‘SAVAGE’ HAIR AND MOTHERS’ HEARTS: A CORPUS-BASED CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF INTERSECTIONAL IDENTITIES IN TWO SOUTH AFRICAN SCHOOL SETWORKS

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“The human body is strange and flawed and unpredictable.
The human body has many secrets, and it does not divulge them to anyone, except those who have learned to wait.”

– Paul Auster, *Sunset Park*

ABSTRACT

This thesis reports on the discursive construal of intersectional physical identities, with particular reference to 'black' female characters, in two novels: Sindiwe Magona's *Mother to Mother*, and Edyth Bulbring's *The Mark*. These novels are prescribed for Grade 10 English Home Language learners in all South African public schools. Gendered identity construction in texts has been widely discussed in critical linguistics, with some research showing that the ways in which bodies are construed reveal the hegemonic and stereotypical gendering of men and women. However, these arguments have not adequately addressed the intersectional nature of identity construction. This thesis employs Corpus-based Critical Discourse Analysis to investigate the complex physical identities of, especially, 'black' female characters in these two novels. The inclusion of Corpus Linguistics is essential for uncovering hidden patterns of language choice, while the analytical techniques and theoretical notions from Critical Discourse Analysis provide the explanatory power that underpins the qualitative analysis. The uses to which nine key body parts are put reveal discourse prosodies showing different intersectional realisations for intimacy, power, violence, emotion, and racial marking. These discourse prosodies are most starkly realised in the two body parts, one from each novel, that are statistically most clearly linked to 'black' female characters. HAIR in *The Mark* is used variously as a racial marker, a target for racism, and a symbol for racial pride. HEART in *Mother to Mother* is used almost exclusively to symbolise the emotional pain of a mother's love, and how empathy for another mother's pain can bridge racial divides. Principal findings reveal that both novels provide very necessary lessons in cross-racial empathy, pride in 'blackness,' and interracial relationships. However, it is of concern that these novels also exhibit an over-valorisation of motherhood, largely stereotypical depictions of gender roles, and ableist language. In sum, both novels promote some of the transformative principles of the national curriculum, and are shown to have a bearing on nation building.

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ABBREVIATIONS

ARF	Average Reduced Frequency
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
CL	Corpus Linguistics
DBE	Department of Basic Education
MATTR	Moving Average Type/Token Ratio
MI	Mutual Information
MR	Members' Resources
NCS	National Curriculum Statement
XML	eXtensible Markup Language

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CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

1.1 Rationale

For the first time in its history, a South African national education department has prescribed setworks for all grades in the Further Education and Training (FET) band – Grades 10, 11 and 12 (Department of Basic Education, 2015). In the past, setworks for Grades 10 and 11 were chosen from a suggestions list circulated by the provincial education departments (Govender, 2015). This means that, since 2018, every learner in a South African public school who takes Grade 10 English Home Language will read one of two novels: Sindiwe Magona's *Mother to Mother*, or Edyth Bulbring's *The Mark*. Naturally, the Department chose these texts for particular reasons, and any underlying ideologies in these novels have a wide audience to influence. The policy makers in the Department are symbolic elites (Van Dijk, 2016) who control public discourse in schools through the prescription of literature at lower levels in the FET band. These choices have both overt and underlying ideological meaning, which I wished to unearth.

Our current government, in line with a universally acclaimed Constitution, states in the National Curriculum Statement (NCS) that education should be based on principles of social justice, social transformation, inclusivity, and diversity (Department of Basic Education, 2011). On paper, our education system appears to be "a vehicle for social and political transformation" (Msila, 2007:158). In reality, I can only agree with Spaull (2013:2) that "the South African education system is grossly inefficient, severely underperforming and egregiously unfair". In terms of policy implementation, it took too long for the prescribed literature to begin to reflect the transformative aims of the NCS. Silverthorne (2009) critiqued the English Home Language prescribed setwork selection of the 2009-2011 curriculum, stating that the setworks had remained wholly Anglocentric. The prescribed novels for Matric at that time were Jane Austen's *Pride and Prejudice,* George Orwell's *Animal Farm*, and F. Scott Fitzgerald's *The Great Gatsby* (Silverthorne, 2009). Each novel was written by a Western,

white, global north author who provides few contextual links to a young 'black'[1] learner sitting in a post-apartheid classroom. It was only in 2015 that such Anglocentric choices were finally replaced.

Compared to the Matric novels prescribed until very recently, these Grade 10 novels appear to be much more in line with the transformative aims of this government. Both novels are written by South African women, and both have 'black' female protagonists who inhabit racist societies that draw upon our apartheid history. While this study does not specifically investigate the Matric options (as those novels are written, not by South African or female authors, but by Yann Martel and Oscar Wilde), it is interesting to note the perceived changes occurring lower down in the FET phase. I chose to investigate the Grade 10 novels rather than the Grade 11 and 12 options, because, comparatively, they are the more recently written novels by South African writers. It can be argued, therefore, that these novels could have a stronger ideological impact as they are most likely to be set in contexts more familiar to the learners. Furthermore, as the Grade 10 level organiser in the school I taught at in 2018, I played a significant role in creating that school's assessments and workbooks for *The Mark*. Drawing on that teaching experience, I wondered whether it was possible that these new choices could have a true bearing on nation-building. As Dedaic and Hunt (2015:1) argue: "The people of South Africa, who have seen both most disturbing and spellbinding events in the recent history, are building their nation, and they cannot do that without the magic of discourse". Could these novels provide some nation building "magic" to our classrooms?

Fictional narratives have been found to affect attitudes, values and beliefs even in adults, while younger readers especially are less likely to have the critical skills required to resist naturalised ideologies (Diekman & Murnen, 2004). As a result, the latent ideologies and in particular the racialised and gendered representations of the characters in the fiction children read generates significant interest. Even in recent novels (like the *Harry Potter* series), latent gendered discourse remains because sexism is still manifest in society (Eberhardt, 2017; Hunt, 2011, 2015; Sunderland, 2011). This study aims to discover to what extent these new South African offerings were able to break through these patriarchal, Othering paradigms to provide 'black' learners and female learners with the chance to be represented faithfully in the novels they

[1] The inverted commas around terms such as 'black', 'white' and 'race' indicate that the concept of 'race' is contested and problematic: it is a social construct created primarily for the advancement of 'white' (European) peoples at the expense of all other 'races'.

study. To uncover the latent ideologies underlying characters' representations, I choose to investigate bodies, since they are the site of Othering (Oyewumi, 2009). In my Honours research I uncovered some racialised discourses through the construal of eyes in the *Twilight* series, and my then supervisor had found gendered discourses through the construal of various body parts in popular children's fiction (Hunt, 2011). It seems an appropriate avenue for these novels too, as issues relating to the politics of hair and skin colour were a topic of discussion in my classes that read *The Mark*.

In sum, I wish to undertake this study for two principal reasons. Firstly, as an English teacher I am excited by local fiction, and contend that fiction can establish emotional connections that foster empathy and tolerance for diversity. Additionally, I am concerned about the education and especially the literacy crises in this country. While this study's focus is ideological, the power of seeing oneself or one's context represented in the literature one reads is highly motivating, and so can only encourage literacy. Secondly, as a discourse analyst, I believe in that "magic of discourse" (Dedaic & Hunt, 2015:1) and the important role it can play in either transforming our society or reproducing dominant prejudices tied to current inequalities. This study, consequently, can be described as action research (Burr, 1995, cited in Baker, 2006), because its aims are tied to social transformation.

This chapter presents an outline of the study and the overall structure of the thesis. In the sections that follow, I present my research questions (1.2), and an overview of the social context of South Africa and its links to the education crisis (1.3). In Section 1.4 I provide details of the two novels (the data) to facilitate an understanding of the numerous extracts quoted in Chapter 4. I continue in 1.5 with an introduction of this study's research methods, and conclude with an outline of the remaining chapters of this thesis (1.6).

1.2 Research Questions

The overarching goal of this study is to discover to what extent the discursive construals of intersectionally disadvantaged 'black' female characters in these two prescribed novels align with the post-apartheid project of nation-building, as realised in the progressive ideals of the National Curriculum Statement. This goal can be achieved by answering the following questions:

1. How are the bodies of 'black' female characters construed in the Grade 10 English Home Language prescribed novels *The Mark* and *Mother to Mother*?
2. What similarities and differences arise from the construals of the other intersectional identities in the data?
3. What are the possible explanations for, and ideological implications of, the findings in 1 and 2?
4. To what extent do these findings show that the novels promote the transformative principles of the National Curriculum Statement?
5. How successful is the incorporation of intersectional theory into the Corpus-based Critical Discourse Analysis methodology employed?

The first and second questions highlight the focus of this study: the construal of multiply oppressed, 'black' female characters. Intersectionality with its roots in critical 'black' feminism historically made 'black' women the "essential subject of intersectionality" (Cho, Crenshaw & McCall, 2013:785), as I do here (see 2.3.3). Methodologically, the body parts of all characters were annotated according to their intersectional identity (see 3.2.1) to enable intersectional patterns of discourse to be uncovered. To illustrate, hands belonging to 'black' females hold different kinds of objects (mostly domestic items) in comparison to the hands of the three other identities: 'black' males, 'white' females, and 'white' males. The second question is included because comparison makes for a richer analysis. The construals of the other identities are primarily discussed when they resemble or contrast with 'black' female characters, thereby better illuminating the latter.

While the first two questions are more tied to the description of the text, the third question falls broadly under the third stage in a critical discourse analysis, where the patterns uncovered in the text are related to the wider social context. Meaning making in texts is a complex process that has the potential to reveal contradictory meanings or discourses (see 3.2 and 3.2.2.3): throughout my analysis, I, therefore, have made allowances for fluidity, nuance, multiple layers of meaning, and competing discourses. Janks (1997) argues that this hybridity of discourses is particularly pertinent to South Africa, where new discourses appear in times of social transformation (post-apartheid) to sit uneasily alongside the established discourses of the past.

The fourth question links clearly with the third in that it focuses on the broader social context, although it is more overtly tied to these novels' roles as prescribed setworks, and therefore, to

whether they have a bearing on nation building. The National Curriculum Statement categorically states that education should play a significant role in realising the aims of the Constitution of South Africa and is, therefore, based on principles of social transformation, human rights and social justice (Department of Basic Education, 2011). This question addresses whether these setworks are truly transformative choices that encourage the healing of the past divisions and building a united South African nation.

I ask the final question to highlight this study's contribution to linguistic research on the level of research design. Intersectionality is notoriously challenging to integrate into a workable methodology (Windsong, 2018); however, there is a call to incorporate it into all language, gender and sexuality research (Levon, 2015). This question addresses the benefits and disadvantages of this study's particular research design as it pertains to intersectionality.

1.3 Context of the Research

To understand the need for nation-building, I contextualise this research by reflecting on South Africa's divided past and present, especially as they pertain to 'race' relations, the education system and the economic system.

The system of apartheid was enforced in South Africa by the National Party government between 1948 and 1994. It was a racial caste system created to ensure 'white' (Afrikaner) domination over all other 'races' through segregation laws that divided land unequally and prevented other 'races' from accessing the social benefits (good education and health care, safety, fair wages, freedom of movement, etc.) enjoyed by 'white' South Africans. It was especially an economic system that exploited cheap 'black' labour for 'white' gain, and so relied upon 'Bantu' education[2] to entrench apartheid capitalism by "preserving the master-servant relationship between the Africans and the whites" (Msila, 2007:149). Education was an instrument of control over the 'white' population too: there were various educational programmes in schools that indoctrinated 'white' children into Christian, anti-communist, racist thought. The roots of apartheid lay in the previous British colonial system that similarly used missionary schools to further its political ends: to 'civilise' 'black' Africans so that they

[2] 'Bantu' is a derogatory term for 'black' South Africans. 'Bantu' education was a separate education system designed to train 'black' children for menial labour and to inculcate their racial inferiority (Kallaway, 1988, cited in Msila, 2007).

cease warring with the British and instead buy British goods and work for British 'masters' (Msila, 2007).

Between 1990 and 1993, South Africa moved towards democracy: the first democratic elections were held in 1994 and Nelson Mandela's African National Congress won. The first years of democracy were a time of optimism and nation building. Our famous Constitution became the most important symbol of national pride: all 'races' showed high regard for the Constitution to the extent that Bornman (2005:397) contends that it "could be the only symbol able to rise above political and ethnocentric interests to foster loyalty among all political, civilizational, racial, cultural and other groupings". Other symbols such as sports achievements, the rainbow nation metaphor, and the national flag and anthem appealed to different sections of society in varying degrees (Bornman, 2005). The preamble of the Constitution states that nation building begins with healing "the divisions of the past and [establishing] a society based on democratic values, social justice and fundamental human rights" (Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996:1). As such, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) headed by Archbishop Desmond Tutu was launched to work through the violent injustices of the apartheid past. Amy Biehl's murder – the true story on which *Mother to Mother* is based – was one of thousands of stories heard at the TRC (Tutu, 1998). Despite the gains made by the TRC and the advent of democracy, the legacy of apartheid (and colonialism) in various forms has a significant impact on all South Africans even 25 years after the first democratic elections.

One binding characteristic of the post-apartheid state is that the population is deeply religious. The use of Christian-based education by British missionaries and later apartheid education was extremely successful in creating a nation of Christians. In 2016, 78% of South Africans described themselves as Christian, with the greatest number of congregants attending an African independent church or Pentecostal church (Stats SA, 2016). Although the state is technically secular, Christian values seep through into political talk. The more conservative values associated with Christianity are widely held by many South Africans and can be linked to homophobia and the perceived 'traditional' roles of men and women in society. For example, the current backlash against the Department of Education's 'Comprehensive Sexuality Education' in schools by religious lobby groups, the Federation for School Governing Bodies, the Suid-Afrikaanse Onderwysersunie (South African Teachers' Union) and the African Christian Democratic Party shows that the progressive values of the Constitution are not shared by many conservative South Africans (Davis, 2019).

Racial categories in South Africa are still firmly entrenched, as is evident in their use in state policy, data collection, and state and media discourses (Erwin, 2012). While people have multiple social axes that make up their identity, some of which are of more importance than others, 'race' continues to assume great significance in South Africa. It is "the primary means through which South Africans interact and negotiate power relations and access to resources" (Alexander, 2007:92, cited in Erwin, 2012:95). Apartheid policies divided people into racial categories and the opposition movements to apartheid (such as Biko's Black Consciousness Movement) "fought for improvements in their conditions of life on the basis of the very social categories, which the ruling ideology had inscribed in their consciousness" (Alexander, 2001). Long (2017) laments how difficult it is for us to achieve a non-racial future, as our Constitution envisages, if we continue to reify racial difference: he continues to argue that while the experience of racism has real life consequences, 'race' itself is a social construct, a fiction. This is perhaps the core issue: Biko (1987:22) argued that a non-racial future would only be possible if there was true integration, meaning "the genuine fusion of the lifestyles of the various groups" based on mutual respect and "complete freedom of self-determination". It is the continued existence of racial inequalities and segregation that prevents South Africa from moving into a truly non-racial future.

Apartheid was essentially a capitalist exploitation tool that engineered immense social and economic inequalities, and despite a growing 'black' middle class, some infrastructural development and somewhat effective social wage policies (e.g. free basic education, and access to health care), South Africa has the highest inequality level of the 164 countries measured by the Gini coefficient (The World Bank, 2018). In 2015, 55.5% of the population lived below the poverty line, and 9 out of 10 of those people were 'black' (The World Bank, 2018). These statistics show that the injustices of the past have not been sufficiently redressed, and that class and 'race' still effectively map onto each other with the exception of a small 'black' elite. This is the result of the state's commitment to neoliberal policies that predominantly benefit the 'black' and 'white' elite. The "complex networks rooted in apartheid segregation continue to provide social and cultural capital, which in turn serves to nurture privilege, entrench poverty and reproduce ideas around racial difference" (Erwin, 2012:95). The current education crisis in particular has severely hampered social gains for the majority of 'black' South Africans.

The quality of education a learner receives in this country is directly tied to their 'race', class, and the province of their birth: "before a child's seventh birthday one can predict with some precision whether they will inherit a life of chronic poverty and sustained unemployment or a dignified life and meaningful work" (Spaull, 2019:4). On paper, all children of school going age have access to free basic education, but in reality, only those who pay significant fees have access to quality education. For example, the top 3% of high schools in this country accrued more Mathematics and Physical Sciences distinctions in Matric than the remaining 97% put together (Spaull, 2019). There have been improvements in learning outcomes since 1994, although that progress has stalled since 2011, and when improving from an incredibly low base, this does not say much. Our greatest problems in education start in primary school: the Progress in International Reading Literacy study in 2016 showed that 78% of Grade 4 learners could not read for meaning in any language; similarly the Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study in 2015 found that 61% of Grade 5 learners had not learned basic mathematics (Spaull, 2019). Msila (2007:147) argues that the education system plays a crucial role in either "enhancing or challenging socialisation into inequality". It appears undeniable that we are currently enhancing it through the poor level of education that 80% of schools provide in South Africa.

A further legacy tied to the apartheid education system is the focus on English and, to a lesser extent, Afrikaans as the medium of instruction. In the current system, Grades 1-3 focus on 'learning to read', both in a home language and English or Afrikaans (if that is not the home language), and this shifts to 'reading to learn' in Grade 4. From Grade 4, virtually all learners regardless of language background have English or Afrikaans as the Language of Learning and Teaching. In practice, English and Afrikaans home language speakers continue to benefit from an education system that disregards the majority of learners' home language after Grade 3. In other words, this system continues to benefit 'white' learners, while discriminating against most 'black' learners. English has become particularly dominant in urban areas: in Johannesburg in 2015, while only 20% of learners spoke English at home, 47% wrote English Home Language in Matric, and almost every other learner took English at First Additional Language level (Berkowitz, 2017). There appears to be a strong push for non-mother tongue learners to take English Home Language if they can, because it, as the language of prestige, is seen as essential for social, educational, and professional success. It is, therefore, interesting to see what ideologies that the elite and upwardly mobile learners could be absorbing underlie their prescribed novels.

The majority of learners are not receiving quality education in terms of acquiring the necessary cognitive skills such as literacy and numeracy. As a ripple effect, this probably means that the more less quantifiable outcomes of education such as democratic values and political participation are also not sufficiently developed. In short, the principles of the National Curriculum Statement are not realised in the education that most children receive. These principles include: Social Transformation; Active and Critical Learning; High Knowledge and High Skills; Progression; Human Rights, Inclusivity, Environmental and Social Justice; Valuing Indigenous Knowledge Systems; and Credibility, Quality and Efficiency (Department of Basic Education, 2011). Yet, recent policy decisions, in particular the 2015 overhaul of the prescribed literature in Grades 10-12, show a willing attempt to strive for the progressive goals enshrined in the Constitution. They also answer global and national calls to decolonise education. The Anglocentric setworks of past curricula in South Africa have been comprehensively replaced: 15 of the 25 novels prescribed across the three grades are by local authors (Govender, 2015). The two novels under investigation in this study (*Mother to Mother* and *The Mark*) have never been prescribed works in South Africa before, but certainly appear on the face of it to be transformative choices. The next section provides some details about them.

1.4 The Data

1.4.1 *The Mark* by Edyth Bulbring

The Mark, published in 2014, was written by South African Edyth Bulbring – a former political correspondent who covered the first democratic elections and the constitutional negotiations and later turned to writing fiction for young adults. Her nine Young Adult novels have won and been shortlisted for various local prizes for youth literature: *The Mark* was awarded the English Academy’s 2016 Percy FitzPatrick Prize for Youth Literature (Edyth Bulbring, 2019). Within a year of its publication, *The Mark* became a setwork for Grade 10 English Home Language – possibly the quickest turnaround for any setwork. *The Mark* is the first instalment of a trilogy and the second instalment, *The Reject*, was released in 2018.

Figure 1.1: Book cover of the school edition of The Mark.

The novel, *The Mark*, is an allegorical take on apartheid set in a dystopian future, where the Posh in Mangeria City are light skinned and privileged, and the Savages in Slum City are darker skinned and oppressed. The main character, Ettie, is an orphan girl of 15 living in Slum City, who is about to become a Drudge – a menial cleaner for an elite Mangerian family. She lives in a harsh world where the blistering sun burns people's skin up and everyone's lives are managed by a corrupt elite group of Posh families (the Mangerians), who maintain their rule via the brutality of the Locusts (police force). A 'mark' on the back enables Locusts to track people and prescribes every inch of their lives, from their Fate-mate (spouse) to their job. Ettie desperately tries to remove the mark to free herself from an oppressive world where people who look like her struggle to survive. She teams up with Nicolas, a Posh boy who also longs for individual freedom, and together they disable the tracking numbers on themselves and some members of the underground resistance. They also save Ettie's childhood friend, Kitty, from a

dreadful experiment. In the end, Ettie decides to leave those she loves – Kitty, Nicolas and her Posh half-sister, Larissa – to start a new adventure away from the Mangerian world. Just before she leaves, she discovers that her biological parents are her Posh Mistress and her violent former carer, Xavier. This explains why Ettie has Posh skin, but no other Posh features.

1.4.2 *Mother to Mother* by Sindiwe Magona

Mother to Mother was published in 1999 by internationally renowned, award-winning South African author, Sindiwe Magona. She has written over 100 children's books, as well as novels, short stories, plays and a book of poetry among other works of non-fiction, and in recognition of her literary contribution, she was conferred with the Order of iKhamang in Bronze by then President Jacob Zuma (Georgia State University, 2019). She began her career as a high school teacher, was demoted to domestic worker, but then won a scholarship to study at Columbia University and eventually landed a job with the United Nations spreading an anti-apartheid message (Against All Odds, 2014). *Mother to Mother* links to her previous anti-apartheid agenda: the novel is based on the murder of Amy Biehl in Guguletu in 1993. I briefly relate the true story before providing a synopsis of the novel's fictionalised events.

Amy Biehl was a 'white' American Fulbright scholar working at the University of the Western Cape as an anti-apartheid activist who helped register first time voters for the 1994 elections. She drove some of her friends home to Guguletu on 28 July 1993 and was killed by an angry crowd of Pan African Student Organisation members. Her death made international headlines, but it was her parents' response at the TRC that was almost more deserving of international fame: they supported the amnesty applications of the four men who had been arrested for Biehl's murder and in 2015 two of the men still worked at the Amy Biehl Foundation Trust in the Western Cape. The true reconciliation and forgiveness shown by the Biehls provide an inspiring example of what can be accomplished if empathy is prioritised (Thamm, 2015).

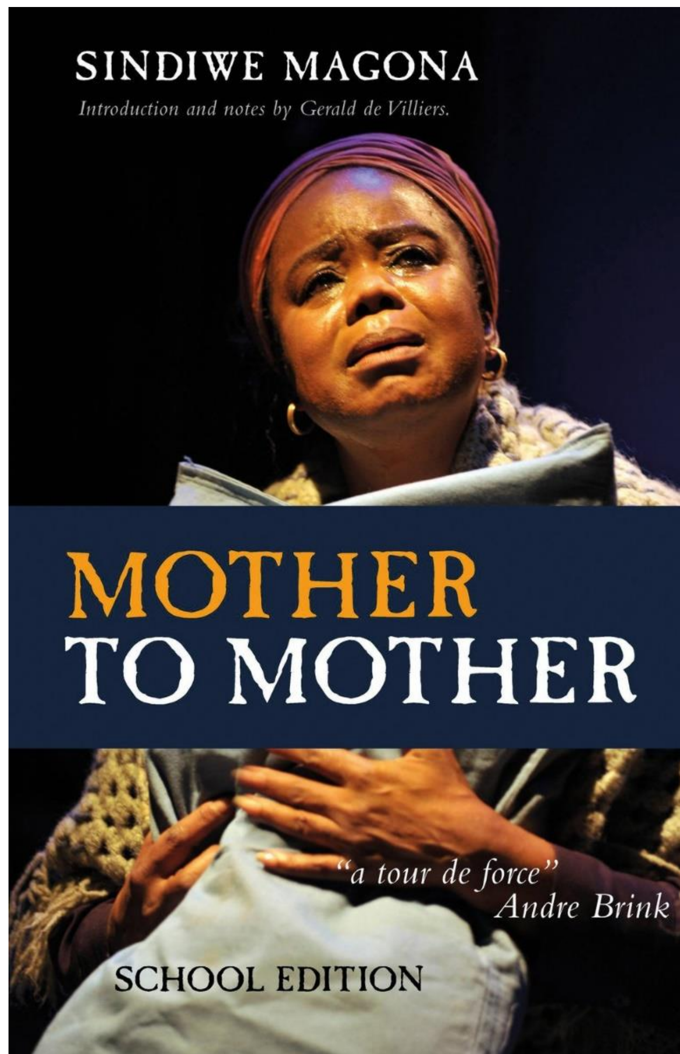

Figure 1.2: Book cover of the school edition of Mother to Mother

The novel, *Mother to Mother*, is a fictionalised take on the true story of the murder. It is written as a letter from Mandisa, the mother of one of the murderers (Mxolisi), to the mother of the victim, Mrs Biehl (who remains unnamed). The purpose of the letter is to present a context for Amy's murder: Mandisa describes how Mxolisi was disadvantaged growing up (Mxolisi's father, China, abandoned him after a few months), how she and others like her suffered under the apartheid regime, and how militant the 'black' youth were becoming in their fight against apartheid. In so doing, the narrative explores the horrors of life for the residents of Guguletu under apartheid. Mandisa became a teenage mother to her first-born, Mxolisi, under extraordinary circumstances, and at the time of the telling, she is mother to three children (Mxolisi, Lunga, and Siziwe) and lives with Dwadwa, the father of her daughter, Siziwe. She works for very little in a 'white' woman's house as a domestic worker, despite having done very well while she was still at school. The core of the story is the great empathy Mandisa

shows towards the Other Mother and her attempts to bridge the gap between them by explaining that this tragedy has cost both of them their children, in different ways. The story does not apologise for the murder, but instead presents an exploration of the societal conditions that allowed for such violence.

1.5 Research Methods: An Overview

This study employed an analytical framework combining methods from Corpus Linguistics (CL) and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). CDA and CL are argued to be mutually supportive by compensating for each other's weaknesses (Baker *et al.*, 2008), and although CL is not yet regarded as a crucial addition to CDA (Mautner, 2016), it has certainly increased in popularity (Subtirelu & Baker, 2018). In sum, qualitative CL methods are improved by CDA theory, while CDA benefits from CL methods of quantification and a wider empirical base (Mautner, 2016).

CL is a methodology that uses various processes (word lists, key words, collocations, concordances, etc.) that are performed on large collections of machine-readable, naturally occurring texts (McEnery & Hardie, 2012). In CL, the word is the primary unit of analysis (Kutter, 2018) and its semantic associations are embedded in its immediate co-text (Hunston, 2002). Corpus investigation software, like LancsBox (Brezina, Timperley & McEnery, 2018), organises words (tokens) so that statistical information about the corpus can be produced and analysed, and words can be more qualitatively analysed in their co-text via concordance lines. To analyse body parts, I first compiled a frequency list of the different body part tokens (e.g. *hand, eyes, head*), which assisted me in choosing which tokens could be analysed most fruitfully. I narrowed my focus to six key words for each novel (see 3.2.2.2). The key words (expressed here as lemmas) for *Mother to Mother* are EYE, HAND, HEAD, HEART, EAR and SHOULDER; those for *The Mark* are EYE, HAND, HEAD, FINGER, HAIR, and SKIN. This means the novels share three key words and have three unique key words each. The body part tokens were all manually annotated for 'race' and gender to support my analysis: B for 'black', W for 'white', M for male, and F for female. Therefore, a 'black' woman's hand was annotated *{b}hand{f}* (see 3.2.1).

After this I moved on to a more qualitative analysis of the concordance lines for each identity's body part. Whenever there were over 50 occurrences of a particular body part (for example, EYE and HEART), I also investigated collocates to reveal ideologically significant semantic

relations. I take a statistical definition of collocates, that is, "the above-chance frequent co-occurrence of two words within a pre-determined span" (Baker, Gabrielatos, Khosravinik, Krzyzanowski, McEnery & Wodak, 2008:278). These collocates were then analysed in their immediate co-text via concordance lines to provide the context needed for CDA. Concordances sorted in different ways reveal repeated lexical patterns that could point to possible underlying discourses (Hunston, 2002). The theoretical concept that underpins the concordance analysis is semantic prosody, as first outlined by Louw (1993 in McEnery & Hardie, 2012). Positive or negative semantic prosody is similar to a connotative aura surrounding a word: if a word is often found in negative co-texts, then it will have a negative semantic prosody. These semantic prosodies can build up in a text to form broader discourse prosodies. This study examines four overarching discourse prosodies in Chapter 4.

Analytical techniques and theory from CDA informed the entire research process. CDA is fundamentally interested in demystifying structural relationships of ideological power and control manifested in texts (Wodak & Meyer, 2016). My method primarily follows Fairclough's (2001) seminal procedure for CDA, consisting of three stages: 1. Description of the formal features of the text; 2. Interpretation of relations between text and interaction; and 3. Explanation of the relationship between interaction and the broader social context. The Description stage, which analyses the formal properties of the text, overlapped significantly with the CL methods discussed above. My focus is a lexical analysis (Machin & Mayr, 2012), since vocabulary relates most strongly to evaluative meaning and so provides good evidence for underlying discourses encoded in texts (Baker, 2006; Hunt, 2011; Subtirelu & Baker, 2018). The Interpretation and Explanation stages are interlinked and so are discussed together in Chapters 4 and 5. The former focuses on interpreting the patterns found in the Description stage, and the latter places those interpretations in the broader social context of post-apartheid South African classrooms. In sum, the meaningful lexical patterns I uncover in the Description stage are linked to the broader social context, explicating in what ways these novels support and resist dominant naturalised ideologies found in South Africa (and more globally) today regarding gender and 'race' relations.

1.6 Structure of the Thesis

This chapter, the Introduction, has provided a backdrop for the exploration of how intersectional identities, especially that of 'black' women, are discursively construed in the two Grade 10 English Home Language prescribed novels, *The Mark* and *Mother to Mother*. In

Chapter 2 (Literature Review), I delineate the key theoretical concepts in this study. As my focus lies in the discursive construal of intersectional bodies, I discuss the related concepts of discourse, ideology, power, gender, 'race', intersectionality, and the body. These concepts are then related specifically to the language of fiction and how authors' language choices can reveal latent ideologies. Chapter 3 (Methodology) describes how I combine the two methods, Corpus Linguistics and Critical Discourse Analysis, to collect, annotate and analyse the data. I conclude this section by demonstrating the methodological benefits of combining these two methods to my study in particular. In Chapter 4 (Findings), I present the findings of my analysis of the six body part key words for each novel ordered into four overarching, thematic discourse prosodies. Chapter 5 (Conclusion) considers the main findings with regard to each research question in order to show to what extent they have been answered. Finally, I reflect on the practical applications of this research for teachers, as well as the limitations of this study and suggestions for future research.

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CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This chapter provides a synthesised discussion of the central literature that forms the theoretical background to my research. As this study uses Critical Discourse Analysis, I begin in 2.2 by exploring how the key concepts of ideology, discourse, and power interact to provide a conceptual framework for my analysis of gender and 'race' constructions of bodies in South African school literature. Next, in 2.3, I operationalise the key terms – gender and 'race' – and discuss previous language based research into gender and 'race', respectively, that has informed my understanding. In subsection 2.3.3 I introduce intersectionality, demonstrating how this theoretical concept underpins my methodology, and then I conclude this subsection by making my positionality and feminist perspective clear. My discussion shifts in 2.4: I conceptualise the body as it relates to this text-based research and present previous linguistic research on the body to justify this line of inquiry. I conclude in 2.5 with the rationale for analysing school literature and present a selection of relevant linguistic research that has examined representations of gender and 'race' in literature read by children.

2.2 Ideology and Discourse

2.2.1 Ideology

While Marx may not have coined the word 'ideology', it is his formulation of ideology that has been the basis of many (re)interpretations in contemporary theory (Knight, 2006). A commonly agreed definition of the Marxist concept of ideology is a set of widely held beliefs that functions to establish and reinforce class oppression (Shelby, 2003). The ruling classes are said to present their ideas as a universal truth in the service of their own class interests. Fairclough (2003:218, cited in Wodak & Meyer, 2016:9) similarly defines ideologies as "representations of aspects of the world which contribute to establishing and maintaining relations of power, domination and exploitation". Being a broader definition of ideology, this includes power relations that contain class, but can also admit gender, 'race' and other power relations. Using intersectionality theory as a base (2.3.3), I contend that these power relations mutually constitute each other in complex and sometimes contradictory ways: ideology in this study, therefore, is not just about reinforcing class oppression, but rather social oppression in general, and the oppression of multiply marginalised 'black' females in particular. Consequently, I

prefer the term ‘dominant bloc’ to refer to an intersectionally privileged group of people that hold power in society, over the more restrictive term ‘ruling classes’.

Feminist and antiracist theorists have found fault with the narrow Marxist position that domination and power relations should be reduced to class-based struggle. ‘Black’ colonial-era Marxists, like Fanon, were dissatisfied with the Marxist argument that only class revolution in Europe would bring freedom to the colonies, since it revealed that Marxist definitions of oppression hardly considered racism (Rabaka, 2011). They saw the need for addressing other forms of oppression in their own right and in their own contexts. Shelby (2003) argues that ideologies form greater networks: elite class ideology works in tandem with and is partially supported by antiblack racist ideology, which largely serves to legitimise ‘black’ marginalisation and thereby reinforce class exploitation. Similarly, Lazar (2007) contends that the ideology of patriarchy intersects with and is somewhat supported by consumerist, neoliberal ideologies. Thus, ideologies are structured in interactive networks, what Gramsci (1971:195, cited in Fairclough, 2010:62) calls “ideological complexes”. So, while class ideology is particularly pervasive in contemporary capitalist societies (Fairclough, 2010), this neo-Marxist view of ideology presents a much more nuanced understanding of the workings of ideology, power and oppression in society.

The idea that the dominant bloc’s ideologies are understood as a ‘universal truth’ links with Gramsci’s conception of hegemony: dominant ideologies become naturalised, taken-for-granted, and common sense, so that all groups accept them as truth and so do not challenge them (Fairclough, 2010). In other words, hegemony explains the capacity of the dominant bloc to legitimise and maintain their leadership via the ‘broad-based consent’ of both allied groups and subordinate ones (Jessop, 2018). Thus, Gramsci sees common sense as being the target for ongoing ideological struggles for power (Fairclough, 2010). To illustrate, the idea that a woman should stay at home, serve her husband, and care for their children was once a naturalised element of the ideology of patriarchy that functioned to oppress women and has become a site of struggle in recent history. Laclau and Mouffe (1985, cited in Fairclough, 2010) extended Gramsci’s concept of hegemony beyond class, as I do. This more open-ended perspective is useful as hegemony can then be applied to, for example, understanding how the dominant antiblack racist ideology functions.

Gramsci's concept of hegemony also indicates that there is the possibility for ideological contestation. Building on this, Van Dijk (2016) distinguishes between 'ideologies' such as neoliberalism and sexism, and 'opponent ideologies' such as environmentalism and feminism, where the former are more inherently negative as they establish and reinforce inequality in society. However, even seemingly 'positive' opponent ideologies such as feminism can form networks with classist and racist ideologies, as earlier forms of feminism have been criticised for doing (Hooks, 2000; Mohanty, 2003). This indicates a need for different opponent ideological groups to form opponent ideological networks that oppose inequality and promote social justice in all spheres of human life.

Language is crucial in the establishment, reproduction and transformation of ideology, that is, texts can be the site of ideological contestation: they can support existing hegemonic ideologies, challenge them or even change them (Fairclough, 2001). Fairclough (2010) warns that ideologies cannot simply be 'read off' from texts, but rather, that ideological beliefs are reflected and perpetuated in language choices in texts. Following Van Dijk (2016), I contend that the control of mass-mediated texts (such as school setworks) by the dominant bloc ensures that their ideological hegemony is maintained and so their power in society is legitimised. Section 2.2.2 expands on the relationship between language and ideology by operationalising the specific conceptualisation of language preferred in CDA: discourse.

2.2.2 Discourse

While CDA research has drawn predominantly on Marx in its understandings of ideology, it has also been heavily influenced by Foucault. The primary contribution is his understanding of discourse analysis as no longer "treating discourses as groups of signs (signifying elements referring to contents or representations) but as practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak" (Foucault, 2010a:49, cited in Keller, 2018:73). In other words, discourses are social practices that instead of reflecting reality, systematically construct the objects, subjects and reality they discuss (Foucault, 1981, cited in Mills, 2003a). Fairclough (2010) adds that the natural world differs from the social one in that the social world is brought into being by meaning-making human actors and so is socially constructed. Thus, while an earthquake objectively happens in the natural world, the way human beings make meaning of it – was it an act of god or a natural phenomenon? – boils down to the discursive structures that direct our thinking (Mills, 2003a).

This broadly social constructivist understanding of discourse is pertinent to CDA, which theorises that the dominant bloc controls discourse (often via mass-mediated texts) to project its social practices as natural or common sense; while in actual fact these practices are merely social constructs serving elite interests. Discourses are, therefore, "relatively stable uses of language serving the organisation and structuring of social life" (Wodak & Meyer, 2016:6). Here, discourses are "relatively stable", because overarching social structures determine, to an extent, in which ways we can construe the world through language. There is a dialectic at play between individual discursive events (everyday uses of language), and the broader social structures.

Fairclough's (2001) three interrelated dimensions of discourse (text, discourse practice, and social practice) elucidate the dialectic between language and society and are pertinent to this study's CDA method (see 3.3). Firstly, discourse (as text) forms part of society in that linguistic phenomena (e.g. novels) are partly social phenomena that have social effects and are socially conditioned. Secondly, discourse (as discourse practice) is a social process that involves the dual processes of text production (e.g. writing a novel) and text interpretation (e.g. reading a novel). Thirdly, discourse (as social practice) is a socially determined process in which the two processes of text production and interpretation are conditioned by and embedded within wider socio-historical conditions (e.g. South African society, our education system, global hegemonic ideologies such as racism, etc.). So the relationship between discourse and social structures is not unidirectional, but dialectal: discourse can incrementally affect social structures, but it is also socially conditioned.

A necessary concept involved in text production and reception is the Members' Resources (MR) or socially conditioned background knowledge that we use to both create and understand texts (Fairclough, 2001). That is, while each individual has unique personal experiences which create unique linguistic and social mental representations, they may be very similar to the mental representations of others in the same epistemic community (Van Dijk, 2016). This similarity is in part due to the (re)iteration of particular language patterns and their consequent effects on people's worldviews, or what Hoey (2005) calls 'lexical priming' (see 3.2.2.3). For example, because a particular metaphor, for example, using the word *crazy* to describe something strange or unbelievable, is often repeated, social actors become lexically primed for this usage, and so can reproduce it without fully appreciating its ableist implications. A text producer's MR are left as 'traces' in a text, and text consumers must draw on similar MR when

encountering these ‘traces’ now as ‘cues’ to fully comprehend the text (Fairclough, 2001). Thus, ideological meanings are produced through social actors’ interactive processes with texts. It is these MR that I must access as an analyst to uncover the ideological assumptions that reside in the language choices in my data.

In the following section (2.2.3) I present a brief discussion of power – since power cannot solely be a matter of language – followed by an explanation of the entanglements of ideology, discourse and relations of power in society.

2.2.3 Ideology, Discourse and Power

As with discourse, modern conceptions of power are indebted to Foucault. Foucault saw exercising power as “acting upon the actions of others”, which produced behaviour (via different modalities) whether it be desired action (i.e. obedience) or not (i.e. rebellion) (Keller, 2018:75-76). This demonstrates two aspects of power: there are different ways of exerting power, and the exertion of power often produces resistance. The former aspect, the different modalities of power, include but are not limited to the concrete modality of coercion using physical violence, and the manufacture of consent achieved through ideology (Fairclough, 2001). These two can support each other as illustrated by the apartheid state: it employed a combination of violent state power against ‘black’ people and the ‘Bantu’ education system to reinforce internalised racism and white supremacy (1.3). The latter aspect demonstrates that power relations are always relations of struggle: if power produces resistance then it is unstable and must be constantly reinforced (Fairclough, 2001). In this way, the hegemonic relations between ideologies (2.2.1) are linked to power relations, where hegemonic power employs naturalised social practices (ideology via discourse) to indirectly legitimise existing power relations.

Discourse is, thus, inextricably linked to power relations: “Discourse transmits and produces power; it reinforces it, but also undermines it and exposes it, renders it fragile and makes it possible to thwart it” (Foucault, 1978:100–101, cited in Mills, 2003a:55). There are those academics who, following Foucault, prefer discourse over ideology as an association with power because ideology appears always negative and constraining whereas discourse has the power to act in line with or against power (Mills, 2003a). Given this study’s broader definition of ideology to include so-called ‘opponent ideologies’, this is less of a problem. Furthermore, to make use of the flexible character of discourse, Fairclough theorised the marriage of

discourse, ideology and power using the Foucauldian concept of 'orders of discourse'. This concept shows a structural focus: actual discursive events are shaped by underlying conventions of discourse grouped into network structures called orders of discourse (Fairclough, 2010). However, as discussed in 2.2.2, the relationship between discourse and orders of discourse is dialectical: these structures shape discourse but discourse (discursive events) can contribute to changing or (re)producing them in turn (Fairclough, 2010). In this sense, there is the potential for emancipation and social change via discourse. It is these orders of discourse which are ideologically shaped by power relations in society and so embody ideology (Fairclough, 2001).

Although power may exist everywhere "dispersed throughout a society and enacted at every moment of interaction" (Foucault, 1978, cited in Mills, 2003a:30), Lazar (2007) argues that in line with a CDA perspective, a view of gender power relations as dominance is a necessary addition to modern conceptions of power. Group dominance, as a part of power, primarily functions ideologically, where the powerful group exerts power by influencing the less powerful group's minds (Van Dijk, 2016). In other words, dominant groups (e.g. men, 'white' people, elite classes) wield ideological power. If orders of discourse embody ideology, then ideological power involves direct or indirect control over orders of discourse, often via mass-media discourse (e.g. advertisements, news, educational materials). This is not to say that there is an elite conspiracy that creates a world of domination; to a great extent, social actors, including these elite ones, are unaware of the effects of their everyday practices: "It is because subjects do not, strictly speaking, know what they are doing that what they do has more meaning than they know" (Bourdieu, 1977: n.p., cited in Fairclough, 2001:33). Despite this qualification, the leaders of agencies that control public discourse do shape discourse to an extent, whether consciously or not, making them powerful social actors (Van Dijk, 2016).

Symbolic elites include those in the mass media, education, business and politics and so it is the texts from these domains that are of particular interest to CDA. For this reason, I chose to investigate two novels that are prescribed by the Department of Basic Education to see what ideological meanings these choices have, since they can have a significant impact on young South Africans.

2.3 Gender and ‘Race’

This section discusses language and its relation to identity, particularly gender and ‘race’. I begin by introducing preferred definitions of gender and ‘race’ using a primarily poststructuralist perspective, and then situate these concepts within previous linguistic research. The third part of this section draws gender and ‘race’ together under Crenshaw’s (1989) concept of intersectionality. This concept is a fundamental building block on which I base this study because it justifies my choice of highlighting multiply oppressed ‘black’ women, as my research questions reveal in 1.2. Because this research is conducted in South Africa and not the global North, I conclude this section by detailing this study’s Southern, feminist perspective.

2.3.1 Gender

2.3.1.1 Defining Gender

The definitions of and relations between sex and gender have undergone various changes over the past 50 years or so. For Shapiro (1981, cited in McElhinny, 2014), ‘sex’ referred to biology (male-female) and ‘gender’ referred to the sociocultural constructs that correspond to these biological differences. In terms of this still popular notion, sex and gender have a one-to-one correspondence (male-masculine, female-feminine), and both sex and gender are binary. This dualistic understanding of gender and sex neglects possible similarities across genders and differences within genders. It also reveals a heteronormative core: that men and women are made differently to procreate (McElhinny, 2014).

The existence of intersex and transgender people as well as the various gendered differences across communities globally shows that these binary definitions are incorrect (Motschenbacher, 2010). Butler (1990, 1993) argues that gender is not natural or necessarily attached to sex, and that sex itself is socially constructed the moment a baby’s body is categorised as ‘a boy’ or ‘a girl’. The existence of so-called ‘third genders’ in India (the hijras) and Mexico (the muxes) lends further support to this view that sex is not binary in every culture. As in the earthquake example I use in 2.2.2, this is not to say that different sexual organs do not exist in the natural world, but that discursive structures guide our meaning-making of those body parts. This is the unifying thesis of this study. In sum, the common-sense assumption that gender has a binary structure has led to the imposition that men and women must fulfil different, ‘complementary’ roles in society. The ideological structure of gender privileges male roles and behaviours at the expense of female ones, thereby creating a gender hierarchy which

elevates men as a social group above women as a social group, in ways that vary according to local context (Lazar, 2007).

Butler (1990:33) notably characterised gender as "the repeated stylization of the body, a set of repeated acts within a highly rigid regulatory frame that congeal over time to produce the appearance of substance, of a natural sort of being." If gender is performative ("a set of repeated acts"), then, potentially, multiple genders can be performed within "rigid regulatory" constraints. Butler's formulation of the discursive body (see 2.4.1) is useful for demonstrating how, as social actors, we discern gender as a "substance" or natural, and why we respond to the pressure to conform to the set of gender norms or "regulatory frame" associated with gender. However, her extreme poststructuralist concept of discourse as "wholly constitutive of the social" overlooks the "experiential and material aspects of identity and power relations" (Lazar, 2007:150-1). A more neo-Marxist perspective that acknowledges power relations and the material reality of being a woman in a sexist world must be included in the performativity of gender for this study to be emancipatory (see 2.3.1.2).

To adapt Butler's quote to this study's perspective on discourse, ideology and power, I employ Fairclough's (2001, 2010) use of the dialectic (2.2.2): our individual performances of gender constitute and are constituted by the gender norms that serve the ideology of patriarchy. While the ideology of patriarchy is differently experienced by women according to their local context and intersections with other social categories, the gendered power asymmetry "has been remarkably persistent over time and place" (Lazar, 2007). Gender power comes from behaving in accordance with these norms: the more strictly we conform (i.e. acting in hypermasculine or hyperfeminine ways), the more power we accrue in society. This relates to Bornstein's (1998, cited in Baker, 2008) pyramid model of hegemonic masculinity and femininity: certain gendered identities – very feminine and very masculine – are located near the top of the pyramid. Female power in this sense, however, is mostly tied to status and is precarious as it depends on its appeal to male power (Baker, 2008).

Gender is not only socially constructed but also historically constructed – definitions of gender differ across cultures, time and place (Lazar, 2007). Any contemporary discussion of gender "has to incorporate, at its most basic level, an understanding of imperialism and neocolonial global power relations" (Connell, 2014:532-3). This links back to ideological complexes, where ideologies form networks that support one another (2.2.1). McClintock (1995:6)

highlighted the undeniability of the relations between gender and colonialism: whereas colonial women suffered gendered disadvantages in colonies relative to 'white' men but experienced privileges of power over colonised men and women, colonised women had to negotiate not only disadvantages arising from precolonial gendered societal structures but a new "violent array of hierarchical … restrictions that structured their new relations with imperial men and women". This echoes intersectionality theory's main contention that 'black' women or women of colour are multiply oppressed by 'race' and gender hierarchies. Thus, the underlying logic that gender relations have been and continue to be racialised by colonial/neocolonial logic is salient to this study's focus on 'black' female characters set in apartheid-like contexts.

The hegemonic power of the gender binary is evident in my annotations: I necessarily collapsed gender onto sex in my annotations of the characters' body parts, because that is what the authors signal (through, most obviously, their use of binary gendered pronouns). This essentialising, therefore, comes from the authors' worldviews, and does not follow my own view of genders as potentially multiple and discursive. When I situated my analysis in the broader social context, I highlighted how the construals set up expected gender norms and valued certain gendered behaviours over others, and how these naturalised expectations reinforce hierarchical power relations in society.

The next section (2.3.1.2) encapsulates a brief history of approaches to researching language and gender, in order to demonstrate how this study straddles two approaches – the Dominance and Diversity models – which echo this section's integration of post-structuralist and neo-Marxist/feminist conceptions of gender.

2.3.1.2 Approaches to Gender and Language Research

Earlier applied linguistic research into language and gender is often categorised into the '3Ds' referring to the Deficit, Dominance and Difference approaches. Cameron (2005) warns against a linear interpretation of these approaches (Dominance and Difference) and the 'poststructuralist' Diversity approach because, to this day, they can overlap and coexist. The 3Ds can be broadly grouped together to the extent that they are all organised around the concept of gender as difference, whereas the postmodern approaches focus on the diversity of gendered identities (Cameron, 2005). Bucholtz (2014) applies feminist interpretations to the 'difference' approaches (although the Deficit paradigm in particular was not always employed by

feminists), stating that 'difference feminisms' also hold gender difference as the foundation for their thinking. I make my feminist approach explicit in 2.3.3.1.

The Deficit model describes women's use of language as deviant from the (male) norm, typically in the now infamous work of Jespersen, who described women's language as "peculiar" (Hall, 2014: 225). That is, women were seen as the linguistic Other. He writes that women often use archaic forms which function to maintain the 'purity' of language (mostly by avoiding vulgarisms), whereas men are responsible for creative changes to language (Hall, 2014). This clearly pejorative description of 'women's' language is mostly outdated today, thanks in part to feminist consciousness raising (Cameron, 2005), and despite the current surge of biological explanations for gender differences (Cameron, 2009). This approach inadvertently problematises comparisons between men and women, as in the past this was used to elevate male behaviour and language use to the status of norm. My study compares 'black' female construals to three other intersectional identities in these texts not to denigrate the former, but to situate them in their local context. My focus remains with 'black' female identity. This is addressed further in 2.3.3.

The Dominance model, then, emphasises evidence of men's systematic domination over women in the differences between men and women's speech (Cameron, 2005). This model developed out of Second Wave (1960s and 1970s) feminism and argues that all women are similarly oppressed by a patriarchal system; the linguistic work it produced focused primarily on how 'white', middle class women's speech showed powerlessness (Mills, 2003b). Linguists like Spender (1980) and Lakoff (1975) found women's language to be hesitant, characterised by tag-questions, 'empty' adjectives ('lovely', 'divine'), and hedging ('you know', 'maybe') to weaken the force of an utterance and so show their subordinate position (Mills, 2003b). Hooks (2000:57) argues that the white 'dominance' feminists who attempted to rally under a "banner of common oppression" were reluctant to acknowledge the "differences among women, differences that overshadowed all the common experiences females shared. Race was the most obvious difference". I agree with Hooks (2000) to an extent here. The erasure of 'race' from this approach is highly problematic and does not take the complex interactions of gender ideology with antiblack racist ideology and other ideologies into account (2.3.1.1). However, like Lazar (2007), I contend that while the gender order is materially experienced in various ways across different contexts, the underlying patriarchal dividends (Connell, 1995, cited in Lazar, 2007) enjoyed by men globally are fairly consistent.

The Difference model perceives linguistic gender differences to be produced by different gendered subcultures: the two genders are socialised into fulfilling different social roles and speaking different 'genderlects' (Cameron, 2005). The two genders were, therefore, conceived to be equal but different. The major proponent of this approach is Deborah Tannen, who argued that cross-gender communication was similar to intercultural communication and so led to miscommunication (Cameron, 2005). Tannen (1991, cited in Mills, 2003b) concludes that women use supportive 'rapport' talk to establish empathy, whereas men use information-driven 'report' talk to be assertive. This research, as in the Dominance approach, was primarily based on evidence from white, middle class women from the global North. It must be added that in certain linguistic communities, genderlects demonstrably exist, for example, isiHlonipha in Nguni languages is a set of lexical items showing respect that newly married women adopt to show deference to their husband's family name (Atanga, 2013). The Difference approach has been criticised for being apolitical, ignoring power structures and the normative power of gender (Motschenbacher, 2010). In other words, the Difference model's valorisation of women's 'different' gendered behaviour hides the gender dualism that produces 'different' behaviour in the first place.

