

Investigating Metrolingual Multitasking: An analysis of Interactions in Fish Market Spaces

By

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Abstract

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In the era of globalization, multicultural cities have become increasingly complex linguistic landscapes, where individuals constantly navigate and blend multiple languages in their daily interactions. The thesis investigates the phenomenon of metrolingual multitasking within the vibrant and diverse context of fish market spaces in Cape Town, South Africa. Drawing on the concept of metrolingualism described as the fluid and hybrid language practices in urban settings – this study examines how workers in these markets utilize a variety of linguistic resources to manage communication in a ‘metrolingual’ (moving away from multilingual) environment.

The research is based on an in-depth ethnographic study conducted at two distinct fish market spaces in Cape Town: one situated along a busy urban road with vendors selling fish from “bakkies” (small truck vendors), and the other at a marketplace near the beach, where temporary stalls are set up daily. Through a combination of audio recordings, observations, interviews, and fieldnotes, my research captures the dynamic and intricate ways in which individuals seamlessly switch between languages and dialects to adapt to their social and communicative contexts or situation.

This research was aimed at exploring the relationships between the diverse linguistic resources employed by workers, their communicative repertoires, and the specific work activities in which they are engaged. Additionally, the study addresses a significant gap in sociolinguistic research by focusing on metrolingual multitasking in the South African context, a region where such practices have been underexplored.

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Abstract in Afrikaans

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Innie tyd van globalization, het multikulturele mee en mee ingewikkelde linguistiese landskappe gewo'd, waa mense heeldag veskillende tale mix en blend om mekaa te vestaan in daaglikse interactions. Die thesis kyk na die metrolingual multitasking in die vibrant en diverse konteks van visplekke innie Kaap, Suid-Afrika. Die konsep van metrolingualisme – beskryf ek hoe mense in urban areas vloeiende en hybrid taalgebruik toepas. Die studie kyk hoe wekers in dié visplekke 'n variety van linguistiese resources gebruik om te kommunikeer in 'n metrolingual omgewing (waar hulle weg beweeg van die idee van net "multilingual").

Die research is gebou op 'n diepgaande ethnografiese studie wat ek gedoenit by twee veskillende vis plekke innie Kaap: een langs 'n besage urban straat waa mense vis uit bakkies vekoep, en 'n anne naby 'n beach, waar stalletjies elke dag op geslaan moet word. Deu 'n kombinasie van audio recordings, observations, interviews, en veldnotas, vang my navorsing die maniere waa op die verkopers en customers betrokke raak in metrolingual (metrotalige) multitasking – hulle switch maklik tussen tale en dialekte om aan te pas by die social en kommunikative konteks van die situasie.

Met inspirasie uit die werk van Pennycook en Otsuji, explore die navorsing die relationships tussen die veskillende linguistiese resources wat werkes gebruik, hulle kommunikative repertoire, en die spesifieke werk activities waarin hulle betrokke is. Die studie vul ook 'n groot gap in sociolinguistiese navorsing deur te fokus op metrolingual multitasking in die Suid-Afrikaanse konteks, 'n area wat nog nie baie ge-explore is nie.

Deur die linguistiese strategies en practices te analyse binne Kaapstad se vismarkte, dra hierdie thesis by tot ons vestaan van hoe mense linguistic diversity hanteer in hierdie plekke.

November 2024

Declaration

I declare that *Investigating Metrolingual Multitasking: An Analysis of Interactions in Fish Market Spaces*, is my own work, that it has not been submitted for any degree or examination in any other university and that all the sources I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by complete references.

Full name: Antonia Angelic Brown

Signed: _____  _____

Date: _____ November 2024 _____

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A long journey. A rocky path. A chapter closed. It is the end.

This thesis taught me so many things about myself but most importantly it taught me gratitude.

Gratitude and Thankfulness.

God. Without God nothing would be possible. Through His Grace I could complete this journey.

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Chapter 1 Introduction and Background

1.1 Introduction

In today's world globalization has transformed cities into places where people seamlessly switch between various languages and dialects depending on the situation they are in. This study delves into the phenomenon of using and switching between languages within two selected fish market spaces found in Cape Town. These fish market spaces offer an opportunity to observe how interactions unfold between vendors and customers and how they handle their daily tasks. Through examining these interactions, within these two selected fish market settings the research aims to shed light on the language dynamics in these diverse urban environments. Furthermore, this thesis transitions from multilingualism to metrolingualism to better understand how language adapts to environments based on different contexts, which is a significant aspect of this study.

Moreover, by analysing and examining interactions between employees and customers in Cape Town, this study will focus on two selected fish market spaces as above mentioned. The first ethnographic site is a main road in an urban area, where fish is sold to customers from a small truck also known as a 'bakkie.' The second ethnographic site is temporary fish stalls set up daily near a beach. I will utilise an ethnographic approach combining audio recordings, observations, semi-structured interviews, fieldnotes, and observations. Additionally, the research focusses also on both the verbal and non-verbal strategies utilised by employees.

A space rich in data, food, language and culture, I chose an understudied and underexplored space. Examining the metrolingual multitasking in the two selected fish market spaces in Cape Town, the study addresses the gap in sociolinguistics where metrolingual multitasking remains underexplored in South Africa, Cape Town. Additionally, it builds on the rich research of previous multilingual studies done in a South African context, for example studies by Deumert and Mabandla (2013), Thompson (2018, 2022) and Williams (2017). These scholars explored communication strategies of locals and migrants in urban spaces in a South African context.

Subsequent to the introduction, I will discuss the background, context of the study, rationale, and the theoretical foundations of the study. This is followed by a discussion of the research

context of the thesis providing an overview of the selected fish market spaces in Cape Town. I will then discuss the statement problem addressing the gaps in research, followed by research questions, aims and objectives of the study, and lastly followed by the chapter outline.

1.2 Research Context

In a fast-growing urbanising world, cities mix languages just as cultures especially in the context of South Africa. When individuals from diverse linguistic backgrounds come together in urban settings, boundaries between languages become increasingly blurred. Cape Town is a city well-known for its rich cultural diversity. Its linguistic landscape is shaped by an array of languages, such as English, Afrikaans, isiXhosa, and other languages for example by migrants or locals from various parts of Africa and beyond. The linguistic diversity is evident especially in Cape Town's bustling market spaces, where vendors and customers engage in different language practices and strategies reflecting the dynamic nature of communication in urban areas.

These markets are not just places of transactions but also spaces where individuals from different linguistic and cultural backgrounds interact and communicate daily. The interactions in the fish market spaces are characterized by code switching, code-mixing, and blending of linguistic resources which is described as metrolingual multitasking. The concepts of metrolingualism and metrolingual multitasking is important within the context of Cape Town's fish markets, where vendors and customers frequently engage in metrolingual multitasking as they navigate a complex and dynamic linguistic landscape (Pennycook and Otsuji, 2014). Evidently, research done by Mubaiwa (2014), the scholar addressed the complex and fluid dynamics within a fish bakkie.

To begin with, such market spaces also allows us to explore the linguistic and cultural diversity of Cape Town, hence making it an ideal setting to investigate metrolingual multitasking. In these market spaces, customers and vendors coming from diverse linguistic backgrounds resulting in their interactions highlight the practices that makes up metrolingual practices which are fluid and hybrid. In addition, since these markets are highly competitive and fast-paced, language switching is not common but essential to achieve effective communication. By concentrating on these fish markets in Cape Town, we are also able to focus on the features of informal workplace communication that utilises metrolingual multitasking. Language is not only a tool for communication but also a factor for price negotiation, building customer relationship and developing a competitive advantage. In addition, considering how employees

employ language in the performance of these tasks, it can further provide important examples of how linguistic diversity can contribute positively to customer relations and workplace interactions.

The language practices and resources of selling fish from "bakkies" (truck vendor stalls) along busy urban roads and from temporary stalls near the beach is deeply rooted in Cape Town's cultural and economic life. These market spaces are also characterized by intense competition, with vendors competing for the attention of customers within the noisy and bustling fish space. This research focuses specifically on fish market spaces in Cape Town as represent a small part of Cape Town's broader linguistic and cultural diversity, an ideal setting for exploring the dynamics of metrolingual multitasking. Vendors and customers, in these market spaces come from diverse backgrounds and their interactions highlight the dynamic language practices of metrolingualism in action.

The findings, from this research can offer insights that can be utilized to enhance communication in diverse environments like Cape Town and other metropolitan regions as well. Moreover, this study presents a chance for us to delve into the intricacies of language usage within the chosen marketplaces, in Cape Town. Additionally, the research uncovers metrolingual multitasking as an idea and its implications for shaping multilingualism, and sociolinguistics.

1.3 Background, Context, and Rationale

Metrolingualism refers to the use of multiple languages or language varieties used in a metropolitan or urban setting (Pennycook and Otsuji, 2015). It is a term coined by Alastair Pennycook to describe the language practices of individuals who use multiple languages or language varieties in their daily lives, as a result of living in a multilingual city (Pennycook & Otsuji, 2015). The notion of metrolingualism highlights that language is fluid and dynamic; it often changes, and it is not fixed (Pennycook, 2010). For example, people may use different languages or varieties depending on the context and purpose of communication. This then challenges the traditional notions of monolingualism encouraging multilingualism and linguistic diversity.

Importantly, according to Pennycook and Otsuji (2015), metrolingualism is not limited to specific geographic location (hence their broad ethnographic sites), but it is often associated

with urban areas where people from different linguistic and cultural backgrounds interact, link, and coexist. It is especially relevant in today's world where globalization is prevalent and where multilingualism is more common.

According to Wood and Landry (2008:145), the market is both a concept and a physical location and it is central to understanding any cultural exchange. Throughout history and even presently, the market has served as a meeting point where individuals come face-to-face with each other to communicate with people from diverse linguistic and cultural backgrounds. Markets can either be local or global and can operate in various industries such as produce (food), services, et cetera (Blackledge and Creese, 2020). Metrolingualism and markets are two very distinct words, but there is an important link to be noted.

In a present-day society, a market is in a multicultural and diverse city (Blackledge and Creese, 2020). Language is significantly important in all fields of our society ranging from communication, cultural practices to business. And multilingualism is a very common issue societies, especially in multicultural megacities. In such settings, people are surprised to be involved in metrolingual multitasking thus translating from a language to another in various settings (Rampton, 2014). The thesis explores the resources, strategies and practices explored by individuals in the two fish market spaces which have been underexplored in South African hence the study of Metrolingualism specific to a South African domain.

Metrolingualism and metrolingual multitasking is an area of sociolinguistic research that has a significant potential for giving us insights into how and why language practices are conditioned by the nature of life in large cities. Contrasting with most traditional attitudes to multilingualism that presupposes distinct languages as separate entities within individuals and communities, metrolingualism invites a focus on processes and practices that occur in bounded space, context, and time, recognising language as fluid and creative.

From a theoretical angle, this research seeks to add to existing literature in sociolinguistics and multilingualism by offering a detailed analysis of metrolingual multitasking in fish market spaces within Cape Town. In the study, the concept of metrolingualism has been widely

discussed from a theoretical perspective, yet little research has been done on how metrolingualism operates in real life contexts. In striving to recognize how multilingualism works in individuals practical existence, this paper investigates how the participants dealing with fish production and selling in Cape Town's interactional multilingualism is displayed and operates in the contexts of social interactions amongst individuals.

Analysing selected fish markets in Cape Town metrolingual multitasking is a good starting point to observe language practices variation and interaction in urban territories. It is by deconstructing efforts by vendors and customers to successfully engage in multi-lingual transactions in such zones that this study seeks to complement contemporary research on language relations to social interactions, organizational dynamics, and customers in current multi-lingual cities. Finally, this work aims at contributing relevant information on the nature and effects of metrolingual multitasking for sociolinguistic, multilingual practices. Importantly, to explore metrolingualism within a Cape Town context, we have to look at research done at a broader context focusing on Multilingualism in South Africa

1.4 Multilingualism in South Africa

Multilingualism is an important framework especially within the South African context. It defines who we are and how we use it in our everyday life (Makalela, 2016). Firstly, to move towards the notion of metrolingualism, we need to define multilingualism with a specific focus on a South African context. Additionally, I will discuss how it helps to build on my research of metrolingual multitasking.

According to Auer and Wei (2007) multilingualism is defined as language diversity, contact and change in speech communities and people. Another definition according to Wei (2008:4) states that a multilingual person is someone who can communicate in more than one language through reading and listening or through speaking and writing. Furthermore, cited in Cenoz (2013:4) Aronin and Singleton (2008) states how different factors contribute to multilingualism. There are three main areas it is grouped in. Firstly, geographical where multilingualism is not limited to geographic languages or borders. It is global and spread all across the world. Secondly, social where multilingualism is not associated with specific contexts, but spread over various social activities. Thirdly, medium where multilingual communication is prevalent across different platforms highlighting multimodality.

From a South African context, before the colonial rule it was a naturally multilingual country. According to Stroud and Heugh (2011), after the British invasion the country was redefined by English used as medium of instruction and dominant language shaping its roles in education and society. According to McCormick (2008) English became part of the policy of indirect rule. Afrikaans also became a language of importance during apartheid serving as a tool for marginalization. As English became a global language is marginalized other African languages.

In the early 1990s, just before democracy debates grew on language policy in South Africa, highlighting fears of English dominance, decline of the Afrikaans language and neglecting African languages. There were then efforts made to promote equality which includes the recognition of 11 official languages in South Africa as stated in the 1994 Constitution (McCormick, 2008).

The concept of multilingualism is important to understand the notion of metrolingualism, a bottom-up approach as previously discussed. Specifically, in a South African context, where there are 12 official languages which includes sign language it is evident of the diverse spaces where communication takes place. One of these languages or varieties in Cape Town is Afrikaans. Although limited studies done on Multilingualism in South Africa, less attention has been given on how participants blend and switch languages in urban spaces. This thesis seeks to address the gaps by exploring metrolingual multitasking in a two fish market spaces in Cape Town.

1.4 Statement of the problem

This study aims to address the gaps in sociolinguistics by expanding on research conducted by Alastair Pennycook and Emi Otsuji (2010, 2014, 2015), delving into metrolingual multitasking in South Africa. Despite efforts made by scholars such as Deumert and Mabandla (2013), Williams (2017), and Thompson (2018) who have initiated exploration in this area, there remains an absence of research documenting metrolingual multitasking. The study, therefore, tries to broaden the field of sociolinguistics through a metrolingualism focus, particularly metrolingual multitasking, in an effort to overcome current research limitations on language resources, practices, and strategies adopted by fish market employees, in order to expand the research area within urban South Africa. There are also several questions about metrolingualism and metrolingual multitasking that remain. In this regard, the study set in Cape Town fish market environments, investigates, and will determine how such practices appear in

different urban settings and the factors influencing individuals' linguistic choices. It examines the impact of social class, ethnicity, and migration status on metrolingual practices, the role of technology such as cellphones in shaping metrolingualism and metrolingual multitasking, and the connection between these practices with broader social and political processes of globalization and urbanization.

1.5 Research Question

What are the metrolingual linguistic resources, practices and communication strategies employed by bilingual/multilingual individuals in selected fish market spaces in Cape Town?

1.6 Research Aim and Objectives

The broad aim of this study will be to expand research on the sociolinguistics of metrolingualism in South Africa. Specifically, the objectives are to:

- a. Examine the metrolingual communication resources (including gestures, turn-taking, and repairs) utilised by workers in selected fish market spaces in Cape Town.
- b. Analyse the metrolingual cultural practices employed by bi/multilingual individuals working in selected fish market spaces in Cape Town.
- c. Determine and investigate the metrolingual strategies such as Affect used by individuals engaging in metrolingual multitasking activities.
- d. Analyse the impact of technological devices, such as mobile phones, on shaping metrolingual multitasking behaviours.
- e. Conduct a comparative analysis to explore the influence of gender and language within metrolingual multitasking

1.7 Chapter Structure

Chapter One: This chapter is an introduction to the exploration of metrolingual multitasking in two fish market spaces. It sets out the background and context of the study, the research problem, and question, and aim, and objectives. The chapter provides an overview of literature and theories related to the research topic.

Chapter Two: This literature review chapter examines works from various authors with a

view to understanding metrolingual multitasking practices and strategies employed in two fish market settings. The concepts discussed include metrolingualism, metrolingual multitasking, globalization, multilingualism in South Africa, language and affect, Metrolingua franca, and Afrikaaps

Chapter Three: This chapter outlines the conceptual framework, applying relevant theories and concepts such as Conversational Analysis with analytical tools like turn-taking and repairs. Additional concepts that will be applied to the analysis of data in chapter five and six are spatial repertoires, language practices, and stylization. Other concepts that are discussed are spatial repertoires, semiotic assemblages, and conversational analysis.

Chapter Four: The methodology chapter explains the data collection process at the two ethnographic sites. It explains research design, site description, and methods for data gathering and analysis. The chapter outlines how specific approaches and techniques for data collection and interpretation are adopted, including transcription. An ethical statement is included.

Chapter Five: This data chapter focuses on data collected through observations, fieldnotes, audio recordings (transcriptions), and semi-structured interviews. It includes extracts of interactions from the first ethnographic site, an urban area along a busy main road with a small truck (bakkie). The main participant in this chapter is Mary.

Chapter Six: This second chapter on data analysis focuses on the second ethnographic site, looking at interaction extracts between two main participants Dane and Ash, who manages the first and second fish stalls near a beach.

Chapter Seven: This final chapter gives an overview and summarizes the findings of both data chapters, along with limitations and suggestions for future research.

Chapter 2 Literature Review

2.0 Introduction

In a globalized world, and in many cities like Cape Town, we often find ourselves in multilingual landscapes where daily interactions blend with cultural and linguistic practices. Moving away from the traditional concept of multilingualism, to metrolingualism, allows us to explore and understand the fluid use of language in urban spaces and everyday conversations. The thesis shifts a focus on market spaces in Cape Town where individuals navigate between languages and doing everyday things, especially in this bustling environment, where they manage daily tasks, building rapport and the language in use. This literature review draws on different sociolinguistic perspectives such as globalization and multilingualism which will be discussed firstly. Secondly I will discuss the notion of metrolingualism, metrolingual multitasking and metrolingua franca. Thirdly, I will explore language and affect and how it plays a role in metrolingual multitasking. Fourthly, I will explore the research done on food, language and culture. Fifthly, I will explore the concept of multilingualism in a South African context. Thereafter, I will discuss Afrikaans and Afrikaaps, and lastly research done on language and markets within a South African context.

2.1 Globalization and Multilingualism

The authors Pennycook and Otsuji (2014:258) connect markets to globalization by showing that markets are places where local and global forces meet. Instead of globalization just being a top-down process (where big companies or governments spread their influence), they emphasize how people at the local level – like market traders – are also part of globalization. These local exchanges involve a mixing of languages and cultures, creating what the authors call "Metrolingua franca," where people combine bits and pieces of different languages to communicate. This demonstrates that globalization is not just about uniformity but also about diversity and creative language use in everyday life. In short, Pennycook and Otsuji (2014:258) are highlighting how markets are key spaces for understanding how globalization and multilingualism work from the ground up, through everyday interactions and the blending of languages.

As they show new speakers with new repertoires come into touch because of globalization and the increased mobility of people and languages, cities and languages are constantly changing (Pennycook and Otsuji, 2015).

Furthermore, the scholars stated that metrolingualism is about understanding how people use multiple languages in their daily lives, but in a more practical and real-world way. Instead of just looking at maps or counting how many people speak different languages in an area (which is what traditional studies like demolinguistics do) or focusing on the idea that everyone should have equal opportunities to use their language, metrolingualism looks at how people naturally mix and use languages in everyday situations (Pennycook and Otsuji, 2014:164). In simple terms, it is about studying how people in cities or communities casually blend languages when they talk, based on the local culture and context, rather than analysing language in a formal or structured way. This concept is called “multilingualism from below” because it focuses on how regular people use language in real-life settings, not just the official rules or ideals about language. Contributing to the concept of multilingualism from below the research focuses on language/s used in fish market settings and not on language policies as previously mentioned.

Firstly, building on the discussion of Pennycook and Otsuji (2015:11) the authors emphasise the concept of “globalization from below”. This focuses on the grassroots and everyday experiences of globalization. Similar to Appadurai's (2001:5) grassroots globalization, globalization from below stems from his understanding that “we are functioning in a world fundamentally characterized by objects in motion,” which include “ideas and ideologies, people and goods, images and messages, technologies, and techniques” (cited in Pennycook and Otsuji, 2015:11). Instead of examining globalization solely through the lens of large-scale political or economic systems, the authors explore how globalization is shaped by informal economies and daily interactions of ordinary people in urban settings. This links with my research as the daily interactions of ordinary people in fish market spaces. According to Pennycook and Otsuji (2015:11), this view highlights the “transnational flow of people and goods” that occurs through unofficial, often semi-legal transactions and highlights how individuals from diverse backgrounds use their personal experiences to manage the intricacies of globalization. Furthermore, globalisation from below normally involves a focus on market cities and places with informal economies (Pennycook and Otsuji, 2015).

This approach is intricately linked to their concept of metrolingualism, which explores how linguistic practices are shaped by urban environments. It further highlights how the use of

language is fluid and dynamic in cities, especially how people of different linguistic and cultural backgrounds interact in urban contexts, in my case, fish markets (Pennycook and Otsuji, 2015:3). Furthermore, on the concept of metrolingual multitasking it further connects globalization from below to language practices. It refers to how individuals simultaneously manage multiple linguistic and semiotic resources in space. This demonstrates how both globalization and metrolingualism defy institutionalized and hierarchical systems, instead emphasizing the adaptable, everyday behaviours of ordinary people in varied metropolitan surroundings.

Metrolingualism has gained significant attention in recent years due to globalization, migration, and urbanization. It emphasizes the dynamic nature of language use in multilingual settings, recognising the fluidity and complexity of linguistic practices in urban environments (Pennycook, 2010). In 2010, Pennycook published a book titled “Language and Globalization.” This book explores the relationship between language and the processes of globalization, examining how language both shapes and is shaped by global forces. Pennycook (2010) discusses how globalization impacts the use and spread of languages worldwide. He argues that language is not a static entity but a dynamic and ever-changing system that adapts to new contexts and influences. Pennycook examines various aspects of language in the context of globalization, including language practices in multilingual and multicultural settings on which my research will focus on.

One of the key arguments in Pennycook's (2010) book is that globalization does not lead to the dominance or homogenization of a single global language. Instead, he emphasizes the complex and diverse ways in which languages interact and transform in globalized contexts. Pennycook (2010) challenges the notion of a monolithic “global English” and explores the complex dynamics of language contact, hybridity, and translingual practices. Moreover, Pennycook (2010) also delves into the social dimensions of language globalization. He highlights the power relations embedded within language use and the unequal distribution of linguistic resources. He examines the ways in which language is linked to identity. “Language and Globalization” offers a critical and nuanced perspective on the relationship between language and globalization, shedding light on the complex interactions and consequences of linguistic diversity in an increasingly interconnected world. Additionally, few studies has been done on markets specifically within the culinary and market domains by authors such as Karrebæk (2017, 2021), and Blackledge and Creese (2020). These authors sought out to examine how language and everyday interactions intersect in the context of restaurants and a city market,

with a common thread being in the culinary domain. I will build on their research exploring fish markets, analyzing daily interactions focusing on language, food and culture.

Leung and Hendley (2009:3) give four observations regarding globalization. The first observation states that technology is the “driving force of globalization.” Technology such as cell phones allows for both space and time to be crossed. Pennycook (2011:514) states that immense and complex flows of people, signs, sounds, images across multiple borders in multiple directions.” With many individuals having access to technology it is not surprising that daily life extends beyond physical time and space, moving to a digital space. The research done within the two fish market spaces builds on the work of Leung and Hendley (2009) where technology and a cell phone play a prominent role in how daily interactions moves to a digital space within fish market spaces

Mobility is also an important factor in language and globalization studies. Coupland (2010:5) for example states that in a context within globalization, mobility is an important feature of the socio-cultural arrangement of a space. Mobility, of both language and people, can be defined as “a trajectory through different stratified, controlled and monitored spaces in which language ‘gives you away’” (Blommaert, 2010:6). Mobility is also key factor to understand linguistic repertoire. Blommaert (2013:174) states “sociolinguistic life is organized as such: as *mobile speech*, not as static languages, and lives can consequently be better investigated on the basis of repertoires set against a real historical and spatial background.” Throughout a person’s life, an individual will be exposed to different languages or varieties. These languages or varieties (linguistic repertoires) come with the knowledge of where and when to use them.

Moving away from this concept of individual repertoire, Pennycook and Otsuji (2014) on the other hand uses the term ‘spatial repertoire’ to define the way in which linguistic resources may be used in a specific space. Pennycook and Otsuji (2014:83) further states that spatial repertoires contain “the repertoires formed through individual life trajectories” and “the particular places in which these linguistic resources are deployed. This becomes a useful term or framework in understanding how language or varieties is used within space. This will be further discussed in chapter three which forms part of the conceptual framework.

The two terms namely spatial repertoires and mobility play a vital role in our understanding of metrolingualism and metrolingual multitasking. Globalization created a diverse environment in Cape Town, which encourages multilingualism in urban spaces. By examining the language practices and interactions in the bistro kitchen and fish market, I will explore how globalization

influences language choices, code-switching/mixing patterns, and the negotiation of identities among individuals from diverse linguistic and cultural backgrounds. Code-switching is defined as “the use of two languages in the same conversation ... (which) serves a specific interactional task for participants” (Gumperz, 1982; Auer 1984; and Myers - Scotton, 1993b all cited in Auer & Wei, 2007: 279). As per Gumperz (1982) terms code-switching is often used as a conversational strategy. I will utilize these concepts in this research how language is used in flexible and dynamic way within space. This then links to the notion of metrolingualism and metrolingual multitasking where the switching and blending of languages or varieties is prevalent in urban spaces during daily activities.

2.2 Metrolingualism and Metrolingual Multitasking

Urban settings are defined by a diverse linguistic tapestry where different languages coexist, interact, and change over time. Within these contexts, developing frameworks that more accurately represent the fluid and dynamic nature of language practices have put traditional notions of multilingualism under pressure. Metrolingualism is a framework that has gained popularity in sociolinguistic studies for its ability to explain the intricate language patterns found in urban, cosmopolitan environments. Expanding upon the notion of metrolingualism, scholars have proposed the concept of metrolingual multitasking, aiming to investigate the complex ways in which people manage many languages in their day-to-day communication. With an emphasis on how these ideas appear, this literature review explores the history and relevance of metrolingualism and metrolingual multitasking in fish market spaces in Cape Town.

Why do I stray away from multilingualism, moving on to metrolingualism? I agree with Pennycook and Otsuji (2010, 2014, 2015) that multilingualism is too broad to explore such diverse contexts and spaces where language, varieties, and dialects is present in mundane daily activities of individuals like fish market spaces. The authors describe multilingualism as a wide concept that often refers to the presence and use of different languages within a given context or group. By concentrating on the list and mapping of these languages in a certain location, it frequently highlights the existence of many languages and their people (Pennycook and Otsuji, 2014). A static view of language use, where languages are viewed as separate things that can be numbered or categorized, might occasionally result from this method.

In contrast, metrolingualism is portrayed as a more dynamic and fluid idea. It goes beyond the conventional meanings of multilingualism by highlighting everyday language use in urban settings. Metrolingualism refer to “creative linguistic conditions across space and borders of culture, history and politics, as a way to move beyond current terms such as multilingualism and multiculturalism” (Otsuji and Pennycook, 2010: 244). It examines how people creatively employ multiple linguistic resources in their daily interactions, emphasizing the relationship between language, space, and social activities (Pennycook 2014, 2015). It tries to understand how language practices originate from specific contexts and are influenced by the urban landscape, rather than just cataloguing languages as separate things. Building on Otsuji and Pennycook’s (2010) research and concept of metrolingualism, this paper is aimed at analysing everyday mundane interactions and activities employed by employees in the two fish market spaces. It further explores the roles food, culture and technology within these spaces.

The authors believe that metrolingualism captures the complexity of language usage in modern cities, where people frequently participate in “metrolingual multitasking” – the simultaneous use of many linguistic resources in different tasks and interactions. (Pennycook, 2015). For example, the use when individuals switch from Afrikaaps to English in fish market spaces, while navigating different tasks serving as effective communication skills and good service. This method enables a more detailed understanding of how multilingualism functions “from below,” reflecting the actual experiences of individuals in varied metropolitan contexts (Pennycook and Otsuji, 2015:9).

Instead, concentrating only on official language policies or plans, the concept of “multilingualism from below” aims to discover how people utilize several languages in their daily lives. It focuses on how people spontaneously combine and employ several languages in their daily activities (Pennycook and Otsuji, 2015:12-13). In simple terms, the concept of metrolingualism encourages us to consider “multilingualism from below” by focusing how we use language in everyday lives rather than shifting our focus to policies and pedagogies. In my research, like these scholars, I will shift away from language policies and pedagogies. Webb (2010:134) claims that although South Africa has many official language regulations, the country is not actually multilingual in the sense of daily life. He contends that a nation must utilize and respect more than two languages equally in significant public spaces to be considered truly multilingual. To elaborate on this point, I will give a fuller discussion below on multilingualism in South Africa. The idea of metrolingualism refocuses attention on how individuals combine languages in everyday interactions and how languages are utilized in real-

world contexts like marketplaces and public spaces. Pennycook and Otsuji (2015) in their chapter one of morning markets and metrolingual multitasking, makes an example of a market where individuals speak both English and Arabic, they may switch between languages or change their speech depending on the situation or with whom they are speaking. Metrolingual multitasking is all about adapting language use to real-world situations. Rather than focusing solely on official rules, this approach emphasizes the dynamic ways in which individuals use languages in their daily lives and how they adapt their language use in different circumstances (Pennycook and Otsuji, 2015). The scholars also focus on bringing in linguistic landscapes and how meaning making takes place. This is another concept I will discuss as part of my research.

We begin by building upon the concept of metrolingualism, which originated from the idea of metroethnicity proposed by Maher (2005, 2010). Metrolingualism refer to “creative linguistic conditions across space and borders of culture, history and politics, as a way to move beyond current terms such as multilingualism and multiculturalism” (Otsuji and Pennycook, 2010: 244).

Metrolingualism, as coined by Pennycook and Otsuji (2015), refers to the complex language practices that emerge in multilingual urban environments, where individuals navigate and negotiate multiple languages in their daily interactions. It emphasizes the fluidity, creativity, and hybridity of language use in cosmopolitan cities. Pennycook and Otsuji (2015) argue that metrolingualism challenges traditional understandings of language as discrete and bounded systems. Instead, they propose a view of language that is dynamic, fluid, and constantly negotiated. Metrolingualism recognizes the diverse linguistic resources that individuals possess and the creative ways in which they draw upon and mix these resources in everyday communication.

Blommaert and Dong (2010:382) states “the connection between a speech community and a set of established, and shared, forms of knowledge of languages and of language norms must be questioned.” The research and work from Pennycook and Otsuji (2014, 2015) brings out new concepts. Furthermore, they made use of the quote from Blommaert (2010:197) “mobile resources rather than immobile languages” – this is the focus of their research. Similarly, to my research, the scholars and I are not trying to figure out every single language spoken, and languages used in the market, in my case, in fish market spaces, instead we are focusing on how people use language in flexible and dynamic ways. Like Pennycook and Otsuji (2014,

2015), we are interested in how different languages, activities and spaces mix to show how communication happens in these urban environments.

Metrolingualism, as proposed by another scholar Rampton (2014), offers a new framework for understanding language practices in diverse urban contexts. Rampton (2014) challenges the traditional notion of multilingualism (same view as Pennycook and Otsuji 2014, 2015) and introduces the concept of metrolingualism to capture the dynamic and fluid nature of language use in cosmopolitan settings. Metrolingualism emphasizes the creative and flexible ways in which individuals engage in language practices, drawing on multiple languages and repurpose linguistic features for social and communicative purposes.

Metrolingualism emphasizes the creative and flexible ways in which individuals engage in language practices, drawing on multiple languages and repurposing linguistic features for social and communicative purposes. Rampton (2014), offers a new framework for understanding language practices in diverse urban contexts. A similar but further functional concept is 'urban heteroglossia' by Rampton (2014) from which multiple communities unite their languages and accent in one place especially cities or urban ghettos and involve social languages. All these concepts are used in understanding how people use these different languages in their everyday lives and how they do not always conform to the boundaries of monolingualism. Moreover, Heller (2007) and García (2009) as many other scholars associated with linguistic anthropology have rightfully pointed out that language as a practice is very politicised and cultural. The metropolitan culture and social networks empower the people to employ language using this logic of adaptation.

