Entangled Discourses

South-North Orders of Visibility

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2 Constructing Invisibility

The Discursive Erasure of a Black Immigrant Learner in South Africa

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Introduction

The end of apartheid changed South Africa from a refugee-producing to a refugee-hosting country. Since 1994 increasing numbers of refugees and economic migrants from across Africa have made their way to South Africa, an economic 'north' in the south. Such South-South flows fall largely outside the purview of sociolinguistic research yet have distinct discursive and material effects in that a black 'other' is inserted into a postcolonial order which itself, as Fabricio (2014) points out, consists of reworked and recycled entextualizations of colonial hierarchies and indexicalities. The majority of migrants, with a few exceptions, tend to circulate on the peripheries across local, national, or transnational spaces, disrupting local economies of meaning and becoming entangled with historical and contemporary discourses of race and difference in ways that are little understood.

Migrant families bring with them children who are generally invisible in educational research or official statistics yet often bear the brunt of integration pressures as they enter the turbulent environments of post-apartheid schools. This chapter analyzes some of the discursive interactions through which a 13-year-old francophone Cameroonian student attempts to construct new social and academic identities. In so doing, it illustrates a process of erasure in which her affective and epistemic stances are consistently disbarred and through which linguistic features of her repertoire and other material markers become enregistered as ethnically and linguistically 'other'. Through these processes, while she becomes marked and highly visible as 'other', her identities as competent linguistic, social and academic performer are erased. Here Kulick's (2003, 2005) concept of *dual indexicality* is used to point to 'absent presences' that render certain subject positions impossible.

The chapter builds on research on the situated co-construction of micro-interactional identities and macro-social categories such as ethnicity and race (Bailey 2007; Bucholtz 1999; Goodwin 2003; Ibrahim 2009). Through this analysis we draw attention to the ways in which discursive processes construct *orders of visibility*, both momentary and of longer duration. As with Foucault's *regimes of truth* (1971), the concept of orders of visibility

draws attention to the shared frames of reference and meaning-making practices that construct, legitimate, and obscure relations of power, foregrounding certain modes of knowing, being, and saying, and rendering others invisible. Through these meaning-making processes, certain features of identity such as ethnicity or accent are made salient and inserted into hierarchies of power located within racialized structures of meaning, obscuring other attributes and possible categories.

Visibility in this sense relates to *erasure* (Gal and Irvine 1995), an ideological process which 'renders some persons or activities or sociolinguistic phenomena invisible' (974). Erasure is achieved through making particular linguistic forms or features iconic of the social identities of speakers, positioning these differences so as to produce 'normal' and 'other' identities, then ignoring facts that contradict this ideological framing in order to maintain such distinctions. However, these ideological frames and the hierarchies constructed though them are continually reworked; they are unstable and open to challenge, particularly amidst postcolonial realities which hold in tension inherited colonial orders and emergent formations characterized by ruptures and upheavals. Such turbulent conditions create unpredictable surges and diminutions of the visibility of particular modes of being, saying, and/or identity attributes of speakers.

This chapter illustrates the disjunctive interplays of visibility and invisibility that characterize the trajectory of a Cameroonian immigrant student, Aline, as she moves through new diasporic and educational spaces in Cape Town. Crucially, in tracing complex processes of visibilization and invisibilization, we argue that what is often missing from accounts of identity construction and identification in school and other settings is attention to *absences:* to what should be visible but is not, what is deliberately obscured, what slips quietly out of view, or is painted over with ideological veneers.

Background

Despite attempts to build a more equitable postracial order in South Africa, race is still a key marker of privilege. However, the forms of social division, disparity, and marginalization are becoming increasingly complex (Mbembe 2014) and African immigrants are increasingly positioned as the new 'other', often occupying the lowest rungs of the new order and subject to widespread but not universal prejudice and exclusion. Foreign Africans are frequently and contemptuously referred to as 'amakwerekwere' from the isiXhosa *ama*, a plural prefix, + *kwerekwere* imitative of unintelligible sound or babble (Collinsdictionary.com. 2015). Here the overt labelling, imbued with power, indexes foreign, incomprehensible, and, more insidiously, something to be despised, a nuisance, widely perceived as a threat to economic and physical security, and subject to harassment and stigmatization by political parties, the media, and the communities in which they settle (Meda 2014; Nyamnjoh 2006). Pervasive xenophobic discourses

exacerbated by high levels of poverty and unemployment accompanied by a long history of racial politics have led to frequent outbursts of violence with alarming surges in 2008 and 2015.

There has thus been a shift in racism from notions of biological superiority to exclusion based on cultural or ethnic difference. There is no pan-ethnic formula but a restratification of 'race' where otherness is read through ethnicity, where degrees of blackness, dress, accent, or other cultural markers determine who one is seen to be as well as access to material and other forms of capital. While the colonial gaze fragmented the black subject and reconstituted that subject on its own terms (Fanon [1967] 2008), so now a postcolonial gaze refragments the black subject, undermining attempts at self-representation in new ways. Here we see a new field of visibility being constituted.

Immigrant children are caught in these entanglements of contemporary and historical discourses. Official educational policies (as manifested in schools via textbooks and school-level policies) are inclusive (Bentley and Habib 2008), but this does not prevent widespread experience of prejudice by young immigrants. While there is a small body of work focusing on processes of school integration for groups previously separated under apartheid (Kerfoot and Bello-Nonjengele 2016; Makoe 2014; McKinney 2010; Ndlangamandla 2010), this study is one of very few to focus on immigrant children in South African schools.