All three of these difference-based approaches fall to an underlying criticism: all essentialise the differences between men and women, creating a constructed gender binary (Cameron, 2005). The Diversity model, as Cameron (2005) calls it, is partly a reaction to this difference-based core. The critique of difference approaches argues that the similarities between genders and the diversity within genders is downplayed and that in actual fact gendered identity is always affected by other dimensions of social experience (e.g. age, class, sexuality, ethnicity, occupational roles, religions) (Cameron, 2006a). This ties into my study's intersectional perspective. The Diversity model developed out of poststructuralist theories and owes a great deal to Butler's work on gender as performativity (Mills, 2003b). As discussed in 2.3.1.1, Butler's performative definition of gender is "the repeated stylization of the body" (1990:33). Most feminist linguistic research drawing upon performativity has focused on individual performances of gender in spoken interactions, but recently discourse analysis of gender performances in texts has been growing (Lazar, 2007). Performances of gender, in my data, can be seen as discursive construals of performances, or performances of performances.

The poststructuralist Diversity approach provides nuances and revitalises a Dominance approach that restricted itself to white women's experience of a more overt and rigid gender ideology of the past. Furthermore, intersectional approaches to (socio)linguistic research are growing, in an effort to understand what political interests are served by particular gender constructions (McElhinny, 2014). So, while I see the need for looking at locally situated interactions and deeply embedding analysis in cultural and historical context, I agree with Cameron (2006b:3), who argues that this is not enough and that such 'local' analysis must be combined with "'thinking globally' about the workings of gender as an overarching system of social organisation". The network of power relations and ideology complexes that constrain our interactions cannot be forgotten if language and gender research is going to have any emancipatory aim. This research, therefore, takes a predominantly Diversity approach that appropriates elements of the neo-Marxist (structuralist) Dominance approach to ensure that power and ideology remain key concerns in gender construction.

2.3.2 'Race'

2.3.2.1 Defining 'Race' and Racism

In a similar fashion to earlier understandings of gender, 'race' was essentialised as tied to perceived biological or genetic differences which were, therefore, seen as fixed categories that people were born with or (culturally) born into. Around the sixteenth century, 'race' was a literary word used to denote a class of things or people, but by the nineteenth century it came to mean "a distinct category of human beings with physical characteristics transmitted by descent" (Ashcroft, 2001:313). The process of grouping people according to skin colour and facial features had begun before this, where 'white' Europeans were situated at the top of the 'race' hierarchy and 'black' Africans at the bottom (Ashcroft, 2001). So-called 'race' theorists of the early twentieth century twisted Darwin's theory of evolution to 'scientifically' validate the creation of a hegemonic system of inequality and difference. What underlies all 'race' thinking is the ontological notion that human beings can be categorised into 'races' that have different essentialist characteristics (Erwin, 2012).

By contrast, contemporary scientists and poststructuralist scholars now agree that 'race' is not a biological fact but rather a social construct that is intimately tied to historical (colonial) processes: there are no racial genes to explain any perceived differences between 'races' (Jacquard, 1996 in Reisigl & Wodak, 2001). The construction of 'race' is a "legitimising ideological tool to oppress and exploit specific social groups and to deny them access to

material, cultural and political resources" (Reisigl & Wodak, 2001:2). This is particularly evident under apartheid: a racial caste system was engineered to ensure that "the colour line [was] the power line [was] the poverty line" (Sivanandan, 1981:300, cited in Mohanty, 2003:71). Statistics on poverty in South Africa today show that these mappings have hardly changed, with the notable exceptions of a growing 'black' middle class and a 'black' political elite (see 1.3). As a result of the apartheid legacy, 'race' thinking primarily underlies how South Africans interact and negotiate power in society (Erwin, 2012). In sum, 'race' is both socially constructed and *real*: 'race' and understandings of 'race' shape people's lived experiences and produce real-life consequences (Haslanger, 2012).

This discussion has emphasised the idea that 'race' groups were historically constructed to achieve particular goals of the dominant 'white' group, and so the relationship between 'race' and racism are two sides of the same coin. I follow Van Dijk's (2016:76) definition of racism as "a social system of racial … domination [by white European groups], consisting of two major subsystems: racist social cognition (prejudices, racist ideologies) underlying racist practices (discrimination)". This study, being discourse-based, focuses on how the former operates through the language choices in the data. Given that the novels investigated are written by South Africans, set in spaces modelled on apartheid South Africa, and focus solely on the major racial dichotomy (i.e. 'black-white'), my discussion of 'race' and racism is tied to skin colour[3]. As a result, this study concentrates on antiblack racism – the most dominant form in the world today in part because of the legacies of slavery, colonialism, and apartheid.

'Black' people did not exist before antiblack racism and nor did they think of themselves as 'black' in the meaning given by colonisers as 'not white'– they were simply human and conceived of their identity in other ways (Davis, 2018). Fanon wrote "what is often called the black soul is a white man's artefact" (1952/2008:6), meaning that 'black' people's 'blackness' is constructed by a white supremacist, antiblack racist world. In this world, "[t]he standard view is that things white represent universality and things black are locked in a web of particularity" (Gordon, 2006:8). I link this to Othering in 2.4.1. This is a particular characteristic of the white supremacist world: it masks its own construction or naturalises its being, so that it is 'universal' rather than 'white'. That is, as an ideological system, antiblack

[3] There are other definitions of racism, particularly in much CDA research in the global North, which include xenophobia, anti-Semitism, and Islamophobia (Reisigl & Wodak, 2001).

racism is natural only to those who benefit from it, while Othered outsiders can see its sinister nature. However, it can also cause internalised racism in 'black' people, which is the racial colonisation of the unconscious by insidious ideologies of antiblack racism (Davis, 2018). As such, both 'black' and 'white' people's unconscious are penetrated by these antiracist ideologies and they must be unlearned to free themselves from this oppressive system (Biko, 1978, cited in Ahluwalia & Zegeye, 2001).

It is an aim of this study to contribute to this consciousness-raising by exposing the social construction of 'race', and the ways in which common-sense assumptions about racial difference in South Africa function in the data in order to work towards a non-racialist future. However, researching 'race' in a country that reifies racial difference is challenging (Bock & Hunt, 2015), and by using apartheid racial categories, my research could further essentialise and reproduce those categories rather than expose their socially constructed function (Erwin, 2012). As with my gender annotations, the 'race' annotations necessarily reflect the racial duality that exists in the data. It is the worldview of not only the authors but also the apartheid system in which the novels are set[4] that creates these essentialisations, rather than my personal view of 'race' as an insidious fiction with real-life consequences. In my analysis, I explore how the racial binary is established and in what ways it manifests to create naturalised, racist assumptions.

The following section (2.3.2.2) presents some of the various ways in which 'race' has been researched in linguistics in order to situate my study in other research on language and 'race'.

2.3.2.2 'Race' and Language Research

While there is considerable linguistic research on 'race' and language, there is no comparable history of seemingly 'neat' approaches to 'race' and language as there is for gender and language. Alim (2016a) has maintained that there was (and still is) a reluctance to truly grapple with 'race' in mainstream linguistics. Sociolinguistics researchers have used 'race' as a social identifier and CDA practitioners have analysed the textual representations of minorities in Europe and the Americas across various discourse types (e.g. Reisigl & Wodak, 2001, 2015; Van Dijk, 1993, 2005), but "it is only recently that there has been a focused, collective effort

[4] Strictly speaking, *The Mark* is an apartheid allegory. It is not set in historical apartheid, but in a fictionalised version of apartheid that follows a 'black-white' dichotomy.

to theorize race and ethnicity within and across language studies", because it has become undeniable that language plays a central role "in racialization and on the enduring relevance of race and racism" (Alim, 2016a:5). In this section, I review a brief history of the interactions between language and 'race', including discussions on 'race' identity in past sociolinguistic research, more recent sociolinguistic and linguistic anthropological research termed 'raciolinguistics', and research understanding racism as a discourse.

Just as the production of 'race' was a critical element for the European colonial project, so too was the creation, about 100 years ago, of a hierarchy of languages which situated European languages as superior and non-European languages as animalistic (Rosa & Flores, 2017). A prime example of this is Jespersen, who hypothesised on the origin of human speech by likening 'savage' languages to that of primeval humans. Primeval speech was, thus, said to have difficult phonetic combinations like clicks, was highly metaphorical, and was probably sung, compared to 'civilised' languages, which had predominantly lost these characteristics (Jespersen, 1922/2003). His conclusions were based on the colonial binary logic of Reason/Emotion. I return to this binary in 2.4.1. Writing at the same time, Sapir (1922/2003:33) argued against this logic, stating that it "is impossible to show that the form of a language has the slightest connection with national [or racial] temperament". There are two takeaways from this previous research: firstly, that the argument for linguistic and racial equality existed 100 years ago (Alim, 2016a), and secondly, that linguistic research in the past functioned to reinforce racial binaries in order to naturalise 'white' supremacy. Ahluwalia and Zegeye (2001) similarly argue that under apartheid, the role of the social sciences was to justify and lend policy support to the racial caste system.

Past sociolinguistic research that has included 'race' as an analytic category falls into two broad orientations: dialect orientation and group orientation (Alim & Reyes, 2011). The former focuses upon the dialect (e.g. 'Kaaps' Afrikaans) and classifies the distinctive features of the dialect with respect to its ethnic or racial group. The latter begins with the ethnic or racial group ('Cape Coloured' people) and analyses either "the language practices of its group members … or the language practices surrounding how a group is constructed or imagined, such as how 'whiteness' is discursively assembled … (Bucholtz & Trechter, 2001)" (Alim & Reyes, 2011:381). Such research falls into the trap of mapping the group to the dialect and does not take other social categories (class, gender, sexuality, religion, age, location) and local contexts

into account, and so could essentialise differences rather than showing the complex relations between all these axes.

Using a poststructuralist theoretical backdrop, Alim (2016a) questions the notion of fixed language varieties or 'ethnolects' and prefers to speak of 'linguistic resources' that speakers draw on to perform their identities. However, performing one's 'race' is not a one-way process. The dialectic of positionality explains that as a 'black' person you are: "(1) being positioned as 'Black' by others in society and experiencing anti-Black racism; and (2) positioning yourself as 'Black' by acquiring 'Black' ways of speaking and being in the world" (Alim, 2004:n.p., cited in Alim, 2016b:38). This links clearly to this study's use of performativity: while 'black' people learn to perform their 'race', they are constrained by the racialisation (formed by rigid regulatory structures) they experience in the world.

A number of North American scholars have founded a new field in applied linguistics (encompassing discourse analysis, ethnographic linguistics, sociolinguistics and language educational analyses) called 'raciolinguistics' that foregrounds the relationship between language and race and that views 'race' as always intersecting with gender and sexuality (Alim, 2016a). Rosa and Flores (2017:638) add that raciolinguistic research should adopt a critical 'raceclass' approach that "not only challenges the co-constitution of racial and class hierarchies, but also forges a joint critique of white supremacy and capitalism". This is easily applicable to this study as there is a clear overlap between 'race' and class in the apartheid settings of the data (see 1.3). This new field should excite applied linguists to approach (racialised) identity and language differently. However, I share Milani's (2019:26) concern that raciolinguistics may universalise the discourses and practices that are tied to North American contexts, and so there is a need for "raciolinguistics and southern perspectives … [to] forge key alliances in the struggle against the circulation of global white hegemony". I elucidate on this study's Southern perspective in 2.3.3.1.

Critical discourse analysts have studied racism "as a social practice, and as an ideology, [that] manifests itself discursively" (Reisigl & Wodak, 2001:1) in a variety of discourse types, and while the pattern is changing (Kitis, Milani & Levon, 2018; Van Dijk, 2005), much of this research has predominantly kept to European contexts. Since the 2001 attacks on the Twin Towers and the World Trade Centre, and the immigration to Europe prompted by subsequent wars in predominantly Islamic countries, much of this research has focused on xenophobia and

anti-Muslim sentiment (Jiwani & Richardson, 2011). Such research sees racism as partly discursive: racism both constructs and is constructed by social relations; however, as Van Dijk (2005) emphasises, while many racist prejudices are (re)produced by text and talk, many more manifestations of racism are not primarily discursive: for example, 'race'-based violence and everyday racist microaggressions. The struggle against racism cannot be fought purely via discourse, but discourse analysis is still a crucial weapon because discourse itself "plays a fundamental role in the formation of racist beliefs and in the discriminatory practices based on such beliefs" (Van Dijk, 2005:11). This is especially true for schools and national curricula: the texts and textbooks used by schoolchildren have strong ideological and formative effects.

A tool underpinning the theoretical basis for most CDA research on racist discourse (Reisigl & Wodak, 2001) is Van Dijk's 'ideological square': a conceptual tool that comprises macro-semantic strategies used to emphasise positive Self presentation and negative Other presentation (namely, emphasising positive Self traits and negative Other traits while obscuring negative Self traits and positive Other traits). The Othering of bodies is explored in more detail in 2.4.1. Fanon (1952/2008) argues that the Self-Other co-construction is too simplistic to explain relations between 'black' and 'white' people. Rather, the truth of the racist system is that neither is human: the 'white' behaves inhumanely towards the 'black' and the 'black' is never afforded humanity. I take this argument as Fanon highlighting that the racist system affects everyone in it, which is crucially important in the explanatory stages of the analysis since it lends further nuance to Van Dijk's ideological square. So, I use the ideological square and argue (following Van Dijk, 2005) that it is applicable to a South African context despite being developed in a European context, because as in Europe, those who participate in racist discourse in South Africa are of European origin and their main targets are of non-European origin.

In line with this study's broadly poststructuralist approach that appropriates elements from critical neo-Marxism, I follow many of the theoretical underpinnings of raciolinguistics and, naturally, past CDA research on 'race'. These include understanding how ideology networks between neoliberal capitalism, racism and sexism function to create globalised power structures, and how these constrain social actors' performances of their intersectional identities. I next turn to intersectionality itself and engage more deeply with how it figures in my theoretical framework.

2.3.3 Intersectionality

Intersectionality has become a 'buzzword' in much humanities scholarship, being acclaimed as "the most important theoretical contribution that women's studies … has made so far" (McCall, 2005:1771). Originally coined by legal scholar Kimberlé Crenshaw, intersectionality was a critical response to single-axis thinking that theoretically erased multiply-burdened 'black' women from antiracism and feminism movements (Crenshaw, 1989). Feminism, especially second-wave feminism, was condemned for universalising white, middle-class, heterosexual women's experience (2.3.1.2). By contrast, intersectionality initially focused on under-theorised 'black' women by referring to the intersecting oppressions of 'race' and gender, and later included other axes of difference such as class, religion, sexuality, nationality, ability, etc. (Nash, 2008). Intersectionality is already a cornerstone of raciolinguisitic research (Rosa & Flores, 2017) and can assist in CDA work, which, while focused on uncovering ideological inequalities, has been largely concerned with isolated axes of social differentiation, and thus has not accounted for how axes may operate together (Lazar, 2007; Kitis, Milani & Levon, 2018). This appears to be changing as some corpus-based CDA research has recently adopted intersectional approaches (Baker & Levon, 2016; Hunt & Jaworska, 2019; Kitis, Milani & Levon, 2018).

Contrary to early conceptions of intersectionality such as the metaphorical 'crossroads' where fixed social categories like 'woman' and 'black' meet, I follow Baker and Levon's (2016:108) view of intersectionality as "the ways in which dynamic systems of social organisation mutually constitute one another". In other words, social categories like 'race' and gender do not exist as entities unto themselves, but rather acquire their meanings via their relationships to the other categories with which they intersect. To be precise, I take the view that while an almost inexhaustible list of social categories intersects to form our identities, the intersections of the key categories of 'race', gender and class are more fundamental (Saffioti, 2004 in Connell, 2014). Mutual constitution is a key tenet of intersectionality that Levon (2015) argues should be integrated into language, gender and sexuality research.

Another important tenet, closely linked to mutual constitution, is 'relationality'. The constructs of 'race' and gender are also constructed *in relation to* each other – for example, "gendered meanings of woman and femininity are meaningless without the corresponding meanings of man and masculinity" (Windsong, 2018:137). This tenet contests the more conventional notion that intersectionality should exclusively focus on marginalised identities (Cho, Crenshaw &

McCall, 2013). Since intersectionality is such a useful concept for understanding the nuances and multiple layers of identity and oppression, analysing masculinity and whiteness intersectionally exposes the oppressive power of those identities and further problematises these dominant categories (Glenn, 2002 in Windsong, 2018). Kitis, Milani & Levon (2018:152) take a similar stance, arguing that such limited analytical scope (i.e. of examining 'black' women in isolation) would "run the risk of painting a rather unnuanced picture, failing to grasp the complex and ambiguous operations of power". Although I acknowledge that in the past, the comparison of men and women, or 'white' and 'black', has been to the detriment of the latter (the Other) in each case, I contend that I have produced a more robust, nuanced analysis by centring the marginalised identity as I have, and minimally comparing it to the other identities. Both tenets of mutual constitution and relationality are integrated into my theoretical framework, as I explain below.

Due to its inherent complexity, intersectionality has been difficult to pin down methodologically. My methodological approach, based on mutual constitution and relationality, can be described as 'intercategorical' (McCall, 2005), because I choose to investigate multiple groups of various intersecting social categories. Practically, this means that while my primary focus is gender and 'race' and the coding of my data follows this, other axes of differentiation must be included as they arise in the data for this work to truly embrace the concept of mutual constitution. Integrating class is relatively straightforward since class is mapped onto 'race' in the apartheid-like settings in the data (see 2.3.2.2). However, the quantitative coding can never be sensitive enough to all the possible intersecting social axes, so there was a need for a more qualitative approach. To bring any other important axes to light, I 'ask the other question' as Matsuda (1991:1189, cited in Levon, 2015:297) puts it:

"When I see something that looks racist, I ask, "Where is the patriarchy in this?" When I see something that looks sexist, I ask, "Where is the heterosexism in this?" When I see something that looks homophobic, I ask, "Where are the class interests in this?".

By asking 'other questions' at the interpretive and explanatory stages of my analysis, I integrated other pertinent axes of differentiation, while maintaining my focus on 'raceclass' and gender. This practice was particularly beneficial in exposing the inherent ableism in both novels.

In early intersectional work that drew on 'black' feminism at the time, there was a focus on the lived experiences of 'black' women as subordinated subjects: "placing those who currently are marginalized in the center is the most effective way to resist efforts to compartmentalize experiences and undermine potential collective action" (Crenshaw, 1989:167). Matsuda built on this idea, stating that "those who have experienced discrimination speak with a special voice to which we should listen" (1987:324, cited in Nash, 2008:3). In this study, this special voice does not come from the 'white' female researcher, but from the characters in the novels themselves, especially the protagonists who narrate the stories and are poor 'black' females[5]. My primary interest is investigating how these protagonists (and other poor 'black' females) are construed. The construals of other characters along various combinations of axes are analysed primarily to throw light on the construal of 'black' females. In this way, relationality underscores my theoretical framework: I annotated 'black' female, 'black' male, 'white' female, and 'white' male characters in order to expose the power dynamics existing between these groups, thereby providing a more nuanced analysis of how multiply marginalised 'black' female characters are positioned and potentially resist such positioning.

As with raciolinguistics, intersectionality (being a development coming out of critical race feminism) has the potential to universalise North American theory. Mohanty (1984) was one of the first scholars to call out not only 'white' feminisms but first-world feminisms for their commitment to 'white' supremacist capitalist neocolonialism. In her discussion of contemporary intersectionality research, Patil (2013:850, cited in Cho, Crenshaw & McCall, 2013:805) takes this one step further by arguing that "intersectionality scholarship to date has failed to interrogate how transnational dynamics of colonialism, imperialism, and neoliberalism structure and constrain life prospects through processes of racialization and gendering". She goes so far as to blame intersectionality for feminists' lack of engagement with postcolonial discourse. It is this need for integrating a Southern or postcolonial perspective, especially in a postcolonial, post-apartheid setting that leads to my final subsection of 'race' and gender.

2.3.3.1 A Southern, Feminist Perspective

[5] It must be noted that while *Mother to Mother* is written by a 'black' woman, *The Mark*'s author is a 'white' woman, which complicates this interpretation somewhat.

This section summarises my philosophical approach on this research, which is informed by Southern theory, to an extent, and by material and intersectional feminisms. My overarching viewpoint is a poststructuralist one that incorporates elements of critical neo-Marxism.

I am generally in favour of poststructuralism and what it is capable of, but I take issue with its excesses. Poststructuralism's association with critiques of grand narratives, essentialism, and dyadic thinking and its emphasis on diversity are all useful concepts for current language and gender research (Cameron, 2005). However, I accept a moderate version of poststructuralism that rejects the utter relativity of truth, and the complete fragility and instability of everything. If these ideals were true, there would be no overarching power structures such as patriarchy and antiblack racism and so there would be no point in emancipatory research – or any gender research for that matter (Holmes, 2007). Butler (1990) herself speaks of the heteronormative matrix and regulatory frames that constrain performativity – I perceive those to be oppressive power systems that keep women subordinate to men (in various ways under various conditions). These are 'structures' that even this 'poststructuralist' allows for. So, I incorporate those elements of poststructuralism that assist me in uncovering the intersectional gendered and 'raced' construals in the data. Lastly, while I concede that men are oppressed by hegemonic masculinity too, women (particularly Southern/'black' women) are the prime targets of sexist societies and the primary interest of this study.

As with much feminist CDA work (Lazar, 2007), this study takes a critical, materialist feminist approach. Having a materialist feminist perspective means understanding that gender is an ideological structure that hierarchically divides people into two 'classes', where men are dominant and women subordinate (Lazar, 2007). This binarism is a highly problematic characteristic of the ideological construction of patriarchy and is a common technique of Othering: although it needs to be deconstructed, it should not be disregarded as it currently still has effects in society. For example, on average men are paid 25% more than women across every industry in South Africa (De Villiers, 2019). Previous attempts by Dominance feminists (2.3.1.2) to create unified accounts of women have historically received (well-deserved) critique from many feminists on the margins (e.g. Crenshaw, 1989; Mohanty, 1984; Hooks, 2000) for what they variously call a 'white/middle-class/Western' universalising tendency to lump all women together, which reinforces gender norms and marginalises most groups of women. This valuable criticism should not mean the end of materialist feminism; rather, it demonstrates the potential for change: decolonising feminist practice means that we can unite

across borders (Mohanty, 2003) and together fight various intersecting forms of sexism, racism, heterosexism, and imperialism (provided we attend to each other's differences and unite behind our commonalities). Building on this, I uphold my materialist view while emphasising two critical nuances. Firstly, on the whole societies privilege men – what Connell (1995, cited in Lazar, 2007) calls 'patriarchal dividends' – although the forms of gendered privilege and oppression vary according to local context and intersect with other systems of power (Mohanty, 2003). Secondly, it is crucial to integrate feminist theory from the South (Connell, 2014) into my intersectional, materialist approach.

Calls for the need to incorporate a Southern lens in applied linguistic research have come recently (Milani, 2019; Milani & Lazar, 2017; Kerfoot & Hyltenstam, 2017) following a growing trend towards subsuming various (at times conflicting) theories – especially African postcolonial, Latin American decolonial, and Indian subaltern theories – into a broader 'Southern' academic project (Rosa, 2014). In truth, there is nothing radically new about this: in the 1950s Fanon was already condemning the impact of applying Northern (colonial) social theory to colonised people. Today there has not been sufficient change in the status quo: "Priority for theory produced in the metropole, and marginality for anything of the sort from the periphery, is the *normal functioning* of the global economy of knowledge" (Connell, 2014:527, emphasis in original). While the current study is approaching a Southern perspective by incorporating Southern theorists (e.g. Fanon, Mohanty, Biko, Connell, Lazar) and North American theorists of colour[6] (e.g. Crenshaw, Hooks), it is deeply imbricated in global North theories. It is, nevertheless, a start. The end goal is not to create purely Southern theory that refuses any interaction with Northern theorising, but rather to counter the Eurocentric bias in academia by focusing on the South with the aim of "speaking back to the North, and thereby enhancing a reflexive practice on the geopolitics of knowledge production" (Milani & Lazar, 2017:310).

I conclude this section with a note on researcher positionality. I accept that there is a very real danger of the 'white' researcher falling into outdated, colonial patterns of thought. There are probably many in South African feminist and antiracist circles who would argue that as a 'white' woman I cannot and, perhaps more importantly, should not conduct research on 'black'

[6] Mohanty (2003) includes North American people of colour as 'Third World' or 'Southern' as a result of the oppression these groups face from the state.

women. This criticism is perhaps somewhat deflated by the fact that I am analysing intersectional construals of four different identities in texts, rather than say, interviewing 'black' women and then presuming to fully identify with their position. Additionally, Said (1994:35, cited in Milani & Lazar, 2017:312) provides a firm response to this position: "although there is an irreducible subjective core to human experience, this experience is also historical and secular, it is accessible to analysis and interpretation… [and so we should not] build analyses of historical experience around exclusions". Furthermore, given the theoretical view of intersectionality, this position taken to its logical extreme would state that one could only truly analyse oneself – a useless position.

I hope to do justice to this study by couching my analysis in Southern theory and by remaining self-reflexive. To illustrate, I must self-reflexively own that – however unconsciously – I have internalised antiblack racism and sexism and that as a 'white' person I have accrued extraordinary privilege. Throughout my analysis I reflect and critically engage with my prejudices and allow my readings of Fanon, Lazar and Hooks to guide my analysis.

2.4 The Body

2.4.1 Conceptualising the Body

The body has recently become critically important to sociological and political studies, and much research in the humanities over the past two decades – what some may call the 'corporeal turn'. One of the difficulties that arises from theorising the body is that it is simultaneously both natural and cultural: "The human body is subject to processes of birth, decay and death which result from its placement in the natural world, but these processes are also 'meaningful' events located in a world of cultural beliefs, symbols and practices" (Turner, 2008:55). This duality has seen sociological theories of the body follow two broad paths: either as an attempt to decode the body's various social meanings, or as the study of embodied experience over a body's lifetime. Within these branches there are many different views on the body: for example, the social, physical, disciplined, naturalistic, medical, sexual, or commodified body (Howson, 2013). This demonstrates the uncertainty in deciding what the body is, something Butler expresses when she admits that in "trying to consider the materiality of the body", she "kept losing track of the subject" (1993: ix).

This uncertainty is laid bare in the social construction of people with disability.[7] Two contrasting models seek to understand disability: the medical model and the social model. The former has been the hegemonic model in which disability is a defect or flaw of the individual's body that needs intervention or fixing to function as a human being (Siebers, 2008). The latter model, while not denying the material experience of living with an impairment of the body, moves the focus onto the social and environmental factors: society disables people with impairment by locating the problem with them, rather than locating the problem with a society that refuses to accommodate them (Siebers, 2008). Disability is, therefore, a social construction that enables the exclusion and unequal treatment of people with disability. Underlying this construction and the medical model is ableism or the "ideology of ability", where "Ability is the ideological baseline by which humanness is determined" (Siebers, 2008:10). Fineman (2008, cited in Coakley-Fields, 2019) dispels the ableist myth that individuals should be autonomous by arguing all people are vulnerable and interdependent. Just as we are universally embodied, so too are we universally vulnerable. Likewise Siebers (2008:7) contends that ability is temporary at best, for to be human and thus, embodied, is to be "feeble and finite".

A theoretical legacy that has dogged (Western) sociological conceptions of the body is mind-body dualism, which has its intellectual roots in ancient Greece but was perhaps 'popularised' by Descartes. Mind-body dualism has three core aspects: firstly, body and mind are distinct; secondly, the body is a machine-like subordinate to the mind; and thirdly, the self is produced through the mind's thoughts (Howson, 2013). Oyewumi (2009) and Ozawa de-Silva (2002 in Howson, 2013) argue that despite this perspective being overtly lambasted in recent theories of the body, it remains a persistent theoretical blind spot in much Western theory. Second-wave feminism also highlighted how Cartesian dualism legitimated discrimination against women: men were seen to be 'bodyless', free and rational mind-beings, whereas women were emotional, sensual, unthinking body-beings (Grosz, 1994). Manichean logic underscores this division, where hygiene, reason, and virtue are mapped onto the former and their opposites mapped onto the latter. However, this enduring negative association of the body did not stop with women: 'black' people, slaves, Jewish people, and working-class people were all at some time considered to be embodied, and thus dominated by instinct and emotion. As Oyewumi writes, "They are the Other, and the other is a body" (2009:5). Cartesian dualism, therefore,

[7] I use the term "people with disability" because it prioritises their personhood over their disability, as recommended by People With Disability Australia (2018).

can be argued to be a core justifying strategy for colonialism, sexism, racism, and classism. This provides the theoretical basis for my study's focus on constructions of the body, as it should be a fruitful avenue for investigating the ideological effects of gender and 'race'.

In opposing sexism, "gender as difference" feminists (2.3.1.1) have struggled to reconcile their relationship with the (female) body, a body that is constructed to be "intrinsically unpredictable, leaky and disruptive" (Shildrick & Price, 1999:2). The 'somatophobia' of early academic feminism was clear as feminists tried to deny sexual difference based on biology: women were 'just like men' and their thoughts and intellectualism should prove that (Howson, 2013). By contrast, feminist activism has long addressed female body politics via concerns such as reproductive rights, diets, pornography, beauty norms, and sexual violence. Butler's (1990) insights into the body as a discursive construct, as discussed in 2.3.1.1, has led to feminist poststructuralist theory, which interrogates whose interests are served by dominant body constructions along a gender binary. Crucially, Butler (1993) argues that both heterosexism and racism are regulatory regimes that contour the body, and so her theory can be easily incorporated into an intersectional methodology.

While most texts on the history of theorising the body give credit to the influence of (second-wave) feminism (Howson, 2013; Turner, 2008; cf. Shildrick & Price, 1999), there appears to be a glaring lack of discussion of postcolonial thinkers such as Fanon (1952/2008:106), who detailed his embodied experience 70 years ago: "the Negro suffers his body quite differently from the white man". Sadly, his truth still rings clear today for the mind-body dualistic core remains relevant to modern racism.[8] Fanon famously recounts an incident on a Parisian train where a little boy hails him as a 'Negro' and tells his mother he is frightened. Fanon describes how in this moment his body becomes a property of the racist gaze, and so the 'black' body becomes hated, a curse, something that the 'black' subject longs to escape. In addition to instilling the 'black' subject's self-hatred (or internalised racism/inferiority complex), the racist gaze dehumanises the 'black' subject and reduces the 'black' body to an object. Finally, Fanon argues that the male 'black' body is reduced to a penis: 'black' men are, therefore, threatening, biological, depraved, and licentious.

[8] See Sithole (2016), Shaikjee & Stroud (2017), and Gibson (2011) for accounts of the applicability of Fanon's work in contemporary South Africa.

Given the fascination that surrounded Saartjie Baartman's body in colonial Europe, the 'black' man's reduction to genitalia can be extended to 'black' women. 'Black' women are objectified by two gazes: as women, they are objectified by the male gaze (Mulvey, 1975) where men find pleasure in looking at women who must passively receive this attention; and as 'black' women, they are further objectified by the racist gaze (Fanon, 1952/2008). Under this differentiating gaze, 'black' women are constrained to change their appearance to suit strict, racialised beauty norms. Hooks (2015) takes issue with the politics of 'black' hair criticising 'black' superstars like Beyoncé who propagate racist 'white' beauty norms by flaunting blonde, pin-straight wigs rather than embracing their natural hair. The debates surrounding 'black' women's natural versus 'fake' hairstyles have colonial roots: slaves who had straighter hair (and lighter skin) were often more expensive and highly prized (Hooks 2015). In South Africa today, the 'black' hair industry is thriving and 'white' hairstyles are hugely contested. Many 'black' South Africans feel that manipulating hair to look 'white' embraces racist beauty norms, whereas others see it as an empowering personal choice or a means of eliminating time-consuming hair routines (Majali, Coetzee & Rau, 2017). This debate found its way into *The Mark* quite considerably: my students hotly debated the significance of Ettie's '*Savage'* hair compared to Kitty's '*silky'* hair (see 4.3.1).

As these discussions indicate, the body is always on view and so invites a differentiating gaze. This means that social categories such as gender, 'race', and class become embodied (Oyewumi, 2009). Because the data I explore are all textual, the meanings attached to the body are already symbolic and rendered textually and so are removed from the physical body or image of the body. In fact, I conceive of the body itself, to a great extent, as a discursive construct (Butler, 1990). However, unlike texts such as advertisements or magazine articles, these novels are narrated from an embodied subject's perspective. This enables the inclusion of a degree of lived experience in my analysis whenever the protagonists express something regarding their embodied experiences. My conception of the body takes a combined discursive-and-embodied approach (cf. Glapka, 2018). Firstly, I see the body as a text that society writes upon, and where social norms are enacted. Our bodies are socially positioned (Haslanger, 2012). Secondly, these social norms have an effect on the embodied subjects themselves and so lived experience of the body, of racialised and gendered bodies, is also important. Thirdly, our bodies-as-texts are performed (Butler, 1990) upon learning our embodied social categories. This last performative caveat adds some agency and hope for change: there is the potential for

certain performances – e.g. drag performances in Butler (1990) and transracial performances in Alim (2016b) – to nudge the orders of discourse to slowly change and adapt.

Butler (1990) argues that creative, transgressive performances of gender such as cross-dressing can destabilise norms, while Lazar (2007) more convincingly argues that drag queens often reproduce those gender structures via hyperfeminine performances. Perhaps gender non-conforming performances of gender fluid individuals better expose the discursive construction of sex and gender without reifying hypermasculine or hyperfeminine power. Alim (2016b) is similarly hesitant in the transformative power of transracialism. Racially ambiguous people (transracial subjects) who can change their 'race' according to their (raciolinguisitic) performances and contexts have the potential to radically transform "the oppressive logic of race itself" (Alim, 2016b:46). However, only if their transracial performances expose the fiction of hegemonic 'race' structures can these social actors be truly transgressive. I argue in 4.3.1 that Ettie in *The Mark* exhibits a transracial performance that destabilises racial formation.

The body is a productive site for investigation not only to sociology and political studies, but also to applied linguistics. This is discussed in the following section (2.4.2) to locate my study within current linguistic research on the body.

2.4.2 Linguistic Analyses of Embodied Gender and 'Race'

The body as a site of analysis is becoming more common in sociolinguistic research. There are even calls for an embodied (Bucholtz & Hall, 2016) or corporeal (Peck & Stroud, 2017) sociolinguistics, and it is exciting to see South African (and South African-based) academics answering this call in various ways. This section summarises the body as it stands in sociolinguistics and more specifically textual analyses that resemble my study by discussing two broad trends: analysing the fragmented body, and analysing whole bodies. I then situate this study predominantly within the former trend.

Earlier work investigating the discourses surrounding bodies congregated around language and gender and can be typified by Cameron's (1992, cited in Bucholtz & Hall, 2016) work on the metaphors of violence and conquest that men use to derive terms for the penis. Individual body parts seem to recur as a site for analysis in language and gender work. Jefferies (2007) is a more recent example: she investigated (as part of a larger project on women's magazines) the

naming of body parts and found a general lack of everyday terms for female genitalia, which could cause women to feel detached from their bodies. Motschenbacher (2010), also working on gendered discourses in popular magazines, drew upon Hellinger and Bussmann's (2001, cited in Motschenbacher, 2010) mechanisms of linguistic gender construction: lexical, social and referential gender.[9] Body parts with lexical gender index gender directly and so are primarily restricted to sex characteristics (e.g. *beard, vagina*). Body parts showing social gender such as *eyelash* or *muscle* are stereotypically associated with a particular gender. Referential gender refers to the actual gender of the body part in its context and so can be subversive, for example, by speaking of a woman's *moustache*. Motschenbacher found that there was a higher incidence of gender polarisation for socially gendered body parts, which he took as proof of the performative nature of gender.

Some studies have examined body parts beyond the content of the lexemes themselves, as illustrated in Peck and Stroud's (2017) analysis of tattoos, where they extend linguistic landscape studies to include the body: what they term 'skinscapes'. Drawing on a participant's resignification of an old tattoo as embarrassing because of its placement on his upper thigh (which he perceives to be a 'gay space'), Peck and Stroud argue that different body parts/surfaces are constructed by intersecting social discourses of sexuality, gender and 'race'. That is, they believe skinscapes introduce an innovative corporeal view of power relations. Uncovering underlying gender power relations was Mills' (1995, in Livia, 2003) aim in investigating popular romance fiction. Using transitivity analysis, she found that female characters had less control over parts of their bodies, and they passively received male characters' actions. Hunt (2015) found similar patterns in her investigation of the *Harry Potter* series. In terms of physical agency, female characters had less control over their bodies, and hardly used their bodies to act on the world. Male characters, by contrast, were often injured, and held weapons and objects important to the plot. Hunt argued that this showed how female characters were subtly placed in a deficit position. Following Hunt's work, Mncwango (2018) examined selected body parts in three isiZulu novels and found the use and description of body parts is indicative of gender stereotypes although to a lesser extent than previous research on English fiction showed. These researchers show that focusing on body parts can be fruitful when investigating the discursive construction of gender.

[9]In languages that use gender for nominal classification, there is a fourth category: grammatical gender. Livia (2003) found that a French novelist who wished to have a gender non-binary character described their body parts rather than the character themself to avoid the gendering inherent to French grammar.

While there is relatively less linguistic research on whole bodies, there are interesting studies that can be fruitful to add to the context of this study. Milani (2019, 2017) analysed the symbolism of ‘black’ women’s bodies in two protests: student protests at the University of Witwatersrand and a die-in at a pride parade. To illustrate, in the former, three students marched bare-breasted with their arms crossed above their heads towards police in an attempt to ease a tense situation. Their actions harnessed the historical, traumatic image of slaved, enchained ‘black’ bodies. Milani (2019) compared the racist, patronising reactions towards these women with the positive, grateful reactions to a topless ‘white’ man who directed traffic in Johannesburg to show how coloniality and intersecting categories of ‘race’, sexuality and gender are inscribed on bodies. Shaikjee and Stroud (2017) came to broadly similar conclusions in their Fanonian-inspired work on drag kings in Cape Town. They found that drag kings sourced masculinity through often racialised, patriarchal performances of masculinity through the stereotyping of ‘black’ rappers. Lastly, choosing to focus rather on white women, both Jefferies (2007) and Pienaar and Bekker (2007) found that the (Western) ideal female body was thin, white and youthful, to the exclusion of other ‘races’, ages and body types. Both argued that the female physical ideal as portrayed in the media was potentially damaging to young women and could lead to dangerous behaviours linked to dieting, anorexia and bulimia. All these studies are reminders that the discourses about the body circulating in the media have real impacts and so this type of research is both needed and important.

In this study, the body is the central site of identity construction. I analyse the fragmented body by exploring key body part vocabulary and how this falls into lexical patterns that can lead to the discovery of complex ideological structures. These are then interpreted as either conforming to (largely Western) society’s discourses on racialised and gendered bodies or shaking up the status quo via disruptive performances, or both to some extent. These discourses have an ideological impact since the data I analyse are nationally prescribed works. In the final section of this chapter (2.5), I consider the role of school texts and texts read by children, and conclude with a discussion of the previous linguistic research into gender, ‘race’ and school literature.

2.5 School Texts

2.5.1 The Ideological Role of School Texts

The texts that children and young adults read – whether literature setworks and textbooks in school, or novels and magazines at home – have been widely discussed as playing a didactic or socialising role (e.g. Chisholm, 2018; Diekman & Murnen, 2004; Rogers & Christian, 2007; Sunderland, 2011). Most recently there have been local and international calls for the decolonisation of education in general and educational materials in particular. As CDA theorists (Fairclough, 2001; Lazar, 2007; Van Dijk, 2016) emphasise, the symbolic elites maintain ideological power of the dominant bloc by shaping public discourses (e.g. media and education discourses) to project their practices as 'common sense' (2.2.1). Children – tomorrow's future – become a primary target of these discourses as they tend to lack the critical thinking skills to adequately combat ideological assumptions (Diekman & Murnen, 2004). This section examines the various ideological roles school texts play with the aim of contextualising the core aim of this study: to determine the ideological impact that these two Grade 10 setworks (my data) could have on every public school English Home Language learner in the country. Practically, this means I drew upon the account that follows while weighing up the ideological impact the chosen texts might have.

Texts in schools – namely, the textbooks and setworks that learners focus on repeatedly in class, for homework and during exam preparation – while naturally exerting a considerable influence on the quality of education they receive – also impact their potential for empathetic understanding of social equality (Mukundan & Nimehchisalem, 2008, cited in Mustapha & Mills, 2015). Jiwani and Richardson (2011:242) argue that it is these mass-mediated texts that "have the power to amplify and legitimate racist discourse", while Van Dijk (2005:4) in his work on racism in Latin-American textbooks goes further by commenting that besides other influences like family, friends and television, "white kids learn to be racist at school, through the myriads of biased children's stories and textbooks". Furthermore, Gardner (2017) states that racial biases absorbed from children's literature affect children of all races and can be internalised by children of colour. Similarly, Diekman and Murnen (2004:373), citing classic experimental studies, state that reading biased stories with stereotypical gender roles increases "the traditionalism of children's gender-related beliefs". It is the status of these books as approved by the school or education department that adds extra ideological weight to their underlying messages: prescribed literature provides "child readers with a definition of what their identities, interests, attitudes are conventionally deemed to be" (Baker & Freebody, 1989:47, cited in Wharton, 2005:240). This 'hidden curriculum' specifically concerning

stereotyped gender roles has been a focus of many feminist studies of textbooks (see Mustapha & Mills, 2015 for overview).

Recent textbooks still suffer from biases. Chisholm (2018) argues that often new, more 'inclusive' items are added to newer editions of textbooks, but this inclusion is often limited to mere 'mentioning', and so the general exclusions of the historical experiences of those who are less powerful in society remain, "thereby assisting in the social and cultural reproduction of inequality" (Chisholm, 2018:226). The South African Department of Basic Education (DBE) recently released a textbook evaluation report, which showed that while the textbooks and workbooks investigated were "reasonably inclusive", there was clear bias across all social categories towards white, "middle class normativity" (2019:129) and so had to an extent failed the DBE's aims of encapsulating "the lived experience of all learners in order that none may feel excluded from the official knowledge discourse presented" (2019:131).

School textbooks and setworks have already been shown to influence the formation of learners' identities, typically along traditional, stereotypical lines. However, the use of more progressive literature in classrooms can have a positive, transformative effect on learners' senses of self-worth and social justice. In general, teaching and reading literature has the power to do the following: to pass on some of the learners' cultural heritage; to assist learners in acquiring vicarious experiences of life and of people unlike them in order to increase understanding of themselves and others; and to develop critical thinking skills and moral awareness (Reid, 1982). I discuss these below to contextualise how through the propagation of more positive opponent ideologies, my data could have a bearing on developing a more progressive generation of South African citizens.

Literature is a means of sharing and experiencing one's cultural heritage – something that is particularly important for those from previously oppressed groups. In colonies like South Africa, British literature was explicitly used in colonial education to "erase the voice of the colonised and blot out his [sic] identity" (Viswanathan, 1989:12, cited in Silverthorne, 2009:9). In response to colonialism's attempted erasure of African culture, Achebe (1964:158, cited in Reid, 1984:111) famously stated that the African writer's duty is to help African people regain their dignity post-independence "by showing them in human terms what happened to them, what they lost". Today, urbanised South African youth are again experiencing this cultural alienation, where traditional cultural practices are being subsumed by a Western middle-class

education (Soudien 2007, cited in Silverthorne, 2009). The DBE only moved away from traditional Western literary canon in the senior school setworks in 2017 (Department of Basic Education, 2015) – previously the prescribed Matric setworks were as Anglocentric as they had been under apartheid (Silverthorne, 2009). In the new literature catalogue for Grades 10-12, 15 out of 25 authors are South African – a significant change that has transformative potential. It would, therefore, appear that the DBE has answered the call to decolonise literary education. This study seeks to discover to what extent this is true with particular reference to the representation of 'black' female characters.

Developing empathy for other people, especially people different from ourselves, is key to promoting social justice – a key aim of the National Curriculum Statement (1.3). Rorty (2001) argues that reading novels liberates us from stereotyped lines of thinking regarding other people because novels allow us to imagine what it is like to be people quite unlike ourselves and so increases our tolerance for and understanding of otherness. He states that "reading a great many novels is the process by which young intellectuals of our time [should] hope to become wise" (2001:249). In our racially divided country, there is a great need for increased wisdom and the empathy to heal wounds of the past and move towards a kinder, freer future. Hoeken (2017), summarising numerous studies, states that stories have a greater influence over readers' opinions when the readers are absorbed by the story and especially when they identify with a character. Furthermore, Hoeken, Kolthoff and Sanders (2016, cited in Hoeken, 2017) argue that it is especially through first person narration that people can most readily open their minds to complex issues from different perspectives. It would seem that my data (*Mother to Mother* and *The Mark*) are good choices to the extent that the familiar South African setting makes them relevant to the learners, 'black' female learners may more easily identify with the protagonists, and other learners may be less resistant readers given the first person perspective.

Critical literacy skills are important for young people to negotiate their way through fake news, subtle advertising and political discourse, but also to combat the prevalence of antiblack images and sexist stereotypes in the mass media. Explicitly teaching children critical literacy skills both in text and imagery is critical in assisting children to understand and resist the oppressive images they may encounter (Gardner, 2017). Crucial to this is not only reading literature with diverse representations (Gardner, 2017), but also actively unpacking stereotypes encountered in other pieces (Mustapha & Mills, 2015). Books that portray stereotypical gender roles, for example, could also teach learners about important human qualities like courage and friendship

(Diekman & Murnen, 2004). This reveals that sexist and racist setworks can still have pedagogical importance in the language classroom, but this should not be at the expense of more diverse, non-sexist literature. To illustrate, Nkosi (2013) found a local school's prescribed Zulu novels were highly sexist and reflective of the more misogynist aspects of traditional Zulu culture. She argued that the way these texts valorised male infidelity could be productively deconstructed by the teacher, but found that teachers overtly encouraged this sexist position in class.

In textbook research, feminists have moved towards conceptualising readers as active participants rather than passive receivers of ideology (Mustapha & Mills, 2015). This transactional theory of reading (Rogers & Christian, 2007) sees a text as holding chains of possible meanings that particular readers in particular contexts access via their Members' Resources (Fairclough, 2001). The focus rests on the reader as the interpreter. Nevertheless, the underlying, implicit racist and sexist messages that exist in texts may be more difficult to consciously identify and resist. While many of the Grade 10 readers for whom *The Mark* and *Mother to Mother* have been prescribed may read against the grain, they are less likely to than adults who have relatively more life-experience (Diekman & Murnen, 2004). Furthermore, reading with the teacher lends weight to the social representations the text holds (Wharton, 2005). Ladson-Billings (2003, cited in Rogers & Christian, 2007) demonstrated that progressive texts that address racial issues are often glossed over by 'white' teachers in the US and I have witnessed something similar in the previous school I taught in. As Lugones (1990:51, cited in Thompson, 2003:82) comments, reading racially progressive literature "is not helpful in exploring racism and ethnocentrism *unless* these works are read from [a racially] engaged position".

Teacher sensitivity training is essential in providing teachers with the knowledge and experience necessary to engage with diverse classrooms and multiple perspectives (Haddix & Price-Dennis, 2013). In addition to training, adequate teacher guides that provide insight into the indirect messages underlying the novels they teach could assist in better, more transformative teaching. I chose this study, in part, in the hopes of providing such insights about these novels for the improvement of my own and potentially others' teaching practice.

2.5.2 Ideology, Gender, 'Race' and (School) Literature

This section summarises key trends in a selection of research on children's literature and school literature that examined underlying 'race' and gender ideologies. As my methodology combines linguistic methods, I focus primarily on linguistic research, but I include some content analysis research since much work on children's literature has used this methodology. To date, there have been no *linguistic* analyses carried out on either of the two novels[10] or on nationally prescribed South African school setworks. This points to the significance of my study as it begins to fill a research gap.

Earlier research into children's literature has focused predominantly on gender rather than 'race', although feminist writers such as Hooks (2015) have long lamented the derogatory images of people of colour and the whitewashing of educational curricula. Regarding gender construction in global North picture books from the 1940s to the 1980s, Kortenhaus and Demarest (1993) documented that girl characters became more involved in instrumental activities (i.e. those that involved creativity or independent movement and decision making) than before, but maintained consistent levels of passive activities (i.e. those that necessitated little movement or help from others). Boy characters showed little change, remaining active in stories and only showing a minor increase in passive activities. In a content analysis of US picture books, Gooden and Gooden (2001, cited in Diekman & Murnen, 2004) found that girl characters were shown in fewer roles than male characters and these roles were predominantly stereotypical roles that males did not occupy. They found that female characters were also underrepresented in images in picture books. The similar trends in earlier research on gender representation point to female invisibility, stereotypically feminine roles and more passive activities for female characters generally, compared to high visibility of male characters who play agentive roles in the stories.

Largely due to the work of feminists and antiracists, the sexist and racist ideologies in mass-mediated texts, including school and children's literature, are generally no longer explicit, but there are still implicit, indirect ways that 'white', male superiority is conveyed to children in such texts (Van Dijk, 2005). Diekman and Murnen (2004) argue that even non-sexist US children's books still manifest sexism because sexism still exists in society. They explain that while girls and girl characters who act in traditionally masculine ways are generally praised for

[10] *Mother to Mother* has, however, received considerable international attention from literary critics (e.g. Rafapa, 2017; Schatteman, 2008; Whitehead, 2012).

being empowered, boys and boy characters who act in traditionally feminine ways are roundly derided. It is to be expected then, that my data may reveal more agentive female characters, but not emotionally-aware male characters. Similarly, Rogers and Christian (2007) in their CDA analysis of 'race' construction in US children's books found that while the selected books addressed 'race' from a 'white' perspective to an extent, it fell into dominant modes of hiding whiteness and its role in racism, such as privileging 'white' character's feelings over the life experiences of people of colour, and historicising racism as outside the story's community. My data centre on 'black' female characters' perspectives so it is most likely that 'race' is addressed from this standpoint, rather than a 'white' one.

These subtle messages in apparently progressive texts show that dominant discourses can be difficult to identify and more difficult to counteract. Using CDA is crucial in understanding how these more subtle forms of sexism and racism manifest in texts, since this method allows researchers to examine not only what is said but also what could have been said. To illustrate, a modern and seemingly progressive children's series that is arguably found in most school libraries – *Harry Potter* – has been thoroughly researched using CDA methodologies to uncover both implicitly traditional and overtly progressive elements in its gender representations (Eberhardt, 2017; Hunt, 2011, 2015; Sunderland, 2011). That is, while many critics defend Hermione as the brains of the trio and the reason Harry succeeds in his heroic deeds each year, underlying this is a stereotypical portrayal of her as emotional, passionate, and physically weak. For example, Eberhardt (2017) found that strongly gendered verbs of speech (e.g. *shrilly* and *screamed*) described only female characters, which essentialised gender binaries and reinforced stereotypically negative female behaviour. Hunt (2011) similarly found that the author's use of body parts by male and female characters was clearly gendered along lines of agency and emotion (2.4.2).

