant counterpart to a daily working life filled with anxious, timid, overbearing, aggressive, hurried people and topped by colleagues who ring up their coupons under your code, who arrive late, and force you to explain it all to the supervisor.



F) WISH LIST

List ten items you **THINK ABOUT BUYING** in **Sandton** and why

1) I Phone 6
2) Guess hang bag
3) Buy clothes in H&M and some boutiques
4) Aldo shoes they nice
5) Guess Jeans
6) woolmans laggage its geniune and expensive
7) go to the Spa for a Full body massage
8)

Figure 69: Excerpt of Thobile's wish list for Sandton from her interview sheets.

This investment in Sandton City, and what it represents, is also brought out in the stories collected at the SCC. In segment 1 5) (Appendix 2-4-4) some of the team members' friends (from South Johannesburg) had taken selfies to pretend that they could access the exclusive brands such as Prada etc. The humour of the story brings out even more strongly the difference here between the positionings of the storyteller and the characters within the story (see line 68) whose reported speech is quoted using the same BE + LIKE (Blyth, Recktenwald and Wang 1990) that was associated with Linda in chapter 4:

Transcript excerpt 39 : SCC Sales and Marketing Team segment 1 5) of Appendix 2-4-4

Teller and story: Female team member 2 of the Sales and Marketing team of the Sandton Convention Centre, is telling a story of a friend who wanted to take selfies at the most exclusive section of the Mall. The section in question, the Diamond Walk, sells Prada and other similar 'haute couture' brands.
Participants: Sales and Marketing team members at the Sandton Convention Centre and William
Occasioning: In this focus group session we had been talking about the space of Sandton, and here, in particular, of participants' relationship to the Mall.
Actions and events during telling: The team members and I were in one of the meeting rooms of the Sandton Convention Centre talking animatedly about events that members had seen in Sandton.

56	female team member 2	Miché: one of our friends ((laughing)) after we fini:shed we were
57		leaving >so we have to walk through the Diamond Walk to get to our
58		ca:rs< ·**hh and** she's like ↑oh(h) my gosh(h) just **ho::ld on** ·hh I can
59		**never** lea:ve here with**out** taking pictures (..) [with Prada and Gucci
60		**and** everything else
61	female team member 3	[selfies
62	female team member 4	[(and cocktails and)
63	female team member 2	((laughs))
64	female team member 3	but you **see it [all the** time
65	female team member 2	[we see it **everyday:y** so we're like no uhm that's
66		not (..) we don't need to ((laughter)) take pictures with you **you go**
67		**ahead** we'll take the pictures for you bri:ng i:t ·**hh** and she's like **ya:h**
68		>and then I'm going to show people these pictures and be like< ↑oh
69		**no:** I go to this place **e:veryda::↑y** ((laughter)) ·**hh** she(h)'s li(h)ke **oh**
70		**my word** where is this place and she'd be like ↑**wha:t** no I visit this
71		place everyday what do you mean can't you see all my pictu(h)res

Sandton is often represented from a 'behind the scenes' perspective in the stories collected at the SCC. I felt, during my participation in their meetings, that sometimes they were playing up to my presence, offering me a vision of a place with which they were familiar, and that they could demystify. Nevertheless participants' admiration, and wholehearted enthusiasm for some of the events that had been organised at the SCC is not feigned. This is very noticeable from line 126 of segment 1 9), (reproduced below), where begins a description of the events that had taken place for the 2010 World Cup, but it is a line running through many of the stories and that reveals itself in the fact that, for instance, at transcripts 2, 3 and 4, the initial story is followed by a one or even two second stories (Sacks 1992) that show participant uptake. The characters that fill these stories are larger-than-life heros of television and business. Like Habana, they stand with big chest and wide shoulders (segment 1 9), transcript 4, lines 20 to 49 reproduced above) and they inspire a genuine rush of adrenaline, as in the story about Ryan Giggs, the Welsh football coach and co-owner of Salford City, reproduced again immediately below. At lines 11/12, the importance of selfie taking as evidentiary, as locative and as declarative, "↑here I'm [standing next to you" gives rise to the conclusion of the story where, in fact, the photo doesn't come out, to the wry amusement of the team member telling the story.

Transcript excerpt 40 : SCC Sales and Marketing team segment 1 8) of Appendix 2-4-4

Teller and story: Female team member 5 of the Sales and Marketing team, of the Sandton Convention Centre, is telling a story that takes up the theme of the 2010 World Cup and of when a colleague met Ryan Giggs in the mall.

Participants: Sales and Marketing team members at the Sandton Convention Centre and William

Occasioning: In this focus group session we had been talking about the space of Sandton, and here, in particular, of memorable events for the Sales and Marketing team.

Actions and events during telling: The team members and I were in one of the meeting rooms of the Sandton Convention Centre talking animatedly about events that members had seen in Sandton.

1	female team member 2	[...] so (....) Sandton's the place to be (..) twenty ten
2	(0.7)	
3	female team member 1	mmm:
4	female team member 2	[<**Sandton was the place to be::**>
5	female team member 4	[**oohh::: ye:::s**
6	female team member 5	[in our centre (Eva) ran into Ryan Giggs in the **ma:↑ll ·hh hh** ·hh
7	((laughter))	
8	female team member 4	[((unclear)) a date
9	female team member 5	[(yes she was) she just took **a:ll** her food and her lunch and dumped
10		it ((unclear)) and said ↑here I'm [standing next to you
11	female team member 1	[she went
12		ru running she was **ru:nning**
13	female team member 5	take the picture please and then the picture didn't

Transcript excerpt 41 : SCC Sales and Marketing team segment 1 9) of Appendix 2-4-4

Teller and story: Female team member 4 of the Sales and Marketing team at the Sandton Convention Centre, is telling a story that takes up the theme of the 2010 World Cup and of the team events that had been organised for the functions.

Participants: Sales and Marketing team members at the Sandton Convention Centre and William

Occasioning: In this focus group session we had been talking about the space of Sandton, and here, in particular, of memorable events for the Sales and Marketing team.

Actions and events during telling: The team members and I were in one of the meeting rooms of the Sandton Convention Centre talking animatedly about events that members had seen in Sandton.

99	female team member 4	we even learned to **da:nce** and we did it [out in the street hey
100	female team member 2	[yah they did a
101		whole [da:nce
102	female team member 3	[a diski dance
103	((yah))	
104	female team member 2	a diski da::nce (...) [a film ((unclear))
105	female team member 1	[I actually got it on on (...) disc
106	female team member 2	[·**hhh** you(h) should(h) see
107	female team member 4	[**you should play**
108		**it for him** it's a really nice thing to go back to [and for the ((unclear))
109		to see it
110	female team member 2	[**yes**
111	female team member 1	uh ya(h)
112	William	yah yah go for it (.) yah
113	female team member 1	I don't know [where I I need to f-
114	female team member 4	[do you have it
115	female team member 5	it became such a trend at every [function
116	female team member 4	[every function we were doing
117		(..) everywhere
118	female team member 1	[it became interna:tional
119	female team member 3	everybody (.) was doing it (.) [yes
120	female team member 1	[it became international because
121		they watched it [here on (.) er
122	female team member 2	[no but you guys done so: well
123	female team member 4	[yah we did
124	female team member 1	[they watched it (.) on the [on the televisions and the-
125	female team member 3	[it was rehearsing rehearsing
126		rehearsing we fucking danced=
127	female team member 4	[=**every day**
128	female team member 2	[and it's **so cool** because it goes **through** the office (.) the ball being
129		kicked through the offices=
130	female team member 3	=yes=
131	female team member 4	=eventually it gets outsi:de and the **who:le tea:m** ·hhhh with
132		((unclear)) the whole team is outside doing the **diski dance**=
133	female team member 5	=and the ((unclear)) just **every day** it was amazing

Conclusions for the micro

The micro level of the actual stories told, and the characters within these stories, adds a significant complexification of the analysis carried out in this chapter. Whereas at the meso level the participant roles and positioning offers a contestation and a reinterpretation of many institutional discourses, the stories themselves are much more aligned with what can be understood as the 'ethos' of Sandton: a place of capital, conspicuous consumption and aspiration. There is also a trace, in many of these stories of the frontier adventurism that characterised Johannesburg's early days. The superposition of Sandton, and its steel and glass modernity has, perhaps, not really changed the underlying substrata

of this respect for and promotion of risk taking and bravura. Certainly it fits well with the neoliberalism that must, unavoidably, be engrained in Sandton's financial, business, banking and retail sectors.

Conclusions for chapter 5

Through a focus on the communities of practice of four institutions, we have been able to access the interior workings of some of Sandton's iconic spaces. Not only this, but in a very important way we have given depth to the previous chapter 4, that focused on participant trajectory from home through Sandton. We now understand the kinds of discourses, processes and ethnographically relevant categories that inform the shifts and adaptations noted in that chapter. This has been done through a reconciliation of small stories positioning analysis with Bucholtz and Hall's principle of positionality. The result has been a comprehensive and exacting framework with which to unpick the small stories, gps and artifactual data that was collected for this research.

Within the progression of the chapter, we have noted a difference in the kinds of orientation to discourse done, at the macro level, by accounts, on the one hand, and by breaking news and shared stories on the other. Acounts, it was seen, fitted well into cohesive institutional discourses and company ethos at both the Johannesburg Stock Exchange and the Advocate's offices. Breaking news and shared stories favoured the more distributed spaces and artifacts of the Convention Centre (part of a wider hotel chain) and the Sandton City Mall. The four institutions had adopted different discursive positions. Sandton City Mall had a discourse that was largely pro-West, pro-affluence, pro-conspicuous consumption, the Advocates' group and the JSE were obstensibly pro-change, pro-transformation, whilst the SCC focused on service provision and market-sector related discourses. We noted that these spaces, echoed, in their own ways, the work done discursively and pragmatically by the Sandton District management in promoting, within a neoliberal agenda, a sense of ethics and community, through the organisation of events such as the CEO sleepout. In terms of categories, and the macro demographics of these spaces, though, all were marked with structural differences and inequalities. Through the artifacts of its semiotic landscape, the space of Sandton could be considered generally masculine, generally pro hierarchy. There were also troubling absences in data, such as those for outsourced personnel. And in terms of access to senior management, this was seen to be harder if one was female, and especially if one was black and female. Finally, inequalities in tertiary education reflected the findings of chapter 1 that placed Sandton within the geospatial inequality of the greater Johannesburg region.

At the meso level of roles and situation of interaction we noted several tactics used by speakers that were relevant to their community of practice (their institution). One such was recourse to origins that was in turn a gambit in the subjacent spatialisation of race and gender in South Africa. Another behaviour was the use of breathiness and overlap. These were seen to be associated with cosmopolitanism, and with control, or power. This reinforces the analysis of hierarchy and corporate structure that was noted at the macro level. Then, in the context of the genres of breaking news and shared stories, that are more distributed, more orientated to the present and more relevant to team work, we looked at the subversion of institutional discourse through the use of irony. These facets of participant stories brought out a challenge and a derogation to discourse, and a reconciliation between personnel that reinforced a certain kind of maverick leadership that seemed to subtend institutional space in Sandton generally.

At the micro level, an important finding was the symbolic reinterpretation of the physical trajectories with which we have been working throughout this thesis. This continued, on the one hand, the sense of frontier adventurism noted at the meso level, but it also, on the other hand, and particularly with respect to participant accounts, showed a buy in by participants to a culture of conspicuous

consumption and acquisition. Through shared stories and breaking news this aspirational facet of Sandton was also reinforced, as participants had recourse to company ethos and discourse in that these elements filtered down to their storied worlds. We concluded this last section with a return to Nuttall and Mbembe's metaphor of the underneath (Nuttall and Mbembe 2008), and to Johannesburg's origins; considering the ways in which Sandton's modernity has been superposed onto the gold rush origins of the greater metropolis.

Chapter 6 – Analysis of participant data 3: 'Relationality' and the Born Frees

Introduction

In this chapter I would like to build on the discussion and analysis of the previous chapters to look in depth at a particular cohort that best represents the modernity of Sandton in the present, and its directionality as it moves into the future. The Born Frees, those born during or after South Africa's transition to democracy in the nineties, are now in their early twenties. Known as 'millenials' in other parts of the world, their inclusion in this research more directly opens up themes of access, social justice, politics and consumption. Their study will proceed in terms of the fourth principle of *relationality*, that captures the subtle alignments and disalignments that constitute the operation of class and consumption, but also that of authenticity, power and naturalisation. This is therefore a 'critical' chapter in that I am seeking not only to imbricate an investigation of the data of the Born Frees within the broader research theme of Sandton, but further, this investigation will allow us to extend discussion to powerful issues in South Africa as a whole and to the literature on the Born Frees in particular.

Within their framework for identity and interaction, Bucholtz and Hall (2005 : 598) provide a brief contextualisation of the three axes that compose their fourth principle: similarity/difference, genuineness/artifice and authority/deligitimacy. This contextualisation concerns: a) the social constitution of meaning when discussing identity, and b) a critique of the oversimplification that is implied by the too often iterated foregrounding of sameness and difference as unique analytic axes. The social constitution of meaning has been a steady theme running throughout the application of Bucholtz and Hall's framework. Here it gains weight and substance within an analytic orientation that deepens many of the debates in sociolinguistics and linguistic anthropology. In Bucholtz and Hall (2004b) particularly, a more detailed theoretic grounding is given.

This more detailed theoretic grounding concerns, in the first place, 'markedness' (Bucholtz and Hall 2004b : 372) which refers to the ways in which certain values and behaviours are naturalised, rendered invisible by their prevalence, whilst other values are highlighted as deviant or transgressive. This societal phenomenon, the social *attribution* of meaning, is of course often discussed in terms of ideology and hegemony, but also, as in our chapter 4, in terms of the operation of concepts such as masculinity, heterosexuality etc. For Bucholtz and Hall, and for us, the doing being, the *work* that is involved in identity, at this point implies the agency to choose a marked or unmarked form. Secondly, it is when discussing relationality that Bucholtz and Hall explicitly state their view of identity as oriented to social context rather than being an essentialist, a priori, endowment of an individual (Bucholtz and Hall 2004b : 376). The 'action' and negotiation that is therefore implied in meaning making finds an echo of Kress's work (2001, 2010a and 2010b), but also leads to a focus on practice and on indexicality, where the latter term, particularly, emphasises the semiotic associations that accrue to social categories. Thirdly, and finally, Bucholtz and Hall emphasise the diverge between practice and *performance*, where the second term is understood as being, "highly deliberate and self-aware social display." (2004b : 380). What is of interest in performance is the way it involves stylisation, which is the, "highlighting and exaggeration of ideological associations" (2004b : 381). For the Born Frees, the cohort that is under study in this chapter, performance will be a central aspect of analysis since stylisation is key to understanding much of the identity work that is captured in the

transcripts of appendix 2-5. A study of relationality therefore, given this grounding, will involve addressing markedness, context, indexicality, practice and performance.

Turning next to the question of why the axis of similarity / difference represents an oversimplification, and why its foregrounding in much research is problematic, what this comes down to is the, "*purpose* for which particular semiotic processes are put to use." (Bucholtz and Hall 2004b : 382 emphasis added). The axis of similarity / difference certainly enables research to investigate groups and symbolic power (Bourdieu 1978, 1984, 1985, 1989). However, although there is an enormous literature on the operation and effect of social stratification and class (see for instance Warde 2011), functioning is presented as binomial. As Rampton (2011) notes:

> […] on the one hand, the inside/outside, here/there, foreign/local binary commonly associated with migration and ethnicity, and on the other, the high/low, mind/body, reason/emotion linked to social class stratification. (Rampton 2011 : 6).

These binomes do not sufficiency address the complexity of the sorts of identity work that are accomplished, the overlapping and subversion of categories, processes, culture, symbol and agency, and the orientation to markers of these differences in the intersubjective *construction* of identity (Bucholtz and Hall 2004a : 493). Bucholtz and Hall (see 2004b : 382) recognise that motives, and purposes, are as important as the categories marked off, and the resulting relations, what they term 'tactics', may be analysed in a more complete way. They propose three axes, that include similarity and difference, but also add genuineness / artifice and authority / deligitimacy (Bucholtz and Hall 2005 : 598). These tactics, then, are the lens through which analysis can focus on the meaning and purpose of categories for participants.

Adequation and distinction (similarity and difference) that remains the first of the three axes, addresses markedness, and the pursuit, or subversion of, 'socially recognised sameness' (Bucholtz and Hall 2004b : 383). This of course involves an understanding of 'sameness' as being not identical but rather, 'sufficiently similar for current interactional purposes' (Bucholtz and Hall 2005 : 599). Adequation, or the 'sufficiently similar' can involve juxtaposition, repetition, combination, or the salience of a unifying characteristic over another (Bucholtz and Hall 2005 : 600 and 2004b : 384). Distinction, as discussed by Bourdieu (1984), involves alignment with, or divergence from, group preference. Through marked forms of language, a speaker nears or distances him or herself from a category that is seen as either preferential or dispreferential.

Authentication and denaturalisation (genuineness and artifice), the second axis, critiques essentialist conceptions of identity (Bucholtz and Hall 2004b : 383) and moves for an investigation of context, practice and performance. On the one hand this implies studying, "the processes by which authenticity is claimed, imposed or perceived;" and the "untruth, pretense, and imposture in identity positioning (Bucholtz and Hall 2004a : 498). On the other, it involves, "how assumptions regarding the seamlessness of identity can be disrupted" (Bucholtz and Hall 2005 : 601). Bucholtz and Hall illustrate the principle by reference to phone-sex workers whose linguistic resources cut across several stereotypical categories such as gender, race, and ethnicity, and whose performances, a "powerful creative act", run the gamut of, "a range of sexualised female identities […] such as the nubile beach bunny, the coy Asian, and the oversexed African American" (Bucholtz and Hall 2004a : 499). Simultaneously however, these performances jar with the speakers' biographies and their own perceptions and realisations of these categories of race, ethnicity and gender. Concretely, a study of

social constitution of meaning along the axis of authentication and denaturalisation allows research to encompass register (see Agha 2005b) or style (see Hurst 2010 and Rampton 2009). It also allows this thesis to investigate relative engagement or disengagement from the heterosexual marketplace (Georgakapoulou 2008 and Bucholtz and Hall 2004a : 502). It can also encompass ethnic and regional or national identity processes (Bucholtz and Hall 2004b : 386) or the narrative activity itself … the ways in which stories are presented as reliable or unreliable, and how they are to be understood (Bucholtz and Hall 2005 : 601). In the data of appendix 2-5 where accounts dominate, it will be interesting to unpick register, stereotype and the heterosexual marketplace in addition to the kinds of tactics that authenticate the story and the telling, and what identities are thereby uncovered.

The third axis of authorisation and illegitimation addresses ideology and institutional power (Bucholtz and Hall 2004b : 383), and, "the ways in which identities are dismissed, censored, or simply ignored by these same structures [of institutionalised power and ideology, whether local or translocal]" (Bucholtz and Hall 2005 : 603). Through 'hegemony' (Gramsci 1971) this axis is quite close to class analysis, and to the first of the three principles (adequation and distinction). However the focus is different. What is at issue here is the exercise and resistance to authority and power, not the bases of that power. One example given by Bucholtz and Hall concerns the *fluency* of language use, where for Korean nationals it can be culturally inappropriate to speak English fluently (Bucholtz and Hall 2005 : 604) and thereby advance an Americanised identity. This example illustrates both the ideology behind use of American English, but also the exercise of power in the illegitimation, by the peer group, of the speaker who does this. Another example given is of how language is used by Aboriginal groups to validate claims to antecedence and to land as against the imposition of a homogeneous national identity (Bucholtz and Hall 2004b : 386). In a cohort such as the Born Frees who face a South African modernity gripped by racial divide and systemic contestation over resources, this line of analysis will be highly productive, as will the investigation of their legitimation within the institutional space of Sandton.

These axes will impose a three-tiered analysis, but, whereas in previous chapters this tiering sometimes pushed the discussion away from the stories, in this case it can be applied directly both to the storied world, and to the story-telling world, without significant modification or mediation between the interactive framework of Bucholtz and Hall and the narrative framework of De Fina and Georgakopoulou. Given the vivacity and the enthusiasm of the stories told by the Born Frees, and the explosive content of many, I wish to take advantage of this compatibility and bring the focus much more immediately close to the narratives of the participants than has been possible previously. Another facet of this chapter which provides a slight change on previous chapters, is that artifacts of the semiotic landscape will be presented in an effort to reconstruct the semiotics of place rather than the discursive features of the visual semiotics. The reason for this is that, in analysing Born Free narratives along the axes of relationality, a very prevalent aspect of discussion is the normative, vertical structure and constraints within which the Born Frees move and with respect to which they align or disalign. Semiotics of place, or, "the huge aggregation of semiotic systems which are not located in the persons of social actors" (Scollon and Scollon 2003 : 8) are concerned with the discourse of the SL environment as a whole, and is therefore a more worthwhile direction for investigation.

Before closing this brief discussion, it is important to recall that the axes with which we are concerned are conceived by Bucholtz and Hall as *tactics* in the sense of De Certeau (1984, 1994), and that they:

> […] invoke the local, situated, and often improvised quality of the everyday practices through which individuals, though restricted in their freedom to act by externally imposed constraints, accomplish their social goals. (Bucholtz and Hall 2004b : 382).

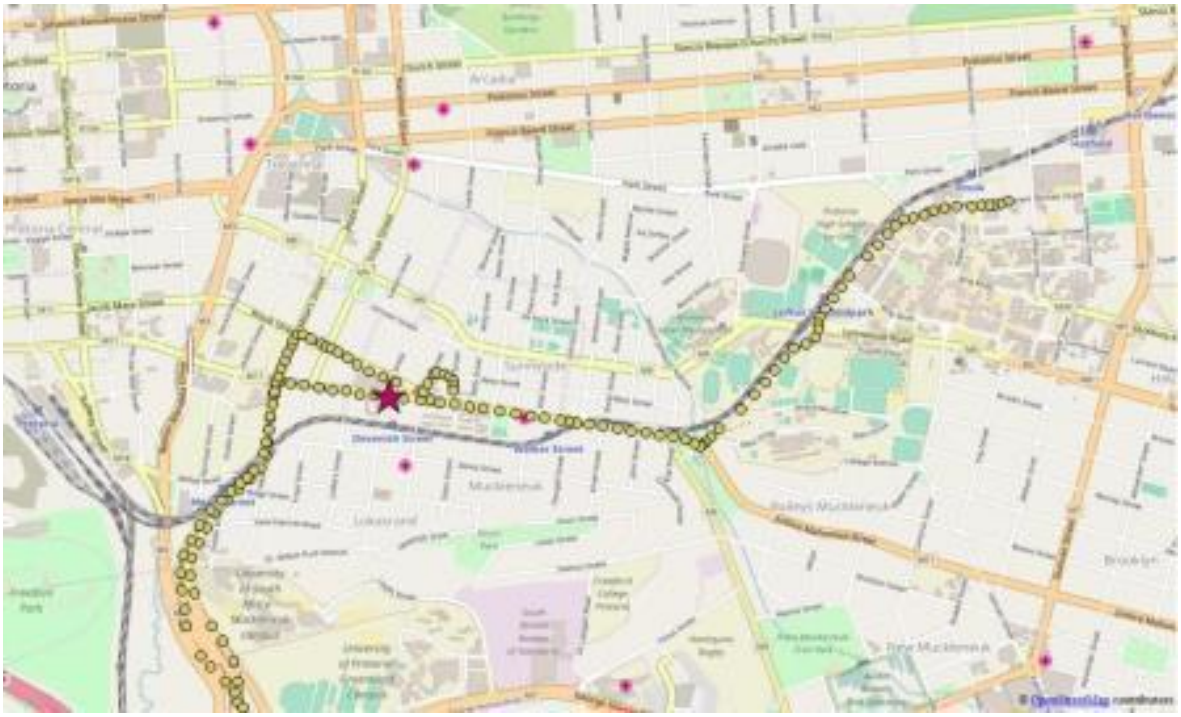
It is thus to the creativity, and the complexity, of identity work, and to the, "diverse ways that relationality works through discourse" (Bucholtz and Hall 2005 : 605) that we begin to now turn, as we overview the participant data for this chapter.

Geolocalisation and introduction of the small stories of the Born Frees

We will be looking at the small stories collected from 6 direct participants, who in turn involved 34 indirect participants. These small stories were mostly collected by the participants themselves, using the mp3 and gps logs that I provided them with, and using them in accompaniment to their movements and activities through Sandton. The two exceptions to this methodology were Linda and Grace. Linda's stories, in particular with the apicultivator The Honey Bear, were introduced in chapter 4. As I mentioned there, Linda came with me on a pilot of the gps logs, and talked with me about her meetings in Sandton with a potential editor. Grace's stories were intended to be self-collected. She took me with her on outings to two iconic nightclubs in the Sandton district: the Sankayi club, and the Taboo club, but due to the noise levels and the poor audio quality, I have only reproduced here the recordings that were made in conversation with me outside of these clubs. The other direct participants were Ndumiso, Buhle, and Mpho and Mathapelo. I would like to give a little introduction to the stories of each of these in the paragraphs below.

In chapter 4, I focused on Linda's initial stories as she explained what she had been doing in Sandton, and then later as she recorded her interaction with Bridgette about the wolf she had seen at the house of the Honey Bear. Analysis concerned the way in which she presented her meetings with a businessman and publisher in the district, and then the code-switching with which she engaged with Bridgette. In this chapter I would like to look at the set of stories that she told about some outings to Sandton with her friends. These stories are given in appendix 2-5. Transcript 2-5-1, 1) (segment 11) recounts an evening gone horribly wrong, filled with cross purposes, and her friend who vomits blue things! Transcript 2) (segment 14) is the story of a rivalry between her and an old schoolmate concerning a boy, and his use of Linda's phone. Both of these stories continue to be very illustrative of Linda's dynamic and interactive telling style as well as the thematic content that was very much rooted in her transition to university life, but also the demands of adapting to the professional requirements of her drama school. Both are accounts, in that they are told to align with certain aspects of what she perceives to be the structural and discursive meanings of Sandton (see De Fina 2009 : 240 for a discussion of the genre).