Building upon the concept of metrolingualism, one aspect of this, is the notion of metrolingual multitasking which refers to the ability of individuals to switch between multiple languages in their everyday communication based on social, cultural, or contextual factors (Pennycook, 2010). Metrolingual multitasking is commonly observed in urban contexts where people encounter various languages daily, whether through interactions with others, exposure to signage and advertising, or engagement with media and technology (Pennycook, 2010). This notion captures the dynamic and fluid nature of language use in urban settings, where people are regularly negotiating their linguistic choices in response to a complex and ever-changing linguistic landscape. In the context of fish market spaces, metrolingual multitasking could involve a vendor switching between languages not simply to facilitate transactions, but also to establish relationships with customers, assert their identity, or navigate power dynamics. For

example, a vendor may use one language to show authority or competence, then transition to another to express familiarity or sympathy with a consumer. This purposeful use of language emphasizes the complex way that language plays in metrolingual environments.

The concept of metrolingual multitasking highlights two key aspects of how language is used today. First, metrolingualism focuses on how people mix and blend languages in urban settings (Pennycook, 2010). Second, multitasking refers to how language use is often intertwined with a fast-paced, multitasking environment, where people are juggling multiple activities at once. This makes it difficult to describe language use simply in terms of specific functions or contexts. Metrolingualism and metrolingual multitasking are key aspects that helps us to understand how language is used in urban areas. They challenge the ‘traditional’ view of multilingualism – remember multilingualism from below – to highlight how individuals use language in fluid and creative ways. With relation to my research, fish markets, we can analyse how people use, switch, and mix languages or varieties in their daily interactions and activities, so that we can learn how language influences identity, and social relationships.

According to Pennycook & Otsuji, (2014:256-257) metrolingual multitasking, is “a term we use to capture the ways in which linguistic resources, everyday tasks, and social space are intertwined.” Metrolingual multitasking and spatial repertoires help us understand how language, daily tasks, and the social environment are interconnected. The focus is not just on the variety of languages being used, but also on how language, activities, objects, and spaces interact dynamically (Pennycook and Otsuji, 2014:162). To illustrate these concepts, an example is given from a restaurant in Tokyo called Petit Paris. In this French bistro-style wine bar, the interactions involve the owner, Nabil, the staff, a French-speaking chef, Japanese customers, the dishes being served, the need for bread at a table, and the arrangement of tables and chairs. This example shows how language and activities are intertwined in this specific space. In this research context, this term will help me explore what linguistic resources are used as well as how it is used in relation to the daily activities of selling and buying fish in these market spaces. This then introduces us to another concept called spatial repertoires.

Alastair Pennycook and Emi Otsuji (2014:162), explores the concept of metrolingual multitasking in urban spaces and its connection to spatial repertoires. Spatial repertoires refer to the variety of language resources people have available in a particular place (Pennycook and Otsuji, 2014:162). Instead of just looking at how languages relate to each other (like in bilingualism or code-switching) or how a person uses language (like individual language

skills), these ideas focus on how language practices are connected to the physical space and activities happening around them I will make use of spatial repertoires as my framework which will be discussed in Chapter three as guide to explore the space within these languages strategies and practices are used – fish market spaces. Within these spaces, people make use of certain words, phrases, or sentences to communicate effectively emphasizing that language is fluid.

The concept of *metrolingua franca* refers to a makeshift language formed via communication between speakers of mutually unintelligible languages (Brosch, 2015). Firstly, the word "lingua franca" originates in Italy and refers to a stable Mediterranean pidgin about the 14th century. Currently, it refers to a creative and diverse type of communication that facilitates mutual understanding and prevents communication breakdowns (Thompson, 2018). Seidlhofer (2009:240) is one of several scholars who encourage the study of English as a lingua franca (ELF) as a way of knowledge of the more general communicative strategies that are apparent among L2 English speakers from radically different first language communities which will not be focused on in the research.

Metrolingua franca is an important concept to understand how the use of language or varieties people use are not fixed but they constantly adapt to their environment (context) and my case fish market spaces. Pennycook and Otsuji (2014) in their last chapter on Market Lingos and *Metrolingua francas* (also found in *Metrolingualism: Language and the City* 2015), article aims at having a better understanding of the relationship amongst different language resources people use, the activities, and the larger space it is in. This is where the two concepts of spatial repertoires (which I will discuss in my conceptual framework) and *Metrolingua francas*. This then aligns with my own research where I will look at how for example specific fish types or tasks influence language – reflecting non-linguistic elements. In their article Alistair Pennycook and Emi Otsuji (2014:257) uses this concept/framework in a produce market in Sydney and a smaller market located in Central Market, thus highlighting its relevance for this research as our data sites are similar. Once again referencing Blommaert (2010:197) our focus is on “mobile resources rather than immobile languages.” In simple terms I am interested in how languages, tasks, practices, and space interlink into forming *Metrolingua francas*.

The authors in addition states to understand language in use “constellation of language practices, local economies, gender relations, discrimination and types of work that lead to the ways in which language practices gain value” (Pennycook and Otsuji, 2015:167). Individuals

does not use fixed notions of language but in this case, language is fluid and dynamic dependent on factors such as the space (physical environment), and gender roles (as later discussed in my research of woman being in a male dominated industry) leads to the notion of *Metrolingua francas* (Pennycook, 2015).

In conclusion, *Metrolingua franca* allows for people from diverse background to blend languages or use a common language for efficient communication. This then links to language and affect which states that language is not only for transactional purposes but to express emotions and building rapport with customers.

2.3 Language and Affect

In recent studies, scholars have explored the concept of "affect" to understand how our emotions are shaped and expressed within social interactions (Pratt, 2021). Affect is also shaped through interactions involving people, different signs, objects, and symbols connecting individual experience (Pratt, 2021). Simply, it explores how affect or emotions are created through everyday interactions and practices in social settings. Affect happens through body language and social exchanges which reflects the social identities of individuals (Pratt, 2021:4). Affect in this sense, refers to the feelings and emotions people share through their speech and body language. For example, a person who is excited might speak quickly and use expressive gestures. Additionally, affect happens through people or objects to gain meaning. This is what Pratt (2021:5) calls affective economies.

Affect is fluid and it is always developing through language and social strategies reflecting and shaping our cultural beliefs. Overall, affect is a complex mix of feelings, social interactions, and cultural influences, making it a crucial to understand human behaviour and social connections (Pratt, 2021:4). Pratt (2021) builds on recent research on affect, such as Wetherell's (2015) idea of "affective practice" the way in which people express and share feelings in everyday life and in addition, Ahmed's (2004b) view that emotions carry different meanings depending on the context. Emotions are displayed through gestures, behaviours and interactions which allows individuals to either reinforce or challenge social norms and identities within their interactions. This affective practice shows that emotions are not fixed as they are shaped by the social environment (Pratt, 2021).

Furthermore, Milani and Richardson (2020) explore why affect have become an important area of research within the social sciences. Similarly, to the previous authors, Milani and Richardson (2020), states that affect is not just a feeling within a person, but it is something that changes between people, places, and objects. The authors start off with the question, “why are scholars so fascinated by affect?” to analyse the various dimensions of affect (Milani and Richardson, 2020). Ruth Leys also contributes to this discussion by calling this an affective turn which shifts towards emphasizing emotions in research. Milani and Richardson (2020) identify two approaches to studying affect. The first approach is discursive which analyses how language and communication shape our understanding of emotions, drawing on Wetherell’s (2015) work and appraisal theory, examining how individuals respond to their feelings (Milani and Richardson, 2020). The second approach refers to beyond discourse which suggest affect extends beyond words meaning emotions can be felt and experienced without being verbally expressed for instance a hug (Milani and Richardson, 2020). The authors remind readers that the word emotion means “to move” from the Latin “movere,” reflecting the dynamic and shifting nature of emotions (Milani and Richardson, 2020). They explore the link between discourse and affect by examining how language and emotions function together in complex ways.

Ochs and Schieffelin (1989) distinguish between verbal and non-verbal approaches to affect. Non-verbal affect includes gestures, facial expressions, and body orientation. Verbal affect refers to the linguistic tools available to people to convey specific emotions (Ochs and Schieffelin 1989:10). Similarly, Besnier (1990:419-420) explores the relationship between emotion and language, highlighting three components of linguistic meaning: descriptive (referential meaning), social (reflecting social categories like gender or class), and expressive (affective meaning that conveys emotions). For example, statements like “I hate him” or an exclamation like “Wow” convey emotion directly (Besnier, 1990:428). Besnier (1990) also notes that cultural factors influence how emotions are expressed in language, with some cultures embracing open emotional expression and others favouring restraint.

In political discourse, Gafter and Milani (2020) apply conversational analysis and multimodal discourse to analyse how emotions are conveyed in political statements. This approach not only examines the structure of spoken language but also considers visual and gestural elements, which reveal the affective dimensions of political interactions. Although Gafter and Milani (2020) use multimodal methods, in my own research on interactions in fish market spaces, I will apply a conversational analysis approach focused on "embodied actions," examining

gestures, expressions, and body movements to understand how affect is conveyed within these dynamic social interactions. In addition, I will build on the work of Besnier (1990) by looking at the link between emotion and language in relation to gender. I will do a comparative analysis in the last data chapter.

In conclusion, language and affect play a key role in understanding the relationship between food, culture, and language. Food is often linked to an individual's cultural background, and with language and affect, it helps to build more of an emotional connection.

2.4 Researching Food, Language and Culture

A big focus on the research is the role of food, such as fish and language. Many authors, like Karrebæk, Riley, Cavanaugh (2018), and Pennycook and Otsuji (2015), explore the connection between food and language referred to as "talking food," seen in works like *Metrolingualism*, *Talking Food: Commensality and the City* and Karrebæk's studies (2017a & 2017b). In a similar approach, the research will also focus on the connection between food and language additionally linking to culture as well. Instead of using language and globalization, I will use or link language and food talk i.e. fish talks. The research will analyse how food talks, how and in what ways participants are selling fish to consumers and what linguistic strategies they put in place to reach their goal.

Karrebæk, Riley, Cavanaugh (2018), the authors study how language and food links, and they explain that food is not something we can just eat. Food can be a topic of conversation, a symbol of identity or even a way to communicate emotions. They show how language and food are deeply tied together. Food has social meanings and carry signs and messages. The authors suggest four ways in which language and food overlap. They use Riley and Cavanaugh four-way semiotic heuristic (2017b) which captures food and-language relationships (Karrebæk, Riley, Cavanaugh, 2018:18):

(a) language through food, i.e., the use of food and food registers to communicate emotion, identity, distinction, stance, and social relations.

(b) language about food, i.e., the ways in which food is made a subject of discourse.

(c) language around food, i.e., the genres of interaction in the presence of food; and

(d) language as food, i.e., the understanding of communication as a form of nourishment (or poison). Such a heuristic underscores the meaningful interactions of language and food.

Furthermore, Karrebæk, Riley, Cavanaugh (2018:20) states eating is strongly linked to conversation during shared meals and conviviality – two terms described by Pennycook and Otsuji (2015) meaning the act of eating together and friendly social interactions without conflict. The research will instead focus on the exchanges that happens in fish market spaces not focusing on commensality and conviviality because that was not the explored avenue. Instead, the interactions focused on was before the meal is made and eaten in other words the fish customers are buying in these market spaces.

Then Karrebæk (2017b), authored a paper on Thai veggies and Hair Removal Products: Space, Objects and Language in an Urban Greengrocery but this focuses more on space and urban space. Her work also focuses on conviviality, the term Pennycook and Otsuji (2015) also makes use of this term, meaning friendly and enjoyable interactions. Karrebæk (2017b) analyses everyday encounters in a greengrocery located in a diverse neighbourhood. Through ethnographic fieldwork and recordings, and pictures the author explores how space, objects and language are used in interactions to create meaning. Here, the term conviviality acts as a communicative/social norm. To further explain this term, even when disagreements occur, conviviality is an active effort to maintain harmonious interactions.

Karrebæk (2017a:5) in her article of Pigs and pork in Denmark, discusses how food and language are closely related, and how language is often used when people talk about, produce, and sell food. Food might also affect how people talk and interact. For example, certain foods might represent different things in different contexts, such as pork in Denmark, which can symbolize different values depending on who is talking about it. In my research one may ask how this relates to metrolingual multitasking. This means that when it comes to food and language, people in multicultural urban settings frequently speak in different languages or utilize a combination of languages while discussing food or engaging in social situations involving food. Just as food connects diverse cultures, the way people talk about food in such areas combines different languages, resulting in new meanings and social connections.

Building on the research of Karrebæk (2017a, 2027b), the research explores how individuals navigate language to sell and buy fish and to also build rapport.

2.5 Afrikaans and Afrikaaps

The Afrikaans language has historically serviced as a common language in South Africa and Namibia (McCormick, 2006). It has been shaped by period of informal development and standardization and the history can be divided into three main phases. The first phase from the 1650s to the 1870s, Dutch varieties spoken in South Africa were self-regulated, which was used by native speakers and other people in the region (McCormick, 2006:91). The second phase from the 1870s to the 1980s the efforts to formally regular and standardize Afrikaans took place. The by the mid-1800s local versions of Dutch had changed significantly from European Dutch to the term Afrikaans. In 1875, a group was then formed to regulate spelling and grammar in the Western Cape, and in 1909 a national institute was created to establish a standard Afrikaans primarily based on the dialect used by white communities in Transvaal and Orange Free State. Over the next eighty years efforts were made to promote this standardize dialect across South Africa. Lastly, beginning in the 1980s the third phase saw challenges to this standard version from speakers of other Afrikaans dialects and for the people whose second or third language was Afrikaans (McCormick, 2006:92).

From 1980s onwards challenges again standard Afrikaans began. Two major movements pushed back against this traditional form each motivated by different social and political goals (McCormick, 2006). As protests for political changed increased, particularly amongst the Black and Coloured communities, there was a need to create new educational materials that would then challenge current beliefs and promote critical thinking (McCormick, 2006). This movement refused to let Afrikaans remain a language of apartheid. The materials they then created emphasized contributions of Indigenous people and slaves to Afrikaans.

“There were some calls to make Afrikaans more widely acceptable among the oppressed by restandardizing it on the basis of Kaaps, the dialect spoken mainly by coloured people in and around Cape Town” (McCormick, 2006:104).

Another shift came from young white Afrikaans speakers, who felt alienated from Afrikaner nationalism, began blending their language with English and Black township slang in different ways that represented their rejection of the apartheid value system (McCormick, 2006). This became popular through theatre, literature and even rock music connecting young people across various backgrounds seeking political change. For example, lyrics mixed Afrikaans and English which conservative Afrikaners dislike – this was called the Afrikaner music movement by Kriel 1998.

Afrikaans gained its status as one of the official languages in South Africa. Today, there is a wide variety of Afrikaans dialects and accents heard (McCormick, 2006). To add on, Coloured poets and writers who have survived the struggle, protest poems was a form of rebelling against exclusion from mainstream Afrikaans (Le Cordeur, 2016:91).

Where does this then leave Afrikaaps.

Afrikaaps celebrates the positive identification with Kaaps. The symbolic value of language is imperative to this discussion:

“[L]anguage has symbolic value if it ... serves as marker of a speech community in a multilingual context. Symbolic value is characterized by ... association with loyalty to and involvement with such a marker from the side of the speakers of the language” (Kotzé, 2014:639).

The research focuses on fish markets in urban space or areas where Afrikaaps is present amongst speakers. In the context of this, Afrikaaps is regarded as not only a sociolect but a geolect as well spoken in the Cape and its surroundings (Carstens 2003, Hendricks 2012, Van de Rhee 1985). Kotze (2001:108) describes Afrikaaps as a Southernwestern variety of Afrikaans which includes “Asian, Malay, Creole Portuguese, and English influences.” Stated by Hendricks (2016:7), Afrikaaps “which is currently used generally and in academic circles for this language form, correctly implies that this is a language form which was formed in Cape Town and environs – and not elsewhere.” Adam Kriel (2006, cited in van de Waal, 2012:452) highlights the diversity of Kaaps by stating that:

Code-switching was also a standard practice in the Kaapse Afrikaans of the coloured population where it had a function of expressing social belonging, based in membership in both English-speaking and Afrikaans-speaking social orders.

The diversity and origins of Afrikaaps, is like standard Afrikaans but due to racial and institutional representations, Afrikaans is viewed as superior (Cooper, 2018 cited in Van Niekerk 2019).

In the documentary *Afrikaaps*, it is described as "the Kaaps/Cape Town dialect of Afrikaans" (Afrikaaps, 2010). In a 2011 Stadsschouwburg performance, Van der Westhuizen asserts that Kaaps is not just slang but "actually an official language." During a personal interview in 2011, Goliath discussed the wordplay involving ‘Afrikaans,’ ‘Afrika’ (Africa), Kaaps, and ‘Kaapse Afrikane’ (Cape Africans), all connected through the term ‘Afrikaaps,’ which he coined. Kaaps

is furthermore described as a means of expression. Goliath refers to Kaaps, or 'Afrikaaps,' as a means of expression (Goliath, 2011 cited in Van Heerden, 2016:17), which is similarly asserted by Van Rooy-Overmeyer (2011) in an interview with a Dutch journalist:

“When we rap, when we do poetry, we do it in our language, the way we talk, the way we have conversation ... That’s what we now call Afrikaaps. So, it’s the way we talk at home, the way we talk with our friends, the way we have leisure ... that’s the language we speak ... the way we talk comfortable is to express ourselves” (cited in Van Heerden, 2016:17).

Instead of referring the concept at Afrikaaps or Kaaps, I will use the metrolingual use of Kaaps as a language.

In Haupt’s (2022) Journal Article he states that the use of Afrikaaps (formerly known as 'gamtaal') by people of colour is a deliberate act of resistance against the apartheid regime's imposition of 'standard' Afrikaans as the language of instruction in the 1970s. This also challenges the colonial-era policy of recognizing only two official languages in a multilingual African nation (Haught 2022). Kaaps is considered a sociolect and geolect spoken in the Cape region and its surroundings (Carstens 2003, Hendricks 2012, Van de Rhee, 1985). It is a southwestern variant of Afrikaans that incorporates influences from Asian, Malay, Creole Portuguese (Van Rensburg, 1989:463 ff., Van Rensburg, 1997:10 ff.; Kotzé, 2001:108), and English languages (Hendricks, 2016:9).

This is associated with one’s identity and often functions as a sense belonging amongst a certain racial group. I will make use of the term ‘Coloured.’ The Population Registration Act of 1950 law categorized South Africa’s population in racial groups – constructing traits of each race (an essentialist view). A native person is defined as any member of a race or tribe of Africa. A white person who appears to be white is accepted as white, but this excludes any person despite appearing white is regarded as a Coloured (Posel, 2001:85 cited in Van Niekerk, 2022:17). Being Coloured is both a race and identity. Normally Afrikaaps the language or variety how you prefer, is often associated with Coloured people (Dyers, 2008:53, Hendricks, 2012a and Pokpas, 1985:47). Being Coloured is a diverse group or culture where one often identifies it with foods, clothes, language, music, and many more to name a few.

While some authors argue whether Kaaps is a geolect (relating to the Cape) or associated with Coloured people such as Hendricks (2012a) and Van de Rhee (1985:34), De Vries (2015:3) on the other hand argues that Kaaps is not ‘limited to a particular class’.

Kotze (2021) and McCormick (2002b) states that it is a misconception that Afrikaaps is a single and uniform dialect – “the Kaaps of one group is not the same as the Kaaps of others” (De Vries, 2015:14). The author highlights her own experience and notes that her version of Kaaps is shaped by daily interactions with various cultures as well as other Afrikaans dialects (De Vries, 2015).

I do agree that Afrikaaps is a geolect spoken by people in and around the Cape, but I also agree with the author De Vries (2015) that Afrikaaps is shaped by interactions with other people and cultures. Linking this back to the context of this research, Kaaps is a geolect but it is also shaped by interactions. In the two fish market spaces, the participants language choices and strategies are shaped by their everyday interactions with each other and for employees to build rapport with customers.

2.6 Language and markets research in South Africa

Deumert and Mabandla (2013) explore the multilingual dynamics and transformation of rural towns in South Africa in relation to the emergence of a 'new' Chinese diaspora and their businesses in rural areas. The study provides insights into the language practices, negotiation of multilingualism, and the impact of these linguistic encounters on the social fabric of the communities (Deumert & Mabandla, 2013). The study emphasizes the need for a nuanced understanding of multilingualism and its complexities in these rural communities.

Deumert and Mabandla (2013) explores the Chinese community in rural South Africa where they focus on Chinese migration and how they interact with locals. The authors further explore the business strategies of Chinese traders and diversity within language use and migration (Deumert and Mabandla, 2013). The research covers the language barriers and challenges Chinese migrants face and the role of signs and local language helpers in business. They also focus on how they mix languages for effective communication between different groups and how they make use of English as a common language (Deumert and Mabandla, 2013)

One main point of the article is the multilingual environment that develops in these rural spaces because of the Chinese presence. The authors investigate how Chinese retailers and locals overcome barriers in communication using a variety of linguistic methods (Deumert and Mabandla, 2013). This results in a type of 'metrolingualism,' in which language use is fluid,

flexible, and influenced by the urgent communication needs of the marketplace (Pennycook and Otsuji, 2014). I put metrolingualism in brackets as their study does not focus on metrolingual multitasking, specifically in South Africa. They are looking at multilingualism (I am moving from) instead of metrolingualism (I am moving towards). Their study also focuses on migration, whereas my focus is more on globalisation and super-diversity in urban rather than rural spaces – again moving beyond migration (Deumert and Mabandla, 2013). I would say that their research is limited to a specific area, only focusing on rural towns in the Eastern Cape where I am focused on urban areas in Cape Town.

Secondly, Thompson's (2018) thesis, focuses on the language practices, code-switching patterns, and language choices of store owners and assistants in Chinese shops in Cape Town. The thesis explored the use of English, Mandarin, Cantonese, and local South African languages to complete tasks and facilitate communication in the shop (Thompson, 2018). This research contributes to our understanding of multilingualism in the workplace, specifically in Chinese-owned shops in Cape Town (workplace settings) which is an important stepping-stone in my research in understanding the space of a fish market.

Furthermore, in a more recent journal article of Thompson (2022) *Just Enough English to Get by: Language Practices of Transnational Migrants in Chinese Stores in Cape Town, South Africa*, the author made use of linguistic ethnography and conversational analysis to analyse the interaction of shopkeepers and customers in Chinese stores (Thompson, 2022). This also helps to build the research I am focusing on by also using Conversational analysis to explore the linguistic strategies within the fish market spaces. Moving away from this, my focus is more towards metrolingual multitasking, how meaning making could be perceived by doing everyday activities. Not only will I focus on language in use, but I will shift my focus to gestures and linguistic landscape. I am shifting away from a multilingual workplace to a metrolingual workplace.

Both Thompson (2018) and Deumert and Mabandla (2013), focus on communicative practices and strategies within Chinese stores in South Africa. Although they are looking at linguistic strategies and multilingual strategies their research is not specifically focused on metrolingualism or metrolingual multitasking. In turn, the research context I focused on, my focus is on locals living within Cape Town, South Africa and how they navigate language and varieties when communicating with each other.

In contrast, Williams' (2017), Rastafarian multilingualism study advances interaction in marginal marketplaces. The author examines how Rastafarian sells objects and it includes multitasking that utilizes different languages, registers, and communicative styles to attract customers, negotiate prices, and maintain their social and cultural identity. Williams (2017) focuses on a multimodal and multilingual communication in interactions.

The reading discusses the interactions of Rastafarian-herb sellers in a subway, focusing on their multilingual and multimodal communication using embodied rhythms and extreme locality. It highlights the cultural dynamics and linguistic resources used in these interactions. The differences from the context of metrolingualism include the specific focus on Rastafarian-herb sellers, embodied rhythms, extreme locality, and the localized setting of a subway, contrasting with the broader concept of metrolingualism that looks at multilingual practices in diverse urban environments.

There are a few works on language and market research in South Africa, however, it is not focused on metrolingual multitasking. Despite the limited scholarly research given to metrolingual multitasking, my research will specifically centre on this phenomenon in South Africa, focusing on the bistro kitchen and fish market. To explore this topic comprehensively, I will draw upon a diverse range of literature from various authors to inform and support my research. By incorporating insights from various sources and literature below, my study aims to contribute to the understanding of metrolingual multitasking within these specific contexts in South Africa.

The work done by Deumert and Mabandla (2013), Thompson (2018) and Williams (2017) provided much insight into how multilingual communities adapt in market settings. Furthermore, their work shows how multilingual individuals adapt language choices. Their research provided me with insights to understand multilingual spaces and how individuals navigate language. It also assisted my direction to metrolingual multitasking by shifting from the traditional notion of multilingualism to metrolingualism to understand language choices, or gestures in an urban context.

2.7 Conclusion

To conclude, the various literature that I mentioned discussed above does not imply the gaps found necessarily, but the rich literature serves as a stepping stone to build the research I am

focusing on in the context of fish market spaces and multilingualism, moving towards metrolingual multitasking. This literature will help me explore and analyse the linguistic strategies and how participants navigate within the fish market space to create and build rapport with customers.

The next chapter three will be focused on the various theories I will utilise when analysing the interactional data.

Chapter 3 Conceptual Framework

3.0 Introduction

My research forms part of Linguistic Ethnography (Rampton, 2007 and Creese, 2008) which includes various approaches to my problem. As my research focuses on audio recordings, to interpret and show the language practices and strategies in place I will use a Conversational Analysis. This framework is highly suitable for these workplace conversations happening in real time (Rampton, 2004). Linguistic ethnography combines the study of language and communication to provide a comprehensive view of spoken interactions (Thompson, 2018). It also enriches linguistic research as a tool to understand social processes. Under this, Conversation Analysis otherwise known as CA is used as a framework for understanding how certain interactions are organized in specific contexts drawing from Goffman (1955,1967). Thus, in this section I will firstly explore interactional sociolinguistics. Secondly I discuss the framework of Conversational Analysis utilising analytical tools such as turn-taking, repairs, adjacency pairs, opening and closing in conversations, story-telling and stylization. Thirdly, I will discuss the notion of spatial repertoires and language practices. Lastly, I will discuss the framework of semiotic assemblages.

3.1 Interactional Sociolinguistics

According to Rampton (2014) Interactional Sociolinguistics (IS) examines face-to-face interactions where participants have notable differences in their linguistic repertoire or power status (Rampton, 2017). Rampton further explains that IS employs methodologies like ethnography, dialectology, pragmatics, Goffmanian analysis, and conversational analysis, typically focusing on naturally occurring conversations (Rampton, 2017). Essentially, Interactional Sociolinguistics analyses natural conversations to understand how individuals interact with each other (Cornelissen, 2017).

Gumperz (2001:215) states Interactional sociolinguistics (IS) is “an approach to discourse analysis that has its origin in the search for replicable methods of qualitative analysis that account for our ability to interpret what participants intend to convey in everyday communicative practice.” It is known that individuals rely on more than just grammar to communicate (Gumperz, 2001). But how such knowledge affects understanding is still not sufficiently understood (Liddicoat, 2021). Goffman (1955) sees CA as a theoretical framework

which that utilizes empirical data to gain insights into the organization of interactions within their specific contexts (Thompson, 2018).

Both Conversational Analysis and stylization are important approaches of IS for interactional/conversational data.

3.2 Conversational Analysis

Conversational analysis abbreviated as (CA) is a term described as a broad approach to analysing conversation, initially focused on spontaneous, everyday talk (Goodwin & Heritage, 1990). It is a methodological framework adapted to study all forms of talk-in-interaction. Schegloff (1987, 1988) describes CA as a “mode of analysis” for ordinary conversation, the fundamental form of talk-in-interaction. Schegloff, Koshik, Jacoby, and Olsher (2002:3) characterize CA as a “mode of inquiry” into spoken interaction and the behaviour of interlocutors within such interactions. These include verbal interactions and other forms of communication such as gestures, posture, facial expressions, and activities occurring during interaction (Schegloff et al., 2002).

A more recent definition by Mazeland (2006:156) states that Conversational Analysis “study the methods participants orient to when they organize social action through talk, it also explores the rules and practices from an interactional perspective and studies them by examining recordings, both video and audio, of real-life interactions.” This embrace both verbal and non-verbal conduct in the context of everyday life (Hutchby and Wooffitt, 1988).

There are different ways in which language is constructed, according to Sidnell (2010:1) CA is an approach within the social sciences that aims to analyse, describe and understand talk as a basic and fundamental feature of an individual’s social life that holds the notion that social contexts are fluid and are constantly being constructed by participants through the use of language in interactions focusing on the ways in which turn taking, opening and closing, sequencing acts, adjacency pairs, and so on are locally managed.

3.2.1 Conversational Analytical Tools

Turn-taking- turn-taking phenomenon examines the various turns that occur during spoken interactions. Each turn represents a specific moment when participants say something.

According to Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson (1974:700), several key observations about turn-taking are noteworthy: speaker changes occur as people take turns; typically, only one participant speaks at a time; any overlap is usually brief; the order and distribution of turns are not predetermined but vary within and between conversations; the length of speaker turns can differ from one turn to the next; turns, or turn constructional units, can consist of a single word, phrases, clauses, or full sentences; and what participants say or do during their turns is not restricted or specified in advance (Cornelissen, 2017). Turn-taking refers to the structured process by which speakers alternate in conversation (Liddicoat, 2021). Each speaker constructs a turn using turn constructional units (TCUs), and turns are allocated through speaker selection or self-selection. Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson (1974) first proposed this idea in their work as a "simplest systematics for the organization of turn-taking for conversation" (Gardner, 2014:271). This refers to the simplest form of polite interaction. The techniques below include the simple but changeable norms of turn-taking: One of three things could happen at a transition relevance place (TRP), which is a turn's natural pause or conclusion (Gardner, 2004:271): (a) the discussion moves to the next speaker (N) once the present speaker (C) initiates it; (b) any participant choose themselves for the following turn if C does not choose N. (C) may continue to speak and take another turn if no one chooses to take it (Gardner, 2004).

The above techniques allow for flexibility in discourse; in other words, gaps and interruptions are possible because their rules (Gardner, 2004). Overlapping occurs when multiple people speak at the same time, while gaps exist when there is a pause in between the turns (Liddicoat, 2021). Gaps may indicate a problem or hesitation, while overlaps might indicate a sense of urgency which are through repair strategies.

Repair in communication refers to an organised process at various levels. Goodwin and Heritage (1990:290) describe describes repair a where multiple speakers and exchange structure. Repair functions as a 'self-righting' mechanism to understand social contexts to ensure clarity on something (Goodwin and Heritage, 1990). Repair mechanisms handle difficulties in understanding or speaking. Repairs can be started or finished by either the speaker or the listener (Liddicoat, 2021). Adjacency pairs can function as a type of repair mechanism in conversations, addressing issues related to hearing, speaking, or understanding (Gardner, 2004:274). A characteristic of communication is breakdowns where understanding a particular context is not always. In cases where disruptions occur, they are resolved quickly, allowing the conversation to return to its normal flow. Speakers sometimes address most

corrections within the same turn. These self-initiated adjustments involve modifying, adding, removing, or rearranging linguistic features. In contrast to this, some corrections are more interactive, where the listener indicates an issue. This can be done by using phrases like "Pardon?" or "Who?" or by seeking clarification with questions such as "Did you say X?" (Liddicoat, 2021). In these cases, the repair is initiated in the following turn (Gardner, 2004). Occasionally, a speaker may not recognize an issue until after hearing a response and initiates repair in the third turn, with fourth-turn initiations being even rarer (Gardner, 2004). There is also a preference for the speaker who produced the problematic turn to conduct the repair. Furthermore, stated by (Schegloff, Jefferson, & Sacks, 1977) another speaker may initiate the repair, but it is normally the original speaker who completes it by the third turn. It is uncommon for another speaker to perform the repair themselves.

Adjacency pairs developed by Sacks and Schegloff (cited in Goodwin and Heritage, 1990:287) who created the rule that a current action (a greeting or question) requires the production of reciprocating to this (give-and-take) second pair part such as action at the first possible opportunity after the completion of the first. This is shown not only by the multitude of cases in which in which a next action is appropriate to the first in fact occurs, but also by those in which it does not. In such cases, for example, when a greeting is not returned, the appropriate next action is treated a "noticeable absent" and the absence can become the object of remedial efforts and justifiable negative inferences (Goodwin and Heritage, 1990:287). Therefore, the adjacency pair framework described by conversational analysts is not a description of statistical regularities in the patterning of action, or specification of an internalized rule that drives behaviour. Instead, it describes a procedure through which participants constrain one another, and hold the other accountable, to produce coherent and intelligible courses of action. Schegloff et al. (2002) also proposed sequence organization, which refers to how speakers use resources to maintain coherence in conversation. Drew (2005) further expands on this by explaining that sequence organization refers to the structured ways in which turns are connected to one another. It involves the concept of adjacency pairs, where recipients are expected to respond to an action in a way that complements it, such as answering questions, accepting, or declining invitations, or exchanging greetings. Another aspect of sequence organization is preference organization, which, according to Drew (2005:90), relates to how speakers design their turns to increase the chances of receiving a preferred response. Adjacency pairs are foundational conversational units composed of two linked turns, like a question and answer. Preference organization refers

to how certain responses (preferred) are more likely or socially acceptable than others (dispreferred). For example, accepting an invitation is preferred over declining (Gardner, 2014). Another aspect of sequence organization is preference organization, which, as Drew (2005:90) explains, refers to how speakers shape their turns in conversation to enhance the likelihood of eliciting a preferred response.