Theoretical Framework: Constructing Orders of Visibility

Our focus on linguistic practices in settings characterized by multilingualism and diversity locates the study theoretically within Linguistic Ethnography (LE) (Creese 2008; Rampton 2007). Through its combination of Interactional Sociolinguistics and ethnography, LE enables an examination of the ways in which power asymmetries are constructed through interaction and individuals may thereby be rendered unable to construct or negotiate desired identities and identifications. It is thus appropriate for exploring the fluid, entangled multiplicity of identities and identifications in contemporary South Africa and the processes by which they are constructed or constrained. This context of rapid social change calls for a focus on how individuals' performances constitute or reconstitute identity across social sites, how speakers invoke, challenge, or redefine social norms and roles through sociolinguistically inflected choices (Jaffe 2009) and how categories such as race and ethnicity are 'enacted, produced and negotiated in specific social contexts' (De Fina 2007, 373; Ochs 1992).

Our focus on how young adolescents use interactional resources to build, sustain, and regulate local hierarchies also resonates with work done within the language socialization (LS) paradigm. Here a central finding in recent work has been the key role of peers in determining inclusion or exclusion of minoritized 'others' (e.g., García-Sánchez 2014; Ochs et al. 2001). Both

LE and LS accord centrality to the interactional practices through which affective and epistemic stances are constructed, negotiated, or disallowed. Studies in schools characterized by increasing diversity have shown how young adolescents use multilingual repertoires to negotiate identities, shape new interaction orders, and restructure linguistic and other hierarchies of value including 'race' and ethnicity (e.g., Banda 2010; Bucholtz 2004; Kerfoot forthcoming 2017; Kerfoot and Bello-Nonjengele 2016; Rampton 1995, 2006). Others have shown, however, how complex entanglements of ideology, class, 'race', ethnicity, and language often promote the hegemony of the dominant language and perpetuate inequitable relations of power (e.g., Evaldsson 2005; Evaldsson and Cekaite 2010; Makoe 2007; Makoe and McKinney 2014).

In order to understand these processes, Wortham (2005) has stressed the importance of examining both typical and atypical trajectories of socialization in order to learn about both 'the individual's particularity and the collective resources used to accomplish that particularity' (97). In this chapter we analyze Aline's gradual invisibilization as an indexical process achieved through a set of inter-related semiotic phenomena such as those identified by Bucholtz and Hall (2005): explicit use of identity labels, implicatures and presuppositions regarding identity positions, and evaluative and epistemic stances in relation to ongoing talk. These semiotic processes are tied into local, national, and transnational discourses of belonging and constrained by, but not necessarily ordered by, institutional frameworks. They are thus partly produced by the differential valuation in different social and educational fields of key elements of embodied social and cultural capital such as race, ethnicity, gender, class, and linguistic repertoire (cf. Luke 2009). Such evaluative distinctions help to define lines of social stratification, belonging, or exclusion, and, by extension, the degrees of visibility of speakers.

However, we go further than other research in this area by analyzing the operation of *dual indexicality*[1] (Kulick 2003, 2005) in processes of identification whereby a refusal to acknowledge a particular interpellative call is at the same time a form of acknowledgement. Here Kulick (2005) argues that the 'more or less conscious claim-staking' by which *identity* is generally represented within sociolinguistic and linguistic anthropological work should not be conflated with *identification* which is concerned with 'the operations through which the subject is constituted' (615). Identifications are not entirely conscious nor do they constitute a coherent set of relations. Within a performative framework, examining interactions 'not by asking: who says it? But, rather: what does saying it—*or not saying it*—produce?' (Kulick 2003, 149, emphasis added) enables an exploration of the processes whereby some kinds of identifications are authorized and others are delegitimized. So behind the visible construction of identities and identifications through interaction lie other desired but invisible, unauthorized identifications.

Acts of identity and identification can be seen as constructed through affective and epistemic stance-taking in which speakers seek to shape subject

positions, both their own and others (Du Bois 2007; Jaffe 2009; Ochs 1996). This chapter thus analyzes, first, how stances are interdiscursively achieved or disbarred and, second, how the accretion and/or absence of stances over time have longer lasting consequences, helping to construct (or erase) more durable social categories (Jaffe 2009; Wortham 2005).

Method

In order to explore these processes, we collected observational, interview, and audio-recorded interactional data in Cape Town among a group of Cameroonian[2] immigrant youngsters in classrooms, playgrounds, and home settings over five years. Twelve youngsters aged 10–14 (of which two were girls) were participants in the project, the full contingent of Cameroonian learners in one school. Nine were from the Anglophone sector of Cameroon and three from the Francophone, with a wide range of Cameroonian indigenous languages spoken at home. Participant observation was carried out in classrooms, playgrounds, and a variety of home and social settings. Over the years the focus gradually narrowed to two key participants as representative of broader patterns of inclusion and exclusion: one Francophone, the focus of this chapter, and one Anglophone. Learners carried pocket recorders: the data consists of 80 hours of audio recordings complemented by interviews in French and/or English following learners' leads. Video was found to be too intrusive; as a result, only field notes could be used to capture the embodied resources such as gesture, gaze, which co-produce stance. Wherever possible, findings and interpretations were checked with participants in follow-up meetings.

All families of participants and their interactants were given bilingual permission forms. It was initially difficult to get full participation given the precariousness of immigrant positions politically, economically, and legally. For this reason, some learners chose not to be recorded but agreed that their responses could be written down. Great care has been taken to ensure anonymity; all names are fictional. The caregivers of other learners with whom the participants interacted in recordings also signed informed consent forms.