Rather than reproduce the visualisation of her trajectory that was given in figure 35, I have provided below a mapping of Hatfield, Pretoria, where she lives, and a mapping of Rosebank where the story of segment 11) was told. There is a physicality in the recordings of this thesis that stands out. The moving on from topic to topic is not just temporal, but spatial.


a)

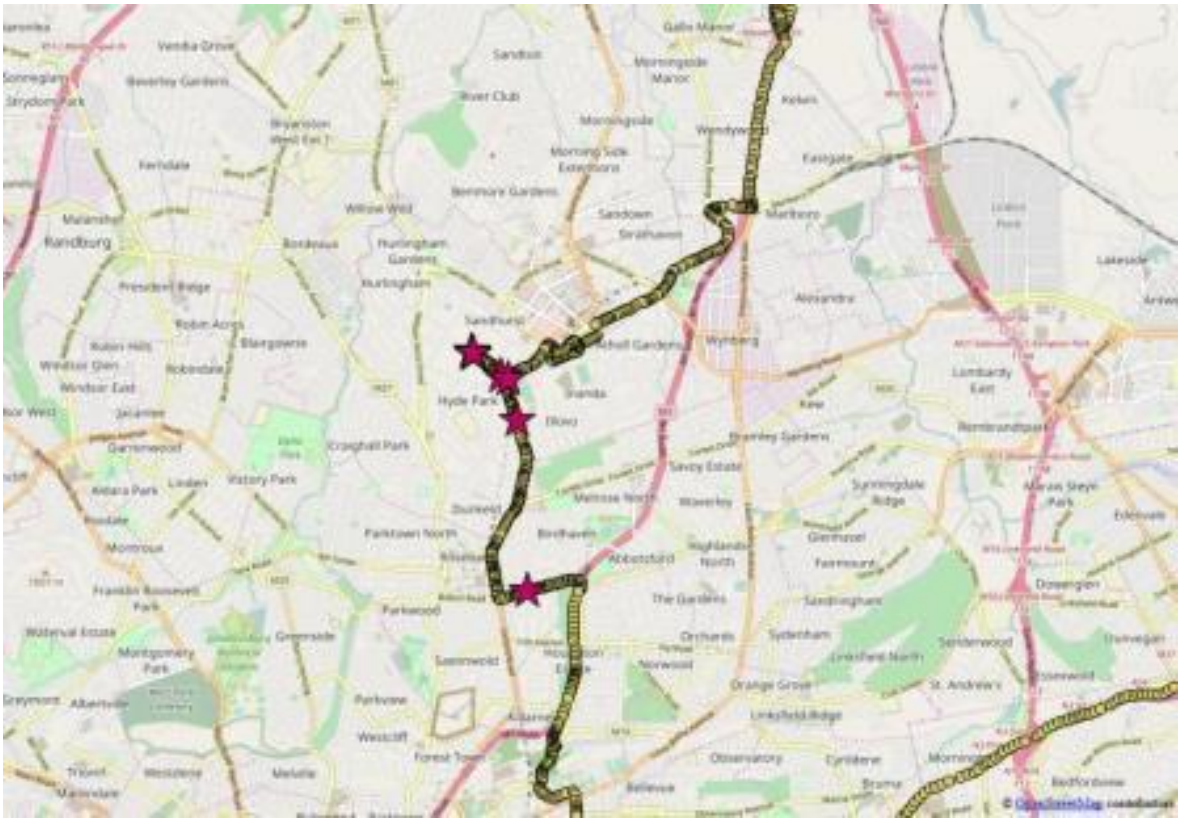
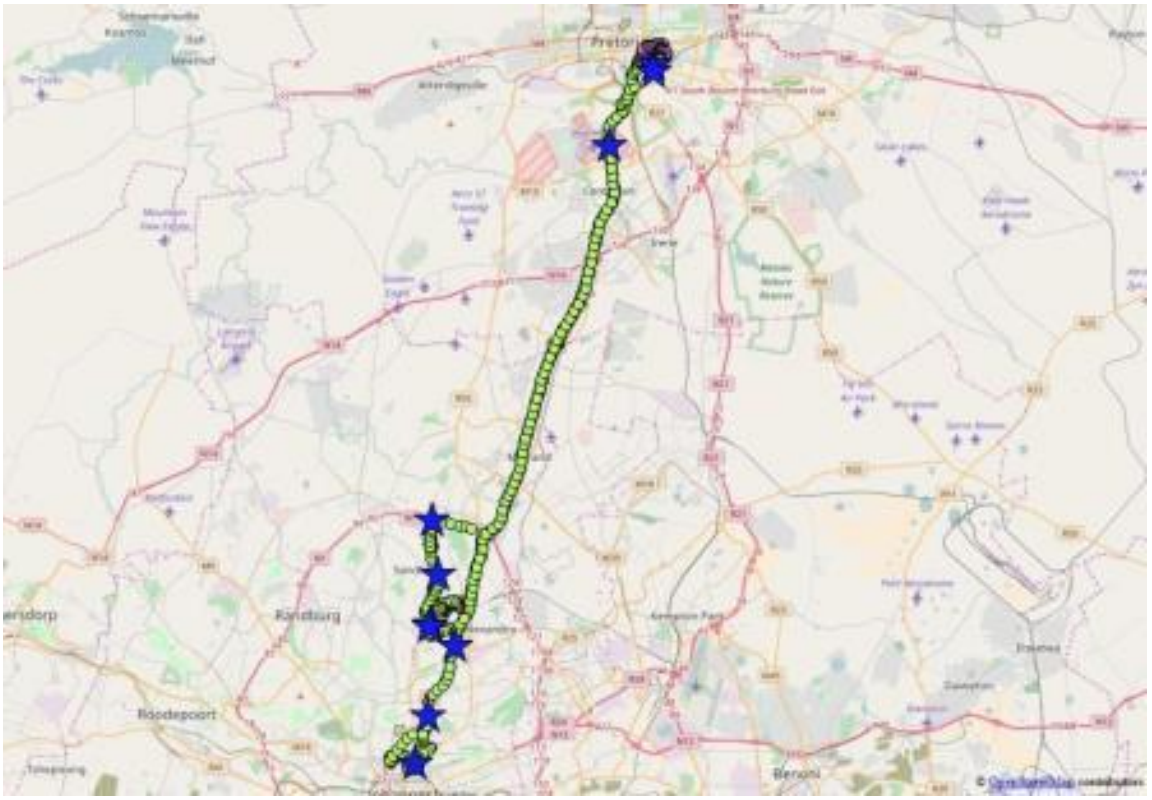

b)

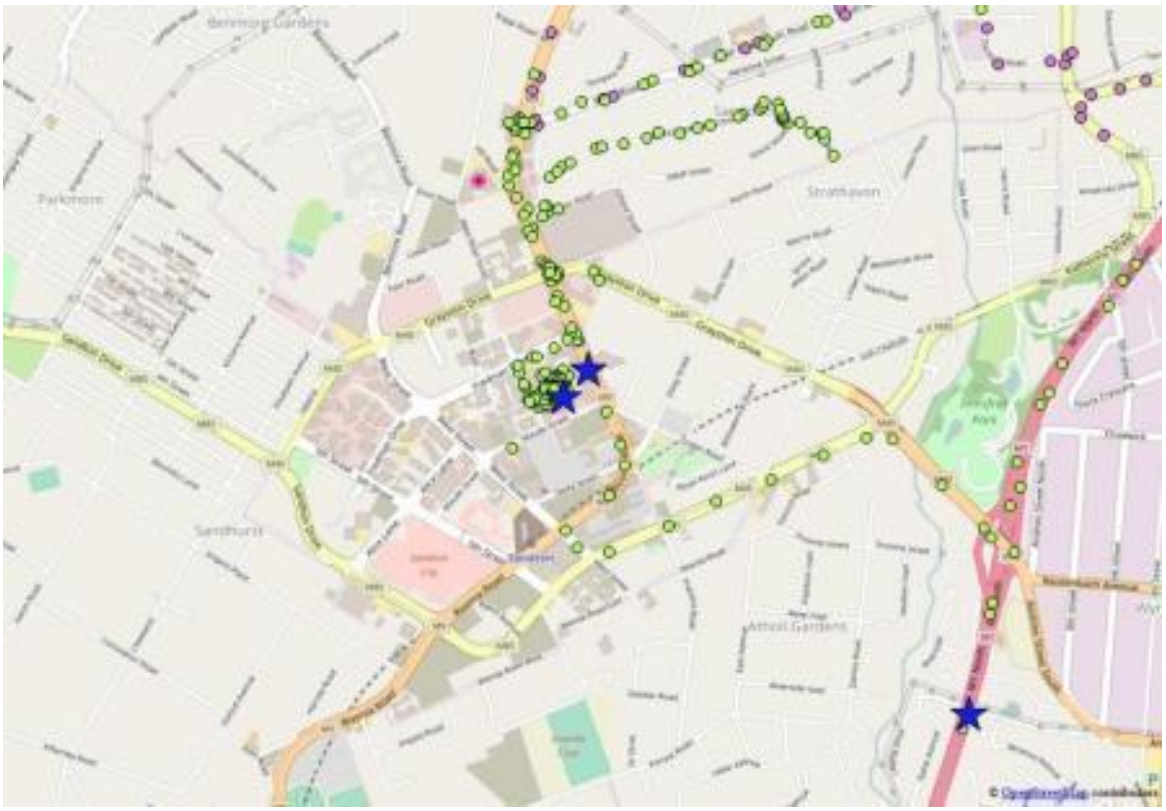
Figure 70: Location of Linda's residence in Hatfield, Pretoria in a), and the location of her stories in b). The southernmost star is the location of segment 11).

The stories I collected with Grace were told during outings with herself and her two cousins to the Sankayi and Taboo clubs in Sandton. Grace is originally from Kinshasa in the Congo[21], and with her inclusion in the research I had been hoping to access the 'underground' in Sandton, in terms both of the non-South African community, but also in terms of the place after dark and the less legitimate business that goes on then. Grace really liked the research project and was incredibly generous with her time and availability. However, surprisingly, nothing really came of the recordings in the clubs themselves. The sound is hazy, and there is certainly no story-telling. Rather the content is visual, gestural. I therefore included four accounts with Grace where, in transcript 2-5-2, 1) (segment 2_2 1), she tells of the times she spent at the Taboo with her boyfriend, and where I account for a dance that happened with me at the Sankayi, in transcript 2) (segment 2_2 2) a story of graduation in Kinshasa, and in transcript 3) (segment 2_2 4) the story of a friend who used to stay in Sandton. Grace's stories are influenced by the fact that she is a second language speaker of English, and is also still adjusting to many of the cultural specificities of South Africa, such as the nature of accommodation, the organisation of university studies, and patterns of consumption. I have reproduced in the figure below the total trajectories to Sandton, which are very close to those that are habitual for Grace, and a closeup of Gwen Lane where the Taboo nightclub is situated, and where the story of segment 2_2 1) takes place.

[21] Since Grace comes from the Congo, she is not a 'Born Free' in the narrow sense of the term, as being Born Free of Apartheid. Her inclusion in this research follows a motivation similar to the inclusion of non English terms and transcripts and the wide cohort of participants. I would like this thesis to go some way towards acknowledging, and harnessing, the diversity of South Africa. Government does little to recognise those who immigrate to South Africa, research should step into this gap.



a)



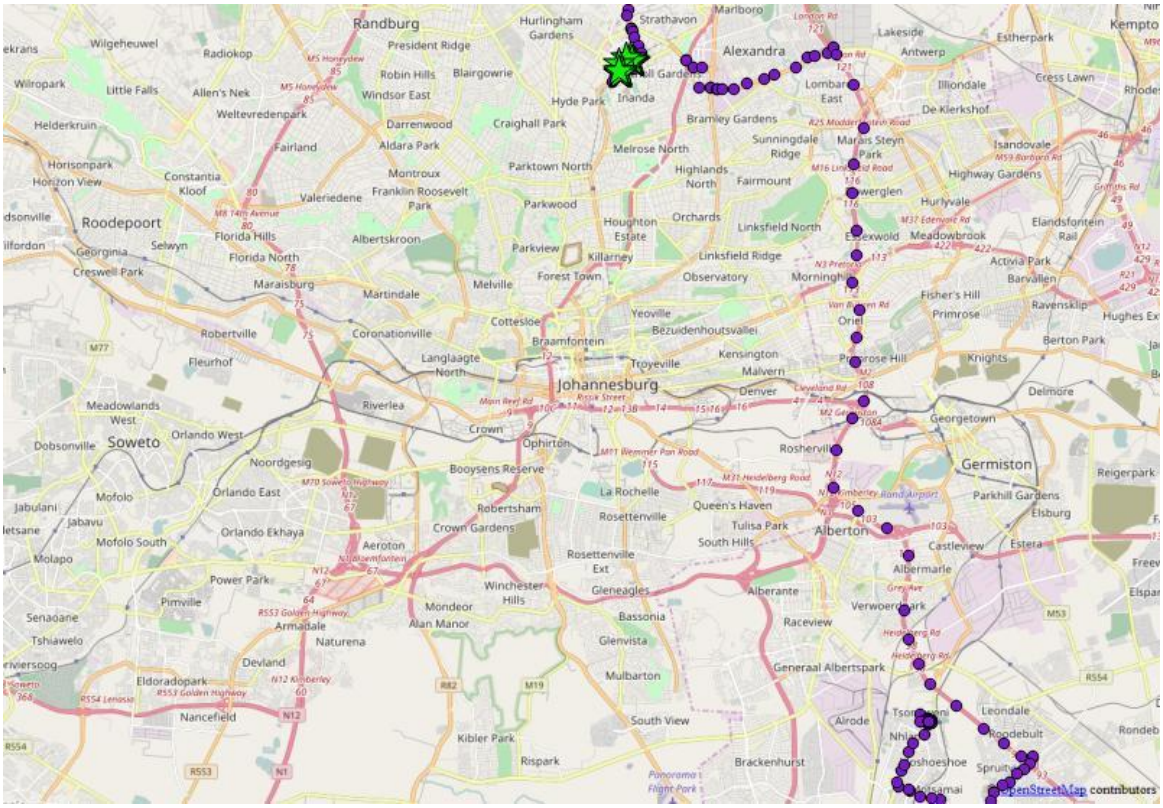
b)

Figure 71: Visualisation of the total trajectories with Grace in a) and a closeup of Gwen Lane, Sandton, in b).

Ndumiso is a student at an Arts college, and an outspoken member of the LGBTIQ community, which is an identity that he performs as much as he practices. He often visits Sandton to go out dancing, to

attend functions, and to meet people who, like himself, are involved in drama and stage production. Ndumiso was an elusive recruit to this research. He was difficult to keep contact with and the gps data was unreadable. I have however chosen to include an excerpt of a recording that he collected because it reads well against the stories collected by Buhle. There is a similar use of slang, and both the story and the telling raise issues that are prevalent in South Africa but underdiscussed. It is a story told with him by his friend, Cheryl, about a friend who has been placed in rehabilitation for marijuana use, her meeting and going out with a married man (appendix 2-5-3 1) (segment 1). Ndumiso's trajectory could not be generated using the gps data that he recorded, however he lives between Braamfontein and South Johannesburg, in many ways following a trajectory that is similar to that of Buhle.

Buhle is a student at a college that offers professional qualifications in the South African services. She is, in some ways, the least affluent of the participants in this chapter, and her stories reflect this. I selected five stories that show an interesting development in her alignment with her friend Katlego. Her first transcript (appendix 2-5-4 1) (segment 3) deals with the interactions that accompany their meeting in Sandton, and then Katlego's account of a nearly avoided rape in her township of Alexandra. The second story (segment 7) revolves around Katlego's rich older boyfriend and his financing of her trip to Mpumalanga as well as the other advantages of her relationship with him. This story has a strong element of YOLO (you only live once) to it, and also explores a darker side of South African gender relations. The third story (segment 9) is one of love and of conspicuous consumption … both the harsher details of Katlego's love for her older boyfriend that includes gender violence, and Buhle's current situation as concerns men, and love. This story in fact includes a refusal to tell by Buhle (see Bamberg and Georgakopoulou 2008 : 381, and Georgakopoulou 2006a : 127 or Georgakopoulou 2014 : 2), that I would like to look at in more detail below. The fourth and fifth stories (segments 16 and 18) show a growing disalignment between Buhle and Katlego as Buhle shares some aspects of her life in the township of Katlehong and how she makes her own short pants, while Katlego begins to talk about her relationship with her younger boyfriend. Buhle's trajectory is reproduced in figure 72 below. The accounts and refusals to tell were collected and recounted in and around the Gautrain station and Sandton City Mall (as shown by the green stars in figure 72 b).



a)

b)

Figure 72: Buhle's total trajectory (from Sandton to Katlehong) in a) and story locations at the Gautrain and Sandton City mall in b).

Mpho and Mathapelo are students in law. In their transcripts (appendix 2-5-5, transcripts 1-10) two moments in Sandton are recorded. The first (segments 1_2) is with friends (Afrika, Rhulane and Leigh)

and centres on the mall and on the logistics of transport into Sandton. The second (segments 2_1 and 2_2) was recorded with only Mpho and Mathapelo and concerns the recent events at their university, with the #feesmustfall movement. Transcripts 1-3) (segments 1_2 2, 3 and 4) are notable for the alignments and negotiation of roles, as the story of a lost Gautrain ticket is told and retold. Transcripts 4-5) (segments 1_2 13 and 14) involve meetings with Dan and Derren and stories of travel to other parts of Africa. Transcript 6) (segment 1_2 16) centres on the brand H&M and of a recollection of its exclusivity. Transcripts 7-10) (segments 2_1 3, 5 and 6, and segment 2_2 1), recount different events of civil activism. These stories involve social media and their relation to municipal and university instances. Transcripts 4) to 10) are accounts, with, in the last, an element of shared story telling. Transcripts 1) to 3) are breaking news in that they are developing as the telling occurs, but they are, or will become, shared stories. Taken together, Mpho and Mathapelo's recordings span consumption, friendship, social media and political involvement. They are a fascinating record of concerned students that I would like to read against some of the literature on Born Free involvement in South Africa's social fabric. The two moments of their recorded narrative trajectories around Sandton are visualised in figure 73 below.

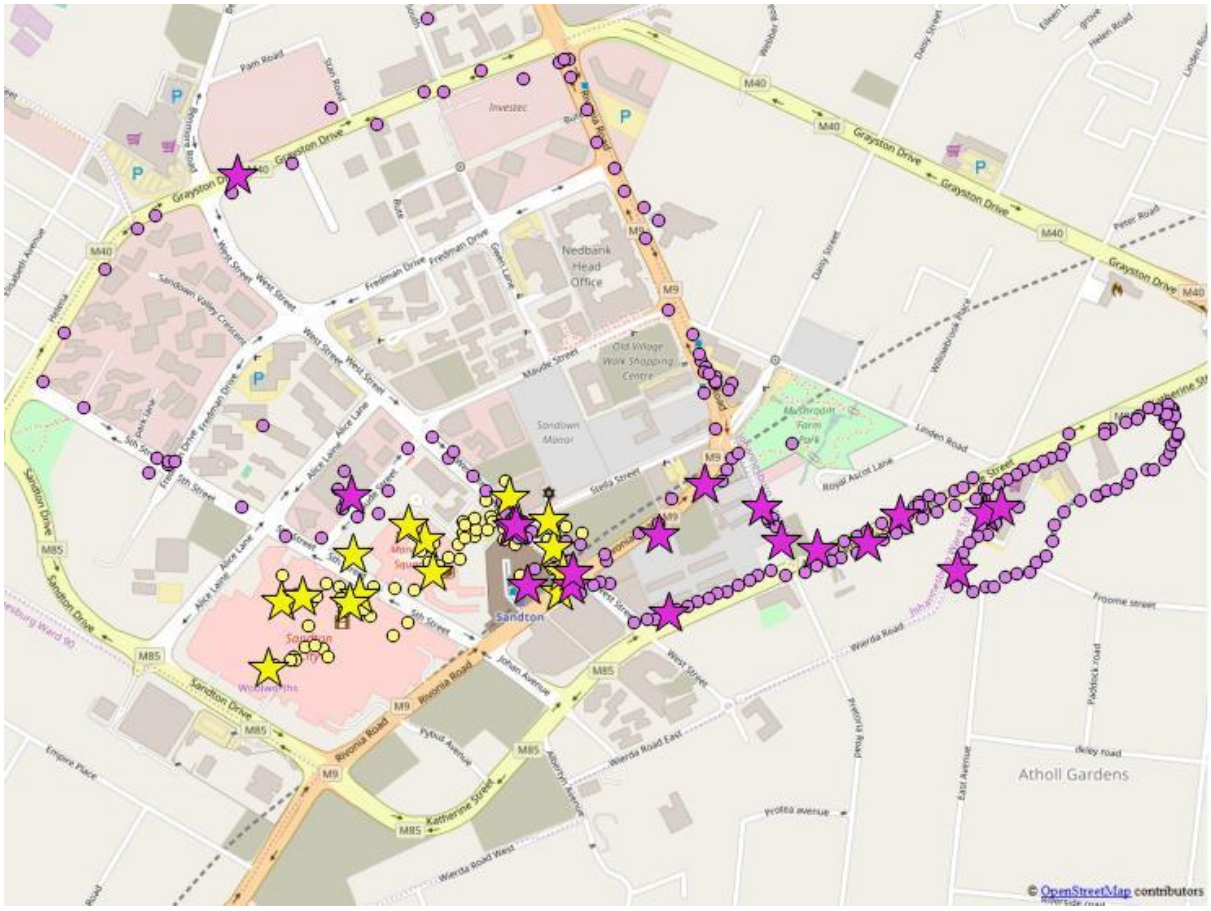


Figure 73: Mpho and Mathapelo's two recorded narrative trajectories in Sandton. In yellow, the first with Afrika, Rhulane and Leigh, and in violet the second, where politics and #feesmustfall were predominant topics.

The trajectories of Linda, Grace, Ndumiso, Buhle, Mpho and Mathapelo intersect at Sandton from places as widely apart as Hatfield, Alexandra, Katlehong and Braamfontein[22]. This divergence of trajectory reflects a huge divergence in socio-economic and cultural affordance. Katlehong for instance (see figure 72 a) is not only spatially removed from Sandton, it also limits the kind of consumption and cultural capital that can be mobilised by someone like Buhle. As we unpack the stories and the trajectories of the Born Frees who participated in this study I hope to also bring out real issues both for Sandton, as for the country and its youth as a whole. Many of the participants in this chapter specially organised outings to Sandton in order to be able to contribute to this research. I am greatly indebted to their effort, and I am sure that the poignancy and depth of some of their excerpts also comes from this accrued consciousness of their place within the bounds of Sandton.

A last note concerns the genre of account, that is so prevalent in these recordings. On the one hand it justifies the choice of this cohort to unpack the principle of relationality within the context of this research into Sandton. Concerned as we are in this chapter with alignment and with an analysis that centres on distinction, authentication and authorisation, the genre of account is the most germane to analysis, since it is told in response to a perceived context of evaluation (see De Fina 2009). On the other hand, it throws up a discord between this linguistic ethnography and the findings of the literature. Georgakopoulou, in her studies of youths in institutional settings (see Georgakopoulou 2008 particularly) noted, above all, the genre of breaking news, and the use within this genre of social media platforms. That the youth of this study should have had such a notable recourse to the genre of account shows a preoccupation with opinion, and one's place in society, that I find particularly interesting.

[22] Hatfield is the student district of Pretoria, whilst Braamfontein is the student district of Johannesburg. Alexandra and Katlehong are 'townships'. which is to say zones reserved under Apartheid for a non-white population. Townships habitually had dense housing, and very poor infrastructure and services (see Dlamini 2009). Alexandra serves Northern Johannesburg. Katlehong is in the generally poorer Southern areas of Johannesburg (see discussion in Chapter 1).

Adequation and distinction

This section, in essence, will look at the marking of in-group and out-group, and thereby the reproduction of social categorisation, of which class. We begin with a story by Mathapelo told with Mpho at Appendix 2-5-5 8) (segment 2_1 5). The story, reproduced below in the context of the segment as a whole, begins at line 15 of the transcript where Mathapelo introduces the theme of socio-economic differentiation, "you ↑find people who are who grew up with s- (….) silver **spoons** in their mouths". She is speaking in the context of a broader conversation with Mpho that revolves around her home of Hammanskraal: a poor, underdeveloped dormitory zone for Pretoria, that also combines extremes of wealth in the form of private gameparks and hunting lodges. This conversation is prompted by their walk through Sandton which at this point confronts the imposing new Wierda Valley Growthpoint development (see also figure 19, chapter 1). I have reproduced this section of their trajectory and the location of the story in figure 74 below as well as a photograph of the early stages of the Growthpoint project that Mpho and Mathapelo would have walked past. This project, and the accumulation of artifacts of the semiotic landscape around it, is an example of the 'semiotics of place' which is discussed by Scollon and Scollon (2003 : 167) and whose meaning is defined in a top-down manner, by and through the institutional action on, and regulation of, the physical environment.

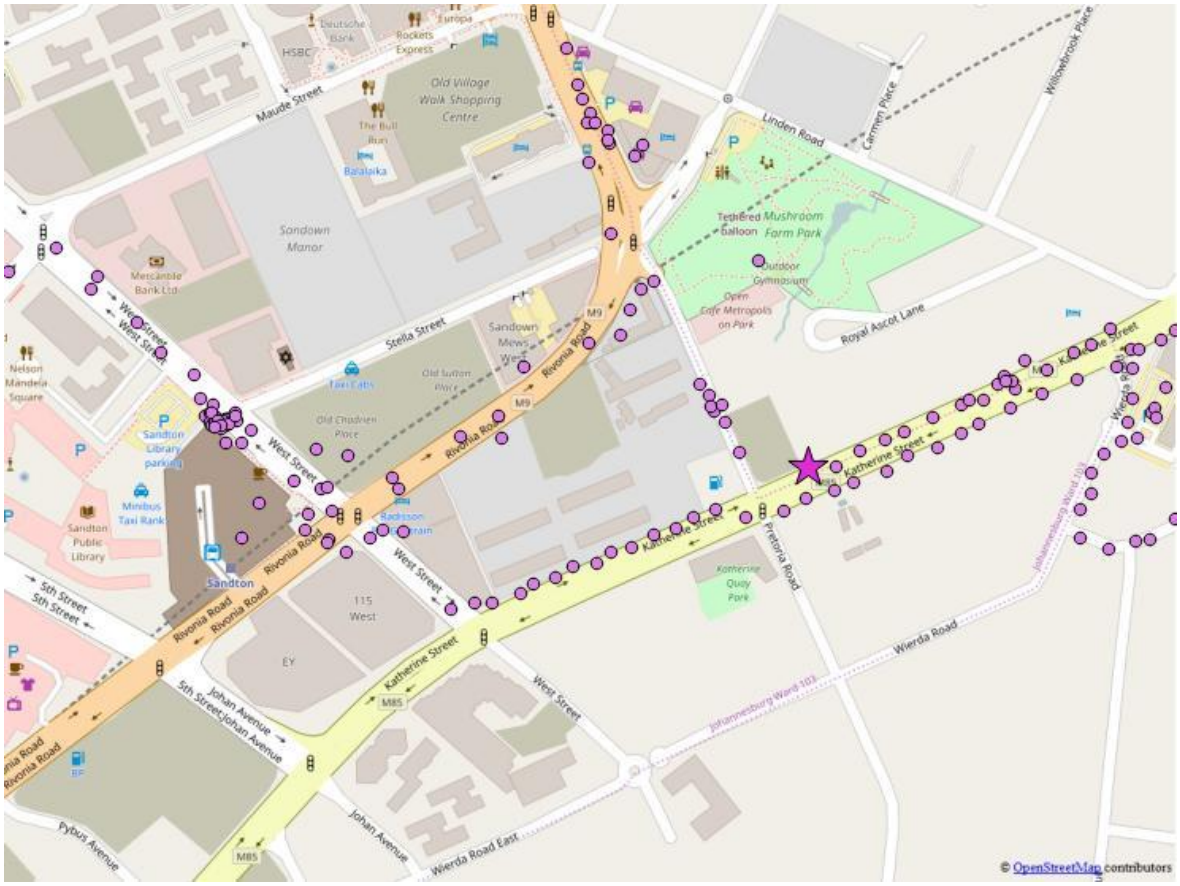


Figure 74 : Location of Mpho and Mathapelo's segment 2_1 5) of Appendix 2-5-5.



Figure 74 : Photograph of the building of the Growthpoint development off West Street, Sandton.

Figure 74: Location of Mpho and Mathapelo's small story Appendix 2-5-5 8) (segment 2_1 5) combined with a photograph of the start of building of the Growthpoint development off West Street, Sandton.

Transcript excerpt 42 : Mpho and Mathapelo segment 2_1 5) of Appendix 2-5-5

Teller and story: Mathapelo, a Law student, tells of privilege (or socio-economic divergence) and of her nephew who as young as he is, cannot stand a cheap brand of biscuits called Strikers. Mathapelo then moves on, staying with the theme of injustice, to telling of the arrival of a water truck in her home town of Hammanskraal.
Participants: Mpho and Mathapelo (Law students).
Occasioning: Their passing in front of an informal stall or spaza that sells Striker biscuits, and that is set off against the imposing architecture and branding of Sandton.
Actions and events during telling: Walking through Sandton on this second research outing, and stopping at an informal store, or spaza, to buy biscuits.

15		you can (...) <you can say that **again** (....) you ↑find people who are who grew up with s-
16		(....) silver **spoons** in their mouths
17	Mpho	yeah
18	(0.6)	
19	Mathapelo	who had it **a::ll** (....) they still have it **all** [car passes] (....) and **then::**
20	(2.0)	
21		and then you find [**those**
22	Mpho	[you want
23	(1.0)	
24		or you sharp
25	Mathapelo	**nah** reka ke sharp o [buy I'm okay] (...) we'll sha(h)re we'll sha(h)re di lemon creams
26		↑**Striker** (....) whooo↑ my nephew (...) >even my nephew will tell he's< (...) **he's just**
27		**three years old** he's four now actually he's four now (...) he'll tell **na(hhh)h** (..) no
28	Mpho	ke sharp [laughs]
29	Mathapelo	**I've had too much Stri(hh)ker i(h)n my li(hh)fe** [Mpho and Mathapelo laugh]
30	(0.7)	
31		**he's ha(hh)d too(hh) mu(hh)ch of the(hh)m**
32	(0.9)	
33		↑uhm
34	(1.4)	
35		and then okreya ba [you find]
36	(0.7)	
37		like (....) some of **us** (....) who didn't really (....) grow up with everything **that** (....) we are
38		kinda expected to grow up with
39	(0.8)	
40	Mpho	yeah
41	Mathapelo	and you find actually even even those who are ▪hhh just belo::w **belo::w** (....) the
42		poverty line (....) the **lo::west** (....) and then when they get to university they act like
43		they have (.) everything (....) it's like they **know** everything (....) they have it **a::ll** (....)
44		[inaudible] uh home (....) ▪hh is **amazing** (....) **da::d** like >↑I don't even understand< how
45		(..) where you got the idea >[inaudible] that I< (..) I come from an **esta↑te**
46	(1.6)	

47		**↑I come from a place that has no stree:::ts** (....) we ha::ve we don't have **tar** roads (....)
48		◦we don't (....) mere tar ro- tar roads we don't have
49	**(0.9)**	
50		okay we have em (....) we have them at selected places (....) basically ba e thomile [they
51		started building one] and didn't finish
52	Mpho	yeah
53	Mathapelo	you start a project (....) let's build tar roads (....) ▪hhh and then at a certain point ▪hhh
54		you start eating the **money** [inaudible] agh whatever ha::: (..) happens **wha:::tever**
55		we're done
56	(0.9)	
57		↑so I come from the:: from **that** place (....) whereby
58	(3.5)	
59		**le metsi** [even water] (....) you you can (...) >you can even go< a **day** without water (....)
60		whoo (....) yeah::↑
61	(1.0)	
62		le metsi **ga te::ng** [there' no water] (....) or like (....) actually a **day** is **nothing**
63	(1.0)	
64		a day is nothing (..) we ha- we used to have this thing of (...) there was would be a
65		**tru::ck** e tlisa **metsi** [bringing water]
66	(1.0)	
67		**so**:::
68	(0.8)	
69		you would just be chilling at home next thing bese bare (...) truck'a ya metsi e tlile
70		[someone says the water truck has arrived]
71	(1.1)	
72		you **ru::n** (..) you carry (..) you fetch digupu [water bottles] (....) don't **↑laugh↓** (....) you
73		fetch **digu::pu**
74	Mpho	**no no** [laughs] [inaudible]
75	Mathapelo	[laughs] it's sad actually **it's sad**
76	Mpho	no man but our **government** (....) you know what I don't **get** (....) [inaudible] like they
77		are building **Gautrai:::ns** and all of these **thi::ngs** but people
78	(1.4)	
79		people are struggling for **wa::ter** like (...) I don't **understa::nd** that
80	Mathapelo	exactly like wifi (....) like (....) we have wifi ↑everywhere now Tshwane is busy bringing
81		wifi (....) my thing is (....) you br- (..) it's so easy to find **wifi** than it is to find **water**
82	(1.4)	
83	Mpho	imagine does that make **se::nse**

In the story whose location and discursive environment is shown in figure 74, Mathapelo, after introducing the theme of socio-economic disadvantage, is offered some 'Striker' biscuit creams[23] by Mpho, who had bought them at one of the spazas. This unleashes what is an account (see De Fina 2009) of her nephew who, at four years, already can't stand Striker biscuits. The point is obvious. Strikers index socio-economic disadvantage, and Mpho, by buying them and offering them to Mathapelo, is highlighting the very subject of their conversation which is about land use, political representation, access to university, and civil activism. We looked at accounts, and positioning, in chapter 5, and one of the things that emerged from that discussion is the use of figures in accounts, where these figures themselves are emblematic of the discourse that a speaker wishes to orient to.

