

**Grammatical and socio-pragmatic aspects of
conversational code switching by Afrikaans-
English bilingual children**

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DECLARATION

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ABSTRACT

The study reported in this thesis investigates the grammatical and socio-pragmatic characteristics of the conversational code switching (CS) of three Afrikaans-English bilingual children. The study was conducted by analysing spontaneous conversational CS, elicited during multiple play sessions. Three eight year old Afrikaans-English bilingual boys from Paarl in the Western Cape, with varying language backgrounds, participated in the study. Unstructured play sessions were audio and video recorded and transcribed. All three participants took part in one triadic conversational play session and in two dyadic play sessions.

The thesis differentiates between the phenomenon of CS and related sociolinguistic phenomena such as borrowing and interference in order to facilitate a clearer classification of the different types of CS. The identification of the matrix language under the asymmetry principle is done by means of a quantitative analysis, while the grammatical characteristics of the children's CS are qualitatively evaluated under Myers-Scotton's Matrix Language Frame and 4-M models. The socio-pragmatic characteristics of the children's use of intersentential CS are qualitatively evaluated by means of Conversation Analysis, in which the emphasis falls on turn taking and adjacency pair sequences as well as the negotiation of power relations.

The study also aims to contribute towards a better understanding of children's CS, not only in terms of insights into how CS manifests on the surface level of language production, but also in terms of why CS occurs on a deeper language processing and competence level. The general reasons for which the different types of CS occur, and the examination of which grammatical and/or socio-pragmatic difficulties may drive children to use specific types of

CS are investigated, while also considering whether the context and the hidden meaning of an utterance have an influence on how and why CS takes place, and where each type of CS occurs.

The study reveals that, in terms of characterising the types of CS that occur in the data, all four conversations provided proof of extrasentential, intrasentential and intersentential CS. A preference was observed for intrasentential single code switched forms and for intersentential CS, which occurs due to the negotiation of context, topic and theme. Such negotiation primarily occurs due to combinations and sequences of talk, self-talk, interaction, conversation, narration and role play.

Although all types of CS occurred within the data in both Afrikaans and English forms, Afrikaans was identified as the matrix language of the corpus and the majority of the conversations. The asymmetrical occurrence of different morpheme types provides evidence for the two-system hypothesis, namely that Afrikaans and English occur as two different systems within the children's brains and that language processing occurs by means of the allocation of different morphemes from both languages at the lexical and formulator level to produce language.

OPSOMMING

Die studie wat in hierdie tesis gerapporteer word analiseer die grammatikale en sosio-pragmatiese eienskappe van gespreks-kodewisseling by drie Afrikaans-Engelse tweetalige kinders. Die studie is uitgevoer deur spontane gespreks-kodewisseling, wat tydens veelvuldige speelsessies voortgebring is, te evalueer. Drie agt-jarige Afrikaans-Engelse seuns wat van die Paarl, in die Wes-Kaap, afkomstig is en verskillende taalgtergronde het, het aan die studie deelgeneem. Klank- en video-opnames is van die ongestruktureerde speelsessies gemaak en getranskribeer. Al drie seuns het aan een drietallige speelsessie asook twee tweetalige speelsessies deelgeneem.

Die tesis onderskei tussen die fenomeen van kodewisseling en ander verwante sosio-linguïstiese fenomene soos leenwoorde en taalkundige inmenging om klaarheid gedurende die klassifisering van die verskillende tipes kodewisseling te verskaf. Die identifisering van die matrikstaal van die korpus is deur middel van 'n kwantitatiewe analise volgens die asimmetriese beginsel geïdentifiseer. Die grammatikale eienskappe van die kinders se kodewisseling word kwalitatief deur middel van Myers-Scotton se Matrikstaal Raam en 4-M modelle geëvalueer. Die sosio-pragmatiese eienskappe van die kinders se gebruik van intersententiële kodewisseling word kwalitatief geëvalueer deur middel van gespreksanalise, waar die afwisseling van gespreksbeurte, die opeenvolging van aangrensende pare asook die onderhandeling van magsverhoudings tussen deelnemers beklemtoon word.

Die studie beoog enersyds om by te dra tot 'n beter begrip van kinders se oppervlakkige taalproduksie in terme van kodewisseling en andersyds om beter insig te verkry in hoe kodewisseling op 'n dieper taalprosesserings- en taalkompetensie vlak plaasvind. Die algemene rede(s) vir die voorkoms van verskillende tipes kodewisseling, asook die ondersoek

na watter grammatikale of sosio-pragmatiese moeilikhede verantwoordelik mag wees vir die tipes kodewisseling wat voorkom by kinders, word beklemtoon. Daar word ook in ag geneem of die konteks en weggesteekte betekenis van 'n uiting 'n invloed het op hoe en waarom asook waar kodewisseling sal plaasvind.

Die studie toon dat, in terme van die karakterisering van verskillende tipes kodewisseling wat in die data voorkom, alle gesprekssessies bewyse van ekstrasentensiële, intrasentensiële en intersentensiële kodewisseling bevat. 'n Voorkeur vir intrasentensiële enkelwoord-kodewisselingsvorme is opgemerk, asook 'n voorkeur vir intersentensiële kodewisseling wat plaasvind as gevolg van die onderhandeling tussen konteks, tema en onderwerp. Sulke onderhandeling is primêr gegrond op kombinasies en opeenvolging wat voorkom deur middel van praat, self-gerigte praat, interaksie, gespreksvoering, vertelling en rolspel.

Alhoewel alle tipes kodewisseling in die data voorkom in beide Afrikaanse en Engelse vorms, is Afrikaans as die matrikstaal vir die korpus asook die meerderheid van die gesprekssessies geïdentifiseer. Die oneweredige voorkoms van verskillende morfeemtipes dien as ondersteuning vir die twee-sisteme hipotese wat aanvoer dat Afrikaans en Engels as twee aparte sisteme in 'n kind se brein voorkom en dat taalprosessering geskied deur middel van die toekenning van verskillende morfeme van beide tale op die leksikale en formuleringsvlakke van taalproduksie.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

1S	First person singular
3S	Third person singular
AB	Combination of Participants A and B
AC	Combination of Participants A and C
ACC	Accusative
Adj	Adjective
AdvP (s)	Adverbial phrase(s)
AFR/A	Afrikaans
AP(s)	Adjectival phrase(s)
AUX	Auxiliary
BC	Combination of Participants B and C
CA	Conversation Analysis
CAT	Communication accommodation theory
CM	Code mixing
CP	Complementizer phrase
CPH	Critical Period Hypothesis
CS	Code switching
CS forms	Code switched forms
DAH	Differential Access Hypothesis
Det	Determiner
DM	Deference Maxim
DP(s)	Determiner phrase(s)
ECM	Exploratory Choice Maxim
EL	Embedded language
ENG/E	English
FTA	Face threatening act
FUT	Future tense
IMP	Imperfect tense
INF	Infinitive
IRF	Acronym for 'initiation', 'response' and 'follow-up' in exchange structures
L1	First language
L2	Second/other language

MCM	Marked Choice Maxim
ML	Matrix/host/ base language
MLF	Matrix Language Frame Model
MLP	Matrix Language Principle
MLU	Mean length of utterance
MM	Markedness Model
MOP	Morpheme Order Principle (morpheme order)
NEG	Negation
NP(s)	Noun phrase(s)
∅	Null/empty
OV	Object-verb
P	Preposition
PART	Participle
PAST	Past tense
PL	Plural
POSS	Possessive
PP (s)	Prepositional phrase(s)
PRES	Present tense
PRON	Pronoun
RO	Rights and Obligations
SAE	South African English
SM	System morphemes
SMP	System Morpheme Principle (morpheme type)
SOV	Subject-object-verb
SVO	Subject-verb-object
Triadic	Combination of Participants A, B and C
TRP	Transition relevance place
UCM	Unmarked Choice Maxim
USP	Uniform Structure Principle
VM	Virtuosity Maxim
VO	Verb-object
VP(s)	Verb phrase(s)

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TRANSCRIPTION KEY

Transcription conventions for the examples from the data for this study only

[00.00 s]	Starting time of utterance.
A:	Speaker code for participant A.
B:	Speaker code for participant B.
C:	Speaker code for participant C.
S:	Speaker code for aside comments made by supervisor during recordings.
[xxx]	Inaudible or indicates an unintelligible (part of an) utterance.
[...s]	Indicates the omission of non-relevant utterances to the current discussion.
[text]	Indicates a complete overlap of two speaker utterances and turns.
[...]	Indicates incomplete utterance when occurring at the end of the utterance / indicates sentence fragment when occurring at the start of an utterance.
‘ ’ / “ ”	Marks homographs and/or homophones as EL forms in the transcription.
. / ? / !	Indicates the end of an utterance.
...	Shows the position where the speaker pauses and/or reformulates.
()	Used within in the text to add what could be seen as a possible transcription for an unintelligible phrase.
(0.10 s)	Duration of pauses between speaker turns.
(-0.00 s)	overlap time between utterances or speakers.

Italics and **bold** are used within the text to refer to linguistic examples quoted from the literature and the data and also to emphasise the part of the utterance in the example which is being discussed.

In Memoriam to: Oupa Ferrie ... [my Chariot] of fire:

~ *“If I can't win, I won't run!*

- If you won't run, you can't win [...]

~ *Then where does the power come from, to see the race to its end?*

*- From within.”*¹

¹ Chariots of Fire and Vangelis (1981).

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Contextual overview

South Africa, as a country with eleven official languages, is a prime example of a multilingual country in which communication is characterised by multilingual and bilingual interaction. Such communication takes place for various purposes and involves the use of different language combinations, and different types of bilingualism (Grosjean 1994:1656). Grosjean (1994:1656) defines bilingualism as the “native control of two or more languages.” One type of bilingualism is what Hoffman (1991:110) refers to as horizontal bilingualism, in which two languages are used side by side, as is very often the case with Afrikaans and English in South Africa.

According to Statistics South Africa (2001), English is seen as the language of commerce and science in South Africa. English is a second or other language (L2) for the majority of South Africans; however, it is only used as a home language by 8% of the total population. English is the first language (L1) of roughly 40% of the 10% white South Africans, while Afrikaans is the L1 of the other 60%. Afrikaans is furthermore the L1 of 80% of the Coloured² population of South Africa and it is also the L2 of the majority of English L1 South Africans. English-Afrikaans bilingualism is therefore a widespread phenomenon found in white and Coloured communities in South African society (Van Dulm 2007:4).

² The term “Coloured” is a problematic term. It was used as a term of classification during Apartheid for people of mixed ethnicity. The term is still used for lack of a more acceptable alternative, and in this case it is used as a label for a varied social group with diverse cultural and geographic origins.

One characteristic of horizontal bilingual interaction is the use of code switching (CS), defined as “the alternate use of two languages within the same utterance or during the same conversation” (Hoffmann 1991:110) as illustrated in the following examples of Afrikaans-English CS, taken from informal observations of Afrikaans-English bilingual interaction.

- (1) Kyk daar hulle het die *building* ge-*renovate*.
Look there, they have the building PAST – renovate
(Look there, they have renovated the building.)
- (2) *Shutdown* die rekenaar asseblief.
Shutdown the computer please
(Please shutdown the computer.)
- (3) Hi, kan jy enige iets *off the top of your head* onthou van gister se gesprek?
hi, can you anything off the top of your head remember of yesterday’s conversation?
(Hi, can you remember anything, off the top of your head, of yesterday’s conversation?)
- (4) She was my date for the *huisdans* and we *sokkied* our socks off.
(She was my date for the residence dance and we danced our socks off.)
- (5) Ek wou gaan *travel* het, maar toe het die lugrederei ons kaartjies ge-*cancel*.
I wanted go travel but then have the airline our tickets PAST PART cancel
(I wanted to go travel, but then the airline cancelled our tickets.)
- (6) Het jy daai nuwe *series* op *TV* gesien? Dis *amazing*.
Have you that new series on TV seen it’s amazing
(Have you seen that new series on TV? It’s amazing.)
- (7) *Ag nee man*, you don’t know what you are doing!
Oh no man, you don’t know what you are doing!

CS can be seen as a language style, which allows bilingual interlocutors to communicate more than just “superficial meanings of words”. Such communication can be akin to the different dialects or registers, as well as different levels of intonation and formality, that monolingual interlocutors may use to make communication more efficient (Gardener-Chloros 2009:4). One function which such a language style may have is the successful expression of an idiosyncratic identity for various interlocutors within a single interaction. This identity is exhibited in the patterns of language use which are evident in conversational interactions. These patterns are, in turn, determined by the structure of the languages as well as the socio-pragmatic characteristics elicited by the environment in which the languages are used (Gardener-Chloros 2009:5). According to Rose and Van Dulm (2006:1) Afrikaans-English bilinguals in South Africa frequently mix these languages in everyday conversations, making CS a common place language style, which forms part of a South African linguistic identity.

Comparisons of CS across different communities, and within a single community, can firstly lead to a better understanding of how the specific structures of languages allow for interaction with other languages. It can secondly show the role which CS can play in successful communication especially where different factors affect different interlocutors and their communication patterns. For example, CS can be used as a sign of respect in some cases, while in other cases it may be used to clarify misinterpreted utterances. Such communication patterns are evident in the types of CS which exist. These types include intersentential CS, intrasentential CS and extrasentential CS. Clarifications may occur in terms of intersentential CS in which a speaker switches languages at a sentence boundary in order to explain something in another language, or even in terms of intrasentential CS within a sentence to use a word from another language.

The frequency or distribution associated with the type or style of CS in the bilingual communication can also be dependent on specific language choices made by the interlocutors. These language choices and the manner in which they occur may to some extent reflect speakers' socioeconomic status, age, sex, occupation, education, kinship relations, as well as attitudes towards the specific languages. The interlocutors involved, their specific language proficiency as well as their language preferences also play a prominent role in terms of language choice.

In order to determine how and why CS occurs, it is important to look at the above-mentioned factors in conjunction with the situation in which the language contact takes place, the content of the discourse, as well as the function of the communication (Grosjean 1994:1658).

1.2 Rationale, research questions and hypotheses

Gardener-Chloros (2009:143) points out that the study of CS is lacking in terms of research on children brought up in multilingual contexts. Hoffman (1991:95) notes that children mix languages more often if they have been exposed to mixed speech, especially if they are in bilingual company. The paucity of research on CS as a conversational language style in South Africa, as well as the lack of research on the language use of children growing up in such multilingual contexts provides an important reason to study the phenomenon of CS in children's conversation.

Gardener-Chloros (2009:144) further notes that most studies conducted in the past concern children whose languages are relatively closely related. Consequently, it would be ideal to carry out a comparison between two distantly related languages in order to test the effect that different linguistic structures and factors have on CS. Despite the fact that Afrikaans and

South African English (SAE) are themselves relatively closely related and have certain similarities³, the two languages are still typologically dissimilar in terms of word order, overt phonological realisation and grammatical features, such as tense and agreement. This typological dissimilarity makes the combination in terms of grammatical structure an interesting pair to analyse (Van Dulm 2007:7).

Due to the lack of the required research, as set out above, it is not yet clear how and why bilingual children code switch. It is from this knowledge gap that the following research questions stem:

- (i) What are the *grammatical characteristics* of conversational CS by Afrikaans-SAE bilingual children?
- (ii) What are the *socio-pragmatic characteristics* of conversational CS by Afrikaans-SAE bilingual children?

A bidirectional trend has developed during previous CS research in which the focus fell either on the grammar of CS in terms of morphosyntax, or on the socio-pragmatic meaning which is created as a function of CS (Dzameshie 2001:1). As can be seen in the research questions above, the current study set out to investigate both the grammatical and the socio-pragmatic characteristics of CS. The typological dissimilarities which exist between Afrikaans and English in terms of word order and grammatical features such as tense and agreement inform the grammatical focus of this study and lend the basis for the first hypothesis, namely that the

³ In terms of grammatical typology, Afrikaans and English both stem from the West-Germanic branch of the Indo-European languages. Both languages are identified as analytical languages in which the grammatical relationships of the languages are indicated by means of word order rather than word endings.

Matrix Language Frame (MLF) and 4-M ("four morpheme") models can be used to account for the structural aspects of child bilingual CS.

