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CODE-SWITCHING AMONGST AFRICAN HIGH SCHOOL PUPILS WITHIN DIFFERENT SOCIAL CONTEXTS

by

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ABSTRACT

This research aims to identify, compare and contrast the different patterns of code-switching that African high school pupils exhibit according to the different social environments they interact within, with particular reference to the use of English and Nguni languages within multilingual urban and rural societies. Code-switching and its associated communicative resources will be analyzed in terms of social motivations and linguistic structural patterns. It is the belief, here, that the different school environments that influence the pupils will result in different patterns of code-switching and mixing for particular contexts. This research will be predominantly empirical, and will be concerned with a descriptive analysis of how, why, where, and when African high school pupils code-switch.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 RATIONALE

Code-switching (CS) is a widespread social phenomenon, and in a country such as South Africa where people are in constant contact with other language groups, it is not unusual to hear a conversation being carried out in two or more different languages. For the purposes of this research the following definitions will apply: CS can be defined as the use of more than one linguistic variety within the same conversation. Code-mixing (CM) is the use of morphemes from more than one variety within the same word. These definitions will be taken up again in chapter 3. The term "linguistic variety" is a neutral one, and encompasses different languages, speech styles, dialects and registers. For the purposes of this paper, only switching that takes place between different languages within a multilingual society will be considered.

Traditionally there are a number of myths that are associated with CS. For example, it was believed that:

(a) speaking more than one language within the same conversation was indicative of some sort of linguistic leakage taking place. It was seen as a mark of incompetence or confusion in learning to

speak more than one language.

(b) CS was merely a transitional stage of language shift whereby one language would start dominating the other.

(c) CS was only employed by people from lower socio-economic groups.

However, research has shown that none of this is true. CS is in fact a very powerful linguistic tool that can be employed by multilingual speakers to negotiate, challenge or change different conversational situations. CS is not merely an indicator of performance error - it is a skilled performance that may be used amongst people of different ages, sexes, or races from any socio-economic group.

I am very interested in how, why, where and when the use of more than one language takes place within the same conversation. As I have taught Zulu to high school pupils for the past eight years my interest is naturally directed at this age-group. This research is aimed at establishing whether different social contexts result in different patterns of code-switching for people of the same age group. It is my belief that the different school environments that influence these high school pupils will result in different patterns of code-switching and mixing for particular contexts.

This research is intended to offer an extensive study of CS and its associated communicative resources by

analyzing how the actual social contexts and educational backgrounds may influence the type of code-switching that occurs. It is hoped here that this research will go beyond a purely social analysis of CS to include an analysis of contextual patterns that may emerge as a result of the above mentioned factors. Hopefully, this paper will add a new dimension to the study of code-switching within the South African context, particularly amongst high school pupils.

1.2 AIM

In doing preliminary research on code-switching (CS) in the form of data collection, it became apparent that different social contexts seem to favour different patterns or styles of CS. It is therefore the aim of this research project to identify, compare, and contrast the different patterns of code-switching that African high school pupils exhibit according to the social environment they interact within. Particular reference will be made to the use of English and two of the Nguni languages, namely Zulu and Swazi, within multilingual urban and rural societies. The intention is to see what these pupils do with their language according to the different educational backgrounds they have been exposed to and influenced by, and according to the social context (rural, urban, township, suburb) within which they interact. Preliminary research suggests that pupils from predominantly African schools such as the rural and

township schools will tend to use more code-mixing than actual code-switching. It is also hypothesized that pupils from Model C English schools will tend to use more code-switching than code-mixing. The belief here is that the context and the language patterns are mutually interdependent - i.e. the context will influence the type of language pattern that is used, while the pattern of switching or mixing will be determined by the context of discourse and by the educational background the pupils have been influenced by.

1.3 METHODOLOGY

The nature of the research for this project was predominantly empirical. Data was collected by taping naturally occurring everyday conversations amongst African high school pupils within different contexts. Pupils collected data by running a tape recorder during their conversations at break, in the classroom, in the taxis and at home. The data was transcribed and translated, and then analyzed within the theoretical framework that will be discussed in Chapter 3.

In other words, the different language contact phenomena of code-switching, code-mixing, and borrowing were examined according to the contexts within which the pupils were conversing and interacting. The existing literature offered valuable definitions and explanations for these contact phenomena, which could then be

analyzed and explained according to the different contexts within which the pupils were interacting within (see Chapter 2).

The emphasis of this research was qualitative rather than quantitative in nature. In other words, it was primarily concerned with a descriptive analysis of how, why, where, and when African high school pupils CS within different contexts. However it was found to be useful to include a very rough count of the relative frequency of code-mixes and code-switches within the different contexts, in order to give some concrete figures in support of the findings. This will be further explained in Chapter 3.

1.4 SOURCES

In trying to establish how the social context affects the pattern of code-switching which is the unmarked choice for them, high school pupils from the following environments were taped during everyday conversations:

1. A rural school in kaNgwane
2. A Soweto school
3. A model C English school

Thus data was collected from rural and urban contexts, as well as from an urban township school and a Model C English school in a traditionally "white" suburb of Johannesburg.

1.5 IMPLICATIONS FOR TEACHING

A study such as this one has serious implications for the teaching of second and third languages. Although they are beyond the scope of this thesis, it is felt that some of these should be briefly mentioned. As has been mentioned, CS is a dynamic conversational strategy, that constantly changes according to the participants, the situation, the context and the intentions of the speakers. Although language purists would like to believe that language is static and that it has only one form, one only needs to listen to everyday conversations to hear that this is not so. Code-switching is not meaningless but involves choices on the part of the speakers. This means then, that school syllabi, textbooks and teaching materials need to take cognizance of the dynamic nature of language. Language teachers can no longer rely on teaching set grammatical forms according to a prescriptive and very narrow syllabus. Teachers and teaching materials alike must be aware that language has more than one form - and it is not always 'pure'. Pupils need to be exposed to real conversation and need to hear that people speak a language which does not necessarily follow the rules of the prescribed text-books. Pupils need to begin to understand that code-switching has serious social functions and is not merely a 'bastardization' of a given language. Code-switching is an impressive linguistic tool which multilingual speakers have available to them, and although this skill

cannot be taught to the pupils, it is essential that they understand and be aware of this very widespread phenomenon. A study of CS can only enhance and improve the teaching of second and third languages.

1.6 OUTLINE OF CONTENT

Chapter 2 is a literature review which offers an overview of the leading researchers in the field of code-switching.

Chapter 3 is the theoretical framework which was used for the purposes of this research project. It indicates the definitions that are to be used, as well as the format of how the data is to be analyzed.

Chapter 4 considers the rural context of kaNgwane, and establishes the conversational patterns that are found amongst African high school pupils relating to this context.

Chapter 5 takes a closer look at the conversational patterns of pupils from Soweto. The effect of this urban township context on the speech patterns of African high school pupils is considered.

Chapter 6 investigates the conversational patterns of African high school pupils who attend a Model C English school in a traditionally 'white' area.

The appendices to Chapters 4, 5, and 6 provide the relevant data upon which the analysis is based.

Chapter 7 is a conclusion which summarizes the findings of this research project in terms of how, why, where and when African high school pupils code-switch according to the different contexts they interact within.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

An overview of the work of some of the leading researchers in the field of CS provides some valuable insights into how this field developed and how it is to be understood in terms of the different language contact phenomena to be investigated in this thesis. CS has been investigated in different languages all around the world, and to my knowledge no literature has been published on CS with regard to any of the Nguni languages in South Africa. I know of one unpublished paper which was delivered at the Annual Conference on African Linguistics in Nairobi by Finlayson on CS within the South African context (1992), and one honours thesis that looked at code-switching in some of the Sotho and Nguni languages in South Africa (Mkondwane, 1994), but neither does much to advance our understanding.

The literature review has been organized here according to, firstly, how the researchers consider the language situations or contexts or domains that may have an effect of the overall pattern of conversation. Secondly it has been grouped according to how the researchers define code-switching and its related language phenomena such as code-mixing, lexical and phrasal insertions, borrowing, re-borrowing and parallelism. Generally , the first five researchers consider the importance of the dynamic nature of code-switching and how different

language varieties are associated with different contexts, domains, or social institutions. The remainder of the researchers consider the structural patterns and social motivations for code-switching and provide workable definitions of the communicative resources associated with code-switching. It must be noted that this is a very rough grouping of literature and there is a certain amount of overlap amongst the different researchers.

2.1 **Blom and Gumperz** (1972) initiated current interest in the study of CS with their study of CS between dialects in a Norwegian fishing village. This further developed into studies of CS between different languages rather than different dialects. The speaker is seen as an important participant in the interaction, who makes linguistic choices according to the linguistic and social constraints of a particular society. Blom and Gumperz introduced the concepts of situational and metaphorical switching, where the former involves a switch in variety to redefine a situation, while the latter involves a switch to change the emphasis of the topic. An important outcome of their study is that linguistic choices were seen as dynamic, and CS was seen as mark of 'skill' rather than as a performance error.

2.2 **Fishman** (1972), like Blom and Gumperz, is also concerned with the situations of language choice. He is concerned with establishing a link between micro- and

macrosociolinguistics in the study of 'who speaks what language to whom and when'. He states that different language varieties are associated with different domains or social situations and these reflect the different types of relationships and values that exist for a particular speech community.

2.3 **Gibbons** (1987) highlights the importance of including both micro-level and macro-level factors in a study of code choices. In other words, attitudes as well as the social situation play an important role in the choice of codes for a communicative event.

2.4 **Chick** (1992) emphasizes that sociolinguistic research should analyze interaction not only in terms of micro- (conversation) and macro- (society) contexts, but should also include a meso-context, namely that of societal institutions. He states that it is important to see how what takes place in these interactions is constrained by, and affects, what takes place at other levels of social organisation.

2.5 **Holmes** (1992), like Fishman, argues that different domains can be important in accounting for the language variety that the speaker selects. Holmes states that the participants, the setting, and the topic are three important social factors in selecting a code or variety. Social distance, status, formality of the situation, and the goal or function of the interaction are also

important factors affecting the code choice. Holmes introduces the term metaphorical switching which refers to 'rapid switching' between codes where there are no obvious explanatory factors for the specific switches. The speaker draws on the associations of both languages whereby each language or code represents a set of social meanings. Holmes states that this is the distinctive conversational style used among bilinguals and multilinguals whereby the speakers can convey meaning as well as information by switching between two or more codes. This is similar to Myers-Scotton's "code-switching itself as the unmarked choice" (see 2.10), and Herbert's "code-switching as a linguistic variety" (see 2.11). Borrowed words tend to be adapted to the speaker's mother-tongue, and are pronounced and used grammatically according to the rules of the speaker's first language.

2.6 **Kachru** (1978) studies both the structural and social motivations of CS between English and Indian languages. He argues that code-switching and code-mixing (CM) are two distinct communicative strategies. CS is the complete switch of one language to another quite separate language, where the switch is determined by the situation, the participants and the function. This is similar to Blom and Gumperz's 'situational CS', and Myers-Scotton's 'sequence of unmarked choices' (see 2.10). CM refers to the structural features and codes are transferred within sentences. Myers-Scotton refers

to this CM as 'CS as the unmarked choice' and states that CS can give rise to code-mixed varieties, and that CM entails extended borrowing.

2.7 **Bokamba** (1988), an associate of Kachru at the University of Illinois, offers an analysis of CM in Lingala and Swahili, two African languages, and also argues that CS and CM are distinct manifestations of communicative strategies. CS involves a complete switch of language across sentence boundaries (i.e intersententially) without the grammatical rules of the participating languages being integrated. CM, on the other hand, involves grammatical constituents from both languages being used within the same sentence. He divides code-mixed utterances into two types:

(1) lexical and phrasal insertions. Myers-Scotton refers to these as ML islands and EL islands (see 2.10), and Poplack refers to these as emblematic or tag switches (see 2.8)

(2) morphologically mixed utterances where words consist of constituents from both languages. Myers-Scotton refers to these as ML+EL constituents.