[23] These are sold for around R3 in a little packet and that are heavily connoted with socio-economic disadvantage and with the kind of spaza shops that are shown in figure 74.

Mathapelo's story of the nephew is rich in accentuative effects and reported speech that hammer home how she aligns with Mpho. Firstly the youth of the boy is emphasised, "**he's just three years old** he's four now actually he's four now", and then, at line 29, a direct speech style is employed, "**I've had too much Stri(hh)ker i(h)n my li(hh)fe"**. The fact that both Mathapelo and Mpho laugh at this point is a sign of their recognition of the heartfelt sincerity of the child, but also the symbolism of these biscuits, that renders even more palpable what must be a real disgust by the boy for a 'treat' that has long since ceased to be such. The axis of distinction, at this stage of our discussion, is clear. A marked, indexical, symbol, is picked up by the participants and relayed both spatially (to Hammanskraal) and temporally to their growing up and the growing up of the nephew. However, Mathapelo herself continues her conversation with Mpho by orientating to the axis of *authentication*. It is not the question of social access in itself that is of interest to her, but rather the fact that many students who do not have money (and who should be eating Strikers) *pretend* and falsify their biographies (at lines 41 to 45 above).

If we defer a closer examination of Mathapelo's argument concerning authentication until the next section, then our task here is to better understand how this story attaches to Mathapelo and to Mpho's more habitual positionings. This is the meso of analysis, and must link up with the kinds of indexes that form their register (Agha 2005b), or their 'youth style' (Milani and Jonsson 2012, Rampton 1995 and 2011, or Doran 2004). A central aspect of this is the code switching in which both engage, and that, further, is a part of almost all the transcripts that compose this chapter. Taking my cue from Woolard (1999) I would argue that Mpho and Mathapelo are 'bivalent' in their use of language. Bivalency refers to speakers whose norm is bilingualism, and who do not necessarily select between monolingual elements, but who rather thrive on the intersection between languages, communities of practice and the use of terms that belong to more than one code or practice. This bivalency refers also to identity work done through language choice. Mpho and Mathapelo are simultaneously resisting and projecting several identities at once. Here, the identity of the socio-economically marginalised, leads to that of the underfunded university student and then to that of their particular identity within the community of practice of *law student*.

There is a pride and an engagement with the law that comes across at many points in their transcripts, but in a sustained way in stories 1 to 3) of Appendix 2-5-5 (segments 1_2 2, 3 and 4). What is so fascinating in these stories is not so much the roles, but the very fact that these stories are being told at all. In using narrative to combat a perceived injustice (that of being asked by the cashier to refund an amount that was supposed to be on their train tickets) they are both aware of, and orient actively to, their identity of students who are beginning to master a rhetoric and a discourse of power and institutional functioning (that also links to the third section of this chapter). Theirs is a nascent community of practice, in that, through exercises like this, they hone and accord their practice both among themselves and with respect to others. It should be remembered that this takes place in a discursive environment that, generally, focuses on a corporate identity and effectiveness both through the semiotics of place and the visual semiotics of the individual artifacts. An example of the kinds of artifacts that are displayed on the walls of the Gautrain station is given below, in figure 75. I have also reproduced the relevant segments of their transcripts below.



Figure 75: Artifact of SL in the Gautrain Station Sandton.

Transcript excerpt 43 : Mpho and Mathapelo segment 1_2 2) of Appendix 2-5-5

Teller and story: Mpho, a Law student, tells a story that puts in doubt the competence of the Gautrain ticket office, where at their depart Rhulane recalled the ticket officer making a mistake.
Participants: Mpho, Mathapelo, Afrika, Rhulane and Leigh (Law students) and the Gautrain ticket officer.
Occasioning: The group of students is prevented from walking out of the Gautrain station because of a ticket mixup.
Actions and events during telling: Walking out of the Gautrain, being blocked at the automatic doors and confronting the ticket officer.

1	[sounds of the Gautrain station at Sandton]	
2	Mpho	are you sure this is (..) this is the only receipt you have
3	(2.9)	
4		that's fine (...) how are you (....) fine thank you (.) um (.) we're fro::m (.) Hatfield↑ the
5		Hatfield station (..) and we all came (.) at the same time (....) and we all came to (.)
6		Sandton (...) and (...) we all got through the gates at Hatfield (....) s:::o::::
7	(4.2)	
8	Cashier	it doesn't have your number on it [inaudible]
9	Mpho	because we put in enough money for coming and **going back**
10	Cashier	[inaudible]
11	Mpho	yeah
12	Cashier	[inaudible]
13	Mpho	it's not↑
14	Cashier	it's not matching your serial number does she have another card [inaudible]
15	Mpho	do you have another card
16	(0.6)	
17	Rhulane	no=
18	Mpho	=because this is the card that she (...) she thinks
19	Cashier	[inaudible] any other (..) other cards
20	Mpho	uh
21	(1.1)	
22		no::
23		everyone has **one** card
24	(1.6)	
25		do you guys have (...) do you guys have **multiple cards**
26	[Afrika, Leigh, Mathapelo say no]	
27	(1.4)	
28		everyone has **one** card [sounds of protestation and injustice from Afrika, Leigh,
29		Mathapelo] because he (..) she thinks that (...) because when **she** was paying >she's the
30		first one to pay< (...) she said (....) she remembers the guy saying (....) like making some
31		kind of mistake and then saying ↑oh nevermind it's nothing
32	Cashier	he made a mistake
33	Mpho	so::: I don't kno::w
34	Cashier	[inaudible]
35	Mpho	[yeah (....) so is there anything **we** can do
36	Cashier	[inaudible]
37		but it's not really **our fault**
38	Cashier	[inaudible]
39	Mpho	↑can't you call like Hatfield

Transcript excerpt 44 : Mpho and Mathapelo segment 1_2 3) of Appendix 2-5-5

Teller and story: Mpho, Mathapelo, Rhulane and Leigh, Law students, piece together what had happened to the Gautrain ticket with the prepaid amount whose loss prevented them leaving the station.
Participants: Mpho, Mathapelo, Afrika, Rhulane and Leigh (Law students).
Occasioning: The group of students is at the gate of the Gautrain, at the ticket office, sorting out a mixup with the tickets that prevented them leaving the station.
Actions and events during telling: Walking out of the Gautrain, finding the correct ticket in Rhulane's bag.

1	Mpho	I'm just saying that it's not **o:ur** fault ◦like (..) there is nothing **we** can do
2	Mathapelo	no she has ano::ther one::
3	Rhulane	I **swear** I did not see that other card (...) I didn't
4	Mpho	do you the other one
5	Rhulane	I **swe::ar** I didn't
6	Leigh	you have another
7	Rhulane	I **swe::ar** (..) I didn't
8	Leigh	oh no
9	Mathapelo	we almost got **ki::lled** for this
10	[laughter]	
11	(6.8)	
12	Mpho	it's fine it's fine
13	Cashier	okay
14	[laughter]	
15	[Rhulane, Leigh, Mathapelo, Afrika talk inaudibly]	
16		thank you **so** much sorry for the (...) ◦mix up (....) it's cool Rhulane don't feel bad

Transcript excerpt 45 : Mpho and Mathapelo segment 1_2 4) of Appendix 2-5-5

Teller and story: Rhulane and Mpho, Law students, tell interlocking stories of having found a Gautrain ticket and of defending one's rights as against the unccoperative Gautrain ticket controller.
Participants: Mpho, Mathapelo, Afrika, Rhulane and Leigh (Law students).
Occasioning: The group of students is walking out of the Gautrain station, where there has been a ticket mixup. Rhulane finds the right ticket, and Mpho recaps his assertive, legal, attitude towards management.
Actions and events during telling: Walking out of the Gautrain, finding the correct ticket in Rhulane's bag.

1	Rhulane	this is an old [**bag** (..) it was up in [inaudible] the entire [time
2	Mpho	[you feel bad
3	Afrika	[didn't you feel like a lawyer just
4		now ▪hhh↑ [laughs]
5	Mpho	yah I was getting super blazed as soon as as soon as she said
6	(1.1)	
7		I **can't** do it for you I was like **he::ll** (...) **no::** (...) [laughter] we we **doing** this (..) like
8	(1.5)	
9	Afrika	>you **know** those people are so angry they are probably like< ▪hhh (..) like bad
10		customers
11	Rhulane	I'm sorry guys like it's [inaudible]
12	Mpho	yoh but like sometimes you:: have to put on a (.) uhm (.) a thick skin (..) because (...)
13		management **is** like that they can shut you off and like (...) sorry there is nothing we can
14		do:: (..) **like=**
15	Afrika	=yes there is
16	(1.5)	
17	Mpho	**hell no**
18	(1.5)	
19	Rhulane	you can't say that
20	Mpho	↑**you could have ca::rried us moss** (.) it has seventy- how much does it have
21	(0.9)	
22	Rhulane	seventy rand
23	Mpho	↑yoh (I'm- it could have carried us) Rhulane (.) yoh (.) yoh (.) [yoh
24	Rhulane	[wait
25	(0.7)	
26	Mathapelo	[[inaudible] that other card
27	Mpho	[that other card has (...) it has seventy rand
28	Rhulane	you're not serious
29	Mpho	it should have carried
30	Rhulane	[after I [inaudible] I calmed them down
31	Mpho	[>you could have< hhh
32		hhh you threw away
33	Rhulane	I'm done
34	Afrika	>they said I they said I< should throw it away [because even that seventy **rand** has has
35		expired
36	Mpho	[yah yah (....) oh it's expired

The identity of law student, with its possibilities of internships in one of the district's law firms, is uppermost during these interactions recorded in Sandton. They position themselves as pro-active, engaged, not apathetic, about differences of access and resource. Let's look at the above interchange

from segment 1_2 2) (transcript 1), lines 30 to 31. When one knows that it is Rhulane who has confused the two tickets that she had in her bag, it is startling to see the fabrication of an error at the Gautrain in Hatfield, and the way this is reinforced with a memory of an interaction where the cashier there said, "↑oh nevermind it's nothing" (line 31). Mpho is here very much in a role of defender of rights, and it is this that also sheds light on his marked use of a 'received' English (indexing cultural capital) in the above exchange with the Gautrain cashier. Afrika, their friend, is not studying law, but has already worked in Sandton. Her voice also carries inflections that index proficient and marked English use. Her 'plumy', or upper class accent, is given a sensuous turn in many of her phrases, and even a little retroflexing. She is an accustomed user of what is only nascent in Mpho and Mathapelo, the distinction that accrues in the use of refined and confident English, but which co-exists alongside other identities and other languages in the 'contact' zone that Woolard (1999) describes.

Given this, it is no surprise to find that Afrika also manipulates brands, so to speak, and plays with their significations. H&M, and its launch in Sandton, was still a fairly 'rich' topic (see discussion in chapter 4 and in chapter 5) when these friends were recording their interactions. Afrika however, in a search for self-distinction, insists not on the novelty of H&M in Sandton, but rather on its lost exclusivity, in segment 1_2 16 (transcript 6) of Appendix 2-5-5, reproduced here. This account of travel is told not only to insist on self-distinction but also, of course, to reassure Mpho as to what is a banal activity, that there is nothing special about this shop, and that he must integrate these symbols of consumption and success into his life. In the end, however, he leaves H&M and waits for his friends outside.

Transcript excerpt 46 : Mpho and Mathapelo segment 1_2 16) of Appendix 2-5-5

Teller and story: Afrika and Rhulane, members of the group of Law students who went on this first research outing, tell of travels overseas and of the exclusivity of the H&M brand.
Participants: Mpho, Mathapelo, Afrika, Rhulane and Leigh (Law students).
Occasioning: The group of students is visiting the H&M shop in Sandton City Mall. Mpho expresses discomfort at being in the girls' section. The clothes collections showcased at the brand store leads to reflections on exclusivity.
Actions and events during telling: This is the first research outing that Mpho, Mathapelo, Afrika, Rhulane and Leigh have made to Sandton and they are exploring Sandton City Mall. After this story, Mpho, who is increasingly uncomfortable, will go and wait for Afrika, Rhulane, Mathapelo and Leigh outside.

9	Mathapelo	[these are nice and (hot↑)
10	Afrika	[these ones are guys (...) chill
11	Mathapelo	[ay
12	Mpho	[look I'm not going into a (girls)
13	(0.9)	
14	Leigh	[like you feel we::ird
15	Afrika	[(that's just an image)
16	Mpho	I'm sorry [inaudible[
17	(0.9)	
18	Afrika	aw:: shha::me
19	(0.6)	
20	Mpho	just to try
21	(1.9)	
22	Afrika	I re::ally >there was an H&M in **Europe** (..) I was **so::** exci(h)ted
23	(1.0)	
24		now they have it here it's like whatever
25	(1.4)	[Mpho hisses air through teeth]
26		it was nice when it was still **exclu::sive**
27	(0.9)	
28	Leigh	↑how do you [inaudible]
29	Afrika	[inaudible]
30	(0.9)	
31		I think for **Europe** to America
32	(1.4)	
33	Mathapelo	[inaudible]
34	(3.1)	
35	Rhulane	I went **once** to Europe but I went to different places
36	(1.2)	
37		we were in (Cangia)
38	(1.3)	
39		we went to Amsterda::m
40	(1.0)	
41		we were in Croatia
42	(0.7)	
43	Mathapelo	in who↑
44	(0.7)	
45	Rhulane	**then** (...) [we
46	Mathapelo	how many **days**
47	(0.8)	
48	Rhulane	we went like two (weeks)
49	(1.0)	
50		then we were in **Berli::n** for a week (...)so what like (...) what was it for
51	[mather passing by says "come sweetheart let's go find Brittan↑y"]	
52	Afrika	I went when we were doing international meet
53	(0.9)	
54	Afrika	oh::
55	Mathapelo	were you doing it with your high school
56	(0.7)	

In effect then, two friends from more deprived socio-economic origins are sharing experiences and outlooks with two other friends from private schools, who have already both travelled to Europe. This prompts a reflection of Sandton itself. In what way does the distinction of which we are talking – the *access* that it symbolises, and its freedom from the constraint of a poor upbringing – apply to the district as a whole. Within Mpho and Mathapelo's transcripts the answer must definitely be through education and legal experience. Sandton signifies for them the possibility of work in a prestigious law firm, and an overcoming of constraint in that way. Much, I would like to note, as it did in the Advocate's stories of chapter 5, where Sandton responded to a career choice, and the possibility of acquisition of consumer goods for both oneself and one's family.

But is this generalisable? In what way would this be true of Born Frees as a whole? Bucholtz and Hall's fifth principle (2005 : 605) would prompt us to rather seek to find what is ethnographically valid for the different participants than to attempt overarching truths. I would like therefore to turn to the preceding story in the appendices (transcript 5, segment 1_2 14) that is told by Darren to Afrika, and look at what it contributes to our understanding of this point. Now Afrika met Darren in the mall, and recorded their interaction. Politics, and an open discussion of conspicuous consumption quickly became key topics, which is, in and of itself, very telling. Darren directly addresses the wealth gap in South Africa, and does so, like Afrika, Mathapelo and Mpho, through the genre of the account. This story was told in the Sandton City Mall (see figure 73), in the large corridor that leads from the statue of Nelson Mandela and that is lined with shops that sell articles that bestow exclusivity on their owners (watches, top of the range phones etc). In fact just before this story, Afrika had entered into interaction with Dan, who specifically mentions that his watch is a Sixty-Nine by Tag Heuer (transcript 4, Appendix 2-5-5 at lines 63 and 65). Darren's story, from line 38, provides a contrast to this:

Transcript excerpt 47 : Mpho and Mathapelo segment 1_2 14) of Appendix 2-5-5

Teller and story: Darren, a participant who is met in the Sandton City Mall by Afrika and Mpho, Law students, tells of a visit he had made to Tanzania and during which he had been shocked by the levels of poverty in that country.
Participants: Mpho, Mathapelo, Afrika, Rhulane and Leigh (Law students) and a young man, Darren, that they have met at the Sandton City Mall.
Occasioning: Reflections on the physical proximity of the township of Alexandra to Sandton, and the fact that this huge wealth gap is separated only by a highway.
Actions and events during telling: This is the first research outing that Mpho, Mathapelo, Afrika, Rhulane and Leigh have made to Sandton and they are meeting people in the Sandton City Mall.

6	Afrika	I am more on **your** side (....) opportunity
7	(1.6)	
8		like it's just all opportunity (...) and it's **mind blowing** in a sense that usually certain
9		distri:::cts (....) are limited to specific area::: (....) fields (....) ↑of course yes maybe
10		because I'm not like (..) studying la::w (...) I didn't get like a **young** dep- (....)
11		**compartment** in the office but they literally:: (..) provide everything (within) everything
12		(....) um (....) and that that just blows my **mind** because (...) it was not **like this** back in
13		2004 or: something (....) it's just it's **grown** bigger than (..) I could have ever imagined
14	(1.4)	
15	Darren	(and you what do you feel)
16	(0.9)	
17	Mpho	I:::
18	(1.6)	
19		I think (...) it's a it's a **great place** but it's:: (....) so::: unreali:::stic from [what
20	Darren	[in what sense
21	Mpho	from like (....) what South Africa is actually is (....) I mean South Africa [actually is a
22		[inaudible]
23	Afrika	[it's a little::: it's a
24		little::
25	Darren	square mile
26	Mpho	yeah [laughs]
27	[Darren laughs]	
28	Afrika	[I it's insa::ne (...) literally (....) like
29	Mpho	[so exclusive
30	Darren	[it's ac ac ac actually interesting (.) um (....) no this because I went to Tanza::nia in the
31		holidays
32	Afrika	yah
33	Darren	and I was I was wondering because there was no (..) a lot of people say that (...) um::
34		(....) South Africa has the biggest inequality gap (...) one of the [biggest in the wo- if not
35		↑I think it's the biggest right now
36	Mpho	[yeah
37	Afrika	**the** biggest
38	Darren	yeah **the** biggest inequality gap it's **interesting** (....) um because I was in Tanza::nia and I
39		was like (....) hi guys (...) I have not seen poverty like that (...) in my **life** (..) like yoh you
40		guys won't understand [laughs]
41	Afrika	[really like when my cousin went to
42	Darren	[like it is **poor** (..) then I realized that it is **because** (....) you have **this** (....) **square mile:::**
43		(....) **over here** (....) and maybe you have to reach just a highway away (....) ◦you know (..)
44		and **that** is what >because< I mean is the >richest square mile< in Africa (....) **anythi:::ng**
45		you know like (somebody communique compete) this is your richest place in **Tanza::nia**
46		(...) probably not that big of a **difference**
47	(1.2)	

48		(to me it's to **Sandton**)
49	(1.4)	
50	Mathapelo	it's a **huge ga(hh)p** [Darren laughs] it's a huge gap
51	Darren	you know this is:: [they
52	Mpho	[you know I'm still stuck on Alexander and Sandton guys
53	Afrika	[yah I know it's (ludicrous)
54	Darren	[Alexandra Alexandra is
55	Mpho	like it's **literally** a **highway::** (....) like not like
56	Darren	[oh sorry not Thembisa Alexandra eh
57	Afrika	[like (..) [inaudible]
58	Mpho	I mean **Alexandra** like it's lit- like I gu::ys you literally to- like you pas-
59	Afrika	you **see** is (..) like Sandton [[inaudible]
60	Mpho	[**it breaks your heart** (..) shame
61	Darren	I know you're literally standing
62	(0.9)	
63	Mpho	I literally feel if I was standing (.) to that highway (...) looking at Sandton
64	(1.8)	
65	Darren	but (what you gonna do)
66	(0.8)	
67	Mpho	like [inaudible]
68	Darren	but you're black so [inaudible]

Darren, in visiting Tanzania, found it to be poor. So poor that it defies comparison with even a neighbouring African country like South Africa. Darren goes further, and attributes this incommensurability to the *functioning* of Sandton. On one level Sandton is a transposable place of weath and business and could be as coherent within Tanzania as it is within South Africa and the Gauteng. On another level Sandton is the why and the how of the gap between the two countries, and becomes, in fact, a signifier of distinction at a regional/national level. This is of course the role that Geoff Rothschild intended for the business district, and that has been given a memorable slogan by Beryl in 'the richest square mile in Africa'. It is what's behind the 'brand' Sandton that I discussed with the manager of the City Improvement District right back in chapter 1, and it is fascinating to see it emerge here, in line 44, as Darren talks about a 'square mile'.

The discussion at this point intersects with what is a growing literature in South Africa on the Born Frees. This literature is prompted by a need to understand this generation politically and socially as they leave school and become active members of South Africa's civil society, whether this is understood in terms of business, consumption or political support of the governing ANC party. Now, much of this literature is fairly pessimistic, both about the Born Frees' engagement with civil society, and about their own confidence, and investment, in the future. Concerned as we are in this section with distinction, it is, firstly, interesting to note the fragility of class change in South Africa (Burger, Steenekamp, van der Berg and Zoch 2015). Secondly, an Afrobarometer study (Mattes 2011) paints a very stark demographic evolution for this generation, with rising unemployment, decreased opportunities and increasing rupture of the home environment. Similarly, Roberts (2013) demonstrates how a conflictual and contradictory perception of social inequality effectively diminishes possibilities for social redress. However, two studies, by Leslie and Finchilescu (2013) and by Urban Studies (2013) more directly concern us here.

The first (Leslie and Finchilescu 2013) is a qualitative study that uses long, written narratives to draw conclusions as to optimism/pessimism of South African youth, the Born Frees, and the ideological frameworks within which that outlook is expressed. This study has a large cohort of participants (223), and, in addition, is longitudinal, since it repeats two earlier investigations that used a similar methodology. The methodology is to write an essay on the history of South Africa in the year 2060. As such, the participants reflect on future changes, but that would have happened in the past of narration. These essays are then analysed for occurrence of key terms and themes such as political orientation, socio-economic change etc. With respect to the previous iterations of the study, Leslie and Finchilescu registered significant change with respect to the Born Frees, where economic and ideological scenarios shift towards 'liberalism'. Liberalism in fact, is the framework within which optimism and change were to be found. I find that this study accords well with the broader argument of this section. Liberalism, access to goods and services, is perceived positively, as a motor of social change, and this is true for participants whose biography, as in the case of Mpho, Mathapelo, Linda, Buhle and Grace, has sensibilised them to issues of social disadvantage. Within this, Sandton is a symbol that is oriented to, and mobilised by, these participants. It is a contradictory symbol certainly, but one whose evocative power is heightened by this contradiction.

The second study is the quantitative consumption survey carried out by Sandton City mall itself (Urban Studies 2013)[24]. In relation to this survey, the participants to the research of this thesis are not unusual for the Sandton City catchment, with most coming from the primary or secondary trade areas, and only Buhle coming from a tertiary area (see figure 76 below). The gender and language splits are also quite close, with a majority of female participants who speak English in combination with either one or several code-mixed African languages (isiZulu and Sesotho predominantly). Their available financial resources also correspond quite well to this quantitative survey with an amount of between R1000 to R2000 being most typical. The stores that are most frequented according to the survey are given below in figure 77, with, interestingly for our discussion below about Buhle's stories, Mr Price, a discount clothes shop, featuring in the top three. But what is most at issue are the semantic fields associated with Sandton City, where safety, fashion and branding feature strongly. These can be compared to my own questionnaires (see Appendix 1) where 'wealth' featured with a strong coefficient and with synonyms of 'luxury', 'moneyed', and 'high-class'. It combined with 'complexity' or 'busy' (a strong coefficient on this term). Safety was captured by terms such as 'quiet', 'peaceful', 'private', 'unreal', 'English' and 'regal'.

[24] This study was kindly transmitted to me by Megan Meas, the manager of Sandton City Mall.

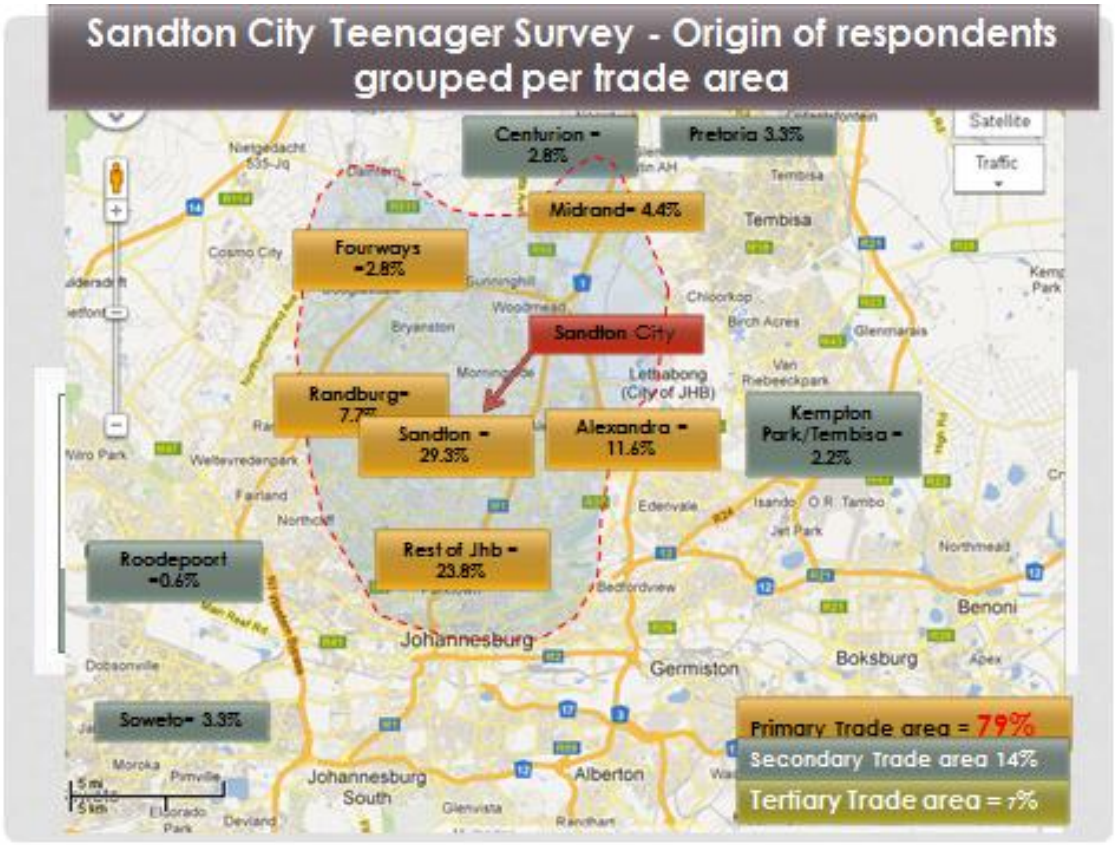


Figure 76: Origin of Born Frees who frequent Sandton City mall (reproduced from Urban Studies 2013 : 4).



Top stores at Sandton City %	Total
Cotton On	28
Mr Price	26
Woolworths	19
Musica	17
Edgars	15
Zara	13
Topshop	10
Forever New	10
Jay Jays	9
YDE	8

Figure 77: Stores at Sandton City most frequented by the Born Frees (reproduced from Urban Studies 2013 : 14).

Sandton City, as brand, as place, but also *object* of consumption and distinction can perhaps be better understood through the stories of Grace (see Appendix 2-5-2 and segment 2_2 1 below). Grace, as I explained in the introduction to this chapter, served as a guide and participant as I set out to discover the hidden, darker side of Sandton. What the place was during the night, as opposed to the day. One of the key clubs that we visited was Taboo, that featured in the initial interviews I conducted with participants, and in their recorded data at many points. Why does Taboo capture the imagination so much? Certainly, it has managed to generate an iconicity, being listed in the top hundred clubs in the world (International Nightlife Association 2017). Let's look more closely at Grace's account of when she used to go to the club with her boyfriend (see figure 71 b above for location, and figure 78 below for some images from the interior). Grace emphasises two things about her boyfriend of the time: that he used to just sit and watch, and that when he got up to dance to please her, he embarrassed her under the view of others watching. See excerpt 48 below.

Transcript excerpt 48 : Grace segment 2_2 1) of Appendix 2-5-2

Teller and story: Grace, a student from the Congo, tells of the embarrassment she felt when dancing with her ex boyfriend in the Taboo nightclub in Sandton.
Participants: Grace and William.
Occasioning: We are leaving the Taboo since it was too loud to be able to record anything, and talking as we get in the car to further explore Sandton by night.
Actions and events during telling: Leaving the club, adjusting our clothes, getting into the car… recapping and sharing experiences of the Taboo club.