The socio-pragmatic characteristics which are responsible for the use of CS as a language style by bilingual children have not been extensively researched. Despite the fact that extensive global research has been done on CS, including research which has mainly focussed on the grammatical aspects of Afrikaans-SAE CS, limited research has been done in terms of CS interaction between Afrikaans and SAE. Furthermore, research has also focussed on the effect that CS has in the classroom environment, rather than examining the effect of the general use of CS in conversation. The lack of research examining Afrikaans-English bilingual children and their specific language choices as they occur in spontaneous conversation hence provides sufficient motivation for the present study and forms the premise of the second hypothesis, namely that a Conversation Analysis (CA) approach can be used to explain why CS occurs by capturing the socio-pragmatic characteristics of child bilingual CS.

1.3 Research aims

As a first step towards addressing the research questions set out above, four specific research aims are identified. The first aim is to theoretically differentiate between the phenomenon of CS and related sociolinguistic phenomena such as borrowing and interference in order to work with well-defined concepts when identifying the different types of CS. This is necessary due to the different and at times overlapping definitions which exist across the field. Such distinctions will assist in the theoretical and grammatical characterisation of the types of CS that occur in the data.

The second aim is to clarify the manner in which these children structurally code switch by identifying the types of CS that occur in Afrikaans-SAE bilingual children's conversation in terms of extrasentential, intrasentential and intersentential code switched forms to be analysed by means of the MLF model.

The third aim is to determine which patterns of CS occur due to interference in terms of a child's (lack of) language proficiency, and which patterns are similar to adult patterns of CS. Some occurrences of CS could also be due to within-language deviations such as hypercorrection, simplification or overgeneralisations, as well as between-language deviations in terms of involuntary interference (Grosjean 1994:1657).

The fourth and final aim of the study is to analyse the everyday conversational language use of bilingual children in terms of adjacency pairs and organisational turn taking sequences as part of the CA approach in order to determine which possible socio-pragmatic aspects are responsible for particular patterns of CS in the data.

1.4 The data

1.4.1 Research design and participants

The study involves the identification and analysis of conversational CS which occurs in conversations among three bilingual boys of approximately eight years of age. To limit the scope of the study the following variables were controlled for: gender, age, socioeconomic status, geographical location, and kinship relations⁴. The reported L1 of participant A is Afrikaans with both parents providing input in Afrikaans. The reported L1s of participant B

⁴ Kinship relations refer to the way in which the interlocutors are related to one another and whether they have an affinity to each other or a common understanding.

are both Afrikaans and English with both parents providing input in both languages. The reported L1 of participant C is English with both parents providing input in English.

1.4.2 Data collection procedure

To address the research question of this study (see section 1.2) it was imperative to collect spontaneous and naturalistic data. The data was elicited during a number of play sessions which were conducted in a familiar, yet contained, space to allow for a good quality of recording. The participants were further not told what the purpose of the sessions was. The sessions were conducted as naturally as possible in order to minimise the Observer's Paradox (Labov 1972:209) during four play sessions. One session involved all three participants while the three remaining sessions included participants A and B, B and C as well as A and C, respectively.

1.4.3 Data analysis

As noted above, a bidirectional trend has developed in CS research, in which the focus falls either on the socio-pragmatic meaning or function of code switches or on the grammar of code switches in terms of morphosyntax (Dzameshie 2001:1). This study will use an analytic methodology which attempts to address both directions of the trend.

The grammatical aspects evident in the data will be analyzed quantitatively and qualitatively by using the MLF model proposed by Myers-Scotton (explored in Chapter 3). The socio-pragmatic characteristics of the data will be analyzed using the theoretical framework of Conversation Analysis (explored in Chapter 4).

1.5 Overview of thesis chapters

This chapter is followed by Chapter 2 which firstly describes bilingualism, particularly in South Africa, to specify the contextual background in which the CS analysed here takes place. Secondly, important factors such as context and language proficiency, which influence language choice and lead to this specific style of language usage in adults and children, are discussed. Chapter 2 also defines key terms including "CS", "interference", "code mixing" (CM), "language mixing" and "borrowing", as well as stipulating how these terms are used in this study.

Chapter 3 provides an overview of grammatical approaches to CS. These approaches are classified and outlined in terms of three different approaches, namely the variationist, generativist and production approaches. The emphasis of this chapter falls on the MLF model and the 4-M model and three studies exemplifying the application of the models.

Chapter 4 offers an overview of sociolinguistic and pragmatic approaches to CS, including a brief review of the Markedness model of CS. A larger and more extensive review of the socio-pragmatic aspects of CS is provided by accentuating the Conversation Analysis model.

Chapter 5 describes the research design of this study, the methodology used to collect the necessary data and the method of analysis used. It also includes background information on the participants obtained from language background questionnaires. Chapter 6 presents the analysis of the data in terms of the grammatical and socio-pragmatic aspects of CS. Chapter 7 is a final conclusion on the general findings and includes remarks on the limitations of the study and suggestions for further research.

CHAPTER 2

BILINGUALISM AND CODE SWITCHING

2.1 Introduction

As noted in Chapter 1, CS is characteristic of the type of bilingual interaction that occurs in a multilingual country. This chapter will firstly describe bilingualism in order to specify the contextual background against which the CS examined in this thesis takes place. Secondly, important factors such as context and language proficiency, which influence language choice and lead to this specific style of language usage in adults and children, will be discussed.

In order to identify the types of CS that occur in the data, it is necessary to differentiate between the phenomenon of CS and related sociolinguistic phenomena such as borrowing and interference. This chapter will therefore also define key terms, such as “CS”, “interference”, “CM”, “language mixing” and “borrowing”, as well as stipulate how these terms will be used in this study.

2.2 Bilingualism in South Africa

Bilingualism has been variously defined as “the ability to produce meaningful utterances in two (or more) languages, the command of at least one language skill (reading, writing, speaking listening) in another language [and] the alternate use of several languages” (Grosjean 1994:1656). Some researchers view bilingualism as the native control of two or more languages; however this view is problematic. Hoffman (1991:94) points out that native-like competency or “native control” is problematic because the speaker’s competence in both languages is usually measured in terms of monolingual standards, in terms of language

purity. By defining bilingualism in terms of native control, all "impure" or distinct usages of the two languages can be deemed incomplete or wrong. Different attitudes also exist in terms of language status; a (non-standard) dialect may not be seen as a proper language by speakers who do not speak that dialect. Thus the speech of such a bilingual may be judged as inferior or, again, incomplete or wrong. A more appropriate term for describing bilingualism, where there is relatively equal competence in both languages, is "balanced bilingualism"⁵. The definition of bilingualism is therefore dependent on the different views and attitudes which people have about the bilingual's proficiency in the languages, as well as the social status that such languages may have. The distinction between 'competence' and 'performance'⁶ is important to keep in mind in the discussion of bilingualism because the cognitive ability that an interlocutor has will affect the actual language behaviour of the interlocutor, reflecting either a voluntary or involuntary language choice. For the purpose of this thesis bilingualism will be defined as the use of two (or more) languages (or dialects) in one's everyday life while the level of proficiency will indicate patterns of bilingualism.

Bilingualism in South Africa, as in other countries, involves a continuum where the interlocutor, situation and function of the language contact involved may differ and have a different configuration depending on the context in which the languages are used. This places different bilingual language behaviour at different points on the continuum. The type or style of the bilingual communication is therefore dependent on factors such as the interlocutors involved and their specific language proficiency as well as language preference. Language preference is one of the most salient factors which reflects the speaker's specific motivation

⁵ See section 2.3.1 for further discussion on the language proficiency of bilinguals.

⁶ 'Competence' is defined as the knowledge that a speaker has of the grammatical rules and vocabulary of his/her language (Lyons 1981:234). 'Performance' is defined as the actual language behaviour of the speaker, which does not always correspond exactly with the speaker's competence due to so-called performance factors (Lyons 1981:235).

for using a certain mode, the language style that the speaker wishes to use or the communicative effect the speaker wants to achieve. One such effect may include a change in topic, in which a language choice may be used as a discourse marker, or merely as a means to place emphasis on what is being said. Language choice can be used in order to emphasize group membership or indicate role variance through inner speech or self-talk. It may even point towards formality or informality or signal a particular level of intimacy. A particular choice of language(s) may also reflect a speaker's attitudes and intentions regarding autonomy, power, influence or even respect (Fishman 2000:96-97).

The situation in which the language contact takes place, the content and context of the discourse, as well as the function of the communication, also play an important role in terms of language choice (Grosjean 1994:1658). The phenomenon of language choice is thus overarching in nature and includes any situation in which separate considerations as well as the co-occurrence of such considerations may be highlighted (Fishman 2000:90). The following section will examine some of these considerations and how they might interact.

2.3 Factors which influence language choice

2.3.1 Language proficiency of the interlocutor

Different proficiencies of the interlocutors, which affect the language choice responsible for the CS of bilinguals, are reflected in different types of bilingualism. The first distinction drawn, in terms of the proficiency of the interlocutor, is whether the interlocutor acquired their languages in an unstructured context as a "natural/primary bilingual" or through a systematic or structured manner as a "secondary bilingual" (Hoffman 1991:18-19). Weinreich (in Hoffman 1991:19) also points to the importance of the relationship between

sign and meaning in terms of each language system influencing the other. Weinreich distinguishes between three combinations. “Coordinative bilingualism” occurs when two sets of separated signifiers and signifieds⁷ are combined. In the second type of bilingualism, namely compound bilingualism, two signifiers exist but form a single compound (signified). Finally, “subordinative bilingualism” refers to cases in which the L2 is very much influenced by the L1 (Hoffman 1991:19-20).

Another important distinction is made between “perfect bilingualism” and “balanced bilingualism” (Hoffman 1991:21-22). Perfect bilingualism reflects a maximalist view of bilingual proficiency and is defined by Christopherson (1948) as “a person who knows two languages with approximately the same degree of perfection as unilingual speakers of those languages”, and by Oestreicher (1974) as “the complete mastery of two different languages without interference” (Hoffman 1991:21). Balanced bilingualism, on the other hand, reflects a minimalist view on bilingual proficiency with the implication that the level of competence in either language is not compared to monolingual standards, but that the speaker is fully competent in both codes (Hoffman 1991:22).

The type of bilingual that the interlocutor is is therefore dependent on the level of proficiency of the interlocutors, as well as the point of view from which one interlocutor may judge the proficiency of another interlocutor, subsequently influencing the style of the interaction. Code switches, occurring in a situation in which different proficiency levels exist between interlocutors, will show a distinct range⁷ of functions and different patterns of CS which are

⁷ A sign is a fundamental item in linguistics in which semantic meaning is encoded and is made up of a signifier and a signified. The signifier is the form, while the signified is the meaning. The form and meaning of a sign are thus the same as the signifier and the signified of a sign (McGregor 2009:350). According to de Saussure’s descriptive model, the signifier or utterance is combined with the signified or experience to produce codes (Irvine 1998-2010).

dependent on the specific proficiency of each interlocutor. The proficiency of the interlocutor may thus become an involuntary language choice by one interlocutor and a voluntary language choice by another, which may influence the choice responsible for the specific patterns of CS that occur.

Distinctions in terms of proficiency, as those evident in the different types of bilingualism, play an important role when childhood bilingualism is measured. The underlying level of competence forms a vital part of the speaker's ability to communicate, due to the fact that 'competence' precedes, and underlies, 'performance', especially in natural conversational settings (Lyons 1981:233).⁸ The manner in which this competence has been formed, in terms of bilingual language development, therefore affects the grammar of a language that a child builds up. This grammar is subsequently used either voluntarily or involuntarily according to proficiency in bilingual interactions. In some cases for children and for adults, the language proficiency in an L2 becomes static because the learner may not require a better proficiency in the language, depending on the functions that the language will serve for the learner. An interlanguage⁹ is then formed which may become fossilized; this interlanguage can be recognised as a language variety in some communities, especially immigrant communities (Grosjean 1982:295). The type of bilingual that a speaker is is directly linked to the proficiency of the speaker. This proficiency is, in turn, directly linked to the competence which underlies the performance (or language behaviour) leading to the interlocutor's decision as to whether and how to code switch.

⁸ For more detail on the distinction between and definitions of 'competence' and 'performance' see footnote 6 or cf. Lyons 1981.

⁹ The term "interlanguage" refers to the type of language produced by L2 learners, who are still in the process of learning the L2 (see Selinker 1972).

2.3.2 The situation and context of language interaction

It is in unstable multilingual situations that speakers adapt their language behaviour, as explored above, due to the political, economic or social conditions which govern them (Hoffmann 1991:173). Such conditions may cause language switching to occur due to the different (social) values encoded in the two (or more) languages used. Different types of bilingualism can therefore be identified on the basis of certain language patterns which occur in terms of language choice. The social circumstances which influence language choice and language switching will be investigated more fully in Chapter 4. What will be examined in this section is how language choice is also dependent on language mode. Language mode can be divided into the monolingual setting (monolingual language mode) of a larger society as well as the multilingual setting (bilingual language mode), in which two or more languages are used in communication, according to the language choice of both interlocutors and the patterns in which the two languages are combined (Grosjean 1994:1656, 1658).

2.3.2.1 Monolingual language mode

In the monolingual language mode, the bilingual interacts with a monolingual by trying to use only one language. According to Grosjean (1994:1657), the bilingual interlocutor tries to deactivate the other languages they know as much as possible. A complete deactivation is however not always possible and interference may take place. One definition of interference is, “the instances of deviation from the norms of either language which occur in the speech of bilinguals as a result of their familiarity with more than one language” (Weinreich 1963 in Van Dulm 2007:11).

“Errors” made due to interference would therefore be examples of non-developmental errors. Such interference could occur at phonological, syntactical, morphological or semantic levels

of languages as well as in any modality, whether it is speech or writing (Grosjean 1994:1657). These language deviations occur involuntarily and can involve either static interference, which leads to a permanent use of the embedded language (EL) in the matrix language (ML)¹⁰, or dynamic interference which entails momentary intrusions from the EL on the ML. Such non-developmental errors are therefore normally classified as between-language deviations which occur when two languages overlap.

Developmental errors, on the other hand, occur due to the presence of an interlocutor's interlanguage, in which within-language deviations occur due to the proficiency of the interlocutor. Developmental errors can however be seen in two different lights. Firstly, developmental errors can be seen as errors which occur while an L2 is being learned. These deviations tend to occur in the L2 use of speakers who are fully competent in their L1. Secondly, developmental errors can refer to the language acquisition process in children, in which neither the L1 nor the L2 is completely acquired. Interlanguage deviations can include simplification, hypercorrection and overgeneralisation in terms of certain features. These interferences are measured against the language use of standard L1-like speakers of the ML (Grosjean 1994:1657). Examples of simplification¹¹, hypercorrection¹² and overgeneralisation¹³, respectively, are given below:

¹⁰ See section 2.4 for definitions of 'matrix language' and 'embedded language'.

¹¹ Simplification includes the deletion or omission of plural, tense markers and function words in an attempt to simplify the syntax (Grosjean 1994:1657).

¹² Hypercorrection involves the incorrect use of words, or linguistic features, or mispronunciation. This may occur when a speaker wants to elevate their language performance and seem more educated (Richards and Schmidt 2002:243).

¹³ Overgeneralisation involves overgeneralising certain grammatical rules when another exceptional rule is not yet perfected. This is seen in the example above, in which the past tense rule of adding *-ed* to a past participle is generalised and applied even to irregular past participles or past tense verbs (Grosjean 1994:1657).

- (8) a. Many birds fly in the sky.
b. *Many bird fly in sky.
- (9) a. Who is that?
b. To whom did you give it?
c. *Whom is coming tonight?
- (10) a. I played with the ball.
b. *I comed with the ball.

In the case of children, especially those who have not yet fully acquired their L1, within-language deviations and interlanguage errors occurring in the L1 may also occur during the L2 acquisition process.