He makes a further distinction between CM and borrowing, where borrowed words or phrases are assimilated phonologically, morphologically and syntactically into the host language while code-mixed ones are not. He states that CM tends to occur in the speech of bilinguals and multilinguals, while borrowings can occur in the speech of monolingual, bilingual and multilingual

speakers. This means that he makes a three-way distinction between code-switching, code-mixing, and borrowing. Herbert (see 2.11) makes this same three-way distinction.

2.8 Poplack (1980) distinguishes between three types of CS, depending on the degree to which they have been phonologically, morphologically and syntactically integrated into the other language: inter-sentential switching occurs between sentences; intra-sentential switching which requires more skill 'since a code-switched segment, and those around it, must conform to the underlying syntactic rules of two languages which bridge constituents and link them together grammatically' (1980 : 589); and emblematic or tag switches which include the use of individual noun switches, idiomatic expressions and interjections from one language in another.

2.9 Khati (1992) refers to an article by Poplack and Wheeler (1987) in which they coin the term 'nonce-borrowing' to refer to a temporary 'mix' which is used for specific purposes only. Khati prefers to use the term 'intra-lexical switch', and states that his observations of Sotho-English switched lexical items show that loan words use the phonology, morphology and the syntactic processes of the host language, while intra-lexical switching uses the phonology and morphology of the guest language within the grammar of

the host language. He states that intra-lexical switches are transitional and usually lead to the words becoming accepted loan words.

2.10 **Myers-Scotton** (1988, 1992, 1993) is the name that is most commonly associated with the study of code-switching in Africa and hence will be reviewed in more detail. She proposes two models for the explanation of both the social motivations and social functions of code-switching (i.e. why people switch codes), and the structural constraints placed upon code-switches within a conversation (i.e. how people switch codes).

The Markedness Model is concerned with analysing the social functions of code-switching. Code-switching is viewed as negotiation regarding the rights and obligation balance (RO balance) between speakers. The model is based on the notion that speakers make marked and unmarked choices for any given situation. The unmarked code for code-switching is the one that is normal or expected for the situation i.e. it is neutral and carries no extra social meaning. Making a marked choice often (though not always) carries extra social meaning. This means that the variety that the speaker chooses indicates that he or she is sending a meta-message i.e. more than just the semantic content of the word is being conveyed. Myers-Scotton offers four social functions of code-switching:

(a) Code-switching in a sequence as an unmarked

choice - the speaker changes from one unmarked code to the other as the situation changes.

(b) Code-switching itself as the unmarked choice the overall pattern of code-switching carries the social meaning rather than the individual switches and is used to indicate simultaneous identities. CS itself is a 'linguistic variety' (see Herbert 2.11) or a badge of identity, and this badge differs with different social contexts.

(c) Code-switching to make a marked choice - the speaker changes some aspect of the RO balance within a particular situation in order to pass a meta-message. Here we would see a pattern of larger switches or code-switching rather than code-mixing.

(d) Code-switching to make an exploratory choice - code-switching is momentary as strangers explore code choices within a new and uncertain situation.

The Matrix Language Frame Model (MLF Model) is concerned with identifying the structural constraints that are placed on code-switching, and attempts to predict where and how in a sentence a speaker may code-switch. This model defines CS as "the selection by bilinguals or multilinguals of forms from an embedded variety (or varieties) in utterances of a matrix variety during the same conversation." (1993a:3) This implies that a speaker has two or more parallel languages to draw from. The Matrix Language (ML) is the main language and plays the more dominant role, while the Embedded Language (EL)

is any other language being used in the CS to a lesser degree. In other words, the EL utterances are framed in the ML. Myers-Scotton is concerned with intra-sentential code-switching only in this model i.e. CS that takes place within the same sentence. A distinction is made between system morphemes, which govern the grammar of the language (inflexional affixes, possessive adjectives, quantifiers, determiners, tense, aspect, time adverbs); and content morphemes, which carry the semantic content (nouns, descriptive adjectives, verb stems). Some morphemes may not be congruent in both languages i.e. they may be content morphemes in one language but are system morphemes in another language.

Myers-Scotton also mentions the existence of 'bare forms' which are content words from the EL which do not have system morphemes from the ML. In other words, they are not code-mixes. These bare forms are usually nouns, adjectives and verbs, and she states that there is a lack of congruence between the EL and ML system morphemes.

Myers-Scotton states that there are three types of constituents of code-switching according to this model which are governed by four hypotheses:

(a) ML + EL constituents - morphemes from both languages are used within one word.

(b) ML islands - morphemes come from the ML only, and the grammar of the ML is adhered to.

(c) EL islands - morphemes come from the EL only and follow the grammar of the EL. These can be obligatory or optional. Optional EL islands can be of two types: (i) formulaic or idiomatic expressions i.e. those that are set phrases and can be memorized as a unit e.g. certain types of discourse markers and expressions of time (ii) phrases that are peripheral to the meaning of the conversation e.g. parenthetical words and expressions.

2.11 **Herbert** (1994), like Bokamba, makes a three-way distinction between code-mixing, code-switching and borrowing. He sees the incorporation of lexical material as being a continuum whereby borrowing is incorporated historically and code-mixing is incorporated synchronically. He states that borrowed words are phonologically, morphologically and syntactically integrated into the host language, and the widespread acceptance of these forms by monolingual speakers distinguishes borrowings from code-mixed forms i.e. borrowed forms are indistinguishable from the inherited forms. He reserves the term code-switching for instances where there is a shift in the operand grammar i.e. 'the phonological, morphological, and syntactic systems of Language A is abandoned and replaced by the systems of Language B'. He follows Myers-Scotton's four social functions of code-switching, but refers to 'code-switching itself as the unmarked choice' as 'code-

switching as a linguistic variety'. In other words he sees the overall pattern of conversation as carrying the social meaning, rather than the individual switches. Herbert introduces the notion of re-borrowing, which arises when bilingual speakers re-borrow lexical items that had previously been integrated, and states that there are social motivations for this. He also offers the notion of parallelism as an overall pattern of CS, which is the regular alternation of varieties within turns. Each sentence begins in the mother-tongue and tends to serve a general discourse function, and is completed in the other participating language, which is used to express the semantic content of the discourse.

The literature review presented here provides the basis for the theoretical framework of this research project which will be described in Chapter 3. Explanations of the social motivations and the linguistic structural patterns of code-mixing, code-switching, lexical and phrasal insertions, borrowings, re-borrowings will be based on the literature reviewed here, and will be applied to the data in terms of the specific aims of this research according to the different contexts within which the African high school pupils interact.

CHAPTER 3

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The present research was conducted largely within the broader framework of the literature reviewed in Chapter 2. The concern here was with identifying the social motivations and different linguistic structural patterns that emerge within different contexts in which African high school pupils interact.

Blom and Gumperz (1972), Fishman (1972), Gibbons (1987), Chick (1992), and Holmes (1992) highlight the importance of the situations of language choice. They show how linguistic choices are dynamic, and further show how they can be associated with different domains or social situations. Gibbons and Chick emphasize how micro- and macro- level factors are important to understanding communicative strategies, and Chick introduces the meso-context, which will be the school environment for this thesis. This research was concerned with investigating how these factors affect the pattern of CS that emerges amongst these pupils.

Social motivations and structural patterns of CS are offered by researchers such as Kachru, Bokamba, Poplack, Holmes, Myers-Scotton and Herbert.

3.1 SOCIAL MOTIVATIONS OF CODE-SWITCHING

CS can be used as a linguistic tool to negotiate social factors such as: identity, interpersonal relationships, social position, group solidarity, ethnic identity, exploring new relationships, status, level of education, authority, neutrality, distancing or intimacy, indexing simultaneous identities, sending a meta-message, distancing oneself from an uncomfortable topic, hiding one's identity or giving weight to an argument. These factors are concerned with why a speaker switches code.

3.2 CODE-MIXING, CODE-SWITCHING AND BORROWING

Myers-Scotton makes a two-way distinction between CS, on the one hand, and borrowing on the other. Preliminary research has shown that it would be more useful to make a three-way distinction between code-switching, code-mixing and borrowing, as proposed by researchers such as Bokamba (1988) and Herbert (1994), and which will be adhered to in this research. These three communicative resources are three quite different and distinct linguistic tools which can be identified and analyzed within conversations.

3.3 CODE-MIXING

Code-mixes contain morphemes from both languages within single words which have not been assimilated into the

host language. i.e. the words have not been phonologically and morphologically integrated. These would include Bokamba's morphologically mixed utterances, and Myers-Scotton's ML+EL constituents. Examples from the data include the following: *ama-problems* (problems), *ama-visitors* (visitors), *uku-solve-a* (to solve).

3.4 LEXICAL AND PHRASAL INSERTIONS

Small switches can occur involving single morphemes, words and phrases in a single language, i.e. Bokamba's lexical and phrasal insertions, and Myers-Scotton's EL islands. These are small 'switches' which fulfil a lexical need. These insertions can form part of conversational patterns that include code-mixing and/or code-switching, but they are not counted as code-mixes or code-switches. They are used frequently in conversation and they are often formulaic. They can function as set expressions or phrases which can be learnt as fluent units.

Lexical and phrasal insertions include the following: discourse markers (e.g. *anyway, because, that's why, at least*); adverbial time and place phrases (e.g. *yesterday, today, at the end of this month*); question forms (e.g. *why?, what?, where?*); set expressions (e.g. *it's true, it's lucky for you, a point of no return*); exclamations (e.g. *oh!, hey!*); terms of address (e.g. *my*

friend); and bare forms (single words without affixes - e.g. *together, free, cheap*). Note that these can very often overlap - for example time phrases and question forms can serve discourse functions, or bare forms can also be time phrases or question forms.

3.5 CODE-SWITCHING

Thus, the term "code-switching" is reserved for larger changes that go beyond lexical changes such as mixes, lexical and phrasal insertions and borrowings. CS occurs when the operational language changes - i.e. the phonological, morphological and syntactic systems all change for that period of discourse.

Example:

A: Hey abanye abantu banomona kabi ngapha ngaphandle. Do you know what happened in Soweto last night? (Hey some people are so jealous in our environment. ...)

Note that Myers-Scotton's definition of EL islands does not cover this kind of switch, namely a code-switch as defined above. Her EL islands coincide with Bokamba's lexical and phrasal insertions. Myers-Scotton prescribes that EL islands can only be obligatory islands or optional islands which are set expressions, formulaic phrases, adverbial phrases of time and place, discourse markers or comments which are peripheral to the main argument. In this analysis these are not counted as code-mixes or code-switches, but rather as lexical and

phrasal insertions.

3.6 BORROWINGS

Borrowings are words that have been integrated phonologically and morphologically into the host language and have been widely accepted by monolingual speakers i.e. these words look and sound like an ordinary word of the host language. Examples would include the following: *esikoleni* (at school), *emaklasini* (in the classrooms), *emoshuwari* (at the mortuary).

3.7 RE-BORROWINGS

Sometimes bilingual speakers may re-borrow a word even though a particular word had already been integrated into the host language. Hence we find examples such as: *e-school* instead of *esikoleni*, *e-shops* instead of *esitolo*, *ema-classes* instead of *emaklasini*. These re-borrowings usually take the form of mixes. Many speakers also use mixes where 'native' language synonyms already exist, for example : *ama-elections* instead of *ukhetho*, *ama-problems* instead of *izinkinga*, and *aba-clean-i* instead of *abagezi*. These choices seem to be socially motivated and are not indicative of forgetfulness. It is important to note that borrowings are not classified as part of code-mixing or code-switching, but are used by speakers who use an overall pattern of mixing and switching i.e. the speaker actively selects the social

value of mixed speech.

3.8 UNMARKED / MARKED CODE-SWITCHING

Myers-Scotton's Markedness Model identifies four categories of CS, which fulfil different social needs. This research is concerned with two, namely CS as an unmarked choice and CS as a marked choice.