12	Grace	Taboo is >is is is a< place where
13	(1.4)	
14		**you:::** going to socialise with people::: a::nd (.) all time with
15		**(1.**8)
16		people are a(h)re too **focused** on ◦power
17	William	it's **true** hey
18	Grace	ya:::h ▪hh but it's **su::re** and is **cla↑::ssy** (….) it is a place of **competi::tion**
19	William	ya::h I agree
20	(0.8)	
21	Grace	so you see that it's a great (…) **see that** >it's a< (.) really great approach
22	William	>yah yah yah< ya::h
23	Grace	you have to cellphone with yourself
24	(0.8)	
25	William	and when you used to go there with your boyfriend what did you guys used to do ▪hh
26	(0.7)	
27	Grace	**ah:::**
28	(1.9)	[sucks wind through teeth]
29		it's just a boring is a quiet man
30	William	rea(hh)lly hey (…) just sit and [kinda
31	Grace	[gonna sit and just watch pe:ople=
32	William	=hh oh **rea↑lly** hey
33	(1.0)	
34	Grace	he doesn't **know** how to **da::nce** [sound of car hooting] just imagine (..) and me I
35		ha(hh)ve so:::me like (….) type of [bus- (…) ya:::h
36	William	[**you↑** (..) ya::h ya::h I could see you moving hey
37	Grace	and you see this those kind of things that you'd like to
38	William	ya:::h (…) it is **nice** to dance ◦man
39	Grace	ya:h it is nice to dance↓
40	(0.8)	
41		but when you mmm you want to dance with your **man** and he will be like **no**::: I won't
42		dance or
43	(1.2)	[sucks wind through teeth]
44		just ss:::::tand up to please you and then do funny stepss::: **awh↑**
45	(3.2)	[laughing]
46	Grace	see
47	(2.8)	
48		and the place like Ta**boo** people will be da::↑ncing just to **show:(h)** themselves and
49		they kno::w
50	William	oh yah I could **see that** >I means< some people were dancing **re::ally** well
51	Grace	ya::h [indistinct]
52	William	that guy with the cross was **fu:::nny** hey
53	Grace	yah(hh) (…) you see
54	William	you know he was he was like (.) making that gi::rl he was with lau::gh hey yoh
55	Grace	hhh [laughing]
56	(2.0)	
57		it is a classy pla↓ce
58	(2.6)	

Taboo is defined by Grace in many of the same terms as Sandton City itself is. It is classy, safe, fashionable. But in this play of the gaze, in the seen and the being seen, Grace's story opens out a fundamental attribute of the club. And that is that it is not a homogenous place, but rather one wherein a myriad distinctions offer a play on social categorisation, and on the branding of the self. In the first place the space of the club has a dance floor (see figure 78) that is surrounded by VIP seats. These seats are themselves on two tiers and differ in terms of comfort. A third tier, in front of a digital screen that is badly reproduced in my photographs, is not only that which is most seen, but also one that partakes directly in the branding (of champagne, vodka and similar products) that is displayed on the screen. However, the play of distinction and the gaze, the Debordian spectacle of consumption (Debord 1973), does not end there. As one sits, dancers in bikinis come out in the cages to the left and right of the dancefloor to remind one that this is a place of the body, and of physical prowess. And, further, the night is punctuated by the flares of fireworks as a procession of similarly dressed waitresses bring out their drink to those who have had the resources, and the ostentation, to buy an entire bottle of the house champagne (Moët et Chandon).

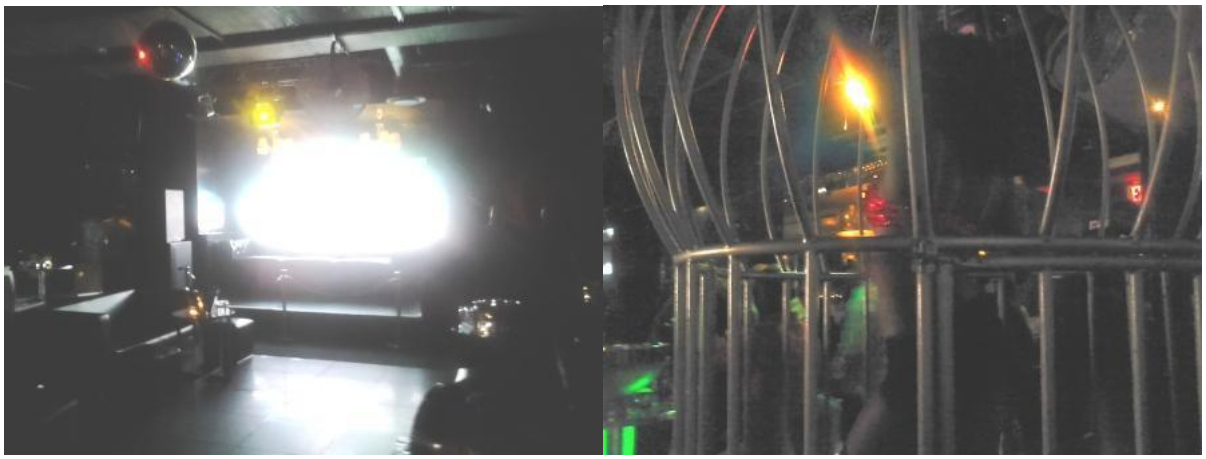


Figure 78: Two photographs of the interior of the Taboo nightclub, Sandton

Brands within brands, distinction within space, self-distinction under the gaze of other consumers. This is, in a real way, one essence of Sandton that can be oriented to. And it is the kind of Sandton that comes out in the accounts of Katlego as these were collected by Buhle (see Appendix 2-5-4 and below, in the next section). Katlego has a rich older lover who invites her out in Sandton, since she lives in Alexandra. In turn she uses some of the money she receives from this older man to invite her younger, truer love, to sushi, also in Sandton. The brands she consumes are to be seen, as she dresses in Gucci, and high heels. However, to close this section, I would like to insist that this conspicuous consumption is not necessarily aligned to in a simplistic or mechanistic way. We have seen that Mpho and Mathapelo are intensely aware of social inequality, and orient to Sandton as a way of addressing this professionally. Darren and Afrika also gear up their own utilisation of the place in a reflective way, that informs the operation of distinction. Buhle disaligns with Katlego's taste for designer clothes and does so through a story of the shorts that she makes for herself using R10 jeans. Buhle's message is one of self-reliance, of independence and shrewdness with respect to purchases, and a complexification of her image, "no I don't want to wear simple ↑I'm not (….) **jeans** and **top** and **no::"** (line 11, segment 16, transcript 4, Appendix 2-5-4).

Conclusions for adequation and distinction

From the above discussion, Sandton emerges from the intersection and transversality of trajectories. The Born Frees orient to the place from many different socio-economic, cultural and geographic origins. Distinction is a multivalent process of brand availability and conspicuousness, the symbolism of the place itself, and the behaviour of the participants that includes marked use of English, or, on the contrary, a precise and prosodically complex interweaving of English within other codes, registers and oral patternings. What is clear however, is that Sandton caters for this layering and complexity, both in terms of its semiotics, but also its architecture (as in the case of Taboo). Distinction is also linked to community of practice, and the possibility to integrate some communities of practice through tertiary education or through networks of favour. As a brand, Sandton has been well packaged, and is consumed much as was intended by its original engineers, despite the enormous political and demographic changes wrought in the country since the early 90's.

Authentication and denaturalisation

In the previous section, within the layering and complexity of Sandton, we examined consumption, semiotic environment and the trajectories of participants to draw conclusions as to how Sandton can be understood as an equivocal symbol in the functioning of distinction. This section looks at the *authentication,* by participants, with respect to Sandton, and their orientation to this layering of the socio-economic and the cultural. The axis of authentication and denaturalisation can be understood as a twofold investigation of values and discourses, where these are reinforced, adhered to, or, on the contrary, questioned and foregrounded through disruption and challenge.

Authentication is presented from several, slightly varying, perspectives by Bucholtz and Hall. In their framework on identity and interaction (Bucholtz and Hall 2005), what is emphasised is the social process and the chain of narration, including telling rights. This societal focus is shifted towards a discussion of *discursive* validation (Bucholtz and Hall 2010) and then towards a subjective orientation to claimed, imposed or perceived categories and identities (Bucholtz and Hall 2004a). Authentication thus involves construction and identity work with respect to macro and meso categories, and the support and upholding of these categories. Denaturalisation, on the contrary, involves what can be a playful questioning and interrogation of categories, as in the Dominican youth who play with categories of 'black' (Bucholtz and Hall 2005 : 602), but it can also be a harder, more visceral violation of ideological expectations (Bucholtz and Hall 2010) or a direct challenge by another speaker where a rupture in performance or category has been perceived (Bucholtz and Hall 2004a : 501). In all cases, denaturalisation highlights the non-essentialism of identity (Bucholtz and Hall 2004b), and brings attention to bear on the discontinuities in performance, style, telling, discourse and ideology etc.

In this section I would like to deepen analysis of Buhle and Katlego, and also turn back to Mpho and Mathapelo's segment 2_1 5) that was reproduced above. That segment, 2_1 5), was useful in understanding how Mpho and Mathapelo were outraged by the macro inequalities of Sandton – how it displays inequality through prestigious train and architectural projects whilst, less than 20km away, there are places that do not even have proper access to water. I went on to discuss how Mathapelo and Mpho combine this social awareness with a bivalence in their youth style and a positive authentication of their nascent community of practice of law student. I mentioned, at that point, the way in which Mathapelo herself went on to draw a parallel between the macro and the meso, and to challenge (in the sense of Bucholtz and Hall 2004a : 501) the performance of identity of some students who disown their humble origins, and instead adopt the style, register and ideology of wealthier, middle-class law students (line 41 to 45, segment 2_1 5). This denaturalisation of such students must be inserted into Mathapelo's general discourse about spatial inequality. Specifically, her argument goes further, since not only does she challenge the performance of other law students (who come from such poor places) but she even challenges the authenticity of those places themselves, telling the story of a meeting she was at where people complained that street names (and the semiotics of place) were insulting and farsical, see excerpt 49 below.

Transcript excerpt 49 : Mpho and Mathapelo segment 2_1 6) Appendix 2-5-5

Teller and story: Mathapelo, a Law student, is telling of the Facebook page that she created to challenge the local municipality in their street name policy.
Participants: Mpho and Mathapelo.
Occasioning: The built environment of Sandton, and its divergence from that of the much poorer Hammanskraal which is Mathapelo's home town. More broadly there is an atmosphere of political contestation due to the #feesmustfall movement that is very relevant to each.
Actions and events during telling: Walking around Sandton on this second research outing and commenting on the built environment as well as people, interactions etc.

9		↑so people::: (...) and and and then I am like in brackets please comment with your
10		street name (....) ↑people were comme::nting >they were like< we don't have street
11		names ye::t (...)▪hh but we ↑don't even know who the **mayor is** (...) ↑so we we're
12		↑talking and people have been like oh::=
13	Mpho	=on Facebook
14	Mathapelo	yeah (....) ↑**people are like** ey nna (me) my street name is **moro::go** [spinach]
15		↑someone is like my street name is **na::ma** (...) nama is **me:at** (....) ↑how do you nam-
16		(...) kere (I'm saying) we we we don't have we don't **have** meat (...) because we are une-
17		we don't have (...) a an income (...) beca(hhhh)use we are **unemployed** (..) but then you
18		wanna give my **stree::::t** (...) a name after **meat** ↑**whoooo** (...) I'm I'm so **lit** (.) I am so
19		**offended** by all this (...) I am **so:::** (...) ↑so what happened is this ANC guy got into the-
20	(1.4)	

In terms of the axis of authentication and denaturalisation, Mathapelo forces us to inflect the analysis of the previous section. Her full argument, as presented in her stories about social/spatial inequality, and then about law students and Sandton, would be that Sandton is unequal, but the practice of the law permits transformation, Sandton provides the best career opportunities for law, but the community of practice of law students can include a falsity of self-representation where some students forgo their origins. So, to the enthusiasm for the practice of law, and its possibilities of social change, that we noted in the previous section, one would now have to add the caveat that this practice must be 'real' in the sense of being in touch with one's origins and maintaining a focus on social transformation.

Sandton, from such a perspective, is no longer just a symbol of potential success or of relative inequality, it becomes the site of competing discourses about origins, much in the way in which we discussed Tebogo, Thobile and the Advocate's biographic trajectory in the previous chapter. Sandton, and the possibilities it offers, can be non genuine, irreal. For some, they repose on a sleight of hand, in which career success is obtained only through the disavowal of a fundamental aspect of who they are, and a betrayal of a class war that, for Mathapelo and Mpho, as for many other students, is waged along racial lines (see Kotze 2012). In the post-Apartheid contemporaneity, the #feesmustfall movement, which was alluded to in the previous section, is a challenge to the perceived continuing existence of a monopoly on opportunity held by white people. Her challenge, and denaturalisation, is based on an indexical relationship between geographic origins and an ideology that, for Mathapelo, involves a racial, socio-economic and cultural transformation of South Africa's business and professional spaces.

The power of Mathapelo's stories about Hammanskraal, and about her fellow students in the law faculty, is that she is putting her finger right on what studies of the Born Frees consistently remark: institutional distrust, and a perception of the falseness of national discourses on transformation and democracy (see for instance Mattes 2011). If we return to the stories that Mathapelo and Mpho collected with their friends, Afrika and Rhulane, one can note a similar questioning, not only of what Sandton represents, but the possible essential conflict that any discourse about equality of opportunity entails:

Transcript excerpt 50 : Mpho and Mathapelo segment 1_2 14) Appendix 2-5-5

Teller and story: Afrika, a member of the group of Law students on their first research outing. This excerpt gives Afrika's take up of a story by Darren about a visit he had made to Tanzania and during which he had been shocked by the levels of poverty in that country.

Participants: Mpho, Mathapelo, Afrika, Rhulane and Leigh (Law students) and a young man, Darren, that they have met at the Sandton City Mall.

Occasioning: Reflections on the physical proximity of the township of Alexandra to Sandton, and the fact that this huge wealth gap is separated only by a highway.

Actions and events during telling: This is the first research outing that Mpho, Mathapelo, Afrika, Rhulane and Leigh have made to Sandton and they are meeting people in the Sandton City Mall.

68	Darren	but you're black so [inaudible]
69	Mpho	I'm [inaudible] obviously [inaudible]
70	Afrika	[inaudible] a little more (..) ↑I **can't be** like (...) >you know< if you're **communist** about
71		thi:::s I'm like what the (PAC) are (...) I because I mean in the **past** I'm sure (we) did that
72		wow we (...) >living in< an equal **society** (....) but (..) the world just (.) leaned over
73		towards an ideals (....) you know up (until this day) (..) there **is** no such thing as living in
74		perfect harmony (....) you **can't** have this this (.) we've (been simply)< **cannot** meet
75		poverty like this> (..) else you not going to make it
76	Darren	but (it teaches us) how the **world** measures success
77	Mpho	but how South Africa works is (indecent) [inaudible]
78	Afrika	it clashes with **Asian values** [...) like (...) <Asians:: always say that> (..) Western (um)
79		or:deals (....) seem to <eat themselves up> (...) in a sense that they create these things
80		that they can't **control** (....) something as simple as ↓you know if there was no religion
81		you know then we wouldn't be having any of these(.) like drownings and killings and
82		stuff

In the above excerpt Afrika, Darren and Mpho are still discussing Darren's story about his visit to Tanzania (reproduced in the previous section) and the poverty that he saw there, which he compared to Sandton and its wealth. Afrika, in lines 70-71, responds to Darren's observation that she is 'black' by invoking a past built on equality and on African consciousness in reference to the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC)[25]. Equality and African values are best conceived of in relation to 'ubuntu', a value enshrined in the South African constitution (see Ramose 2014). The 'equal society' of line 72, for instance, would be one built on ubuntu. In her story of South Africa's transition, these African values and the struggle for liberation from Apartheid, have been drowned out by a general, global, move to neoliberalism. A move whose effects can no longer be controlled (lines 78 to 81). Sandton, more than

[25] Founded in 1959, the PAC and its charismatic leader, Robert Sobukwe, shared many of the same struggles and ideologies as the African National Congress (ANC) in the liberation of South Africa from Apartheid.

a signifier of distinction at a regional/national level, following this analysis, is better understood as a symbol of denaturalisation. It is through the symbol of Sandton that discourses about transition are flagged up, and the workings of a post-Apartheid and post-African society are questioned. This questioning though, is not done in as coherent a way as in Mathapelo's stories. Afrika juxtaposes African nationalism, Asian philosophies and neoliberalism. However, as Moiloa (2012) notes, this confusing ideological mix is not a signifier of Afrika's own lack of genuineness, rather it is a sign of her negotiation of meaning.

Sandton, as an operator of denaturalisation, can also be seen to be at work in the stories collected by Buhle and Katlego. In the previous section I very briefly introduced these stories in reference to Katlego's conspicuous consumption, and Buhle's revindication of creativity and self-reliance with respect to fashion. I would now like to look more closely at these stories, and see, firstly, in what way Buhle foregrounds the 'realness' of her choices. She does this in two ways, by her use of a 'kasi'[26] stylect that is rooted in her township of Katlehong (see figure 72), and through a marked clothing style that is based on the reutilisation of cheap clothing items that again, emphasise how she deals with financial constraint in a creative way. Both of these tactics can be seen in the unfolding of the story about buying and customising jeans, in segment 16), below, given in excerpt 51.

[26] 'Kasi' as in kasitaal or isicamtho, refers to the township (see Brookes 2014, Hurst 2010, and Nuttall 2004a) which is to say those zones of cheap and dense housing that under Apartheid served as dormitories and labour pools for the racially segregated cities.

Transcript excerpt 51 : Buhle segment 16) of Appendix 2-5-4

Teller and story: Buhle, a student studying for a professionalising diploma, tells of how she makes cheap jeans shorts.

Participants:Buhle and Katlego.

Occasioning: Katlego, a young woman from Alexandra who has a blesser, has been mentioning the brands that she consumes conspicuously. The two friends are chatting and catching up in a restaurant in Sandton City Mall.

This story is part of a longer series of stories principally about Katlego's blesser and reflections on relationships, status and gender violence.

Actions and events during telling: Eating, chatting, catching up, commenting on the waiter, their food and clothes.

11	Buhle	no I don't want to wear simple ↑I'm not (....) **jeans** and **top** and **no::**
12	Katlego	[no not jeans and top and [inaudible]
13	Buhle	[I'm a hhh •hhh
14	Katlego	mina yazi mina I'm a what [clicks tongue]
15	(1.1)	
16		I'm (....) shorts
17	Buhle	yeah shorts yes
18	Katlego	[inaudible] sneakers or tims ngithi vest ngithi cap I'm done [[inaudible] sneakers
19		or tims then I wear my vest and my cap I'm done
20	(0.6)	
21	Buhle	yabo [you see]
22	Katlego	[inaudible]
23	Buhle	[mina ngizothi **sho:rts** [I'm going to rock shorts]
24	Buhle	yah
25	Katlego	[inaudible] (I'm great) I'm fine if you even get my (weave) it's a cap [[inaudible]
26	Buhle	[[inaudible]
27		(....) futhi [and] **I::** do my shorts for myself you buy jeans (....) neh↑
28	(0.9)	
29		uthenge amajeans wakho acheap [buy your jeans that are cheap] •hhhh (....) ten
30		r:and jeans (....) you [tear them apart
31	Katlego	[where do you get ten rand jeans
32	Buhle	we buy ten rand like (..) there (..) by (...) Joburg hh (....) and then you [cut them
33		you cut them siyawa grater [we fray them] hhh
34	Katlego	[cut (...)
35		kanyahni Buhle [how Buhle]
36	(0.8)	
37	Buhle	siwagrater la [we fray them here] **ama(h) jea(h)ns weth(h)u** [our jeans] (...) you'd
38		swear [we buy them (....) we'd swear
39	Katlego	[uyigrater kanyahni ijean [how do you fray jeans]
40	Buhle	you going to make them torn jeans
41	Katlego	kanyahni [how]
42	Buhle	because vele **igra(hh)ter** (..) **uth(h)i** [you just have to fray them] (..) it's [hard
43		work
44	Katlego	
45		[una
46		manga:: [you're lying]

Buhle buys R10 jeans, and then she cuts and frays them to suit her style. I had met up with Buhle for a post-participation interview, and saw the shorts that she is talking of. Tied with string at the waist, oversize, cut high on the thigh with a frayed hem, they did really suit Buhle's way of being and the kind of energy and intensity that she gave out as a participant, which is evident in her loud guffaws, high frequency interjections, and the pace with which she moves from one topic to another. This is also reflected in the stylect (kasitaal, or isicamtho) she uses. Stylects, as Hurst explains, are more than slangs or a lexicons, they:

> […] draw on symbolic performances of identity such as body language, clothing, and other facets of what could commonly be called 'style'. A linguistic phenomenon that can be classed as a stylect is more than merely a 'slang', although not a 'language': it is a performed discursive act of styling to constitute identity. (Hurst 2010 : 1).

And Buhle, as I have noted, emphasises her origins in Katlehong with tongue clicks, and a beautifully realised accentuation, simultaneous with aspiration, of word endings that provide an incredible evocation of her township life (see also Brookes 2014). Through her performance, and her story, Buhle is certainly doing work that stresses her realness, that grounds her life and her identity. It should be noted that Katlego also code switches into isicamtho (drawn from her home in Alexandra township) at many points in the stories she tells with Buhle, but her performance is perhaps aimed less at emphasising her township identity, than foregrounding her transversality, and the links that she maintains between Sandton and her home. Her use of isicamtho is softer, less stressed, more accommodating of aspects of her personal style that are more cosmopolitan and it is therefore more a 'youth' style than specifically 'kasi' (see for instance Milani and Jonsson 2012, Rampton 1995 and 2011, or Doran 2004).

Turning to the story itself, and Buhle's clothing style, there is, firstly, Buhle's emphasis (line 11) on complexification rather than Katelego's simple reliance on brands. Katlego, for instance, at line 18, says that Timberlands[27], a vest and cap are enough. In the further stories she tells, and that we will look at below, she focuses on her expensive high heels, Gucci, her matching handbags etc. Against this, Buhle opposes the work that she puts in to making her frayed shorts (lines 37 to 43) and their indistinguishability from more exclusive branded items (line 38). On this note, she also stresses their cheapness, where R10 is literally 100 times less than any branded product. This story authenticates Buhle's inventiveness and work. It also denaturises brand culture and conspicuous consumption through the idea, advanced by Buhle, that the results of her work are indistinguishable from the real thing. In doing so she questions the need, and the logic of brand culture. In many respects Buhle and Mathapelo's positions are similar. Mathapelo denounces those students who conceal or betray their origins. Buhle foregrounds her origins and her limited financial resources and thereby questions her friend's ostentation.

In terms of the trajectories of Buhle (from Katlehong) and Mathapelo (Hammanskraal) a further point of comparison concerns the semiotics of place of their respective neighbourhoods (see figure 80 below). In each case, the semiotics of place conform to what Stroud and Mpendukana (2009, 2010) note concerning SL in a place of 'necessity'. The SL is geared towards local products and services, it is manually produced, it is located on a tributary road where it is associated with other signs for other local products and services, and the language is orientated towards initiating interactions. The SL also often have a 'ludic' space where originality and creative playfulness are displayed. My point is that

[27] A popular brand of shoes for girls in the Gauteng.

Buhle's attitude to, and realisation of her shorts, both linguistically (in the way she describes them, combined with plosive, stylistic sound effects) and materially, conform to the semiotics of place from which she travels to see her friend in Sandton. Semiotics of place that are very different from those of Sandton, as these were discussed in chapter 1.



Figure 79: Two views of a central street in each of the townships of Katlehong and Hammanskraal (captured from Google Maps Streetview using the GPS information obtained from participants).

Buhle, is authenticating her identity, and in so doing denaturalising Katlego's choices and lifestyle, but this does not mean that either are objectively more authentic than the other. What is rather in question is the subjective *challenge* (see Bucholtz and Hall 2004a) that Buhle poses to Katlego's performance as this plays out in the stories that she shares with Buhle. These stories concern Katlego's experience of Sandton, and of luxury generally, as mediated through her role as the protegée of an older man. Let us look at these stories in greater detail. The first story below (segment 7) is the account of a trip to Mpumalanga where she was treated to airplane tickets, restaurants etc.

Transcript excerpt 52 : Buhle segment 7) of Appendix 2-5-4

Teller and story: Katlego, a young woman from Alexandra who has a blesser, responds to a question by Buhle, the professionalising student, about Nelspruit, in Mpumalanga province, with a story about her last visit there. She tells of how she cheated on her older lover for money by not in fact taking the plane, and then the adventures she had in a restaurant with her friend Claire. The story develops a 'yolo' (you only live once) moral, before evolving into stories by both Buhle and Katlego about relationships and status.
Participants: Buhle and Katlego.
Occasioning: Sitting down in a restaurant in Sandton City Mall to be served, and commenting on their respective clothes.
Actions and events during telling: Eating, chatting, catching up, commenting on the waiter, their food and clothes.

29	Katlego	[but when do I <usually> go the last time I we::nt
30	(0.7)	
31		>the last time I went< I had so much fun ▪hhh it's like that because (..) like you
32		know what happened neh
33	Buhle	[laughs] ya(hh) yazza >you know what< (....) this guy angaze alande intombazane
34		iya le [how can this guy follow a girl that's going that direction]
35	(1.7)	
36	Katlego	like the last time I we::nt to Nelspruit
37	Buhle	mm hum↑
38	Katlego	fine
39	(1.0)	
40		he **booked** me a flight
41	Buhle	mm hum
42	Katlego	like baby <your fli::ght leaves at two o'clock> (....) so you know airports you have
43		to be an hour early
44	Buhle	mmhm
45	Katlego	to check in (...) fine
46	Buhle	that's okay↑ ngaleso s'khathi athumele [that time he sent]
47	Katlego	ithree three thousand rand to buy to go buy a dress

48	Buhle	yah
49	Katlego	but (..) I didn't know my account number
50	Buhle	ooh::↑
51	Katlego	three thousand (..) account number (what's mine) (..) I didn't know my account
52		number
53	Buhle	ooh::↑
54	Katlego	and I lost my:: (.) **stuff** (.) my wa::llet (.) so fine
55	(0.9)	
56		ang'romela chelete a re okay [he sent me money and said okay]
57	Buhle	[inaudible]
58	Katlego	takes forever
59	(1.0)	
60		ha ke le mo:: (...) kea ko **salon** [when I was here I went to the salon]
61	Buhle	mmhum↑
62	Katlego	fine
63	(1.9)	
64		flight yang'shiya [the flight left without me]
65	(0.9)	
66		and I told him >I'm like< (..) I'm like
67	(1.7)	
68	[announcement over intercom in mall]	
69		baby can I come with my **fri::end** [can I come with my friend
70	Buhle	[>bewufuna ukuza nobani uClaire< [who did you
71		want to take with you Claire][name changed]
72	Katlego	like
73	(0.8)	
74		I asked him can I come with my friend
75	Buhle	yah
76	(0.6)	
77	Katlego	a re [he said] okay fine so he bought two tickets
78	(0.8)	
79		for a flight and it's two point five eyi [for] one
80	(0.7)	
81		cabanga [imagine] we **mi::ssed it** (faith but no stress) (...) athumela enye ifive
82		thousand mina noClaire ngathi [he sent another five thousand for Claire and I and
83		I said] okay now take it baby you booked we'll be there ▪hhh our flight leaves at
84		twelve so we'll be there ▪hhh it's forty five minutes to Nelspruit
85	Buhle	mmhm
86	Katlego	we'll **be** there ka bo ma [one [at around one]
87	Buhle	[yeah↑
88	(0.9)	
89	Katlego	kanti [it so happened that] we're **ly::ing**
90	Female passing	okay sharp
91	Buhle	nithathe **ibus** [you took the bus]
92	Female passing	imali yakho
93	(0.9)	
94	Katlego	ayi sithathe ibus [we took the bus]
95	[Buhle laughs]	
96	Katlego	sayenzani imali sayithi sh(hh)wam (.) sh(hhh)wam sh(hhh)wam↑ [we spend that
97		money like crazy]
98	(Buhle and Katlego laugh loudly]	

99	Buhle	▪hhh nathengani [what did you buy] ▪hhh
100	[both continue laughing]	
101	Katlego	what did we do ende [and] then we **split** it (we found) such a loyal friend
102	Buhle	aaahhh
103	Katlego	[inaudible] it's ngamnika ngathi [I gave like] [two point five °two point five
104	Buhle	[thathe **half** [you took half]
105	(0.9)	
106		what did we do
107	(1.6)	
108	Katlego	that same day it was [late already
109	Buhle	[↑where we going kanti [really]
110	Katlego	[inaudible]
111	Buhle	yah
112	Katlego	Friday it was **late** already
113	Buhle	mmhm
114	Katlego	[inaudible] sazithulela [we kept quiet] [inaudible] **next thing** (...) sahamba ngo
115		seven [we left at around seven]
116	Buhle	**seven**↑
117	Katlego	we went to the station (...) sathola ibus
118	(0.8)	
119		ibus we got there ka [at] twelve (..) vele (....) ibus takes fore::ver
120	Buhle	yah::
121	Katlego	get to [inaudible]
122	Buhle	who↑
123	Katlego	(Nelson Mandela)
124	Buhle	ohh shiii
125	Katlego	when we got there (....) ↑akere [as you know] (....) obviously (....) airport like
126		must I send my driver to the airport
127	Buhle	yeah
128	Katlego	no baby don't worry about us:: (...) don't send anyone:: we'll get you at the mall
129		we're having lunch
130	Buhle	yeah
131	Katlego	sharp [inaudible] an↑githi besihamba ngebus [as we had travelled by bus]=
132	Buhle	=mmm
133	Katlego	sathatha amatickets ibus=
134	Buhle	=yah hah
135	Katlego	sawalahla sathatha (....) [Buhle laughs] i↑maxi taxi to the **mall** [we took the bus
136		tickets and discarded them we took a maxi taxi to the mall] [inaudible] then we
137		went to:: um::: [inaudible] ka mo fonela [I phoned him] listen baby we're having
138		[inaudible] saphuza amabhodlela ngathi ummm [we drank a lot of bottles I said]
139		[inaudible] baby ▪hhh the **bill** angithi uyazi umngani wami [like you know that my
140		friend] [inaudible] and the bill was like eight something eight hundred and
141		something (....) because I had my own bottle of [inaudible]
142	(3.1)	
143		a re don't worry about it let me talk to the manager ↑aah cool sharp they **know**
144		him
145	(1.1)	
146	Buhle	YOH
147	Katlego	miss you're free to go
148	Buhle	▪HHHH ↑ohhww
149	Katlego	do(h) you need any(hh)thing

150	[Buhle laughs]	
151	Katlego	[inaudible]
152	Buhle	↑**where** does one live that life(hhh)::: (….) woo guys (….) where did you meet this
153		guy
154	(0.9)	
155	Katlego	**through Claire** (….) Claire also has (.) a guy like that
156	Buhle	uClaire [Claire] [inaudible] always looking nice
157	Katlego	mmhm
158	Buhle	wears Gucci (….) like she has everything Claire
159	Katlego	a re I'll I'(hh)ll make you meet someone (..) I met the friend of the guy
160	Buhle	yo::h↑::
161	(0.8)	
162	Katlego	things started happening in the morning [inaudible] they had meetings ▪hh the
163		whole day and night ▪hhh so he's like
164	(1.3)	
165		you can come to the hotel let me just send the driver with money:::
166	(0.7)	
167		they gave us like
168	(1.0)	
169		**tw(hhh)o** thousand °two thousand each
170	Buhle	whooo↑
171	Katlego	and now we'll see you in the afternoon (it was) Sunday Saturday (…) fine
172	(0.9)	
173		ha re le mo [while we there]
174	Buhle	**guys:::**
175	Katlego	we went break(hhhh)fastat the [inaudible] hotel [[inaudible]
176	Buhle	[at the hotel
177	Katlego	↑**ah** we went to the mall we shopped we had same stuff ▪hhh same handbags
178		same sneakers::: we've got [everything:::
179	Buhle	[yah I **see** that
180	Katlego	[inaudible]
181	Buhle	woo mara [but] friend
182	(1.0)	
183		[na woo yazi [you know]
184	Katlego	[na la na la sihlala siza:: we always you look [even here we always come here we
185		always you know]
186	Buhle	look **nice**
187	(6.3)	
188		ngiyak'**bona** ngithi [I can see that I mean] [inaudible]
189	Katlego	[inaudible] upstairs [inaudible]
190	(3.7)	
191	Buhle	ngiyak'bona [I can see you] you're always busy out here and about:::
192	Katlego	and then now Buhle I mean like [inaudible]
193	Buhle	mmm
194	Katlego	[inaudible]
195	[Buhle laughs]	
196	Katlego	because he knows **nje** [just] I'm still **young**
197	Buhle	mmhhh
198	Katlego	and my mom uhlala ang'tshela athi [is always telling me that] you **young** you
199		must enjoy life
200	Buhle	and have fun go **sho:::p** (.) as much as you want

Katlego has what is usually known as a 'blesser' in South Africa, and it is this man that is paying for the airline ticket, who phones the manager of the restaurant and who gives Katlego and her friend spending money. This is a type of relationship that is fairly widespread, with popular rappers like AKA singing about it. It is a major focus of the work of many NGO's such as Sonke Gender Justice, or Treatment Action Campaign, for its potential of HIV infection through the disequal power relationship of an older, wealthier man, and a younger, dependant, female. In some ways this relationship is also a development, and a capitalisation, of a pre-existing tendency to have two or more lovers, where one lover is the declared romantic interest, whose relationship will be sanctified with an offer of bride price and a home, whilst other lovers are treated in a more pragmatic way. Bembe (2009) gives the slang for this kind of relationship as 'roll-on' or 'umakwhepheni' because one keeps the lover hidden, under one's arm. Bermudes Ribiero da Cruz (2004) looks at the practice from the standpoint of gender and sexual practice.