2.3.2.2 Bilingual language mode

In the bilingual language mode two bilinguals interact with one another by means of two or more languages. The one language, which functions as the ML, and the other, which functions as the EL, are dependent on the language choice of both interlocutors and the patterns in which two or more languages are combined. Interference can also occur in the bilingual mode, as in the monolingual mode. However, Grosjean (1994:1658) emphasises that this interference does not affect the ability to communicate. The various patterns, which the interlocutors create in the bilingual language mode, are furthermore dependent on the context. The language deviations which occur within the bilingual language mode are not as involuntary as those occurring in the monolingual mode; speech patterns in the bilingual mode are still (partly) a result of unconscious psycholinguistic processes of language choice, which are related to the underlying language competence and are thus not completely voluntarily either (Grosjean 1994:1658). In example (11) below the influence of Afrikaans on the word order of the English phrase is evidence of such interference, which alters grammatical patterns but does not impede communication.

- (11) *I hope that he the books with brings.
(I hope that he brings the books with.)

Romaine (in Shin and Milroy 2000:352) notes that the language mode and language proficiency, or lack of adequate knowledge, as discussed in the sections above were believed to be the cause of CS and CM practices - the use of terms such as “subordinative bilingualism” implies that other kinds of bilingualism exist in terms of idealistic power relations or attitudes that people may have about how languages are used - whether this language choice occurs voluntarily or involuntarily. One term which reflects a specific derogatory attitude towards CS and exemplifies how language mode and proficiency might affect CS is the description of bilingual language proficiency in terms of “semilingualism”. Semilingualism may imply that the occurrence of language alternation occurs due to a deficit in the speaker. A sensitive balance therefore exists in the definition of bilingualism and the description thereof. Such a balance is established, firstly, in terms of the proficiency of the interlocutors. It is established, secondly, in terms of how the context and attitudes found in different contexts indirectly evaluate the proficiency of the interlocutor(s) and, thirdly, in terms of how it affects the language choice of the interaction. It is due to this sensitive balance that factors such as language proficiency, the situation and context of the language interaction, as well as the language modes of speakers, cannot be ignored when evaluating and analysing CS practices. It is also due to this sensitive balance that it cannot be assumed that the language use of adults and children can be measured with the same tools and that the same situations which are applicable to adult language use are applicable child language use. It is also due to this sensitive balance that the key aspects of language mode and proficiency in terms of childhood bilingualism are explored as a third factor contributing to language choice in the section below.

2.3.2.3 Childhood bilingualism

Before a child can make any voluntary or involuntary language choice, the necessary language competence must be acquired and be present. An adult bilingual already has two language systems at his/her disposal, on the basis of which various language choices can be made. Depending on the age of the young bilingual this may or may not be true. How is language choice possible for bilingual children? This section will firstly evaluate the input which leads to the specific language proficiency, as well as how children acquire language and what it is they acquire.

Childhood bilingualism is achieved through exposure to language in the early developmental phases. It is imperative to consider the Critical Period Hypothesis (CPH), in terms of the Innateness Hypothesis (IH), as proposed by Chomsky within the framework of generative grammar. According to the IH all children are born with an innate ability to acquire language; however, according to the CPH this language acquisition must take place within a specified critical period, which ends around puberty. This critical period applies to the full acquisition of competence in a mother tongue, but also to that of a second or a third language. The innate ability to acquire an L1 declines with age; if a child does not receive sufficient exposure to language he/she may never be able to fully acquire an L1, much less an additional language. Due to the plasticity of the brain, which decreases with age, older children and adults may find it more difficult to acquire an L2 after this critical period has ended (Lightbown and Spada 2006:17-18).

Gardener-Chloros (2009:142) argues, in light of this, that L2 learning is qualitatively different from a certain age onwards, especially after puberty. We can therefore postulate that

there will be a qualitative difference between the CS of simultaneous bilinguals¹⁴ and that of later L2 learners. Such qualitative differentiation may be apparent because it could occur as interference on the one hand, while it could occur as interlanguage on the other.

As previously mentioned, bilingual competence, or level of language proficiency in two languages, is directly proportional to the type of language exposure or input a speaker has had; this is also true for bilingual children¹⁵. Performance is therefore dependent on competence; the input that children receive during the critical period will subsequently also influence the type of bilingual the child will become as well as the type of CS which will occur and the reasons why this CS may occur (Gardener-Chloros 2009:144). Hymes (1972, 1974) further states that one component of linguistic competence is “communicative competence”. The general and bilingual acquisition of child language therefore needs to be seen, according to Romaine (1984:256), as follows:

the grammar which the child internalizes is shaped in important ways through socialisation into a specific speech community which uses language in culturally specific ways.

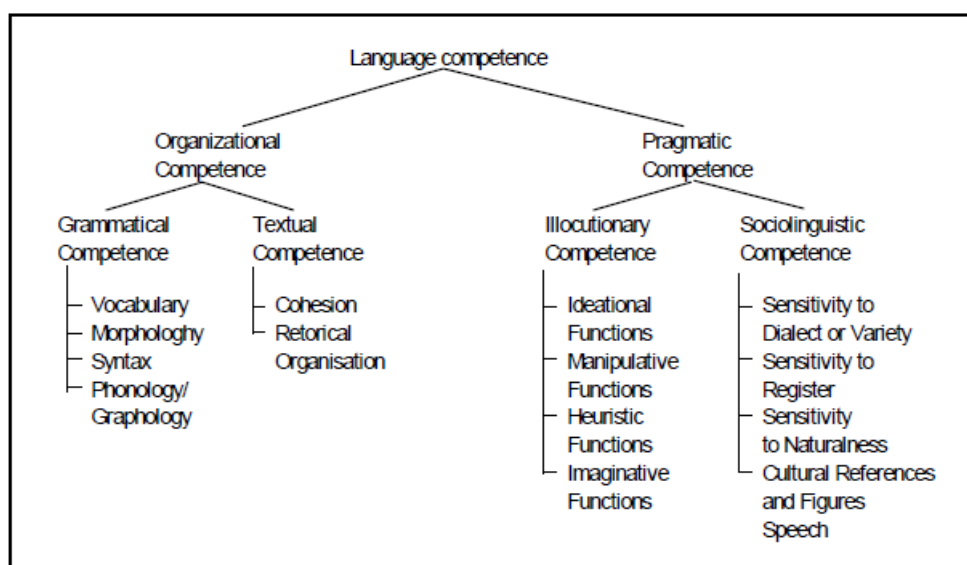
Bachman refers to the socialisation described by Romaine in terms of a subtype of communicative proficiency, namely “sociolinguistic competence” (Bachman 1990:94). For Bachman communicative competence is reflected in the concept of ‘language competence’ which in turn is sub-classified into two types, namely, the organisational and pragmatic competence of a speaker. In these competences the formal aspects of language and the knowledge of grammatical rules are involved, but also the functional aspects. The pragmatic

¹⁴ Children who learn more than one language from early on in childhood are referred to as "simultaneous bilinguals" while children who first acquire an L1 and then an L2 are referred to as "sequential bilinguals" (Lightbown and Spada 2006:25).

¹⁵ See section 2.3.1 regarding general language proficiency.

competence thus includes the above-mentioned sociolinguistic competence as well as the knowledge of how language is used to achieve particular communicative goals, illocutionary competence. Language use is thus seen as a dynamic process which is affected by different components of language competence, as outlined below in Figure 1 (Bachman 1990:87).

Figure 1 Components of Language Competence (Bachman 1990)



With the use of this communicative competence children may be able to adapt to new linguistic situations, which may be less familiar to them in comparison to their own developmental context. While studies done on bilingual two and three year old children have shown that language mixing and CS are signs of confusion while the child is still in the process of acquiring their L1, other sociolinguistic studies on bilingual children of three years and older as well as adults have equated language mixing with the pragmatic strategy of CS (Lanza 1997:6-7).

Anderson (1990), Ervin-Tripp (1973), Hymes (1974) and Schieffelin and Ochs (1986) all agree that children develop a sociolinguistic competence along with a grammatical

competence (Khattab 2009:143). Children are also exposed to a variety of speech situations throughout their development. These situations will, firstly, differ in terms of the people children come in contact with, who may vary in age, status, gender and familiarity. It is thus important to note that in addition to the One-Parent-One-Language (OPOL) system, children are also exposed to a variety of systematic language uses which will influence, firstly, language development, and secondly, the repertoires of registers, as well as pragmatic rules, which allow children to style-shift, creating social meaning in various contexts.

The concept of 'communicative competence' subsequently eliminates the general psycholinguistic question of whether or not a child is acquiring two different language systems or one merged language system. Communicative competence further eliminates the question about language input and how it affects bilingualism. It rather focuses on the idea that the child is developing a social identity and language simultaneously. Communicative competence hence refers to the appropriate use of language which is situation and context specific. A child therefore acquires not only the means with which to communicate but also knowledge of when and where to switch languages through language socialisation, in which socialisation is the product of continuous interaction (Lanza 1997:7).

A child is therefore seen as an active participant who is engaged in the process of constructing social worlds, and subsequently a context for talk. The investigation into the relationship between the form and function of the child's language mixing provides an understanding of how socialisation develops into bilingualism and the ability that young bilingual children have to make appropriate language choices, and hence to code switch (Lanza 1997:8, 10).

Non-linguistic aspects of communication, such as floor-time, response latency and speech rate are also acquired and adapted depending on the context. Khattab (2009:144) points out the difference in terms of simplified structure and slower speed rate of 8 year old children interacting with younger children, in comparison to the more complicated structure and faster speech observed with adults. This is especially true for pre-adolescent children who interact not only in the home, but between friends and classmates as well as other parents and teachers (Khattab 2009:145).

Bilingual speech accommodation and/or alternation in children are hence equally influenced, as is the case in adult bilinguals, by monolingual and bilingual situations, as well as factors such as language proficiency, situation and context. The context and situation will also create different bilingual interactions; it is thus important to note that the functions of CS as well as the patterns of CS are not the same between adults in interaction, between children in interaction, or between adults and children in interaction as well as between all communities or cultures. A related challenge to the study of childhood CS is therefore to distinguish between developmental and non-developmental issues in terms of competence and performance (Gardener-Chloros 2009:145). The distinction “whether the person is in a stage of language restructuring (i.e. acquiring a new language and/or losing the first one) or whether the person has attained a stable level of bilingualism” is thus linked to the above-mentioned developmental and non-developmental issues (Grosjean 2002). It is therefore imperative to not only focus on who code switches but also what CS is as well as where and why CS occurs (Appel and Muysken 1987:120).

2.4 Defining code switching

If language alternation takes place in bilingual speech in terms of a language choice, and not as a result of interference, as in monolingual speech, how does it manifest itself? In the bilingual language mode, a distinction between the ‘matrix/host/base language’ (ML) and the ‘embedded language’ (EL) is made to evaluate and identify how this alternation occurs (Myers-Scotton 1992:22). This phenomenon leads to a bilingual language style known as “CS”, generally defined as “the alternate use of two languages within the same utterance or during the same conversation” (Hoffmann 1991:110). Such alternation which occurs between languages creates various patterns of language use. The ML, according to Myers-Scotton’s Matrix Language Frame (MLF) model, is the language which provides the grammatical structure of the phrase, in which the other language (i.e. the EL) becomes inserted.

The term “CS” has been used differently by researchers over the years depending on the context in which it was used. A confusing range of descriptive terms are therefore used for various aspects of the phenomenon, creating terms that tend to overlap depending on their purpose (Milroy et al. 1995:12). These terms and distinctions are clarified below.

2.4.1 Code switching and interference

One example of such confusion can occur between the terms “CS” and “interference”. Haugen (1956, 1969) (in Grosjean 1982:289), makes a three-part distinction. In this distinction "interference" is seen as the overlapping of two languages, and "switching" as the alternate use of two languages, while “integration” is used for words or utterances (ML/EL constituents and islands) that have become part of the other language.

According to Weinreich (1968) (in Grosjean 1982: 289), the first term used to refer to the language differentiation between monolinguals and bilinguals was “interference”; subsequently researchers have used “interference” to describe CS and borrowing, which occurs consciously in interactions in which strict linguistic constraints are followed. In order to differentiate between CS and interference the terms “overlap” and “alternate use” must be evaluated. Furthermore, it needs to be made clear whether there is a difference between the terms “overlap” and “integration”.

In 2003 Clyne suggested that the term “CS” should be reserved for transference of individual lexical items (ML/EL constituents) or even whole stretches of utterances (ML/EL islands) in comparison to “transversion”, which refers to a complete cross-over into the other language (Gardener-Chloros 2009:12). With the suggestion of completely different terms Clyne tried to dispose of debateable terms.

Grosjean (1982:290) however defines “interferences” as the involuntary influence of one language on the other as explored in terms of the above-mentioned errors made in the mono- and bilingual language modes. Interference can often occur due to stress and fatigue or the priming of one speaker by another.

For the purpose of this study interferences will be defined as involuntary overlaps which occur between languages in contrast to CS which is the more voluntary alternate use of two languages as a style of bilingual interaction. The distinctions between overlap, cross over, and integration will be explained in the section below.

2.4.2 Code switching and code mixing

The terms “CS” and “CM” are also used interchangeably, depending on the researcher’s definition and purpose. Hamers and Blanc (2000:260) use the term “CM” to refer to insertional CS, where a constituent from one language is embedded into the other, dominant language. This may be an EL constituent or EL island as indicated in examples (12) and (13), respectively.

- (12) Ek weet nie waar jy daardie *fact* in die hande gekry het nie maar dis *strange*.
(I do not know how you got hold of that fact, but it is strange.)
- (13) Jy weet mos ons is *best friends forever*.
(You know that we are best friends forever.)

Muysken, however, divides the phenomenon of CS into three processes of language mixing: For two of the three processes, namely ‘insertion’ and ‘congruent lexicalisation’, Muysken uses the term “CM”. For the third process, ‘alternation’, he uses the term “CS” (Gardener-Chloros 2009:12). Insertion occurs when elements longer than a word (EL islands) are inserted into a phrase and it can be equated with the process of borrowing. Example (13) above is illustrative of such insertion. Congruent lexicalisation reflects a grammatical structure which the two languages share even though the vocabulary stems from two or more languages. The final process of alternation describes the equivalence in terms of compatibility of two grammars, especially at the point where a switch occurs. Alternation specifically makes the distinction that the elements preceding and succeeding a switched string are not structurally related, despite considerable patterns of variation which may exist in the data (Gardener-Chloros 2009:104-105).

Appel and Muysken (1987:118) distinguish between three types of switches, namely (i) tag/emblematic/extrasentential switches, (ii) intersentential switches and (iii) intrasentential switches. Extrasentential switches (see example (14) below) involve the insertion of a tag at the start or end of a sentence, which can be emblematic of the bilingual's character. This type of switch can occur on its own and normally occurs in an "otherwise monolingual sentence". Intersentential switches (see example (15)) occur between sentences in contrast to intrasentential switches (see example (16)) which can occur anywhere in a sentence (Appel and Muysken 1987:118).

- (14) *Wat*, you must be kidding me!
(What, you must be kidding me!)
- (15) *Ek dink more gaan 'n lekker dag vir 'n braai wees.* Do you want to join us?
(I think tomorrow will be a nice day to have a barbeque. Do you want to join us?)
- (16) Dis Nicole Kidman, sy is die *actress* wat in die fliek *Australia* gespeel het.
(It's Nicole Kidman, she is the actress who played in the movie *Australia*.)

Appel and Muysken (1987:118) use "CS" as an umbrella term when associating the concept of alternating languages with sociolinguistic motivations, while reserving "CM" for the description of grammatical constraints. According to Appel and Muysken (1987:121), "CM" is used to describe intrasentential switches. This corresponds with McCormick's (1995:194) view, according to which CS entails the "alternation of elements longer than one word" as opposed to CM which entails the use of "shorter elements, often just single words." Sridhar and Sridhar (1980) as well as Bokamba (1988) use the term "CM" for the alternation which occurs in the sentence, while using the term "CS" for alternations, which "go beyond the sentence borders" (Gardener-Chloros 2009:13). Meisel, lastly, uses the term "CM" to indicate the synthesis of two grammatical systems, while reserving the term "CS" for the pragmatic

skill of choosing the language, for instance, according to the interlocutor, topic or context (Gardener-Chloros 2009:13).

2.4.3 Code switching and borrowing

When a bilingual alternates between languages they can either switch to a different language altogether or use constituents from another language in the original language (Grosjean 1982:308). The question arises as to how one can determine whether switching has taken place or whether a new element has been incorporated into the other linguistic system. Consider the example in (17) below.