Setting

The parallel medium school[3] was located in a low income suburb of Cape Town where the language of instruction was either English or Afrikaans. Of the 1455 learners in 2013, 50 percent were white, 35 percent Black/African, 11 percent 'coloured'[4] and 6 percent Indian or Asian (School, 2013). No information on the number of immigrant children in these statistics was available. Of the seven classes for each grade, five were for English-speaking learners and two for Afrikaans learners. In the English-medium classes, where Aline was placed, the majority of children were local isiXhosa

speakers who travelled in from the townships, children from other provinces in South Africa with different home languages, and foreign learners from all over the world: most learners did not have English as a home language. The Afrikaans-medium classes by contrast contained only white and coloured learners speaking Afrikaans as a home language. Teachers in all classrooms were white Afrikaans first language speakers, many of whom had been in the school for more than 20 years. In this school, field conditions were fairly stable and a linguistic regime (Kroskrity 2000) firmly in place, ranking repertoires and linguistic practices.

The participant in this chapter comes from the French-speaking part of Cameroon. Her trajectory differs markedly from those of Anglophone Cameroonian youngsters in the same schools who despite similar ages, educational backgrounds, and home conditions, eventually became ratified members of local social groups.

Aline

When this research began in 2008, Aline was 13 years old and was repeating Grade 2 in her second South African school. She had been in South Africa since late 2006. She left Cameroon in the equivalent of Grade 6 in South Africa. Her family's first stop was in Brazzaville, Republic of Congo. Here she progressed again to what would be Grade 7 in South Africa. Once in South Africa, she attended three different primary schools as her parents moved around the peripheries of Cape Town in search of work. On arrival in South Africa, she had been assessed on English and Mathematics and placed in Grade 1 along with six-year-old learners. She then failed Grade 2 in 2007, partly as a result of changing schools within the same area. In 2010 she stayed out of school for a year, citing unhappiness at repeated failure and disagreements with her parents as the reasons, then moved into a new school in 2011. In an interaction with author B and her peers, she labelled herself 'nearly 14, old in primary school' (Table 2.3, turn 43) and, after five years when she was 18 in Grade 3, felt that the best solution for her would be a return to the Cameroons, pointing out that 'if I were in the Cameroons or Congo now, I would be at university' (interview, 8 May 2013). The dramatic drop in status which resulted from her initial placement and later grade repetition had a profound effect on her, making her linguistic and academic competence invisible, as will become apparent below.

Her linguistic repertoire included Duala—her language of inheritance, French—her language of schooling or expertise, and a set of translingual practices popularly known as Camfranglais or Francanglais[5] which included features of French, English, Cameroonian Pidgin English (CPE) and various indigenous languages. Her family members spoke CPE as a lingua franca with other Cameroonians.[6]

Here we present three extracts of data: two in a diasporic social setting 18 months after Aline's arrival in South Africa and one on the playground

of her second school six months later. We also draw on classroom observations from both schools as well as interviews throughout the research period. These extracts illustrate representative moments in her trajectory across social and educational spaces and highlight the ways in which a series of communicative events, interdiscursively and indexically linked, shaped possibilities for stance and the emergence of particular social and academic identities.

Negotiating Linguistic and Moral Orders

The extracts below in Tables 2.1 and 2.2 are part of a longer interaction among a group of Cameroonian youngsters at a social gathering chatting in one room of an apartment. The adults were in the other room and in the kitchen frantically preparing for the occasion. Those present were 11 Cameroonian and two South African/Cameroonian children ranging in age from seven to 13. Some were long-standing friends who had known each other in Cameroon; others became acquainted on arrival in South Africa while some had only just met. James and Jim were brothers. Awah and Bih had come from Cameroon to spend their vacation with their parents. Tasneema considered herself South African: her father was Cameroonian and her mother a coloured South African. With the exception of Tasneema and Aline, all came from the Anglophone part of Cameroon so, while they spoke eight different Cameroonian languages, English was an everyday medium of communication. The Anglophone youngsters had varying levels of competence in French, taught as a subject in Cameroonian schools but not in South Africa. It is clear that Aline, the only one without much English in her repertoire, nevertheless follows the gist of the interaction.

As the extract opens, a heated argument had been interrupted by the ringing of Aline's mother's phone. After ending the call, Aline's mother threatened the youngsters with a cane (*molongo* in Duala) if they did not reduce the noise level, before leaving the room. This threat provoked a flurry of questions and exclamations, most notably Simon's judgment of Aline's mother as "scary". The focus in this analysis is on Aline's vigorous defence of her mother's image in the extended sequence which follows.

In analysing this data, we focused both on mood structures of conversational clauses and the *moves* made by participants and the languages in which they are made. A *move* is defined here by two criteria: as 'a clause which selects independently for mood' (Martin 1992, 40) and prosodic factors such as rhythm and intonation which 'interact with grammatical structure to signal points of possible turn transfer' (Eggins and Slade 2004, 188). One speaker turn can realize several discourse *moves* (or speech functions) through one or more clauses and through nonverbal means.

Identifying what interactants are doing as they speak to one another, for example, 'challenging' or 'supporting', and relating these *move* types to the grammatical and semantic resources used to realize them, offers sophisticated

Table 2.1 Extract of Community Gathering, March 2008, 18 Months After Arrival (See Appendix A on page 243 for transcription key)