We sense, in Katlego's stories, that she feels herself to be relatively in control of her situation. This is because she treats the demands of her lover with irony and subversion (inviting her friend along, using his money but taking the bus instead of the airplane…). She has talked to her mother about it and received encouragement from her, who feels that this relationship is to be enjoyed since 'you **young** you must enjoy life' (lines 198 – 200, segment 7) and, finally, the merits of the relationship are overwhelmingly obvious. Katlego has the availability of money – she can afford to lose two tickets to Mpumalanga[28] and is given R3000 to spend on a dress, passes the morning drinking with her friend Claire and the lover picks up the tab by phoning the manager, whilst, finally, she can continue shopping for the same handbags and sneakers (lines 143 and 177, segment 7 above). She, perhaps, however, *performs* wealth rather than possessing it. And, the capital that she has is her looks, and cool. The panache and admiration that is reflected from her to her lover, and that informs his business deals and negotiations. It is real, certainly, but Buhle's challenge to Katlego's choices concerning conspicuous consumption invite us to see in what ways Katlego's doing being deepens and complexifies the analysis of the space of Sandton, as an operator of denaturalisation, that we have been conducting so far.

A first line of inquiry would concern Katlego's trajectory, from Alexandra to Sandton, and what this means in terms of her bodily image and integrity, the transportability of her identity as this is performed with Buhle. In segment 3) below, Katlego explains why she made Buhle wait so long at their appointed meeting. She arrived at the Guatrain station over an hour late. The account she tells is that of a nearly avoided rape (lines 65 – 100), that was averted only because another young man spoke to her, accompanied her while walking, and suggested that she keep her phone on. What is most horrific about this story is that the aggressor is portrayed as someone who habitually exerts this form of gender harassment and violence. The story, in itself, is shocking. These are the realities of life in South Africa, and one of the things that Sandton protects against with its numerous security guards employed by the City Improvement District. No wonder that 'safety' featured as one of the key descriptors for the area.

Transcript excerpt 53 : Buhle segment 3) of Appendix 2-5-4

Teller and story: Katlego, a young woman from Alexandra, arrives over an hour late at her meeting with

[28] A region to the East of Johannesburg and the Gauteng, and that is associated with holidays and leisure time through its proximity to Mozambique and the Kruger National Park.

Buhle, a student who is studying for a professional diploma. In response to Buhle's reproach, Katlego tells a story of an Alexandra taxi rank and of gender violence experienced there.

Participants: Buhle and Katlego.

Occasioning: Lateness and an account in response to an explicit request for explanation.

Actions and events during telling: Meeting at the Sandton Gautrain station and walking towards Sandton City Mall.

1	[sounds of passers-by, taxis and cars at the Gautrain station Sandton, Katlego is approaching]	
2	Buhle	>HAYI WENA UYABHORA YESSES< [hey you're annoying yesses]
3	(2.0)	
4		**hayi uyabhora yoh**↑ [you're really annoying yoh]
5	(1.8)	
6		[clicking tongue] (....) **yoh:**↑
7	(1.5)	
8		bo ma **one hour::**↑ wu awusemuhle boma **one hour::** [yoh one hour wow you're
9		so pretty one hour]
10	[hugging]	
11	Katlego	how are you::
12	Buhle	I'm goo::d
13	Katlego	I'm okay
14	Buhle	wu::↑ mara awusemuhle eyi **nawe** •hhh uyabhora [agh your mother you're so
15		pretty but you are boring] [inaudible] manje [now] ↑what (.) took you so long I
16		was **waiting for you** I'm waiting for you you're saying you **come down**↓
17	Katlego	I **know** (..) let me tell you what happened neh
18	Buhle	yah
19	Katlego	my boyfriend Ali
20	(0.9)	
21		[sounds of woman hailing taxi] he said he's coming [inaudible] then (....) **ka ngala**
22		[I gave up] I had to take a taxi >ha ke le ko taxeni [while I'm in the taxi] he's like
23		I'm at your house and I'm like< **come get me** then I had to wait for him for like
24		five [minutes
25	Buhle	[ahhh
26	(1.0)	
27	Katlego	that's why **and** now with the car it's **be::tter** (....) if I had to take a taxi **traffic** (..)
28		**yo::h** (..) [whistling] phela ne re nka di dabulap [we were taking shortcuts]
29	Buhle	**yoh**
30	Katlego	so ne ki mo cheeka [so I was scolding him]
31	Buhle	ngaze nga (....) woma for °[inaudible] [I'm so thirsty for [inaudible]]
32	Katlego	[inaudible]
33	(0.8)	
34	Buhle	boma [one hour
35	Katlego	[I'm so hungry
36	(0.8)	
37	Man	you're not serious
38	(2.1)	
39	Katlego	no(hh)::
40	Buhle	ah(hh)ha↑ (...) you (...) let's go eat
41	Man	(I could)
42	Katlego	no(hh)::
43	Buhle	**me**↑
44	(0.8)	

45		uhuh:::
46	Man	(help us) **both** of you
47	Buhle	ah shii:: [laughs]
48	Man	are **not** there
49	Buhle	**•hhh**
50	(1.2)	
51		**hhh**↑ [laughs]
52	Man	you know that [inaudible]
53	(1.2)	
54	Buhle	I(h) have this top (....) I have this top (...) [laughs]
55	(1.8)	[male passer-by says hello, a woman calls out]
56		**similar** but it's not (....) [male passer-by says yes] yeah::: (....) whooo:::
57	Katlego	I'm so tired
58	Buhle	**me too hey:: hhh** (....) [where you from kanti
59	Katlego	[phela mina [by the way I] (...) at home I have to **walk**
60		phela [by the way] you know mina neh (...) <getting a taxi is **ha::rd** for me
61		because it's a **wa::lk** I have to walk **to** [Alex
62	Buhle	[you have to walk=
63	Katlego	=and it's a distance (....) I have to walk into Alex then
64	(1.5)	
65		>ha ke fitla mo ho na le< this **guy nje** uyang funa and ung funa nge nkani uke
66		wabona [Buhle laughs] [when I arrived there there was this guy that wants me
67		and he wants me by force do you know what I mean] that kind of stuff
68	Buhle	yah↑
69	(0.8)	
70	Buhle	[I wa-
71	Katlego	[I was so scared (..) (I lost my hand) anyway it's not the first time=
72	Buhle	=wooh:: you look so pretty you lost **weight** isn't it↑
73	Katlego	ahh [laughs]
74	Buhle	**agh** you look so nice::
75	Katlego	asihambe kancani [let s walk slowly]
76	Buhle	oh my **Go::d**
77	Katlego	yazi ngi busy **ngiyaxoxa** [you know I'm busy talking]
78	Buhle	hey uhot **kanyahni** [you're so hot]
79	Katlego	so::: ha ha ha re boa mo [so when we returned there] so like he's manhandling
80		me [inaudible] **about him**
81	Buhle	[drawing breath through teeth] yo:::h **so** ukubamba rough [so he was holding you
82		rough]
83	(1.1)	
84	Katlego	last uke wang trapa angitshela ukuthi [inaudible] [the last time he hit me and told
85		me that [inaudible]]
86	Buhle	**ha::**↑ (....) what the **fu::ck**
87	Katlego	[inaudible] it's (..) fucked up
88	Buhle	and then↑
89	Katlego	so I called my boyfriend and I'm **crying** cause kea mbona [I could see him] he's
90		coming towards [inaudible] but then this **guy** •hhh he's like •hhh (..) don t switch
91		off your [phone •hhh [inaudible]
92	Buhle	[which one that young one
93	(1.0)	
94	Katlego	yah (...) which young one
95	Buhle	the soccer star

96	Katlego	no::: [inaudible]
97	Buhle	ooh::↑ he's so so so:: **cute** man (..) he was so nunus (....) **eyah** hhh [inaudible] I
98		want to see (....) and then (..) he said↑
99	Katlego	lucky my (.) my boyfriend said what's↑ going on here and I said=
100	Buhle	=you **don't** know this (....) so **yah** (..) so he's [manhandling you
101	Katlego	[inaudible] today
102	(2.2)	
103	Buhle	by **who** by you (..) wow cause you look pretty ah manje [ah now]

Buhle, significantly, does not position herself as outraged or even particularly disturbed by the story. She aligns with Katlego at line 86 ("**ha::↑** (....) what the **fu::ck")**, but only after Katlego has given details about a *previous* incident. Similarly, throughout the story Buhle's comments and enjoinders concern much more how pretty and slim Katlego looks. At line 103 Buhle even goes so far as to assert causality between the aggression and the way Katlego looks, "by **who** by you (..) wow cause you look pretty ah manje [ah now]". The mismatch in the life of someone who is flown to Mpumalanga, chauffeur driven, who dines on sushi and yet is aggressed in this way when walking to a taxi in Alexandra is incredibly disturbing. I feel it underlines many of the dynamics in South Africa where rape, and gender violence, is such a huge aspect of our history, our present, and such a factor of denaturalisation as concerns our transition to a post-Apartheid neoliberal democracy (see Gqola 2016, CSVR and Embassy of Finland 2016, Hassim 2009, NSP 2017, and Vetten 2014).

A second line of enquiry would concern some of the realities of Katlego's position with respect to her older lover. Until this point in the discussion I have oversimplified Katlego's situation. The reality is that her older lover is a demanding and jealous man. He requires that she go to the gym regularly to stay in shape, he appears impromptu to check on her behaviour when he knows that she has gone clubbing without him, and he beats her in a scenario that recalls the testimonies of the female participants in the Bermudes Ribiero da Cruz study (2004) (see segment 9 below). The violence seems, in this case, to be the assertion of a right over the woman, and of a claim made to her desire and identification. It is a claim that is subverted by Katlego who is in love with a younger man, and who in fact uses some of the money she is given to in turn invite this younger lover out for sushi, and to buy him a Gucci watch (segment 18, also given below).

Transcript excerpt 54 : Buhle segment 9) of Appendix 2-5-4

Teller and story: Katlego, a young woman from Alexandra who has a blesser, in response to prompting by Buhle, a professionalising student, tells of relationship violence she suffers from her older lover.
Participants: Buhle and Katlego.
Occasioning: Whilst at a restaurant, Buhle, who is concerned with power relationships, and authenticity, has prompted Katlego on these subjects at line 145 with a direct question, "Does he hit you?".
Actions and events during telling: Eating, chatting, commenting on the waiter, their food and clothes.

170	Buhle	manje sekacabanga ukuthi sekak'**o::wner** manje [now he thinks that he owns
171		you] **mara** (..) the thing is (....) he DOES kind of he's yours (..) because he spends
172		on you (....) you are **hi::s**
173	Katlego	but if you lo::ve him (...) it's totally fine
174	Buhle	mmhm
175	(1.1)	
176	Katlego	yoh
177	(0.8)	
178		I had problem (...) ya [of] my eyes I used to go to the doctor every week
179	(0.6)	
180		[ang'shayile [when he had hit me]
181	Buhle	[(cause of that)
182	(1.0)	
183	Katlego	angshayile [when he had hit me] I had an (...) **eye** infection yoh I was so scared
184		yoh Durban July I was supposed to go [inaudible]
185	(1.2)	
186	Buhle	manje [now] friend wha- how did how did you handle **tha::t** like
187	(0.7)	
188		no::: (who spoke to hi::m)
189	Katlego	ang'shaya futhi::: [he hit me again]
190	Buhle	[inaudible]
191	Katlego	↑aah:::
192	(1.9)	
193	Buhle	and you keep going **back** it's going to get worse my friend (....) it's going to get
194		**worse:::** (....) and then that's a **huge** problem (....) yoh
195	(1.1)	
196		there's going to be a **day** where he's going to catch you cheating on this guy (..)
197		because everything comes out (..) maybe uzobona [he'll see] **something**
198	(0.9)	

Transcript excerpt 55 : Buhle segment 18) of Appendix 2-5-4

Teller and story: Katlego, a young woman from Alexandra who has a blesser, and who is friends with Buhle, a professionalising student, is giving relationship advice, and repairing alignment, in telling about how she spoils her (real, younger) boyfriend.
Participants: Buhle and Katlego.
Occasioning: Catching up on recent events with a friend in a restaurant at the Sandton City Mall and referring to the brands and other items of conspicuous consumption available at the mall.
Actions and events during telling: Eating, chatting, commenting on the waiter, their food and clothes.

90	Katlego	[he didn't really know friend he didn't even know (..) yoh mina [me]
91		my boyfriend kea mo spoila [I spoil him] [inaudible] nami ngibheyah [I also pay for
92		him] (but I don't have money)
93	(1.0)	
94	Buhle	betcha I'm your bitch (...) oah:
95	Katlego	[lo
96	Buhle	[lo onaye manje [the one you're with now]
97	(0.8)	
98	Katlego	yah
99	Buhle	[inaudible]
100	Katlego	nna [me] I spoil him shame because naye [he also] he **does** the same thing o kele
101		wabona [you know]
102	Buhle	yeah (.) you love him (.) [so
103	Katlego	[I bought him (....) ka mo rekela ke eng [I bought him
104		what's this] when I bought my **Gucci watch** I bought him Gucci **gift**
105	Buhle	ya↑sses
106	Katlego	I bought him (....) ka mofa mo [i gave him there] he was so excited yooh baby yo
107		baby [...]

These stories can be more closely examined through Georgakopoulou's work into self and other identity claims in the context of small stories (Georgakopoulou 2008). Georgakopoulou specifically focuses on the *relational* organisation of claims in contrastive pairs of positive and negative attributes. In Katlego's stories, and Buhle's uptake, we can see many of the phenomena that Georgakopoulou observes. Firstly, Katlego's claims are 'actor-focused' on modes of conduct (Georgakopoulou 2008 : 603) and broadly negative with respect to the older lover, positive with respect to her younger lover. Secondly, Katlego claims an 'experiential primacy' (Georgakopoulou 2008 : 605, Raymond and Heritage 2006 and Wortham 2000) in that she is the main teller, doing most of the topic switching and introducing most of the evaluation. Thirdly, Katlego manages identity claims both in the taleworld (through reported events and speech) and in the telling world with Buhle (Georgakopoulou 2008 : 603). Finally, and this is perhaps the most important point of comparison, Katlego mobilises all three of the features that allow one to conclude a 'solidified' role:

> […] there are three interactional features that contribute to identity claims acting as markers of solidified roles: iterativity, narrativity and stylisation. The more these features are at play, themore an identity claim refers to an aspect of self or other that is solidified. (Georgakopoulou 2008 : 612)

Katlego's identity claims are solidified through the youth style (isicamtho) that goes into their telling, the iteration of aspects of the story that form a shared theme and repertoire between her and Buhle, and the highly effective emplotment that Katlego provides. Katlego is therefore marking a solidification of her identity, making a claim to its transportability across geographical and social space, from Alexandra to Sandton. In order to understand the grounding on which this claim rests, it is necessary to investigate, as Georgakopoulou does, the operation of the heterosexual market. This market, with its attendant sexuation of roles and relative values and markers of popularity, is certainly what is at issue in Katlego and Buhle's interaction.

> Taleworld identity claims in the stories at hand enhance tellability by reporting the positive or negative attributes of the male characters talked about. They thus play a pivotal role in stories which serve as occasions for (re)affirming and constructing the teller's positions in the heterosexual market. (Georgakopoulou 2008 : 606)

It is crucially important for analysis at this point, that it should be at exactly this conjuncture that Buhle *disaligns* with Katlego and challenges the importance of the market (in another excerpt from segment 9, below in excerpt 56).

Transcript excerpt 56 : Buhle segment 9) of Appendix 2-5-4

Teller and story: Buhle, a student for a professional diploma, responds to her friend Katlego's stories about lovers and blessers, with a story (or rather a refusal to tell) of emotional suffering in a relationship and the fact that she has not been dating.
Participants: Buhle and Katlego.
Occasioning: Catching up on recent events with a friend in a restaurant at the Sandton City Mall and referring to the brands and other items of conspicuous consumption available at the mall.
Actions and events during telling: Eating, chatting, commenting on the waiter, their food and clothes.

20	Katlego	[I'm just no I'm just (..) I'm
21		just (..) I'm just **lucky**↓ (..) to meet guys that are willing to **spend** (..) that's it
22	(1.0)	
23		that's it that's the only thing I can say I've just been lucky I always meet guys that
24		(...) >↑I don't even have< to ask for mo::ney [inaudible] I don't **want** to (...) but
25		(....) yazi [you know] the way ngingamfuni ngakhona [I don't want him] the other
26		day athi kimi [he said to me] let's do lunch ngathi lo↑ ngizomlaya [I said I'd sort
27		him out] I had to take him to the ↑mo(hh)st expensive restaura(hh)nt
28	[Buhle laughs]	
29	Katlego	and mang'fika ngio::rder [when I got there I ordered] just order order yazi [you
30		know] as I did that
31	(0.8)	
32		**aah** avele athi [he just said] are you do::ne (..) order **more** yo::h
33	Buhle	**wooaw**↑ aie↑ ak'khiphe in**kani** [he sorted you out instead]
34	Katlego	•hhh yoh Buhle:
35	Buhle	woo↑ manje thina [now we] ha
36	(1.0)	
37		no you know **what**::
38	(0.8)	
39		it's jus- (....) >I don't remember< the last time I **dated** eih↑
40	Katlego	why
41	(0.6)	
42	Buhle	I haven't been **dating** for a [**whi::::::::::le::::::::::**
43	Katlego	[why though
44	(0.7)	
45	Buhle	I don't know maybe it's the **camp** and the **schoo::l** and (boyfriends anyway)
46	Katlego	but you must **make** time
47	Buhle	but I'm I'm **tired** of boys I've been I I was I was heartbroken so **ba:::d** yoh
48	(0.7)	
49	Katlego	what happened
50	(0.7)	
51		you were (**a::ll** right)
52	Buhle	mmhm
53	(0.9)	
54	Buhle	hey (..) this guy was draining ungathi uTeboho so uyambona uTeboho ka Pati**ence**
55		[he was like Teboho you see Patience's Teboho][names changed]
56	(1.7)	[Buhle sucks air through teeth and clicks tongue]
57		boma::: Teboho vibes::
58	(2.0)	
59		no he was just an **ass**
60	(1.8)	
61	Katlego	guys are like that
62	Buhle	no he's not ru::de
63	Katlego	my friend
64	(1.8)	
65		but we're benefitting
66	(0.8)	
67	Buhle	oh yah:::: yazi [you know] it's better if (....) it's a give and take thing::
68	Katlego	yah
69	Katlego	if awu benefitti [if you're not benefitting]
70	Buhle	if you're giving giving >that's the thing< I was giving giving and getting no::thing
71		(....) ende [and] now •hhh ↑I'm not I'm not going to date up until I find someone
72		(.) like that who's going to spend on **me**↑ because I **dese::rve**↑ it:::
73	Katlego	Buhle umuhle [Buhle you're beautiful]
74	Buhle	oh↑
75	(0.6)	
76	Katlego	[you deserve the best [inaudible]
77	Buhle	[(something nice not the best) [inaudible]
78	(0.6)	

Buhle's challenge is not straightforward. She does align with Katlego's appreciation of the market and the underlying possibility of notching up feminine worth on a ladder of spending and of high priced consumer goods. It is interesting to look at lines 65 - 77 in segment 9 above from this perspective. Buhle, at line 72, is clear that she is deserving of being spent on, of being valued monetarily in a rewards system that is not necessarily an objectification of the female body, but is, certainly, an objectification of a relationship and of a status within a social architecture. However, she interprets this within her own experience and subjectivity, that gets manifested in a *refusal* to tell at lines 54 and 59. This refusal, or suppression, of what could have been a full narrative, shows, firstly, Buhle's reticence, and tendency to be discrete, but it also manifests what has been a traumatic and draining experience for her, told to me in post-participation interviews, with the man of whom, precisely, she is *not* telling a story. Her experience translates into a disengagement from the heterosexual market, at lines 39, 42 and 47, "but I'm I'm **tired** of boys", which also explains her feigned enthusiasm when Katlego proposed finding her an older lover of her own (at lines 158 -161 of segment 7):

Transcript excerpt 57 : Buhle segment 7) of Appendix 2-5-4

Teller and story: Katlego, a young woman from Alexandra who has a blesser, is telling about a recent trip to Mpumalanga province where she lied in order to keep the cash for the plane flight. Her friend Buhle, a professionalising student, is commenting on the lifestyle of a similar young woman, Claire.
Participants: Buhle and Katlego.
Occasioning: Catching up on recent events with a friend in a restaurant at the Sandton City Mall and referring to the brands and other items of conspicuous consumption available at the mall.
Actions and events during telling: Eating, chatting, commenting on the waiter, their food and clothes.

158	Buhle	wears Gucci (….) like she has everything Claire
159	Katlego	a re I'll I'(hh)ll make you meet someone (..) I met the friend of the guy
160	Buhle	yo::h↑::
161	(0.8)	

Her challenge to the market, and her own lack of desire for status within that market, allows a denaturalisation of Katlego's performance. A denaturalisation that is summed up pithily in Buhle's, "now he thinks that he **owns** you] **mara** (..) the thing is (….) he DOES kind of he's yours (..) because he spends on you (….) you are **hi::s**" (line 170-172 segment 9 above). If we pull together the different aspects of our discussion so far: the rupture in trajectory from township to Sandton, the threat to physical integrity through the possibility of rape and gender-based violence, the subversion of roles of lover and loved, the relational attributions of positive and negative characteristics… then we can see that Katlego is downplaying many aspects of her life so as to foreground consumption, cash and style in her central, iterated, claim to identity. Like the travesties in Bucholtz and Hall's (2004a : 500) study of language and sexuality, Katlego needs this interaction with Buhle in order to authenticate this identity. An identity that is, in fact, much more heterogeneous and fragmented, encompassing a movement from periphery to centre, relations with young and old, and shocks with violence and objectification.

One can then ask whether a similar operation of denaturalisation and authentication is not occurring throughout Sandton, as symbol and brand. In figure 76, the percentage of Born Frees visiting Sandton from Alexandra was 11.6%. Combined with the statistics for Soweto and Thembisa, just these three

townships represent 16% of Born Free use of the district. The literature on the Born Frees, such as the IRR investigation compiled by Kane-Berman (2015) insufficiently recognises the effect of ruptures such as those that apply to Katlego's choices, and the friction, uncertaintly and complexity that result. The IRR investigation, for instance, details family situation by race, unemployment trends, and the most important issues by age and race-group, but it fails to see the mingling and cross-over of township and centre, of young and old, of rich and poor. This cross-over, this transversality in trajectory is not the exception, but the *rule*, and certainly as the participants to this study show, is accepted and banalised. And I would like to claim that it is also tacitly accepted by Sandton City itself, that like many malls, smooths rupture and denaturalisation within an architecture that emphasises the functionality of eating, like shopping, like branding, like dressing, in a parallel commercialisation of the *gesture* and the space (see figure 79 below).



Figure 80: Two images of the semiotics of the eating areas in the Sandton City Mall (reproduced from http://www.gautengcc.co.za/images/sandton-city.jpg and https://cs.mg.co.za/crop/content/images/2013/08/29/mcdonalds.jpg/1280x720/ accessed 20/10/2017).

To conclude this section, I would like to turn away slightly from the *South African* Born Frees and revisit the stories that I collected with Grace. This is because I would like to challenge the literature on the Born Frees in a second way. Over and above a focus on the friction and the complexity of the relationships between the Born Frees and their world, and the transversality of their artifactual and value systems, that cut across race, gender and age, I also feel that South African research is often too enmeshed in a nationalistic politics. That it fails, as I mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, to recognise the place that other populations, cultures and languages occupy within its social fabric. South Africa is caught in the flow of a world in change as much as any country. In some respects more so, even, for the access to South Africa is overland.

Grace and my visits to Taboo were discussed in the previous section. Leaving Taboo, Grace talked to me in segment 2_2 1 (Appendix 2-5-2, and above) about her visits there with her boyfriend. As we continued to drive however, and further explored Sandton's roads, talking generally about the place, Grace's attention wandered in that overlap of the spatial and the temporal that I commented on with respect to Linda's stories. As we approached the M1, she asked me (in segment 2_2 2, below) about

how they celebrated the Baccalaureat[29] in France. Her interrogation was a personal one. She was requesting the information that would allow her to insert this cultural event and symbol within a nexus of practice (Scollon 2001, and Scollon and Scollon 2007) that could be compared between the Congo, South Africa and Europe. As such, her story[30] has a great deal of similarity with Afrika and Rhulane's evocation of travel and of a visit to H&M in Europe. As I gave rather vague replies, Grace elaborated an account of a neighbourhood paying for light, and other family members putting 'powder' on their heads. I couldn't help feeling that some details were getting lost in translation, so, in July of 2016, when the opportunity presented itself to travel with a colleague to the University of Kinshasa, I took it (see figure 81 below).

[29] The Baccalaureat is the certificate that finalises secondary education. Of less subjects and a deeper level of reflection than the South African 'matric'. It is quite close to the English 'A' levels.

[30] This transcript is very close to socialisation rather than narrative. However, given the strength and pervasiveness of the storied world (Kinshasa and its events) I think that we can include it in the data for this thesis.





Figure 81: SL of the main street in the neighbourhood of Gombe, Kinshasa, and a second image of students near the University of Kinshasa, Notre Dame campus, celebrating their graduation by pouring talc on each other.