- (17) I really want to do something fun today. Why don't we go to a *fliiek* or
organise a *braai* at a friend's house?
(I really want to do something fun today. Why don't we go to a movie or
organise a barbeque at a friend's house?)

It is difficult to determine whether or not example (17) illustrates CS. According to Pfaff (1979), examples such as these can be attributed to what he termed "language mixing", which includes single lexical items which can either be morphologically adapted or not, as well as longer sequences which may correspond to code switches (Grosjean 1982:308).

Is there, consequently, internal differentiation in terms of single EL lexemes as borrowed forms or code switched forms? If so, how do they differ in comparison to one another and in comparison to phrases or EL islands (Eastman 1992:19)? According to Myers-Scotton (in Eastman 1992:20) borrowed and CS forms are similar in that they undergo the same morphosyntactic procedures in terms of the ML in language production. The distinction arises, however, due to different constraints which govern these occurrences (Eastman

1992:21). Myers-Scotton also points out that according to Treffers-Daller (1991) CS and borrowing may be considered “in the first place as the interaction of lexicons” (Eastman 1992:31). Myers-Scotton however states that according to the MLF model¹⁶ the difference lies in the existence of “lexicon-driven congruencies” (Eastman 1992:31).

The difference between CS forms and borrowed forms is that with CS a complete shift takes place towards the other language, where the switches are juxtaposed in relation to one another. Borrowing, however, is an integration of the two languages at the level of ‘langue’, while the above-mentioned CS takes place as integration at the level of ‘parole’ (Appel and Muysken 1987:121; Grosjean 1982:308)¹⁷. Borrowings are therefore seen as short phrases, which have undergone phonological and morphological adaptation in terms of the ML constraints and have subsequently become part of the ML mental lexicon (Grosjean 1982:308; Eastman 1992:21). Some borrowed forms may also occur from previous CS forms (Eastman 1992:20). Example (17) above reflects this process. In South African English (SAE) the Afrikaans word *braai* first occurred as a CS form but it has become part of the vocabulary of SAE as a borrowed form. The Afrikaans word *fliiek* is a clear switch because the word *movie* already exists in SAE. Juxtaposition therefore occurs at the level of ‘parole’.

2.4.3.1 Types of borrowing

2.4.3.1.1 Loanwords

Haugen (in Grosjean 1982:312) differentiates between two types of borrowed forms, namely, ‘loanwords’ and ‘loanshifts’. Loanwords are words, which originate in the EL and are

¹⁶ The MLF model will be discussed in Chapter 3.

¹⁷ De Saussure's ‘langue’ and ‘parole’ can roughly be equated with Chomsky's ‘competence’ and ‘performance’, respectively. See footnote 6 for definitions of ‘competence’ and ‘performance’.

subsequently morphologically and phonetically integrated into the ML. Examples of such words are *stoep* (“porch”) and *braai* (“barbeque”) in SAE. Loanwords can be further divided into ‘pure loanwords’ and ‘loanblends’. Pure loanwords are completely integrated into the phonology and morphology of the ML. Examples of the ML constraints, under which loanwords are integrated, include gender and number marking as well as the placement of verbs into the largest and most common verb class (Grosjean 1982:313).

Haugen (1969) (in Grosjean 1982:314) suggests a three-stage process, under which phonological adaptation takes place. The lexeme is, firstly, introduced by the bilingual in the purest EL form. With repetition and an increased frequency of use, the EL lexeme will, secondly, be integrated into the ML. If this happens to the point where native monolingual speakers start using it as a cultural borrowed form, complete phonological substitution and/or integration into the ML will thirdly take place – see, for example, the substitution of the English /w/ with German /v/ when an English word is brought into German. The replication of the pure phonological form from the EL is, however, dependent on the phonological competence and performance of the bilingual, who introduces the borrowed form. There will, therefore, always exist a period of “uncertain language status” according to Grosjean (1982:314). Haugen (1956) (in Grosjean 1982:316-317) stresses that the adoption is always facilitated by a degree of substitution in terms of general social acceptance of the borrowed form. Each speaker therefore creates his/her own compromise replica according to their language competence and performance. For example, the substitution of the Spanish word *dois* (God) in Yaqui can be pronounced as either *díos* or *líos* (Grosjean 1982:314).

Muysken (1995:190) also proposes a three-level model which coincides with Haugen’s above-mentioned model. Muysken, however, uses the term “conventionalised CS” for the

second level, i.e. before the word becomes fully integrated into the monolingual lexicon at the third level. He therefore defines borrowing as “the incorporation of lexical elements from one language in the lexicon of another language” (Van Dulm 2007:9). According to Mackey (in Hoffman 1991:102), loanwords are therefore seen as forming part of ‘langue’ or the speakers underlying competence.

Loanblends are words, which are created through a process of derivation, in which one part of the word is borrowed from the EL and the other part of the word stems from the ML. An example of this is the word *Gumtree*, which in Australian German is *Gumbaum* with *Gum* stemming from English and *Baum* being German for *tree* (Grosjean 1982:313).

2.4.3.1.2 Loanshifts

Loanshifts (or semantic loans), in contrast to loanwords, are EL lexemes or EL islands, which have extended meanings to cover new concepts. An example of a loanshift in French is the word *réaliser*, which has the original meaning of making something real, but also the extended meaning of becoming aware of something, analogous to the English word *realise* (Grosjean 1982:313). While the meaning of a single EL lexeme can be extended, EL islands can also undergo extension as well as a change in the phrasal structure or patterning, which can occur due to a rearrangement in terms of the ML (Grosjean 1982:317). Loanshifts are, therefore, only influenced semantically and not phonetically as is the case with loanwords (Grosjean 1982:317).

Loanshifts are divided into ‘extensions’ and ‘creations’. With ‘extensions’ the meaning of the lexeme in the ML is extended, so that it resembles the meaning of the lexeme in the EL (Grosjean 1982:317). At first, the meaning of both forms (the original meaning and the

borrowed meaning) will be stored in the lexicon but eventually the original meaning will fall away (Grosjean 1982:318) Extensions are also termed "semantic loans". In Portuguese-English, for instance, bilinguals adapted the meaning of the word *humoroso*, which means to be capricious, to include an additional meaning corresponding to that of the English word *humorous* (Grosjean 1982:317).

With 'creations', on the other hand, the lexemes or morphemes are rearranged in terms of the ML syntax. An example of such creations is the borrowing of idiomatic expressions, which are subsequently directly translated (Grosjean 1982:318-319). In data from Clyne (1967) German-English bilinguals in Australia directly translated the English expression *for better or worse* into the German **für schlechter oder besser*. A more accurate and idiomatic translation would have been *in freude und leid* (literally, "in joy and suffering"). Extensions and creations may consequently replace the original expression, and the bilingual may have the perception that the loanshift has become the norm (Grosjean 1982:319).

2.4.3.1.3 Nonce loans and established loans

The distinction between nonce loans and established loans is evident in the model proposed by Poplack, Sankoff and Miller (1988), in which two types of borrowing exist. Both of these differ from single CS forms. Poplack (1980) (in Myers-Scotton 1990:101) states that if an item is integrated in terms of the phonology, morphology and syntax of the ML, it is a borrowing. If it shows only phonological or syntactical integration, it is a code switch (Myers-Scotton 1990:101). Nonce borrowings are therefore individual lexemes from the EL, which are embedded into the ML. The distinction between nonce loans and established loans is that nonce loans occur with a single speaker in a specific context, and are not necessarily

part of the repertoire of a monolingual speaker of the language (Van Dulm 2007:10). Established loans can therefore be equated with the concept of ‘loanwords’.

2.4.3.1.4 Language borrowing and speech borrowing

Grosjean further makes a distinction between language borrowing and speech borrowing. When a speaker borrows on an individual level it is termed “speech borrowing”, and when borrowing takes place at a community or national level it is termed “language borrowing”. The above-mentioned concepts, loanwords and loanshifts fall under language borrowing; with loanwords and loanshifts, the lexemes have passed from one language to another through integration and have become part of the monolingual repertoire in terms of ‘langue’ too. Speech borrowing and CS forms are subsequently part of ‘parole,’ in which lexemes are spontaneously borrowed and adapt their morphology, but are not integrated into the ML ‘langue’ (Hoffman 1991:102). CS, therefore, takes place where two grammars are visible, in contrast to borrowing, where a single grammar is created (Van Dulm 2007:10).

CS and borrowing are therefore related in the motivational needs to facilitate communication. Gardener-Chloros finds borrowing and CS less distinguishable and provides three distinctions. Firstly, loans are more likely to be brief in occurrence, while CS forms occur in general as single lexemes. Secondly, loans are more easily integrated into the ML. Lastly, loans are used to fill a semantic, lexical gap in the ML (Myers-Scotton 1990:101). The difference between borrowed forms and CS forms, therefore, only becomes apparent when a grammatical analysis, in terms of morphosyntactic and morphophonological processes, is done to show the degree to which juxtaposition and/or integration takes place. It is important to note, however, that this distinction is never straightforward (Van Dulm 2007:9).

Eastman (1992a:3) draws a valuable distinction, proposing that all CS forms structurally represent material embedded into a ML in contrast to borrowed forms, which always constitute ML material. Hasselmo (1970) (in Poplack and Sankoff 1984: 103) makes it clear that CS is not only classified on the basis of linguistic features but also on the basis of social integration. A word or phrase with a high degree of social integration will most probably be identified as a loanword (a cultural borrowed form) in contrast to one with a low degree of social integration, which could be identified as a CS form.

2.5 Defining code switching in childhood bilingualism

The distinction between CS and CM, as outlined in section 2.4, is also made in the literature on childhood bilingualism. However, just as there is a difference between the monolingual and bilingual language mode used by adults and that used by children (see section 2.3), there is a difference between the way in which CS is defined with reference to child vs. adult bilinguals. This section will elaborate on the definition of CS in childhood bilingualism.

Lanza (1997:8) notes that studies of bilingual children between the ages of two and three have focussed on language mixing as a sign of developmental confusion as children acquire linguistic competence. In contrast, studies of children three years and older, as well as studies of adults, define language mixing as the pragmatic strategy of CS. This language mixing should not be confused with CM and language mixing in terms of borrowing; instead, language mixing as CS focuses on functional or pragmatic constraints in terms of why CS occurs, as well as the formal or syntactic constraints in terms of where it occurs.

Swain and Wesche (1975 in Lanza 1997:23) propose a distinction in addition to those outlined in section 2.3 and 2.4 above: these researchers use the term "linguistic interaction" to

refer to the phenomena which overlap with what Weinreich terms "interference". Linguistic interaction, however, avoids the "the negative and unidirectional connotations of 'interference'" (Lanza 1997:23). In this case, despite the meaning of interaction, which implies that there is a mutual influence of two or more systems on each other, the researchers make it clear that this notion supports the gradual separation of an undifferentiated language system into two linguistic systems¹⁸. Despite their different view on interference, Swain and Wesche still analyse data in terms of language mixing as well as language switching, which can be equated with McCormick's (1995:194) definition of CM and CS as below word level switching and above word level switching, respectively (Lanza 1997:24).

Vihman points out that one has to distinguish between the phenomenon of language mixing by infant bilinguals and that of CS by older bilingual children and adults, where the latter tends towards "metalinguistic and pragmatic sophistication" (Lanza 1997:43). Studies by Zentella (1978), Genishi (1981), McClure (1981), Boeschoten and Verhoeven (1987) as well as Meisel (1994) have focussed on the functional constraints on CS of older children in terms of pragmatics.

Meisel further differentiates between language mixing and the phenomena of 'CM' and 'fusion'. The former, language mixing, involves the distinction between surface phenomena and their underlying causes. Code-mixing, on the other hand, is seen as a deficiency in pragmatic competence in that the child chooses the "wrong" language and so violates the syntactic and pragmatic constraints on CS, which is seen as the norm in the specific bilingual community. The latter, fusion, in contrast, focuses on the alleged incapacity to make a

¹⁸ The proposal for one undifferentiated language system and the proposal for a division into two linguistic systems are captured by the one-system hypothesis and the two-system hypothesis, respectively. The latter proposes the separate development of language competence in the two languages and two subsequent grammars, while the former proposes a single grammar (Lanza 1997:59).

distinction between the two grammatical systems. It is noted that although fusion is not necessarily characteristic of bilingual language development, CM occurs until CS is “firmly established as a strategy of bilingual pragmatic competence” (Lanza 1997:57).

According to Lanza (1997:7) childhood bilingualism can be seen in terms of language socialisation, which is rather closely related to the functions of CS, in comparison to psycholinguistic studies in which competence and performance may be dependent only on language input and the debate about the one-system or two-systems hypothesis (see footnote 17). Proficiency does play a vital role in evaluating child bilingualism, not in terms of the above-mentioned language mixing, but rather in terms of important factors which are responsible for CM. The link between the form and function of CS by children, thus, also has to be evaluated, as is the case in adult bilingual CS (Lanza 1997:70). This will be elaborated upon in Chapter 3.

2.6 Key terms

For the purpose of this study the definition of CS will remain “the [more voluntary] alternate use of two languages within the same utterance or during the same conversation” (Hoffmann 1991:110) in comparison to the definition of interference as “the instances of [involuntary] deviation from the norms of either language which occur in the speech of bilinguals as a result of their familiarity with more than one language” (Weinreich 1963 in Van Dulm 2007:11).

The terms “intersentential”, “intrasentential” and “extrasentential” will be used, respectively, to differentiate between switches involving the insertion of a tag at the start of a sentence, switches which occur between sentences and switches which occur within a sentence (Appel

and Muysken 1987:118). In terms of insertional CS, the distinction between below or above word level switching will be made by referring to ML/EL morphemes for below word level switches and ML/EL phrases or islands for above word level switches.

By using the Matrix Language Frame (MLF) model (outlined in Chapter 3) the ML and the EL frame are determined in terms of a hierarchical structure exhibited by morphemes. With such a distinction CS can be defined differently. “CS in which empirical evidence shows that abstract grammatical structure within a clause comes from only one of the participating languages” is defined as classical CS (Myers-Scotton and Jake 2009:337). On the other hand, CS stemming from the abstract grammatical structure of mainly one language, but also partially from the other language is defined as composite CS.

“Language mixing” will be used in reference to the pragmatic strategy of CS by adults as a distinction between surface phenomena and their underlying causes, in comparison to “CM” which will be used to describe a deficiency in the pragmatic competence of children which occurs until CS is “firmly established as a strategy of bilingual pragmatic competence” (Lanza 1997:57).

In terms of the distinction between CS and borrowed forms, CS occurs when a complete shift towards the other language takes place, where the switches are juxtaposed in relation to one another. Borrowings, on the other hand, are seen as words or short phrases, which have undergone phonological and morphological adaptation in terms of the ML constraints and have subsequently become part of the ML mental lexicon, in order to fill a semantic gap.

2.7 Conclusion

It has become clear that bilingual interaction may occur at various points on a situational continuum. Factors such as interlocutor, situation, content of discourse and function of the interaction, in combination, therefore, create specific intermediary points on the continuum where bilingualism may occur. The monolingual language mode constitutes one end of the continuum in which the bilingual interacts with monolingual speakers of either of the two (or more) languages they know. One of the two languages is thus deactivated in the monolingual mode. The bilingual language mode constitutes the other end of the continuum, in which bilinguals are communicating with other bilinguals who share their two (or more) languages. Here, both languages are active but the one that is used as the main language of communication (the base language) is more active than the other. CS, CM and borrowing are therefore situated at the bilingual pole of the above-mentioned continuum (Myers-Scotton 1997:224).

Childhood bilingualism also forms part of this situational continuum. There is however more differentiation in terms of age developmental factors which influence bilingualism and hence CS, in comparison to adult bilingualism in which age does not play as a big role due to the non-developmental nature of the factors which may influence adult interaction and the underlying communicative competence.