Move	*Turn*	*Participant*	*Utterance*
	25	Aline's Mother	[Rushes to answer call. Speaks in CPE to caller for 30 seconds then turns and shout to the children] ¨SHUT UP! **TAISEZ-VOUS!** (*BE QUIET*) I AM TALKING ON THE PHONE! **AU TELEPHONE!** Ok *naw so (2) bye noh*. ^[Turns around and confronts the group of children] Next time *MOLONGO* will talk to you, not me (3) *wona hear*? [Leaves the room in anger].
O:R:	26	Simon	i) ↑Whaow! (.) Your mom's scary (.)
R:track: clarify	27	John	i). Mo what?
R:	28	Edi	Mmm ^[Inaudible whispering]
R: track: clarify	30	Aline	i) Scary **veut dire quoi**? ('*Scary', what does that mean?)*
R: track: clarify	31	John	i) What is *MOLONGO*?
Res: resolve	32	James	i) Scary means (.) the undertaker; ii) you know (.) [Raising his arms and shaking them][[fear (.) frighten.
R	33	All except Aline	[[laugh]
R: track: clarify	34	John	i) ↑What is *MOLONGO* ?
Res: resolve: elaborate	35	James	i) Cane (.)Sticks. Our teacher used to beat us with MOLONGO
Rej: confront:	36	Aline	**Un bâton pour frapper les mal élevés comme toi!** (*A cane for beating badly brought up people like you.*)
R: track: clarify	37	Simon	i) ↑What was that? ii) ↑ What did she say?
Res: resolve	38	James	i) I think she was insulting you.
R: clarify	39	John	ii) ↑How do you know?
Res: extend	40	James	i) I don't speak French (.) ii) but I think: :
Res: resolve: elaborate	41	Mark	: : i).I know (.) ii) she says you have no manners
Rej: confront: challenge	42	Aline	i) ↑YOU RUDE TO **MA MERE! (.) ii) n'insulte plus ma mère (.)** (*Don't insult my mother again*)
Rej: confront: elaborate	43	Simon	i) That was being honest not rude (.) ii) she scared the hell (.) (Laughing) out of me.
Rej: rebound: rechallenge	44	Aline	i)↑**TA (.) mère aussi (.) elle est costaude** (.) [Pauses as if searching for words] ii) FAT! (*Your mother also, she is very fat*)
Rej: challenge	45	John	i) ↑Ok, that's enough (.) ii) you can't do that : :
Rej: rechallenge	46	Simon	: : i) Foolish girl (.) let her speak (.) And in English.

Move	*Turn*	*Participant*	*Utterance*
Rej: elaborate: challenge	47	James	i) ↓↑She can't really speak English (.) ii) only tries (2) don't you dare try to
R: track	48	John's M	[Shouting attracts attention of hostess] i) *Egainha* John? (*What is happening here John?*)

tools for illuminating processes of stance-taking, positioning, and (dis)alignment. Moves have been categorized following Eggins and Slade (2004) with a focus on a subset of 'sustaining' moves necessary to keep a conversation going: reacting speech functions. Reacting moves are generally either 'responses', which move the exchange towards completion, or 'rejoinders', moves representing dispreferred options which 'in some way prolong the exchange',[. . .] set underway sequences of talk that interrupt, postpone, abort, or suspend the initial speech function sequence' (Eggins and Slade 2004, 200, 207). Move analysis is complemented by other analytical resources from Interactional Sociolinguistics such as turn-taking, interactional frames (Goffman 1974), participation frameworks, and footing (Goffman 1981).

Our aim is to establish the ways in which social relations are constructed through discursive moves within and across turns and in different languages.

In turn 30, Aline, having perceived from Simon's tone that his comment about her mother was unflattering, asked for the meaning of the word 'scary' before launching a counter-attack which then developed through the subsequent turns, with John and James acting as translators and mediators.

James did his best to explain the meaning of scary with accompanying gestures indicating something huge and alarming. Her response perhaps aggravated by this explanation as well as the others' laughter, Aline elaborated James' subsequent definition of molongo in English to make a point of moral sanction against Simon but in French, intensified by a nonverbal act of pointing (*A cane for beating badly brought up people like you*) (turn 36). Here, while she ostensibly addressed Simon, she knew he would not understand, and her actual addressees were those in the group who understood French and would grasp her intention. A feature of all Aline's recorded interactions was her ability to laminate (Goffman 1981) participation frameworks through the skilful use of different languages, simultaneously engaging different participants for different communicative purposes.

A few turns later when Mark had translated this confronting move for Simon, she elaborated (42) her reasons for this sanction. Here she started off in English to be sure of being understood by Simon but then continued in French, perhaps reverting to a more familiar language under the pressure of strong emotion but also once again making explicit to others in the group the reasons for her strong affective stance. This stance is augmented in turn 44 where, responding again to Simon's countering move in 43 and in

particular to his laughter, she started in French, emphasizing the 'TA mère' (your mother) to return the perceived insult and translating 'costaude' into English at the end of the move to be sure she was understood by Simon. However, only French speakers would have appreciated the full indexical force of 'costaude': heavyset, powerful, and perhaps menacing.

When John tried to resolve the conflict, Simon escalated it instead by inscribing a judgment of 'Foolish girl' and trying to impose his own set of linguistic norms. James leapt to her defence in 47, aligning with her right to use French, before being interrupted by John's mother who arrived to deal with the noise level. Here the interaction and linguistic orders were under negotiation.

In order to illustrate the semiotic means through which Aline and her interactants enacted and constructed their relationships during the interaction, we will briefly analyze the interaction from two perspectives: grammar (the constituent mood structures of conversational clauses) and discourse (the types of moves made).