Opening and Closing Conversation: Conversations typically begin and end with specific types of adjacency pairs. For instance, greetings and farewells are standardized openings and closings that help signal the structure and boundaries of interaction. According to Paltridge (2000), conversations usually start and end in predictable ways using adjacency pairs, which are context specific. For example, a greeting like “Hello, how are you?” acts as an opening, while a phrase like “See you later” signals a closing, often with a downward tone. Openings in conversations includes statements such as questions, greetings, or requests (Ijaleye, 2016). This will help us explore and analyse how a conversation begins and end. To note, the context influences the way individuals uses words and the delivery of certain phrases in conversation.

Storytelling in Conversation: Storytelling within conversation is a common activity that disrupt regular turn-taking because one speaker would hold the floor for an extended period of time (Liddicoat, 2021). The listener's role in the conversation involves minimal responses until the story is done or completed. Stories within the conversation are a longer and extended turn of talk (Liddicoat, 2021:310). Telling a story is not up to the speaker only, it is also shaped by the responses of listeners. Stories are shared for a purpose that fits the flow of the conversation or context happening (Sacks, 1992). Storytelling connects to the conversation before and after, which still leads to a natural flow turns within conversation (Jefferson, 1978).

Embodied Actions and Multimodality in Spoken Interaction: Non-verbal elements such as body language, eye contact, and gestures compliment spoken words to create meaning and also form part of communication (Goodwin, 1981). This multifaceted nature of communication means that conversations are both verbal and non-verbal. Individuals make use of a variety of resources to effectively convey their messages. These modes serve various purposes, such as conveying the interaction's content (Liddicoat, 2021:232). For example, gestures also form part

of communication in instances where a nod or pointing is present is meaningful in making meaning (Liddicoat, 2021:235)

Having discussed these conversational analytical tools, I will now apply them in my analysis to identify the linguistic strategies used by individuals engaged in metrolingual multitasking in urban environments. Additionally, to comprehend the specific speech styles and accents employed by people in fish market spaces, I will utilize the concept of stylization. This approach will allow me to explore the way participants in the fish market construct meaning within everyday activities.

Stylization

To understand stylization, we first need to understand the importance of style. In sociolinguistics, Coupland (2007:3) defines 'style' as the variations in an individual's speech, describing how speakers select from their linguistic repertoire during specific interactions (Coupland, 2007:3). Irvine (2002:22) further notes that styles are components of a system of distinction, contrasting with other styles and their linked social connotations. Coupland (2007:17) further states that language holds creative potential, and style involves making meaning through linguistic choices to achieve social understanding. Social meaning is the understanding that derives from our cultural backgrounds, communities, personal histories, social institutions, and relationships. This includes cultural norms, values, social status, power dynamics, intimacy, distance, personal and social identities, stereotypes, prejudices, conflicts, and boundaries (Coupland, 2007:18).

Style emerged as a crucial variable for variationist sociolinguists in their examination of consistent patterns of individual and group variation (Williams, 2012). This aligns with early variationist work that discovered relationships between intra-individual stylistic variation and inter-group variation (Irvine, 2002). Labov, known for his work on style, focused on intra-speaker variation, organizing, and using inter-speaker variation in interviews to elicit a predictable range of stylistic output, which could then be systematically assigned to stylistic categories (Eckert, 2002). These categories formed the foundation of the Labovian tradition, charting variation along a stylistic continuum and linking speech styles to economic status and other social factors (Williams, 2012:45).

Labov categorized ways of speaking between standard and vernacular extremes, with style denoting the quantitative distribution of speech forms along a continuum of formality.

However, this notion of style was criticized for limiting the scope of study, such as the styling of meaning in social interaction or how social styles could shape and be shaped by other styles (Williams, 2012).

Stylization is a pivotal construct in the study of sociolinguistic variation, involving linguistic, social, and stylistic constraints (Bell, 1984). It allows us to observe linguistic change in progress and provides a snapshot of various stylistic repertoires within individuals and social groups (Rickford and McNair-Knox, 1994). Stylization is defined as the borrowing of the recognizable style and timbre of another voice, incorporating the manner or accent in which an individual speaks (Vice, 1997:62). It accounts for how speakers embellish performances with accents, registers, and language varieties associated with other voices and subjectivities embedded in power structures and spaces (Williams, 2012:46).

Stylization involves using more than one language or language variety strategically to frame interactions. When someone switches into a stylized voice or exaggerated accent, it momentarily disengages from routine business, inviting recipients to use their broader societal understandings to interpret the voice's representation and relevance to the ongoing activity (Rampton, 2006:225). This contributes significantly to the meaning made within the interaction. Rampton (2006) demonstrates this by uncovering the structure of linguistic interaction characteristics of late-modern communication and the reproduction of larger social categories such as race, ethnicity, and class. Rampton (2003:52) states that studies of language and ethnicity often show that a switch of speech style can conjure ingroup solidarities, and if the focus shifts from ethnic to classed speech styles, it is possible to study social class as a strategic interactional identity projection.

Stylization is an important concept in this study as the context consists of various ethnic groups, allowing for a variety of accents and speech styles to be revealed (Cornelissen, 2017). These accents and speech styles typically fit into a larger system of semiotic features, marked by an increased density in the co-occurrence of phonetic features, sometimes accompanied by marked grammar or lexis (Rampton, 2006:262).

In the research context of the fish bakkie of Mary and the fish stalls of Dane and Ash, I will apply the notions of stylization and conversational analysis to understand how the participants and customers communicate effectively and efficiently. I will in addition see how Mary, Dane, and Ash use specific speech styles, accents, and language choices are used to communicate and

negotiating their identities to build rapport with customers. For example, Mary might switch to English or standard Afrikaans when speaking to certain individuals.

The aim of CA is to identify the practices and patterns that enable speakers in an interaction to construct their talk in a way that is understood, interpreted and responded to appropriately and co-constructively. As Drew (2005:94) states, by asking how they construct talk and make their talk understood, “we mean to focus analysis on the practices, resources and procedures through which people produce and understand conduct in common with one another.” In the data I will apply the framework of Conversational Analysis to observe turn-taking, negotiation and persuasion strategies, humour and opening and closings in conversation. This interactional framework will allow me to see how the participants and customers manage certain requests and questions, and how they multitask within the two fish market spaces.

In conclusion, the concept of stylization refers to the way speakers use a certain accent or style to create meanings (Coupland, 2007). Furthermore, Conversational analysis how these styles and accents are constructed within space, for example the use of turn-taking or negotiation strategies. This then links to the following concepts of spatial repertoires where the styles or accents individuals choose relies on space in an urban area – in the research context, fish market spaces. While seamlessly switching between languages and varieties (Pennycook, 2015) different language styles are adopted within the fish market space, introducing then the concept of spatial repertoire.

3.3 Spatial Repertoires and Language Practices

The concept of spatial repertoires, as discussed by Pennycook (2010), refers to the linguistic resources available to individuals in a particular location. It moves beyond a narrow focus on language-to-language relations or language-to-person relations (such as code-switching and multilingualism), and instead explores how language practices are intertwined with space and activity (Pennycook, 2010). When examining metrolingual multitasking and spatial repertoires, the aim is to understand the ways in which, everyday tasks, linguistic resources and social space interlink. This perspective goes beyond simply recognizing the diversity of linguistic resources in unconventional combinations (Pennycook, 2014). It also emphasizes the dynamic relationships between different semiotic resources (beyond just language), various activities, objects, language, and the physical and social spaces in which they occur (Karrebæk, 2017).

By studying metrolingual multitasking and spatial repertoires, researchers can gain insights into the complex and dynamic nature of language use in urban environments. This perspective allows for an exploration of how language practices are shaped by and shaped by the contexts in which they occur, including the specific activities individuals engage in and the spaces they occupy (Pennycook, 2014). I will apply this literature in my data, by conducting observations. I can document linguistic strategies, and practices used by the staff members and employees of the fish market.

Pennycook along with other scholars have been using the term spatial repertoire to capture the ways in which the available semiotic resources are connected to social space (Canagarajah, 2018; Pennycook and Otsuji, 2015a).

The term emerged from an attempt to further the growing interest in the idea of repertoires, accounting for how people draw on various linguistic resources (Pennycook, 2021). The notion of repertoire dates to the early years of sociolinguistics, understood as “the totality of linguistic forms regularly employed in the course of socially significant interaction” (Gumperz, 1964: 137 cited in Pennycook, 2021:15). A tension emerged, however, regarding whether the term referred to the totality of forms available to a speech community (an idea that itself came under pressure) or to an individual – a distinction captured in Bernstein’s (2000:158) concepts of reservoir (community) and repertoire (individual). Sociolinguistics generally followed the path of the individual (Pennycook, 2018b), and while repertoires in recent studies have been understood socially and historically – focusing on people’s linguistic trajectories as they moved through life – they became tied to individual patterns of language use, with each person bringing their own repertoire to the table: “repertoires are individual, biographically organized complexes of resources, and they follow the rhythms of actual human lives” (Blommaert and Backus, 2013: 15 cited in Pennycook, 2021).

In contrast, it seemed important in my studies of shops and markets to focus on particular social spaces where interaction occurred, thereby avoiding the reification of the speech community, or reducing everything to the individual. This allowed for an understanding of what may be available to people in a specific place at a specific time. According to Canagarajah (2018:5), spatial repertoires are not brought “to the activity by the individual but assembled in situations, and in collaboration with others, in the manner of distributed practice.” Pennycook (2021) uses the notion of a spatial repertoire in the context of the shop to enable him to think in terms of the totality of linguistic or semiotic resources available, including the languages in use at any given time, the labels on the food, and a range of other semiotic resources. This approach makes

it possible to move away from the methodological individualism that has crept into sociolinguistics after other categories, such as speech communities, became too unstable to maintain, while also allowing for a broader semiotic perspective beyond the idea of a linguistic repertoire.

In conclusion, the following concept of semiotic assemblages add another layer of meaning by analysing other elements within fish market spaces such as gestures, food, and objects.

3.4 Semiotic Assemblages

Semiotic assemblages refer to the complex networks of signs and meaning-making practices that are formed through the interaction of diverse semiotic resources in each context (Pennycook, 2017). In other words, semiotic assemblages are the dynamic arrangements of different forms of communication (such as language, images, gestures, etc.) that come together to create meaning within a specific social, cultural, and historical setting. The author also demonstrates how semiotic assemblages shape and are shaped by sociocultural contexts. Language, for instance, is not just a set of words and grammar rules, but it is influenced by cultural practices, beliefs, and social norms (Pennycook, 2017). Similarly, gestures, images, and material artefacts carry meaning and are embedded in cultural systems. Pennycook (2017:278) further states that “an understanding of semiotic assemblages gives us a way to address the complexity of things that come together in the vibrant, changeable exchanges of everyday urban life.” I will utilize this concept to identify the diverse forms of communication and semiotic resources that are present in the bistro kitchen and fish market setting. This may include spoken languages, accents or dialects gestures, and written signs. Furthermore, I can bring in linguistic landscape research to research written signs in these spaces.

Part of Pennycook’s (2021) Semiosis is assemblages and objects. When different objects encounter the variable affordances of these different shops, they enter new and momentary sets of relations called semiotic assemblages (Pennycook, 2017).

3.5 Conclusion

In this chapter, I discussed various frameworks I will use to analyse the data in chapters five and six of the thesis. I included the frameworks of; conversational analysis using tools such as turn-taking, repair strategies, adjacency pairs, openings and closings, storytelling, stylization and embodied actions. Furthermore, I will refer to spatial repertoires to explore language use

within the two selected fish market spaces. In addition, I will explore semiotic assemblages to explore various objects within these spaces and how it relates to metrolingual multitasking.

In the next chapter 4 I will discuss methodology in how the data was collected, how it will be analysed and the various tools I utilised, along with a short description of the participants in the study.

Chapter 4 Methodology

4.0 Introduction

This chapter discusses the methodological approach that were used to collect and analyse my data for this research. It is designed in way that is aimed at my research objective to explore and investigate the metrolingual linguistic resources, practices, and strategies used by individuals, otherwise known as participants in fish market spaces across two distinct ethnographic sites. The data collected and the methods employed addressed existing gaps in sociolinguistic research, particularly focusing on the understudied area of metrolingualism in the fish markets in Cape Town. In doing so, I will firstly discuss my research design, followed by the site selection and description of the two fish market spaces in Cape Town. Subsequently, I will give a brief overview of the participants description, followed by the data collection methods utilised in the study. Fifthly in this chapter I will discuss the data analysis and analytical techniques of the study and lastly followed by the ethical considerations.

4.1 Research Design

The research adopted a qualitative and ethnographic approach to collecting data, utilizing ethnographic methods to capture audio interactional data required to study metrolingual communication. A qualitative research approach is defined as “a form of social action that focuses on the way people interpret and make sense of their experiences to understand the social reality of individuals” (Mohajan 2008:2). This approach linked with my research as it is aimed to understand how people make meaning in mundane everyday conversations.

As I mentioned in the introduction section of the Methodology my research adopted a qualitative research method. Furthermore, described by Welman, Kruger and Mitchell (2005:9) these authors states that qualitative research as the study of human behaviour in the context of everyday events, and it provides in-depth focus on behavioural features that are difficult to fully capture in huge data sets. This linked with ethnographic methods that states how interactions between individuals cannot be understood if the context is separated (Thompson, 2018).

Ethnographic methods allow you to immerse yourself in metrolingual communication spaces, where you participate-observe and document language practices, social interactions, and work-

cultural norms (Hymes, 1974). This approach can provide a rich understanding of the social dynamics and contextual factors that influence language use in these environments. In this respect, I deployed the mentioned ethnographic methods in the fish market spaces. By immersing myself in these environments and engaging in detailed participant-observation and audio-recording metrolingual multitasking, I will be able to gain in-depth understanding of the social dynamics, cultural norms, and language practices that shape metrolingual communication within these contexts. Ethnographic methods provide a holistic perspective, allowing me to explore the work-life experiences and everyday language use of individuals in the fish market. Thus, ethnographic based research allows researchers to study language practices, social interactions, and cultural norms from an insider's perspective, acknowledging the complexities and nuances of the researched community (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007). It provides an opportunity to explore the dynamic interplay between language, culture, and society, highlighting the social context in which language is used and how it shapes and is shaped by individuals and communities.

Furthermore, moving from ethnographic methods to linguistic ethnography it is an interdisciplinary method described as participatory research (Thompson, 2018:65). As I discussed this in my conceptual framework, I made use of this interdisciplinary method in my research design.

4.1.1 Exploratory research

Elman, Gerring, and Mahoney (2020:17) define exploratory research is defined an attempt to discover something new and interesting, by working your way through a research topic. There are two types of forms, a topic that is previously researched bringing new results and a topic that is has not been researched before. This research forms part of exploratory research as it is aimed to uncover and document the complex language practices, strategies, resources, and social interactions in the fish market that individuals use to make meaning, providing a detailed description of metrolingual multitasking in these fish market spaces. This research topic which has been previously researched by Pennycook and Otsuji I will build on bringing new results and looking at the gaps in research.

4.2. Site Selection and Description

As previously explained in the statement problem in Chapter 1, I chose fish market spaces because of their rich multilingual environment and of the dynamic interactions between vendors and customers. Secondly, in these spaces, the varieties of languages and dialects that comes across in my data perfectly aligns with the concepts of metrolingualism and metrolingual multitasking.

The study will be conducted in two fish markets located in Cape Town. These markets vary in size and serve diverse demographic groups, making them ideal for observing a wide range of linguistic interactions and practices. Detailed descriptions of each market, including their locations, sizes, and demographic details, will be provided below.

This study was conducted at two ethnographic sites. The first one was situated in an urban area along a busy main road. Alongside this main road are other “bakkies” who are standing on both sides of the road making the competition fierce. The environment is characterized by loud background noises, such as the constant sound of cars passing by. This is further described as a “bakkie”¹, where the fish is sold from the back of it. Standing alongside the road cars are attracted with a board displayed in the front. Key individuals involved include Mary (pseudonym), who has been selling fish from her “bakkie” (a vendor stall) for over 20 years. Inspired by her father, Mary is passionate about her work and enjoys interacting with a variety of people, as evident in the audio recordings collected during the study. Her husband, Peter (pseudonym), assists with packing the fish. Before the Easter period, Mary primarily sold silverfish, believing it yielded higher profits, amid intense competition from other “bakkies” selling snoek and hake. Adapting to customer needs, Mary adjusted her offerings to include snoek during the Easter period to cater to her customers’ preferences. I collected data between December 23rd, 2023, and April 2024.

The second ethnographic site was conducted in an urban area near the beach, where four fish stalls operate. Unlike the previous “bakkie” setup, these are stalls² that are set up every morning and taken off every evening. Data was collected during the Easter weekend April 2024, the

¹ Bakkie: Is an informal term used in South Africa for a pickup truck. It comes with a hollow body, smaller than a truck and larger than a car. The open load area makes it a perfect commercial vehicle that allows the transport of goods (Jaftim.com, 2024)

² A stand, booth, or compartment for the sale of goods in a market or large covered area (Oxford Languages, 2023).

busiest time for these stalls, with background noise consisting of people shouting, employees competing for sales, and directing customers to their respective stalls. The key individual at this site is Dane (pseudonym), who manages the first fish stall. The second key individual at the second site is identified as Ash (pseudonym) The operational dynamics involve employees cleaning fish in a separate area, leading to constant back-and-forth shouting between the cleaning area and the stalls. Data collection took place during the peak period of the Easter weekend, capturing the intense activity and interactions.

Additionally, in order to select the participants, I would say for the first site I did random sampling. With this first ethnographic site, as a “new” researcher going in the field for the first-time collecting data, I did not think about a specific site I want to use. Purposive sampling was used to select participants who are directly involved in the fish market, such as vendors and regular customers. This method I used for my second ethnographic site. After gaining some experience by my first site, I knew exactly what I was looking for and what data was still needed to provide with rich data from individuals. I wanted a “different site” to compare and a more ‘bustling’ space.

4.2.1 Participant Biographies and Description

This study primarily focused on three participants across two different fish market spaces. It explores their language use and strategies within the fish market spaces. Mary was a female and Dane and Ash were two males. In this study I point out the gender to do a comparative analysis of language use and gender.

Mary: A fish bakkie situated alongside a bustling main road in an urban area, Mary’s passion for selling fish started with her father. More than 20 years in this industry highlights her passion for this job. Mary was the only female participant in this study. She is in charge of selling fish from her bakkie where she was often assisted by her husband who identifies as Peter. In the semi-structured interview Mary noted her home language is Afrikaans but due to diverse customers at her bakkie she states she is able to speak English as well to adjust to the needs of customers.

Ash and Dane: The following male participants known as Ash and Dane in this research manages the first two fish stalls situated on the fish market space close to the beach. In the first fish market space, we are introduced to Ash who is assisted by employees in the fish market

known as Bevan (pseudonym) who often times in charge of cutting and cleaning in a different space.

Dane manages the second fish stall next to Dane and is assisted by two employees known as Percy and Lapies (pseudonyms). These employees assist with the packaging and cutting of fish in a different fish space from the fish stall itself. During a short interview with both Ash and Dane they identified their home language as Afrikaans.

4.3 Data Collection Methods

I investigated metrolingual multitasking in two ethnographic sites: a fish market. The study involved participant-observations, interviews, and audio recordings of multilingual interactions in the selected sites. The data collected was analysed using interactional sociolinguistics and conversational analysis along with other conceptual frameworks discussed above, allowing for an in-depth exploration, documentation and analysis of the linguistic resources, practices, and strategies employed by individuals engaged in metrolingual multitasking.

Following the ethical clearance, the research commenced with a two-fold approach. Firstly, semi-structured interviews were conducted with the supervisor/managers of the fish market. At the first site of Mary, she is the manager. I conducted the interviews while there were no customers present and when she would pack the fish or make them into a batch of three. For the second ethnographic site, I managed to get video footage of the manager doing an interview. For the second ethnographic site, this was a difficult to conduct. Because of the traffic of customers throughout the day and how busy Ash was I had to squeezed in about 5 interview questions when he got time to himself. These interviews delved into their language practices, experiences, and perceptions of workers and customers and of the sites itself. This is attached as in the appendix. Secondly, I spent a significant amount of time observing and audio recording the language use and interactions within the fish spaces of selected participants. This entailed taking field notes and audio recording of interactions between individual workers. I made field notes in my exam pad. I took field notes while doing preliminary research as well. Methodological notes were also made during this process. For example, I listed the number of people which came to each site, and the date and duration (an estimation) they were there. To accomplish this, consent was sought from three employees of the fish market. I asked them to wear lapel microphones to capture the interactions. The lapel mics was then places on Mary's

apron and attached to her T-shirt. With Dane, the recorder was placed in his jacket's pocket. With Ash, I placed the lapel mic on his apron as well.

To mitigate the risk of audio recording customers without their knowledge, all interactions involving customers was recorded only with their informed consent, obtained after providing individuals with information about the research and an option to decline participation. Customer identities will be anonymised to protect privacy. Secondly, the study is dedicated to preventing stigmatisation of linguistic groups, emphasizing its focus on communication practices and linguistic diversity, not singling out any group for stigmatisation. Thirdly, recognising potential employee discomfort during work hours and the potential for xenophobic issues involving foreign nationals, data collection will be scheduled to minimise disruptions, and my research will not tolerate discriminatory behaviour. Finally, the study obtained informed consent for interviews and audio recording from all participants (managers, employees, customers), ensuring explicit consent for audio recordings involving employee-customer conversations, and disregarding any personal information that is not consented. Anonymization(pseudonym) is used to protect the identities of participants. I did not make mention of any site names to protect the identity of individuals.

Thirdly, in my study I collected and documented the linguistic landscape of the selected Cape Town fish market. I took pictures of the boards and of the site. Linguistic landscape refers to the visible presence and use of different languages in public spaces (Shohamy, & Barni, 2010). Analysing the linguistic landscape of the fish market can shed light on language choices, signage, and the representation of linguistic diversity in these contexts. Lastly, a comparative analysis will be conducted of the fish market data and this will allow me compare and contrast language practices, social interactions, and spatial repertoires in these different settings. This approach will enable me to identify similarities, differences, and patterns in the use of linguistic resources and understand how these practices are influenced by the specific context of each environment.

How did I deal with Raw data? As mentioned above I made use of a lapel mic and my phone recorder. The lapel mic was fixed to their apron and in their jacket pocket. This meant that some of the data collected were personal phone calls, or personal conversations, or with people other than the participants. This was not a straightforward process, but I had to filter out these

conversations by making use of my fieldnotes to track where exactly the customers and employees interacted.

4.4 Data analysis and processing

For my data analysis, the data I collected, I first categorised them by the dates I collected data.

The transcriptions in my research forms part of an important bridge between the context and audio recordings. In other words, it is important to have the correct transcriptions and translations to make the reader understand what and why this is happening. I read many articles regarding flaws in the transcription process and I avoided this at all costs. Firstly, transcription is defined as writing audio recordings to texts. Cameron (2001:36) suggests that transcribers should carefully consider which conventions are necessary to accurately represent spoken language in written form. In the book of Cameron (2001:7) “when linguists and other social scientists analyse spoken discourse, their aim is to make explicit what normally gets taken for granted; it is also to show what talking accomplishes in people’s lives and in society at large.” Cameron’s (2001) book is focused on spoken discourse.

After the audio recorded interactions transcribed and attached as an appendix for language analysis purposes. The transcriptions, along with the data gathered from interviews and observations are analysed by using interactional sociolinguistics and conversational analysis. This analytical approach will enable the identification of recurring themes, patterns, and insights relating to metrolingual multitasking.

To accurately represent the spoken language of the interactions, I followed a specific process. I downloaded the recordings from the recorder, in a dating system-meaning by the dates I collected the data. I then labelled each transcript with the date and minutes it recorded. I first listened to the audio recording numerous times through so I can look at my observations and use my memory to look at the context. I started transcribing the “bakkie” site first with Mary. After this I moved on to Johns transcriptions.

Furthermore, I made use of time stamps to keep the data organized and in case I want to transcribe a piece of the recording again. Once I transcribed, I then highlighted the themes I came across in the data, alongside the help of my supervisor. After some discussion I then highlighted the extracts I will use and keep the rest of the data one side.

I also made use of a transcription key (symbols) to highlight overlapping, translation, pauses, non-verbal communication and emphasis. I used the Jefferson (2004) transcription key as an example.

Symbol	Meaning
=	Overlapping ³
(0.4)	Pauses (brackets, with the duration indicated)
()	Non-verbal communication
CAPS	Emphasis
:	Elongation
?	Rising or question intonation
*[translation:]	English translation for utterances other than English in data extracts

4.4.1 Analytical techniques

In my research I made use of interactional sociolinguistics and conversational analysis to analyse language use, communicative strategies (verbal and non-verbal) and adaptability in the fish market spaces. As I defined in my conceptual framework, I will make use of conversational analytical tools such as turn-takings, gaps and overlapping, persuasion and negotiation strategies, openings and closings and so forth. In addition, I will look at spatial repertoires and semiotic assemblages. I will analyse interactions from a micro level (broad or the overall patterns of language strategies) and micro level details (specific interactional strategies).

4.5 Ethical Considerations

An ethical approach will be followed upon receiving ethical clearance (HS23/87) from the university's ethics committee. Conducting MA research requires a thorough ethical approach, subject to approval from the university's ethics committee. Key ethical considerations must be observed throughout the research process to safeguard the participants' rights, dignity, and well-being. Obtaining informed consent is of utmost importance, ensuring participants fully

³ When speakers are speaking at the same time, no pause in between.

understand the research's purpose, potential risks, and benefits, along with any privacy concerns. Confidentiality and anonymity should be maintained by protecting participants' personal information and securely storing data. Researchers must respect the cultural and linguistic diversity of the participants, avoiding any discrimination or bias. Prior permission from relevant authorities and participants should be secured before conducting research in their work environments, with care taken to ensure minimal disruption and maximum privacy. In this respect, the researcher will adhere to the guidelines and regulations set forth by the Humanities and Social Science Research Ethics Committee (HSSREC) of the University of the Western Cape's ethics committee is crucial to obtaining ethical approval and aligning with institutional policies.

4.6 Reliability and Validity

Cohen et al. (2000: 189) states that as a methodological data collection approach, ethnographic research has several difficulties which might affect the reliability and validity of the research.

- These difficulties include reactivity - the presence of the researcher alters the situation as participants may wish to avoid, impress, direct, deny and influence the researcher.
- Neglect of the wider social contexts and constraints. Research done in highly context-bound situations might neglect broader currents and contexts.
- The *halo effect* commonly refers to the researcher's belief in the goodness of participants (the participants have haloes around their heads!), such that the more negative aspects of their behaviour or personality are neglected or overlooked.

Before going out in the field as an ethnographic researcher, as an introvert myself, at first, I feared asking questions, of being called a nuisance, because this is the participants livelihood. At the first site, the first participant was female where I felt more comfortable and at ease. Then when I went to my second site, it was a male dominated field. Never did I think my position as a researcher would change. But after reading Quentin Williams Remix Multilingualism (2017), he explains how he was seen as research but not only "seen" how he viewed the participants of his research. Reading this, it came back to me, was I being biased or had a preconception of the male participants in my research – because I was turned away when I first asked for participation? This made me think of Mary having a 'halo' on top of her head.

4.7 Conclusion

In the following chapter, I discussed the research design, data collection process. I also discussed my own position as a researcher in the field as well as my participants position to being recorder and how it influenced them. Following this chapter, the next chapter will move on to the data analysis where I will analyse the fish 'bakkie' and Mary as a participant using conversational analysis, stylization, and spatial repertoires.

Chapter 5 Data Analysis: Fish on a bakkie

5.0 Introduction

Chapter Five will focus on one of the two ethnographic sites. It will include an analysis of Mary's interactions with her customers, aiming to explore metrolingual multitasking as a whole. Using the first framework of Conversational Analysis, I will analyse her language strategies, practices, repertoires and cell phone role in order to reach my objectives. I will analyse turn-taking, gaps and overlaps, openings and closings, repairs or adjacencies, agreements and disagreements, stylization and spatial repertoires as well as semiotic assemblages. As a starting point to the discussion, I will provide context and background to the first fish site in the first part of the chapter. Secondly, I will give an in-depth analysis of metrolingual multitasking on the fish bakkie, utilizing extract 5.2.1 and providing its context. The third part of the chapter is an analysis of metrolingual multitasking moving from Mary's physical space to a digital one. As a fourth step, I will analyse Mary's language and affect. My final analysis will focus on negotiation strategies within metrolingual multitasking. This will be followed by a conclusion to chapter five.

5.1 Setting the scene: Background and Context of the first Fish Site



(Brown, 2023) Picture 1: Mary's bakkie

Imagine jou ma skep jou kos in ‘n bakkie en die bakkie ry weg⁴ - the infamous ‘flou’⁵ joke. This playful image is not too far from reality when you meet Mary and her fish (Snoek) on a bakkie depicted in the above labelled *picture 1*.

Alongside a bustling main road, a small fish-selling bakkie has been thriving for over two decades. Mary, a passionate fish vendor who operates from her bakkie, (small truck type), is at the centre of this business. Mary's journey began at a young age, inspired by her father, and has continued to shape her life. She enjoys engaging with a wide range of customers, a passion that shines through the audio recordings gathered during this study. Alongside her is her husband Peter, who assists her with the packaging of fish, although his Parkinson's disease sometimes limits his involvement.

Mary is known for her adaptability and keen understanding of her customers' needs. Typically, she sells silverfish, which she believes brings higher profits, especially since many other vendors in the area sell more common fish like snoek and hake. However, during the busy Easter period in March, when I conducted research as well, Mary included Snoek, as popular choice amongst her buyers when their preference changed.

The days I spent observing Mary's business in December 2023 were marked by scarcity – there were no snoek available, and many vendors in the area had little to offer. Yet, this scarcity worked in Mary's favour, as her silverfish supply attracted many customers. Mary has built strong relationships with her regulars, many of whom she knows will come to buy without browsing. Her customers are diverse, and during an interview, Mary shared that some, particularly Coloured people, tend to avoid silverfish due to the bones, while others appreciate its availability. This variety reflects the type of diverse individuals she serves.

While Mary stated her home language is Afrikaans, she often switches to English to cater to the needs of her customers, who mostly understand English better. During my observations, it became evident that Mary speaks Afrikaans.

Mary's business extends beyond face-to-face interactions; she also manages orders over the phone, giving her an edge in this competitive market. Through the data collection in December 2023 and March 2024, it became clear that Mary's business thrives on her ability to adapt, her connection with customers, building rapport and her experience in the fishing industry.

⁴ Translation: Imagine your mom dishes your food in a bowl and the bowl drives away.

⁵ Flou joke: a dad joke or boring joke.

Following a detailed overview of the site description and context of Mary's business operations, I will analyse the transcribed excerpts from her interactions below. The following extract (5.2.1) below captures a day in December 2023, during my data collection at Mary's fish site. I will provide context for the extract and conduct an overall analysis of metrolingual multitasking observed, using conversational analysis and stylization as frameworks.

5.2 Metrolingual multitasking of fish on a bakkie.

On December 21st, 2023 – a particularly hot day – Mary interacts with a diverse set of customers. Two Coloured women approach her bakkie, exiting their car and making their way over. As noted previously, in December last year, Mary's stock was limited to Silverfish due to a scarcity of Snoek. While attending to two customers, Mary is joined by another – a Black male customer, one of her regulars. Upon his arrival, Mary immediately shifts to English, adapting her linguistic repertoire in recognition of her familiar client.

During extracts 5.2.1 and 5.2.2 we can see Mary's business dynamics and how she explains her movements and tasks at hand, which I found helpful especially when transcribing my data. The extract below an almost nine-minute conversation or interaction Mary has with her two customers.



