A SOCIO-CULTURAL APPROACH TO CODE-SWITCHING AND CODE-MIXING AMONG SPEAKERS OF ISIZULU IN KWAZULU-NATAL: A CONTRIBUTION TO SPOKEN LANGUAGE CORPORA.

BY

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SUBMITTED IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS

IN THE SCHOOL OF ARTS

AT THE

UNIVERSITY OF KWAZULU-NATAL (HOWARD COLLEGE CAMPUS)

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JANUARY 2012

Declaration

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I declare that this dissertation, entitled

A socio-cultural approach to code-switching and code-mixing among speakers of IsiZulu in KwaZulu-Natal: A contribution to spoken language corpora

is my own work and that all the sources that I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references.

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Hloniphani Ndebele   Date

Acknowledgements

I would like to extend my sincerest gratitude to the following people, without whose help the completion of thesis would not have been possible;

To my academic supervisors Prof N. Hlongwa and Dr G. Mazibuko for their patience, understanding, support, encouragement and guidance throughout the study.

To my colleague Buyani Nene for assisting with transcriptions.

To my parents, brothers and sisters for their support and encouragement.

To God for making everything possible.

Dedications

I dedicate this dissertation to my precious mother, Judith Christina Ndebele.

Abstract

This study provides an overview of the socio-cultural functions and motivations of English-IsiZulu code-switching among speakers at Inanda, Ntuzuma and KwaMashu (INK) in Durban. Following Myres-Scotton (1993a), code-switching is defined as the mixing of different codes by speakers in the same conversation and this switch may take place at any level of language differentiation (languages, dialects, registers). Code-switching has become a universal phenomenon among bilingual speakers in most communities in South Africa. Not until recently code-switching/mixing was seen as evidence of "internal mental confusion, the inability to separate two languages sufficiently to warrant the description of true bilingualism" (Lipski, 1982:191).

However, in this study, it is argued that code-switching is not only a manifestation of mental confusion but a versatile process involving an enormous amount of expertise in both languages involved and a socially and culturally motivated phenomenon. It is also argued that spoken word corpora is an important aspect in maintaining language vitality through the study of code-switching and other related linguistic phenomenon. This study therefore seeks to explore the socio-cultural functions of code-switching through an analysis of transcriptions derived from naturally occurring voice recorded instances of IsiZulu-English code-switching. It also seeks to explain why IsiZulu speakers code-switch a lot by looking at the history of the IsiZulu language contact with English, the socio-cultural factors as well as the linguistic factors that contribute to the predominance of code-switching among IsiZulu-English bilinguals. Further, it seeks to demonstrate the significance of spoken word corpora in the study and intellectualization of indigenous languages in South Africa.

The research approach in this study is situated in the phenomenological paradigm. Both the qualitative and quantitative methodology have been employed. Data for this particular study was gathered through voice recordings of naturally occurring conversations, semi-structured interviews

and participant observation. Voice recorded conversations were transcribed and analyzed both qualitatively and quantitatively under three broad categories; the socio-cultural functions of code-switching, the socio-cultural motivational factors of code-switching and finally the frequency of code-switches, code-mixes, adopted items and loan shifts based on a corpus designed for this particular study.

The Myers-Scotton (1993b; 1998) Markedness Model has been employed as the main backbone theory in the analysis of the socio-cultural functions and motivations of code-switching. The Markedness Model is considered to be a useful tool in which to analyze code-switching because it accounts for the speaker's socio-psychological motivations when code-switching (Myers-Scotton 1993b:75). Heller's (1992, 1995) Ideological-political model has also been used as a supplementary model in this study. In order to understand the role and significance of code-switching, it is essential to understand not only its distribution in the Community, but, more importantly, how that distribution is tied to the way groups control both the distribution of access to valued resources and the way in which that value is assigned (Heller 1992:139-140) .

Iqoqa

Lolu cwaningo luhlose ukuveza imisebenzi kanye nezizathu, eziphathelene nenhlalakahle namasiko abantu, ezikhuthaza ukuhlanganiswa kolimi lwesiZulu nesiNgisi ebantwini basemphakathini waseNanda, eNtuzuma, nakwaMashu eThekwini. Uma sifunda lokho okushiwo nguMyers-Scotton (1993a), ukuhlanganiswa kwezilimi kuchazwa njengokuxutshwa kwezilimi ezimbili noma eziningi enkulumeni futhi lokhu kuxuba kungenzeka noma kuliphi izinga kuzigaba ezehlukeneyo zenkulumo. Ukuxutshwa kolimi yinto esenzakala ebantwini abaningi abakhuluma izilimi ezimbili emphakathini waseNingizimu Afrika. Ngaphambilini, ukuhlanganiswa kwezilimi bekubukwa njengobufakazi bokusangana emqondweni, futhi ukwehluleka ukwahlukanisa izilimi ezimbili ngokupheleleyo ukuthi kube lula ukuchaza ukwazi izilimi ezimbili okuqotho (Lipski, 1982:191).

Kepha kulolu cwaningo siqhuba impikiswano yokuthi ukuhlanganiswa kwezilimi akuvezi ukusangana kwengqondo kodwa isenzo esibalulekile lapho kudingeka ulwazi olusemqoka ezilimi ezibandakanyekayo futhi lokhu kukhuthazwa ngokuphathelene nenhlalakahle namasiko abantu. Sihlose ukuveza obala ukuthi iqoqo lamazwi emvelo akhulunywa ngabantu abahlanganisa izilimi libalulekile kakhulu uma sifuna ukulondoloza ubumqoka bolimi.

Ngakho-ke, lolu cwaningo luveza kabanzi imisebenzi nezizathu eziphathelene nenhlalakahle namasiko abantu, ezikhuthaza ukuhlanganiswa kwezilimi ngokuhlaziya lokho okubhaliweyo kuthathwa eqoqweni lamazwi abantu emvelo aqoshiwe bexoxa ezimweni nasezindaweni ezahlukene. Sihlose ukuchaza kabanzi izizathu ezenza abakhuluma IsiZulu baxube kakhulu ulimi lwabo nesiNgisi ngokubuka umlando wokuhlangana kwezilimi, umlando wezenhlalakahle namasiko eNingizimu Afrika kanye nezizathu eziphathelene nezilimi ezikhuthaza ukunyuka kwezinga lokuhlanganiswa kwesiZulu nesiNgisi ebantwini abakhuluma lezizilimi. Lolu cwaningo luhlose futhi ukuveza ukubaluleka kweqoqo lamazwi emvelo

akhulunywa ngabantu abaxuba izilimi uma sibheke ucwaningo nokuthuthukiswa kwezilimi zomdabu zaseNingizimu Afrika.

Lolu cwaningo lwakhelwe phezu kwepharadimu ephathelene nezimanga ezenzakalayo, ifenomenoloji. Kusetshenziswe izindlela zokuqhuba ucwaningo eziphathelene nesimo kanye nalezo eziphathelene nokubala kulolu cwaningo. Ulwazi oludingekayo ukuqhuba lolu cwaningo luhlanganiswe ngokuqopha amazwi emvelo abantu abakhulumayo, ukubonana nabantu nokukhuluma nabo kanye nokubheka indlela abantu abaphila ngayo emphakathini. Amazwi aqotshiweyo ahlaziywe ngezindlela izimbili zokuqhuba ucwaningo, indlela yesimo nendlela yokubala ezigabeni ezintathu. Isigaba sokuqala siveza imisebenzi yenkulumo ehlanganisiwe, esesibili siveza izizathu nembangela yokuhlanganisa izilimi kuthi-ke esesithathu sihlaziye izibalo eziphathelene nokusetshenziswa kwamagama axutshiwe, amagama esiNgisi asetshenziswa kakhulu uma abantu bekhuluma isiZulu, namagama ashintsha incazelo yawo. Konke lokhu kuzogxila kakhulu eqoqweni lamazwi aqoshiwe. Imodeli ka-Myers-Scotton (1993b; 1998) ebizwa ngokuthi i*Markedness Model* isisetshenziswe njengomhlahlandlela oyingqikithi kulolu cwaningo ukuthi kuvezwe imisebenzi nezizathu eziyimbangela yokuhlanganiswa kwesiZulu nesiNgisi. Le modeli yisikhali esibalulekile sokucubungula ukuhlanganiswa kwezilimi ngoba iveza izazathu eziphathelene nenhlalakahle kanye nokusebenza komqondo womuntu ohlanganisa izilimi. Imodeli kaHeller (1992; 1995) ebizwa ngokuthi i-*Ideological Political Model* isetshenziswe yaba isisekelo kulolu cwaningo. Uma sifisa ukuqonda indima nokubaluleka kokuhlanganiswa kwezilimi, kusemqoka ukuthi singaqondi kuphela ukuhlelwa kwalesi senzo emphakathini kodwa siqonde futhi ukuthi lokhu kuhleleka kuhlobene kanjani nendlela umphakathi olawula ngayo indlela yokwabelana ingcebo emqoka nendlela ababelana ngayo leyongcebo (Heller, 1992:139-140).

Key Terms

Code-switching; Spoken word corpora; Indigenous languages; language development and intellectualization; Markedness Model.

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CHAPTER ONE

1.0 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

This chapter presents a detailed background to a socio-cultural understanding and investigation of the IsiZulu-English code-switching phenomenon among bilingual speakers in KwaZulu-Natal and the South African context as whole. Firstly, the background information and the rationale of the study are elucidated. This is followed by a presentation of the operational definitions and then the hypothesis of this particular study. The research objectives and key questions to the study are also delineated in this chapter followed by a brief explanation of the methodological considerations that inform this study. Limitations and delimitations of this particular study are also given. This is followed by an outline of South Africa's linguistic profile. The chapter concludes with a comprehensive description of all the chapters that constitute this particular study.

1.2 Background Information and rationale

Code-switching is a widespread phenomenon in South Africa's multi-lingual society. All over South Africa, a common feature among these bilinguals is that they speak mixed language and they also switch back and fourth between two   languages in all their every-day conversations. Following Myers-Scotton (1993a), code switching is defined as the mixing of different codes by speakers in the same conversation. The switch may take place at any level of language differentiation (languages, dialects, styles/registers) and can involve units from the morpheme to the sentence. Consequently, code-switching and code-mixing will be treated as identical for the purposes of this research.

According to Appel and Muysken (1987: 117) "many outsiders see code-mixing as a sign of linguistic decay, the unsystematic result of not knowing at least one of the languages involved very well" but "the opposite turns out to

be the case (and) switching is not an isolated phenomenon, but (rather) a central part of bilingual discourse." In addition Bhatia and Ritchie (2004) argue that the vast majority of bilinguals themselves hold a negative view of code-switched speech. He adds that they consider language mixing or switching as a sign of "laziness", an "inadvent" speech act, an "impurity" and instance of linguistic decadence and a potential danger to their own linguistic performance. However, research has shown that code-switching is a complex process involving a great amount of skill in both languages involved and a social and culturally motivated phenomenon.

Leung (2010:417), in his remarks on the code-switching and code-mixing phenomenon asserts that;

> The code-mixing phenomenon cannot be separated from the fact that many people these days are bilingual, trilingual and even multi-lingual. The advancement of transportation and communication increases local diversity and global connectiveness. People of different languages and different cultures come into contact constantly. Managing linguistic and cultural variations has now become vital to our lives. Apparently code-mixing has become socially and communicatively unavoidable and it helps us develop and improve relationships and enable us to adjust and adapt in the environment we are in.'

The people who form the social and intellectual elite, usually characterized by a complex exchange of linguistic items, are not associated with the rural areas and standard form of African languages. These people are likely to be urbanized, technologically sophisticated, and in vital and close communication with speakers of several other indigenous languages hence they have become multilingual code-switchers, with English as an essential ingredient of that stratified multilingualism (Hacksley et al, 2004). The increase in contact between different communities and the intensity of the inter-lingual contact between the people of South Africa with diverse educational and social backgrounds has contributed in the complexity of exchange in linguistic items among speakers (Slabbert & Finlayson, 1997).

Apparently code-switching has become socially and communicatively unavoidable in such a linguistic situation as speakers switch between languages for different social and cultural reasons.

Bwenge (2007:96) argues that code-switching is one of the most remarkable forms of language behaviour among multi-lingual speakers on the African continent. He adds that African multi-lingualism includes both indigenous African languages and European languages that were introduced during the colonial period. In South Africa, the English language has had a strong influence on the indigenous languages of South Africa, and this is evidenced by a considerable number of English words that has been adopted into Afrikaans and other African indigenous languages. According to Census 2001 South Africa, 47, 9% of the African/Black population aged 20 or more would have at least some secondary education. This would imply that they would have been taught English and to a lesser extent Afrikaans at school. Heugh (1999) maintains that English is established throughout South Africa and functions as a lingua franca, a primary language of government, education, business and commerce.

The eradication of apartheid and the granting of official status of African languages brought about a fundamental change in South Africa's social, educational and professional environment. South Africa is now a multi-cultural society with eleven official languages namely Sepedi, Sesotho, Setswana, SiSwati, Tshivenda, Xitsonga, English, Afrikaans, IsiNdebele, IsiZulu and IsiXhosa. IsiZulu in KwaZulu-Natal is mixed with English and/Afrikaans and also with other Nguni languages notably IsiXhosa. On this regard, Reagan (1990:179) states that;

> It is important that regardless of the nature of future political change in South Africa, it is virtually assured that linguistic diversity will remain a feature of social life for generations to come, and that bilingualism and multi-lingualism will remain common for many South Africans well into the next century.

The nine indigenous languages are however not considered developed when compared to English and Afrikaans. This lack of development is attributed to the lack of terminology that will enable these languages to be used in modern domains of language use such as science and technology. Ngcobo and Nomdebevana (2010:192) note that while English and other European languages are currently far advanced in this development, there is still no comprehensive spoken language corpora available for the development of indigenous languages in South Africa despite a written corpus which has already been collected by a number of institutions. They further argue that spoken language corpora can be used effectively as the most relevant method in the intellectualization of indigenous languages in South Africa.

The preference of the English language over the indigenous languages of South Africa could lead to cultural death and linguistic decay. May (2001) identifies language shift as the closest symptom of this process. According to this scholar, the majority language (English), which is the language with greater political power, privilege and social prestige, comes to replace the range and functions of the minority language. The result of this process is that speakers of the minority language (indigenous language) shift over time to speaking the majority language as he explains;

> The first stage sees increasing pressure on minority language speakers to speak the majority language particularly in formal language domains. This stage is often precipitated and facilitated by the introduction of education in the majority language. It leads to the eventual decrease in the functions of the minority language, with the public or official language being the first to be replaced by the majority language. The second stage sees a period of bilingualism, in which both languages continue to be spoken concurrently. However, this stage is characterized by a decreasing number of minority language speakers, especially among the younger generation, along with a decrease in the fluency of speakers as the minority language is spoken less, and employed in fewer and fewer language domains. The third and final stage-which may

occur over the course of two or more generations, and
sometimes less-sees the replacement with the majority
language. The minority language may be remembered by a
residual group of language speakers, but it is no longer
spoken as a wider language of communication (May 2001:1).

In the linguistic situation of INK, it is clear that IsiZulu and English not only
exist side by side, but that both are integrated into single communicative
events and speech acts. English is both taught as both a first and second
language, and is used as a language of business and communication in
companies with employees from diverse linguistic backgrounds. As a result
of this, the majority of IsiZulu speakers are bilinguals in IsiZulu and English.
Although IsiZulu is both the mother tongue and the language of preference
for the majority of individuals residing at INK, they show a tendency to add
English into their casual, everyday conversations. For those who show a
preference for communicating in English, their knowledge and ability in
IsiZulu does not fall away. Instead it is continuously displayed in their
English communication. Both groups display a unique mixture of the two
languages to which they have been exposed in their everyday communication.
Therefore, these bilinguals are clearly engaging in code-switching.

A critical review of code-switching studies conducted in the South African
context reveals that no comprehensive study has ever been undertaken that
explores the socio-cultural functions and motivations of this phenomenon in
the wider social environment of IsiZulu speakers. There is also no study that
has emphasised the importance and significance of spoken word corpora in
the study of the code-switching phenomenon with a major goal of
necessitating the development and intellectualisation of indigenous languages
in South Africa. Most studies on code-switching have focused on the
occurrence of code-switching within the educational setting. By analysing
code-switching in the educational setting, researchers have been able to
determine the role code-switching plays in the classroom. Ramsay-Brijball
(1999; 2004), according to my knowledge, is the only socio-linguistic study
that investigates the social functions of IsiZulu-English code-switching among

IsiZulu speakers at the University of Durban Westville. However, these studies do not fully explore the occurrence of this phenomenon in the wider society of IsiZulu speakers but rather limited to the analysis of code-switching patterns among students and staff at a university setting.

1.3 Operational definitions

1.3.1 Code-switching/Code-mixing-These terms will be used interchangeably to refer to instances of complete and unaltered forms of another language (in particular English) that are used in discourses between two or more speakers of the same language. These will also be used to refer to expressions in which a mixture of IsiZulu language and lexical material from the English language is manifested (Allwood et al, 2010: 888)

1.3.2 Corpora-This term will be used to refer to a collection of selected texts which are compiled according to specific criterion. These texts are held in an electronic format, as computer files so that various kinds of corpus tools can be used to carry out analysis of them (Olahan, 2004:1)

1.3.3 Spoken word corpora-The term spoken word corpora will be used in this particular research to refer to a body of recorded naturally occurring conversations, translated and transcribed, and stored as textual computer files.

1.3.4 Indigenous language-An indigenous language is a language that is native to a region and spoken by indigenous peoples but has been reduced to the status of a minority language.

1.3.5 Language intellectualization-It is a dynamic process characteristic of most languages which are developing an expanded range of functions in their societies. In these developing languages, intellectualization is a way of providing "more accurate and detailed means of expression, especially in the domains of modern life, that is to say in the spheres of science and technology, of government and politics, of higher education, of contemporary culture, etc" (Garvin, 1973:43).

1.3.6 INK-This is an abbreviated term used to refer to Inanda, Ntuzuma and KwaMashu. Inanda, Ntuzuma and KwaMashu (INK) are predominantly a residential area situated 20km north-west of eThekwini (Durban) city centre in the province of KwaZulu-Natal. The population is about 580 000 (Census 2001, Statistics South Africa) in an area that covers 70,1km². The entire population is urban based. The population density is 6 325 persons/km². Around 95% of the population speaks IsiZulu as a first language (Department of Provincial and Local Government, 2006).

1.4 Hypothesis of the study

The hypothesis of this study is that social and cultural factors are an important part that influences language usage in different communities. IsiZulu speakers code-switch and code-mix for social and cultural reasons. The creation of a spoken word corpus is necessary to enable an in-depth analysis of the code-switching phenomenon and further research on indigenous language usage in South Africa. Despite efforts that have been made to develop languages in South Africa, there is still lack of spoken word corpora in IsiZulu and other indigenous languages as efforts to develop these languages are still underway (Ngcobo and Nomdebevana, 2010).

1.5 Research Objectives and Key Questions

The main objective of this study is to investigate the socio-cultural meanings of code-switching among IsiZulu speakers in relation to the social and motivational theories of code-switching. The researcher aims to uncover and analyze the functions and motivations of code-witching among IsiZulu speakers while also providing a strong argument that spoken word corpora is an important requirement in the development and intellectualisation of indigenous languages in South Africa.

Through this research the researcher aims to encourage a way of thinking that does not demean an individual's linguistic ability because he or she engages

in code-switching. Instead, the researcher argues that codes-witching is a means of self expression and that it is not due to the inability to express oneself in a single language. Thus the key questions of this research are as follows;

- What are the social and cultural functions and meanings of code-switching among speakers of IsiZulu?
- How do the social and cultural aspects of IsiZulu speakers trigger and motivate the phenomenon of code-switching?
- Is a spoken language corpus a requirement in maintaining language vitality?

1.6 Research Methodology

For the provision of required data for a research work, the selection of a research method is a crucial stage. The research approach in this project is situated in the phenomenological paradigm. Ethnography was chosen as a research method. The data for this particular research was taken from voice recordings of naturally occurring conversations among speakers at INK. Participants were recorded in their natural conversations, in some cases, without them being aware of the fact that they were being recorded. Interviews were also conducted on random samples to gain an insight on the views and attitudes of speakers about the code-switching phenomenon. Participant observation was also used to capture the non verbal utterances of speakers and also as a supplementary method to both voice recordings and semi-structured interviews.

1.7 Limitations and Delimitations

This study was conducted at the Inanda, Ntuzuma and KwaMashu (INK) area. The study investigated the socio-cultural motivations and functions of the code-switching phenomenon among IsiZulu speakers in the wider society of KwaZulu-Natal when compared to most studies that have focused on code-switching within the educational setting. The researcher however did not

focus on the grammatical aspects of code-switching. The Myers-Scotton's (1993b; 1998) Markedness Model has been used as a key theory that informs this particular research. Heller's (1992, 1995) Ideological-Political Model has been used as a supplementary model. Transcriptions of spoken word conversations gathered through recordings of naturally occurring conversations, semi structured interviews and observations constitute the data for this research. Written texts from different textual sources were not considered.

1.8 A socio-linguistic profile of South Africa

South Africa is home to a great variety of languages and cultural groups. This diversity is a result of the influx of various groups of people to the Southern region of the African continent over the centuries. The very first groups to inhabit the southern African region were the Khoe and San people who lived there for millennia. Some time around the 12th century, Bantu ancestors started to move across the huge continent to its southern extreme and, in about the 17th century, other ancestors began to sail to the shores from Europe (Portuguese, Dutch, French, Germans, and British) and also from the East (Malaysia, Indonesia and India). This could be the reason that explains why South Africa boasts of such a diversity of cultures and languages (Beukes, 2009: 3). Some 25 languages are used in South Africa on a daily basis by more than 44.8 million people (Statistics South Africa 2003). The majority of South Africans, almost 80% of the population, use an African language as their home language.
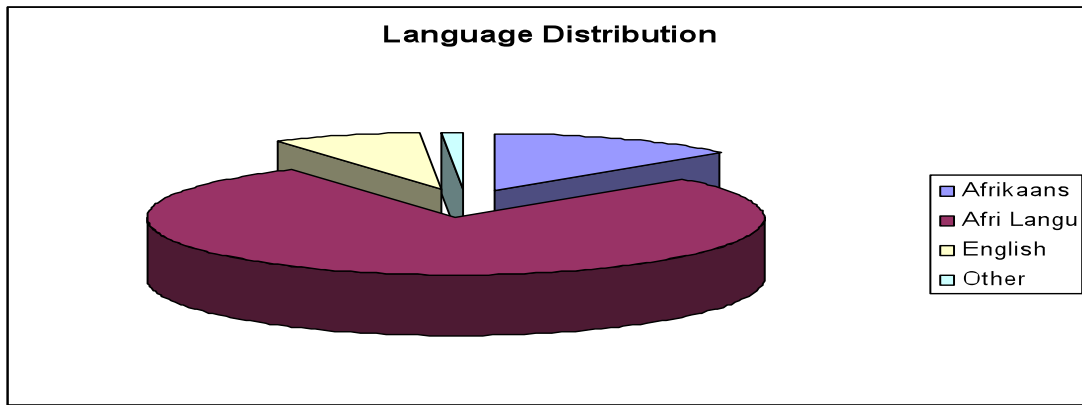
Census 2001 (Statistics South Africa 2003)

South Africa's language diversity is supported by arguably the most progressive constitutional language provisions on the African continent (Bamgbose, 2003:5). The Constitution enshrines plurilingualism: the former language dispensation based on official bilingualism has been replaced by official multilingualism. Equal rights are entrenched for the eleven languages used by 99% of the South African population. The most commonly-spoken home language is IsiZulu, which is spoken by 23.8% of the population, followed by IsiXhosa 17.6% and Afrikaans 13.3%. English is used as a lingua franca across the country, but is the home language of 8.2% of the population (Census 2001). The Constitution prescribes affirmative action for the African languages that were marginalised in the past.
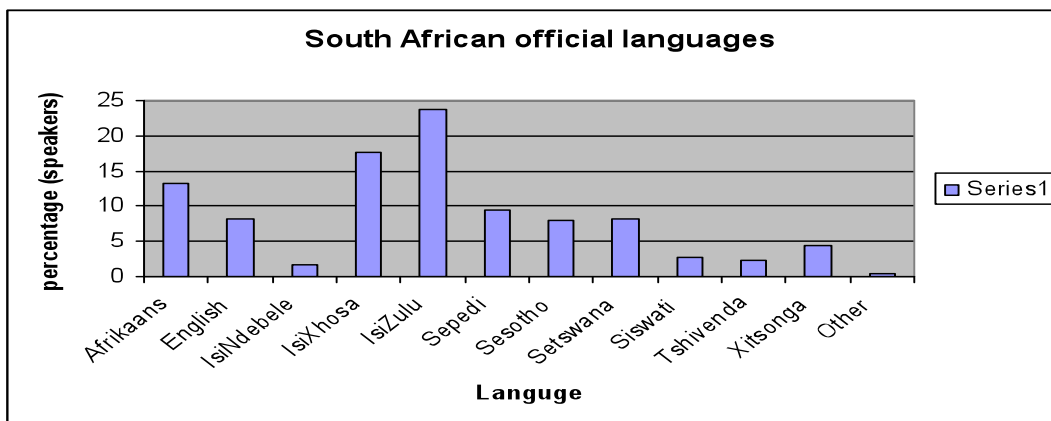
Home language by population group (percentages) - Census 2001 (Statistics South Africa 2003)

Despite these provisions, since the democratic elections of 1994 English has expanded its position as the language of access and power with the relative influence of Afrikaans shrinking, and African languages effectively confined to functions of 'home and hearth'. McLean and McCormick (1996:329) suggest that the constitutional recognition of 11 official languages in South Africa is largely 'intended and perceived as a symbolic statement and that for instrumental purposes, English remains the dominant language in South Africa'.

Prior to 1994, English and Afrikaans were the official languages and schools could choose between the two as media of instruction after an initial period of instruction through the learners' home language. In effect this meant that most English and Afrikaans speakers (mainly white and 'coloured' learners) learnt through the medium of their home language, while African language speakers learnt through the medium of an additional language, usually English, from the beginning of Grade 5 (Mazrui, 2002:269). On the other hand, De Kadt (2006:49) argues that the indigenous languages were all fairly widely spoken prior to 1994 as mother tongue language in South Africa but their economic and political roles were extremely limited. In addition, their speakers tended to be poor, poorly educated, religious and largely rural (Webb and Du Plessis, 2006).

According to Gough (2000), 33% of Africans have knowledge of English while 89%of Whites and 51% of Coloureds have a speaking ability of English. Therefore, although English is not the mother tongue of the majority, it is spoken and understood by the majority of the population. Within the South African context, English appears to have the highest status among all the official languages. McCormick (2002b) argues that English is valued because of its status as a lingua franca and its use internationally. Further, McCormick (2002b:102) states that English is also "… associated with a middleclass, prosperous lifestyle, with generations of city living, and with well-known and prestigious educational institutions." According to McCormick (2002b:101), "speaking English is … the sign of being a city sophisticate, as opposed to a

country bumpkin. Young people who want to be thought of as sophisticated and 'cool' have to be able to speak English fluently and with panache."

Post-apartheid South Africa has established an impressive array of language planning agencies and other language policy implementation institutions. Among the more important of these is the Pan South African Language Board (PANSALB), an independent statutory body, which has the mandate to advise central and provincial government on all matters pertaining to language policy and language use. At approximately the same level, there is the National Language Service (NLS), which is the state's language arm located in the Department of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology, now the Department of Arts and Culture (Alexander, 2003:16).

After an extremely problematic start during the first seven years of the new Republic of South Africa, language education policy appears to be on the road towards finding a definite direction. Although the gap between the constitutional and legislative position on the one hand, and the actual practices in the classrooms and lecture halls of the country on the other hand, remains very wide and often appears to be widening, fact that these instruments exist is of the greatest significance. They represent democratic space for the legal and peaceful promotion of multilingualism and for mother tongue based bilingual education in South Africa (see Appendices). Moreover, recent developments indicate that on the part of the state, there is a definite albeit problematic commitment to the constitutional provisions on language and language education (Alexander, 2003:15).

Language planning experts and language stakeholders alike are increasingly arguing that recent language practice in South Africa has been decidedly retrogressive in nature (Moodley 2000, Kamwangamalu 2000, Alexander 2000, and Brand 2004). Clearly, the promotion of multilingualism and the fostering of our linguistic diversity in support of the very social transformation that we have achieved in other domains, as well as the role of language policy in "promoting or retarding economic growth and development" (Alexander 2002:

86), have not been integrated into the national planning agenda. And yet, as Brand (2004) points out, "a thorough analysis of developments over the last decade, against the background of three hundred years of colonialism, segregation and apartheid, suggests that language is one of the pivotal factors that will determine the direction in which our society will develop".

Through constant undermining of bilingualism and multilingualism, especially in the attempts to promote regional African languages as well as Indian languages in schools, numerous excuses surface to justify their lack of offering, particularly in White dominated or controlled schools. One of the common reasons for not offering African languages in primary schools is that secondary schools only offer Afrikaans as a second language. The justification lied in the approach that primary school is a preparation for high school and that children who are not familiar with Afrikaans are likely to be prejudiced if an alternative second language is offered. This approach sets itself against the guidelines outlined in the Language Policy document in the Constitution, which clearly states that IsiZulu should be the first additional language and Afrikaans the second (Singh, 2009:131).

Various strategies have also been proposed to promote the use of all official languages in South Africa, particularly the nine indigenous languages that have been historically marginalised over the past years. Ngcobo (2009a) outlines two major strategies that could motivate people to use their languages. The first strategy is making information available in all official languages. The effect of this strategy is the creation of an environment whereby the use of official languages is accepted as a norm. The second strategy involves creating the expectations for language use by those who are influential in the public service professional context.

In most cases information is conveyed through a particular medium. In modern society Information and Communication Technologies (ICTs) would be the most preferred media, and could offer minority languages the opportunity to reach a wide audience when compared with traditional media.

It is evident that the majority of public information in South Africa is readily available in English compared with other languages. This is a problem since information about services that is written in English will only be accessible to people who are proficient in that language. Therefore language can become a barrier in ensuring that everyone has access to information. This may in turn lead to disparities between different language communities in their access to services (Ngcobo, 2009a:113-118).

According to Ngcobo (2009b), the politics of compromise should also contribute significantly and have a greater influence in shaping South African language policy. While the language policy in South Africa emphasises the notions of unity and integration, it still presents the people of the country as different. In this regard, he argues that;

> Political and ideological experiences have also had an impact in the formation of the new language policy in South Africa. People have always used their languages to identify with their own groups; they have a sense of having and possessing a language. This is the experience that needs to be dealt with, in order to forge a united or integrated society. By drawing on the complexities of language planning, politicians have hoped that unity can be achieved through hegemony. It can also be said that the English language has gained prominence because of the hegemony which speakers attributed to in the past. The English language is used in many domains, and there are no restrictions in terms of the appropriateness of its use. In fact, it is appropriated by different groups. The English language has featured in all of the language policies of the Anglophone colonies, and has been associated with a sense of modernism through political control and education (Ngcobo, 2009b:112).

It is therefore an undisputable fact and important that the new South African language policy framework be understood in terms of political and historical experiences. The history of apartheid and the birth of a democratic state can not be overlooked and is unavoidable as it plays a significant role in facilitating language planning and policy in South Africa.

1.9 Structure of dissertation

This dissertation is made up of seven chapters. Chapter one is an introductory chapter to this particular study and provides a background to the study and understanding of IsiZulu-English code-switching among IsiZulu speakers in KwaZulu-Natal. The second chapter gives a detailed literature review on code-mixing and code-switching. This is followed by a discussion of the backbone theories that inform this particular research. This involves Myers-Scotton's (1993b; 1998) Markedness theory and Heller's (1992; 1995) Ideological-Political Model. Chapter four discusses the research methodology and this involves an in-depth discussion of the main research paradigm and an evaluation of the different research methods and instruments that have been used in this particular study.

Chapter five presents and discusses the data that was gathered during the research. This includes a qualitative analysis of the socio-cultural functions and motivations of IsiZulu-English code-switching. This is then followed by a quantitative presentation and analysis of data using the WordSmith Tools in the sixth chapter. Concluding statements and recommendations are presented in the seventh chapter which is the last chapter of this research.

CHAPTER TWO

2.0 LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This chapter is a presentation of literary review on various aspects of the code-switching phenomenon. Firstly, it provides different views on code-switching and highlights the conflicting views surrounding the use of terms such as code-mixing and borrowing in the study of code-switching. A literary review of the early foundational studies on code-switching and code-mixing is presented. This is then followed by a review of the different code-switching and code-mixing studies that have been conducted in the educational and wider social context in South Africa and abroad. Literature on the application of Myers-Scotton's (1993b, 1998) Markedness Model is also presented. This is followed by a review of the different methodologies that have been employed in the study of code-switching and code-mixing. The last section of this chapter provides a review of issues pertaining to corpus design and highlights the importance of spoken word corpora in the study of code-switching and code-mixing.

2.2 Research on code-switching and code-mixing

As with any aspect of the social sciences, particularly linguistics, research on code-switching (CS) is full of terminological confusion. Several scholars have attempted to define code-switching, code-mixing and borrowing despite a lot of controversy surrounding the use of these terms. Researchers use the same terms in different ways, or give different names to the same phenomena. Romaine (1995) asserts that certain terms in linguistics such as borrowing, code-switching and code-mixing seem to overlap at certain points, and thus hamper the study of language change and variation specifically, the terms code-switching and code-mixing are used interchangeably, particularly in the case of intra-sentential code-switching and code-mixing.

2.2.1 Code-switching vs. code-mixing

Myers-Scotton (1993a), defines code-switching as the mixing of different codes by speakers in the same conversation. The switch may take place at any level of language differentiation (languages, dialects, styles/registers) and can involve units from the morpheme to the sentence.

Hymes (1974) defines only code-switching as a term for the alternative use of two or more languages, varieties of a language or even speech styles. Bokamba (1988:23) on the other hand defines both concepts thus;

> Code-switching is the mixing of words, phrases and sentences from two distinct grammatical (sub) systems across sentence boundaries within the same speech event …code mixing is the embedding of various linguistic units such as affixes (bound morphemes), words (unbound morphemes) phrases and clauses from a co-operative activity where the participants in order to infer what is intended, must reconcile what they hear with what they understand.

Scholars like Poplack (1980) and Muysken (2000) have made significant contributions in trying to solve the confusion surrounding the use of terms code-switching and code mixing. While focusing on code-switching, Poplack differentiates between inter-sentential code-switching, intra-sentential code-switching and tag- switching. On the other hand Muysken (2000) outlines the three patterns of intra-sentential code-switching which Poplack (1980) refers to as code-mixing. These patterns include alternation, insertion and congruent lexicalisation. The contributions of these scholars' are as follows;

(i) Types of code-switching (Poplack, 1980)

Code switching may differ in the location of the point at which the language switch occurs. The main distinction is usually seen between inter-sentential and intra-sentential switching (Saville-Troike, 2003). According to Poplack (1980:588), in inter-sentential switching, a switch is made on the clause or sentence boundary, or between speakers' turns. This type of switching consists of language switches at phrasal, sentence, or discourse boundaries.

Intra-sentential code-switching involves the embedding of syntactic strings, such as phrases, of one language into a sentence (Jacobson, 1978:21; Baker, 1980:3). Poplack (1980) states that for a speaker to produce intra-sentential switches, s/he must know about the grammar of each language and the way they interact, to avoid ungrammatical sentences. Intra-sentential switching occurs within the clause or sentence boundary as a result of insertion of a part of a word, a word, and a combination of words or a phrase (Poplack, 1980:605). This type of code switching requires the most fluency of all types of code switching because it requires speakers to switch to the rules of syntax of the other language mid-thought or sentence, and consequently may be avoided by all but the most fluent of bilingual speakers (Lipski, 1985). Poplack (1980: 589) defines tag-switching as the insertion of a tag in one code into an utterance which is otherwise entirely in the other code. He further notes that tag-like switches include interjections, fillers, tags and idiomatic expressions, all of which can be produced in the 2nd language with only minimal knowledge of the grammar of that language.

(ii) Types of code-mixing (Muysken, 2000)

Muysken (2000) outlines the three patterns of intra-sentential code-switching which Poplack (1980) refers to as code-mixing. These patterns include insertion, alternation and congruent lexicalization. According to Muysken (2000:361) these three basic processes are constrained by different structural conditions, and are operant to a different extent and in different ways in specific bilingual settings.

a) Alternation

In the case of alternation, there is a true switch from one language to the other, involving both grammar and lexicon (Muysken, 2000:361). Approaches departing from alternation view the constraints on mixing in terms of the compatibility or equivalence of the languages involved at the switch point. In this perspective, code-mixing is akin to the switching between turns or utterances (Muysken, 2000:263). An example of such a case can be illustrated in Spanish-English code switching as follows;

Andale pues and do come again
   [That's all right then, and do come again] (Penalosa, 1980)

Muysken (2000:361) states that there is no reason to assume that the Spanish first segment is embedded in the English second segment or vice versa. He adds that alternation is a special case of code-switching as it takes place between utterances in a turn or between turns.

b) Insertion

Approaches departing from the notion of insertion view the constraints in terms of the structural properties of some base or matrix structure. The process of code-mixing is conceived as something akin to borrowing: the insertion of an alien lexical or phrasal category into a given structure. The difference would simply be the size and type of element inserted e.g. noun versus noun phrase (2000:362). Examples of such a case can be illustrated as follows;

Yo anduve in a state of shock pa dos dias
[I walked in a state of shock for two days] (Pfaff, 1979).

In the above illustration, the English prepositional phrase is inserted into an overall Spanish structure.

c) Congruent lexicalisation

The term congruent lexicalisation refers to a situation where the two languages share a grammatical structure which can be filled lexically with elements from either language (Muysken, 2000:362). This process underlies the study of style shifting and dialect/standard variation.

Bueno, in other words, el flight que sale de Chicago around three o'clock
[Good, in other words, the flight that leaves Chicago around three o'clock] (Pfaff, 1976).

In the above example, the mixing of English and Spanish could be interpreted as a combination of alternations and insertions. In this perspective, congruent lexicalization is akin to style or register shifting and monolingual linguistic variation (Muysken, 2000:362).