Asserting a Moral Order

In this interaction, Aline had fewer turns than others but is nevertheless a participant on equal terms. Her interactional competence was unquestioned, she was able to construct desired positions and respond assertively to challenges. Her ability to construct an assertive stance is evident in her choice of declaratives and imperatives for her counter-challenges to Simon (turns 42, 44). The use of an elliptical declarative in 36 extends James' definition in 35 and encodes a judgment of Simon's upbringing. Together with the unmodalized declaratives in turns 42, 44 these moves can be seen as asserting her status as able to set the moral ground rules for the interaction (cf. Eggins and Slade 2004, 53–4). She also used an imperative in turn 41 to make it clear to Simon that the interaction order (Goffman 1983) should not include insults. These stances of righteous indignation were implicitly aligned with by others as no-one contradicted her except Simon. Pushed to more forceful retaliation by Simon's laughing justification of his comments, she herself, however, resorted to an insult in 44, a move which was swiftly censured by John. In terms of discursive moves, apart from one clarifying move at the beginning, all Aline's moves were rejoinders, either counter-challenges or elaborations of previous challenges in which she justified her outrage, often intensifying the affect through rising pitch and volume. Such confronting moves play the most significant role in the negotiation of interpersonal relationships (Eggins and Slade 2004).

Through her mood choice, discursive moves, and encoding of evaluation, she constructed affective stances which by indexing shared, cultural values such as respect for elders (turn 36, 42) enabled her to claim an identity as moral arbiter. This stance is also evident in Extract 3 discussed below where she asserted the right to correct others' behaviour towards adults. In neither extract were her claims to a social or moral identity disaligned with, partly because earlier in this interaction other participants had also found Simon to be rude.

Simon's patterns of mood choice and discursive moves were similar, ending with his dismissive 'Foolish girl' in 46 and his lofty, barbed 'let her speak and in English', assuming authority for assigning speaking rights and defining the linguistic order, perhaps also animating an institutional voice (Goffman 1981) which seeps through the porous boundaries between spaces.

Shifting Indexicalities

Throughout this excerpt, Aline used French unhesitatingly as a stance resource, amplifying negative appraisal and constructing complex interwoven participation frameworks, indexing 'the ease that comes from being in one's place' (Bourdieu 2000, 184). Her translingual utterances indicate that she perceived the use of Francanglais as 'unmarked', an accepted part of the interaction order in this diasporic space. However, the ground was shifting under her: while only Simon explicitly disaligned with her use of French, the others implicitly evaluated her practices as inappropriate, a judgment evoked by the fact that even those who spoke sufficient French did not reply to her in this language (dispreferred responses in this sense only). Even James who acted as mediator and supported Aline against Simon (turn 46) responded to her in English. Only once in the full extended interaction did anyone address her in French and as a greeting only.

So here we see the 'interactive emergence of the indexical ground' (Hanks 1992, 66): the shifts in what it means to be Cameroonian in South Africa. The policing of the emerging linguistic regime, resignifying the links between nation, ethnicity, and language, was reinforced in another sequence later in the interaction on the subject of ovens:

Table 2.2 Community Gathering, March 2008, Continued

103	Aline	i) Ma mère aussi (2) elle fait toujours dans le microwave (2) ii) it's good . . . (*My mother also always makes it in the microwave*)
104	Bih	i) HEY! Leave people with that your French
105	Aline	i) But we are Camerounais, n'est-ce pas? (*not so*?)
106	Bih	i) SO? Must you remind me? (.) I KNOW!

Here Aline implicitly laid out her understanding of Cameroonian identity (turn 105), that it allows the use of either language unproblematically in this diasporic space. The tag '*n'est-ce pas*?', however, while inviting a compliant response, indicates some uncertainty. Indeed, this metalinguistic stance was not taken up by the others; it is explicitly and forcefully countered by Bih (turn 104) who, by identifying French as Aline's possession rather than a common resource, undermined her appeal to a common Cameroonian identity, thus continuing the gradual delegitimization and invisibilization of French and Francanglais.

Disbarred Affective and Epistemic Stances

The next extract in Table 2.3 was recorded a few months later in the same year. The interaction took place during lunch break on the playground at Aline's school. Aline was with two coloured South African friends who were also in grade 2; they had been friends for close to a year.

Table 2.3 Playground Interaction, November 2008

Move	*Turn*	*Speaker*	*Data*
Res:D: P:extend P:extend P: probe	19	Author B	i).Talking of your mum (.) ii) I saw her here the other day (.) iii) your papa too (.) ↑iv) problems?
Res: disagree: P: enhance	20	Aline	i)**Non (.) ii) Le professeur voulait parler avec eux.** (*No, the teacher wanted to speak to them*).
Rej: challenge P: elaborate P: elaborate P: enhance D: query	21	Michelle	i).There she goes again (.) ii) packler packler (.) iii) she is always packlaying (.) (Laughter) iv) Says she speaks French (2) v) Do you speak French also?
Res: reply Continue: monitor	22	Author B	i) **Mais oui bien sur** (*But yes of course*) [. . .] v) How is everything?
Res:affirm	23	Chorus	↑Fine!
Rej: track: probe P: extend	24	Michelle	i)↑Are you sure? ii)You were just complaining a moment ago (2)
Res: track: probe x 2	25	Author B	About what? Schoolwork?
Res: D: elaborate P: extend	26	Michelle	i).She was saying it was boring here and ii) she hates the fact that=
Rej: confront P: extend P: rechallenge	27	Aline	i) = **N'écoute pas! (2) ii) Je n'ai rien dit** (3) iii) SHE LIE TOO MUCH ! (*Don't listen to her. I didn't say anything)*
Rej: refute P: extend P: rechallenge	28	Michelle	i)↑Oh no! ii) You know I am not LYING (2) iii) tell her the truth.
Rej: rechallenge x 2	29	Aline	i)↑**Quoi**? (.)ii) ↑WHAT?
Res: monitor	30	Author B	i).I am listening (.)
Res: append	31	Aline	(2) ↑Yes? [to Michelle]
Res: develop P: extend x3 P: enhance	32	Michelle	i) ↑Ok (.) let me help her (.) ii) she hates Afrikaans and Math (.) iii) she is trying in English now (.) iv) she never spoke when she first came (.) v) I also don't like Afrikaans.
- -			
Res: track: check	42	Author B	i) How old are you?
Res: answer P: enhance	43	Aline	i) **Presque quatorze ans** (.) ii) Old **en primaire school.** (*Nearly 14 years. Old in primary school.*)