General distinguishing factors of CS on the continuum therefore include, firstly, that it is structurally coherent with predictable patterning of constituents (Myers-Scotton 1997:224). Secondly, it includes the motivations for CS due to the interlocutor's intent in the interaction. These motivations may include a combination of the following factors: Firstly, CS can add a "dimension" to the socio-pragmatic force of a "discourse persona" depending on the single

lexical choices or the specific CS patterns which occur. Secondly, CS can function as a discourse marker, which can signal a change in topic, or provide emphasis. Thirdly, a lexicalisation of the semantic/pragmatic feature bundles from the EL takes place to emphasise the speaker's intention, rather than using related lexemes from the ML. Finally, CS can take place to lexicalise semantic/pragmatic feature bundles, which occur only in the EL due to a lexical gap which exists in the ML (Myers-Scotton 1997:225).

Research done on CS has been diverse and has had many specific focal points. A bidirectional trend has developed in CS research, in which the focus falls either on the grammar of CS in terms of morphosyntax or on the socio-pragmatic meaning or function of CS (Dzameshie 2001:1). Studies on, and implications for, both directions will be explored in Chapter 3 and Chapter 4, respectively.

CHAPTER 3

GRAMMATICAL APPROACHES

TO CODE SWITCHING

3.1 Introduction

CS occurs due to a variety of different language contact situations in a society (as explored in Chapter 2), in which speakers have the potential to either alternate codes or use both codes together in the same phrase. The manner and the degree to which such alternation or insertion may take place have been the focus of a variety of grammatical approaches to CS. Earlier researchers claimed that CS occurs due to deficient language skills, poor language differentiation and deviations from the bilingual norm (Pert and Letts 2006:350). The more recent grammatical approaches outlined in this chapter aim to show the opposite, namely that CS is a resource, which is strategically utilized by speakers to achieve various communicative functions or effects. CS is thus not random but rather controlled and occurs due to structural governance. Such structural governance is either advocated for by means of grammatical or universal constraints as well as different theories or approaches which have been proposed by various researchers. The above-mentioned research will be classified and outlined in terms of three different approaches, namely the variationist, generativist and production approaches. The variationist and generativist approaches laid the groundwork for the production based approach of the Matrix Language Frame (MLF) model. The MLF model will be used for explaining the structural and grammatical characteristics of CS which occurred in the data collected for this study. Key aspects pertaining to the model such as the ML Hypothesis, the Morpheme Order Principle, the System Morpheme Principle, the Uniform Structure Principle and the Differential Access Hypothesis, which aim to account for so-called classic CS, will be discussed. A section on the 4-M model will also be included and brief mention will be

made of the Abstract Level model, used in the analysis of composite CS, along with a brief outline of grammatical studies done on CS in South Africa.

3.2. Grammatical aspects, models and theories of code switching

The grammatical characteristics of CS can be explained in terms of three different approaches, namely the variationist, generativist and production approaches (Gardener-Chloros 2009:95).

3.2.1 Variationist approach

Through the use of a variationist approach, researchers construct grammars in terms of where the CS is located in a sentence. Researchers such as Timm (1975), Pfaff (1979), Poplack (1980) as well as Sankoff and Poplack (1981) devised universal constraints specifying where in the sentence CS can take place. Studies carried out in the 1970s provided large bodies of data from which inductive generalisations were made about the types of constraints on CS which could be expected. Studies done in the 1980s, on the other hand, aimed at providing more theoretical perspectives on CS (Muysken 2000:13). In what follows, I give a brief outline of two of the constraints proposed to explain the grammatical aspects of CS.

Poplack (1980) and Sankoff and Poplack (1981) proposed the Equivalence Constraint (see (18)) and the Free Morpheme Constraint (see (19)) to provide a more systematic explanation for the interaction between two language systems.

(18) The Equivalence Constraint

Codes will tend to be switched at points where the surface structures of the languages map onto each other.

(Poplack 1980:586)

(19) The Free Morpheme Constraint

Codes may be switched after any constituent in discourse provided that constituent is not a bound morpheme.

(Poplack 1980:585-586)

The importance of linear equivalence, according to MacSwan (1999:41) is expressed in the Equivalence Constraint where a switch can only occur if the word order requirements of both languages are met while a switch may not occur at a boundary of a bound morpheme in terms of the Free Morpheme Constraint.

These constraints were formulated based on data retrieved from a corpus featuring a New York Puerto-Rican community but were disputed on a variety of levels. In Gardener-Chloros (2009:96) Romaine states that the Equivalence Constraint applies to situations in which the same categories are shared, but that the theory does not allow for switching when this is not the case. Gardener-Chloros further points out that Muysken agrees that the equivalence of the two language structures is vital. His arguments are, however, refuted by Sebba, who argues that equivalence is speaker-constructed and does not exist due to the specific language structures. The primary criticism levelled at studies proposing universal constraints on CS is that such approaches result in a type of third grammar which constrains the degree to which two languages can mix (MacSwan 1999:41). Gardener-Chloros (2009:96) concludes that research such as that done by Romaine (1995), Jacobson (1998b) and Muysken (2000) provides evidence for the existence of more relative constraints in comparison to the proposed universal constraints.

3.2.2 Generativist approach

Generativist approaches started in the 1980s and include studies by Joshi (1985), Di Sciullo, Muysken and Singh (1986), Mahootian (1993), Belazi, Rubin and Toribio (1994) as well as MacSwan (1999, 2000, 2005). Di Sciullo et al. (1986) proposed the independently motivated grammatical principle of ‘government’ to explain where in a sentence switches may take place; specifically, switches cannot occur between a governor and a governed element. The Government Constraint, however, fails because it does not apply to all the types of switches which can occur, such as switches between verbs and adverbs. Muysken (1990) proposed that lexical government only governed switching of non-function words. This was however also refuted by Nortier (1990 in Gardener-Chloros 2009:97-98). Government and Binding Theory has subsequently been proven problematic and this has led to a rejection of the grammatical principle of ‘government’ in the more recent generativist framework, the Minimalist Programme.

Woolford (1983), Pandit (1990), as well as Belazi, Rubin and Toribio (1994), proposed “null” theories, in which production and processing, as well as surface factors are not mentioned. Instead, these theories outline models of grammatical competence which are syntactically constrained in terms of the requirements proposed by mixed grammars, functional categories, or the Principles and Parameters framework (Gardener-Chloros 2009:98-99). Finally, MacSwan (1999, 2000) presents a research program in the context of the Minimalist Programme, in which “the minimal CS-specific apparatus is assumed” (MacSwan 2009:325).

3.2.3 Production approach

The production approach as found in studies by Azuma (1991, 1993), de Bot (1992) and Myers-Scotton (1993b, 1995) incorporates as a premise, firstly, Levelt's (1989) Speaking model and, secondly, the Sentence Production model as developed by Fromkin (1971) and Garret (1975). Myers-Scotton and colleagues have formulated an insertional grammatical model in contrast to the above-mentioned alternational models (variationist and generativist approaches). For example, Myers-Scotton's insertional model provides a hierarchical framework in terms of a Matrix Language (ML) and an Embedded Language (EM), which incorporates the notions of 'competence' and 'performance' (Jake, Myers-Scotton and Gross 2002:72). This model is referred to as the Matrix Language Frame (MLF) model. The MLF model is based on the ML Hypothesis which forms the basis on which the Morpheme Order Principle, the System Morpheme Principle, the Asymmetry Principle, the Uniform Structure Principle and the Morpheme-type criterion were proposed.

The MLF model has been repeatedly amended to justify problems with the original model. Myers-Scotton and Jake (2000) have hence proposed the 4-M ("four morpheme") model as part of the MLF model to include morpheme classification. The MLF model remains a dominant paradigm in grammatical research which focuses on universal principles which lead to CS (Gardener-Chloros 2009:103; Chan 2009:184). Section 3.4 will provide a comprehensive examination of the MLF model; however, before such an examination is undertaken, various grammatical studies in CS research within a South African context will be discussed.

3.3 Grammatical studies in code switching research in the South African context

Within a South African context, Lawrence (1999, 2001), Finlayson and Slabbert (1997) and Finlayson et al. (1998) (in Van Dulm 2007:38) use the MLF model to analyse the grammatical aspects of CS. However, due to the CS data containing mostly single word switches or intersentential switching, an analysis of these data in terms of a borrowing paradigm would have been more preferable. The identification of the ML in these studies is also mostly done on the basis of socio- or psycholinguistic factors rather than on the basis of syntactic structure.

Gxilishé's (1992) (in Van Dulm 2007:38-39) study of switching between Nguni languages is an exception to the above-mentioned studies, as the analysis was done in terms of Poplack's Free Morpheme and Equivalence Constraints. The findings of this study show that these constraints were not met in the data. Research by Kamwangamalu (1999) (in Van Dulm 2007:38-39) on SiSwati-English CS also employed the MLF model and also offers evidence against the Free Morpheme and Equivalence Constraints. Furthermore, Kamwangamalu argues against the existence of a third grammar when analysing switching between English and indigenous African languages by L2 speakers of English. The CS is instead governed by the structure of the African language, which is subsequently identified as the ML.

Van Dulm (2002) conducted research in terms of the "minimalist assumption" concerning intrasentential CS. Van Dulm collected naturalistic CS data as well as making use of judgements, pertaining to the well-formedness of sentences, obtained from students at the University of Stellenbosch. Van Dulm (2002) initially tested the validity of Poplack's (1980) Free Morpheme and Equivalence Constraints, Joshi's (1985) Constraint on Closed Class Items, Di Sciullo et al.'s (1986) Government Constraint, and Belazi et al.'s (1994) Functional

Head Constraint. Van Dulm (2002) concluded that these constraints could not account for the data and suggests that CS is only constrained by the requirement of the mixed grammars (Van Dulm 2007:39). Van Dulm (2007) further analysed English-Afrikaans CS and the structural differences between the two languages in terms of feature checking requirements, within a minimalist syntax framework, following MacSwan (1999, 2000).

3.4 Theoretical framework of the Matrix Language Frame model

In many bilingual communities, CS occurs when discourses are produced in which morphemes stem from two or more varieties in the speaker's repertoire (Myers-Scotton 1997:217). From research done on the structural constraints on CS, it has become clear that language choice for words in such circumstances is not always free, despite disagreement which exists in terms of the form that such constraints may take. According to its proponents, the MLF model provides a more plausible characterization of CS than variationist and generativist accounts, in terms of morphemes stemming from two or more languages, as well as the effects that one language might have on the other and vice versa. The MLF model achieves such plausibility by serving as a structural framework to explain the morphosyntactic and lexical choices of the speaker in a particular conversation, as well as the specific characteristics of the different CS forms occurring in the data (Myers-Scotton 1997:223).

3.4.1 Basic premise of the Matrix Language Frame model

The MLF model is an insertional model of CS, which provides a hierarchical framework within which patterns of CS can be determined, measured and evaluated, in order to achieve a better understanding of how CS phrases are structured in conversation. In this hierarchical

framework, two languages are insertionally combined in terms of one dominant and one subordinate language, namely the Matrix Language (ML) and the Embedded Language (EL), respectively. The language chosen as the dominant language can be seen as an abstract grammatical frame from which the surface structure of a CS phrase is formed (Myers-Scotton 2002:22). Thus Myers-Scotton implies that the use of an ML links back to the proficiency of the speaker: The level with which the ML can be used is directly proportional to the proficiency level of the speaker. The speaker's proficiency is subsequently dependent on and directly proportional to the linguistic input which is responsible for the language competence and performance of the speaker. The MLF model therefore emphasises the role that competence plays in the performance of bilingual speech. It follows that a language frame is a grammatical principle from which CS stems rather than a CS-specific constraint (MacSwan 1999:52). By using the MLF model in analysing Afrikaans-SAE CS data, the specific patterns of CS can be determined, measured and evaluated, in order to gain a better understanding of how and why CS occurs, as well why certain characteristics are apparent in the data.

As noted above, the MLF model is based on the ML Hypothesis and subsequent Morpheme Order and System Morpheme Principles, which are given in (20) to (22) below.

(20) The ML Hypothesis

The ML frames the morphosyntax of ML and EL constituents, which is verified by (21) and (22):

(21) The Morpheme Order Principle (MOP)

Morpheme order of the constituents must follow the order of the ML.

(22) The System Morpheme Principle (SMP)

The ‘active’¹⁹ system morphemes in the constituents come only from the ML.

(Myers-Scotton 1992:24)

The ML, as an abstract grammatical frame, can be made up of a combination of grammatical projections from each variety, which can differentiate not only the two participating languages but also the morpheme types at a variety of abstract levels (Myers-Scotton and Jake 2009:337).

A study done by Chan (2009) investigates the CS of typologically distinct languages in which the diversity and variation of CS patterns which appear to defy any “economical, unified, and universal syntactic account” are pointed out (Chan 2009:197). According to Chan, there is more than one viable syntactic option which makes room for the influence of processing strategies and various sociolinguistic factors to influence the structure of the clause (Chan 2009:197).

As previously mentioned, bilinguals employ words and syntactic rules from both languages when code switching. If there are different syntactic rules for the construction of each language, the bilingual has two viable options in forming a CS construction which reflects the above-mentioned ML Hypothesis. One way in which the ML can be framed in terms of the morphosyntax of ML and EL constituents is by means of the word order of either language involved. The bilingual CS which occurs between SVO (subject-verb-object) and SOV (subject-object-verb) languages can thus be evaluated under the MLF model and the ML Hypothesis. Chan’s study is particularly relevant to the present study because language pairs referred to in his study such as English-Cantonese, English-Japanese and English-Tamil, like

¹⁹ Active morphemes are morphemes which participate in relationships within the sentence but which are external from the head of the morpheme (Myers-Scotton 1992:24).

English-Afrikaans, involve typologically distinct languages in terms of word order; having SVO and SOV orders, respectively.²⁰

Chan (2009:188) identifies four logical pattern possibilities which can occur between SVO and SOV languages, namely:

1. VO order: verb from VO language
2. OV order: verb from OV language
3. VO order: verb from OV language
4. OV order: verb from VO language

According to Chan, it has been found that patterns one and two occur frequently. The following examples, used to illustrate patterns one and two, stem from Nishimura (1985) (in Chan 2009:189).

- (23) Pattern 1:
Japanese-English
Nisei no jidai ni wa *we never **knew** **anna koto nanka***
Nisei POSS days P TOP we never knew such thing sarcasm
“In the days of Nisei, we never knew such a thing as sarcasm.”
- (24) Pattern 2:
English-Japanese
Only small prizes *moratta ne*
Only small prizes get – PAST
“We got only small prizes.”

Patterns three and four tend to be ruled out by other lexicalist accounts, in which the VO order is specified in the head verb. The MLF model however would allow patterns three and

²⁰ Chan (2009) also provides arguments for and examples of languages which have the same word order; this is, however, not pertinent to the present study.

four to occur according to the ML Hypothesis, provided that the ML is VO or OV, respectively. The following examples are illustrative of patterns three and four respectively:

- (25) Pattern 3: VO order: verb from OV language
Tamil-English
Naan pooyi **paaDuvein Hindi song-ei**
I go_{INF} sing. 1-SG.FUT Hindi song-ACC
“I will go and sing a Hindi song.”
(Sankoff et al. 1990:79 in Chan 2009:190)
- (26) Pattern 4: OV order: verb from VO language
Tsotsitaal-English
Want ou Tex laat ons daai **group join**
Because old Tex make 1PL DEM group join
“Because old Tex made us join that group.”
(Slabbert and Myers-Scotton 1997:332 in Chan 2009:190)

Patterns one to four thus reflect the morpheme orders which are possible given the morphosyntax of the exemplified language pairs and the ML Hypothesis.

From the Morpheme Order Principle (MOP) (see (21) above) follows the morpheme order criterion which will be applicable when the participating languages have distinct surface structures; as is the case in patterns one to four. Another language pair, namely Welsh-English, studied by Deuchar (2006) in a study on informal conversational data, also conforms to the ML Hypothesis.

Deuchar (2006) sets out to test the application of the ML Principle (MLP), which is the instantiation of the ML Hypothesis within a complementiser phrase (CP). She tests the MLP in terms of using the MOP and SMP (see (21) and (22) above), which directly links back to Chan’s study of typologically different word orders. The MOP is pertinent when two languages with distinct surface orders are used in CS. This is true for English and Welsh

which have SVO and VSO orders respectively (Deuchar 2006:1992). In addition, Welsh also has an AuxSVO (auxiliary-subject-verb-object) order in alternative periphrastic constructions which occur in informal speech. Welsh and English further differ in terms of the relative order of the head and modifier within a noun phrase (NP). In English the modifier is followed by the head, while in Welsh the head is followed by the modifier. Consequently, Welsh will be identified as the ML if the verb precedes the subject and the modifier follows the head in an NP. English, in contrast, will be identified as the ML if the subject precedes the verb and the head follows the modifier. Welsh serving as the ML, is illustrated in examples (27) and (28) below.