Research on South African children's literature appears to follow the Western trends discussed above. Mncube (2007, cited in Nkosi, 2013) found in her content analysis of high school isiZulu fiction that practically all books contained clear gender stereotypes: female characters were construed as less educated and less intelligent than male counterparts. Nkosi's (2013) own work on high school isiZulu fiction showed similar results: female characters were stereotypically portrayed as nurturers, most often as uneducated housewives dependent on their men, whereas male characters were brave, independent breadwinners. In addition, male characters' infidelity was accepted as normal, but female characters' infidelity was violently

punished in the stories. In relation to ‘race’ and multiculturalism in South African school fiction, Reid (1982:110) discussed how prescribed works were “almost completely Eurocentric” under the apartheid system and Silverthorne (2009) showed how this trend had not disappeared in the Matric setworks of 2009-2011.

My study aims to reveal whether the recent inclusion of South African writers in the list of prescribed works is truly transformative: whether their gender and ‘race’ construals are transformative or fall back onto stereotyped constructions. Chitando (2016) commented that African fiction has historically been dominated by male writers whose books were, therefore, marked by a male perspective. As these two novels have female South African writers, there is the hope that they counter some of the worst gender stereotypes typified by the literature written by African men.

2.6 Conclusion

This chapter has presented a conceptual background for the study by exploring a few core concepts: ideology, gender, ‘race’, and the body. Each core concept is defined, and situated within previous linguistic research in order to illustrate how they inform and theoretically underpin my study. Following this, I provided the theoretical motivation for investigating school literature on the basis of its ideological impact. The Department of Basic Education has recently prescribed new setworks for Grade 10-12 learners, aiming to counter past apartheid trends of setting Eurocentric fiction for a population that is not predominantly ‘white’. This chapter sets the scene for an investigation into whether this move is truly transformative. Previous linguistic research has shown that examining body parts can reveal gender differences and gender stereotypes, which I argue could be extended to ‘race’ differences. Primarily this is done by focusing, as intersectional theorists have long encouraged, on those who are marginalised by intersecting oppressions: in this case, poor, ‘black’, female characters. The ideological messages underlying certain gender and ‘race’ discourses in these texts are teased out using this study’s combined methodological framework of Critical Discourse Analysis and Corpus Linguistics. The following chapter demonstrates how I employ this methodology to answer the primary question of this study: To what extent do the discursive construals of ‘black’ female characters in these novels promote the Department of Basic Education’s transformative principles?

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CHAPTER 3
METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter describes the various methodological decisions and considerations that were taken into account during data collection and analysis. The methodologies I have used in this study – Corpus Linguistics and Critical Discourse Analysis – are applied to two literary texts, but it is not strictly a stylistic or corpus stylistic analysis, as my research aims are emancipatory rather than concerned with an aesthetic evaluation of the texts. The chapter begins by introducing Corpus Linguistics and the corpus analysis software used, after which I detail the data collection process, and the considerations underlying corpus annotation in particular. An illustration of the primary corpus methods (frequency, keywords, collocations, concordances) concludes this subsection. The second methodology, Critical Discourse Analysis, is then introduced and linked to the theoretical discussions about power, language and ideology from Chapter 2. Fairclough's three interrelated stages of analysis form the bulk of this subsection, where I detail how I implemented these stages in this study. The rationale behind combining these two methods is provided in the final subsection.

3.2. Corpus Linguistics

Corpus Linguistics (CL) is primarily a methodology or toolkit for doing research[11], and CL methods are, therefore, arguably best employed in conjunction with other methods (McEnery & Hardie, 2012). Corpora are stores of naturally occurring, used language that provide evidence rather than explanations, and that evidence is largely decontextualised. This latter characteristic is of primary concern to a discourse analyst: corpus analysis tools require machine-readable texts, which are necessarily semiotically reduced. However, discourse

[11] This position is refuted by neo-Firthian corpus linguists. This is not a debate I have the space to enter into here.

analysis rests on the foundational assumption that other forms of semiosis are integral to understanding how meaning is created. Compared to an analysis of picture books or advertisements, where visuals in particular add substantially to the meaning of the text, my data are novels with the only visuals on the front cover. Thus, the only minor semiotic loss is formatting – the division of paragraphs and chapters, which I annotate into the concordance lines where applicable.

In CL research questions are addressed by way of the researcher's use of corpus analysis software, which rearranges the stored language (corpus) so that patterns can be revealed and observations made (Hunston, 2002). I used two corpus analysis tools, both of which are freely available for research purposes: a new generation software concordancer, LancsBox v.4.5 (Brezina, Timperley & McEnery, 2018), and a website, Lancaster Stats Tools online (Brezina, 2018), that contains tools for producing graphs and calculating statistics. The latter is available at http://corpora.lancs.ac.uk/stats/index.php. LancsBox allows for a wide variety of statistical measures, contains innovative visualisation tools like GraphColl, and is linked to Lancaster Stats Tools online.

Although I define CL as a methodology, theories of language and language use have been derived from corpus work in each field in which it is used. In a more general sense, using corpus analysis tools means that researchers align themselves with a particular view of language and meaning that sees the word (however defined) as the primary unit of analysis (Kutter, 2018). That is, in CL research, "'the word' is the peg that everything else is hung on" (Mautner, 2016:157). Of course, this is not completely true for all CL research – some studies take grammatical constructions such as passives as their base – but larger-scale discursive patterns can only be captured via discrete lexical items (Mautner, 2016). The underlying theory of how words acquire meaning in CL research is related to corpus analysis tools' bias in favour of words and phrases. Such a conception of meaning in discourse derives from neo-Firthian influence. For this study, the work of 'neo-Firthian' corpus linguists John Sinclair and Michael Hoey is particularly pertinent, especially their theories on, respectively, collocation and lexical priming, which are discussed in more detail in 3.2.2.3.

I take the neo-Firthian view that words acquire semantic associations and connotations from their collocations with other words and phrases, or from their immediate co-text (Hunston, 2002). In a single text or whole corpus, these meanings can be fluid, contradictory and have

multiple layers, depending in part on their different co-texts. Specifically in literary texts, there may be various characters who can present differing perspectives, and use a word or phrase in different ways, which then affects how the reader interprets meaning. For example, there are contradictory uses of the word *savage* in *The Mark*, depending on which identity group the character belongs to. A lexical collocation that is highly statistically significant in a corpus could point to a naturalised discourse: once we hear a collocation sufficient times for it to become bonded, the one word takes on the meaning of its collocate. "Words which are co-selected do not maintain their independence. If a word is regularly used in contexts of good news or bad news or judgement, for example, it carries this kind of meaning around with it (Tognini-Bonelli, 2001:11, cited in Mautner, 2016:161). As a corpus-based discourse analyst, my job was to get messy with meaning patterns, accept possible inconsistencies, include opposing interpretations in addition to unearthing the more dominant, naturalised meaning patterns to provide a nuanced analysis of the data.

3.2.1 The Data

A corpus is a collection of texts or a collection of samples of texts (Hunston, 2002) so neither of my datasets can be strictly termed a 'corpus' as each one contains only a single text; however, this study is still *corpus-based* as I use corpus investigation methods and a corpus analysis program on each text. Investigating a single text is not uncommon in the growing field of corpus-based stylistics, where the focus often rests on either single authors or single texts (Fischer-Starcke, 2010; Hubbard, 2002; Mahlberg, 2013). The two texts under investigation are *Mother to Mother* and *The Mark*. They are similar to specialised corpora in that they were created for a specific research purpose and, thus, have a restricted focus in comparison to general corpora, which attempt to represent a language or language variety. Discourse analysts often build their own specialised corpora (typically using newspaper articles as they are so readily available) for their own research purposes; however, corpus-based discourse analysis can be carried out on general corpora (Baker, 2006; Mautner, 2016; Hunston, 2002).

The data were collected by purchasing the Kindle versions of both novels and converting them to .txt files. No cleaning to eradicate optical character recognition errors (e.g. *James* could appear as *Jarres*) was necessary, as the texts were originally in digital form. The copyright permissions for both texts were granted for this study by both publishers via email correspondence (see Appendix 1). The sizes of each dataset appear in Table 3.1 below.

	Total number of tokens	Total number of types	Lemmas	Type-token ratio	MATTR[12] (window of 1000)
The Mark	63 247	5487	4780	0.09	0.72
Mother to Mother	70 028	7531	7007	0.11	0.73

Table 3.1. Frequency data for The Mark *and* Mother to Mother

As I intimated earlier, ‘the word’ can have various definitions in corpus analysis, so the basic unit of analysis can refer to tokens, types, lemmas, or lexemes. A token is a single “string of letters or numbers separated by white space (or punctuation)” (Brezina, 2018:39), so tokens refer to the total number of running words in the corpus including all repetitions. Type counts each different item only once, so it ignores all repetitions of *the*, for example. Corpus analysis tools differ in how they delimit tokens: in English, they can differ by including (or not including) punctuation, clitics and hyphenated words (Brezina, 2018). The data in the above table was generated using LancsBox’s Words tool with default parameters (punctuation excluded). In terms of lexical diversity (as indicated by the MATTR values), *Mother to Mother* very marginally takes the lead, perhaps due to the author’s inclusion of sentences, phrases and words in isiXhosa to augment her story. The mean and standard deviation scores for sentence length and word length in *Mother to Mother* (8.17 and 2.22) were higher than those in *The Mark* (5.63 and 2.01), showing perhaps greater complexity of language in *Mother to Mother*, although further investigations would be required to confirm this. The texts are fairly comparable in terms of size; however, normalised frequencies of the body part lemmas are provided (see Appendix 2.1) to ensure that like can be compared with like.

Corpus annotation builds metalinguistic information (e.g. parts of speech, syntactic, and semantic information) into the textual information of the data, which enables more informative patterns to be uncovered (Leech, 2013). The annotation of gender and socioeconomic group is not alien to corpus linguistics: in spoken corpora, this information is often encoded about each speaker to permit sociolinguistic inquiry (Baker, 2006). Both texts were enriched by annotation, specifically the contextual tagging of ‘race’ and gender for each body part. This

[12] Moving average type/token ratio, introduced by Covington & McFall (2010) is considered a “more robust measure of lexical richness than standardised type/token ratio” (Brezina, 2018:58). MATTR values are comparable across texts of different length.

was crucial in the pursuit of intersectionality as it made the four intersectional identities overt, and therefore enabled meaning patterns that crystallised along intersectional identities to be uncovered. To illustrate, ‘black’ female hands held domestic items, whereas ‘white’ female hands held luxury items. The texts were manually annotated as follows: a ‘white’ female head, for example, was annotated *{w}head{f}*, whereas a ‘black’ male head was *{b}head{m}*. That is, ‘b’ for ‘black’, ‘w’ for ‘white, ‘f’ for female, and ‘m’ for male[13].

The international standard for corpus encoding – Text Encoding Initiative – uses angle brackets and codes the annotation using XML (eXtensible Markup Language) for annotation to be machine-readable (Hardie, 2014). These XML codes are primarily useful for encoding formatting (e.g. paragraph or sentence breaks) in large general corpora, so that computers can recognise it. The annotation I included was for my eyes only and so only needed to be machine-readable to the extent that LancsBox could recognise *{b}head{m}* as a single token. Therefore, I adapted the use of angle brackets from XML to suit my needs. To better reflect the possible contradictory ways in which gender and ‘race’ can mutually constitute each other, I placed each social construct on either side of the node word, rather than combining the identity into a single tag at the beginning. I also changed the XML-style angle brackets < > to curly brackets { } to accommodate LancsBox’s built-in search settings, which use angle brackets as a wildcard. Curly brackets had to be removed from LancsBox’s punctuation tab in ‘Import Options’ (see Figure 3.1 below) to allow it to delimit, for example, *{b}head{m}* as a single token. Initially I reasoned that separate tags for ‘race’ and gender would have allowed me to isolate either social category, should I have wished to, by restricting the search term to, say, _*head\{f\}_ to focus on female heads.[14] On reflection, I did not isolate these social categories as it would be an uneasy fit with my theoretical focus on intersectional identities and especially the mutually constitutive character of these social categories, as discussed in 2.3.3.

[13] I used ‘male’ and ‘female’ to refer to gender, as the body parts belonging to adults and children of both genders were under investigation.
[14] Special thanks to Dr Vaclav Brezina for assisting me with this workaround.

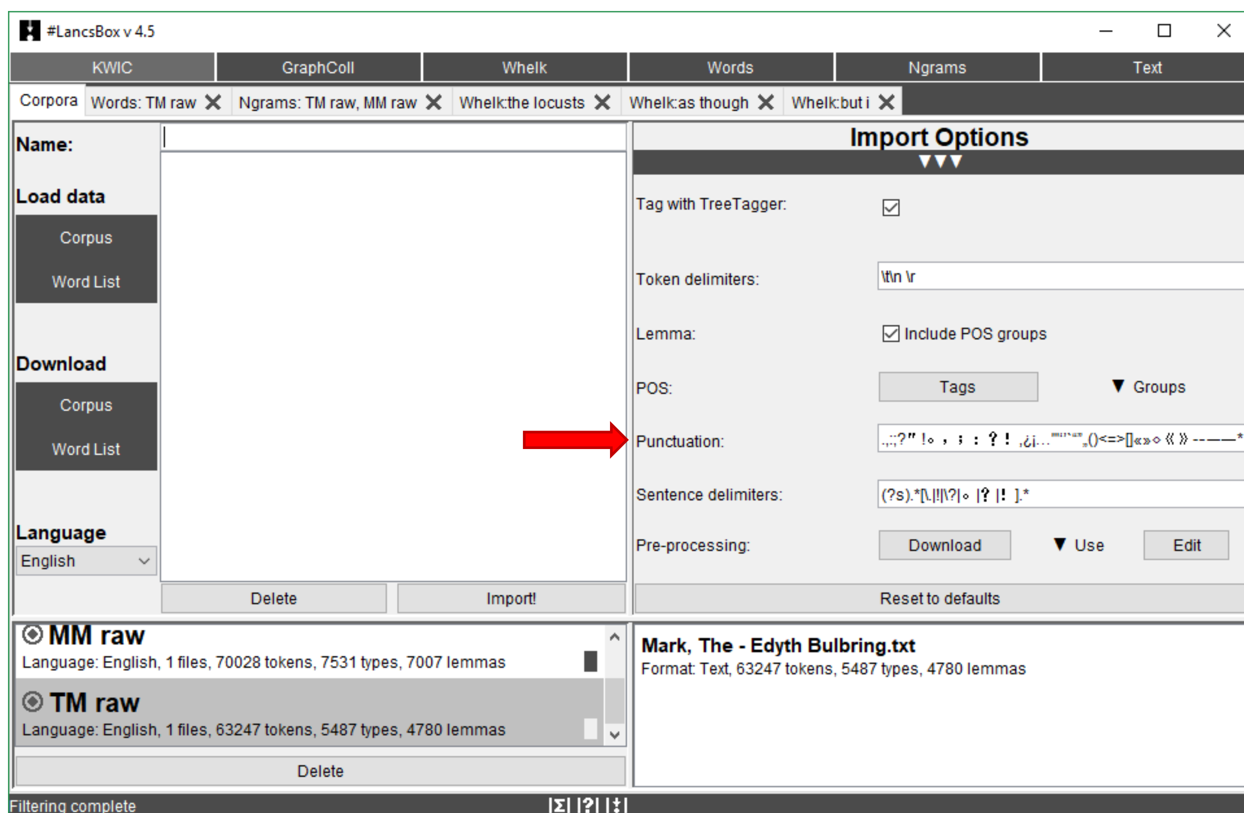

Figure 3.1. Screenshot of the LancsBox 'Corpora' tab (arrow indicates punctuation section)

The annotation process began with an alphabetised frequency list generated from each raw text file. All words not related to body parts were manually deleted, leaving an alphabetised list of body parts (see Appendix 2.2 and 2.3). Working from this frequency list, I searched and annotated each body part in each text, eradicating homographs (for example, '*back'* in '*back* of the room') by leaving them untagged. Semantic tagging could have been useful as I could have told the program to create a frequency list of all body parts in the text. However, as semantic taggers are roughly 90% accurate (Leech, 2013) and the texts were not overly large, it seemed unnecessary to include semantic tagging as it was not too long a process to do it manually. Semantic tagging as well as any other annotation would have introduced unnecessary noise into the data and would have provided little extra benefit for this study, given its approach and ideological aims.

Any annotation is necessarily interpretive: "There is no purely objective, mechanistic way of deciding what label or labels should be applied to a given linguistic phenomenon" (Leech, 2013:2). What follows are some of the decisions I made during the manual annotation process.

- It was often necessary to use vague contextual information to assign the correct tag, particularly for 'race' in *The Mark*, as names are not 'raced' the way they are in *Mother to Mother* (e.g. Dwadwa is not a 'white' name so I could easily tag him as 'black').
- In *The Mark*, due to contextual cues, all members of the resistance were tagged 'black' and all Mangerians were 'white'. Ettie, who has one 'black' parent and one 'white' parent, is tagged 'black', because even though her skin is light, her *savage* hair signals that she is racially disadvantaged. Bulbring here shows a likeness between this fictional world and the apartheid system, where the pencil-in-the-hair test prescribed to what 'race' one was assigned, regardless of skin lightness.
- When there is doubt, as in the 'race' of Cockroach and of the Locusts in *The Mark*, I did not annotate a 'race'. Thus a Locust's hand was tagged *hand{m}*, if a gendered pronoun indicated he was male.
- In *Mother to Mother*, body parts belonging to the police are annotated as 'white' male. Women were only included in the South African Police in 1972 and never for active duty (South African History Online, 2011), and while there were a few African police officers (as is seen in the novel), they were lower ranked and were very much in the minority, and so they do not symbolise 'the police' as a group.
- Gender was far simpler to annotate due to the use of gendered pronouns.
- Verbs derived from body parts like *elbowing* and *handing* were included because they can indicate physical agency.
- The more metaphorical uses of characters' body parts (often internal ones e.g. *blood*, *brain*, *heart*, *stomach*) were annotated because this is contextual information about how these terms are used in the texts.
- Body parts belonging to animals or animal products were not annotated.

3.2.2 CL Methods

Although disputed by Fairclough (2014), CL research generally includes both quantitative and qualitative methods, which supplement each other and can contribute to other qualitative techniques (such as CDA tools of analysis). The qualitative corpus method employed is concordance analysis, and the statistical, quantitative methods involve statistical measures that calculate frequency, dispersion, keywords and collocates. Biber (1998:4, cited in Baker, 2006:2) explains: "Association patterns represent quantitative relations, measuring the extent to which features and variants are associated with contextual factors. However, functional

(qualitative) interpretation is also an essential step in any corpus-based analysis". McEnery & Hardie (2012) explain that the core functionality of recent corpus analysis software (frequency lists, concordances, collocations, and keyword analysis) has remained quite stable over time. In fact, the innovation in CL comes not so much from completely new methods, but rather from newer and more effective statistical measures and new variants on corpus analysis tools (e.g. GraphColl) that aim to follow recent CL theory more closely (Brezina, McEnery & Wattam, 2015).

The following sections detail each of these corpus methods in the order of the three stages of corpus-based discourse analysis as put forward by Baker and McEnery (2015a). Stage One is the Description stage tending towards more quantitative methods: frequency, dispersion, keywords, and collocates. Stage Two is the Interpretation of those patterns aided by concordance line analysis. Stage Three, discussed in 3.3, is the Explanation stage, which "involves positioning our descriptive and interpretative findings into a wider social context" (Baker & McEnery, 2015a:3). These stages of analysis clearly draw upon Fairclough's three stages of CDA analysis, and these links are reinforced in 3.3.

3.2.2.1 Keywords

When comparing two specialised corpora, it is almost a given in CL that one should identify keywords, that is, words that are most characteristically found in one of the corpora compared to the other (Hunston, 2002). Traditionally, keyword analysis focused on the differences between two corpora:[15] positive keywords are frequent in the target corpus and infrequent in the reference corpus, negative keywords are infrequent in the target corpus and frequent in the reference corpus (Brezina, 2018). To create a keyword list, the chosen software tests the significance of the frequency of each word in the target corpus relative to its frequency in the reference corpus (McEnery & Hardie, 2012). Using keyword lists, then, is generally superior to comparing the frequency lists of two corpora, as the keyword list provides not only frequency but also saliency, thanks to the statistical significance tests (Baker, 2006).

Given this study's specific aim of comparing how bodies are represented in each novel, keyword analysis proved fairly unhelpful. This is briefly illustrated below in a discussion of

[15] Since then Baker (2011 in Brezina, 2018) has argued for the use of 'lockwords', which are keywords that have comparable frequencies in both corpora.

the top 10 keywords (see Table 3.2). The statistical measure used was Simple Maths Parameter (SMP) with the default parameters (k=100, + keyword = s>1.1, - keyword = s<0.9). Due to the way SMP is calculated, the negative keywords for *The Mark* below are the positive keywords for *Mother to Mother*, if *The Mark* was the reference corpus. For the sake of scientific rigour, I have also included the Top 100 keyword lists for each text (see Appendix 2.4 and 2.5).

Rank	***The Mark* Keywords**	***Mother to Mother* Keywords**
1	Kitty	Mama
2	Mistress	Mxolisi
3	Ettie	China
4	Handler	Guguletu
5	Nicolas	car
6	Locusts	however
7	Xavier	police
8	City	Tata
9	Posh	Dwadwa
10	Locust	asked

Table 3.2. Top 10 positive keywords for The Mark *and* Mother to Mother

The top 10 keywords for each novel illustrate the general tendencies of keyword lists as suggested by Scott (1999, cited in Baker, 2006): they contain proper nouns (*Kitty, Mistress, Ettie, Handler Xavier, Nicolas, City* and *Mama, Mxolisi, China, Guguletu, Tata, Dwadwa*); 'aboutness' keywords (*Locust/s, Posh* and *car, police*); and keywords that indicate style (in *Mother to Mother*: *however, asked*). Only two body part keywords appeared in the top 50 for *The Mark* (*fingers* = ranked 29*, skin* = ranked 38), and *Mother to Mother* does not have a body-related keyword in the top 100. So it became clear that a different method was required to zoom in on salient body parts, namely, ranked frequency lists of body part lemmas as explained in 3.2.2.2. This is not to say that I should have abandoned body part lexis as a topic of interest in these novels: the relatively small size of the two corpora meant that most investigations would be limited by lower frequencies. The top 10 body parts per novel indicated interesting similarities and differences, which could easily point to ideologically loaded discourses.

3.2.2.2 Frequency and Dispersion

One of the most central concepts that underscores a corpus analysis is the calculation of word and cluster frequencies. However, frequency counts must be used in combination with other corpus methods, as they can generalise patterns, and so oversimplify and obscure nuances in data (Baker, 2006). My first enquiry into the two texts was to create word lists of all the types in each text ordered by frequency. This highlighted possible differences between the two texts and so could indicate which body parts would be most fruitful to investigate (Hunston, 2002). To make the two texts comparable, I normalised the frequencies per 10 000 words because of size of each text (around 60 000 and 70 000 words) (see Appendix 2.1). I combined the singular and plural form of each body part, and examined these as my 'final' word list. Baker (2006) warns that while this is a useful technique when working with less frequent lexical items, it is well documented that different word-forms of the same lemma often have different collocates and behave differently. This concern is addressed further in 3.2.2.3.

I chose to use ranked frequency lists (Bednarek, 2011) as my method of comparing corpora. This involved manually comparing the ranked frequency lists of the two texts' body part lemmas to determine which terms occurred at what position in each list. With rank order, the normalised frequencies are not needed as this is not the focus; rather, the position on the list is of primary concern. If one text has a lemma high up the list (e.g. HEART is ranked 3 in *Mother to Mother*) which is much lower on the other text's list (e.g. HEART is ranked 28 in *The Mark*), then this provides an indication that that lemma is over-represented in *Mother to Mother* compared to *The Mark*. This method was more effective than keyword analysis (discussed in 3.2.2.1), because there were only a few body part words that were keywords. Ranked frequency lists, therefore, can highlight the preoccupations and main concerns of each author. More detailed analysis of these lemmas in context will reveal the true nature of these preoccupations, and whether they are ideologically significant.

A little bit of statistics 'magic' helped to clarify ultimately what top 10 body part lemmas were statistically significant for each text: the use of Average Reduced Frequency (ARF). Frequency can obscure the dispersion of variables in a sample: if the lemma FACE occurs high on the frequency list, then presumably it is an important term; however, it is possible that it is not evenly dispersed in the text. For example, a particular character could refer to *face* or *faces* a great deal in a few interactions. This would then mean that FACE was not evenly distributed throughout the corpus, and was therefore not a prominent term for the text, but rather for that

particular character or those interactions. On the other hand, a term that is spread more evenly throughout a text contributes to its cohesion (Mautner, 2016).

ARF takes the position of each occurrence of a word *x* into account to give an indication of how evenly *x* is dispersed in the text (Brezina, 2018). Unlike other dispersion measures such as standard deviation or Juilland's D, ARF can be used in a corpus that is not divided into constituent subcorpora. I used Microsoft Excel to find the positions of each of the top 10 lemmas[16] and used that dataset as input for the ARF tool on Lancaster Stats Tool online (Brezina, 2018). In fact, I checked the top 15 terms to ensure the ARF ranking did not raise, say, number 11 or 12 to 10. This did not happen, as the frequencies dropped significantly after the top 10, but some words shifted within the top 10 as can be seen in Table 3.3 below. The closer the ARF score is to the absolute frequency, the more evenly distributed the word is. This ability to rank words according to ARF means that this system is more useful for finalising the final top 10 lemmas per text than, say, dispersion graphs for each individual lemma, although in essence this is the same idea in a different format.

The Mark					***Mother to Mother***			
Rank	**Lemma**	**Freq.**	**ARF**		**Rank**	**Lemma**	**Freq.**	**ARF**
1	EYE*	160	98		1	EYE*	170	91
2	FACE	174	97		2	HAND*	100	54
3	HAND*	149	85		3	HEART#	73	41
4	HEAD*	82	45		4	HEAD*	59	36
5	ARM	67	42		5	FOOT	57	32
6	FINGER#	66	40		6	FACE	53	31
7	FOOT	41	29		7	EAR#	44	25
8	MOUTH	50	29		8	MOUTH	42	25
9	HAIR#	48	27		9	ARM	36	21
10	SKIN#	50	26		10	SHOULDER#	36	21

Table 3.3. Top 10 body part lemmas for The Mark *and* Mother to Mother

Baker & McEnery (2015a) remark that the traditional reliance on strong differences between corpora means that similarities often remain unacknowledged and that an analysis reporting on both similarities and differences may be more interesting. It should also provide a more

[16] The input data was annotated to eradicate homographs affecting the frequencies (e.g. the absolute frequency for BACK was very high but seldom referred to a human body). It was also cleaned for punctuation since Excel reads punctuation as a separate corpus position, and this would have skewed the statistics.

nuanced understanding of what is salient to the two texts. So, I narrowed my focus to three lockwords and three keywords per text using the rankings from Table 3.3. The chosen lockwords (indicated by *) were EYE, HAND, and HEAD, since FACE appeared quite low down on *Mother to Mother* (ranked 6). The three key words (indicated by #) for each text were FINGER, HAIR and SKIN for *The Mark*, and HEART, EAR, and SHOULDER for *Mother to Mother*. This meant six terms in total per text, which was manageable given the smaller scale of this study.

High frequency flags which tokens are prominent, and therefore potentially reveals the central preoccupations of a text, but this is only the beginning. Further methods (i.e. concordance and collocational analyses) must be used to delve into the contexts of these words in order to tease out possible themes and discourses. It is these to which I turn now.

3.2.2.3 Collocation

This informal definition for collocation was suggested by Firth (1957:n.p., cited in Baker, 2006), known as 'the father of collocation' long before CL became an established field: "You shall know a lot about a word from the company it keeps". Researchers have since operationalised collocation in various ways, broadly featuring two approaches. There are those who prefer finding collocations manually via concordance lines or clusters (Sinclair, 1991; Hoey, 2005), while others take a statistical approach (Baker et al., 2008; Brezina, McEnery & Wattam, 2015). Following Baker (2006), I use an inferential statistical measure to calculate significant collocates, and subject my interpretations to Hoey's (2005) concept of lexical priming as it fits in well with the study's view of how language and discourse is ordered in the mind (Van Dijk, 2016; Fairclough, 2001). I take Baker et al.'s (2008:278) definition of collocation as "the above-chance frequent co-occurrence of two words within a pre-determined span, usually five words on either side of the word under investigation (the node)".

Using collocations in corpus-based discourse analysis has great advantages. Stubbs (1996:172, cited in Baker, 2006:96) states that "words occur in characteristic collocations, which show the associations and connotations they have, and therefore the assumptions which they embody". He later argues that collocations can be ideologically interesting as the repeated collocational relationship can become taken-for-granted, and thus, powerful. A more psycholinguistic way of looking at this is Hoey's (2005) concept of lexical priming. In his view of language, words that collocate are in a priming relationship with each other, where the use of one word prepares

language users to anticipate a word that has been frequently associated with the first word. So, the word *teenage* primes the word *angst*. In a similar fashion to Van Dijk (2016), Hoey (2005) argues that these primings are culturally defined via our interactions in our epistemic communities. He visualises within the mind "a mental concordance of every word [the mind] has encountered, a concordance that has been richly glossed for social, physical, discoursal, generic and interpersonal context" (Hoey, 2005:11). Lexical priming can lead speakers to unknowingly (re)produce some collocation (e.g. some stereotypical description) without appreciating its full meaning. Baker (2006) argues in his analysis of *refugees* in newspaper articles that some writers with good intentions towards refugees may unwittingly use uncontrollable water metaphors (e.g. *flooding*) to describe refugees' movement simply because they have been primed for this popular usage. As the discussion of the entanglements of ideology, discourse and power in 2.2.3 demonstrates, this study sees the relationship between human agency and social structures as dialectical, and this is echoed in lexical priming theory: individual action (producing a collocation) reproduces the structure, and the structure (hearing such collocations) shapes individual action (Giddens, 1979, cited in Hoey, 2005).

Neo-Firthian corpus linguists often use concordance lines to find collocations rather than using significance statistics (McEnery & Hardie, 2012). This trend is not followed by Hunston (2002), who argues for the use of significance statistics, although she cautions against over-interpretation of statistical data. In support of this, Baker et al. (2008:275) argue that when collocations are not statistically calculated, there is the propensity to "miss or disregard strong non-adjacent collocates, or [include] non-significant collocates in the analysis". Throughout collocational analysis, the researcher should check meanings against concordance lines. In this study, the collocational analysis assisted in pointing me towards interesting trends and patterns that may have escaped my attention if I had focused solely on concordance analysis. It provided a 'way into the data' and I then used sorted concordance lines to fully interpret these patterns and look for possible others. The relatively low frequency of the node words meant that I combined variants of a lemma together to boost numbers (e.g. *hand* and *hands* together as HAND), as Baker (2006) and Hoey (1991, cited in Hoey, 2005) did under similar circumstances. Sinclair (1991) argues against this, stating that each word-form has its own collocational behaviour. Therefore, I used lemmas predominantly, but not without checking individual word-forms for any further patterns.

There are many collocation measures, which focus on different aspects of the co-occurrence relationship and so produce different lists of collocates (Brezina, 2018). My choice of collocation measure was Mutual Information (MI) with a frequency floor of 2, where a score above 3.8 was considered significant. The window size was 5:5 (five words to the left, five words to the right of the node). Stubbs (2001) states that while there is a fair amount of consensus on the 4:4 span as recommended by Sinclair (1991), this is not a given in all CL studies. I followed the majority of corpus-based discourse studies I reviewed by opting for a 5:5 span (e.g. Baker et al., 2008; Brezina, McEnery & Wattam, 2015; Hunt & Jaworska, 2019). A higher frequency floor than 2 is generally recommended to counter MI score's bias towards low frequency collocates where the effect size is large (Evert, 2004). This bias can be seen as somewhat of an advantage in corpus-based discourse analysis because relatively infrequent lexical words are generally more ideologically interesting than frequent function words; however, MI results can become extreme by "highlight[ing] unusual combinations … that only occur once or twice in the corpus" (Brezina, McEnery & Wattam, 2015:160). Because this study's node words had relatively low frequencies themselves, a frequency floor of 5 (the default in LancsBox) would have eradicated most of the collocates. I could have used other varieties of MI (such as MI^2 and MI^3), which try to make frequency more important, as suggested by Brezina, McEnery & Wattam (2015). However, I was wary of doing this as there is little theoretical evidence to support these statistical measures (Evert, 2004). For that reason I stayed with a measure that is established in the field of corpus-based discourse analysis: MI, with a low frequency floor.

The collocational analysis in this study centred on a visualisation tool that is part of LancsBox, called GraphColl. Brezina, McEnery and Wattam (2015) argue that collocational networks, that is, the links between individual collocates, are a vital feature of collocation theory that had not yet been included in corpus analysis tools: "Collocates of words do not occur in isolation, but are part of a complex network of semantic relationships which ultimately reveals their meaning and the semantic structure of a text or corpus" (Brezina, McEnery & Wattam, 2015:141). As I argued earlier in 3.2, meaning making in texts is a messy endeavour that cannot be easily boxed into single semantic domains or defined by a few first-order collocates. These authors argue that GraphColl's ability to produce collocational networks brings collocational analysis in line with recent theory on collocation. These networks show that meaningful patterns and semantic relations extend beyond the narrow scope of the first node's collocates to the level of the text through second- and third-order collocates (Brezina, McEnery &

Wattam, 2015). My use of GraphColl centred on the benefits of visualising the collocates around a single node, rather than the collocational networks these authors discuss, as the lower frequency of the keywords I was working with were unfortunately rather limiting. As Baker & McEnery (2015b) contend in their use of GraphColl on a Twitter corpus, keywords with frequencies under 100 instances benefit more from primarily concordance analysis than from an analysis of collocational networks.

The GraphColl visuals are particularly beneficial to both the researcher and those reviewing the research because a significant amount of information is packed into a single image in a coherent manner. To illustrate, Figure 3.2 (below) shows an example of a collocational network from *The Mark*.

Figure 3.2: A collocational network from The Mark *showing the relations between* {b}hair{f} *and its collocate* savage *(shared collocates in the centre are ringed)*

The primary node, *{b}hair{f}* on the right, had a first-order collocate *savage*, which becomes a secondary node (to the left) at the click of a button. The second-order collocates in the middle (indicated by the ring) – including *{b}eyes{f}* – are shared by both nodes. Apart from these second-order collocates in the middle, the arrangement of the collocates around the node roughly shows whether the collocates appear mostly to the left or right of the node word. However, this is influenced by the number of collocates and therefore, the available space

around the node. The closer the collocate is to the node, the stronger the MI score is (e.g. *{b}gene* and *gene* are both strong collocates of *savage*). Lastly, the darker the collocate dot, the more frequent the collocation (e.g. *city* for *savage* is clearly more frequent than any other collocation). At a glance, these graphs provide significant detail about the
collocates and their relations to the node. The collocation tables that accompany the graphs provide the crucial statistical information.

The collocational networks and collocation analysis had limited value in this study because of the lower frequency of the keywords. This is supported by Baker et al. (2008:278), who state that "collocation is a lexical relation better discernable [sic] in the analysis of large amounts of data". However, the collocation graphs and tables provided a useful overview of the more frequent keywords' semantic relations, and assisted me in identifying initial semantic patterns to investigate further. The following section describes how I used my primary method – concordance analysis – to delve into the various meanings and discourses through an examination of co-text.

3.2.2.4 Concordance Analysis

A concordance shows all instances of a chosen word, part of a word or phrase[17] (node) in a window of co-text – usually a few words on either side of the node – presented in "one-example-per-line format" (McEnery & Hardie, 2012:35). Sorting concordances can reveal repeated lexical patterns in the co-text, which point to possible semantic domains and discourses, something that would probably remain hidden if the text had been read in the usual way (Hunston, 2002). For example, by sorting a concordance of HAIR alphabetically to the left, I could single out many of the adjectives that describe HAIR in the text. Baker (2006:83) suggests that using multiple sorts can reveal new patterns: "Often a different perspective reveals fresh information". Each node word's sorts (alphabetically to left and to right) were saved in a separate Word document and then grouped into semantic domains. For example, two of the semantic domains for SKIN in *The Mark* were racial marking and intimate touch. While all occurrences were documented, repeated co-occurrences were of primary interest for they could point to hegemonic discourses. The semantic domains were then more broadly generalised into common discursive patterns across each text [e.g. Description of Appearance

[17] In LancsBox, grammatical categories such as passives or determiners can also be nodes, because all corpus data is automatically tagged for parts of speech.

(4.3.1), and Interaction with Others (4.3.3)], and interpreted and related to issues of text production and reception.

As suggested by Baker (2006), a close analysis of the remaining concordance lines that had not yet revealed any particular pattern was then undertaken, as this could point to rare, subtle or backgrounded discourses. Expanded concordance lines also can provide a larger co-text when required, and so assist the discourse analyst to "infer contextual elements in order to sufficiently recreate the context" needed to make interpretations (Baker et al., 2008:279). This qualitative analysis, therefore, straddles the line between Description (3.3.1.1) and Interpretation stages (3.3.1.2) – a largely artificial line in reality.

As is perhaps already clear, concordance lines are key to understanding the meaning of a node word through the provision of its co-text, where each meaning of a node word is associated with a particular pattern of use (Hunston, 2002). There are three main concepts linked to 'meaning' in especially neo-Firthian corpus linguistics: semantic prosody, discourse prosody, and semantic preference. This study draws upon all three terms throughout the analysis, so all are discussed here to disambiguate the terms fully.

Semantic prosody was first outlined by Louw (1993, cited in McEnery & Hardie, 2012). He explains that words or phrases can have either negative or positive semantic prosody, if they occur in predominantly negative or positive co-texts; however, unlike traditional *connotation*, semantic prosody can only be uncovered via concordance analysis, not by intuition. Mautner (2016) refers to the semantic aura surrounding a word or the evaluative load on a word – another way of describing the same phenomenon. The building up of semantic prosodies throughout a text or corpus assists in the discovery of attitudes and ideologically-based discourses, which may lie below the level of consciousness. These co-texts and collocates have the potential to "convey messages implicitly" (Hunston, 2002:109).

To better capture this idea of the building up of semantic prosodies across a text, Stubbs (2001) coins the term 'discourse prosody' since it can a) include speaker and hearer meanings, and b) relate to higher order, more abstract meanings that move beyond the word and its co-text and coalesce into discourses. Discourse prosody better emphasises "its role in expressing attitudes and in establishing coherence" (Mautner, 2016:160). For example, Stubbs (2001) shows that CAUSE co-occurs predominantly with words for unpleasant events. Baker (2006) and Mautner's

(2016) preference for 'discourse prosody' is well suited to a CDA approach that has unearthing discourses as its aim. As such, I use discourse prosody to describe the building up of semantic prosodies over the entire text. In so doing, I drew inspiration from Hunt's (2011) use of discourse prosodies in her analysis of the *Harry Potter* and *Chronicles of Narnia* series. Hunt (2011:132) conceived of discourse prosody as not only the "aura of evaluation and connotation which surrounds a word as a result of its collocational behaviour", but also to "refer to the trends evident in longer stretches of text around specific body parts, which [she] grouped into themes". She uncovered the following thematic discourse prosodies surrounding gendered bodies: the description of appearance and identification; unconscious displays of emotion; interpersonal contact; dangerous interactions with the world; and agentive interactions with the world. This was a useful springboard for many of my own themes: for example, 'body parts as racial markers' fell under Hunt's 'description of appearance and identification'.

Concordance lines can do more than highlight positive or negative co-texts. Patterns of co-text can often be grouped into classes of semantically related words: what Stubbs (2001) calls 'semantic preference'. Semantic preference is related to semantic prosody. The latter is more concerned with attitudes and evaluative meaning, whereas the former is formed independently of speakers (Baker, 2006). Semantic preference is "the relation, not between individual words, but between a lemma or word-form and a set of semantically related words" (Stubbs, 2001:65-66). To illustrate, the phrase *glass of* produces a semantic preference for the semantic domain of 'drinks' (Stubbs, 2001), while *refugees* has a semantic preference for quantification (Baker, 2006). The latter example shows that while it is not linked so much to expressed attitudes or evaluation, semantic preference is useful in creating a deeper collocational profile of key words in a text, and so can be integral to critical analyses. Because *refugees* collocates with a semantic domain of numbers and phrases such as *more and more*, it contributes to the xenophobic, racist discourses that there are too many refugees, that the extent of their influx is unsustainable, and that something needs to be done to curb refugee movement.

There are disadvantages to concordance analysis that need to be kept in mind in order to counteract them where possible. The first problem relates to the search function in corpus analysis software. It is far easier to search for direct references to, for example, HAND than to investigate anaphora (such as *them* or *it*) that refer to HAND (Baker, 2006). To counter this, anaphoric expressions were included via a close examination of the expanded concordance lines, although some could have been overlooked. Secondly, while concordance lines present

language data in a new way, which reveals patterns that a human reader would usually miss, it does present the language out of context and without the original textual structure that could play a part in meaning making (Hunston, 2002). This problem is significantly less of a factor in this study as I had read both texts several times, had taught one of them twice and could examine the broader textual co-text. Nevertheless, this is a drawback in most critical analyses, particularly those which include visuals or spoken transcriptions. Lastly, working with corpora and frequency data means that rare occurrence and absence are superseded by presence and repetition: this brings problems to social research that could look for actors that are deleted (issues of agency) or particular terms that are avoided (Baker, 2006). A possible way to counteract this is to bear in mind what absences there are or that I expect there to be that do not appear. This more inductive research has its detractors, but certainly ameliorates 'the absence problem' in corpus analysis.

Having outlined my CL methods and theory, I now turn to the theory and methodology underpinning CDA and how it fits in practice into my version of the "methodological synergy" (Baker et al., 2008) between CL and CDA.

3.3 Critical Discourse Analysis

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) is a heterogeneous academic movement that uses a diverse array of methodologies to do discourse analysis from a critical perspective (Baker et al., 2008). It is united by the following core ideas: it is problem-oriented and interdisciplinary; its primary concern is the deconstruction of ideology and power relations underlying discourse; and its practitioners make clear their subject positions and remain self-reflective throughout (Wodak & Meyer, 2016). CDA draws on Critical Theory, which states that social theory should be directed towards the critique and transformation of society (Wodak & Meyer, 2016), because critical knowledge assists people in emancipating themselves from domination. It should be noted that while CDA sees power and domination as having this discursive element, it freely acknowledges that power is exercised in other ways (e.g. through systematic violence, microaggressions, etc.), and that freeing the mind is only a (crucial) step on the road to emancipation and social transformation (Fairclough, 2001). To put this into our South African context, we need discourse to help us achieve a non-racial future, but that future can only truly exist when extreme poverty is eradicated and being disadvantaged is no longer tied to being 'black'.

The main theorists who founded this movement in the early 1990s were Teun Van Dijk, Norman Fairclough, Gunther Kress, Theo Van Leeuwen, and Ruth Wodak, and each key player popularised a slightly different approach to CDA[18]. More recent approaches include multi-modal CDA, positive discourse analysis, feminist CDA, and corpus-based CDA (Flowerdew & Richardson, 2018). While the theoretical framing of this project uses Southern and feminist theory (that is, by drawing on theorists such as Hooks, Fanon, and Lazar), I do not describe my CDA approach as "Feminist CDA" (Lazar, 2007). CDA at its core is about exposing oppression, and has been used to investigate sexism and racism previously without the need for calling it necessarily 'feminist' or 'antiracist' CDA. This study used a corpus-based approach (as described in Subtirelu & Baker, 2018) informed by the above key CDA concepts from Fairclough's (2001) edition of *Language and Power* among others.

As discussed in 2.2, the concepts of power and ideology and their relationship with language (discourse) form the core theoretical basis for this study. The rest of this section highlights these core ideas as they relate to my CDA approach in this study.

I begin with Fairclough and Wodak (1997:258), who outline eight principles of CDA:

1. CDA addresses social problems.
2. Power relations are discursive.
3. Discourse constitutes society and culture.
4. Discourse does ideological work.
5. Discourse is historical.
6. The link between text and society is mediated.
7. Discourse analysis is interpretive and explanatory.
8. Discourse is a form of social action.

The repetitions of certain words in these principles highlight the core preoccupations in CDA: namely, discourse, power relations, ideology, and society (social). These are all closely intertwined, so the following separation of these concepts in roughly linear fashion is for purely utilitarian ends.

[18] Van Dijk (2013 in Wodak & Meyer, 2016) argued for the term 'Critical Discourse Studies' to highlight that there is no single method associated with this discipline. While newer handbooks appear to be answering this call, I use CDA because it is arguably the more recognisable term, and I have no trouble conceiving of CDA as a perspective rather than a particular method.

The primary aim of CDA is to understand pressing social issues and generally to pursue an emancipatory agenda while doing so: change through critical understanding (Van Dijk, 2016). To achieve this, CDA practitioners focus on discursive strategies that legitimate control or otherwise naturalise social hierarchies (Fairclough, 2001). CDA research works to "make the implicit explicit in language use" (Flowerdew & Richardson, 2018:1). Underlying this is the idea that discourse is both socially constitutive, in that is sustains, reproduces and (sometimes) transforms the social status quo, and socially conditioned by "situations, objects of knowledge, and the social identities of and relationships between people and groups of people" (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997:258). So, there is a dialectic at work between structure and events (2.2.1). While there are discursive structures from which text producers draw, their texts and the varied interpretations text consumers bring to them can incrementally change or reinforce established power relations in society. It is this potential for change that enables the emancipatory outlook of CDA: critical language awareness, reading against hegemonic ideologies residing in texts, and producing alternative discourses can incrementally transform social reality. CDA is, thus, a moderate form of social constructivism: "[we] cannot transform the world in any old way we happen to construe it; the world is such that some transformations are possible and others are not" (Fairclough, 2010:5), often due to the social matrix of power relations (2.3.1.1). The goal is slow change by many people, rather than radical, immediate change as a result of a single person or text.

CDA studies society through discourse, and understands or contextualises discourse "through an analysis of its historical, socio-political and cultural foundations" (Flowerdew & Richardson, 2018:2). As a result, the data analysed is most often political discourse and mass media texts. What belies this popular choice is the idea that symbolic elites in education, politics, the media and big business have direct or indirect control over public discourse (Van Dijk, 2016). These symbolic elites maintain the ideological power of the dominant block by projecting their social practices as 'common sense' (Fairclough, 2001). The discourses these elites (re)produce have a vast ideological reach as a result of the mass dissemination of ideas, and the formidable social capital possessed by the symbolic elites propelling these discourses. In the case of this study, the two setworks are read in all public school Grade 10 English Home Language classrooms, and they have the powerful weight of approval by the education department and each school's English department. The potential ideological impact is considerable.

The ideologies in which CDA is particularly interested are the hidden, naturalised everyday beliefs, which are disguised in texts through the use of linguistic techniques, such as conceptual metaphors (Wodak & Meyer, 2016). To understand a text fully, text consumers must entertain its ideological position to make sense of it: in other words, text consumers use our Members' Resources (see 2.2.2) to access the ideological claims underlying a text, whether we accept the text's position or not (Fairclough, 2001). In this way, those ideologies are (re)produced. This study, following my discussion of van Dijk (2016) in 2.2.1, distinguishes between 'ideologies' (racism, sexism, ableism) and 'opponent ideologies' (non-racialism, feminism), as both appear in current South African society while it remains in a stage of social transformation and contestation (see 1.3). An additional conception of ideology that was useful in making sense of these texts was van Dijk's (2016) 'ideological square' (2.3.2.2), which has a polarising effect, and works as follows:

- emphasise positive self-descriptions and negative Other descriptions;
- de-emphasise negative self-descriptions and positive Other descriptions.

The dominant bloc or dominant social group reinforces their powerful position in society in part through the Othering of groups (often using the ideological square) that are constructed as different. Most often this refers to racial group domination, but it can easily be applied to other subjugated groups, including women and people with disabilities.

Fairclough's (2001) model of CDA provides the theoretical and analytical backdrop to this study. The power of this model is that the three interrelated dimensions of discourse (text, discourse practice and social practice) are tied to his stages of analysis (Description, Interpretation, and Explanation). The stages are the focus of the next section (3.3.1). To cement these links, I conclude this section by reiterating the three dimensions of discourse, as mentioned in 2.2.2. In CDA, discourse is "language as social practice determined by social structures" (Fairclough, 2001:14). This relates to the earlier statement that the interaction between language and society is dialectic, and Fairclough's aim is to show how this dialectical relationship functions in more detail. Firstly, language is part of society: language produces social effects and social activity is predominantly linguistic. Secondly, language is a social process: discourse refers "to the whole process of social interaction of which a text is just a part" (Fairclough, 2001:20), namely the processes of production and interpretation of a text. Thirdly, language is a socially conditioned process: the two processes of production and

interpretation are conditioned by and embedded in the social matrix. The links between these dimensions of discourse and the stages of analysis are discussed in 3.3.1.

3.3.1 CDA Stages of Analysis

This study drew upon Fairclough's (2001) procedure for CDA consisting of three stages: Description of the text; Interpretation of relations between text and interaction; and Explanation of the relationship between interaction and the broader social context. These stages of analysis echo his conception of discourse as text, discourse practice, and social practice (see Figure 3.3): "The hypothesis is that significant connections exist between features of texts, ways in which texts are put together and interpreted, and the nature of the social practice" (Fairclough, 2010:59). The embedding of the boxes in Figure 3.3 is an attempt to encapsulate the interdependence of the analytical stages, and the simultaneity of this CDA method (Janks, 1997).

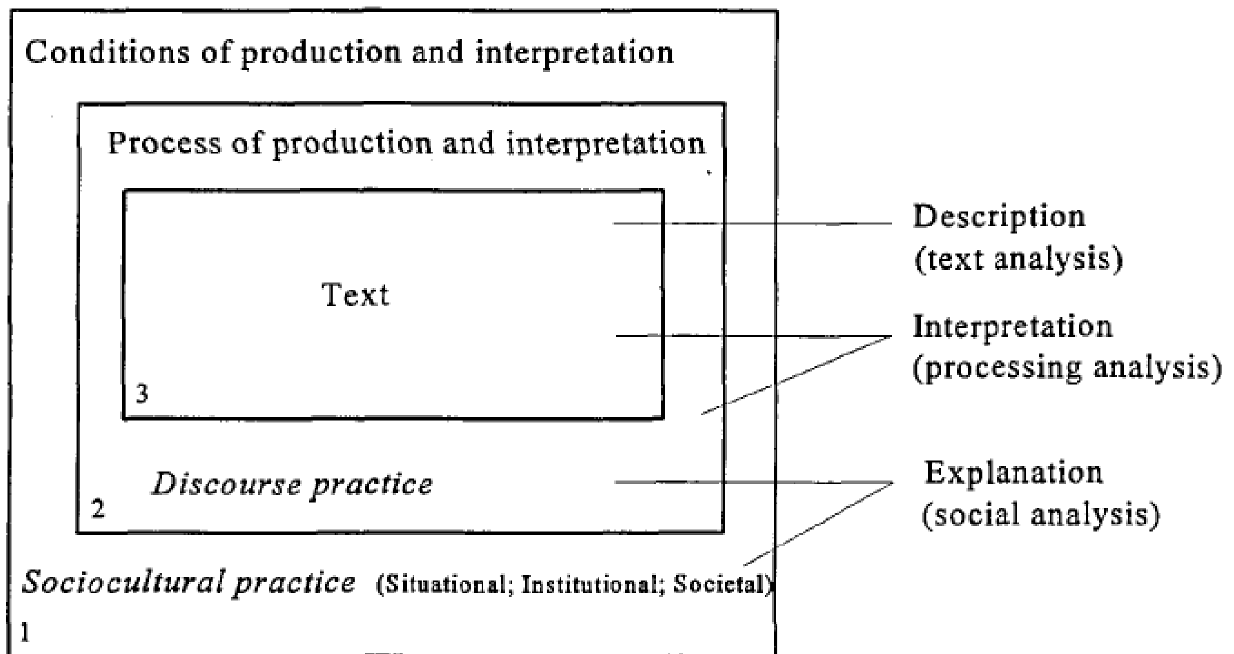

Figure 3.3: Janks's (1997:330) interpretation of Fairclough's dimensions of discourse and discourse analysis

These stages are also used by Baker & McEnery (2015a) in their summary of the general stages of a corpus-based discourse analysis, as introduced in 3.2.2. The Description stage coincides largely with the quantitative corpus methods – specifically, word frequencies, and collocations (Baker & McEnery, 2015a). Rather than following Fairclough's (2001) original ten questions,

which were not all relevant to my research goals, or other CDA ‘tools’, I opted for a lexical analysis during the more qualitative concordance analysis informed by CL theories on collocation, lexical priming, semantic prosody, semantic preference and discourse prosody. Because CDA is a heterogeneous academic programme (Wodak & Meyer, 2016) rather than a ‘method’, it can adopt “any method that is adequate to realise the aims of specific CDA-inspired research” (Baker, et al., 2008:274).