Picture 2: The Silverfish Mary sold in December 2023

Extract 5.2.1 (A 9-minute interaction)

English: Calibri; Kaaps: Courier New; Afrikaans: Berlin Sans FB

1. Mary: (*Two customers arrive*) Come have a look ladies. Ek gaan suma die maak one fifty *[translation: I'm actually going to make this one fifty] Hello mer'rrem, lekker varse silvervis vir one-fifty. *[translation: Hello Ma'am, fresh nice silverfish for one-fifty]
2. Customer 1: (softly), **Middag [0.2] is hier Snoek?** *[translation: Good afternoon, do you have Snoek?]
3. Mary: Nerens snoekie te veel wind-Dies net so lekka in die oond en gebak dame -ons maakit skoon. *[translation: There is nowhere Snoek, there is too much wind. This is just as nice in the oven and baked ma'am, we clean it.]
4. Customer 1: **Nou wat is daai?** *[translation: Now what is that?]
5. Mary: Dies silvervis, die vis proe sooes kreef, die is one fifty ek maak it vi jou pragtig skoon. Twee van die is ook one-fifty a kleintjie en n grote. Ek gaan jou wys nou - dies n mooi bos wat ek nou net gebos het daai's ook one-fifty ek maakit beautiful skoon. Vra die oumense van die vis, is in le vis, kerrie vis - is vars dame. *[translation: This is Silverfish, it takes just like crayfish, this is one fifty and I'll clean it for you. Two of these are also one-hundred and fifty rand for a small one and a big one. I'll show you this is a beautiful bunch I just put together and they are one-hundred and fifty as well, I clean it beautifully. Ask the elderly about the fish, its pickle fish, curry fish and it's fresh ma'am.]
6. (*Customers go back to the car to fetch money*)
7. Mary: Hulle moet koop waa's daai ander vis. Al twee bossies een vir jou een vi skoon ma. Die bossie met drie aan? "Hy moenie in die son weesie, as hy in die son is trek hy silver. (*Mary covers the fish again with the sail*) Kom'an man. [0.3] **Kraak vars meisie vanoggend in gekom.** (*Mary cleans the fish*) "Baba... **Hulle het teveel yellowtail in die water.** (*Mary speaks to the customer while cutting and cleaning the fish*) *[translation: They must buy, where is the other fish? Both bunches one for you and one for mother your mother in-law. The bunch with three? It should not be in the sun, once exposed to sun it turns silver. Come on man. Came in super fresh this morning. Baba.. they have too many yellowtail in the water]
8. Customer 1: **Se weer?** *[translation: Come again?]

9. **Mary:** Teveel yellowtail innie water it jaa (chase) die vis weg.
 *[translation: Too much yellowtail in the water it chases the fish away]
10. **Customer 1: O::h.** (*Mary is still busy cutting and cleaning the fish*)
11. **Mary:** Is die wind oek man wind oek – baie mense kan eet van die snoek. (*Sound of the scraper scaling the fish*) PETER! A papier, ek soekie n klein papierie.
 *[translation: It's the wind as well man, lots of people can eat of the snoek PETER! A paper, I'm not looking for a small paper]

In extract 5.2.1 the participants are Mary, Customer 1 and Customer 2. Initially, two customers arrive however, customer 2 does not interact with Mary leading to a total of three customers, with customer 3 being identified as customer 2. On the arrival of the new customers, Mary eagerly awaits their arrival to her bakkie. The customers who arrive are two Coloured females. Mary in line 1 invites them closer to the back of the bakkie to have a look at the fish. Mary here, is standing at the back side of the bakkie waiting for the customers and keeping the net up that is covering the fish to protect it from the sun. As the customers arrive, each participant, Mary, and customer 1 both have turns from lines 1-11.

When Customer 1 arrives, Mary invites them to take a look at the fish she is selling. As noted, when I collected the data in December 2023, Mary only had silverfish in stock, which she sold in bunches. Upon arrival, Customer 1 immediately asks Mary if she has Snoek available. Mary informs him that she only has silverfish and explains her reasons for recommending it instead. She mentions that Snoek is not available, not only at her stall but at any other stalls due to the windy conditions and the abundance of Yellowtail in the water, which is driving the Snoek away. Her second reason for suggesting silverfish is that it is great for making curry, pickled fish, and for fish braai.

In this turn-taking of lines 1-11 we can see openings and closings. This frames the exchange which takes place. In line 1: there are two forms of opening lines, which is greetings and inviting. She firstly invites the ladies to “*Come have a look ladies*” followed by a greeting of “*Hello merrem*”. Mary starts with English assuming she does not know the language of her customers yet. When they get closer, she says “*Hello merrem,*” this is a mix of Afrikaaps. “*Merrrem*” translates to Madam, a polite way of calling a female. Her use of “*merrem*” in my point of view refers to a title of ‘sophisticated’ females if I can put it that way. From a

researchers' perspective, the two customers are well presented hence Mary making mention of the phrase "merrem".

In line 6, when the customer goes back to fetch money from the car, there is a break in the conversation. From lines 7-10 there is also a gap between turns when Mary speaks to the customer, but the interaction is interrupted as Mary cuts and cleans the fish, a non-verbal interruption.

According to Merrison *et al* (2013:57), "adjacency pairs are the sequences of two communicative actions (usually, though not exclusively, performed by utterances) that are usually produced through different speakers, usually adjacent to one another, ordered as a first part and second part and categorized so that any given first part requires a particular type of second". Within turn-taking we can note the evidence of adjacency pairs as well. In this whole extract, it is question – answer type of conversation, where each speaker has turns either answering a question or replying to a statement. Adjacency pairs are prevalent in in line 1 and 2 of extract 5.2.1. On the arrival of customer 1, Mary greets "*Hello merrem*" (translation: Hello ma'am)". This rule requires a give-and-take action where customer 1 reciprocates by greeting Mary back "*Middag*" (translation: Afternoon). A conversation is usually started using an adjacency pair. This form of greeting depicted in lines 1 and 2, are standardized opening and closing in conversation where it will give a glimpse of how the conversation will start and end. For example, both Mary and customer 1 one along with their greetings gives a statement of fish indicating the direction in which the conversation will go.

Further in extract 5.2.1 repair strategies or mechanisms are found in lines 7, 8 and 9. According to Markee (2000:74), "repair mechanisms exist for dealing with turn-taking errors and violations e.g. if two parties find themselves talking at the same time, one of them will stop prematurely, thus repairing the trouble". Sacks et.al., (1974), stated that 'trouble' may also refer to things such as: misarticulations; malapropisms, the use of a wrong word, the unavailability of a word when its needed, failure to hear or to be heard and understand what is being said.

7. Mary: ...**Hulle het teveel yellowtail in die water.** (*Mary speaks to the customer while cutting and cleaning the fish*)
8. Customer 1: **Se weer?**
9. Mary: Teveel yellowtail innie water it jaa (chase) die vis weg.

10. Customer 1: **Ohh.** (*Mary is still busy cutting and cleaning the fish*)

In lines 7 and 8, while cleaning the fish Mary talks and interacts with customer 1 to say there is too much Yellowtail in the water that is why Snoek is scarce. With the noise of cars passing and the scaling of fish, the customer asks Mary to repeat her statement by saying “Se weer” in Afrikaans. Mary then takes her turn, also known as adjacency pairs, to repeat herself and to explain the statement more, by saying it chases the fish way, line 9, “Teveel yellowtail innie water it jaa (chase) die vis weg”. Why does she feel the need to mention this, what does it achieve?

In line 16, customer 4 asks Mary if there is any other fish, and she responds with “No other type of papa, no other fish- only this fish biting.” This is an example of a repair technique used by Mary to not only answer the question but also keep the interaction lively. This may also serve as a light-hearted joke towards the disappointment of customer of the unavailability of other fish. She tries to persuade him there is no other fish available, enticing him to buy hers.

To summarise, in order achieve effective communication within metrolingual multitasking, Mary uses gaps and overlapping within turn-taking, adjacency pairs, repair mechanisms, and negotiation strategies. For example, the gaps and pauses Mary uses while interacting with the customers allows to process times while cutting up or packing the fish. Repair mechanisms that Mary uses serves to help her or customers clear up any confusion in order to have a successful exchange.

Another linguistic strategy Mary uses in line 5, she compares the taste of silverfish to crayfish (“*Die vis proe soes kreef*”), enticing the customers by using persuasion or also sensory language. Like that of Pennycook’s (2021) term of sensorial engagement. “The sensorial turn meanwhile takes up those aspects of embodiment – particularly smell, taste and touch – that have often been left out of the sociolinguistic picture” (Pennycook, 2021:8). This strategy also creates an emotional connection to the product and to persuade the customer to buy the product.

After the above interactions, a new Customer arrives at Mary’s fish bakkie depicted in extract 5.2.2 below.

Extract 5.2.2

English: Calibri; Kaaps: Courier New; Afrikaans: Berlin Sans FB

(Mary gets another customer – ‘black’⁶ – Mary has three customers now)

12. Mary: PAPA. You come do window shopping again Papa?
13. Customer 2: No
14. Mary: You gonna buy today? *(Mary is still busy packing and cleaning the fish of customer 1 while interacting with customer 2)*
15. Mary: Any bunch, one-fifty a bunch you can see there – a bunch of three a bunch of two and I clean it for you! *(Mary jokes)*
16. Customer 2: no other type?
17. Mary: No other type Papa, no other fish – only this fish biting *(note: a fishing term)*
18. Customer 2: and this? (points at the fish)
19. Mary: R150, I clean also for you – Peter my paper Peter! Haai man hoeko is jy so! *(Mary gets irritated)* *[translation: Why is this man like this!]
20. Customer 2: *(points at fish)* – this? (points at the fish)
21. Mary: Also one-fifty – Papa! Why you look pass this big bunch?
22. Customer 2: Huh
23. Mary: You look pass that big bunch there – look at the beautiful bunch *(Packets frumble – packing in for customers 3)* Wiet jy ek gaan die man vrek maak *(Mary refers to her husband who is working to slow for her)* **Die man maak my baie kwaad.** Waas daai R50 nou *(customer paying)* **Dankie dame, geniet dit en kom weer neh** *(Customer 1)*. *[translation: You know what, I’m going to kill this man. This man really angers me. Where is that fifty rand. Thank you lady, enjoy it and please do come again] Must I clean the bunch for you papa *(Mary gives her attention now to customer 4)* PAPA MUST I CLEAN BUNCH FOR YOU! **Ooooooh julle is onder bedroeg** *(Mary refers to the customer who is not giving her an answer)* as hy so geld daai kant uit haal *(water splashing, Mary dips the fish in water)* The wind make it dry, then I dump it in

⁶ As I observed during my observations and fieldnotes, customer 2 was black. Secondly, in the transcription Mary explicitly says the word “blackies”.

the water otherwise I struggle to take it off (*referring to the scales now*) *[translation: Ohhhh you full of nonsense. If he takes the money out the other side].

(*sounds of scaling- Mary scales the fish*)

Did I throw on you Papa? Haai sorry man... **Jesus help my! Gee gou die** pampier **Peter, gee gou die** pampier, **die man loep** – Kyk hie, haai God'Allah, the Lord (*Mary is irritated by how slow her husband is working*) **Dankie Peter.** Joh talk a lot with these blackies, give another paper please the man is walking. Papa is the one bunch enough? *[translation: Jesus help me! Quickly give me the paper Peter, give it quickly, the man is walking away, look here, God Allah, the Lord Thank you Peter]

24. Customer 2: Uhh Aah, I wanna wanna

25. Mary: hey (interrupts him)

26. Customer 2: Finish with this then...

27. Mary: This is your bunch!

28. Customer 2: No::

29. Mary: I ask you was you... you look pass this big bunch – you want this fish , yes Mama didn't you say yes?

30. Customer 2: Yes I did but I didn't choose this fish.

31. Mary: I choose you a big one that's why.

32. Customer 2: How much this one?

33. Mary: Its one-fifty – She's recording me for her schoolwork (*refers to the mic on her*)

34. Customer 2: I want for R200 not for R150.

35. Mary: Theres no for R200

36. Customer 2: I want...

37. Mary: Theres no other small ones let me see. I don't think here's another small one, look here Peter – Ja then there's two big ones. **Russel kom kyk gou hier die kleinste eenetjie** *[translation: Russel come have a look for the smallest one] huh uh ha ah. It's gonna be two twenty. This is gonna be two twenty. This is seventy... there I lose again (*referring to the profit she is not making*) (*Mary starts scaling the fish for customer 2*)

In extract 5.2.2 Customer 1 goes to fetch money from their car, Customer 2 arrives, with whom Mary is familiar. During my observation, I noted that Customer 2 is Black, and as he arrives,

Mary greets him with “PAPA.” She switches from Afrikaaps to minimal English phrases while interacting with Customer 2. For example, she says, “You come do window shopping again, Papa,” in line 12. Customer 2 then asks Mary if there are any other types of fish available, and she replies, “No other fish biting.” Mary begins to show signs of irritation with Customer 2, who is indecisive and has not chosen any fish yet. Her frustration shifts towards her husband, Peter, for taking too long to get the papers for the fish. As the interaction progresses, Mary closes the transaction with Customer 1 while still attending to Customer 2, who continues to express dissatisfaction with his choice of fish, prompting him to change his mind again. It becomes increasingly clear how irritated Mary is, as evidenced by her remark, “Joh, talk a lot with these blackies,” in line 23. The transaction concludes when she states that she is losing money and not making a profit because of Customer 2’s indecision. Using this extract, I will use the notion of Conversational analysis in the followings section of this chapter.

Depicted below, part of extract 5.2.2 in line 16 and 17 adjacency pairs are present. It can function as a type of repair mechanism in conversations, addressing issues related to hearing, speaking, or understanding (Gardner, 2024). Customer 2 ask Mary and informative question about the type of fish requiring an answer paired question from Mary. Mary also in turn gives clarity and also more information regarding the scarcity of fish. This is to ensure that customer 2 knows the specific type of fish would not be found at any other fish bakkies as well. Adjacency pairs are also found in lines 18 and 20, where customer 2 gives both verbal and non-verbal gestures requiring an answer paired question from Mary. Furthermore, in line 22 we come across a repair strategy from customer 2 “*Huh*”. Some corrections are more interactive, where the listener indicates an issue (Liddicoat, 2021). Customer 2 did not grasp what Mary was saying. In these cases according to Gardner (2004), the repair is initiated in the following turn where the original speaker provides the solution to the problem and in this context it is Mary. She responds in line 23 repeating her statement and once again giving more context to customer 1 adding “*look at this beautiful bunch*”. The additional context does not only provide more detail but also serves as a persuasive strategy for customer 2 to choose the product she wishes to sell.

16. Customer 2: no other type?

17. Mary: No other type Papa, no other fish – only this fish biting (*note: a fishing term*)

18. Customer 2: and this? (points at the fish)

19. Mary: R150, I clean also for you – Peter my paper Peter! Haai man hoeko is jy so! (*Mary gets irritated*) *[translation: Why is this man like this!]
20. Customer 2: (*points at fish*) – this? (points at the fish)
21. Mary: Also one-fifty – Papa! Why you look pass this big bunch?
22. Customer 2: Huh?
23. Mary: You look pass that big bunch there – look at the beautiful bunch

In line 23, Mary closes the transaction or interaction with customer 1 with gratitude – a form of expression “*Dankie dame, geniet dit en kom weer neh*”. This acts as a polite closing. Mary uses ‘neh’ in her closing for confirmation that the customer will come back to her bakkie for fish. Discussed in Williams (2016:125) ‘neh’ or /ne/ refers to a lexical feature used in Cape Flats English as a sentence filler. It also functions as a tag question (McCormick, 2008:529 cited in Williams, 2016:125). The use of Mary’s ‘neh’ conveys the facts that she stylizes her Afrikaaps or Cape Flats English to act as confirmation that the customer will return.

23. Mary: You look pass that big bunch there – look at the beautiful bunch (*Packets frumble – packing in for customers 3*) Wiet jy ek gaan die man vrek maak (*Mary refers to her husband who is working to slow for her*) **Die man maak my baie kwaad.** Waas daai R50 nou (*customer paying*) **Dankie dame, geniet dit en kom weer neh** (*Customer 1*). *[translation: You know what, I’m going to kill this man. This man really angers me. Where is that fifty rand. Thank you lady, enjoy it and please do come again]

Furthermore, Mary switches from Afrikaaps and Afrikaans to English when she sees Customer 2 arriving at her bakkie. As I observed, Customer 2 was black and Mary explicitly acknowledges the customer's race in line 23 when she says, “*Joh talk a lot with these blackies*”. Upon seeing Customer 2, Mary stylize her Afrikaans to English to a black South African voice. In line 12 she addresses her customer as “Papa,” which is often a term used in African communities to show respect or familiarity. This reflects Mary’s diverse linguistic ability to be able to switch from Afrikaaps to English based on her perception of the customers background and adapt to his language. The term “Papa” forms part of Affect (emotional term) which Mary uses to build rapport with diverse customers. It also creates a sense of warmth and familiarity. Furthermore, in line 12, “Papa you come do window shopping again”, Mary stylizes

a Black voice of customer 2 for alignment, common ground, and inclusion to make the sale her fish by building rapport by using the words “come do”. The word “again” infer Customer 2 is a returning customer. When Mary saw customer 2 arriving at her bakkie, she stylizes her Afrikaans/Kaaps with English together when she engaged with him. Mary accented or performed the voice and style of a Black South African English not using minimal English and not proper grammar. For example, “you come do window shopping again” instead of using a full English sentence she stylizes a Black voice to engage with the customer building common ground.

Mary interacts further “*must I clean bunch for you*” in line 23. As previously mentioned she switches from Afrikaans to minimal English phrases, for the most part of the interaction she speaks English to him. Her target style is not only stylizing a Black South African voice and a Black South African English voice, but it is multilingual because she code-switches between English and Afrikaans in a particular black South African voice.

Looking at this extract as whole Mary manages 2 customers. Her physical space, being in a main road, with customer 2 stepping out of the car, she shouts for him, while still engaging with her previous customers. Her ability to move between tasks, switching between languages speaks to her ability of her understand the markets physical space. Line 16 the term “biting” Mary uses showing how spatial knowledge relating to the fishing jargon is embedded in her language and adapting to the task at hand. To further understand Mary’s language use within the space of her fish bakkie her metrolingua franca is important to recognize how the use of her language or varieties are not fixed but they constantly adapt to her environment she is in. For example, in line 1, Mary code-switches from English to Afrikaans to accommodate to the needs of her customers and in line 23 switches from Afrikaans to minimal English phrases to accommodate her second customer.

In summary, Mary’s ability to blend languages or mix varieties shows how she adapts to the needs of her customer. She uses familiar terms such as ‘Papa’ to create a sense of belonging and familiarity with the customer. Mary also uses the strategy of persuasion so that customers can buy from her and to clarity that they are made a right decision to buy by her bakkie specifically. All these strategies and skills Mary uses take place on the side of a main road where her competitors are just a few metres away from her. In order to keep the customers by her she adapts to their needs.

Overall, understanding how Mary multitasks within the space of her fish bakkie situated on the side of a main road, I used the notions of Conversational Analysis, Stylization, Spatial repertoires, and assemblages. This allowed me to explore the various strategies and language practices such as persuasion, humour, stylizing different Black voices and accents to make sales, engage with customers, and to build rapport. Additionally, it resulted me exploring her metrolingua franca within space, looking at the notion of spatial repertoire. After exploring Mary's metrolingual multitasking, in the following section of this chapter I will explore her metrolingual multitasking moving from her fish bakkie to her cellphone.

5.3 Metrolingual multitasking from a bakkie to a cellphone.

The following extract forms part of extract 5.1.1 above that took place in December 2023, but this part of the interaction takes place at a much later stage in the conversation where Mary then switches from a physical space to a digital space. This customer is a white Afrikaner man.⁷ Mary is irritated because she does not have Wi-Fi to answer WhatsApp calls. She then switches to Voice notes on WhatsApp⁸. Furthermore, within this conversation Mary takes a break for about 15 minutes and after the break business continues as per usual, where we will see how she multitasks in both a physical and digital space.

In this section of the chapter, I will focus on metrolingual multitasking moving analysing how Mary moves from the physical space of her bakkie to a cellphone and how she navigates her language. I will analyse extract 5.3.1 which forms part of extract 5.1.1 that took place in December 2023. Firstly, I will set the context of the scene for the reader following the digital gaps in turn taking, spatial repertoires and assemblages in a physical and digital space, and lastly, Mary's stylization within a digital and physical space.

Extract 5.3.1

English: Calibri; Kaaps: Courier New; Afrikaans: Berlin Sans FB

⁷ Noted in my observations and Mary explicitly acknowledges this by saying "Ou Boer vol draad" in line 33. Additionally, the phone was on speaker making it easier for the transcription purpose as well.

⁸ WhatsApp definition is a free cross-platform messaging services for smartphones to call, exchange text, photo, video and audio messages with others. This uses a Wi-Fi connection and often times data plans as well (Barney, 2022).

1. : *(Phone rings.)* Mary: HAAI NEE JIRRE, You must WhatsApp me. I'm not at home for the wif. I'm not at home. Just come to me. *(Phone rings again)*
2. Mary: "Hello, Hello? Kom hientoe man. *(Mary sends a voice note)* *[translation: Come here man]
3. Customer 6: **Waar staan U?** *[translation: Where are you standing?]
4. Mary: **Pa, daar wat Pa my gekry het in die Epping by Distell,** Pa net op'pera verby die robot dan sal pa sien ek staan ann die oorkant daar wat die ouens altyd staan met die snoeke, daar staan eke. Ek wag vir pa neh. *(voice note ends)* *[translation: Pa, there where Pa got me in Epping by Distell, Pa must just go up past the robot then Pa will see I'm standing on the opposite side where the guys also stand with Snoeke, there I'm standing. I'm waiting for Pa /ne/.]
5. Customer 6 *(over WhatsApp voice note):* **Jy se nie eers hoeveel is die vis nie. Dit klink suma so duur.** *[translation: You don't even say how much the fish is. It suma sounds expensive]
6. Mary: Die vis het vanoggend half past five gekom. Drie vis vir R150. Dans die heel grotes R100 een. Kom kyk. U sal verlief raak op die vis. Sy naam is Pinky. Hys Pink Silvervis, lekker. Kom my Pa man. *[translation: The fish arrived this morning half past five. Three fish for one fifty. His name is Pinky. He's Pink Silverfish, nice. Come man my Pa]

After her interaction on the cell phone, Mary attends to another customer in person, referred to as Customer 7. While she is interacting with Customer 7, Customer 6 calls her again, this time as a regular phone call instead of a WhatsApp call. Mary is able to multitask effectively, managing both customers in two separate spaces: the physical environment and the digital space.

Mary gets a new customer (Customer 7)

7. Mary: Hello my pa, lekker varse Silvervis my Pa Hulle's almal vars. Bossie soes daar... dai'sie so n kwaai bossie nie. So n bossie is one fifty meneer ek maak dit vir meneer skoon. Vir die drie is ook one fifty. Ek maal dit pragtig skoon. Enigste vis in die hele Weskaap. Daas nerens snoeke nie. Daaais ook n mal bos *(here the customer checks out the fish while Mary is explaining the prices and scarcity of the fish most 'Coloured' customers want)* Die twee bosse vir drie hondered rand *[translation: Hello my Pa, nice fresh Silverfish my Pa they all fresh. Bunches like

- there... that isn't such a cool bunch. Such a bunch for one fifty sir I clean it for sir as well. For this three it's also one fifty. I make is nice clean. The only fish in the whole of the Western Cape. There's nowhere Snoek. That's also a cool bunch. This two bunches for three hundred rand]
8. Customer 7: Ek sort gou die prys uit *[translation: I'm quickly sorting the price out]
 9. Mary: **Daars nie voud nie pa. Daars nerens snoek nie en dies lekker vis.** *[translation: There's no problem Pa. There's nowhere Snoek and this is the nicest fish]
 10. Customer 7: **Wat kos die bos?** *[translation: What's the price of this bunch?]
 11. Mary: One fifty. Kykie pa, die bos is n bietjie klein dan kan ek dit vir pa gee vir one forty. Maak'it skoon *[translation: One fifty. Look here Pa, this bunch is a little small then I can give it to Pa for one forty. Make it nice clean\
 12. Mary shouts:(*Phone rings*) NEE MAN! **Hello meneer. Net lekker varse silvervis meneer...Hello** *[translation: No man! Hello sir. Only fresh Silverfish sir]
 13. Customer 6 (*On the phone*): **Meneer meneer jys te vining,** calm bietjie down *[translation: Sir Sir you too fast calm down a little]
 14. Mary: (*here Mary interacts with two customers at a time, one on the phone and in person by her*), **One fifty meneer** *[translation: one fifty sir} (to customer 7 as he points to the fish on the bakkie]
 15. Mary: Ek is die enigste bakkie hier pa (*Mary responds on the phone*) *[translation: I am the only bakkie here Pa]
 16. Customer 6: **Ja ma ek gaan nie nou kom nie meneer.** *[translation: Yes but I am not going to come now Sir]
 17. Mary: **Okay nou wanneer gaan U kom?** *[translation: Okay, now when are you coming]
 18. Customer 6: **Waar bly jy?** *[translation: Where do you stay]
 19. Mary: Ek is hierso by... (*gives address*) nou ek gaan nie nou huistoe nie ek gaan vanaand six oclock huistoe. *[translation: I am here by ... I am not going home now I am only going six oclock home tonight]
 20. Customer 6: **Waar bly jy?** *[translation: Where do you stay]
 21. Mary: (*gives address*)

22. Customer 6.: **Nommer Hoeveel?** *[translation: What number?]
23. Mary: *(For ethical reason I cannot disclose any house number)*
24. Customer 6: **Ooooooh daar, daar wat uh uh boeta uh** *[translation: Oh there where Brother]
25. Mary: **Boeta Hennie, ken jy vir Boeta Hennie.** *[translation: Brother Hennie, do you know brother Hennie]
26. Customer 6: **Ja, Boeta Hennie Ja. Maar hoor gou mooi, Ek wil nie vis he wat heeldag in die son gele het net.** *[translation: Yes Brother Hennie yes. But listen carefully, I don't want fish that was laying in the sun whole day.]
27. Mary: **Pa, hiers n klomp ys op die vis in die bak, klomp ys. Ek het klomp vis hier moet klomp ys op. Ek het gou n klient hier, gaan U kom?** *[translation: Pa, here's a lot of ice if the fish in the bowl, lots of ice. I have a lot of fish here with a lot of ice on]
28. Customer 6: **Jaa ek sal so 2oclock daai kant wees.** *[translation: Yes I will be there so two oclock]
29. Mary: **Okay daars nie vourd nie pa. Eks heeldag hier. Okay Bye** *[translation: Okay there's no problem Pa. I'm whole day here.]
30. **Customer 6: (interrupts) Wats die kleur van jou bakkie?** *[translation: What is the colour of your bakkie]
31. Mary: **Dis 'n wit bakkie 'n brand new uit die box uit (Mary laughs)** *[translation: It's a white bakkie, a brand new one out of the box]
32. Customer 6: **Okay dan.** *[translation: Okay then]
33. Mary: **Okay dan Pa, bye. (Phone goes off). (0.5) Mary: Ou Boer vol draad (Mary comments on her previous customer)** *[translation: Okay then Pa, bye. Old White full of nonsense]
34. Mary: *(Mary gives her attention to her other customer now)* **Daai's nie one fifty nie daai's die grootes Watter bos? Daai bos of daai bos. Dis net so n mooi bos. Moek ek skoon maak?** *[translation: That's not one fifty that's the big ones. What bunch? That bunch or that bunch. This is just so nice. Must I clean it?]
35. Customer 7: **Hoeveel?** *[translation: How much?]
36. Mary: **Daai is net drie hon'ed Geen belasting nie meneer...** *[translation: That is just three hundred. No tax sir...]

Previously mentioned, the extract above this interaction took place December 2023. Additionally, it forms part of extract 5.1.1 but takes place at a later stage in the audio recording. Before analysing the above extract., I set the context for the reader. During observations and per my fieldnotes, Mary stated that her business not only takes place in the physical space but also from her phone. Customers would often phone her regarding prices, the stock of her fish and her address. The participants in this extract is customer 6 messaging via WhatsApp, customer 7 who is in by Mary's physical bakkie and Mary.

Following the beginning of this extract 5.3.1 Mary receives a phone call via WhatsApp. She explicitly states her irritation regarding the call by saying "Haai nee jirre". Furthermore, Mary states there is not Wifi to receive the call, hence then moving to the social media platform of WhatsApp. Customer 6 then in turn responds to her voice note and enquire about her pricing and her physical address of her fish bakkie. Following the interactions between Mary and customer 6, a new customer arrives at Mary's physical address of her fish bakkie. Still part of December 2023's data, Mary only had bunches of Silverfish in stock.

On the arrival of customer 7, Mary points out the fish on the bakkie along with the prices. Customer 7 then gathers his money but while he is doing this, Mary takes her chance in line 9 to persuade the customer to buy by her, by saying "Daars nerens snoek nie en dies lekker vis." Here, Mary acknowledges all her customers preferences for Snoek and gives a reason for customer 7 to buy her Silverfish. As the customer chooses his bunch of fish Mary's phone rings again. Before answering, she explicitly shouts "Nee man" (translation: *No man*) as the phone rings pointing out her irritation to the call as she is busy with customer 7. Mary then automatically picks up the phone "Hello meneer. Net lekker varse silvervis meneer...Hello" (translation: *Just nice fresh Silverfish sir*) in line 12. On the other side of the call is customer 6 who previously phoned via WhatsApp and could not get through hence being the reason he phoned via normal call. Mary now interacts with two customers, 6 and 7 who are on the phone and physically by her. Customer 7 then points to the fish on the bakkie still deciding the bunch he want. Customer 6 enquires the address of Mary and until what time she will be on the main road. When the customer is informed, Mary switches off the phone and leaves a comment "Ou Boer vol draad (translation: *Old White full of nonsense*)" in line 33. Directly after the cellphone conversation ended Mary turns her attention to customer 7 and continues to give the price to his choice of fish. Following the context of the extract, I will analyse the metrolingual multitasking of the bakkie firstly looking at gaps within her physical and digital space.

This section of the chapter will focus on digital gaps within turn taking on the phone. Mary must wait a few seconds to get a reply so there would often be silent pauses in between. In lines 1 and 2, Mary gets interrupted by a phone call and before she picks up the call or send a voice note she responds verbally to herself. When we get to lines 3 to 6, the conversation shifts now to turn-taking where each participant sends their message, creating gaps in between responses, as I would then call it, ‘digital or technological gaps’.

Furthermore, in the second part of the conversation, Mary is multitasking between Customer 6 who is on the phone and Customer 7 who is physically present in the moment. Here Mary must navigate with customers 6’s lagging and creating gaps. In line 6 and 7, Mary ends the interaction on WhatsApp by stating the price of the fish and inviting the customer to come have a look as he will fall in love with the fish. For example, in line 6 “Drie vis vir R150. Dans die heel grotes R100 een. Kom kyk. U sal verlief raak op die vis. Sy naam is Pinky. Hys Pink Silvervis, lekker. Kom my Pa man” (translation: *His name is Pink. He’s Pink Silverfish, nice. Come man*). The following line was the closing line Mary used at the end of her transaction with customer 6 via WhatsApp. Immediately after the closing, Mary opens another conversation in line 7 and invites the customer by saying “Varse Silvervis my Pa, hulle’s almal vars. From lines 7 to 11 Mary and Customer 7 in a question-and-answer form transact to buy and sell the Silverfish. A few minutes later, Mary’s phone rings and this creates a gap between the interactions with customer 7. Mary transitions from customer 7 physically to customer 6 digitally. Not forgetting the transaction with customer 6 Mary engages with him as well, for example in lines 13 and 14 Mary as he points to the fish on the bakkie Mary gives him the prices, creating a gap between customer 6 and herself.

When she addresses customer 7 during pauses, example in line 14 “one fifty meneer”, she fills digital gap from the phone interaction without letting both customers feel neglected. In contrast to Customer 7’s urgent needs, her communication with Customer 6 was delayed, causing her to wait for responses. She reduces gaps by deliberately switching between these two areas, but the digital silences (line 27) give her the opportunity to respond to Customer 7 in real time. As a result, these digital gaps provide her interactions a special rhythm in which she waits for digital indications from the distant consumer while balancing attentiveness to the in-person customer.

Moreover, to understand Mary’s language use within turn-taking and gaps in digital space I refer to the notion of Stylization.

The language use of Mary or in other words the ‘style,’ when she hears the customers voice, she at times uses standard Afrikaans. The use of Pa is to create sense of familiarity between the customer and herself. As Mary moves between customer 6, customer 7, and Peter, she would stylize between an accent of a white South African, a bit of standard Afrikaans, and Afrikaans when communicating to Peter.

When looking at interactions Mary has with her customers, her key language stylization is to build rapport with customers. She often switches from English, to Afrikaans, to Afrikaans to suit each customer's language style. For example, with customer 6 and customer 7 she addresses them as “Pa” an informal yet respectful language to establish a sense of familiarity.

Furthermore, in this extract, when interacting with customer 6 on the phone, she stylizes her accent to sound like a white South African male specifically a more standard Afrikaans. Mary stylized her language to Afrikaans using a few Afrikaans phrases but immediately transitions to Afrikaans when she interacts with Peter. Depicted in this extract, Mary stylizes a completely different accent near to standard Afrikaans. For example, she uses “Okay daars nie vout nie Pa” in line 29, a more standard Afrikaans. In line 33 Mary also acknowledges he is a white South African in line 33 “Ou Boer vol draad” (translation: *Old White full of nonsense*).