Transcript excerpt 58 : Grace segment 2_2 2) Appendix 2-5-2

Teller and story: Grace, a student from the Congo, is telling of the celebrations that take place in Kinshasa when pupils have finished their secondary schooling.
Participants: Grace and William.
Occasioning: Talk in the car on the way back from a late night outing to Sandton and the Taboo nightclub.
Actions and events during telling: William is driving. Grace, who has been sick with worry, and who is tired, is looking out of the window at the highway flyover. Her thoughts are wandering.

6	Grace	[oh ya:h I think so
7	(1.8)	
8		but you shouldn't-
9	(0.8)	
10		uhm:: in Fra::nce when you finish your hi- your like (...) you're at [**school** (....) how do
11		you eee:r celebrate your bac (....) your degree like not not your degree but you're your
12		diploma
13	William	[huh hu
14	(2.0)	
15		how how's that
16	(1.4)	
17	Grace	when you finish high school
18	(0.6)	
19	William	ya:h
20	Grace	ya:h do do you have to write at the end of the year
21	(1.2)	
22		just so when you get cro::wd no eh::::::
23	(1.4)	
24		eh::::: toll (....) like erm e e-toll (..) like [sucking air through teeth] how can I explain=
25	William	=like how do you [c::- how do you c:::celebrate your baccalaureat
26	Grace	[ya::h like
27	Grace	yeah how do you **celebrate it**
28	(0.7)	
29	William	the baccalaureat↑
30	Grace	**y↑es↓**
31	William	you **don't↑** man it's in **Fra::nce** bru
32	(0.7)	
33		French people don't celebrate **anything**
34	(1.1)	
35		you just [kind of **wear jeans** and
36	Grace	[I was in **Congo::** they would buy (.) **powder:::** and s **spray it onto you::**
37		[indistinct]
38	William	[hold on hold on no no they're just going to go and get **drunk** and maybe you know=
39	Grace	=**really↑** ya::h you can **get drunk** but at **ho::me** in your family all the cultures (..) they
40		would pour powder on you and some people they can't afford to buy powder ▪hhh they
41		would just save (.) [to give you enough for the **pub**
42	William	[mmhum (..) yeah
43	Grace	and then they would **pour** on you and your pa:::rents
44	(0.7)	[William laughs]
45		and so(h)me of your family members:: they would just pour powder on the- on them on
46		themselves and enjoy::: it's funny like crazy
47	(1.8)	
48	William	yah no no in France **not** hey yoh
49	(0.7)	

Kinshasa is a city on a huge scale, but, as shown in figure 81 above, it is a hybrid urban setting where decaying infrastructure and the pressure of a displaced and war-torn population creates a semiotics of place that reflects both the domination of non-locally produced foreign branding, and locally produced artifacts that have much more similarity to Katlehong than they do to Sandton. I saw, and participated first hand, in the festivities that Grace had described, and in fact the 'powder' that she referred to, turned out to be talc.

In the above story that concerns essentially lines 39 to 46 of the above excerpt 58, the first thing to note is the density of evocation. It is this density, and the import that it has for Grace, that justifies the inclusion of this story in our dataset, since the relevance of the storied world, its ethnographic significance, compensates for the brevity of the interaction. As mentioned when discussing the operationalisation of genre in chapter 2, under methodology and genre, for Grace this story is linked to her experience as a foreign student in South Africa and serves as a reminder of the tenacity she must have shown to be able to complete her secondary studies and then transit to South Africa to begin her tertiary studies. There are interesting indexes in this story of this kind of tenacity. In line 41 Grace mentions that those who cannot afford to buy talc would save to give the successful candidate enough. One can imagine the pragmatic workings of the market in the Congo, where talc becomes an object of distinction and authentication and one for which families save up. Then, in line 43, Grace notes that the talc is poured both on the candidate and their parents. The semiotics of the talc, its whiteness, medicinal properties, its diffusion in the air and the way it clings to the hair and skin, crown both the educational success of the student, but also, I am sure, the sacrifices that have been made to be able to send him or her to school, and in turn what that education will mean for the future of the family.

In terms of our discussion at this point, Grace's story can be understood as a broader questioning of cultural norms and of their authentication. Against her experience of Kinshasa, one can understand her perception of Sandton as a 'quiet', and safe, place (transcript 3, Appendix 2-5-2), and the value that she places on the price of electricity. Her experience of travel, and of life in South Africa and the Congo, also allows us to reinterpret the story that she told of her boyfriend in the Taboo (segment 2_2 1, above), and that we analysed in the first section on adequation and distinction. When her perceptions of Taboo are denaturalised, and the disjuncure of her personal biography is taken into account, one realises more completely the signification that it had for her to be embarrassed under the gaze of the other (more South African) people who frequent this club. When I accompanied her to Sandton for the second time, it should be noted that Grace took me to Sankayi (of which an allusion in lines 69 to end of segment 2_2 1) which is a broadly West African themed club, that has few South African clients.

In interviews, Grace often emphasised her foreignness, her struggles in terms of bureaucratic processes, and the general social problems she experienced in South Africa, that accord ill with her socio-economic status in the Congo. It is for this reason that she lives in cosmopolitan areas such as Arcadia in Pretoria, and later, when I caught up with her for a second interview, in Midrand, in a house-share with other female students from the DRC. I would like to include here a photograph of what I feel is a very telling part of her life during the research process. Her shoe cupboard (figure 82 below).



Figure 82: Grace's shoe cupboard.

This shoe cupboard is organised according to shoe type (heels and sneakers), and according to coulour, with formal wear at the bottom and casual wear at the top. As a multimodal artifact (Kress and Van Leeuwen 1996, Kress 2010a and 2010b) the formal wear is the 'real' and the 'new'. When one considers her trajectory from Kinshasa (see figure 81) this can be readily understood. With Grace, what we are looking at is the interrogation and preoccupation with which she adapts to the conditions of her life in South Africa, and, in turn, "the authenticity with which certain identities become endowed" (Bucholtz and Hall 2004a : 500).

Conclusions for authentication and denaturalisation

Sandton, from Grace's perspective, represents the possibility of cosmopolitanism and safety, but also the threat to these, that echoes Katlego's stories. It calls into question the trajectories of these two participants and the conditions of their lives in the spaces beyond Sandton's boundaries. This operation is one of denaturalisation, of a challenge and a calling into question of the 'realness' of choices, that is relevant to all of the stories of this section. Buhle who is sick of men and works hard at fabricating her own shorts, who thereby denaturalises brand consumption and the heterosexual market, Mpho and Mathapelo who interrogate their community of practice through mention of socio-economic origins and the betrayal of these, Afrika who, with Darren, look at the evolution of the South African struggle narrative and its capture by neoliberalism.

In terms of small stories research, the axis of authentication and denaturalisation throws light on the functioning of 'accounts'. In chapter 4 we noted that accounts are studied in connection to, "dispreferred social behaviour such as rejections of proposals and offers" and they, "are offered after

some delay, and they include reports that detail activities and circumstances of an action" (De Fina 2009 : 239). De Fina goes on to discuss how accounts report divergence of assumptions and evaluative inquiry. This goes to the heart of the analytic focus of the axis of authentication and denaturalisation and throws up the power of this genre for examining the *contexts* of story telling.

Authorisation and illegitimation

The final axis of relationality that we shall discuss in this chapter concerns the Born Frees and the power structures that form part of the place that is Sandton. Whilst the data comes from the Born Frees themselves, it must be read in dialogue with the data and stories presented in chapters 1, 4 and 5, concerning the site and the positioning of key institutions therewithin.

Bucholtz and Hall approach the *normative* in this last axis. It may be understood as a granting or a refusal of 'intelligibility' (Bucholtz and Hall 2004a) where what is at issue is the marginalisation of certain identities.

> Authorisation is the use of power to legitimate certain social identities as culturally intelligible, while illegitimation is the revoking or withholding of such validation from particular identities. These tactics are often associated with large-scale or institutional workings of power, but they may also be more local. (Bucholtz and Hall 2004a : 503)

In this conception, authorisation relates to hegemony as this is traditionally understood (see Gramsci 1971). The *unmarked* is the hegemonic in that it is taken for granted, implicitly understood, naturalised (see Thompson 1984), and it is the ideology against which other identities are illegitimated. This illegitimation can also occur through subjacent power structures within groups or communities that are already marginalised or non sanctioned. Authorisation, thus, represents a sliding scale of approach or distancing from an institutionalised norm.

In accepting, reproducing, or, on the contrary, resisting, a 'default' status (Bucholtz and Hall 2004b : 372) it is important however to emphasise that this, in many cases, can also happen *through* the institution. The use, and legitimation, of an aspect of hegemonic authority can in turn legitimate other claims. Languages may be used in this way. Wolof, in Senegal, is for instance increasingly used in government circles (Bucholtz and Hall 2004b : 387). The differential evolution of English generally (see Mufwene 2015) is also a case in point. But one can easily imagine other cultural aspects (clothing, familial structure, choice of profession …) that may be used similarly, to confer legitimacy, or intelligibility on otherwise marginalised identities. Finally, there is a degree of institutional blindness in authorisation and illegitimation. Rather than specifically attacking identities, these may simply be, "dismissed, censored, or simply ignored by these same structures." (Bucholtz and Hall 2005 : 603).

The axes of relationality generally are analytic, in that they open up vistas of investigation. They also concern the observable aspects of identity work, and its interactive and contingent realisation (Bucholtz and Hall 2005 : 605). The relation of Born Frees to the institution informs the previous chapter that looked at the Sandton Convention Centre, the Johannesburg Stock Exchange, the Sandton City Mall and the Advocate's group. It also ties in very strongly with small stories research generally, where De Fina and Georgakopoulou have, on several occasions, investigated power, institution and norming. Examples are Georgakopoulou's work with students in the context of the school, as institution, (Georgakopoulou 2008), and her work with use of social platforms (Georgakopoulou 2016a and 2016b) that, in essence, looks at how certain identities are authorised through alignment. De Fina's work with narratives of immigrant woment (De Fina 2003 and De Fina and King 2011) and her work with familial structures (De Fina 2012) are further examples.

Given that this chapter concerns the institution, I would like to start the discussion by turning to the stories collected by Ndumiso, and the segment 1) (transcript 1) of Appendix 2-5-3. This story, or rather

series of first stories and second stories about smoking weed, and then sexual adventures, is a very good example of the way in which Born Free identities can be constructed through certain institutional channels, but in opposition to dominant discourses of heterosexuality, legality or age. The context for Ndumiso's stories is a prestigious arts college. The roles of the interactants reinforce the events of the storied-world, with Ndumiso, who is openly and outspokenly LGBTIQ, playing a scandalised but encouraging audience for Cheryl's increasingly intimate confessions. I have cut what is a longer recording at a transition point, where Cheryl avows a fetishized liking for Snape from the Harry Potter films. Ndumiso fails to follow her down this line of narrative, and effects a story exit at line 163 where he notes the arrival of some friends. This transition also shows that the recording takes account of the research process, in that Cheryl introduces the microphone to arriving participants at line 177 (see Heinrichsmeier 2015 for a consideration of this point). That the participants should orient to the research process in this way, and continue to explore themes such as marriage, sexuality, and disobedience, is interesting in itself, and points both to the importance, for the Born Frees, of their relation to dominant discourses, as to the role their community of practice has in their institution.

Transcript excerpt 59 : Ndumiso segment 1) Appendix 2-5-3

Teller and story: Cheryl, a student at an Arts academy, tells a series of stories, in conjunction with Ndumiso, about a fellow student being expelled for marijuana use, of a teacher who was unkind and of sexual adventures with older men.
Participants: Ndumiso and Cheryl, two Arts students.
Occasioning: Morning before class begins, catching up and orienting to the research by telling provocative stories about marijuana and sexual adventure.
Actions and events during telling: Eating biscuits and meeting up before class.

1	Cheryl	and you know if you drink on antibio↑tics hhh
2	Ndumiso	mmm ya::h=
3	Cheryl	=okay
4	Ndumiso	mmmm hum
5	Cheryl	•hhh so I'm going to stop taking that stuff my skin is doing fine except this °small
6		pimple
7	(0.6)	
8	Ndumiso	your skin's beautiful by the way↑
9	Cheryl	[laughs] than(h)k you
10	[sound of bag being moved]	
11	Ndumiso	people have to::ld you so many times=
12	Cheryl	=>yah but there's this one pimple here that just won't<-
13	Ndumiso	n oh my word SHUT UP [laughs] hhh it's just a pimple
14	Cheryl	it's like a bli(hh)ster •hhh hhhh
15	(1.2)	
16		but ya::h I'm really excited actually [laughs] •hhhhh and then I (get to CTU) and
17		**Megan Megan** [name changed] (and after)
18	Ndumiso	who's Megan
19	Cheryl	•hhhh this girl (..) she actually went to [name of school] shame but she's actually
20		really nice she works at this ba::r that we always go to
21	Ndumiso	mmhum
22	Cheryl	one •hhhh her story of her life is actually so **fu:nny** •hhh so she she we::nt to um
23		[name of school] and then um obviously she got busted for weed right
24	Ndumiso	mmhum
25	Cheryl	a::nd she had-
26	Ndumiso	she got busted for wee:d
27	Cheryl	ya::h [they sent her
28	Ndumiso	[then go
29	Cheryl	to [name of rehabilitation centre] but she was supposed to be there for **four**
30		**weeks** actually admitted into [name of rehabilitation centre]
31	Ndumiso	mmhum
32	Cheryl	•hhhhh **and** she she wou- stayed for five days she couldn't do four weeks and she
33		can't actually like write any matric exam unless she's (.) has a paper saying she
34		stayed for four weeks •hhh so she dropped out of school •hhh (...) and now she's
35		wor(hh)king in a bar but like she's never going to have a matric because she'll
36		have to go **back** to reh:ab
37	Ndumiso	yah=
38	Cheryl	=>you know< because she's always (.) she smokes a lot of wee::d she's never
39		going to be like negative on a drug test •hhhhh hhh it's hot
40	Ndumiso	well this is coming from someone who **gro::ws** wee(h)d
41	Cheryl	>I'm never going to be< so dumb as to get caught and tested=
42	Ndumiso	=n yah well that's **true** (..) and even if you are [you're like
43	Cheryl	[(smart as Chloe) I don- I I I've
44		been caught once in grade nine [oka::y (..) let's just take a thi::ng but I never got
45		upset

46	Ndumiso	[>anyway even if you do: get
47		caught but you **always make an improvisation** on how to-
48	[sound of biscuits being eaten]	
49	Cheryl	↑I can get myself **out of it** you know I'm (..) just (not) that way um but this gir:l I
50		dunno maybe she's just too (thick actually going to do about it) [laughs] it was
51		weird hhh (.) she cut her hair::
52	Ndumiso	I remember when [name of student] and them were like •hhh smoking upstairs in
53		the hostel •hhh (....) and [the matron] came in while they were smoking >and she
54		was like< **I just I'm just getting hi::gh** (..) **standing here and smelling** >all the
55		smoke< **•hhh**
56	Cheryl	can I tell you I went out of the bathroom while I was **wa:lking** out the bathroom
57		with (..) Lindi and I was talking quite (.) like disgustingly like I was talking like a
58		real (.) trash of a girl like my hair **looks like ta::ntrrrraaa::** [imitating Cape accent]
59	Ndumiso	hu ha
60	Cheryl	I was making a joke and she was like **your language** [imitating Cape accent] **is like**
61		**the ↑toilet** and she clicked her tongue like ten times like qu qu qu
62	Ndumiso	[laughs]
63	Cheryl	**Je::::sus okay** I ge(hh)t it [laughs] quite [funny(hhh)
64	Ndumiso	•hhhhh (....) she's got a problem
65	Cheryl	and then she still **wa::lked with us** like I don't know **where** she was going we
66		were (going) to the tuckshop and she was walking with us and then we >went to
67		the tuckshop and then turned around and went back and (name of teacher)
68		wearing sandals<
69	(0.9)	
70		needlessly [unclear]
71	Ndumiso	[unclear] she's just (..) a bad **teache(h)r**
72	(0.8)	
73	Cheryl	I **hate** her (dude) [coughs loudly and forcedly]
74	(0.9)	
75		you know on my **bi::rthday** it was in grade **ten**
76	Ndumiso	mm
77	(1.0)	
78	Cheryl	she sent me to the principa::l
79	[Ndumiso laughs]	
80		okay she sent me to [principal] >and I was like you know it's my birthday and she
81		was like< >**I care I don't care**<
82	Ndumiso	nwhooa
83	Cheryl	>does it look like I care< (...) ↑okaay (....) ↑so(h)rry [imitating much younger voice]
84		(....) [unclear]
85	Ndumiso	mm
86	Cheryl	[unclear]
87	Ndumiso	why is everyone on [name of teacher]'s turf
88	Cheryl	he was in the bedroom and you know his:: bed is like (.) friggin like (.) **right there**
89	Ndumiso	ya::h↑
90	Cheryl	I could see him there when it was (.) like (.) through the window (..)and hh he was
91		like **s:::i(hh)tting right there** and I was just like **ughh** •hhh
92	Ndumiso	[•hhh must have been [unclear]
93	Cheryl	[I've got a free period::: like •hhhhh [unclear]
94	Ndumiso	•hhhhh I've got like a [laughs] free period (..) can I **come↑** in for like a cup of
95		coffee maybe **•hhhhh↑**
96	Cheryl	can I just **come in** and sit with you naked↑

97	[both laugh]	
98	Ndumiso	oh my gosh it's just [laughs]
99	Cheryl	(filthy) [laughs]
100	Ndumiso	**sis** Cheryl •hhh
101	(1.8)	
102	Ndumiso	[swallowing food] oh this is (..) oh okay
103	(1.2)	
104	Cheryl	I feel bad about it though but it's like (....) [laughs] •hhhhh I wouldn't (.) actually
105		have felt guilty if I'd done it
106	(1.0)	
107		°I've slept with a married man so [laughs]
108	Ndumiso	have you:::
109	Cheryl	yeah::
110	Ndumiso	↑when was this
111	Cheryl	it was like la(h)st yea(h)r:: (.) the beginning of the yea(h)r it was still March (..) it
112		was my friend's birthday shame [sniffs]
113	Ndumiso	and (..) what was a married man doing (.) at your friend's birthday
114	Cheryl	↑ah no he wasn't no we went to News Café (..) and (.) this guy [unclear]
115	Ndumiso	where
116	(0.5)	
117	Cheryl	Key West
118	Ndumiso	ah okay
119	Cheryl	you know where Key West is
120	Ndumiso	no↑::↓
121	Cheryl	in like Kensington [sniffs]
122	Ndumiso	mmh
123	Cheryl	yeah (.) and like
124	(0.7)	
125		I saw this guy and he was like (.) my type okay he had like a bear [unclear]
126	Ndumiso	[oh my word I
127		**lo::ve** that [•hhhhh
128	Cheryl	[•hhhhh he even had short hair and I don't **fucking** do short hair on a
129		white guy I don't [okay
130	Ndumiso	[na
131	Cheryl	but yeew this guy's name's Gareth [name changed]
132	Ndumiso	Gareth
133	(0.9)	
134	Cheryl	mmmhhh::
135	Ndumiso	that's a nice name
136	Cheryl	yah and he was like thirty-two:: (.) he was married:: (...) I went to his hou::se ↑the
137		wife wasn't there though
138	(2.4)	
139	Ndumiso	but does he have kids
140	Cheryl	[unclear]
141	(2.4)	
142	Cheryl	I dunno there was pictures of him and her and he had a ring on
143	(1.2)	
144	Ndumiso	my friend (..) you slept with a married man (..)•**hhh** you saw the ring (..) even
145		before (..) and you **sti:::ll** went ahead and you did the deed
146	Cheryl	how sexy that is (..) mmmh↑ [Ndumiso laughs] (....) my fucking fantasy:: is to
147		sleep with a divorced man but he needs to look like Snape from Harry Potter oh

148	[Ndumiso laughs]	
149	Ndumiso	si::: si::s
150	Cheryl	yo::h Snape:::
151	Ndumiso	[no::::::: Snape was disgusting
152	Cheryl	[it has actually happened before where like [name of boyfriend] and I were
153		having sex you know like (..) I couldn't like get (..) like ho::rny you know I **couldn't**
154		↑like it's not like [name of boyfriend] ca::n't I was just like not in the mood and I
155		was starting to think about Snape and I was like (..) ↑whoo now I'm rea(h)dy •hhh
156		[giggles] •hhh yea(hh)h
157	Ndumiso	Cheryl that's an insu::↓lt
158	(1.1)	[eating food]
159		[unclear]
160	Cheryl	Snape is so se(hh)xy
161	Ndumiso	[swallowing] Snape is **no::t** (..) for a pretty (.) for a pretty girl like you no uhhmuh
162	Cheryl	no::: he's my type:: hey::
163	Ndumiso	↑mmmhhh look at this one [chewing and swallowing] finally [she joins the
164		**partay::::**
165	Cheryl	[[unclear]
166		hey:::
167	Ndumiso	**he**llo •hhhhh >how are you< •hhhhh >where you from< •hhhhh >okay thanks< (.)
168		**bye:::** [laughs] [•hhhhh
169	Cheryl	[↑okaaaaay:::
170	Ndumiso	[hello:: my baby:: [laughs] •hhh [crunches apple]
171	Katlego	↑hello:: how are you↑
172	Cheryl	>↑I'm good how are you<
173	Katlego	I'm good thanks
174	Ndumiso	hh hello my love
175	Katlego	he: lover::
176	Ndumiso	mwa:: [kisses] we're just having breakfast
177	Cheryl	aahh:: he's just:: uhm:: (...) >°recording our conversation for a study<
178	Ndumiso	yahh::
179	Katlego	oh:: okay:
180	Ndumiso	so just yah just go ahead (.) a::nd speak and stuff you know [crunches apple]
181	Cheryl	I mean I've already spoken about [name of boyfriend] ba::lls and how (I almost
182		slept sleep with) Snape from Harry Potter
183	(1.6)	[laughing]
184	Ndumiso	and how you (..) **banged** a married ma::n
185	Cheryl	[laughing] please look at this picture I gave myself freckles (...) aga::in
186	Katlego	mmmm

The seeming fatuity of the stories collected by Ndumiso flags up the growing preoccupation by some authors with the post-Apartheid 'death of ideas' (Mokoena 2014) and the need for youth to conceive of a new intellectual manifesto to give them drive and directionality. This is a recurrent theme in the literature, with Roberts (2013) to whom I referred above, not noting any significant value change between this cohort and preceding (Apartheid) generations, with, indeed, greater polarisation as concerns policies designed to overcome historical disadvantage. Seekings (2013) also notes this paralisis within the loss of moral authority of South Africa's majority party, the ANC, and a source of

possible social stagnation and entrenchment given the burgeoning size of the Born Free population[31]. Perhaps most disturbingly, Malila (2014) notes the absence of Born Free self representations from South African media, the lack of accessible information for this group, and the lack of a space to voice concerns and debates about the issues that affect them. The upshot of many studies into the Born Frees notes this 'death by silence' of the Born Frees, and the literature would therefore seem to find an echo in both the subject matter and telling roles of this story.

Welschen however, who conducted a large focus group study of Born Frees' talk about nationhood (2012), notes a significant depth of self-questioning concerning race, personal choices and media portrayal. And it is in this direction that I would like to discuss Ndumiso's stories as told with Cheryl. If we defer an examination of the theme of marijuana smoking and the institutional challenge that this represents, then the other main emphasis of the stories is a contestation of heteronormed and 'conventional' (unmarked) sexual identities. In Ndumiso's case this occurs largely through his accentuation and vowel elongation, his exclamations and some elements of an 'enregistered' style (Agha 2005b) such as 'oh my word' line 126, or 'parta::::y' line 164, that denote (as in the work done by Barrett 1999) appurtenance to the LGBTIQ community. In themselves these stylistic elements of his performance would mean little. It is above all the way that Ndumiso openly aligns himself with LGBTIQ issues, in talking often about coming out of the closet, or personally refusing the possibility of being bi, or even of his experience of love-making, that gives his style the indexical meaning that it has.

Cheryl, who in this part of the transcript is doing most of the narrative work, introduces the first story about sex in line 88 where she uses a transition point about a specific teacher to talk about seeing him in his bedroom. She then moves, through the theme of marital infidelity, to another story where she slept with a man whom I have renamed Gareth, and then a third story where, in order to feel sexual excitement, she needed to fantasise about Snape, who, as I mentioned above, is an older, villainous, equivocal, character from the Harry Potter movies (story starts at line 146). In addition to these stories that are all about older men, Cheryl does a lot of work that revolves around her own self perception, self styling and the taking of selfies. In line 5 she specifically addresses her complexion, that is marred by a pimple. In line 58 she styles herself as 'trashy', that is picked up in line 99 as 'filthy'. This kind of self-stylisation relates to a community of practice, and to other aspects of her institutional persona, such as scholarly achievement as has been discussed by Eckert (1989) or Bucholtz (1999). Being 'trashy' for Cheryl would involve good marks, a lack of discipline, a flirting with drugs and a seductive approach that focuses on the present moment rather than her career or her future, as in Eckert's study (1989) of 'burnouts'. Finally, the transcript ends with Cheryl introducing talk about a selfie that she has edited (probably using an app like picstory or Instagram) to give herself freckles. The selfie, as a small storied phenomenon, is best apprehended through this kind of 'behind the scenes' negotiation of identity (Georgakopoulou 2016b) where, here, freckles relate to a subversion of her persona, her complexion and her 'trashiness'.

Cheryl and Ndumiso's stories about sexual attraction and adultery, and their negotiation of what is 'sis' (an exclamation of thrilled disgust in South African slang) and what is 'sexy', betray an unease, and a conflictual process of adaptation and rejection, by the tellers, to the heterosexual market:

[31] Approximately half of South Africa's population at 27 million (Kane-Berman 2015 :1).

> […] these are positions of popularity, as the one who is being pursued (e.g. contacted or texted by men who tend to be positively assessed). Such stories also serve as occasions for the joint exploration and (re)affirmation or contestation of normative models of heterosexual relationships. (Georgakopoulou 2008 : 606).

Why the specific figures in these stories, of teachers in their bedrooms, or older villains (Snape) and married men with an emphasis on their age and race? Perhaps one element of a response lies in the fact that in these stories it is their community of practice that is in question, and through this, the role of their institution. Both Ndumiso and Cheryl go to an *art* school, where students are expected to cultivate a creative stance with respect to societal norm. Ndumiso, for instance, has received institutional backing to pursue a prestigious international scholarship. Their expression of sexual desire is therefore mediated through the instution and the communities of practice to which they belong within this school. Communities of practice that are encouraged and given space for expression by the institution. Their stories, for instance, are considerably different to those of Buhle and Katlego (seen in the previous section), who do not explore desire as such, but rather perform relatively sanctioned roles. Buhle, as we also discussed, denatures Katlego's role of protegée through her rejection of the heterosexual market, throwing up its inconsistencies and ruptures, but broadly accepts Katlego's values and estimation of self worth as these apply to her own relationships.

Cheryl and Ndumiso, then, through their institution and their communities of practice, find authorisation, or at least intelligibility, for their identities. Given our exploration of the growth and demographics of Sandton in chapter 1, and our investigation of the discursive space of the institution in chapter 5, one would expect Sandton to be at odds with these identities. This position would find support in the statistics we generated for gender, age and race within institutional personnel and company organigrams that showed a strong bias against women in positions of middle and upper management. Further, in both the semiotic landscape and in the narratives of participants in both chapters 4 and 5, Sandton emerged as a fairly masculine space. One that parallels the history of its development as a district and the key figures of its speculators and architects.

Although I could not capture gps data for Ndumiso's trajectory, if one takes artifacts of SL from West Street opposite the Gautrain, and Gwen lane where clubs like Taboo are situated, then one does find a discursive authorisation of a heteronormative and family orientated sexuality that is fairly explicitly linked to money and power (see the first, 'Execumatch' image in figure 83 below). However, what is interesting about Sandton is that this does not necessarily translate into illegitimation of other sexualities. In the same way that the Johannesburg Stock Exchange both accords with broader gender trends but bucks these in having a female CEO, the discourses of the Sandton SL do recognise the LGBTIQ community in, for instance, the SL of the Sexpo that is organised yearly in Johannesburg and that is promoted in Sandton (see the second image in figure 83).



Figure 83: Execumatch advert (taken in West Street outside the Gautrain station in September 2015) and an advertisement for the Sexpo (taken in Gwen Lane, where the Taboo nightclub is situated, September 2015).

The institution as a place where identities can be positively articulated and authenticated is, nevertheless, far from being a usual state of affairs. Bell and McKay (2011) in a wide-ranging study across Sandton's schools, point to a rise in what they call 'class apartheid' (socio-economic discrimination overlaid with racial stereotype) that limits access to well-run and achieving schools, not through a process of formalised income discrimination, but rather through a play on catchment zones, fees and transport. Similarly, Mattes notes that, for the Born Frees generally, "most forms of engagement with elected representatives and government officials is a generally negative experience" (Mattes 2011 : 11). The institution offers some flexibility, certainly, but in the cases of Cheryl and Ndumiso, and Mpho and Mathapelo, it soon gives way to a rigidity that fragilises the Born Free cohort.