When the code-switch itself is the unmarked choice it functions as a linguistic variety, a badge of identity. It is the "in way" to talk within that particular context. When the social context differs, the unmarked choice, or linguistic variety, will also change. This research shows that in certain contexts code-mixing is the unmarked choice as the overall pattern. This research also suggests that when CS is used for a marked choice, the type of 'switching' that occurs is not mixing, nor is it filling a lexical need - rather whole phrases, sentences or stretches of discourse are switched and the operational grammar changes. Thus, it will be shown that the conversations of pupils from rural areas and those from a predominantly African school will have an overall pattern of code-mixing as the unmarked choice. Code-switching itself will be shown to be the unmarked choice for pupils who have been exposed to more English in their everyday lives, such as those in the Model C school.

3.9 ANALYZING THE DATA

When analyzing the data in the next three chapters according to context, the following will thus be considered:

(a) code-mixes (ML+EL constituents), lexical and phrasal insertions (discourse markers, time and place phrases, set expressions, exclamations, bare forms, question forms), borrowings, re-borrowings, and mixes that take the place of 'native' synonyms. Data which contains mostly code-mixed forms used in conjunction with these other language contact phenomena will be classified as 'an overall pattern of code-mixing'.

(b) data which contains predominantly larger switches which fill the definition of code-switching may well include any elements of the above. But if there is a definite change in the operational grammar, these will be analyzed as 'an overall pattern of code-switching'.

The belief here is that these are both linguistic varieties that are determined by context. Thus this research will be looking at two different linguistic varieties which may determine the overall pattern of conversation according to different contexts. Note that both varieties may contain lexical and phrasal insertions, borrowings and re-borrowings, but in order to determine the overall conversational pattern for

African pupils within different contexts, the analysis will count only the code-mixes and the code-switches. In this way, it will be established if a particular context results in an overall conversational pattern of code-mixing or code-switching.

Lexical and phrasal insertions, borrowings and re-borrowings will also be listed in the analysis, but will be excluded from the count for determining the overall pattern of conversation as these feature in both linguistic patterns.

Lexical and phrasal insertions serve a basic lexical purpose that is quite different from that of code-mixing and code-switching. They differ from CM in that they do not mix the two languages together within single words - they are only used in one language or the other. They are different from CS because they are limited to single words, discourse markers, set expressions, adverbial phrases, and interjections which occur so regularly that they are almost formulaic. With CS the switching is much more substantial and these insertions serve lexical and discourse functions.

Common phrases that are switched such as *by the way, and then, anyway, at least* serve the basic function of linking stretches of discourse together. Other lexical and phrasal insertions such as time phrases, bare forms, terms of address, question forms and set expressions are

either formulaic or peripheral to the main argument and these line up better with Myers-Scotton's description of EL islands. These have thus been listed in the analysis but not included in the count as they are not regarded as CM or CS. "The evidence is overwhelming that functionally peripheral elements are most favoured for EL islandhood ...Many of these are almost formulaic. (Myers-Scotton 1993a:145) In other words they do not carry the same semantic weight as the code-mixes or the code-switches.

In order to establish the relative frequency of occurrence of code-mixes and code-switches within particular contexts, each of the code-mixes and the code-switches were counted for each context. Similarly, each of the lines of discourse were counted for each context. The total number of switches and mixes were divided into the total number of lines of discourse. This is a very rough count, and although a quantitative analysis is not the main priority here, it does offer an overall impression of the relative frequency of CM and CS within the different contexts, and offers additional support to the findings.

A point to be made here, is that some of the data for the Soweto context and the Model C English school context was collected by the same pupils. It is recognized here that not all the variables can be controlled, and at times some of the same pupils may

have participated in the conversations of both contexts. However, despite this overlap, what pupils anecdotally report that they do in their conversations is ultimately supported by the data, and the context within which pupils converse does definitely influence the overall speech patterns as will be seen in the next three chapters.

Chapters 4, 5, and 6 consider the overall speech patterns that emerge according to a specific context, namely kaNgwane, Soweto or Model C. Data is included as an appendix at the end of each chapter. Code-mixes, nominal and verbal forms, are listed from each conversation according to the number of the conversation. These code-mixed forms are counted per context. Lexical and phrasal insertions, borrowings and re-borrowings are listed for each context, but are not included in the count. Both marked and unmarked code-switches are listed and are again counted according to the context in which they occur. A total count, indicating the relative frequency of code-mixes and code-switches, is included at the end of each context as part of the conclusion, in order to support the findings of the overall conversational patterns that emerge according to the different contexts.

CHAPTER 4

KANGWANE - RURAL CONTEXT

KaNgwane is a rural area just south of the Kruger National Park's Malelane Gate. Research was conducted at the local school in the township of kaMhlushwa, where Zulu and Swazi are spoken. Both these languages belong to the Nguni family, and are thus linguistically very similar. The phonological changes that do occur are mostly within the stop series and are generally quite obvious. At times, however, it is difficult to establish which language is specifically being spoken because they are so similar. This does not, however, affect the nature of the study as the overall pattern of code-switching remains the same for this context.

Although it is not the direct concern of the present research, it is interesting to note that the boys tend to use more Swazi than the girls, especially in the greeting and parting phases of conversation in order to establish solidarity. The girls also sometimes switch to Swazi when talking to the boys. This is the focus of a MA research report currently being completed by Du Plessis (1995). Examples 9-12 have been included to show some of the instances where the phonological differences found in Swazi are more obvious.

When analyzing the data it becomes apparent that the conversations of these pupils have an **overall pattern of**

code-mixing which is the unmarked choice for them in this context. The dominant language or ML is Nguni, while the EL tends to be English. The conversations contain many code-mixes i.e. ML+EL constituents which consist of morphemes from both Nguni and English within one word. They tend to mix English verbs and nouns (content morphemes) with Nguni prefixes and suffixes (system morphemes), as will be evident in the analysis of the data below. Lexical and phrasal insertions (single words, discourse markers, time phrases, set expressions, and interjections) are often made in English (EL islands). Borrowings, re-borrowings, and mixes which take the place of 'native' synonyms, are also part of the conversational style of the pupils from this rural context. Sometimes there may be a complete switch to English to make a marked choice in order to emphasize or highlight a particular point. These, however, tend to occur very seldom and, when they do occur, are generally relatively short.

The belief here is that it is the context which is responsible for this type of overall conversational pattern. Both at school and at home the pupils tend to converse in Zulu and Swazi, rather than English. Their school is supposedly an English medium school, but the teachers often resort to using the mother-tongue in order to explain the work more clearly. Even the teachers from this area tend to speak more in the mother-tongue. However, the teachers do tend to use more

actual code-switching than the pupils do, and this could be attributed to the fact that they have achieved a much higher level of education, and many of them have completed their studies with English as the language of learning. The point here is that the pupils are not surrounded by people speaking English everyday, and they therefore tend to speak predominantly in Nguni, while including mixed forms and English insertions to indicate they have some knowledge of English. These pupils are able to speak English, but they somehow do not tend to attach the same level of importance to English as pupils from the Model C English school do (see chapter 6).

The data can thus be analyzed according to the following factors:

4.1 CODE-MIXES : NOMINAL FORMS

Nguni noun class prefixes are prefixed to English nouns in order to form these code-mixed forms. Any other grammatical forms which may be added to Nguni nouns may also be affixed to these forms. The following grammatical constructions were found to be used with these code-mixed forms: the immediate past continuous tense (*be-*) and the associative copulative form *na-* (e.g. *besinama-visitors*), the connective *na-* form (e.g. *nayi-community*), the locative construction (e.g. *ema-toilets*), the possessive construction (e.g *ze-fashion*), the demonstrative construction (e.g. *kule-department*),

the instrumental *nga-* form (e.g. *nge-break*), the copulative form of the locative (e.g. *siku-funeral*).

It is interesting to note that the plural system morpheme *-s* in English may be maintained even when a plural Nguni noun class prefix is prefixed to the noun. Very often the English noun is used emblematically and the Nguni noun class prefix remains the active system morpheme as can be seen in the agreement morphemes. e.g. *ama-problems amaningi*. This kind of double morphology is quite a common feature found in all three of the contexts that are considered in this research. The speakers also used the English noun in the singular form while relying on the Nguni noun class prefix to indicate plurality (e.g. *ama-lady*). The choice of these forms seems to depend on the speakers personal choice at the time of speaking, although the double morphological form does seem to be more common.

All the different code-mixed nominal forms which were found in the data have been grouped together for easy reference according to the number of the conversation in the appendix.

1. i-apartheid = apartheid
   besinama-visitors = we had visitors
   ku-new South Africa = it's a new South Africa
2. (la)ama-visitors = (these) visitors
   ama-lady = ladies

izingubo ze-fashion = fashionable clothes

3. (ema-)/ama-toilets = (in) the toilets

ama-problems = problems

nayi-community = and the community

(kule-)/(i)-department = (in this)/(the) department

nge-break = at break

ama-diseases = diseases

le-problem = this problem

4. (siku)/(i)-funeral/ = (we were at) the funeral

5. ku-Steve Biko Day = it is Steve Biko Day

ngama-rumours = by rumours

u-Principal = the Principal

6. le-tuck shop = this tuckshop

(kulama-)/ama-chips = (on these) chips

i-cold drink = a cold drink

ngalama-black spots = these black spots

7. (ka)/(ngo-)-dad = (of)/(about) dad

kule-topic = from this topic

nayi-hatred = of hatred

8. i-family = the family

ngama-elections = it is the elections

ama-films = films

ku-video = on the video

ama-transport = transport

i-life = life

9. ama-number plates = number plates

ngase-bottle store = near the bottle store

u-driver = the driver

10. ne-party = have a party

ise-Three Moons Community Hall = it is at the ...

i-mistake = a mistake

11. i-support = the support

12. kuma-study = to the study group

(ku-)/(i)-TV = (on) the television

li-story = the story

li-character = the character

e-stage = on the stage

i-group = the group

4.2 CODE-MIXES : VERBAL FORMS

English verbs are "Zulu-ized" by having Nguni prefixes and/or suffixes affixed to them. The use of the Nguni prefixal morphology seems to be obligatory in these mixed forms while the use of the Nguni verbal terminative *-a* seems to rely on personal choice. This terminative carries no real meaning in itself, although the reason for using it seems to be phonological in that the speakers are trying to make the words more pronounceable or "Zulu-like". This personal choice relating to using the terminative or not seems to be the same for all three contexts as will be seen in the next two chapters. These mixed forms can be used in the positive and negative, as well as be expressed in the different tenses and moods. The Nguni prefixal forms i.e the system morphemes always agree with the subject of the sentence. These forms are listed below for easy reference.

1. sengi-realized = I've realized

3. a-dirty = they are dirty

   isi-help-e = should help us

   uku-solve-a = to solve

5. kuyangi-bore-a = it bores me

6. aba-clean-i = they do not clean

7. ngi-worried = I am worried

8. akusana-fight = there is no longer fighting

   kune-peace = there is peace

   bazo-hire = they will hire

9. si-realize-e = we realized

10. utangi-invite-a = you will invite me

    ngingaku-invite-a = if I did not invite you

4.3 LEXICAL AND PHRASAL INSERTIONS

Adverbial phrases (time and place) - yesterday, today, late, on Saturday, even yesterday, back to, its only this morning, tomorrow, next month

Question forms - why?, what's that?, who is that?, is it..?, where about?, where?

Bare forms - together, the way, out, free, hard, so

Discourse markers - did you love, I think, that's why, but I know, yes, but, anyway, don't you think, no

Set expressions - it's true, via the principal, it's a

holiday, it's so unfair, it will be better

Exclamations - hey

terms of address - my friend, the master of the funeral undertakers

4.4 BORROWINGS

esikoleni = at school

asemoshuwari = of the mortuary

emaklasini = in the classrooms

nalamabhodwe = and these pots

siyovota = we will go and vote

imoto = motor car

lijezi = a jersey

4.5 RE-BORROWINGS

ema-classes = in the classrooms (emaklasini)

e-school = at school (esikoleni)

le-shop = this shop (lesi sitolo)

4.6 CODE-SWITCHES

Conversation 2 - "who are?"