2.2.2 Conflicting views on code-switching and code-mixing

Bokamba (1988) argues that code-switching and code-mixing are separate terms and are manifestations of different communicative strategies. The distinction between the terms 'rests initially in the locus of the switched elements' (Bokamba 1988: 23). Basically, code-switching focuses on the inter-sentential switching of codes while code-mixing focuses on the intra-sentential switching of codes. However, Boztepe (2003) argues that the difference between code-switching and code-mixing as explained by the classification of intra-sentential and inter-sentential code-switching, makes the use of either terminology a matter of personal preference, but one that can still create unnecessary confusion.

Backus (2000) refers to the confusion and points out that the term code-switching was originally coined to refer to alter-national switching between two languages. However, later many linguists have used it as 'a meaningless cover term for bilingual use in general', for both insertional and alter-national code-switching, and for every other form of language use in which material from more than one language is combined in a single conversation (Backus, 2000).

On the other hand, the term code-mixing is used by linguists to refer to intra-sentential switching. To distinguish them, we may say that code-switching within a sentence includes borrowing and code-mixing while inter-sentential switching includes all the three. It must also be noted that within the complex scheme of language variation and change, it is difficult to distinguish whether an item is a loan word or it is a result of code-switching or code-mixing that is a common feature in multilingual communities (Backus, 2000).

2.2.3 Borrowing

Borrowing, on the other hand, has been defined as "the introduction of single words or short, frozen, idiomatic phrases from one variety into another" (Gumperz, 1982:66). Poplack, Wheeler, and Westwood (1987) proposed a continuum for borrowing in CS utterances. At one end of the continuum are the nonce borrowings, that is, the lexical items that might lack phonological integration and refer only to content words. At the other end of the continuum are established loan words, those that are fully integrated into the base language and that are also recurrent, accepted, and widespread in the community.

Myers-Scotton (1992, 1993a) considers the distinction between code-switching and borrowing unnecessary. However, she still distinguishes between cultural borrowing and core borrowing. Myers-Scotton (1993a) argues that cultural borrowing refers to those lexical items that are new to the recipient language culture (e.g., whisky), while core borrowings refer to those lexical items that have equivalents or near equivalents in the recipient language, and therefore, do not really fulfil any lexical gap in the recipient language (e.g., beer, cerveza, bière).

Gumperz (1982) posits that when the language of the core borrowed item has a higher symbolic value, the social prestige of the donor language produces the non-integration of the borrowed word. On the other hand, Myers-Scotton (1993a) suggests that educated bilingual speakers will try to pronounce borrowed items as closely to the originals as possible in order to show they belong to the elite group that knows the prestigious language. This is a common practice when using certain French expressions such as 'grande dame' and 'savoir vivre' (Gumperz, 1982:68).

Other researchers have followed Myers-Scotton's (1993a) argument that borrowing and code-switching are related processes and part of a single phenomenon. Gysels (1992) and Backus (1996) stress that the line between borrowing and code-switching is not easy to draw. They argue that a non-

base language lexical item can be either a switch or a borrowing, depending on the overall discourse structure or on the individual speakers' motivations.

Having analyzed the arguments and definitions provided above, it can be concluded that the term code-switching encompasses both code-mixing and code-alternation (intra-sentential and inter-sentential code-switching). It can also be concluded that a categorical distinction between code-switching and borrowing is unnecessary since they are related processes. Therefore, in the present study, the term code-switching will be used to refer indistinctly to code-mixing, code-alternation, insertion, and borrowing. The term code-switching will be used in its broadest sense, that is, to indicate "the use of two or more linguistic varieties in the same conversation or interaction" (Scotton & Ury, 1977:5).

2.3 Literature review of code-switching and code-mixing research

2.3.1 Early foundational studies on code-switching

It is a general fact that the phenomenon of code switching is as old as that of language contact leading to bilingualism. A lot has been done in the socio-linguistic study of code-switching and code-mixing. Formal interest in the phenomenon of code-switching can be traced back to the early 20th century, when Espinoza (1917) reported on code switching between English and Spanish in New Mexico and southern Colorado, USA. Espinoza (1917) focused on the influence of English on Spanish, the L1 of the majority of the region's population at the time, suggesting that this was due largely to the perceived superiority of English in the commercial and political spheres (Espinoza, 1917:410). According to Espinoza (1917:415), such code switching was not governed by any detectable laws or limits.

Decades later, socio-linguists emerged and made significant contributions to the field of study. Blom and Gumperz (1972) based their ethno-linguistic study of code switching between Bokmal and Ronamal in Hemnesberget, Norway. On the basis of their research, Blom and Gumperz (1972:409) suggest

that speakers' code choices are "patterned and predictable on the basis of certain features of the local social system. Blom and Gumperz (1972:424-425) go on to distinguish between two types of codes switching, namely metaphorical switching, which takes place with a change of topics, and situational switching, in which speakers switch languages due to change in their perceptions of one another's rights and obligations. Gumperz and Hernanglez-Chavez (1975:163) takes the study of social meaning of code-switching further in their study of Spanish-English code-switching, where they suggest that code-switching is a behavioural strategy reflecting notions of ethnic identity and confidentiality.

One of the earliest American studies in linguistic anthropology to deal with issues of language choice and code switching was George Barker's (1947) description of language use among Mexican Americans in Tucson, Arizona. In addition to his analysis of the economic relations, social networks, and social geography of Tucson residents, Barker sought to answer the question,

> How does it happen, for example, that among bilinguals, the ancestral language will be used on one occasion and English on another and that on certain occasions bilinguals will alternate, without apparent cause, from one language to another? (Barker, 1947:185-86).

Barker (1947) suggested that interactions among family members or other intimates were most likely to be conducted in Spanish, while formal talk with Anglo Americans was most likely to use the medium of English (even when all parties in the interaction were able to understand Spanish). In less clearly defined situations, language choice was less fixed, and elements from each language could occur. Further, Barker proposed that younger people were more apt to use multiple languages in a single interaction than were their elders, and that the use of multiple varieties was constitutive of a local Tucson identity.

An important base for code switching research in the field of linguistics is Uriel Weinreich's (1953) Languages in Contact. One of those inspired by Weinreich's book was Hans Vogt, whose "Language Contacts" (1954) is cited as the first article to use the term "code-switching" in the field of linguistics (Alvarez-Cáccamo, 1998; Benson, 2001). Weinreich was interested in describing the effect of language contact on languages, in addition to describing the activities of bilingual speech communities. He suggested that Barker's (1947) description of Tucson was insufficient, since it listed only four speech situations: intimate, informal, formal, and inter-group discourse. Weinreich (1953) argued that Barker's (1947) taxonomy was "insufficiently articulated" to describe all potential organizations of bilingual speech events. He contended that anthropology should look to linguistics particularly to structuralism–in order to properly describe the practice of bilingual speech, and the language acquisition/socialization process that takes place in bilingual communities.

A major contribution to the literature on the role of social factors in code-switching has been made by Myers-Scotton (1993b; 1998). In terms of social motivations for code-switching, Myers-Scotton (1993b:113) proposes the Markedness Model which supposes a "negotiation principle" underlying code-choices in code-switching contexts. This principle entails that speakers choose the form of their utterances in accordance with the set of rights and obligations which they wish to be in force in a particular communicative exchange (Myers-Scotton, 1993b:113; 1998:21). The Markedness Model proposes to account for four types of code-switching namely the sequential marked choice, the unmarked choice, the marked choice and finally the exploratory choice (Myers-Scotton, 1993b:114-131)

There are other researchers who have also made significant contributions to the literature on socio-linguistic aspects of code-switching. Valdes-Fallis (1996), for example, focuses on Spanish-English code-switching distinguishing types such as situational, metaphorical and contextual code-switching. In later work, Valdes (1981) describes code-switching as an

interactional strategy, on the basis of a study of direct and indirect requests in which Spanish and English are switched.

Kachru (1978; 1983) discusses various motivations for codes-switching in India between Indian languages and English, as well as classifying types of code switching on the basics of such India-English data. Appel & Muysken (1987) in discussing various language phenomena propose a number of social functions of code-switching, namely referential, directive, expressive, phatic and meta-linguistic functions. Goffman (1981) on the other hand described footing as a process in interaction similar to some functional descriptions of code-switching. According to Goffman, footing is the stance or positioning that an individual takes within an interaction. Within a single interaction or a short span of talk, an individual can highlight a number of roles. Goffman suggests that changes in purpose, context and participant role are common in interaction, and offers footing as a useful theory of multiple positions taken by the parties to talk in interaction (Goffman, 1981:128).

2.3.2 Code-switching research in the educational setting

Most code-switching research in South-Africa has focused on this phenomenon in the educational setting. Scholars like Adendorff (1993), Gila (1995), Kieswetter (1995), Lawrence (1999), Ncoko et al (2000), Ramsay-Brijball (2004), Rose (2006), Olugbara (2008), among others have analysed code switching and its occurrence in the educational environment in a multi-lingual and multi-cultural setting. By analyzing code-switching in the educational environment, researchers have been able to determine the role code-switching plays in the classroom, among teachers and learners.

Andendorff (1993) explores code-switching among IsiZulu speaking teachers and their learners. Adendorff's (1993) study focuses on the functions of code-switching, and the implications that this sociolinguistic behaviour has for teacher education. Adendorff (1993:4) states that, in his study, the function of code-switching is that of contextualisation cue. A contextualization cue essentially helps to delineate the context and guides the participants in the

interpretation of meaning in discourse. Working in close contact with informants, Adendorff (1993) determined that code-switches define the context for the participants involved in the interaction (Adendorff, 1993:50).

Kieswetter (1995) study investigates code-switching among African high school learners in three schools: a rural school in KwaNguwane (situated close to the Kruger National Park), a Soweto (township) school and a former Model C 2 (English-medium) school. Kieswetter (1995) makes particular reference to the languages used in his research, namely English, IsiZulu and siSwati. He identified, described and analysed code switching in terms of social motivations for its use and in terms of linguistic patterns. The patterns of the three schools were compared, and Kieswetter (1995) found that the speech patterns are influenced by the participants' backgrounds and identity, relationships with each other and the context within which they interact.

Gila (1995) investigates the role of code-switching in classroom interactions involving teachers and pupils in Transkei junior secondary schools. The main objective of the study is to determine the function and the form of code-switching in classroom interaction in a sample of Transkeian schools. Gila (1995:13) argues that Transkei is caught between the influences of urban and rural life. He adds that social identities of it population are determined by social factors such as languages Xhosa are the languages now used for cross-cultural communication by the different ethnic groups in this region.

Lawrence (1999) focuses specifically on code-switching between Afrikaans and English, noting that code-switching is relatively unexplored in the social and public environment in South Africa. Lawrence (1999:265) states that the aim of the study is to illustrate that code-switching between Afrikaans and English is not a sign of inadequacy but that code-switching is in fact an instrument for effective communication. Lawrence (1999) uses Myers-Scotton's (1993b; 1998) Markedness Model to analyse the social motivations for code-switching among lecturers and students at a teacher training college where Afrikaans and English are spoken by English, Afrikaans and IsiXhosa

L1 speakers. Such a multi-lingual and multicultural setting has become all the more common in such institutions in South Africa over the last decade.

Ncoko et al (2000) focuses on the implications of having eleven official languages in South Africa, especially in South Africa's educational environment. They consider code-switching in various contexts and ask whether it carries any educational benefits. The study was undertaken in a primary school setting and was aimed at investigating, firstly, the speakers' motivations for code-switching and secondly the implications of code-switching for the educational environment in South Africa (Ncoko et al, 2000:239). In their study, they firstly compare apartheid educational policies. These scholars state that by having 11 official languages, South Africa entered into a new schooling dimension. The new language policy brought about many changes in the demography of South African education (Ncoko et al, 2000:239).

Moodley (2001) examines the forms and functions of English-Zulu code-switching by bilingual ESL teachers. This study focuses on code-switching as a technique in teaching literature to grade 10 ESL learners by bilingual teachers in comparison to English only method by an English mono-lingual teacher. Moodley (2001:15) argues that although code-switching is expected to be incorporated in curriculum planning as an officially recognised teaching and learning strategy, (evident in the report of the ANC Education and Training Policy conference: 1994) many principals and educators insist that English be used as a sole medium of communication (Moodley, 2001:15). Moodley (2001) notes that by fulfilling specific functions such as code-switching for reiteration, explanation, elaboration and solidarity, teachers are able to enhance pupils' learning. Through the use of code-switching pupils are better able to understand the literary texts studied and are therefore better able to respond to test questions. Moreover, when teachers use code-switching, they are able to elicit responses that go beyond monosyllabic responses than when they use English only and thus promoting effective learning (Moodley, 2001:169-171).

Rose (2006) considers the functions of code-switching in intercultural communication occurring in multi-lingual high school classrooms. Rose (2006:8) aims to show that code-switching does indeed have specific functions and is used intentionally to convey meaning. The study focuses on code-switching between Afrikaans and English, and is carried out within the theoretical framework of Myers-Scotton's (1993b; 1998) Markedness Model. Rose (2006) conducted her study in all-girl 'former model C' high school in the Western Cape, South Africa. The language of learning in this school is predominantly English, yet Afrikaans is also accommodated due to the large number of Afrikaans L1 teachers and learners who attended the school (Rose, 2006:36).

Olugbara (2008) investigates the effects of IsiZulu/English code-switching as a medium of instruction in grade 10 students' performance and their attitudes towards biology. The study was motivated by an increased failure rate of Black South African students in science subjects and an acute shortage of science personnel across many sciences based professional affiliation. The aim of the study was to investigate whether high school students in rural communities of the KwaZulu-Natal province of South Africa would perform better in Biology when IsiZulu-English code-switching was used as a medium of instruction (Olugbara, 2008:118). Olugbara (2008) argues that in order to address the problem of the falling standards in the academic performance in science subjects amongst Black students in South Africa, the curriculum should be reviewed. He adds that focus of the new curriculum should be towards additive bilingualism and the introduction of an effective strategy, like code switching, which will have the potential to enhance the academic success of the students (Olugbara, 2008:107).

2.3.3 Code-switching in the wider society

While a lot has been done on code-switching research within the educational parameters, a few studies have focused on the social and cultural aspects of this phenomenon within the wider society. Finlayson and Slabbert (1997) examine the functional aspects of code-switching in Soweto, South African

township in the Gauteng province. Finlayson and Slabbert (1997) concetrate on the social function of code-switching as a means of accommodation rather than alienation in urban South Africa. According to Finlayson and Slabbert (1997:381), the accommodation function reflects the linguistic flexibility of the speaker's knowledge and use of language. The accommodation function also works together with societal norms which are assigned to the process of code-switching. According to these scholars, not all languages are part of the code-switching repertoire of Gauteng. Tsonga and Venda, because of their generally accepted low status position in the past, do not generally participate in the code-switching in the townships outside the Northern Province.

Political factors have further exacerbated the complexity of the language situation in the townships. For example, the growth and decline of the use of Afrikaans in code-switching is related to the rise and decline of Afrikaner political power. The use of IsiZulu code-switching in the townships has also had a political dimension. Before the 1994 general election, foregrounding of IsiZulu linguistic identity became associated with being a member of the Inkatha Freedom Party. Thus, as IsiZulu linguistic identity became politicised, IsiZulu speakers became more accommodating and less inclined to foregrounding their linguistic identity (Finlayson and Slabbert, 1997:416).

Kamwangamalu's (1998) article focuses on the state of code-switching research in Africa and compares it to code-switching research in the global context. In his overview of the research done on code switching, he sought to address the following question: Why do bilingual speakers engage in code switching? He found that code switching can serve a wide range of functions in bilingual interactions. Kamwangamalu himself does not study the use of code switching in the educational setting, but he does make the following observation (which is highly relevant to the present study): Despite the many communicative functions served by code switching, it carries a stigma as regards to its use in education, because many people view the use of code switching in education as a mark of linguistic deficiency (Kamwangamalu 1998). According to Kamwangamalu's (1998) findings, code switching has

many functions in the classroom. Similarly to what was stated in the previous section, he states that code switching can be used for classroom management, for transmission of content, for expressing solidarity downwards with the learners, for emphasizing a point and so on.

McCormick (2002a) focuses upon the linguistic aspects of code-switching, code-mixing and convergence in Cape Town, more specifically in District Six. The study aims to highlight the forms and functions of code-switching in Cape Town's community of District Six. The researcher considers how the phenomenon of code-switching is defined, as well as the kinds of contexts that are conducive to its occurrence. In order for McCormick (2002a) to make some generalisations about District Six's social speech patterns and alternations she works with two speech categories, namely code-mixing and code-switching (McCormick, 2002a:217).

Research focusing on the role of Zulu-English code switching in the construction of identity by Zulu L1 students on the Westville campus of the University of KwaZulu-Natal is reported by Ramsay-Brijball (2004). The major aim of this study is to provide an in-depth account of the formal and functional aspects of Zulu-English code-switching among Zulu L1 speakers. On the other hand, it aims to draw key theoretical issues in code-switching research, to challenge the current landscape of code-switching research and to make recommendations that might advance code-switching research in the future (Ramsay-Brijball, 2004).

Bowers (2006) investigates the practice of code-switching within the Cape flats speech community of Cape Town. He argues that members of this speech community have always been exposed to both English and Afrikaans in formal as well as informal contexts. He further adds that members of this speech community have come to utilize both languages within a single conversation and even within a single utterance due to constant exposure to both languages, as well as historical and political experiences (Bowers, 2006:3).

De-Klerk (2006) analyses selected aspects of code-switching behaviour in a spoken corpus of the English of 326 people, all of them mother tongue speakers of Xhosa, and all of whom would see themselves as Xhosa/English bilinguals. The corpus comprises approximately 550,000 translated words of spontaneous, relaxed and oral discourse in English between pairs of Xhosa speaking interlocutors, discussing a wide range of topics (De-Klerk, 2006:597). De-Klerk (2006) argues that while the usual pattern in bilingual speech is to use the L1 as the matrix language and the L2 as embedded language, in this corpus the opposite is the case as interlocutors were interviewed in English .He adds that the corpus offers a 'mirror range' in a sense , of normal code-switching behaviour (De-Klerk, 2006:597).

Rasul (2006) investigates the socio-cultural implications of code-mixing and language hybridisation in Pakistan. Rasul (2006: IV) argues that the social aspects of code-mixing which include various factors ranging from the setting, addressee and addresser to the prestige attached to a language and its socio-historical background, determine the linguistic choices in the process of code-mixing. He adds that code-mixing leads to language hybridization that in turn gives birth to the issues of language maintenance , shift and desertion (Rasul, 2006: iv). According to Rasul (2006: v), code-mixing has significant socio-cultural implications in the context of globalisation and emergence of English as an international language in the recent decade that has challenged the survival of regional and national languages of many countries.

Ayeomoni (2006) reports of an investigation into the types of languages acquired at different periods in the lives of members of the educated elite in a speech community of Wit, the Ikale in the Irele and Okipupa Local Government areas of Ondo State (Ayeomani, 2006:90). Ayeomoni (2006:90) asserts that code-switching and code-mixing are well-known traits in the speech patterns of the average bilingual in any human society the world over. The implication in this study is that, since both phenomena correlate positively with the educational attainment of individuals, the English language teachers should devise a means of preventing the demerits of code-

switching and code-mixing from adversely affecting the language acquisition process of the child (Ayeomoni, 2006:90).

Bosire (2006) focuses on the role of language as a form of identification among Kenyans in Upstate New York. Bosire cites Kahura (2003) who notes that there is a substantial number of Kenyans in the United States scattered across the many cities of the country. Many of these have come to the United States as students, for business, as permanent residents and as employees of multi-national companies (Bosire, 2006:41). There are over forty languages in Kenya with Swahili and English being co-official. As such, most of these first generation Kenyans in the US are trilingual in Swahili, English and some other Kenyan language (Bosire 2006:41). In addition, they come with a tradition of code-switching that has been shown to be a second nature to them in their home country (Myers-Scotton, 1993b).

2.4 Literature review of code-switching and code-mixing theories and models

A number of theories have been suggested in the socio-linguistic study of code-switching and code-mixing. Examples of such theories include Blom and Gumperz's (1972) Interactional Model, Bourdeu's (1977) Habitus and Symbolic Capital, Kecskes's (2006) Dual Language Model, Giles (1973) Speech Accommodation Theory, Heller's (1992; 1995) Ideological-Political Model and the Myers-Scotton's (1993b; 1998) Markedness Model among others. However, for the purposes of this study, this section will focus on the Markedness Model which is the main theory that informs this particular study.

Myers-Scotton (1993b; 1998) proposed a theoretical model called Markedness Model and argued that the purpose of code-switching is for negotiation in a social situation, and code-switching is considered a social phenomenon functionally. According to Myers -Scotton (1998:18), there is more than one way of speaking in almost every speech community. No community is without at least two different speech styles. In many communities, more than

one language is spoken and often more than one dialect of a language is spoken. The different styles, languages and dialects are typically associated with different social groups or contexts. Not everyone in the community has complete command of all the varieties in the community's linguistic repertoire, and not everyone uses the varieties with the same frequency (Myers-Scotton, 1998:18).

Markedness, according to Myers-Scotton (1998:4) relates to the choice of one's linguistic variety over other possible varieties. The speaker-hearer has the option of choosing what may be considered marked choices to convey messages of intentionality. The Markedness Model states that when an individual speaks a language, other individuals can exploit the relationships that have become established in a community between a linguistic variety and those that use the variety (Myers-Scotton 1998:18). Individuals can take advantage of the associations that their addresses make between a variety spoken and the variety's distinctive uses and users. Individuals are hereby able to create and design their conversational contributions with their addresses in mind, as well as base their particular conversational patterns on speech associated with a specific group (Myers-Scotton, 1998:18).

The Markedness Model is considered a useful tool in which to analyze code-switching because it accounts for the speaker's socio-psychological motivations when code-switching (Myers-Scotton, 1993b:75). The model also conveys the idea that a major motivation for variety in linguistic choices in any given community is the possibility of social-identity negotiations (Myers-Scotton, 1993b:111). Negotiations play an important role in any interaction because it is a dynamic enterprise with at least two sides, without the forgone conclusion. Therefore what the speaker provides is a presentation of self (Myers-Scotton, 1993b:111). The Markedness Model is predominantly a speaker centred model which seems to imply that no model of conversation can ignore the effect of the addressee and the audience even on the speaker's choice. The Markedness Model is motivated by the fact that speakers make

choice primarily based on enhancing their own positions and communicating their own perception (Myers-Scotton, 1993b:111).

A number of researchers have employed the Myers-Scotton's (1993b) Markedness Model in the analysis of their code-switching data. Lawrence (1999) carried out his study on the Teachers' awareness of code-switching as a communicative tool, within the theoretical framework of Myers-Scotton (1993b; 1998). English –Afrikaans code-switching is regarded as a strategy for effective communication among Afrikaans and Xhosa L1 speakers. According to Lawrence (1999:269-270) code-switching in this group occurs as a marked choice, successive unmarked choice, and exploratory choice. Lawrence (ibid) further suggests that, as predicted by the Markedness Model, speakers in this setting use code-switching to identify with aspects of the social context. Lawrence (1999:274) concludes that the Markedness Model is a suitable framework to account for the social functions of code-switching in the context of the college.

Ncoko et al (2000) also apply the Myers-Scotton (1993b; 1998) Markedness Model in their study of Zulu-English code-switching in a primary school. Code-switching in this particular study is reported to occur as marked, unmarked and exploratory choice. The primary school students appear to use code-switching to fulfil a variety of social functions, such as expressing solidarity, defiance, desire for inclusion or exclusion and neutrality (Ncoko et al, 2000:232-237).

Rose (2006) used the Myers-Scotton's (1993b; 1998) Markedness Model while focusing on the functions of code-switching between English and Afrikaans in multilingual classrooms in a secondary school. The code-switching observed was classified as marked, unmarked and sequentially unmarked. Bowers (2006) also based his study on this particular model. The main assumptions of this study were that code-switching is socially motivated and that speakers switch codes in order to achieve a range of communicative goals (Bowers, 2006:105). The research proved that code-switching may be both a conscious

or unconscious process. Bowers (2006) identifies the different types of code-switching in this community and these include the unmarked choice maxim, the marked choice maxim, the exploratory choice maxim, the virtuosity maxim and difference maxim (Bowers, 2006:37-39).

Finlayson and Slabbert (1997:413) also analysed a range of social functions that code-switching evokes within the Markedness Model. Based upon this model, Finlayson and Slabbert (1997:417) interpret the functions of code-switching as a set salient features which are comprehended as code-choices in a speech event, according to shared norms of the community. An interesting study on intentionality and the Markedness Model is reported by Gross (2000). Gross (2000) employs the Markedness Model for examining the motivations for code-switching by low status individuals from outside their social group. Gross (2000:1283) argues that the low status of individuals with few opportunities for upward mobility use marked code-switching as a face-threatening strategy. In their interactions with powerful members of a dominant social group, these individuals resort to code-switching as a way to express their interactional power and seize control of the interaction (Gross, 2000:1283).

Ramsay-Brijball (2004) employs a number of models in his study of Zulu-English code-switching. The models under discussion in this particular study are the Myers-Scotton (1993b; 1998) Markedness Model, Heller's (1992, 1995) Ideological-Political Model, the Conversational Code-alternation approach (Kamwangamalu 1998) and Giles (1973) Speech Accommodation Model. Ramsay-Brijball (2004:97) argues that each of the models mentioned in the study contributed significantly to an understanding of the functional aspects of code-switching. He further adds that these models as well as their critiques guide the discussion on the functional/pragmatic aspects of Zulu-English code-switching.

Other scholars such as Rose (2006), Moodley (2001), Uys (2010), Olugbara (2008), have also used the Myers-Scotton's (1993b; 1998) Markedness Model

alongside other code-switching and code-mixing theories in the analysis of their data.

2.5 Literature review of research methodologies in code-switching and code-mixing studies

Scholars have employed a number of methods in their studies on code-switching and code mixing. Most scholars who include Rose (2006), Ncoko et al (2000), Lawrence (1999), Myers-Scotton (1992), Finlayson and Slabbert (1997), among others have employed the ethnographic qualitative approach for the gathering of data and the analysis of transcribed conversations. Leedy (1997:107) argues that in terms of data analysis, qualitative studies tend to rely on inductive forms of analysis and that by observing the specifics of a situation, qualitative researchers hope to increase their understanding of the broader phenomenon of which the situation is an instance.

With regards to data collection, Glesne and Peshkin (1997) (cited in Leedy, 1997:107) suggest that, in qualitative studies, the researchers act as research instruments in that data collection is dependent on their personal involvement. In support of this view Ncoko et al (2000) argue that ethnographers of communication usually base their studies on participant observation data and on audio or video recordings of naturally occurring interactions.

It is upon this background that these scholars have used interviews, audio recordings, questionnaires and observation. Rose (2006) made use of audio recordings and a questionnaire as well as physical observation within the classroom. According to this scholar, these research methods served as a source of information on the functions of code-switching. Other scholars such as McCormick (2002b) and Finlayson and Slabbert (1997) used audio recordings to capture speech patterns and code-switching. According to these scholars, these methods of data collection provide an overall picture of the language use and a view into their personal feelings and perceptions about code-switching (McCormick, 2002b; Finlayson and Slabbert, 1997).

Milroy (1987:18) argues that it is important to find principles of sampling for both the speakers and the language in such a way that one can demonstrate the relationship between the research design and research objectives. In addition, Singleton and Straits (1999:155) note that sampling is important for several reasons. Firstly, it is virtually impossible to study a social group or population in its entirety for reasons such as time, cost and size etc. Therefore a carefully selected sample can suffice as an efficient and practical way of collecting information. Secondly, a sample population renders the planning and logistics of observation and other means of data collection more manageable. Thirdly, researchers seek to establish the broadest possible generalisations. It is upon such a basis that most scholars have opted for simple random sampling, stratified sampling in their study of code-switching and code-mixing.

However, other scholars such as Moodley (2001) and Olugbara (2008) employed the experimental approach using both qualitative and quantitative methodology. Olugbara (2008) used a questionnaire, a biology achievement test and direct observation to gather information. According to this scholar, these approaches yielded both qualitative and quantitative data to enhance the accuracy of the final results. Olugbara (2008) adds that one main advantage of combining the two methodologies was that one compensated for the deficiencies of the other, hence the accuracy of the findings was enhanced (Olugbara, 2008:54-57). Moodley (2001) on the other hand used questionnaires, semi structured interviews, recordings and tests as data gathering methods.

2.6 Literature review on corpus design

2.6.1 What is a corpus?

Despite the abundance of electronic corpora now available to researchers, corpora of natural speech are still relatively rare and relatively costly. This section suggests reasons why spoken corpora are needed, despite the formidable problems of construction. Olohan (2004:1) defines a corpus as;

> A collection of texts selected and compiled according to specific criteria. The texts are held in electronic format i.e. as computer files so that various kinds of corpus tools i.e. software can be used to carry out analysis of them.

The study of language has undergone considerable changes in the last couple of decades with respect to the kinds of data that are considered relevant to the field. Data obtained from electronic corpora, in particular, have come to play an ever increasing role in the analysis of language, reflecting a more usage-based orientation on the part of linguists and spoken corpora have, arguably, a special role to play in any usage-based approach to linguistics (Newman, 2008:1).

Corpora are very useful resources in contemporary linguistics, but without techniques to search, sort, count and display the vast quantities of data they contain, they would be of little practical use (Kenny, 2001:105). Any corpus analysis depends on both the creation of the corpus and the development of software tools to observe, analyse and process it (Kenny, 2001:105)

Scholars in corpus linguistics maintain that corpus compilation is a vital step in any corpus-based study of language. Kenny (2001:105) alleges that the design of a corpus, and the selection of individual texts for the inclusion in that corpus, is mainly determined by its envisaged purpose. He adds that in linguistic research, corpora have traditionally been designed with the aim of presenting a representative sample of the language at large at a specific point in time (Kenny, 2001:105).

As the use of computer-based text corpora has become increasingly important for research in natural language processing, lexicography, and descriptive linguistics, issues relating to corpus design have also assumed central importance (Biber, 1995:219). The recognition of a lack of linguistic uniformity in speech communities has relevance to corpus design since it means that "… due to the importance and systimacity of the linguistic differences among registers, diversified corpora representing a broad range of register variation are required as the basis for general language studies" (Biber, 1995:219). This

study will however differ with some proponents of very large corpora who have "suggested that size can compensate for a lack of diversity- that if a corpus is large enough it will represent the range of linguistic patterns in a language, even though it represents only a restricted range of registers (Biber, 1995:220). Hunston (2002:26) acknowledges that a smaller corpus can be adequate for the study of grammar, and that the size of a corpus depends on the availability of suitable texts or other factors such as the need for annotation.

2.6.2 Factors to be considered on corpus design

The design of the corpus takes into account the various dimensions underlying the variation that can be observed in language use. In the overall design of the corpus, the principal parameter is taken to be the socio-situational setting in which language is used. This leads us to distinguish a number of components, each of which can be characterised in terms of its situational characteristics such as communicative goal, medium, number of speakers participating and the relationship between speakers(s) and hearer(s) (Oostdijk, 1998:2).

According to Kennedy (1998:60), issues in corpus design and compilation are fundamentally concerned with the validity and reliability of research based on a particular corpus, including whether that corpus can serve the purposes for which it s intended. Olohan (2004:45-46) refers to three issues to be considered in designing a corpus .These include; static vs. dynamic, representativeness of data and regional and temporal factors.

a) Static vs. dynamic corpus

Olahan (2004) argues that if a corpus is static, it constitutes a collection of texts that were selected according to some specific principles, thus providing a snapshot of aspects of the language at a particular point in time. Olahan adds that it is possible to carry out a comparative analysis with other corpora if they have been compiled according to the same principles and most corpus based research is done on static corpora (Olahan, 2004:45).

A dynamic corpus on the other hand is also referred to as a monitor corpus since it constitutes an enormous collection of texts that is constantly being added and that is studied primarily for its ability to reflect language change and to provide data on words that do not occur often (Olahan, 2004:45). Kennedy (1998:66-70) notes that these huge dynamic corpora, aimed at tracking language as it changes and develops over time, are more resource intensive and therefore often less accessible to individual researchers.

b) Representativeness of data

The corpus must be representative and adequate to address the research questions. The size of the corpus depends on the availability of suitable texts (Olahan, 2004:45-46). According to Biber et al (1998:246), a corpus is not just a collection of texts, but at the heart of corpus design and construction is an attempt at creating a representative sample of language or parts of a language that can be studied. Representativeness, according to Biber et al (1998) should be understood to mean "the extent to which a sample includes the full range of variability in a population" (Biber et al, 1998:378). The 'full range of variability' here refers to the range of text types and of linguistic distributions in a language. Therefore this means that the object that is represented needs to be well understood by a compiler since an assessment of this representativeness thus depends on a prior full definition of the 'population ' that the sample is intended to represent, and the techniques used to select the sample from the population (Biber et al, 1998:378).

This position is similar to the one held by Renouf (1987:2) who argues that "the first step towards this aim (constructing a corpus) is to define the whole language of which the corpus is to be a sample." Biber et al (1998) show that one of the limitations of attempting to characterise the language is that " we do not know the full extent of variation in languages or all the contextual variables that need to be covered in order to capture all variation in texts" (Biber et al, 1998:246). Scholars have argued that corpus language variability must approximate the linguistic variability of a speech community under study or if it does not, corpus limitations should be acknowledged. Biber

(1995:27) notes three major factors that should be considered in the sampling of a language;

(i) The full range of registers in the language should be included representing the range of situational variation.

(ii) A representative sampling of texts from each register should be included and

(iii) A wide range of linguistic features should be analysed in each text, representing multiple underlying parameters or variation.

c) Regional and Temporal factors

A criterion such as nationality, ethnicity, age, gender may be considered in the selection of texts, depending on their relevance for the research questions that are to be investigated using corpus data (Olahan, 2004:45-46).

2.6.3 Spoken word corpora in corpus design

Vanbael, Strik and Heuvel (2004) argue that in the past, fundamental linguistic research was typically conducted on small data sets that were hand crafted for the specific research at hand. However from the eighties onwards, many large (often multi-purpose) spoken language corpora have become available (Lamel et al, 1998; Oostdijk 2000). Whereas the speech technology community has already made extensive use of such corpora for some years, the use of these spoken language corpora in linguistic research has been quite limited (Vanbael, Strik and Heuvel, 2004).

According to Lamel & Cole (1998), speech is produced differently by each speaker. Each utterance is produced by a unique vocal tract which assigns its own signature to the signal. Speakers of the same language have different dialects, accents and speaking rates. Their speech patterns are influenced by the physical environment, social context, the perceived social status of the participants and their emotional and physical state (Lamel & Cole, 1998:388). Spoken language is central to human communication and has significant links to both national identity and individual existence. The structure of spoken

language is shaped by many factors. It is structured by the phonological, syntactic and prosodic structure of the language being spoken, by the acoustic environment and context in which it is produced (Lamel & Cole, 1998:388).

According to Newman, one effect of working with corpora has been an increase in awareness among linguists of the very different genres which typically exist in languages, especially the distinction between spoken and written genres. He adds that spontaneous face-to-face conversation would seem to occupy a special place among all the genres in so far as it is represents a relatively basic kind of human interaction. It is, for example, the very first kind of language interaction that a human is typically exposed to. And it is the only kind of language interaction relevant to some speech communities where there is no written tradition (Newman, 2008:4).

Furthermore, one does not necessarily have to agree that face-to-face conversation is paramount in terms of our communicative activities and it may not be for some individuals who inhabit a highly literate cultural milieu to accept that it is an important kind of human activity and deserving of study. Documenting the spoken language is special, too, in terms of the technological challenges it presents, compared with the written language. It is obvious that the speech signal of speakers carries important cues as to the message intended through volume, pitch, duration, pauses, etc., hence the critical role of speech technology in capturing the high quality speech (Newman, 2008:04).

Hunston and Francis (2000:16-18) identify three major characteristics of data in corpus linguistics. According to these scholars, corpus linguistic data is authentic. This means that corpus data is compiled from written texts or from recordings of spoken discourse therefore no fabricated data in a corpus and linguistic intuitions or introspection play a role in the compilation of the corpus. Secondly, the data is not selected in linguistic grounds. The data in a corpus is not selected to support a particular theoretical point or confirm or disconfirm a specific linguistic hypothesis. Rather, the data in a corpus are

naturally occurring written texts or recordings of actual discourse. According to Hunston and Francis (2000:17), Sinclair, a leading corpus linguist, presumes no underlying theoretical framework for a corpus linguistic analysis "setting the parameters of what may be said or written, only as a set of generalisations capturing the essence of what has been said or written".

Lastly, a corpus contains a representative sample of words of running texts in order to ensure that the regularities in lexical and grammatical patterns can be identified and that the frequencies of occurrences can be established (Hunston and Francis 2000: 17-18). Allwood et al (2010) argue that spoken language corpora can be used in language development, in the development of terminologies and translation data banks, the development of learning materials and the study of indigenous knowledge systems. They maintain that spoken language corpora should have a long term impact on minority languages, their empowerment and status planning. It is also hoped that these corpora will also have an impact on the localisation and adaptation of electronic technologies to the South African Indigenous languages (Allwood et al, 2010:886).

In addition, Ngcobo and Nomdebevana (2010:191) argue that written language corpora have been already collected by other institutions for a few indigenous languages. However, written corpora do not necessarily represent how language is used in real life since it is based on fiction and other formal written texts such as the newspapers. They further argue that there are still no comprehensive spoken corpora available for the indigenous languages in South Africa.

Dash (2000) while focusing on language corpora for Indian languages asserts that a generation of speech corpus will enable the preservation of language minorities, restore speech varieties and study speech patterns of the speakers coming from different walks of life. He adds that linguistic analysis of such corpus will produce results that may be different from results obtained from written corpus. Dash (2000:3) outlines the different functions that spoken

word corpora when compared to its written version. According to this scholar, speech corpus will reflect languages as they are actually spoken in real life situations and provide broad representative samples extending over a wide selection of variables (e.g. Speakers' sex, age and class). It will also represent generalisations about spoken language as well as variations within spoken languages.