- (27) Mae o-‘n reit **camouflaged** yn dydi
 Be.3S.PRES PRON.3S-PART quite camouflaged PRT NEG-be.3S.PRES
 “he’s quite camouflaged isn’t he?”
 (Deuchar 2006:1993)

- (28) Oedd gynnon ni ystafell yn Plas yn Dref, ystafell **brilliant**
 Be.3S.IMP with us.PRON.3S room in Plas yn Dref room brilliant
 “We had a room in Plas yn Dref, a brilliant room”
 (Deuchar 2006:1994)

According to Deuchar (2006:1991), the ML Hypothesis entails that for classic CS it is always possible to identify the ML in a bilingual CP, although the hypothesis does allow for “ambiguous identification in individual clauses”.

The MLF model further emphasises an asymmetry in the participation of languages in the CS interaction (Myers-Scotton 2002:9). This is known as the Asymmetry Principle, from which it can be deduced that the ML will be “unambiguously identifiable in most clauses” (Deuchar 2006:1991).

In terms of the SMP, subject-verb agreement was used to identify outside late morphemes in Welsh and English due to the frequency with which the agreement occurs. In English subject-verb agreement is mostly limited to the verb *to be* and the third person *-s* morpheme in the present tense. In Welsh, however, synthetic verbs have a rich system of inflection. The ML will therefore be determined by the language source which provides the morphology of finite verbs. The results achieved by the MOP should therefore be confirmed by the SMP to identify the ML (Deuchar 2006:1998).

Consider the examples in Table 1 below. In example (29) Welsh is identified as the ML by the MOP. In terms of the SMP, example (29) is also valid due to the subject-verb agreement which occurs in Welsh. The same goes for example (30) in which English serves as the ML. In examples (31) and (32), however, it becomes clear, in terms of the MOP and the SMP, that there are certain bilingual clauses to which either the MOP, or the SMP or neither can apply in identifying the ML.

Table 1 Identification of the matrix language under the Matrix Language Frame model for Welsh-English code switching (from Deuchar 2006:2000-2001)

	Welsh-English CS data	MOP	SMP	ML
(29)	Oedden nhw mor desperate though Be.3S.PAST PRON.3P so desperate though “They were so desperate though.”	Welsh	Welsh	Welsh
(30)	Beauty is in the eye of the beholder, ngwasi Beauty is in the eye of the beholder, dear “Beauty is in the eye of the beholder, my dear”	English	English	English
(31)	Yn y gegin ar y draining board In the kitchen on DET draining board “In the kitchen on the draining board.”	Either	-	Either
(32)	Ddaru ni gyfweled ‘paw’n ‘ma am ddeg awr assistant i DS Did we interview afternoon this for ten hour assistant to DS “We interviewed this afternoon for a ten-hour assistant to DS.”	Neither	-	Neither

Thus, if the MOP and the SMP are in agreement, the ML is unambiguous. In cases where there is no agreement, the ML is unidentifiable. Lastly, if only one criterion is applicable, the ML is ambiguous.

In the original conception of the MLF model, the ML was determined by a quantitative criterion, based on the greatest number of morphemes that occur in a given discourse. In terms of this criterion, the majority of the morphemes are therefore supposed to stem from the ML if the discourse is bigger than one sentence. This criterion is however non-specific in terms of the frequency with which the morphemes occur in a complete conversation or only in a specified sentence. The relevant unit of analysis is then either inconsistent or debatable. The Dutch-English example in (33), from Clyne (1987:754), illustrates this problem:

- (33) Ja, *in de, in de* **big place** *is* het **a lot**, nou ja, je kan't, t'*is de same* als *hier*. Je hebt **Melbourne** en *de* **other places** met *de* **high flats and so**. Dat heb je in Holland ook. Maar 'n maar **a lot of places** *nou* (now), *de* **same before we go**. D'r is, **we go to my sister in Apeldoorn**, en zi hef *de* **same place** noog.

The two languages in the example are equally well represented in terms of frequency of morphemes, while morphemes such as *in* and *is* cannot be unambiguously identified since they exist in both languages. The ML can thus vary from clause to clause (Myers-Scotton and Jake 2009:338).

The quantitative criterion was later abandoned due to the above-mentioned problem (Myers-Scotton 2002:16). Joshi (1985:190-191), who contributed to the model, made the prediction that in mixed language sentences all "closed class" items²¹ (function words), with the

²¹ Closed class items include determiners, quantifiers, prepositions, possessives, auxiliaries and tense markers (Deuchar 2006:1990).

exception of EL islands, would stem from the ML, in contrast to "open class" items²² (content words) which would stem from either the ML or the EL. This prediction led to the formulation of another criterion, the morpheme-type criterion. According to this criterion, the ML provides function morphemes, with EL islands as exceptions to this rule. If this is the case, however, depending on the quantity of the occurring EL islands, the argument may become circular.

According to Muysken (2000:157), the distinction between function and content morphemes is also problematic in that four different criteria govern this type of classification in all languages. The first of these criteria is that content and function morphemes differ semantically in that content words can occur as auto-semantic elements in which the morpheme on its own has concrete meaning while function words only have an abstract meaning that is dependent on the context. Due to the dependent nature in terms of meaning, functional elements cannot undergo modification (Muysken 2000:157). The following examples are indicative of this distinction: The phrase *he played happily* is grammatical but the phrase **he has happily* is ungrammatical since the functional element *has* cannot be modified.

Secondly, content and function word classification is subject to the open versus closed class distinction. In certain morphemes despite being classified as closed class items the criterion of closedness is not easily applied to the morpheme. Adjectives and adverbs, which normally form an open class, can in certain cases also be seen as a small closed class (Muysken 2000:157).

²² Open class items include nouns, verbs, adverbs and adjectives (Deuchar 2006:1991).

Thirdly, class assignment for morphemes is dependent on whether the process of derivational morphology can take place with the morpheme. In the case of nouns, verbs and adjectives this is indeed possible, but not in the case of demonstratives or auxiliaries. For the latter it is evident that suppletion forms part of an inflectional process. The distinction is thus visible in the verb forms *plays/played* in comparison to the auxiliary forms *is/was* (Muysken 2000:158).

Lastly, morphemes play an integral part in structuring the clause and the manner in which this role is expressed forms the fourth criterion. Inflection and derivation need to be taken into account in distinguishing between function and content morphemes. This is dependent on the type of morpheme which plays a more prominent role in phrase structuring. Function words undergo the inflectional process which takes part in syntactic rules, thus excluding derivational elements. Content words, in contrast, are generally combined derivationally and do not necessarily need an obligatory complement as that of functional elements. This can be illustrated by the fact that an auxiliary needs a verb phrase complement (Muysken 2000: 158).

Importantly, though, the four criteria set out above operate differently (i) across languages and (ii) depending on the different language pairs involved (Gardener-Chloros 2009:102). Such criteria have subsequently been replaced by the distinction between "content" morphemes²³ and "system" morphemes²⁴ (SM) (Myers-Scotton and Jake 2009:337). The

²³ Content morphemes are defined in terms of assigning or receiving theta roles (Myers-Scotton and Jake 2009:338).

²⁴ System morphemes cannot be equated with functional elements or closed class items as is the case in other linguistic models. System morphemes are defined in comparison to content morphemes. Examples are affixes and certain function words which are free forms but do not occur alone, such as determiners and clitics (Myers-Scotton and Jake 2009:338).

MLF model primarily differentiates asymmetrically between participating languages, as well as morpheme types at different abstract levels. The MLF model has however, due to the above-mentioned criticisms, been repeatedly amended to address problems with the original model. Myers-Scotton and Jake (2000) have therefore proposed the 4-M model for morpheme classification to form part of the MLF model.

3.4.2 Adaption of the Matrix Language Frame model

3.4.2.1 The Uniform Structure Principle

In terms of the Uniform Structure Principle (USP) 'bilingual speech' is redefined as "surface level morphemes from two or more language varieties in the same CP" (Myers-Scotton and Jake 2009:336). This principle tends towards a "no chaos allowed" asymmetrical grammatical structure of the participating languages in the particular CP (Myers-Scotton and Jake 2009:337). The underlying assumption is that languages strive towards uniformity on a number of abstract levels, and that the structures of the ML are always preferred (Myers-Scotton 2002:8-9). The classification and distribution of different morpheme types as well as the specific role that each type plays in forming the asymmetrical grammatical structure, exemplify such abstract levels.

This asymmetrical distribution of mixed constituents is determined by the ML in terms of the MOP and the SMP (recall (21) and (22)). The grammatical frame of the CP is established at the highest level by means of the ML. The ML can thus include phrasal EL islands, which are well formed in terms of the EL grammatical frame but which are still embedded and under control of the ML (Myers-Scotton and Jake 2000:2).

The USP in the MLF model allows the EL to only contribute content morphemes in mixed constituents or EL islands. The distinction between content and system morphemes shows that content morphemes are relatively free in nature, as well as distribution, in comparison to the more strict distribution of system morphemes. It is thus not the relatively free nature of content morphemes which acts as the reason why these constituents may be provided by the ML as well as the EL in mixed constituent or EL islands, but rather the restricted nature of system morphemes. System morphemes can only stem from the ML; it is the only constituent type which can enforce the asymmetric frequency of morpheme distribution. Content and system morphemes are thus also differentiated by the USP (Myers-Scotton and Jake 2009:338).

Under the USP, the MLF model therefore has three premises for classic CS²⁵, namely:

1. Participating languages do not equally influence the bilingual clause.
2. Not all morpheme types can equally stem from the ML and EL when occurring in bilingual constituents within this clause.
3. The SMP limits the occurrence of SMs that build the clausal structure of the ML.

(Myers-Scotton and Jake 2009:339)

Mixed ML and EL constituents can therefore include single occurring EL lexemes which are embedded in an ML. This ML can hence be made up of many ML lexemes as well as EL islands.

3.4.2.2 The 4-M model and the Differential Access Hypothesis

The 4-M model is used alongside the MLF model to offer a more detailed description of morpheme types, firstly, according to the occurrence of the morphemes in their syntactic roles and, secondly, in terms of how they are activated in language production. In this model

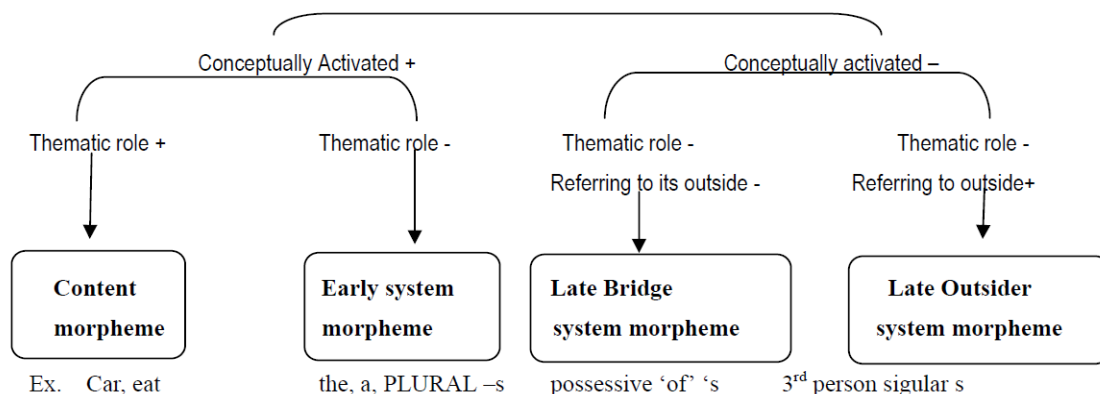
²⁵ The MLF and USP apply to classic CS. In composite CS the abstract grammatical structure comes mainly from one language, but also partially from the other language. Composite CS is therefore better analysed under the Abstract Level Model (Myers-Scotton and Jake 2001; Myers-Scotton 2002). Both types of CS can however occur in terms of the USP and the 4-M model (Myers-Scotton and Jake 2009:339).

the term “morpheme” can refer either to the abstract entries in the mental lexicon or to the surface realisation of these abstract entries (Myers-Scotton and Jake 2009:341). Clause constructions are driven by different types of morphemes along with the differential projection of the morphemes from the mental lexicon (Wei 2000:29). In CS, with the predictions of the USP, the distribution of morpheme types across the ML and EL can vary significantly. It is due to the significant variance of the morpheme types that the 4-M model was proposed. This variance subsequently leads to the hypothesis that the abstract differences, which occur at the production level, justify the surface level differences in the different morpheme types (Myers-Scotton and Jake 2009:341). Observations of how different types of morphemes have different distributions in actual surface level constructions give rise to the Differential Access Hypothesis (DAH). The DAH, according to Myers-Scotton and Jake (2009:341), can be formulated as follows:

The different types of morphemes under the 4-M model are differentially accessed in the abstract levels of the production process. Specifically, content morphemes and early SMs are accessed at the level of the mental lexicon, but late SMs do not become salient until the level of the formulator.

The new model still distinguishes between content and system morphemes, but places emphasis on the division between conceptually-activated morphemes (in the mental lexicon/deep structure) and structurally-assigned morphemes (in the formulator/surface structure) (Myers-Scotton and Jake 2009:341). Morphemes are thus classified according to three features which can distinguish the four morpheme types, namely [\pm thematic role assignment], [\pm conceptually-activated], and [\pm referring to grammatical information outside of its X^{Max}] (Myers-Scotton and Jake 2000:4). Consider Figure 2 below.

Figure 2 Morpheme Classification (Myers-Scotton 2002:73), adapted by Namba (2002:4).



This distinction between morpheme types gives greater insight into the underlying language competence and language production for classic CS because different language types are related to different production processes. The speaker's intentions and linguistic units are directly linked to the lemmas, and the specific semantic and pragmatic feature bundles from which content morphemes stem. Content morphemes are thus directly elected in the conceptual level through the assigning and receiving of thematic roles. These content morphemes subsequently, and indirectly, elect early system morphemes to express the speaker's intention by means of combined feature bundles. These bundles from the conceptual structure are then combined by means of the formulator in order to build larger linguistic units. The signal sent from the feature bundles, which guides the formulator, thus activates late system morphemes which are responsible for linking larger linguistic units as well as the mapping of the conceptual structure onto the phrase structures in order to obtain the surface order of the CP (Myers-Scotton and Jake 2000:3).

Conceptually-activated and system activated morphemes are discussed and illustrated in the sections below. Content morphemes are typically conceptually active in comparison to the system morpheme category which is divided into three subtypes. These subtypes are: early

system morphemes, bridge late system morphemes and outside late system morphemes (Deuchar 2006:1991).

3.4.2.2.1 Conceptually-activated morphemes

Content morphemes are conceptually-activated from the speaker's pre-linguistic intentions, which directly elect the semantic/pragmatic feature bundles which map "conceptual structure onto the lemma²⁶ [in the mental lexicon]" (Myers-Scotton and Jake 2000). Content morphemes are therefore the first morphemes to be chosen and assigned. According to Levelt (in Wei 2000:30) "lemmas are the driving force behind the speaker's construction of the surface structure. It is in the lemmas of the mental lexicon that conceptual information is linked to grammatical function." This link is achieved with information contained within the lemma about 'lexical-conceptual structure'²⁷, 'predicate-argument structure'²⁸ and 'morphological realisation patterns'²⁹. It is by means of the lemma that directions are sent to the 'formulator' to transform conceptual knowledge into linguistic knowledge in language production (Wei 2000:31).

The ability to assign or receive a thematic role is thus a general property of content morphemes (Wei 2000:31). Most verbs and some prepositions are prototypical thematic-role assigners, and most nouns are prototypical thematic-role receivers. Willis (in Deuchar

²⁶ Lemmas are abstract features that underlie surface level morphemes.

²⁷ The lexical-conceptual structure includes the universally-available semantic/pragmatic information of the content morpheme (Wei 2000:31).