Conversation 3 - "it causes us"

Conversation 11 - "a new jersey"

4.7 MARKED CODE-SWITCHES

Conversation 2 - "they were so beautiful!" Speaker A code-switches to English to emphasize the beauty of the visitors' clothes. Perhaps the speaker also switched as the visitors were English speakers, and Speaker A uses this switch to acknowledge this fact.

Conversation 4 - "it was very painful" Speaker A switches to English to indicate the severity of the pain - this switch highlights speaker A's distress at that time.

Conversation 7 - "I'll try to be cool" Speaker A switches to English in order to indicate and emphasize one of the main aims of a teenager today - i.e. to be "cool".

4.8 SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

The data reveals that there is a code-mix roughly every 1,52 lines of discourse, while there is code-switch every 19,2 lines of discourse. These very rough estimates clearly support the claim that the pupils' conversations from the rural area of kaNgwane exhibit an overall pattern of code-mixing. Code-mixing is the unmarked choice for these pupils who are influenced more by Zulu and Swazi in their daily lives than they are by English. They code-switch very seldom and when they do, the switches tend to be relatively short.

APPENDIX - CHAPTER 4

In the appendices the following conventions will be followed:

bold print = actual words spoken

underlining = English

double underlining = code-mixes

1. Two pupils discuss the white visitors that visited their school.

A: Mngani sengi-realized ukuthi i-apartheid sesiyingcwabile (Friend I have just realized that apartheid has been buried)

B: Why usho kanjalo mngani? (Why do you say so friend?)

A: Ngisho ngoba yesterday besinama-visitors abeLungu. Uyakhumbula ukuthi before singene ku-new South Africa bekungenzeki lokho (I say so, because yesterday we had white visitors. Do you remember that before we entered the new South Africa that would not have happened)

B: Yebo uqinisile, abeLungu bebangafuni ukuthi siphile together (Yes that's true, the whites did not want us to live together)

A: Today sebayakwazi ukuphilisana nabantu abamnyama (Today they know how to live together with black people)

.....

2. Two pupils discuss the visitors that arrived at their school.

A: Hey mngani awazi kukhona ama-visitors bekasivakashele e-school yethu (Hey friend do you know that there are visitors at our school?)

B: Hawu! Who are lama-visitors bebavelaphi? (Who are these visitors and where do they come from?)

A: BekunguThandiwe and Khethiwe, bavela eJohannesburg (They are Thandiwe and Khethiwe, they come from Johannesburg)

B: Hawu benivakashelwe ama-lady akude kangaka (Gosh you were visited by ladies from so far away)

A: Kodwa uyazi indlela bebeggoke ngayo, they were so beautiful ngoba bebaggoke izingubo ze-fashion (But you know that the way they were dressed, they were so beautiful because they wore fashionable clothes)

B: Did you love lezo zingubo bebaggokile? (Did you love those clothes that they were wearing?)

A: Yebo my friend ngizithandile (Yes my friend I loved them)

.....

3. Two pupils discuss the state of their school toilets.

A: Aish ama-toilets ethu asinika ama-problems amaningi (Aish (exclamation) -our toilets give us many problems)

B: Yebo it causes us ukufika late eklasini ngoba abe phandle kwesikole (Yes we arrive late at class because

they are outside the school premises)

A: Enye into a-dirty, and awanaminyango (And another thing they are dirty, and they don't have doors)

B: The way angayo asetshenziswa nayi-community... (The way they are used by the community...)

A: I think i-department kufanele isi-help-e kulenkinga (I think the department must help us with this problem)

B: Yes it's true ngoba nanoma sidla nge-break izimpungane zalapha ema-toilets ziza kithi and ziyobanga ama-diseases kithi (..because when we eat at break the flies from the toilets come to us and bring diseases to us)

A: Singayihambisa kanjani le-problem? (How can we get rid of this problem?)

B: Sibhale incwadi via the Principal kule-department uku-solve-a le-problem (We should write a letter via the Principal to this department to solve this problem)

.....

4. Two pupils discuss the funeral of a local policeman.

A: Hey kukhona into engizwisa ubuhlungu (Hey there is something which makes me feel bad)

B: What's that?

A: Ukudutshulwa kwamaphoyisa (The shooting of a policeman)

B: Hey leyo ayikhulunywa! (Hey don't say that!)

A: Izolo kade siku-funeral yelinye iphoyisa akwaMbokozi (Yesterday there was a funeral for one of the policemen

from Mbokozi)

B: Yo! Who is that? Is it Swenty?

A: Yebo udutshulwe eSikhwahlane (Yes he was shot in Sikhwahlane)

B: Nini? (When?)

A: On Saturday ebusuku (On Saturday night)

B: Yo amaphoyisa ayaphela bantu! Kodwa i-funeral ihambe kanjani? (Gosh the police are being killed! But how did the funeral go?)

A: Kodwa it was very painful ngoba isidumbu sibuye late. Kade selokhu silindile abanye bathi iSofas iphukile; abanye bathi the master of the funeral undertakers ihambe namakhiya asemoshuwari that's why isidumbu sibuye late (But it was very painful because the corpse arrived late. While we were waiting some said the hearse (name of undertaker) was broken; others said that the master of the funeral undertakers had left with the keys for the mortuary, that's why the corpse arrived late)

.....

5. Two pupils complain about being kept at school while other pupils have made a holiday of "Steve Biko Day".

A: Mngani namhla kuyangi-bore-a ukuya esikolweni (Friend today it bores me to come to school)

B: Why kuku-bore-a mngani? (Why does it bore you?)

A: Ukuthi bathi today it's a holiday - ku-Steve Biko Day (They say that today is Steve Biko Day)

A: Uzwe ngobani? (Who did you hear from?)

B: Ngizwe nqama-rumours (I heard rumours

A: Uyazi lento eyenzeka lapha esikolweni it's so unfair! Thina siya esikolweni abanye bahlezi emakhaya (You know that this thing at school is so unfair! We go to school while others stay at home)

B: But I know ukuthi manje singaphindela emakhaya (But I know that now we can return home)

A: Hawu nje, umazi kahle u-Principal uzothi asihlaleni emaklasini sifundeni (Gosh you know very well that the Principal will say that we should stay in class and learn)

B: But angiboni ukuthi uzothi masingeneni ema-classes ngoba sibancane namhla (But I don't see that she will say that we must go into class because there are not enough of us today)

.....

6. Two pupils complain about the state of their school tuck shop.

A: Hey uyazi le-tuckshop yethu ! Awubheke manje sidinga ama-chips asaphelile (Hey you know this tuckshop of ours! Just look now we need chips and they are finished)

B: Even yesterday besifuna i-cold drink bathe awabandi (...we wanted a cold drink and they said they were not cold)

A: It will be better ukuba ivalwe le-shop (It will be better if they close this shop)

B: Yes, but akukuhle ukulamba (Yes, but it is not nice

to be hungry)

A: Okunye futhi wukuthi aba-clean-i nalamabhodwe abapheka ngawo (Another thing they don't clean these pots that they cook with)

B: Wazi kanjani? (How do you know?)

A: Ngibone ngalama-black spots kulama-chips (I saw these black spots on the chips)

.....

7. Two pupils discuss their parents.

A: Hey mngani ngi-worried (Hey friend I'm worried)

B: Why ube-worried? (Why are you worried?)

A: Angazi mngani - ngenxa ka-dad (I don't know my friend - it's because of my dad)

B: Sewenzeni (What did he do?)

A: Aish, awazi phela yesterday ngithe mangifika ngacela imali waba out kule-topic ebesikhuluma ngayo (Aish, yesterday when I arrived I asked for money and he changed the topic)

B: Abazali bethu vele abafuni ukusiphatha nice ngendlela efanele njengezingane zabo (Our parents do not want to treat us nicely in the correct way as their children)

A: Uyazi sengifikelwa nayi-hatred ngo-dad (You know that I am becoming full of hatred for my dad)

B: Vele abazali banjalo. Anyway kufanele sibathande singabazondi (That's how parents are. Anyway we should love them and not hate them)

A: But ngoba kusho wena mngane I'll try to be cool (But because you say so friend ...)

8. Two pupils discuss the coming elections in Mozambique.

A: Uyazi i-family yakithi kufanele ibuyele back to Maputo (You know our family should go back to Maputo)
B: Why usho kanjalo? (Why do you say so?)
A: Phela ngama-elections. Yisikhathi kufanele siyovota (Indeed it is election time. Now is the time that we should go and vote)
B: Manje nizihambela free? (Are you going freely?)
A: Sizihambela free ngoba basikhombe ama-films ku-video okuthi akusana-fight, kune-peace (We are going freely because they showed us films on a video saying that there is no longer fighting, there is peace)
B: Don't you think nizofa endleleni ngephango? (...you will die on the way from starvation?)
A: Bazo-hire ama-transport ukuba asithwale (They will hire transport to take us)
B: I-life izobe hard ngoba anijwayelanga (Life will be hard because you are not used to it)

.....

9. Two pupils discuss a car accident that took place in the township.

A: Ngesikhatsi ngibuya endleleni sifice imoto ewile (As I was returning we found an overturned car on the way)
B: Ekabani lemoto? (Whose car was it?)
A: Asiyazi sonke. Imhlophe yiCorolla (None of us know.

It's a white Corolla)

B: Hawu, awuboni ama-number plates ayo? (Gosh, didn't you see its number plates?)

A: Cha angiwabonanga kodwa itolo ntsambama uma sasiya eNtunda kadze ingekho. It's only this morning uma sesibuya lapho si-realize-e khona ukutsi kunemoto ewile (No I did not see them, but yesterday afternoon when we were going to Ntunda it was not there. It's only this morning when we were returning that we realized that there was a car that was overturned)

B: Where about lapho kwenteke khona lengozi? (Where about did this accident happen?)

A: Nqase-bottle store yakwaNtuli khona eMzinti (Near Ntuli's bottle store in Mzinti)

B: U-driver uphilile nje? (Is the driver alive?)

A: Hey asati, nabantu abaphume khona emotweni asibati. Asikezwa lutho, sizozwa tomorrow (Hey we don't know, and we also don't know the people who got out of the car. We have not heard anything yet, we will hear tomorrow)

(*Note: Owning a car in the township is a status symbol. Very few people can afford to own a car, therefore those that do own a car are known by their car number plates. Whenever there has been an accident, one of the first questions that anyone asks is if that person saw the number plates)

.....

10. Two pupils discuss a party.

A: Hey Zodwa, ngitoba ne-party next month (Hey Zodwa, I will be having a party next month)

B: Hawu mngani, where? (Gosh friend, where?)

A: Itawube ise-Three Moons Community Hall (It will be at the Three Moons Community Hall)

B: Manje utangi-invite-a yini my friend? (Now will you invite me my friend?)

A: Yes, ngabe ngente i-mistake uma ngingahlala ngingaku-invite-i (Yes, I would be making a mistake if I did not invite you)

B: Sharp my friend, ngitawujabulela uma ungangimema (That's good (slang) my friend, I will be happy if you invite me)

.....

11. Two pupils discuss a recent soccer match.

A: My friend uwubonile nje lomdlalo yesterday le-Tonga Show Ground? (Did you see this game yesterday at Tonga Show Ground?)

B: Yebo ngiwubonile and Tikhuni tivula a new jersey (Yes I saw it and Tikhuni wore a new jersey)

A: Bebavula lijezi but sidliwe my friend. Wena utsini? (They wore a new jersey but we lost my friend. What do you say?)

B: But nompempe wasidla kabi (But the referee was unfair)

A: Hey mngani i-support beyiyinkulu kitsi eTikhuni (Hey friend Tikhuni had a lot of support)

B: But lokunye lokwenta kitsi sidliwe kutsi lijezi letsu belifana nelabo (But another thing that made us lose was that our jersey looked like theirs)

.....

12. *Two pupils discuss what they will be doing in the afternoon.*

A: Namuhla entsambama utawuyaphi? (Where will you go this afternoon?)