Spoken word corpora will supply samples of naturalistic speech rather than speech developed under artificial conditions. In addition, it will furnish acoustic and phonetic aspects of speech research. Furthermore, it enables suitable qualitative analysis with phonetic and prosodic annotation and encourages comparative study with written corpus to note primary similarities and differences. Lastly, spoken word corpora provides relevant data and information for writing grammar of spoken language and supplies information for language teaching, speech processing and other similarities (Dash, 2000:3).

According to Umanski, Oschiller and Sangati (2010:37) the growing availability of spoken language corpora represents new opportunities for enriching the methodologies of speech and language therapy. These scholars argue that although spoken language corpora are accessed by linguists who need to manipulate specifically defined speech stimuli in their experiments, this valuable resource has not yet been systematically applied for the benefit of speech therapy methodologies. The reason for this is that spoken language corpora have only appeared relatively recently and are still not easily accessible outside the NLP community (Umanski, Oschiller and Sangati, 2010:37). Umanski, Oschiller and Sangati (2010) cites Aichert et al (2005) who asserts that existing applications for selecting linguistic stimuli, although undoubtedly useful, are not based on spoken language data and are not designed for utilization by speech therapists (Umanski, Oschiller and Sangati, 2010:38).

2.7 Corpus linguistic tools

Corpora are used together with corpus tools and techniques to search, sort, and count, analyse and display the vast quantity of data they contain. Corpus analysis tools used for the data contained in the corpus of this study are provided by Word Smith Tools, a windows-based suit of programs that offers six tools for the lexical analysis of texts; namely wordlist; concord; keywords; splitter; text converter and dual text aligner. Word Smith Tools was developed by Mike Scott and is marketed by Oxford University Press (Kruger 2000:73).

2.7.1 Concordance

Concord is a program which makes a concordance using DOS, Text Only, ASCII, or ANSI text files. To use it, one specifies a search word, which Concord searches in all the text files chosen. It then presents a concordance display, for access to information about collocates of the search word. A concordance shows a number of examples of a word/phrase in their context. Language students can use a concordance to find out how to use a word or phrase or to discover which other words belong with a word they want to use (Kenny: 2001).

2.7.2 Wordlist

The Wordlist feature is used to create alphabetical and frequency order lists for all the words found in the corpus. Users can thus establish which words seem to be important in the corpus on the basis of frequency, and they can compare the frequencies of different words. Wordlists can be used in order to study the type of vocabulary used; to identify common word clusters, to compare the frequency of a word in different text files or cross genres; and to compare the frequencies of cognate words or translation equivalents between different languages (Kenny, 2001).

2.7.3 Keywords

Keywords compares a wordlist extracted from what has been called 'the study corpus' (the corpus which the researcher is interested in describing) with a word list made from a reference corpus. The only requirement for a wordlist to be accepted as a reference corpus by the software is that it must be larger than the study corpus. One of the most pressing questions with respect to using Key Words seems to relate to what the ideal size of a reference corpus would be (Kenny, 2001).

2.8 Conclusion

This chapter has provided different views on code-switching and code-mixing and highlighted the conflicting aspects of the two linguistic phenomena. The application of Myers-Scotton's (1993b; 1998) Markedness Model in the various studies of code-switching and code-mixing have been discussed. A review of the early foundational studies on code-switching and code-mixing has been presented followed by a review of the different code-switching and code-mixing studies that have been conducted in the educational and wider South African social context and abroad. Issues pertaining to corpus design and the importance of spoken word corpora in the study of code-switching and code-mixing have also been highlighted. The next chapter discusses the conceptual and theoretical framework of the study. This includes Myers-Scotton's (1993b; 1998) Markedness Model which has been employed as the main theory and Heller's (1992; 1995) Ideological-Political Model, which has been used as a supplementary model.

CHAPTER THREE

3.0 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

3.1 Introduction

This chapter will focus on the theoretical framework that informs this particular study. The Myers-Scotton (1993b; 1998) Markedness Model which is the main theoretical framework that has been adopted for the analysis of code-switching data is discussed. The various components of the Myers-Scotton (1993b; 1998) Markedness Model are explained in this chapter. These components include the concept of Communicative Competence, the Markedness Metric as well as the Rights and Obligations Set. The different types of code-switching according to Myers-Scotton's (1993b; 1998) Markedness Model, include the marked choice, unmarked choice, sequential unmarked choice and the explanatory choice. Examples of code-switching and code-mixing based on Myers-Scotton's (1993b; 1998) Markedness Model from various studies on this linguistic phenomenon are also given.

This theory will however be supplemented by Heller's (1992; 1995) Ideological-Political Model. According to Ramsay-Brijball (2004), there is no functional model that can offer a multi-level, multi-dimensional analysis of Zulu-English code-switching. She adds that individually, each model is inadequate in providing a comprehensive account hence a number of approaches are useful (Ramsay-Brijball 2004:97). Heller's (1992, 1995) ideological-political model is also discussed in detail in this chapter.

3.2 Myers-Scotton's (1993b; 1998) Markedness Model

According to Myers-Scotton (1998:18), there is more than one way of speaking in almost every speech community. No community is without at least two different speech styles. In many communities, more than one language is spoken and often more than one dialect of a language is spoken. Not everyone in the community has complete command of all the varieties in the community's linguistic repertoire, and not everyone uses the varieties with the same frequency (Myers-Scotton, 1998:18). Markedness, according to

Myers-Scotton (1998:4), relates to the choice of one linguistic variety over other possible varieties.

The speaker/hearer has the option of choosing what may be considered a marked choice to convey certain messages of intentionality. The Markedness Model states that, when an individual speaks a language, other individuals can exploit the relationships that have become established in a community between a linguistic variety and those that use the variety (Myers-Scotton, 1998:18). Individuals can take advantage of the associations that their addresses make between a variety spoken and the variety's distinctive uses and users. Individuals are hereby able to create and design their conversational contributions with their addresses in mind, as well as base their particular conversational patterns that are associated with a specific social group of speakers (Myers-Scotton, 1998:18).

All linguistic codes or variety have social and psychological associations in the speech community in which they are used. Given these associations, the use of a particular code is viewed in terms of the unmarked opposition in reference to the extent its use matches community expectations for the interaction type. In other words, what community norms would predict is unmarked; what the community norms would not predict is marked (Myers-Scotton, 1998:5). The Markedness Model uses the marked versus unmarked distinction as a theoretical construct to explain the social and psychological motivations for making one code choice over another. As part of their innate languages faculty, all language users have a predisposition to view linguistic codes as more or less marked or unmarked, given their social and intellectual context. Therefore, all people have the competence to access linguistic codes in these terms (Myers-Scotton, 1998:6).

According to the Markedness Model, speakers have a sense of markedness regarding the linguistic codes available for any interaction. The speakers will choose their codes based on the person and/or the relationships which they wish to have in place. Markedness has a normative basis within the

community, and therefore speakers also know the consequences of making marked or unexpected choice (Myers-Scotton, 1993b:75). The speaker generally makes the unmarked choices as it is considered "safer." It conveys no surprises because it indexes an expected interpersonal relationship. However, speakers do not and need not always make the unmarked choice. Speakers can also access the potential costs and rewards of all alternative choices and make their decisions as typically unconscious ones (Myers-Scotton, 1993b:75).

The Markedness Model accounts for speakers' socio-psychological motivations when they engage in the linguistic behaviour of code-switching. The model is based upon a common theme of disciplines including the sociology of language, pragmatics, linguistic anthropology, and social anthropology (Myers-Scotton, 1993b:75). The common theme is that conversational participant "knows" at some level that they enter into a conversation with similar expectations, whether about unmarked code choices or about unmarked communicative intentions. The Markedness Model emphasizes that a speaker is a creative actor, and that linguistic choice are accomplishing more than just the conveying of referential meaning (Myers-Scotton, 1993b:75). Myers-Scotton (1998:19) states that within the Markedness Model, code choice is intentional in that it is made to achieve specific social ends. Speakers make these choices with the expectations that the addressee will recognize a choice with a particular intention.

The goal of the speaker under this model is to enhance the reward and to minimize the cost. Therefore the goal of the speaker is to optimize any chances of gaining some form of reward from the interaction (Myers-Scotton, 1998:19). This means that the speakers will choose one variety of a language over another because it has more benefits relative to it costs. Under the Markedness Model, the speaker may accommodate to the style of the addressee in the interaction, or may even use politeness strategies, or refrain from using them. The speaker(s) will make his/her code choice depending on the strategy which will be the most optimal for him/her. This often means

that the speaker needs to put a few combinations of choices together, and to take all available evidence into account regarding the best possible strategy for the specific interaction (Myers-Scotton, 1998:20). For example, if two speakers are arguing, then both may switch to their L1 in order to feel more confident and proficient in their argument and hence to reap the rewards and to minimize the costs of losing the argument.

3.3 The Communicative Competence and the Markedness Metric

Communicative competence is the speaker/hearer's tacit knowledge of more than just the basic grammatical structure of the language. Communicative Competence figures prominently in the Markedness Model because such competence entails the ability to judge the acceptability of an utterance in a given social context (Myers-Scotton, 1993b:79). The Markedness Model depends on the addition of markedness metric to a speaker's linguistic competence, thereby expanding Communicative Competence. This metric makes up part of the communicative competence of all humans, and it enables speakers to assess and conceptualize all code choice as less marked or unmarked for the exchange type in which they occur (Myers-Scotton, 1993b: 79-80). A critical point is that, while the Markedness Metric is considered to be a cognitive structure, it underlies a very particular ability. The ability to assess the markedness of codes is only developed in reference to a specific community and through the actual social experiences and interactions. Thus, while it can be said that it is a universal feature of language use in that all choices are interpreted in terms of their markedness, one can speak of the markedness of a particular code choices only in reference to a specific context in a specific community (Myers-Scotton, 1993b:80).

Conceptualizing markedness means that the speaker/hearer possesses the potential to do two things. Firstly, the speaker is able to recognise that linguistic choices fall along a multidimensional continuum from more marked to more unmarked choices and that their ordering will vary, depending on the specific discourse type (Myers-Scotton, 1998:22). Secondly, the speakers/hearer is able to recognise and comprehend that marked choices

will receive different receptions from unmarked choices. In order to develop either of these abilities, exposure to both the marked and unmarked choices in actual community discourse is required in the same way that a speaker requires exposure to a language in use in order to acquire its grammatical structures (Myers-Scotton, 1998:22).

3.4   Rights and Obligations Set

The central theoretical construct used by Myers-Scotton (1993b) to measure marked and unmarked code choice is the rights and obligations (RO) set. The RO set is a theoretical construct of so-called "right and obligations" upon which speakers can base expectations in a given interactional setting in their community (Myers-Scotton, 1998:23). The Rights and Obligations Set account for codes of behaviour and norms that are established and then maintained in social communities. The unmarked Rights Obligations Set for a given interaction type originates from the salient situational features of the community for that interaction type (Myers-Scotton, 1998:24). One can predict that there are factors in most communities which are evident at the same time in the establishment of the unmarked Rights and Obligations Set in many interaction settings. These include factors such as age, sex, occupation, socio-economic status and ethnic groups which are all the main social identity features of participants (Myers-Scotton, 1998:24).

It can therefore be said that the speaker as well as the addressee is able to use the input of their experiences in daily interactions in their community, together with the Markedness Metric as a cognitive device, to arrive at a reading of Markedness. Firstly, they take the specific salient situational factors of a given community and interaction type into account and establish the parameter of the unmarked RO set for a specific interaction setting. Secondly, they calculate the relative markedness of code choice to index the unmarked RO set (Myers-Scotton, 1998:25).

Ncoko et al. (2000:228) point out that all linguistic choices are seen as negotiating some "rights and obligations balances", which are based on the

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norms of the "community of the speakers". Ncoko et al. (2000:228) furthermore state that these balances are based on what is expected, or unmarked, for speakers engaged in a particular conversation. Ncoko et al. (2000) add that Myers-Scotton's Markedness Model is largely speaker-oriented, as the speaker tries to negotiate his/her position in a conversational context.

3.5 The Markedness of code-switching

The Markedness Model is based upon the premise that the comprehension of an utterance involves more than just the decoding of linguistic signals. The gap between decoding and the actual meaning of the utterance is filled by inference. Inference is a process which is driven by the certainty that the message carries intentionality in addition to referentiality (Myers-Scotton, 1998:20). In addition, the Markedness Model also has a so-called "superpremise" which is vital in the interpretation of all code choices (Myers-Scotton, 1998:20). For the Markedness Model, the negotiation principle is seen as the "superpremise" which underlies all code choices and is modelled after Grice's co-operative principle (1975). This principle embodies the strongest and most central claim of the theory, namely that all code choices can ultimately be explained in terms of speaker motivations (Myers-Scotton, 1993b:113). The negotiation principle is intended to help inform the addressee that, in addition to conveying information, the speaker also has an interactional goal (Myers-Scotton, 1998:21).

The Markedness Model consists of a set of general maxims to any code choice. Myers-Scotton (1993b:113) states that markedness is an organizing device. The Markedness Model accounts for all types of code switching and their social motivations as one of the four complementary types. Relating the types of code switching to one another in a unified way contrasts with other research which produces an open-ended classification of functions. The Markedness Model rests on the negotiation principle and on the maxims which follow from the principle (Myers-Scotton, 1993b:113). These maxims are (i) the unmarked-choice (ii) the marked choice (iii) the exploratory-choice (iv) and

the sequential unmarked choice. The virtuosity maxim and deference maxim are auxiliary to the unmarked-choice maxim, which direct the speaker towards a seemingly marked choice (Myers-Scotton, 1993b:113). The motivation behind what makes a speaker use one of these maxims is the negotiation of the Rights and Obligations Set that they see as beneficial to them in some way (Myers-Scotton, 1998:26). Code-switching which arises from the application of one of these maxims may then be classified as one of four related types namely, (i) code switching as a marked choice (ii) code-switching itself as the unmarked choice (iii) code-switching as a sequence of unmarked choices, and (iv) code switching as an exploratory choice (Myers-Scotton, 1993b:114).

3.6 Types of code-switching

3.6.1 Code-switching as an unmarked choice

The unmarked code choice directs the speaker in the following way. The speaker makes a code choice according to the unmarked index of the unmarked Rights and Obligations set in the exchange of speech when he/she wishes to establish or affirm the Rights and Obligations Set (Myers-Scotton, 1993b:114). Both code-switching as a sequence of unmarked choice and code switching itself as the unmarked choice occur under different situations and circumstances, but ultimately have related motivations. Situational factors remain very similar during the course of the conversation when unmarked code switching occurs. Yet it can be said that its presence depends more on the participants' attitudes towards themselves and on the social attributes indexed by the codes and their alternation. In either case, code switching is the unmarked choice for the unmarked Rights and Obligations Set given the participants and other situational factors (Myers-Scotton, 1993b:114).

In many multilingual communities or in certain types of interaction, using two languages within one conversation is also a way of following the unmarked-choice maxim for speakers. In this type of code switching, speakers engage in a continuous pattern using two or more languages. Often the switching takes place within a single sentence or even within a single word.

The other type of switching, such as marked code-switching or exploratory code-switching do not possess the same to-and-from pattern (Myers-Scotton, 1993b:117). It may be suggested that such unmarked code-switching does not necessarily have certain indexicality, but it is the general and overall pattern which carries the communicative intent (Myers-Scotton, 1993b:117). Myers-Scotton (1993b:119) states that certain conditions have to be met for unmarked code-switching to occur.

Firstly, the speaker must have bilingual peers; as such code-switching does not occur where there is a difference between socio-economic factors or if the speakers are strangers. Secondly, the interaction has to be one in which the speakers wish to symbolise the mutual membership that this type of code-switching calls for. Such interactions will be of an informal nature and will only include in-group members. The third criterion, most important in this type of interaction, is that the speaker must positively evaluate for his/her own identity the indexical value of the varieties used in the switching. Fourthly, while proficiency is an important condition of code-switching, a speaker/hearer need only be relative proficient in the two languages involved (Myers-Scotton, 1993b:19).

The conditions promoting unmarked code-switching are not met in all communities but are often met in many third world countries (Myers-Scotton, 1993b:20). For example, in Africa, there is much code-switching between indigenous colonial languages. Formerly, Africans spoke their own common firstly languages with their ethnic peers and indigenous lingua francas with other Africans. The politically and economically influential colonial languages were mostly reserved for interaction between colonial personnel and other foreign nationals and a few highly educated Africans. With independence and the advent of more universal elementary education and access to a higher level of education, more and more Africans became proficient in the colonial languages, which were in most cases the official languages (Myers-Scotton, 1993b:20).

The colonial language is now often the medium of instruction in education. School leavers then go on to occupy jobs in which they use the colonial languages at home in order to give their children some practice in the medium which is crucial to their educational advancement. These local speakers do not use the colonial languages exclusively, rather they engage in code-switching which include the colonial languages and at least one indigenous language. The matrix languages (the base language) of the local conversations is typically not the colonial language but either a shared ethnic-group language, such as Shona in Harare, or a relatively neutral lingua franca, such as Swahili in Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda (Myers-Scotton, 1993b:121). Grosjean (1982) states that often codes-witching takes place quite unconsciously. The speakers' main concern is with communicating a message and knowing that the other person will understand them, regardless of whether they speak one, two or more languages.

An example of unmarked code-switching can be extracted from Ncoko (2000). In this example, the speaker switches to the language that a monolingual joining in knows and understands, and the addressee may even be invited to participate in the conversation. The conservation is as follows;

> A: *Uyazi ama-**prefects** ayakhetha* [You know prefects discriminate].
> B: **I know**, *thina abanandaba nathi* [I know, they do not care about us]. **They like** *ama-**Grade 1 prep** nama-**Grade** **1*** [They like Grade1 prep and Grade 1.]
> A: *Thina bayasi-**shout-a** **all the time*** [They shout at us all the time.]
> C: **What did you say?**
> A: **We are talking about the prefects. They are always in favour of Grade 1 prep and Grade 1's.**
> B: **It's not fair because they do allow Grade 1's to play on our playground**. *Asambe manje* [Let's go now].
> A: *Kulungile* [It's fine].

According to Ncoko et al (2000:233) the two bilingual learners switch between IsiZulu and English although English is dominant. When they are joined by the monolingual learner, in order to accommodate her, they switch to English.

They are inviting her to comment on the issue. Then to indicate that C is not invited to go with them, A and B switch back to IsiZulu. This serves as an example of unmarked code switching because both participants speak English and IsiZulu, and no change in the situation triggered the observed code-switching.

Structural features of code switching as the unmarked code choice contrast with the use of sequential unmarked code switching. Unmarked code switching includes a great deal of intra-sentential switching and can be characterized by this occurrence (Myers-Scotton, 1993b:125). Another structural feature of unmarked code switching is that one of the two codes involved is the main or matrix language and the other is known as the embedded language. The matrix language supplies the majority of the morphemes for the discourse, and it supplies inflections and functions words for intra-sentential constituents with morphemes from both languages (Myers-Scotton, 1993b:125). This point is especially evident in unmarked code-switching. In some instances or communities, the matrix languages may change from one conversation to another, depending on the socio-psychological correlations of the different conversations (Myers-Scotton, 1993b:125).

3.6.2 Sequential unmarked code-switching

According to Slabbert and Finlayson (1997) this type of code-switching is essentially from one unmarked choice, motivated by a change in the context or topic. When the situational factors change within the course of a conversation, the unmarked Rights and Obligations Set may change (Myers-Scotton 1993b:114). In many cases, the unmarked Rights and Obligations Set changes when the participant composition of the change conversation changes, for example when the focus or topic of the conversation is shifted. When the unmarked Rights and Obligations Set is altered by such factors, the speaker will switch codes if he/she wishes to index the new unmarked Rights and Obligations Set. By making the unmarked choice, the speaker is accepting

the status quo and acknowledging the indexical quality of the unmarked choice (Myers-Scotton, 1993b:114).

The model predicts that the speaker will generally choose either to accept or to re-negotiate the new unmarked Rights and Obligations Set (Myers-Scotton, 1993b:115). While the switch in the markedness of Rights and Obligations Set which trigger sequential unmarked code switching is external to the speaker, it should be emphasized that it is still the speaker who has the choice to respond to this switch. The unmarked response is to switch codes to the index of the new, unmarked Rights and Obligations Set, which is an indication that the speaker accepts that set for the remainder of the conversation. Such code switching can be labelled in such a way as to indicate that the change in code is speaker-motivated, and not necessarily driven by the situation. It remains up to the speaker to make the choices and to act upon the choices, regardless of what the situational factors are (Myers-Scotton, 1993b:115). Making unmarked choices indicates a type of acceptance by the speaker of role association which those people in his or her community with specific social identities typically have with one another (Myers-Scotton, 1993b:117). Myers-Scotton (1993b:117) states that making an unmarked code choice indicates a type of acceptance by speaker and writer of the role relationship which people from the communities and same social identities have with one another.

An example of sequential unmarked code switching is given below. This example is from Lawrence (1999:269), where an informant during a group interview explains the experiences he had with his Afrikaans-speaking and IsiXhosa speaking students. The informant switches to English to relay what he had said to his students in English. It is to be expected that he would repeat his English conversation in English.

> *Dit is `n politicks, uhm geskiedkundige uhm politiese weerstand teen die vorige regime* [It is a political, uhm historical uhm political resistance against the previous regime.] *Ek het my student gesê* [I told my student] **1 told them. You are the generation, we've lost a generation, But in our new South Africa we have to transform, we have to build a new South Africa. Somebody has to suffer and bear the brunt of** *wat ook*

al of iets soos daai [Whatever or something like that] **to lift us out of** – *ek het dit gesê in die klas – en toe sê ek* ['I said it in class – and then I said']. **Unfortunately it's you** *maar toe sê hulle* **No, no, no, why must we do it** ['but they then said']. *Maar dit is 'n kwessie van uhm die tale kan, maar daar is sekere situasies waar die politiese, die cultural en daai geskied historical uhm resistance hy's nog daar.* [But it's a matter of uhm the languages can, but there are certain situations where the political, the cultural and that history historical uhm resistance it's still there].

3.6.3 The deference and virtuosity maxims

The deference maxim and the virtuosity maxim are the two auxiliary maxims to the unmarked-choice maxim; they direct the speaker towards seeming marked code choices (Myers-Scotton, 1998:26). The deference maxim is reflected when a participant switches to a code which expresses deference to others in circumstances when a special respect is required. The switch is often made if the speaker wants or needs something from the addressee. The speaker will choose this option with the expectation of a certain payoff, even if this is only avoided costs (Myers-Scotton, 1998:26). The virtuosity maxim is reflected when a necessary code switch is made in order for the conversation to continue and to accommodate all the participants and speakers who are present. This ability allows the speaker to show off his/her linguistic competence by being able to switch from one code to another. By making the conversation possible and by making it take place in a certain way, the speaker is able to enhance his or her position (Myers-Scotton, 1998:26).

3.6.4 Code switching as a marked choice

This type of code-switching direct speakers to make a marked code choice which is not the unmarked choice index of the unmarked Rights and Obligations Set in an interaction. Such a choice is exercised when a speaker wishes to establish a new Rights and Obligations Set as unmarked for the current exchange. In code switching as a marked choice, the speaker is said to 'dis-identify" with the expected Rights and Obligations Set (Myers-Scotton, 1993b:131). According to Slabbert and Finlayson (1997), code- switching as a marked choice involves a conscious or strategic switch to a code that is

marked (or unexpected) in the given situation. In this way the speaker is able to superimpose a message on the communicative act. On the other hand, Kieswetter (1995:16) states that during marked code switching, the speaker changes some aspects of the rights and obligations balance within a particular situation in order to "pass a meta-message".

Unmarked code-switching typically takes place in a relatively formal conversational interaction for which an unmarked code choice to index the unmarked Rights and Obligations Set between speakers is relatively clear. The speaker in this case will not follow the unmarked code choice but takes a different approach, the marked choice. It can also be said that, in making a marked choice, the speaker is getting rid of all presumption based upon societal norms in a particular interactive situation. A marked choice therefore derives its meaning from two sources. Firstly, since the marked choice is not the unmarked choice, it is a negotiation against the unmarked Rights and Obligations Set. Secondly, the marked choice is a call for other Rights and Obligations set in its place, for which the speaker's choice is the unmarked index (Myers-Scotton, 1993b:131).

The marked code choices are relative in two senses because their interpretation depends upon the contrast with the unmarked code choice (Myers-Scotton, 1993b:131). A marked choice can stand on its own in its indexical function regarding Rights and Obligations Set; even the fact that a marked choice is used at all is a message of its own (Myers-Scotton, 1993b:133). This is true because of two obvious reasons. Firstly when a marked choice carries referential content or repetition, this content is considered redundant; therefore the real message lies in the change in social distance which the marked choice is negotiating. A second reason is that a marked choice's referential message does not have to be understood for its social message of communicative intent to succeed. It is often the case that a speaker may switch languages even if the other speaker does not speak that specific language, yet the message and the communicative intent are still clear (Myers-Scotton, 1993b:138).

A marked choice can be considered as an innovation because of how and where it is used, and needs to be rooted in a cultural and linguistic system to be accurately interpreted (Myers-Scotton, 1993b:141). This is in line with the point discussed above, that making a marked choice is a risk preceded by the conscious or unconscious weighing of the relative costs and rewards of making the marked choice instead of the unmarked choice. The user of a marked choice is considered an innovator in the entrepreneurial sense, and may be one of two types (Myers-Scotton, 1993b:141).

Firstly, there are individuals with sufficiently high status which allows them to take linguistic chances. These users are positioned so that the possibility of achieving such status is real and would be elevated through successful negotiation of personal interpersonal position through marked choices. The second category is the category which includes entrepreneurs. The Markedness Model of code-switching and code choice is more speaker-oriented than audiences oriented, in contrast with other communication theories (Myers-Scotton, 1993b:141). Codes-witching is better at representing the imprint on a conversational exchange which a speaker wants to make for him/herself and the speaker is thinking of his/her own position in the Rights and Obligations Set being negotiated. Speaker orientation is a lot more severe in making marked choices and has a definitive effect, even if the addressee does not reciprocate in kind (Myers-Scotton, 1993b:141).

Myers-Scotton (1993b:132) highlights that there is one general motive for making marked choices. This motive is that speakers engage in marked code-switching to indicate a range of motions from anger to affection, as well as to negotiate outcomes ranging from demonstrations of authority to assertion of ethnic identity. All these motives have one general effect which is to negotiate a change in the expected social occurances in all communities and at all linguistic levels, and making a marked code choice may be the most universal use for code-switching (Myers-Scotton, 1993b:132).

According to Myers-Scotton (1993b:135), marked code-switching may be used as an ethnically- based exclusion strategy. People generally feel closely linked to their background and are often very aware of their own ethnic-group membership. There is an instrumental value in keeping ethnical ethnicity salient but this is often the reason why conflict arises in a multi ethnic setting. People are often careful of or even avoid overt displays of ethnicity such as using one's own language among other cultures and multi-ethnic settings (Myers- Scotton, 1993b:136). Yet in many instances, a speaker will take the risk and use his/her ethnic language as a case of marked code-switching. It can be said therefore that any code-switching which excludes others never appears too favourable to the person or people being excluded. The excluded party often complains and views the use of a marked code choice as unacceptable because it excludes them. Such is a marked choice which is rejected by those who are excluded (Myers-Scotton, 1993b:137). Herbert (1997:403) provides an example of a 'conversation between a teacher (A), who has come to an education inspector's office to lodge a complaint about the delay in her salary, and the two secretaries (B; C) whom she encounters there. All the three participants are mother tongue speakers of Xhosa.' The conversation begins in the unmarked code as follows;

> A: *Molweni manenekazi* [Hello ladies]
> B&C: *Ewe* **MISS** [Hello Miss]
> B: *Singakunceda ngantoni namhlanje?* [How can we help you today?]
> A: *Ndinqwenela ukubona umholi* [I'd like to see an inspector]
> B: *Une-appointment* **Miss** [Do you have an appointment, Miss?]
> A: *Hayi* [No]
> B: *Awunakudibana nabo ngoku* **Miss,** *base-meeting-ini.* [You can't speak to them now, Miss. They are in a meeting]
> A: *He wethu ntombazana,* [Hey girl] **this is an emergency! Who has time has time for appointments in emergencies?**
> B: **Unfortunately we have regulations to obey. We're not allowed to call inspectors when they're in a meeting. All we can do is to show you the waiting room.**
> A: **Very well, I'll wait.**

According to Herbert (1997), the teacher switches to English as a strategic ploy to redefine existing relationships, from a more neutral (unmarked) one to one in which the status between teacher and secretary is emphasised. He adds that English is a marked choice, since it contrasts with the ethnic solidarity symbolise by Xhosa at the beginning of the conversation (Herbert, 1997:403).

Examples of marked code-switching are also illustrated in Ramsay-Brijball (1999:167) as follows;

Example 1: A conversation between two female students outside the cafeteria.

> A: *Mngane wami, ngicela siziphathe kahle* [My friend, please let us take care of ourselves]
> B: *Yebo, uqinisile* [Yes, that's right]
> A: *Singasebenzisa ama-**condoms** uma senza **i-sex.*** [We must use condoms if we have sex]
> B: *Ehhe! Abantu bayafa ngengculazi* [Yes, people are just dying of Aids].

Example 2: A conversation between two males sitting at one of the rest areas.

> A: *Sipho uyayibona lentombazane?* [Sipho do you recognise this girl]
> B: *Yebo ngiyayibona* [Yes I recognise her]
> A: *Ngizwe kuthiwa lentombazana iyi-**prostitute**.* [I heard that this girl is a prostitute]
> B: *Hawu! Nami ngizwile leyo ndaba.* [Oh! I also heard that story]

In the above examples, Ramsay-Brijball (1999:167) notes that although Zulu equivalents may exist for taboo words such as sex and prostitutes, speakers often opt for English terms rather than the Zulu terms in informal conversations.

3.6.5 Code-switching as an explanatory choice

A speaker can use the exploratory choice when an unmarked code choice is not clear. This code choice is used to make alternative explanatory choices as candidates for an unmarked choice and thus as an index of Rights and

Obligations Set which the speaker favours (Myers-Scotton, 1993b:142). This type of code-switching occurs when the speakers themselves are unsure of the expected or optimal communicative intent or Rights and Obligations Set. Explanatory code-switching is the least common type of code choice, not often needed, as the unmarked choice is usually clear (Myers-Scotton, 1993b:142). Usually the unmarked Rights and Obligations Set for the given speaker and other participants in a given interactional exchange is derived from situational factors together with the cultural norms. If the exchange is less conventional, then the unmarked choice is less obvious. Such can be the case when there is a speaker who is uncertain about the norms which should be applied. This is often the case in the meeting of different cultures and social identities. Explanatory code-switching may also occur when societal norms are in state of transformation (Myers-Scotton, 1993b:142).

An exemplary function of explanatory code-switching can be demonstrated when a speaker is using this type of code-switching as a strategy of neutrality (Myers-Scotton, 1993:143). By not speaking only one code, bilinguals avoid committing themselves to a single Right and Obligations Set. The speaker may recognize that the use of two languages has its value in terms of costs and rewards. The speaker then decides to choose a middle path regarding these costs and rewards by using more than one language in a single conversation. Explanatory code-switching employs code-switching as the safe choice in attaining a cost-reward balance which is acceptable to all participants. Therefore the speaker may use the neutrality provided by explanatory code-switching to arrive at a solution which itself may well be a single code (Myers-Scotton, 1993b:147). If any of the above mentioned conditions occur, exploratory code-switching takes place wherein a speaker uses code-switching to propose first one code and then another (Myers-Scotton, 1993b:143). When a speaker uses exploratory code switching, his/her intent or the intent he/she wishes the addressee to recognize, is to propose the Rights and Obligations Set associated with a particular code as the basis for the exchange or interaction. If the speaker is unsuccessful with the first

code, then another one is proposed (Myers-Scotton 1993b:143). An example of this type of code-switching can be illustrated as follows;

> Speaker: *Heyi! Wena, awazi yini ukuthi i-***tuck shop** *nge-***first break** *ayivulwa.* [Hey! You! Don't you know that the tuck shop is not opened at first break?]
> Addressee: What are you talking about? I do not understand.
> Speaker: I am sorry. Are you from Zaire?
> Addressee: No, from Nigeria. I can only speak English.
> Speaker: Okay, I am just saying, the tuck shop only opens at second break.

In the following IsiZulu-English example-originally given in Myers-Scotton (1993b), exploratory code switching has been used. In the example, the speaker initiates the conversation by speaking in IsiZulu, not knowing that the addressee cannot understand IsiZulu. IsiZulu is used as the exploratory language, but once the speaker found out that the addressee cannot speak IsiZulu, he then changes to the dominant language, which is English.

3.7 Heller's (1992, 1995) Ideological-Political Model

The concept of power relations forms the basic building block of Heller's (1992, 1995) Ideological-Political Model. Heller's approach is primarily based upon Bourdieu's (1977, 1991) idea of 'capital'. Bourdieu has used the term to refer to one's access to the various types of resources that are available to one. In Wacquant (1989), Bourdieu argues that language is a form of capital that can be exchanged for other forms of capital i.e. social, economic or cultural capital. This basically means that language choices can determine the extent of one's social, economic or cultural success.

On the basis of this idea, Heller (1995:161) suggests that an unequal distribution of linguistic and cultural capital in a society can influence language practices in that society. In Heller's opinion, the more access an individual has to linguistic and cultural capital, the greater his/ her access to power. Heller (1992:123) also states that language choices can reveal the extent of the stability of inter-group relations. She argues that convertional language practices represent relatively stable relations of power. Violations of such

practices may be viewed as a form of resistance and a re-definition of power relations. In this regard, she states that;

> Language practices are inherently political so far as they are among the ways individuals have at their disposal of gaining access to the production, distribution and consumption of symbolic and material resources, that is, in so far as language forms part of the process of power.

Drawing from these ideas, Heller (1995) states that code-switching may be viewed as a strategy for attaining a sense of shared power and solidarity. Furthermore, it may also function as a salient means of achieving social, economic and political goals. These findings are based upon her investigation of French-English code-switching in Quebec. In assessing code-switching as a strategy for gaining power and solidarity among the Francophone speakers identified in her study, she states;

> The goal is to gain access to global networks and globally valued economic resources, but without having to become Anglophones to do so. In these cases, code-switching may be a means of re-defining conventions of language choice as part of the process of re-defining relations of power (Heller, 1995:167).

Kamwangamalu (1998) cites Sridhar (1996) who observes, that the dynamics of language in a multilingual society, in this case South Africa, reflect the evolution of power in that society. Because of its current Status and hegemony in South Africa, English co-exists with the other official languages in what Sridhar (1996: 54) calls 'a state of organic tension'.

For Heller (1992) code-switching is not arbitrary but concerns relations of power. She concludes in her study that;

> In order to understand the role and significance of code-switching [as a political choice] it is essential to understand not only its distribution in the Community, but, more importantly, how that distribution is tied to the way groups control both the distribution of access to valued resources and the way in which that value is assigned (Heller, 1992:139-140).

As a result of the human ability to respond to changing societal conditions and thereby re-define the rules for behaviour accordingly, Blommaert (1992:63) states that code-switching is a type of social historiography. This means that it is an object of inquiry which is fundamentally historical in nature. Blommaert (1992) further asserts that the social origin and development of the potential for a code-choice in a particular community needs to be understood before one can adequately analyse code-switching data. In support of this view, Heller (1988:266-267) states that;

> What is needed is ethnography of communication which has a prolonged approach of the description of the place of code-switching in the repertoire of individuals and of their use of code-switching in community social networks. Code-switching must therefore be understood as part of a historical process, whether it contributes to stability or change.

It is therefore upon this basis that the researcher finds it important to employ Heller's (1992, 1995) Ideological-Political Model as a supplementary model to explain the socio-cultural functions and motivations of IsiZulu-English code-switching.

3.8 Conclusion

This chapter has discussed in detail Myers-Scotton's (1993b; 1998) Markedness Model and outlined the different aspects, types and examples of code-switching. Heller's (1992; 1995) Ideological-Political Model which has been used as a supplementary model to Myers-Scotton's (1993b; 1998) Markedness Model has also been discussed in detail. Chapter four presents the methodological considerations of this particular study. In this chapter, the phenomenological research paradigm, the qualitative and quantitative research designs and the data gathering methods employed in this study are discussed.

CHAPTER FOUR

4.0 METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

4.1 Introduction

This chapter describes the methodological considerations on which the design of this particular study is based. Firstly, the four major research paradigms are briefly outlined. This is followed by a detailed discussion of the phenomenological research paradigm which is the main paradigm that informs this particular study. Most scholars have argued that two major theoretical perspectives have dominated the social science scene namely positivism and phenomenology, Taylor et al (1984:2). It is upon such a background that the phenomenological paradigm is later compared to the positivist research paradigm to justify its relevance and importance in the understanding of the social and cultural aspects of code-switching in this study. Secondly, the essential features of both qualitative and quantitative approaches which have been employed in this study are delineated. This is followed by a discussion of the different qualitative data collection methods that have been employed in this study. The data collection methods involved include voice recordings of naturally occurring conservations, observation and semi-structured interviews. The chapter concludes with a statement of the ethical considerations in this study and a brief description of the structure of the remaining chapters.

4.2 Research Paradigms

What is a paradigm?

A number of scholars have made significant contributions in their various attempts to define a paradigm. The term paradigm comes from the Greek word '*paradeiknyai*' which literally means 'to show side by side', and is a pattern or example of something. The word connotes the ideas of a mental picture or pattern of thought (Shtarkshall, 2004). The term paradigm can mean different things to different people. To clarify any misconceptions, Burrel and Morgan (1979) suggest that the term can be used at three different levels;

- At the philosophical level, where it is used to reflect basic beliefs about the world.

- At the social level, where it is used to provide guidelines about how the researcher should conduct his/her endeavours.

- At a technical level, where it is used to specify the methods and techniques, which ideally should be adopted when conducting, research.

According to Guba and Lincoln (1994), a paradigm may be viewed as;

> A set of basic beliefs that deals with ultimate or first principles. It represents a worldview that defines for its holder, the nature of the "world", the individual's place in it, and the range of possible relationships to that world and its parts … The beliefs are basic in the sense that they must be accepted simply on faith (however well argued); there is no way to establish their ultimate truthfulness. If there were, the philosophical debates … would have been resolved millennia ago (Guba and Lincoln, 1994: 107-108).