²⁸ The predicate-argument structure specifies the properties of verbs in terms of their subcategorisation frames, the number of arguments available to the verb as well as the identification of which thematic role each argument receives (Wei 2000:31).

²⁹ Morphological realisation patterns are responsible for the spell out of surface devices for word order, agreement and tense/aspect marking (Wei 2000:31).

2006:1997) points out that thematic roles are however not received by individual morphemes but rather by phrasal categories such as Determiner Phrase (DP) or Verb Phrase (VP).

The predicate is responsible for the assignment of theta roles. For example, the assignment of the THEME theta role ascribes accusative case to the DP which is the head of the maximal projection of the noun and determiner (early system morpheme). The assignment of the AGENT theta role, in turn, ascribes nominative case to the DP which is the semantic subject in the deep structure of the clause. One way in which internal conceptual arguments are created is thus by means of the assignment of thematic roles.

Early SMs are also conceptually-activated by being "indirectly elected" (Wei 2000:31). Early SMs however are not assigned theta roles, as is the case with content morphemes. Early SMs are closely linked to their specific heads in that the SM adds semantic/pragmatic information to the content head which is in agreement with specific semantic/pragmatic properties of the content head. Inflectional morphemes and most function words are prototypical system morphemes (Wei 2000:31). Examples of early SMs are determiners such as *the* in English and *die* in Afrikaans. Plural affixes such as *-s* in English and *-e* in Afrikaans are also included in this subtype³⁰. These examples of SMs add information in terms of definiteness and number of the content heads respectively; these examples also show that early SMs can be free or bound morphemes (Deuchar 2006:1997; Myers-Scotton and Jake 2009:342).

Further examples of SMs include derivational affixes and verb satellites (particles). These verb satellites, which occur in combination with phrasal verbs, are also early SMs because they occur with their heads and add extra meaning to the head. Such derivational morphemes

³⁰ Plural markers as early SMs can vary in four ways, namely: (1) EL plural marking only, (2) no plural marking at all, (3) ML plural marking only, or (4) both ML and EL plural marking (cf. Myers-Scotton and Jake 2009:343).

may however stem from the EL because it is not restricted by the SMP. This is exemplified by a Swahili-English example *u-na-chase after* (*you are chasing after*) (Myers-Scotton and Jake 2009:342).

3.4.2.2 Structurally-assigned morphemes

Late SMs, on the other hand, are more directly linked to the speaker's intentions and can be divided into "bridge" and "outside" late SMs. Such morphemes are called "late" SMs due to the fact that these morphemes are only activated at the later production levels (in terms of the formulator and not the lemma level). It is due to the role of the late SMs in constructing larger constituents out of conceptually-activated morphemes, that phrases are assembled and connected to form complete clauses. The above-mentioned early SMs generally build semantic structure, while late SMs are responsible for the formation of syntactic structures which satisfy the consistent structure requirements of the USP (Myers-Scotton and Jake 2009:344).

Bridge late SMs act as linking morphemes between a complement and a head noun, forming larger constituents. This formation of links or "bridges", depends on a within formation in maximal projections. Bridges also seem to have invariant forms, thus only a single allomorph exists per bridge. Such morphemes are prepositions such as *of* in English which can be exemplified by the phrase *the book of Alice* or by the preposition *van* in Afrikaans, *die boek van Alice* (Deuchar 2006:1997). The English possessive morpheme *-s* such as is seen in the phrase *Alice's book* and the Afrikaans possessive morpheme *se* in *Alice se boek* are also single allomorphic bridge late SMs. Most CS forms of bridge late SMs stem from the ML while EL bridges occur very rarely in mixed constituents.³¹

³¹ One exception does however exist in the literature – cf. Myers-Scotton and Jake 2009:345.

Outside SMs, as the name describes, are morphemes which occur with forms outside the head of their maximal projections. These morphemes may stem from elements in another constituent or from the discourse as a whole. Outside SMs provide grammatical structures due to the specific indexing relations above that of word order or the basic constituent structure, thus reinforcing the semantic coherence and the USP in the clause and the greater discourse (Myers-Scotton and Jake 2009:346). Outside late SMs may also have a variety of allomorphs and are subsequently part of a paradigm or a conjugation. Examples of such morphemes include subject-verb agreement, clitics and case affixes (Deuchar 2006:1997-1998). Myers-Scotton and Jake (2009:346) note that “the distribution of outsider late SMs should be the most defining feature of classic CS – and it is.”³²

Ultimately, the 4-M model eliminates the problem that morpheme types are not predicted by lexical category membership. The premises of the 4-M model permit flexible classification because members of a specific category do not need to be members of the same 4-M morpheme types. It is therefore clear that not all prepositions, pronouns or complementisers have the same distributions. This classification can be exemplified by the following example: In English the pronoun *it* in the phrase *it is raining* does not receive a thematic role and is thus different to the indefinite third person singular content morpheme *it* used in the phrase *Where is the box? It is on the bed* (Myers-Scotton and Jake 2009:345).³³

Deuchar's (2006) study also tested the Asymmetry Principle and the USP with Welsh-English conversational CS data. In terms of the Asymmetry principle, the ML of the data will be

³² It is important to note that the MLF model's SMP was always intended to constrain only outside SMs (Myers-Scotton and Jake 2009:341).

³³ The flexible classification of the 4-M model morpheme types is also exemplified by the use of pronouns, prepositions and/or complementisers – cf. Myers-Scotton and Jake (2009:347 -354).

predictable if the majority of the clauses reflects the identification of the ML, which is visible in examples (30) and (32) above. In cases such as example (32)(31), the MLP is not violated but if these clauses were present in large numbers, then the MLP would be contradicted by the Asymmetry Principle.³⁴

Deuchar (2006:2003) found that Welsh occurred as the ML for about 90% of the clauses, supporting the Asymmetry Principle quantitatively “in that Welsh is the ML in almost all bilingual clauses where this can be unambiguously identified.”

The ML of the Welsh-English data was lastly tested by means of the USP, which predicts the preference for the structures of other SMs. While the USP predicts that these SMs should primarily be drawn from the ML, it does not exclude the less likely insertion of SMs from the EL. Deuchar (2006:2003) used an early SM, the definite determiner, to test the USP. She concluded that the data showed that all the Welsh definite determiners occurred in clauses which had Welsh as the ML (Deuchar 2006:2005).³⁵

Through a systematic qualitative and quantitative analysis, using the principles of the MLF model, Deuchar was able to identify Welsh-English as a "classic" case of CS, in Myers-Scotton's (2002:8) terminology.

Pert and Letts (2006) also analyse CS under the MLF model, but their perspective differs from Deuchar's, and they examine Mirpuri-English CS, with Mirpuri being typologically

³⁴ For exact figures on the percentage of clauses which could identify the ML, see Deuchar (2006:2003).

³⁵ For exact figures on the number of clauses which could identify the ML cf. Deuchar (2006: 2005).

distinct from Welsh in that the latter is VSO while the former is SOV.³⁶ An example of Mirpuri SOV word order for declarative sentences is illustrated in (34) below:

- (34) Kuri/ beibi/qaqa dud pini pi
 Girl/ baby milk drinking +FEMALE is +Female
 “the (girl) baby is drinking milk.”
 (Pert and Letts 2006:356)

As can be seen in example (34), in Mirpuri there is also gender agreement between subject and verb which is expressed as an inflection on the lexical verb (Pert and Letts 2006:356).

As in the above-mentioned studies, the ML was identified, firstly, according to word order and, secondly, according to the use of early SMs, which specify the agreement between subject nouns and various verb-phrase components. The identification and use of late SMs in this case study is responsible for showing the formation of syntactic structures which satisfy the consistent structure requirements of the USP, MOP and SMP, leading to the subsequent ML formation (Myers-Scotton and Jake 2009:344).

A quantitative analysis was done in terms of the mean length of utterance (MLU) and the distribution of the total number of words across the two languages (English and Mirpuri), identifying Mirpuri as the ML³⁷. A qualitative analysis of the grammatical and syntactic structure of Mirpuri-English CS was done under the MLF model by analysing the lexical verb and subject-verb gender agreement in terms of late SMs. Both analyses are exemplified by (35) below:

³⁶ It is important to note that grammatical descriptions of Mirpuri do not exist. Grammars are however available for Urdu and Panjabi and similarities between the languages allow for analogies between them.

³⁷ For more exact figures, see Pert and Letts (2006:367-368).

- (35) CS involving a compound verb: the main element is an English verb, and the operator is Mirpuri:

Daddy *tolija nal at wash kar -na pija*
 Daddy towel with hands wash do -ing+MALE is +MALE
 “Daddy is doing washing (his) hands with (a) towel.”³⁸

(Pert and Letts 2006:366)

There was however no differentiation between borrowed and CS lexical forms in the data analysis. Utterances containing CS forms were categorised according to the thematic roles of AGENT, PATIENT, VERB, LOCATION and GOAL (Pert and Letts 2006:361).³⁹ The study further analysed the assignment of thematic roles in terms of content morphemes in English to show that CS results conformed to the MLF model in identifying Mirpuri as the ML (Pert and Letts 2006:368). This is exemplified in (36) and (37) below:

- (36) Code switching the AGENT and PATIENT to English in a Mirpuri frame:

Daddy football *sat -an langa*
 Daddy football throw -will about to
 “Daddy about to throw (the) ball”

(Pert and Letts 2006:364)

- (37) Code switching the AGENT, PATIENT and GOAL to English in a Mirpuri frame:

Boy baby ki bath *vitch baja*
 Boy baby to bath in put + MALE
 “(the) boy put (the) baby in (the) bath”

(Pert and Letts 2006:365)

In conclusion, the CS data was subject to grammatical constraints which conformed to the MLF and 4-M models. The quantitative and qualitative approaches, with frequency data and complex verb phrase examples respectively, show an emerging code switched variety with no

³⁸ Note that there are no determiners in Mirpuri (Pert and Letts 2006:359).

³⁹ No differentiation was made between the thematic roles of THEME and PATIENT.

evidence of language shift towards English (Pert and Letts 2006:370). The data thus supports the identification of Mirpuri-English CS as a case of classic CS.

The MLF model subsequently shows that classic CS does not occur due to random or impaired language production but rather in a highly constrained process that is subject to principles such as the ML hypothesis, the MOP, the SMP, the DAH and the 4-M model morpheme classification criteria. The MLF model accounts for the occurrence of mixed constituents, but it can also account for EL islands occurring in the CP.

The section above has primarily focussed on classic CS in which the proficiency of the speaker allows for the use of a sufficient grammatical structure for the ML. It may however also occur that the speaker's proficiency is not sufficient and the speaker may not have access to a complete or sufficient grammatical frame which is intended for the ML. In such a case part of the abstract grammatical structure has to stem from one variety and part from another. When this is the case, composite CS is observed in the speaker's language production (Namba 2002:2). The MLF model and the 4-M model can both be used for classic and composite CS. Composite CS can however also be analysed in terms of the Abstract Level model in order to identify how "the grammatical frame of a variety can be formed at a combination of abstract levels from more than one variety" (Myers-Scotton and Jake 2000:2).

3.4.2.3 The Abstract Level model

The Abstract Level model, which acts as a support to the MLF model, provides an explanation of how different grammatical frames can occur in one phrase due to the fact that different abstract levels are used in the process of language production. These levels, which occur within the lemma in the lexicon, are the levels of lexical-conceptual structure

(semantics and pragmatics) and predicate-argument structure (verbs and their argument relations in a CP); as well as the level of morphological realisation patterns (surface realisations and the satisfaction of well-formedness conditions) (Myers-Scotton 2004:115).

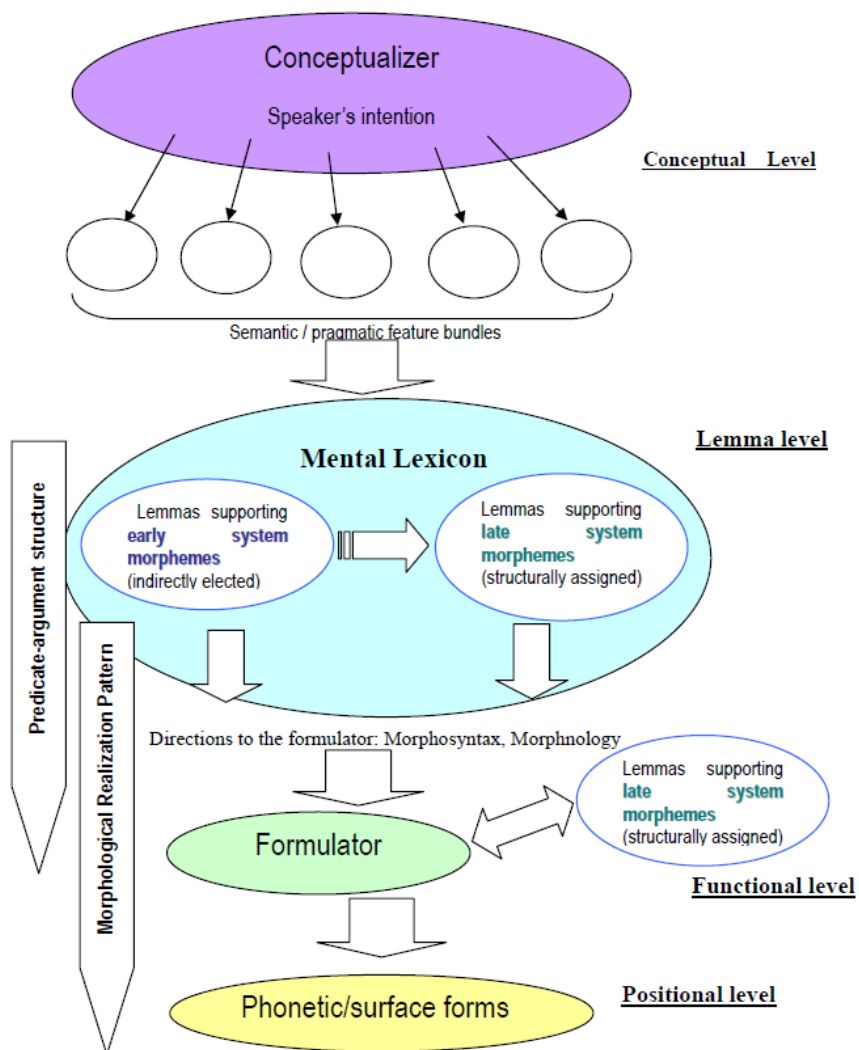
The first level of lexical-conceptual structure refers to the pre-verbal intentions of the speaker, which activate semantic/pragmatic feature bundles of the specific language at the interface between the conceptualiser and the mental lexicon (Myers-Scotton and Jake 2001:105). These bundles are thus mapped on to the lemma and are responsible for the lexical conceptual structure. The second level includes the mapping of thematic predicate-argument structures on to that of the grammatical relations of the utterance at hand, as is the case with the assignment of the AGENT role to the subject, while the third level of morphological realisation patterns refers to how the realisation of grammatical relations on the surface structure of the CP occurs in terms of word order or agreement morphology (Myers-Scotton and Jake 2001:105; Myers-Scotton 2002:19).

The Abstract Level model however still emphasises the need for congruence and convergence in which emphasis is laid on the “effect of one language on another, so that a lexical element may contain parts of its abstract structure from another language” (Myers-Scotton 2004:116). Myers-Scotton (2004:117) clearly states that despite having an abstract composite CP frame, one participating language will continue to dominate the structure of the CP. This finding supports the USP even in mixed languages.

The Abstract Level model is a good model for analysing and evaluating composite CS. This is because, in this model, the levels of the lexical structure may be split and recombined in order to explain how a CP may contain a lexical-conceptual structure and predicate-argument

structure from one variety, while containing phonetic or morphological realisation patterns from a second variety. “The construct of the composite ML, [thus] provides a common explanation for the mechanisms, [which] structure language contact phenomena cross-linguistically” (Myers-Scotton and Jake 2001:107). Figure 3 below gives an illustrative summary of how the 4-M model and the Abstract Level model play a role in the production process of classic and/or composite CS.

Figure 3 Production process diagram: lemma activation and abstract lexical structure, adapted by Namba (2002:6)



Ultimately, it is important to note that research done on the CS of children by Paradis, Nicoladis and Genesee (in Pert & Letts 2006:351) already shows that the CS of children obeys the MLF model most of the time. Whether this is the case for Afrikaans/SAE CS will be evaluated by means of the data analysis, undertaken in chapter 6.