B: Ngiyobe ngisekhaya (I'll be at home)

A: Awuyi kuma-study ntsambama? (Are you not going to study group this afternoon?)

B: No, namuhla kudlala "Hlala kwabafileyo", angiyi ndzawo. Ngizobukela i-TV (No today this programme is on, I'm not going anywhere. I am going to watch TV)

A: Nami besengikhohliwe li-story lesimnandzi so! Nami angeke ngiye ndzawo (I forgot that story which is so nice! I am also going nowhere)

B: Phela mine ngifuna kufana nalaCasha, ngibe li-character njengaye (I want to be like Casha, I want to be a character like him)

A: Vele, phela laCasha uyadlala e-stage. Nawe uyadlala kodwa angeke ufike lapha kuleCasha (Really Casha acts on stage. You also act but you will never be as good as him)

B: Ngitawufika. I-group yami ngifuna sihambele ma-Market

Theatre sitokhona kuvela <u>ku-TV</u> (I will get there. I want my group to go to the Market Theatre so that we can appear on T.V.)

.....

CHAPTER 5

SOWETO - URBAN TOWNSHIP CONTEXT

Soweto is an urban township situated on the south western side of Johannesburg. Many different African languages are spoken within this township, but for the purposes of this research only the conversations of Zulu-speaking pupils were taped. (Note, as mentioned in Chapter 3, some of these pupils may also be part of the Model C English school context, but only conversations with pupils who attend schools in Soweto are considered here).

An analysis of the data from this context shows impressive similarities with the pattern found in kaNgwane. The conversations of these pupils also exhibit an **overall pattern of code-mixing**. Zulu is the dominant language as is evident from the system morphemes in the ML+EL constituents. The EL tends to be English, although some Afrikaans forms do occur. Once again English verbs and nouns (content morphemes) are mixed with Zulu prefixes and suffixes (system morphemes) within a single word. Lexical and phrasal insertions are often made in English, and the overall conversational style includes borrowings, re-borrowings, and mixes which take the place of Zulu synonyms. Code-switching to English does occur, but as in the kaNgwane data, these occur relatively seldom and tend to be short. The code-switches do not play an important role in defining the

overall conversational pattern of pupils from this context.

Once again it is the actual context within which these pupils interact which seems to influence their speech patterns. These pupils tend to speak mostly in Zulu both at school and at home. Even though the schools are technically English medium schools, these pupils obviously feel more comfortable speaking in Zulu and they are constantly surrounded by other pupils who also speak Zulu. At home, too, the parents tend to speak to their children in Zulu. Thus, the pupils are exposed to more Zulu in their everyday lives than English, and this results in the overall pattern of code-mixing that is found in their conversations. It will be seen in chapter 6 how this pattern again contrasts with the conversational patterns of pupils from a Model C English school.

The data for this context can thus be analyzed according to the following factors:

5.1 CODE-MIXES : NOMINAL FORMS

English nominal forms are assigned Zulu noun class prefixes. The following grammatical forms were found to be used with these code-mixes: the demonstrative construction (e.g. *le-RDP*), the instrumental *nga-* form (e.g. *ngama-funds*), the locative construction (e.g. *e-Mr*

Price), the adjectival construction (e.g. *ezi-cheap*), the comparative formative (e.g. *njengale-barbarian*), the possessive construction (e.g. *yama-boyfriend*).

The double morphological forms, mentioned in chapter 5, are again evident here whereby a plural Zulu noun class prefix is used with a plural English noun (e.g. *ama-parents*, *ama-extra lessons*)

These nominal code-mixed forms are listed below:

1. (i)/(le)-RDP = (the)/(this) RDP
   ama-plek = the places (from Afrikaans)
   i-tar = tar
   i-free medical care = free medical care
   ama-school fees = school fees
   a-overseas = from overseas
   ngama-funds = with funds
2. u-daddy = the father
   i-abortion = an abortion
3. i-chance = a chance
   ama-parents = parents
   i-point of no return = a point of no return
4. e-Mr Price = at Mr Price (factory clothing shop)
   ezi-cheap = cheap
   ezi-expensive = expensive
   i-gap = the gap
   i-life = life
5. i-Maths = Maths
   ama-extra lessons = extra lessons

e-Master Maths = at Master Maths

7. i-Physical Science = Physical Science

ama-science subjects = the science subjects

leyo-problem = that problem

ama-equations = equations

i-brain = brain

8. le-sale = this sale

i-headache = a headache

i-boyfriend = boyfriend

ama-jeans = jeans

le-silky dress = this silky dress

i-two piece = a two piece

9. i-play girl = a play girl/thing

i-jealous = jealousy

njengale-barbarian = just like the barbarian

u-baby = a baby/girlfriend

yama-boyfriend = of the boyfriends

10. lo-baby = this baby/girl

lama-guys = these guys

11. i-record = a record

(nga)leyo-song = (with) that song

le-artist = this artist

12. i-poster = the poster

i-letter = a letter

5.2 CODE-MIXES : VERBAL FORMS

English (and one Afrikaans example) verbal forms have Zulu prefixes and/or suffixes added to them. The choice

of the verbal terminative *-a* again seems to vary according to the personal choice of the speaker. In the majority of the code-mixed forms, the terminative is used, presumably to make the words seem more "Zulu-like", and the prefixal Zulu morphology remains obligatory. Once again, these forms can be used in the positive and negative, according to the different Zulu tenses and moods (system morphemes). These can be seen in the forms found below which have been extracted from the pupils' conversations.

1. sinama-problems = we have problems
   a-promise-ile = promised
2. u-pregnant = she is pregnant
   um-make-e = made her
   usemu-trapile = has stepped on her/punished her (from Afrikaans)
   zi-dangerous = are dangerous
3. bayi-problem = they are a problem
   bangi-shout-e = they shout at me
   ukuba-respect-a = to respect them
   ngiya-try-a = I try
   kuya-understand-eka = it is understandable
   a-good = they are good
   ba-decide-e = they should decide
   sesi-reach-e = we have reached
4. sebeya-notice-a = they are noticing
   ngi-one = I am one/alone
5. angiyi-understand-i = I don't understand it

iyangi-bore-a = it bores me

i-easy = it is easy

uyayi-try-a = she tries it

6. uyi-dancer = she is a dancer

unama-trophies = she has trophies

banama-encyclopedias = they have encyclopedias

8. baya-expensive = they are expensive

angi-worry = I don't worry

izongi-buy-a = he will buy me

ngizo-try-a = I will try

iya-demand-a = it is demanding/expensive

9. waba-busy = you are busy

ayinama-problems = he does not have problems

10. bengise-toilet = I was in the toilet

11. u-brake-e = she broke

12. ngine-address = I have the address

5.3 LEXICAL AND PHRASAL INSERTIONS

Time phrases - even now, within a day, all the time, next time, at the end of this month, yesterday, at what time, afternoon, during that time

Question forms - why?, at what time?, when?

Bare forms - better, cheap, that one, anyone

Discourse markers - I think, do you think, maari (but from Afrikaans), because, but, you know, at least,

anyway, and those, have you heard, and, maybe, I like, I wish, yes, no

Set expressions - dis waar (it's true - from Afrikaans), it's lucky for you, point of no return, don't worry, it's not true, tough luck

jean-to-jean = new phrase coined in the African community to indicate a person is wearing a jean shirt and jean pants

Exclamations - hey, shame, Ja (yes - from Afrikaans),

Terms of address - my friend

Greeting forms - hi

5.4 BORROWINGS

ifeshini = it is fashionable

ukubhalansa = to balance

asiyidrobhe = let's drop it

ephathini = at the party

savota = we voted

bekajayiva = she was jiving

abedansa = who were dancing

tshomza = from Afrikaans chom (Originally from English chum)

5.5 RE-BORROWINGS

yi-nurse = is a nurse (unesi)

nge-car = by car (nge-moto)

kuleya-party = at that party (kuleya phathi)

5.6 CODE-SWITCHES

Conversation 10 - "one girl"

5.7 MARKED CODE-SWITCHES

Conversation 3 - "but it hurts" - speaker A switches to English to emphasize the severity of the feeling of pain in terms of lack of communication with the parents.
" it's lucky for you" - speaker A switches to English again in order to stress the point that speaker B is very lucky to have such understanding parents.
"what we like" - speaker B switches to English to give weight to idea that children should be allowed to do anything they *want* to do.
Conversation 4 - "or who is sponsoring you?" - speaker B switches to English in order to indicate sarcasm at speaker A's superior attitude about buying expensive clothes only.
"and I've got a man" - speaker A switches to English to show her supposed superiority at having a boyfriend that buys clothes for her. She is also retaliating in English against the sarcastic English switch which was directed

at her.

Conversation 6 - "she dresses nice" / "she is so beautiful" - both speaker B and speaker A respectively, switch to English in order to add emphasis to what they are saying about the looks of the girls from this particular family.

Conversation 7 - "I can teach you" / "don't worry" speaker A switches to English to show authority. This speaker is competent at balancing equations and uses English to assure speaker B that teaching these equations will be easily taught.

Conversation 8 - "I'm so worried" - speaker B switches to English to highlight the extent of the worry.

Conversation 9 - "he loves me" - speaker A switches to English in order to emphasize the fact that she is loved and that she can trust her boyfriend. She uses English to put her friend in place because her friend's boyfriend seems to be fooling around with other girls and she does not want to believe it.

Conversation 10 - "it was so enjoyable" - speaker B switches to English in order to stress enjoyment of the party.

5.8 SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

The data reveals that there is a code-mix roughly every 1,3 lines of discourse, and a code-switch roughly every 8 lines of discourse. Again these figures offer support of the findings that pupils who converse within this

context exhibit an overall pattern of code-mixing as the unmarked choice. The conversational styles of these pupils are remarkably similar to those in the kaNgwane context. These pupils are primarily surrounded by their mother-tongue, namely Zulu, at school and at home, and this tends to influence their overall pattern of conversation.

It is noticeable that the relative frequency of code-switches is higher within this context than that of kaNgwane. This makes sense if one considers that this is an urban area where pupils tend to mix more freely with other pupils who may attend Model C and Private English schools. Pupils in Soweto tend to watch more English television than those in kaNgwane, and the city of Johannesburg and surrounding shopping centres, which are very English, are within easy access. Another possible factor could be due to the fact that some of the pupils who participate in this context also participate in the Model C English school context. Possibly this fact has altered the findings slightly, but this does not detract from the overall pattern of code-mixing which still predominates amongst pupils who converse within this urban township context.

APPENDIX - CHAPTER 5

1. Two pupils discuss the implementation of the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP)

A: I think ukuthi i-RDP izophumelela (I think that the RDP will succeed)

B: Ukusho ngani lokho ngoba even now sinama-problems amaningi (Why do you say that because even now we have many problems)

A: Basakulungisa, phela konke lokho ngeke kwenzeke within a day (They are still fixing it, everything will never get done in a day)

B: Savota kudala, do you think ikhona into esazokwenzeka? (We voted long ago, do you think that something will still be done?)

A: Ja, kwezinye izindawo isiqalile ukusebenza i-RDP (Yes, in some places the RDP is already working)

B: Yiwaphi ama-plek lapho kwenziwe khona okuthile okwaziyo? (Where are these places where things are being done?)

A: Imigwaqo yakithi ifakwe i-tar (The roads at our place are being tarred)

B: Dis waar, kodwa-ke i-RDP ithola usuzo kwakhiwe vele (That's true but the RDP will find that they still need to be built)

A: Bheka lapha mngane, manje kukhona i-free medical care, nabantwana abancane abasabhadali ama-school fees. Amazwe a-overseas a-promise-ile ukusiza le-RDP ngama-

funds athile (Look here friend, now there is free medical care, and small children no longer have to pay school fees. Overseas countries have promised to help this RDP with certain funds)

.....

2. Two pupils talk about a fellow pupil who has fallen pregnant.

A: Usuzwile izindaba ezinkulu? (Have you already heard the big news?)

B: Ngobani manje? (About whom now?)

A: UThembi - bathi u-pregnant (Thembi - they say she is pregnant)

B: Uzwe ngobani? (Who did you hear from?)