This can be seen in Cheryl's initial stories about marijuana in the excerpts above. In these accounts, the force of the institution is present in the embedded character of Megan[32]. In the storied world, Megan has had to drop out of school because of her addiction to marijuana. Both the harshness of the rehabilitation centre and of the institutional response are presented. She could only survive the rehabilitation for five days (line 32), for instance, and the inflexible response of the school means that she will never get her matric (line 35). Of course, Ndumiso brings the tone back to a flippant, "well this is coming from someone who **gro::ws** wee(h)d" (line 40) and his second story focuses on this aspect,

[32] Names have been changed to protect confidentiality (see Appendix 2-2 for overview of details of research and participation).

with an enjoinder by the matron that seems taken straight out of the popular imaginary on this subject:

Transcript excerpt 60 : Ndumiso segment 1) of Appendix 2-5-3

Teller and story: Ndumiso, a student at an Arts academy, tells (a second story) of fellow students/pupils being bust by the matron when smoking a joint.
Participants: Ndumiso and Cheryl, two Arts students.
Occasioning: Morning before class begins, catching up and orienting to the research by telling provocative stories about marijuana and sexual adventure.
Actions and events during telling: Eating biscuits and meeting up before class.

52	Ndumiso	I remember when [name of student] and them were like •hhh smoking upstairs in
53		the hostel •hhh (....) and [the matron] came in while they were smoking >and she
54		was like< **I just I'm just getting hi::gh** (..) **standing here and smelling** >all the
55		smoke< **•hhh**

But, in continuing her stories, told in response to Ndumiso's intervention, Cheryl brings the tone down to disgust at the person of a teacher in particular, and, noticeably, again insists on institutional inflexibility when talking of an incident that happened on her tenth birthday (lines 75 – 81). I would argue that inflexible institutional response is not just a flippant excuse for a few stories about weed, but rather something that is at the heart of the application of Bucholtz and Hall's axis of authorisation/illegitimation to the Born Frees.

Mpho and Mathapelo offer more insight into the perception of the institutional by this cohort. In the previous section, we investigated how their community of practice of Law student was denaturalised by Mathapelo with respect to those students felt to be inauthentic in that they hid their origins. We also discussed Mpho and Mathapelo's involvement in the #feesmustfall movement. This involvement was through SRC meetings, social media platforms, student organisations and, importantly, through meetings organised by their own faculty at university. This gave rise to a sense of unity among the Law students and a powerful articulation of ideology. It was as they are walking through Sandton with the events of #feesmustfall unfolding that Mpho got a call from a fellow student. It is worthwhile looking at the kinds of identity that are validated first in the story world, secondly in the story telling world between Mpho and his friend, and then, thirdly, in the context of Mpho's relation to Mathapelo[33]. In the story telling world, Mpho is clear that the identity (that broadly conforms with the community of practice of law students) of a rational, argumentative student who can defend his/her point of view in an official forum is defended, authorised and promoted by the faculty. The students (in the storied world) who have taken this licence too far, and posted instructions for the making of a petrol bomb, are qualified as 'unstrategic' and 'unnecessary'. In the telling context, between Mpho and Mathapelo, the story is in fact deleted, and replaced by the news that the workers are on strike. This more immediately involves Mathapelo and Mpho in a shared preoccupation with the events of the #feesmustfall movement.

[33] See De Fina 2013a and Georgakopoulou 2016b for a discussion of story world, story telling and discursive analysis of small stories. This was also a significant part of the analysis of the previous chapter, on positioning.

Transcript excerpt 61 : Mpho and Mathapelo segment 2_2 1) of Appendix 2-5-5

Teller and story: A fellow student who is phoning Mpho, a Law student, and telling him of the #feesmustfall events at the university – in particular the banning of a Facebook page in response to the posting of instructions for a petrol bomb.

Participants: Mpho, a fellow student on the phone, and Mathapelo

Occasioning: Phone call in response to escalating protest events at the university.

Actions and events during telling: Walking in the street around Sandton on this second research outing.

17	Mpho	ashe le kae [hi how are you]
18	Passers-by	re teng [fine]
19	(1.2)	
20	Mpho	[continues talking on phone] yah I heard
21	(4.6)	
22		[whistles] (....) but le bona [those ones] (...) I heard like what they did was really
23		**unstrate::gic** like
24	(1.8)	
25		cause they they (....) um they posted er u::m
26	(1.2)	
27		instructions on how to (....) like prepare (....)a petrol bo::mb
28	(1.7)	
29		on Facebook
30	(1.0)	
31		and I really think that was really (...) unstrategic cause now they don't have a platform
32		they are using Whatsapp (....) to send messages
33	(1.4)	
34		like they shouldn't have done it
35	(2.3)	
36		that was really **unnecessary**
37	(3.8)	
38		mhmm
39	(4.4)	
40		cause now they can't (....) you can't argue gore [that] (....) the:: freedom of **expression**
41		>you get what I'm saying< (....)it's because that's
42	(1.0)	
43		**immediately** after that **r::ight**
44	(1.4)	
45		in that section after freedom of speech neh (....) it it it **mentions** gore inciting violence:::
46		(....) **wa:::r** (..) and stuff like that brother (....) so (....) doing that (..) thing (..) really
47		forfeited there (....) it really wasn't strategic like for them (....) especially **now** (....) like
48		when you (....) when when you:: (...) ↑I mean when you I mean you've been in **Uprising**
49		you know how:: to (..) hello↑
50	(5.2)	
51	Mathapelo	↑who were you talking to↑
52	(1.2)	
53	Mpho	uh::: my friend Lebo [[inaudible]
54	Mathapelo	[oho::↑ a re what's up
55	(0.5)	
56	Mpho	workers started to strike
57	(1.1)	
58	Mathapelo	so (....) **wait** (....) university workers
59	(1.2)	
60	Mathapelo	[doesn't that mean that
61	Mpho	[so its **escalating** now

This deletion of the actions of the other students, in his report to Mathapelo, must come as a disaligment, and a negative evaluation, from Mpho. Their actions have had the effect of rigidifying institutional response as this is codified in university charters. In the story telling there are two aspects of the interaction between Mpho and his friend that deserve emphasis. Firstly, neither really questions the power of the institution to authorise or illegitimate. This is also the case with Ndumiso and Cheryl, who also do not imagine scenarios for either themselves or their friend Megan outside of institutional channels. Secondly, the play of authorisation and illegitimation occurs on a media platform. For both Bucholtz and Hall and for small stories research, this is significant. For Bucholtz and Hall (2004a : 504) media provides a prime opportunity to see authorisation/illegitimation at work. Within small stories research, media allows investigation into breaking news (see Georgakopoulou 2014 and 2016a and 2016b). In the research of this thesis, this story is one of only a few examples of breaking news collected where the irruption of the 'new' in the story telling world happens through the bias of the telephone.

Media, in the *literature* on the Born Frees, flags up their disaffection with post Apartheid democracy and functioning (see Boyce 2010, Malila 2014 and Welschen 2012). In Mpho and Mathapelo's stories, it acquires a top down, prescriptive and exclusionary role that goes a long way to explaining such disaffection. In the segment 2_1 6) (transcript 9 of appendix 2-5 5). Mathapelo, who has been active in gathering support against streetnames in Hammanskraal, is attacked on Facebook by the mayor for her district, who invokes his institutional and political power, in excerpt 62 below.

Transcript excerpt 62 : Mpho and Mathapelo segment 2_1 6) of Appendix 2-5-5

Teller and story: Mathapelo, a Law student, is talking to her fellow student about the events linked to the #feesmustfall political contestation. She has been using a Facebook page to challenge municipal councillors and raise the issue of street naming.
Participants: Mpho and Mathapelo.
Occasioning: The built space of Sandton and its contrast with Mathapelo's home town of Hammanskraal.
Actions and events during telling: Walking in the streets of Sandton on this second research outing.

[walking in Sandton, sounds of cars passing]
Mathapelo THERE IS THIS STATUS THAT I POSTED WITH A **hundred and six comments** dude (....) ↑**agh**
Mpho what did you say
Mathapelo no my question to (...) I I asked a question I was like (....) ↑**who** is the pres- (...) who is the ▪hhh **mayor** or the councillor of our **community** (...) cause I heard about the street names and I'm **not** happy
(1.1)
↑so people::: (...) and and and then I am like in brackets please comment with your street name (....) ↑people were comme::nting >they were like< we don't have street names ye::t (...)▪hh but we ↑don't even know who the **mayor is** (...) ↑so we we're ↑talking and people have been like oh::=
Mpho =on Facebook
Mathapelo yeah (....) ↑**people are like** ey nna (me) my street name is **moro::go** [spinach] ↑someone is like my street name is **na::ma** (...) nama is **me:at** (....) ↑how do you nam- (...) kere (I'm saying) we we don't have we don't **have** meat (...) because we are une- we don't have (...) a an income (...) beca(hhhh)use we are **unemployed** (..) but then you wanna give my **stree::::t** (...) a name after **meat** ↑**whoooo** (...) I'm I'm so **lit** (.) I am so **offended** by all this (...) I am **so:::** (...) ↑so what happened is this ANC guy got into the-
(1.4)
this ANC guy got into the mu- that er the account (...) started commenting (...) ↑NOW **he's giving orders like** (...) **first of all** the mayor is >so and so< ↑SECOND of all you can't be demanding **tar:: roads** because we still waiting for **bridges** (...) s- THIRDLY (....) **what you are doing is wrong**
[bus stops, hydraulics hiss]
Mpho bridges why:::↑ (...) bridge (...) [how do bridges (..) come (..) for
Mathapelo [no like
(1.8)
like our area has (..) like a lot of like (..) areas where there's just like **metsi a damile** moteng [where water is stagnant]
(1.7)
there's uh like metsi **ano** (...) **ano eme** mo teng [there is just a pool of dirty water] so we ki(h)nd of need a bri(h)dge for that
Mpho [oh yeah
Mathapelo [so I'm like but then are we gonna (....) wait for a (...) wait for a bridge **kere** (...) **kere** (...) **no and then he goes like** (....) ▪hh **fourthly** (..)▪hh you guys are politically **illiterate** (..)▪hh and then you wanna come to Facebook and talk about politics
(1.8)
nikka::
(0.7)
so:::
Mpho haowa bra h-a-o-a [in disbelief]
Mathapelo **yeah he's like you should stop using this as your PLATFORM** (...)▪hh ↑you know what happened I I I I'm not gonna sit down and relax and (...)▪hh ↑everybody was kinda like
(0.9)
on er Whatsapp they're like no dude leave that guy alone (..) ↑I'm like NO:: (....) ↑**he came to MY platform**

48	Mpho	mmm
49	Mathapelo	**to MY comment**
50	Mpho	yeah
51	Mathapelo	**to MY status >and he feels like he's gonna tell me what to do that's not gonna**
52		**happen<** (….) so **kea mmotsa kea mmotsa** kere [so I said to him] (….) <you are waiting
53		and you are in government> (….) you are **basically** the leaders of **our community** mara
54		ore [but you say] you are waiting (….) ↑what should **we** do (..) we should **wait** as well
55		(..) why are **you** waiting (.) why are you not **doing something** about it (….) he's there
56		telling me how we don't know anything about politics (…) **kere** [I'm saying] THEN (…) tell
57		↑TEACH us about politics
58	Mpho	yeah

In this story, Mathapelo has rallied support for her stance against the imposition of a street renaming measure that few want, and which is perceived almost as an insult to the community. She notes the institutional illegitimation of her stance (see lines 21-24 and 36-43) but also fights back through the same platform as that which vehicles the illegitimation of her actions. This is brought out by the repetition of her proprietorial claim to her comments and status (see lines 47, 49 and 51), "**MY comment** […] **MY status**". Her use of social media and of Facebook in particular accords with the study by Benzinger (2014) that notes Born Free use of media platforms for social change.

One must remember that this story was prompted by the perceived difference between the environment of Sandton and that of Mathapelo's home town. It forms part of her own biographic and socio-economic trajectory, and her integration and acculturation within the community of practice of Law students. The illegitimation by the mayor of Hammanskraal and the authorisation, in the space of Sandton, of her community of practice, have disparate and contrastive functionings. The illegitimation by the mayor should be understood in terms of the general disregard by the governing party of youth voices. This can be seen in the history and pragmatic disarticulation of the National Youth Development Fund for instance (Everatt 2002) of in the simple fact that neither President Zuma, nor his then Minister of Higher Education, Blade Nzimande, either ever met, or acknowledged, the students during the #feesmustfall movements. Sandton's discursive and institutional presence does not operate in the same way. We saw in chapter 5 that the Johannesburg Stock Market actively promotes youth initiatives. Nevertheless, these are inserted within a modernist and productivist discourse that values work, value added, and broadly masculine values of competition and achievement (see chapter 4). An example of the overt marking of such discourses on the physical environment of Sandton is given in Figure 84 below.



Figure 84: Frieze outside the DaVinci Hotel on 5th Street and details of same (photographs taken March 2016).

The frieze in figure 84, accompanied by a symbolic torch of freedom, and carrying motifs such as, "Family is the core of our society", or "Let's put South Africa to work", is in stark contrast with both the conclusions we reached in the preceding section, where many of the participants' trajectories involved familial and personal fracture and discontinuity, but also with respect to quantitative studies of Born Frees in South Africa. This generation, or cohort, that composes nearly a half of South Africa's population, grows up in 61.8% single female parent families, of which two-thirds do not attend any form of early childhood development, achieves very low high school and university completion (less than 40%) and suffers from nearly 40% unemployment (Kane Berman 2015 : 5, 7, 14, 11). Even if statistics such as these can be criticised (as we did, in the previous section) for not capturing the complexity and overlap of Born Free lives, they remain intensely preoccupying.

The Born Frees must be understood as sensitive to these systemic stresses. Unemployment is a huge factor of social discontent in South Africa. Roberts (2013 : 10) puts at 80% percent those who think more should be done. Also, many many of the Born Free cohort have experienced first hand, as have the participants to this chapter, the effects of single parent and fragmented households on their lives, education and chances of employment. For the participants to this research, and for Sandton, it creates a duplex engagement with social fragility. On the one hand the harsh conditions of life are acknowledged as threateningly close, on the other they are illegitimated, rendered as non-applicable and irrelevant to that person in particular. It is in this light that Katlego's trajectory of the previous section can be better understood, and thereby Buhle's move in both accepting her value system whilst denaturalising her position as protégée. It is also through this lens that we can turn to interview data that I collected with Buhle and Ndumiso.

Bucholtz and Hall emphasise the value of, "local, ethnographically specific cultural positions" (Bucholtz and Hall 2005 : 592). De Fina and Georgakopoulou acknowledge the importance of trajectories of story telling events, roles and contextual factors (2008a : 384-385). In an interview to go over their participation in this research, Buhle and Ndumiso insisted upon, and often repeated the word 'ratchet'. This slang term, that originated in the ghetto rap coming from the United States and that is either a derivative of 'wretched' or hood 'rat' refers to someone who doesn't have opportunities. It's contrary would be 'boujee'. Ndumiso and Buhle were using the term to talk about a friend in common who, although having received similar secondary schooling, has since dropped out of circulation, who stays within Alexandra, and who has no plans for either her future or her present. In contradistinction to this term, Ndumiso placed the accent on his international scholarship and the prospect of his career overseas, whilst Buhle talked about her tertiary diploma that she was finalising and the path that was opening up for her.

In looking at Buhle's stories with Katlego, a theme that emerged was the 'work' that she put into making her jeans. One can understand the term on this level too. The work legitimates these jeans. It removes them from an interpretation as 'ratchet'. They become chosen, part of her success, not her failure. But the possibility of failure is never far away. We have seen this in the person of Katlego. Mpho and Mathapelo, one should note, are recipients of student funding that in the present South African political economy can dry up any day. Ndumiso, who phoned me, stranded, in the middle of the night during his participation in this research, has received success with a bursary and some stage dates. But that entry into the arts seems in some ways dependant on his persona, and performance, of the outspoken and drole man who places his affiliation with LGBTIQ at the forefront. Finally, Grace, when we went to the Taboo Club together, hadn't slept for a week, and had indeed seen a doctor to be prescribed tranquilisers. The origin of her problem had been her living conditions and the question of a possible cut in her study financing, since her parents, in the Congo, were affected by the political upheaval there.

The institution fragilises, offers a rigid response, disciplines, but it also, fundamentally, offers a chance to these Born Frees, who see their future as being facilitated *through* neoliberalism (Leslie and Finchilescu 2013). The institution is in fact the authorised, default, position from which these participants look at the world. It is the frame for their optimism, their hopes and their disappointments. For, in South Africa, to be a part of an institution, any institution, is already to be in the upper percentile of the cohort. In terms of the physical space of Sandton, this is manifest in the Library (see figure 85 below). Situated in Nelson Mandela Square, it is one of the few public spaces

that is easy to access and that offers amenities such as toilets, water, desks, chairs. The top two floors of this place are filled with students who talk, listen to music, read, and sleep, but who most of all *study*. To see the application with which these Born Frees revise, and who discuss what they learn with each other, but who also fall asleep in what must be, for them, a safe space that is not linked immediately to consumption and to purchase, is to understand what institution means for many.



Figure 85: The Sandton library on Nelson Mandela Square (retrieved from http://able.wiki.up.ac.za/images/e/e2/Spiral_Ramp_Connecting_All_Levels.JPG accessed 20/10/2017).

Before concluding this section, I would like to look at a final story told by Linda of a night out at Taboo, segment 11, reproduced below. What is important, at this point, is the setting in the storied world and how the places – Sandton Gautrain Station, Rosebank, Taboo club, Kong club – punctuate the telling.

Transcript excerpt 63 : Linda segment 11) of Appendix 2-5-1

Teller and story: Linda, a Drama student, tells the story of being stranded in Rosebank on the way back from a night out in Sandton, and of her female friend who is drunk and begins vomiting blue things.

Participants: William and Linda.

Occasioning: Journey back to Pretoria from Sandton on the pilot of the research methodology.

Actions and events during telling: At 17h we pass in front of the McDonald of Rosebank, Johannesburg, and Linda, who is also changing the music in the car, recalls the events of an evening at that drive through.

15		yo::h last time my friend and I were he::re
16	(0.9)	
17		because we were **stran**ded
18	(1.4)	
19	William	[mm
20	Linda	[we were like (...) in (...) we were partying in Taboo right
21	(1.0)	
22		and the::n
23	(0.7)	
24		the person who was supposed to fetch didn't come (...)•hhh
25	(1.0)	
26		he wasn't answering his phone (.)•hh
27	(1.0)	
28		and it's like wha::::**t**
29	(0.6)	
30		three a.m. in the morning
31	(1.9)	[coughs]
32		and the:n he wasn't answering his pho:::ne
33	(2.0)	[clears throat]
34		my friend wanted to pee::: oh my gosh it was a disa(hh)ster
35	(4.8)	[William laughs Linda clears throat]
36	Linda	yeah we were here and there was the McDonald's up there
37	(1.6)	
38	William	yah >there is a< McDonald's:::: er:::[m:
39	Linda	[uh hum
40	William	**here** (....) just afterwards the next next block
41	(0.8)	
42	Linda	uh hum (...) we were at McDonald's (....) •hh because then she wanted (..) to
43		pee:::: she wanted (....) to ea::t and we were like (..) that's it dude (....) please
44		>decide and she was vomiting< **blue thi:::ngs**
45	(2.3)	[Linda clears throat]
46	Linda	you know that **day** William: (...) mm mm mmm
47	(1.5)	
48		I was like <du:de do you understa:::nd that we're **stran**ded and you're out here
49		vomiting (..) blue thi:ngs::>
50	(0.8)	
51	William	yah no: I've (....) been there **so** many times
52	(0.6)	
53		bru honestly
54	Linda	**blue things** (...) she was drinking with **I:ndian: people** that's the thing (.) I mean
55		she >doesn't even know those Indian people< and they're drinking funky drinks
56	(1.4)	[William laughs]
57	Linda	oh ya:h then they gave her some (..) blue nonsense and she was vomiting (..) blue
58		things
59	(1.0)	
60		↑imagine being stranded with a frie::nd (....) who's vomiting blue thi::ngs↓
61	(1.6)	[William laughs]
62	Linda	ugh hhh my goodness (...) it was(h) like
63	William	was it like blue:: like liquid blue or like [lumpy (....) like like
64	Linda	[yah like liquid blue
65	William	it wasn't **lumpy**

66	(0.5)	
67	Linda	no(h)
68	(2.0)	
69	William	yah i've been there **so** many times bru [stranded↑
70	Linda	[is i::t
71	William	stranded↑ **stranded**↑ (..) drunk sth stranded vomiting [hungry that kind of
72		stranded
73	Linda	[yah yah yah yah
74	William	yah no
75	Linda	[laughs]
76	William	I've been there like a million times [it's a bit
77	Linda	[ugh it's like oh my gosh rea:::↑lly=
78	William	=firstly you've spent all your money in the clu:b
79	(1.2)	
80	Linda	[ya(h)h
81	William	[and now and getting home was like the last of your priorities unti::l→
82	(0.5)	
83	Linda	you ha(h)ve to
84	William	you have to actually get home
85	(1.7)	
86		and then you realise how far it is
87	(0.7)	
88		but did you have to go that way back to **Preto↑ria**
89	Linda	**yes::**
90	William	oh no **Jesus**
91	Linda	ima(hh)gine [laughs]
92	William	oh ma::n
93	Linda	[laughs]
94	William	and the Gautrain oh were >you going to take the Gautrain or what<
95	Linda	we **we::re** a(hh)nd then (...) the security:: °from the Gautrain station was >like
96		laughing at us he's like **guys** it's three a.m. mm
97	(1.1)	
98		>we were like< **ya::h** like what (.) uhm::: (..) >what time do the bus< (..) he's like
99		you guys are going to wait for hou::rs::
100	(1.0)	
101		aghh oh ya::h↑ here's the McDona::ld's
102	(0.7)	
103		and then we went to McDona:::ld's and then we might have stayed and then
104		there was a cab guy (....) >and then there were these< other gu::ys
105	(1.7)	
106		and they were li::ke uhm (..) talking and then we overheard that they (..) going to
107		Pretoria and we're like **hey**↑ (...) **guys**
108	(0.8)	[William laughs]
109	Linda	so::::: we're going to [Pretoria
110	William	[because if a cab comes he::re it doesn't really go to
111		°Pretoria side
112	(0.8)	
113	Linda	ya::::h
114	(1.7)	

115		we asked them to drop us at the s s uhm::: Sandto::::n (..)Gautrain station though
116		(....) because then and then we got like my friend's °boyfriend to send a cab for us
117		(....) and [then the cab driver
118	William	[that's pretty cool
119	(0.9)	
120	Linda	[but ya::h
121	William	[but how did you get to **Rosebank** then
122	(0.8)	
123	Linda	•hh
124	(0.8)	
125	Linda	yoh William
126	(0.8)	
127		my friend **ne** (....) some other **guys** (..) **they wanted us to go** to Kong (....) >and I'm
128		like guys we're not< going to Ko:::ng because Kong is in Rosebank
129	William	alright oka::y okay
130	Linda	so we were in the car discussing this >and I'm like guys< I'm not going to **Kong** (..)
131		just drop me off HERE
132	(0.7)	
133		[you know
134	William	[oh I see you're drunk and angr- like kind of grumpy
135	(0.5)	
136	Linda	ya::↑h because then they wanted us to go party some **mo::re** (....) and then we
137		were going to **Ko:ng** William
138	(1.5)	
139		oh (.) yah
140	(2.5)	
141	William	I woul-
142	Linda	like I feel like Ko(h)ng is fu(h)rther
143	(0.9)	
144	William	uh **Kong** (.) I don't know [how
145	Linda	[further from Pretoria (...) than **Sa:ndton**
146	(1.2)	
147	William	uh:m::
148	Linda	**yes** (...) Rosebank is fu(h)rther
149	(0.4)	
150	William	[yah
151	Linda	[°from Pretoria
152	William	[Sandton's definitely yah Sandton's definitely closer
153	Linda	[you see::
154	William	as the **crow** flie::s and there is a logic there in some way
155	Linda	↑**yoh** (..) like noo(h) we're going to party some more >I'm like< my friend is (..)
156		**dru::nk** but then a:::h the:::n sorry Linda >we don't know what we're going to do
157		my girl just drop me off here< it's fine
158	William	alright okay and then your **friend** got out out of loyalty
159	(1.4)	
160	Linda	mmm(hh) yah(h):
161	(0.5)	
162		perhaps
163	(2.1)	
164		and then ya:h that **that's** what happened basically:: >we got like these other
165		guys< •hh <we asked them to drop us off at the [Gautrain in Sandton>

This vivid evocation of a night out would lose a significant part of its meaning without the settings of the storied world. Linda's default position is that of someone who frequents these places, who accords with their discourses as to sexuality, success, what it means to have a good time, what is permissible and what is not. What I am getting at, is that in this story, that calls into question social fabric at so many levels (gender, culture, vulnerability, pulsional reactions etc.) Linda never interrogates the role of Sandton and Rosebank's places but rather accepts what they represent, their symbolism.

If we look at the story itself, what it turns around is the fact that at three a.m. Linda and her friend, were disappointed in their plans for the evening. The person (line 24) who was supposed to fetch them (an older lover of one of their digs mates) did not come. Linda and her friend who had been drinking 'funky' drinks with some Indian men (Linda's classification line 54) grab a ride with some other men who were going to the Kong nightclub in Rosebank. When they get near Kong though, at the McDonald on Oxford Street, Linda insists on getting dropped off for two reasons. Her friend was drunk and needed to pee, she would soon start vomiting blue things (line 44) and Linda felt in a confused way that she was getting too far from the Sandton Gautrain station (lines 115 to 117) that was long closed at this time, but where there was a possibility that the man who had not picked them up would be able to pay for a taxi for them to return to Pretoria. The other option would be to stay with the men going to Kong in which case they would have to party the whole night and then return to Pretoria by the first train of the morning, some four hours later.

I said that this story calls social fabric into question. Let's look at this in more detail. Firstly, Linda and her friend, who are in their early twenties, have no hesitations at all in being bought drinks by older men at Taboo, even though they have absolutely no idea at all of what's inside these drinks. They then, twice, get into cars with men they do not know to go to Kong and then to return to Sandton. Racialisation is mixed into their appreciation of the people they meat that evening, in the 'Indian' men of line 54 who have a stereotyped reputation in South Africa for being in business and of being able to offer drinks and other services. The logic of Linda's arguments shows just how drunk she was, but instead of organising a safe space, transport, or food, she and her friend are just dumped at the McDonald with no money and no way to get home. Linda's aggressive tone and peremptory demands are however listened to and she is let out of the car to take care of her friend who has begun to vomit the blue things.

In all there are some troubling behaviours in this excerpt that exposes Linda and her friend to potential gender violence, or physical harm, in a Johannesburg that at three a.m. is far from being a friendly or safe space. And yet, the places of this story are presented, as I have mentioned above, in an unquestioning light. Taboo is a place where young women can get older women to pay for their drinks before going to a 'younger' club like Kong. The taxis and Gautrains that I myself consider to be totally dysfunctional and astronomically expensive, are accepted and relied upon. The general ethos of the evening as a heterosexual encounter where one can have a good time dancing and meeting people, despite the enormous counter example that Linda has just evoked, is not questioned either. And it is at this level, in the functioning of the symbols of Sandton, and their top down definition of meaning (similar to the indexical inversion of Inoue 2004) that is both accepted and serves as an authorisation of the individual identities of its Born Frees, that I would like to bring this section to a close.

Conclusions for authorisation and illegitimation

Along this third axis of authorisation and illegitimation we have noted the way in which the institution is an almost irreducible forum for both identities that are intelligible, and those that fight back against their illegitimation. These identities can involve sexual orientation, illegality or social consciousness. We have also looked at the structural constraints that affect the Born Frees in Sandton. There is exclusion, unemployment, breakdown of familial and societal mechanisms. The neoliberalism that was discussed when investigating the first and second axes, despite working against a cohort maturing at the end of South Africa's post-Apartheid honeymoon, is nevertheless still perceived, and propagated, as a source of possible success and a default discourse. Whether through the media, or in the SL of Sandton, there is a materiality and strength to institutional presence, whose analysis was begun in the previous chapter. The final story of this thesis, Linda's story of a night out at Taboo, shows the default, unmarked, status of the heterosexual market, the clubs and other places of Sandton within these discourses of productivity, family and employment. A duplex quality often seen with participants to this section, their acceptance of structural inequality and fragility on one level, but the conviction that it will only happen to others, not themselves, can lead to an underlying anxiety and tension. However, it also leads to the creativity and performance that gives these stories their edge, their style and their content.

Conclusions for chapter 6

This has been a hard-hitting chapter. Not only because the material we have been dealing with has often been so viscerally gritty, but also because, with the cohort of the Born Frees, we have brought this research project full circle from Sandton's past and socio-historic processes, to a sense of what the place *is* for this burgeoning generation, and what it *will be*.

The discussions of this chapter have concerned, firstly, the theory behind Bucholtz and Hall's three axes of adequation/distinction, authentication/denaturalisation and authorisation/illegitimation. This revolved around the need to move beyond the constraints of Bourdieusian class analysis, and towards other signifiers of identity such as ethnicity, nationality, gender and status. Additionally, it also meant integrating sociolinguistic theory on markedness, stylisation and performance. In Bucholtz and Hall's framework there *is* agency, and this agency manifests itself in the choices of repertory, register and form with which participants frame their interactions, and with which they disrupt and subvert biography, gender and institution. This agency, and the axes along which it is analysable, are *tactics*, which is to say the local, the situated and the improvised. And this is the strength of this theory for the cohort that has been at the centre of this chapter. For many of the Born Frees that participated in this research, their lives themselves were struck with contingency, self-stylisation and only a nascent integration into communities of practice that have a more solidified, institutionalised, presence in civil society. This contingency, and the anxiety of finding a place for oneself in society, I noted, is perhaps the reason that many - 27 out of 30 - of the stories to which we have referred in this chapter were accounts. This is a significant finding, that questions Georgakopoulou's insistence on the genres of shared story and breaking news when investigating youth culture.