Move	*Turn*	*Speaker*	*Data*
Res: query	44	Michelle	i) ↑And you? ii) How old are you? [to researcher]
Rej: challenge: P: enhance x2	45	Aline	i) [to Michelle] **Tu ne dois pas** (2) she is big (2) ↑**Adulte** (*You must not)*
Rej:s: track: clarify	46	Michelle	i) So you have been here for ten years?
Rej::refute P:extend x3 P: enhance	47	Author B	i) No ii) She said two years (2) iii) she was born in Cameroon iv) and she just came here (.) v) so can't be ten (.)
Res: repair Res: check	48	Michelle	i) I was joking (.) ii) where is Cameroon?
Rej: disengage	49	Author B	i)Ask your friend.
Rej: counter	50	Michelle	i) She will never succeed in that her broken English.
Rej: rebound	51	Aline	i) You foolish [[hhh.
Rej: rebound P:extend	52	Michelle	i) [[See who is calling names (.) ii) you were two years in grade 2
Rej: rebound x 2	53	Aline	i) **Et puis**? *(And so?)* (1.5) ii) ↑So?
Res: resolve O:probe	54	Author B	i) It's alright (.) how are you coping?
Res: answer	55	Aline	i) ↑Fine.
Rej: contra-dict P:extend	56	Michelle	i) She is a bit slow in math (.) ii) very slow I mean (.) in her work
Rej: refute: P:elaborate	57	Aline and Kelly	i)NO! OH NO (.)ii) NO YOU DONT (2x)
Rej: counter: enhance	58	Aline	i)><I hate [[Afrikaans
Rej: contradict: Rej: rechallenge	59	Michelle	i) [[Oh no (.)ii) tell her the truth.
Rej: confront	60	Kelly	i) Don't you dare mmm (.)
Rej: challenge P:extend	61	Michelle	i)Not only Afrikaans (.) you make mistakes . . .
Rej: rebound: P: extend: clarify x2	62	Aline	i) **Je suis** (.) I am **un peu** (2) I mean (.) ha (.) problems in some place. (*I am.* I am *a bit*)
Rej:s:track: check	63	Author B	i) On what?
Res:answer	64	Kelly	i) Mostly Afrikaans
Rej :refute: P:extend	65	Michelle	i) ↑NO! ii) She is also slow in maths (.) and in doing her homework (laughs)
Rej: rechallenge	66	Aline	↑Shut up!
Rej: counter:extend	67	Michelle	i)I am concerned (.) really concerned for her (2) ii) doesn't ask for help (receives a punch)
Rej:rebound P: elaborate	68	Aline	i) You lie! (2) ii) I ask teacher
Res:resolve: P:elaborate	69	Author B	i) Okay don't worry. ii) We will sort you out.

Note. English and French phonetic symbols are used to indicate French accented pronunciation of English by Aline

The interaction began when Aline along with her friends approached author B who is also Cameroonian. Her use of French in turn 20 in response to an inquiry from author B triggered the first of a sequence of attacks by Michelle which occurred in two waves (reflected in the text in turns 21–32 and turns 50–67) separated by a patch of quiet water where participants compared origins, trajectories, and ages. It is important to note that these attacks were delivered and received in a light-hearted, joking manner so that much of the sting appeared to be removed. The cumulative effect is, however, a devastating assault on Aline's ability to speak for herself, to articulate her own experiences and emotions, as well as a damaging appraisal of her linguistic and academic abilities.

In this interaction we see Aline constantly on the defensive against a barrage of criticism from Michelle so intense that even Kelly, a ratified but silent participant, is moved to defend Aline at key points (turns 57, 60). Michelle's denigration of Aline's linguistic repertoire was carried out as follows: in turn 21 she laughingly parodied Aline's French. Moreover, the clause 'says she speaks French' presented the proposition as arguable, thereby hinting at a possible lack of veracity which would incur social sanction. In turn 46 she suggested that Aline had been in Cape Town for ten years, later metapragmatically labelled as a joke in turn 48. However, the implicature seemed to be that Aline should therefore be doing much better in English as this is followed in turn 50 by her labelling of Aline's English as 'broken' and her statement that Aline would therefore not succeed in explaining where Cameroon is. This implies a double lack of capacity: linguistic and epistemic. The modal 'will never succeed' is categorical, closing down all possibility.

This negative valuation of Aline's epistemic ability is applied also to her capacity to do mathematics and Afrikaans in turns 32, 56, 61, 65. In 32 Michelle animated Aline's voice again, taking up the stance of a helpful friend 'let me help her'. She was animator and author, the selector of the sentiments expressed and the order in which they are presented, but simultaneously suggested that Aline was the principal responsible for the words in the first place and committing her to this position. Halfway through this turn, she changed footing and presented her own account of Aline's actions when she arrived and added, perhaps in an attempt to mitigate, that she herself did not like Afrikaans (32 iv and v). Despite Kelly's attempt in turn 64 to limit Aline's difficulties to Afrikaans where many learners struggled and so to reduce her isolation, Michelle insisted that Aline was slow in mathematics as well and expanded this judgment to include doing homework in general. Aline's entire academic identity is thus disparaged and made worthless, constituting very serious acts of identity ascription albeit carried out in a joking manner.