A: Ngomngane wakhe (From her friend)

B: Maari wena usabathemba abangane bakaThembi? (But do you still trust Thembi's friends?)

A: Phela umuntu um-make-e u-preg, yinxaki yakhe (A person made her pregnant, it's her problem)

B: Manje, bathi ubani u-daddy womntwana? (Now who do they say is the child's daddy?)

A: Yilesa silima sakhe, uGeorge (That idiot of hers (boyfriend), George)

B: Ubaba'khe uzothini? (What will her father say?)

A: Usemu-trapile (He has already walked all over her- punished her)

B: Manje uzokwenzani ngomntwana ngoba akasebenzi? (Now what is she going to do about the child because she

doesn't work?)

A: Uzoyenza i-abortion (She is going to get an abortion)

B: Hawu shame (Gosh that's sad)

A: Uzoya kulo mama okhipha abantwana eziswini (She will go to a woman who performs abortions)

B: Maari nje uzofa ngoba bathi zi-dangerous lezinto (But she will die because they say these things are dangerous)

A: Sesizothini nje because uzenzile (What can we say because she did it to herself)

.....

3. Two pupils discuss their parents.

A: Uyazi my friend abazali bami bayi-problem (You know my friend my parents are a problem)

B: Why bayi-problem? (Why are they a problem?)

A: Ukuthi nje njalo uma ngithi ngiyazikhipha balokhu banqi-shout-e all the time (Because they always shout at me when I say I want to go out)

B: No mngane zama ukuba-respect-a (No my friend, try to respect them)

A: Yebo ngiya-try-a but it hurts (Yes I try but it hurts)

B: Ngiyayibona leyo inkinga but banikeze i-chance nabo (I see this problem but give them a chance)

A: Kuya-understand-eka khona my friend (It is understandable my friend)

B: Uyabona ama-parents ami a-good kabi (You see my

parents are so good)

A: It's lucky for you. Phela manje sengikhulile kufanele bona ba-decide-e better (Now I have grown up they must decide better)

B: Wo manje you know ama-parents a-tomorrow kufanele senze what we like (Now you know that the parents of tomorrow should let us do what we like)

A: Ungasho my friend, sesi-reach-e i-point of no return (You don't say my friend, we have reached a point of no return)

.....

4. Two pupils talk about buying clothes.

A: Ngiyothenga umashwabana (I will go and buy clothing made of creased material)

B: Ngiwabone cheap e-Mr Price (I saw them cheap at Mr Price)

A: Ubani othe ngithenga izinto ezi-cheap because mina ngithenga izinto ezi-expensive (Who says I buy cheap things because I buy expensive things)

B: Hawu phela usuyasebenza or who is sponsoring you? (Gosh are you already working ...)

A: Phela umama'mi uyasebenza and I've got a man, mos uyazi (My mother works and I've got a man)

B: Ngiyazi kodwa akasathengi njengakuqala (I know but he no longer buys like he did in the beginning)

A: At least lezo azithengayo zivala i-gap. Ungazoba nomona (At least those that he does buy close the gap -

make it easier. You are jealous)

B: Hey akunjalo, yingoba abantu sebeya-notice-a (Hey that's not so, it's just that people are noticing)

A: Anginandaba nabantu ngiphila i-life yami ngi-one (I don't care about people I live my own life alone)

.....

5. Two pupils talk about getting extra Maths lessons.

A: Aish i-Maths uyazi angiyi-understand-i, iyangi-bore-a (I don't understand Maths you know, it bores me)

B: Hey i-Maths i-easy, ngiyayithanda (Hey Maths is easy, I like it)

A: Umama wami uthe ngihambe ama-extra lessons e-Master Maths eBraamfontein (My mother said that I should go to extra lessons at Master Maths in Braamfontein)

B: Yo kude kanje (That's far)

A: Uthe izongisiza but angazi (She said it would help me but I don't know)

B: Umama'mi akayazi ne-Maths kodwa uyayi-try-a (My mother doesn't know Maths but she tries it)

.....

6. Two pupils discuss a wealthy family who live in Soweto.

A: Ooh indlu yakubo inkulu (Ooh their house is big)

B: Yo usubonile izingubo zikaJessie? - she dresses nice (Have you seen Jessie's clothes? - she dresses nicely)

A: Yonke ifeshini engenayo ubanayo (Everything they have is in fashion)

B: Nosisi wakhe izinwele zakhe zihlala zi-up-to-date (And her sister keeps her hair up-to-date)

A: Uyazi she is so beautiful (You know ...)

B: UPrudence naye uyi-dancer, unama-trophies amaningi (Prudence is a dancer, she has many trophies)

A: Bayaphasa ngoba banama-encyclopedias (They pass because they have encyclopedias)

.....

7. Two pupils discuss Science as a subject.

A: Mina ngithanda i-Physical Science (I like Physical Science)

B: Hey iyahlupha (Hey it's troublesome)

A: Ngifuna ukuba yi-nurse and kufanele ngifunde ama-science subjects (I want to be a nurse and I have to study the science subjects)

B: Hey yona ngiyayithanda nami kodwa ngine-problem (Hey I also like it but I have a problem)

A: Iyiphi leyo-problem? (What problem?)

B: Eyokubhalansa ama-equations (Balancing equations)

A: Uyazi I can teach you ukubhalansa ama-equations (You know, I can teach you to balance equations)

B: Ngingajabula kakhulu uma ungangifundisa wona (I would be happy if you could teach them to me)

A: Don't worry kuzoba lula. Kudinga usebenzise i-brain yakho (Don't worry it will be easy. You will need to use

your brain)

.....

8. Two pupils discuss a sale at Jet Stores.

A: Hi, uyibonile le-sale e-Jet? (Hi, did you see the sale at Jet?)

B: Yo leyo ingishayise i-headache because anginamali (Yo that gives me a headache because I don't have money)

A: Maari ubabonile yini labomashwabana? (But did you see those outfits made of creased material?)

B: Hey baya-expensive! (Hey they are expensive!)

A: Angi-worry ngoba i-boyfriend yami izongi-buy-a ama-jeans awu-two (I'm not worried because my boyfriend will buy me two pairs of jeans)

B: Any way nami ngizo-try-a ukuthola imali yokuthenga labomashwabana (Anyway I will also try to find money to buy those clothes)

A: Next time ngifuna ukuthenga le-silky dress engiyibonile (Next time I want to buy this silky dress that I saw)

B: Uzoyithenga ngani ngoba iya-demand-a (How will you buy it because it is expensive)

A: Umama'mi uthe uzongithengela i-two piece ye-chiffon at the end of this month (My mother said that she would buy me a chiffon two-piece at the end of this month)

B: I'm so worried ngoba umama uthe akanamali (...because my mother said she does not have money)

.....

9. Two pupils discuss their boyfriends.

A: Hey mngane wami ngibone i-boy friend yakho yesterday ihamba nge-car ebomvu (Hey my friend I saw your boyfriend yesterday travelling in a red car)

B: Uyibone at what time ngoba benginayo izolo afternoon? (What time did you see him because I was with him yesterday afternoon?)

A: Why ngathi ikwenza i-play girl yakhe? (Why does he make you his play girl? / he is using you)

B: It's not true. Yekela i-jealous, akunjalo. Umona awufuneki. Waba-busy wakhuluma ngeyami, eyakho? (...Stop being jealous, it's not so. Jealousy is not necessary. You are busy talking about mine, what about yours?)

A: Eyami ikhona and ngiyazi ukuthi ayinama-problems njengale-barbarian yakho ehlala ikuphathisa nge-headache (Mine is there and I know that he does not have problems like your "barbarian" who always gives you a headache)

B: Uthi ikuthanda ngani because yesterday ngiyibone ihamba nomunye u-baby (Why do you say that he loves you because yesterday I saw him with another baby/girl)

A: But engikwaziyo ukuthi he loves me (But one thing I know is that he loves me)

B: Any way asiyidrobhe yama-boyfriend because izosixabanisa (Any way let's drop this topic about boyfriends because it will make us fight)

.....

10. Two pupils talk about a party they attended on the weekend.

A: Hi mngane bekumnandi ephathini yo! (Hi friend it was nice at the party!)

B: Ubone lo-baby bekajayiva and those bebalingisa? (Did you see that girl jiving and those that were miming?)

A: No angibabonanga (No I didn't see them)

B: Kwakukhona one girl obekade elungisa uRebecca Malope (There was one girl who was imitating Rebecca Malope)

A: Angizange ngimbone because bengise-toilet during that time (I never saw her because I was in the toilet at that time)

B: Hey wabonile lama-guys abe-dansa kamnandi? (Hey, did you see those guys that danced nicely?)

A: Yes ngibabonile. Usho ukuthi bebaggokeni lababanye jean-to-jean? (Yes I saw them. Do you mean those that were wearing jean shirts and jean pants?)

B: Mina ngizwe ngathi ngingahlanya when bengibabonile (I felt as if I would go mad when I saw them)

A: Yo bona bebahlanyisa abaningi! (Yo they made many go mad!)

B: It was so enjoyable kuleya-party (...at that party)

.....

11. Two pupils discuss the singer Rebecca Malope.

A: Hey mngane have you heard ngalomculi onguRebecca? (Hey friend have you heard about this singer Rebecca?)

B: Ngizwile kancane (I've heard a little)

A: Phela izolo u-brake-e i-record ngaleyo-song yakhe bekade ayicula (Yesterday she was big news with that song she always sings)

B: Ngayiphi leyo-song yakhe? (With which song of hers?)

A: That one okuthiwa "Moya wami wolalela uJesu"

B: I like leyo-song nami ngoba iyangithokozisa (I also like that song because it makes me happy)

A: Hey le-artist lena ngiyithanda kakhulu, akekho anyone ongithokozisa njengoRebecca (Hey I like this artist a lot, there isn't anyone who makes me happy like Rebecca)

B: And futhi uyangithokozisa (She also makes me happy)

.....

12. Two pupils discuss Eddie Murphy.

A: Hey tshomza uyibonile i-poster ka-Eddie Murphy? (Hey friend did you see the poster of Eddie Murphy?)

B: No angimuthandi nakancane (No I don't even like him a little bit)

A: Hayi-ke tough luck

B: Maybe makengakhulisa izinwele uzoba ngcono (Maybe if he grows his hair he will be better)

A: I wish ngingamubhalela i-letter (I wish I could write him a letter)

B: Yes and mtshele ukuthi azikhulise izinwele zakhe (Yes and tell him to grow his hair)

A: Ngine-address yakhe ngizombhalela. (I have his address I'll write to him)

CHAPTER 6

MODEL C ENGLISH SCHOOL

Model C schools are white government schools that opted for racial integration in typically white areas. In the school that was used for this reseach the African pupils only constitute seven percent of the total pupil population for the school. English is the medium of instruction at school, as well as the language spoken at home for the majority of the pupils. Some of the African pupils who attend this school live in the area, while others commute daily from Soweto and other surrounding townships.

The data within this context reveals an overall pattern of code-switching in the conversations of pupils who attend this Model C school. There is a marked difference between the conversational patterns of pupils from this context and those from the kaNgwane and Soweto contexts of the previous two chapters. In contrast with the overall speech patterns of pupils within these two aforementioned contexts, the conversations of pupils within this context have code-switching itself as the unmarked choice. The overall pattern of code-switching carries the social meaning rather than the individual switches and is used to indicate simultaneous identities. This means that the overall pattern of code-switching functions as a linguistic variety or a badge of identity for these pupils - it is the "in way" to

talk for them.

Pupils within this context are exposed to spoken English on a daily basis. The majority of pupils who attend this school are English speaking, and the conversational patterns of the African pupils have tended to be influenced by this fact. English is the language of learning and authority within this context, it is the language of the intellectuals and the achievers. A high value is attached to English, and larger switches are made in English whereby the operational language changes - i.e. the phonological, morphological and syntactic systems all change to English for that period of discourse. These pupils use Zulu to frame their ethnic identity and group solidarity and switch to English to indicate their simultaneous identities, social position, status, and level of education. Thus both English and Zulu represent different sets of social meanings, and these pupils are able to draw freely on the associations of both languages in conversation.