Mary makes the deliberate use of certain styles and accents for common ground with customers and to build rapport. It also shapes how her messages are perceived through persuasion and humour. In line 26, customer 6 is hesitant over the freshness of the fish “Ek wil nie vis hê wat heeldag in die son gele het nie...” (“*I don't want fish that's been lying in the sun all day*”). Mary's response, emphasizing the “klomp ys” (*lots of ice*) on the fish, reassures him and addresses his concerns directly. Her response here reflects her how she persuades and assures the customers, understanding the concerns of the customer, and manages it with humour, reassurance, and empathy.

Mary uses humour and local references to build a shared experience with her customers. For instance, she laughingly describes her “wit bakkie” (white truck) as “brand new uit die box uit” (brand new out of the box), which adds a light-hearted tone and subtly addresses the customer's practical inquiry. By joking about the bakkie's condition, Mary is more authentic, making her interactions feel less transactional and more personalized.

To fully grasp the idea of Mary's language use within the context i.e. her *metrolingua franca* of both a physical and digital space, I will furthermore apply the notions of spatial repertoires and assemblages.

Looking at the concept of spatial repertoires, although in the physical market space, Mary moves to a digital space but references the physical space of the market. In Line 4: Mary replies "Daar wat Pa my gekry het in die Epping by Distell..." (translation: *There where you got me in Epping by Distell*). Here she provides clear, spatial markers (e.g., the location by the robots and where others sell snoek), emphasizing how the customer can find her physically.

This conversation includes various semiotic resources such as the physical space of the fish market, technology (digital space), and the physical objects of fish. Mary's use of a digital space gives her a competitive advantage from the other 'bakkies' standing alongside the road. Not only giving her a competitive advantage, but we can also clearly see how she builds rapport with customers and value customer relationships. Additionally, in the second part of the extract, Mary makes use of familiar markers in the community. For instance, in line 31, Mary mentions her 'wit bakkie' to give her location to customer 6 which serves as both an element in physical space and a branding element.

In Conclusion, extract 5.2 provides a clear example of *metrolingual multitasking*. Mary navigates multiple languages and varieties to manage the interaction with her customer. As Pennycook and Otsuji's (2010) fluid way of using different linguistic resources in urban settings to accomplish multiple tasks as once. Mary not only multitasks in a physical space but also digitally where she explains the quality of the fish, prices and directions of her bakkie. Her language use and repertoire allow Mary to build rapport with customers and persuade them into buying her products. Subsequent to this, the following chapter will focus on Mary language use in relation to Affect. I will analyse using extract 5.4.1 how Mary uses Affect to build a connection and engage with her customers on a more personal level.

5.4 Language and Affect

Affect examines how affect, or emotions, are collaboratively created through everyday interactions and practices in social settings. Affect arises through language, body language, and social exchanges, shaping and reflecting the emotional states and social identities of individuals (Pratt, 2021:4). In the following 3-line extract 5.3 below, the conversation took place on March 28th, 2024. This was a period closer to Easter where Mary received more customers. In this section of the chapter I will analyse Mary's language use in relation to Affect and explore the ways in which she uses this strategy to engage with her customers.

Extract 5.4.1 March 2024

English: Calibri; Kaaps: Courier New; Afrikaans: Berlin Sans FB

1. Mary: Wa my mes dan nou (*softly*) (*a bit louder*) What's happened to my knife? WHO TOOK MY KNIFE HERE? (*shouting*) "PETER"! NAI MAN ek hou nie van sukkel nie I'm so in love with this knife cos its very sharp (0.3) (*Mary shouts at her husband*) PETER! (0.2) djy gaatie op my nerves werkie (0.5) (*shouting louder*) PETER!! (0.3) aii jirre, hyt Parkinsons, hys so gevrek (0.10) (*sounds of trucks, and cars passing*). Sien ha, Kom (*tells customer 2 to come closer to see the inside of the fish*) Sien hoe mooi vars isit? *[translation: Where is my knife now what's happened to my knife? Who took my knife here PETER! No man, I do not like to struggle, I'm so in live with this knife because it's very sharp PETER! You not going to work on my nerves. PETER! Oh God, he has Parkinsons, he is so slow. Look there, come See how beautifully fresh the fish is?]
2. Customer 1: (*answers softly*) Hm::
3. Mary: Daa's it ontdooi, pragtag lyk hy... U sal trug ko vi nog Hys van Port Nolloth en baie Solid (*Mary exclaims*) ek word mos gerecord vi die va'sity *[translation: There it defrosts, how beautiful it looks... You will come back for more he is from Port Nolloth and very solid I'm being recorded for a varsity.]

The data I collected from the above extract is from March 28th, 2024, during the busy Easter period for Mary's business. During this time, Mary sold Yellowtail and Snoek. This extract

exemplifies the pressure Mary faced during this hectic period. When customer 1 arrived and ordered the fish, Mary wanted to prepare it, but her first obstacle was her missing knife. In line 1, she asks twice where her knife is, and on the third inquiry, she switches to English and expresses her irritation while asking her husband. Mary explains why the specific knife is essential for her work, emphasizing that it is sharp enough to cut through the fish easily. Frustrated, she raises her voice at her husband, Peter, and when she finally finds her knife, she makes a remark about Peter's Parkinson's disease to justify his slowness to the customer. After locating her knife, she places the fish on her working table, cuts it, and invites the customer to see how fresh it is. Mary then reassures the customer about their decision to purchase fish from her.

In the above extract, Mary is the dominant speaker who controls and leads the conversation to express her frustration about finding her knife. Mary makes use of long turns. In line 2 Customer 1 reacts with a minimal acknowledgement using 'Hm' as a response. In line 1 turns are often disrupted when she shouts at her husband 'Peter'. Furthermore, the last pause in line 1 is a 10 second pause where the background noises of Mary's physical space such as the sounds of trucks and cars passing, the wind blowing, and the birds around the bakkie. This reflects Mary's environment and the space she navigates within metrolingual multitasking.

Line 1 is evident in Mary's use of Affect using it not only to build rapport with customers but also to justify the slowness of her service. In line 1, Mary agitatedly says “jy gaatie op my nerves werkie PETER!! (0.2) aii jirre, hyt Parkinson's, hys so gevrek... (translation: *You not going to work on my nerves, He have Parkinson's, he is slow so*).

In the opening line of extract 5.4.1 Mary uses a repair strategy which shows how she transitions between styles and language. For example in line 1, Wa my mes dan nou [translation: Where's my knife then now?] (*softly*) What's happened to my knife? (*a bit louder*) Who took my knife here? (*shouting*). Mary starts off with Afrikaaps and Afrikaans repeating the same thing using English. She does this to bring her message across clearly to her husband Peter. Depicted in the same line 1, Mary's tone starts off subtly meaning soft, then gets loud and then she finally shouts out her frustration to find her knife. The frustration also links with the date I collected the data. March 28th, a time when everyone is looking for fish, Mary received majority of her customers during this period, making it a stressful situation. Her frustration then immediately switches to her husband Peter who I have previously mentioned suffer from Parkinson's

disease. Mary then immediately shifts the blame on her husband who is known to be a bit ‘slow’ by her.

Mary often gets frustrated with doing everything by herself and her husband being little help, when customers are waiting for the fish and she feels pressured she would bring up her husband’s Parkinsons disease either to keep the conversation going or to justify the reason for the slow service. Here below is evidence from another excerpt in extract 5.1 where she engages with a Black customer and she states in line 1 “*Give a plastic bag Peter. Ek gooi die soma binne in jou gevriet want djy’s gevrek. His slowly man he work on my nerves – he have Parkinson’s man but he cannot be that slow HOOO*” indicating her strategic use of Affect.

Furthermore, line 1 extract 5.3 “I’m so in love with this knife coz its very sharp” Mary statement reflects her personal attachment to her tools and her pride in her work. This is evident when further stated by her referring to the fish as “pragtag” in line 3. She takes pride in the quality of her fish and communicates that to her customers. In line 3, her statement “U sal trug ko vi nog” (translation: *You will come back for more*) reflects how she not only takes pride in her quality of fish but also how she builds a connection with her customer. She also does this in a respectful tone when she refers to the customer as “U.”

In this extract, we also note the stylization of Mary’s language use and how it varies from extract to extract and from context to context. For instance, in this extract, she utilizes English and Afrikaaps. In line 1 “Wa my mes dan nou” (translation: *Where is my knife then now*) Mary makes use of a short Afrikaaps utterance conveying her rush to find her knife. Mary code-switches from Afrikaaps to English further on in line 1, “what’s happened to my knife?” once again the use of short English phrases making it easier to understand and emphasizing the important points. Still in the same turn or line of Mary she shouts out to her husband “Peter” following the phrase “Nai man.” This is a common expression in Afrikaaps that Mary stylizes. Still in line 1, Mary makes the statement “I’m so in love with this knife cos its very sharp” in English, switching again from Afrikaaps to English but instead of using the full word because she uses “cos”. Here we notice another instance of stylization within her language use. This forms part of informal language use Mary stylize. Furthermore, the use of ‘djy’ (translation: *you*) is present in the extract Mary utilizes. Further in line 1 Mary shouts at her husband Peter stating, “djy gaatie op my nerves werkie” (translation: *you not going to work on my nerves*). The use of “djy” is used in Afrikaans as ‘jy’, but in the context of Mary’s language, it is used in Afrikaaps. She yells out to her husband in an unexpected manner stylizing her speech with

Afrikaans. Evidently depicted in the extract, when speaking to her husband Peter she stylizes Afrikaans coming across in a crude way, whereas in line 3 for instance she says to customer 1 “U sal terug kom vir nog” (translation: *You will come back for more*), the “U” Mary accents a formal standard of Afrikaans to engage with the customer in a respectful manner. In other words, the way she stylizes her language with her husband comes across as informal whereas with her customers she uses formal language showing sign of respect.

In the above extract, the objects of her knife and the fish are both elements that form part of semiotic assemblages. The objects of her knife as a tool and the fish reflect Mary’s language use to sell the fish to customer 1. These objects, along with Mary’s speech styles using Afrikaans and English within the physical space of the bakkie with the background noises such as cars and trucks passing all form part of Mary’s spatial and linguistic repertoire to persuade her customers.

It is evident within this extract Mary stylizes her language demonstrating her multilingualism within the space of her bakkie. After exploring the use of Affect in Mary’s language and how she builds rapport using this notion, in the next section I will explore the negotiation strategies she made use of in metrolingual multitasking analysing extract 5.5.1

5.5 Negotiation Strategies in metrolingual multitasking

In this last section of the chapter, I will explore the various strategies, language styles and embodied actions Mary makes use within the space of her fish bakkie. This extract was taken from the data I collected during March 2024 where Mary had both Snoek and Yellowtail available. I will analyse the last extract, 5.5.1 which follows the interaction of two customers who arrive at Mary's bakkie together, both interested in buying fish. One of them (Customer 1) is specifically looking for snoek for his mother. Firstly, I will set out the scene and give context of the extract to the reader. Secondly, I will do an analysis of it looking at the various notions of conversational analysis and stylization to explore the how Mary negotiate within metrolingual multitasking.

Extract 5.5.1

English: Calibri; Kaaps: Courier New; Afrikaans: Berlin Sans FB

1. **Mary:** Ek is'ie goedkoopste van almal op die pad. Klien ma getrain meneer, pragtig (lifting the net and pointing) twee honderd, two-sixty, two seventy. Die'sie die laaste van die veertig snoeke hello. *[translation: I have the best price on this road. Small but trained sir, beautiful two-hundred, two – sixty, two seventy. This is the last few of the forty Snoek]
2. **Customer 1:** **Jy lyk bekend** *[translation: You look familiar]
3. **Mary:** uhh, **ek kyk** oek **vir jou nou aan** (0.5) *[translation: I'm looking at you as well now]
4. **Customer 1:** inaudible (het u dalk by ----- gewerk) *[translation: did you maybe work at----?]
5. **Mary:** Hoe? (0.2) huhh- aahh (0.3). **Ek het gewerk by uhh Aldenero.** (showing the fish to customer 2) Klein ma, ons het klom geld betaal vi die vis pa. *[translation: I worked at Aldenero small, but we paid a lot of money for the fish Pa.]
6. **Customer 2:** **Nee ek hoor ek hoor jou, maar** (customer is listening to Mary and looking at the fish in front of him and is disappointed with the size) *[translation: No I hear you I hear you, but]
7. **Mary:** **Daar word nie** (pause) daar word nie vis gesort'ie, almal vat. *[translation: The fish does not get sorted, everyone just takes it]
8. **Customer 2:** my ma gat nie te happy is met it nie *[translation: My mom's not going to be happy with it]
9. **Mary:** Ja, ma dan moet u 'n groote vat. Two- seventy da (0.3) *[translation: Yes, but then you must take a big one]
10. **Customer 2:** **Ja ma hulle is nie groot genoeg nie man** *[translation: Yes but they not big enough man]
11. **Mary:** Meneer hulle het giste gevra vir (pause) vir die size het hulle gevra fie honerd rand daar tien die pad. Vaday is dit goetkooper betaal nou vra ons goedkoop. Ja (pause) (pointing at the fish that is bit bigger for the price of R260.00) die is two sixty, is gehalte vis (0.2) niks is paap'ie. Ooh ja ek het yellowtail oek ha ne pa(pause). Pa die yellowtail sien? (opening the net to show the yellowtail fish) *[translation: Sir yesterday, the price asked for this size was four hundred rand on the side of the road. Today it is cheaper and you pay by

- us cheaper. Yes this is two-sixty its quality fish nothing is not fresh. Oh yes I have yellowtail as well Pa. Pa have you seen the yellowtail]
12. Customer 2: Naai **my ma soek snoeke vis, is n bietjie klie man.** Sy willie, sy willie nog met grate sukkel nie *[translation: No my mother wants snoek fish, it is a little bit to small man. She does not, she does not want to struggle with the fish bones]
 13. Mary: Ja. Meneer almal se batch-look is die selfde, daar isie een grootes nie (pause) is almal, (pointing to the fish and its length) die is the grootes wat hulle het *[translation: Yes. Sir everyone's batch looks the same, there is no bigger size (pause) it's all (pointing to the fish and its length) this is the biggest they all have]
 14. Customer 2: (inaudable)--- **ander plek soek** *[translation: Have a look somewhere else]
 15. Mary: Daar'sie fout'ie pa, ek vestaan U soek groot snoeke *[translation: There's no problem Pa, I understand you looking for big Snoeke]
 16. Customer 2: ek wens--- ek like die yellowtail fish
 17. Mary: **Ek het lekker groot yellowtails daar** (chuckling) *[translation: I have nice big yellowtails there]
 18. Customer 2: my ma gaan my pak sla gie *[translation: My mom is going to give me a hiding]
 19. Mary: **uhhh, nie ma nie, my vrou** (laughing with customer 1) *[translation: Uhh, not mom, my wife]
 20. Customer 2: **Nee my ma** *[translation: No my mom]
 21. Mary: **N lekker pak daai**(laughing) (pause). Alrite in die haak *[translation: Alright all good]
 22. Customer 1: **Mooi bly** *[translation: Keep well]
 23. Mary: **Selfde** *[translation: You too]
 24. Mary: Theyy looking for a big snoek, when I have big Snoek, they looking for small snoek.

To set out the scene for the reader, extract 5.5.1 took place on March 28th, 2024. As previously mentioned, Mary sold Yellowtail and Snoek because it yielded more profits in the season of Easter. Two customers arrive to Mary's bakkie hoping to find a Snoek big enough to fit their

mothers preference. At the start of the interaction, as one of Mary's strategies depicted in the previous extracts as well, she invites the customers by saying "Ek is 'ie goedkoopste van almal op die pad. Klein ma ge-train meneer, pragtig twee-honderd, two sixty" (translation: *I am the cheapest of everyone on the road. These are small but trained sir, pretty two hundred, two-sixty*). She further mentions in line 1 "Die'sie die laaste van veertig Snoeke" (translation: *This is the last of the forty Snoeke available*). Mary uses this strategy to encourage the customer to buy now before there is no Snoek left, and also indicating many customers bought by her already. As customer 1 arrives he looks at Mary and immediately states "Jy lyk bekend" (translation: *You look familiar*) the interaction continues between customer 1 and Mary asking where she worked. As Mary is deviated from her sale of fish, or a shift in conversation to personal details, Mary is reminded of her selling fish and immediately states in line 5 "*Klein ma ons het klom geld betaal vir die vis pa*", she does this to not go further off track in order for her to make a sale. The customer further on agrees but is dissatisfied with the size of the fish is not according to his mother's preference. Mary however continues to negotiate by saying "Meneer almal se batch-look is dieselfde, daar issie een grotes nie, is almal die grotes" (translation: *Sir everyone's batch is the same, there is no other big ones, all is this size*). Here Mary provide more reasoning for customer 1 to buy by her bakkie as they would not find any bigger than this by her competitors. At the end of the interaction, the sale closes without the customer purchasing the fish. Furthermore, using this extract I will explore Mary's language use, gestures and styles used in negotiating with customer 1 and 2.

Mary in her opening statement "ek is die goedkoopste van almal op die pad", when the customers arrive immediately creates an idea about the quality and pricing of her fish. This is also inviting. She persuades customers through verbal and non-verbal strategies, and often and emphasizes the quality of her fish for example "is gehalte vis, niks is papie". Mary in this context make use of the term 'gehalte' instead of 'fresh' to emphasize her knowledge of fish and being in the industry for more than 20 years. Mary tries to persuade the customer by putting emphasis on the value of the fish instead of the size. Furthermore, she mentions the price of the fish being four hundred rand yesterday offering a discount on her fish to give more reasoning as to why the customer must consider this fish.

From lines 3 to 5, as the customer dwells away from buying fish, he asks Mary from where she is because she looks familiar. Mary then responds to the customers question, a form of turn-

taking and adjacency pair, and says “Huh aahh” (meaning no). While doing this, Mary does not forget her duty and continues showing the fish to the customer while continuing her transactions. She then immediately acknowledges the size may be disappointing in line 5, but the quality could not be better.

3. Mary Mary: uhh, **ek kyk** oek **vir jou nou aan** (0.5
4. Customer 1: inaudible (het u dalk by ----- gewerk)
5. Mary: Hoe? (0.2) huhh- aahh (0.3). **Ek het gewerk by uhh Aldenero.** (showing the fish to customer 2) Klein ma, ons het krom geld betaal vi die vis pa.

In lines 8 and 9, the customer expresses his mother may not be happy with the size of the fish and in turn Mary offers a bigger size fish and shows it to them. The pauses in between forms part of non-verbal gestures while lifting up the net, Mary shows each size fish and their prices to persuade the customers.

Furthermore, in lines 12 and 13; remember during the Easter period Mary sold Snoek and Yellowtail. She has both fish in stock, but the customer is not satisfied with the size of the Snoek Mary has. She offers the customer Yellowtail but turns it down because “his mother does not want to struggle with fish bones”. To persuade the customer even more, Mary adds on by saying everyone’s batches, meaning all the ‘other bakkies’ alongside the road in other words Mary’s competitors will all sell the same size Snoek, so it is best to buy by her. While doing this she uses non-verbal gestures – embodied actions as a strategy to help her with verbal negotiations.

12. Customer 2: Naai **my ma soek snoeke vis, is n bietjie klie man.** Sy willie, sy willie nog met grate sukkel nie
13. Mary: Ja. Meneer almal se batch-look is die selfde, daar isie een grootes nie (pause) is almal, (pointing to the fish and its length) die is the grootes wat hulle het.

Furthermore, how does ‘style’ help Mary with negotiation and persuasion strategies. This is key to help Mary navigate in the setting of the fish space. I mentioned previously, that during the transcription processes, it was hard for me differentiate between Afrikaaps and Afrikaans. This mostly applied to Mary’s transcription process. Evident in the extract above, Mary often

times switches to a more standardized variety of Afrikaans and not Afrikaaps. This proves how she navigates in a diverse setting and how she switches dialects in a flexible way to strategically engage with her customers. This is evident in the negotiation strategy above, for example, in line 7 “Daar word nie (pause) daar word nie vis gesort’ie, almal vat” (translation: Fish does not, does not get sorted, everyone takes). This is a perfect example of changing dialects within a repair strategy, and she always has a reason. Let me explain, firstly she starts off with standard Afrikaans “daar word nie” to put emphasis on that the fish is not sorted, and with that she does a repair strategy to create more emphasis by repeating the same phrase to the customer to make him understand that there is no ‘special fish’ given to customers. It is the customer’s choice to choose their size fish, and they would not get any better as all the fish from other competitors is the same.

Humour comes across in Mary’s through her exchanges when laughing at her response to Customer 2’s concern about his mother’s dissatisfaction: “Ek het lekker groot yellowtails daar” (line 17), meaning “I have nice big yellowtails here.” Her laughter and informal phrasing and use of Afrikaans as a joke for the customer to buy the fish with the knowledge that the Snoek is not of valued size. Furthermore, when Customer 2 jokes about his mother’s reaction, “my ma gaan my pak sla gie” (line 18), (“my mom’s going to give me a hiding”), Mary responds playfully, adding, “N lekker pak daai” (translation: *A nice hiding that*) (line 21), enhancing her rapport although the customer would not buy.

To summarise, this extract is evident how Mary negotiates during transactions by blending humour and using certain styles, gaps, and embodied actions. Her use of multilingual resources reflects metrolingual multitasking as she blends language with non-verbal gestures to accommodate and persuade her customers in a diverse urban area of her bakkie.

5.6 Conclusion

To conclude Chapter five, I explored the various themes taking place Mary’s interactions with her customers. Firstly, I set out the overall scene of Mary’s bakkie and the space. I then explored her metrolingual multitasking of fish on a bakkie and how she makes use stylization and language strategies such as humour or compliments to engage with her customers. This allowed

me to explore her ability to mix and switch between languages and varieties within the fish market space to build clientele with her customers. Thirdly, I explored how Mary transitioned from her physical space of her bakkie to a digital one of her cellphone. I analysed the role of technology within metrolingual multitasking. Additionally, I analysed the gaps within turn-taking both digitally and physically. Here she interacted with a White Afrikaner man as I observed, and she explicitly acknowledged this in the extract. Here Mary stylized the voice of a White South African accent to engage and build rapport with her customer. In this extract, I explored the metrolingual multitasking in Mary's context, in other words, interacting with Customer 6 and Customer 7 physically and digitally and how she navigates language within sales in the space of her bakkie on the main road. Furthermore, I analysed the way Mary uses Affect to build a connection between the customer and to interact with the customer. In the fifth part of the chapter seven, I analysed Mary's negotiation strategies and the use of Afrikaaps and formal Afrikaans phrases such as "U" (translate: *you*) being respectful to the customers.

Now that I have explored and analysed Mary's metrolingual multitasking, in the next chapter I will explore the second ethnographic site of fish stalls.

Chapter 6 Data analysis: Fish Stalls

6.0 Introduction

Chapter Six focuses on the second ethnographic site in an urban area near a beach. Here, I will use the extracts of Dane and Ash, participants who oversaw two different stalls. To analyse metrolingual multitasking and how meaning making takes place in everyday conversations, I will examine various frameworks such as Conversational Analysis, using tools such as turn-taking, gaps and overlaps, repair mechanisms, spatial repertoires, and semiotic assemblages. Lastly, at the end of this chapter I will conduct a short comparison of Mary's business dynamics with Ash and Dane's business dynamics. I will also discuss the roles of gender and language.

6.1 Two fish stalls: Setting the scene



(Picture by Brown, 2024)

It is a little after 12pm on Wednesday 27th March 2024, a hot and windy day, during Easter period (a day before what is known as Good Friday⁹), four stalls are set up alongside one another selling fish. When I first arrived during at this site, a completely different environment (male dominated as well) from the first site, was a bustling space filled with people surrounding

⁹ Good Friday: Is a Christian holy day where fish is favoured

the stalls. Sounds of birds, the wind, people talking over one another, the calls of workers and the complete loudness filled this space. As previously discussed in the Methodology chapter, I was at first turned away by other stall owners but with the help of my participants Dane and Ash, who played a huge role in interactions.

Dane, who manages the first stall, sold different types of fish; Snoek, Hake, Yellowtail, Stumpnose, and Red Roman. Dane was an English speaker who often switched to Afrikaans and Afrikaaps. Ash, who manages the second stall, right next to Dane also English also sold variety of fish. Their business dynamics work as follows: most times, fish that customers order are cut up by other employees working in a different ‘stall’ (I put stall in inverted commas because it is a building) a few meters away from their stalls depicted in picture 1 and 2 below. Working in this building are three employees, so when things get too busy Dane and Ash would cut the fish up at their stalls.



Picture 6.1.1: The outside of the cleaning area



Picture 6.1.2: Inside of the cleaning area

6.2 The Metrolingual Multitasking of Fish Stall One

In this section of the chapter I will analyse the metrolingual multitasking of Fish Stall One located near a beach front. I will explore the use of Dane's language and varieties within the space of his fish stall. I will conduct an analysis of extract 6.2.1 below. The data collected for the following extract was taken on the 27th March 2024 as above mentioned. Dane interacts with two customers where he is switching between English and Afrikaans. Firstly, I will provide the context and background of 6.2.1. In addition, I will analyse efficient turn-taking within the interaction. I will secondly analyse how Dane stylize accents or varieties to engage with his customer and lastly refer to the concept of spatial repertoire to further analyse how this all relates to his physical environment or space of his fish stall.

Extract 6.2.1

English: Calibri; Kaaps: Courier New; **Afrikaans: Berlin Sans FB**; isiXhosa: Aptos

(Setting up the lapel mic)

1. Dane: Hello Ma'am, Snoek? [0.2] Geelstert is two-fifty twee-hon'ed Snoek is one twenty-one fifty eene *[translation: Yellowtail is two hundred. Snoek is one hundred and twenty and one hundred and fifty each] [0.3] **silver vis**, *[translation: Silver Fish] **Hake**, [0.4] *and (points at the fish) here's one twenty Mamma one fifty each.* (*Pointing at the fish*)
2. Customer 1: The one of one twenty
3. Dane: Chop it for you?
4. Customer 1: Two for one – [*inaudible*]
5. Dane: fifty (Dane interrupts) Must I cut it up for you?
6. Customer 1: E'we (softly replies)
7. Dane: Sny gou op HA! Tw'ie snoeke haa (*shouts at his helpers/other employees*) *[translation: Cut that up quickly there! Two Snoeke there] (*to another customer*) Yellow tail is two fifty en drie-hon'ed rand. *[translation: Yellowtail is two-fifty and three hundred rand]
8. Customer 2: Tot watter tyd is julle hie' (*ask question softly, till what time are they there*) *[translation: Till what time will you be here]
9. Dane: Tot half sie'we toe dame. *[translation: Till six thirty lady]

(knives clattering in the background)

In the above extract, as previously mentioned, the scene of the fish stalls is a bustling space especially during the period in which I collected the data. As Dane manages the first stall in the market, he must work harder than the rest to keep customers with him preventing them to go to the other stalls. As customer 1 arrives at his stall, Dane greets her by saying “Hello Ma’am”, Snoek?” He immediately starts his transaction when he gives a list of the prices of each fish pointing to them on the table. Customer 1 responds and request Snoek for one-twenty where Dane responds with a question “Chop it for you” using a minimal English phrase. Customer responds ‘Ewe’ (translation: *yes*) in her own language, likely isiXhosa and Dane immediately understand the request and proceeds to call out the cleaner (who comes to collect fish from the stall and walks to the second site, the cleaning space depicted in picture 6.1.1 and 6.1.2 above). As I observed and referred to my fieldnotes, Customer 1 was a black female hence the minimal English phrases from Dane. He code-switches from English to Afrikaaps when calling out to the cleaner. In the next part of the extract, customer 2 arrives at the fish stall and once again providing the customer with the prices of the fish. The conversation plays out in Afrikaaps further and ends when the customer query the time the fish stall will be there. Furthermore, using the following extract I will analyse turn-taking within this interaction and how it leads to efficient communication.

The above extract is an efficient structure of turn-taking. In line 1 of the opening sequence Dane politely greets the customer “Hello Ma’am”, to which he then proceeds to give information and prices of the fish, not wasting any time. Given the spatial constraints Dane faces, it is important for him to maintain customer engagement at his stall while ensuring efficiency to minimize waiting times for other customers. The conversation then starts to flow as the customer responds to Dane’s questions. Within this extract and turn-taking, we can find gaps and overlapping. Firstly, in line 1 the 3 and 4 second pauses Dane uses non-verbal communication, such as pointing to the fish to make this interaction efficient. Gestures and physical actions such as pointing at fish and shaking of the customers head also form part of this repertoire, helping to simplify communication in space. In line 4 and 5 the customer asked, “two for one...” and Dane immediately interrupts and finishes her sentence by saying “fifty”. Adjacency pairs are also evident within turn-taking, with question-answer sequences to facilitate the exchange. Dane’s questions about the type of fish or whether it should be chopped

create a sequence of adjacency pairs where Customer 1 provides relevant responses, such as “E’we” in line 6, confirming the desired action. The word “Ewe” from Customer 1 is isiXhosa which translates to yes also refers to an agreement response to Dane’s offer to cut the fish.

Moreover, repair can also be found within turn-taking. For example, in lines 1-3:

1. Dane: Chop it for you?
2. Customer 1: Two for one – *[inaudible]*
3. Dane: fifty (Dane interrupts) Must I cut it up for you?

Dane asks customer 1 if he must cut the fish up, but he makes use of a minimal English phrase “chop it for you?). The customer, maybe not hearing his question, seeks clarity on the price and Dane repeats his question again. This time he makes use of a full English phrase “Must I cut it up for you”. To furthermore Dane’s language and how he multitasks within the fish stall (space) I will refer to the notion of stylization and spatial repertoires.

When customer 1 arrives at Dane’s stall he immediately recognizes her as a Black customer and greets her in English. His style changes to Kaaps when he shouts for the other workers to come clean the fish, in line 7 “Sny gou op HA! Tw’ie snoeke haa.” Another customer arrives at the stall depicted as customer 2 in the extract and notably this is a Coloured person and Dane immediately switches to Afrikaaps. Example:

7. Dane: ...Yellow tail is two fifty en drie-hon’ed rand.
*[translation: Yellowtail is two-fifty and three hundred rand]
8. Customer 2: Tot watter tyd is julle hie’ (*ask question softly, till what time are they there*) *[translation: Till what time will you be here]
9. Dane: Tot half sie’we toe dame. *[translation: Till six thirty lady]

This stylization reflects Dane’s awareness of the multilingual space he is in and his ability to adjust his linguistic repertoire to match customers’ needs, enhancing accessibility and building rapport in a diverse fish market space. Furthermore, in line 3 Dane stylizes the voice or accent of a black South African “Chop it for you” using minimal English. Dane imitates this style to engage with customer 1 but also for efficient communication leaving no place for misunderstandings. Another example would be in line 1 ‘here’s one twenty Mama...’ he also stylizes a black South African voice when customer 1 arrives at his stall. The word ‘Mama’ is a term used in isiZulu and isiXhosa and used as a respectful title beginning with capital letter. Overall, in extract 6.2.1 Dane stylizes or accents a Black South African voice and minimal

English phrases when engaging with customer 1. He also makes use of Afrikaaps when engaging with customer 2 and the cleaners.

The concept of spatial repertoires, as discussed by Pennycook (2010), refers to the linguistic resources available to individuals in a particular location. It moves beyond a narrow focus on language-to-language relations or language-to-person relations (such as code-switching and multilingualism), and instead explores how language practices are intertwined with space and activity (Pennycook 2010). Here, the spatial repertoire of the market allows Dane to switch fluidly between languages depending on whom he is addressing and what task he is performing. The flexible language use is suited to the bustling fish market, where communication is often needed to be quick and practical for efficiency. Dane's linguistic repertoire includes Afrikaaps and English suitable for the market context, where both languages and varieties are commonly used and understood by customer 1 and 2. He navigates the market's physical and social space, using short, directive phrases, especially when interacting with both customers the other employees who oversee cutting up of the fish.

After exploring and analysing Dane's interactions with customer 1 and customer 2, we saw Dane's use of style using Afrikaaps, Afrikaans, and short minimal English phrases to produce efficient communication. Following this, the next section of chapter six will focus on Dane's metro-and multilingual communication within his fish stall analysing extract 6.3.1 below.

6.3 Metrolingual and Multilingual Communication of Fish Stall One

In this section of the chapter I will explore the metrolingual and multilingual communication practices Dane uses to engage with his customers. To do this, I will utilize extract 6.3.1 below where Dane assists four customers simultaneously making use of English, Afrikaaps, and Afrikaans. Before analysing the extract below, I will firstly set the scene for the reader. Subsequently, I will analyse the explored themes in this section such as turn-taking within interactions, the embodied actions taking place, Dane's stylization and his language use and lastly how it all relates to his spatial awareness within the fish market.