While Henning et al (2004) define a paradigm as "a theory or hypothesis", other scholars argue that a paradigm is rather a framework within which theories are built, that fundamentally influences how you see the world, determines your perspective, and shapes your understanding of how things are connected. Holding a particular world view influences your personal behaviour, your professional practice, and ultimately the position you take with regard to the subject of your research. In addition, Usher (1996:15) defines paradigms as frameworks that function as maps or guides for scientific communities, determining important problems or issues for its members to address and defining acceptable theories or explanations, methods, and techniques to solve defined problems.

Conclusively, a paradigm can be understood as a framework, theory or philosophy of science that makes assumptions about the nature of reality and truth and the kind of questions to explore and how to go about doing so (Glesne, 2011:5).

4.3 Types of research paradigms

Glesne (2011:6) classifies the higher–level theories and philosophies that guide the work of social scientists into four major paradigmatic families. These include positivism; phenomenology; critical theory and post structuralism.

4.3.1 Positivism

This research paradigm is also referred to as the logical empiricism paradigm. Empiricism developed and flourished with the Renaissance (1450-1600), as a response to the power of religion during the middle Ages. Rather than explanations based on religious texts, the empiricists believe that they could explain the world and find truth through observation and experimentation (Glesne and Pushkin, 2011:6). According to O'Reilly (2005:45), the term positivism came from Auguste Comte, a nineteenth-century French philosopher while advocating for an approach in social sciences that would emulate the natural science and would be positive in its attempts to achieve reliable, concrete knowledge on which people could act to change the social world for the better.

Positivists view the world as approximately knowable and seek to do research in order to make generalisations about social phenomena, to provide explanations about their causes and to create predictions regarding those phenomena. Positivists thrive at gaining such knowledge through objective observations, measurements and carefully designed experiments. The research methods employed by positivists usually begin with a theory about a phenomenon in question, pose several hypotheses through that theory and then test the hypothesis through methods designed to be objective and to keep the researcher removed from subjects to avoid influencing their behaviour and responses (Glesne and Pushkin, 2011:8).

4.3.2 The phenomenological paradigm

This research paradigm is also referred to as the interpretivism. According to Glesne and Pushkin (2011:8), interpretivism as a form of social science research grew out of the work of eighteenth century German philosopher

Immanuel Kant and was expanded by Wilhelm Dilthey, Max Weber, Edmund Husserl and others. He adds that these philosophers are often referred to as idealists in that, unlike realists, they believe that the world cannot exist independently of the mind or ideas. On this regard, Schwandt (2007) assets that;

> An idealist does not necessarily hold that the natural and social worlds are unreal or non existent, but that there is …no direct understanding of the world. The world is always interpreted through mind (Schwandt, 2007:143).

The interpretivist traditions portray a world in which reality is socially constructed, complex and ever changing. What is important to know, from an interpretivist perspective, is how people interpret and make meaning of some object, event or perception. These constructed realities are viewed as existing not only in the mind of an individual but also as social constructions in that individualistic perspectives interact with the language and thought of the wider society. With the research goals of interpreting the social world from the perspectives of those who are actors in the social world, it follows that the research methods involve interacting with people in their social contexts and talking with them about their perceptions (Glesne and Pushkin, 2011:8).

4.3.3 Critical theory

According to Thomas (1993) as cited in Glesne and Pushkin (2011:9) the critical theory research takes the researcher beyond describing "what is", the intention of interpretivists, and toward describing, "what could be." In critical theory, the term critical refers to 'the detecting and unmasking of beliefs and practices that limit human freedom, justice and democracy' (Usher 1996:22).

Lincoln and Guba (2000) argue that critical theory research is guided by historical realism ontology: that life is a "virtual reality shaped by social, political, cultural, economic, ethnic and gender values crystallized over time" (Lincoln and Guba 2000:168). A central concept in critical theory work is that

ideologies work to distort reality. The role of critical theorists is to reveal and critique these distorting ideologies and the associated structures, mechanisms, and processes that help to keep them in place (Prasad, 2005).

Critical theory researchers often make use of standpoint epistemologies. Standpoint epistemologies are positioned in the experiences, values, and interests of a group that has traditionally been oppressed or excluded. From those standpoints, researcher critique and reconstruct narratives of dominant groups exposing ways in which they have been racists, masculinists, straight and Eurocentric (Schwandt, 2007).

Glesne and Pushkin (2011:10) outline a few general aspects of research design that characterise critical research despite the fact that this type of research does not follow any particular set of methods;

- Critical theory researchers see research as a political act because it not only relies on value systems, but challenges value systems. Critical theory research tends to focus on issues of power and domination and to advocate understanding from the perspectives of oppressed and exploited (Usher, 1996).
- The interests of critical theory researchers lies in exposing ways in which discourses are socially and historically constructed and how these discourses support and maintain conditions of inequality, oppression and exploitation. Their main focus is often upon language or the "tacit rules that regulate what can and what cannot be said , who can speak with the blessings of authority and who must listen, whose social constructions are valid and whose feelings are erroneous and unimportant" (Kinchelow and McLaren 2000:284).
- Critical theory researchers are often interested in praxis, or the relationships between thought and action, theory and practice. As such some incorporate dialogue and critical reflection as part of the research process in an effort to reveal unexamined assumptions among participants and ways in which people may be accepting explanations

of the dominant cultural group that serve to oppress. This process "enables people to challenge learned restrictions, compulsions or dictates of habit" (Higgs, 2001:49) and can change a way to changing current relationships or structures.

4.3.4 Post-modern paradigm.

The paradigm of inquiry that is informed by post-modern thought is variably referred to as a post-modern, post-structural, post-colonial and post-fordist, among others These traditions can be distinguished from each other and yet share similar perspectives or philosophies and are used, therefore interchangeably (Glesne and Pushkin, 2011:12). According to Prasad (2005:211), researchers within these traditions offer a critical viewpoint of the entire fabric of modern western thinking from both within and outside it. He adds that for each, the term 'post' is more than a marker of time and it refers to a break with the past and to "the regeneration and reconstellation of new ideas and social practices" (Prasad, 2005:213).

Glesne and Pushkin (2011:13) argues that the central purpose of these various 'post' traditions can be described as that of deconstruction. Flax (1990:41) writes that;

> Post-modern discourses are all deconstructive in that they seek to distance us from and make us skeptical about beliefs concerning truth, knowledge, power, the self, and languages that are often taken for granted within and serve as legitimation for contemporary Western culture.

Post-modernism, post-structuralism and post-colonialism challenge virtually every aspect of Western philosophy and science that has developed since the period of enlightment (Glesne and Pushkin, 2011:13).

4.4 The phenomenological paradigm

The research approach in this project was proposed to be situated in the phenomenological paradigm. Henning et al(2004), Babbie and Mouton (2001)

refer to the interpretive research paradigm as an approach that seeks an understanding of the meanings that people give to their own social interactions thus an interpretation of the researched issue from the point of view of the person or group that forms the focal point of the research. Research within the interpretive paradigm aims to uncover how the interpretations and understandings of individuals or groups influence their intentions and actions through a more technical approach by means of measuring instruments.

This leads to a mutual understanding and consensus between different groups and can provide practical knowledge. Therefore the interpretive paradigm emphasises that any action can be explained in terms of interacting factors, events and processes; that it is difficult to attain objectivity and make broad generalisations when individual systems of meaning are involved and that reality should be studied holistically, as the world consists of multi-faceted realities. Interpretive research is therefore concerned with the descriptive analysis and understanding of knowledge systems and the way in which they are constructed to create meaning. Context sensitivity is therefore of utmost importance within this paradigm. Therefore qualitative methodology in investigation appears to be the logical choice when working within this paradigm (Henning, 2004).

4.4.1 History and origins

The history and origins of the phenomelogical paradigm can be traced back to the First World War and the ideological crisis of the time. Europe lay in ruins at the end of World War One (1914-1918). Eagleton (1983:54) captures the situation vividly;

> The social order of European capitalism had been shaken to its roots by the carnage of the war and its turbulent aftermath. The ideologies on which that order had customarily depended; the cultural values by which it ruled were also deep turmoil. Science seemed to have dwindled to a sterile positivism, a myopic obsession with the categorizing of facts; philosophy appeared torn between such positivism on the

one hand, and an indefensible subjectivism on the other; forms of relativism and irrationalism were rampart, and art reflected this bewildering loss of bearings.

In the context of this ideological crisis, the German philosopher, Edmund Husserl (1859-1938), 'sought to develop a new philosophical method which would lend absolute certainty to a disintegrating civilization' (Eagleton, 1983:54). Although the origins of phenomenology can be traced back to Kant and Hegel, Vandenberg (1997:11) regards Husserl as 'the fountainhead of phenomenology in the twentieth century'.

Husserl rejected the belief that objects in the external world exist dependently and that the information about objects is reliable. He argued that people can be certain about how things appear in, or present themselves to their consciousness (Eagleton, 1983, Fouche, 1993). To arrive at certainty, anything outside immediate experience must be ignored, and in this way the external world is reduced to the contents of personal consciousness. Realities are thus treated as pure 'phenomena' and the only absolute data from where to begin. Husserl named his philosophical method 'phenomenology', the science of pure 'phenomena' (Eagleton, 1983:55). The aim of phenomenology is the return to concrete, captured by the slogan 'Back to the things themselves!' (Eagleton, 1983:56; Krueger, 1988:28; Moustakas, 1994:26).

However, by 1970, phenomenology had not yet established itself as a variable alternative to the traditional natural scientific approach in psychological research (Stones, 1988:141). The reason according to Giorgi (as cited in Stones), was that phenomenological praxis, a systematic and sustained way, had not yet been developed (Shwandt,1997). In this regard, Lippitz (1997:69) remarked that after phenomenology flourished 'during the first twenty years after the second World War, this approach was forgotten for a while". However, in the 1970s phenomenological psychologists established a praxis, which is a methodological realisation of the phenomenological philosophical attitude (Stones, 1988).

4.4.2 Proponents of the phenomenological/Interpretive paradigm

Adherents of the phenomenological paradigm hold a view of the social world different from that of the positivists. Their anthological belief is that there is no objective social reality but instead multiple realities (Bailey, 2007:53). They argue that the 'inter-relationship of the investigator and what was being investigated was impossible to separate, and what existed in the social and human world was what we (investigators and lawyers) thought existed' (Smith 1983:7). The social world is not an entity in and of itself but is locally, temporally and historically situated, feud, context specific and shaped in conjunctions with the researcher (Guba & Lincoln, 1994:109). This approach sees people and their interpretations, perceptions, meanings, understandings as primary data sources (Mason, 2002:56).

This paradigm stresses the subjective aspects of human activity by focusing on the meaning rather than the measurement of social phenomenon (Smith, 1983:7).The research methods used under this approach are;

> An array of interpretative techniques which seek to describe, translate and otherwise come to terms with the meaning, not the frequency of certain, more or less naturally occurring phenomena in the social world (Van Maanen, 1983).

Scholars argue that phenomenology can support a study which uses interview method for example, where the aim is to explore people's individual and collective understandings, reasoning processes, social norms as Blaikie puts it thus;

> Interpretivists are concerned with understanding the social world people have produced and which they reproduce through their continuing activities. This everyday reality consists of meanings and interpretations given by the social actors to their actions, other people's actions, social situations, and natural and humanly created objects. In short, in order to negotiate their way around their world and make sense of it, social actors have to interpret their activities together, and it is these meanings, embedded in language that constitute their social reality (Blaike, 2000: 115).

An interpretive approach therefore not only sees people as a primary data source but seeks their perceptions (Mason, 2002:56). Knowledge is constructed not only by observable phenomenon, but also by description of people's intentions, beliefs, values, reasons, meaning making and self understanding. Phenomena and events are understood through mental processes of interpretation which are influenced by and interact with social contexts (Henning et al, 2004:30).

On the other hand, positivism asserts that knowledge and truth are questions of correspondence in that they relate to an external referent reality (Smith, 1983). This correspondence theory of truth stipulates that the source of truth is in reality; therefore, a statement is proved to be true if it agrees with an independently existing reality and is false if it does not. For example, if two or more statements regarding the same external referent reality compete with one another, then researchers must make a decision to accept one and reject the other, or even to reject both in favour of another alternative (Smith, 1983).

It further contends that empirical methods for the process of verification should be employed because these methods are objective and do not influence what is being investigated. In the process of investigation, researchers should express themselves in value-neutral, scientific language to move beyond ordinary and subjective descriptions, thereby resulting in universal and accurate statements and laws about the world. In doing so, knowledge attained about the independent reality can be accepted by reasonable people (Smith, 1983). In the positivistic tradition, proper applications of empirical methods are essential to producing knowledge (Babbie and Mouton, 2001; Walker & Evers, 1999).

4.4.3 Assumptions of the phenomenological/interpretive paradigm

The fundamental assumption of this paradigm is that most of our knowledge is gained, or at least filtered through social constructions such as language, consciousness, shared meanings, documents and other artefacts. Interpretive

research attempts to understand phenomena through the meanings that people assign to them (Trauth, 2001:219).

Garrick (1999:149) suggests a number of fundamental assumptions of the interpretive paradigm. Firstly, individuals are not considered to be passive vehicles in social, political and historical affairs, but have certain inner capabilities which can allow for individual judgements, perceptions and decision-making autonomy (agency);

- The belief that any event or action is explainable in terms of multiple interacting factors, events and processes.
- An acceptance of the extreme difficulty in attaining complete objectivity, especially in observing human subjects who confuse and make sense of events based on their individual system of meaning.
- The view that the aim of inquiry is to develop an understanding of individual cases, rather than universal laws or predictive generations.
- The view that the world is made up of multifaceted realities that are best studied as a whole, recognising the significance of the context in which the experience occurs.
- Lastly, the recognition that inquiry is always value laden and that such values inevitably influence the framing, focusing and conducting of research.

The interpretive paradigm denies the existence of an objective reality independent of the frame of reference of the observer. Rather, reality is mind dependent and influenced by the process of observation (Henning et al, 2004).

In comparison, the assumptions reflected in positivistic research are based on the notion of a mind-independent reality (Popkewitz, 1980). Researchers employing positivistic research inherently recognize the following primary assumptions as intrinsic characteristics of the positivistic mode of inquiry (Wardlow, 1989). According to this scholar the physical world and social events are analogous in that researchers can study social phenomena as they

do physical phenomena. Theory is universal and sets of principles and inferences can describe human behaviour and phenomena across individuals and settings. In examining social events, researchers adhere to subject-object dualism in that they stand apart from their research subjects and treat them as having an independent existence. There is a need to formalise knowledge using theories and variables that are operationally distinct from each other and defined accordingly. Lastly, hypotheses about principles of theories are tested by the quantification of observations and by the use of statistical analyses (Wardlow, 1989:3).

A number of limitations of the positivism when compared to the phenomenological approach have been highlighted. Blind faith in the positivistic approach can potentially jeopardize the soundness of research in the social sciences. First, influential contextual factors in organizations can be ignored by methods aiming to draw causal inferences through examining only phenomena that are readily observable (Kim, 2003). Another inherent limitation is that "truth" in the positivistic tradition is often stated probabilistically. To this extent, these researchers can seldom achieve their own goals of having specific truth, but only probabilistic inferences of truth in which theory never becomes regarded as fact (Kim, 2003).

A final limitation lies in the inherent constraint of the positivistic method in measuring phenomena that are by their very nature subjective. For example, a positivistic analysis of human behaviours in organizations may assign quantitative values to represent specific actions that are to serve as a measurement of the construct of interest. However, differences in a priori ratter opinion of such constructs can lead to differing results and measurement error (Kim, 2003).

In this study, the researcher has used the phenomenological research paradigm because of its emphasis on the subjective aspects of human activity and its denial of the existence of an objective reality independent of the frame of reference of the observer.

4.5 Qualitative and Quantitative research methods

Various constructs have been developed in order to categorise and systematise the various approaches and strategies. Neimeyer and Resnikoff (1982) suggest that methodological approaches differ in three dimensions: (a) context, (b) design and (c) epistemological assumptions. Contexts refer to whether the research is conducted in the laboratory or in a natural setting. Design refers to whether the study involves the control and manipulation of variables or whether it is correlation in nature. Differing epistemological assumptions underlie distinctions claimed between qualitative and quantitative research (Neimeyer and Resnikoff, 1982:76). Qualitative and quantitative methods are the two methodological approaches to conducting research and these have both been employed by the researcher in this particular study.

4.5.1 Qualitative research methods

Qualitative research can be defined broadly as; 'any kind of research that produces findings not arrived at by means of statistical procedures or other means of quantification' (Strauss and Corbin, 1990:17). Qualitative research uses a naturalistic approach that seeks to understand phenomena in context-specific settings, such as the real world setting where the researcher does not attempt to manipulate the phenomenon of interest (Patton, 2002:39).

Unlike quantitative researchers who seek casual determination, prediction and generalisation of findings, qualitative researchers seek instead illumination, understanding, and extrapolation to similar situations (Hoepfl, 1997). Qualitative methods are committed to understanding subjectivity. They assume that;

> An appreciation of the subjective reality enables a comprehension of human behaviour in greater depth than is possible from the study of objective and qualitative variables alone (Neimeyer & Resnikoff, 1982:76).

Qualitative paradigms have as their major premise the assumption that people create individual meaning structures which determine and explain their behaviour, and the major focus of a researcher should be on understanding or illuminating those meanings (Neimeyer & Resnikoff, 1982). According to Leedy (1997), qualitative researchers believe that the researcher's ability to interpret and make sense of what he or she sees is critical for understanding any social phenomenon. In this sense, the researcher is an instrument in much the same way that an oscilloscope, sociogram or rating scale is an instrument (Leedy, 1997:135). Furthermore, some qualitative researchers believe that there isn't necessarily a single, ultimate truth to be discovered. Instead, there may be multiple perspectives held by different individuals with each of these perspectives having equal validity, or truth (Creswell, 2007).

Denzin and Lincoln (2005) while defining qualitative research conveys its ever-changing nature from social construction, to interpretivist, and on to social justice;

> Qualitative research is a situated activity that locates the observer in the world. It consists of a set of interpretive, material practices that make the world visible. These practices transform the world. They turn the world into a series of representations, including field notes, interviews, conversations, photographs, recordings and memos to the self. At this level, qualitative research involves an interpretive, naturalistic approach to the world. This means that qualitative researchers study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or interpret, phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005:3).

Creswell (2007:36) outlines the major characteristics of qualitative research as suggested by various scholars. These characteristics are as follows; **(a) Natural setting.** Qualitative researchers tend to collect data in the field at the site where participants' experience the issue or problem under study. They do not bring individuals into a lab, nor do they typically send out instruments for individuals to complete (LeCompte & Schensul, 1999; Marshall & Rossman,

2006; Hatch 2002). (**b**) **The researcher as key instrument.** The qualitative researchers collect data themselves through examining documents, observing behaviour, and interviewing participants (Hatch, 2002). (**c**) **The Multiple sources of data.** Qualitative researchers typically gather multiple forms of data, such as interviews, observations and documents, rather than rely on a single data source (LeComte & Schensul, 1999; Marshall & Rossman, 2006).

(**d**) **Inductive data analysis.** Qualitative researchers build their patterns, categories and themes from the 'bottom –up', by organising the data into increasingly more abstract units of information (LeComte & Schensul, 1999; Marshall & Rossman 2006; Hatch, 2002). (**e**) **Participants meanings.** In the entire qualitative research process, the researchers keep a focus on learning the meaning that the participants hold about the problem or issue, not the meaning that the researchers bring to the research or writes from the literature (LeComte & Schensul, 1999; Marshall & Rossman 2006). (**f**) **Emergent design.** The research process for qualitative researchers is emergent. This means that the initial plan for research cannot be tightly prescribed, and that all phases of the process may change or shift after the researchers enter the field and begin to collect data (Marshall & Rossman, 2006; Hatch, 2002).

(**g**) **Interpretive inquiry.** Qualitative research is a form of inquiry in which researchers make an interpretation of what they see, hear and understand. The researchers' interpretations cannot be separated from their own background, history, context and prior understandings (Marshall & Rossman, 2006). (**h**) **Holistic account.** Qualitative researchers try to develop a complex picture of the problem or issue under study. This involves reporting multiple perspectives, identifying the many factors involved in a situation, and generally sketching the larger picture that emerges (Marshall & Rossman, 2006; Hatch, 2002). (**i**) **Theoretical lens.** Qualitative researchers often use lens to view their studies such as the concept of culture, central to ethnography, or gendered racial or class differences from theoretical orientations (Marshall & Rossman, 2006; Hatch, 2002).

4.5.2 Examples of Qualitative methods

According to Glesne (2011) researchers differentiate among different types of the qualitative inquiry, but approaches are multiple and distinctions are not clear cut. Examples of the different types of qualitative inquiry include auto-ethnography, case study, conversation analysis, cognitive anthropology, critical ethnography, discourse analysis, educational connoisseurship, ethnography, ethno-methodology, ethno-science, grounded theory, hermeneutics, heuristic inquiry, life history, narrative analysis, oral history, phenomenology, symbolic interactionism, and several other possibilities. Each approach carries with it philosophical assumptions, emphasizes certain foci, is associated with particular disciplines and tends to rely upon selected methods (Glesne, 2011:16-17).

In this study, the researcher has employed the ethnographic approach. Ethnography can be described as the data of cultural anthropology that is derived from the direct observation of behaviour in a particular society (Babbie and Mouton, 2001:279). Ethnographers lay great emphasis on a researcher's first hand experience of a setting and on observational methods. Emphasis is on the use of cultural settings as data sources, and argues that the best way of generating knowledge of these is for the researcher to get right inside of them (Mason, 2002:54).

4.5.3 Quantitative research

To illustrate the meaning of quantitative research for its use of explaining social problems, Bogdan and Biklen (1998) note;

> Charts and graphs illustrate the research, and commentators employ words such as 'variables', 'populations' and 'result' as part of their daily vocabulary …even if we do not know just what all of the terms mean…but we know that this is part of the process of doing research. Research, then as it comes to be known publicly, is a synonym for qualitative research (Bogdan and Biklen, 1998:4).

According to Patton (2002:14) in his/her attempts the quantitative researcher's methods involve the use of standardised measures so that the varying perspectives and experiences of people can be fit into a limited number of predetermined response categories to which numbers are assigned. In addition, Neimeyer and Resnikoff (1982:76) argue that objectivity is primary in quantitative research and it is a general belief that the objective study of observable variables is adequate to produce knowledge about the structure of reality.

In principle, quantitative research is theory driven. The research literature is scanned for relevant material and the expected consequences of a particular theory are logically deduced. Detailed hypothesis are derived, involving variables which have been precisely operationally defined. Appropriate statistical analysis are specified at the outset, and the number of participants required is determined by an estimate of numbers necessary to achieve statistically significant findings at an acceptable level of statistical power (Neimeyer & Resnikoff, 1982:76-77).

According to Golafshani (2003:598) quantitative research "…supported by the positivist or scientific paradigm, leads us to regard the world as made up of observable, measurable facts" (Glesne & Peshkin, 1992:6-7) though their assumption that "social facts have an objective reality" and "variables can…be identified and relationships measured" is problematic. The notion of 'measuring' means to understand, say, educational issues by performing an operation called 'measurement' on the physical world by the observer. Stevens (1946) as cited in Golafshani (2003:598) defines measurement as the assignment of numerals to objects or events according to rules. From these definitions, one may perceive measurement as necessarily objective, quantitative and statistically relevant. Simply put, measurement can be about numbers, objective hard data (Golafshani, 2003: 598). Below is a table to illustrate the major differences between the two approaches.

4.5.4 Quantitative Research versus Qualitative Research (Neuman, 2011:174)

Quantitative Research	Qualitative Research
Researchers test hypotheses that are stated at the beginning	Researchers capture and discover meaning once they become immersed in the data
Concepts are in the form of distinct variables.	Concepts are in the form of themes, motifs, generalizations and taxonomies.
Measures are systematically created before data collection and are standardized.	Measures are created in an ad hoc manner and are often specific to the individual setting or researcher.
Data are in the form of numbers from precise measurement.	Data are in the form of words and images from documents, observations and transcripts.
Theory is largely casual and deductive.	Theory can be casual or non-casual and is often non inductive.
Procedures are standard, and replication is frequent.	Research procedures are particular, and replication is very rare.
Analysis proceeds by using statistics, tables, or charts and discussing how what they show relates to hypothesis.	Analysis proceeds by extracting themes or generalizations from evidence and organizing data to present a coherent consistent picture

The researcher has employed both the qualitative and quantitative research methods in this particular study. Glesne and Pushkin (2011:14) argues that combining qualitative methods and quantitative methods does not hinder the situation of a researcher within a particular paradigm of research that tend to match the way of viewing the world. However, the qualitative approach has been used as the major informant of this study. The quantitative approach, on the other hand, has been used to supplement the various qualitative methods that have been used in this study.

4.6 Qualitative Data Collection Methods

Data collection is an essential component to conducting research and it is a complicated and hard task. On this regard, O'Leary (2004) remarks;

> Collecting credible data is a tough task, and it is worth remembering that one method of data collection is not inherently better than another. Therefore what data collection method to use would depend upon the research goals and the

advantages and disadvantages of each method (O'Leary, 2004: 150).

Data collection can be derived from a number of methods which include interviews, focus groups, telephone interviews; field notes, taped social interaction or questionnaires (Heaton, 2004:37). This section will discuss the three major data collection methods that have been used in this particular study. These include semi-structured interviews, observation and voice recordings of naturally occurring conversations.

4.6.1 Interviews

Interviewing is a way to collect data as well as to gain knowledge from individuals. Kvale (1996: 14) regarded interviews as;

> An interchange of views between two or more people on a topic of mutual interest, sees the centrality of human interaction for knowledge production, and emphasizes the social situatedness of research data.

Interviews are ways for participants to get involved and talk about their views. In addition, the interviewees are able to discuss their perception and interpretation in regards to a given situation. It is their expression from their point of view. Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2000:267) explain that;

> The interview is not simply concerned with collecting data about life: it is part of life itself, its human embeddedness is inescapable.

Interviews may give a representative picture and provide a basis for interpretation. It also usually provides more complete data as the interviewer ensures all questions are answered and can include the interviewer's observations in terms of the quality of the interview and characteristics of respondents not necessarily included in the interview schedule (Babbie & Mouton, 2001). Scheduling maximizes neutrality in approach and consistency in findings, although Babbie and Mouton (2001) warns that in qualitative

research the researcher should guard against too much structure. The continuous nature of qualitative interviewing means that it is continually revised and flexible as themes arise from the analysis. The qualitative interview utilises three types of questions, including main questions that begin and guide the discussion, probes to clarify answers or ask for further examples and follow-up questions that further investigates the implications of answers to the main questions (Gubrium & Holstein, 2002). Gay (1987) proposes the use of semi-structured questions in interviews, involving structured questions followed by the clarification of the open-ended answers that follows. Therefore a combination of objectivity and depth can be obtained.

Interviews also yield in-depth data not possible through a questionnaire and reasons for particular responses can be determined. It is also more flexible than a questionnaire (Babbie & Mouton, 2001; Gay, 1987), which makes it ideal for obtaining qualitative data. It does, however, have its disadvantages, such as possible bias towards the interviewer and therefore requiring more communication and interpersonal skills from the interviewer. Babbie and Mouton (2001) suggest that the interviewer should be able to speak the home language of the respondent, match the ethnic grouping, age and sex categories of the respondent and be from the same area. As there was only one interviewer in the research project, not all of this was possible, but as the researcher was fluent in the dominant languages spoken within the community, was part of and knew culture and lived in this community, most of these requirements were met. The sample size for interviews is usually smaller than that for questionnaires, as was the case in this research project.

There are three major types of interviews and these include structured interviews, semi-structured interviews and unstructured interviews. For the purposes of this study, the researcher will discuss semi-structured interviews which have been used as one of the data collection method.

4.6.2 Semi-structured Interviews

Semi-structured interviews in this study were conducted by the researcher. The interviews targeted participants within the average age range of 15-50 years. This was done because this particular age group is actively involved in code-switching in their everyday conversations. Interviews involved general questions on various subject matters ranging from politics, social life, and human rights among others to capture the different code-switching patterns employed by speakers in this community. Questions were also asked regarding language use to elicit the attitudes and views of participants regarding this phenomenon.

Semi-structured interviews are non-standardized and are frequently used in qualitative analysis. The interviewer does not do the research to test a specific hypothesis (David, & Sutton, 2004:87). The researcher had a list of key themes, issues, and questions to be covered. In these interviews the order of the questions could be changed depending on the direction of the interview. An interview guide was also used, but additional questions were asked. Corbetta (2003:270) explains semi-structured interviews as follows;

> The order in which the various topics are dealt with and the wording of the questions are left to the interviewer's discretion. Within each topic, the interviewer is free to conduct the conversation as he thinks fit, to ask the questions he deems appropriate in the words he considers best, to give explanation and ask for clarification if the answer is not clear, to prompt the respondent to elucidate further if necessary, and to establish his own style of conversation.

Additional questions can be asked and some may be questions that have not been anticipated in the beginning of the interview. Note taking or tape recording documents the interview. This type of interview gives the researcher opportunities to probe for views and opinions of the interviewee. Probing is a way for the interview to explore new paths which were not initially considered (Gray, 2004:217). Having " … key themes and sub-

questions in advance lies in giving the researcher a sense of order from which to draw questions from unplanned encounters" (David, & Sutton, 2004:87).

Advantages

The researcher conducting semi-structured interviews is freer than the one conducting a structured interview (Kajornboon, 2004:75) in which the interviewer does not have to adhere to a detailed interview guide. Patton (2002:343) recommends to;

> Explore, probe, and ask questions that will elucidate and illuminate that particular subject … to build a conversation within a particular subject area, to word questions spontaneously, and to establish a conversational style but with the focus on a particular subject that has been predetermined.

The strengths of semi-structured interviews are that the researcher can prompt and probe deeper into the given situation. Hence, with this type of interview the interviewers are able to probe or asked more detailed questions of respondents' situations and not adhere only to the interview guide. In addition, the researcher can explain or rephrase the questions if respondents are unclear about the questions.

Disadvantages

The drawbacks are that inexperienced interviewers may not be able to ask prompt questions. If this is the case, some relevant data may not be gathered. In addition, inexperienced interviewers may not probe into a situation.

4.6.3 Interview methods

There are different methods of conducting interviews and this includes the use of personal interviews, telephonic interviews and self-administered survey (Fox and Bayat, 2007; Welman et al, 2005). For the purposes of this study, focus will be invested on personal interviews or face to face interviews. Interviews were conducted by the researcher on a one to one basis. In these

interviews, the interviewer worked directly with the respondents as opposed to telephone interviews and other methods (Fox and Bayat, 2007:100).

Gubrium and Holstein (2002) promote the use of face-to-face interviews, as it is more flexible in terms of question content and target population, usually delivers higher response rates, is more appropriate when long interviews with complex questions are conducted and allows unobtrusive interviewer observations. Face-to-face interviews may deliver more accurate responses as a result of naturalness within the context. It also increases the likelihood of self-generated and thoughtful answers and creates a more equal distribution of power between the interviewer and interviewee. Marginalised groups tend to relate better in face-to-face interviews. It was therefore decided that individual face-to-face interviews would be best suited to the total research design.

Fox and Bayat (2007:100) outline the advantages and disadvantages of using personal interviews over other methods as follows;

Advantages of personal interviews
- The opportunity for feedback to the respondents is a distinct advantage.
- There is an opportunity to reassure the respondent should he or reluctant and the interviewer can also clarify certain instructions or questions.
- The interviewer has the opportunity of probing the answer by asking the respondent to clarify or expand on a certain response.
- The interviewer can supplement answers by recording her or his own observation for example; there is no need to ask respondents' gender or the time of day or where the interview took place.
- The interview can last longer and be more complex than in the case of other survey techniques. Despite this, the researcher is assured that the responses are actually provided by the relative person and that no questions are skipped.

- Failure to answer a question (non response) is far less likely to occur in personal interviews than in telephone or self-administered survey.
- Visual aids can be used.

Disadvantages

- Personal interviews can be costly
- Personal interviews provide significant scope for interview error or bias when the interviewer's behaviour, appearance or actions in some way influence the respondents to such an extent that they provide an inaccurate answer.
- Whether it is a tone of voice, the way a question is rephrased when clarified or the gender or appearance of the interviewer, all have been shown to potentially influence a respondent's answers.

4.6.4 Voice Recordings

The recording of naturally occurring conversations is one of the data collection methods that were used in this particular study. According to Bucher et al (1956) voice recordings have become an important technical aid in social research. Socio-linguists, public opinion, specialists, psychiatrists, clinical psychologists, social workers and family counsellors have reported the use of electronic recording devices in their work. Although the use of recorders was originally confined to the clinical and laboratory situation, they are now being employed with increasing frequency in field research (Bucher et al, 1956:359).

Bucher et al (1956:359) suggests an advantage of audio voice recordings over various forms of note taking and memory construction in the recording of field data. He argues that apart from the operational problems of obtaining audibility and voice fidelity, no verbal productions are lost in audio recordings. Furthermore, comparisons of audio recordings and written recordings indicate that remarkebly large amounts of material are lost in written ones (Bucher et al, 1956:359).

4.7 Sampling

According to Babbie and Mouton (2001:164) sampling in social research has been developed hand in hand with political polling. These scholars argue that this is the case because political polling is one of the few opportunities social researchers have to discover the accuracy of their estimates. Stratified random sampling which is one of the probability sampling techniques as opposed to non probability techniques has been employed in this particular study. This section will therefore firstly discuss probability sampling and provide its different types. Stratified random sampling will be examined in relation to this study and the advantages and disadvantages of this sampling technique outlined.

4.7.1 Probability and non probability sampling

Scholars have suggested two major types of sampling and these include probability and non-probability sampling (Babbie & Mouton, 2001; Fox & Bayat, 2007; Welman et al, 2005). Probability sampling involves the selection of a 'random sample' from a list containing the names of everyone in the population the researcher is interested in studying (Babbie & Mouton, 2001:164).In addition, Welman et al (2005) assert that in the case of probability sampling, it is possible to determine the probability that any element or member will be included in the sample while in non probability sampling elements which have a chance of being included have a probability that exceeds zero (Welman et al, 2005:56). Babbie and Mouton (2001) further assert that;

> The ultimate purpose of sampling is to select a set of elements from a population in such a way that descriptions of those elements accurately portray the parameters of the total population from which the elements are selected. Probability sampling enhances the likelihood of accomplishing this aim and also provides methods of estimating the degree of probable success…Random selection is key to this process whereby each element has an equal chance of selection independent of any other event in the selection process (Babbie & Mouton, 2001:175).

Welman et al (2005) suggest three advantages of probability sampling as follows;

- Probability sampling enables researchers to indicate the probability with which the sample results deviate in differing degrees from the corresponding population values.
- Unlike non-probability sampling, probability sampling enables researchers to estimate sampling error.
- Probability sampling is frequently used for reasons of convenience and economy.

Non-probability sampling is the type of sampling in social research often conducted in situations where the researcher cannot select the kinds of probability samples used in large scale surveys (Babbie & Mouton, 2001:164).

Welman et al (2005) distinguishes between the different types of probability and non probability sampling. Examples of probability samples are simple random samples, stratified random samples, systematic samples, cluster samples. On the other hand examples of non-probability samples include accidental or incidental samples, quota samples, snowball samples, self selection sample and convenience samples (Welman et al, 2005:56). Stratified random sampling which has been employed in this study will be discussed in the following section.

4.7.2 Stratified random sampling

Stratified random sampling was used in this study. In this type of sampling, a population that is very heterogeneous (dissimilar) regarding the phenomenon being studied is first divided into a number of natural and non-overlapping groups or strata that are more or less homogeneous regarding the phenomenon being studied. A number of elements are then drawn randomly from each group (Fox and Bayat, 2007:55). The INK population was categorised into different sample groups. Participants were drawn and data was collected from the working class, the religious groups, social gatherings and discussions, political interactions and family discussions. The researcher

targeted speakers within the average age of 13 and 50 since these are actively involved in IsiZulu-English code-switching in the INK community. The researcher in the selection of participants was conscious of gender balance. Welman et al (2005:60) assert that in order to draw a representative random sample, the following two aspects must be kept in mind. Firstly, the researcher should identify the various strata according to one or more variables. Secondly, the researcher should draw a random sample from each separate stratum.

4.7.3 Advantages of a stratified random sample

i) In a random sample from a normal population that is stratified in terms of gender, the probability of a sample consisting of members of one gender only is zero (Welman et al, 2005; Fox & Bayat, 2007).

ii) In order to ensure that important strata are represented in the sample, stratified random sampling requires a smaller sample involving less time and money than simple random sampling (Welman et al, 2005; Fox & Bayat, 2007).

4.7.4 Sample size

According to Fox and Bayat (2007), the size of a sample will depend on a variety of practical considerations, such as the size of the population. In addition, the homogeneity of the population and the degree of reliability required in the investigation, as well as the method of sampling, will affect the size (Fox and Bayat, 2007:61).

In Milroy (1987:21), it is stated that 'large samples tend not to be as necessary for linguistic research as for other research studies. In support of this statement, Milroy (1987:27) cites Sankoff;

> The literature as well as our own experience, would suggest that even for quite complex communities, samples of more than about 150 individuals tend to be redundant, bringing increasing data handling problems with diminishing analytical returns. It is crucial however that the sample be

well chosen and representative of all social subsections about which one wishes to generalise.

4.8 Ethical Issues

In conducting this study, ethical issues were one of the main concerns. There are few ethical considerations to which the researcher paid attention to. Firstly was the informed consent. The researcher made every effort to obtain the necessary permission from the participants after thoroughly and truthfully informing them about the purpose of the investigation. Confidentiality was also assured. The participants were assured of their right of privacy and were further informed that their identity would always remain anonymous (Welman et al, 2005). The researcher made sure that respondents were not harmed or damaged in any way by the research. It was also deemed important that interviews were not used as "a devious means of selling something to the respondent" (Gray, 2004:235).

Another important aspect was the involvement of the researcher. The researcher guarded against the manipulation of respondents. If respondents were uneasy and become upset, the interview could be cancelled or postponed. In confirmation, Fontana and Frey (1994) assert that researchers should not use unethical tactics and techniques of interviewing. Lastly, it was considered that when an interview has been completed and is considered a good interview, the respondents ought to know more about themselves and their situation. However, the researcher must remember that the purpose of research is to collect data and not to change the respondents or their opinions (Gray, 2004: 235). These ethical issues were specified in the Informed Consent Form in which the participants in this study were requested to sign in order to declare their consent.