Thus, it is difficult to isolate specific code-switches as marked choices whereby the speaker changes some aspect of the RO balance within a particular situation in order to pass a meta-message. It is believed here that the overall pattern encompasses marked choices that the speaker would want to make within specific conversations. The switches are not as easily

recognizable as marked switches as was seen in the previous two contexts where code-mixing predominated as the overall conversational style, and where the code-switches were seen as very obvious marked forms.

The overall pattern of code-switching within this context encompasses code-mixed forms, borrowings and re-borrowings. Even though so much English is used within the conversation, Zulu still remains the ML with English being the EL. English verbs and nouns (content morphemes) are mixed with Zulu system morphemes (prefixes and suffixes) in the code-mixed forms. Borrowed words are integrated phonologically and morphologically so that they look and sound like ordinary Zulu words.

Herbert (1994) introduced the term 'parallelism' for the regular alternation of varieties within turns. According to this theory each sentence begins in the mother-tongue and tends to serve a general discourse function, and is completed in the other participating language, which is used to express the semantic content of the discourse. Only one conversation was found to follow this pattern (see conversation 1). In this conversation, most of the sentences begin in Zulu and then are completed in English.

It was found that the majority of conversations of pupils from this context do have a regular alternation

between Zulu and English although they do not necessarily follow this order of each sentence beginning in Zulu and ending in English. In fact, most of the time each turn begins with English, even if it is a single word, discourse marker or interjection that leads into the next Zulu phrase. e.g. *And uyazi yini? Yesterday I read the newspaper and ngifunde ngomama odutshulwe nomntanakhe.* (And do you know what? Yesterday I read the newspaper and I read about a mother and her child who were shot). The alternations between Zulu and English may occur more than once within each turn. e.g. *Anyway I'm happy nale-party evotelwe i-ANC because uyabona ukuthi uMandela really fought for us. Imagine staying in jail for such a long time phela kuyadina.* (Anyway I'm happy with this party which was voted for, the ANC, because you see that Mandela really fought for us. Imagine staying in jail for such a long time it is really tiresome).

The fact that these pupils generally start their conversations in English seems to indicate that they "key" into their English identities first and sometimes there even seems to be more English than Zulu within a stretch of discourse. This is possibly due to the English context they are in. It is, however, necessary to point out here that Herbert formulated his notion of 'parallelism' amongst university students at Wits who presumably come from very different backgrounds compared to those of pupils from Model C English schools. Thus

the two population groups are essentially quite different.

Parents who have sent their children to a Model C English school have made significant investment in English education. It is thus believed that English has a high value at home, and the parents themselves are solidly middle-class by values. Pupils and parents alike report that in many of their homes, English is spoken before the mother-tongue in order that the children may improve their spoken English. The university students, on the other hand, do not necessarily come from homes where such a high value is placed on English. Very often they come from disadvantaged backgrounds where no value is placed on education. Many student homes are not English medium and are not necessarily middle-class. Although the Model C pupils and the Wits students are in English medium institutions, this may mask fundamental differences in English values. Thus there may be something deeper that may explain the differences in the way these two groups make `parallel' use of two or more language varieties in conversation.

The interesting thing is that Zulu still seems to be the ML amongst these Model C pupils because even when they are speaking long stretches of English, they never borrow content morphemes from Zulu (nouns, adjectives and verbs). If Zulu words are inserted within the English island, they are lexical or phrasal insertions

such as discourse markers. They never seem to code-mix English system morphemes with Zulu content morphemes in the same way as they mix Zulu system morphemes with English content morphemes, as has been seen in the analysis up till this point. This is what suggests that Zulu is still the ML.

6.1 CODE-MIXES : NOMINAL FORMS

Code-mixes here follow the same pattern as those seen previously. English nominal forms have Zulu system morphemes prefixed to them. Once again the code-mixed forms are predominantly nouns, with English nouns having Zulu noun class prefixes prefixed to them (e.g. *ama-dice / ama-elections*). The following grammatical forms were found to be used with these code-mixed forms: the locative (e.g. *e-choir*), the instrumental *nga-* (e.g. *nge-Valediction Service*), the connective *na-* and the demonstrative construction (e.g. *nale-party*),

1. e-choir = in the choir
   nge-Valediction = at the Valediction service
2. ama-dice = the dice
   i-glue = glue
3. ama-elections = the elections
   kuma-politics = in politics
   nale-party = and this party
   i-ANC = the ANC
   ama-miracles = miracles

i-President = the president

5. i-Prospects = name of a television programme

nge-child abuse = about child abuse

(ne)/(i)-boyfriend = (and)/ the boyfriend

ama-underwears = the underwear

ama-social workers = the social workers

6. ne-girlfriend = and the girlfriend

7. ama-taxi drivers = the taxi drivers

i-government = the government

8. le-festive = this festive season

9. u-Mrs Wood = Mrs Wood

i-Afrikaans = Afrikaans

i-subject = a subject

i-government = the government

ne-History = and History

ama-rumours = rumours

10. lema-suburbs = here in the suburbs

11. u-Miss Davies = Miss Davies

12. i-communication = communication

i-green slip = a green slip

6.2 CODE-MIXES : VERBAL FORMS

English verbal forms are again "Zulu-ized" by having Zulu prefixes and suffixes added to them. The use of the Zulu terminative *-a* again remains the personal choice of the speaker for these forms, with the prefixal morphology remaining obligatory.

2. ba-rob-a = they rob

   ngiyaku-promise-a = I promise you

5. bengi-watch-a = I watched

   wamu-rape-a = he raped her

7. a-corrupt = they are corrupt

   uzo-support-a = you will support

   ukuzi-solve-a = to solve them

8. uku-attend-a = to attend

9. e-difficult = which is difficult

10. uyi-spy = you are a spy

    ba-packed = they are packed

11. bengi-right at the back = I was right at the back

12. si-nice = is nice

6.3 LEXICAL AND PHRASAL INSERTIONS

Time phrases, question forms, discourse markers, set expressions, bare forms and exclamations are still often made in English, but these now mostly form part of the larger code-switch. e.g. *Yes I feel sorry for them but bayaziyenza* (Yes I feel sorry for them but they do it to themselves - see conversation 2)

Time phrases - next year, yesterday, one day, these days, late

Question forms - did you see that.. , what, why?, how could..?,

Discourse markers - yes, but, okay, because, and, ja (from Afrikaans = yes), anyway, no, perhaps, then, so, after that, because now, then next year, at least, maybe, if, maari (from Afrikaans = but), guess, I mean, I know that, let me tell you, I thought

Set expressions - that is bad, it's not fair, i don't know, that's true

Bare forms - education

Exclamations - hey, oh, my gosh, shame,

Terms of address - dear, friend, love, sweetie,

6.4 BORROWINGS

emapasajini = in the passages
ukuvota = to vote
izimoto = motor cars
ibhodlela = a bottle
kulesi sikole = from this school
emaphoyiseni = to the police
ukubhalansa = to balance

6.5 RE-BORROWINGS

ama-banks = banks (amabhange)
ama-shops = shops (izitolo)

ama-taxis = taxis (amathekisi)

lama-party = these parties (amaphathi)

u-late = you are late (-leyiti)

6.6 SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

The data reveals that there is a code-mix roughly every 3,29 lines of discourse, and a code-switch roughly every 1,17 lines of discourse. The data supports the findings that the conversations of African pupils who attend a Model C English school exhibit an overall pattern of code-switching. Code-switching itself is the unmarked choice within this context and functions as a linguistic variety or badge of identity. These pupils draw freely on the associations of both English and Zulu, and their conversational patterns exhibit almost equal or parallel use of both languages within conversation. The pupils tend to "key" into their English identities first by initiating each turn in English, but Zulu still remains the ML providing all the system morphemes in the discourse. This conversational pattern does not exclude code-mixes, borrowings and re-borrowings, even though the overall pattern is obviously dominated by larger code-switches.

APPENDIX - CHAPTER 6

1. Two pupils talk about the school choir.

A: Hey did you see ukuthi bekumnandi kanjani e-choir nge-Valediction? (Hey did you see how nice the choir was at Valediction?)

B: Ngitshele mngane how long did you practise? (Tell me friend ...)

A: Awazi wena we practised the whole week (Don't you know...)

B: Kodwa mngane ngiyakutshela, you sang so nicely (But my friend I tell you ...)

A: Hey kwakukuhle! Ngiyajabula ukuthi abantu enjoyed our singing (Hey it was nice! I'm happy that the people enjoyed our singing)

B: Uyazi yini ukuthi I liked that one song (Do you know that ...)

A: Liphi? Ngitshele maybe I'll remember it (Which one? Tell me ...)

B: Leliya elithi "Somewhere or something..." I can't remember the name exactly (That one that says ...)

A: Oh! "Somewhere out there"

B: Ja, lona lelo. Benilicula kamnandi. Sing it for me please (Yes, that one. You sang it nicely...)

.....

2. Two pupils discuss the street children.

A: Uke wabona these kids abahlala in the streets badlala ama-dice babheme i-glue balala emapasajini? (Have you ever seen these children who stay in the streets, play dice and sniff glue, and sleep in the passages?

B: Yes I feel sorry for them but bayaziyenza ngoba babaleka emakhaya bese they go to the streets (...but they do it to themselves because they run away from home and then ...)

A: Okay I agree with you but others just have to leave home because bayahlupheka uyazi (... they experience hardships you know)

B: Yiginiso Ntsiki these people really need help ne? (That' true Ntsiki ...)

A: Phela this thing is very serious ngoba (because) **they sniff glue and benzine. That's when they start to ukuntshontsha** (steal) **izimoto and ba-rob-a ama-banks and steal from ama-shops**

B: Yes wangikhumbuza ngesikhathi these kids bazama ukuntshontsha my friend's purse in Hillbrow. I was so pissed-off ngiyaku-promise-a (Yes, you remind me of the time these kids tried to steal my friend's purse ...)

.....

3. Two pupils discuss the elections and the new government.

A: Yo ama-elections bekakahle even though I'm not

interested kuma-politics (The elections went well even though I'm not interested in politics)

B: Ja, I mean awukhonanga nokuvota because you are under age (Yes, you could not even vote ...)

A: Anyway I'm happy nale-party evotelwe, i-ANC, because uyabona ukuthi uMandela **really fought for us. Imagine staying in jail for such a long time** phela kuyadina - **it isn't pap en vleis!** (Anyway, I'm happy with this party which was voted for, the ANC because you see that Mandela really fought for us ...it is really tiresome - it isn't easy!)

B: I know that, but abantu (people) **really expected ama-miracles** ukuthi **after bakhethe i-President** (they chose the President)

.....

4. Two pupils discuss an incident that occurred in the township the previous evening.

A: Hey abanye abantu banomona kabi ngapha ngaphandle. Do you know what happened in Soweto last night? (Hey some people are so jealous in our environment ...)

B: What mngane iza nazo (What friend tell me)

A: Next door to my aunt's house kukhona a ten-roomed house with four cars. Guess kuyenzekaleni (... Guess what happened)

B: Bazintshontshile izimoto zonke! (They stole all the cars!)

A: No dear babize abantu abazoshisa the whole house and

two cars. Yizinja laba bantu but akunamuntu olimele (They hired people to burn the whole house and two cars. They are dogs these people but no-one was hurt)

B: Ja, but how could they do such a stupid thing? Abanye abantu abacabangi uyazi (...Some people don't think, you know)

A: Most people only have four roomed houses so bashise indlu because banomona (... so they burnt the house because they are jealous)

.....

5. Two pupils discuss a television programme on child abuse.

A: Yo! izolo bengi-watch-a "i-Prospects" bakhuluma nge-child abuse (Yesterday I watched "Prospects" (A television programme) and they discussed child abuse)

B: Hawu! (Gosh!)