Extract 6.3.1 Dane

English: Calibri; Kaaps: Courier New; Afrikaans: Berlin Sans FB isiXhosa: Aptos

1. Dane: Snoek is one twenty eene (one) Stokvis [0.2] Snoek [0.2] (*as the customer 2 points out*) one fifty eene (one) snoek one twenty, one fifty eene [0.4] Hulle se baas weg, prys reg ne mammie ne [0.6] Err watte size twee grootes? (*sound of scaling the fish*) one fifty eene (*fish scaling continues*) *[translation: They say when the boss is gone the price is right, right mammie. Err what size, two big ones (sound of scaling the fish) one fifty each]
2. Customer 1: (*ask question softly*) can I choose for me these ones?
3. Dane: Da sy ma... *[translation: There you go ma] (*interrupted by customer 1*) Ja ja da big ones da big ones for three hundred.
4. Customer 1: But I want that (inaudible)
5. Dane: =Ja bring dat two we can change it for you no problem =
6. Customer 1: =Pleasee my da'ling
7. Dane: **Op sny** [0.6] OP SY OF NET SO HEEL? *[translation: Cut up, cut up or keep it whole]
8. Customer 3: **Sorry? (male)**
9. Dane: **Wat se mevrou Twee vir julle** [0.8] *[translation: What are saying ma'am "two for you?"]
10. Customer 3: Cut hom vi' my brother one fifty. *[translation: Cut him for me my brother, one-fifty]
11. Dane: Ja... hais twee vir n hon'ed *[translation: Yes, that's two for a hundred]
(*Dane interacts with other workers*) Wat is hai? [0.3] **ja... ja, alles** hie... **right** [0.4] **ja tien rand** Hie' so *[translation: What is that? Yes, Yes everything here, right yes, ten rand here]
12. Customer 2 (lady): Moenie sny nie hoo'. *[translation: Please don't cut]
13. Dane: Ja moenie sny nie. **Twee sakkies**, die's one twenty-one fifty eene one twenty Ja **Opsny** [0.5] Gie nog 'n rooi sakkie [0.2] gee ha virrie antie ja.
Dane: **Hallo meneer kan ek help**, [inaudible] **Snoek is one twenty eene one fifty eene** [**uncle soek die ene** ne (*talking to another customer 3*) Gie da vi-die ma, daa' sy baie Dankie my ma] Uh, Opsny virrie ou baas nog n

eenetjie Opsny *[translation: Yes don't cut. Two bags that's one-twenty and one-fifty each..... "Cut up give another red bag give it to the aunty yes" Hello sir, can I help you. The Snoek is one-twenty and one-fifty each, uncle buy this one (*talking to another customer*) Give to the ma (*hands over bag*) there you go, thank you very much ma,(*back to the sir*) Uh, cut up for the old boss]

14. Customer 2 (*inaudible*)

15. Dane: Hoe lyk 'ai ou baas? (*Looking at the cut-up fish*) *[translation: How does that look boss?

16. Customer 3: Ja haai lyk mooi *[translation: Yes, that look nice]

17. Dane: Wie se vis is 'an 'ai? Die eene oek Opsny ne (*knife banging against the table*) Daai ene is daai uncle sinne daar, nai dai moet innie mi/r/rel deu gesny net *[translation: Who's fish is that then? Cut this one also up /ne/ That one is that uncle's there, no that must be cut in the middle]

18. Customer 2: Dankie hoo' = *[translation: Thank you]

19. Dane: Da sy baie Dankie dame neh [0.3] Issi antie gehelp? Opsny *[translation: There you go thank you very much lady. Is the aunty helped? Cut?]

20. Customer 4: 'n Snoek is one fifty en die silvervis... (*inaudible*) Opsny ja *[translation: A Snoek is one fifty and the Silverfish cut up yes]

21. Dane: Opsny die Snoek ja die's one fifty daai is one twenty (*pointing at the fish*) [0.2] **RIGHT BEVAN! [0.2]** Dai's dai man se snoek ha, hais hai man se snoek, hais hai man se snoek. One fifty ha neh Daai's uhh 'n ander man se Snoek, (*talking to his workers*) daai mense is agter julle. Hie'so is uncle se snoek. Sakkie. Sakkie. Sakkie. Da sy Dankie... *[translation: Cut up the Snoek? This one is one-fifty and that is one-twenty. That there is ma's snoek, that is there is that man's snoek. There, those people are behind you guys. Here is your snoek uncle. Bag? Bag? There you go thank you.]

Before analysing the extract above I will set the scene for the reader. In extract 6.3.1 the languages we come across are English, Afrikaans, Afrikaaps, and isiXhosa. Prior to providing the context, I will describe the participants according to my field notes and observations to eliminate any potential ambiguity. Customer 1 in the previous extract 6.2.1 is continuing with

interactions in the above extract 6.3.1, thus referring her to Customer 1 again. As mentioned previously, per my fieldnotes and observations Customer 1 is a Black female to whom Dane uses minimal English phrases. Customer 2 is a Coloured female customer who arrives at Dane's stall and begins the interactions with gestures by pointing at the fish. I address the customers according to gender because in the extract Dane uses 'antie' (aunty), 'dame (lady) and Ou baas (Old Boss) when interacting with them. Customer 2 does not interact much but when she does she addresses Dane in Afrikaaps. Customer 3 is a male who also speaks Afrikaaps with Dane and refers to Dane as 'brother'. In the last part of the extract, a new customer arrives, referred to as customer 4 and is a female as Dane addresses her as 'antie'.

The above extract 6.3.1 sets the scene as a perfect example for the bustling environment of both fish stalls. The extract above follows the simultaneous interactions Dane has with Customer 1, 2, 3, and 4. While interacting with these customers Dane has to navigate his environment by sorting out the cleaning and interacting with the other workers as well. At the beginning of extract 6.3.1, Customer 2 refrains from verbal interaction but employs nonverbal communication through gestures, specifically pointing to the fish displayed on the table at Dane's stall. Dane responds by providing prices for each, resulting in pauses between "Stokvis" and "Snoek" in line 1. Subsequently, Dane utilizes an Afrikaaps phrase, "Hulle se baas weg prys reg ne mammie ne," in line 1, to encourage Customer 2 to make a purchase at his stall. Customer 2 interrupts the transaction, having overheard Dane's explanation of prices and fish sizes to Customer 2, and wishes to select a different fish. Dane continues with the interactions and proceeds to say yes she may it is not a problem. Furthermore, as Dane's customers are standing under his fish stall, he must navigate between the customers and their orders. For instance, in lines 7-11, Dane interacts with customer 2, 3, and the other workers in the fish stall. Customer 3 in line 10 engages with Dane by stating, "Cut hom vi'my brother one fifty," to which Dane only responds in line 13 by confirming his order. Dane proceeds to display the fish to customer 3 and inquires if it appears satisfactory. Customer 3 subsequently responds to indicate that it looks acceptable in line 16. Dane then communicates with his workers in the fish market to coordinate the cutting of fish and its allocation to the respective customers. Lastly, in lines 18 and 19 Dane closes the interactions with customer 2 and another interaction begins with customer 4. While navigating this, Dane interacts with his workers to clarify the cutting of fish and to whom it belongs. This whole extract shows how Dane navigates with various customers and his workers evident to his bustling space of his stall.

In the following section I will explore and analyse the language strategies, practices, and styles Dane makes use of while interacting with customers from various backgrounds all within the space of his fish stall. This extract highlights Dane's metrolingual multitasking within the busy fish market setting, layering approaches such as turn-taking, overlapping, gaps, embodied actions in relation to spatial repertoires.

Firstly, Dane responds to each customer's needs and he often addresses multiple customers creating overlapping within turn-taking. For example, in line 3, Dane responds to customer 2 in Afrikaaps "Da sy ma" (there you go), to take her fish but he overlaps when saying "ja ja da big ones...", when responding to the query of customer 1. This is evident in Dane's strategy how he interacts with both customers simultaneously while packing the fish and keeping the customers by his stall only. Within turn-taking gaps or pauses are also visible within Dane's linguistic strategies. For example, in line 7 he asks the customer 3 "op sny [0.6] op sny of net so heel?". With a six second pause in between, he pauses to focus on the customer's request adding a gap for clarification. It also serves as a repair strategy. For example, he asks the question "op sny?" and after the pause he reiterates and uses a longer phrase "op sny of net so heel" to give a better explanation and for clarification to the customer. Moreover, in extract 6.3.1 Dane interacts with four customers and other employees within the fish market space. Dane often creates gaps between interactions with customers. For example, in lines 2 and 3, when customer 1 asks "can I choose for me these ones" Dane first responds to customer 2 "Da sy ma" creating a gap between his response for customer 1 by then saying "ja ja da big ones...". Another example of gaps within Dane's turn-taking would be from line 7 to 11 where Dane asks customer 3 "Op sy of net so heel?" (translation: Cut up or just so whole) and then in the next line asks customer 2 "wat se mevrou?". Customer 3 responds after this interaction by saying "cut hom vi my brother". Dane employs pauses within turn-taking to facilitate efficient and effective communication with all of his customers. He also utilizes this technique to encourage customers to remain at his stall rather than proceeding to other fish stalls within the fish market environment.

Furthermore, Dane applies non-verbal gestures as well, known as embodied interactions. For example, when Dane uses verbal instructions or question such as "Op sny" he physically holds the fish combining verbal and physical gestures to confirm the customer's order. When Dane

gives prices to customers, he points to the fish as he gives the price of each. This also minimizes any misunderstandings in the busy and noisy space and for clarification: in line 15 Dane asks “Hoe lyk ‘ai ou baas” as he opens the fish and presents it to customer 3. He combines verbal language with non-verbal actions and gestures. This is evident in how Dane navigates and adapts to communication within in the fish market space where he fluently moves between languages or varieties and modes of communication.

Following turn-taking, overlapping, gaps, and embodied interactions employed by Dane in the fish market, in the next section I will explore the different styles, accents and dialects Dane uses as strategies when interacting and engaging with customers from different backgrounds.

Within extract 6.3.1 we see the languages Afrikaans, Afrikaaps, and English present in this interaction. Utilising the above extract, I will analyse Dane’s stylization when interacting with his customers. With evidence to the above extract Dane mainly makes use of Afrikaaps when engaging with his customers. As previously mentioned, Customer 1 was a black female who spoke English to Dane, and he responded with minimal English phrases. Similar in this extract, Dane switches from Afrikaaps to English when interacting with customer 1 again. For example, in line 3 Dane interacts with customer 2 by saying “da sy ma” and code switches to an English phrase “ja ja da big ones da big ones for three hundred” responding to the query of customer 1. The English phrase moves away from standard English reflecting the vocabulary and pronunciation of a Cape Flats English. Then in line 1, after stating the prices of fish to customer 1 he makes use of the saying “Hulle se baas weg, prys reg ne mammie ne”. This phrase is often heard in sales or when wanting to attract customers to buy the product. Dane makes use of the phrase or word ‘ne’ twice in the sentence. As I previously discussed, the use of the lexical feature ‘ne’ also used in Cape Flats English as a filler that has no equivalent in English (Williams, 2016:125). McCormick (2008:259) further states that it also serves as a tag question. Here Dane makes use of Afrikaans mixing linguistic features or style of Cape Flats English as his speech style to engage with customer 2 – who as I observed and in my fieldnotes is a Coloured female, introducing her to the fish and to buy at his stall. Dane uses the lexical feature ‘ne’ to serve as confirmation and clarity for the customer to buy by his stall. In line 19 Dane uses the same lexical feature ‘neh’ or /ne/. In this line Dane closes the interaction with “Da sy baie Dankie dame neh” (translation: *There you go, thank you very much Ma’am ne*), he uses /ne/ as a tag question in this context to serve as clarification for him to see if customer 2 is satisfied with the fish. Another style Dane utilises is the phrase “Hoe lyk ‘ai Ou baas” (translation: How does that look old boss) the phrase ‘Ou baas’ is typically used in Standard

Afrikaans showing respect. Dane uses this to address this specific customer as a sign of respect normally used when interacting with an older male individual.

All these language strategies, practices and styles form part of Dane's spatial awareness. It is evident how he navigates two different sections of the fish market, his stall, cleaning sections and the area he packs the fish. In lines 10 and 13 where he uses phrases like "sakkie" (bag) or "Opsny" (cutting) he navigates between different spaces and also helps customers understand the process of his stall and different areas. The way Dane navigates and communicates across two different area shows his awareness of his space and how flexible he is within space, while managing more than 1 customer. This extract is a perfect example of metrolingual multitasking where he uses different languages such as English and Afrikaans to engage with customers and his adaptability to adapt – all while navigating the space of the market.

6.4 The Metrolingual Multitasking of Fish Stall Two

In this section of chapter six I will analyse the second fish stall. The participants here include Ash, who manages the second stall, customer 1 and employee 2. This analysis will utilize extract 6.4.1 which introduces Ash's interactions with a customer and an employee. I will firstly set the scene of the extract for the reader. The study will examine the various language strategies and practices employed in this fish stall, focusing on turn-taking, gaps, overlapping, embodied interactions, stylization, and spatial repertoires. Furthermore, the explored theme will be language and culture.

Extract 6.4.1 Ash

English: Calibri; Kaaps: Courier New; **Afrikaans: Berlin Sans FB** isiXhosa: Aptos

1. Ash: Ja, so it's something totally different
2. Customer1: [very different for us it's like oh wow I bought it for you [inaudible]...
3. Ash: No, but that's not
4. Employee 2 (chimes in) No:: you must come there to a Coloured...
5. Customer: Coloured?
6. Ash: Or you must come to a Coloured uh uh uh neighbourhood and come come eat it here with us man then you like it ma'am.
7. Employee 2: Things you can't buy

8. Customer 1: I bought it from Woolworths
9. Ash: HA AH ma'am
10. Customer: [inaudible] ... fish was a bit hard though
11. Ash: Because they not using this this fresh fish as we, you you get what I'm saying ma'am.

Firstly, I will set the scene of the above extract. As we are moving on to the second fish stall within the market space of Dane, we are introduced to a new employee. Ash who manages the second fish stall and speaks English as stated in the interview. In the above extract 6.4.1 it starts off when we are introduced to customer 1 who as per my observations and fieldnotes is a Black South African woman who buys fish the Ash's stall. As previously mentioned, the data collected for these extracts of both Dane and Ash was 27th March 2024, a period close to Easter. While cutting up the fish Dane engages with the customer discussing how the fish is made. Customer 2 states that the certain type of fish dish, pickled fish is different for her because she did not grow up eating and making pickled fish. Further in line 3, Ash interrupts her when she said she bought pickled fish and immediately Ash disagrees. In line 4 an employee of the fish market interrupts their conversation and replies "No you must come to a Coloured" meaning she needs to come to a Coloured neighbourhood to eat pickled fish. Ash then repairs the statement in line 6 when the customer points out "Coloured" in confusion. Employee 2 further implies foods such a pickled fish you cannot buy from a shop as it is not the same. Customer 2 then further states she bought it from Woolworths and Ash immediately disagrees using the phrase "Ha ah". Ash in the end of the interaction proves that buying fish from them would not disappoint because it is from unlike the fish dish from Woolworths. This is also a strategy Ash uses to prove to the customer she is making the right choice.

Following the scene of extract 6.4.1, I will in the next section analyse gaps and overlaps within turn-taking highlighting the linguistic strategies of Dane and employee 2. Furthermore, I will refer to the different styles Ash uses to engage with customer 1 in relation to language and culture.

In the above extract, Ash and Customer 1 engages in the topic related to culture. Present we see how cultural differences play a role in food choices. This interaction shows a dynamic way

of turn-taking with evidence of overlapping between Ash, Employee 2, and Customer 1. In lines 2, 3 and 4:

2. Customer1: [very different for us it's like oh wow I bought it for you [inaudible]...
3. Ash: No, but that's not
4. Employee 2 (chimes in) No:: you must come there to a Coloured...
5. Customer: Coloured?

Customer 1 states that how during the time of Easter, eating fish is different for them, because they did not grow up on pickle fish. Ash then interrupts her by saying no and as he wants to continue the conversation employees chimes in or interrupts and explicitly states “No” – elongating ‘o’ for dramatic effect thereby reinforcing you must come to a Coloured and he pauses and customer one interrupts to question “coloured.”

Furthermore, adjacency pairs are found within turn-taking, especially question-answer pairs. For example, in line 8, when Customer 1 mentions buying fish from Woolworths, Ash responds immediately in line 9 with “HA AH ma’am,” contrasting Woolworths’ quality with the local experience Ash and Employee 2 are selling. This adjacency pair reflects a sequence in which Ash and Employee 2 challenge Customer 1’s choice by reinforcing their knowledge of fish.

From lines 4-11 depicted below presents Ash and Employees 2’s knowledge of fish linking it to language and culture.

4. Employee 2 (chimes in) No:: you must come there to a Coloured...
5. Customer: Coloured?
6. Ash: Or you must come to a Coloured uh uh uh neighbourhood and come come eat it here with us man then you like it ma’am.
7. Employee 2: Things you can’t buy
8. Customer 1: I bought it from Woolworths
9. Ash: HA AH ma’am
10. Customer: [inaudible] ... fish was a bit hard though
11. Ash: Because they not using this this fresh fish as we, you you get what I’m saying ma’am.

The use of Coloured and the statement Ash makes by saying in line 6 “you must come to a Coloured community”, reinforces the idea that a certain type of fish dish, in this context pickled

fish is only made right by people in a Coloured community. From lines 7, 8, 9, 10 and 11, the conversation changes to how you cannot buy pickled fish (a perspective from Ash and Employee 2). The customer then states the pickled fish she once bought from Woolworths and it was hard. Immediately then Ash, disagrees and loudly says “HA AH” to show how he feels about buying a fish dish in Woolworths. He then in line 11, uses this disagreement and cultural strategy to ensure the fish Customer 1 is getting from him, is fresh. He makes her believe that his fish is the best or superior to that of Woolworths – justifying her purchase by them. Overall, Ash is not only selling the fish, but he is also sharing cultural knowledge alongside the conversation. Ash and employee 2 use their cultural knowledge to create a deeper connection with the customer, positioning the fish not just as a product but as part of a cultural experience. This also forms part of imagined spatial repertoires outside of the bakkie. “Eat it with us” invites the customer to taste/experience pickled fish authentically and a feeling of being at home is evoked. This strategy builds rapport through convivial banter and crosses racial lines.

Lastly, in the above extract 6.4.1 Ash and employee uses English as the primary language in the conversation. As per my observations and fieldnotes Ash states his home language is English but is efficient in Afrikaans as well. In this extract we see Ash engage in English when a Black South African female arrive. He uses ma’am in line 6 and in line 11 as a sign of respect to customer 1. Moreover, the use of ‘Ha ah’ in line 9 refers to the disagreement Ash has towards customer 1’s choice of buying pickled fish.

With the above extract, we are introduced to Ash and the second fish stall space. Here I explored the various ways in which Ash and employee 2 engage with customer 1. Ash uses culture and the knowledge of the fish dish – pickled fish to entice his customer and to prove to her she made a right choice buying the fish at his stall, as it is fresh than the fish bought in a store. After this analysis, in the next section I will explore a longer version of Ash and his interactions with 2 customers present at his stall where they engage in storytelling.

6.5 Storytelling in metrolingual multitasking

In the following section of chapter six I will explore storytelling within metrolingual multitasking. I will utilise extract 6.5.1 with the participants, Ash, customer 1 and customer 2. In this extract we see customer 2 and Ash engage at the end of the conversation in storytelling.

I will look at gaps and overlapping within efficient turn-taking, embodied interactions such as gestures and non-verbal communication, Ash's style and accents he makes use of, and lastly spatial repertoires. Furthermore, I will analyse its relation metrolingual multitasking and the strategies and practices he makes use of.

Extract 6.5.1 Ash

English: Calibri; Kaaps: Courier New; Afrikaans: Berlin Sans FB isiXhosa: Aptos

1. Ash: Praat ma hier. Die baas is weg en die prys is reg (humorous way to attract customers) (lots of background noise) (Ash chopping fish). Pa nou gesien die verskil? Uhh *[translation: You can come speak to me. The boss is gone and the price is right. Pa you saw the difference right?]
2. Customer 1: Gie vir my n kleintjie en a groote neh *[translation: Give me a small one and a big one]
3. Ash: Orite (background noise and Ash is selecting the fish as the customer requested) Is daai reg? (customer nods his head) Orite (pause). Cleaner daa (pause) op sny neh, one-twenty en one-fifty. *[translation: All right, is that right?, All right, Cleaner there, cut up yes, one-twenty and one fifty.]
4. Customer 1: Is hulle saam merit? *[translation: Are they together with it?]
5. Ash: huhh-uh issi saam'ie *[translation: no, they not together]
6. Customer 1: inaudible—hoeveel was daai? *[translation: what was the cost?]
7. Ash: one-twenty en one-fifty (pause) is two-seventy.
8. Customer 1: Two-seventy ja
9. Ash: Orite, ek garit soma sny (whistles), yes my pa, my pa kan ma gou kom hie *[translation: All right, I'm going to cut it, yes my pa, my pa can come to here]
10. Customer 1: inaudible
11. Ash: huhh-uhh is Gerad, hy vat dit gou in pa daan maak hy dit gou daar skoon dan kom maak ons dit hie. Orite, kom gou hie my pa. Percy kom nou, kom nou Percy kom nou kom nou, kom nou Percy. Huhh Lapies waars die vis? Kom nou Percy KOM PERCY NOU MAN. Wat moet hie gebeur my pa? *[translation: No, it's Gerad, he is going to take it there is be cleaned and then bring it back for is to do it here.]

All right you can come here my pa. Percy come now, Percy come now Percy come now, come now Percy. Lapies where is the fish? Come now Percy COME NOW MAN. What has to happen here my pa?]

12. Customer 2: **uhhh vir bak** *[translation: To bake]
13. Ash: Vi bak orite. Ek gat vi jou een ant filet en een kant graat ne *[translation: To bake. I'll give you one side of fillet and one side bone right?]
14. Customer 2: **Ja, of whatever, ek weet nie** *[translation: Yes, or whatever, I don't know.]
15. Ash: Orito (background noise while Ash is cutting the fish)
16. Customer 2: **Daai een is oek mos myne neh?** *[translation: That one is mine as well right?]
17. Ash: Yes my pa
18. Customer 2: **Een fingertjie nie te dik nie** *[translation: One finger space not too thick]
19. Ash: **Daar staan die siring** *[translation: There is the backbone]
20. Customer 2: **daai die siring?** *[translation: That's the backbone?]
21. Ash: **Daai's die siring my pa** *[translation: That's the backbone my pa]
22. Customer 2: **Ek kan sien ja, daai is the rug** *[translation: I can see it yes, that's the back]
23. Ash: Percy besop' aa, sop' aa pa. *[translation: Percy mind, excuse me Pa]
24. Customer 2: **Sori** *[translation: Sorry]
25. Ash: will my pa dit soe he, of bietjie grootere? *[translation: Would you like it like this my pa or a bit bigger?]
26. Customer 2: **Nie te groot of** *[translation: Not too big or...]
27. Ash: **Right daai is die stert dit moet n bitjie groot is** (continues cutting and placing the fish in a carrier for the customer). **Pa die kop saam he?** *[translation: right, that is the tail so it must me a bit bigger. Pa, you want the head with?]
28. Customer 2: **Ja, ja** *[translation: Yes Yes]
29. Ash: Orit *[translation: Alright]
30. Customer 2: **Sny daai stuk af** *[translation: Cut that piece off]
31. Ash: Orit daas nie fouti my pa. (continues cutting) *[translation: Alright no problem my pa.]
32. Customer 2: **As dit te groot is kan n mense ma altyd klien duer sny neh** *[translation: If it's too big, a person can always cut it small through /ne/]

33. Ash: Haai's reg soe my pa *[translation: That's right so my pa]
34. Customer 2: *[translation: Reg soe ja Right so yes]
35. Ash: hou ma n stukkie as my pa kla is (he is joking with the customer referring back to what the customer previously said, that he wants a fish to bake/fry) *[translation: Ma keep a piece if my pa is done]
36. Customer 2: **Ek sal** *[translation: I will]
37. Customer 2's wife: Al isit net grate (laughing) *[translation: Even if it's just bones]
38. Ash: **Ja nee** *[translation: Exactly]
39. Customer 2: inaudible, ons is van Pretoria *[translation: Ons is van Pretoria]
40. Ash: Ookay
41. Customer 2: **Nie eindelijk oorspronklik van die Kaap.** Inaudible--- hoof kantoor so ja. *[translation: No actually we originally from the Cape. Head office yes]
42. Ash: Ooh soe pa kan vi ons help. Ek het dan gegaan vir daai goed daar inni inni inni Philipi of waar was daai *[translation: Oh so pa can actually help us. I went for that stuff in the in the in the Philipi or where was that]
43. Customer 1: **uhh, wat soek jy** *[translation: Uh, what do you looking for?]
44. Ash: **ma ek het nou nogi terugvoerding gekry nie man mmhmm. Soe hulle se n mens wag nog vi n sms en sukke goete** *[translation: I still have not received any feedback man mmmhmm. So they say that a person has to wait for a sms and so forth]
45. Customer 2: ja (pause) **en hoe nou?** *[translation: Yes, and how now?]
46. Ash: **Ek weet nou nie wat om te doen nie** *[translation: I don't know what to do now?]
47. Customer 2: **Maar ek kom weer, kyk hier ek is nog tot ander week hier. Jy is mos altyd hier. Ek gaan n draai maak en dan gaan ek al jou besondeure en ader goetes vat en dan gaan ons kyk wat ons doen vi jou, orite.** *[translation: But I'll come again, look here I'm still here till next week. You are always here. I'll make a turn and I'll take your details/documents and we can see how I assist alright.]
48. Ash: **Aseblief my pa man as my pa mos nou die vis die stukkie vis vir my bring en dan** (chuckles) *[translation: Please my pa man when you bring me the piece of fish]

In extract 6.5.1, Ash interacts with two customers and his workers, Percy and Bevan. At the commencement of the extract, Ash engages with Customer 1, identified as a Coloured male according to the researcher's observations and field notes. Initially, Ash employs a similar opening line to Dane, stating, "Die baas is weg is die prys is reg" (translation: The boss is gone and the price is right). Customer 1 and Ash communicate in Afrikaans. The interaction with Customer 1 concludes due to the fish being processed in another area, as Ash explains in line 11. Subsequently, Ash summons Customer 2 and his spouse. Ash asks in line 11, "Wat moet hier gebeur my Pa" (translation: What must happen here?). Customer 2 responds "vir bak," and Ash comprehends and knows how to proceed. Ash then prepares the fish at his own stall, demonstrating to the customer if the preparation is correct. While Ash is cutting the fish as requested by Customer 2, he engages with Customer 2's spouse by stating, "hou ma 'n stukkie as Pa kla is" (translation: Ma keep me a piece if Pa is done). At the conclusion of the extract, following Ash's statement, we observe an instance of narrative discourse. Customer 2 begins by stating they are not from Cape Town but originally from Pretoria. He further mentions in line 41 that he works in a "head office," and Ash requests assistance with his documents. Toward the end of the interaction, Customer 1 indicates he will return to collect Ash's documents. Ash concludes the interaction by saying, "as my pa mos nou die vis stukkie vir my bring" (translation: If Pa is going to bring me the piece of fish).

Subsequently, I will analyse efficient turn-taking within the above extract, examining gaps, overlapping, and embodied interactions. Furthermore, I will explore the linguistic style and accents Ash employs within his fish stall and how he engages with his customers.

The participants in this extract is Ash, Customer 1 (a coloured man) and Customer 2 (a white man) and his wife. As previously mentioned, closer to the Easter period the fish stalls of Dane and Ash other employees was packed. Being so close to one another, and competition fiercer, Dane and Ash had many linguistic strategies in place to not only attract customers but also to build rapport with customers. Firstly, I will analyse the interactions with customer 1. In line 1, Ash uses the statement "Praat ma hier, die baas is reg en die prys is weg" using a humorous way to attract the customer to his stall indicating that prices may be lower seeing that the boss is not present. The customer (1) in return to this invitation request the size of the fish "kleintjie en 'n groote" (translation: *a small one and a big one*) in line 2. Customer 1 is then directed to the cleaner's section by Ash and the to ensure the fish was cleaned and cut to the customers satisfaction. Furthermore, the use of gestures – embodied actions is also present in this setting from lines 1-11. Actions such as chopping fish, nodding the head by customer encourages

efficiency in this market space. For example, in line 3 Ash clarifies the customers fish by stating “Is daai reg” (translation: *is that right*). Here Ash picks up the fish and shows it to Customer 1.

Moving on to the interactions with customer 2, from lines 11-48 where more personal conversations take place and where storytelling is evident. Customer 2 as above mentioned is a white male who is accompanied by his spouse. With customer 2, the turn taking present is a question-and-answer format where Ash in return acknowledges customer 2’s responses for example in line 13 and 29 the use of “Orite” to confirm the customer’s order. Embodied interactions such as posture and gestures are present in the second part of the extract as well. Ash cuts up the fish for Customer 2 at his stall and moves his body in order for Customer 2 to see the fish and if it is right. Another example of gestures is evident in line 25 “will my pa dit soe he, of bietjie grootere?” (translation: *does my Pa want it like this, or a bit bigger?*) where Ash shows the fish to customer 2 confirming the size of the cuts.

Looking at Ash’s interactions with both customer 1 and customer 2 Ash is the dominant speaker who at most times controls the interactions initiating turns and responding to customers’ requests. Ash’s turns are longer which is evident to his authority at his fish stall where both customer 1 and 2 provide minimal responses back supporting the flow of the conversation which also forms part of adjacency pairs. For example, in lines 11 and 12 Ash ask “Wat moet hie gebeur my Pa” (translation: *what must happen here my Pa*) customer 2 respond with a minimal Afrikaaps phrase, “vir bak” (for bake). Another example of adjacency pairs would be in line where customer two asks “Daai die sirirg” and Ash responds stating “Daai’s die sirirg my Pa” this shows the role of Ash in providing information to the customer and the customer requesting and clarifying information from Ash about the fish. Furthermore, within turn-taking we see evidence of overlaps and interruptions in fish stall two. For example, in line 11 Ash calls the other employees in the fish market “Orite, kom gou hie my pa. Percy kom nou, kom nou Percy kom nou kom nou, kom nou Percy. Huhh Lapies waars die vis? Kom nou Percy KOM PERCY NOU MAN. Wat moet hie gebeur my pa?” (Translation: *All right you can come here my pa. Percy come now, Percy come now Percy come now, come now Percy. Lapies where is the fish? Come now Percy COME NOW MAN. What has to happen here my pa?*). Ash interrupts or disrupts the flow of the conversation between customer 1 and 2 when he calls out ‘Percy’ and ‘Lapies’. This highlights how Ash not only manages the customers but also navigates communication in the busy fish stall and market space as a whole.

Overall, in the above extract, Ash makes use of Afrikaans and Afrikaaps. In the following section I will analyse the different styles and accents Ash employs when engaging with his customers to build rapport and to achieve effective communication. In line 1 Ash omits the ‘r’ in when he begins the conversation with customer 1 “Praat ma hier”. This reflects his casual tone and speech patterns. Similar to Dane, Ash also makes use of the word “Pa” (Dad) in line 1 to refer to customer 1 which highlights the respect he has towards his customers. In the second part of the above extract, from lines 12 evident to the extract we see a shift in language of Ash from Afrikaaps using more accents and tones depicted in Afrikaaps. As aforementioned, Customer 2 was a White South African male who spoke standard Afrikaans to Ash. For example, in line 27 Ash makes use of a more standard Afrikaans “Right daai is die stert dit moet ‘n bietjie groot is” (translation: *Right, that’s the tail it must be a bit big*) compared to his previous interaction with customer 1.

Furthermore, the multilingual speech of Ash alongside the fish, tools, packaging of the fish all form part of semiotic assemblages in the fish market space. As mentioned above, Ash makes use of non-verbal and verbal gestures in negotiating and selling fish. For example, in line 19 Ash uses the linguistic description of “Daar staan die sirirg” while pointing and showing it to customer 2. This reflects not only verbal and non-verbal gestures but also the description of ‘sirirg’ reflects the type of market space they are in and to make the transaction understanding sharing words or phrases used within the fish market space or community. All these styles and language strategies and practices form part of Ash’s spatial repertoire. It highlights the fish stall as a multilingual and multimodal space.