4.9 Conclusion

Chapter four has discussed the methodological considerations on which this study has been based. This includes an outline of the four major research paradigms and a detailed discussion of the phenomenological research

paradigm. The quantitative and qualitative approaches which have both been used in this particular study have also been delineated. The various data collection methods that have been employed in this study have been discussed. These include semi-structured interviews, observation and recordings of naturally occurring conversations. The ethical considerations that guided the researcher throughout the study have also been outlined in detail. Chapter five provides an analysis of data based on Myers-Scotton's (1993b; 1998) Markedness Model of code-switching and Heller's (1992; 1995) Ideological-Political Model. In this chapter, the various functions of code-switching are outlined. The various social and cultural factors that motivate the phenomenon of code-switching are also discussed.

CHAPTER 5

5.0 DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter is a presentation and analysis of the data gathered through the various qualitative research methods employed in this study. The first section of this chapter is a presentation of data. This is followed by the analysis of code-switching data according to Myers-Scotton's (1993b; 1998) Markedness Model. Illustrations of the various instances of code-switching and the social and cultural functions of this language phenomenon are delineated. Lastly, the different social and cultural factors that trigger and motivate code-switching are presented and discussed in detail.

5.2 Data presentation

Data collection for this study involved three major stages. The first stage was the recording of naturally occurring conversations at different settings. This was followed by the administration of interviews in a sample of IsiZulu speakers. The recorded naturally occurring conversations were then transcribed and translated for analysis. In performing all these tasks, the researcher also observed the behaviour of participants to capture other non linguistic features involved during communication.

The occurrence of code-switching was noted in the speech of more than hundred IsiZulu-speaking people; between the average age of 15-40, educated and uneducated, male and female. The data were collected over a period of eight months at different places, formal occasions like meetings, informal occasions, conversations with friends and colleagues, discussions among different groups: school children, university students, workers, traders, etc. I was present in some conversations. For others, I provided the recording equipment, asked participants to record themselves, and then return the recorder with the conversation.

Participants were asked to speak freely and carry on normal conversations, to provide evidence of how they would normally speak in that context. Whether the researcher was present or not, the researcher made sure that detail of events that accompanied the recordings, such as the place, time, and who was present were obtained. The researcher also used an ipod portable MP3 player/recorder and a digital voice recorder. The sound quality provided by the recording devices was satisfactory for the current purposes, since phonetic analyses were not needed. Participants were asked to sign a Consent Form which briefly explained the topic of the investigation and details about confidentiality. However, a natural speech sample is difficult to obtain if speakers are being recorded. It is rare to find studies of this kind in which the researcher has no direct participation in the taping episodes. This is a problem that has been referred to by researchers as the "observer's paradox" (Labov, 1972:43).

The recording of naturally occurring conversations was followed by interviews that were conducted by the researcher. The interviews provided the information needed to make important connections between participant experiences and macro-level language patterns present in the context of IsiZulu speakers. They were interviewed in person rather than asked to write down their answers. This was a useful strategy since interaction with participants gives the researcher an opportunity to clarify responses, and keep the respondent from straying from the subject, a common shortcoming of open ended written questionnaires. Interviews were conducted in IsiZulu. Although all participants are bilingual, IsiZulu is their native language and the language of everyday life at INK. It would certainly have seemed strange to the researcher, and to the participants, to address them in English. Conducting interviews in IsiZulu also gave participants the opportunity to code-switch spontaneously, which added to the corpus of data drawn from the recorded, naturally occurring conversations.

The researcher documented participants' linguistic behaviour not only during the recorded conversations but also in different scenarios: at work, with

family and friends, with strangers on the street, and so forth. According to Labov (1972:43), casual observation of language use in everyday life is often the starting point of sociolinguistic studies. It can also be used to complement customary sociolinguistic interviews. In the case of sociolinguistic studies that focus on codes-witching, the emphasis on language use in everyday life becomes paramount because language alternation is in its essence a spontaneous conversational activity. Cross-situational observation of speakers' patterns of language use allows us to abstract individual idiosyncrasies, and how sets of linguistic variables group together to signal different kinds of identities (Podesva & Campbell-Kibler, 2002).

Transcription of the data to be analyzed was a meticulous and time consuming process. In most of the conversations there was no background noise and participant voices were loud and clear. Although the technology employed in recording these conversations is not ideal for phonological analysis, it is evident that when speakers switched languages they were faithful to English pronunciation. Interviews were transcribed and recurring themes were identified. The interviews served to check findings generated from participant observation.

Corpus analysis tools used for the data contained in the corpus of this study are provided by Word Smith Tools version six, a windows-based suit of programs that offers six tools for the lexical analysis of texts; namely wordlist; concord; keywords; splitter; text converter and dual text aligner (Kruger, 2000:73). The wordlist function were applied to a corpus of approximately 21 000 words resulting in isolating each token and providing a list of all the tokens that are used in the corpus and their frequency. However, the researcher focused on the identification, analysis and the presentation of adoptives, loan shifts, code-switches and code-mixes available in the corpus of this particular study.

5.3 The socio-cultural functions of code-switching

This section of the chapter presents the analysis of code-switching data according to Myers-Scotton's (1993b; 1998) Markedness Model. Illustrations of the various instances of code-switching and a presentation of the social and cultural functions of this language phenomenon are presented. The different types of code-switching under discussion are as follows; (i) code-switching as a marked choice, (ii) code-switching as an unmarked choice (iii) code-switching as a sequential unmarked choice and (iv) code-switching as an explanatory choice.

5.3.1 Code-switching as a marked choice

When code-switching occurs as a marked choice, speakers simply do not wish to identify themselves with the expected Rights & Obligations set and this usually occurs in conventionalized interactions. This maxim directs speakers to put aside presumptions that are based on societal norms for certain circumstances (Myers-Scotton, 1993a). Marked choices, according to Myers-Scotton (cited in Pütz, 1992:419), may be used to express a wide range of emotions or "… in cases in which the speaker wishes to dis-identify with the unmarked rights and obligations set for an interaction and negotiate a change in the social distance holding between other participants and him/her." Speakers may also engage in this form of code-switching to exclude other ethnic groups by switching to a language that such groups cannot comprehend. Code-switching as a marked choice among IsiZulu speakers at INK are establish ed to perform the following functions; for emphasis, expansion, to reprimand and for direct quotations. To illustrate these functions, below is a conversation between three IsiZulu speakers representing different political organizations. The setting is formal.

Example 1

> **SPEAKER 3**: *Asiqale lana ngokuthi ngikhulume nomengameli wami* [Let us begin here as I am talking to my president] *U-comrade Sidumo okokuqala* [Comrade Sidumo, firstly] **he remains my comrade, he remains my president**. *Empeleni kuzokhumbuleka ukuthi i-**COSATU** izimele ne-ANC izimele kanye*

ne-SACP izimele kodwa-ke sonke sihlanganiswa yilolu mbimbi lwethu lokuthi sifuna ukwenza impilo engcono kubantu baseNingizimu-Afrika lento esiyibiza ngokuthi yi-[The truth is that it will be remembered that COSATU is independent and ANC is independent as well SACP is independent but what brings us together is the unity to make a better life to the people of South Africa, what we call] *National Democratic Revolution. Kulokhu esingathi mhlawumbe asiboni ngaso linye indlela mhlawumbe i-*[In what maybe I can say we don't see with the same eye is the way] **Civil society** *eqhube ngayo, lezi zinkulumo ezikhulunywe ngama-*[has conducted itself, these are talks that have been spoken by our] *alliance* **members** *ethu hhayi izinkulumo esizithathe emaphepheni. Lokhu engikhuluma ngakho ukuthi* [not what we have seen in papers. What I am talking about is that] **we are pursuing neoliberal policies that we have, you know, a ruling elite that has turned its back against the poor. This is what was said by our own comrade** *kwinkomfa ye-*[conference of] *civil society*, **that we are, that** *ku-ANC kukhona abantu ababizwa ngokuthi ngama* [in ANC there are some people called] **predator elite. When you say that to** *abantu obabizile kwinkomfa* [people that you have called to the conference], **what are you saying about your own friends** *oku-*[that you are in] *alliance* *nabo* [with]. **These are things that we need to discuss. But** *emva kwalokho besesithi* [after that we say] **that's why** *sikulesi simo esikuso manje. Lesi simo esikuso sifuna ukuthi inyunyana ne-*[we are in a situation that we find ourselves in now. The situation that we are in now needs the unions and] *civil society* *baqine babeyimbumba ukuze balungise lesi simo* [strong and become a united front in order to solve this situation]. **What are you saying? Are you saying you are now distancing yourself from the alliance? Are you saying you have found better partners now rather than the ANC.? These are issues that I think we need to discuss. These are very important issues that talks to the relationship and to the alliance**. *Abanye bethu bazobona sengathi* [some of us will think that] **maybe** *i-COSATU* **has decided to define itself outside the alliance**.

In the above example, Speaker 3 uses code switching to emphasize a specific point. The speaker uses both the Zulu and English words to refer to the same concept. The statement, *'umengameli wami,* [my president] my president', basically means the same thing and is used interchangeably to achieve this purpose. In another instance to achieve the same function of emphasizing. Speaker 3 begins his sentence with IsiZulu and ends it with an English phrase, *'…ukwenza impilo engcono kubantu baseNingizimu Afrika lento esiyibiza ngokuthi*

*yi-**National Democratic Revolution**.'* […making life better to the people of South Africa, what were refer to as the National Democratic revolution] The speaker switches to English to emphasize his point that he expressed in IsiZulu.

In the above example code-switching also serves the function of expansion and to reprimand as illustrated below;

> *But emva kwalokho besesithi wena **that's why** sikulesi simo esikuso manje. Lesi simo esikuso sifuna ukuthi inyunyana ne-**civil society** sifuna ukuthi baqine babe yimbumba ukuze balungise lesi simo esikuso.* [But after that you say that that's why we are in such a situation now. We want the unions and civil society to unite and be strong so that we can solve this situation] **What are you saying? Are you saying you are now distancing yourself from the alliance**?'

The speaker code-switches to English in an attempt to expand on his argument and to express his anger sentiments. He uses English questions to achieve both these functions.

Code-switching is also used in direct quotations. The speaker resorts to code-switching in such cases to communicate the exact message and to produce the same linguistic effects that the message was intended. An example of such a case can be illustrated as follows,

> *Lokhu engikhuluma ngakho ukuthi* [what I am talking about is that] **we are persuing neoliberal policies that we have, you know ruling elite that has turned its back against the poor. This is what was said by our own comrade kunkomfa** *ye-* [at the conference of the] *civil society,* **that we are, that** *ku-ANC kukhona abantu ababizwa ngokuthi ngama* [within the ANC there are some people who are called the] **predator elite…**

In an attempt to give an interpretation to a message, some essential components of the message are lost as well as the intended effects by the speaker to the listener.

Code-switching as a marked choice is also used to gain control over an argument, to gain authority and as a means of self expression. Below is an example obtained from a conversation between IsiZulu speakers at a road block. The presence of a traffic police officer in office renders the situation formal and adds tension to the situation as well.

Example 2

> SPEAKER 2: *Nanso-ke i-**taxi** iyahamba, siyagibela-ke thina esiyibona i-**right**, singayibona ngani-ke thina ukuthi yi-**wrong taxi** ngoba ngeke siyibone, kusho ukuthi i-*[Here comes a taxi, we get into it because we see it as a right taxi, how then do we see that its a wrong taxi, it means that its just] **hard luck**. *Uyabona uma ungumshayeli, akekho umshayeli o-**perfect** akekho umuntu ongalenzi iphutha uma eshayela* [You see if you are a driver, there is no perfect driver, everyone makes mistakes when driving], **everyone makes a mistake**. *Yebo phela uma uthi uzimele laphaya ushaywe yitekisi uzothini? Ngubani o-**wrong**-o, ufe wena umuntu omi lapha eceleni, bese uthi ngu-**driver** o-**wrong**-o, **so**-ke **that's a part of life** yimpilo ephilwa lapha emgwaqweni uma ngabe ungumshayeli uzokwazi ukuthi yi-**risk** yethu le ndaba yasemgwaqweni. Ungathi wena u-**righ**t ushayiswe ngomunye umuntu sife sonke esiphakathi.* [Yes if you are just standing there and a taxi comes and hits you, can you say it's the driver who is wrong, so that's part of life, and that how people live on the road. If you are a driver you will know it's a risk to be on the road. You can be right and a car comes and hits ours and we all die] **So who is to blame for that?** *Ngulowa* [Is it the] driver.
> SPEAKER 1: *Yebo ngoba uyobe e-**wrong**-o* [Yes because he will be wrong].
> SPEAKER 2: If *kwenzeka nje uma ngabe ufa, uyofa nje ngeke ube ulokhu ukhuluma izinto eziningi* [it happens that you die now, you will die. You can't be saying a lot of things].
> SPEAKER 1: *Kodwa phela uma ngabe efika amaphoyisa ayom-**charger** o-**wrong**-o lapho ayokwenza umsebenzi* [But when the police come they will lay a charge on the wrong doer, they will do their job].
> SPEAKER 2: *Kodwa senifile nina angithi? Senifile kodwa okusalayo, yebo kodwa sewuphumile umphefumulo* [But you will be dead already, the fact is that you will be dead, yes but the soul will be gone]
> SPEAKER 1: *Noma ningasakhulumi phela nina kodwa ayowenza umsebenzi wawo* [Even if we can't talk anymore but the police will do their job]
> SPEAKER 2: **My argument** *ukuthi umphefumulo sewuphumile* [is that the soul is gone]. **So** *abantu abashayela izimoto* [people

that drive cars] they **take risks** *emgwaqweni* [on the road], **they are drivers** *bayazi ukuthi vele kuyenziwa lokhu emgwaqweni hhayi ukuthi kuqala ngalo-driver* [they know that this happens on the road not that it starts with this] *ukuthi uthathe i-risk nawe uma ungumshayeli ubuzokwazi* [to take a risk, even you too would have known if you were a driver]

SPEAKER 1: *Kodwa uma usubanjiwe…..kodwa uma usubanjiwe!* [But if they catch you, if they catch you].

In the example above, the speakers are involved in a heated argument which has been triggered by the utterance of a white police officer. This police officer accused the people in the taxi of taking a ride in a wrong taxi. While speaker 1[S1] sympathizes with the police officer, Speaker 2 [S2] responds angrily to the attitude of the traffic police officer and employs code-switching in her speech to increase social distance through anger and annoyance over the conduct of a traffic officer who is not an IsiZulu speaker. Code-switching is also used to gain more control of the argument and authority over Speaker 1 [S1] and other speakers in the taxi who continuously sympathize with the traffic officer.

Code-switching as a marked choice is also used to signify group solidarity and identity. This can be illustrated in the following example of a preaching in one of the Christian Pentecostal church.

Example 3

PREACHER: *Waba njengesihambi kodwa wabe esazi ukuthi unguNkululunkulu amazwi okuphila akuye,* **Hallelujah**! [He became like a traveller but he knew that He is God the words of life are in him]

CONGREGATION: **Yes Lord….Amen**

PREACHER: *Pho siya kubani. Babengatotoswa, babengambambathwa emhlane, babengazami ukuthi mhlawumbe ba-organize ngendlela ezithize* [so whom are we going to. They were not spoiled, they were not being patted at the back] **never, never**! *Nawe ungabheki ukutotoswa, ungabheki ukuthi mhlawumbe hhayi **never** angeke* [You don't have to desire to be spoiled, you don't have to look and think that maybe, no never, it can't be], **alleluyah, amen**, *ngoba yini? Amazwi okuphila okungunaphakade akuJesu Kristu kuphela, uma usuka*

kuye uzoya kubani? [Why? The words of life are in Jesus Christ only, if you leave him, where will you go to?]

CONGREGATION: **Amen….Hallelujah…..Yes lord.**

PREACHER: *Into eyenzakalayo uba yinhlekisa kuleli lizwe. Awubhek' awubhek' awubhek' amantombazana la, akholwa yini? Oh awubabuke engathi asindisiwe ngaphakathi nangaphandle, Buka nje ahubhazela ngeziketi ezinkulu. Bayazi abase Holy Cross. Bayazi nampa bangofakazi. Bayitiye endaweni kuthiwa babukeka sengathi baganile uma besiza. Yah vele wendiselwe endodeni engu-Kristu. Ungangejabuli kanjani uma wendiselwe kwindoda okuyi yonayona, wendiselwe kuKristu* [What happens is that you become a laughing stock in this world. Look, look, and look at what those girls believe. Look, they seem saved inside and outside, look they are putting on long skirts. Those at Holy Cross know that. They are now the subject of discussion in the area. They say they look like married people. That's true because you are married to Christ].

CONGREGATION: **Yes Lord…….Yes Sir …….Amen. That's true Sir**.

In the above example, while the preacher is preaching in IsiZulu, the congregation responds in English. The different speakers in the congregation use the same utterances interchangeably during preaching. These utterances, '…**yes lord**; **Amen…** and **Hallelujah…**" are employed deliberately to signify solidarity in the congregation and an expression of acknowledgment of what the preacher is saying. The preacher also resorts to code-switching as a strategy to emphasize and reinforce his point through the repeated use of the word '**never'** as follows,

> … *ba-***organize** *ngendlela ezithize* [organize in certain ways], **Never! Never**! *Nawe ungabheki ukutotoswa, ungabheki ukuthi mhlawumbe hhayi* [You too must no expect to be spoiled, don't expect maybe, no...] **never** *angeke* [never]…

Code-switching as a marked choice is also used to signify group identity, for clarity so as to initiate understanding. Below is an extract from a history lesson in preparation for examinations to illustrate these functions.

Example 4

> SPEAKER 1: *Ngingakubiza kanjalo ukuthi sine-* [l can refer to it as a] ***victim*** *besesiba ne-*[and then we have a] ***perpetrator***. *Yibona abantu esizokhuluma ngabo kakhulu ku-**TRC***. *Izingane azazi nge-* [These are the things that we will talk about on TRC. Children must know about the] ***victim***. **What is a victim? What is a perpetrator? At the same time** *izingane kufanele zazi nge-*[children must know about] ***rehabilitation*****, reconciliation, violators and disclosure. Once they understand those concepts, it will be easier for them to understand the whole theme on the work of the TRC**…**So this truth and reconciliation commission** *angikusho ukuthi* [let me say that] **it was set up in terms of the national unity and reconciliation Act Number 34 of 1995**. *Ngumthetho lo owashaywa obizwa ngokuthi ngumthetho* [This is the law that was implemented called law] **Number 34** *ka-*[of] *1995 lapho okwakubukwa khona-ke ukuthi kuzo-**deal**-wa kanjani nezinto ezimbi ezenzakalile* [where it was discussed on dealing with things that happened] **in the past**. **For instance if we look at this TRC , the chairperson that was appointed for this TRC was u-Archbishop Desmond Tutu and therefore** *i-*[his]***deputy*** *yakhe besekuba ngu-*[was] *Alex Botha*, **it depends on how do you call it, vice chair person or deputy chairperson. And this TRC had to last for about two years. It had to investigate gross human rights violations that occurred between** *muphi unyaka* [which year], **1 March 1960 and 10 May 1994…**

The teacher switches to English for the greater part of his conversation mainly because English is the language of instruction in the teaching of History. Most of the concepts under discussion can only be best understood, contextualized and more clarified if the teacher uses English. The continuous switch to English is also triggered by the fact that the speaker is aware of his target group which is bilingual. IsiZulu is in this case used as a form of identity and to draw the attention of students into this discussion, since the teacher is aware that he is addressing IsiZulu first language speakers.

Code-switching is also used as a word replacement strategy and for the purposes of humour as illustrated in the following conversation between a group of elderly man and women at a Stokfel meeting.

Example 5

> SPEAKER 4: *Uxolo bazalwane* [forgive me brethren] *u-**fifty** anginawo, anginawo ngempela angifuni ukuqamba amanga* [I don't have it, I don't have it for sure. I don't want to lie]. *Ngino* [I have] **two hundred**. *Akeniyilengise ngempela, niyilengise. Ngiyaqala ukuba kule nkinga emhlanganweni* [Can you please hang it, hang it please. It is for the first time I am in this problem in a meeting]. *Wu-*[its] ***fifty** engingenawo* [that I don't have]. *Angazi ukuthi kuchaza ukuthi niyongilahla emgwaqweni. Mam' umkhokheli wami, khulumani ngiyabuza phela, isiphambano… Kungabe sekuthiwa oDlamini bavumelana. Inkinga yami bengikhokhela okunye kuyagibela kubuyela eGoli. Ngenziwe ingane, lenkinga yalomzukulu. Sengidacaze ngathi, ngathi, ngathi. Kade ngibatshela nalena lapho ebengiye khona emhlanganweni ukuthi sengi-*[I don't know if this means that you will throw me on the road. Pastor's wife, please speak because I am asking. Cross. We don't want to hear that the Dlamini's agreed. The problem is that I was paying for the other one. It's going to take a bus to Johannesburg. I was affected by the children, this troublesome grandson. I have spent everything that I have. I have been telling them where I had gone that I am] *finish* (all laughing)…*Ngimusa e-Islan uMzwa, ngimfunge ubaba uMahlazo, ngimusa lapho, kuvuliwe ngesonto. Ngifuna ukubatshela nje ukuthi ubuye nokweyisa…* [I am taking Mzwa to Islan, I swear by my father Mahlazo, I am taking him there, and it's open on Sunday. I want to tell them that he came back disrespectful]
> SPEAKER 3: *Ungayinaki indaba yengane khona uzozwa okukhulunywa la* [Forget about the children so that you can hear what is being said here].
> SPEAKER 2: *Sengikuwena-ke mam' uNzuza* [I am now dealing with you Mrs Nzuza]
> SPEAKER 6: *Isho-ke mntanami ungiqede ungibulale ungithi nya* [Say it my child, finish and kill me completely].
> SPEAKER 2: *Ngizoqala ngale ekuqaleni* [I will start right from the beginning]
> SPEAKER 3: *Wothi nami ngibhale le ndaba kamama uMbatha. Sizobuye siyi-**discuss**-e ke bazalwane ukuthi senza njani ngayo* [Let me write down this story too for Mrs Mbatha. We shall discuss it brethren on how we will deal with it].

In the above example, the setting is formal. The participants are elderly IsiZulu speakers and are reluctant to code-switch into English. Code-switching is observed when the speakers refer to the values of money for example; **two hundred; fifty**. Despite the fact that there are IsiZulu equivalents for the numerical values of money, speakers opt to use English

values instead to replace the IsiZulu equivalents. In another case, Speaker 4 code-switches to English to achieve a humorous effect among other speakers. This could have been done to ease the tension in the meeting since English is not an expected code.

In summary, there are many functions that can be attributed to marked code-switching. These functions include emphasis, to reprimand, expansion, self expression and word replacement. Code-switching is also used as a means of creating social distance through anger and annoyance, to gain authority over other speakers as well as to gain control over an argument. On this regard, Myers-Scotton (1993b: 132-133) points out that one "can rarely attribute just a single purpose to marked code switching", because those who are allowed to express their anger are often also those with authority. Code-switching as a marked choice is also used to signify group solidarity, identity with a social group and as a means of humour to ease tension especially in meetings. Leshite (1988) (cited in Mncwango, 2004) claims that language code-switching does not occur simply because the speaker does not know how to express him/herself very well in either of the languages. It is the most readily available word or phrase that comes out for some reasons at that particular moment.

5.3.2 Code-switching as an unmarked choice

In this type of code switching, speakers engage in a continuous pattern using two or more languages. Often the switching takes place within a single sentence or even within a single word. The other type of switching, such as marked code-switching or exploratory code switching, do not possess the same to-and-fro pattern (Myers-Scotton, 1993b:117). Myers-Scotton (1993b: 119) states that certain conditions have to be met for unmarked code-switching to occur.

Firstly, the speaker must have bilingual peers; as such code switching does not occur when there is a difference between socio-economic factors or if the speakers are strangers. Secondly, the interaction has to be one in which the

speakers wish to symbolize the mutual membership that this type of code switching calls for. Such interactions will be of an informal nature and will only include in-group members. The third criterion, most important in this type of interaction, is that the speaker must positively evaluate his/her own identity, the indexical value of the varieties used in the switching. Fourthly, while proficiency is an important condition of code-switching, a speaker/hearer need only relative proficiency in the two languages involved (Myers-Scotton, 1993b:19).

Code-switching can be used as an accommodation and exclusion strategy. This function can be illustrated through a general conversation between isiZulu speakers in an informal setting as seen in below;

Example 6

> SPEAKER 1: *Wayenemali yomuntu eningi, yena wayithatha wayinika leyo ntombazana kanti leyo ntombazana iyisigebengu ihlangene nomkhwenyana waleya ntombazana ayethandana nayo* [He had a lot of money for somebody and he took that money and gave it to that girl yet the girl was a criminal working in unison with the husband of that other lady]
> SPEAKER 2: **Okay**…*kwase kwenzekani?* [and what happened?]
> SPEAKER 1: *Ayi sekuseshwa* [yes they started to investigate] *icala* [the case], **lucky**-*ke wabathola wayibuyisa imali* [he got them and brought back the money] **but** *nje uyabona…naye e-* [you see him too was] ***involved*** *nama… kuthiwa yini, ama-* [with…, what do they call them] station commander.
> SPEAKER 3: **Lydia what are you talking about?**
> SPEAKER 1: **No, I am just telling him about something**…*Hhayi iyazithanda izindaba le ngane. Ngizokhuluma ngesiZulu kuphela* [No man, this child likes stories. I will speak in IsiZulu only]. *So kwahamba kanjalo-ke* [it happened like that]. *Kwathi sekuhlangene bonke abantu ababethinteka wavesane wahamba waya esibhedlela. Uthe uma efika ezomtshela lo sisi ukuthi kanti nawe ube* [it so happened that when they all that were involved met, it happened that he went to hospital. When this girl came to ask him if he was]**involved** *kanti izingane lezi ubaba wazo wazinikeza izithombe zisencane wathi nangu umama wakho washona, ingane yahlala yazi lokho* [yet these children had been give photos by their father when they were still young and their father told them that their mother passed away. They grew up knowing that].

In the above example, Speaker 1 and speaker 2 are native IsiZulu speakers. The setting is informal. Speaker 1 is relating a story she heard from a friend to S2. S3 is a 1st language English speaker and cannot speak IsiZulu. When S3 asks S1 on what the conversation is all about, S1 switches to English to accommodate S3 and then switches back again to IsiZulu. S1's comment about S3 shows that this speaker does not want to include S3 in their conversation and thus resorts to IsiZulu throughout the conversation despite S3's insistence. This is done to exclude S3 from the conversation.

The accommodation and exclusion functions follow well with Giles's (1973) Speech Accommodation Model. According to Giles and Coupland (1991:73) the degree of convergence that a speaker alludes to depends on his/her need for gaining another's social approval. They further state that acculturation is a product of the convergence process when one seeks the same economic and social rewards as others in the same group. In addition, Slabbert and Finlayson (1997) consider the accommodation function of code-switching within an interactional perspective. In their opinion, this function 'symbolizes values of democratization: equality, coming together, mutual understanding and respect.' They conclude that code-switching studies which explore this function of code-switching have an important contribution to make to the challenge of implementing a policy of multilingualism in South Africa.

Speakers are also involved in unmarked code-switching for the purposes of humour. Below is an example of an informal conversation between IsiZulu speakers at one of the taverns at Inanda.

Example 7

> SPEAKER 2: *Yikho kwaze kwasho uPaul wathi umuntu akazazi i-* [That's why Paul said that people do no know their] **identity** *yakhe ngoba nakhu usuthola ukuthi ingane ayilwazi ulimi lwayo. Kuyafana nabo Jabs. Angithi bangamakhaladi. Kungani bengakhulumi i-*[because you find out that the child can't speak their mother tongue. Just watch the Jabs. They are coloureds but why don't they speak] **Afrikaans instead of English**

SPEAKER 4: *Amakhaladi awanayo i-*[Coloureds do not have a] ***language. I-Afrikaans** ngeyamaBhunu* [is for the Boers]
SPEAKER 2: *Abanayo i-*[They do not have a] ***mother tongue***
SPEAKER 3: *Amakhaladi awana-*[Coloureds do not have a] ***culture,***
SPEAKER 2: *Kuthiwa yini le i-*[What do they call this] ***hybrids, ama-***[the] ***mules.***
SPEAKER 3: *Ngama-* [They are] ***hybrids***…ha…ha…
SPEAKER 1: ***I-Afrikaans** ngeyamaBhunu nama-**Dutch***
SPEAKER 3: *Amakhaladi ngabantu abangenamasiko,* [The coloureds are people without a culture] they don't have a culture, they don't have a language, they don't have a history (laughing)
SPEAKER 1: *Lalela engani ingane leya yayithi yona ukhokho wayo uFynn washada noShaka. Ngathi maye akungizwise!* [This other child was saying that her great grand mother Fynn was married to Shaka. I said oh come hear this]
SPEAKER 2: **Oh shame**….ha ha ha…*bakithi kwaze kwalusizi emakhaladini* [It's a shame on the coloureds].
SPEAKER 4: **No culture**. *Ngabantu aba-*[they are people that are] ***mixed.***

In the conversation above, all the speakers are native IsiZulu speakers. Their discussion is centred on mother tongue languages. The speaker 3 employs words like **hybrid; mules; mixed** among others to produce a humorous effect to the other speakers which he achieves. The employment of these code-switches also reflects the attitude of the IsiZulu speakers towards the subject matter which is derogatory in nature. Thus it can be noted that code-switching serves the purpose of expressing one' attitude towards another and as a means of expressing derogatory sentiments.

Code-switching is also used as a means to identity with a particular social group. This function can be illustrated in the following example;

Example 8

SPEAKER 1: *Ubaba wayo uthe kufanele ayishade le ngane ngoba wayi-**propos**-a kodwa manje useyanqaba* [Her father said that he is supposed to marry this girl because he proposed her but now he is denying]

SPEAKER 2: *Ngempela umuntu* [For sure a person] **can sue you** *uma umthembisile ukuthi uzomshada bese ungamshadi* [if you promised to marry her and then don't].

SPEAKER 1: Ah….ah …ah…**That's why** *kufanele wenze lento uma usu-*[you must do it when you are] **made up**. **Plus** *uma uzothembisa umuntu wena unemali eningi, yena uzokufuna leyo mali* [If you promise a person when you have a lot of money, the person will want that money].

SPEAKER 2: *Awu* [Sure], **definitely**

SPEAKER 1: *Uma ungasamfuni. Cabanga nje u-*[if you don't want her anymore, think about] *ten* **million rands.**

SPEAKER 2: *Izolo bengifunda lana bathi uBenny* [Yesterday I was reading here and they were saying Benny] **maybe the other reason why he was ruled out** *yindaba yabantu besifazana nalowana u-*[is because of women including that] *goalkeeper*. But *ngicabanga ukuthi ngenye into yakhona* [I think that's one of the reasons] **despite** *i-* [the] *fitness yakhe kwakungenye yezinto eza* **contribut-ha** [It as one of the things that contributed] **maybe** *bathola leyo* [and they saw this] **loophole**

SPEAKER 1: *No phela uyabona, kuthiwa* [you see they say] **besides** *i-*[his] *fitness* level, *babengenayo i-*[they had no] reason *yokuthi bamkhiphe so wayezosala* [to remove him so he was going to remain]. **Then** *kwavele kwenzeka lento u-*[this thing happened and the] *Coach wathi ba-*[said they are] *disrespectful kufanele ba-* [they must] *respect-he* the team, *ba-respect-he* everyone.

SPEAKER 2: But *nabo bayenzelani into enjalo, beku-camp-u besebethatha abantu besifazana. Yi-*[why did they do such a thing when at camp and they took women that's] *disrespect* **for sure.**

In the above example, both speakers continuously code-switch to and from English in their utterances for social identity. Continuous code-switching is common among the youth since speaking English is associated with the elite and well educated in this society.

Borrowing and loaning of lexical items, word replacement and clarity and emphasis are also some of the functions of code-switching as an unmarked choice. These functions can be illustrated from an informal conversation between a local radio presenter and a representative of one of the football teams. Both speakers are mother tongue IsiZulu speakers. The setting is informal.

Example 9

> SPEAKER 2: *Eh ngithanda ukukusho baba ukuthi i-*[what I would like to say is that the] ***performance*** *yethimu nokudayiswa kwayo ngama-*[of the team and its selling are] **issues** *angekho* [that are not] **related**. *Ukudayiswa kwe-thimu uJohn* [the selling of the team] **before** *ashone washo ukuthi ufuna ukuthengisa amasheya akhe* [he said before he died that he wanted to sell his shares]. *So ukuthengisa amasheya* [the selling of the shares] **has nothing to do with** *i-*[the] ***performance*** *yethimu* [team]. *Ithimu* [the team] **has never been affected by the selling of the club**. *Sizwile nasemaphepheni izolo ukuthi bakhona abantu abathi* [we heard even from the papers yesterday that there are some people who claim that] **they have made progress towards the buying of the club**. *Angikwazi-ke uku-*[I cant be able to] ***confirm-a*** *lokho ngoba* [this because] **it's an internal issue** *e-klabh-ini njalo besingaka-*[at the club and we had not yet] ***confirm-i*** *ukuthi sesinama* [that we have new] **owners** *amasha until maybe ngithole* [I get] **a formal notification from our directors and CEO but** *engithanda ukukusho baba ukuthi* [what I would like to say is that] its an open issue *ukuthi i-klabhu iyathengiswa. Ubaba uJohn washo ukuthi ufuna ukuthengisa amasheya akhe wa-*[the club is being sold and John said that he wants to sell his shares and he] ***invit-ha*** *futhi abantu abangakwazi uku-*[that are able to] ***meet-ha*** *i-*[the] *price ayeyibekile* [that he tagged]. **So it's an ongoing process**. *Akukho okusha kulokho. Okusha ukuthi iklabhu ayi-*[there is nothing new in this. What is new is that the club is not] ***peform-i*** *okwamanje* [at the moment]. *Ngiyathanda nje ukuthi sizehlukanise lezi zindaba zombili* [I like that we separate these two issues] *I-*[the] ***performance*** *yethimu yi-*[is the]-***performance*** *yethimu*.

In order to gain confidence and assurance that the exact message and concept is being communicated, speakers resort to borrowing and loaning in their speech resulting in code-switching. Despite the fact that native language equivalents are available, speakers sometimes feel that such words do not fully express the intended meaning. Examples of such terms include; ***ithimu*** **(team);** ***amasheya*** **(shares);** ***iklabhu*** **(club).** Code-switching is also used for word replacement. As a result of the speaker's educational background and in most cases the subject matter under discussion, speakers usually opt for English words to express themselves because they are easily accessible and available in their everyday vocabulary as opposed to IsiZulu terms which are

not commonly used. Examples of such terms are**; performance; related; issues.**

Speakers switch to and from English and IsiZulu to emphasize a point and to clarify an idea. In the example above, the speaker relates a point in IsiZulu. Thereafter, the speaker employs an English phrase to emphasize and reinforce the point. Such can be illustrated in the following statement;

> *…angikwazi-ke uku-**confirm-a** lokho ngoba* **it's an internal issue** *e-klabh-ini njalo besingaka-**confirm-i** ukuthi sesinama* **owners** *amasha* **until maybe** *ngithola* **a formal notification from our directors and CEO but** *engithanda ukukusho baba ukuthi* **its an open issue…**

Unmarked code-switching serves the function of expressing one's feelings toward a particular subject and also for direct quotations. Such can be illustrated in the following example;

Example 10

> SPEAKER 1: *Ulibonile iLanga. Liveze uParreirra* [Did you see ILanga today. It showed Perreira].
> SPEAKER 2: *Ebenzani pho loyo?* [What was he doing?].
> SPEAKER 1: *Kuthiwa uthe uyambona u-**referee** obedlalisa* [they say he said you see that referee for] that day. *Wathi u-*[He said he is] ***worse*** worse *kunabo bonke o-*[than all the] *referee baku le* [of this] World cup.
> SPEAKER 2: *Uqinisile. Uyabheda loya* **referee** *wena Patrick. Kambe u-*[That's true. That referee was bad Patrick. What do you think of a] *referee ongazange afune nje ukufihla ukuthi akayifuni i-**South Africa***. *Uyabona lowa* **referee**, *kwakusobala nje ukuthi akasifuni* [He didn't even hide the fact that he didn't like South Africa. You see that one, it was obvious that he didn't like us].
> SPEAKER 1: *Baphinde ba-*[they also] ***interview-a*** *nabadlali beBafana kodwa lo mdlali okhulumile akazishongo igama lakhe. Uthe yena* [players of Bafana but this player who spoke didn't mention his name. He said] **'there is a lot of politics'** *ku-*[at the] *camp ye-*[for] *Bafana.*
> SPEAKER 2: *Uqinisile kade besho manje abasakazi beGagasi bethi i-**South Africa** ingase idlale njengeBrazil, idlala* [The IGagasi presenters were saying just now that South Africa can play

like Brazil, the play] **as a team**. *Iyasaphothana* [each other] *e*-[at the] ***ground**-ini iya-**pass**-elana ibhola* [the ball to each other]. *E-**South Africa** banobandlululo* [In South Africa they are racists] **especially** *kulama-**players** asuke edlalela amaqembu angaphandle* [among players playing abroad]

SPEAKER 1: *Bathi uthi loya mdlali ongazishongo, uthi buka nje ukuthi oTeko Modise bangakhishwa noma sekubonakala ukuthi abasa-**perform**-i* [They say that the player who didn't mention his name said that even Teko Modise was not substituted even when they could see that he is not performing] *UMphela adlaliswe yedwa kungafakwa muntu. UAeron Mokoena enze amaphutha kodwa* [Mphela was made to play alone and Aaron Mokoena was making mistakes but] **still, still** *agcinwe laphaya angakhishwa. Uthi bona nje sebelindele ukuthi bayobuka ibhola emakhaya* [they were kept and not substituted. He said they are now waiting to go and watch soccer from home]

In the above example, S1 employs repetition of words in his speech as follows, '…**worse worse…**' and '…**still still**…' This type of code-switching exposes the speaker's feelings of disappointment and lack of satisfaction. On the other hand, S1 also employs code-switching when directly quoting what was said by a player who chose to remain anonymous. The direct quote is as follows; **'…there is a lot of politics…'**

In summary, code-switching as an unmarked choice serves many functions. These include clarifying and emphasis, humour, social identity, word replacement, borrowing and loaning, accommodation and exclusion, as a means of self expression and a reflection of speakers' attitudes towards each other, an expression of feelings and for direct quotations. Grosjean (1982) states that often in unmarked code-switching, code-switching takes place quite unconsciously. The speakers' main concern is with communicating a message and knowing that the other person will understand them, regardless of whether they speak one, two or more languages. In addition, Lipski (1985:23) asserts that code-switching is not language interference based on the fact that it supplements speech. He further argues that it provides continuity in speech than presenting interference when used because of an inability of expression.