This study’s method is adequate as it follows many recent corpus-based approaches to CDA (Mautner, 2016; Baker & McEnery, 2015b; Subtirelu & Baker, 2018; Fitzgerald, 2017) that use the traditional CDA stages of analysis, but base their Description and, to an extent, Interpretation stages predominantly in the CL methods and theory discussed above. CDA theory and methodology come to centre stage in the Interpretation and, especially, the Explanation stages. Prioritising lexis seemed an appropriate choice given my research goals of investigating bodies (nominals), how they are described (adverbials), and how they act or are used (verbals), and given the tendency for corpus-based discourse analysis to favour lexical items (Mautner, 2016; Baker, 2006). The Description (3.3.1.1), Interpretation (3.3.1.2), and Explanation (3.3.1.3) stages are described in different sub-sections below; however, I reiterate that these distinctions are rather more porous, and the stages overlapped and doubled back on themselves in practice. Fairclough (2001:91) states that “there is a sense in which description presupposes interpretation, so this contrast [between these stages of analysis], while convenient in procedural terms, should not be given too much weight”.

3.3.1.1 Description

The initial stage involves a close analysis of the formal properties of a text with the goal of understanding the hidden ideological processes and power relations in discourse. That is, “a text’s linguistic structure functions, as discourse, to highlight certain ideologies, while downplaying or concealing others” (Machin & Mayr, 2012:20). These formal properties can include grammar, textual structures, vocabulary, and more recently, multi-modal elements such as gesture, visuals and film. This study focused on the vocabulary or lexical elements in the text, as a lexical analysis is one of the core types of CD analysis and is well suited to the CL methods and theory discussed earlier. Lexical analysis is described as powerful in that its focus on different word choices can signify different discourses that in turn “signify certain kinds of identities, values and sequences of activity which are not necessarily made explicit” (Machin & Mayr, 2012:30). Many corpus-based CDA approaches focus on vocabulary (lexis) precisely

because it relates most strongly to evaluative meaning, and so provides good evidence for the ideological discourses encoded in the texts (Baker, 2006; Hunt, 2015; Subtirelu & Baker, 2018).

While I base my Description stage on CL methods and theory, these methods themselves are informed by discourse analysis, lexical semantics, psycholinguistics (especially lexical priming), and CDA, especially Fairclough's approach to CDA, which influenced those at Lancaster University who popularised the CL/CDA combination (Baker, 2006; Baker & McEnery, 2015a; Baker et al., 2008). Here I explain how the CL methods used in the Description stage as discussed in 3.2.2 have links to established CDA methods centring on lexis. Machin & Mayr (2012) summarise five aspects of a typical lexical analysis in CDA – word connotations, overlexicalisation, lexical absence, structural oppositions, and genres of communication. The first four of these, and some concepts from Fairclough (2001) are discussed below, showing how they integrate with and complement this study's CL methods.

Semantic preference or semantic domains echo one of Fairclough's (2001) primary questions on vocabulary concerning classification schemes or vocabulary that clusters into what he calls discourse types. Fairclough (2001) states that words can form classification schemes in the text or draw upon pre-existing classification schemes or discourses. This is similar to the CL clustering of semantically related words (semantic domain) via collocational and concordance analysis. The established CDA concept of overwording (Fairclough, 2001) or overlexicalisation (Machin & Mayr, 2012) also has links to classification schemes, and relates to the CL focus on high frequency words and ranked frequency lists. Overwording refers to high frequency words and often their near-synonyms, which may indicate a preoccupation with an aspect of social reality and potentially point to a site of ideological struggle (Fairclough, 2001).

Underpinning the ten questions framework are three types of value that formal features can have: one of these is expressive value, which indicates evaluation of social reality (Fairclough, 2001). Machin & Mayr (2012) describe this as 'word connotations' or the attitudes and values linked to a writer's lexical choices. This links quite clearly with semantic and discourse prosody, which is arguably more forceful than connotation as it reveals evaluative loading that is undecipherable without the CL methods of collocation and concordance lines (Louw, 1993, cited in Baker, 2006). Positive and negative semantic prosody in texts can form what Machin

& Mayr (2012) call 'structural oppositions'. Structural oppositions are created via opposing concepts such as 'young-old' and 'good-bad,' and are to an extent necessary to delineate differences between word meanings in lexical semantics (Machin & Mayr, 2012), but may be used for ideological ends. Given that the novels are set in racist, divisive societies, and that my focus is the intersectional identities of 'race' and gender, comparisons between people with different identities are expected. So, I asked whether there were some groups of people in the texts that had markedly opposite body behaviours or descriptions. As discussed in 3.3.1, Van Dijk's conception of ideological square can speak to the structural oppositions set up in texts, where opposing classes of concepts crystallise around participants (or bodies), who are perceived to be quintessentially different.

Baker (2006) indicates that CL's tendency to focus on presence and frequency means that lexical absence (Machin & Mayr, 2012) is largely ignored. Combating lexical absence is tricky – the researcher must think about what was expected in the texts that did not arise. In a larger study, generating a keyword list against a large, specialised corpus of, say, South African literature could assist in revealing lexical absences. Unfortunately, due to time and space constraints as well as the lack of easily accessible reference corpora for South African English, this study did not use a reference corpus. Instead, comparing the ranked frequency lists of the two novels provided possible insights into absences or suppression: for example, HEART is clearly much more important to *Mother to Mother* than to *The Mark*. On a related note, when I was analysing HEART, the collocations showed that Mandisa's *heart* collocated with her first son and her first love – no other names were collocates. I immediately asked myself why her other children, her parents, or her present husband were not collocates, and investigated the concordance lines to see to what extent this pattern was true. Overall in this study, finding lexical absences was, therefore, an inductive process: I asked myself what terms or patterns were expected but not present. More specifically, what absences in terms of activities, elements or participants were there, and why would the text producer exclude these?

The Description stage is wholly text-based, although the investigation of concordance lines showed the porous nature of these stages of analysis: they certainly are interdependent and simultaneous, as Janks (1997) argues. The following section discusses the Interpretation stage and the contextual information I drew upon to uncover the discourses embedded in the text.

3.3.1.2 Interpretation

This stage of analysis requires the researcher to 'make sense of' the patterns found in the Description stage. The focus here becomes uncovering the discourses in which each text is embedded as well as the naturalised assumptions which readers may bring to their text reception and authors to their text production (Fairclough, 2001). Ideologies cannot be simply 'read off' the texts, since texts can be interpreted in varied ways, and some text consumers seem to be immune to some texts' ideological effects (Fairclough, 2010). So, ideological meanings are produced through people's interactive processes with texts. A text producer draws on 'common-sense' assumptions from their Members' Resources (MR) and leaves these as 'traces' in the text; a text consumer or participant draws on similar 'common-sense' assumptions from their MR when encountering these 'traces' now as 'cues', and so ideological meaning is produced (Fairclough, 2001). Here, MR are linguistic and social mental representations, which are acquired through social interaction with one's epistemic community (Fairclough, 2001). Lexical priming (Hoey, 2005) forms part of a person's MR: Hoey's characterisation of the mental concordance glossed for social, discoursal and other information brings a CL slant to MR. MR are integral to the comprehension of a text: to fully understand a text, a participant must entertain the text producer's ideological perspective, even if the participant does not necessarily endorse said perspective.

There are various levels of processes of text reception and text production to bear in mind in this study. For text reception, there are the MR (including the lexical primings) of the teachers and the students. One must then to an extent decide who these participants are likely to be. Since these are English Home Language texts, it may be safely assumed that the majority of these learners do not attend the most disadvantaged schools in the country, given the social stratification in South Africa and how speaking English well is seen as a tool for the upwardly mobile (see 1.3). Fairclough (2001) states that it must be established what situational context participants are working in and whether there is a single, shared interpretation. There is a situational power relation that affects the interpretation of these texts: teachers' interpretations are more powerful and their framings of the setwork have a significant impact on learners' interpretations. Furthermore, it cannot be expected that all teachers and all learners have the same interpretations of these texts. There may be resistant readings, for example, from participants who may have trouble reading from a racially engaged (Lugones, 1990, cited in Thompson, 2003) or feminist position.

For text production, there are the MR of the authors, and the MR and intentions of the publishers and of the South African Department of Basic Education (DBE). The DBE has framed these novels in a specific way by including study notes in the distributed ‘school edition’ versions of both texts, and while not all teachers may base their teaching on these notes, it is certainly the direction that the DBE would prefer teachers to take. Additionally, the authors themselves may have different intentions for their ideal readers to those of the DBE. Firstly, both books presumably were written to be enjoyed as a work of fiction, rather than as an object of study in schools. Secondly, one of the authors stated that she was surprised the DBE finally set her novel as a setwork, as her own thoughts on the country’s education system differ quite markedly from the DBE’s (Magona, 2019). My dominant interpretation focused on the MR of the DBE as one of my research goals sought to understand the reasoning behind these setwork choices.

Concordance analysis (3.2.2.4) provided the basis of the Interpretation stage (Baker & McEnery, 2015a). I also drew upon situational and intertextual contexts (Fairclough, 2001) to assist me in the Interpretation stage. I had the personal experience of teaching *The Mark* to privileged high school girls, which included consideration of their reactions to the novel and our department’s areas of focus for the novel (see also Yusuf, 2018). I also read international literary reactions to *Mother to Mother* (Rafapa, 2017; Schatteman, 2008; Whitehead, 2012) and suggestions for using it as a teaching aid in South Africa (Zimunya, 2018). I attended a public interview of Sindiwe Magona, where she discussed her works and revealed her thoughts on basic education in South Africa (Magona, 2019). Ultimately, these resources merely assisted my interpretations. The only way to access the MR of the ideal reader was to engage my own MR during the analysis. Fairclough (2001:139) argues that it is, therefore, “only really self-consciousness that distinguishes the analyst from the participants she is analysing”.

The Interpretation stage looks at the relationship between the text and interaction processes, and acts as an intermediate stage between the formal features of a text and their effects on social structures (Fairclough, 2001). The relationship between the formal features of a text and its underlying ideologies are mediated by discourse processes and their reliance on MR in the Interpretation stage, and by the social context of discourses to power relations and societal processes of struggle in the Explanation stage (Fairclough, 2001). In 3.3.1.3, I discuss this ‘final’ stage of analysis.

3.3.1.3 Explanation

If the Description stage is the text analysis, and the Interpretation stage is the processing analysis, then the Explanation stage is the social analysis (Janks, 1997). The Description and Interpretation stages together assist the researcher to uncover a dominant discourse or a hybrid of discourses (Janks, 1997) residing in the text; the Explanation stage enables the forming of a hypothesis that such discourses exist in and are drawn upon by text producers in South African society.

This stage's focus is the social conditions of production and reception, and the social effects of these discourses (Fairclough, 2001): in this study, whether the physical representations of intersectional identities in these novels perpetuate or oppose the transformative, non-racialist ideology that the post-apartheid government and the current DBE overtly follow. Fairclough (2001) suggests in this stage that researchers look at the social determinants, power relations, and social struggles at various levels in society that may be contributing to these discourses. In other words, the analyst must visualise the social matrix in which discourses are (re)produced. I provided this context in 1.3, but reiterate some key issues here. In South African society, there is a clear divide between the progressive discourse of our Constitution and the transformative principles of the National Curriculum Statement, and the more conservative Christian and patriarchal discourses of the majority of South Africans. Furthermore, the xenophobic attacks, gender-based and homophobic violence, and racist slurs and aggressions that recur in South African media and our recent history reveal a country that is still experiencing great upheaval and perhaps resistance to change. Economically, South Africa is one of the most unequal societies in the world, and these divisions are still based predominantly along racial lines enforced under apartheid. It seems clear that there is currently a contestation of dominant discourses in South Africa.

Text producers do not always draw upon dominant discourses knowingly or deliberately, but rather they are constrained by the available discourses in their epistemic communities (Fairclough, 2001). Ideology is most powerful when it is invisible, and when discourses become naturalised or taken-for-granted and so are unconsciously drawn upon. The dialectic between practice and structure arises again in this discussion: the MR that readers draw upon to understand the discoursal cues in a text are in turn subtly reproduced or changed, and so they have social effects (Fairclough, 2001). This is arguably even stronger in the case of these texts, as they are the basis of discussion, study, and assessment in high schools, and so teachers',

publishers' and the DBE's interpretations and the dominant discourses that underpin those interpretations are more likely to be reproduced in these sections of South African society. Future research could investigate how these novels are taught in different schools in the country. All I can tentatively comment on is whether the ideologies embedded in the novels themselves support or oppose the transformational, progressive discourses found in the National Curriculum Statement. Conversely, these texts could draw upon the more conservative, patriarchal South African discourses, or a hybrid of the two.

Ultimately, MR are seen ideologically in this stage. Consequently, this stage requires that the broader historical, political, social, and economic contexts within which these novels are embedded be taken into account. The different dimensions of analysis that CDA offers provide the means of not only analysing the textual data, but also of understanding how discourses are tied to relations of power in society (Janks, 1997). In Chapter 4, the latter two stages of analysis are reported on concurrently as both draw on patterns revealed in the corpus analysis. So, having discussed my perspective on the integration of the CDA stages of analysis with CL methods and theory, I next outline the history of this methodological combination, its mutually supportive benefits as well as the inherent weaknesses of both.

3.4 Combining CDA and CL

The use of CL methods to carry out CDA research first began in the 1990s with work on identity by Krishnamurthy (1996, cited in Subtirelu & Baker, 2018), research on 'cultural keywords' by Stubbs (1996, cited in Hunston, 2002) and an early methodological paper by Hardt-Mautner (1995, cited in Subtirelu & Baker, 2018), introduced for the mutual benefits of combining the two. Since then, this "methodological synergy" (Baker et al., 2008:274) has increased in popularity, and although CL is still not generally regarded as a crucial addition to CDA (Mautner, 2016), the inclusion of a chapter on "Corpus-based approaches" (Subtirelu & Baker, 2018) in the *Routledge Handbook of Critical Discourse Studies* indicates that this methodology is becoming an approach in its own right. Below I discuss the mutual benefits of combining CDA and CL as well as the methodological issues this synergy has encountered.

McEnery and Hardie (2012) lament that many studies have not adequately balanced the two but rather focus on one to the detriment of the other. That is, corpus-based studies were often not explicitly informed by CDA theory and traditional methods, and CDA studies largely used corpora as a "repository of examples" (McEnery & Hardie, 2012:18) and avoided using

quantitative CL methods. Baker et al. (2008) attempted to right these balance issues. A team of six researchers from specialist CL and CDA backgrounds respectively collaborated to show how the "theoretical and methodological cross-pollination seem to benefit both CDA and CL" (Baker et al., 2008:297). Each group of specialists worked independently on their data – a feat impossible for a single researcher such as myself – and then discussed their results. As a result, they found some important benefits that a single researcher could use, although they advocated for collaborative, interdisciplinary research.

CDA can benefit CL in various ways. Firstly, since CDA examines the reasons behind a text producer choosing a specific linguistic choice over various others, it is more useful in text analysis than purely descriptive, corpus-driven approaches that do not take these choices into account (Baker et al., 2008). For example, CL's bias for frequency is counteracted by the CDA argument that both absences and presences in the text are integral to understanding it (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2001, cited in Baker et al., 2008). This is particularly true for problem-oriented social research. Secondly, CL is heavily criticised for disregarding context, as the input to and output from corpus analysis software is "decontextualised, semiotically reduced language" (Mautner, 2016: 173). Corpus annotation can help by enriching the data, and expanded concordance lines can provide co-text that helps to limit the interpretation to "what is contextually appropriate or plausible" (Baker et al., 2008:279). Nevertheless, it is the CDA perspective that includes context - both intratextual (e.g. by referring to copies of the original data during analysis) and situational - which goes a long way to reduce this fault in CL studies.

CL, in turn, can assist with CDA's blind spots. Firstly, CDA is known to restrict itself to smaller amounts of data because the in-depth manual investigation of extra-linguistic context is time-consuming; however, CL allows CDA practitioners to work on large data volumes and so broaden the empirical base (Mautner, 2016). Secondly, Hardt-Mautner (1995 in Subtirelu & Baker, 2018) makes the point that because CDA is best suited to highly detailed analysis of a small dataset, representativeness becomes a significant problem: it becomes unwise to generalise findings or speak about typicality. To combat this, the corpora used in CDA should be built along the rigorous methodological lines of sampling and representativeness (Mautner, 2016). In this study, because I chose to investigate the representations in two prescribed novels, the usual requirements of representativeness and sampling in corpus building fall away. However, in a study on, say, the representation of teachers in the South African media, questions of sampling and representativeness would be a fundamental part of corpus design.

The addition of CL methodology to CDA appears to reduce researcher bias; however, even CL is subject to this core problem of research, as I explain below.

The choice of association measure and parameters, and the classification of semantic domains are examples of interpretive acts fallible to researcher bias (McEnery & Hardie, 2012). Furthermore, the "analysts' positions on whether or not the trends observed in frequency data are worthy of attention or socially problematic still depend heavily on analysts' theoretical or ideological commitments" (Subtirelu & Baker, 2018:109). However, utilising this study's social constructivist lens, I perceive all research to be subjective because human beings are inherently subjective. The best we can do is aim to reduce the bias through the utilisation of quantitative techniques, drawing on a representative sample, analysing larger amounts of data, triangulating methods, and declaring our subject positions from the outset. These are arguably the strongest benefits that a methodological synergy of CDA and CL can provide.

This section has shown that the theoretical and methodological cross-pollination of CDA and CL has great mutual benefits. Specifically, qualitative CL methods can be improved through the influence of CDA theory and analytical techniques, while CDA benefits from CL methods of quantification that can reveal the level of generalisability in the findings (Baker et al., 2008). In essence, such a combination benefits from research triangulation: the use of two or more methods (or forms of data) as a way to check results (Baker, 2006). This is evident in my use of CDA theory and stages of analysis, CL methods and theory, and two forms of data (comparison of two novels). It has allowed me to respond flexibly to unforeseen problems in the research, and has been a means of checking the validity of my interpretations. In my research design I have attempted to balance the integration of the two methodologies by using statistical information from the collocational analysis and performing detailed concordance analyses informed by the latter two stages of CDA and by CL theory.

3.5 Conclusion

This chapter has described and accounted for the combination of methods I have used to answer the research questions posed in 1.2. Furthermore, this chapter described the unique corpus annotation process that was applied to the two literary texts in order to better address my research goals. The corpus analysis methods of ranked frequency lists, collocations, and concordance analysis have been presented alongside the important theoretical concepts of semantic prosody, semantic domains, lexical priming, and discourse prosody. These methods

and concepts were then interwoven with Fairclough's three stages of analysis (Description, Interpretation, Explanation) to illustrate how these methods were used in practice. In outlining both approaches and how they interact and bolster each other, I have emphasised the mutual benefits of this combination of Critical Discourse Analysis and Corpus Linguistics, and illustrated how it provided a rigorous framework for my data analysis. Chapter 4 presents and discusses the results of this data analysis.

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CHAPTER 4
FINDINGS

4.1 Introduction

This chapter Describes, Interprets and Explains the results of the corpus-based Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) carried out as reported in Chapter 3, and uses these results to answer the research questions provided in Chapter 1, although Chapter 5 specifically addresses each research question in the summary of findings. As I explain in Section 3.3.1, this research process does not rigidly follow the CDA stages of analysis in a linear fashion, but rather integrates the stages. Notwithstanding this interdependence, I begin with an initial phase of Description: an outline of the quantitative aspects of the chosen keywords and lockwords for each novel to point to significant numerical patterns across the identities. From there, I turn to the main portion of this chapter, which is grouped into four discourse prosodies (as discussed in Section 3.2.2.4): Description of Appearance, Emotion, Interaction with Others, and Interaction with the World. The inherent 'messiness' of meaning-making and the fluidity of these stages of analysis both complement one another, and resonate with these discourse prosodies, as some concordance lines could easily fit into two or even three groupings. These thematic discourse prosodies reflect similar research by Hunt (2011), although the identity patterns realised in these discourse prosodies differ in significant ways.

4.2 Description: Quantitative Aspects

This study's particular combination of CDA and Corpus Linguistics (CL) methods means that the Description stage is mostly concerned with the CL methods of frequency, dispersion, keywords and collocation. This section reports on the initial quantitative findings, and links these to the qualitative discussion in 4.3. Section 3.2.2.2 describes how I used ranked frequency lists and Average Reduced Frequency to narrow my focus to six words for each novel: three shared lockwords and three unique keywords. Table 4.1 below presents these keywords and lockwords with their percentage distribution across the four annotated identities: 'white' males, 'white' females, 'black' males, and, the focus of this study, 'black' females. A table of the raw scores is presented in Appendix 1.6.

		'black' female	'black' male	'white' female	'white' male
Mother to Mother	**EYE**	68	26	4	2
	HAND	56	33	1	10
	HEAD	53	34	13	--
	HEART	86	8	6	--
	EAR	73	28	--	--
	SHOULDER	66	31	--	3
The Mark	**EYE**	56	13	15	16
	HAND	53	20	9	18
	HEAD	60	12	21	7
	HAIR	74	2	22	2
	FINGER	52	20	6	23
	SKIN	70	11	13	6

Table 4.1: The percentages of body parts across identities in each novel

The distribution in Table 4.1 reveals two main trends. The first is that, in both *Mother to Mother* and *The Mark*, all body parts show over 50% representation for 'black' females. This is perhaps expected since both novels have first-person narrators who are 'black' females. It also fits well with my take on intersectionality theory, as posited by Crenshaw (1989), that puts the most marginalised group at the centre of action research. However, there are some body parts that are primarily linked to 'black' female identity over the other identities (i.e. over 70% of occurrences for 'black' females), while others are more equally distributed between the four identities (i.e. only about 50% for 'black' female HAND in both novels).

In *The Mark*, 74% of the occurrences for HAIR and 70% of the occurrences for SKIN refer to 'black' female characters. In *Mother to Mother*, 86% of HEART and 73% of EAR belong to 'black' female characters. These four keywords appear to be most clearly linked to 'black' female identity, and point to possible ideological preoccupations. For HAIR and SKIN in *The Mark*, this primarily indicates overt racialisation via descriptions of appearance, which I address in 4.3.1.1. In *Mother to Mother*, EAR is used predominantly as a narrative device (see 4.3.4.1b), but HEART is particularly significant. Since HEART is the third most frequent body part for *Mother to Mother* overall, this overwording of 'black' female hearts points to a strong ideological preoccupation surrounding the pain of motherly love, which I address in 4.3.2.2. The lexical patterns and discourses surrounding mothers' hearts in *Mother to Mother*, and *savage* hair in *The Mark* inspired the title of this thesis, as these body parts are most linked (in terms of distribution) to 'black' females in each novel respectively.

The second trend highlights a key difference in distribution between the two novels: *Mother to Mother* is skewed towards 'black' females and, to a lesser extent, 'black' males, while *The Mark* is skewed towards 'black' females and shows a relatively more even distribution across the secondary identities.

Mother to Mother has 'black' males as the second most frequent identity type across all body parts. In *Mother to Mother*, it appears that 'black' people's bodies and therefore 'black' people's experiences are the focus of this novel. This presents a stark, yet welcome, difference to previous Anglocentric setworks (Silverthorne, 2009). As a corollary, *Mother to Mother* shows comparatively low percentages (10% and 13% respectively are the highest) for 'white' males and 'white' females. Seemingly, the 'white' experience is not prioritised in this novel. Furthermore, there are notable absences: half the keyword body parts are absent for 'white' males (HEAD, HEART and EAR), and a third are absent for 'white' females (EAR and SHOULDER). Due to these absences and general low frequencies for 'white' body parts in *Mother to Mother*, pronouncements on patterns for 'white' females and 'white' males become difficult, although the relative absence is itself a trend. For example, 'white' male is the only identity that is not shown to have hearts: this contributes to the construal of 'white' males in *Mother to Mother* as an aggressive, unsympathetic group (see 4.3.1.2). With two exceptions, all the narrator's personal experience with 'white' males is with a violent police force, which understandably skews her perception.

In *The Mark*, each secondary identity has the second-most percentage for at least one body part: 'black' male for one (HAND), 'white' male for two (FINGER and EYE), and 'white' female for three (HEAD, HAIR and SKIN). This shows that while the distribution is more even, there is some bias towards female body parts in *The Mark* as compared to the overwhelming bias towards 'black' people's body parts in *Mother to Mother*. This is perhaps most stark in HAIR: 96% of HAIR belongs to female characters, with male characters only having one instance each (a near-absence). The feminisation of HAIR in *The Mark* is addressed in 4.3.1.1. The more even distribution of numbers in the secondary identities in *The Mark* means that patterns of intimacy and physical power struggles between characters of different identity groups could be unearthed. While there is care and affection shown between the 'white' Amy character and her 'black' friends in *Mother to Mother*, this is the only instance of interracial affection. In *The*

Mark, however, there are greater numbers, revealing patterns of who has power over whom, and who is intimate with whom, across gender and racial boundaries (see 4.3.3).

Table 4.1 indicates broad patterns, but a closer look at the uses of each body part across identities paints a clearer picture of how these patterns are realised for each identity. These uses embody semantic domains: using concordance lines, I grouped the many instances of use of each body part in terms of their purpose. Table 4.2 below records the top two uses of each body part, and provides the basis for generating the discourse prosodies that make up the main section of this chapter (4.3). I highlight only a few key trends that this table illuminates for the sake of space.

The obvious uses of the sense body parts (EYE and EAR) of seeing and hearing, while often among the top uses, are less ideologically significant as they amount to narrative devices. This is proof that, as Baker (2006) argues, frequency does not always equal saliency. Surprisingly, 'black' male EYE in *Mother to Mother* does not have 'sight' as a top two use, but instead shows 24 instances of 'display emotion'. It may appear that 'black' males are showing stereotypically feminine behaviour in their use of EYE, but in actual fact, they relied on their eyes to depict their emotion rather than communicating openly. This demonstrates stereotypically masculine behaviour after all. I report on this trend in both 4.3.2.1 and 4.3.3.2, as it overlaps emotion and communication.

In contrast to EYE and EAR, the 'obvious' use of HAND holding something (a top two use across all identities for both novels) reveals interesting patterns of power regarding which identity holds what kinds of objects. To illustrate, 'black' females generally hold objects related to domestic affairs (as a result of their jobs as cleaners and mothers), while 'white' males hold objects linked to their powerful station, such as money. This is explored in further detail in Section 4.3.4.2.

The top two use of 'appearance' for all SKIN, female HAIR and 'black' female and 'white' male EYE points to *The Mark*'s use of these body parts to construe racial marking. The main character's pale skin allows her to 'pass' as 'white' female if she conceals her large eyes and curly hair. This relates to the argument that 'race' is a social construct (see 2.3.2.1), which is especially clear along racial boundaries, and is addressed in 4.3.1.1.

Body part	Novel	'black' female use (instances: %)	'black' male use (instances: %)	'white' female use (instances: %)	'white' male use (instances: %)
EYE	*Mother to Mother*	display emotion/personality (29:28%) sight (14:14%)	display emotion (24: 62%) communication (9:23%)	display emotion/personality (3:50%) sight (2:33%)	appearance (2:67%) sight (1: 33%)
EYE	*The Mark*	sight (21:23%) appearance (15:16%)	sight (10: 48%) communication (4:19%)	display emotion (8: 33%) communication (6:25%)	sight (7: 27%) appearance (7:27%)
HAND	*Mother to Mother*	hold (16:32%) emotion (10:20%)	hold (8:28%) physical contact (5:17%)	hold something (1:100%)	violence (5:56%) hold something (2:22%)
HAND	*The Mark*	hold something (25:32%) physical contact (18:23%)	hold something (6:20%) display emotion (6:20%)	display emotion: (6: 46%) hold something (5:38%)	physical contact (17:63%) hold something (5:19%)
HEAD	*Mother to Mother*	shake (11:39%) nod (5:18%)	appearance (4:22%) shake (4:22%)	place of mind (2:29%) --	--
HEAD	*The Mark*	shake (6:14%) site of injury (6:14%) lower (6:14%)	shake (2:22%) display emotion (2: 22%)	physical contact (5:33%) communication (3:20%)	--
HEART	*Mother to Mother*	emotion (46:84%) place of mind (7:13%)	emotion (3:60%) --	emotion (3:75%) personality (1:25%)	--
EAR	*Mother to Mother*	hear (21:72%) physical place (6:21%)	hear (6:55%) communication (2:18%)	--	--
SHOULDER	*Mother to Mother*	physical contact (7:33%) physical place (5:24%) shrug (5:24%)	appearance (7:70%)	--	violence (1:100%)
HAIR	*The Mark*	appearance (20:59%) physical contact (7:21%)	physical place (1:100%)	medical sample (4:40%) appearance (3:30%)	physical contact (1:100%)
FINGER	*The Mark*	touch books (7:21%) touch injury (5:15%)	touch something (4:31%) violence (4:31%)	communication (2:50%) emotion (1:25%)	physical contact (8:53%) communication (4: 27%)
SKIN	*The Mark*	site of pain (10:30%) appearance (6:18%)	appearance (3:75%) intimacy (1:25%)	appearance (3:50%) medical sample (2:33%)	appearance (3:75%) intimacy (1:25%)

Table 4.2: The top two uses[19] of all body parts across identities in each novel.

[19] Body parts that have no clear patterned first or second use are left blank, as are those body parts with no occurrences.

Both novels are set in violent worlds: this is depicted through the top two uses of 'black' female FINGER, 'black' female SKIN, *The Mark's* 'black' female HEAD as injury-related, and 'black' male FINGER, *Mother to Mother's* 'white' male HAND, and 'white' male SHOULDER as violence-related. From this first impression, it appears that especially in *The Mark*, 'black' female bodies are subjected to violence, and that 'black' males may be the primary cause, while 'white' males are the primary cause of violence in *Mother to Mother*. Interestingly, 'white' female identity in *Mother to Mother* does not have a top two use of injury, despite the murder of a 'white' female being the inspiration for the story. These patterns of violence and power, and how they reflect the intersectional social hierarchy, are explored in 4.3.3.1.

This section has described some of the initial trends provided by a largely quantitative exploration of the data. These initial trends together with collocation graphs for the more frequent lockwords (see Appendix 3) provide the quantitative backbone to this analysis by raising avenues of interest to explore in greater detail. Sections 4.3.1 to 4.3.4 detail the discourse prosodies uncovered in the more qualitative concordance analysis, and how, within these prosodies, intersectional identities are realised in often very different ways.

4.3 Discourse prosodies

The subsections under 4.3 cover the main portion of this chapter: the results of my analysis organised into discourse prosodies. As discussed in 3.2.2.4, I drew inspiration from Hunt's (2011) use of thematic discourse prosodies, which she defines as the building up of patterns in longer stretches of text around specific body parts. The quantitative work in Section 4.2 focuses attention on specific prosodies that are repeated across several body parts. The four thematic trends I explore are: Description of Appearance (4.3.1); Emotion (4.3.2); Interaction with Others (4.3.3); and Interaction with the World (4.3.4). These reflect Hunt's (2011) discourse prosodies, although the ways identities are realised within these prosodies differ quite significantly from her research, as I explain in Chapter 5. Each discourse prosody includes some but not necessarily all of the body parts. Table 4.3 below shows this distribution.

	EYE	HAND	HEAD	HEART	SHOULDER	EAR	HAIR	FINGER	SKIN
4.3.1	√	√	√				√		√
4.3.2	√	√	√	√					
4.3.3	√	√	√		√	√	√	√	√
4.3.4	√	√			√	√		√	√

Table 4.3: Comparison of the four discourse prosodies discussed in this section

Before I present the qualitative analysis, I wish to reiterate that the focus of this study is 'black' female identity in each novel. Given the greater frequency of 'black' female body parts generally, it is to be expected that I spend most time on them. Indeed, Cho, Crenshaw and McCall (2013) argue that other identities, especially privileged ('white') identities, should not be the yardstick by which 'black' women are judged as either deviant or normal, and so should not be analysed at all. Because I believe that comparison makes for more rigorous research, and that comparison is possible without elevating privileged identities to the status of norm, I supply detail about the other identities primarily when they are similar to, interact with, or form structural oppositions with 'black' female physical identity.

4.3.1 Description of Appearance

The Description of Appearance is used to identify differences in personality, temperament, class, and 'race'. Overall, this is not as significant a theme for *Mother to Mother* as it is for *The Mark*. *The Mark* focuses more prominently on the appearance of 'black' female bodies in particular, which is most starkly realised in the evaluative aura surrounding the racial marking of 'black' female HAIR, SKIN and EYE. Because this pattern is most prominent, I address Racial Marking in *The Mark* first, and then the second, smaller section of 'Other Uses for Description' in both *The Mark* and *Mother to Mother*.

4.3.1.1 Racial Marking in *The Mark*[20]

The description of body parts in *The Mark* shows a focus on HAIR, SKIN and EYE as racial markers in the novel's fictional world. However, non-racialised descriptions and descriptions that indicate personality are present, only to a far lesser extent. I address these more minor trends in 4.3.1.2a.

The protagonist, Ettie, and her 'racialised' description is the focus of this section. As a child of a 'black' man (Xavier) and a 'white' woman (Mistress), Ettie has lighter or Posh skin, but *big* eyes and curly hair reminiscent of an afro. In *The Mark*, having curly hair, darker skin, and big eyes is negatively evaluated, and in need of beautification towards the Posh ('white') norm of *silky* hair, lighter skin, and *slitty* eyes. This is clear when Me (the owner of a beauty parlour) wants to 'fix' her eyes and hair: *I can make you as perfect as any Posh mistress*. 'Black' female

[20] In each section in the analysis, *The Mark* is discussed first (if it is present) and *Mother to Mother* is discussed second (if it is present) to impose some order on the discussion.

EYE collocates with *{b}hair{f}* (4, MI 6.35)[21] and *savage* (4, MI 5.37) showing a relation between these two racial markers. The third racial marker (SKIN) is also linked in the lines below: if her eyes are covered or tweaked, people would believe she is Posh, that is, a 'white' female.

*I tame my **{b}hair{f}** into a plait, and make my {b}lips{f} red with paint… The slice of mirror on the wall tells me I am a Posh. Except for my cow **{b}eyes{f}.** They give me away, so I hide them behind sunglasses.*

*Me touches my **{b}hair{f}** and tweaks the corners of my **{b}eyes{f}.** "Yes, these fat **{b}eyes{f}** need a bit of work."*

*I do not want my **{b}hair{f}** straightened or my {b}face{f} stretched tight, pinned to my skull so that my **{b}eyes{f}** appear like slits. I would rather have big **{b}eyes{f}** and Savage **{b}hair{f}** than look like a Posh.*

Furthermore, the last line shows that Ettie does not want to look Posh permanently – she only disguises herself as Posh when she can benefit from the ruse in illegal activities. Despite being pestered, she prefers the way she looks and does not want to resemble her oppressors. This theme of pride in 'black' appearance is most clearly symbolised in the ideologically contested term *savage*. The word is used as a racist insult with colonial connotations, but it is reclaimed by Ettie as a source of pride. I explore this presently, but first I describe the three racial markers (EYE, HAIR and SKIN) in greater detail.

EYE in *The Mark* is one of three racial markers. Ettie's eyes are described as: *cow* (2, MI 9.44), *big* (3, MI 6.94), *fat* (2, MI 7.70), *black holes,* and *pretty*. The evaluative load is broadly negative for these words, except for Nicolas's (her Posh romantic interest) description of her eyes as *pretty*, which nevertheless indicates difference. 'Black' males with *big* eyes like Ettie's occur twice: Xavier (her biological father) and Cowboy. These are the only times that other people with *big* eyes are mentioned. The racialised focus is upon Ettie's (a 'black' female's)

[21] Italics are used to indicate quoting of text, both within the discussion and in larger quoted sections. Numbers in brackets show frequency of more than one, followed by the Mutual Information (MI) score, when applicable.

eyes: she is the object of a differentiating gaze (Oyewumi, 2009). She is also teased about her eyes at school, perhaps because the difference is so pronounced.

"Ettie Spaghetti," the girls scream. They dance around and make cow ***{b}eyes{f}*** *at me.*

This seems to be an indication of internalised racism, often realised as colourism in South Africa, where lighter skinned 'black' people ('yellow-bones') are seen as more beautiful (see Mafolo, 2019). It appears that our world's 'white' beauty norms are reflected in *The Mark*.

Although she is also a 'black' female, Kitty has different hair and skin to Ettie. Kitty's eyes are never described as either *big* or *slitty*, so no conclusions can be drawn on this racial marker for her. Her hair is positively evaluated in a world where straight, smooth hair is Posh. It is described as *silky* (2), *silk*, and is beautified using a *clip* (3, MI 10.12) and a *ribbon* (MI 9.86). Ettie also appreciates Kitty's skin colour – *honey*, *honey-corn*, *roasted corn* – using words with positive evaluative content. Kitty is construed to be a beautiful, sexualised 'black' female: she works at the Posh Pleasure Clubs and her name collocates with *pretty* (3, MI 6.16) and *beautiful* (5, MI 5.49).

Ettie initially believes she is vain: Kitty stands in front of a mirror on three occasions fixing her hair and applying beauty products. For example:

Kitty wipes a wand over her {b}eyelashes{f}. She smoothes her ***{b}hair{f}*** *and fixes it with the clip she has forgotten to thank me for. She gives the sliver of mirror a smile.*

Although Kitty appears to conform to stereotypically 'hyperfeminine' behaviour by obsessing over her own beautiful appearance, there is nuance here. She uses her beauty to steal state secrets from 'white' males at the Pleasure Clubs, lending a dangerous edge to her beauty regime. She exploits the privileges accrued to her as a result of her beautiful appearance in order to rebel against the oppressive state. Furthermore, Kitty flouts the stereotype later in the novel when she reveals how little she cares for her hair:

My {b}eyes{f} are on her {b}head{f}, and she reaches up, drags scarred ***{b}hands{f}*** *over the stubble on her skull. "It's not important, Ettie. It will grow again."*

The differences between Kitty's and Ettie's 'black' female hair and skin indicates that 'race' is a slippery concept in the novel. In comparison to her positive evaluation of Kitty's *honey-corn* skin, Ettie shows dislike for her own skin colour, because she dislikes the Posh and what they symbolise. She describes other characters' Posh 'white' female skin and hands as *pale* (2) and *blue-veined* (2), rather than words with more positive connotations such as 'fair', to show her disapproval for the oppressors. This seeps into her self-description in *I have Posh {b}skin{f}. Pus-coloured {b}flesh{f}*, where the negative evaluation is compounded in *pus-coloured* and *flesh*, and in her dislike for her freckles in *Yes, there are seven billion. You can stop counting*. Despite her dislike for it, her *pale* skin brings her some power in allowing her to pass as a 'white' female. She disguises her hair and eyes on two occasions to 'pass' as a Posh:

I want you to smarten up a little, Ettie. You need to be a Posh today and not a grubby beach troll. And do something with that ***{b}hair{f}.*** *You look like a Savage."*

Ettie is what Alim (2016b) calls a transracial subject. As an ambiguously 'raced' person, she is able to enact transracial performances that disrupt the hegemonic 'race' structures, and show up the social construction of 'race'. The beauty parlours also reveal the construction of 'race': the racialised beauty norm is unattainable by most people without effort. The line below shows the more extreme lengths that people go to at the salons in order to achieve rigid beauty norms, whether it is chemically straightening hair or bleaching skin:

The {w}flesh{f} has been burned off, leaving a mask of scab. Underneath, pale ***{w}skin{f}*** *will grow. Fit for a Posh.*

In Butlerian terms, the Posh repeatedly stylise their bodies to conform to the regulatory framework of gendered beauty norms. Even Mistress's hair is described as a *bird's nest* once when she is distraught. It might be assumed that Mistress herself has to put work into appearing Posh, and she is one of the Mangerian elite, the very top of the social hierarchy.

'Black' female hair is a key identifier for 'black' female identity: 74% of all HAIR belongs to 'black' females and the most frequent collocate for *{b}hair{f}* is *savage* (7, MI 7.60). Ettie's hair is further described as *unruly*, *wild*, *tangled*, and *that bush of yours*, and the process of trying to *tame* it seems both uncomfortable and unsuccessful: *escaped its pins*, *drag the comb through*, and *snarls my curls*. Despite this, many other characters tell Ettie to change her hair.

There is a great deal of pressure on Ettie to conform to the racist beauty norm of hair like Kitty's – *silky* and smooth. This norm is accepted by the Posh in general ('white' males and 'white' females), some 'black' males (e.g. Xavier and Me), and a 'black' female (Kitty), but crucially not by Nicolas (a 'white' male). Nicolas shows his disapproval of her *different* hairstyle that imitates Mistress's 'white' female hair by poking it, but runs his fingers through her natural hair. He also calls her *big* eyes *pretty.*

The following clusters demonstrate people telling Ettie to change her hair**:** *let me make you lovely*, *you could look quite decent*, *You don't always have to look so Savage*, and *do something with that {b}hair{f}*. This entails work. Changing Ettie's natural hair would require significant work, as these clusters show: *with a bit of effort*; *if I had bothered*; *if I had taken some trouble*; *make an effort, Ettie*; *{b}hair{f} straightened*; and *hair acid*.

In essence, Ettie believes her natural hair is 'how it should be' and that actively changing it to someone's (racist) idea of what is beautiful takes extra work and pain and so is a form of oppression. This links to the politics of hair: Hooks (2015) argues that 'black' women hating their natural hair and trying to change it by wearing 'white' wigs and hairstyles is a form of internalised racism. Ettie, it seems, would agree with Hooks. There is a building up of positive semantic prosody surrounding her 'Savageness', and leaving her hair and eyes natural in the lines below:

he has as much chance of finding out where Kitty is as Me has of straightening my ***{b}hair{f}.***

You look like a Savage." And so I am. ***Savage****.*

"Make an effort, Ettie. You don't always have to look so ***Savage****." Yes, I do. But I must try not to. Savages get locked up.*

…You're different." "No, I'm not." Yes, I am. I am ***savage****. But she must not know this.*

In her self-talk, Ettie often owns that she is *savage* – there is a sense of pride and ownership in these lines. She is reclaiming the word and she is not alone in doing so: Witch (a resistance member) also shows she reclaims it once to refer to people who work in the resistance and fight for freedom. This word generated great interest in my learners, who approved of this reclaimed

word, in part perhaps due to the links to popular culture where being described as 'savage' means being daring and worthy of recognition (Urban Dictionary, 2016). My learners and I had different lexical primings (Hoey, 2005) for *savage*. For me, the word has racist, colonial connotations, but for the girls, it ties to popular culture and Ettie's pride and so it is positively evaluated. This encapsulates the dual meanings of this ideologically contested term.

To reclaim a word, it has to be used in a derogatory manner to begin with. Firstly, there is the colonial legacy of Christian missionaries needing to save the 'savages'. In addition, characters of all identities, but especially 'white' males, use the word's connotations of improper, often brutal behaviour as a racist insult, and leverage this behaviour as an excuse for ever more violent repression against resistance. A selection of lines is quoted below to illustrate:

*The **Savages** are running amok across the river. What the hell is Bartholomew doing about it?*

*"I swear to you, we will make those **Savages** choke on {b}blood for what they have done."*

*The Locusts are scouring the area, looking for the **Savages** that dared to blow up the house of a Guardian.*

*A State of Emergency has been declared, and parliament suspended. The inoculation[22] against **savagery** will soon begin. First to be **unsavaged** are those at the birthing stations…*

The word's main use is derogatory, but Ettie in particular reclaims it, as a reaction to the Posh, and the oppressive system they created. Admittedly, Ettie wavers in this pride twice: to impress Nicolas, and to be like Mistress, whom she admires greatly for a time:

*"Your **{b}hair{f}** is different," he says, poking a {w}finger{m} through my chignon. This is the way Mistress arranges her {w}hair{f}.*

[22] Initially, I believed that this opposed the discourse that 'race' is socially constructed, because there is a *savage gene* (6) and it can be extracted (3). This links the rebellious behaviour of (predominantly) a specific 'race' ('black') to biology. However, Larissa (a 'white' female) has the *savage gene*, which weakens the concept that *savage* = genetic = 'black' people. What instead may be genetic is the ability to rebel.

I catch Mistress' words: "Larissa is so fond of her. I can't imagine why. She is such a dull little drudge." I step outside the room, stand still. I taste something bitter in my {b}mouth{f}. I pull my ***{b}hair{f}*** *from the pins and shake it free.*

She changes her hair to imitate and be accepted by Mistress, but reverts to loving her hair (and herself) in the second quote when she overhears Mistress's disdain for her. The phrase *shake it free* connotes a sense of freedom for her hair but also for herself. As Fanon (1952/2008) himself experienced in an antiblack racist world, no matter how hard this 'black' female tried to be like a 'white' female to prove that she is not *savage*, members of the privileged 'race' did not acknowledge her humanity.

Ettie's *savage* hair is a focal point that was particularly enjoyed by some of the learners I taught in 2018 – only two years after school protests relating to discrimination against 'black' female learners' hair occurred in a number of historically 'white' high schools around South Africa. At one prestigious high school, learners were reportedly told to 'fix' afros because they looked 'untidy' or were compared to 'birds' nests' (Ebrahim, 2016). One of Ettie's more praiseworthy characteristics is the pride and self-love she shows for her natural hair, despite frequent racist demands for her to change it. These learners particularly appreciated seeing someone like them embracing what they look like rather than conforming to racist beauty norms. This is perhaps the most powerful benefit of *The Mark* as a setwork: that it provides such a positive construal of 'black' female hair, in the face of racist insults and beauty norms. In this way, Ettie opposes the "highly rigid regulatory" (Butler, 1990:33) regimes of sexism and racism – no small feat.

'White' male bodies also receive some racial marking: 27% (7 out of 26) of 'white' male EYE is used for appearance as well as 3 out 4 instances of 'white' male SKIN. 'White' male eyes are described as *slitty* (2, MI 11.25) and *green* (4, MI 9.44), and this is clearly linked to their 'race': *It's a Posh. He's got slitty green {w}eyes{m}.* Nicolas exploits his privileged 'white' male identity (*pale skin, slitty eyes, high…voice*) to avoid detection while he frees himself, Ettie and the resistance members from the mark:

Within seconds we are surrounded by three other Locusts who are keen to be part of the action. "She's been acting suspicious, I'm taking her in," Nicolas says to them. They observe his pale ***{w}skin{m}*** *and slitty* ***{w}eyes{m}*** *and note the high-pitched arrogance in his voice. They bob their heads respectfully and leave him to his business.*

This line shows that only a ‘white’ male like Nicolas could have accessed the heavily protected building and erased the tracking numbers of the rebels. His racialised ‘white’ male identity was the key, and so he becomes the saviour. This is perhaps evidence of the ‘white hero as saviour’ trope, although in a more positive light, it shows a privileged person using that privilege for the greater good. Once he has done this, Ettie sees him as follows: *He is no longer one of them. He is part of me. One of us, now.* Nicolas has proven himself to be an ally, and not a typical ‘white’ male, but at the cost of this problematic trope. It is his love for Ettie that prompts him to help the rebels; he would not have done so otherwise. Even though he may be a less important character, his key role here centres ‘whiteness’, where, ideally, the full glory should go to the ‘black’ female heroine.

4.3.1.2 Other Uses for Description

a) Other Uses for Description in *The Mark*

The most prominent trend for Description in *The Mark* is Racial Marking, but there are a few instances of appearances being described that contribute broadly to characterisation, which I explore below via HAND and EYE.

‘Black’ female hands are *large {b}hands{f} rough enough to mop up dirt,* they are described as *invisible* to a ‘white’ female and *covered in blood* and *bloodied* (referring to a hitwoman working for a ‘black’ male). There is also evidence of torture on Kitty’s hands twice (*scarred* and *no fingernails*). All these descriptions have negative semantic prosody and indicate that the ‘black’ female group is at the bottom of the social hierarchy: their hands get tortured, and they do other people’s dirty work without their own existence being recognised.

Reader’s (a blind ‘black’ male) eyes are described twice: his eyes are *covered in a gooey film*, *they remind me of Witch’s bird* and are *like litchi pulp*. The comparisons to food and an (admittedly blind) animal, and the negative evaluation in *gooey* could be construed as degrading. Ableism is explored in further detail in 4.3.4.1.

Description can also reveal insights into a character’s personality. Xavier’s ‘black’ male eyes are described as *sponge* (4, MI 10.97, rank 1) and *ever-absorbent,* meaning that he is difficult to fool and hide secrets from. This signals him out as a danger to Ettie, who lies to him to keep her beloved books in her possession:

I remove the false bottom in the hole that holds our special things, and put the book away. My secret library. Safe from Kitty's {d}fingers{f}. From the handler's ***{b}eyes{m}.***

Nicolas is construed as an atypical 'white' male in the descriptions of his eyes and hands. Nicolas's eyes are compared to *glass* (3, MI 8.02) which allows light through and so emotion can presumably be perceived, although there is still a connotation of hardness. In comparison, Master's eyes are *slivers of jade* with *no light at their centre*: unlike Nicolas, there is no perception of transparency or light, but instead hard, cold stone. This feeds into their respective personalities: Master is cruel and cold-hearted; Nicolas is more emotionally open but still strong. Eyes reveal elements of personality, that is, they appear to be windows to the soul; a common understanding in Western culture.

The descriptions of Nicolas's hands also indicate he is not a typical 'white' male: they are described as *gentle* (3, MI 10.78, rank 1) and *not those of a Locust* (a policeman). This difference sets him apart and subverts the dominant construal of 'white' male policemen as racist, violent, and animalistic, as overwhelmingly portrayed in *Mother to Mother* (see 4.3.1.2b). Crucially, Nicolas does not want to be a Locust, he longs for individual freedom and falls in love with a 'black' female, all of which set him apart from other 'white' males in this society. Nicolas's depiction also indicates that even powerful men can be *gentle* and physically affectionate, unlike the distancing found in *Mother to Mother* (see 4.3.3.1b).

By contrast, collective 'black' male hands in *Mother to Mother* are described as *strong* (2, MI 8.48) and are exploited by a racist economic system:

Meanwhile, abelungu remained stubbornly alive and well, their mines greedily hungry for the strong ***{b}hands{m}*** *and {b}arms{m} of young men.*

This blanket characterisation of 'black' males does not allow for the multiple masculinities *The Mark* allows for in its positive depiction of Nicolas.

b) Other Uses for Description in *Mother to Mother*

There is practically no overt racial marking on body parts in *Mother to Mother* except two examples of 'white' policemen having *pink* body parts. Instead trends revealing the Description

of Appearance in this novel expose group characteristics or individual personality traits, and are sometimes used to differentiate people via physical descriptions.

'Black' female eyes in *Mother to Mother* are used to show strength and personality. Unsurprisingly, other 'black' female characters' eyes are described in this way, rather than Mandisa's – the first person narrator.