A: Let me tell you lokunomama omunye ongashadanga ohlala ne-boyfriend nomntwana wakhe. Kwayenzeka one day ukuthi lomama ahambe ashiye umntwana wakhe nalo baba. Wamu-rape-a after that wamupha imali and wathi athule angatsheli her mother. (Let me tell you about this mother who was not married who lived with her boyfriend and her child. One day the mother went out and left her child with the man. He raped her and then gave her money and told her not to tell her mother.)

B: That is bad! My gosh how can lobaba ayenze kanjalo? Is he mad? (...how can this man do that? ...)

A: As I was saying, it happened that lomama wabona ama-underwears komntanakhe amanzi and funny. Ambuze ke umntanakhe, lomntwana athi there is nothing wrong. After that wamshaya and at last this child akhulume the truth! (...this mother saw that her child's underwear was wet and funny. She asked her child and this child said that there was nothing wrong. After that she hit her and at last the child spoke the truth)

B: At least ukhulume iqiniso. What happened after that? (At least she spoke the truth ...)

A: The mother was angry and she broke ibhodlela phezu kwalomntwana esandleni (...she broke a bottle on the child's hand)

B: My gosh uyewalimala kakhulu (...she hurt her badly)

A: Yes ulimele but the social workers athi lomama was jealous of the child because i-boyfriend beyilala naye that's why she broke the bottle on the child (Yes she was injured but the social workers said that this mother was jealous of her child because her boyfriend slept with her)

B: Uyazi they are so stupid! How can ama-social workers asho kanjalo? (You know they are so stupid! How can the social workers say that?)

A: Ask me, ask a fool, angazi. Anyway they took the mother to jail and i-boyfriend ran away

B: Shame I feel sorry for lomama because now lento ibekwa phezu kwakhe - it's not fair (I feel sorry for the mother because all of this has been put on her ...)

.....

6. Two pupils discuss the election of the new school prefects for 1996.

A: Yo, it's a disaster mngane! (Yo, it's a disaster friend!)

B: Did you see that uDon abamukhethanga? (Did you see that they did not choose Don?)

A: Ne-girlfriend yakhe (Nor his girlfriend)

B: But mngane it' not fair. Mina I thought ukuthi he was qualified to be a prefect. (I thought that he was qualified to be a prefect)

A: But naye usile ngempela (But he is so naughty)

B: Love I'm so proud of Khethiwe - she has opened a new road for us by being chosen as the first black prefect

A: Yes from now on we must start participating in school events

B: Perhaps we should try, then next year bangasikhetha (...they can choose us)

.....

7. Two pupils discuss the taxi wars.

A: Yo friend, these days ama-taxi drivers a-corrupt (Yo friend, these days the taxi drivers are corrupt)

B: And uyazi yini? Yesterday I read the newspaper and ngifunde ngomama odutshulwe nomntanakhe (And do you know what? Yesterday I read the newspaper and I read about a mother who was shot and her child)

A: Shame! Did they die?

B: The mother died but umntwana uyewaphila (...but the child is alive)

A: So uzo-support-a wubani? (So who will you support?)

B: I don't know, maybe i-government izobona ukuthi izowenzani (...maybe the government will see what must be done)

A: Hey uyazi ukuthi it's not safe to use ama-taxis since all this trouble (Hey you know that it is not safe to use the taxis ...)

B: So how must abomama bethu get to work? (So how must our mothers get to work?)

A: And you are right uyazi, because my mother nearly got fired yesterday ngokufika late (And you are right you know, because my mother nearly got fired yesterday for arriving late)

B: Hey mngane let's not frustrate ourselves ngezinto engeke sikhone ukuzi-solve-a. Let's leave it in the government's hands! (Hey friend let's not frustrate ourselves with things which we can never solve. ...)

.....

8. Two pupils talk about the approaching festive season.

A: Hey le-festive lena, I'm telling you it will be the best ever! (Hey this festive season, ...)

B: Why ukhuluma kanjalo? (Why do you say so?)

A: Ngoba I just heard ukuthi there will be a bash eMoretele Park in Mamelodi (Because I just heard that there will be a party in Moretele Park in Mamelodi)

B: Okay sizabesilapho mngane. I'm telling you it will be hot! (Okay we will be there friend ...)

A: Hey sweetie let's talk about what to wear. Manje uzogqokani? (... Now what will you wear?)

B: I'm taking my mom shopping tomorrow. Yinto e-straight leyo (...That is a certainty)

A: Go for it! Tshomza phela kumele sibabulale (... Friend we must dress to kill)

B: You know I've already made a schedule for this festive [sic]

A: A schedule? Uzimisele uku-attend-a wonke lama-party? All you have to do is to include me kuwonke lama-party. Ngihamba nawe everywhere (...Will you manage to attend all these parties? All you have to do is to include me in all these parties. I go with you everywhere)

.....

9. Two pupils discuss the subject choices they have to make in preparation for standard eight.

A: Uzwile u-Mrs Wood uthi i-Afrikaans izoba compulsory next year (Did you hear that Mrs Wood said that Afrikaans will be compulsory next year)

B: My gosh i-subject e-difficult so. It is not fair! (My gosh it is such a difficult subject ...)

A: Ngibona engathi mina ngizophuma kulesi sikole and I love the school! (It looks like I will have to leave the school ...)

B: Don't give up, mhlawumbe i-government will change

(Don't give up, maybe the government will change)

A: Ja I hope so!

B: Ngizwe bathi nesiZulu and Art angeke zibe khona. Is that true? (I heard that Zulu and art will also not be available...)

A: Yes, neHistory did you hear about that? (Yes, and History ...)

B: No angizwanga but ngizwe ama-rumours ukuthi only a few people chose these subjects (No I did not hear but I heard rumours that ...)

.....

10. Two pupils discuss life in the townships.

A: Hey Lebu what's wrong?

B: Gugu nothing is wrong with me. Indaba ukuthi izolo I never slept (...The matter is that yesterday ...)

A: Why?

B: It's not safe in the townships ngoba izolo someone was shot dead next to indlu yethu (...because yesterday someone was shot dead next to our house)

A: Did you report it emaphoyiseni? (Did you report it to the police?)

B: Even if you report it bazokuyenzani? Or if you report it bona laba bantu babulala wena because bathi uyi-spy yamaphoyisa (...what will they do? Or if you report it these people will kill you because they say you are a police spy)

A: Hey man that's bad!

B: You are lucky Gugu ukuthi wena uhlala kamnandi lema-suburbs. You should see Soweto abantu ba-packed (...that you stay safely here in the suburbs. You should see Soweto the people are packed together)

A: Ngiyazi mngane, what can people do? Akukho lapho bazophila khona without violence (I know my friend, ...? There isn't anywhere where people can stay without violence)

.....

11. Two pupils discuss a teacher who fell at school.

A: Remember the other day ngesikhathi u-Miss Davies awa. Yo mngane I couldn't even see properly, ngimbone nje sekaphakama pulling her skirt down (...when Miss Davies fell. Yo my friend, I couldn't even see properly. I just saw her getting up, pulling her skirt down)

B: If uyewangibona, I was laughing like hell! And mina bengi-right at the back but ngibone kahle nje (If you could have seen me, I was laughing like hell! And I was right at the back but I could still see well)

A: Maari bekezama ukwenzani? Was she trying to jump the pole? (But what was she trying to do? ...)

B: Hey she was trying ukubhalansa , usuke waba heavy for the pole (Hey she was trying to balance, but she became too heavy for the pole)

A: And the other teachers came to help her up. Amahloni kade emenzani! (...Boy she was so embarrassed!)

.....

12. Two pupils discuss coming to a model C school.

A: **Hey** **lesi kole** **si-nice** (Hey this school is nice)

B: **Education** **ikhona** **and it is very hard** (There is education and it is very hard)

A: **That's true** **uyazi. Kufanele sifunde** **very hard so that we can pass** (That's true you know. We have to study ...)

B: **In the location** **emaklasini kuyashayiwa uma** **u-late** (In the location, in the class rooms, you are hit if you arrive late)

A: **Yes** **futhi** **the teachers** **bathanda ukufundisa kabi** **and** **bashaya abantwana** (Yes and the teachers like to teach badly and hit the children)

B: **I like** **ukuthi** **i-communication** **ikhona** **here at school** (I like that there is communication here at school)

A: **And if you do good things** **uthola** **i-green slip** **to take to the head mistress** (And if you do good things, you get a green slip...)

.....

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

An analysis of data according to separate contexts has revealed that the contexts or domains within which African high school pupils interact *do* in fact affect overall conversational patterns. The different school environments that influence these pupils do result in different patterns of code-mixing and code-switching for particular contexts.

The rough count made of code-mixes and code-switches for each context indicates the relative frequency of these forms, and offers support of the findings which argue for specific overall patterns of conversation being related to specific contexts. These figures can be compared as follows:

KaNgwane : code-mix every 1,52 lines of discourse
code-switch every 19,2 lines of discourse

Soweto : code-mix every 1,3 lines of discourse
: code-switch every 8 lines of discourse

Model C : code-mix every 3,29 lines of discourse
: code-switch every 1,17 lines of discourse

The conversations of African high school pupils from the rural area of kaNgwane exhibit an overall pattern of code-mixing. Code-mixing is the unmarked choice for pupils of this area, who are not directly influenced by English in their everyday lives. Zulu and Swazi are the

dominant languages i.e. the ML. The EL tends to be English. The ML+EL constituents consist of morphemes from Nguni and English. English verbs and nouns (content morphemes) are mixed with Nguni prefixes and suffixes (system morphemes). Lexical and phrasal insertions, borrowings and re-borrowings may form part of the overall conversational style of these pupils. Code-switches may be made, but these tend to be very short and they only occur very occasionally within the speech patterns of these pupils.

Pupils who attend school in Soweto, like those in kaNgwane, also exhibit an overall pattern of code-mixing in their speech patterns. Zulu is the ML, with English (and occasionally Afrikaans) being the EL. The code-mixed forms follow a similar pattern to that found in the kaNgwane data: English verbs and nouns (content morphemes) are mixed with Zulu prefixes and suffixes (system morphemes) within the same word. Lexical and phrasal insertions are often made in English, and this conversational style may encompass borrowings and re-borrowings.

The relative frequency of code-switches within the Soweto context is higher than that found in the kaNgwane context, even though both contexts basically exhibit similar overall patterns of code-mixing. One explanation could be attributed to the fact that Soweto is an urban township while kaNgwane is a rural area. Pupils in

Soweto are able to mix more freely on a daily basis with other pupils who attend English speaking Model C and private schools. They also tend to watch more English television, where soap operas and music programmes are very popular. They are close to Johannesburg and other major shopping areas where English is spoken very often. It has also been acknowledged that some of the pupils who participated in this context may also have participated within the Model C context. This does not, however, significantly alter the findings.

Pupils who attend a Model C English speaking school exhibit an overall pattern of code-switching in their speech patterns. These African pupils are in the minority at school, and are constantly surrounded by other pupils and teachers speaking English. English is the language of education and authority and the pupils place a high value on the language. The fact that their parents have sent them to a Model C school, indicates that the parents themselves place a high value on English. Code-switching is the unmarked choice for the pupils in this context, and this overall conversational pattern encompasses code-mixing, borrowings, re-borrowings and lexical and phrasal insertions. It is interesting to note that the ML within this context is still Zulu, and the pupils never borrow content morphemes from Zulu even when speaking long stretches of English.

The data has clearly revealed that overall speech patterns are influenced by the context within which the pupils interact. This research has revealed that the conversations of African high school pupils are exciting and dynamic. The pupils do not speak a 'pure' form of Zulu or Swazi, rather they use their linguistic abilities to manipulate their conversations according to the context or domain they are interacting within. This fact has serious implications for the teaching of African languages as second or third languages. School syllabi, textbooks and teaching materials need to take cognizance of the dynamic nature of language. Language is not static, it is exciting and dynamic, and multilingual speakers, such as the African high school pupils considered in the present research proposal, have many linguistic tools available to them. African high school pupils offer a valuable source of data in sociolinguistic research and hopefully this will continue to be examined in future studies.

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