5.3.3 Code-switching as a sequential unmarked choice

According to Slabbert and Finlayson (1997) this type of code-switching is essentially from one unmarked choice, motivated by a change in the context or topic. When the situational factors change within the course of a conversation, the unmarked Right & Obligations set (RO) may change (Myers-Scotton 1993b:114). In many cases, the unmarked RO set changes when the participant composition in a conversation changes, for example when the focus or topic of the conversation is shifted. When the unmarked RO set is altered by such factors, the speaker will switch codes if he/she wishes to index the new unmarked RO set. By making the unmarked choice, the speaker is accepting the status quo and acknowledging the indexical quality of the unmarked choice (Myers-Scotton 1993b:114).

Code-switching as a sequential unmarked choice functioned as a means of diverting attention. The following example is a conversation between IsiZulu speakers at work.

Example 11

> SPEAKER 1: *….uyabona uma izoshaywa nje laphaya etafuleni, ngibajikele nje, ngiyithathe ngiyifake la ku-bra wami sihambe mina noStha sishaye sichithe….ha! ha! ha!* [You see if they will take and put the money on the table, and I just turn against them and take all the money, put it on my bra and then I and Stha go away]
> SPEAKER 2: *Ayikho wena indaba yakho, kufanele ayikhiphe leyo mali phela* [You do not have an issue. He is supposed to pay the money]
> SPEAKER 3: **Lydia do you still remember that book that I was looking for?**
> SPEAKER 1: **Yes, I am still looking for it**. *Lalela-ke lana ankeli, uma ngabe mhlawumbe ekhaya kwenziwa* [listen here uncle, if maybe at home we are doing] **something, okay not** *ekhaya, uma ngabe mhlawumbe kini nenza* [at home and maybe in your family when you are doing] **something,** *ekhaya mhlawumbe bakhiphe ikesi likabhiya nogologo* [at home maybe they sponsor with a case of beer and alcohol]. *Kuthiwa…* [They say…]
> SPEAKER 2: *Kuthiwani?* [What do they say?]

SPEAKER 1: *Kuyaphekiswana, kuyasizwana* [We help each other to cook, we help each other] like *uyabona* [you see]. **So my problem is** *angikaze ngikhiphele muntu futhi yibona abakhiphela abantu futhi akugcini ngami ukuba nomcimbi ekhaya mfethu. Bona-ke sebethi ilabo bantu osekufanele babakhiphele manje* [I haven't sponsored anyone before, they are the ones who have done it and it doesn't end with me for an occasion to happen at home. They are now saying those people must sponsor now]….
SPEAKER 3: **Lydia it's a big book.**
SPEAKER 1: **Oh guys, she is   still looking for that book?**

In the above example, S3 uses English to divert the attention of S1 from her conversation with S2 and draw their attention to her request for help. S3 also uses English to reinforce his request for help when she says, **'Lydia it's a big book'.** S1 in both instances responds in English. Both these code-switching instances occur as a result of a change in topic. Code-switching as a sequential unmarked choice also serves the purpose of emphasizing a concept or idea. This can be noted in a preaching in one of the Pentecostal churches as follows;

Example 12

PREACHER: *Ngifuna uphakamise izandla zakho* [I want you to raise your hands] **towards heaven. The bible says, God, He longs, he is looking with longing in the book of Isaiah whom he may be gracious. His longing has been waiting for you. Are you in the position? Do you have the evidence? To say you qualify for what you want. Come on lift up your hands its happening all over**. *Kade wawungayi kuma-*[Its long since you stopped having your] *periods akho ngesikhathi esiyiso* [at the right time]. **Now I command. In the name of Jesus, back to order in the name of Jesus**. *Kade ungenakuthula enhliziyweni yakho* [Its long since you stopped having peace in your heart]. **Now I command in the name of Jesus, peace in your soul, in your mind and in your spirit. Let there be peace**. *Kade ungasakwazi ukulala ebusuku ngamaphupho amabi* [Its long since you started having nightmares]. **Now in the name of Jesus, let there be peace. Peace with your children, peace with your husband, peace with your wife. I command your business now, in the name of Jesus, let your business flourish. Problem leave in the name of Jesus. Sicknesses leave in the name of Jesus. Aids leave in the name of Jesus. Headache leave, sugar diabetic leave, in the name of Jesus! In the name of Jesus. Arthritis leave in the name of Jesus.**

In the first paragraph, the preacher is speaking in general encouraging the congregation to believe in God. In the second paragraph, the speaker changes the topic and starts identifying examples of the different problems that the congregation has. It is at this point that the preacher code-switches to and from IsiZulu and English. The main purpose of such code-switching could have been to clarify and emphasize these problems. The important point to note is that in changing the subject of emphasis, the preacher employs code-switching.

5.3.4 Code-switching as an explanatory choice

A speaker can use the explonatory choice when an unmarked code choice is not clear. This code choice is used to make alternative explanatory choices as candidates for an unmarked choice and thus as an index of an RO Set which the speaker favours (Myers-Scotton, 1993b:142). This type of code-switching occurs when the speakers themselves are unsure of the expected or optimal communicative intent or RO set. Explanatory code-switching is the least common type of code choice, not often needed, as the unmarked choice is usually clear (Myers-Scotton, 1993b:142). This is often the case in the meeting of different cultures and social identities .Explanatory code-switching may also occur when societal norms are in state of transformation (Myers-Scotton, 1993b: 142). In my research, I noted only a single case of code-switching as an explanatory choice. An example of such a case can be demonstrated through a conversation between a sales person and a customer at a bookshop.

Example 13

> CUSTOMER: **I want the book on research in education and this other one**
> SALESMAN: *Ngicela ukubheka lana ukuthi ikhona yini? Yah ikhona* **but** *le enye lena ethi* **teacher empowerment** *yona isaphelile* [Can I check if we do have it? Yes we do have it but this other one 'teacher empowerment' is out of stock]
> CUSTOMER: *Oh isaphelile le ncwadi* [Oh this book is out of stock]
> SALESMAN: *Yebo* [Yes] **sorry my sister**, *isaphelile* **but** [it's out of stock but] **we can place a special order for you**.

CUSTOMER: **No** *leyonto yenu yama*-[this thing of] *special order angiyi*-[I can't] *trust -i.* **Last time** *ngashiya ama*-[I left my] *details ami* **but** *angitholanga lutho nje* [I didn't get anything]

SALESMAN: *Angazi sisi kodwa uma ifika sizokuthumelela i-sms. Usuzobhala yini ama-exams akho.* [I don't know but when it arrives we will send you an sms. Are you about to write your exams?]

CUSTOMER: *No ngifuna ukwenza ama-*[I want to do my assignments] *assignments, ama-exams ngizowabhala ngo-*[I will write the exams in] *January. Izincwadi zenu lezi ziyabiza* [your books are expensive] **too much**. *Nithi thina* [You think] **where do we get the money?**

In the example above, the customer uses English to negotiate the language of communication with sales person. English is understood to be a central language of communication among different races. The response in IsiZulu by the sales person gives confidence to the customer that she can use IsiZulu as a mode of communication with the salesman. It can therefore be said that code-switching as an explanatory choice functions as a means of negotiating the central language of communication especially in situations where they are not sure on which language to use.

5.4 The Social and Cultural factors that motivate code-switching

Throughout this study, I discovered that there are a number of social and cultural factors that motivate the code-switching phenomenon among IsiZulu speakers. These factors include the educational background, language attitudes, unconscious linguistic behavior, cultural loyalty and disloyalty, linguistic factors, social class and group identity, politics and religion. In discussing these factors, I have employed Heller's (1992, 1995) Ideological-Political Model. The concept of power relations forms the basic building block of Heller's (1992, 1995) Ideological-Political Model. Heller's approach is primarily based upon Bourdieu's (1977, 1991) idea of 'capital'. Bourdieu has used the term to refer to one's access to the various types of resources that are available to one. Bourdieu (1991) argues that language is a form of capital that can be exchanged for other forms of capital i.e. social, economic or cultural capital. This basically means that language choices can determine the extent of

one's social, economic or cultural success. As a result it is difficult to separate language from these aspects of life.

5.4.1 Educational background

Colonialism and the apartheid educational background has a negative impact on indigenous languages in South Africa, and this could be used to account for IsiZulu-English code-switching among most speakers. The colonial and apartheid educational policy promoted English and Afrikaans among speakers of indigenous languages while the indigenous languages were abandoned and given little attention. While it is an undoubted fact that speakers of African languages have never been a minority community in a numerical sense, they have been historically marginalized by dominant western cultures occurring first during the British colonial period and then after apartheid through language policy, creating the impression that African languages are of a low value while English and Afrikaans have high value. This has been a critical aspect of this marginalization (Heugh, 1999).

During apartheid, language policy in education (Bantu Education policy, 1978) was used for the political purpose of controlling African students by separating them into multiple ethno-linguistic groups as well as separating the Afrikaner from English students (Fiske & Ladd, 2004). Educators during this time practiced subtractive multilingualism, forced conversion to either English or Afrikaans after one to three years of learning in a mother tongue. In subtractive multilingualism languages in the low status are given little validity and importance in the traditional/ formalized school system and therefore knowledge that children have in this language is not validated (Heugh, 1997). Developmentally, language use during formalized schooling, which is used as to transmit dominant cultural values, is very important for a child's sense of power and achievement of children of minority backgrounds (Malerich, 2009).

Since 1994, after the first general elections, a more inclusive policy recognizing cultural diversity and multilingualism replaced apartheid's pillars of racial

and cultural exclusivity and the Bantu Education policy that promoted English and Afrikaans. The new "Language in Education Policy"(1997) promotes multilingualism in that it: recognizes cultural diversity as a national asset seeks to promote multilingualism and develop the country's eleven official languages, endorses an additive approach to bilingualism and gives individuals (in practice-parents and guardians) the right of choice with regard to the language of learning and teaching (Heugh 2002). However, this scholar further argues that 'this policy was designed to guarantee learners the best possible access to and proficiency in another language (English) for the majority of pupils alongside the language best known by pupils upon entry to school (Heugh, 2002).

However, despite the progressive educational policies and constitutional provisions since 1994, the English language still commands a lot of influence and the promotion of indigenous languages remains a difficult task. Shin (2008) informs us that "the demands of participation in a global academic community leads to the conclusion that…students need to be equipped with…literacy", especially in English. Parents choose English as a medium of instruction as English is regarded as the official international language of communication and trade. The symbolic power that English is afforded appears to supersede the power of mother tongue instruction in South African schools (Bourdieu, 1991). Bourdieu (1991) also informs us that learners want to learn the "legitimate" language, in this case English, because of its pivotal role in the production and trade processes and the social status that it confers on its speakers.

Globally the language of trade, industry and communication is English (Macedo, 2000). Countries such as Japan, India, Korea and China, which are currently leading world markets with regards to the manufacturing and retail industry, promote mother tongue instruction within their respective countries, but also see the need to be fluent in English, as they respect English as the language of international trade (Shin, 2008). The governments of these countries therefore provide additional education in English in order for their

citizens to be incorporated into the global arena. Krashen (1999) notes that bilingual education is often promoted in countries where English is not the mothers tongue. This is because countries which have acknowledged the hegemonic position of English are witnessed as being progressive in the international markets.

More and more parents of English second language learners are opting to enrol their children in English medium schools, as they see the international power which English possesses (Shin, 2008). These parents hope that, by enrolling their children in English medium schools, their children will be empowered. Kamwangamalu concurs with these parents when he questions whether mother-tongue instruction would empower those for whom it is targeted (Kamwangamalu, 2000). The introduction of democracy in South Africa brought about a move from a bilingual to a supposedly multilingual dispensation. However the implementation of a multilingual educational policy has been affected by attitudinal factors. Inspite of empirical research into various aspects of the role played by language in education in South Africa, and proposals aimed at giving effect to the constitutional recognition of eleven languages, a tacit policy of mono-lingualism has been in evidence (Kotze & Hibbert, 2010). The preference for a colonial language over our indigenous languages has been a major setback. According to May (2001);

> The promotion of cultural and linguistic homogeneity at collective/public level has come to be associated with, and expressed by, individual mono-lingualism. This amounts to a form of linguistic social Darwinism and also helps to explain why language shift, loss or decline has become so prominent. This argument articulates an evolutionary discourse assuming that the socio-political change and language shift occur through the aggregation of individual rational choices and that individuals freely endorse new sets of values to participate in the 'modernisation' of society. In the process, a series of dichotomies is established, creating hierarchies of values and norms, in which traditional values become obsolete and/or suspiciously irrational: modernity is equated with progress- and modern, urban, universal values are lauded and confer prestige whilst traditional, rural, parochial values are stigmatised (May, 2001:141).

The conflict between language attitudes have led to an almost stalemate situation in propagating legislation to give effect to a general recognition of accepted principles of multi-lingualism and of the value of first language education in empowering the youth of this country (Kotze & Hibbert, 2010).

In my research, I observed that most parents now opt to send their children to Indian schools and sometimes White schools mainly because of their good academic record. Children who are mother tongue speakers of IsiZulu are therefore assimilated into the educational system and language policies where the medium of communication is English in most cases. Similarly, children in African dominated townships are also recipients of a system where IsiZulu, despite being the mother tongue for many is, a mixed with English as a language of instruction and communication. The end result of the dominance of English is the code-switching phenomenon among most speakers. It is upon such an educational background and linguistic situation that speakers find themselves involved in code-switching. The English language undoubtedly continues to dominate the educational system and students are caught in between using their mother tongue and English, the language of instruction at school and a language believed to ensure their economic success.

5.4.2 Language attitudes

Most IsiZulu speakers of English accord more prestige status to English. Sometimes, there is conscious display of knowledge of a supposedly more prestigious language by some IsiZulu-English bilinguals. This attitude has impacted negatively towards the various attempts of the development and intellectualization of indigenous languages in South Africa. I say this because the English verbs used in some utterances have readily available equivalents in IsiZulu as shown in the example below;

Example 14

> SPEAKER 1: *Ngisho* **even** *ngemali yakhe kunezinto ezi*-[Even with her money there are things which are] **much more important...**

SPEAKER 3: *Kodwa phela wena Octy endlini kufanele ukuthi kubanjiswane, zikhona izinto ongazenza. Ngempela uma ngabe u-* [But Octy we must be able to help each other at home. There are things that you can do. If for sure the person is] **broke** *umuntu uzokutshela ukuthi ukudla akukho, ugesi awukho kodwa ubuya ne-KFC* [The person will tell you that there is no food, no electricity but he is bringing KFC].

SPEAKER 5: **Who is that?**

SPEAKER 3: **You don't know how painful it is he… he… he….**

SPEAKER 1: **She is talking about the girls generally and when they change they start demanding things.**

SPEAKER 5: **Which things, which girls?**

SPEAKER 3: **Like you and …**

SPEAKER 1: **When you start demanding things …**

SPEAKER 3: *Athi* [She says] **no** *i-*[its the] **responsibility** *yomkhwenyana wami futhi emazi ukuthi akasebenzi kodwa angazi ukuthi umuntu ucabanga ukuthi ayithathephi. Athi* [of my husband yet she knows that he doesn't work but I don't know where the person thinks that he will get the money. She will say] **no he is supposed to be buying this in the house…**

SPEAKER 2: **That's why sometimes** *kubalulekile ukuthi ufune umuntu we-*[it is important that you marry a person of your] **class** *lakho, hhayi umuntu ophezulu kunawe noma umuntu ongaphansi kakhulu uyabona. Ongaphansi kakhulu unenkinga yokuthi uma uke wamkhuphula yena ufuna ukunyuka kakhulu.* [Not a person who is above you or too low below you. The one too low has a problem because once you lift her up, she wants to go even higher].

In the above example the use of English words and phrases such as '**class**'; '**…that's why sometimes…**'; '*Athi no i-**responsibility**….*'; '… **no he is supposed to be buying this in the house…**' It seems to me to have been motivated by a conscious display of the knowledge of English. These phrases have equivalents in IsiZulu.

The most serious problem in the intellectualization of the African languages in South Africa is the negative attitude which the speakers of these languages have towards their languages, especially as a medium of instruction. Accordingly, many speakers of these languages do not see much relevance in using them in education (Marivate, 1992; Webb, 1994). Instead, English and Afrikaans are considered to be the languages of higher mobility or a passport

to job opportunities in the country. Although the Constitution states that each learner has the right to choose the language of instruction, English continues to be chosen as the sole medium of instruction in all schools which are predominantly African. The functional domains of the African languages have not been expanded adequately to encourage the learners to see the relevance of choosing an African language as a language of instruction (Finlayson and Madiba, 2002)

Several scholars, Ngugi (1986) for example, have repeatedly called for 'the decolonization of the mind' of the African, but it seems there are as yet no clear roadmaps to address this linguistic situation. According to Ngugi (1986:12) the colonial educational systems turned children into witch hunters and in the process were being taught the lucrative values of being a traitor to one's immediate community through punishment for using their indigenous language at school and a negative attitude towards these. Ngugi (1986) further adds that the attitude to English was the exact opposite. Any achievement in spoken or written English was highly rewarded. English as a result became a measure of intelligence and ability (Ngugi, 1986:12).

It is upon such a background that isiZulu speakers code-switch to English because of the prestige that they accord to the English language.

5.4.3 Unconscious linguistic behaviour
To some IsiZulu-English bilinguals, code-switching has become a habit and mostly occur subconsciously when speaking with another IsiZulu speaker whether bilingual or monolingual. This can be noted in situations such as public addresses, formal discussion in IsiZulu and informal conversations with fellow IsiZulu people. It is unconscious because most people may not be aware that they have switched or be able to report, following a conversation which code they have used to utter particular phrases or words.

In the course of carrying out this investigation, l raised the issue of code-switching at some of the interviews where the language of deliberation was

supposed to be IsiZulu. The participants became conscious of their language use. They strived to use only IsiZulu and that affected the pace of their speech. It became slower but amazingly, nobody was able to make five sentences without bringing in one or two English words or expressions. This is an indication that code-switching has become a habit for most IsiZulu bilinguals, and habits are not easy to change.

In one of the interviews, when the participant was asked why she code-switched, she responded as follows;

Example 15

> *Ngi-**comfortable** ngakho lokho mina because umuntu phela ngeke uze umjajele ukuthi akhulume kanjani. Njengoba ngisho nje ukuthi njengami ngithanda kakhulu ukufunda ama-**novel**-i, i-**English** yona iziphumela yodwa hhayi ngoba mhlawumbe ngizenza ngcono kumbe njani. Kuyazenzakalela nje* [I am comfortable with it because you can not judge someone on how he must use his language. As I am saying in my case, I like reading a lot of English novels. So English comes out unconsciously not because I want to look better or what. It just happens].

The above extract confirms the fact that code-switching among IsiZulu speakers may occur unconsciously and has become a habit.

5.4.4 Cultural disloyalty and loyalty

The desire for foreign things among the IsiZulu speakers, could also account for the predominance of code-switching. According to Ngugi (1986:13), language is both a means of communication and carrier of culture. He further argues that;

> Communication between human beings is also the basis and process of evolving culture. Culture embodies moral, ethical and aesthetic values, the set of spiritual eye glasses, through

which they come to view themselves and their place in the universe. Values are the basis of a people's identity, their sense of particularity as members of the human race. All this is carried by language. Language as culture is the collective memory bank of people's experience in history. Culture is almost indistinguishable from the language that makes possible its genesis, growth, banking, articulation and indeed its transmission from one generation to the next (Ngugi, 1986:14).

An IsiZulu speaker could borrow words of English and quickly assimilate them into the phonological structure of IsiZulu. Examples of such terms are as follows;

Ijele (jail); *ithimu* (team); *igoli* (goal); *isikole* (school); *ikesi* (case); *ubhiya* (beer).

These terms are found in the speech of IsiZulu-English bilinguals and monolinguals alike. Sometimes the use of such adapted, terms is seen as an indication of lack of competence in English and therefore marks one as uneducated. They are rather stigmatized. Such forms are therefore avoided as much as possible by those who have acquired even very little level of competence in English. I view this as an indication of lack of love for one's language and therefore a form of cultural disloyalty. Cultural alienation takes the form of an active distancing of oneself from the reality around and an active identification with that which is most external to one's environment. It starts with a deliberate disassociation of the language of conceptualization, of thinking, of formal education of mental development, from the language of daily interaction in the home and in the community. It is like separating the mind from the body so that they are occupying two unrelated linguistic spheres in the same person (Ngugi, 1986:28).

However, on the other hand, some IsiZulu speakers are involved in code-switching as a strategy of upholding and observance of some traditional norms and values. One such aspect is the usage of taboo words in speech. Traditionally, words referring to sensitive topics and sexual organs are usually substituted with more less sensitive ones and culturally acceptable

ones, for example; **ucansi, isitho sangasese**. However, I observed that instead, some speakers opt to use English when discussing and referring to such sensitive issues for example; **i-sex; ama-private parts**. I also observed that in some cases, speakers would code-switch to English to exclude children from their discussions especially when discussing culturally sensitive issues. They could have used hlonipha language, (Finlayson, 1986), instead of code-switching in this instance but they opted for the later. An example of such a case was noted in a discussion between two nurses about a patient in labour in the presence of a six year old child. The two intentionally code-switched to English and employed technical terms such as; **vigina; placenta**; **deliver; foetus.**

5.4.5 Linguistic factors (lexical gap & low level competence in IsiZulu)

There are certain linguistic factors that contribute to the predominance of code-switching among IsiZulu speakers.

a) Lexical Gap

There are many concepts and expressions that do not have readily available equivalents in IsiZulu. IsiZulu speakers in this kind of situation have no choice than to switch to English. The difficulty in getting an equivalent expression could have motivated the switching. An example of such a case can be illustrated in the following extract from a political discussion;

Example 16

> SPEAKER 2: *I-COSATU ine-*[COSATU has a] ***Central Executive committee*** *kufanele ukuthi ithathe lokhu esibuye nakho laphaya ikucubungule ikubhekisise kahle. Uma kukhona okungahambi kahle kuphume ikubeke eceleni. Uma kukhona okubonakala ukuthi kulungile, ikubambe. Kubalulekile ukuthi ngiyisho lento. Noma ngabe kuthiwa kukhona into evelile lapha isazoya kwikomiti ye-COSATU i-*[which is supposed to take that which we come with, analyze it and take a good look at it. If there is anything wrong, it will come out and we put it aside then we get hold of what is right. It's very important that I say this. Even if it happens that there is an issue that came out, it will still have to go through the COSATU committee. The] ***Executive Committee*** *ehlala mhlaka-23 August* [that sits on the

23 of August]. *Okokugcina i-**COSATU*** [The last thing is that COSATU] **is not** *uZwelinzima*. **Its not Sidumo**. *I-**COSATU** yi-**COSATU** njengoba lisho igama. Ine-*[COSATU is COSATU as the name suggests. It has a] *congress ne-*[and] *structure okuyibo abathatha izinqumo ezinkulu. Lena ngenye yezinqumo esizi-implement-ayo ze-*[that is responsible for decision making and implementation of those decisions of the] *congress*. *Uma kufanele kube nama-*[If there is need for any] **changes** *yiyo i-*[it is the] ***congress** eguqulayo. Kafuphi-ke ngithi uma okubuya laphaya ku-*[that makes changes. In short I am saying that what we come with from the] ***Civil society conference** kuyiwa nakho ku-*[is taken to the] ***Executive committee** ye-**COSATU*** [of COSATU], *inelungelo i-*[The right is entitled to the] ***Executive** ukuthi ibheke, ikhiphe ama-*[to make some] ***objections** uma kukhona lapho esiphambanise khona, ikulungise isibonise. Singabantu abanjalo ku-**COSATU** kuma-*[if there is anything where we went wrong and then correct and give us direction. We are people like that in our] ***structures** ethu*.

In the above extract, there are words referring entities and concepts which do not have readily available equivalents in IsiZulu especially for ordinary speakers of IsiZulu and not academic specialists. Examples of such are; **'Central Executive committee'; 'structures'; 'objections'; 'congress'.**

b) Low level of competence among speakers

A balanced bilingual is one who has attained equal level of competence in both languages. This seems to be an ideal situation that is rarely achieved. Most people have one language dominating the other. It seems English has become dominant over IsiZulu for most educated IsiZulu speakers. It is usually speech based on the weaker language that is more flooded with expressions from the more dominant language. There are few cases of people who have not acquired enough competence in IsiZulu to enable them to use effectively IsiZulu for communication. Such people easily resort to code-switching to hide their incompetence. This is common among the younger generation of IsiZulu speakers; some of whom acquired English as their first language. An example of such a case can be noted in one of the discussions that I conducted with a young working lady. Her speech can be illustrated as follows;

Examples 17

> SPEAKER 1: *Sisi, njengomuntu osebenza e-*[Sister, as a person who works in a] **bookshop***, uthola umsebenzi wakho unjani* [how do you find your work like].
> SPEAKER 2: **No it's challenging, not what I expected**.
> SPEAKER 1: *Ungasho izinkinga ohlangebezana nazo uma usiza ama-*[What are the challenges that you meet when serving] *customer*, **generally**
> SPEAKER 2: **The perception of** *umuntu*[a person], **if you are a customer and bringing in cash, and you know that** *u-* [the]***cashier***, **he/she** *uzohola ngalemali oyikhokhile*, **so you get people who throw** *imali*[money] **on the counter, they say things and you have to follow. Sometimes it's a culture thing and sometimes it's a colour thing, sometimes it's just a society thing but you learn over time you get like used**, *vele* [Its definate] **that's what they do. You get to accept it. So you like adjust to accommodate their way of thinking.**
> SPEAKER 1: **But** *uma lifikile i-***customer** *naba nenkinga enjalo, unayo indlela yokuveza ama-*[If the customer comes and that customer has a problem. Do you have a way of showing your] *feelings akho, nendlela yokuthi uwa-***express***-e noma uyawekela nje uqhubeke ngomsebenzi wakho* [and a way to express them or you ignore it and continue with your work]
> SPEAKER 2: **It depends, it depends. Some you can say its okay if its maybe the first time, sometimes no if** *umuntu ezofika athi ngibuze kusibanibani ezansi* [the person says I asked on the floor below] **and** *bathi into leyo ikhona lana* [they say that thing is here]. **But** *usibanibani ezansi* [someone below] **doesn't work in the same department so sometimes you do show the feelings** *ngoba lomuntu usuka eku-***undermin***-a* [because most of the time this person is undermining you] **and most of the time it is a racial thing and an age thing...**

However, in some cases, a closer look at IsiZulu-English code-switched expressions shows that the syntactic structure is basically IsiZulu, even where the lexical content may be mostly English. This shows that IsiZulu is still dominant especially among the elderly. Therefore, the tendency to code-switch among IsiZulu bilinguals could not only be explained in terms of dominance but rather due to some of the factors mentioned above.

Tollefson (1991) arrives at the conclusion that inadequate competence is not mainly the result of poor books and other texts, inadequate pedagogy or lack of motivation and other similar suggested deficiencies. Instead,

> Language competence remains a barrier to employment, education, and economic well being due to political forces of our own making. For while modern social and economic systems require certain kinds of language competence, they simultaneously create conditions which ensure that vast numbers of people will be unable to acquire that competence. A central mechanism by which this process occurs is language policy (Tollefson, 1991:7).

5.4.6 Social class and group identity

The desire to belong to a better class in society and the need to be associated and identified with the elite is also one of the factors that motivate the phenomenon of code-switching among IsiZulu speakers. The knowledge of English is evidence of educational achievement. Education is a passport to economic empowerment and success is measured by the type of job that one does and material accomplishments. It is upon such a background that speakers are involved in code-switching while trying to express their positions in society and identifying themselves with the elite in society.

The central fact of South African linguistic ecology is the magnetic pull of the formal economy. It would be no exaggeration to say that from an economic standpoint the value of particular languages, countrywide, relates to their utility within the formal economy. Language is an economic entity, what the economists call an 'economic good' as much as any other social phenomenon. Both English and African languages enjoy social and economic utility in different contexts, but for those starting out the overall economic value of English far outweighs that of the African languages. The ambitious young South African is attracted to the globalized world of economic possibility both carried and symbolized by English (Wright, 2002).

I observed that most code-switching is prevalent among the working class youth who have had the privilege of attaining tertiary education. What can be noted in their speech is that they constantly switch to and from IsiZulu and English in almost in all their sentences. Moreover, code-switching is both intra-sentential and inter-sentential. This is evidence of fluency and exposure

in the English language. An example of such a case can be illustrated in a conversation between two male workers during their lunch time at a canteen.

Example 18

> SPEAKER 1: *Ngeyethu-ke leyo sizobe sihamba nayo. Nge-**Friday** nje uzobona kahle. Sizobe si-*[That ours you will see on Friday. We will be moving with it. We will be on] *full* kit.
>
> SPEAKER 2: But *wena ucabanga ukuthi iyiphi i-*[what do you think is the] ***African*** **country** *ezoshaya la?* [will win]
>
> SPEAKER 1: **I think** *eli-*[the] **best** *mina yi-*[for me is] **Ivory Coast**. Then *nabeGhana. IGhana nayo i-*[the Ghanaians. Ghana too is] **strong because** *usakhumbula i-*[you remember the] *under 23 yawina i-*[won the] **under 23 world cup**. So *uma u-*[If you] *consider ukuthi bane* [they have a] **back up plan** *bona bangathatha no-*[they can take] *half ka-* [of] *under-23 bawumix-e no-**half** walesi-*[and they mix it with half of the old] *squard esidala bazoya* [they will go] **further than most of the teams** *alana e-*[that are in] ***Africa.***
>
> SPEAKER 2: *I-Nigeria nayo iba nama-*[Nigeria also has] ***surprises** nge-*[during] ***world cup***
>
> SPEAKER 1: *Nge-*[During] ***World cup** iba* [they become] **strong. It will be a wonderful World Cup in Africa, African soil.**
>
> SPEAKER 2: *Wayibuka i-**game** leya, kuthiwa yini, iDenmark ne**South Africa*** [Did you watch the game between Denmark and South Africa]
>
> SPEAKER 1: *Ya ngayibuka. Yayi-**strong** ke iBafana lapho* [I watched it. Bafana was strong there]
>
> SPEAKER 2: *U* [Him] *Pienaar*, **they substituted him.**
>
> SPEAKER 1: *Ya waphuma* [Yes he got out]. **I think he picked up an injury.**

5.4.7 Politics

Politics is singled out to be one of the major factors that have promoted the influence of the English language at the expense of indigenous languages. The role of language and the power that the English language has been accorded within the political spheres of life of the South-African population undoubtedly influences the way speakers of indigenous language use their language, an obvious result being the code-switching phenomenon.

Alexander (1997) addressed the issue of language policy and planning in South Africa as though it is set to further erode the strength of spoken African languages. He identified part of the problem to lie in the Anglo-centric approach of the popular political leadership that was fighting for emancipation from apartheid. They lacked for instance the eagerness that White Afrikaner nationalists had in raising the Afrikaans language to the point of becoming an ideological cloak. Alexander (1997: 82-83) argues:

> At the critical time when Bantu education was being imposed on the Black people, the leadership of the liberation movement across the board made a de facto decision to oppose Afrikaans in favour of English. The option of promoting the African languages while also ensuring as wide and as deep knowledge of the English language was never considered seriously for reasons connected with the class aspirations of that leadership. In effect, therefore, the hegemony of English, its unassailable position-as Chinua Achebe calls it-became entrenched among the black people. Because it was the only other language that could compete with Afrikaans as a means to power (jobs and status) and as the only means to international communication and world culture at the disposal of South Africa's elites, it became, as in other African countries, the 'language of liberation'.

Most of the nationalist fronts fighting apartheid pursued 'English-only' or an 'English-mainly', policy thereby contributing to the hegemony of English in South Africa. Because of the 'class position of their leadership, they were unable to arrive at a programme of action on the language question that would be consonant with the promotion of the interests of their social base against the urban and the rural poor (Alexander, 2001:143). During apartheid, rather than a negative view of English, Africans saw English as representing potential liberation, international ideas, discourse and economic security (Heugh, 2000). As a language of liberation, English enabled resisters of apartheid to communicate with the international community and gain support for their cause. "A protest, which had as its immediate objective, access to the English language, activated a transnational solidarity movement predicated on the advocacy of human rights and democratization" (Sonntag,

2003:82). One such protest was the 1976 Soweto Uprising during which the children of the Soweto Township organized a protest of forced Afrikaans language education in school. English like French was assumed to be the natural language of literary and even political mediation between African people in the same nation and between nations in Africa and other continents. In some instances these European languages were seen as having a capacity to unite African people against divisive tendencies inherent in the multiplicity of African languages within the same geographic state (Ngugi, 1986:6).

In my study of IsiZulu-English code-switching, I observed that politicians often use English as the main language in their public rallies and addresses. They code-switch to IsiZulu and other indigenous languages to achieve specific linguistic effects to the audience such as winning the applause of the audience, emphasizing a point or inculcating a sense of group identity . This could be influenced by the fact that South Africa is a multi-lingual and multi-racial state and English is used as a central language and a language of unity, a deliberate initiative to centralize their political influence.

In situations where politicians are obligated to address people in IsiZulu, they get involved in code-switching as demonstrated in a political discussion between two IsiZulu speakers in a local IsiZulu radio station. The two speakers constantly code-switch to and from IsiZulu and English for various social reasons. Such code-switching can be described as a result of the political influence of the English language. This is the reason why there continues to be tension between the explicit constitutionally enshrined principles of promotion of multi-lingualism and the concurrent practical commitment to the hegemonic status of English (Alexander, 2001:144).

According to Mphahlele (1983) as cited in Ngugi (1986:7), English and French became the common language with which to present a nationalist front against white oppressors and in even 'where the white man has already retreated', as in independent states, these languages are still a unifying force.

5.4.8 Religion

Religion has a significant impact on language usage. Most of the participants in this particular study were associated with the Christian religion which is strongly becoming the prefered religion especially among the educated and the middle aged at INK.

Christianity has become an inseparable part of Western civilization and has played an important role in the colonization and imperial conquests of the African people. It supports their political and economic systems and provides them with a unifying and coherent force that keeps them as one powerful and unified entity. It has played a vital role in building and reinforcing the complex socio-political, cultural and economic system of the West. What we understand by Western civilization and its economic domination has all been pervaded with some Christian elements. In its present state, Christianity seems to be more inclined to serve material causes of the West civilization better than its spiritual cause. While in the past the role of Christianity was more in the direction of supporting Christian beliefs and building moral values.

Initially western-style education of Black South Africans fell under the auspices of the Christian church and its missionary organizations. These organizations linked literacy to religious goals, and literacy would be superseded by the learning of a European language. Being logo centric people of the Book, they equated religion, culture, learning and language. Literacy in an indigenous language was instrumental to learning a European language. Developing written forms of indigenous languages and using these written forms for non-religious purposes was secondary to achieving and using literacy in a European language for religious purposes. Exposure to Western culture and functional literacy for religious purposes had priority over extending the range of intellectual competence in local languages or their use in higher registers (Heugh, 2000).

It can be thus said that Christianity promoted the English language at the expense of our indigenous languages. This trend is noticeable in most modern Christian churches. Moreover, while Christianity alienates one from his/her traditional beliefs, it also alienates them from their language. The mixing of IsiZulu with English in preaching and religious discussions has become a common feature among most Christians. As a result, speakers are left with the option of using both languages concurrently resulting in the code-switching phenomenon especially in charismatic churches.

I observed that there is a lot of code-switching in Christian discussions and this phenomenon even goes beyond such discussions because this linguistic behavior has become a norm to them. An example of such can be illustrated through an extract from a general discussion between two youthful Christians, as follows;

Example 19

> SPEAKER 1: *Uyazi angikayiqedi leya ncwadi* [You know, I haven't finished that book], **it's very powerful**.
> SPEAKER 2: *Angazi noma nguJohn* **or** *Peter. Ngididekile nami ngiyifunda. Ngathi ngemva kwesikhathi esingaka abafundi behamba naye kodwa abakaceli. Bayakhuleka* [I don't know if it's John or Peter. I was confused too when I read it. I said after such a long time walking with Jesus yet they didn't ask. They pray] **daily**. *Ubafundisile futhi ukukhuleka. Bayaphuma bakhiphe amadimoni. Uthi abakaceli kuze kube yimanje uyabona. Kunohlobo oluthize okwakufanele bacele ngalo abangalusebenzisanga* [He tought them how to pray. They went out and removed demos. He says they haven't asked even now, you see. There is a distinct way of asking that they didn't use] **It's a hidden revelation** *uyabona* [you see]. **How you must ask**.
> SPEAKER 1: *Ya, Ya, Ya* [Yes, Yes, Yes]
> SPEAKER 2: **Every time** *ulokhu ushaya i-*[you are hitting the] *mist nje* [only]. *Ushaya eceleni. Ubamba amagqubu sonke isikhathi* [You are missing the target always. You are always holding grudges].
> SPEAKER 1: *Awukaceli. Noma-ke usucelile kodwa lokho okucelile akusikhona akubhekile. Kukhona okufanele ukucele. Eish madoda. Muhle uJesu* [You haven't asked. Even if you are asking but that's not what he is looking for. True man. Jesus is good]
> SPEAKER 2: *Amazwi kaJesu esikhathini esiningi ayeshaya enxebeni. Ayeshaya* [The words of Jesus most of the time were

hitting on the wound. They were hitting] **exactly at the point**. And *uJesu Kristu usuku nosuku waye*-[Jesus Christ everyday came to] *fulfill-a into ayeyizele emhlabeni* [what he came for in the world]. **Not even one day** *lapho angawenzanga umsebenzi ayewuzele* [when he did not do what he came for]. **What about us? Are we doing it? Because** *usuku nosuku* [each and every day]**,** **the day** *efika esinagogini bemnikeza incwadi ku-Isaiah ethi,* [he came to the synagogue and opened the book of Isaiah that says] **this day this scripture is fulfilled...**

In the above example, both speakers switch to and from IsiZulu and English in their conversation. This to a certain extent is evidence of the influence of religion to language use resulting in code-switching among IsiZulu speakers. In summary, it can be said that there are various factors that contribute to and motivate the code-switching phenomenon among most IsiZulu speakers. These factors should not be considered as individual factors but as intact because of their mutual relationship.