Looked at us, at the three of us, one at a time. Her ***{b}eyes{f}*** *intent, slow, deliberate.*

How sharp her ***{b}eye{f}*** *to have discerned what the experienced one of Makhulu's had failed to see…*

Does the woman have ***{b}eyes{f}*** *even at the back of her {b}head{f}?*

Makhulu sent for the village midwife, an old, {b}toothless{f} woman with dry, wrinkled parchment for {b}skin{f}. Wise ***{b}eyes{f}.***

'Black' females appear to have some power depicted through their eyes: power to draw people in, power of observation (2), and power gained from years of experience. Thus, 'black' female power seems tied to inner strength and the power of the mind. While this is a positive construal, eyes are not particularly agentive organs: they cannot act on the world as a hand can.

These descriptions of 'black' female eyes show a more intimate understanding of these other 'black' female characters, which is not seen in 'black' male eyes. 'Black' male eyes depict physical appearance twice (*small {b}eyes{m}* and *small slanted {b}eyes{m}*) and habitual action once:

[Lunga, Mandisa's second son][23] *…his* ***{b}eyes{m}*** *were forever buried in something he was reading.*

Compared to the 'black' female eyes' appearance, these 'black' male descriptions appear more superficial, as though from Mandisa's perspective, the 'soul' resides more clearly in 'black'

[23] Context is provided in square brackets.

female eyes. This is perhaps an indication that Mandisa has more meaningful relationships with fellow ‘black’ females and ‘sees’ them more deeply (see 4.3.3.2b).

There are two examples where a ‘black’ female body is described in terms of appearance, rather than of intimate detail of a ‘black’ female personality. Mandisa only meets each of these ‘black’ women once in the novel, and so they are described more superficially since she does not know them:

a tall, large woman, black-{b}skinned{f} and small-{b}eyed{f}, yellow turban on her ***{b}head{f},*** *turned to me…*

She looked educated. That ***{b}skin{f}***. *Soft sheen. Didn’t know hardship. {b}Cheeks{f} glowing with good health... and eating well. Soft* ***{b}hands{f},*** *no doubt.*

What is refreshing about this novel is the relative lack of description of women’s bodies. This erasure of male gaze and the supposed feminine focus upon superficial appearance is markedly different to *The Mark*’s focus on ‘black’ female bodies as racialised objects of beauty. In the second line, a ‘black’ female woman’s *soft {b}hands{f}* and shining *{b}skin{f}* are indicators of what Mandisa would have wanted – a good education that would have led to an easier life. The message here seems to be that even for black people under apartheid, class had an effect on the social hierarchy.

Continuing the trend that ‘black’ males are described for their physical appearance or superficial character construals, the Young Lions (a group of ‘black’ male youths using violence to protest apartheid) are twice characterised as a group of *heads* – the first, to portray their collective overconfidence (*admiration fell on their already swollen {b}heads{m}*), and the second, to portray them as a large, rapidly moving crowd: *A knob of bobbing and weaving {b}heads{m}, all around the yellow car*. Mxolisi, as a prominent member of the Young Lions, is similarly described as having a metaphorically *big {b}head{m}* with *no sense at all*. He is Mandisa’s firstborn and later commits Amy’s murder. So overconfidence is construed as blocking out sense or rationality in the mind, perhaps allowing for the murder to take place (see 4.3.2.1).

‘White’ male bodies follow a similar trend to those of ‘black’ males in that there is greater focus on appearance, although it is realised in a very different way:

And one look at his {w}face{m} and you know he robbed some poor bullfrog of his... and an ox for his {w}neck{m} and ***{w}eyes{m}****. ‘Where is he?’ bullfrog-{w}face{m} snarls at me… The voice comes straight from a donkey.*

Then epaulettes gleaming under beefy {w}biceps{m}, the three trooped back into the house on their way out. ‘Tell them, we’ll be back. They will not escape, next time!’ the leader, sandy, sparkless ***{w}eyes{m}*** *narrowed, growled, standing at the front door, glaring at those inside the house.*

In a cloud of pink-{w}fleshed{m} {w}faces{m} peeping from beneath heavy helmets, beefy ***{w}hands{m}*** *sprouting from camouflage uniform, the white men set upon the tin shacks like unruly children destroying a colony of anthills.*

‘White’ males are variously compared to a *bullfrog (2),* an *ox,* and a *donkey* and are described as *beefy* (2). There is also clear negative semantic prosody in *sparkless, growled, glaring, snarls,* and *snarl*. So words associated with animals and aggression are used in the co-text of ‘white’ male body parts. In fact, there’s *something not quite human* about Mandisa’s descriptions of the ‘white’ male police in general. This echoes the chant used by protesting ‘black’ male youth earlier in the novel in which white people are called ‘dogs’: *AMABHULU, AZIZINJA! BOERS,*[24] *THEY ARE DOGS!* This contrasts starkly with the antiblack racist hierarchy: here ‘white’ males are reduced to animalistic and aggressive bodies rather than rational minds (see 2.4.1). Van Dijk’s (2016) ideological square is useful here: Mandisa and Young Lions are Othering ‘white’ males, setting up negative Other presentation. It is used as an insult by ‘black’ identities here – an insult that disrupts this social hierarchy and portrays the hatred experienced by ‘black’ people under apartheid. This hatred is further discussed in 4.3.2.2.

[24] ‘Boer’ means ‘farmer’ in Afrikaans, but it became a collective term for both ‘white’ Afrikaners and the police.

Both Amy[25] (the 'white' female victim) and Mxolisi (the 'black' male murderer) are construed as being good people from the description of their hearts. This also creates a structural opposition with 'white' males; they are the only identity group that do not have hearts. These are the only other uses of hearts apart from Emotion (see 4.2.2.2) and account for 4 out of 5 instances of 'black' male hearts. Amy is portrayed in a sympathetic light to highlight the tragedy of her death:

Smiling {w}eyes{f} dim as a pang of sadness stabs her ***{w}heart{f}.*** *Such a kind* ***{w}heart{f},*** *this friend from overseas. Has she not promised to look into the possibility of scholarships for them?*

However, there is some emphasis in HEART that shows Mxolisi to be a human being, not a heartless monster or an animal (unlike 'white' males). His heart is *good* because he saves a young woman from being raped. His heart has no *hope* for the future as a young 'black' male from the townships. His heart becomes *sick* when as a child he sees his friends being needlessly shot by 'white' policemen. A context is provided to his murder of Amy, and more importantly for this body part, his heart is present and characterises him as both *good* and deserving of pity. Nevertheless, the reader feels deep sympathy for Amy who is portrayed as a good and innocent 'white' ally, and as such her murder is that much harder to bear. This highlights the tragedy of the murder: both victim and perpetrator appear deserving of pity. Our empathy for both is engaged, in the hopes that we understand the context and perhaps even forgive Mxolisi. In reality (not addressed in *Mother to Mother*), the Biehls forgave their daughter's killers at the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (Tutu, 1998).

4.3.1.3 Conclusion: Description of Appearance

Racial marking is the most prominent discourse prosody for 'black' female within Description, even though it only features in *The Mark*. While 'race' is mentioned in *Mother to Mother* through the words 'black' and 'white' and two 'white' male body parts are described as *pink*, there is no other racial marking on body parts. By comparison, HAIR, SKIN and EYE in *The Mark* show a significant amount of racial marking, especially for 'black' females and for 'white' males to a lesser extent. Despite the segregated racist system, the racial marking of

[25] Amy Biehl is never mentioned by name in the novel, but for convenience sake, I use her name. She is only ever referred to as *your daughter* (36): that is the sole identity she is given.

body parts indicates that there is significant variation in racialised features for 'black' females: Kitty and Ettie have different hair and skin, and Ettie is teased for her eyes at school, implying that she shows a pronounced and negatively evaluated difference there. However, this variation is also implied in the Posh beauty parlours, where the Posh go to have their hair straightened, skin bleached and eyes clipped to appear 'more' Posh. This contributes to the deconstruction of 'race' because readers see the fiction of keeping up appearances to a racial norm that is unattainable.

Ettie's ability to 'pass' as Posh is reminiscent of 'white' passing by some 'mixed race' or 'Coloured' individuals under apartheid (Hoffmeester, 2018) with an important exception: while Ettie exploits the privilege attached to her 'white' skin by using it to steal from the Posh, she refuses to 'become' Posh by permanently changing her appearance. Thus, Ettie is a transracial subject (Alim, 2016b): she performs two 'raced' identities, thereby exposing the constructedness of 'race', and she proudly reaffirms her marginalised *savage* identity, thereby destabilising the hegemonic power of the antiblack racist order. This is a sophisticated performance, recognising that "racially discriminatory contexts require simultaneous/alternating strategies of transracialization with moments of strategic racialization" (Alim, 2016b:47). This dual strategy is necessary, because although 'race' is a social construct (in need of deconstruction), material experiences of racism mean that the fight for racial equality at times requires racialisation.

The Mark grapples with the material reality of racism: the racial marking of 'black' female HAIR in particular is also tied to 'hair' politics in South Africa and the rest of the world. Ettie's pride in her natural hair, and her ownership of the related descriptor *savage*, resonated with the 'black' female learners I taught, since it demonstrates pride in and aesthetic appreciation for natural 'black' hair, something Hooks (2015) and Fanon (1952/2008) expressly call for in the fight against antiblack racism. In fact, it is a powerful, political act to affirm that 'black' is beautiful.

This body-positive, antiracist discourse is off-set by the feminisation of HAIR in particular, where male hair is reported as a near-absence, compared to the focus on female hair, especially 'black' female hair. SKIN is similarly feminised, although the most frequent use for 'black' female skin is not appearance. A prominent section of 'black' female HAIR involves the valuation of certain types of hair over others, and a frequent demand for Ettie to change her

natural hair. There is, therefore, a focus on her appearance – she becomes objectified, evaluated and seen as lacking because her physical appearance does not conform to a racialised beauty norm. While the pride she shows in her HAIR is extremely important, the fact that the appearance of men's hair is simply not discussed reveals that women are the image, the bearer of male gaze, and that the female-as-object should be styled according to the male gaze's requirements (Mulvey, 1975). Because of the racialised element to this beauty norm, I would rename it 'white' male gaze.

The Other Uses of Description in both novels begin to reveal what later discourse prosodies elaborate on: the ways in which various construals reproduce and at times challenge the intersectional social hierarchy. In *The Mark*, 'black' female hands experience menial labour and torture, and Ettie must hide from Xavier's *sponge* eyes: this indicates 'black' females are at the bottom of the social hierarchy. However, the inner strength depicted in 'black' female eyes in *Mother to Mother* demonstrates a form of power, if not a very agentive one. Young 'black' males are described as big-headed and overconfident when setting up their murderous act later in *Mother to Mother*. They appear to show more power than 'black' females, placing them higher on the social hierarchy.

However, Fanon's (1952/2008) description of the perception of the 'black' man as licentious and depraved is somewhat broken down by the description of Mxolisi's *good* heart. In another challenge to the social hierarchy, 'white' males are reduced to animalistic, instinct-driven bodies: the opposite to the 'bodyless' rational minds that 'white' males are typically associated with. *Mother to Mother* disrupts the Cartesian dualism inherent in the social hierarchy: it Others the 'white' male through this blanket negative construal, while producing a more complex view of 'black' males. That is, Van Dijk's (2016) ideological square used to explain 'white' Self racism of the Other is turned on its head: the novel emphasises negative Other presentation (animalistic 'white' males) and emphasises positive Self representation (a 'black' male with *good* heart).

4.3.2 Emotion

This discourse prosody is divided into 'Emotional Reactions', which is predominantly depicted through EYE in both novels, and 'Love and Hate', which is almost exclusively concerned with HEART in *Mother to Mother*. 'Emotional Reactions' reveals how different identity groups react to extreme situations and whether they show agency in their reactions. While there are

occasional positive emotions shown in EYE, I focus rather on the more prominent negative reactions, as these are more frequent and ideologically significant. In *Mother to Mother*, HEART is only used to convey emotion (apart from a few instances in 4.3.1.2b), and so practically all 64 instances needed to be discussed in 'Love and Hate'. It highlights the impetus that racial hatred gave Mxolisi and the other killers, and the painful motherly love Mandisa shows for her son, which links to the empathy she feels for Amy's mother.

4.3.2.1 Emotional Reactions

a) Emotional Reactions in *The Mark*

'Emotional Reactions' is not as significant a discourse prosody for body parts in *The Mark* as it is in *Mother to Mother*, but there are some trends to highlight. In particular, 'black' females show two key emotional responses: fear or anxiety, and love or concern.

The first emotional response for 'black' females is fear or anxiety. 'Black' female skin shows fear four times in various ways: *cold sweat* (2) and the removal of skin in *flaying the {b}skin{f}* and *scares the {b}skin{f} off me*. Kitty and Ettie both shut their eyes once against fearful stimuli as Ettie's example shows below:

*[a Locust] I shut my **{b}eyes{f}** tight. If I cannot see him, he will not be there. And when I open my **{b}eyes{f}** again, he is walking away across the sand.*

Blocking off the terrifying experience in this way leaves them open to more possible danger and so shows a passive response. This trend is more prominent in *Mother to Mother*.

Another character that shows similar levels of fear and anxiety is a young 'white' female – Larissa (also called 'Little Miss'). Her emotional eyes are in need of Ettie's comfort 6 times. The 3 examples below show her fear is in reaction to terrifying hospital-like settings:

*She pushes against the belt and looks at me with bleak **{w}eyes{f}**. I make monster horns on my {b}head{f} and she smiles.*

*After a few minutes she opens her **{w}eyes{f}**. They swivel wildly around the room, but when she sees me, she relaxes.*

[Larissa] Her ***{w}eyes{f}*** *behind the mask are glazed and frightened. I want to comfort her with mine…*

Apart from indicating her fear, these examples show her love for Ettie: as a young child she finds Ettie to be a true source of comfort in a lived body experience that is often painful, due to her chronic illness. Ettie wants to respond to Larissa's fearful eyes, which shows the affection is mutual. The intimacy between characters across racial barriers is explored in 4.3.3.

Tears and crying are devalued for 'black' females: crying seems to occur infrequently, despite 'black' female characters living dangerous, painful lives where anguish and tears would be expected. Ettie only cries or nearly cries four times, and each time it regards her love or affection for another (Kitty, Nicolas, her father, and her mother). 'Black' female *tears* only occur once and without her 'permission' indicating a loss of control over her body:

Take your {b}hands{m} off my sister," I say. My ***{b}tears{f}*** *fall without me telling them to.*

Falling tears, or a public display of love, indicate a weakening of the control that Ettie highly prizes. Indeed, she hides from her own emotions by describing her crying in circumlocutory ways: her eyes *are watering*, *feel like they are going to drown*, and her eyelashes are *wet*. She strongly chastises herself in the quote below for nearly crying:

Can it really be Handler Xavier? Cry, baby, cry, stick a finger in my ***{b}eye{f}****. I clench my {b}jaw{f} and tell myself to stop being a dead-brain.*

Crying is construed to be deeply shameful. The strong evaluative force in this self-admonition is made all the stronger by *I clench my jaw* and using a further insult – *dead-brain*. Using this insult, which Ettie does 10 times, mostly towards herself, entails ableist language. I explore this further in 4.3.4.1.

Two other 'black' females cry. Kitty eyes are *swollen* and *red from crying* when she fears that she put Ettie in danger. An unnamed woman is described *crying into her skirt* in mourning over the loss of a child. A 'black' male suffering the same thing at the same time does not cry, instead he is described as *holding his head in his hands* (2). His reaction, therefore, shows distress, but he does not lose dignity from crying in public: he has more control over his bodily

reactions. Later, he stills her in order to be heard, contributing to the negative prosody of crying. In *Mother to Mother*, this shame that surrounds crying and the link between crying and 'black' females is further reinforced. In sum, the few times tears fall from 'black' female eyes, they are prompted by the love or concern the characters feel for another. Prioritising relationships rather than, say, experiencing physical pain or personal hardship is the reason this identity group cries.

Compared to 'black' females and 'white' females, men of both 'races' show comparatively little emotion. Because of the small numbers, the only clear pattern is Master's anger in response to wavering obedience from his wife or daughter on three occasions. The example below shows how exaggeration is used to portray the intensity of his feelings:

Master's ***{w}eyes{m}*** *bulge, and his* ***{w}head{m}*** *seems ready to shoot off from his {w}neck{m}.*

In another of these instances, Master's *cold and hard* 'white' male eyes work on Mistress until she accompanies him against her wishes. The degree of his anger is perhaps a show of how used he is to power and privilege, so that not having it causes an over-reaction.

b) Emotional Reactions in *Mother to Mother*

In *Mother to Mother*, there is a prominent pattern of 'black' women reacting intensely, generally in fear or shock. Their reactions incapacitate them, showing them to be passive and weak. Mandisa, the main 'black' female character, however, does not follow this pattern, and instead shows some control over her emotional reactions. A similar pattern is seen in 'black' males, who seldom cry or react emotionally.

Quick eye movements such as *I threw my {b}eyes{f}, {b}eyes{f} flew right up,* and *{b}eyes{f} dart about,* show emotional reactions linked to agitation and anxiety. Closing eyes and having unseeing eyes also indicates intense emotional reactions. They seem to have the same effect of closing off outside stimulation, usually due to shock at unpleasant news (6). In 3 cases, large amounts of tears from 'black' female eyes occur soon after 'black' female eyes are described as closed or unseeing: tears *coursed, washed, gushed* and are compared to a *tap* and a *flood*. Extreme emotion seems to incapacitate 'black' female characters in these circumstances: they shut themselves off from the world, making themselves vulnerable to potential outside danger. The description of the rest of 'black' female bodies in these examples describes them as

immobile, *limp*, *trembly*, *slumped, silent;* they sit *in silence* and they stare *blindly*. This last word draws upon the ableist discourse I explore in 4.3.4. When they are in shock, their emotion prevents them from reacting and acting upon the world.

Intense emotional reactions are shown in exaggerated language surrounding *wide {b}eyes{f}*. Intensely fearful eyes almost all (4/6) belong to Siziwe (Mandisa's daughter) in the context of a police raid. The strongest comparisons are used to show the extent of her fear of the police: her eyes are *pushed out as those of a tadpole in a drying ditch, grotesquely protruding, wider than the Sahara* and *wild with fear*. Her fear incapacitates her at one point: *I helped her up, half-dragging, half-carrying her.* It also causes her to react irrationally: *The nearer the {w}footsteps{m} come, the louder Siziwe screams.* This shows how vulnerable the young 'black' female feels: a clear indication that she lives in a dangerous world, where 'white' policemen are frequent perpetrators of violence against 'black' females like her. Her inability to react logically and sensibly (or at all) in these dangerous situations highlights an entrenched gender stereotype that women are too closely connected to their emotional bodies to look after themselves in dangerous (i.e. scary) situations. In this case, she relies on her mother; once she is older, she will presumably require the protection of a man.

Of all 29 emotional 'black' female eyes, 24 (83%) show a negative emotional reaction, which in extreme circumstances leaves them unable to act upon the world. This also paints a bleak picture of 'black' female life. Intense emotion only occurs twice in 'black' male eyes, in comparison to the prominent prosody found in 'black' females. The first occurs when China hears that he is to be a teenage father: *thin but deadly tongues of fire* dart out from his eyes. This is perhaps an understandable time to react intensely. The second occurrence is discussed later on in 4.3.2.2 because it ties in with racial hatred.

Importantly, Mandisa is never the 'black' female that is incapacitated by fear or shock. Instead, she shows agency by controlling her emotional reactions, as is seen in her control over her tears, even as a young 'black' female. She opens her eyes *wide* (3) *to stop fresh {b}tears{f} from starting* and because *I would not let him see my {b}tears{f}.* Twice she is described *fighting back* (2) tears and once she allows *the {b}tears{f} I'd suppressed till then wash my {b}face{f}.*

When she does cry, she only gushes twice. Once she allows her tears to fall after the police raid, but only after she has first seen to her daughter. The other is a happy occasion as a schoolgirl when she sees a friend:

At last, there she was, right beside me. We hugged and kissed, unashamed ***{b}tears{f}*** *streaming down our {b}cheeks{f}.*

The adjective *unashamed* here shows that Mandisa believes tears are generally a source of shame, and thus should be controlled. Shame is also clear in *Please, God, don't let me cry. Not now.* Other than that, her eyes do not gush, but are described as *pricked, filled, smarting,* and *smarted,* which also indicate control and much less liquid that, crucially, does not leak out. So, largely, Mandisa controls her crying and prefers to do it privately, if she must. This shows a clear contrast to the other 'black' females, who cry in large amounts among other 'black' females, and close themselves off from the world in extreme situations. Mandisa's attribution of shame to crying also colours their uncontrollable crying behaviour negatively.

Tears in 'black' male eyes appear six times in total, while 'black' female eyes have 18 instances. These numbers are not truly comparable, since 'black' female bodies are the focus of *Mother to Mother*, but they give an indication that 'black' females are more emotional. Tata's tears are *unshed,* and the word *unashamed* (2, MI 12.93) collocates with *{b}tears{m}*. As with 'black' females, there is a need to state that they are *unashamed* (2), which implies there is generally something shameful about crying, especially for a man. Crying is, nevertheless, expected in certain circumstances: for example, a young 'black' male losing his friends to police violence. However, young Mxolisi does not cry, and the extreme comparisons and repetitions depict the bizarre and disconcerting nature of his behaviour:

Stared, not a {b}tear{m} out of those suddenly enormous vacant ***{b}eyes{m}****. Not a {b}tear{m}. Could a child that age grieve? What were those sounds he made that day of the funeral? Sounds that came from deep down his {b}throat{m}? Why, no {b}tears{m}?*

stone-{b}faced{m}, wide-{b}eyed{m}, he sat through the entire service. While {b}tears streamed down the {b}cheeks of many, Mxolisi's ***{b}eyes{m}*** *had become two deep, bone-dry wells on the plane that was his {b}face{m}; dry as the Namib, his {b}cheeks{m}.*

So Mxolisi is set up as a non-crier: *I did not remember the last time I had seen my son crying.* The unusualness of Mxolisi's barefaced crying below is, therefore, a sign that they were in *deep, deep trouble:*

{b}Tears{m} *now pouring down his {b}cheeks{m}, unashamed, unpretending* ***{b}tears{m}****, he looked at me. There was immeasurable fear in those* ***{b}eyes{m}.*** *'Mxolisi, what are you hiding from? Who are you running away from?' 'They say I did it, Mama!'*

Mxolisi shows an extremely uncharacteristic response. He has no control over his tears; they pour down his face. The cause is fear, fear of the 'white' police retaliation for his murder of Amy. Mandisa sees the fear in Mxolisi's eyes three times in this context: *immeasurable fear*, *a fear so deep*, and *pain and terror*. This is a key event in the story: her emphasis on his fear shows that he has now realised the disastrous consequences of his actions. Because 'white' police are construed to be aggressive and deadly, and Mxolisi is portrayed in a more ambiguous fashion (showing both his faults and virtues), the reader may be inclined to feel some sympathy for Mxolisi and his extreme, unmanly, uncharacteristic emotional responses. These visceral descriptions and the despair that mother and son share together provide the readers with an intimate understanding of a killer's guilt and fear.

4.3.2.2 Love and Hate in *Mother to Mother*

While EYE conveys emotion, among other things, in both *The Mark* and *Mother to Mother*, HEART in *Mother to Mother* has almost the sole use of showing emotion. Furthermore, 86% of HEART belongs to 'black' females, making it possibly the clearest indicator of 'black' female identity in *Mother to Mother*. However, there is another significant use of HEART that I wish to highlight first: hatred lives in hearts, and can cause otherwise 'good' people to act in extraordinarily violent ways.

The two examples in *Mother to Mother* of racial hatred relate to one another: Tatomkhulu's (Mandisa's grandfather) retelling of Nongqawuse's prophecy sets the tone for Mxolisi's murderous act. I begin with the latter. The first example that explains Mxolisi's drive to kill is ideologically very significant and worth quoting at length:

My son was only an agent, executing the long-simmering dark desires of his race. Burning hatred for the oppressor possessed his being. It saw through his ***{b}eyes{m}****; walked with his*

{b}feet{m} and wielded the knife that tore mercilessly into her {w}flesh{f}. The resentment of three hundred years plugged his ***{b}ears{m}****; deaf to her pitiful entreaties.*

Here Mandisa explains why Mxolisi murdered a 'white' female: *burning hatred* and *resentment* took over his body to the extent where there was no space for mind and rationality to interfere. His body is shown to block out rationality and *her pitiful entreaties* when he is in this heightened emotional state. The association here between being *deaf* and lacking sympathy is clearly ableist and is addressed in 4.3.4. Furthermore, it is not even his emotion that controls his body and his actions, but the *long-simmering dark desires of his race*. It is collective emotion, which is arguably much more potent. When Mandisa first hears what happened, she says, *To kill a mlungu* [white] *woman? Where would we sleep? What would the police do to us?* Mxolisi was not thinking about consequences at the time; he was feeling, feeling the effects of *three hundred years* of oppression, and acting that through his emotional body. This quote draws heavily on Cartesian dualism, and as a result, it may also have the undesirable effect of reaffirming the Othering stereotype of 'black' males being at the mercy of their own emotional bodies; although, in reality, all human beings are emotional and embodied. Mxolisi showed intense emotion (racial hatred) during the murder, which indicates agentive emotion, rather than the passive, near catatonic experiences of intense emotion experienced by some 'black' females. Not that this agency is something to evaluate positively, but it does show an agency that is lacking in some 'black' female reactions.

Antiracist theorists have long discussed the rage and hatred that most 'black' people feel as a "consequence of their violent life-threatening and life-taking lived experiences in a white supremacist world" (Rabaka, 2011: 61). Mxolisi's experience is not new and should not, really, be surprising. The aim of the revolutionary humanist perspective on antiblack racism is to utilise such anger and hatred, and channel it into the struggle to end antiblack racism, rather than committing random acts of violence. Fanon (1952/2008), in fact, calls for a violent revolution, but this revolution is coordinated and targets the true oppressors, rather than a random, (mostly) innocent 'white' female, like Amy.

The second example comes from Tatomkhulu's perspective on why the AmaXhosa believed Nongqawuse's prophecy:[26] the *cattle-worshipping nation killed all its precious herds.* They did this *to rid themselves of these unwanted strangers* and in *the nearly two centuries since, the hatred has but multiplied.* Mxolisi, the young 'black' males that murdered Amy, and all *the people of this land* have a *storm* in their *{b}hearts* that has been multiplying for centuries. This is the result of centuries of violent oppression. In that context, Amy Biehl had no chance:

The storm in the ***heart*** *of a person is more dangerous than howling winds and raging waves. You can run from those and seek shelter elsewhere, perhaps escape them altogether. How does one run away from the* ***heart****, one's own or that of another?*

Hatred in the *{b}eyes{f}* (3) of Stella (Mandisa's friend) echoes the hatred in 'black' people's hearts described in the prophecy. Although this is never made clear, it may be safe to assume that Stella's hatred has a racialised source. She speaks of a 'black' woman and her son who *passed away*, but her intense eyes reveal that their deaths were probably violent. Mandisa had seen the intensity of the hate in the eyes only once or twice after that – once the youth began violently resisting apartheid.

Those ***{b}eyes{f}*** *burned with an intense and urgent hate. A murderous venom.*

This line has powerful evaluative meaning packed into almost every word, demonstrating the extent of this emotion's power, and consequently, the true horrors of living as a 'black' person under apartheid.

It is interesting that this racial hatred is shown in 'black' males (Tatomkhulu, Mxolisi, the Young Lions), and even a 'black' female (Stella), but not in Mandisa. She feels and expresses various emotions, but not angry hatred towards 'white' people in general or her oppressed lived experience. Her heart has the ability to empathise with a 'white' mother, and portray the 'white' female victim to be innocent and good. It seems that motherhood has given her an Empathy Superpower, and everything else, her own oppression included, is backgrounded to a degree. Her thoughts on the murder demonstrate this:

[26] Nongqawuse's prophecy foretold that if the AmaXhosa killed their cattle and burned their fields, the 'white' settlers would be defeated. This led to the Millenarian Movement of 1856-7, which weakened the Xhosa nation and is said to be the reason for their downfall. (South African History Online, 2019)

*…heavy was my **{b}heart{f}** with the knowledge that horror and abomination had taken place a stone's throw away from my home. Not just because of the violence. For years . . . many, many years, we have lived with violence. This was nothing new to us. What was new was that this time, the victim was white. A white person killed in Guguletu, a black township. Killed, from all accounts, for no reason at all. Killed, in fact, while doing good…*

There appear to be various complex emotions residing in her *heavy* heart: she appears resigned to her fate as a 'black' female in an apartheid state, resigned to living with violence, but she cannot accept what she perceives here as senseless violence against a 'white' ally. In a similar way to Nicolas's crucial role in removing the mark, Amy's whiteness is centred here. This is an *abomination*, rather than a potentially pitiable reaction to an antiracist world. Her perspective changes somewhat when she discovers it was her son that dealt the blow.

So hate resides in the hearts of oppressed 'black' people, but the painful love of a mother is the key semantic prosody in HEART. The collocates that associate 'black' female HEART with mothers are *my* (56, MI 6.38), *mother's* (4, MI 9.51), and *mama* (3, MI 4.26). While *my* also refers to Mandisa in circumstances when she is not a mother, a mother's love for her children is the most frequent use for 'black' female HEART (23) and 22 of those refer to Mandisa. This is just over a third of the total use of HEART. The emotions associated with mother's love have a clear negative semantic prosody in the collocates *sorrows* (2, MI 10.31, rank 1), *pounding* (4, MI 9.99, rank 2), *painfully* (2, MI 9.73, rank 4), *sank* (2, MI 9.73,), and *heavy* (2, MI 6.73), and in the other words and clusters from the concordance lines: *alarm, pierced, drumming, gnawing, anxiety, worried about*, *lurches*, *cold and naked fear coiled, fear stabs*, *tore my {b}heart{f} to shreds*.

The collocates also indicate that Mxolisi (2, MI 4.34) and China (2, MI 4.64) – his biological father – are closest to her heart. This appears to be a lexical absence: no other person is a collocate. The former is backed up by frequency of concordance lines where 21 of 22 refer to Mxolisi, which is explained contextually below:

*Anxiety over the safety of the other two assailed me. But, deep down in my **{b}heart{f}**, I knew I was more worried about Mxolisi. Perhaps it is because we were all alone, the two of us, all those years after his father deserted us. Or, it could be the unusual way in which he came to*

this world that has created this bond between us that is unlike any other… certainly unlike what I feel about my two other children.

This quote provides the narrator's ruminations on why she feels most tied to her firstborn: a special bond of single motherhood, of a birth in difficult circumstances, of overcoming adversity together. It further cemented their bond *certainly unlike what I feel about my two other children*. In this extract, the *two other children* or *the other two* are not named as *Mxolisi* is. He stands out. So Mxolisi is both the closest to her heart, and the greatest source of her pain and suffering. This is understandable given that his murderous act is the crux of *Mother to Mother*. Importantly, he is also described as bringing her great joy as a baby (2):

[Mxolisi kicks in the womb] Equally bewildering, were the answering feelings inside my ***{b}heart{f}****. A strong feeling I could not identify… too scared to give it a name. But it was warm, all over.*

[Mxolisi suckles on her breast]. All I know, all I felt, was this all-infusing, light-headedness that came over me. My ***{b}heart{f}*** *melted, all pain forgot, all disappointment and bitterness, all grudges, everything negative, ablated. Joy, pure and simple…*

China is the next closest to her heart (8), and her mother, Lunga's father, and Siziwe all occur once in relation to her heart. Otherwise her heart longs for her old friends and home four times, and is excited by school and examination results five times. When she was young, doing well in school and completing her education was important to her. Once she becomes a single teenage mother, her priorities have to change. In sum, Mandisa's heart is most closely linked to being a mother to Mxolisi particularly.

Her mother's heart has one other ability that is ideologically significant: it has the power of radical empathy, the kind of empathy that crosses racial boundaries divided by an antiblack racist system.

My Sister-Mother, we are bound in this sorrow. You, as I, have not chosen this coat that you wear. It is heavy on our ***shoulders{f},*** *I should know.*

I feel for her parents. For the parents of this poor child, killed by our children. My ***{b}heart{f}*** *sorrows for them. For her mother.*

Mother of the Slain, you whose ***{w}heart{f}*** *is torn, know this: I have not slept since. Food turns to sawdust in my {b}mouth{f}. All joy has fled my house and my* ***{b}heart{f}*** *bleeds, it sorrows for you, for the pain into which you have been plunged. It is heavy and knows no rest.*

These lines contend that the pain of a mother's love can bind two women with completely different lived-experiences *in sorrow*. They are each other's *Sister-Mother*. The experience of being a mother is in some sense universal, an experience that all mothers can share and, thus, find sympathy in. Both women have a heart that is *torn* and therefore, *bleeds* with pain, as a result of Amy's death and Mxolisi's involvement in it. This empathy bridge runs mostly one-way, it seems, from Mandisa's heart to Mrs Biehl's heart. Tutu (1998) describes a similar pattern during the Truth and Reconciliation Commission where the majority of 'black' victims show forgiveness, while 'white' victims were generally less magnanimous. He makes a "heartfelt plea to my white fellow South Africans" to push for reconciliation and gratefully accept forgiveness (Tutu, 1998:18).

To be fair, the novel is told from Mandisa's perspective, so this one-way characteristic is perhaps expected and not a true reflection of the nature of this bridge. It is interesting, however, that there is only one occurrence of the Other Mother's *{w}heart{f}*, despite this novel being written from one mother to another. There also seems to be the assumption that a mother's pain is particularly hard to bear (over, say, a father's pain) when *I feel for her parents* turns into *For her mother.*

This is not the first use of the uniting experience (or pain) of motherhood in apartheid literature. Ingrid de Kok uses a similar device in her poem about a stillborn child, *Small Passing*, which is set for English Home Language Grade 11. Lines 54-56 in the poem have a group of 'black' mothers saying to a 'white' mother: "Come with us to the place of mothers./ We will stroke your flat empty belly, /let you weep with us in the dark" (De Kok, 2015). Here too the empathy bridge runs from 'black' female to 'white' female. The fact that this theme is repeated in two prescribed works for English Home Language indicates a significant preoccupation by the Department of Basic Education. Cross-racial empathy between mothers of different 'races' could lead the way in healing past injustices and easing the racial tension in South Africa.

4.3.2.3 Conclusion: Emotion

In both novels, ‘black’ females have a tendency to show predominantly fear and anxiety, and very few positive emotions. Fear is a reaction to dangerous situations or powerful people against which the fearful have little agency: it is a reaction of the weaker, less powerful groups in society. This is shown to be females, especially ‘black’ females, although this pattern is decidedly more pronounced in *Mother to Mother*. The material experience of ‘black’ subjects living in an antiblack racist world is realised in some way in all four discourse prosodies: in this one, it is realised in the different emotional reactions by ‘black’ females and ‘black’ males.

In *Mother to Mother*, the emotional reactions that incapacitate ‘black’ females point to an established gender stereotype that women are passive, weak and closely linked to their bodies and thus, cannot control their emotions (Howson, 2013). The mapping of Cartesian dualism onto a constructed gender binary legitimates gender discrimination (Grosz, 1994). This is a powerless response to oppression that is complicated somewhat by the protagonists’ more agentive responses: there is a key difference in the portrayals of Mandisa in *Mother to Mother* and, to a lesser extent, Ettie in *The Mark*. Mandisa and Ettie demonstrate strongly negative evaluations of crying, which has ideological weight as it is through their eyes that readers engage with their worlds. Ettie calls herself a *dead-brain* for being a *cry baby* and hardly ever cries in the novel. Mandisa shows great control over her crying: she only cries in private and hardly ever to excess. In an oppressive world, both these ‘black’ female characters positively evaluate stereotypically male shows of power through restraint and control of the body: an indication of underlying feminist discourses that disrupts the reification of the gender binary.

In *Mother to Mother*, Mxolisi’s extreme emotional reaction shows both a legitimate fear of oppression by the ‘white’ police and the existences of multiple masculinities. Or rather, it could present how demeaning the oppressive life of apartheid is for ‘black’ males (see ‘black’ male shoulders in 4.3.4.1b) since it prevents them from performing their ‘true’ hypermasculine identities. Either way, it essentially confirms intersectionality theory that gender identity is differently performed according to the interactions with other social categories such as class and ‘race’ (Crenshaw, 1989), which also destabilises the gender binary. As a ‘black’ male, he only exhibits a loss of emotional control in the most extreme of circumstances. He presents extraordinary fear (as his sister does) for ‘white’ policemen, and what they will do to him for murdering a ‘white’ female. However, he is not completely incapacitated: he also shows

extraordinary, yet agentive, hatred for 'white' people. This is explored again in 4.3.3.1b and 4.3.4.1b. In this discourse prosody, the collective racial hatred of 'black' people in South Africa takes over his body and propels him to murder Amy. This rage is discussed at length by Fanon (1952/2008): the life-threatening experience of a 'black' subject in an antiblack racist world is wholly legitimate, but should be directed and utilised in violent revolution against the oppressors. Mxolisi's agentive act is rendered ineffectual by murdering an innocent 'white' ally and by his subsequent arrest: his extreme social position prevents him from truly fighting his oppression. It is only mass collective action that could do this work.

In *The Mark*, Larissa (or Little Miss) is also shown to be fearful of her surroundings, which comes down to her intersectional identity as a 'white' girl-child with disability. The world she lives in labels people with disability as *'Rejects'* and excludes them from society in *'dumps'* (see 4.3.4.1 for further detail). Her family's 'white' privilege protects her from this fate, but their efforts are constrained by the dominant medical model of disability (Siebers, 2008) that throttles that fictional world and this one. She is intensely fearful of doctors and hospital-like settings, because she is constantly subjected to medical tests and procedures; this fear is compounded by the painful material experience of her chronic illness. So her position on the social hierarchy is particularly tenuous, despite her 'whiteness': she feels unsafe and at risk in an ableist world that would discard her.

In *Mother to Mother*, a 'black' mother's heart feels the painful love of raising children in oppressive conditions, and having raised a son who becomes a killer. The shared painful experience of motherhood 'breeds' empathy between mothers across racial divides and incredibly difficult circumstances – i.e. the mother of the killer empathising with the mother of the victim. This appears to have a bearing on nation building, in that it could heal racial tension by recognising and sympathising with the Other's pain. After all, Biko (1987) argues that mutual respect and understanding is a necessary precursor to true social integration and therefore, nation building. Unfortunately, this sympathy comes from a limited source in this novel: mothers. In reality, only half the South African population can be mothers, and some of those may not even become mothers. It certainly elevates women who are mothers over those who may never be mothers. Bridging the racial divide in this way comes at the cost of valorising motherhood over other forms of womanhood, and over fatherhood. As a directive for South Africans, it also leaves the work of empathy and healing to (a certain group of) women in South Africa: men are erased from this work, presumably, because it involves emotional vulnerability

and sharing painful experiences, which is something 4.3.3.2 shows that men are not supposed to be good at. Thus, while it is a restrictive way to bridge divides in South Africa, the basic concept of finding a common human experience is a useful tool in nation building, if employed by all who live in it.

4.3.3 Interaction with Others

Characters use their bodies, directly and indirectly, to interact with each other: this correlates with two subsections in this discourse prosody, namely 'Interpersonal Contact' and 'Communication'. 'Interpersonal Contact' refers to direct touching, which can be used to be intimate or to exert power, sometimes using violence against others. It is, therefore, important to uncover who is being intimate with whom, who has power over whom, and in extreme cases, who causes harm to whom. These various relations are predominantly mapped onto the intersectional social hierarchy: it appears generally rigid, as may be expected, given the apartheid settings of both novels. 'Communication' refers to indirect interaction and is tied to gesture and eye contact. The intersectional patterns of intimacy and power realised in 'Communication' follow the mappings in 'Interpersonal Contact'. In both subsections, 'black' females are realised at the bottom of social hierarchy, although there are moments of agency shown by the protagonists.

4.3.3.1 Interpersonal Contact

a) Interpersonal Contact in *The Mark*

True relationships in *The Mark* are depicted by touch, and often cross racial boundaries: 'white' Nicolas and 'black' Ettie; 'black' Ettie and 'white' Larissa; and 'black' Ettie and 'black' Kitty. Less prominent examples of intimacy are also found between 'black' Xavier and 'black' Kitty, 'black' Xavier and 'white' Mistress; 'black' Merriem and 'white' Mistress; and 'black' Merriem and the 'black' Orphan Warden. Mistress's interracial intimacy with both Xavier (her former lover and Ettie's father) and Merriem (her lifelong servant) is important, even if it is rare, because it shows that Ettie is not unique for having close relationships with other 'races'. By contrast, the lack of touching between 'white' Master and 'white' Mistress reveals the fake nature of their relationship. This discourse prosody shows up the constructedness of 'race' and racial boundaries, and promotes the idea of interracial love and friendship – the values of the rainbow nation. It is important to note that touching shows a recognition of another's humanity: that is, Master does not touch 'black' females, look them in the eye, or call them by name.

Ettie reveals early on in *The Mark* that she dislikes touching:

His bare {b}arm{m} brushes my ***{b}skin{f}*** *and I edge away. I do not like touching.*

However, as with most things that Ettie says, the opposite is soon revealed to be true, as long as it is someone she loves. In fact, Ettie is desperate for love and physical affection:

I move closer to her but she shifts away. There was a time when Kitty could not hold me close enough. My ***{b}skin{f}*** *has grown cold since then. As Kitty snores, I hold onto a lock of* ***{b}hair{f}*** *that has escaped from under the pillow.*

As two young orphans who grew up together, Ettie and Kitty have an intimate friendship for a time, but Kitty inexplicably begins to pull away. Ettie must content herself with holding on to Kitty's hair – a poor substitute for reciprocal physical affection. Kitty allows two moments of intimacy between them in *The Mark*, and shows her care in other ways by rescuing Ettie from a fire, and plaiting her hair. Another 'black' female-'black' female relationship is shown in one event where Merriem (Mistress's servant) goes to see her dying sister, the Orphan Warden. In four concordance lines they hold each other's hands, and a hand is held up to a cheek. While their relationship is estranged and Merriem shows little desire to perform the task her sister gives her, there is some warmth of feeling here, depicted through sustained touching.

For Ettie, it is her interracial relationships with Nicolas (a 'white' male) and her half-sister Larissa (a 'white' female) that show greater frequencies of touching, which is unexpected in *The Mark* since the racial divides are strictly enforced. Nicolas and Ettie show physical affection 14 times, and Larissa and Ettie show it 10 times. I address Larissa and Ettie first.

It is the first physical encounter between Ettie and Larissa that cements their loving friendship (they turn out to be half-sisters), where Ettie says *I grow used to her smell.* Larissa is experiencing incredible pain from her chronic illness, and Ettie is the only servant available in the house to comfort her. The encounter is particularly intimate due to the description of their close *skin* contact, and the use of more intimate body parts (*heart*, *hair*, *cheek*, *neck*):

she lies still in my {b}arms{f}. I can feel her {w}heart{f} beat against mine, her ***{w}skin{f}*** *touching my* ***{b}skin{f}****. I feel her* ***{w}hair{f}*** *on my {b}cheek{f}, her breath on my {b}neck{f}. I grow used to her smell.*

Before this Larissa has treated Ettie coldly, as just another servant, but following this episode the two of them grow close thanks to Ettie's protective nature. Other examples of their touching shows Ettie's role as protector over Larissa, who is younger and chronically ill: *I cup Little Miss's {w}head{f} against my side*, *I cradle her {w}head{f}*, *I hold Little Miss's {w}hand{f}*, *I pat her {w}hand{f}*, and *she reaches for my {b}hand{f}*.

Early in the relationship, Ettie feels that Larissa's affection for her is a source of power:

A Mangerian pleading with a drudge! ... Little Miss tries to put her {w}arms{f} around my waist but I push her away. "Come, your parents are waiting." I muss her ***{w}hair{f}****,and relief softens her features. I taste power.*

This quote reveals the potential problems in relationships between people of different classes and 'races' when there is a gap in power and privilege: *A Mangerian pleading with a drudge!* In a truly equal society, where social goods were fairly distributed this would not be an issue. I return to this argument in 4.3.4.3. Because Ettie, as a poor 'black' female, is practically at the bottom of the social hierarchy (above some people with disability), any increase in power is a boon for her. In the end, Ettie does not exploit Larissa, and her true affection for her is evident in all the intimate touching shown in the clusters above.

To prove that Ettie is not an anomaly here, there is also one example of Mistress drawing comfort through intimate touching with her 'black' female servant, Merriem (called 'the orc' by Ettie):

Mistress raises her ***{w}head{f}*** *from the orc's lap.*

In both these relationships, it is a 'white' female who shows affection for a 'black' female servant; presumably Merriem has worked for Mistress since they were both young, and a relationship formed in much the same way as the relationship between Ettie and Larissa. It is only in a work context that a 'white' female and a 'black' female could be intimate in *The*

Mark, as they move in completely different, racially segregated social worlds. Despite these drawbacks and the power relations associated with them, these two relationships can provide readers with hope for interracial affection and demonstrate a far more positive interracial employer-employee relationship than the one between Mandisa and Mrs Nelson in *Mother to Mother*.

The patterns for Ettie and Nicolas show more clearly the potential power imbalance of their relationship than the 'white' female-'black' female relationships. This can be explained by the intersectional hierarchy: the gap between the bottom rung for 'black' females and the top rung for 'white' males is far greater. Furthermore, 'white' females are oppressed by 'white' males and so have the potential (perhaps) to empathise with the others. While the 'white' female-'black' female relationship showed only intimacy with one play for power by Ettie, the touching between Nicolas and Ettie shows intimacy 14 times, with Ettie initiating four of them, and interactions showing agency or power eight times, where Ettie shows agency twice. It is Nicolas, then, who mostly initiates touching between them: his hand appears on her shoulder six times, her arm and neck once each, and her face and hands three times each. His hand on her shoulder is twice used to pretend that she is his prisoner. This also points to the unequal power relations as this excerpt shows:

Nicolas has his gloved ***{w}hand{m}*** *on my* ***{b}shoulder{f}***. *I am his masked prisoner, and he is escorting me back to the room for the procedure.*

This role-playing is necessary for their plans to work, but it colours their other interactions where Nicolas remains firmly in charge. He frees (*unshackles*) her hands, *pulls* her unresisting hand, *pulls* her *into a doorway*, *helps* her *to* her *feet*, and *jerks away from* her hand.

However, Ettie shows some agency in this interracial relationship. She is not completely passive, as these two examples show:

I know you want to get rid of the mark as much as I do. And–" I put my ***{b}hand{f}*** *on his {w}mouth{m}. His {w}lips{m} are soft under my {b}fingers{f}. "Stop. Just hold on a moment."*

Madam Merriem comes down the stairs from the nursery. Her orc {b}eyes{f} flicker from Nicolas to me, and I fling his ***{w}hand{m}*** *off my* ***{b}arm{f}***.

In the first excerpt, Ettie interrupts Nicolas, and physically stops his mouth with her hand. While this shows some agency, it also shows that she needs to use force to assert her control here, rather than simply asking him to pause for a moment. In the second example, the word *fling* indicates both her agency in its forcefulness, and the urgency she feels to avoid looking suspicious. So while Ettie's hands twice enact some agency, it appears that Nicolas and his 'white' male hands mainly direct the relationship by initiating contact more frequently and interacting with her in more dominant ways. This last example (below) typifies this trend:

He pulls me closer to him and runs his ***{w}fingers{m}*** *through my wild* ***{b}hair{f}****. His* ***{w}fingertips{m}*** *trail down my {b}back{f} to the hollow, where the numbers are.*

She passively receives his romantic touching, but does not reciprocate. So while it is cheering that an interracial love story appears in *The Mark*, the power relations still reflect, to a large extent, those present in this world. That is, 'white' males have power over the bodies of 'black' females. This is realised again in 'Communication' (4.3.3.2a) where Nicolas subjects Ettie to his forceful male gaze.

While their relationship demonstrates overtly unequal power relations, Nicolas never physically hurts Ettie, but is instead concerned for her welfare when she is injured: *his {w}fingers{m} probing the wound on the side of my {b}head{f}*. In comparison, the physical interactions between 'black' males and 'black' females see much more violence and almost no agency for 'black' females. Of the 18 instances of physical interaction between 'black' males and 'black' females, there is only one instance of attempted intimacy, while 13 show power by 'black' males compared to only four by Ettie, under certain circumstances. This pattern of power is typified by Xavier's aggression towards 'black' females as shown in these clusters: *grips my {b}arms{f} with hard {b}fingers{m}*, *jabs a {b}finger{m} into my {b}chest{f}, {b}fingers{m} stab her {b}shoulder{f}*, *silences my mouth with his {b}hand{m}*, and *his {b}hands{m} dig into my {b}arms{f}*. The verbs *dig, grip, jab* and *stab* as well as the adjective *hard* demonstrates the violent nature of these physical interactions. In the excerpt below, Ettie presumably speaks from past experience when she says:

[Xavier; Kitty] He would want to give her a black ***{b}eye{f}*** *for breaking curfew.*

Xavier uses violence against his charges to keep them in line. As with Ettie's use of physical force to assert her will upon Nicolas (i.e. by stopping his mouth with her hand), Xavier's use of violence demonstrates a need to reassert his masculinity through power over those beneath him on the social hierarchy – 'black' females. The main recipient of this violence is Ettie (4), rather than Kitty (1) for whom he shows some affection:

[Xavier] He reaches over to tuck a strand of ***{b}hair{f}*** *behind Kitty's {b}ear{f}. And drops his* ***{b}hand{m}.***

This is the only attempt at physical affection by a 'black' male in *The Mark*, and crucially, he does not actually touch her. Thus, 'black' males (especially Xavier) are portrayed as being more comfortable showing aggression than affection – a hypermasculine stereotype.

The other 'black' male who uses violence against 'black' females is Festis Four, who upon finding Kitty stealing says:

I'm going to beat the truth out of that pretty {b}mouth{f} of yours so even your mother won't recognise you. And then I'm ***{b}handing{m}*** *you over to the Locusts."*

He proceeds to knock Kitty out cold. This use of violence is completely unnecessary, and provides further evidence for the skewed relations of power between 'black' males and 'black' females. He beats her up because in this sexist world, 'black' male violence against 'black' females is normalised.

Admittedly, Ettie shows a willingness to fight back on Kitty's behalf in this fearful interaction, showing the potential for violent agency quite unlike the fearful, incapacitated 'black' females in *Mother to Mother*. However, she relies on Kitty to *signal* that she should fight, and Kitty never gives it to her:

[Festis] He pushes Kitty in front of him and grabs me. His sausage ***{b}fingers{m}*** *squeeze my* ***{b}arm{f}.*** *I look to Kitty for the signal. One word, one look and my {b}teeth{f} will rip a chunk of {b}flesh{m} out of the man's hairy {b}arm{m}. My nails will gouge him a third* ***{b}eye{m}.***

Ettie shows further agency in avoiding contact with two other ‘black’ males (Me and Reader): *I duck away from his {b}hands{m}* and *I push his {b}hands{m} away*. She twists away from their touching, although this is under very specific circumstances. Firstly, both touch her in a non-aggressive way; secondly, she is on friendly terms with both of them; and thirdly, neither of them is a violent, hypermasculine ‘black’ male – Me owns a beauty parlour, and Reader is a former teacher with a vision impairment – so they do not constitute a real physical threat. In comparison, she is unable to do this with Xavier.

Bornstein’s (1998, in Baker 2008) hierarchical gender model lends some explanatory weight here: Xavier’s hypermasculine identity is located near the top of his ‘black’ male gender pyramid, and as such his masculinity is hegemonic, meaning that he has power over other, less masculine ‘black’ males and all ‘black’ females. Because of his ‘race’ as a ‘black’ male, he cannot (and does not) punch above his weight against ‘white’ male or ‘white’ female, because they are located further up the intersectional social hierarchy.