Within the axis of adequation and distinction, we looked firstly at Mpho and Mathapelo's transcripts and the symbolism that certain artifacts can accrue, such as the Striker biscuits that had so marked Mathapelo's account of her nephew. We then moved to stories about flagship brands in Sandton (H&M) and to the meeting of people from different socio-economic and cultural origins within communities of practice. This reflected a similar discussion in chapter 5, as did the way in which incommensurable trajectories were bridged through Sandton in a *intersection* of biography and expectation. This was made possible, here, through a neoliberalism that was perceived as a social elevator by the Born Free participants. The discussion then went on to the Taboo night club in an effort to understand, within the space of Sandton, this intersection of trajectory and this mechanism of neoliberalism that in effect brands Sandton itself as both symbol, product and signifier of distinction.

In analysing the axis of authentication and denaturalisation, we brought the focus in again, on Mpho and Mathapelo and on the way that Mathapelo challenged some members of the community of practice of law student. From there, and from the questionable authenticity of some youth's integration of the space of Sandton, we moved to Katlego and Buhle and the contradictions, joys and asperities of their gendered lives that traverse the township and the conspicuous consumption of Sandton. This brought out Sandton as a contradictory and equivocal space of crossover where young meets old, rich meets poor, periphery meets centre. The story of an averted rape brought out these contradictions, as did Grace's exploration of her own acculturation to South Africa. Sandton emerged as a signifier of denaturalisation, an iconic development that questions acquisition, performance and style at a regional and national level.

Finally, the axis of authorisation and illegitimation concerned the relationship of the Born Frees to vertical power structures, discourses and ideologies. Through Ndumiso and Cheryl's stories we sought to understand and inflect the negative portrayal of Born Free apathy and exclusion from the forums of civil society, its media and institutions. Thus, rather than seeing fatuity in their stories of sexuality and illegality we looked at their use of the institution to mark creative and flexible identities. Similarly, we looked at how Mathapelo fought back against institutional illegitimation through media platforms such as Facebook. However, the situation confronting Born Frees, of structural inequality, fragmentation in home life, spiralling unemployment and worrying failure at schools and universities was in stark contrast to the discourses of family, productivity and employment that both mark the physical space of Sandton, and that were transited by the institutions that we investigated in the previous chapter. A sense of fragility, but also a duplex quality of acceptation/exception was discussed. The final story looked at, that of Linda's night out, was a good example of the default assumption of the heterosexual market and of the signification of Sandton's articulations of leisure and enjoyment.

An intersection of trajectory within a branding of Sandton, a cross-over and retooling of cultural capital, a duplex response to institutional inflexibility, this chapter has challenged, more than any other, the homogeneity of Sandton. Seen from the perspective of its Born Frees, it has emerged as a site of contradictory self-realisation; an equivocal symbol that stands for many of the challenges and asperities of post-Apartheid South Africa.

Chapter 7 – Conclusions for the thesis as a whole

This thesis has followed the trajectories of participants (De Fina and Georgakopoulou 2008a) through the places and institutions of Sandton, in what can be conceived of as a reading of the city (De Certeau 1984). In adding successive stories to the map of Sandton, it has begun to acquire depth and complexity through the qualitative analysis of narrative interaction in the context of its semiotic landscape as this is plotted spatially. Sandton is its architecture, its development, its infrastructure, its turnover, its policy frameworks and its brands. But it is also its lived experiences, its discourses and the complex overlappings of people's doing being, their origins, positionings and relational tactics (Bucholtz and Hall 2005 : 598). I have tried to bring these out, in this study of a district that so well represents South Africa's modernity.

In referring to narrative interaction, I am recapitulating work into small stories as this has been set out by Bamberg, De Fina and Georgakopoulou (Bamberg and Georgakopoulou 2008, De Fina 2009, De Fina and Georgakopoulou 2015, Georgakopoulou 2006a and 2006b, 2008, 2014). Small stories offer enormous possibilities in linguistic ethnography, that we can look at here using De Fina and Georgakopoulou's investigation of narrative as mode, epistemology and method (De Fina and Georgakopoulou 2012). Firstly, as mode, small story narratives exemplify the difference between verisimilitude and 'objective' truth. As we have seen in the transcripts to this thesis, the rephrasings, the realignments and the hesitations that compose narrativised activity are an insight into participant construction and negotiation of storied worlds and story telling roles. This is the intersubjective seeking of meaning to which Rampton refers in his emphasis on the ethnographic process (Rampton 1997). It is also the emergence and context dependant doing being of identity which Bucholtz and Hall discuss (Bucholtz and Hall 2005).

Narrative is a way of knowing (an epistemology). What does it mean to 'know' through narrative? In telling stories, people seek to interpret and to emplot events and impressions in a storied world that gains sense and signification. Storytelling is a powerful way of gaining perspective on one's life and one's surrounds. Through shifts in footing (Goffman 1981) one can become the principal of thoughts, feelings and evaluations that are then attributed to the characters, or figures, that are storied, fictionalised, embedded and removed from the present moment. One can also embed oneself temporally and sequentially within chains of events and ramifications of occurrence that justify, explain and emphasise our perceptions, protecting us from the harsh disjunctures and contradictory emotions of the present moment. This 'smoothing' (see Freeman 2006) of storied figures and the story telling is a vital part of the functioning of roles, stance, alignment and positioning in the interactions that capture the traces of story crafting in real time. As such, small stories relate to linguistic ethnography in that they are sensitive to the stylings, the marked, agentive, choices and the perfomances that tell us so much about communities of practice and the contexts of study.

It is this 'real time' element that, further, differentiates small stories as a genre, and that has given the drive to the methodology of this thesis. Whereas longer, monological, elicited narratives tend to be analysed for the *text*, or *content*, of the narrative as this is collected with a participant, small stories shift the focus onto the *telling*. This is a causal and temporal shift. Causal, because the *reason* for the telling and the storied world shifts from figures that are manipulated solely by the interviewee, to a speech context where storied characters and events are reinterpreted and reevaluated by the

different interactants. Temporal, because small stories shift the time of narration from the past to the present, and even to the future, as participants work to integrate events and media in the story telling world and to build shared scenarios that respond to these. The five genres that are given by De Fina and Georgakopoulou (see table 1): accounts, breaking news, projections, shared stories and refusals to tell, have been at the centre of each of the analytic chapters of this thesis. They have given sense to this research project, which was to provide a linguistic ethnography of *Sandton* as a space of modernity in the complex socio-geography of South Africa.

Accounts, used to justify, mitigate or repair a participant's alignment, have been looked at in the context of the masculine space of Sandton, and in terms of the relation of the Born Frees to consumption and power structures. Accounts, moreover, provided a genre that was mobilised for the articulation of institutional discourse. I noted a fixity in this genre, used as it is, often, to construct and defend a role and identity that is critical to a participant. Refusals to tell, as studied particularly with Buhle and in terms of the heterosexual market, can have a similar function, as they are a negation to open up a story to the floor, and to the possibility of divergent interpretation. In refusing to tell, a participant marks a pause, a hiatus and a withdrawal from interaction. As studied with Buhle, this reticence can also represent a rupture and a challenge, a denaturalisation of another participant's position.

In contradistinction, breaking news, and projections, orient to events in the process of unfolding, and the joint piecing together of future scenarios. These genres illustrate best the networked and the social, in that for them to work, interactants have to have shared knowledge and a similar perspective as to speech situation. In studying the spatiality of Sandton, these genres flagged up code switching, condescension, teamwork, and a frontier adventurism in Thobile, who's projection, involving R39000 in cash, was designed to shift responsibility, and blame, at work. Shared stories also have these characteristics, yet they shift emphasis slightly, since the indexical references that are shared by participants are in the past, and are evoked in the present of narration. They are indicative of community of practice, in that the referential is also a mechanism of solidarity. Through all of these genres, this has indeed become a *linguistic* ethnography in that the 'writing about' of a culture, a place, a socio-historic conjuncture, has been through the words and talk of participants.

The challenge of small stories is, nevertheless, to adopt a methodology that is faithful to this emphasis on interaction and on an ethnographic understanding of participant behaviour. There are contradictory imperatives in this respect. On the one hand, data collection must strive to give participants autonomy and be as faithful as possible to the kinds of interaction that they would normally have, without researcher interference. On the other, without any knowledge of where interactions take place, and with whom, the data is useless. Although small stories involve a strong element of conversational analysis (CA), the accent, unlike CA, is on the social constitution of meaning, and emergence of narrative interaction within the specific constraints and affordances of the contexts of talk. Data collection therefore must shed light on why participants behave the way they do, and what their motivations and goals are.

I resolved this dilemma by mapping participant location onto place using GIS technology. The discussion of the methodology is given in chapter 2. Each participant was given a GPS log and a mp3 recorder with synchronised time. This, in combination with pre- and post-participation interviews, allowed a comprehension of the interactant configuration and discursive context of the recording. As

a methodological innovation it was valuable in giving sense to the trajectories of participants, and to the conception of the city as a space that can be actualised through reading paths (De Certeau 1984, 1994). Within the architecture of Sandton's dense buildings, where Beryl, the person who coined the phrase, "the richest square mile" names the construction crane the district's emblem, the paths that we tread, the meetings that we facilitate or avoid, the choice of physical trajectory and the spaces of our work, leisure and consumption, are in themselves discursive, a way of grasping the meaning of the city. Through GIS technology this thesis has mapped narrative onto place, bringing out the spatial, contextual aspect of narrative interaction. It has also, importantly, inserted Sandton into a nexus of practice and of spatial inequality. In plotting Ric's, Dikeledi's, Elliot's, Thobile's, Buhle's, Mathapelo and Mpho's loci of narrative interaction, the research of this thesis has been sensitive to the spatial distribution of languages, wealth, education, bodily safety, consumer goods, and local attributes of style.

The spatial mapping of narrative interaction opens up huge vistas of data. Geosemiotics (Scollon and Scollon 2003) gives four 'cycles' of meaning that compose the site of engagement of signs in the material world (see table 3). These are the interaction order (Goffman 1981, 1983a and 1983b) which is to say the face work and the haptic codes of our being in society. This cycle overlaps significantly with the study of narrative interaction in that the latter retains a focus on the *behaviour* of participants in a situation of speech. A second cycle concerns the habitus, the structured relations of actor and field (Bourdieu 1978, 1980, 1984 and 1985). In discussing the socio-historic processes of Sandton, and in being sensitive to community of practice and the differing meanings that accrue and are oriented to at different points in a participant's trajectory, this aspect of structure has been incorporated in analysis. Participants bring to a situation of speech divergent codes, perceptions, tactics and bodily dispositions. I have included a consideration of these. A third cycle is the 'visual semiotics' of a sign, or artifact, of the semiotic landscape. This cycle generates a discursive interpretation of an artifact through a multimodal consideration of its textual/visual design (Kress and Van Leeuwen 1996, 2001). The fourth cycle is the semiotics of place, which is the discursive interpretation of the ensemble of artifacts and the conditions of their production and reception. And it is these last two cycles, the visual semiotics and the semiotics of place that I chose to explicitly include in conjunction with participant talk, so as to reconstitute the discursive environment of participant stories.

The artifacts of the semiotic landscape perform multiple functions in this thesis. In chapter 1 they allow a first ethnographic validation of the site itself, its linguistic choices, its flows, the kind of public forum that is sanctioned and the branding and commodification of buildings and space. In chapters 4 to 6, the semiotic landscape grounds analysis of participant data. In chapter 4 it provides a warrant for our conclusions as to masculinity and modernity. In chapter 5 the artifacts of Sandton's virtual space deepen the discussion of corporate discourse. In chapter 6, a comparison of artifacts from beyond Sandton's boundaries bring out the ruptures and discontinuities of Sandton, that operates here as a symbol of distinction and denaturalisation. In the last section of chapter 6, the discourses of productivity and heteronormativity that can be found in Sandton's SL inflect the analysis of the institution as this was applied to the cohort of the Born Frees.

The choice to mobilise geosemiotic theory as a complement to GIS-mapped collection of participant stories, meant that an overarching theoretical framework was necessary to this thesis, as a way of bringing together interaction, narrative, and discursive environment. In chapter 2 I outline the

adaptation of Bucholtz and Hall's sociocultural and linguistic approach to identity and interaction (Bucholtz and Hall 2005). For the requirements of this thesis, which is a linguistic ethnography of a site, Sandton, this framework offered a better orientation to place than the Social Interactional Approach (SIA) of De Fina and Georgakopoulou (2008a : 384). This was because Bucholtz and Hall specifically examine the ethnographic enterprise and, in their principles of positionality and relationality, offer a clear charter for the extension of small stories research to a project, such as this, that includes institutional environment and spatiality. However, the two understandings and utilisations of what narrative interaction is, and what it can do, are not the same. But drawing out these differences in the successive chapters devoted to emergence, positionality and relationality, revealed a depth in analysis and an efficiency that demonstrate the usefulness of the combined approaches.

Chapter 4, dedicated to emergence, looked at the first principle of Bucholtz and Hall's framework (Bucholtz and Hall 2005 : 587) where identity is socio-culturally dependent, rather than an a priori, essential, endowment. Through this principle and the data that I collected for Ric, Elliot, Dikeledi and Linda, it was possible to give expression to De Fina and Georgakopoulou's work into multiple tellings and small stories as one example of the, "complex interactions between practices, iteration and creativity in social life." (Blommaert and De Fina 2015). This, in turn, leads to a conception of narrative context, "not as a static surrounding frame but as a set of multiple and intersecting processes that are mutually feeding with talk." (De Fina and Georgakopoulou 2008b : 275). The work of retaining an analytic focus on a participant and seeing the ways in which his or her behaviour changes with respect to differing situations of talk and different interlocutors, recalls a long tradition in sociolinguistics, such as Hymes' ethnography of communication (Hymes 1962). In applying this methodology, it was possible to draw some conclusions as to the space of Sandton, discourses of masculinity, religion, codeswitching, and condescension. These conclusions reposed on a difference noted between the uses, by participants, of the genres of accounts, shared stories and breaking news, alluded to above.

In terms of accounts, Ric's data offered ten versions of a story that involved his work trip to Qatar to film falcon hunting with Saluki dogs. These versions moved from a situation of self disclosive behaviour (Bowman 2008) to the Brazen Head pub where the telling took place within Marty's community of practice. Ric's mobilisation of the genre of account was a very good example of repair with respect to dispreferred social behaviour that has critical implications (De Fina 2009 : 239). In this respect we discussed Ric's orientation to masculine discourses of competitiveness and success, and what the evolution in his accounts revealed about Sandton as a space in which 'hegemonic' masculinity (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005) is operative. Ric's stories did mobilise many of the attributes of masculine speech (see Kiesling 2001), however they also underplayed and subverted many aspects of masculinity as such. The discussion of Ric's stories extended analysis to the artifacts of the semiotic landscape in the Brazen Head where a parallel was noted between style of telling and semiotic artifact. This gave support both to the analysis of Ric's data and to conclusions concerning Marty's community of practice. This first section of chapter 4 was a validation of the research methodology in that through GPS data, artifacts of SL and analysis of narrative interaction, there was a triangulation of conclusions reached.

The second section of chapter 4 moved to the distributed knowledge-in-common of breaking news and shared stories. These were investigated, firstly, with respect to the communities of religious practice of Elliot and Dikeledi. I explored the way in which the modernist steel and glass architecture

of Sandton (in the Atrium) enclosed, nevertheless, practices and beliefs that were discordant. The stories told with Elliot revolved around the bewitchment and hospitalisation of a man who had touched a gold chain. I also was interested by a story collected with Dikeledi and by the way in which an overarching narrative, that of the Bible and the story of Jesus, was re-enacted by the participants. In performing calls and response, and a rhythmic incantation of the powers of Jesus, this story brought to the fore the power of communities of practice to transpose identities and styles to within antithetic architectures and discourses. Here, Dikeledi's interactions jarred with the technological and logico-empirical discourses of an online learning centre.

Elliot and Dikeledi's stories were at variance with the discursive environment. In following their trajectories through Sandton's spatiality, I noted that Elliot maintains a rich network of acquaintances and that with these indirect participants the events of Sandton's day to day (bleeting goats, Motsepe the millionaire's cars) are commented upon in styles that involve code-switching and translanguaging. This underplays the discursive dominance of English as this was noted in chapter 1, it also complexifies the discourses of security and prohibition as these are evidenced in the artifacts of the semiotic landscape. Dikeledi's code-switching maintained this aspect of belonging and of networks of acquaintance, but added more specificity in that her use of Sesotho marks her home residential area and her familial appurtenance. It was through the discussion of in-group that the chapter ended with Linda's stories about a wolf, and her interactions with Bridgette that reflected not condescension but extension of two aspects of Linda's identity, that of a privately educated university student and that of a girl from the township of Soweto. This last point of discussion forms much of the content of chapter 6.

Chapter 4 therefore represented a nuancing of the space of Sandton as this had been presented in chapter 1, with some participant data offering a very different imagining of Sandton than had been possible. In contradistinction to this, chapter 5 focused on cohesive ensembles of discourse, artifact and practice in the institutional space of four different corporations. These were divided into, on the one hand, accounts (Johannesburg Stock Exchange and the Advocate's group), and, on the other, breaking news and shared stories (Sandton Convention Centre and the Sandton City Mall). Their study was conducted through Bucholtz and Hall's second principle, of positionality (Bucholtz and Hall 2005 : 591) and the first major achievement of the chapter was to offer a detailed reconciliation of Bucholtz and Hall's model of positioning with that of the work done on the subject by De Fina and Georgakopoulou (see De Fina 2013 and Georgakopoulou 2016b), table 5. This reconciliation implied a plan for the chapter that moved from macro category and discourse, to meso telling and locally specific cultural positions, to the micro of the stories themselves.

Chapter 5 offered an opportunity, in its exploration of macro categories, to unpack some of the demographic information that I had collected from the census 2011, the ward offices, the Stock Exchange, the Convention Centre, and from collating data available for the Gauteng High Court. The quantitative data was striking. 57% to 43% male to female occupation of the position of advocate. 124 against 102 male to female occupation of specialist and mid-management in the Johannesburg Stock Exchange, with 36 to 27 in senior management. In addition to gender, Sandton was also split in terms of socio-economics, with salaries ranging from R6000/month to hundreds of thousands. Racially, all of the corporations we studied were implementing policies of redress and transformation, with however, varying degrees of lag. The participants to this study all bucked many of these trends. And it was,

again, the contrast between the quantitative data and the qualitative impressions and biographies that gave the chapter its thrust.

The qualitative slant in chapter 5 began with a reconstruction of discourse from the artifacts associated with institutional space in Sandton. The Advocate's group and the Johannesburg Stock Exchange (accounts) both inserted themselves within more local socio-historic processes. The JSE was concerned with the history of economy in South Africa and the move from an open outcry system of exchange to the current dematerialised, electronic transfer process that recalls Appadurai's comments on flow and modernity (Appadurai 2005). The Advocate's group referred explicitly to the end of Apartheid and transformative constitutionalism in both the name of the group itself, and in a quote by Pius Langa, ex Chief Justice. These references were pursued and gave rise to a clear discourse, with, for instance, the JSE's more familial and integrated approach to economic inclusion being incorporated into the virtual SL of its landing page. Similarly, the Advocate's group reproduced the photographs and profiles of its members, with each becoming a spokesperson for the enormous changes in South Africa post-Apartheid. The Mall and the Sandton Convention Centre (breaking news and shared stories) were more overtly orientated to an international public. The Mall in its SL promoted a gendered, racialised, conspicuous consumption whilst the Convention Centre advanced its services and in fact changed its SL to accord with the events and functions that it hosted. Both the Mall and the Convention Centre had relatively sparse, decomplexified, discourses that offered a fairly straightforward take on the constraints of neoliberalism and its ramifications in an economy such as South Africa's.

The uptake of these discourses and their penetration into civil society were then examined at meso level in locally, ethnographically specific, cultural positions and telling roles. The first aspect of these roles and positions that we engaged with was the genre of account and the overlaying of spatial geography and racial discrimination in Apartheid, and post-Apartheid, South Africa. This concerned the Advocate's story of her growing up, and how this could be read against her defence of the City Press newspaper in its case against Zuma, the president of the republic. I noted her use of 'shifters' (see Benveniste 2010 and 2011) which are those operators that signal the relation between interlocutors. I then looked at the JSE and the stories collected with Thobile at the Mall and the complex alignments and realignments between two members of senior management and how these compared with Thobile's identity work. This then informed analysis of a voice quality, breathiness, and its semiosis as a mark of education, class and style in a cosmopolitan reading of Sandton.

The examination of accounts ended with a glance at power, and its manipulation through interactional overlapping. As mentioned in the introduction to this research, a significant aim of the project was to reverse a research bias in South Africa that deconsiders places of power and capital. In working with participants I was often a little intimidated. With Geoff Rothschild, the ex-CEO of the JSE, and with the Advocate, this was certainly the case, and one of the ways in which this was felt was through competitive turn taking that directly indexed a participant's sense of control. Under the genres of breaking news and shared stories the exploration of Sandton's institutional space turned to the Convention Centre, and its employees' use of 'la perruque' (De Certeau 1984). The stories of this section were vivid recollections, by participants, of those times when such institutional control was subverted. I did note though, that this subversion is also recognised and, in some circumstances, promoted. That Sandton included a degree of frontier adventurism and bravura. This extended to use of irony in team building and in derogation from institutional discourse.

This meso level analysis was confirmed at the micro level of the stories themselves which were analysed in terms of capital, and its meaning in Sandton. This meant looking more closely at neoliberalism and at the complex links that it maintains with aspiration and social redress. A parallel was drawn between the different trajectories of the participants to this section and I highlighted the temporal, spatial and biographic senses of trajectories. The chapter ended with a discussion of the translation of consumerism to within personal repertories and tastes, and the adoption, by participants, of corporate ethos and practice. This chapter, in many ways, represents the heart of the research of this thesis, since it shows the workings of Sandton's business and corporate sector, and the kinds of structures on which the district is built. The move from Sandton's broader spatiality in chapter 4 to its institutional meshing in chapter 5 is a centripetal one that follows practice, role and discourse and unpacks what Sandton is for those who live and work here. The following chapter 6 reaches out from Sandton, centrifugally, and follows a cohort, the Born Frees, along the axes of relationality. Sandton, becomes, for this cohort, a signifier, in itself, of distinction and denaturalisation, vehiculing normative discourses of productivity and work that are at odds with the disjuncture and overlap noted in the data collected for the Born Frees.

It is a signifier of distinction, because, essentially, Sandton itself is consumed conspicuously by the Born Frees. To be in Sandton, to have access to this space and to be able to frequent its shops, its mall, its squares and facilities is to attach value to oneself. This judgment of taste (see Bourdieu 1984) was captured in the artifacts of the semiotic landscape and through stories that contrast home environment with that of Sandton. The middle ground between these two extremes, for the first set of stories we discussed, was provided by the possibility of integrating a community of practice that is recognised in Sandton. This was the case for the community of practice of Law student, that also, it may be noted, offered a parallel with the Advocate's stories of origins and aspiration. The community allowed a merging of several different socio-economic backgrounds and educations (put briefly, the merger of differing cultural capital) but the members of this community, are also seen to mobilise brands, styles and performance differentially. They do so knowingly, and discuss what Sandton reveals about the spatial inequality that characterises the Gauteng. This first finding of chapter 6 echoes the literature on the Born Frees that show a faith in neoliberalism as a mechanism of change and economic levelling, despite very worrying demographic and structural trends. It also found support in the studies generated by Sandton City itself concerning catchment and key brands of the mall.

In exploring the functioning of distinction we turned to the Taboo night club, and to the operation of a spatialised consumption, where gaze and position combine in a play of status. Sandton mobilises operations such as this in the orientation of its head offices (seen in chapter 1), their interior disposition, but also in its public spaces such as the mall, its streets, and topography. Sandton, it should be remembered, was built in a position that dominates Johannesburg's geography, overlooking its surrounds. And it is to these, less elevated, less centric surrounds that we turned in the following section that explored the axis of authentication and denaturalisation. The first stories looked at the juxtaposition of places such as Hammanskraal and Katlehong with Sandton. This move from periphery to centre implied not only a change in semiotic landscape but also a change in value and identity. In the first story of this section, the repudiation by some students of their 'authentic' identity in their efforts to integrate a different socio-economic and cultural space, was denounced by Mathapelo. I drew out some of the consequences of this move, relating it to South Africa's transition to a post-Apartheid state (in the story between Afrika and Darren), and to Buhle's 'kasi' stylect.

The performance of an identity that traverses the township and Sandton raised questions of the transposability of identities and their solidification. The ruptures that were evinced in Katlego's life choices and her conspicuous consumption, were denatured by a challenge at once to her use of brands and her position as the protegée of an older man. What was at issue was the heterosexual market (Georgakopoulou 2008) its negotiation and its rejection, but also the creativity of Buhle's stylect, and the cultural fact of consumption. In collecting the stories of Mpho, Mathapelo, Buhle and Katlego, what emerges is that being in Sandton is not a simple move from periphery to centre, but rather a crossover of rich and poor, old and young, of formal and informal, and that this crossover does not happen in a straightforward way, but in complexes of aspiration, jealousy, violence, pretence and rejection. And it is not just, either, a clear move in itself. In looking at Grace's trajectory, that spans half of Africa, from Kinshasa, a self questioning and a difficult process acculturation were also noted.

This self questioning, finally, raised the issue of fragility, and of the top down recognition of Born Free identities. I began the last section of the chapter, on authorisation and illegitimation, with a different community of practice – that of art student. Here two participants explored sexuality, desire and drug use. The institutional response was twofold, accepting on the one level, even advancing some aspects of the identities of participants, but then offering a strict, rigid, response. This was also seen to be the case with respect to the stories told about the #feesmustfall movement, that was very relevant to data collection with Born Free participants. This rigid response, an illegitimation, was effected through social media, but also combatted through these same platforms (see Benzinger 2014). And it was in noting Born Free use of social media, and their involvement in social movements and civic rights, that I unpicked another contradiction. This was between the objective conditions of Born Free lives, marked with lack of access, familial disintegration, unemployment and non completion of secondary and tertiary studies, and their own practice of the institution. Despite reservations and lack of confidence in societal structures, and despite the general marginalisation of the larger Born Free cohort from channels such as media and politics, the institution is still seen as a vital source of validation and authentification. And it was this that was captured in the last artifacts of the semiotic landscape that were discussed – the frieze outside the DaVinci hotel and the Sandton Library. There is a productivist, familial, modernist discourse in Sandton, and it is validated, in, for instance, the stories by Linda with which this thesis was both opened and closed.

In chapters 4 to 6, I have aimed to add depth to the initial survey of Sandton as this could be constructed from building footprints, census information, development projects, flows, gross value added, employment, language and political data. In doing so, I hope to have fulfilled a fundamental remit of ethnography (see Cicourel 2007) which is to provide the background and the sense to such data. Sandton, situated in the rich, Northern, suburbs (figure 3) has seen its relation to surrounding townships troubled by the trajectories and crossovers of participants. The distributed and shared networks of its daily flows (figure 12) have been discussed under code-switching that challenges the dominance of English (figure 15). Similarly, the functionality and modernism of its architecture (figures 4 to 9) have been intercalated with discordant practices, such as that of religion. Its hold on gross valued added (figure 13)and attendant expectations of masculine competitiveness have been looked at, and subverted, through Ric and Marty's community of practice.

The GIS mapped narrative interactions of participants have also complexified the initial analysis of the artifacts of the semiotic landscape in Sandton. On the one hand it has supported discourses of

security, history, enclosure, and lack of interaction between buildings and their environment. On the other hand it has offered a very different understanding of branding and commodification of space as this could be gained from the SL. Through the chapters of this thesis, Sandton has emerged as heterogeneous, gendered, multilingual and equivocal. It is place of subversion, of surprising communities of practice, of a maverick adventurism, of neoliberalism, of constraint, of institution, of aspiration and inventiveness. It has been a wonderful, myriad place to research and discover, and the reflections of its facades, its shortcomings, its harshnesses and its buy-ins, its brands and its audacity, flash out into the fabric of South African society.

This thesis has sought to contribute, not just to Sandton, but to sociolinguistic research generally. In terms of methodology, GIS technology represents an innovative development within narrative research. GIS software is quantitative, mathematical, and yet this thesis has demonstrated that it can be used for the softer, qualitative and more subjective interactions of participants. To be able to plot the discursive environment of an interaction, and to include in research the artifacts of the semiotic landscape from that environment, has added a dimension to small stories research that I believe is absolutely necessary. It is the key to inclusion of the field of semiotic landscapes within other branches of sociolinguistics and to an operationalisation of the insights and analytic advances that have been made in that field. Methodologically then, this thesis has aimed to bring into dialogue both linguistic ethnography and semiotic landscapes, and to facilitate the merging of the two.

It has been a long journey, from the initial design of the research proposal, to data collection, to drafting and proofing of the present thesis. In making this journey I have been motivated, above all, by the wish to contribute a methodology and findings that inform South Africa's contemporaneity, and in so doing provide reflection that could be useful to other researchers, councils, managerial agencies and developers. Sandton, as I mentioned in the introduction, has never been studied in an academic project, and I will forward this thesis to the all of those instances who, in turn, helped enormously by contributing their own resources: the QGIS team and Dr Alistair McInnes from Nelson Mandela University, the National Research Foundation, the Oppenheimer Memorial Trust, Johannesburg City, Sandton City management, and, of course, all the participating people and institutions such as the Sandton Convention Centre and the Johannesburg Stock Exchange.

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Appendices