5.4.9 Broadcasting media

The broadcasting media industry can also be singled out as one of the main motivating factors of code-switching in most speakers of indigenous languages in South Africa. This is directly linked to the view of English language as a lingua franca in South Africa. One of the key functions of mass communication identified by Lawell (1948) is cultural transmission. This is the ability of the media to communicate norms, rules and values of a society. This function is also regarded as a teaching function of mass communication. However, it now seems as if the media has promoted the English language at the expense of our indigenous languages in South Africa. The negative impact of mass media in films, music, television, and video cassettes in South Africa is noticeable in most communities. Mass media has injected its own brand of images, music, cultural heroes, and values into a cultural space that is very different and sometimes at odds with that of the native audience.

Despite the existence of radio and television programmes in indigenous languages of South Africa, there is still a noticeable dominance of English. It could be argued also that mass media are damaging to local languages

because they have displaced traditional pastimes, such as engaging in local crafts like listening to stories, which are transmitted through the indigenous languages. Kulick (1994:7) posits that ethnic identity or "the way in which the expression of positive and highly valued aspects of the self comes to be bound to expression through a particular language" is the most crucial factor influencing the rate and finality of language shift. Language is an important marker of ethnic identity. Attachment to language is as strong as people's regard of themselves as a social group, which is influenced largely by how the larger society regards them. A negative ethnic identity contributes to the low prestige of the ethnic group's language which, in turn, makes it more susceptible to shifting to a high prestige language, such as English.

The spread of Western lifestyles and ways-of-thought are felt throughout the communities, especially with technology shrinking the global distance and making once remote villages more open, and arguably, more vulnerable to the wider world. Crawford (1995:5) believes that the penetration of Western capitalistic and individualistic ideology powerfully threatens native communities and their languages. In addition, Mazrui (2002) argues that;

> No country has ascended a first rank technologically and economic power by excessive dependence on foreign languages. Japan rose to dazzling industrial heights by scientificating the Japanese language and making it the medium of its own industrialization…Can Africa ever take-off technologically if it remains so overwhelmingly dependent on European languages for discourse on advanced learning. Can Africa look to the future if it is not adequately sensitive to the cultural past?

Speakers of indigenous languages are vulnerable from an earlier age as electronic mediums such as television and cinema have certainly negatively impacted language development in children. An observation is that there is often the use of code-switching between English and an indigenous language in most popular local television soaps and programmes possibly as a strategy of appealing to the wide South African multi-lingual audience. They use short or even incomplete sentences, code-switches and code-mixes and this is what

the children pick up. Examples of such television soaps include South African Broadcasting Corporation's (SABC) generations; muvhango, zone fourteen, intersections among others. Moreover, children are also exposed to films and movies from abroad and the language of communication is English. Children as a result emulate this kind of language they hear on television at school among their friends. While parents have the first role of positive upbringing in the foundation unit of the family and introduction of proper mother tongue language skills to their children, the media is making it especially more and more difficult. Another observation is that there is an overwhelming use of IsiZulu-English code-switching in vernacular radio and television programmes such as political discussions, social discussions, business and educational discussions. This is a clear indication that despite South Africa's media efforts to promote indigenous languages, the English language maintains a significant influence in the vocabulary of native speakers.

5.5 Conclusion

Chapter five has provided a detailed presentation of data that was gathered through the different qualitative methods which include recordings of naturally occurring conversations, participant observation and semi-structured interviews. The various socio-cultural functions of code-switching based on Myers-Scotton's Markedness Model have also been delineated. This is followed by a detailed discussion of the socio-cultural motivations of the code-switching phenomenon. Heller's (1992; 1995) Ideological-Political Model has been used as a supplementary model in the analysis of the socio-cultural functions and motivations of code-switching. The next chapter presents an analysis of IsiZulu terms and code-switches using the Word Smith Tools version six.

CHAPTER SIX

6.0 DATA ANALYSIS USING THE WORDSMITH TOOLS SOFTWARE

6.1 Introduction

This chapter presents an analysis of transcribed spoken corpora using the WordSmith Tools version 6. WordSmith Tools, which developed from the 1993 concordancer Micro-Concord (Johns and Scott, OUP) is a collection of corpus linguistics tools for looking for patterns in a language. The software was devised by Mike Scott at the University of Liverpool and was sold by Oxford University Press. The history of the major versions is as follows; Version 1.0 came out in 1996, followed in 1997 by version 2.0. A couple of years later, version 3.0 came out in 1999. It was not until 2004 that version 4.0 could be produced. This was a version incorporating major changes, adapting to Microsoft's move to 32-bit processing, to Unicode and a series of other alterations, and involved a complete re-write. Four years later, in 2008, out came version 5.0. The current version is 6.0 and it came out in 2011. WordSmith Tools version 6 is for Windows 2000 or later, including Windows 7 (Wikipedia, 2011).

The tools for this software include a concordancer, word-listing facilities, a tool for computing the keywords of a text or genre, and a series of other utilities e.g. to convert text files from one format to another or to make multiple changes in many text files, to examine the format of text files and to download texts from the web. The application of the WordSmith Tools using the Wordlist function to a corpus results in isolating each token and providing a list of all the tokens that are used in the corpus. The researcher through the Wordlist function of this lexical analysis software extracted borrowed words and concepts from the list and noted their frequency in the transcribed IsiZulu spoken corpora. The researcher also focused on the form of these borrowed words while advancing a strong argument that spoken word corpora is significant in providing data for the development and intellectualisation of indigenous languages in South Africa. In the analysis of borrowed words, the researcher classified these into four major categories which include adoptives,

loan shifts, code-mixes and code-switches. This classification is then followed by a presentation of a list of these terms and their frequency based on the spoken word corpus that was designed for this particular study.

6.2 Adopted items

In the process of adopting terms, the borrowing is integrated into the linguistic structure of the borrowing language. This includes new words that are formed by adapting foreign words into the phonological and lexical system of the borrowing language, Ngcobo & Nomdebevana (2010:194). This is evidenced in the following examples;

Adopted word	English Gloss
amabhizinisi	business
ebhayibhelini	in the bible
idimoni	demon
ijele	jail
elokishini	at the township
ubhuti	brother
iklabhu	club

In the above examples, the phonological and morphological structure of adopted words is modified to match the rules of the borrowing language. The adopted words are prefixed and suffixed accordingly in line with the rules of the borrowing language. Sounds that are not or that conflict phonologically with those in the borrowing language are replaced with similar sounds. The Consonant vowel [CV] or Consonant-Consonant Vowel rule [CCV] rule that governs the syllabic structure of IsiZulu is also observed in this process. Examples of such cases can be illustrated as follows;

demon   = *i-+ d (e) i+-mo-+-n- +-i*
location   =*e-+-lo-+-(ca) ki-+ (ti) shi-+-ini*
bible   = *e-+-bha-+yi-+-bhe-+-li-+-ni*
club   = *i-+-(clu) kla-+-(b)-bhu*

It can therefore be said that adoptives conform to all the relevant linguistic features of the adopting language. Although their source language may still be identifiable, sometimes they are no longer viewed as foreign intrusions by speakers of the adopting language.

6.3 Loan shifts

This process takes place when a word that already exists in a borrowing language is used to refer to a borrowed concept which is similar in function or meaning to that which exists in the borrowing language, Ngcobo & Nomdebevana (2010:196). This process can also be referred to as semantic shift. Examples of such words are as follows;

Loan shift	English Gloss
enkonzweni	at church
abangamakholwa	believers
incwadi	book
iphepha	newspaper
umfundisi	priest

In the above examples, '*ukukhonza*' literally means to pay or to give honour. When used as a locative (*enkonzweni*), the word has shifted its meaning to refer to a Christian church. '*ukukholwa*' basically means to believe. However, this word is often used as a noun (*ikholwa*) to refer to a Christian. The word '*iphepha*' literally means a paper but is now also used to refer to a newspaper. The literal translation of the noun '*umfundisi*' is 'a teacher'. However, this noun is used to refer to Christian priests because of their role as teachers and preachers of the word of God.

6.4 Code-mixes

Code-mixes are expressions in which a mixture of the grammar of a language (mostly one of which is the indigenous language) and lexical material from another language (mainly English) is manifested, Allwood et al (2010:888).

The multilingual nature of most South African communities especially townships such as INK renders the code-mixing phenomenon communicatively unavoidable. It is noticeable in the words that have been extracted from the spoken word corpus that there is a considerable number of words that retain their original form or some part of the form from the English language. Examples of such words are as follows;

Code-mix	English Gloss
aba-mixed	the mixed
ama-coloureds	coloureds
ama-pentecost-i	pentecost
i-installment-i	instalment
e-bank	bank

It was noted that in most of the cases, the code-mixes are prefixed with prefixes from the borrowing language but their phonological and morphological characteristics are maintained. This can be illustrated as follows;

aba-mixed = *aba-*+-mixed
ama-coloureds = *ama-*+ -coloureds
i-installment-i = *i-*+instalment-+-*i*
ama-pentecost-i = *ama-*+-pentecos*t*-+*i*

6.5 Code-switches

These are instances of complete and unaltered forms of English that are used in discourses between two speakers of the same language, Allwood et al (2010:888). They range from individual words and phrases to grammatically correct sentences. The use of English code-switches may depend on whether speakers are bilingual or not. The educated will most likely use English forms instead of the adopted forms. Examples of such are as follows;

about; because; and; an; has; have; but; don't; did; all; as; so

6.6 Word frequency using the WordSmith Tools

Based on the spoken word corpus that was designed for this particular study, it is interesting to note that among the top 20 of the frequency list, the majority are code-switches and code-mixes. There are a few adoptives and loan shifts. This is a clear indication that the code-switching phenomenon has become a common feature among IsiZulu speakers. The analysis through the WordSmith Tools was based on a spoken word corpus of approximately twenty one (21 000) thousand tokens. This section will therefore present the different categories of words and their frequency in the spoken word corpora of IsiZulu speakers in the INK area.

6.6.1 Frequency of adopted words and loan shifts

IsiZulu has a significant number of adoptives although their frequency is low when compared to code-switches. These are adopted and adapted inline with the morphological and phonological rules of IsiZulu. On the other hand, there is considerably a small number of loan shifts when compared to adoptives. Most loan shifts are native IsiZulu words which have either broadened or narrowed their semantic meaning. In some instances, the adopted words also undergo the same process of loan shifting as illustrated in the word "iphepha". The following table is a presentation of adoptives, loan shifts and their frequency in the corpus of this particular study.

Adoptive/Loan Shift	English Gloss	Freq	Adoptive/Loan Shift	English Gloss	Freq
Abalaleli	listeners	1	*ibhola*	Ball	20
Abalandeli	followers	2	*Ifoni*	Phone	1
Abamakayo	markers	1	*Igoli*	Goal	1
abangamakholwa	believers	4	*inkampani*	company	1
Abasakazi	broadcasters	1	*ikholwa*	believer	1
Abasetexini	those in a taxi	1	*igiya*	gear	1
Abefundisi	priests	3	*iklabhu*	club	2
Amadimoni	demons	2	*imali*	money	53

Amafoni	phones	1	*imoto*	car	15
Amagoli	goals	2	*incwadi*	book	5
amaphoyisa/ipoyis-a	police	5	*iphepha*	newspaper	1
Emafamu	at the farms	3	*isikole*	School	1
Emakete	at the market	1	*isiNgisi*	english	33
emalokishini/elokis-hini	in locations	7	*isipoki*	spook	6
Emaphepheni	in papers	4	*ithimu*	team	3
Emaphakadeni	in heavens	1	*ivangeli*	evangelism	3
Esikoleni	at school	6	*Iviki*	week	2
Amatende	tents	1	*kukristu*	in Christ	5
Abaprofethi	prophets	1	*kusatane*	in Satan	1
Bengalova	they can abscond	1	*ukusheka*	to check	1
Bhuti	brother	4	*owrongo*	who is wrong	4
Ebhayibhilini	in the bible	3	*ozoscora*	who will score	1
Ebhizinisini	in a business	3	*epoyintini*	at the point	2
Efona	Phoning	2	*ukubhajetha*	budgeting	1
Egiyeni	in a gear	1	*ukufokhasa*	focusing	1
Egroundini	at the grounds	1	*umshini*	machine	1
Emotweni	in the car	3	*umthandazo*	prayer	1
Ehhovisini	at the office	2	*ungumshayeli*	he is a driver	1
Ibhayibheli	in the bible	5	*usisi*	sister	4
Ibhizinisi	business	5	*yethimu*	of the team	2
Iyasaphothana	they support	1			
Iyaphaselana	they pass	1			

6.6.2 Frequency of code-switches

The observation is that among the top ten items on the frequency list, code-switches have the majority. Most of the code-switches with a high frequency comprise of adverbials and conjunctives. The frequency of nouns and verbs is

comparably low. There are a significant number of code-switches which have
a frequency of at least five entries as illustrated in the following table;

Code-switch	Freq	Code-switch	Freq	Code-switch	Freq	Code-switch	Freq
about	18	by	25	fine	5	issue(s)	7
africa	33	can	15	for	40	it	59
africans	7	cant	10	four	9	its	42
after	5	card(s)	9	fourteen	8	jesus	15
aids	5	care	6	from	13	just	14
all	19	change	7	game(s)	6	kg	8
always	5	civil	7	general	5	kit	5
am	14	club	6	act	7	know	17
and	106	culture	5	girl(s)	5	language	9
amen	6	cup	11	go	6	last	8
an	8	customer	5	god	10	laughing	9
answer (s)	9	day(s)	18	good	8	leave	11
apartheid	10	depend	6	government	6	let	8
appointment	5	divide	12	had	7	lets	7
around	5	did	5	half	5	like	29
as	13	do	31	hand	5	look	9
at	22	driver(s)	8	has	8	manager	6
atleast	6	eight(y)	12	have	34	maybe	20
back	10	eish	8	having	9	me	19
bad	10	english	11	hello	8	mix	6
be	28	especially	6	Here	5	mouth	6
because	46	even	24	hey	25	more	7
before	10	every	5	hundred	18	mother	7
book	8	exactly	6	if	18	much	12
both	4	expensive	5	in	44	must	19
brother	5	feelings	8	instance	5	my	21
busy	8	fifty	28	into	96	needed	7

but	110	five	11	is	73	never	7
how	19	him	6	HIV	6	home	5
new	7	radio	7	than	5	very	9
next	5	rands	25	that	92	van	5
nine	6	right	5	the	154	want	9
no	42	same	9	them	9	was	23
not	33	saturday	9	then	38	way	11
now	31	saying	9	there	17	we	79
number	8	school	7	therefore	17	week	5
of	65	serious	5	these	6	were	9
okay	32	seventy	15	they	35	what	51
once	7	she	15	thing	14	when	10
one	51	six	6	things	11	where	8
organisation	10	so	94	think	20	which	5
other	8	social	12	this	36	who	14
out	9	something	14	those	9	why	23
over	6	something	14	thousand	18	will	25
own	6	speak	5	three	12	with	21
peace	6	still	10	time	20	work	6
people	10	straight	5	to	88	wrong	6
person	8	sure	13	too	11	yah	36
phone	29	take	8	true	5	year(s)	16
plan	5	taxi	9	twenty	7	yes	11
plus	6	team(s)	10	two	30	you	115
point	5	tell	5	understand	13	your	25
Problem(s)	11	ten	7	up	11		

6.6.3 Frequency of code-mixes

It has also been observed that there is a significant amount of code-mixes in the conversations of IsiZulu speakers. In this type of borrowing, speakers either prefix or suffix the concerned borrowing without adapting the phonological and morphological structure of the word. This process occurs

despite the existence of native equivalents. The frequency of most code-mixes is basically low when compared to that of code-switches. The table below presents some of the code-mixes and their frequency in the corpus of IsiZulu and English bilinguals

Code-mix	Eng Gloss	Freq	Code-mix	Eng Gloss	Freq
abawu-two	two	1	*e-crèche*	at the crèche	1
ama-boots	boots	1	*e-Doves*	at Doves	1
ama-brand	brands	1	*e-garage*	at the garage	1
ama-case	cases	3	*e-high*	high	1
ama-conditions	conditions	1	*eli-right*	the right one	2
ama-coloureds	coloureds	4	*ema-university*	at universities	4
ama-customer	customers	1	*esi-pink*	Pink	1
ama-details	details	1	*esiyi-tuckshop*	which is a tuckshop	1
aba-mixed	the mixed	1	*e-terminus-i*	at the terminus	1
ama-drama	dramas	1	*i-discipline*	discipline	1
ama-exams	exams	2	*i-character*	character	1
ama-factors	factors	1	*i-case*	case	1
ama-facts	facts	1	*i-comforter*	comforter	1
ama-invitation-i	invitations	1	*i-date*	date	1
ama-leaders	leaders	3	*-i-democracy*	democracy	1
ama-learners	learners	2	*i-dvd*	a dvd	4
ama-license	licences	6	*i-English*	english	4
ama-members	members	1	*i-present-i*	present	2
ama-movie	movies	2	*i-profit-hi*	profit	1
ama-novels	novels	1	*i-respect-i*	respect	1
ama-numbers	numbers	1	*i-installment-i*	instalment	2
ama-opportunities	opportunities	1	*Invit-ha*	invite	1
ama-pentecost-i	pentecosts	1	*i-right*	its right	3
ama-percent-eji	percentages	2	*i-squard-i*	squard	2
ama-presents	presents	3	*i-radio*	radio	3
ama-radio	radios	1	*i-team*	team	2
ama-report-i	reports	1	*i-taxi*	taxi	5
Ama-seats	seats	1	*ka-drink-i*	of drink	2
Ama-security	securities	1	*ku-difficult*	its difficult	1
ama-shares	shares	1	*ku-madrugs*	in drugs	1
ama-special	specials	2	*ku-maperiods*	in periods	1
ama-students-i	students	1	*nama-problems*	with problems	1
ama-subjects-i	subjects	1	*nge-amnesty*	with amnesty	1
ama-supermarkets	supermarkets	1	*nge-weekend*	on the weekend	1
ama-teams	teams	1	*nginama-issues*	I have issues	1

ama-trousers	trousers	1	*ngo-October*	in October	1
ama-views	views	1	*ngo-twelve*	at twelve	1
ama-whites	whites	1	*ngu-driver*	a driver	1
ane-licence	with licences	1	*ngu-four*	four	1
angiyi-trust-i	I don't trust it	1	*ngu-fifty*	fifty	1
banama-coach	they have coaches	2	*o-right*	the right	5
Banama-rings	they have rings	1	*singama-casual*	we are casuals	1
beku-camp-u	at the camp	1	*siyi-discuss-e*	discuss	1
e-bank	at the bank	1	*uku-meet-ha*	to meet	1
e-difficult	difficult	1	*u-grade*	grade	1

6.7 Conclusion

In conclusion, it can be argued that a spoken word approach to the study of language is a significant step towards the development and intellectualisation of indigenous languages. The creation of spoken language corpora and an in-depth analysis of methods such as borrowing, code-switching and code-mixing can contribute positively in generating new term lists. This is a strategy that can necessitate objective terminology development and their acceptance in the wider community. The WordSmith Tools is an important and significant linguistic tool role that could be used by researchers in the analysis of indigenous languages in South Africa for their growth.

CHAPTER SEVEN

7.0 CONCLUSION

7.1 Introduction

This chapter presents a summary and conclusion to the study. A detailed summary of all the chapters is given. This is followed by a discussion of the research questions and objectives which form the backbone of this study. The significance of the study is also delineated followed by the recommendations and concluding remarks.

7.2 Summary of Chapters

Chapter one provided a detailed background to a socio-cultural comprehension and investigation of the IsiZulu-English code-switching phenomenon among bilingual speakers in KwaZulu-Natal and the South African context as a whole. In this chapter, the background information and the rationale of the study were elucidated. This was followed by a presentation of the operational definitions and the hypothesis of this particular study. The research objectives and key questions to the study were also delineated followed by a brief explanation of the methodological considerations of the study. Limitations and delimitations of the study were given in detail and finally, an outline of South Africa's linguistic profile.

Chapter two reviewed literature on code-switching and other related aspects of this linguistic phenomenon in South-Africa and abroad. The different views on the code-switching phenomenon and the points of conflict surrounding the use of terms such as code-switching, code-mixing and borrowing were highlighted in this chapter. A literary review of the early foundational studies on code-switching and code-mixing was also presented. This included a discussion of the various contributions made by scholars such as Espinoza (1917), Barker (1947), Blom and Gumperz (1972), Gumperz and Hernanglez-Chavez (1975), Weinreich (1953), Kachru (1978; 1983), Appel and Muysken (1987), Goffman (1981) and Myers-Scotton (1993; 1998) who can be singled out and described as pioneers to an indepth study of this

phenomenon. The presentation of the early foundational studies of code-switching was followed by a detailed review of the different code-switching and code-mixing studies that have been conducted in the educational and wider South African social context and abroad. Code-switching research by scholars such as Adendorff (1993), Kieswetter (1995), Ncoko et al (2000), Ramsay-Brijball, Moodly (2001; 2003), Finlayson and Slabbert (1997), Kamwangamalu (2000) and McCormick (2002a), among others were reviewed. Literature on the application of Myers-Scotton's (1993b; 1998) Markedness Model in the various studies of code-switching and code-mixing was also discussed in detail. A further review of the different methodologies that have been employed in the study of code-switching and code-mixing was also presented. The last section of this chapter provided a review of literature on issues pertaining to corpus design and highlighted the importance of spoken word corpora in the study of code-switching and code-mixing.

Chapter three focused on the theoretical framework that informs this particular study. The Myers-Scotton (1993b; 1998) Markedness Model which was main theoretical framework adopted for the analysis of code-switching was discussed. The various components of the Myers-Scotton (1993b; 1998) Markedness Model were also explained in this chapter. This included a detailed discussion of the concept of Communicative Competence, the Markedness Metric as well as the Rights and Obligations Set. The different types of code-switching according to Myers-Scotton's (1993b; 1998) Markedness Model, which include the marked choice, unmarked choice, sequential unmarked choice and the explanatory choice, were discussed in detail. Examples of code-switching and code-mixing based on Myers-Scotton's (1993b; 1998) Markedness Model from various studies on this linguistic phenomenon were illustrated. The Myers-Scotton (1993b; 1998) Markedness Model was supplemented by Heller's (1992, 1995) Ideological-Political Model which was also discussed and outlined in this chapter. Heller's Ideological-Political Model was used to necessitate a comprehensive understanding of socio-cultural factors that motivate the code-switching

phenomenon through an analysis of the socio-political, cultural and economic profile of South Africa's history in relation to language usage.

Chapter four described the methodological considerations on which the design of this particular study was based. The chapter preluded with an outline of the four major research paradigms. This included a brief discussion on positivism, phenomenology, critical theory and and the post-modern paradigm. This was followed by a detailed discussion of the phenomenological research paradigm which was the main paradigm that informed this particular study. In this particular case, the history and origins of the phenomenological paradigm, its proponents and its assumptions were discussed. The phenomenological paradigm was also compared with the positivist research paradigm to justify its relevance and importance in the understanding of the social and cultural aspects of code-switching among IsiZulu speakers in KwaZulu-Natal.

The essential features of both qualitative and quantitative approaches which were employed in this study were also delineated. While qualitative research is chacterised by factors such as the natural setting, multiple sources of data, inductive data analysis, participant meanings, emergent design, interpretive inquiry, holistic account and theoretical lens, quantitative research on the other hand is characterised by standardised measures, charts and graphs, a deductive and casual theory, standard procedures and replication, among others. Examples of qualitative research methods were listed and these included auto-ethnography, case studies, critical ethnography, oral history, ethno-methodology and discourse analysis, among others. A discussion of the different qualitative data collection methods that were employed in this study was also provided. The data collection methods were employed in this study included voice recordings of naturally occurring conservations, observation and semi-structured interviews. The chapter concluded with a presentation of the ethical considerations guiding this particular study.

Chapter five provided a presentation and analysis of the data gathered through the various qualitative research methods employed in this particular

study. The preluding section of the chapter discussed the data that was gathered through the different qualitative methods that were used for the purposes of addressing the key questions to the study. This was followed by an analysis of code-switching data based on Myers-Scotton's (1993b; 1998) Markedness Model. Illustrations of the various instances of code-switching, which include the unmarked choice, marked choice, sequential unmarked choice and explanatory choice, and the social and cultural functions of this language phenomenon were also delineated. Lastly, the different social and cultural factors that trigger and motivate code-switching were presented and discussed in detail.

Chapter six presented an analysis of transcribed spoken corpora using the WordSmith Tools version six. The application of the WordSmith Tools to a corpus resulted in the isolation of each token and providing a list of all the tokens that were used in the corpus. The researcher through the Wordlist function, of this particular software, extracted adopted items, loan shifts, code-switches and code-mixes from the list and noted their frequency of use in the transcribed IsiZulu spoken corpora of approximately thirty one thousand (31 000) tokens. The researcher also focused on the form of these borrowed words while advancing the strong argument that spoken word corpora is significant in providing data for the development and intellectualisation of indigenous languages in South Africa.

7.3 Research questions and objectives

In chapter one, the objectives and research questions, which are the backbone of the study, are presented. This section of the chapter will therefore present and discuss the three main research questions of this study.

7.3.1 **What are the social and cultural functions of code-switching among IsiZulu speakers?**

English-IsiZulu code-switching performs a number of functions among IsiZulu bilinguals. The socio-cultural functions of code-switching were analysed in terms of Myers-Scotton's (1993b; 1998) Markedness Model.

According to this model, there are four major types of code-switching. These include code-switching as a marked choice; code-switching as an unmarked choice, code-switching as an explanatory choice and code-switching as a sequential unmarked choice. A number of functions are therefore attributed to each type of code-switching as follows;

a) Functions of code-switching as a marked choice

Code-switching as a marked choice occurs mostly in formal situations. According to Myers-Scotton (1993b) when code-switching occurs as a marked choice, speakers simply do not wish to identify with the expected Rights & Obligations Set (RO) and this usually occurs in conventionalised interactions. They add that this maxim directs speakers to put aside presumptions that are based on societal norms for certain circumstances. In this study, the following functions were observed;

- To reprimand
- For expansion
- For self expression
- To gain authority over an argument
- For creating social distance
- To express sentiments of anger and annoyance
- To signify group solidarity and identity
- For humour to ease tension.

b) **Functions of code-switching as an unmarked choice**

In this type of code switching, speakers engage in a continuous pattern using two or more languages. Often the switching takes place within a single sentence or even within a single word (Myers-Scotton 1993b: 117). There are certain conditions that have to be met for unmarked code-switching to occur. Firstly, the speaker must have bilingual peers. Secondly, the interaction has to be one in which the speakers wish to symbolize the mutual membership that this type of code switching calls for. The third criterion, most important in this type of interaction, is that the speaker must positively evaluate his/her own

identity, the indexical value of the varieties used in the switching. Fourthly, while proficiency is an important condition of code-switching, a speaker-hearer need only be relative proficient in the two languages involved (Myers-Scotton (1993b:119). In this study, it was observed that this type of code-switching occurs mostly in informal interactions and the functions are as follows;

- For emphasis
- To clarify a concept
- For humour
- For social identity
- Word replacement
- A means of self expression
- Expression of feelings
- For direct quotations
- To accommodate other speakers

c) Functions of code-switching as a sequential unmarked choice

When the situational factors change within the course of a conversation, the unmarked Right & Obligations set (RO) may change. In many cases, the unmarked RO set changes when the participant composition of the change conversation changes, for example when the focus or topic of the conversation is shifted. (Myers-Scotton 1993b:114). According to Slabbert and Finlayson (1997) this type of code-switching is essentially from one unmarked choice, motivated by a change in the context or topic. There were a few recorded instances of this type of code-switching and it was envisaged to perform the following functions;

- To divert attention
- To exclude another speaker from a conversation
- To reinforce a request
- For emphasising a concept or idea

d) Code-switching as an explanatory choice

This type of code-switching occurs when the speakers themselves are unsure of the expected or optimal communicative intent or RO set. Explanatory code-switching is the least common type of code choice, not often needed, as the unmarked choice is usually clear (Myers-Scotton 1993b:142). This is often the case in the meeting of different cultures and social identities .Explanatory code-switching may also occur when societal norms are in state of transformation (Myers-Scotton, 1993b: 142). A single instance of this type of code-switching was noted and it served the function of negotiating the central language of communication.

7.3.2 What are the social and cultural factors that trigger and motivate the code-switching phenomenon among IsiZulu speakers?

A number of social, cultural, socio-psychological and linguistic aspects were identified as factors that trigger the code-switching phenomenon among IsiZulu speakers. These are as follows;

- Colonial and apartheid educational policies.
- Religion
- Cultural loyalty and disloyalty
- Social class and group identity
- Political influence
- Linguistic factors (word replacement and incompetence in a language)
- Unconscious or subconscious behaviour
- Language attitudes
- The influence of the media

Firstly, colonialism and the apartheid educational background had a negative impact on indigenous languages in South Africa, and this could be used to account for IsiZulu-English code-switching among most speakers. The colonial and apartheid educational policies promoted English and Afrikaans among speakers of indigenous languages while the indigenous languages were sidelined and given little attention**.**

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Language attitudes are also a motivating factor of code-switching. Most IsiZulu speakers of English accord more prestige status to English. Sometimes, there is conscious display of knowledge of a supposedly more prestigious language by some IsiZulu-English bilinguals, which in this case is English. In some cases, code-switching also occurs as an unconscious and subconscious behaviour. To some IsiZulu-English bilinguals, code-switching has become a habit and mostly occur subconsciously when speaking with another IsiZulu speaker whether bilingual or monolingual. This can be noted in situations such as public addresses, formal discussion in IsiZulu and informal conversations with fellow IsiZulu people. On the other hand, it is unconscious because most people may not be aware that they have switched or be able to report, following a conversation which code they have used to utter particular phrases or words.

Cultural disloyalty and loyalty is also one of the motivating factors of code-switching. The desire for foreign things among the IsiZulu speakers, could also account for the predominance of code-switching. As a result, an IsiZulu speaker could borrow words of English and quickly assimilate them into the phonological structure of IsiZulu. I view this as an indication of lack of love for one's language and therefore a form of cultural disloyalty. However, on the other hand, some IsiZulu speakers are involved in code-switching as a strategy of upholding and observance of some traditional norms and values. One such aspect is the usage of taboo words in speech. Traditionally, words referring to sensitive topics and sexual organs are usually substituted with more less sensitive ones and culturally acceptable ones.

There are certain linguistic factors that contribute to the predominance of code-switching among IsiZulu speakers. There are many concepts and expressions that do not have readily available equivalents in IsiZulu. IsiZulu speakers in this kind of situation have no choice than to switch to English. The difficulty in getting an equivalent expression motivates the switching. In addition, a low level of competence is also a motivating factor. A balanced bilingual is one who has attained equal level of competence in both languages.

This seems to be an ideal situation that is rarely achieved. Most people have one language dominating the other. It seems English has become dominant over IsiZulu for most educated IsiZulu speakers. It is usually speech based on the weaker language that is more flooded with expressions from the more dominant language.

The desire to identify with a particular social class or group also triggers this phenomenon. The craving to belong to a better class in society and the need to be associated and identified with the elite is also one of the factors that motivate the phenomenon of code-switching among IsiZulu speakers. The knowledge of English is evidence of educational achievement. Education is a passport to economic empowerment and success is measured by the type of job that one does and material accomplishments. It is upon such a background that speakers are involved in code-switching while trying to express their positions in society and identifying themselves with the elite in society.

Politics is also singled out to be one of the major factors that have promoted the influence of the English language at the expense of indigenous languages. The role of language and the power that the English language has been accorded within the political spheres of life of the South-African population undoubtedly influences the way speakers of indigenous language use their language, an obvious result being the code-switching phenomenon.

Christianity also promoted the English language at the expense of indigenous languages. This trend is noticeable in most modern Christian churches where the mixing of IsiZulu with English in preaching and religious discussions has become a common feature among most Christians. As a result, speakers are left with the option of using both languages concurrently resulting in the code-switching phenomenon especially in charismatic churches. While it can be said that Christianity alienates one from his/her traditional beliefs, it also alienates them from their language.

7.3.3 Is a spoken language corpus a requirement in maintaining language vitality?

In this study, it has been discovered that spoken word corpora is important in the development and intellectualisation of indigenous languages in South Africa. Corpora can be used as a means for generating new term lists. This is a strategy that can necessitate the creation and acceptance of new terms by a wider community. There is a lot of words that have been adopted and coined to IsiZulu. Such terms can be used as a basis for generating other terms as the need arises.

A number of scholars have argued for the use of spoken word corpora in linguistic analysis. According to Lamel & Cole (1998:388) spoken language is central to human communication and has significant links to both national identity and individual existence. The structure of spoken language is shaped by many factors. It is structured by the phonological, syntactic and prosodic structure of the language being spoken, by the acoustic environment and context in which it is produced. Moreover, Allwood & Hagman (1994), on the other hand assert that spoken language is a fundamental trait of the human species. They further argue that;

> Spoken language is fundamental also from a social point of
> view since it is integrated not only with the human brain but
> also with human society in various not yet totally understood
> ways (Allwood & Hagman 1994:1).

Spoken word corpora will enable researchers and language institutions to preserve languages minorities, restore speech varieties and study speech patterns of the speakers coming from different walks of life and will produce results that may be different from results obtained from written corpus. There are a number of advantages associated with the use of spoken word corpora as opposed to written corpora. A spoken word corpus will reflect on languages as they are actually spoken in real life situations and provide broad representative samples extending over a wide selection of variables (e.g. Speakers' sex, age and class). It will also represent generalisations about spoken language as well as variations within spoken languages (Dash, 2000:3).

Spoken word corpora will supply samples of naturalistic speech rather than speech developed under artificial conditions. In addition, it will furnish acoustic and phonetic aspects of speech research. Furthermore, it enables suitable qualitative analysis with phonetic and prosodic annotation and encourages comparative study with written corpus to note primary similarities and differences. Lastly, spoken word corpora provides relevant data and information for writing grammar of spoken language and supplies information for language teaching, speech processing and other similarities (Dash, 2000:3).

7.4   Significance of the study

The significance of this study lies on the fact that code-switching is socially and culturally motivated and that speakers switch codes in order to achieve a range of communicative goals. Code-switching has often been viewed as a sign of mental confusion and linguistic incompetence (Lipski, 1982). However, this study has adopted an approach that does not seek to underestimate or undermine one's mental capability and linguistic competence because he/she engages in code-switching. Infact, it seeks to advance the view that the code-switching phenomenon has become an unavoidable especially in multilingual contexts and this is a result of social and cultural factors.

This study also seeks to contribute to the currently existing spoken language corpora that have already been collected for indigenous languages in South Africa. The only available spoken word corpus, according to my knowledge, is that which has been collected through the South African Spoken Language Corpus (SASLC) project, a joint linguistic project between the Departments of Linguistics at Unisa and Gothenburg (Sweden). According to Ngcobo and Nomdebevana (2010:192), while English and other European languages have large amounts of corpora and are currently far advanced in this development, there is still no comprehensive spoken corpora available for the indigenous languages in South Africa. In addition, some scholars have argued that multimodal and spoken language corpora are relatively unexplored, and complementary to written language corpora in several senses yet written

language data as opposed to spoken language data, are easy to collect from the web (Scannell, 2007; Streiter et al, 2006).

Furthermore, this study also seeks to demonstrate the importance of spoken word corpora in the development and intellectualisation of indigenous languages in South Africa. In the various efforts that have been made aimed towards the development and intellectualisation of indigenous languages, terminology development can be singled out as one of the important aspects in achieving this goal. It is therefore important that the development of terms be based on representative samples of speech of the concerned language. Most scholars have argued that written speech does not fully represent language as it is used in daily life as opposed to spoken word corpora (Lamel & Cole, 1998; Newman, 2008; Hunston & Francis, 2000). This study will therefore go a long way in providing samples of language as they occur in natural conversations. These could be a major contribution to the currently existing spoken word corpora that has been collected for IsiZulu through the SASLC project. Such an approach will necessitate the extraction of adopted words, coinages, code-mixes and code-switches from such corpora and this can be used by lexicographers and linguists in language development and intellectualisation.

This study also seeks to provide language planners with an opportunity to explore some of the factors that have hindered the development and intellectualisation of indigenous languages in South Africa. This will result in the formulation of mechanisms and initiatives that seek to counter and deal with the past inbalances while providing a platform to formulate strategies and policies that encourage the development of indigenous languages in South Africa.

7.5 Recommendations

We recommend that;

- Lexicographers and linguists adopt an approach that recognises spoken word corpora as significant in the analysis, development and intellectualisation of indigenous languages. This is important considering the fact language is dynamic and changes over time hence spoken word corpora provides representative samples of natural speech forms at a given specific time.

- Lexicographers in indigenous languages of South Africa should work assiduously and in a co-ordinated fashion to develop terminologies; and the broadcasting media houses should have access to standardized terms. By so doing the developed terminologies will become household terms. This, we believe, will help to reduce the incidence of code-switching among the IsiZulu speakers as well as help in the development and intellectualisation of the indigenous languages of South Africa.

- In order to make full use of corpus data, existing linguistic tools need to be adapted and redesigned in order to deal with the languages in question, most specifically, the historically marginalised indigenous languages of South Africa. Most linguistic tools are designed for European languages and they lack flexibility and less human labour at the expense of accuracy in the analysis of indigenous languages.