The most extreme use of violence occurs at the hands of the Locusts, who were assigned male gender but left without coding for ‘race’, because it is never made clear.[27] These three examples show their brutality, which is essentially the might of this world’s apartheid system:

A prisoner – the oldest of the three – raises his ***{b}head{m}****, tries to say something. A Locust gives him a flat {b}nose{m} for his trouble.*

I examine her bloodied {b}face{f}. A couple of years past legal. Maybe eighteen years old. One of her ***{b}eyes{f}*** *is swollen shut, but the other fixes mine.*

I ignore the screams of a woman who is dragged out of a shop and beaten until her {b}brains{f} fall from her ***{b}head{f}*** *onto the road. I look away from three children who are whipped into a Locust taxi…*

[27] In *The Mark*, the police (Locusts) always wear masks (i.e. they are always on-duty) so their ‘race’ cannot be ascertained from physical description or from which segregated space they inhabit when they are off-duty. While Nicolas is a young Locust, he shows racial privilege over some of the Locusts in one interaction (see 4.3.1.1). This indicates that the Locusts may belong to both ‘races’ depending on their rank. Therefore, I could not ‘race’ them collectively.

Their choice of victim is a 'black' female twice or 'black' male once, and no compassion or restraint is shown. These descriptions are particularly graphic, demonstrating why fear is a primary emotion for 'black' females in this fictional world. This world is incredibly violent, and that violence is experienced by those at the bottom of the social hierarchy ('black' males and 'black' females) in order to keep them there. This links to Fairclough's (2001) view of power: he argues that relations of power are always relations of struggle, because power produces resistance and so necessitates the constant reinforcement of power.

b) Interpersonal Contact in *Mother to Mother*

Unlike the many interracial relationships in *The Mark*, *Mother to Mother* only shows care and intimacy via physical touch between 'black' people. This is in part due to the focus on 'black' experiences in this novel, and the near absence of 'white' body parts for a number of the key body parts under investigation (see 4.2).

The most prominent pattern is physical touch between a parent and child to show care and support. This is most frequent with 'black' mothers and their daughters (7). These are Mandisa's (4) actions with her daughter: 'black' female hands check her temperature, quieten (2) and pat her back. Mama's two instances of touching Mandisa fall less obviously under 'intimacy' per se, but they show care in a sense: she periodically checks that Mandisa's hymen is intact[28] stating that *God put mothers on earth, to ensure the health of their daughters*, and threatens *I will kill you with my bare {b}hands{f}* as a form of discipline. A 'black' female resting against her mother shows that that contact is a source of comfort and safety, even for adults: Mama sits *slumped against Makhulu's {b}shoulders{f}* when she is distressed. So, mothers are needed for what they do (i.e. with their hands), and this loving physical contact seems most frequent between 'black' female characters.

The only other example of intimacy is between two young 'black' female friends:

{b}Arms{f} slung carelessly around each other's ***{b}shoulders{f}****, we strolled to CNA bookshop to get Mama's horse-racing card.*

[28] Mama's invasion of Mandisa's privacy did not save her daughter from teenage pregnancy, whereas open conversations about sexuality may have done. While this solution is not explicitly raised in *Mother to Mother*, the disastrous consequences of Mandisa learning about sex from friends are obvious, and worth discussing in South African classrooms.

Unlike in *The Mark*, there are some clear examples of intimacy (7) and care (4) between 'black' males and 'black' females in various relationships. In all instances but two, the 'black' male character initiates the touching, revealing a hegemonic gender order that overrides age difference and relationship type. It also shows that 'black' males are not generally comforted by 'black' females, perhaps because hegemonic masculinity forbids any form of weakness by allowing comfort. The first event involves Dwadwa and Mandisa (spouses) where he touches her shoulders (2) and back (1) to console her after the police raid:

*A **{b}hand{m},** light as down, fell on my **{b}shoulder{f}**. 'It's going to be all right,' my husband whispered softly.*

*A little while later, the **{b}hand{m}** on my {b}back{f} lifted.*

*'Will you be all right?' a while later, Dwadwa asked, shaking me lightly by the **{b}shoulder{f}**.*

The words *light as down*, *softly*, *lifted*, and *lightly* all show tenderness and compassion from Dwadwa, which is not particularly stereotypical masculine behaviour; however, something more is happening here. Because the pattern is (determiner) + *hand* rather than (possessive adjective) + *hand*, Dwadwa's hand separates from Dwadwa himself, creating distance. A disembodied hand comforts Mandisa. This pattern appears again when Tata wakes up Mandisa during the forced removal in Blouvlei:

***{b}Hands{m}** grabbed me. Strong {b}arms{m} enfolded me to the not too familiar, tobacco–smelling {b}chest{m} of my father.*

Only at the end of this quote do readers realise who is showing this affection to Mandisa: *of my father.* Now an alternative explanation to this pattern could be that Mandisa herself is too distraught or asleep in both events and so does not fully register who is doing this to her, and she conveys that in her descriptions. However, I find this unlikely given the context directly after the above quote:

Tata? Tata, hugging me? I knew the situation was far worse than a burning house. Something terrible had happened.

Tata's compassion, and Dwadwa's, is uncharacteristic: *Something terrible had happened*. These disembodied hands depict that distance that would usually be there under less extreme circumstances. That is, this compassion is only shown under extreme circumstances (a police raid and their forced removal from their home), indicating that physical affection only occurs in such contexts. In fact, most examples of 'black' male-'black' female (7/7) and 'black' female-'black' female (5/8) intimacy occur under extreme circumstances. The other 'black' male-'black' female examples relate to Mxolisi: he puts his head into Mandisa's lap and cries after Amy's murder. He is also described as *clutching my {b}hand{f}* during the funeral of his childhood friends. This demonstrates the terrible experiences that 'black' people have to endure, leaving little space for characters to be affectionate for affection's sake. This sets up a clear contrast with *The Mark*, which exhibits genuine romantic affection between Nicolas and Ettie under happier circumstances too.

The pattern of disembodied hands occurs again in the murder of Amy: violent male hands do not show possessive adjectives, again indicating some sort of distance from the deed being committed. This depicted lack of Mxolisi's agency during the murder is first established in Mandisa's explanation that the *burning hatred for the oppressor* had *possessed his being* and *wielded the knife* (see 4.3.2). Assigning agency to the racial hatred that takes over his body, and describing many highly agentive, disembodied 'black' male hands, together remove Mxolisi from his body's terrible actions. In a clear use of Cartesian dualism, his body is not controlled by him, instead it had its own agency. In this way, Mandisa tries to rid Mxolisi of the full blame (*why him?*) and to distance him from the crime of his and others' hands:

How can they tell which ***{b}hand{m}*** *held which knife, even? They readily admit many fell upon her. Many. How then are they able to tell which* ***{b}hand{m}*** *delivered the telling stab, the fatal blow? Again and again I ask myself, why him?*

I do not pretend to know why your daughter died...died in the manner in which she did. Died when the time and place and ***{b}hands{m}*** *were all in perfect congruence; cruel confluence of time, place and agent.*

The 'white' policemen in the police raid are described in a similar way – disembodied hands with no ownership that creates distance:

A large, unfriendly ***{w}hand{m}*** *grabs my {b}neck{f}, stapling {b}flesh{f} and garment. As a pin lifted by a magnet, I am snatched from the bed. Only to be dumped on the floor. The same* ***{w}hand{m}*** *(or its brother or cousin) clasps itself to my {b}shoulder{f} and hauls me up...*

The distancing is so strong here that she describes the second 'white' male hand as having its own familial relations: *its brother or cousin*. The incredible agency assigned to 'white' male hands in this depiction could construe 'white' males as robotic, and without heart or feeling (as shown by the total lack of emotion in 'white' male body parts in 4.3.2). The police become a mindless evil typified by the violence they commit with their *blood-stained {w}hands{m}*. However, the similarity to the 'black' male hands that murder indicate an automatic nature to violence and male hands. It may also inadvertently render 'white' male police less blameworthy, because the pattern is similar.

I include this last example of violent 'black' male hands, because it particularly struck me as a reader:

[Mxolisi] I am surprised, however, it wasn't one of his friends or even one of my other children he killed. Mind you, with his younger brother, he was wise not to try. That one would have killed him with his bare ***{b}hands{m}*** *first.*

Mandisa states that she had believed for a while that Mxolisi would kill someone, and while that is already difficult to process, the next lines are even worse. Lunga, the younger brother, is characterised as always reading, and the one line he says shows his reasonableness. Yet, it is this young boy (six years younger than his 20 year old brother, Mxolisi) who *would have killed him with his bare* ***{b}hands{m}*** *first.* This image is utterly jarring, mostly because Lunga is not accepted as a killer in the way his brother is. It points to the dangerous, oppressive life that 'black' people led in Guguletu, where even 'good' 'black' males have the known potential to kill, even in self-defence. It contends that sensible, sympathetic human beings (including Mxolisi, who is depicted as having a *good* heart in 4.3.2) who grow up in these circumstances must be violent or be ready to be violent. It paints a bleak picture of the myriad consequences of the apartheid state.

4.3.3.2 Communication

a) Communication in *The Mark*

In a similar manner to 'Interpersonal Contact', body parts that communicate also reveal how each group demonstrates power (e.g. snapping fingers, avoiding eye contact, dismissive gestures), and intimacy (e.g. speechless communication through eye contact) in different ways depending on their position on the social hierarchy and their relationship status. Intimacy and power seem to be on either end of an 'interaction continuum'. Although there is perhaps nothing less intimate than beating or murdering another person – due to that invasion of personal space – I use intimacy here to denote closeness, care and love.

Intimacy in communication is shown via eyes, which have already been established as windows to the soul in both *The Mark* and *Mother to Mother*. Eyes are used to communicate when speaking freely is impossible for whatever reason, and generally occurs between characters that share a high level of trust and understanding, i.e. between Ettie and Kitty once, and Ettie and Nicolas five times. As in 'Interpersonal Contact', Kitty again breaks potential intimacy with Ettie once by lowering her eyes and so *hiding Katherine from me*. The repetition of *tell* (4) in the context of EYE, and the two clauses *They* [Ettie's eyes] *speak to him across the silence* and *I find that I can read him too* show that there is a minor preoccupation with eyes taking on a purely communicative function. This can also indicate an intimate knowledge of the other person. For example, Xavier and Mistress share a look twice, which is a hint to their romantic history:

I see ***the look*** *that passes between them. Like the one they shared at The Laboratory.*

The communication via eyes between the two main interracial 'couples' (Ettie and Nicolas, and Xavier and Mistress) reiterate that intimacy is shown across racial divides.

However, not all examples of eyes-only communication show intimacy per se:

I look up and see Madam Merriem's ***{b}eyes{f}*** *on me. They tell me she knows. Oh yes, she does.*

The orc's ***{b}eyes{f}*** *taunting me: soon I would be a burden no more.*

The understanding communicated via eyes is not always intimate, as seen above. Due to their relatively equal social standing as ‘black’ females, and Merriem’s cognisance of the truth of the situation, she can communicate her knowledge to Ettie via eye contact. In this event, Merriem (or ‘the orc’) has realised that Ettie has taken Kitty’s place during an experiment. She communicates her joy at Ettie’s expense through her *taunting* eyes.

Eye contact can also show power in ‘black’ male, ‘white’ male, and ‘white’ female eyes. Xavier uses his eyes to threaten Ettie: *his {b}eyes{m} say that if I am lying, he will make me die twice.* His eyes show the extreme agency of inflicting pain when he reprimands Ettie for stealing: they *bite my {b}hand{f}*. As 4.3.3.1a already reveals, Xavier holds power over ‘black’ females via violence or the threat of violence.

There is one other character whose eyes show this extreme agency of inflicting pain: the ‘white’ female President. Her eyes are twice compared to bayonets that *stab* Master in disapproval, and he does not retaliate. As President and his mother-in-law, she exerts power over Master (a ‘white’ male), despite being female – proof that the intersectional social hierarchy is nuanced, since age and position can influence it.

Master avoids eye contact with ‘black’ females: *Master tells me, though his {w}eyes{m} look directly at Mistress*. Looking at Ettie would recognise her humanity and it also shuts off any further communication between them: his word is final. In fact, Master limits the amount he speaks to those below him and relies rather on often demeaning gestures to communicate. He dismisses Ettie *with a scornful wave of his {w}hand{m}*, he *snaps his {w}fingers{m}* twice at Ettie to indicate he wants something done, and he *gives a nod to the doctors* to physically restrain Larissa. ‘White’ male eyes, hands, fingers and heads all can communicate power to all those under a ‘white’ male’s command without the need for physical interaction. Unlike Xavier’s physical punishment and threats in 4.3.3.1a, ‘white’ males need not use violence to show power: their power is inherent in their ‘whiteness’ and maleness, and so dare not be ignored. Similarly, Nicolas *clicks his {w}fingers{m} at* Ettie to indicate an order, and although this is to maintain a disguise, it shows the power ‘white’ male fingers possess in this society. Such actions towards ‘black’ females are an established norm.

In comparison, ‘black’ females do not show power in their fingers towards any other group except their own, and this does not happen often: *snaps her {b}fingers{f} at* occurs twice with

Ettie as the recipient, and Merriem and Kitty as the agents. Further proof that they are at the bottom of the social hierarchy.

‘White’ male eyes communicate power, no matter their intention, because of this society’s social hierarchy. A prominent scene near the beginning of *The Mark* where Nicolas watches Ettie is rendered ideologically significant by the space dedicated to it: there are 5 concordance lines describing Nicolas’s eyes in this interaction. His desiring gaze communicates sexual interest, but because of the gendered power relations and her own insecurity, it makes her feel uncomfortable: she *grows hot* and she wants to *move away from his gaze*. The effect is also long-lasting, because later his eyes *haunt* her. These relations of power and associated potential for danger is clear: *It is not good to have a Posh staring at you too hard.* Furthermore, her powerlessness is evident in this example, where she wants to call him out, but feels she cannot:

He watches me smooth the cream over my {b}face{f}. His ***{w}eyes{m}*** *travel down my {b}neck{f}, then pause. My {b}skin{f} grows hot under his glass* ***{w}eyes{m}.*** *I want to say, “Hey, what you looking at? Don’t be looking at me.”*

This scene exposes the gender power imbalance in which “pleasure in looking [is] split between active/male and passive/female” (Mulvey, 1975:12). Ettie is the object of Nicolas’s male gaze and especially as a ‘black’ female, it makes her uncomfortable. This difference in power colours their entire relationship, as is shown in 4.3.3.1a. Ettie does not have the agency or power to express her discomfort, and so remains passive.

Because eyes can communicate power, lowering eyes or averting one’s gaze from those in power is a (passive) means of hiding one’s true feelings and shutting down communication. For example, Ettie avoids the eyes of Locusts once so as not to draw their attention. Below, Ettie is avoiding Mistress’s eyes because she does not want to reveal that she is anything but an unremarkable servant. Incidentally, the derogatory use of *dumb* below shows yet another example of ableist language (see 4.3.4.1).

Her ***{w}eyes{f}*** *search mine. “You say I will find it at the west entrance?” “It’s what they say,” I tell her with my dumb mask on and keep my* ***{b}eyes{f}*** *averted from hers.*

Ettie can get away with shutting down communication with Mistress in this way because averting one's gaze also indicates respect. Drudges are taught to keep their eyes (and heads) lowered around their powerful 'white' employers:

[Master] "Unless one of you owns up, I am calling in the Locusts." His {w}nose{m} examines the tops of our lowered ***{b}heads{f}****, sniff after sniff, and the threat sinks in.*

A Drudge ('black' female) lowering her eyes in front of Master or Mistress occurs six times in total. Once again, this pattern of powerlessness is predominantly linked with 'black' females – the lowest identity group on the intersectional hierarchy.

b) Communication in *Mother to Mother*

In *Mother to Mother*, it appears that 'black' females communicate more with each other using gesture and eyes to enhance, replace, or even shut down communication. For example, all the communicative uses of shaking (8) and nodding (5) 'black' female heads indicate communication between 'black' females. This indicates that 'black' females seem to communicate most with each other, and that there is a gender support system, but it also essentialises the gender binary.

The most prominent pattern in 'black' female communication is Siziwe closing (2), lowering, or narrowing her eyes to avoid telling her mother, Mandisa, about Mxolisi's involvement with Amy's murder. This pattern is replicated in one other example with a 'black' female stranger:

With the barest suspicion of a gesture, a slow, ever so slow, narrowing of the ***{b}eyes{f}****, she indicated there was to be no further communication between us.*

There is also honest, open communication between 'black' females. Mandisa looks her neighbours in the eye and sees truth three times, and she tries to prove her innocence to Makhulu with direct eye contact:

Honest? But that is what I had been all along. Honest. I look at Makhulu, make my ***{b}eyes{f}*** *look at hers.*

In comparison, the most prominent pattern in communication between 'black' males and females shows a unidirectional form of communication. 'Black' females must decipher the emotional messages relayed in 'black' male eyes. To illustrate, 'black' male eyes take on the full brunt of communicating six times, because 'black' males struggle to speak about their emotions aloud (3), or because a young Mxolisi stops speaking from grief (3), as shown below:

*...he stopped and looked at me, a question in those eloquent **{b}eyes{m}** that, now that he'd stopped speaking, seemed to have taken over the function.*

Words and phrases that show this communicative function include: *wide with unasked questions*, *I looked into his {b}eyes{m}*, *appeal in those {b}eyes{m}*, and *a question in those {b}eyes{m}*. Mandisa has to be good at reading the males in her life, which shows her understanding of them, but again it seems one-sided. 'Black' males never appear to see emotion in her eyes or have two-way eye communication as in *The Mark* (for example, when Xavier and Mistress share a look). 'Black' females are, thus, doing emotional labour for 'black' males, who cannot adequately communicate their feelings. As with the emotional labour of cross-racial empathy between mothers, 'black' females bear the brunt of emotional work, leaving males free of such burdens.

Intimacy between 'black' males and 'black' females is also shown twice in EAR: as a young boy, Mxolisi whispers into his mother's ear twice – keeping their conversation private and intimate. This was, of course, *Before he stopped speaking*. It also follows the same one-way pattern, although this is more understandable from a young child.

There is also a small pattern of 'black' female eyes showing power, either as a sangoma (2) or as a mother (3). A 'black' mother's eyes *looked at Tata, daring him, pulling him back into the argument*; they prevent Mandisa from going anywhere because they are *stronger than a Master Lock*; and Mandisa's *hard* eyes threaten Siziwe: *Don't Move!* These 'black' female eyes appear agentive, especially the example where a 'black' father is brought into an argument via forceful eye contact. The sangoma's eyes are described as *piercing* and *full-strength* and their message makes Mandisa *recoil*, proving their power. These examples indicate that 'black' females can only truly have (some) power in their status as either mothers or sangomas. In the former case, this is through their performance of hyperfeminine work as the bearers and primary care-givers of children – a job ideologically restricted to females in order to free males to pursue other

interests. The latter 'black' female accrues her power as a sangoma from her interaction with spirits beyond the physical world. This is an atypical example of power limited to a select few 'black' females.

'Black' males show less power through the medium of communication: there are only two examples. Firstly, an elder asserts his authority in *right {b}fist{m} beating hard against {b}palm{m} of the other {b}hand{m}*. Secondly, a priest silences Mandisa by *holding his {b}hand{m} up*. This shows more power over 'black' females than, for example, Mandisa shows when she physically covers Siziwe's mouth to stop her whimpering. So largely 'black' males show less power as a communicators. This contrasts significantly with the power 'black' males showed in 4.3.3.1b, and so feeds into the gender stereotype of the kinds of power each gender possesses: women are communicators, men are actors.

4.3.3.3 Conclusion: Interaction with Others

In *The Mark*, two interlinked patterns emerge. Firstly, the patterns of power and powerlessness across the four identities map neatly on the intersectional social hierarchy. 'Black' females take the most violence from the Locusts and 'black' males (especially Xavier), who feel the need to assert physically the little authority they have over those beneath them. 'Black' females are also treated inhumanely by 'white' males, who are at the top of the social hierarchy (except in the relationship between Nicolas and Ettie). There are some occasions when the hierarchy's nuanced intersectional nature is exposed. For example, a 'white' female holds power over Master because of her status as President and as his mother-in-law. Ettie also holds some power (which is generally shown through protection) over a 'white' female (Larissa), because the latter is younger and physically weaker. Of course, it is not news that a 'black' female is lower on the intersectional social hierarchy than a 'white' male: the benefit of this analysis is to reveal <u>how</u> these power relations are realised across different body parts.

The second pattern is linked to the first: patterns of intimacy as typified by Ettie's relationships with Nicolas (a 'white' male) and Larissa (a 'white' female) promote interracial love and friendship. As with cross-racial empathy in *Mother to Mother*, this pattern could have a bearing on nation building by encouraging social integration, and arguably echoes the rainbow nation discourse that was particularly popular in South Africa at the advent of the democratic era. However, this is not all positive. The link between these patterns is that power relations between these different identities remain even if they are in a loving relationship: Ettie is more

passive, while Nicolas tends to direct the relationship. *The Mark* does not provide a solution to the uneven power relations in interracial relationships. Instead their romantic relationship falls into gender stereotypical behaviour of active male/passive female, and so reveals what McElhinny (2014) calls the heteronormative core of the gender binary. That is, males and females were created differently in order to procreate. This perhaps reiterates what Biko (1987) argues: that only with true equality in South Africa can interracial relationships flourish unconstrained by the dominance of 'white' privilege and the unequal gender order.

In *Mother to Mother*, men's ('white' male and 'black' male) power is symbolised in their hands, and the powerful (violent) acts they can carry out. The police have disembodied hands that hurt Mandisa and destroy homes in Blouvlei, while 'black' males have disembodied hands that kill Amy and could turn on each other, in the case of Lunga. By comparison, 'black' female hands comfort their children after these acts of violence, and cause no violent or aggressive interpersonal contact: a starkly gendered difference realised through structural oppositions between males and 'black' females. 'Black' women congregate to mourn and cry together – to heal after the events men cause (see 4.3.2.1b). 'Black' females appear to speak more with each other and show some communicative power in their eyes, whereas 'black' males lack power as communicators. The gender binary and traditional gender roles appear deeply entrenched, not only through cultural tradition, but also through the gendered divide showing whose body parts cause pain, and whose body parts try to heal that pain. As in 4.3.2, it appears to be females and mothers who must carry the burden of the emotional labour needed to heal from violence, racialised and otherwise.

4.3.4. Interaction with the World

This final discourse prosody is concerned with how 'black' female characters in particular are shown to act on the world, if at all. The first subsection, 'Responses to Danger', examines how the oppressive, dangerous environment in which 'black' characters live affects their bodies, and how they potentially respond to and grapple with this oppression. It becomes clear that exploiting any ounce of privilege one can get is a pattern across both novels, which culminates in ableism. The second subsection, 'Acting on Objects', primarily focuses on what types of objects are handled by which identity groups, which reveals clear intersectional differences.

4.3.4.1 Responses to Danger

a) Responses to Danger in *The Mark*

The pain caused to 'black' female skin shows how cruel and oppressive this world is to 'black' females in particular, either through the powerful sun (an environmental factor), the hard work Drudges must do, or the oppressive security system powered by the mark on everyone's backs.

The most frequent pattern for 'black' female skin relates to the extra-strong sun's effect on Ettie's pale skin. The following clusters show how potent the sun is despite better sunblockers coming on the market: *still manages to penetrate the cream*; *eating away at my skin*; *My {b}skin{f} is raw from yesterday*; and *stares back with cruel heat: my {b}skin{f} in its sight*. Kitty does not need sunblocker the way Ettie and the Posh do (see 4.3.1); however, the Posh can afford the best protection against the sun, unlike Ettie. 'White' female skin does not collocate with the sunblocker the way Ettie's does (*cream*, 2, MI 8.28): she is depicted as the primary target of the sun's power. 'Black' female skin also experiences severe burns in a fire once (*my {b}skin{f} smelt of smoke*) and twice in an explosion (Ettie's skin is *raw* and *reddened*).

In addition to burning heat, 'black' female skin, or Drudges' skin in particular, also takes great damage from the work they do. Ettie picks *the peeling {b}skin{f} off* her knees, but the Drudge teacher has it worst:

*The prints on her **{b}fingers{f}** and the lines on her palms have been worn smooth from scrubbing Posh floors.*

This would be the fate awaiting Ettie if she had continued to be a Drudge, and it provides the perfect context for the last 'black' female skin pattern: Ettie's various attempts to remove the mark on her back. The mark is controlled by a central computer system: the numbers assign a career and 'race' to each person and are used by the Locusts to track people. Removing the mark would mean complete freedom. I quote Ettie's (unsuccessful) attempts to remove the mark in full to demonstrate the extreme lengths she is prepared to go through for this freedom:

*Scrubbing the mark at the base of my {b}spine{f} with steel wool was the first thing I attempted. I was seven years old then. It left open sores on my {b}back{f}. The flies feasted on my {b}flesh{f} for weeks. When the **{b}skin{f}** healed, the numbers showed themselves again.*

Ettie tries progressively more extreme ways to rid herself of it: next, she *applied some of the acid we drudges use to clean pots* and then, the *tube* of acid Me uses to bleach Posh skin. This causes severe pain – twice her fingers probe the *sore* or *wound* on her back – and provides clear evidence that Ettie believes this short-term torture is acceptable in comparison to the lifelong torture of being a 'black' female Drudge in this world. So Ettie shows agency in her attempts to remove the mark, but in the end, she finally succeeds in removing it with Nicolas's help (see 4.3.1). Her ultimate show of agency is therefore not hers alone: his 'white' privilege is her means of escape.

Ettie and some other 'black' characters exploit people with disability in their interactions with an oppressive system. Even 'black' females are above the *'Rejects'* (*people with missing limbs or frazzled brains*), who find themselves at the very bottom of the social hierarchy, that is, they *survive at the bottom of the food chain, together with flies and cockroaches*. These people are abandoned by the Mangerian system, because they cannot 'contribute' to society: *No work, no pay. It is the Mangerian way*. This echoes the neoliberal ableism entrenched in our own world, which originates "from deeply rooted beliefs about productivity and the value of human life that devalues and marginalises some cohorts of society" (Van Aswegen & Shevlin, 2019:636).

The first example of this exploitation of people with disability occurs in two metaphors related to being 'crazy' in the context of heads:

"You can leave her with me," Handler Xavier says. "She's ***soft in the {b}head{f}****." The Locust smacks the sand off his gloves and walks away, rubbing his jaw.*

*"****Crazy****. He must be afflicted with* ***sun sickness,****" another warden says. She raises a {b}finger{f} to her* ***{b}head{f}****, twirls it to indicate* ***craziness****.*

The first example follows an act of Ettie's that I explore presently. The latter refers to a 'black' male who carried out an act of 'terrorism' against the state: this insult is used as a cover for neurotypical people doing something as rational as protesting against an oppressive regime. Similarly, Ettie uses the insult *dead-brain* 10 times, mostly to refer to herself. In these 10 concordance lines, patterns emerge regarding Ettie's assumptions about people with intellectual disability: they cannot think properly (7), they are naïve or foolish (3), they cannot

communicate properly (2), and they cannot control their erratic bodies (1). This places people with intellectual disability into an undifferentiated group defined primarily by a dehumanising stereotype of their disability. From a teaching perspective, these metaphors evoke ableist values and they must be cut out of our language use, if we are to respect people with disability and recognise them as fully human (People With Disability Australia, 2018).

The use of the 'crazy' metaphor above establishes the pattern that people who appear 'crazy' are left alone by others. Ettie in particular uses the privilege she holds over the *'Rejects'* to do exactly this by pretending to be a caricature of a person with disability for her own gain. This occurs three times:

*I slow my {b}feet{f} and loll my **{b}head{f}**. I gather my spit and allow it to dribble down the sides of my {b}mouth{f}. I stagger up to the Locusts and lurch like the Posh after a night in the pleasure clubs. "Fly sickness. She has it bad," a Locust says.*

*I must act now before it is too late. As the Locust races towards her, I scream and fall down, lie on my back. I whip my **{b}head{f}** from side to side, roll my **{b}eyes{f},** simulate spasms wracking my {b}chest{f}.*

*The food queue snakes past a stall selling plastic flowers. I butt in, close to the front. "Hey, what you doing? You can't squeeze in," a man says. I roll my **{b}eyes{f}** and drool as though I am afflicted with sun sickness. "**Dead-brain**," he says and leaves me alone.*

Twice she uses it to avoid problems with the Locusts, and once she uses it to jump a queue. As a reader, I found these renditions incredibly jarring. It could be argued that because this world is so oppressive that every marginalised identity has to fight for themselves and use any ounce of privilege or power they have to get by. The plight of a 'black' female is highlighted at the expense of *'Rejects'*; however, the description of how the *'Rejects'* live causes immediate sympathy and distress in the reader. It, thus, exposes one of the worst consequences of Mangerian rule. Ettie acts within a context in which exploiting and neglecting people with disability is an established norm: she has been lexically primed (Hoey, 2005) to use ableist language and so she sees no issue about exploiting them, as they have been demeaned in everyday language. Nevertheless, it prompts some difficult questions about whether expressly using words such as *frazzled brains*, *dead-brain*, *crazy* and *Reject* is acceptable, even in a work

of fiction that inherently critiques the oppressive world in which it is set, because these derogatory depictions and metaphors still perpetuate the violence, past and present, that our society inflicts upon people with disability.

b) Responses to Danger in *Mother to Mother*

The harsh apartheid system is seen to affect 'black' male shoulders (7). They are described as: *defeated stoop*, *great is the weight you bear*, *big {b}head{m} that burdens his {b}shoulders{m} till they stoop*, *hunched* (2), *a stoop to the*, and *{b}shoulder{m} the full responsibility*. These words, particularly the repetition of *stoop* (3, MI 12.36), indicates the heavy weight of 'black' male pain, and defeat in the face of deadly oppression. No one consoles 'black' male shoulders by patting them, unlike Mandisa's 'black' female shoulders, although they are clearly in need of some support. Seven out of 10 'black' male shoulders form this pattern – a high percentage pointing to an ideological preoccupation – and five of them refer to Mxolisi directly, which does the work of providing a context for his crime. The following excerpt shows the consequences of the racist, oppressive system on 'black' males and is worth quoting at length:

*[Mxolisi] He had already seen his tomorrows; in the defeated stoop of his father's **{b}shoulders{m}.** In the tired **{b}eyes{m}** of that father's friends. In the huddled, ragged men who daily wait for the chance at some job whose whereabouts they do not know... He had seen his tomorrows— in the hungry, gnarled **{b}hands{m}** outstretched toward the long-dead brazier…*

There is an inability for these 'black' males to act upon this world here: it shuts them out, and pulls them down into poverty and degradation. There is little agency at all in this excerpt – simply a *defeated stoop*, *tired {b}eyes{m}* and *hungry,* and *gnarled {b}hands{m}* that reach out, but do not act. It is in reaction to this hopeless context, knowing that this is his future if he does not act, that Mxolisi becomes agentive and with a group of other oppressed, defeated 'black' males murders Amy. Their frustration is understandable in this context, which is exactly why the author includes this long, hopeless description, and emphasises the heavy weight that Mxolisi in particular bears. This quote restricts itself to how the economic system of apartheid affects 'black' males; there is nothing quite as prominent for 'black' females. As readers, we feel most sorry for these men who are supposed to work and provide for their families, but are not able to do so. This ideological prescription contends that men are bread-winners, and they suffer cruelly when they are prevented from doing this. This echoes the prescription that 'black'

females are supposed to stay at home, but cannot because poverty drives them to work (see 4.3.4.2b).

Mandisa experiences violence against her eyes and ears and has no agentive reaction to these experiences. Words indicating 'black' female ears (9) taking violence include *HIT* (4), *RING* (2), *burst* and *burning*. These examples generally involve Mandisa in fearful contexts: hearing signs of a police raid (3), and hearing about Amy's murder (2). Thus, EAR is used as a narrative device to a large extent. Similarly, 'black' female eyes take violence in two similarly fearful situations brought about by the forced removals: one when she sees the overcrowded streets of Guguletu:

How my ***{b}eyes{f}*** *were assaulted by the pandemonium. People choking the morning streets. People everywhere you looked. Stray dogs. Peddlers. Children roaming the streets aimlessly even in that early hour. And then the forest of houses. A grey, unending mass of squatting structures. Ugly. Impersonal. Cold to the eye. Most with their doors closed. Afraid.*

and one when she sees the army in Blouvlei:

As soon as my ***{b}eyes{f}*** *accustomed themselves to the poor light, they broke my {b}windpipe{f}, robbing me of breath. An army of invasion: a fleet of police. Vans, bulldozers and army trucks surrounded the location. Completely. In its entire vastness, Blouvlei was surrounded and contained.*

In both scenes, the apartheid state's actions cause harm to 'black' female eyes. She can do nothing but watch in pain – a passive response, understandable against the incredible might of the apartheid army.

Ableist language in both novels has been periodically brought up in previous sections. In *Mother to Mother*, it is most clearly used to provide 'reasonable' excuses for the 'black' male killers' actions in five concordance lines centring on 'black' male ears. Five out of 11 'black' male ears are used in this event – showing a preoccupation with this slice of reality. The word *deaf* (8) is clearly connected to the murder event through a metaphorical use: *deaf* (3, MI 11.68) collocates with *{b}ears{m}*. The use of *her pleas fell on deaf {b}ears{m}* and *deaf to her pitiful entreaties* associates deafness with a lack of empathy or understanding. It excuses the 'black'

males' violent behaviour because, like people who are deaf, they could not hear a 'white' female's screams.

In these five lines, Mxolisi and the rest of the 'black' males are variously described as *blind*, *deaf* (4), and having ears that are *plugged*. These metaphors show that they were ignoring the truth from their senses, and rather following their hateful desires:

Deaf *and* ***blind*** *to the seeds from which it sprang, the pitiful powerlessness that had brewed this very moment. And the song in my son's* ***{b}ears{m}****. A song he had heard since he could walk. Even before he could walk. Song of hate, of despair, of rage. Song of impotent loathing. AMABHULU, AZIZINJA! BOERS, THEY ARE DOGS!*

Perhaps if he had listened, his empathy would have stopped him, but instead he blocked out the truth because his context, his pain, his anger, and this song were more powerful in the moment. Mandisa utilises these metaphors to provide potential for salvation or understanding of his deadly response to his oppression; however, this comes at the expense of people with visual and hearing impairments.

4.3.4.2 Acting on Objects

a) Acting on Objects in *The Mark*

'Black' female hands tend to carry items that relate to Drudge work – *the pot* and *the mess* she cleans up – and to Pleasure work: *a tray of drinks*. When 'black' females are handing objects to one another these include mostly domestic items, often related to running errands or drudge work. The brackets in the following list explain the context of each item: *two bottles of water* (groceries), *a bottle* of bug juice (errand), *a cloth to wipe the mess* (cleaning), *the last mango* (providing), *rent*, *wages*, *the comb, a piece of soap* (providing), *the shirt* (cleaning), and *the pot* (cook duty). 'Black' females are generally found holding domestic items or passing these items between them. As the lowest group on the social hierarchy they are relegated to domestic spaces where they clean up more powerful identities' messes.

Books are the only object of luxury in 'black' female hands or more specifically, Ettie's hands. Ettie holds a *book* (2), which is also described once as *magic* in her hands. The quote below demonstrates Ettie's almost insatiable desire for books:

I open the book, and yellow paper crackles under my ***{b}fingers{f}.*** *I had snatched it off the beach towel of a Posh who was body-surfing. My {b}mouth{f} fills with saliva at the thought of reading it.*

This exposes a common thread for both novels: there is a highly positive evaluation of reading and, therefore, education. Mandisa values education as a means to pull oneself out of the worst poverty, and Ettie enjoys reading and acknowledges her privilege of being a 'black' female who can actually read. In *The Mark*, as in *Mother to Mother* to a lesser extent, it is unusual for a 'black' female to read, as they are never taught to read in school; this is a privilege Ettie owes to Reader's teaching. Books and reading are very much tied to Ettie's identity, and mark her as different to other 'black' females. Most 'black' females would not have access to such a luxury item.

'Black' males handle new *sunblocker*, stolen *credits* (2), stolen *jewellery* and list of resistance members names, showing the underground world they (are forced to) inhabit. Reader also *runs his {b}hands{m} over the cover* of a book – linking him to Ettie, but also showing that he readily handles stolen goods too. Interestingly, 'black' males are twice depicted with *empty* hands – their lack is emphasised. In comparison, 'white' female hands and fingers handle objects of privilege – a pet *bird* (2), a *toy* doll (2), a *necklace*, and *some credits* – and 'white' male hands hold objects of power – important documents that keep social order; an *ornate cloak* and *credits* as symbols of wealth, and a *loudhailer* as means of crowd control. Nicolas also provides Ettie with two important objects to the plot: a drug *bottle* containing a drug to render Larissa unconscious, and a *tube* of acid with which to remove the mark. As a 'white' male, he provides things for her in the relationship (and the plot), and not the other way around.

The intersectional social hierarchy can be clearly mapped onto the objects each group handles. 'Black' females are at the bottom, so they principally handle items to do with cleaning and running other people's errands. 'Black' males are slightly higher than 'black' females and so handle some luxury items, but these are mostly stolen – they cannot afford objects of privilege themselves. 'White' females hold objects of privilege because of their high social standing, and 'white' males, who are at the very top, hold not only objects of privilege, but also objects that wield power over those below them.

b) Acting on objects in *Mother to Mother*

As in *The Mark*, 'black' female hands mostly handle domestic items, namely, a *dish*, *bags of groceries*, *sewing*, *vetkoek* (2), and *Makhulu's mints*. Mandisa also holds notes (4) and *Makhulu's letter*: these are important objects, since they bring news of Blouvlei removals, and her aunt visiting Makhulu, and instructions leading her to Mxolisi after the murder. She has to hold some things important to the plot because she is the main character, although even here, she is mostly running errands or following other people's instructions. Furthermore, the handing of the Blouvlei leaflet below reveals the gendered chain of command in Mandisa's childhood home. From Mandisa:

*'Mama! Mama! Mama!' I hollered, **{b}hand{f}** high up in the air. **{b}Hand{f}** holding the paper with the lethal words, I galloped all the way home.*

to Mama:

*She snatched one of the pamphlets from my **{b}hand{f}**. Her {b}eyes{f}, unaccustomed to reading scoured it for a full minute before she turned around and, going back inside the house*

to Tata:

*'Here,' and she **{b}handed{f}** him the leaflet. 'Tyhini!' exclaimed Tata, after a glance at it.*

The objects in 'black' female hands symbolise the clear gendered, domestic lifestyle Mandisa and most 'black' females seem to live. The following excerpt reaffirms this: Mandisa's value as a mother is symbolised by what she makes with her hands.

You've even stopped making us porridge, Mother!'
'You're old enough to make that for yourselves!'
*'But we miss your **{b}hand{f}**,' says Lunga. I swallow my guilt. What would happen if I stayed home doing all the things a mother's supposed to do? We couldn't possibly survive just on what Dwadwa makes... we hardly make it as it is, with me working full time.*

Here Mandisa laments not being able to stay at home *doing all the things a mother's supposed to do*. That is, she is *supposed* to stay at home and manage domestic affairs. This overt prescription signals an underlying sexist ideology of what 'black' female's life is supposed to

be: ‘black’ females should be in the home, caring for their children, and it is only her oppressive poverty that prevents her from doing so. This ideology is slightly offset by young Mandisa’s desire to do well in school (4.3.2), but that desire must be abandoned once her first husband leaves, and she has to bring up her son alone. In the end, ‘black’ mothers are needed or valued for what they do with their hands at home.

There are two exceptions to the ‘‘black’ females hold domestic objects’ pattern. They are the educated ‘black’ female whose soft hands *didn’t know hardship*, demonstrating class difference that affects the social hierarchy, and the sangoma, who causes a glass of water to erupt and change colour. The latter’s power to act on the world marks her as different to most ‘black’ females, and this is not positively evaluated, because Mandisa fears her.

The objects in ‘black’ male hands contrast with those in ‘black’ female hands. They include a toy car (2), a *bangle*, knives, *money*, and *bottles of ginger beer*. These items are linked to the luxury of play, fashion, and enjoyment, and, of course, to violence (see 4.3.3.1b), creating a structural opposition to the type of objects handled by ‘black’ female characters. To illustrate, China holds money for his work, but, as a new daughter-in-law, Mandisa works endlessly in her in-laws’ home with no rest or compensation:

Lucky him, he got paid. He had money in his ***{b}hands{m}****, and he had a week, with a beginning and an end. My week was a long round of chores with no break whatsoever.*

So while ‘black’ males work incredibly hard for very little pay in the apartheid system, their lives are still slightly easier than the ‘black’ females, who are not compensated for the traditional, gendered work they do (as above). As in *The Mark*, ‘black’ female hands are also associated with gruelling domestic work. While the colonial system enforced gender roles, these mapped broadly onto the traditional gender roles that appear to be already established in the Xhosa culture (cf. McClintock, 1995). The ‘black’ male, who holds the *bottles of ginger beer*, reminds those ‘black’ men around him that they, unlike him, *have people to make you tea, in your homes*. The people in the homes indirectly refer to ‘black’ females, and show once again clear, traditional gender roles. Two other examples of this traditional gendering surround Mandisa and China’s marriage: her uncle takes her hand and gives her to her in-laws, as an object is passed from possession of one to another. This is similar to the Western cultural norm

of father of the bride giving his daughter away. Lastly, this excerpt shows that tradition (*custom*) restricts Tata's hands metaphorically:

His brothers, and the whole clan, were opposed to the idea of my going back to school. Not when the Thembu clan, China's people, were ready to make me a wife. 'My ***{b}hands{m}*** *are tied, my child,' Tata said, seeing my distress. Custom dictated that he listened to the counsel of the clan.*

He cannot give his daughter the freedom to remain unwed and go to school, as she wishes: he must listen to his *clan* or more precisely, the other 'black' males in his *clan*. The structural system of traditional gender roles holds strong here, and a single agent – Tata – believes he cannot oppose this power.

4.3.4.3 Conclusion: Interaction with the World

As in 4.3.3.3, this discourse prosody has shown that the ways in which bodies act on the world can be clearly mapped onto the intersectional social hierarchy. In both novels, 'black' female hands are associated with hard domestic labour and predominantly handle domestic items. They are at the bottom and so clean up everybody else's mess. 'Black' male hands tend to hold items associated with pleasurable activities in *Mother to Mother* and stolen items of privilege in *The Mark*. In *The Mark*, objects of privilege and power are held in the hands of those at the top of the social hierarchy.

In reaction to the extreme oppression that both 'black' females and 'black' males experience (symbolised in 'black' male shoulders in *Mother to Mother*), underprivileged characters in both novels exploit their privilege over people with disability, using ableist language to explain away Mxolisi's act of violence in *Mother to Mother*, and for Ettie, to pretend to be a person with disability for personal gain in *The Mark*. In both novels, but more so in *The Mark*, ableist language is used without sufficient signalling that ableism is problematic. This is the starkest use of the ideological square in both novels: the binary between able-bodied as normal and disabled as abnormal is reified. These authors are not alone in using these and other ableist metaphors: they are deeply embedded in the way we characterise the world, particularly hearing and sightedness. That is, we are lexically primed (Hoey, 2005) to use them, and so we reproduce them perhaps without fully comprehending the ideological implications for people with disability. However, the fact that such pejorative metaphors about a particular group of

people are so embedded in our language and cultures shows that in-group members are less likely to see people with disability as fully human (Siebers, 2008).

The underlying message is that a power-oppression dynamic dominates every facet of life for every person on the social hierarchy: someone or some group needs to be exploited for others to enjoy some share in society's resources. It appears inconceivable in these worlds that all people could share in social goods without this power-oppression dynamic, which is a rather disheartening message from a national setwork.

4.4 Conclusion

This chapter presents the results of a corpus-based critical discourse analysis conducted on the two prescribed novels for Grade 10 English Home Language. I begin with an overview of the quantitative findings and then moves onto the main portion of the chapter, the results grouped according to four discourse prosodies. Via the description and use of characters' bodies, various underlying ideological messages emerge that speak to 'race' and gender power relations and representation, two of which are shown to have a bearing on nation building. These two are cross-racial empathy as depicted in mothers' hearts in *Mother to Mother* (4.3.2), and interracial love and friendship in *The Mark* (4.3.3). Two other positive themes relate to understanding the Other's perspective: pride in natural 'black' hair in *The Mark* (4.3.1), and understanding the extent of oppression on 'black' people, via their 'Responses to Danger' (4.3.4) and the perspective provided on racial hatred (4.3.2). These principal findings are, however, tainted to an extent by entrenched gendered discourses – females, especially 'black' females, are broadly construed as passive, emotional, and weak, and their primary roles are linked to domesticity, motherhood and doing emotional labour – and ableist discourses – people with disability are exploited through derogatory metaphor and caricature. The main findings are summarised in Chapter 5 according to the research questions that I set out to investigate.

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CHAPTER 5
CONCLUSION

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the main findings from Chapter 4, ordered according to the research questions posed in the Introduction (Section 1.2). I consider how 'black' female bodies are construed in *The Mark* and *Mother to Mother* (5.2.1), and discuss any relevant similarities or differences in the construals of the three other identities (5.2.2). These more descriptive questions are followed by an analysis of these construals in terms of the broader social context to show how the data draws upon the hybrid of discourses in South Africa (5.2.3), and to what extent the data align with the transformative principles of the National Curriculum Statement (5.2.4). My answer to the final research question speaks to the contribution this study makes specifically in terms of successfully integrating intersectionality theory into research design (5.2.5). I then conclude by discussing the relevance of this research to basic education in South Africa (5.3) and presenting suggestions for future research based on the particular limitations and challenges faced during the research process (5.4).

5.2 Summary of Main Findings

5.2.1 Research Question 1: Construals of 'Black' Female

How are the bodies of 'black' female characters construed in the Grade 10 English Home Language prescribed novels *The Mark* and *Mother to Mother*?

The focus of this study was to investigate the discursive construal of 'black' female characters in these two novels. As is to be expected in novels set in oppressive, racist settings, 'black' females are depicted at the bottom of the social hierarchy.

Primarily, 'black' female bodies reveal their lack of agency and power as they negotiate life in a violent, antiblack racist, patriarchal system. There are various examples to illustrate this. Firstly, their location at the bottom of the hierarchy is illustrated by the violent treatment they receive: in *The Mark* the Locusts and 'black' males (especially Xavier) hurt and torture Ettie, Kitty and other 'black' females; in *Mother to Mother*, 'white' policemen predominantly cause pain and fear in 'black' females. Secondly, and often related to this, in both novels, but to a greater extent in *Mother to Mother*, other 'black' females are incapacitated by fear and shock: they cry uncontrollably, they close their eyes to block out fearful experiences, and they lose

control over their bodies in these events. This makes them vulnerable and in need of protection by more powerful identities. Thirdly, 'black' females in both novels primarily handle domestic objects, run errands for others, and their hands perform gruelling domestic labour in other people's houses for inadequate or no wages: this relegates them to domestic (private) spaces and so positions them at the bottom of the social hierarchy. Lastly, 'black' females show less agency in their romantic relationships. Mandisa's family force her to marry China against her will, and Nicolas directs his relationship with Ettie.

There are, however, moments of difference from this predominant pattern of powerlessness and passivity. The protagonists – Mandisa and Ettie – both reveal behaviours that show some agency, self-love, and emotional control, which contrast with the picture painted above. These oppositional discourses and nuanced patterns show that a monolithic depiction of 'black' female identity is not present. I provide a few examples for each main character below to illustrate this.

In *The Mark*, Ettie often puts herself into danger and is ready to fight physically to protect Kitty and Larissa. On occasion, she demonstrates some agency with Nicolas (a 'white' male) and friendly 'black' males (Me and Reader). She also shows agency in her painful attempts to remove her mark. This demonstrates not only her refusal to become a pawn in this oppressive system, but also her bravery in dealing with the pain of trying to remove the mark. Ettie is also resourceful in a world that provides her with little, using her abilities to steal and to act like a person with disability to her advantage. Her resourcefulness extends to her ability to 'pass' as Posh, if she hides her hair and eyes, usually with the aim of stealing from the Posh. Lastly, Ettie hardly cries in the novel and reprimands herself when she does, demonstrating both her relative self-control and her negative evaluation of this stereotypically feminine activity as weak and shameful.

In *Mother to Mother*, Mandisa shows incredible control over her body, even as a young 'black' female. As with Ettie, she generally believes that tears are a source of shame, and so works hard not to cry or at least not to allow the tears to overflow, unless she is alone. This is a clear contrast with the other 'black' females in *Mother to Mother* who draw comfort from each other and are incapacitated by their emotion at times. Mandisa's construal destabilises the stereotype that 'black' females are ruled by their emotional reactions. Mandisa and her Mama both exert power with their eyes, showing perhaps that being a 'black' mother affords some status in their

society. Lastly, young Mandisa's desire to do well in school, and as an older female, her positive evaluation of an educated 'black' female's *soft* hands, demonstrates her belief that education could lift even 'black' people out of the worst of poverty.

Apart from a general passivity and lack of power with some notable exceptions, 'black' females are also stereotypically construed as objects of beauty, and as carers (especially mothers). These two construals overlap with but are not completely tied to the two body parts that are most clearly linked to 'black' female identity: 74% of HAIR in *The Mark*, and 86% of HEART in *Mother to Mother* belong to 'black' female characters.

In *The Mark*, the discourses surrounding 'black' female hair are contested, because straighter, smoother hair is valorised and curly 'black' hair is described as *savage*. Only female hair is described, revealing that there is no need for males to conform to the beauty norm because it is females, especially 'black' females, who are the objects of beauty, and the bearers of the male gaze. There is a focus on Ettie's appearance that is not shown for either male identity. Ettie is constantly told to change her hair, and to a lesser extent, her *big* eyes to conform to the established racist beauty norms in that society. Despite these remarks and the repetitive, racist insult of *savage* assigned to her, Ettie shows pride in her 'black' hair and reclaims the word *savage*: both political acts in this fictional world and ours. In addition, Ettie experiences obtrusive male gaze from Nicolas when she first meets him, and the power relations between them makes this experience profoundly uncomfortable. However, Ettie's body is not the only 'black' female body held to beauty norms: Kitty's *silky* hair and *honey* skin is positively evaluated by Ettie, Xavier and her customers at the Posh Clubs. Kitty leverages her beauty to extract secrets from the Posh for the resistance. While this shows a degree of agency, the source of it is her status as an object of beauty. This construal is limited to *The Mark* – *Mother to Mother* shows almost no objectification of 'black' female bodies.

In both novels, the main characters are caring and protective, although Mandisa's role as a mother is more significant. Ettie is particularly protective of Larissa, a young 'white' girl in her care who is chronically ill. The interpersonal touching between them indicates their intimacy, which stems from Ettie's protective 'nature'. Ettie also provides for Kitty: she buys her mangoes, water and soap and tries to save her on three occasions. Ettie is, thus, shown to be caring and protective of those she loves.

In *Mother to Mother*, Mandisa's heart is most tied to her firstborn, Mxolisi, who later kills a 'white' female, Amy. She uses the shared pain of 'losing' her son to bridge the gulf between herself and Amy's mother: motherhood is, thus, construed as a monolithic experience for all females. Being a 'black' mother in Guguletu means that her experience of being a mother (as depicted via her heart) is mostly painful: she fears for her children in the violent space they grow up in. Mandisa's role as a carer is also depicted when she repeatedly deciphers the emotion in 'black' male eyes because they are unable to express themselves verbally. As the 'black' female in these relationships, she performs emotional labour for these 'black' males, but this is not generally reciprocated. With Amy's mother and these 'black' male characters, Mandisa shows radical empathy: her power comes from communicating and sharing feelings, which is a stereotypically feminine strength. Mandisa wishes she could stay at home *doing all the things a mother's supposed to do* such as making porridge for her family. A mother is supposed to be at home, looking after her children, rather than working in another ('white') female's house. It is her poverty (because she was born 'black') that prevents her from fulfilling this prescriptive view of a female's role in society.