A second feature of Michelle's positioning of Aline is a constant questioning of her ability to speak for herself and a frequent usurping of Aline's turns in order to speak for her. In turn 24 she questioned Aline's assertion that she was fine and thereby her ability to articulate her own state of being,

and in turn 26 she seized Aline's turn, animating her voice and denying her the chance to speak for herself. 'Speaking for another' (Schiffrin 1993) who is present in a judgemental rather than supportive manner is traditionally associated with male stances (Hoyle and Adger 1998). This has been shown not to hold true for girl talk in research by Goodwin (1998) and similarly here was used by Michelle in order to position herself as more knowledgeable than Aline about Aline's own feelings. In turn 28 she did align with Aline's obvious discomfort but took an even more serious step by implying that Aline was lying about her own feelings, exhorting her here and in turn 59 to 'tell her the truth', thus positioning her as untruthful. In 52 she responded to Aline's calling her foolish by counterchallenging 'see who is calling names' and providing evidence for her position in that Aline had spent two years in grade 2. In turn 56 she once again usurped Aline's turn, asserting the right to speak for her and offering a negative appraisal of her ability to do mathematics and in turns 59 and 61 again positioning her as untruthful, amplifying the element of social sanction: not only does Aline lack academic capacity but also moral standing.

Michelle's various 'footings' as joke teller, concerned friend, engaged listener, mask a devastating assault achieved through indexical layering: the meaningless babble of 'packler packler' (21), lack of truthfulness (28, 59), 'broken' (50), 'slow' (56), mistakes (61). Aline's reactions were to contradict Michelle and challenge her veracity, telling author B not to listen to her (27), to call her foolish (51), to question the relevance of her proposition (53), to mitigate (58) by claiming an affective reason for her lack of success in Afrikaans, to claim repeatedly to be fine (23, 55) admitting only 'problems in some places' (62), to tell her to shut up (66) and finally to accuse Michelle again of lying (68). The punch Aline gave Michelle in turn 67 when Michelle claimed she didn't ask for help is perhaps the only indication we get of frustration, a violation of the speaking subject which finds its response in a multidimensional physical embodiment of internal distress. However, Aline's attempts to save face were not honoured.

Thus, Aline was forced into a positioning on Michelle's terms. While all her signifying acts (Urciuoli 1995, 193) were referable to a shared frame, it is what they are NOT able to achieve that is significant: 'what is not or cannot be performed' (Kulick 2005, 615) are her desired stances as competent learner and interactant. Her use of French indexes these briefly visible traces of aspects of her identity. In an interview two years later, Aline expressed her extreme frustration at not being able to have a 'real' conversation and her sense of social isolation:

> The others make fun of you when you try to manage in English and they don't take the time to explain anything to me so when I want to speak, really speak, I give them only French even if they don't understand. That's their problem.
>
> (trans.)

It is important to note that unlike other school-based research on language socialization (Evaldsson and Cekaite 2010; Karrebæk 2013), there was no transforming of faulty talk, no attempt to assist Aline by her peers. Thus, faced with constant disparagement of her abilities and her feeling that she can never 'really speak', she adopted a solitary stance of resistance, persisting in her use of French in the full knowledge that no-one would understand.

Despite her increasing isolation, Aline continued to engage in social encounters on the playground on her own terms. However, in the classroom she hardly ever spoke: there is no data on her classroom interactions in either of the two schools she attended during this research. Generally, she sat at the back in a corner. In the first school she stopped talking because of continual mockery:

> In class, I don't waste my time talking because the learners will laugh. One day, they laughed when I was reading and I know that every time they talk in their patois, they say my name and laugh. But they are foolish. I don't care.

In the second school her silence became more acute: she and the girl she sat next to hardly ever spoke to each other and she wandered about on her own in the playground. In this school, classroom conditions were so noisy that the teacher paid no attention at all to those like Aline who tried to learn, his energies taken up with controlling the class. Here her silence embodies a logic of invisibility,[7] a response to symbolic violence and institutional erasure. Once again she was unable to construct a successful academic identity.

Discussion

In Aline's trajectory across social and educational spaces, we have traced disjunctive interplays of visibility and invisibility constructed through interactional, institutional, and pedagogical practices that legitimated certain ways of being and speaking and rendered others invisible. Interactionally, invisibility was constructed over time through a number of inter-related indexical processes. These included the repeated usurpation of her voice and ability to speak for herself along with other evaluative and epistemic orientations to her stance projections which undermined or disbarred them completely, implicatures regarding her veracity and academic abilities, and indexical layering through which both her French and English language practices became identified with a particular social identity and a metalinguistic label 'broken English'. Simon began to use this label as a name for Aline (interview, 8 May 2013) and it subsequently surfaced in many other interactions as seen above in Table 2.3. The iterations of this interdiscursive link were tied into circulating discourses of otherness and belonging as well as institutional and pedagogical practices. Thus, this index moved across discursive fields, among classroom, playground and diasporic spaces, enregistering an indexical relationship between a set of speech practices and a particular

persona (cf. Silverstein 2003; Urciuoli 2010). The effect of these iterations was to invisibilize her linguistic and epistemic resources. Here the operation of dual indexicality can be seen in Aline's response to the interpellative call of 'broken English' that even in refusing it, affirms it (cf. Kulick 2003, 149). Examining what 'not saying it' (Kulick 2003) *in English* produced enables an exploration of the processes by which Aline's desired identifications are delegitimized. Forced into attempts to save face, her subject positions were constituted by denials and disavowals rather than affirmations ('I didn't say anything', 'Oh no, you don't', 'You lie'). These were the only options available: her rejection of other options was ideologically constrained by the lack of legitimate language resources with which to construct desired stances. In the dual indexicality of 'broken English' against the erased, invisible, 'excellent French' lies the 'not-there, or, rather, the unsaid traces, the absent presence, that structure the said and the done' (Kulick 2005, 615): this absent presence made certain subject positions impossible.