- Resources and funding should be made available for the collection of spoken language corpora for all indigenous languages in South Africa to necessitate their development and intellectualisation. Such resources and funding could be channelled to the South African Spoken Language Corpus (SASLC) project which is currently the only project, according to my knowledge, that deals with the collection of spoken word corpora for indigenous languages in South Africa.

- Researchers should investigate the code-switching phenomenon within the broadcasting media. There is a lot of community and national radio stations that broadcast in indigenous languages and the involvement of the community is high. This industry is characterised by various social, political, business and educational programmes and it is highly possible that new words and terms are attested in such conversations. Spoken word corpora collected from these radio broadcasts can be a positive contribution towards the development and intellectualisation of indigenous languages in South Africa.

7.6 Conclusion

This study has uncovered the socio-cultural functions and motivations of code-switching among IsiZulu speakers in KwaZulu-natal. The code-switching phenomenon is not only a result of language incompetence but rather plays an important role in enhancing effective communication and in most cases involves a significant amount of skill and knowledge in both languages. Therefore it can be argued that code-switching serves a number of functions in speech and these include emphasis, clarifying, accommodation and exclusion, word replacement, expanding, among others. This phenomenon is motivated by social and cultural factors such as one's educational background, the influence of the media, social identity, cultural loyalty and disloyalty, the influence of Christianity, political influence, unconscious linguistic behaviour and linguistic incompetence. This study has also demonstrated the importance and significance of spoken word corpora in the development and intellectualisation of indigenous languages in South Africa. Spoken word corpora can be used as a basis for generating new term lists as need arises. The morphology of indigenous languages is flexible and therefore allows the formation of a variety of word patterns. This is the strategy that can necessitate term creation and the acceptance of such terms by the wider community, a significant step towards the intellectualisation of indigenous languages in South Africa. We shall conclude by saying that code-switching is a natural language phenomenon and not bad in itself but let it be

guided among the IsiZulu-English bilinguals by Fishman's (1965) questions of who speaks what language, to whom and when?

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Appendix 1

Informed Consent Form

FACULTY OF HUMANITIES, DEVELOPMENT AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

This informed consent form is for IsiZulu speakers at Inanda, Ntuzuma and KwaMashu (INK) who we are invited to participate in a research titled ' A socio-cultural approach to code-switching and code-mixing among speakers of IsiZulu in the Inanda, Ntuzuma and KwaMashu (INK) area of KwaZulu-Natal: A contribution to spoken language corpora.'

Name of Student   : Hloniphani Ndebele
Name of Institution   : University of KwaZulu-Natal
Student Number   : 210504400
Supervisor   : Prof N. Hlongwa
                         : Dr G Mazibuko
Contact number   : 0745553109

Introduction
My name is Hloniphani Ndebele and I am a student at the University of KwaZulu-Natal in the faculty of Humanities and social sciences, School of IsiZulu. I am conducting a spoken word corpus based research on code-switching and code-mixing among Isizulu speakers at Inanda, Ntuzuma and KwaMashu. I am going to give you information and invite you to be part of this research. You do not have to decide today whether or not you will participate in the research. Before you decide, you can talk to anyone you feel comfortable with about the research. This consent form may contain words that you do not understand. Please ask me to stop as we go through the information and I will take time to explain. If you have questions later, you can ask me.

Objectives of the study
- To investigate the social-cultural meanings and functions of code-switching among IsiZulu speakers.
- To determine the social and cultural motivations of code-switching in terms of Myers-Scotton (1993b; 1998) Markedness Model.

- To determine if a spoken language corpus is a requirement in maintaining language vitality?

Type of Research Intervention
This research will involve your participation in interviews that will take about twenty to thirty minutes.

Participant Selection
You are being invited to take part in this research because we feel that as a 1st language Isizulu speaker, you can contribute much to our understanding and knowledge on language usage at INK.

Voluntary Participation
Your participation in this research is entirely voluntary. It is your choice whether to participate or not. The choice that you make will have no bearing on your job or on any work-related evaluations or reports. You may change your mind later and stop participating even if you agreed earlier.

Procedures
I will conduct the interviews myself at any setting that you are comfortable with. If it is better for you, the interview can take place in your home or a friend's home. If you do not wish to answer any of the questions during the interview, you may say so and the interviewer will move on to the next question. The information recorded is confidential, and no one else except the interviewer will have access to the information documented during your interview. The entire interview will be voice-recorded, but no-one will be identified by name on the recordings. The recordings will be transcribed and stored as computer textual files. The information recorded is confidential, and no one else except me will have access to the recordings.

Duration
Each interview will take about twenty to thirty minutes.

Risks
There are no risks associated with your participation in this research.

Benefits
There will be no direct benefit to you, but your participation is likely to help us find out more about language usage at INK.

Confidentiality
The research being done in the community may draw attention and if you participate you may be asked questions by other people in the community. We will not be sharing information about you to anyone outside of the research team. The information that we collect from this research project will be kept private. Any information about you will have a number on it instead of your name. Only the researchers will know what your number is. It will not be shared with or given to anyone.

Sharing the Results

Nothing that you tell us today will be shared with anybody outside the research team, and nothing will be attributed to you by name. The knowledge that we get from this research will be shared with you and your community before it is made widely available to the public. Each participant will receive a summary of the results.

Right to Refuse or Withdraw

You do not have to take part in this research if you do not wish to do so, and choosing to participate will not affect you in any way. You may stop participating in the interview at any time that you wish without you being affected. I will give you an opportunity at the end of the interview to review your remarks, and you can ask to modify or remove portions of those, if you do not agree with my remarks.

Who to Contact.

For any information about this research or me, you can contact my supervisors,

Prof N. Hlongwa
University of KwaZulu-Natal
Contact: 0312602207

Dr G. Mazibuko
University of KwaZulu-Natal
Contact: 031 260 7034

Part II: Certificate of Consent

I have read the foregoing information. I have had the opportunity to ask questions about it and any questions I have asked have been answered to my satisfaction. I consent voluntarily to be a participant in this study. I confirm that I have not been coerced into giving consent, and the consent has been given freely and voluntarily.

Ubufakazi bokuvuma
Sengiwufundile umbiko oqukethwe kule incwadi. Ngilitholile ithuba lokubuza imibuzo ngalolucwaningo. Yonke imibuzo engiyibuzile iphenduleke kahle ngendlela enelisayo. Ngiyazimisela ukuba ngumhlanganyeli kulolucwaningo ngikhululekile, ngingesatshiswanga njalo kuyintando yami.

Signature of Participant (*Umhlanganyeli*) _____
Date (*Usuku*) _____
                                Day/month/year

I have accurately read out the information sheet to the potential participant, and to the best of my ability made sure that the participant understands. I confirm that the participant was given an opportunity to ask questions about the study, and all the questions asked by the participant have been answered correctly and to the best of my ability. I confirm that the individual has not been coerced into giving consent, and the consent has been given freely and voluntarily.

Ngiwufundile ngokuphelela umbiko oqukethwe kule incwadi ngazama ngamandla wonke ukuba kuzwisiseke. Ngiqinisekisa ukuba umhlanganyeli uphiwe ithuba lokubuza imibuzo ngalolucwaningo. Yonke imibuzo iphendulwe ngedlela enelisayo .Umhlanganyeli uvumile ukuhlanganyela kulolucwaningo ngokukhululeka engesatshiswanga njalo kuyintando yakhe.

Print Name of Researcher (*Bhala igama lomcwaningi*)_____

Signature of Researcher (*Sayina*)_____

Date *(Usuku)* _____
                                Day/month/year

Appendix 2

Samples of Transcriptions

Sample 1

This is a conversation between a young lady and a young man about marriage. They are both not conscious that they are being recorded. Both of them are single and not married and are working.

SPEAKER 1: But *engafundile kakhulu. Uyabona umuntu ofundile, yikho nje abanye abantu bethi imfundo le ivela kuSatane. Ayikho* right *nje lento uyabona unkosikazi ofundile.*

SPEAKER 2: *Yeh, uyazi… uyazi…* you know.

SPEAKER 1: *Uyabona unkosikazi ofundile, uyabona laba abafunde kakhulu, enye into abahloniphi ngikutshel' iqiniso. I-respect nje abanayo. Ngiyayibona nje lento* even *nasemsebenzini. Indlela nje abaziphatha ngayo* sometimes *ayikho* right. *Ngicabanga nje ukuthi babekhuluma abanye abawu-two emsebenzini* this other day, *bekhuluma nje* generally, *bashadile uyababona banama-*rings but *bekhuluma ngabanye abantu, bekhuluma ukuthi banama* extra marital affairs. *Uyabona bekhuluma ngabantu abasebenza nabo,* then *omunye uyafona, ekhuluma izinto ezi-funny ngathi ha!* But *abantu laba banama-*ring *nje ngakhombisa uSindy ngathi zwana ukuthi abantu laba bathini. Yikho nje mina ngingafisi ukushada umuntu ofunde kakhulu*

SPEAKER 2: No guys…

SPEAKER 1: *Umbona nje nokuhamba kwakhe ukuthi lo muntu akavuthiwe ekhanda….ha …ha….ha. Ngeke mina sisi wami, ha….ha…ha…Angisifuni i-*stress *mina. Umuntu ozubuya aku-*challen-*je.*

SPEAKER 2: *He…he...he...Uyazi ukuthini, uyazi angikuphikisi ngiyavumelana nawe* but not *bonke,* not *bonke.*

SPEAKER 1: Not *bonke.Yah khona kuya ngomuntu.*

SPEAKER 2: *Ngibabonile abantu abafundile abahloniphayo ababaziyo abayeni babo. Kunomunye uThisha owayefundisa mina.* Okay fine *uthisha akafundanga kakhulu* but *nguThisha. Umyeni wakhe ubengasebenzi* by that time. *Watheng' imoto u-*Mam *wayinikeza umyeni wakhe, wahamba ngezinyawo yena egibela ibhasi. Umyeni wakhe ubehlupha ngabantu besifazana, ephuza, uyayizwa leyonto. Ufundile lo mama, nobaba ufundile kodwa ukulesi simo esingamukeleki kahle-hle sokuthi vele umuntu okufanele ondle ekhaya ngubaba kodwa ngalesi sikhathi wayengasebenzi. Lo mama wayimela indawo yakhe, waqhubeka wondla* as if it's her responsibility. *Angikhulumi indaba yokuthi ngizokutshela ngomuntu okude* or *umuntu*

*osebhayibhelini ongeke usambona ngikutshela indaba yomuntu ongambona, uyahlonipha loya mama and namanje usahleli emshadweni wakhe. Ubaba useyasebenza, useyithengile umama imoto yakhe nobaba unemoto kumnandi kuhleli i-*family *iya*-enjoy-*a*

SPEAKER 1: *Yah*, I think *indaba yonke le* it revolves around *i*-character *yomuntu.*

SPEAKER 2: *Yes, yes*

SPEAKER 1: *Uma uthole one*-character *e*-right *nje ngeke akuhluphe umuntu* but somehow somewhere, *imfundo, imfundo. Kukhona okunye okusuka kufike emqondweni womuntu kumshintshe ne*-character *yakhe kancane. Yiyona-ke mina into engiyesabayo le engingayithandi.* Especially *labo abafunde kakhulu, angimfuni umuntu ofunde kakhulu sisi wami.*

SPEAKER 2: *Musa ukuba ligwala, awuzethembi yini? Uyazi lento oyikhulumayo kumina isho ukuthi awuzethembi. Abantu bonke besilisa mina esengike ngakhuluma nabo abadala, abangangami, abancane abathandi ukushada nabantu abafundile ngoba bathi abahloniphi,* two *bathi aba*-depend-*eli kubo.Umuntu wesilisa unayo le*-feeling *yokuthi kufanele u*-depend-*ele kuye.* So if *ungazucela* anything *kuye kuba yinkinga.*

SPEAKER 1: *Kumele kube njalo, uma sekuzoba nobaba abawu*-two *ekhaya uthi kuthiweni?*

SPEAKER 2: *Hayi Joe, akusuye ubaba phela.*

SPEAKER 1: *Lalela, lalela,* the moment *umuntu lo esazi ukuthi* I have got my own salary can do anything then *akakuhloniphi. Uyindoda nje nawe, ufika akushayel' umthetho efika nje lapho, afike endlini yakho, mhlawumbe nje wena* you don't believe in *abafazi abafaka ama*-trousers, *uzombona ngolunye usuku ufake ibhulukwe uya emsebenzini uzomthini. Uzokutshela ukuthi i*-uniform *yakhe yasemsebenzini. Ah! ngeke ngempela. Ayi ngeke sisi baya*-challen-*jana, ngeke.*

SPEAKER 2: *Uzokulalela, lalela lapha, uma wena uthandazile uNkulunkulu uzokunika unkosikazi o*-right unless *wena uzothatha unkosikazi womuntu. Unkosikazi womuntu ngeke aze akulalele* and *futhi ngeke aze akuhloniphe* that's why *imishado eminingi inga*-last-*i. Lalela ngi*-quot-*he izinto ezi*-fair….*Ngibalula ukuthi wena john uma uthatha umuntu uNkulunkulu akunike yena, uzinika ithuba ukhuleka ufuna unkosikazi wakho uNkulunkulu uzokunika unkosikazi wakho* and *uzoba yilento oyifunayo ngoba uyakwazi unkulunkulu ukuthi ungubani njalo ufunani. Kodwa uma ubuka lezi zinto ebengizibala, ngifuna umuntu ohamba ngemoto ethile, ngifuna umuntu ozothi uma ngithi asibeke imali abeke imali hayi umuntu ongazi ukuthi wenzani. Awusafuni unkosikazi, wena ufuna umsebenzi, ufuna umuntu osebenzayo.*

SPEAKER 1: But *uyabona nje mina into engiyibhekile, uyabona* the first thing nje *engiyibhekile.*
SPEAKER 2: *Akangafundi kakhulu.*

SPEAKER 1: *Hayi leyo i*-secondary, *kodwa nje into engiyibhekile mina i*-charactor *yomuntu. Baningi abantu abathi bayakholwa bona bengakholwa. Enkonzweni umuntu ulibala osisi nathi obhuti sinjalo sithi siyakholwa kodwa asikholwa.*

SPEAKER 2: *Ha ha...ha... ngihlekiswa ukuthi* it's true and *ku-*worse *ngase-sid-ini lenu nakwelethu. Kulezi zinsuku osisi baya esontweni* most of them *bayofuna abantu besilisa. Abafana bathi besonta bayaqalaza ukuthi kambe ngingase ngiganwe ngubani lana* of which *mina ngikhule enkonzweni,* it's a pity, *bekukhona OJ.... naboS.....* It's a pity *ukuthi mina uma ngikhonza nawe.* I take you as *ubhuti wami owakithi.* I can say *noma yini engiyifunayo hamb' ugeze, hamb' ukame wena usuzothi kungani enginaka kangaka.*

Sample 2

In a taxi, the passengers are complaining about delays after the taxi driver is stopped by the policeman for bad driving

SPEAKER 1: *Kodwa khona hayi kusuka kungekho* right

SPEAKER 2: *Ehe kusuka kungekho* right *kodwa ngenxa yokuthi i-*transport *isuka ibheda ayikho i-*choice. *Bese ethi umuntu i-*wrong taxi *ngoba yena ehamba kahle ngemoto.*

SPEAKER 3: *kade simile sifice u-*line *umude ekuseni.*

SPEAKER 1: *Myekeni ngumsebenzi wakhe, usebenza ngakho.*

S2: *Nanso-ke i-*taxi *iyahamba, siyagibela-ke thina siyibona i-*right. *Siyibona ngani-ke thina ukuthi i-*wrong taxi *ngoba ngeke siyibone, kusho ukuthi i-*hard luck *nje. Uyabona uma ungumshayeli, akekho umshayeli o-*perfect *akekho umuntu ongenzi iphutha lokushayela. Yebo phela ma uthi uzimele lapho washaywa yitekisi uzothini wena ngubani o-*wrong-*o, ufe wena muntu omi lapha eceleni, bese uthi ngu-*driver *o-*wrong-*o,* so *ke* that's a part of life *yinto ephilwa lapha emgwaqweni uma ngabe ungumshayeli uzokwazi ukuthi yi-*risk *yethu lendaba yemgwaqweni. Ungathi wena u-*right *ushayiswe ngomunye umuntu sife sonke esiphakathi lana.* So who is to blame for that? *Ngulowo* driver

SPEAKER 1: *Yebo ngoba uyobe e-*wrong-*o*

SPEAKER 2: If *kwenzeka nje uma ngabe uyafa, uyafa nje ngeke ulokhu ukhuluma into eziningi.*

SPEAKER 1: *Kodwa phela uma ngabe efika amaphoyisa ayom-*charger *o-*wrong-*o lapho. Ayawenza umsebenzi wawo.*
SPEAKER 2: *Kodwa senifile nina angithi, senifile kodwa okusalayo, yebo kodwa sewuphumile umphefumulo.*

SPEAKER 1: *Noma ningasakhulumi phela nina kodwa ayawenza umsebenzi wawo.*

SPEAKER 2: My argument *ukuthi umphefumulo sewuphumile.* So *umuntu oshayela imoto* they take risks *emgwaqweni,* they are drivers *bayazi ukuthi vele kuyenziwa lokhu emgwaqweni hayi ukuthi kuqala ngalo*-driver *ukuthi athathe i*-risk *nawe uma kungukuthi ungumshayeli ubuzokwazi.*

SPEAKER 1: *Kodwa uma usubanjiwe, kodwa uma usubanjiwe?*

SPEAKER 2: *Kodwa uma sekufe abantu ke? Sekufe abantu manje iphoyisa lizowuvusa umphefumulo? Ngeke liwuvuse umphefumulo, ufile ufile.* Whether *yilona o*-wrong-*o* or *nguwena o*-right. *Mina ngicikwa ukuthi umuntu athi* you took a wrong taxi. *Ibhalwephi ukuthi le*-taxi *i*-wrong-*o. Nayi into engicasulayo. Ibhalwephi uma engangikhombisa.*

SPEAKER 1: *Ukube nathi besilindile saze   sathethisa yena u*-driver *obesemotweni ngabe asiyitholanga lempendulo. Manje nathi sifune ukuthethisa umuntu o*-wrong-*o okade engekho ongabonanga*, that's why *sithole le*-answer.

SPEAKER 4: *Mina sengi*-late *nje....ngiyophinda emuva* straight. *Ngijika e*-market *nje.* Quarter to eight *mina ngingena u*-eight *ngeke. Ngeke ngiyaphinda emuva nje* straight.

Sample 3.

Preaching in one of the charismatic churches at Inanda.

A: Preacher
B: Congregation

SPEAKER A: *Wafika waba njani? Waba njengesihambi kodwa wayesazi ukuthi unguNkululunkulu amazwi okuphila akuye*, Haleluyah:

SPEAKER B: (Congregation answers) Yes Lord….Amen

SPEAKER A: *Pho siya kubani. Babengatotoswa, babengambambathwa emhlane, babengazami ukuthi mhlawumbe ba-*organiz*-e ngendlela ezithize,* never, never. *Nawe ungabheki ukutotoswa, ungabheki ukuthi mhlawumbe hayi* never *angeke,* alleluyah, amen, *ngoba yini? Amazwi okuphila okungunaphakade akuJesu Kristu kuphela, uma usuka kuye uzoya kubani?*

SPEAKER B: Amen….Alleluyah…..Yes lord

SPEAKER A: *Into eyenzakalayo uba yinhlekisa kule lizwe. Awubhek' awubhek' awubhek' amantombazana la akholwa yini. Oh awubabuke angathi asindisiwe ngaphakathi nangaphandle, buka nje ahubhazela ngeziketi ezinkulu. Bayazi abase* Holy Cross. *Bayazi nampa bangofakazi. Bayitiye endaweni kuthiwe babuke sengathi baganile uma besiza. Yah vele wendiselwe endodeni enguKristu. Ungangejabule kanjani uma wendiselwa endodeni okuyiyonayona, wendiselwe kuKristu. Usuke kuleli lizwe waphuma weza kuKristu*

SPEAKER B: (Congregation answers differently) Yes Lord…Yes Sir …….Amen…That's true Sir.

SPEAKER A: *Pho ungethokoze ngani? Sebenza lokhu nalokhuya ngapha kodwa mawubonge uNkulunkulu ukuthi uphumile. Mawubonge unkulunkulu ukuthi* I have left.*Manje ngisezweni lakho okungumakhi nomenzi walo kunguwena. La kukhona amazwi okuphila okungunaphakade khona. Lapho kukhona amazwi okuphila okungunaphakade bazenzela noma yini. Kodwa makabongwe uNkulunkulu, UKristu. UPetro wathi awu Nkosi siyoba yini singenakho ukuphila okunaphakade. Ngeke siye ndawo. Sizohlala nawe Nkosi.* (Congregation applauds, Yes Lord…Amen) *Abantu sebehambile uzohlala kanjani? Hayi ngizohlala ngoba ngize kuwena Nkosi. Angizanga kubangane, angizanga ezihlotsheni, angizanga kubani cha, angikho engcebelekeni, ngize kuwena Nkosi. Yiyonanto esiyizele lana, size kuKristu uJesu kuphela,* nothing else.*Yini into esidala sibe la, amazwi okuphila okungunaphakade akithi. Ngeke sawathola kwenye indawo akuye. Ngeke sakwazi ukumkhonza kuleliya naleliya cha, ngoba amazwi okuphila okungunaphakathi akuye. Yiyona nto esiyilandelayo ekumkhonzeni, silandela ukuphila okungunaphakade,* eternal life. *Ngoba lokhu kuphila okungunaphakade uyakwenzani? Ngoba lokhu kuphila okuphakade uyakuthatha akukhiphe akwehlisele kuthina,* Amen. *Isikhathi sokuphuma. Angikhathali ukuthi omunye uthini nokuthini kodwa yisikhathi sokuphuma.*

Sample 4.

Discussion at an informal setting. Speaker A is relating a story to speaker B. There are non IsiZulu speakers among them and they sometimes code-switch to accommodate these speakers.

SPEAKER A: *Wayenemali yomuntu eningi, yena wayithatha wayipha leyontombazana kanti le ntombazana yisigebengu esihlangene nomkhwenyana waleyontombazana ayethandana nayo.*

SPEAKER B: Okay, *kwasekuhamba kanjani?*

SPEAKER A: *Ayi seku-*search-*wa icala,* lucky *ke wabathola wayibuyisa imali* but *nje uyabo, naye e-*involved *nama… kuthiwa yini ama-*station commander.

SPEAKER C: Lydia what are you talking about?

SPEAKER A: No I am just telling him about something…*Hayi nxa ithanda izindaba le ngane. Ima ngikhulume ngesiZulu.* So *kwahamba kanjalo-ke. Kwavesane kwathi sekuhlangene bonke abantu ababethinteka wavesane wahamba waya esibhedlela. Uthe efika ezomtshela lo sisi ukuthi kanti nawe ubu-*involved *kanti nengane lezi ubaba wazo wazinekeza izithombe zisencane wathi nangu umama wakho washona ingane yahlala seyazi lokho.* One day *ingane ihamba nalo sisi abone lo ingane zibukane. Ingane kasisi wakhe nayo ingane yakhe.* "Hey boy *yini ndaba wena ufana kanje nomama". Nale enye ingane ithi yini ndaba wena ufana kanje no-*Aunty *kodwa sewashona. Zasezithi-ke zicela ukuba ngumngane wakhe. Lo sisi ayimeme emshadweni wakhe. Uthe uma eseyimemile emshadweni zimculele zithi zisamculela engazi kudutshulwe umkhwenyana wakhe. Abonane nalobhuti kodwa lobhuti ayitshele ukuthi it* can't be real *yi-*spook *abaleke.* One day *azame ukumfonela kodwa….Lo bhuti abenakho ukuthi lo sisi usaphila kodwa esabe engakhululeki.* Then…..*ah isiyangimemeza legane futhi…* (interruption)

SPEAKER B: *Uthe* what happened *ngesikhathi behlangana.*

SPEAKER A: *Useyasho ke lo bhuti ukuthi yingane yakhe. Bese ethi lo hawu* what's wrong with you. *Bese ethi* ah, she is my friend. *Athi ubaba lo* she is not your friend, *yingane yakho le.*

SPEAKER B: *Hawu madoda.*

SPEAKER A: *Isindala mfethu mhlawumbe isinabo* nine years. *Bamchazele ukuthi kwenzeka kanjani ubaba wakhe wathi akafihle angasho ukuthi yingane yakhe ukuze akwazi ukushada,* hey crazy. *Ubaba wakhe amtshele ukuthi ingane yakhe isaphila kodwa phela nawe uyazi ukuthi amaNigerians kuphela kusekanjalo-ke kodwa phela sebetholene.*

SPEAKER B: *Uwathathaphi woke lama-*movie *umaZ.*

SPEAKER A: *Uyawuwabone ama*-movie *uMaZ ayewathenga esasebenza, yinqwaba. Kugcwala ama*-case *awu*-two, *kugcwale enye into engaka.*

SPEAKER B: *Kufanele umuntu ake aze*-poarcher *phela yi*-library.

SPEAKER A: *Ha…ha…ha… uma ngabe uzibhorekele. Nami ngiyibuka* once in a while *uma ngizibhorekele.* So *kusho ukuthi ngilale nje inhliziyo yami inalokho. UStha uyafona, angazi ukuthi besengithi ingane injani, ingqondo yami isebuthongweni. Ngithi mina, "nguwena lo obukhuluma kumbe yingane?"*

SPEAKER B: You are playing around with your *Fro, wena…ha…ha…Udlala ngomkhwenyana nje.*

SPEAKER A: *Besengilele* flat *sekuhlangene nokuphupha.*

SPEAKER B: And then *yena utheni?*

SPEAKER A: *"Ingane zani lezo" Bekuyizwi lakho kumbe bekuyizwi lengane. "Wena bekuyimi ingane zani lezo"*

SPEAKER B: *Kodwa umkhwenyana wakho uyakuzwisisa, uyakuthanda ngempela.*

SPEAKER A: *Uyazi ukuthi utheni-ke.? Uthe ama*-ring *yena uzowathenga manje.*

SPEAKER B: *Wonke?*

SPEAKER A: No no. *Mina nginqabile. I*-ring *mfethu kufanele iphume kumina. Angithi bengimtshela aba ku*-sale once a year, May June *.Mhlawumbe* from maybe to June *abawo* fifty percent less. *Uma ngabe yi*-five thousand it goes down to two point five Then *kuze kube* next year. *Uma ngabe ngingayithenganga manje kusho ukuthi ngizoyithenga* next year. So yena wathi…*uyakwazi ukuyi*-deposit-*ha* for six months. So *wathi yena uzo* laybuy-*a* then *ihlale esitolo* until maybe *kuze kushaye isikhathi sokuyisebenzisa.*

Sample 5

A political discussion in a local radio station.

SPEAKER B: *I*-COSATU *ine*-Central Executive committee *okufanele ukuthi ikuthathe lokho esibuya nakho laphaya ikucubungule ikubhekisise kahle, uma kukhona okungahambi kahle kuphume ikubeke eceleni, uma kukhona okubonakala ukuthi kulungile, ikubambe. Kubalulekile ukuthi ngiyisho lento. Noma ngabe kuthiwa kukhona into evelile lapha isazoya kwisigungu se*-COSATU *i*-Executive Committee *ehlala mhlaka*-23. *Okokugcina i*-COSATU is not *uZwelinzima.* It is not Sidumo. *I*-COSATU *yi*-COSATU *njengoba lisho igama. Ine*-congress *i*-structure *okuyiso esithatha izinqumo ezinkulu. Lena ngeye yezinqumo esizi*-implement-*ayo ze*-congress. *Uma kufanele kube nama*-changes *yileyo* congress *eguqulayo. Kafuphi-ke msakazi ngithi uma okubuya laphaya ku*-Civil society conference *kuyiwa nakho ku*-

Executive committee *ye*-COSATU, *inelungelo i*-executive *ukuthi ibheke, ipequlule uma kukhona lapho esiphambanise khona ikulungise isibonise. Singabantu abanjalo ku*-Cosatu *kuma* structures *ethu.*

SPEAKER A: *Bayangitshela ke lana abadidiyeli ukuba sesikwazile ukuba sithole okhulumela iqembu le*-ANC *njengoba besichazile ngaphambilini ukuthi besizamile ukuthi sibathole kodwa ngiyakuthola ukuthi sesinaye-ke la okhulumela i*-ANC *kuzwelonke umnunzane uJackson Mthembu. Mvelase asibonge kakhulu ngesikhathi sakho, asikwamukele ohlelweni.*

SPEAKER C: *Asibonge nje noma sizo*-complain-*a later*

SPEAKER A: *Mvelase mhlawumbe asibheke la i*-ANC *izolo ibibambe isithangami nabezindaba lapho izwakalise khona ukungajabuli ngokuthi iyabanga ingxenye yengqungquthela le ehlanganisa izinhlangano zomphakathi. Mhlawumbe ukukhathazeka kwe* ANC *bekusukaphi?*

SPEAKER C: *Asiqale la okumele siqale khona msakazi ukuthi singu* COSATU, *singu-ANC, singu-ASCCP singumbimbi, umbimbi lwethu lubuya kude nje ngempela. Noma besingamenyiwe,* u-COSATU *enezizathu ezithize zokungamemi u-ANC, empeleni bekumele sazi ukuthi lento esiyenzayo isisaph- ke manje njengoba sesiyaba nomhlangano ofaka bonke abavela kuzinhlangano zomphakathi,* so that *sonke sibe* on the same page *ngesilungu. Kanti-ke okuye kwasikhathaza kakhulu nje ukuthi noma singaziswanga ngalo mhlangano, sithi ngesilungu,* just a small briefing *yombimbi* of the alliance *ukuthi* comrades yes we are going to have this and *yila esizame ukuyakhona ngalokhu. Okuphinde kwasikhathaza kakhulu ukuthi kulowaya mhlangano uma ufunda zonke izinkulumo zakhona, ama*-speeches, *i*-speech *ne*-speech *sihlasela umbutho ukuthi akhona ama*-leaders *awo angama*-predator elite *uma ufunda i*-speech *sikaVavi uthi umbutho unama*-ruling elite or *umbutho unama*-policies *a*-neoliberal *yingakho sikulezi zinkinga esikuzo ngoba ama*-policies *aqhutshwa ngumbutho, ngeke aze enze isimo sabantu la eNingizimu Africa baphume kulesi simo, ikakhulu abantu abahluphekile. Ezemfundo ngeke sikwazi ukuzishintsha. Isimo sezomnotho ngeke sikwazi ukushintsha ngoba inqubo yethu, inqubo ka-ANC yinqubo eyi*-Neoliberal. *Yingakho* even *i*-gap *phakathi kwabantu abaswele nabantu abathuthukile isivame ukuthi ikhule manje.* What we call the inequality gap because of the policies that are persued by the ANC. *Okwesibili-ke baba, angithi bengingekho mina, akenisinikezeni ithuba, okwesibili bekukhulunywa kakhulu kuleyankomfa ye*-civil society *ngoHulumeni. UHulumeni okungazange kuthiwe kuye, ngoba unguhulumeni wethu lona nobaba uSidumo lona, Hulumeni wethu nakhu esizobe sikhuluma ngakho kulenkomfa ye*-civil society, what are your views *ngoba ama*-views *ethu sinawo. Noma singeke sikumeme kulenkomfa* just tell us what is your take on education. What is your take on health. *Uthini-ke kwezomnotho ngoba thina sikubona ngalendlela* so that *noma ungekho kulekomfa siwubeke nombono kaHulumeni ukuthi uHulumeni uthi yena* yes *kuleminyaka ewu*-sixteen, *nakhu esikwenzile kodwa nakhu esifuna ukukwenza ukushintsha lokho* i-COSATU *ekubiza ngokuthi ngama*-apartheid fourthlines. *Sithi-ke uma singumbimbi, umbimbi esihamba naye, ubengakwenza njani lokho akwenzile ukuthi afike laphayana agxeke uHulumeni wakhe amgxeke ngendlela amgxeke ngayo, athi kulo* sixteen years *uma sibheka kwezemfundo, angasho ukuthi*

sibuyaphi avele athi kulo sixteen years *kwezemfundo, kwezenhlalakahle, kwezomnotho kwezempilo konke nje kuyanuka. Kube akanikezanga lowo Hulumeni akhuluma ngaye ithuba, athi Hulumeni nalo ithuba, kodwa-ke thina sicabanga ukuthi kuyanuka. Awusho-ke wena ukuthi njengoba uthi kuyanuka, yini izinhlelo ezikhona ukuthi ku-*revers-*we lokho abakubiza ngokuthi ngama* apartheid fourthlines? *Yilokhu esikhuluma ngakho. Siphinde sathi izolo, laba abanye abantu abenza izinhlangano ukuthi ziphume ngaphansi kwenhlangano elethe inkululeko baqala ngendlela e-*wrong-*o sathi-ke lokho kungahle kubonakale sengathi kuqalwa inhlangano entsha engase ingahambisani no-*ANC.

SPEAKER A: *Mhlawumbe siselapho baba, unobhala we-*ANC *uMantashe uthe* this is a recited idea. *Mhlawumbe ubechaza ukuthini la?*

SPEAKER C: No no no, recited idea, *uzakhumbula ukuthi kwakukhona ngalesiya sikhathi kumalunga ezinyunyana hayi ku-*COSATU. Even before the birth of COSATU *lapho abaye bathi bona akufanele ukuthi kube nenhlangano yezinyunyana ehamba no-*ANC. *Laba babethi bona kufanele kube khona i-*party *yezisebenzi i-*workers party. *Nalokhu kushiwo kuleyankomfa* by the way *ye-*civil society. *Kukhona okushilo lokho kodwa ke nokho akuzange ku-*intertain-*we. Kodwa* all we are saying to our alliance partners *nomengameli wami njengoba elapha* at times *siye sithi sizama ukwenza okuhle kodwa kuthi ngendlela esenza ngayo kungabukeki kukuhle kwabanye ikakhulukazi esihambisana nabo. Yingakho thina singu-*ANC *sithi thina* no no no, even *noma sicabanga ukuthi u-*COSATU *mhlawumbe wenze ngendlela engafanele,* it was an error of judgement on how they did this, they might have had wonderful ideas, we are still prepared to sit down with them and discuss how best can we involve civil society all of us. So that as we involve civil society, *singa-*involv-*i i-*civil society by demonising the government, by demonising the ruling party particularly from those of us who come from the alliance. Those of us who come from the liberation movement, particularly COSATU in particular.

SPEAKER A: *Sibalukhulu ukubuyela kuwena lana, noma usuziphendulele, kodwa nangu uMvelase lana uyaveza ukuthi niyigxekile imigomo kaHulumeni kulengqungquthela ebikade ikhona.*

SPEAKER B: *Msakazi i-*ANC *ibingekho laphaya. UMthembu ubengekho laphaya. Akushoyo ukufunde emaphepheni, ukufunde kuma-*documents *kodwa futhi uyasho ukuthi kuke kwabakhona obeke umbono wokuthi hayi kungcono kube ne-*political party *yabasebenzi wanga-*entertain-*wa lowo mbono. Bengicabanga mina ukuthi uma sizosebenzisa leyo-*approach *sizoba nengxaki. I-*ANC *ibe ingekho laphaya* that is the issue. I-ASCP *ibe ingekho* that is the issue. *Uma sihlala phansi ne-*ANC, ne-SACP *ngoba vele iyathinteka kulolu daba, ngicabanga ukuthi siyozwana. Uma kukhona la esone khona ngokuthi singababikeli noma singabamemi siyokukhuluma lokho kudlule. Asingabi-ke sesiyakapanisela entweni enkulu njengoba sisizwa, uyabona manje uma ulalela i-*ANC *idala ama-*problems *ngokuthi yenze ama-*allegations *angasakhi. Angithandi ukuphikisana nombutho wami* publicly because *ibingekho i-*ANC *laphaya msakazi. Ngicela ukuthi siyibambe nje kanjalo sibuke indlela eya phambili. I-*ANC *uma sihleli nayo phansi ithi cha nakhu ebesikhala ngakho nathi sithi cha nakhu esikhala ngakho.*

SPEAKER A: *Kuzokhumbuleka ukuthi kumhlangano we*-NGC *owawulapha eThekwini kwaphakanyiswa ezinye izinqumo ezathathwa lana, ukuthi amalunga amadlelandawonye akumelanga ukuthi akhulume esidlangalaleni ngezinto zangaphakathi kodwa kumele kuqale kudingidwe ngaphakathi ngaphambi kokuthi ziye laphaya kwabezindaba. Mhlawumbe lesi simo esisibonayo njengamanje kuyaphambili ungathi lihlela ukuthi lisilungise kanjani?*

SPEAKER C: *Asiqale lana ngokuthi ngikhulume nomengameli wami. U-comrade Sidumo okokuqala* he remains my comrade, he remains my president. *Empeleni kuzokhumbuleka ukuthi* i-COSATU *izimele ne-ANC izimele kanye ne-SACP izimele kodwa-ke sonke sihlanganiswa yilolu mbimbi lwethu lokuthi sifuna ukwenza impilo engcono kubantu baseNingizimu-Afrika lento esiyibiza ngokuthi yi-National Democratic Revolution. Kulokhu esingathi mhlawumbe asiboni ngaso linye indlela mhlawumbe i-*Civil society *eqhube ngayo, lezi zinkulumo ezikhulunywe ngama-*alliance members *ethu hhayi izinkulumo esizithathe emaphepheni. Lokhu engikhuluma ngakho ukuthi* we are pursuing neoliberal policies that we have, you know, a ruling elite that has turned its back against the poor. This is what was said by our own comrade *kwinkomfa ye*-civil society, that we are, that *ku-ANC kukhona abantu ababizwa ngokuthi ngama* predator elite. When you say that to *abantu obabizile kwinkomfa,* what you are saying about your own friends *oku*-alliance *nabo.* These are things that we need to discuss. But *emva kwalokho besesithi that's* why *sikulesi simo esikuso manje. Lesi simo esikuso sifuna ukuthi inyunyana ne-*civil society *baqine babeyimbumba ukuze balungise lesi simo.* What are you saying? Are you saying you are now distancing yourself from the alliance? Are you saying you have found better partners now rather than the ANC.? These are issues that l think we need to discuss. These are very important issues that talks to the relationship and to the alliance. *Abanye bethu bazobona sengathi* maybe *i-COSATU* has decided to define itself outside the alliance.