This extract above reflect storytelling within everyday conversations. In the opening statement Ash uses in line 1 “Die baas is weg en die prys is reg” not only reflects a humour-like strategy but this phrase is also part of a narrative statement he makes use of to engage with his customers for a shared understanding. Evident in the above extract in lines 12 where customer 2’s response to Ash’s request to how the fish must be cut up “vir bak” (translation: *for bake*) and in line 27 “Pa die kop saam he” also reflects storytelling on the preparation of the fish, starting from the fish selection and cutting up to the consumption of the fish. Lastly, from lines 39 Ash and customer 2 engage in storytelling sharing personal details such as ‘Ons is van Pretoria” (translation: *We from Pretoria*). From line 42 in the above extract Ash requests help from customer 2 with his documents when he found out Customer 2 works at head office. Moreover,

according to Liddicoat (2021:309) stories or storytelling are shaped to fit in a specific interaction and form part of the flow of the conversation. The author further states a narrative or story is often linked to and influenced by what was said before and after turns (Liddicoat, 2021). With reference to the above extract, storytelling or sharing personal details forms part of the conversation between Ash and Customer 2. For instance, the narrative was influenced by the interaction Ash had with Customer 2's spouse when he stated in line 35 "hou ma n stukkie as my pa kla is" (translation: *Ma keep a piece if my pa is done*) to which both Customer 2 and his spouse responded "Ek sal" (translation: *I will*). Subsequently, Customer 2 started sharing personal information regarding their location and place of employment. Ash then felt at ease requesting assistance, and in concluding the interaction, Ash made a statement in line 48 "Aseblief my pa man as my pa mos nou die vis die stukkie vis vir my bring en dan" (translation: *Please my pa man when you bring me the piece of fish*) – a humorous manner of ending the conversation and transaction, suggesting that when Customer 2 retrieves his documents, he should bring a piece of fish. This exemplifies how storytelling is shaped by the context of preceding dialogue within the interaction (Liddicoat, 2021).

In the analysis above, it highlighted and explored the theme of storytelling and narratives Ash made use of in engaging with his customers. It included an analysis of gaps and disruptions in turn-taking, the different speech styles and how it all forms part of his linguistic and spatial repertoire. Subsequently, in the following section, I will analyse the language and gender comparing strategies and resources used between Mary, Dane, and Ash.

6.6 Language and Gender: A comparative analysis

In this section of chapter six I will focus on gender roles within the fish market industry looking at the interactions Mary had with her customers and Ash and Dane's interactions with their customers. I will make use of moments in the above extracts that I used for Mary, Dane, and Ash. Additionally, I will analyse how language and affect plays a role.

At the start of Chapter Five, Mary was introduced as a female operating in a male-dominated industry. Her bakkie is located on a main road, with other bakkies just a few meters away.

Mary's role as a female vendor in a male-dominated space shapes her interactional style in ways that reflect both adaptability and assertiveness. She uses humour, and persuasive language

to build rapport with customers, as noted in Extract 5.2.1, where she confidently addresses her customers with familiar terms like “mer’rrem” and “papa.” This use of informal and respectful terms bridges the gender gap by creating a warm and engaging atmosphere, allowing Mary to assert her authority while also maintaining a culturally resonant style. Her language practices also adapt based on her customers’ linguistic backgrounds, switching from English to Afrikaaps or Afrikaans as needed. This flexible approach to language, often accompanied by affective expressions, helps her manage the demands of the market, where she engages diverse customers in a competitive setting.

Ash and Dane, on the other hand, each handle their stalls in a more transactional way, particularly when male customers approach. Ash uses humour strategically, as observed in his use of phrases like “Praat ma hier, die baas is weg en die prys is reg” to attract customers by negotiating prices in other words, from a customer’s perspective, the price is not fully set and it would be negotiable. This humorous, casual approach allows him to foster a relaxed atmosphere and appeal to customers’ familiarity with the culture of bargaining. Dane’s interactions reflect a similar, efficient approach, using directive language and quick, short statements to ensure smooth transactions, particularly when calling out to colleagues to assist with tasks (Extract 6.2.1). Additionally, in contrast to Mary, Ash and Dane communicate prices first making it efficient to both and the customers. Whereas with Mary, she would wait until the customers walk up to the back of the bakkie to see the fish first before she communicates the prices. For Example:

Extract 5.2.1

1. Mary: "Come have a look ladies..." (*Two customers arrive*) "
2. Mary: "Hello mer’rrem, lekker varse silvervis vir one-fifty."
3. Customer 1: (softly), **Middag, is hier Snoek?**

Extract 6.2.1

1. Dane: Hello Ma’am, Snoek? [0.2] Geelstert is two-fifty twee-hon’ed Snoek is one twenty-one fifty eene [0.3] **silver vis, hake**, [0.4] **and points at the fish**] here’s one twenty Mamma one fifty each." (*Pointing at the fish*)

However, it appears Mary's actions are influenced by her physical space. The place her bakkie is situated is on the main road where cars normally would stop next to the bakkie and if they not satisfied with pricing they would drive off, without even looking at the fish. Whereas with Dane and Ash the fish is more 'stable' where customers automatically go up to the fish stall. Furthermore, Mary always gives reasoning to her prices to give them reason pricing changes depending on the amount of fish caught, her supply or even the weather. For example, in extract 5.1 where customer 1 was not sure about buying a bunch of Silverfish, Mary then gave her reasoning as to why she should buy by her and her not find Snoek anywhere else. Example,

1. Mary: "Nerens snoekie te veel wind-Dies net so lekka in die oond en gebak dame -ons maakit skoon..."
2. Mary: "Teveel yellowtail innie water it jaa (chase) die vis weg."

In terms of affect, Mary's language conveys warmth and a sense of community, contrasting with the straightforward and sometimes competitive tones used by Ash and Dane. Mary's adaptability is shown how she uses affective language to convey pride in her products (e.g., calling her fish "pragtig skoon" or "lekker varse"). Her rapport-building approach allows her to manage customer expectations effectively, even in high-stress situations where she may feel frustrated by the limitations of her husband's assistance, as noted when she openly expresses her irritation to customers. In my observations and in the extracts, Mary likes to share with customers or notify the customers of her husband's Parkinson's disease. She feels comfortable to in sharing personal stories with her customers to build rapport. In contrast, Ash uses cultural references to establish a shared experience with customers, particularly around culturally significant items like pickled fish, as in Extract 6.1. By emphasizing that his products carry cultural value, he taps into an effective strategy that strengthens customer loyalty and reinforces cultural identity within the marketplace. Furthermore, Mary has more time to speak to her customers because compared to Ash and Dane, she has fewer customers. She uses this to her advantage to openly and honesty to convince her customers to buy from her.

These language practices and affective strategies reflect how gender influences each participant's role and approach in the fish market. Mary's ability to multitask, switch languages, and maintain emotional warmth is important or navigating her position as a female in a male dominated industry or meeting the demands of customers. Ash and Dane's approaches, meanwhile, reflect a blend of efficiency, humour, and cultural related language, showing how they use affect in metrolingual multitasking to engage customers efficiently in a bustling

environment. Together, these participants highlight the importance of adaptable, effective and efficient language practices to build rapport with customers within these fish market spaces – within metrolingual multitasking.

6.7 Conclusion

In the Chapter six I analysed and explored the fish two fish stalls of Dane (fish stall one) and Ash (fish stall two). Firstly, I explored the first fish stall of Dane utilising two extracts. I explored the metrolingual and multilingual communication between Dane and his customers. These extract highlighted how Dane navigates and engages with customers are who diverse, for example in extract 6.2.1 he made use of Afrikaaps, Afrikaans and English. It further explored his style and linguistic strategies when calling out other employees in the fish market.

Secondly, analysing the extracts of Ash I explored the themes of language and culture and storytelling in metrolingual multitasking. The theme of language and culture explored the ways in which Ash and employee 2 uses culture such as “You must come to a Coloured neighbourhood” to for customer 1 to eat pickled fish in a Coloured neighbourhood demonstrating that this dish is only made right by people in a Coloured community and cannot be bought at stores. The second theme explored the various narratives used in interactions between Ash and customer 1 and 2. It depicted how the context of the story relates to what is said before and after. Both Dane and Ash have to not only engage with customers but also other employees within the fish market navigating the complex fish stall environment

In the next chapter six, I will discuss the conclusions, limitations, and recommendations.

Chapter 7 Discussion, Conclusion, Recommendations

7.0 Introduction

This chapter begins with an overview of the study along with a recap of the methodology used. I will then discuss the key findings employed from the data analysis by looking at the research questions along with the aims and objectives of the study. Lastly, I will explore further recommendations for the study and conclude chapter 6.

7.1 Overview of the study

This study explored metrolingual multitasking within two fish spaces – a bakkie and two fish stalls near a beach. I explored Mary’s linguistic strategies and resources used within the space of her bakkie. The second site I explored two fish stalls near a beach exploring Dane and Ash’s linguistic strategies and practices used within the space of their fish stalls. This study explored how language is used within the different spaces such as the bakkie and stalls navigating the complex environment and bustling space. It further explores how multilingualism and spatial repertoires are linked moving from multilingualism to metrolingual multitasking. The study addressed two different sites to explore the various ways Mary, Dane and Ash use language and how it is influenced by their physical environment.

To summarise the methodology, this study utilised audio recordings obtained through a lapel microphone and a cellphone, as well as fieldnotes and observations. The interactional data collected at the fish bakkie (Mary) occurred in December 2023 and March 2024. Data from the two fish stalls (Dane and Ash) were collected in March 2024, proximate to the Easter period when fish demand increased. A transcription key was used to indicate gaps, overlapping, pauses, and elongation in order to examine the linguistic strategies utilised by Mary, Dane, and Ash when navigating their respective spaces to engage with diverse customers.

7.2 Overview of the key findings

The following section in this chapter provides the key findings found within the data along with the research questions and the objectives of the study.

7.2.1. Key findings: Research Question

The research question was discussed in both chapters five and six. To recap, the research question set on finding and exploring the linguistic resources, practices and communication strategies employed by bi/multilingual individuals within the spaces of Cape Town's fish market.

Firstly, I will discuss the first ethnographic site of Mary's fish bakkie situated on a main road. And provide the key findings of chapter five. While analysing and exploring the first extract in chapter five of the thesis Mary interacted with three customers – two Coloured females and later a Black male as I observed. While interacting with customer 1 Mary uses English, Afrikaans and Afrikaaps but on the arrival of customer 2 she code switches to English only. With this she accented the voice of a black South African using a minimal English phrase, for example, “you come do window shopping again Papa” or “must I clean bunch for you.” She uses this style as part of her linguistic strategy to build rapport with her customers and for clarification purposes. Mary also makes use of “Merrem” and “Papa” when addressing her customers as honorifics and as a sense of familiarity between the customers and her. As previously mentioned, in December 2023, Mary primarily sold Silverfish due to the scarcity of Snoek. Due to this, Mary had to convince customers more to buy only at her fish bakkie. For example, “Die vis proe soes kreef” (translation: *This fish tastes like crayfish*) as a persuasion strategy.

Moreover, the second extract explored the role of technology in metrolingual multitasking. Here in this section I analysed how the conversation transitioned from a physical space to a digital space. Mary had to navigate communication between a physical and digital space. Mary interacts digitally via WhatsApp voice notes with customer 6 who as I observed is a White Afrikaner man and customer 7 who is physically present at her fish bakkie. As Mary interacts with these customers and Peter she would use phrases of standard Afrikaans, and switch to Afrikaaps when engaging with Peter. Depicted in the extract as well, she made use of the term “Pa”. Here we can compare the use of “Pa” and “Papa” when interacting with different customers. “Pa” was used when Mary engages with a White Afrikaner man – a more standard Afrikaans whereas “Papa” she used when interacting with a black South African man. Mary purposefully makes use of these linguistic strategies and styles for common ground with the customers. The third extract collected from data in March 2024 highlighted Mary's use of Affect when engaging with customers. Here she would often discuss or point out to the

customers her husband's Parkinsons disease to justify the slowness of her business or when she became pressured doing all tasks such as packing and cutting up the fish by herself.

Lastly, in the fourth extract I explored how Mary's negotiation within the fish bakkie space. As previously mentioned the data collected from the last two extracts was in March 2024, a few days before Good Friday where Mary sold Snoek and Yellowtail as it was in demand. During this period, Mary had to use various strategies, practices and styles to attract and keep the customers at her fish bakkie and refrain them from going to her competitors a few metres away. The first strategy she made use of was the related to the bargaining of prices for her fish. For example, "Ek is 'ie goedkoopste van almal op die pad" (translation: *I am the cheapest compared to everyone on the road*) enticing the customers to remain at her bakkie. Another phrase she makes use of "Meneer almal se batch-look is dieselfde, daar issie een grotes nie" (translation: *Sir, everyone's batch is the same, there is no other big ones*). Mary persuades the customer that all fish sizes are the same at all other fish bakkies, so it is best the customer buys by her.

Secondly, I will discuss the second ethnographic site of Dane and Ash's fish stalls situated near a beach and the key findings of chapter six. Starting off with Dane, in the first extract I explored the theme of metrolingual multitasking within fish stall one. Dane interacts with two customers in English and Afrikaans. Similar to the extract of Mary, Dane interacts with a Black customer as observed and made use of minimal English phrases like "Chop it for you" stylizing a voice of a black South African. This strategy is used for efficient communication in the bustling physical environment of the fish stall. Dane not only engages with customers but also with other employees in the fish market space. He engages with them mostly in Afrikaans when fish has to be cut up for the customers. The second extract highlights then bustling environment of the physical space of both Dane and Ash. Dane interacts with 4 customers simultaneously and make use of embodied actions in other words gestures to achieve efficient communication. For example, at the beginning of the interaction Dane calls out "Snoek" "Stokvis" with pauses in between pointing to the fish for easier communication and clarification. Dane also uses a humorous narrative phrase "Hulle se baas weg prys reg ne mammie ne" (translation: *They say boss is gone price is right ne Mammie ne*) as a familiar phrase to entice customers to buy at his fish stall where he has lower prices than the rest. Dane make use of styles such as "Dame, Ou baas, Mammie, Uncle, Meneer" when referring to customers to show a sense of familiarity and

as honorifics. Moving to the styles and linguistic practices of Ash, in the first extract Ash is in charge of the second fish stall next to Dane. This interaction highlighted the role of language and culture in metrolingual multitasking. Customer 1 as observed was a black South African who bought pickled fish at Woolworths. While Ash and employee 2 are cutting up the fish they engaged with customer 1 and stated pickled fish cannot be bought it should only be made by people in a Coloured community. Here they associated a food dish like pickled fish with a Coloured. While engaging they also gave customer 1 clarity that they will not find fresh fish like theirs anywhere using this as a marketing strategy as well. In the last extract of Ash, I explored the theme of storytelling in metrolingual multitasking. Ash communicates with customers and other employees in the fish market space. During this Ash engages in storytelling by sharing personal details and seeking help.

7.2.2 Key findings: Aims and Objectives

In Chapter One, this study outlined five objectives: to examine the metrolingual resources such as gestures, turn-taking, and repairs; the metrolingual cultural practices; strategies such as affect and efficiency; the impact of technology, specifically the cellphone; and to explore the influence of language and gender in metrolingual multitasking. As previously stated, Conversational Analysis was employed to examine turn-taking, gestures, repairs, embodied interactions, and stylization in order to investigate the metrolingual resources utilised by Mary, Dane and Ash in the spaces of the bakkie and two fish stalls. The second objective focused on strategies such as affect, and emotional language employed by Mary in the context of her fish bakkie. Furthermore, the role of technology was explored through the analysis of extracts from a WhatsApp voice note and a standard cellphone, which Mary navigated while simultaneously interacting with customers in her physical space, cutting and packing fish – all of which constitute aspects of metrolingual multitasking.

Overall, while Mary's strategies and practices are individualistic, Dane and Ash's interactions are a more collective approach to metrolingual multitasking reflecting teamwork and shifting of roles to manage different activities such as cutting up the fish. Each participant's unique strategies of metrolingual multitasking are influenced by their individual styles, linguistic resources, and engagement or interactional approaches. These factors contribute to the complex ways in which metrolingual multitasking strategies and practices adapt to the context of two different spaces and how they are shaped by them.

7.3 Limitations and Recommendations

During my research, I encountered several limitations. I was turned away from my second ethnographic site, and as a female researcher in a male-dominated industry, I faced additional challenges. The use of lapel microphones and recording devices while working in the fish market was particularly stressful. Due to the busy nature of the environment, I had to conduct semi-structured interviews whenever an opportunity arose, often as a last resort and hence I was not fully satisfied with some of the answers in response to the questions. Additionally, the strong odours and specific locations of the sites presented further difficulties.

Bias is possible in any research data. “Bias refers to ways in which data collection or analysis are distorted by the researcher’s theory, values or preconceptions” (Bickman and Rog, 2008:243). To prevent bias, I was transparent. I acknowledged limitations such as stress from the recording devices. Secondly, I was aware of my position as a researcher in the field, for example, as a female in a male dominated space. Being aware allowed me to remain conscious in helping me interpret the data. Lastly, the use of observations, interviews, and audio recordings verified my findings and also strengthened the validity of my data.

Did the use of lapel mics often interfere with what participants said? I would not say it interfered, but I would say they were wary often at times.

Although this thesis provided a stepping stone into metrolingual multitasking within South Africa, building on the work of Pennycook and Otsuji (2015) it still has its limitations and room for recommendations. This thesis focused on metrolingual multitasking moving away from multilingualism, due to ethical reasons I could not disclose detailed information about the physical space of Mary’s bakkie and the fish stalls of Dane and Ash. This would provide a deeper understanding of the physical space and how it influences language use in relation to metrolingual multitasking. Furthermore, seeing that this study specifically focused on two fish spaces namely a fish bakkie and two fish stalls it may not capture the metrolingual multitasking practices across other informal market spaces.

To build on the findings of this study I would recommend analysing the linguistic landscapes of the fish market spaces to understand the space in which language is used better. Additionally, it could help us understand how linguistic resources are used across different modes within these spaces. A critical discourse analysis would help to reveal the power dynamics that are

used within fish market spaces. For example, how individuals in these spaces assert authority or identifying bias in certain languages or varieties and how they are valued in urban space.

Furthermore, I recommend conducting a comparative analysis tracing various context from the time they collect the fish at the harbour (structured way) then Resemiotisation of fish market spaces, one particular to the next space where it accumulates various semiotic elements. Lastly, we can expand it in a space as well, extended in rural space where there have been studies like Deumert and Mabandla (2016), but what if this particular form of study is extended in a rural area examining how multitasking is different of similar in rural spaces. We will be building out of the concept of metrolingual multitasking to a broader context of rural spaces for example.

7.4 Conclusion

Chapter seven outlined the various key findings found within the data analysis chapters five and six. It presented the research questions and objectives of the study. Furthermore, it provided limitations and recommendations for further studies on metrolingual multitasking in South Africa.

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Appendices

Appendix A

Mary Transcription

The complete transcriptions of Mary is depicted below in Appendix A. It is important to note that the extracts in thesis is much more accurate than in appendix A. The reason for this is when analysing the extracts for the thesis, I repeatedly listened to it more than once hence it being more accurate and precise.

Extract 5.4.1 March 2024

1. Mary: (whistle) (shouts, wind blowing): come here Mama, come here. Ja ja you

put it rather here

2. Antonia: No, it works now

3. Mary: is it

4. Antonia: yes, you can put it here wherever it will stay on now

5. Mary: Okay, now what, what was wrong with it?

6. Antonia: I put the timer on, so it's now on for two hours

7. Mary: Okay... so yesterday's recording never came up?

8. Antonia: No, it did, I tried...

9. Customer 1: (softly) hello

10. Mary: Hello Mama, nice and fresh snoek Mama, nice and fresh ones I show you now (lifts up the net) Very fresh and very big two-fifty Mama

11. Customer 1: Yohh

12. Mary: yes mama two-sixty there Mama (points to the fish) two-seventy, dree hon'ed the very big ones. We pay a lot of money for the fish, Mama. But it's fresh. Look it here (shows her the fish) It's fresh. I cut for u anyone you want.

13. Customer 1: (interrupts) How much is this one?

14. Mary: That is two-seventy That's two-sixty, that's two-fifty
15. Customer 1: Give me this one (points at the fish)
16. Mary: Is one enough?
17. Customer 1: (interrupts) hey?
18. Mary: Is enough pieces for you, you want?
19. Customer 1: Ja
20. Mary: Two seventy (points at other fish). Look it here. A thirty rand you get a big fat one. I just wanna show you (opens the net and shows her a bigger fish) thirty rand you get a big fat snoek. you can give the neighbours also. I cut
21. Customer 1: (interrupts) (softly speaking)
22. Mary :No, no.. listen here... wait. The fish come from very far , I always honest with people, then I hang it in the fridge. Because you know where's Port Nolloth Mama? six hours up, six hours back, put it in the freezer
23. Customer 2: My ouma is baie fussy
24. Mary: Moenie worrie nie, ek gaanie vi ha pap snoek gee nie
25. Customer 2: Inaudible
26. Mary: Sy gaan nou kyk hoe lyk'ie vis van binne (after finishing with cutting up customer 1's fish, Mary proceeds to move on with customer 2) Watter ene wil jy nou he?
27. Customer 2: Gie vi my een van die en dan tweetjies (pointing at the fish) (Inaudible....)
28. Mary: (proceeds to take the fish) gaan nou sien, ek sal nie vi ha n pap'e gie nie moenie worry nie
29. Customer 2: (oh)

March 2024

1. Mary: Wa my mes dan nou (softly) (a bit louder) what's happened to my knife? who took my knife here? (shouting) "Peter"! Nai man ek hou nie van sukkel nie I'm so in love with this knife coz its very sharp (pause) (Mary shouts at her husband) Peter! (pause) jy gaatie op my

nerves werkie (longer pause) (shouting louder) Peter!! (pause) aii jirre, hyt Parkinsons, hys so gevrek (silence) (sounds of trucks, and cars passing) Sien ha, Kom (tells customer 2 to come closer to see the inside of the fish) Sien hoe mooi vars isit?

2. Customer 1: (answers softly) Hmm

3. Mary: Daa's it ontgooi, pragtag lyk hy... U sal trug ko vi nog Hys van Port Nolloth en baie Solid (Mary exclaims) ek word mos gerecord vi die va'sity

4. Customer 1: (laughs loudly)

5. Mary: Vir ha project, wat call jy't assignment of wat'ever (Marry packs the fish) JIRE, hoe mooi lyk die vis! Sh'o (Busy wrapping the fish) Amal op kap ne

Customer 1: Ja asseblief ma separate ne, want daars drie huise

6. Mary: Okay. Nou n man gewies it dan't ek nou gese het jhy dan drie vrouens

7. Customer 2: (Laughing)

8. Mary's Son: Ek wil nou klaa kry

10. Mary: Moetie worrie nie seun ek sal self indra as jhy nie... Die mense se vis mooi skoon maak man (the knocking sound of the knife chopping against the wooden table) Joh! (pause) dis nou beautiful, kyk die pens. Kom seun (calls him)

11. Mary's son: kan soma tw'ie in'sit

12. Mary: Ha ah, een een een Nuh? (Pause) AL drie separate?

13. Customer 2: Ja, met die kop asseblief

14. Mary: OH baie belangrik (as she is packing in the fish) sout ei (stuttering) die mense se vis. Dai ko mos uit die freezer uit [0.5] hy gaan twee ohh j ne een [0.3] Ek het vir pa gese my moet knliener sny, kannie so baie praat'ie [0.18] now wa die ani business. Onne die seat man, Onne die seat n man

17. Mary's son: Nou daai is (inaudible)

18. Mary: Ek willie daai gebruik'ie, wag (knocking) ek ga die vis net liggies sout ha

19. Mary's Son: (inaudible)

20. Mary: sy it gese almal op kap (knocking) hou gou soe (softly) ek wil ha wys man vis wat so bitjie wit is

(Mary) ja ma sy wiet ek het n bitjie sout op ge gooi nie. Nog n 1 (accident) two-seventy, joh kan nog nooit, dis die laaste two-seventy

11. Mary's Son: Ek het nog n pa kleintjies daa

12. Mary: (inaudible)

13. Customer 2: Just one-fifty or one hundred he? Die ene dan die drie hon'ed ene?

14. Mary: Hm, ya die eeste ene

15. Customer 2 : Nee net daai ene ja nog

16. Mary: Ek we'kie soes hulle we'kie ... gevrieste vis wil hy vi die mense gie, ek sny dit op dan sit ek

liggies sout, virr'ie wis en die onwis. Issie pap'ie ekt daai anne een oek gesout, ek het vegiet om'mie

ee'ste een te sout, net liggies. Wiet dame hoeko raak'it so pap? VET, hys vet [0.6] Vis liewe nog. Net so

liggies , wag gou wag gou.

18: Mary's Son: Ahoy

19. Mary: Nai man wat'is daai , nog nooit so. Ko help gou hie, die kant die kant [0.5] Dis 640. 340 Haal af

die goetes hieso man (shouts) Oh jire (in pain) as she bends down to wash her knife in the bucket of

water So daai twee

20. Mary's Son: Ko, Mamie wietie wat aan gaan nie

21. Mary: drie is drie is six forty... Hu uh two-seventy two-seventy (long pause as she thinks) two-seventy

en two-seventy is five-forty nuh ? five-forty and drie is eight-forty

Mary: (SHOUTS) Snoek Braaaa! (pause) Ko ma naderrrr!

Customer 2: Reg

Mary: three, two, three four Monopoly money! Laugh Jire dit lyk soes Monopoly, ek moet gou koos vi die varsity Customer 2 laughs (handles money)

Mary: Baie Dankie Moeder

Customer 2: Bye baie Dankie. Come nearer, come nearer, come here. Come to the w'eenkle! Da'sy pa Two fifty? Two sixty? Two seventy? Groot'es is drie hon'ed rand meneer. En is baie pragtag [0.5] Baie pratag. Hoe later, hoe later, Hoor(shouts) Pa! ek is die goedkoopste van hulle almal PA KOM MAAK N DRAAI

Extract 5.2.1 and Extract 5.3.1

English: Calibri; Kaaps: Courier New; Afrikaans: Berlin Sans FB

1. Mary: Come have a look ladies. (Two customers arrive) Ek gaan suma die maak R150. Hello mer'rrem, lekker varse silvervis vir one-fifty.

2. Customer 1: (softly), Middag, is hier Snoek?

3. Mary: Nerens snoekie te veel wind – Dies net so lekka in die oond en gebak dame -ons maakit skoon.

4. Customer 1: Nou wat is daai?

5. Mary: Dies silvervis, die vis proe sooes kreef, die is R150 ek maak it vi jou pragtig skoon. Twee van die is ook one-fifty a kleintjie en n grote. Ek gaan jou wys nou – dies n mooi bos wat ek nou net gebos het daai's ook one-fifty ek maakit beautiful skoon. Vra die oumense van die vis, is in le vis, kerrie vis – is vars dame.

6. (Customers go back to the car to fetch money)

7. Mary: Hulle moet koop waa's daai ander vis." Al twee bossies een vir jou een vi skoon ma. Die bossie met drie aan? Hy moenie in die son weesie, as hy in die son is trek hy silver. (Mary covers the fish again with the sail) ;Kom'an man. Mary: ;Kraak vars meisie vanoggend in gekom. (Mary cleans the fish) Baba... Hulle het teveel yellowtail in die water. (Mary speaks to the customer while cutting and cleaning the fish)

8. Customer 1: Se weer?"

9. Mary: Teveel yellowtail innie water it jaa (chase) die vis weg
10. Customer 1: Ohh. (Mary is still busy cutting and cleaning the fish)
11. Mary: Is die wind oek man wind oek – baie mense kan eet van die snoek. (Sound of the scraper scaling the fish)
- Mary: PETER! A papier, ek soekie n klein papierie.
- (Mary gets another customer – ‘black’ – Mary has three customers now)
12. Mary: PAPA. You come do window shopping again Papa?
13. Customer 2: No
14. Mary: You gonna buy today? (Mary is still busy packing and cleaning the fish of customer 2 while interacting with customer 4)
15. Mary: Any bunch, one-fifty a bunch you can see there – a bunch of three a bunch of two and I clean it for you! (Mary jokes)
16. Customer 2: no other type?
17. Mary: No other type Papa, no other fish – only this fish biting (note: a fishing term)
18. Customer 2: [00:03:57] and this?
19. Mary: R150, I clean also for you – Russel my paper Russel! Haai man hoeko is jy so! (Mary gets irritated)
20. Customer 2: (points at fish) – this?
21. Mary: Also one-fifty – Papa! Why you look pass this big bunch?
22. Customer 2: Huh
23. Mary: You look pass that big bunch there – look at the beautiful bunch (Packets frumble packing in for customers 3) Wiet jy ek gaan die man vrek maak (Mary refers to her husband who is working to slow for her) die man maak my baie kwaad. Waas daai R50 nou (customer paying) Dankie dame, geniet dit en kom weer neh (Customer 3)
- Mary: Must I clean the bunch for you papa (Mary gives her attention now to customer 4)
- PAPA MUST I CLEAN BUNCH FOR YOU! Ooooooh julle is onder bedroeg (Mary refers to

the customer who is not giving her an answer) as hy so geld daai kant uit haal. (water splashing, Mary dips the fish in water) The wind make it dry, then I dump it in the water otherwise I struggle to take it off (referring to the scales now) (sounds of scaling- Mary scales the fish) Did I throw on you Papa? Haai sorry man... Jesus help my! Gee gou die pampier Peter, gee gou die pampier, die man loep – Kyk hie, haai God’Allah, the Lord (Mary is irritated by how slow her husband is working) Dankie Peter. Joh talk a lot with these blackies, give another paper please the man is walking. Papa is the one bunch enough?

24. Customer 2: Uhh Aah, I wanna wanna

25. Mary: hey (interrupts him)

26. Customer 2: Finish with this then...

27. Mary: This is your bunch!

28. Customer 2: No::

29. Mary: I ask you was you... you look pass this big bunch – you want this fish , yes Mama didn’t you say yes?

30. Customer 2: Yes I did but I didn’t choose this fish.

31. Mary: I choose you a big one that’s why.

32. Customer 2: How much this one?

33. Mary: Its one-fifty – She’s recording me for her schoolwork (refers to the mic on her)

34. Customer 2: I want for R200 not for R150.

35. Mary: Theres no for R200

36. Customer 2: I want...

37. Mary: Theres no other small ones let me see. I don’t think here’s another small one, look here Peter – Ja then there’s two big ones. Peter kom kyk gou hier die kleinste eenetjie huh uh ha ah. It’s gonna be 220. This is gonna be 220. This is R70... there I lose again (referring to the profit she is not making)

(Mary starts scaling the fish for customer 2)

38. Customer 2: And also can I ask, okay? [0.6]Your knife is very sharp, I want that

you have to, uh,

39. Mary: I can't cut, the knife, the knife is not right. Every day I must put the knife on the grinder (sound of scaling and cutting) I Must struggle with the knife. Now you can cut it your way. Tristan stand that side (Talks to her grandchild to move away from the fish scales and to throw the fish guts) (throws the fish guts to the birds) Come eat my children. Paper (she calls out) Okay I put in and see if it can close because its big man (packing the fish) Give a plastic bag Peter. [0.6]Ek gooi die suma binne in jou gevriet want jys gevrek. His slowly man he work on my nerves – he have Parkinson's man but he cannot be that slow hoooo. Now you see the bag is too big you must buy more ha-ha (laughs) – Thank you. See, there's a lot of space in there now (Mary laughs) (Mary speaks softly) Die was nogals n klei bos. Gooi daai daar in agter, daai goed gaan waai

40. Antonia: Can I just check again quickly sorry

41. Mary: Oh you must check (laughs)

42. Antonia: this thing makes me so scared.

43. Mary: otherwise you must stand whole day here for nothing (Myself and Gail checks the mic and recorder) then it's not recording.

44. Antonia: joh then I'm going to cry.

45. Mary: (laughs) (A new customer arrives) OOOOOHH hier ko baie praat

46. Customer 5: Hello sister hoe gaan it.

47. Mary: Alright, stadig maar seker.

48. Customer 5: Is daar nie iets hier nie?

49. Mary: Die lewe is te duur om weg te gee.

50. Customer 5: Nie weg gee nie ek het n tien rand

51. Mary: Ha ah daar is'ie (unknown chatter)

52. Customer 5: Ek het my sim kard veloor. Gail: Ek dink jy moet vir jou verloor.. Sister is daar regtig niks, ek gaan n R10 gee

53. Mary: Hoe kan jy n sim card verloor. Ek het niks'ie niks niks. Sien jy ek het snoek verkope?

54. Customer 5: Shouts Bye sister Mary.

55. Mary: Bye

56. Mary: Peter! (unknown chattering) Hier was nog n... waars almal my dinges?(trucks driving past, wind blowing) (tired) : Ooooh yay yay yay yay Kyk hoe lyk it hier, Jesus Christ. Al die klein papiere ge jy hier vir my... Peter , jy skeer net een keer deur (paper tearing) Net so [0.6]Gaan more oggend vroeg papiere haal. Go over, I'm gonna give you money to buy you a nice ice-cold coke.