In sum, there are many stereotypical gender depictions of 'black' females in these novels. 'Black' females are relatively passive, they work in domestic contexts, they perform emotional labour for those they care about, they are appreciated (or derided) on the basis of their appearance, they are injured by those more powerful than them, and therefore, show great fear towards those in power. Many of these traditional gender roles are also found in Hunt's (2011) study of children's literature, on which Chapter 4's discourse prosodies were based. However, the settings of these novels are far more overtly oppressive than those in Hunt (2011), and despite this there are shows of agency, self-love, and emotional control by Ettie and Mandisa in particular that present a more nuanced depiction of ('black') females grappling with oppression.

5.2.2 Research Question 2: Construals of the Other Identities

What similarities and differences arise from the construals of the other intersectional identities in the data?

As with the construal of 'black' female characters, the other intersectional identities' construals can be mapped onto the social hierarchy, which, as I argue above, is unsurprising given the oppressive apartheid settings. To answer this question, I discuss examples that highlight

differences and similarities in the representations of ‘black’ females, and in some cases, I demonstrate how stereotypical depictions are somewhat deconstructed.

In both novels, ‘black’ males are shown to be oppressed by the system they live in, although they show more agency than ‘black’ females, usually through violence. In line with the traditional gender roles, they also struggle to communicate their emotions verbally and they comfort only in extreme circumstances, if at all.

In *The Mark*, ‘black’ males handle objects that hold more power than the domestic objects ‘black’ females primarily handle, but these objects are stolen, showing that they do not have the capital to acquire such items legally. Xavier in particular shows power over ‘black’ females through aggression: he is a source of danger for Ettie especially. However, Reader and Me are friendly to Ettie and are not physically aggressive. There is variability within the depiction of ‘black’ males: Xavier is hypermasculine within his social milieu, while the others portray other forms of masculinity.

In *Mother to Mother*, there is a more homogeneous depiction of ‘black’ males. They have shoulders that *stoop* from bearing the weight of oppression, their *strong* hands are exploited by the apartheid system, and, as with ‘black’ females, they have hatred in their hearts from *three centuries* of oppression. They hold objects associated with pleasurable or violent activities, whereas ‘black’ females generally hold items relating to hard work, showing men’s privilege over ‘black’ females. Furthermore, unlike ‘black’ females, some young ‘black’ males take agentive action against their oppression, which culminates in the murder of an innocent ‘white’ female. Their action is relatively ineffective as one ‘white’ ally dies and the main instigator is sent to jail. So, their depiction provides a historical context for the violence, thereby complicating the stereotypical portrayal of ‘black’ males as needlessly and irrationally violent.

Patterns pertaining to ‘white’ females come predominantly from *The Mark* as there are notably low frequencies and two absences in the data for *Mother to Mother*. This leads to stereotypical, one-dimensional portrayals in the latter: ‘white’ females are depicted as innocent victims (Amy, and Amy’s mother) of male violence or privileged employers (Mrs Nelson). Amy’s mother and Mandisa share the uniting pain of losing a child – a similarity that shows maternal identity as a connection point for females of different ‘races’. In *The Mark*, ‘white’ females hold luxury objects and in Master’s household, they are expected to show obedience to the

‘white’ male head of the house. As with ‘black’ females, they similarly lack power in comparison to males within their racial group, except in one case where the President is a ‘white’ female who dominates a ‘white’ male. She, like Mandisa’s employer, Mrs Nelson, shows complete disregard for those in her employ (Ettie’s hand is *invisible* to her). This overt racism is a function of the phenomenal power she holds in an unequal society. Larissa’s depiction as a fearful young ‘white’ female with disability indicates that her relatively privileged status is reduced by her youth and illness. The President and Larissa both show that there is some variation within this identity in *The Mark*.

In both novels, ‘white’ males are shown to have absolute power over all other identities, especially ‘black’ females. As with ‘white’ females, the low frequencies of ‘white’ male body parts in *Mother to Mother* entail limited, stereotypical depictions. Furthermore, Mandisa only really interacts with the ‘white’ policemen, whom she describes as animalistic, aggressive and unsympathetic, for they lack hearts. There is, therefore, no room for variation or complexity in their construal. Their power is undeniable and a source of great fear for the main ‘black’ characters: Siziwe, Mxolisi, and Mandisa.

In *The Mark*, Master is similarly depicted: he has cold hard eyes, and he communicates to those below him (especially ‘black’ females) via demeaning gestures. ‘White’ male hands also hold objects of power and privilege, and do not need to use violence to exert their power: the threat of violence is sufficient. This clearly establishes ‘white’ males at the top of the hierarchy. However, there is some variation in the construal of Nicolas. He shows agency in his relationship with Ettie: he mostly initiates physical contact, and his male gaze is initially unsettling. He also uses his privilege to free himself, Ettie and the resistance members from the mark. However, his hands are described as *gentle*. He is shown to be nurturing and caring through touch, which does not typically happen in *Mother to Mother* unless the male’s hand is disembodied, creating distance from the act. This complicates the traditional gender stereotype to an extent: Nicolas is not the hypermasculine, emotionally-stunted male character that the others are shown to be.

In sum, these three identities all show power over ‘black’ females, reinforcing the latter’s portrayal at the bottom of the intersectional social hierarchy. The oppression of ‘black’ characters differs according to gender: ‘black’ males are more agentive in both novels, predominantly in their violent acts against females, although Mxolisi, like his sister,

demonstrates extreme fear of the police in *Mother to Mother*. Traditional gender roles are broadly entrenched in both novels, typically in relationships. Master and Tata are both head of their households; Nicolas takes charge in his relationship with Ettie; Xavier dominates Ettie and Kitty; China receives money for work and Mandisa does not. In *The Mark*, there are some variations within each identity's construal, showing that there are various ways of relating to one's social position. In *Mother to Mother*, there are more stereotypical, one-dimensional depictions of 'white' people especially, but the complexity and context provided for the young 'black' males' murderous actions add nuance to the stereotype that 'black' males are needlessly and irrationally violent.

5.2.3 Research Question 3: Explanation and Ideological Implications

What are the possible explanations for, and ideological implications of the findings in 1 and 2?

The predominantly stereotypical gender construals of, especially, 'black' females, and the depiction of 'black' people's oppression in both novels indicates that both novels prioritise dismantling the lived-experience of racism over sexism. However, these conclusions are not monolithic: both novels have 'black' females showing a degree of agency, self-love, and emotional control, which provides a potential model for overcoming both gender- and 'race'-based oppression. I turn first to the antiracist discourses that fall under the overarching progressive discourse in South Africa, and then to the more conservative sexist and ableist discourses.

In the struggle against racism in South Africa, 'race' needs to be exposed as a social construct, while still acknowledging that racism is a real lived-experience for most 'black' people (Rabaka, 2011). Furthermore, Biko (1987:20) argued that a non-racial future or true integration would only be possible if there was "the genuine fusion of the life-styles of the various groups" and this could only be achieved through "complete freedom of self-determination" and "mutual respect for each other". In short, there needs to be a deep understanding of past divisions, and cross-racial social integration.

In *The Mark*, Ettie's racial marking contributes to antiracism by exposing the constructedness of 'race' and acknowledging the material experience of racism. Because she appears at the boundaries of 'race', she reveals that 'race' is not biological. Ettie is a transracial subject (Alim, 2016b): she performs two 'raced' identities, which exposes the constructedness of 'race', and

she proudly reaffirms her marginalised *savage* identity, particularly through the pride she shows in her hair. I further explain the self-love pattern below. This latter strategic racialisation is necessary in the struggle against racism (Alim, 2016b). She is, therefore, not accommodating and not attempting to pass as a Posh permanently, because she sees the racial hierarchy for what it is: a myth that burdens some people and privileges others. Her performances destabilise the so-called 'biological' basis of 'race', but additional transgressive agents are required to perform in similar ways to nudge the hegemonic ideological structures to change. The ideological implication is that Ettie could encourage ambiguously 'raced' readers to enact transracial performances to similar ends, and collectively transform "the oppressive logic of race itself" (Alim, 2016b:34).

Ettie's pride in her *savage* appearance, especially her natural 'black' hair, provides a powerful example of radical self-love as a weapon against the lived experience of antiblack racism. The teasing connected to Ettie's *big* eyes and the frequent demands for her to alter her *savage* hair to accommodate to a racist beauty norm are both products of the white supremacist system. Both 'white' people (the Posh in the beauty parlours, Mistress) and 'black' people (Xavier, Me, Kitty, Ettie's classmates) are complicit in this racism, demonstrating the hegemonic ideological power of antiblack racism. It resonates in a country that recently saw 'black' learners protest against what they described as racist hair rules in former 'white' high schools (Ebrahim, 2016). Today, many 'black' females continue to straighten their hair in an attempt to conform to racist beauty norms that hold up 'white' as beautiful. Hooks (2015) contends that this is internalised racism and that 'black' people must free their minds by appreciating the beauty of their natural hair. Ettie's reclamation of the racist insult *Savage* and the pride she shows in her natural hair are clear examples of the important work of opposing this ideology. .

Two further representations acknowledge racism as a lived-experience: the hatred in 'black' people's hearts, 'black' people's responses to oppression, and 'white' males' construal as animalistic. The personified rage and hatred that propels Mxolisi to kill Amy is also shown to be festering in the hearts of all 'black' people in South Africa after three centuries of 'race'-based oppression. Antiracist theorists including Baldwin, Hooks and Lorde (Rabaka, 2011), describe the raging desire to hurt 'white' people ('black' anger) as understandable and healthy, and recommend that it should be redirected towards dismantling the system of racism and white supremacy. As a response to oppression, Mxolisi's agentive murderous act is ineffectual. Nevertheless, these construals do the important work of establishing an understanding of

antiblack racism in South Africa and the resulting creation of hatred in a 'raced' group's hearts. Mandisa's animalistic construals of 'white' males in *Mother to Mother* can be explained using Fanon (Rabaka, 2011): the white supremacist racist system affects all who live in it. When 'white' policemen violently oppress 'black' people, they fail to ascribe universal human values to them, and so the 'white' people themselves lose their humanity. While the insults Mandisa silently throws at the policemen are another realisation of 'black' anger, they also expose apartheid's dehumanising effect on 'white' people: through their perceived superiority, they act without humanity.

The depiction of interracial relationships in *The Mark*, and cross-racial empathy in *Mother to Mother*, contribute to antiracism by bridging racial boundaries and encouraging social integration. Ettie's interracial relationships with Larissa and Nicolas are characterised by affectionate physical touch – something that contrasts significantly with Master's refusal to touch or make eye contact with 'black' females. In a country where it was once illegal to have sexual relations between 'white' and 'black' people, this demonstration of love crossing boundaries echoes the goal of our Constitution: to be united in diversity. However, the interracial relationships construed in *The Mark* are to an extent governed by power relations: Nicolas mostly initiates physical contact and interacts with Ettie in more dominant ways. So while interracial relationships are key to building a non-racial future, as Biko (1987) argued, true integration is also dependent on equality and human dignity.

In *Mother to Mother*, cross-racial empathy is based on the perception that motherhood is a universal experience that unites mothers of different 'races'. Both mothers experience the pain of losing a child (Mxolisi is condemned and imprisoned, Amy is killed) and Mandisa uses this to unite the two mothers. Her heart feels the pain of her *Sister-Mother*. The underlying message of this cross-racial empathy is that acknowledging a shared experience (motherhood) can unite people with different lived-experiences of the white supremacist world. We can heal the injustices of the past by recognising and sympathising with the Other's pain. It is this mutual respect (Biko, 1987) that becomes a precursor to social integration. However, the radical empathy espoused in *Mother to Mother* has a limited source – maternal identity – which I address below in discussing the conservative, sexist discourses.

Both novels have sexist elements which prove that the overarching conservative discourse still has ideological weight in South Africa. These sexist elements are revealed in relatively

uncontested traditional gender roles, the objectification of females, and the depiction of females as generally weak and ruled by their emotional bodies. While these elements can be somewhat excused by the oppressive, sexist context in which the novels are set, insufficient ideological work has been done to counter naturalised, sexist assumptions, as compared to the significant work shown in the antiracist discourses.

'Black' females in *The Mark*, especially Kitty and Ettie, are objectified by male gaze (Mulvey, 1975), and prized for their beauty (or scorned for not making an effort to be 'beautiful'). HAIR is feminised in this novel, demonstrating that the political debate surrounding 'black' hair is restricted to females: male hair and, as a corollary, male appearances are simply not scrutinised. Ettie, on the other hand, is the bearer of the 'white' male gaze. Working against the racist norm, Nicolas evaluates Ettie's appearance positively (*pretty* eyes), but in so doing makes her uncomfortable under his gaze because of the existing power relations between them. Thus, while his positive evaluation of her natural beauty assists in breaking down the racist beauty norm, it entrenches the objectification of females by working within the logic of male gaze. Similarly, Ettie's positive perception of her *savage* hair ties her worth to her appearance: this crucial antiracist discourse is somewhat unbalanced by this focus on her appearance for self-worth. In the end, this antiracist discourse tied to beauty must work with similar construals that show 'black' females to be intelligent, agentive, and successful so that they are not reduced to discourses about beauty and appearance, but rather that those discourses are options among many that can be drawn upon.

Males and females in both novels appear to fall within traditional gender roles, which perpetuates gender inequality: for example, 'black' males appear defeated by their restricted ability to provide for their families, and Ettie and Mandisa are both caregivers who work in domestic spaces. This sexist pattern is perhaps most evident in the valorisation of maternal identity over other forms of feminine identity in *Mother to Mother*. From a gender-as-difference perspective (Cameron, 2005), the Empathy Superpower that mothers appear to possess is a uniquely feminine power that should be celebrated. However, this essentialises the differences between males and females (the constructed gender binary), thereby legitimating male domination (Motschenbacher, 2010). The emotional labour of healing our nation is delivered into female (mothers') hands, which indirectly removes males from the feminised work of empathy and national healing. It simultaneously prioritises motherhood over

fatherhood, echoing the traditional role of females as the primary caregivers, and erases the identities of females who are unable or unwilling to have children.

‘Black’ females are shown to have excessive emotional reactions that weaken their ability to act on the world: at times their fear and shock can incapacitate them, which is a particularly powerless response to oppression. Females are therefore depicted as weak. It also construes ‘black’ females as dominated by their instinct-driven bodies, and Mandisa’s and Ettie’s negative evaluation of tears further entrenches the colonial-era stereotype that female and Othered bodies are unstable, passionate and irrational (Howson, 2013). Cartesian mind-body dualism underpins these construals as they work to legitimate the oppression of females (Grosz, 1994) and, I would argue, ‘black’ females in particular. By contrast, both Mandisa and Ettie positively evaluate their own stereotypically male shows of power through restraint and control of their bodies. In addition, Ettie is not wholly construed as weak: she shows acts of agency, although sometimes at the expense of the *‘Rejects’*. However, her ultimate show of agency – escaping her Drudge life – is shared with Nicolas: his ‘white’ privilege is her means of escape. In sum, there are some underlying feminist discourses within these construals of bodily control and agency that sit uneasily along with the more sexist discourses that objectify females, valorise motherhood and entrench traditional gender roles.

The Constitution of South Africa (1996) guarantees that equality and human dignity be afforded to all, and makes explicit reference to people with disability. However, ableist terms and metaphors – particularly those related to people with psychological disability and those with hearing and vision impairments – recur sporadically throughout both novels. These pejorative metaphors are so widespread in our everyday discourse (People With Disability Australia, 2018) that the stigma tied to those groups of people becomes naturalised. People with disability are thus Othered and experience social exclusion. In *Mother to Mother*, the preoccupation with Mxolisi’s ears and deafness in the context of the murder associates a hearing impairment with a lack of empathy or understanding. In *The Mark*, Ettie is most preoccupied with people with intellectual disability: she uses the insult *dead-brain* frequently and by pretending to be a *dead-brain*, she exploits abled people’s aversion to the *‘Rejects’* for her own benefit. The harrowing descriptions of how the *‘Rejects’* live cause immediate sympathy and distress in the reader and expose the worst consequences of an exploitative, ableist world; however, the ableist logic is not sufficiently destabilised by our primary guide, Ettie, to prevent these derogatory depictions from (re)affirming ableist discourses.

In South African society today, there is a clear divide between the progressive discourse of our Constitution (1996), which supports non-racialism, equality, and social justice for all, and the more conservative Christian and patriarchal discourses of the majority of South Africans. Janks (1997) argues that because South Africa is experiencing social change, there are two overarching discourses or a hybridity of discourses that text producers draw upon when they produce texts. Although this study is completed 22 years later, I come to a similar conclusion: there are elements of both progressive (antiracist and some feminist) and conservative (sexist and ableist) discourses in these novels. Social change, it would appear, will take a long time to stabilise.

5.2.4 Research Question 4: Promotion of Transformative Principles

To what extent do these findings show that the novels promote the transformative principles of the National Curriculum Statement?

The National Curriculum Statement (NCS) sets out that basic education should play an important role in realising the aims of the Constitution, among them healing "the divisions of the past [to] establish a society based on democratic values, social justice and fundamental human rights" (Department of Basic Education, 2011:2). In other words, it states that the power of the basic education system must be used to foster a South African society that is united – a link to the government's overt ideology of non-racialism and nation building. The NCS further states that education in this country should be based on this transformative principle, among others: the NCS "is sensitive to issues of diversity such as poverty, inequality, race, gender, language, age, disability and other factors" (Department of Basic Education, 2011:5). This section answers that these novels are transformative to a certain extent, particularly with regard to 'race', but they perpetuate the social exclusion of people with disability and somewhat (re)establish gender inequality.

It is important that the majority of learners begin to see themselves faithfully construed in the novels they read, and this is objectively true for both these novels in comparison to previous Matric setworks (Silverthorne, 2009). The central focus of previous colonial-era setworks was British 'whiteness' whereas these decolonised setworks put South African 'blackness' at the centre. If learners feel that they belong in an educational context, they are more successful. Speaking from my experience teaching *The Mark*, I found that one underachieving learner in particular who saw herself in Ettie showed an interest in English classes I had not seen from

her before. Furthermore, the lively debates and class discussions prompted by Ettie's hair and the concept of *savagery* demonstrated these learners' engagement with the material. Ettie's agentive pushback against racist insult and desire for freedom perhaps makes her a better role model for female learners than Mandisa's more traditional outlook on women's place in the home, although she too demonstrates some strength and self-control in the face of oppression. Furthermore, *Mother to Mother*'s core message of locating sympathy in a shared humanity or common human experience has the potential to heal and bridge divides, as long as all those who live in South Africa employ it.

Diversity has its limits: not every identity group can be included. For example, the other 'race' groups ('Coloured' and 'Indian') are not explicitly represented. However, if as Biko (1987) and Rabaka (2011) argue, all 'races' who are not 'white' should be included under the banner of 'black', then these novels, broadly, show a group of people working against oppression – a message that most can appreciate. These novels put those who are multiply oppressed into the centre: the aim of intersectionality (Crenshaw, 1989). Those learners who come from identity groups that are not depicted in these novels may not resonate with the underlying positive messages of embracing interracial relationships and cross-racial empathy, because they may feel either erased or, in the case of learners with disability, deliberately exploited. In this regard, these novels have failed to be sensitive to some of these issues, specifically, disability, sexism, and alternative expressions of femininity to motherhood. However, it must be acknowledged that it would be challenging to find a setwork that satisfied all the values of the NCS. I conclude that, because 'race' has been the defining identity for South Africans for centuries (Erwin, 2012) and the apartheid legacy still lives on today, these novels are very necessary in the work they do to foster empathy across racial divides, encourage interracial interaction, and destabilise the concept of 'race' while simultaneously acknowledging the lived-experience of racism.

5.2.5 Research Question 5: Incorporation of Intersectionality

How successful is the incorporation of intersectional theory into the Corpus-based Critical Discourse Analysis methodology employed?

Intersectionality is notoriously difficult to pin down methodologically due to the theory's inherent complexity (Windsong, 2018); however, with its growing popularity in much humanities scholarship and calls to incorporate intersectional approaches into critical discourse analysis research (Levon, 2015, Milani, 2013), these methodological issues must be tackled

head on to ensure that such a useful theoretical tool becomes usable in various types of research. This study has demonstrated a unique way of incorporating intersectionality into a Corpus-based Critical Discourse Analysis. In this section I answer that intersectionality informed all aspects of the research design and implementation: the central tenets of relationality and mutual constitution informed the qualitative analysis and data collection, and marginalised subjects (‘black’ females) remained the central focus of the analysis without elevating the ‘white’ male norm. In terms of the relative success of this integration, I proceed to argue that while the annotation process enabled this study to unearth ideologically significant patterns, it may not be a workable solution for studies based on larger corpora. However, this study’s methods for incorporating the central tenets of relationality and mutual constitution into qualitative analysis can effectively be carried over into discourse-based research.

5.2.5.1 Data

Both novels have main characters who are ‘black’ females. The data choice, therefore, enables this study to highlight the original intersectional subjects, ‘black’ females, who are marginalised through multiple burdens (Crenshaw, 1989). Contrary to Cho, Crenshaw and McCall (2013), I chose not to focus exclusively on marginalised identities as this could “run the risk of painting a rather unnuanced picture” of the complexities of the social hierarchy (Kitis, Milani & Levon, 2018:152). Instead, I incorporate the concept of relationality into my intersectional research design: the idea that constructs such as ‘black’ are meaningless without the corresponding meaning of ‘white’ because they are constructed in relation to each other (Windsong, 2018). In practical terms, this meant analysing the other three intersectional identities (‘black’ male, ‘white’ female, and ‘white’ male) to compare and contrast with the primary focus, ‘black’ female identity. The comparison of different identities across the novels allowed for more rigorous conclusions to be made on the structure of the social hierarchy represented in these novels and the ways in which the ‘black’ female characters opposed or accepted their marginalisation.

Previous Corpus-based Critical Discourse Analysis research that incorporated intersectionality does so by creating specialised corpora based on intersectional search terms (Kitis, Milani & Levon, 2018; Baker & Levon, 2016) or on an individual person (Hunt & Jaworska, 2019). All these studies compiled newspaper corpora that were constructed around the intersectional identity in question: for example, Kitis, Milani and Levon (2018:153) focus on search terms related to the ‘black’ middle class, including “clever blacks” and “black diamonds”. My data

cannot be investigated in the same way: there are no intersectional identity markers that I could use as fruitful search terms. Terms such as “black female” simply do not occur frequently enough to warrant investigation, revealing that the intersectional patterns are not overt in the data. This means that the data needed to be enriched with annotation – a common practice in Corpus Linguistics that enables more informative patterns to be uncovered (Leech, 2013). Building on the gender annotation of body parts that Hunt (2011) uses on children’s literature, I investigate the discursive patterns of intersectional physical identity by annotating gender and ‘race’. In so doing, this study shows the possibility of contrasting the construal of various intersecting identities through the annotation of body parts, when an overarching search term or related metaphor is not present in the corpus data.

Initially I planned the annotation on either side of the node word (*{b}hand{f}* for a ‘black’ female hand) so that in addition to investigating the intersecting identities, I could also isolate gender or ‘race’ to find other racialised or gendered lexical patterns that would then point to gendered or racialised discourses. I later decided against this as it does not hold with intersectionality theory: social axes such as gender and ‘race’ are not isolated entities unto themselves, but are, instead, mutually constitutive (Levon, 2015). However, condensing the annotation into a single identifier at the beginning (for example, *{bf}hand* for a ‘black’ female hand) appeared too uniform. Because ‘race’ and gender mutually constitute each other in sometimes “contradictory and conflictual ways” (McClintock, 1995:5), I separate the annotation to *{b}hand{f}* to reflect more accurately the dynamics within intersectional identities.

There are disadvantages to the manual annotation process. Primarily, it was time-consuming and subject to human error, despite my best efforts. During the analysis stage, there were a number of occasions when I had to go back into the data to rectify an incorrect annotation (e.g. annotating Ettie’s hand as ‘white’ instead of ‘black’). Because the process drew heavily on contextual information, arguably even more so automatic semantic tagging, it <u>had</u> to be manual. Only a human analyst could understand the ‘racial’ system of each novel, and use cues such as Xhosa names, and the locations where characters were forced to live, given segregation policies, to inform annotation decisions. I cannot yet conceive of an automatic tagging system that could accurately ‘race’ characters or body parts. In fact, it would be the same problem with most other social axes, except gender: tagging a character for their sexuality (unless openly stated) or their class would require in-depth human input in the annotation stage. Gender would

be less of an issue if tagging is tied to gendered pronouns. This annotation system, therefore, is well-suited to the smaller scale of this particular study. However, it would be impractical if substantially larger corpora were under investigation.

5.2.5.2 Qualitative Analysis

The qualitative analysis focuses on 'black' female body parts and supplementary detail about the other identities is discussed when they are markedly similar or different in order to better contextualise 'black' female physical identity. Intersectionality, however, does not in principle restrict itself to the mutual constitution of only two social axes. In order to bring any other important axes to light, I incorporate Matsuda's (1991 in Levon, 2015) 'asking other questions' into my qualitative analysis. Practically, this means when something appeared racist or sexist, I ask whether there are also classist, homophobic or ableist elements involved. This integrates well with the critical lens of Critical Discourse Analysis that has as its primary concern the deconstruction of power relations and underlying discourse (Wodak & Meyer, 2016). This tactic roots out the fairly prominent ableist discourse and alerts me to the heteronormativity in both novels. Due to space constraints, I prioritise the latter over the former in the analysis, as there is only the erasure of queer identities rather than explicit homophobia in comparison to the explicit exploitation of people with disability, especially in *The Mark*.

The central intersectionality tenets of mutual constitution and relationality are also incorporated into the qualitative analysis. The mutual constitution of 'race' and gender are clearly present in ways that 'black' females were positioned at the bottom of a social hierarchy; however, the way both novels, especially *Mother to Mother*, addressed this position was by isolating 'race' as the uniting oppression at the expense of sexism. Therefore, the opponent discourses are not truly intersectional, but reveal the author's single-axis thinking. *The Mark* shows a more agentive 'black' female character despite her oppressive surroundings, and thus demonstrates a higher level of mutual constitution; however, this is at times at the expense of a further social axis, that of disability.

In terms of relationality, *Mother to Mother* because of its more traditionally intersectional focus on 'black' people's lived experience and relative absence of 'white' body parts, there are fewer comparisons possible between different identities. *The Mark* has a more even distribution of body parts across the four intersectional identities, allowing for a relational analysis, but this perhaps comes at the expense of drawing 'white' experience into a story about 'black'

experience. The clearest example of this is Nicolas: he directs his relationship with Ettie, and his 'whiteness' is crucial to her most agentive act of freeing herself from the oppression of the mark on her back.

5.3 Relevance of Research to Basic Education in South Africa

Section 1.3 summarises the education crisis in post-apartheid South Africa. Part of the motivation for this study is not only to improve my own understanding of the new setworks that I teach, but also to contribute in some way to tackling the literacy crisis and healing our nation. The potential uses for this study's findings include workshopping teachers, developing learning materials and providing direction for critical language awareness programs based on these novels. I do not present the simplistic argument that because *Mother to Mother* and *The Mark* have sexist and ableist discourses that they should be removed as setworks. Instead, the way these novels are taught should be informed by an awareness of these naturalised discourses, and that this awareness is used to critique the novel during study.

As a language teacher, I understand the implicit challenges in choosing an appropriate novel for study in schools. Among other considerations, a prescribed novel has to be at the appropriate reading level, include age appropriate content, hold to transformative principles of the NCS, and be an appropriate length for study. Unlike textbooks that can be explicitly designed to attend to these concerns, novels are first and foremost literature, and so there is less control over all the possible discourses that underlie them. Despite the sexist and ableist discourses in these novels, it would be unproductive to say that they should be replaced by some elusive 'better' novel. Rather, the true benefit of this research is to expose the ideological inconsistencies within these novels and show how they manifest so that teachers can better engage with these issues in class. Furthermore, this study's in-depth interpretations of the antiracist discourses could be useful in supporting 'white' teachers who may want to gloss over the racial issues, as Ladson-Billings (2003 in Rogers & Christian, 2007) discovered in schools in the United States. Learning and teaching materials informed by this research could assist teachers currently ill-equipped to teach the more progressive elements of these novels from a racially engaged position (Lugones, 1990, cited in Thompson, 2003). Teacher sensitivity training could provide similar support to teachers.

This country needs to heal from past injustices, but the novels cannot do that alone: the teachers who frame these setworks for their learners need to be empowered to actively unpack any

difficult elements. Therefore, sexist and ableist setworks can have pedagogical importance (Diekman & Murnen, 2004): the more problematic areas of both novels could be utilised by teachers in order to extend awareness and sensitivity to all these issues in the classroom. For example, while *Mother to Mother* provides a very necessary lesson in cross-racial empathy, it does so at the expense of over-valorising motherhood and depicting males and females in traditional gender roles. *The Mark* similarly provides necessary lessons in resisting oppression by taking pride in natural 'black' hair, but at the expense of objectifying females. Each lesson has a drawback that can form the basis of class debate and learning about stereotypes. This study's exposure of the latent gendered and racialised ideologies stops them from working at the unconscious level of common-sense and brings them to the surface of our conscious understanding. Once these ideologies have been thus identified, they can be more easily located in other texts, thereby encouraging active readership.

5.4 Limitations of the Research and Suggestions for Future Research

There are two limitations related to the use of corpora in this study. First, Brezina (2018) and McEnery & Hardie (2012) state that it is good practice to make the corpora used freely available, so that this research can be easily replicated. Due to copyright constraints (see Appendix 1), I cannot make these annotated datasets public, so other researchers would have to annotate their own versions of the texts if they wished to explore the same dataset further. This is an inconvenience that is unfortunately out of my control.

The second constraint relates to the benefits of a reference corpus. South Africa is a "corpus-poor environment" that lacks the readily available "precompiled and annotated corpora" in contexts like the United States or Britain (Kitis, Milani & Levon, 2018:152). Corpus linguists working on South African data must, for the most part, compile their own corpora, and this becomes difficult for an individual researcher with limited time and funding. Mautner (2016) recommends checking the patterns found in the target corpus against a general reference corpus to guard against over- and under-interpretation, especially if the target corpus is small, as mine are. For future research that has access to more funding, triangulating research methods by including a reference corpus to control data would be a way of lending extra validity to claims made in the Interpretation and Explanation stages. The .za sub-corpus in the enTenTen15, which is available on Sketch Engine (Kilgarriff et al., 2014) behind a paywall, could be a useful general online reference corpus for such future research.

This study restricts its analysis of physical identity to nine key body parts (nominals), and while I found sufficient evidence to discuss various intersectional themes in the data, the restriction to these nominals prevented other interesting avenues of analysing physical identity. Verbals related to physical identity, but not necessarily indexed by the nine key body parts could be a fascinating area of future research. For example, the patterns of intimacy and power related to eye contact could have been further enriched by including verbs related to seeing, gazing, and looking etc. The annotation system would have to be reworked slightly to incorporate verbals in such future research. On a related note, early in the research design process, I thought to investigate verbs of speech as Caldas-Coulthard (1993) shows they can reveal gendered patterns. It could have been interesting to investigate intersectional patterns linked to, for example, descriptive verbs of speech. Unfortunately, the frequencies for speech verbs in *The Mark* are extremely low and so preclude this line of inquiry. However, it could be productive in future research on different data.

There is an interesting minor discourse relating to grappling with the body: eyes deceive and both eyes and ears are not believed. While this nicely reflects the sociological theory on the body about how we grapple with what the body is and how we relate to it (see 2.4.1), it does not explicitly relate to the construal of 'black' female identity or reveal ideologically significant intersectional patterns. Since it does not answer my research questions, I excluded it from this study. However, it would be interesting to investigate how fiction writers variously (or similarly) conceptualise the body, and see how this ties in with existing academic work on the subject. Fiction and poetry comment on how we relate to everything around us, and so is always a fascinating and worthy area to study.

Lastly, this text-based study is limited to uncovering whether these novels are broadly transformative choices in line with the progressive principles of the NCS. Further research could investigate how teachers grapple with these novels in classrooms, and whether they support progressive, non-racial discourses or reinforce conservative discourses. An ethnographic study combined perhaps with a textual analysis of assessments and student writing could make for socially relevant, linguistic research in a country that desperately needs it. In addition, it would be beneficial for the data for such studies to include the prescribed works from the other official languages, so as to counter the normalisation of English (and Afrikaans to a lesser extent) as worthy of research at the expense of the other official languages. For example, Nkosi's (2013) ethnographic study on how a teacher perpetuated sexist discourses

arising from the school's prescribed Zulu novels could be replicated with the new national setworks in a few schools.

5.5 Conclusion

In the overall canon for South African high school literature, there needs to be some apartheid literature to historicise and address the racial tensions that South Africa still experiences. Both *The Mark* and *Mother to Mother* make broadly good choices in terms of promoting non-racialism, social cohesion, and radical empathy, and tackling racist assumptions. However, the oppressive setting (based on apartheid) in both novels has enabled more traditional depictions of males and females from both 'races' to filter through relatively uncontested. Furthermore, the agency of one 'black' female character (Ettie) exploits people with disability and so promotes ableism. The benefit this research provides to Grade 10 English Home Language teaching is the uncovering of these contested discourses so that teachers in schools can adequately address the more problematic areas in these novels. There must be more than this: these novels should be balanced by other literature (such as poetry, short stories) in Grade 10 and the higher grades that also shows agentive 'black' female characters being truly heroic, breaking stereotypes, not needing a 'white' male saviour, showing less interest in their appearance and more interest in valuing feminine identities that are not tied to motherhood. Part of the move for more diverse, decolonised literature is for people who are not 'white' or male to see themselves and, more importantly, to see wonderful, imitable versions of themselves in the stories they read. These two novels do not quite do that for their readers – but they certainly are working in that direction and have a bearing on nation building.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Copyright Permissions

Appendix 1.1: Copyright Permission for *The Mark*

RE: Copyright permission for The Mark

Date: 02/11/2019 (13:56:28 SAST)
From: Michelle Cooper
To: Edyth Bulbring bea hubbard
X-Spam-Score: -0.7 (/)

View Source
Save
View All Parts

Text (13 KB)

Images have been blocked in this message part.
Show Images?

Dear Edyth and Bea

Thank you for letting us know. I have cleared the request with our rights manager and publishing manager.

We are happy for you to go ahead, as long as the appropriate acknowledgement is given to Edyth as author and Tafelberg (which is an imprint of NB Publishers, a division of Media24 Boeke (Pty) Ltd) as publisher (the correct wording to be found on the imprint page of the book).

Very best wishes

Michelle

From: Edyth Bulbring <edythbulbring@gmail.com>
Sent: 06 February 2019 06:45 PM
To: bea hubbard <g09h0943@campus.ru.ac.za>
Cc: Marga Stoffer <marga.stoffer@nb.co.za>; Michelle Cooper <mcooper@nb.co.za>
Subject: Re: Copyright permission for The Mark

Dear Bea
Your research sounds fascinating. I have no objection to you going ahead. I have copied my publisher and I am sure they will be happy with you conducting this research. I would be interested to know what your findings are. Best of luck with youir Masters, and please send my love and best wishes to Professor Sally Hunt. I was at school with her and I have fond memories of our school days together.
Best
Edyth

https://edythbulbring.com/

Appendix 1.2: Copyright Permission for *Mother to Mother*

Mother to Mother: copyright request Inbox ×

Bea Hubbard Wed, May 29, 12:48 PM
Dear Ms Dougan I am a Masters student at Rhodes University, South Africa who would like to conduct research into recent popular South African fiction. Sind…

Jill Dougan <JDougan@beacon.org> Thu, Jun 6, 10:06 PM
to me

Dear Ms. Hubbard,

Thank you for your request. We are happy to allow permission to use short quote in your Masters research project as you describe below provided you include a full acknowledgement to the title, author, and Beacon Press; and that the digital file is not distributed in any way. If you plan to publish your thesis at any time in the future, please reapply for permission.

Congratulations on your hard work toward your Masters degree, and thank you for your interest in Beacon Press works.

Kind regards,
~Jill

Jill Dougan | Business Manager
Beacon Press, 24 Farnsworth Street, Boston, MA 02210-1409
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•••

Appendix 2: Frequency Tables

Appendix 2.1: Raw and Normalised Frequencies (per 10 000) of all Body Parts (Raw Data)

	***Mother to Mother* raw**	***Mother to Mother* normalised**	***The Mark* raw**	***The Mark* normalised**
back	216	31	173	27
eyes	163	23	175	28
heart	69	9	18	3
hand	63	9	71	11
face	53	7	171	27
head	49	7	81	13
hands	47	7	92	15
feet	39	6	43	7
mouth	37	5	50	8
ears	34	5	20	3
arms	27	4	34	5
shoulders	25	4	8	1
eye	22	3	13	2
foot	22	3	9	1
throat	17	2	12	2
lips	16	2	26	4
heads	15	2	10	2
body	14	2	12	2
legs	14	2	17	3
stomach	14	2	23	4
arm	13	2	34	5
hair	13	2	52	8
neck	13	2	17	3
shoulder	13	2	14	2
bodies	12	2	9	1
hearts	12	2	2	0
cheeks	11	2	12	2
ear	11	2	3	0
teeth	10	1	25	4
tongues	10	1	0	0
brow	9	1	0	0
eyed	9	1	0	0
finger	9	1	20	3
brows	8	1	0	0
breast	7	1	0	0
chest	7	1	22	4
faced	7	1	0	0
faces	7	1	0	0
knees	7	1	13	2
skin	7	1	57	9
fists	6	1	9	1
handed	6	1	0	0
jaw	6	1	6	1
lap	6	1	0	0
mouths	6	1	2	0
belly	5	1	5	1
brain	5	1	3	0
fist	5	1	13	2
heels	5	1	0	0

tongue	5	1	15	2
backs	4	1	11	2
elbows	4	1	3	0
facing	4	1	24	4
headed	4	1	0	0
palm	4	1	5	1
thighs	4	1	0	0
tooth	4	1	11	2
womb	4	1	0	0
wrist	4	1	2	0
ankle	3	0	0	0
eyebrows	3	0	2	0
fingers	3	0	52	8
jaws	3	0	3	0
lashes	3	0	0	0
muscles	3	0	0	0
nose	3	0	25	4
noses	3	0	2	0
nostrils	3	0	3	0
waist	3	0	3	0
ankles	2	0	3	0
chin	2	0	10	2
elbow	2	0	6	1
haired	2	0	0	0
heading	2	0	0	0
hip	2	0	0	0
knee	2	0	2	0
leg	2	0	8	1
lids	2	0	0	0
lip	2	0	7	1
liver	2	0	0	0
nail	2	0	0	0
nails	2	0	0	0
palms	2	0	5	1
rib	2	0	0	0
slits	2	0	0	0
spleen	2	0	0	0
stomachs	2	0	0	0
tummy	2	0	0	0
brains	0	0	3	0
butt	0	0	2	0
cheek	0	0	11	2
elbowing	0	0	2	0
eyebrow	0	0	2	0
eyelashes	0	0	2	0
eyelids	0	0	2	0
forehead	0	0	2	0
handing	0	0	4	1
insides	0	0	3	0
knuckles	0	0	3	0
limbs	0	0	3	0
ribs	0	0	5	1
skull	0	0	4	1
spine	0	0	25	4
spines	0	0	6	1
toe	0	0	2	0
toes	0	0	5	1
wrists	0	0	7	1

Appendix 2.2: Alphabetised List of Body Parts for *The Mark* (Raw Data)

Index position	Raw frequency	Body part lexis
118	1	ankle
119	3	ankles
171	34	arm
173	1	armpits
174	34	arms
243	173	back
245	11	backs
362	5	belly
455	9	bodies
456	12	body
467	10	bone
468	7	bones
512	15	brain
513	3	brains
609	2	butt
741	11	cheek
742	12	cheeks
748	22	chest
759	10	chin
761	1	chins
1400	3	ear
1405	20	ears
1436	6	elbow
1437	2	elbowing
1438	3	elbows
1547	13	eye
1548	1	eyeballs
1549	2	eyebrow
1550	2	eyebrows
1552	2	eyelashes
1553	2	eyelids
1554	175	eyes
1558	173	face
1560	24	faces
1612	43	feet
1667	20	finger
1668	1	fingered
1669	1	fingering
1670	1	fingernails
1671	52	fingers
1672	1	fingertip
1673	1	fingertips
1680	13	fist
1681	9	fists
1707	26	flesh
1762	9	foot
1770	2	forehead
2046	52	hair
2054	71	hand
2059	4	handing
2065	92	hands
2104	81	head
2108	10	heads
2116	18	heart

2118	2	hearts
2126	1	heel
2127	1	heels
2167	1	hip
2352	6	jaw
2353	3	jaws
2426	2	knee
2430	13	knees
2443	3	knuckles
2502	8	leg
2504	1	legged
2506	17	legs
2548	3	limbs
2558	7	lip
2559	26	lips
2805	50	mouth
2806	2	mouths
2861	17	neck
2864	1	necks
2914	25	nose
2915	2	noses
2916	3	nostrils
3068	5	palm
3069	5	palms
3195	1	pinkie
3207	1	plait
3208	1	plaits
3604	5	ribs
3748	1	scalp
4053	1	skeleton
4060	57	skin
4065	4	skull
4254	25	spine
4256	6	spines
4378	23	stomach
4610	25	teeth
4658	1	thighs
4685	12	throat
4686	1	throats
4740	2	toe
4741	5	toes
4751	15	tongue
4752	1	tongues
4756	11	tooth
5017	3	waist
5232	2	wrist
5233	7	wrists

Appendix 2.3: Alphabetised List of Body Parts for *Mother to Mother* (Raw Data)

Index position	Raw frequency	Body part lexis
233	3	ankle
234	2	ankles
306	13	arm
308	1	armful
311	27	arms
377	1	aureole
411	221	back
412	4	backs
489	1	beards
547	5	belly
588	1	biceps
669	12	bodies
671	14	body
683	10	bone
684	13	bones
724	1	bowel
740	5	brain
742	1	brains
760	7	breast
761	1	breasts
792	9	brow
794	8	brows
1008	1	cheek
1009	11	cheeks
1020	7	chest
1034	2	chin
1809	11	ear
1815	34	ears
1855	2	elbow
1856	4	elbows
2052	22	eye
2053	1	eyebrow
2054	3	eyebrows
2055	9	eyed
2056	1	eyelids
2057	163	eyes
2059	53	face
2060	7	faced
2062	7	faces
2064	4	facing
2178	9	finger
2179	3	fingers
2194	5	fist
2195	1	fisted
2196	1	fisting
2197	6	fists
2229	5	flesh
2230	1	fleshed
2288	22	foot
2701	13	hair
2702	2	haired
2703	1	hairline
2704	1	hairs

2715	63	hand
2716	6	handed
2720	47	hands
2780	49	head
2781	4	headed
2783	2	heading
2786	15	heads
2795	69	heart
2796	1	heartbeat
2797	1	hearted
2798	1	heartfelt
2801	12	hearts
2813	1	heel
2814	5	heels
2870	2	hip
2871	1	hips
3268	6	jaw
3269	1	jawline
3270	3	jaws
3361	2	knee
3362	7	knees
3429	6	lap
3434	1	lash
3435	3	lashes
3489	2	leg
3492	1	legged
3493	14	legs
3520	1	lid
3521	2	lids
3544	1	limb
3545	1	limbed
3563	2	lip
3564	1	lipped
3565	16	lips
3580	2	liver
3846	60	mind
3850	3	minds
3948	37	mouth
3950	6	mouths
3981	3	muscles
3982	1	muscular
4003	2	nail
4004	2	nails
4052	13	neck
4112	1	nipple
4144	3	nose
4145	1	nosed
4146	3	noses
4147	3	nostrils
4347	4	palm
4348	2	palms
5080	2	rib
5082	1	ribs
5490	13	shoulder
5491	25	shoulders
5598	7	skin
5599	2	skinned
5600	1	skins

5640	1	slit
5642	2	slits
5693	1	snout
5944	14	stomach
5945	2	stomachs
6237	10	teeth
6245	1	temples
6297	1	thigh
6298	4	thighs
6336	17	throat
6337	1	throated
6338	1	throats
6339	1	throaty
6386	1	toes
6396	5	tongue
6397	10	tongues
6401	4	tooth
6402	2	toothless
6524	2	tummy
6880	3	waist
6881	1	waists
7080	4	womb
7139	4	wrist

Appendix 2.4: Top 100 Keywords for *The Mark* (Annotated Data)

Rank	Type	*The Mark* Raw frequency	*Mother to Mother* Raw frequency	SMP Statistic
1	kitty	241	1	34.21973535
2	mistress	146	0	24.085194
3	handler	139	0	22.978369
4	ettie	138	0	22.820252
5	nicolas	126	0	20.922839
6	locusts	123	0	20.448485
7	xavier	106	0	17.760483
8	posh	112	1	16.37133117
9	city	112	1	16.37133117
10	locust	92	0	15.546834
11	dora	84	0	14.281892
12	drudge	81	0	13.807539
13	warden	77	0	13.175068
14	says	362	28	11.65131947
15	master	108	4	11.50498152
16	merriem	66	0	11.435773
17	orphan	56	0	9.854595
18	savage	67	2	9.018243565
19	market	65	2	8.77226191
20	credits	49	0	8.747771
21	guardian	48	0	8.589653
22	juliet	40	0	7.324711
23	reader	40	0	7.324711
24	bird	46	1	7.239589185
25	kitty’s	39	0	7.166593
26	orc	38	0	7.008475
27	larissa	36	0	6.69224
28	laboratory	35	0	6.534122
29	mangerian	35	0	6.534122
30	slum	40	1	6.40943138
31	stairs	34	0	6.376004
32	traders	34	0	6.376004
33	{d}hair{f}	34	0	6.376004
34	book	56	4	6.271986268
35	cockroach	33	0	6.217886
36	machine	33	0	6.217886
37	pulaks	32	0	6.059769
38	flies	35	1	5.717632626
39	plastic	35	1	5.717632626
40	won’t	38	2	5.451503729
41	pleasure	42	3	5.349281647
42	cannot	75	10	5.296013502
43	mangeria	27	0	5.26918
44	game	46	4	5.265640832
45	pass	41	3	5.238586228
46	tree	41	3	5.238586228
47	miss	101	16	5.166135995
48	trade	26	0	5.111062
49	{a}face{f}	35	2	5.082530857
50	sunglasses	25	0	4.952944
51	mangerians	25	0	4.952944
52	clubs	25	0	4.952944
53	justice	29	1	4.887473946

54	spine	24	0	4.794826
55	nursery	24	0	4.794826
56	nags	24	0	4.794826
57	mask	28	1	4.74911402
58	books	44	5	4.642436159
59	savages	23	0	4.636709
60	procedure	23	0	4.636709
61	across	48	6	4.626021913
62	hylton	22	0	4.478591
63	miss.	22	0	4.478591
64	beach	30	2	4.467575552
65	read	46	6	4.455710648
66	watch	50	7	4.453803584
67	looks	45	6	4.370555016
68	{d}skin{f}	33	3	4.35302428
69	shouts	29	2	4.344584336
70	frankenstein	21	0	4.320473
71	mango	21	0	4.320473
72	slip	21	0	4.320473
73	dumps	20	0	4.162355
74	museum	20	0	4.162355
75	prisoners	20	0	4.162355
76	madam	72	14	4.129220876
77	juice	27	2	4.09860268
78	eyes	23	1	4.057316141
79	stare	19	0	4.004238
80	merry	19	0	4.004238
81	room	138	33	3.994814851
82	enter	22	1	3.918956215
83	beautiful	29	3	3.910243306
84	{a}eyes{m}	25	2	3.852620247
85	pull	25	2	3.852620247
86	witch	21	1	3.780596289
87	section	48	9	3.75878767
88	peace	31	4	3.756123314
89	river	31	4	3.756123314
90	{d}fingers{f}	24	2	3.72962903
91	mark	34	5	3.719933956
92	seacraft	17	0	3.688002
93	drudges	17	0	3.688002
94	track	17	0	3.688002
95	rubbish	17	0	3.688002
96	search	26	3	3.578157751
97	cook	26	3	3.578157751
98	want	126	34	3.57333462
99	am	155	43	3.572339934
100	staff	16	0	3.529884

Appendix 2.5: Top 100 Keywords for *Mother to Mother* (Annotated Data)

Rank	Type	*The Mark* Raw frequency	*Mother to Mother* Raw frequency	SMP Statistic
1	mama	199	0	29.41761
2	mxolisi	126	0	18.99306
3	china	102	0	15.56581
4	guguletu	88	0	13.566581
5	car	82	0	12.709769
6	however	71	0	11.138946
7	police	69	0	10.853342
8	tata	55	0	8.854113
9	dwadwa	48	0	7.854499
10	asked	88	5	7.576602448
11	makhulu	45	0	7.426093
12	till	51	1	7.152038911
13	went	82	5	7.098093979
14	came	128	11	7.037819585
15	siziwe	42	0	6.997687
16	blouvlei	40	0	6.712082
17	said	318	39	6.47602787
18	nono	38	0	6.426478
19	although	43	1	6.165597115
20	i’d	63	4	6.123557478
21	such	69	5	6.061325072
22	had	716	105	5.865477508
23	ny	34	0	5.85527
24	deep	46	2	5.750408741
25	cape	33	0	5.712468
26	mama’s	31	0	5.426864
27	china’s	30	0	5.284062
28	baby	41	2	5.207945232
29	looked	75	8	5.170178751
30	khaya	29	0	5.14126
31	mind	57	5	5.104308136
32	government	34	1	5.055849231
33	suddenly	34	1	5.055849231
34	killed	45	3	5.036848706
35	terrible	33	1	4.932544007
36	whole	64	7	4.812614628
37	quite	37	2	4.773973664
38	cattle	26	0	4.712854
39	town	26	0	4.712854
40	letter	25	0	4.570052
41	mxolisi’s	25	0	4.570052
42	bus	25	0	4.570052
43	he’d	29	1	4.439323109
44	lunga	24	0	4.427249
45	god	24	0	4.427249
46	child	92	14	4.399295007
47	walked	23	0	4.284447
48	schools	23	0	4.284447
49	whom	23	0	4.284447
50	auntie	23	0	4.284447
51	were	347	69	4.244482048
52	indeed	27	1	4.19271266

53	seemed	31	2	4.123017453
54	minute	26	1	4.069407435
55	continued	21	0	3.998843
56	sat	21	0	3.998843
57	students	25	1	3.946102211
58	stood	25	1	3.946102211
59	did	204	42	3.943441166
60	white	63	10	3.872855727
61	mfundisi	20	0	3.856041
62	hokkie	20	0	3.856041
63	house	101	19	3.851671154
64	children	135	27	3.848469401
65	waited	24	1	3.822796123
66	finally	24	1	3.822796123
67	was	920	214	3.799900377
68	brother	28	2	3.797539347
69	manner	19	0	3.713239
70	heard	56	9	3.713038472
71	husband	23	1	3.699490898
72	itself	27	2	3.689046645
73	saying	39	5	3.668781613
74	happened	43	6	3.66421889
75	even	167	37	3.62724804
76	felt	26	2	3.580553943
77	lay	22	1	3.576185674
78	van	18	0	3.570437
79	makhulu's	18	0	3.570437
80	township	18	0	3.570437
81	cars	18	0	3.570437
82	took	53	9	3.536234761
83	later	45	7	3.524780902
84	teachers	29	3	3.487129609
85	fell	25	2	3.472061241
86	mothers	21	1	3.452880449
87	mandisa	17	0	3.427635
88	tatomkhulu	17	0	3.427635
89	funiwe	17	0	3.427635
90	church	17	0	3.427635
91	shacks	17	0	3.427635
92	village	17	0	3.427635
93	friends	51	9	3.41836562
94	long	126	29	3.400474271
95	might	35	5	3.349775968
96	1	20	1	3.329575225
97	besides	16	0	3.284833
98	stella	16	0	3.284833
99	dining-room	16	0	3.284833
100	completely	16	0	3.284833

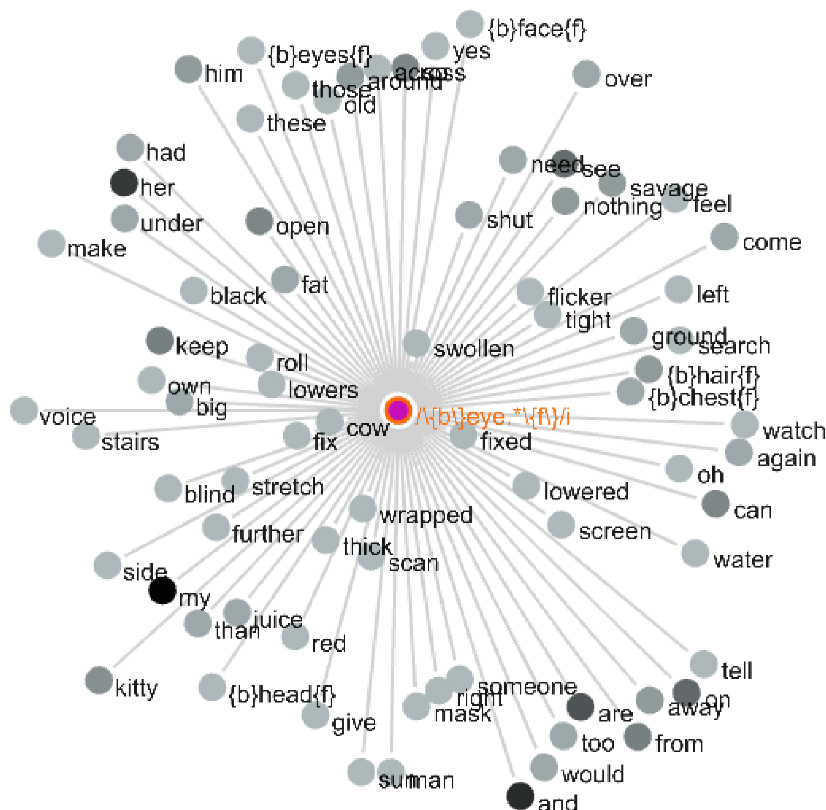
Appendix 2.6: Raw scores of body parts across identities in each novel

		'black' female	'black' male	'white' female	'white' male	Total
Mother to Mother	EYE	102	39	6	3	150
	HAND	50	29	1	9	89
	HEAD	28	18	7	0	53
	HEART	55	5	4	0	64
	EAR	29	11	0	0	40
	SHOULDER	21	10	0	1	32
The Mark	EYE	91	21	24	26	162
	HAND	79	30	13	27	149
	HEAD	44	9	15	5	73
	HAIR	34	1	10	1	46
	FINGER	34	13	4	15	66
	SKIN	33	4	6	4	47

Appendix 3: Collocation Graphs[29]

Appendix 3.1: Collocation Graphs for *The Mark*

TM1: EYE



[29]The collocation graphs for each 'black' female body part are provided here as evidence. Full Appendices are available on the accompanying CD, except for those body parts with a frequency of less than 20.