What was 'not there' was absent because it was not 'sayable' in English but also because of the cumulative effects of strategies of condescension or disparagement and metalinguistic stance-taking (Evaldsson and Sahlström 2014; Jaffe 2009), both inscribed and evoked, all refracted through institutional discourses and pedagogical practices as well as broader ideologies of language and belonging. 'Strands of interdiscursivity' (Agha and Wortham 2005) carrying negative evaluations of her linguistic practices circulated among spaces, with indexical entailments for who she could be in each interactional moment but also more durably as subsequent interactions increasingly came to 'presuppose identities signaled in earlier ones' (Wortham 2005, 98). Unable to transform others' 'schemes of perception and appreciation' (Bourdieu 1989, 20), Aline resorted to silence in the classroom, invisibilizing herself, and to resistance on the playground, continuing to use French in defiance of the linguistic regime and thus rendering herself permanently visible as 'other'. In this inverse play of visibility and invisibility, she was constructed as doubly inarticulate, in both French and English: 'what then is articulateness but the right to speak in ways that others can hear?' (McDermott 1988, 62), a position she acknowledged in that when she wanted to 'really speak' she did this in French, addressing an audience that would not hear. What became invisible were her identities as a confident social participant, moral arbiter, articulate French speaker, and strong student, the losses in social and linguistic capital entwined with those in cultural capital, pointing to the ways in which social identification and learning partly constitute each other (Wortham 2004).

It appears then that Aline's linguistic repertoire was decisive in determining patterns of social and academic success. As Busch (2015, 17) argues 'the linguistic repertoire reflects the synchronic coexistence of different social spaces in which we participate as speakers, and it points diachronically to different levels of time.' Aline's repertoire largely pointed backwards to a lost world of competence, 'ease', and belonging, the scars of the present visible in her defiant linguistic practices, her silence, and solitude. Because Aline

was unable to expand her linguistic repertoire sufficiently quickly, to build up the 'stance accretion' (Rauniomaa 2003) necessary for the production of social identity over time, her ethnicity became reinforced, she remained 'other', fixedly Cameroonian. Language here was a constant in defining her 'otherness', 'French' remained a clearly bounded entity tied to a nationality. This re-essentialization of ethnicity was at odds with the dynamic and fluid processes of incorporation of Anglophone immigrants in the schools where the broader racialized category of 'black' expanded locally to include them (Kerfoot ftc 2017). Here we see the crucial role of linguistic repertoires in the resignification or sedimentation of local racial and ethnic categories. In Aline's case, this ethnicization was entangled with her age, loss of social and academic status and of social networks, and her embodied unhappiness,[8] all of which fed into how her linguistic resources were valued.

Conclusion

In southern contexts complex histories of engagement across differences lie behind each interactional moment: each moment carries the potential to either shift or reproduce racialized indexicalities and thereby either transform or reinforce the local social order.

This chapter has traced complex and contradictory processes of visibilization and invisibilization in the trajectory of an immigrant youngster, illustrating the identities that came to be 'indexically entailed in-and-by the use of certain language forms' (Silverstein 2014, 153; cf. 2003). In the emerging social orders of these schools, some like Aline remained excluded: the local racial hierarchy was restratified and re-ethnicized, creating a new order of visibility.

Those like Aline who circulate on the peripheries across local, national, and transnational spaces in Africa become entangled in circuits of legitimacy cycling through social and educational spaces. Detailed analyses of interactions and the processes through which inarticulateness and invisibility were constructed point to the importance of absences: those practices which could or should be there but are barred from performance and disappear soundlessly beneath the weight of the prevailing order. This chapter thus aims to contribute to an epistemology of the global South (Santos 2012) by pointing to invisibilized processes of cultural and educational production, a necessary starting point for conditions of greater ethical engagement and mutual intelligibility.

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Notes

1 Kulick distinguishes his definition of the term from that of Hill (1995) who uses it to characterize the way in which 'humorous' utterances of Mock Spanish by Anglo speakers assign desirable qualities to Anglos and undesirable qualities to members of historically Spanish-speaking populations.
2 Cameroon is among the five top African countries for economic migrants to South Africa (Statistics South Africa 2014, 35). Like other African nationals, Cameroonians migrate to escape the economic hardships plaguing the country. Many also flee for political reasons: a dictatorial order, political instability, press and speech censorship, and exclusion of certain regions of the country from power, as well as political murders (Pineteh 2007).
3 Parallel medium schools are defined as those where speakers from two different groups each receive instruction through the medium of his or her home language. They have been used in South Africa since at least 1943 (Malherbe 1943) with regard to the only two languages with symbolic power under apartheid, English and Afrikaans, and continue in some cases today.
4 Under apartheid, the designation 'coloured' was a category constructed for all those of 'mixed' heritage, including descendants of Indonesian and Malay slaves as well as the Khoe-San. Because it incorporates a number of culturally distinct groups, the word is generally written today with a lower case 'c'. In post-apartheid South Africa, the terms Black, African, and coloured are used variously and never without contestation. For statistical purposes, the present government retains the former apartheid "race" categories in order to implement policies designed to ensure redress and equity.
5 Camfranglais emerged in the mid-1970s among high school and college students after the reunification of Francophone and Anglophone Cameroons (Kouega 2003) and often indexes rebellion against authority (Ewané 1989).
6 As observed by Author B, who is Cameroonian.
7 We thank David Karlander for this point.
8 While gender may well have played a role, a different research design would have been necessary to investigate this.

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