56. Antonia: No it's okay, we really okay thank you.

57. Mary: Really, go take a walk neh.

58. Antonia: It's really fine.

59. Mary: Nee man, jirre Peter gaan die ding se doppie – dars n doppie. JA! Daai's dieselfde bakkie soes die Peter. Selfde jaar getal. Gie gou vir my n klip ek is bang die ding waai op Peter. Hier moet n klip wees erens. Baba. I'm going to eat now. One more bread. Hey? You want more bread? Yes, please, Ma. Thank you ma, don't mess neh. Eat the bread. Eat the bread. Can you wait? Eat the bread and you will.

59. Grandchild: Now cooling(cooldrink) .

60. Mary: Eat the bread. Eat the bread also.

61. Mary takes a break

Extract 5.3.1

English: Calibri; Kaaps: Courier New; Afrikaans: Berlin Sans FB

1. (Phone rings.) Mary: HAAI NEE JIRRE, You must WhatsApp me. I'm not at home for the wifi. I'm not at home. Just come to me." (Phone rings again)

2. Mary: Hello, Hello? Kom hientoe man. (Mary sends a voice note)

3. Customer 6: Waar staan U?

4. Mary: Pa, daar wat Pa my gekry het in die Epping by Distell, Pa net op'pera verby die robot dan sal pa sien ek staan ann die oorkant daar wat die ouens altyd staan met die snoeke, daar staan eke. Ek wag vir pa neh

5. Customer 6 (over WhatsApp voice note):;Jy se nie eers hoeveel is die vis nie. Dit klinksuma so duur.

6. Mary: Die vis het vanoggend half past five gekom. Drie vis vir R150. Dans die heel grotes R100 een. Kom kyk. U sal verlief raak op die vis. Sy naam is Pinky. Hys Pink Silvervis, lekker. Kom my Pa man.

After this cell phone interaction, Mary gets another customer, in person who will be introduced as Customer 7. While interacting with customer 7, customer 6 phones her again, but this time as a normal call and not a WhatsApp call. Mary physically multitasks with two customers both in a physical space and digital space. Mary gets a new customer (Customer 7)

7. Mary: Hello my pa, lekker varse Silvervis my Pa Hulle's almal vars. Bossie soes daar... dai'sie so n kwaai bossie nie. So n bossie is R150 meneer ek maak dit vir meneer skoon. Vir die drie is ook R150. Ek maal dit pragtig skoon. Enigste vis in die hele Weskaap. Daas nerens snoeke nie. Daais ook n mal bos (here the customer checks out the fish while Mary is explaining the prices and scarcity of the fish most 'Coloured' customers want) Die twee bosse vir R300.

8. Customer 7: Ek sort gou die prys uit

9. Mary: Daars nie voud nie pa. Daars nerens snoek nie en dies lekker vis.

10. Customer 7: Wat kos die bos?

11. Mary: one fifty. Kykie pa, die bos is n bietjie klein dan kan ek dit vir pa gee vir R140. Maak'it skoon

12. Mary shouts:(Phone rings) NEE MAN! Hello meneer. Net lekker varse silvervis meneer...Hello

13. Customer 6 (On the phone): Meneer meneer jys te vining, calm bietjie down

14. Mary (here Mary interacts with two customers at a time, one on the phone and in person

- by her), R150 meneer (to customer 7 as he points to the fish on the bakkie)
15. Mary: Ek is die enigste bakkie hier pa (Mary responds on the phone)
16. Customer 6: Ja ma ek gaan nie nou kom nie meneer.
17. Mary: Okay nou wanneer gaan U kom?
18. Customer 6: Waar bly jy?
19. Mary: Ek is hierso by... (for ethical reasons I cannot disclose any address) nou ek gaan nie nou huistoe nie ek gaan vanaand six oclock huistoe.
20. Customer 6: Waar bly jy?
21. Mary: (for Ethical reasons, I will not disclose the address of Mary)
22. Customer 6.: Nommer Hoeveel?
23. Mary: (For ethical reason I cannot disclose any house number)
24. Customer 6: Ooooooh daar, daar wat uh uh boeta uh
25. Mary: Boeta Hennie, ken jy vir Boeta Hennie.
26. Customer 6: Ja, Boeta Hennie Ja. Maar hoor gou mooi, Ek wil nie vis he wat heeldag in die son gele het net.
27. Mary: Pa, hiers n klomp ys op die vis in die bak, klomp ys. Ek het klomp vis hier moet klomp ys op. Ek het gou n klient hier, gaan U kom?
28. Customer 6: Jaa ek sal so 2oclock daai kant wees.
29. Mary: Okay daars nie vould nie pa. Eks heeldag hier. Okay Bye,
30. Customer 6: (interrupts) Wats die kleur van jou bakkie?
31. Mary: Dis 'n wit bakkie 'n brand new uit die box uit (Mary laughs)
32. Customer 6: Okay dan.

33. Mary: Okay dan Pa, bye. (Phone goes off). (0.5) Mary: Ou Boer vol draad (Mary comments on her previous customer)
34. Mary: (Mary gives her attention to her other customer now) Daai's nie one fifty nie daai's die grootes Watter bos? Daai bos of daai bos. Dis net so n mooi bos. Moek ek skoon maak?
35. Customer 7: Hoeveel?
36. Mary: Daai is net drie hon'ed Geen belasting nie meneer...
37. Customer 7: Ons soek eintlik snoeke. Gail: Jy gaan nerens snoek kry nie. Dis die eerste jaar in December wat ek nie snoek sien nie
38. Mary: Starts cleaning the fish (sound of the knife cutting and scaling)(still busy cleaning) (wind noises, truck and car noises, hooters) Baie dankie Peter, kan suma in die bak gooi (packing noises).
- Mary: Dankie geliefde, en kom weer.
39. Customer 7: Bye
40. Mary: OOOOH flies flies flies please stay away [00:33:00] Antonia: Is the bigger fish more expensive?
41. Mary: Yes, yes. The bigger, the heavier, the more money. That is for the Pakistanis. The Indians and, uh, Muslims. They make mos curry. The big one make nice pieces of curry. Tonight I'm gonna make me curry. the best fish for curry. Very nice. A little bit boney, but nice. Every time when I give your daddy a bunch of fish then he says the next day, or the next week when I get him, then he says, "Ohhh, daai rotten fish het niks lekker geproe nie (Gail laughs)
42. Antonia: My daddy is always so huh uh.
- Gail: (laughs) I know, I know, I know him [00:34:00] like that. I know him like that. Your daddy is a teaser. Yesterday morning was cold neh? You didn't even say it's December.

Extract 5.5.1

1. Mary: Ek is'ie goedkoopste van almal op die pad. Klien ma ge- train meneer, pragtig (lifting the net and pointing) twee honderd, two- sixty, two seventy. Die'sie die laaste van die veertig snoeke (no pause between hello) hello.
2. Customer 1: Jy lyk bekend
3. Mary: uhh, ek kyk oek vir jou nou aan (pause)
4. Customer 1: inaudible (het u dalk by ----- gewerk)
5. Mary: Hoe? (pause) huhh- aahh (pause). Ek het gewerk by uhh Aldenero. (Showing the fish to customer 2) Klein ma, ons het klom geld betaal vi die vis pa.
6. Customer 2: Nie ek hoor ek hoor jou, maar (customer is listening to Mary and looking at the fish in front of him and is disappointed with the size
7. Mary: Daar word nie (pause) daar word nie vis gesort'ie, almal vat.
8. Customer 2: my ma gat nie te happy is met it nie
9. Mary: Ja, ma dan moet u 'n groote vat. Two- seventy da (pause)
10. Customer 2: Ja ma hulle is nie groot genoeg nie man
11. Mary: Meneer hulle het giste gevra vir (pause) vir die size het hulle gevra fie honerd rand daar tien die pad. Vaday is dit goetkooper betaal nou vra ons goedkoop. Ja (pause) (pointing at the fish that is bit bigger for the price of R260.00) die is two sixty, is gehalte vis (pause) niks is paap'ie. Ooh ja ek het yellowtail oek ha ne pa(pause). Pa die yellowtail sien? (Opening the net to show the yellowtail fish)

Appendix B

Dane's Transcription

The following transcription is the longer versions of the extracts used in the thesis. Please note the transcriptions is not as accurate as the ones I made use of in the thesis because I listened to it several times to be accurate as possible.

Extract 6.2.1 and Extract 6.3.1

1. Antonia: Its gonna end in 120minutes
2. Men talking in the background,
3. Background employee: HALO dames, stokvis, snoek, geelste't
4. Setting up the lapel mic
5. Dane: Hello Ma'am, Snoek? [0.2] Geelstert is two-fifty twee-hon'ed Snoek is one twenty-one fifty eene [0.3] silvervis, hake, [0.4] *and points at the fish* here's one twenty Mamma one fifty each." (*Pointing at the fish*)
6. Customer 1: The one of one twenty
7. Dane: Chop it for you?
8. Customer 1: Two for one – [*inaudible*]
9. Dane: fifty (Dane interrupts) Must I cut it up for you?
10. Customer 1: E'we (softly replies)
11. Dane: Sny gou op HA! Tw'ie snoeke haa (*shouts at his helpers/other employees*)
(to another customer) Yellow tail is two fifty en drie-hon'ed rand.
12. Customer 2: Tot watter tyd is julle hie' (*ask question softly, till what time are they there*)
13. Dane: Tot half sie'we toe dame."

(*knives clattering in the background*)

14. Dane: Hai's scary vis yellow tale ofi hake, ofi snoek menee, ' Die hake is soe 2 vir'i hon'ed rand, snoek is one twenty eene 150 een yellow tail two fifty three hundred, White stumpnose three forra hundred two for one fifty. Red sne'pper three for one twenty. : Haisi al'lie ma hie's nog Ho! [pause] snoek ma'am? Hie'so is'ie hake menee' yellow tail wit stomnu's, (referring the customer to other fish (Dane is juggling between customers and attracting them to his stall))
15. Employee 2: Bevan! Bevan! (calling out to the other employee)
16. Dane: Yes boss, yellowtail [0.5], haai een yellowtail (employees in the background arguing about who's fish is who's) haai een yellowtail hai een is hai mense sinne eertse sinne
17. Employee 2: Issi uncle sinne (inaudible)
18. Dane: Snoek dame, yellowtail, stokvis
19. Other Customer: Die? (pointing at the fish)
20. Dane: hais twee vir 'n hon'ed rand die hake [0.6]snoek is one twenty eene one fifty eene yellowtail is soe 'n two fifty
21. Customer 3: (softly) Maak julle skoon?
22. Dane: Hulle maak hom skoon hulle sny hom op bring n fillet net wat menee wil he, skin fillet oek, ek gaan nou hai twee sny op. Snoek is one twenty eene one fifty eene snoek one twenty one fifty eene
23. Employee 3: (in the background) silver vis honde'd rand 'n bos
24. Dane: Hulle se baas weg, prys reg ne mammie ne "Err watte size twee grootes (sound of scaling the fish) one fifty eene (fish scaling continues)
25. Customer 1: (ask question softly) For how much?
26. Dane: Da sy ma... (gets interrupted by another customer) Ja ja da big ones da big ones for three hundred.

27. Customer 1: But I want that (inaudible)
28. Dane: Ja bring dat two we can change it for you no problem,
29. Customer 1: Pleasee my da'ling
30. Dane: Ja we can change it for you no problem (takes the fish the customer chose and moves it to the cutting section) Op sny [0.6] OP SY OF NET SO HEEL?
31. Customer 1: (ask question softly) Cut small.
32. Dane: Wat se mevrou "Twee vir julle [0.8]
33. Customer 2: Cut hom vi'my brother one fifty.
34. Dane: Ja... hais twee vir n hon'ed Wat is hai? [0.3] ja... ja, alles hie... ja tien rand
Hie'so
35. Customer 3 (lady): Moenie sny nie hoo'.
36. Dane: Ja moenie sny nie. Twee sakkies, die's one twenty-one fifty eene one twenty Ja
"Opsny [0.2] Gie nog 'n rooi sakkie [0.2]gee ha virie antie ja." Hallo meneer kan ek help,
[inaudible] Snoek is one twenty eene one fifty eene uncle koop die ene ne (talking to
another customer) Gee da vi-die ma, daa' sy baie Dankie my ma] Uh, Opsny virrie ou
baas nog n eenetjie Opsny [inaudible]
37. Customer 2 (inaudible)
38. Dane: Hoe lyk 'ai ou baas? Wie se vis is 'ai? Die eene oek Opsny. (knife banging against
the table) Daais daai uncle sinne daar, nai dai moet innie mirrel deu gesny net [Da sy baie
Dankie dame hoo' Issi auntie gehelp?
39. Customer 3: Opsny (inaudible)
40. Dane: Opsny die snoek this one fifty daai one twenty. Dai's dan man se snoek ha, hais hai
man se snoek, hais hai man se snoek. Da, daai mense is agter julle. Hie'so is uncle se
snoek. Sakkie? Sakkie? Da sy Dankie. Hie's antie se snoek
41. Customer 5: Het hulle niks koppe nie

42. Dane: Niks koppe nie dankie [0.5] n bossie silvervis. Skoonmaak hulle vra tien ran' net so. Daai snoek is die mansin hie. Ha'is daai ou se geelste't daa. Skoon maa kos netsoe. Daai man het betal vie hon'ed, drie hon'ed vir daai.

43. Customer 5: Inaudible

44. Dane: Vi wat mekeer jy dertig ? Ja orite, ja daai saak by die eeste stall, one-fifty ja, gee n bak vi daai man da Bevin, of gan jy nou klaar maak?

45. Bevin: Ja

46. Dane: Gie bak haa, n lee bak Mario. Aunty wag nog net vir daai vis ne?

47. Customer 5: Ja

48. Dane: Hie'so Dankie. [0.6] Hello ma snoek? Stokvis? Yellowtail?

49. Customer 6: Ek soek vis koppe? Dane: Niks koppe nie ma. [0.7] Orite vat da Mario, Haasi vars hake nou net gekom ja, hiesi dinge hiesi vars hake nou haar is hulle nou ja. Fresh Hake fresh Snoek, vyf.[0.5] Hello Meneer snoek?yellowtail?stokvis? silvervis? Harsoe one-fifty one-twenty eene, Haars van hon'ed rand eene twee vir one-eight. Yellowtail is soe two-fifty en drie hon'ed rand. Stokvis is soe van twee vir n hon'ed twee vir one-fifty, one-twenty eene en one-fifty eene. (long pause) Wat maak hulle hie

(Lots of background noise while they are cutting up fish. Water splashing noise as they cleaning)

50. Dane: Daai'sie allie das nog mammie ne

51. Customer 7: inaudible (lots of wind noise and customer is not very near to Dane is practically shouting at her so that she can hear him)

52. Dane: Daars silvervis oek ja, ja. (wind making noise) Hello mammie snoek? Yellowtail? Vars stokvis? Silvervis? [0.3] Snoek?

53. Customer 7: Ja

54. Dane: One-fifty eene. Opsny?
55. Customer 7: Ja
56. Dane: Die eene opkap veniet ma
57. Customer 7: hoeveel vir die silvervis?
58. Dane: Wat se ma, hon'ed rand vi drie, opkap een vir one-fifty ha
59. Customer 7: inaudible
60. Dane: Wie se soe, hulle?
61. Customer 7: ek kom by jou
62. Dane: oohh ja dis hon'ed rand vi drie, hon'ed rand vi drie, ja cleaner daa
63. Customer 7: Hulle ma net gese dit moet opkap
64. Dane: Orite my ma. Snoek is one-fifty silvervis is drie vi n hon'ed rand (continues cutting)
65. Customer 7: Moet ek hier betaal?
66. Dane: Ja, by my vi die vis my ma. Stokvis is soe twee vir n hon'ed, daars twee vi one-twenty, twee vir twee hon'ed, one-twenty eene, one fifty eene heel grootes. Wat se my ma? Baie dankie.
67. Customer 7: Ek gaan gou [inaudible]
68. Dane : Hy gaan dit tot hier bring, ma kan lekker da sit dan sit hy dit in n sakkie (background noise) Wie se vis is dan daai? Ohh hiesie, nog n twinting gie boota. Hake is twee vi n hon'ed, twee vi one-fifty, twee vir twee hon'ed, one-twenty eene, one fifty eene. Snoek is one-fifty menea. Opsny ha twee haa. Kap gou twee Snoeke daa Nadeem, ja help da voor help daar voor. Huh-uhh hy moet nog vir my three-seventy. (Background noise) Wie is dai, kap om dwars deur. Hello menea hy gaan nou hy is besag met die twee. Uncle kan ek help uncle?
69. Customer 8: Hoeveel is daai?

70. Dane: Die Yellowtail is drie hon'ed rand die grootes and two-fifty die kleinchies. (lots of background noise and wind) Die wat is daai? Die hake? Los daai, daai gat saam. (inaudible) Snoek ja. Hello Ma'am, kan ek help mevrou? {12} Hello mammie Snoek? Stokvis? Yellowtail? Silvervis? Stomnu's? Are you Orite. We got the yellowtail, white stomnu's, hake and red snapper. Ja drie hon'ed dankie menee
71. Customer 9: how much?
72. Dane: three for hundred for you, ja the white stomnu's
73. Customer 9: and the hake
74. Dane: the hake is a hundred for two, one-fifty for two, two for two hundred and one-eighty and one-thirty fresh hake just right
75. Customer 9: I need hake
76. Dane: what size, the hundred rand one? One fifty one?
77. Customer 9: I only want hake
78. Dane: what size: hundred rand one? One-fifty one? Hundred or one-fifty? Its different size big one small one
79. Customer 9: small one
80. Dane: Small one is hundred rand, clean aai kom. Hello ma kan ek help, n hon'ed rand vi drie. Wat se uncle n groote. Stomnu's is ok drie vi n hon'ed daai's twee vir one'fifty. Two hundred for me. Hier is n ABSA, FNB, Netbank and Capitec is daar voor. Hies n ABSA net hie op die hoek uncle. Wat se my ma? Daai twee skoonmaak? Hulle vra tien rand. CLEANER. Thank you
81. Customer 9: Next time we negotiate
82. Dane: Ja no problem. Moet dit skoonmaak? Hulle vra tien rand. Watte eene uncle voor uncle gaan, dai eene, reg. Skoon maak? CLEANER CLEANER uncle ook n groote, dis orite hulle gat it skoonmaak. Hello dames ne

83. Customer 10: how much
84. Dane: One-fifty each. All fresh Snoek. Help die uncle ha, help die unce ha groote vi drie hon'ed. Gaan haal da uit die water uit soema vi die uncle daa drie hon'ed. (background noise) Daai eenetjie vir die pa. Hulle se vettes en maares hie by my jong. Snoek dames? Stokvis. Snoek is one-twenty eene one-fifty eene. One fifty eene uncle. Hy kom nou moenie worry nie ma hy kom HALLO! Hies die vis, die antie se vis. Hello Menee kan ek help menee vidag? Praat saam met my
85. Customer 11: Hoeveel is daai
86. Dane: One-fifty eene. (pointing at the fist) Stokvis, silvervis
87. Customer 9: What is this?
88. Dane: The hake is two for a hundred, two for one-fifty, two for two-hundred, one-twenty, one-eighty. Two-fifty, drie hon'ed rand. Snoek is one-fifty eene en daai is yellowtail (inaudible lots of wind noise) What you gonna do with the fish ma'am
89. Customer 12: Sorry?
90. Dane: what you gonna do with the fish pickle or fry or braai, Oven?
91. Customer 12: Pickle
92. Dane: Hy kom nou met die antie sin. Pickle is nice ja. Only one middle bone same like the hake only one middle bone. You can fillet it take the bone out no bones. (background noise) Ja ons kyk ma of da more is van ons het gehat vi onggened
93. Customer 11: ma is dis kla
94. Dane: Ons kry die vis net soes ons hulle vang (inaudible) Ek wek elke dag met vis ma ek vangi vissi. Antie? Drie bossie
95. Customer 10: En die twee

96. Dane: Uhh is one-fifty vi die Makriel en drie hon'ed rand is four-fifty. Skoonmaak soe daai is veertig rand almal mos. Wat se menee, praat met my dan maak ek die prys reg, menee moet net praat. Orite menee and you want stomnu's?
97. Customer 13: Ja
98. Dane: Three for one-twenty, two for one-fifty, two for two hundred. Soe two hundred rand. Here ma'am ma'am
99. Customer 14: how much ?
100. Dane: Fresh hake. For hundred rand each, there is two for two one-fifty, two for two hundred you can see here.

Appendix C

Ash

The transcriptions below is a longer version of the transcriptions used by Ash in Chapter six. Please note the transcriptions used in the extract is a much more accurate version of the extracts in the appendix.

Extract 6.4.1

1. Customer 1: Yoh that thing is sharp
2. Ash: Not really, it's my my uh my hands
3. Customer 1: (interrupts) oh (laughs out loudly)
4. Ash: that's working (Ash and customer laughing) (cleaning and packing the fish) just invite me for this curry please man (laughs)
5. Customer 1: We make it very hot
6. Ash: Is it?
7. Employee 2: (interrupts) That's nice mos [3 sec pause] that's nice, then what curry?
8. Customer 1: (speaks over employee 2) Very very
9. Ash: But why?
10. Because we eat hot food
11. Ash: Like hot hot
12. Customer 1: Like hot, like...lot of green chilli's like pure...
12. Ash: (interrupts and shouts) Sakkie daa'?
13. Customer: Can you take the mouth out for me please? Its mouth...
14. Ash: Ja ja ja (knife banging on the table)
15. Ash: Ha ah man ek is bes'ag hie man
16. Customer: And we use the tamarind, so we make it sour

17. Ash: Ohhh [0.2] But that's the thing ma'am, you can't say you won't eat it, or you won't like it if you never had it ja
18. Customer: like like I don't like [inaudible]
19. Ash: Ja but now you can say you don't like it because you've tried it before (banging)
20. Customer: But you see we couldn't grow up with it
21. Ash: Ja, so it's something totally different
22. Customer1: [very different for us it's like oh wow I bought it for you [inaudible]...
23. Ash: No, but that's not
24. Employee 2 (chimes in) No:: you must come there to a Coloured...
25. Customer: Coloured?
26. Ash: Or you must come to a Coloured uh uh uh neighbourhood and come come eat it here with us man then you like it ma'am.
27. Employee 2: Things you can't buy
28. Customer 1: I bought it from Woolworths
29. Ash: HA AH ma'am
30. Customer: [inaudible] ... fish was a bit hard though
31. Ash: Because they not using this this fresh fish as we, you you get what I'm saying ma'am.
32. Employees 2: (chimes in again) Hmmm and you see like Hake
33. Customer 1: I like the hake you know
34. Ash: Hake to pickle
35. Customer: Must be fried but not pickl'y
36. Ash: Orite da voor, Yes yes don't worry, Ne man is net die, die mond afkap, die mond net afkap hier dis al. Ma'am you the second one now ne, why is it that you don't eat the mouth or why is it that you take off the mouth?

37. Customer: I cant [inaudible]
38. Ash: HA? Hieso is haane, is haane . Ma'am heres your kop ne (background noise)
39. Customer: Now isn't that to big for the braai? Ohh you opened it
40. Ash: That is for the braai. Let me show you. That is for the braai neh
41. Customer : must you put salt?
42. Ash: Yes salt, pepper whatever you like
43. Customer : Salt, pepper
44. Ash: Then you put it in your braai but don't forget your bit of honey so that it don't stick your roster
45. Customer: I musn't put apricot jam?
46. Ash: You can even put that apricot jam on but (inaudible)
47. Customer: Have you got change?
48. Ash: ja, Juan jy moet die afhaal neh die mond oek. Hieso hou gou vi hom boota. Yes ja Naomi my homie, kyk gou hie. (background noise) Lance se laaitie het die antie se vis is orite ek het hom gesien, gat jy nou ry? Pa trig kom dan will ek gou gaan man. Wa is die jong Aart my pa now trig kom dan gat ek lyn Pet shop toe. (inaudible) Ja ek will laat vir hom sam bring ma it gat mos nou
49. Employee: Jy gat dan daai way
50. Ash: NHee huu-uuhh my moet saam. Wat soek jy net n saak kos
51. Employee : daais al
52. Ash: dis al?
53. Employee: dis al, maklik is daai
54. Ash: Hy maak asof hy n klop geld het die naai, fokit een saakie kos EEN SAKKIE KOS. Naai kyk jie wag jy jyd skaal oek mos die duiwe (inaudible lots of background noise) Ek soek duisant rand sse duiwe kos man ja ek is soea ou. (background noise)Ja,

die baas is weg en die prys is reg. Hie vriet n mens sand. HELLO waar is die ma se yellowtail kom jong hulle maak vi jou kak lank ko. En jy!

55. Employee: Eke ek is al klaral

56. Ash: Ja kom aan yoh hulle laat my soema nie will clean nie soe kak lyk it daa binne.
Watte drink? Daar stand daai ma.

57. Customer: I was looking for you

58. Ash: You see they were looking for you ma'am thank you very much for your support
I hope you enjoy it.

59. Customer : Thank you

Extract 6.5.1 Ash

49. Ash: Praat ma hier. Die baas is weg en die prys is reg (humorous way to attract customers) (lots of background noise) (Ash chopping fish). Pa nou gesien die verskil?
uhh
50. Customer 1: Gie vir my n kleintjie en a groote neh
51. Ash: Orite (background noise and Ash is selecting the fish as the customer requested)
Is daai reg? (customer nods his head) Orite (pause). Cleaner daa (pause) op sny neh,
one-twenty en one-fifty.
52. Customer 1: Is hulle saam merit?
53. Ash: huhh-uh issi saam'ie
54. Customer 1: inaudible—hoeveel was daai?
55. Ash: one-twenty en one-fifty (pause) is two-seventy.
56. Customer 1: Two-seventy ja
57. Ash: Orite, ek garit soma sny (whistles), yes my pa, my pa kan ma gou kom hie
58. Customer 1: inaudible
59. Ash: huhh-uhh is Gerad, hy vat dit gou in pa daan maak hy dit gou daar skoon dan kom
maak ons dit hie. Orite, kom gou hie my pa. Percy kom nou, kom nou Percy kom nou
kom nou, kom nou Percy. Huhh Lapies waars die vis? Kom nou Percy KOM PERCY
NOU MAN. Wat moet hie gebeur my pa?
60. Customer 2: uhhh vir bak
61. Ash: Vi bak orite. Ek gat vi jou een ant filet en een kant graat ne
62. Customer 2: Ja, of whatever, ek weet nie
63. Ash: Orito (background noise while Ash is cutting the fish)
64. Customer 2: Daai een is oek mos myne neh?
65. Ash: Yes my pa

66. Customer 2: Een fingertjie nie te dik nie
67. Ash: Daar staan die siring
68. Customer 2: daai die siring
69. Ash: Daai's die siring my pa
70. Customer 2: Ek kan sien ja, daai is the rug
71. Ash: Percy besop'aa, sop'aa pa.
72. Customer 2: Sori
73. Ash: will my pa dit soe he, of bietjie grootere?
74. Customer 2: Nie te groot of
75. Ash: Right daai is die stert dit moet n bitjie groot is (continues cutting and placing the fish in a carrier for the customer). Pa die kop saam he?
76. Customer 1: Ja, ja
77. Ash: Orit
78. Customer 2: Sny daai stuk af
79. Ash: Orit daas nie fouti my pa. (continues cutting)
80. Customer 2: As dit te groot is kan n mense ma altyd klien duer sny neh
81. Ash: Haai's reg soe my pa
82. Customer 2: Reg soe ja
83. Ash: hou ma n stukkie as my pa kla is (he is actually joking with the customer referring back to what the customer previously said, that he wants a fish to bake/fry)
84. Customer 2: Ek sal
85. Customer 2's wife: Al isit net grate (laughing)
86. Ash: Ja nee
87. Customer 2: inaudible, ons is van Pretoria
88. Ash: Ookay

89. Customer 2: Nie eindelijk oorpronklik van die kaap. Inaubible--- hoof kantoor so ja.
90. Ash: Ooh soe pa kan vi ons help. Ek het dan gegaan vir daai goed daar inni inni inni
Philipi of waar was daai
91. Customer 1: uhh, wat soek jy
92. Ash: ma ek het nou nogi terugvoering gekry nie man mmhmm. Soe hulle se n mens
wag nog vi n sms en sukke goete
93. Customer 2: ja (pause) en hoe nou?
94. Ash: Ek weet nou nie wat om te doen nie
95. Customer 2: Maar ek kom weer, kyk hier ek is nog tot ander week hier. Jy is mos altyd
hier. Ek gaan n draai maak en dan gaan ek al jou besondeure en ader goetes vat en dan
gaan ons kyk wat ons doen vi jou, orite.
96. Ash: Aseblief my pa man as my pa mos nou die vis die stukkie vis vir my bring en dan
(chuckles)
97. Customer 2: Ja en dan kan ons soema
98. Ash: Daasy my pappa. My pappa moet net vir haa n stukkie gie. Is die die hake? Sys
die bank haarsel (laughing with the customer) My pa kan ek ma clean? Huhh. Hello
ma is ma gehelp al? Orite. Jy willie hoorie neh. Yes boss
99. Customer 3: Hoeveel vi die yellowtail?
100. Ash: Daa is nog een van twee hon'ed rand, two-fifty, drie hon'ed, three-fifty.
Hie's lekker vars stokvis oek neh en hy silvervis hon'ed rand n bos. Vi drie grootes
hon'ed rand n bos. Hieso ma is die twee hon'ed, daa'sy ons make soema skoon en alles.
Daa is vi one-fifty en one-twenty
101. Customer 4: Vat die eene van one-twenty en een van die
102. Customer 4's spouse: Gee die een van one-twenty en gee n bossie was daai ook

103. Ash: Orite (lots of background noise) CLEANER. Die is drie hon'ed, three-
twenty, three twenty, maa vi my gee hulle drie hon'ed rand dan gie hulle vir hom kla.
Haasy Moeder. (lots of background noise) Yes, jy kom werk mos lekker van jou
vantoffels, Haa (laughing) Niks meer hare werk vi jou nie. Kla met die hare werk fok,
jy moet charge. Praat ma hie Juan het hulle vis neh, Juan het hulle vis neh Juan het hulle
vis. Ek gaan miskien gou gaan en net my anner goed gaan antrek en soe dan is el weer
trug
104. Employee: Se gou wat het Juan van hulle?
105. Ash: N bossie daai drie hon'ed rand wat ek nou vi uncle gegee is n bossie
silvervis n one-twenty hake en n twee hon'ed rand geelstert, daai is van daai wat ek
gister geherit neh, die drie hon'ed rand
106. Employee: Ja okay maak gou.. vag gou
107. Customer 4: [Inaudible]
108. Ash: Dame ek dink hulle, ek sien nou ja
109. Customer: Nog n hon'ed rand gie
110. Ash: Uhh sien nou ja dankie ma. Dankie, Ek wil se man
111. Employee: Daarsy, daarsy
112. Ash: Four-twenty ja met daai dingese daaby. Daar kap n go jah. Mamma is hulle
kla gehelp? Orite. Salaam tietie, pwaza lekker gamdrullila ja. (background noise) Aart
ons gat nou amper spat nou neh, jy moet jou reg hou. Waa kan jy nou moeg is. Die baas
is weg en die prys is reg, die baas is weg en die prys is reg ma. Alles wat mal is different
colours staan maa nadere. Daarso is hulle my ma. Orite hulle gat nou kom. Daai soutvis.
Daas lekker stokvis one-fifty eene en one-twenty eene, one-fifty eene kyk gou net hie
ma. Hys vars one-fifty eene hys vars
113. Customer 5: Sny hulle'rit?

114. Ash: Ons sny gou vi ma, moet ek gou eene vi ma sny? Daase lekker eene one-fifty
115. Customer 5: Inaudible
116. Ash: Moet ek dit nog sny vir ma? CLEANER DAA
117. Customer 5: Inaudible
118. Ash: Hoe wil ma dit he? Twee fingers?
119. Customer 5: Here drie fingers
120. Ash: Drie fingers neh. Hy vra ietsie vir skoonmaak neh
121. Customer 5: Haa nee wag wag wag wag
122. Ash: Is tien rand my ma vi die skoonmaak
123. Customer : Ek gaan dan nou hoekal drie hon'ed rand betaal
124. Ash: drie hon'ed randti my ma
125. Customer 5: Ek wil mos twee koop
126. Ash: Aww wil ma twee koop? Ons maak.. Die antie heti nou nie. Huuhhh uncle
Akby die antie heti nou n extra tien rand vi skoonmaakie
127. Employee: Ma moet self gat skoonmaak
128. Customer 5 : Gat hy dit skoonmaak vir my, ek gat weer kom en ietsie in jou hand sit
129. Employee: Nou hoeveel wil ma he
130. Ash: Twee, hieso boota (lots of background noise) ringe jah. Daa si groote.[0.8]
Hulle is hon'ed rand twee vir one-eighty twee vir one-fifty da boe. Praat ma my ma varse stokvis, varse stokvis, geelstert. Yip Salaam ons almal is saam hoe help ek pa? Snoek? Daa langsam daa staan die mam daa staan die manhoor by hom. Yes pa hoe help ons viday?