TM2: HAND

TM3: HEAD

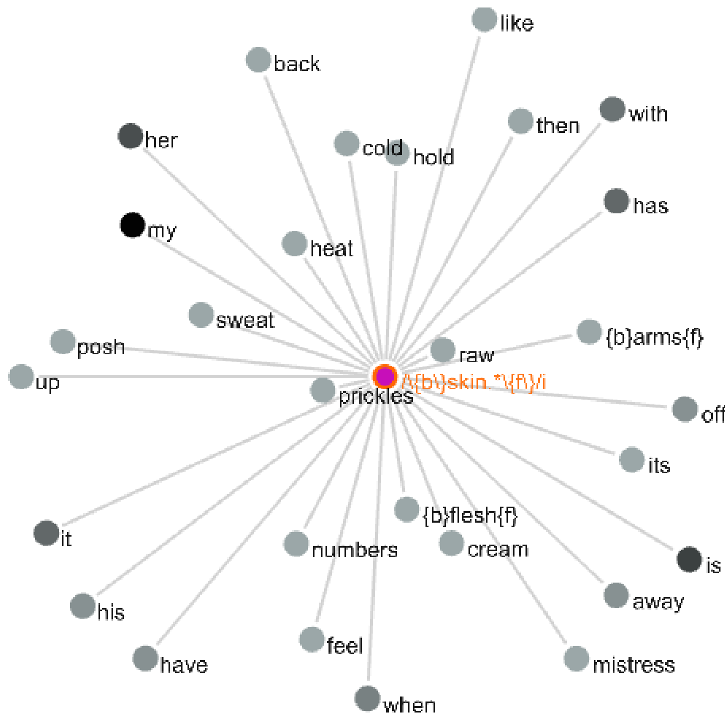
TM4: HAIR

a
that
on
can
posh
it
back
if
her
my
look
{b}mouth{f}
clip
ribbon
know
big
through
/\{b\}hair.*\{f\}/i
escaped
hold
pins
its
{b}eyes{f}
savage
kitty's
like
tell
his
has
with
from
want
and

TM5: FINGER

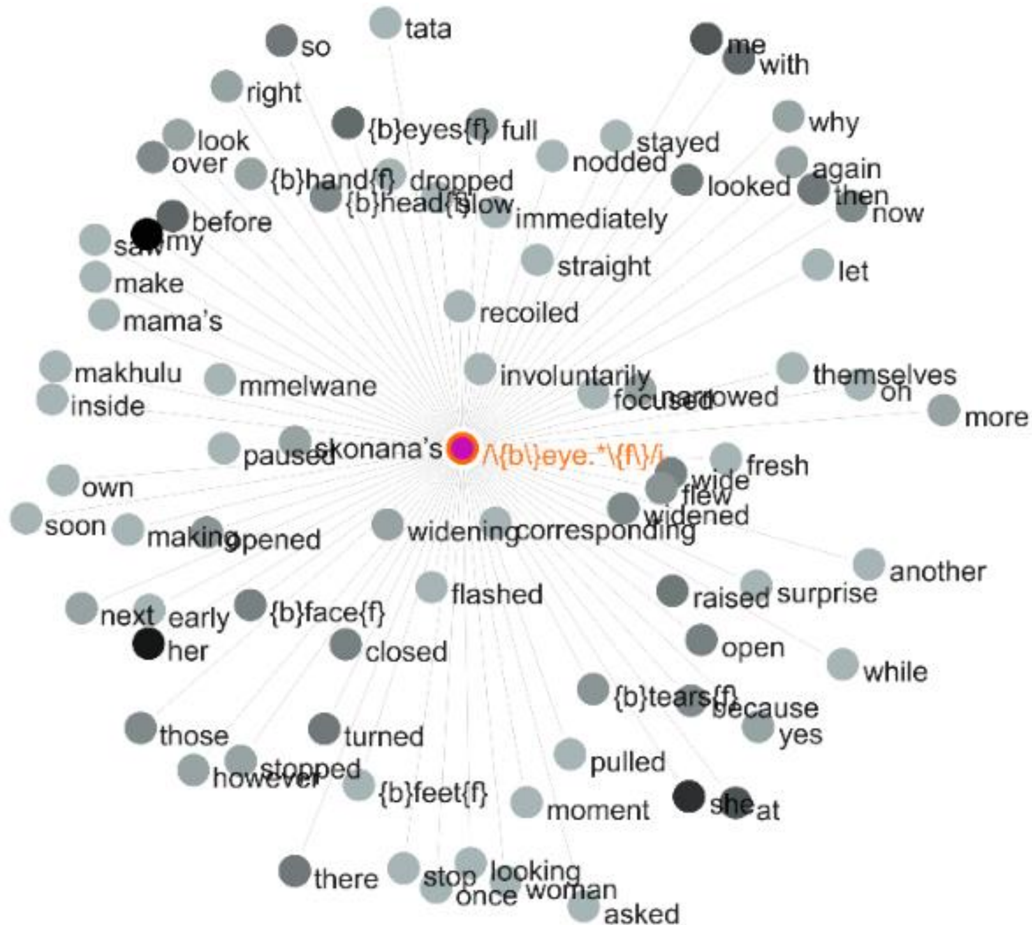
this
as
her
on
there
across
one
feel
under
over
taste
start
middle
did
kitty's
run
/\{b\}finger.*\{f\}/i
snaps
fourteen
travel
pain
{b}blood{f}
my
wait
not
it
no
kitty
can
off
at

TM6: SKIN

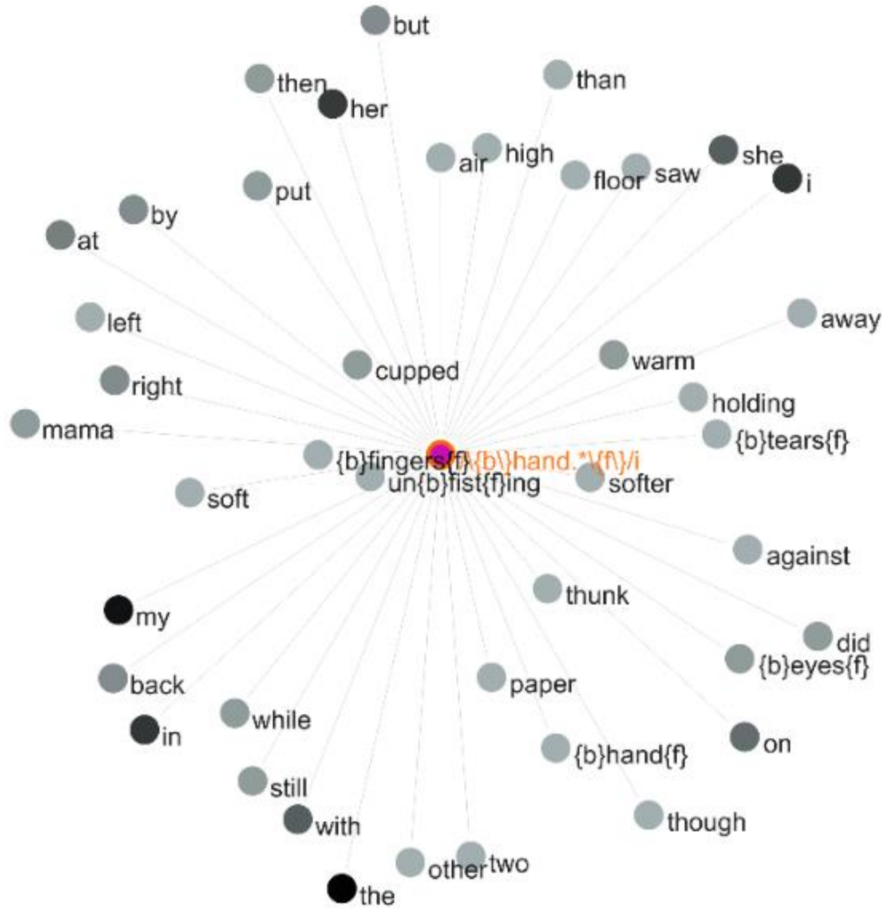


Appendix 3.2: Collocation Graphs for *Mother to Mother*

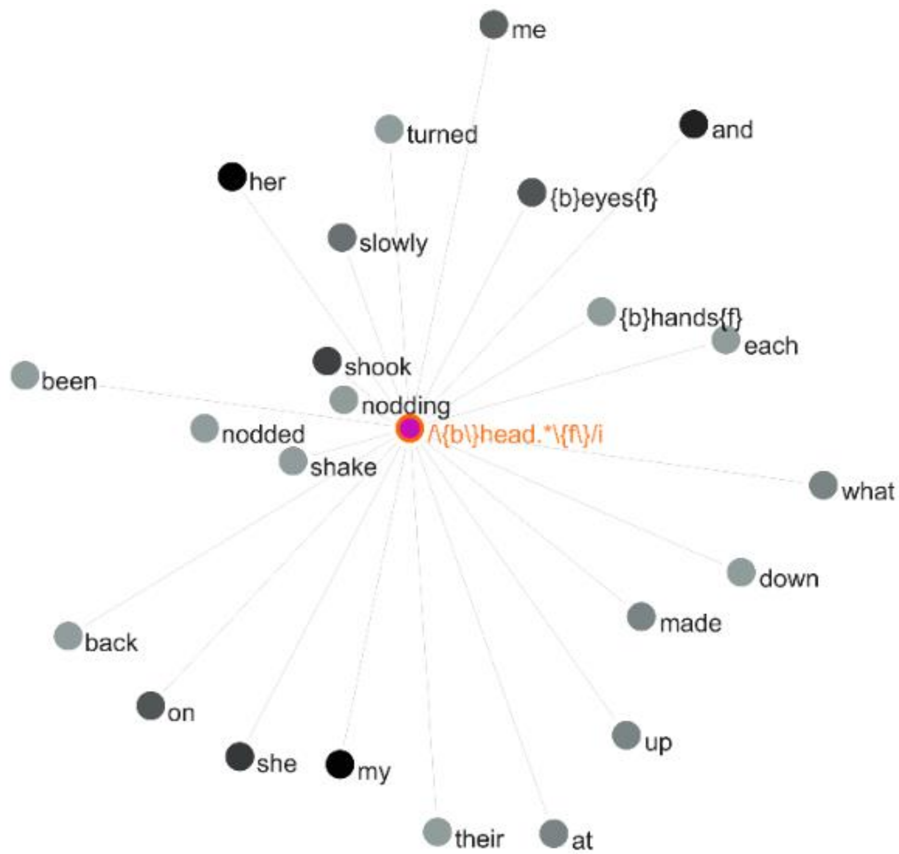
MM 1: EYE



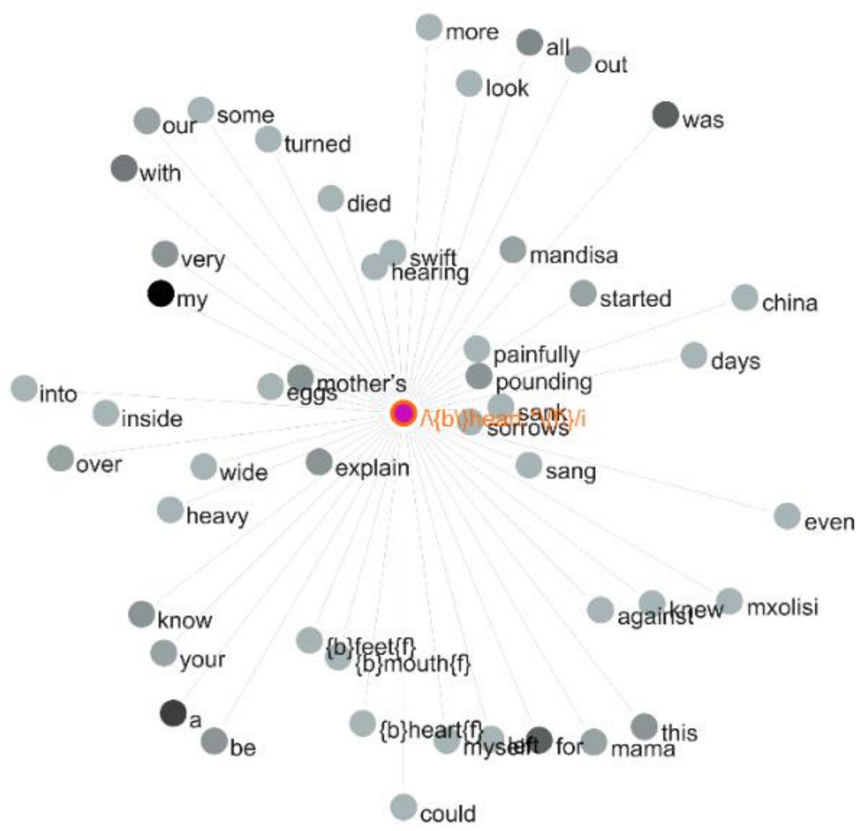
MM2: HAND



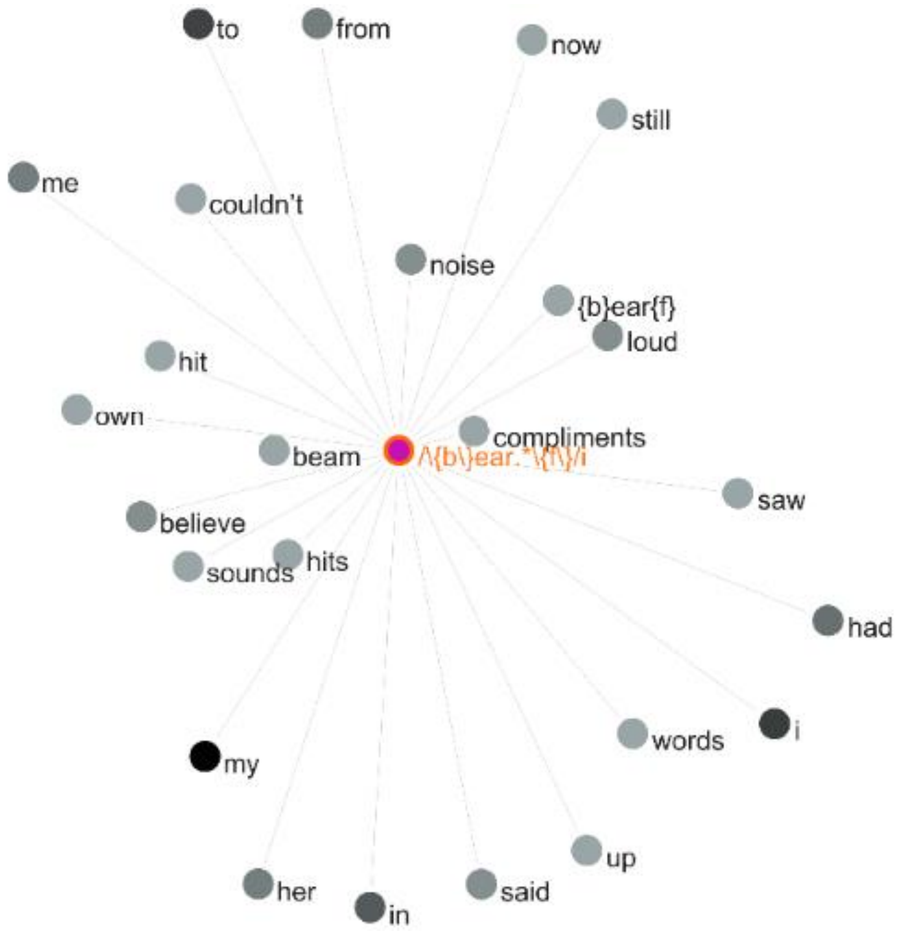
MM3: HEAD



MM4: HEART



MM5: EAR



MM6: SHOULDER

she
said
back
as
her
and
by
with
shaking
up
over
shrug
/\{b\}shoulder.*\{f\}/i
hooked
tried
shrugged
under
to
my
i
me
on
the

Appendix 4: Concordance Tables[30]
Appendix 4.1: Concordance Tables for *The Mark*

TM7: EYE

1	out as I work. My {b}hands{f} are blind but my	{b}eyes{f}	see everything and everyone around me. When I am done,
2	I whip my {b}head{f} from side to side, roll my	{b}eyes{f},	simulate spasms wracking my {b}chest{f}. I whimper, like a child
3	Locust straightens the handset and watches us. I shut my	{b}eyes{f}	tight. If I cannot see him, he will not be
4	he will not be there. And when I open my	{b}eyes{f}	again, he is walking away across the sand. Slowly. Handler
5	following me. Check again. I am safe. I fix my	{b}eyes{f}	to the ground and trudge past the Locusts manning the
6	Kitty Seven, my roommate and partner in the game. Her	{b}eyes{f}	are red from crying while I have been barbecuing my
7	her." I set my {b}face{f} in stone, avoiding her swollen	{b}eyes{f}.	"She flies too close to the sun and I always
8	I had two this morning," I say. Kitty lowers her	{b}eyes{f}.	"You're a greedy-{b}guts{f}, Kitty. Those were mine." But I am
9	You can't squeeze in," a man says. I roll my	{b}eyes{f}	and drool as though I am afflicted with sun sickness.
10	and I edge away. I do not like touching. My	{b}eyes{f}	scan the board and my breath quickens. I remove his
11	me. 3.Drudge School Kitty scowls at the morning with bloodshot	{b}eyes{f}.	She stinks of bug juice. The smell is a dead
12	when I burn. But if people do not see my	{b}eyes{f}	he says I can pass for a Posh, and that
13	I clasp the shield over my {b}nose{f} and keep my	{b}eyes{f}	on the road as I trudge to school. Children loiter
14	Spaghetti," the girls scream. They dance around and make cow	{b}eyes{f}	at me. Tick-tick-tick. I wait for Captain Hook's crocodile to
15	soup you must not look at him but keep your	{b}eyes{f}	on the ground." And curse him under your breath. The
16	{b}face{f} stretched tight, pinned to my skull so that my	{b}eyes{f}	appear like slits. I would rather have big {b}eyes{f} and
17	my {b}eyes{f} appear like slits. I would rather have big	{b}eyes{f}	and Savage {b}hair{f} than look like a Posh. Traders bustle
18	Me touches my {b}hair{f} and tweaks the corners of my	{b}eyes{f}.	"Yes, these fat {b}eyes{f} need a bit of work." I
19	and tweaks the corners of my {b}eyes{f}. "Yes, these fat	{b}eyes{f}	need a bit of work." I push his {b}hands{m} away;
20	My {b}fingers{f} travel over Charlie and the Chocolate Factory. My	{b}eyes{f}	stop. I see another copy of the book. And two

[30] A selection of concordance lines for each 'black' female body part are provided here as evidence. Full Appendices are available on the accompanying CD.

TM8: HAND

1	sand, I scramble to my {b}feet{f} and get busy. My	{b}hands{f}	rifle through baskets, slip under towels. What I find goes
2	their things. But I watch out as I work. My	{b}hands{f}	are blind but my {b}eyes{f} see everything and everyone around
3	is missing is a tray of drinks balanced on her	{b}hand{f}.	"Hey, I said stop." The voice is too loud and
4	me in my seat. Market Nags laugh and slap their	{b}hands{f}	on their {b}knees{f} as they recall how lucky they were
5	walls that is fed by leaking pipes. I wipe my	{b}hands{f}	down my shorts when I reach my floor. I hear
6	sweeps his {b}eyes{m} across my {b}face{f}. I promise with my	{b}hand{f}	on my {b}heart{f} and hope to starve to death. My
7	the last mango and she catches it with her left	{b}hand{f}.	Bracelets jangle, sliding from her {b}wrist{f} to her {b}elbow{f}, concealing
8	all clear. When I am sure, I wander over and	{b}hand{f}	Cowboy the bag of stuff that Kitty and I nicked
9	on, girlie. Are you buying or not?" She flaps her	{b}hands{f}	above the bananas and a glut of flies mosey on
10	But it is a risk all the Nags take. She	{b}hands{f}	me two bottles of water, and reaches under the table.
11	moves a tile on the scrabble board with a seven-{b}fingered{f}	{b}hand{f}.	"Don't touch the board unless it's your turn," a man
12	are supposed to be able to do. Nelson slaps my	{b}hand{f}	and rearranges the tiles. "If I do that, she'll get
13	take two spoons a day. It'll soothe her {b}bones{f}." She	{b}hands{f}	me a bottle. "I'll see you next month when it's
14	do you think you're doing?" Handler Xavier's {b}eyes{m} bite my	{b}hand{f}.	"Stealing toys from babies, Ettie? I see I've trained you
15	do things to draw the Locusts' attention to us." I	{b}hand{f}	her a piece of soap. She lathers her {b}skin{f} and
16	any attitude at all. Kitty holds her {b}head{f} in her	{b}hands{f}.	"Buzz off, Ettie. You make me sick. Just get off
17	downs it, wiping her {b}mouth{f} with the back of her	{b}hand{f}.	She squeezes one of the mango balls. "It's too squishy.
18	for Captain Hook's crocodile to come and chew off their	{b}hands{f}.	Instead, the scholar warden arrives with the teachers. "Silence." The
19	Kitty would be beautiful and that I would have large	{b}hands{f}	rough enough to mop up dirt? The people who know
20	And curse him under your breath. The teacher claps her	{b}hands{f}.	The prints on her {b}fingers{f} and the lines on her

TM9: HEAD

1	and fall down, lie on my {b}back{f}. I whip my	{b}head{f}	from side to side, roll my {b}eyes{f}, simulate spasms wracking
2	her with me," Handler Xavier says. "She's soft in the	{b}head{f}."	The Locust smacks the sand off his gloves and walks
3	Ettie?" "I came home at final curfew." I bow my	{b}head{f}	under his gaze and enter my room. A girl looks
4	to let it bother me. I tap her on the	{b}head{f}	and she jerks awake, grabbing the bottle of bug juice
5	and curls into a ball, pulling a pillow over her	{b}head{f}.	I move closer to her but she shifts away. There
6	do not have any attitude at all. Kitty holds her	{b}head{f}	in her {b}hands{f}. "Buzz off, Ettie. You make me sick.
7	They're going to notice and ask questions." I shake my	{b}head{f}	like this bothers me, as if I care about people
8	approach the boom. I slow my {b}feet{f} and loll my	{b}head{f}.	I gather my spit and allow it to dribble down
9	as the trail of spots the lice leave on my	{b}head{f}.	"You can read?" "Of course," says the boy. The Posh
10	and I swap glances. Cabbages. We like? She shakes her	{b}head{f}.	Not so much. There is better ahead, so we keep
11	sickness," another warden says. She raises a {b}finger{f} to her	{b}head{f},	twirls it to indicate craziness. Shouts come from behind me
12	Posh swimming pools to douse the flames. I bow my	{b}head{f}	and mourn my trees while the others laugh and chatter
13	as a thin breeze drifts into the room. I wait,	{b}head{f}	down, my {b}ears{f} straining to hear. I listen, taking furtive
14	paired." The room rumbles with disquiet. I wait with my	{b}head{f}	down, my {b}ears{f} straining to hear more. "The two members
15	the silly man's crime. And is silent. I raise my	{b}head{f}	to see. A woman stands up to ask a question.
16	is soft, I cannot hear what she says, and her	{b}head{f}	is turned away, so I cannot read her {b}lips{f}. As
17	crowd. They cannot see me, but instinctively I lower my	{b}head{f}	into my {b}shoulders{f}. Me volunteer? No, thank you very much.
18	I find it useful to listen to music in my	{b}head{f},	it gives the impression that I am occupied with something
19	of this," a voice says. The music freezes in my	{b}head{f}.	There is only one person I know who has this
20	{b}backs are turned towards me. Kitty gesticulates. She shakes her	{b}head{f}.	The handler's {b}fingers{m} stab her {b}shoulder{f}. Nelson frowns, then agrees.

TM10: HAIR

1	I do so I lift a shiny clip from her	{b}hair{f}.	It is the kind of thing Kitty would like. Blood
2	way. Like Kitty. The flies follow me, sucking on my	{b}hair{f}	and trying to nestle in my {b}neck{f}. People who know
3	then. As Kitty snores, I hold onto a lock of	{b}hair{f}	that has escaped from under the pillow. And cover her
4	Kitty wipes a wand over her {b}eyelashes{f}. She smoothes her	{b}hair{f}	and fixes it with the clip she has forgotten to
5	before hitting the clubs. But I do not want my	{b}hair{f}	straightened or my {b}face{f} stretched tight, pinned to my skull
6	like slits. I would rather have big {b}eyes{f} and Savage	{b}hair{f}	than look like a Posh. Traders bustle me off the
7	you as perfect as any Posh mistress." Me touches my	{b}hair{f}	and tweaks the corners of my {b}eyes{f}. "Yes, these fat
8	not a grubby beach troll. And do something with that	{b}hair{f}.	You look like a Savage." And so I am. Savage.
9	to do. Using one of Kitty's ribbons I tame my	{b}hair{f}	into a plait, and make my {b}lips{f} red with her
10	her {b}face{f}, like pieces of a puzzle. She combs her	{b}hair{f}	and attaches a clip to one side, drawing a silky
11	Savages get locked up. I drag the comb through my	{b}hair{f}	and tie it back with a piece of elastic. It
12	As lovey-dovey as picking bits of lice out of my	{b}hair{f}.	"It would be the best thing in the world," I
13	herself in the mirror and removes the clip from her	{b}hair{f}.	"Perhaps a ribbon?" A ribbon to strangle her with and
14	of his name sweetens my {b}mouth{f}. I fiddle with my	{b}hair{f}.	If I had taken some trouble I would be looking
15	back. A ghost, with black holes for {b}eyes{f}, and Savage	{b}hair{f}.	"So, come on, tell me your name," he says. The
16	smiling at him with red {b}lips{f}. The silk of her	{b}hair{f}	catches the light. "I have to go," I say. I
17	smacking Mistress Hadeda when she tries to chew on Kitty's	{b}hair{f}.	I watch them until they leave. I hold onto the
18	I dress in my Posh clothes. As Kitty plaits my	{b}hair{f},	I feel her {b}hands{f} tremble on my {b}neck{f}. We pack
19	Xavier says. He reaches over to tuck a strand of	{b}hair{f}	behind Kitty's {b}ear{f}. And drops his {b}hand{m}. An hour later
20	room. The man is behind her, his {b}hand{m} gripping her	{b}hair{f},	holding her {b}head{f} back like she is a bonded Reject.

TM11: FINGER

1	crazy behind a mesh screen. The sand trickles through my	{b}fingers{f}	as I wait for my moment. Then, in the chaos
2	I open the book, and yellow paper crackles under my	{b}fingers{f}.	I had snatched it off the beach towel of a
3	put the book away. My secret library. Safe from Kitty's	{b}fingers{f}.	From the handler's {b}eyes{m}. There are people who say that
4	is being trained for. Witch laughs and spreads all fourteen	{b}fingers{f}	over the board. Taunting him. I glance at her {b}feet{f},
5	finish me off." Witch glances at the tiles behind her	{b}fingers{f}.	"Not fair, Nelson. How did you know I had letters
6	crack my knuckles from thumb to pinkie. When my middle	{b}finger{f}	refuses to snap, I start again. Five cracks. That should
7	on my spine chafes against my shirt. I run my	{b}fingers{f}	over the pain. I can no longer feel the raised
8	than one way of crossing the river." She snaps her	{b}fingers{f}	at me and I toss her a towel. I am
9	As sweet as the plastic taste of sunblocker on my	{b}fingers{f}.	Kitty wipes a wand over her {b}eyelashes{f}. She smoothes her
10	breath. The teacher claps her {b}hands{f}. The prints on her	{b}fingers{f}	and the lines on her palms have been worn smooth
11	in. Not me. I will never be a drudge. My	{b}fingers{f}	feel for the wound on my {b}back{f}. I have seen
12	are not close friends, I can at least count my	{b}fingers{f}	and toes. It is no surprise who is elected to
13	and fumbles among the tubes. Me comes closer as my	{b}fingers{f}	fret. No, not this one. That one. My {b}fingers{f} tell
14	my {b}fingers{f} fret. No, not this one. That one. My	{b}fingers{f}	tell me they have found it and I slip it
15	floor. I knock on the door and wait, tapping my	{b}fingers{f}	against my {b}leg{f} as {b}feet{m} shuffle down the passage. Come
16	off the chair and steal across to the bookshelf. My	{b}fingers{f}	travel over Charlie and the Chocolate Factory. My {b}eyes{f} stop.
17	owns he will be mad. I cannot help grinning. My	{b}fingers{f}	travel over another set of books and I pick one
18	I suppose. Rows and rows of hard little eggs. My	{b}fingers{f}	start itching and I put it down. "Why have you
19	a hundred years in a hidden castle after pricking my	{b}finger{f}	on a spindle. But not so beautiful. And there are
20	different species. Like, if I were to cut off my	{b}finger{f}	I would not feel pain. Or if I felt sad,

TM12: SKIN

1	has hidden against my {b}stomach{f} most of the day. My	{b}skin{f}	has been branded with a red rectangle. I open the
2	worries her {b}teeth{f} with a nail. Fear prickles on my	{b}skin{f},	coating me in an armour of cold sweat. 2.Cowboy I
3	still manages to penetrate the cream, eating away at my	{b}skin{f}.	Cowboy looks over my {b}shoulder{f} and jerks his {w}chin{m} in
4	bird and could not possibly understand. But she scares the	{b}skin{f}	off me. “Good evening, Mistress Hadeda, I hope the day
5	kneel down next to him. His bare {b}arm{m} brushes my	{b}skin{f}	and I edge away. I do not like touching. My
6	to the base of my {b}spine{f}. It eats into my	{b}skin{f}.	I ignore the pain and rub it into the wound.
7	time when Kitty could not hold me close enough. My	{b}skin{f}	has grown cold since then. As Kitty snores, I hold
8	can no longer feel the raised numbers etched onto my	{b}skin{f}.	The cream is working its magic. It must be. I
9	I {b}hand{f} her a piece of soap. She lathers her	{b}skin{f}	and splashes herself with the water ration I had fetched
10	ball while I cover my {b}body{f} with sunblocker. Protecting her	{b}skin{f}	is not something Kitty has to worry about too much.
11	not something Kitty has to worry about too much. Her	{b}skin{f}	is the colour of roasted corn. She does not burn
12	corn. She does not burn like me. I have Posh	{b}skin{f}.	Pus-coloured {b}flesh{f}. There is a familiar whistle outside the door,
13	us today. I hope it is not more beach. My	{b}skin{f}	is raw from yesterday. Sometimes, if I hope for something
14	I eat, I taste plastic. And when I sweat, my	{b}skin{f}	is coated with abnormally shiny beads. “So, if it’s not
15	We shuffle behind our desks, and I pick the peeling	{b}skin{f}	off my {b}knees{f} as we wait for the teacher to
16	The flies feasted on my {b}flesh{f} for weeks. When the	{b}skin{f}	healed, the numbers showed themselves again. The next time, I
17	acid we drudges use to clean pots. It burnt my	{b}skin{f}	away. But when the scabs fell off, the numbers reappeared.
18	bakes inside a plastic body wrap. She has Kitty’s honey-corn	{b}skin{f}.	Except for her {w}face{f}. The {w}flesh{f} has been burned off,
19	it. I will not be using it to have Posh	{b}skin{f}.	It has to be strong. I want the mark on
20	{b}face{f}. His {w}eyes{m} travel down my {b}neck{f}, then pause. My	{b}skin{f}	grows hot under his glass {w}eyes{m}. I want to say,

Appendix 4.2: Concordance Tables for *Mother to Mother*

MM7: EYE

1	I will see China standing there when I raise my	{b}eyes{f}.	Giraffelike, {b}knees{m} semi-genuflected while {b}neck{m} flops {b}head{m} down to escape
2	when my family got here, early in 1968. How my	{b}eyes{f}	were assaulted by the pandemonium. People choking the morning streets.
3	she had done this. The overall effect was that the	{b}eyes{f},	instead of widening because of the raised {b}eyebrows{f}, were narrowed.
4	you do with your other shoe?' Does the woman have	{b}eyes{f}	even at the back of her {b}head{f}? Trust her to
5	an old thing anyway.' I looked her straight in the	{b}eye{f}.	'But, tell me,' I said, 'what has been happening here?
6	not leave me alone. It was there in my neighbour's	{b}eyes{f}.	It was not going to leave me alone. Real and
7	look that asked a thousand questions. She nodded her {b}head{f},	{b}eyes{f}	widened knowingly. 'Oh, no!' Now I understood. Her negative was
8	in being stoned? Terrible visions of necklacing flared before my	{b}eyes{f}.	Oh, no! No! Not that! Dear God, not that! 'What
9	as hell. 'They stabbed her.' 5. My {b}stomach{f} turned. Skonana's	{b}eyes{f}	softened. 'Come over, let me put the kettle on.' I
10	put the kettle on.' I shook my {b}head{f}, closed my	{b}eyes{f}	for a moment, took a deep breath and said, 'I've
11	vetkoek and chasing it down with her tea. 'Good!' her	{b}eyes{f}	closed, she nodded. I could see that she was enjoying
12	want another one?' Mama teased, looking at me with one	{b}eye{f},	the corresponding {b}eyebrow{f} raised. 'Yes, Mama,' I said, hoping I
13	our tracks. All sense of play fled, {b}heads{f} jerked up,	{b}eyes{f}	pulled to the furiously bleeding sky. An aeroplane. Flying so
14	the grownups, especially the mothers. But through it all, our	{b}eyes{f}	stayed glued to the very sight that sent our {b}hearts{f}
15	fright than the unexpected sprint, we cleared the danger zone.	{b}Eyes{f}	once more turned to sky. Despite the noise still ringing
16	She snatched one of the pamphlets from my {b}hand{f}. Her	{b}eyes{f},	unaccustomed to reading scoured it for a full minute before
17	loomed in the near distance. Menacing. As soon as my	{b}eyes{f}	accustomed themselves to the poor light, they broke my {b}windpipe{f},
18	tin shacks like unruly children destroying a colony of anthills.	{b}Eyes{f}	peeled back wide, in horror, I watched. Abelungu men charged.
19	sleep is what must have come over me—eventually. My	{b}eyes{f}	smart as though I'd spent the night cooking over an
20	The nearer the {w}footsteps{m} come, the louder Siziwe screams. Her	{b}eyes{f}	are wild with fear. 'Sshh!' I say, bending over the

MM8: HAND

1	enough to make that for yourselves!' 'But we miss your	{b}hand{f},'	says Lunga. I swallow my guilt. What would happen if
2	bus. Was hurtled, headlong, onto the doorway. With my right	{b}hand{f},	I grabbed the pole at the door for support, my
3	{b}ears{f} were burning. Rivulets ran in the {b}palms{f} of my	{b}hands{f}.	Section 3. That's the part of Guguletu in which I
4	me alone. Real and tangible as the {b}fingers{f} on my	{b}hand{f}.	'What is the matter with our people? Don't they know
5	shrill to my own {b}ears{f} and I saw that my	{b}hands{f}	shook. Indeed, my whole {b}body{f} was trembling. 'It's schoolchildren who
6	{b}thumb{f} up, plunged into the cupped {b}palm{f} of the left	{b}hand{f},	making a noise softer than that produced by two {b}hands{f}
7	{b}hand{f}, making a noise softer than that produced by two	{b}hands{f}	clapping against each other. Softer and duller than a smack
8	not put with the others in the brown bag but	{b}handed{f}	directly to me. 'Here's one for my little good customer!'
9	Mama,' I said, brown bag at my {b}feet{f}, freeing my	{b}hands{f}	to cup in humble acceptance. Those days, it was the
10	to take from an adult. A child accepted, with both	{b}hands{f}	cupped, when given anything by anyone older. Good intentions are
11	intentions are one thing, a warm, soft vetkoek in one's	{b}hand{f},	just begging to be swallowed, quite another. The water had
12	'Ah, I see,' she said, looking at the tell-tale oily	{b}hands{f}.	'I hope my vetkoeks are still as hot,' she added
13	and big tins of water on their {b}heads{f}, clapped their	{b}hands{f}	and took them to {b}chin{f} and {b}hip{f} in gesture of
14	was so mesmerizing? I looked at the paper in my	{b}hand{f}.	Writing. In big letters. Spelling errors. Whoever wrote this, can't
15	now. 'Mama!' I cried out. 'Mama! Mama! Mama!' I hollered,	{b}hand{f}	high up in the air. {b}Hand{f} holding the paper with
16	Mama! Mama!' I hollered, {b}hand{f} high up in the air.	{b}Hand{f}	holding the paper with the lethal words, I galloped all
17	they are.' She snatched one of the pamphlets from my	{b}hand{f}.	Her {b}eyes{f}, unaccustomed to reading scoured it for a full
18	dangerously narrowing the tiny strip of {b}forehead{m}. 'Here,' and she	{b}handed{f}	him the leaflet. 'Tyhini!' exclaimed Tata, after a glance at
19	blown about by a fierce south-easter gale. I put my	{b}hand{f}	over her {b}mouth{f}, shake my {b}head{f} at her while, with
20	{b}mouth{f}, shake my {b}head{f} at her while, with my other	{b}hand{f},	I pat her on the {b}back{f}. Pat her as though

MM9: HEAD

1	tall, large woman, black-{b}skinned{f} and small-{b}eyed{f}, yellow turban on her	{b}head{f},	turned to me and, slowly shaking her {b}head{f}, volunteered, 'Bekuse
2	on her {b}head{f}, turned to me and, slowly shaking her	{b}head{f},	volunteered, 'Bekuse kukudala kakade! Two whole weeks with no trouble
3	the woman have {b}eyes{f} even at the back of her	{b}head{f}?	Trust her to notice each and everything that happens to
4	were busy sweating at work?' 'My Sister,' she shook her	{b}head{f}.	'What is it?' I said, painting on my {b}face{f} a
5	sharp look that asked a thousand questions. She nodded her	{b}head{f},	{b}eyes{f} widened knowingly. 'Oh, no!' Now I understood. Her negative
6	it is affected this time. 'Ja!' again she nodded her	{b}head{f}.	'And it wasn't even one settler, one bullet, my friend.'
7	over, let me put the kettle on.' I shook my	{b}head{f},	closed my {b}eyes{f} for a moment, took a deep breath
8	For some inexplicable reason, I felt weepy, like bawling my	{b}head{f}	off. My {b}knees{f} were giving notice of their intent to
9	her reply, I dragged myself back into the house. My	{b}head{f}	was reeling. Guguletu? Who would choose to come to this
10	sprawling location, drums and big tins of water on their	{b}heads{f},	clapped their {b}hands{f} and took them to {b}chin{f} and {b}hip{f}
11	stopped us in our tracks. All sense of play fled,	{b}heads{f}	jerked up, {b}eyes{f} pulled to the furiously bleeding sky. An
12	supporting the {b}neck{f} tell me I've been standing on my	{b}head{f}	throughout the night. By the pale light of the moon,
13	gale. I put my {b}hand{f} over her {b}mouth{f}, shake my	{b}head{f}	at her while, with my other {b}hand{f}, I pat her
14	blanket tightly around her, she nods. Several times rapidly, her	{b}head{f}	goes up and down. Her {b}eyes{f} are wider than the
15	question, she asked. All I could do is shake my	{b}head{f}.	Not that I meant that I did not remember. Indeed,
16	away. 'She was so young. Poor Lulu,' she shook her	{b}head{f}.	'Wonder what will happen to the children now.' Mama's voice
17	they held. I thought she was satisfied for, nodding her	{b}head{f},	she harrumphed and made as though she were about to
18	how to take him about,' she stopped, slowly shook her	{b}head{f},	sighed, 'and now, it's too late.' 'I'll let you know,'
19	my class back in Gungululu flashed before my {b}eyes{f}. My	{b}head{f}	dropped, my {b}eyes{f} smarting. Please, God, don't let me cry.
20	sucked my {b}teeth{f}. Sucked my {b}teeth{f} in and shook my	{b}head{f}.	Each time I held my baby in my {b}arms{f}, put

MM10: HEART

1	nothing at all, all his life. God, you know my	{b}heart{f}.	I am not saying my child shouldn't be punished for
2	his sin. But I am a mother, with a mother's	{b}heart{f}.	The cup You have given me is too bitter to
3	door, 'Can we have some money for eggs, Mama?' My	{b}heart{f}	lurches. Some days Mxolisi sounds so much like his father
4	much could be conveyed in this manner. Mxolisi's eggs! My	{b}heart{f}	sank. In the flurry of my leaving, I'd clean forgotten
5	yield the poor mutt? I know that for years my	{b}heart{f}	yearned for Blouvlei. Mama Mandila's vetkoek. The Storm Breakers, our
6	the corners of our homes on frosty winter evenings. My	{b}heart{f}	bled for myself and what I'd lost, and for all
7	I ask myself, Is that what that was? Rejection? My	{b}heart{f}	hastens to say NO. Bewilderment. Anger. Resentment even... But not
8	naked fear coiled, gnawing at the very strings of my	{b}heart{f}.	Where was my daughter? In the midst of all this
9	suspended. They are to be feared. My {b}mouth{f}, bone dry;	{b}heart{f}	pounding, the folds beneath my {b}arms{f} crawl with ants. Tiny,
10	of the other two assailed me. But, deep down my	{b}heart{f},	I knew I was more worried about Mxolisi. Perhaps it
11	{b}eyes{f} stayed glued to the very sight that sent our	{b}hearts{f}	plummeting to our {b}stomachs{f}. Even as we recoiled from the
12	are these things the aeroplane dropped? 'Look!' I whispered, my	{b}heart{f}	in my {b}mouth{f}. 'Look, here they are.' She snatched one
13	right. As I got ready for bed, heavy was my	{b}heart{f}	with the knowledge that horror and abomination had taken place
14	parents of this poor child, killed by our children. My	{b}heart{f}	sorrows for them. For her mother. The havoc our children
15	still... still as effectively as the tongues of izithunzela. My	{b}heart{f}	is a witchdoctor's drum. The silence is suffocating. Scary. The
16	the police?... At this time? A new fear stabs my	{b}heart{f}.	Mxolisi! Did he return last night? Has something happened to
17	The voice booms as though coming through a loudspeaker; my	{b}heart{f}	stops; the walls of the house shiver. There is no
18	been since I'd last seen her? A year? More? My	{b}heart{f}	doing the gum-boot dance, I waited. At last, there she
19	we were meeting. Although I loved him with all my	{b}heart{f}.	Fortunately, he was a very sensible and sensitive boy. Respected
20	Mama left. A stranger walked into the place in my	{b}heart{f}	she had left unoccupied: grief, sharp as a new razor.

MM11: EAR

1	as Madam's car goes over the iron grate hits my	{b}ears{f}.	The raisins spill onto the counter. Quickly, I gather up
2	too. 'What trouble, Madam?' My voice sounds strange to my	{b}ears{f}.	Too high. Squeaky. My {b}mouth{f} is bone dry. But she
3	that jungle of {b}bodies. The exchange penetrates the fog. My	{b}ears{f}	antennae, I come up for air. 'Appears there was a
4	asks. Good question. My breath held back, I listen. My	{b}ears{f}	were burning. Rivulets ran in the {b}palms{f} of my {b}hands{f}.
5	a slight pause. Then, raising her {b}shoulders{f} up to her	{b}ears{f},	she said, 'Who can say?' With a careless shrug, she
6	lost their minds?' My voice was shrill to my own	{b}ears{f}	and I saw that my {b}hands{f} shook. Indeed, my whole
7	when I grew up, they said, making me beam from	{b}ear{f}	to {b}ear{f}, as the compliments soaked through to the marrow
8	grew up, they said, making me beam from {b}ear{f} to	{b}ear{f},	as the compliments soaked through to the marrow in my
9	turned to sky. Despite the noise still ringing in our	{b}ears{f},	the aeroplane was already a small blot way over there.
10	me this huge appetite for sleep? A sound hits my	{b}ears{f}.	Not loud, but still noise where, but a short moment
11	being shut. Carefully. Very, very carefully. Stealthily? Now I'm all	{b}ears{f}.	Waiting for another surreptitious, ever so slight clash... muffled... a
12	of men who wanted to rape her? I strain my	{b}ears{f},	hoping to catch the slightest sound. Silence. In my mind's
13	no longer the silence of before whatever noise hit my	{b}ear{f}.	This silence is fraught with all manner of possibility— bubbling
14	I'd lit the candle. Just then, two sounds hit my	{b}ears{f}:	a loud crash from the backyard. Instantly, I knew that
15	'Of course,' she said, {b}lips{f} slowly spreading sideways, chasing the	{b}ears{f}.	{b}Arms{f} slung carelessly around each other's {b}shoulders{f}, we strolled to
16	Mama. But those promises of good behaviour fell on deaf	{b}ears{f}.	Thinking about it, even now, made me so angry, my
17	for Auntie's words had stopped me just outside the hut,	{b}ears{f}	against the closed door. My {b}heart{f}-beat quickened. Why were their
18	not serious? Not something they needed to hide from my	{b}ears{f}?	Had I made a mistake, earlier, thinking otherwise? Relieved, I
19	wave of anger. A terrible roar threatened to burst my	{b}ear{f}	drums. 'Why, you!' I had not meant to, but I
20	his {b}feet{m}. I remained silent. Stunned. I couldn't believe my	{b}ears{f}.	Tata had been the more supportive of the two. Once

MM12: SHOULDER

1	off. Always. Me? I just give a grunt, shrug my	{b}shoulders{f},	and go on with the real and exhausting work I
2	in my imagination. ‘Where are they?’ My daughter shrugged her	{b}shoulders{f}.	‘Lunga is here,’ she said, ‘but where bhuti Mxolisi is,’
3	Mxolisi is,’ there was a slight pause. Then, raising her	{b}shoulders{f}	up to her {b}ears{f}, she said, ‘Who can say?’ With
4	‘Who can say?’ With a careless shrug, she dropped the	{b}shoulders{f}	back to their accustomed place. This display of lack of
5	amazement. Splotches of water from the buckets darkened uproariously giggling	{b}shoulders{f}	and stained the shawls wound around their {b}waists{f} like peplums.
6	in sleep, I felt someone shake me roughly by the	{b}shoulders{f}.	Fire! The house was on fire! I leapt out of
7	with puppies. ‘Mandisa,’ Tata said, still shaking me by the	{b}shoulders{f}.	I was fully awake now and saw that Mama and
8	{w}hand{m} (or its brother or cousin) clasps itself to my	{b}shoulder{f}	and hauls me up... drags me bumpity-bump along the floor.
9	of a boy would show off, Stella hooked {b}thumb{f} at	{b}shoulder{f},	digging beneath the blouse, and pulled: thwack! My {b}mouth{f} fell
10	sideways, chasing the {b}ears{f}. {b}Arms{f} slung carelessly around each other’s	{b}shoulders{f},	we strolled to CNA bookshop to get Mama’s horse-racing card.
11	said, when she allowed herself to believe the news, her	{b}shoulders{f}	sagged as a long soft sigh escaped through her immobile
12	the news. {b}Eyes{f} staring unseeingly, she sat slumped against Makhulu’s	{b}shoulders{f},	listening as though the words meant little, if anything at
13	happened to that dog?’ Mama spat out. I shrugged my	{b}shoulders{f}	and, with the numbness of the anaesthetized, went back to
14	{b}eyes{f}. A towel around my {b}waist{f} and another over one	{b}shoulder{f},	pinned under the other {b}arm{f} completed my new-wife mode of
15	she pushed her {b}tummy{f} out, hooked her {b}thumbs{f} under the	{b}shoulder{f}	bands of her pinafore dress and raised her {b}brows{f} to
16	out. But not before she had flung back, over her	{b}shoulder{f},	‘I only came because I thought I should let you
17	blind despair. On and on and on the terrible wrawl,	{b}shoulders{f}	heaving horribly. But no {b}tears{f} came from those grotesquely protruding
18	where she flopped onto the bed. Shaking her by the	{b}shoulders{f},	I tried to stem the haunted, {b}tearless{f} cry. However, she
19	beneath it. A {b}hand{m}, light as down, fell on my	{b}shoulder{f}.	‘It’s going to be all right,’ my husband whispered softly.
20	a while later, Dwadwa asked, shaking me lightly by the	{b}shoulder{f}.	I tried to peel my {b}eyes{f} open. But the {b}lids{f}

Appendix 5: Full Appendices on CD/Google Drive Link

Hard copies of this thesis are accompanied by a CD with the Full Appendices. The following Google Drive link similarly provides access:
https://drive.google.com/open?id=1n99Ej_SQKwkYY9BjHIgYQLchvpipYddP