3.5 Conclusion

From the overview of grammatical approaches in this chapter, it is clear that a division occurs between whether CS occurs due to grammatical or structural constraints or due to universal constraints. The debate regarding which approach should be used is on-going; however, even approaches that can account for certain occurrences in some data sets and not others, still provide evidence that CS does not occur arbitrarily (Gardener-Chloros 2009:112). Typologically similar languages often present CS that is based on an existing equivalence between two languages, in contrast to typologically dissimilar languages, in which lack of equivalence leads to different patterns of CS, as well as the use of different strategies by speakers to achieve communication outcomes. It is clear, however, that in order to specify universal constraints one cannot only look at the surface structure of the data; the underlying psycholinguistic processes also come into play, in terms of how the participants have acquired their language, as well as incorporating the specific competence which was formed during acquisition. Regardless of whether theories involve alternation or insertion models of CS grammar, they describe CS in terms of discrete systems.

The present study of CS will provide some insight, firstly, in terms of how underlying competence is structured and how this structure is responsible for the surface structure of CS. Secondly, it will provide insight into the hypothesis that CS is not only the product of an

individual's grammatical competence but also the product of an externally defined, self-contained entity (Gardener-Chloros 2009:113).

The MLF model aids in determining universal and predictable patterns which occur in CS, in terms of the asymmetrical characterisation and organisation of morphemes which occur in CS, but also in terms of the underlying USP which allows for a uniform distribution in CS. This is possible by means of the 4-M model, which makes it possible to identify and categorise different language contributions.

The MLF model has proven effective in determining and explaining the patterns of CS that occur in the general use of different typologically distinct languages, as is illustrated in the study done by Chan (2009). The study of Mirpuri-English CS done by Pert and Letts (2006) also firstly reflects the interaction which occurs between two typologically different languages. Pert and Letts' (2006) study also provides insight into a language pair with a different typological word order than the language pair in Deuchar's (2006) study, given that Mirpuri has an SOV word order in contrast to the VSO word order of Welsh. The use of different types of morphemes to establish an ML, as is the case with the example of Welsh-English CS, provides a second way of evaluating CS. The methodology and the specific evaluation of morphemes in all three studies can hence be applied to the data gathered for this study.

Ultimately, the MLF model shows "how what occurs in CS, leads to hypotheses about certain aspects of grammatical competence and a model of language production, and how principles structuring the lexicon relate to the rest of the grammar in both monolingual and bilingual language" (Myers-Scotton and Jake 2001:84).

CHAPTER 4

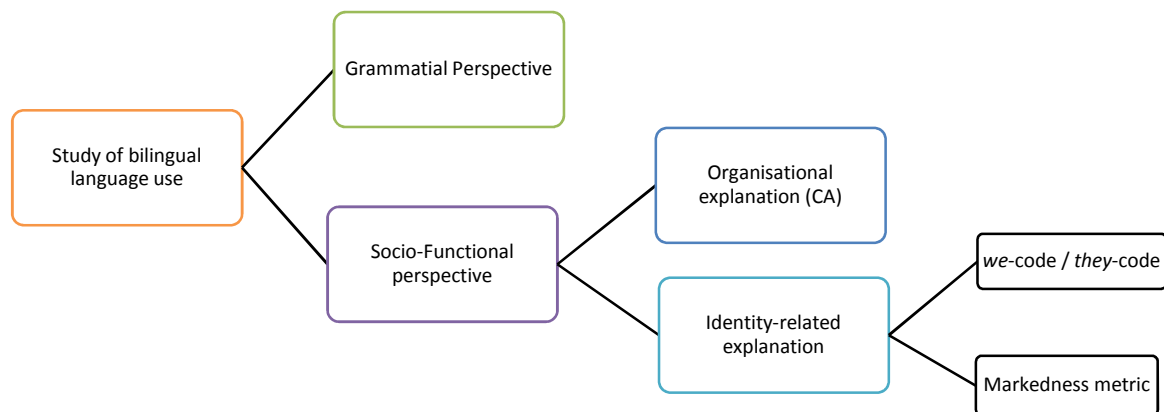
SOCIOLINGUISTIC AND PRAGMATIC APPROACHES TO CODE SWITCHING

4.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter, three broad grammatical approaches to CS were presented, with the focus falling on Myers-Scotton's MLF model. In this chapter, various sociolinguistic and pragmatic approaches to CS will be presented, as well as a brief overview of past sociolinguistic research on CS in South Africa in order to provide background information which is pertinent to the premise of CA (recall: "Conversation Analysis"). Specifically, this chapter will provide a short review of the Markedness model (MM) of CS, as well as a review of the socio-pragmatic aspects of CS from the perspective of a CA model of CS. This review will include background information about CA, the limitations and advantages of using CA, as well as aspects of CA such as turn taking, adjacency pairs and sequencing as conversation structuring tools. While sociolinguistic approaches to CS, such as the MM provide identity-related explanations for CS, a CA approach can be characterised as an organisational explanation of CS which will be identified by means of participant- and/or discourse-related motivations. Figure 4 below provides an illustrative representation of the major approaches to language alternation in bilingual conversations.

Figure 4 Approaches to language alternation in bilingual conversations

(Adapted from Gafaranga 2009:119)



4.2 Sociolinguistic aspects of code switching

When considering CS as a sociolinguistic phenomenon, the specific product of language contact is dependent on the social circumstances in which it occurs (Gardener-Chloros 2009:65). From a sociolinguistic perspective, there are three types of factors, which contribute to the different forms of CS that occur. These are: firstly, factors which are independent of the speakers and the circumstances in which the languages are used; secondly, factors, which are related to the speaker in terms of individual identity and group membership; and, thirdly, factors in the conversations or situations in which CS takes place (Gardener-Chloros 2009:42-43). The manner in which these factors are relevant to CS and the specific combinations to which such CS can be attributed will be explored by means of considering different conversational aspects. These sociolinguistic aspects include *we/they* codes found in the Gumperz tradition along with marked and unmarked “Rights and Obligation sets” (RO sets) in Myers-Scotton’s Markedness Model. A brief outline will also be provided of sociolinguistic studies done on CS in South Africa.

4.2.1 Gumperz tradition

Gumperz (1982) originally analysed CS in terms of where in a specific discourse CS takes place and the function which it serves in the specific discourse. Gumperz distinguished between three different types of CS, namely ‘situational CS’, ‘metaphorical CS’ and ‘conversational CS’ (MacSwan 1999:37). Gumperz and subsequent sociolinguistic approaches to CS focus specifically on the micro-factors which influence code choice, in terms of intentional meaning creation due to specific discourse strategies⁴⁰. Gumperz states that:

[...] detailed observation of verbal strategies revealed that an individual’s choice of speech style has symbolic value and interpretive consequences that cannot be explained simply by correlating the incidence of linguistic variants with independently determined social and contextual categories.

(Gumperz 1982: vii, in MacSwan 1999:38)

Situational CS includes factors such as topic of conversation, immediate context of the interaction as well as the interlocutors which are present. A situational switch, according to MacSwan (1999:37), occurs when a change occurs in terms of participants and the strategies used in the conversation. In conversational CS and metaphorical CS, the language choice allows for switching to occur more fluently and allows for the subtle expression of shifts between the interlocutors in order to achieve recontextualisation, among other stylistic or rhetorical purposes. Gumperz points out that there is not necessarily a clear link between the shared association of a speech community and the functions which influence a particular conversational turn (McCormick 2002:157). Metaphorical CS also often occurs when a topical change, dependent on speaker-external factors, occurs (MacSwan 1999:37).

⁴⁰ As a discourse strategy, Gumperz analyses socio-pragmatic factors as well as grammatical aspects of CS (MacSwan 1999:38).

Gumperz has proposed six functions for conversational CS; namely, CS for the purposes of (i) quotation, (ii) addressee specification, (iii) interjection, (iv) reiteration, (v) message qualification, and (vi) personification vs. objectification (MacSwan 1999:37-38). Valdés (1981) proposed two further functions of CS, namely (vii) the mitigation of the illocutionary effect of speech acts and (viii) the aggravation of the illocutionary effects of speech acts (MacSwan 1999:38).

4.2.2 Gumperz's *we/they*-code

Gumperz also proposed that languages which occur in a bilingual environment will always express some form of identity, through a combination of solidarity, informality and compassion. These concepts form part of the in-group construct or '*we*-code'. Concepts such as formality, stiffness and distance form part of the out-group construct or '*they*-code'.

With CS, interlocutors juxtapose the *we*-code and the *they*-code; this juxtaposition serves as the index of various associations or identities created with each code usage (Stroud 1998:321). Knowledge of the specific *we/they*-code situation is useful in the deduction of intention and meaning of the code switches and their associations. These associations will contribute to the rhetorical and stylistic effects of the code switch in terms of differentiation between direct or reported speech, clarifying or emphasising the message, or signalling the degree to which the speaker takes part in the conversation (Stroud 1998:321). This distinction between the *we/they* code made by Gumperz is illustrative of the second type of sociolinguistic factor which influences CS, namely factors, which are related to the speaker in terms of individual identity and group membership.

4.2.3 Markedness model of code switching

Through the use of their idiosyncratic language styles (individual linguistic repertoires), individuals exploit the established linguistic relationships in a community, in terms of by whom, when or where the code is used (Myers-Scotton 1998:18). Myers-Scotton's MM (recall: "Markedness Model") of CS consists of a set of general maxims, which can be applied to any code choice at any level of language, to identify and explain the macro social functions and motivations of CS (Myers-Scotton 1998:20). The use of these specific language choices is intentional, to achieve specific social goals and is made on a rational choice level. The goal of the MM, in reflecting the concept of 'rational choice', is to minimise costs and enhance rewards; to achieve efficacy and optimization of the speaker's interactional communication (Myers-Scotton 1998:19; Myers-Scotton and Bolonyai 2001:23). This speaker-orientated goal of ensuring accurate comprehension in communication involves more than just a decoding of the linguistic signal by the hearer (Myers-Scotton 1998:20).

The MM is based on the same premises as Brown and Levinson's (1987) 'politeness strategies'⁴¹, the communication accommodation theory (CAT)⁴² in terms of divergence and accommodation, as well as the premise of Sperber and Wilson's (1995) Relevance theory (Myers-Scotton 1998:19, 20). The MM is also based on, and reflects its interactional goal in terms of, Grice's Co-operative Principle, which states:

⁴¹ According to Brown and Levinson's (1987) Politeness Theory, some speech acts are potentially face-threatening in that they threaten either the speaker's and/or the addressee's positive face (their desire to be approved of) or negative face (their desire not to be imposed upon by others). Politeness strategies are linguistic strategies which are used to minimise the potential threat to the speaker and/or addressee's positive and/or negative face during conversations.

⁴² Cf. Howard, Coupland and Coupland 1991.

Make your contribution such as required, at the stage at which it occurs, by the accepted purpose or direction of the talk exchange in which you are engaged.

(Grice 1975:45)

According to the MM, all code choices are dependent on the Negotiation Principle, which states:

Choose the *form* of your conversational contribution such that it indexes the set of rights and obligations which you wish to be in force between speaker and addressee for the current exchange.

(Myers-Scotton 1998:21)

A negotiation is created between the production and the interpretation of the utterance in both above-mentioned principles. The Negotiation Principle, however, does not include co-operation, but rather a shared preconceived purpose of the form of interaction between speakers, which becomes interpreted as “indexing negotiation”. CS in terms of the MM, therefore, includes joint action and a co-construction, which is also the premise of CA (Myers-Scotton 1998:21). In CA, the created meaning is accentuated by the surface structural features of a conversation in terms of a sequential organisation (Myers-Scotton 1998:21-22). The MM, in comparison, accentuates the configuration of referential messages not in a sequential analysis, but rather in the “joint enterprise” on a cognitive level through inferred mental calculations due to the person’s persona and contrastive/complementary relationship with other speakers (Myers-Scotton 1998:21-22).

The organisational device for the model is the single concept of ‘markedness’ (Myers-Scotton 1993:113). The theoretical construct of ‘markedness’ is a means by which the effects of negotiations (or links which exist between linguistic varieties in this context) can be compared with one another (Myers-Scotton 1998:23, 27). In terms of the MM, the

markedness construct has the property of linking diverse linguistic choices with diverse social meanings, in terms of the RO sets (recall: “Rights and Obligation sets”) in specific interactional types or genres (Myers-Scotton 1998:27).

The MM takes as fact, that all speakers have a ‘markedness evaluator’, which forms part of their linguistic and cognitive capacities. The capacity to conceptualise ‘markedness’, is seen as involving three innate abilities (discussed directly below), which implies the existence of such an evaluator and reflects the above-mentioned process of negotiation. The evaluator has an “innately based presence” but it does not have any innate evaluations (Myers-Scotton 1998:23). The markedness evaluator is, consequently, a deductive device, which makes predictions about relative markedness, on the basis of inductively assembled data. There are, as a result, no specific rules created by the evaluator, but rather a process for evaluating potential choices (Myers-Scotton and Bolonyai 2001:9).

The first of the three innate abilities is that the speaker is capable of determining that linguistic choices are part of a multidimensional continuum which exists between the poles of marked and unmarked choices. The order in which these choices occur on the continuum is dependent on the context and the specific discourse in which the choices are made. Secondly, the speaker has the ability to comprehend that ‘markedness’ and ‘unmarkedness’ are received differently by each speaker in the interaction. This innateness must be instantiated, in terms of exposure to marked and unmarked choices in a linguistic community, to be viable (Myers-Scotton 1998:22). Thirdly, the speaker develops an ability to provide relevant interpretations for all choices which occur in different interactional types (Myers-Scotton and Bolonyai 2001:8).

ROs, like 'markedness', is a theoretical construct, which refers to the possibilities which can arise from interaction in a community. The construct can be equated with 'norms' of how interaction would take place in a specific environment (Myers-Scotton 1998:23-24). The above-mentioned interpretation as the third innate ability, which the speaker attaches to any linguistic choice, is dependent on a projection of the speaker's persona, as well as on the interaction with other participants in the conversation. Any choice indexes a specific (social) norm, which is required from the context, and thus reflects a specific RO set (Myers-Scotton and Bolonyai 2001:9). The known and expected norms (RO sets) for a conversation are, therefore, the unmarked choice. The marked choice is the one which reflects the unexpected RO set (Dzameshie 2001:2).

Through negotiation of the innate constructs of 'marked' and 'unmarked', specific consequences arise for the speakers. These consequences are reflective of the links and negotiations that were made between the use of a specific code and the effect it has on the situation. These negotiations generate "readings of markedness" in the markedness evaluator (Myers-Scotton 1998:22, 23). These "readings" are always relative to the linguistic community from which they stem in the following three ways. Readings are firstly interaction-specific. Secondly, they are dynamic and change according to the circumstances in which they occur. Finally, readings occur in multidimensional arrangement, and not in terms of categorical arrangement (Myers-Scotton 1998:23).

Speakers determine which code choices they will make based on the above-mentioned "readings" and the following five maxims, which are formulated to refer to naturally occurring conversations (Myers-Scotton 1998:25).

The Unmarked Choice Maxim (UCM)

Make your code choice the unmarked index of the unmarked RO set in talk exchanges when you wish to establish or affirm that rights and obligations are set.⁴³

The Marked Choice Maxim (MCM)

Make a marked choice which is not the unmarked index of the unmarked RO set in an interaction when you wish to establish a new RO set as unmarked for the current exchange.

The Exploratory Choice Maxim (ECM)

When an unmarked choice is not clear, use switching between speech varieties to make alternate exploratory choices as (alternate) candidates for the unmarked choice and thereby as an index of a RO set which you favour.

Deference Maxim (DM)

Switch to a code which expresses deference to others when special respect is called for by the circumstances.

Virtuosity Maxim (VM)

Switch to whatever code is necessary in order to carry on the conversation/accommodate the participation of all speakers present.

(Myers-Scotton 1998:26)

The use of the above-mentioned maxims results in four different types of CS, namely: (1) CS as a sequence of unmarked choices, (2) CS itself as the unmarked choice, (3) CS as a marked choice, and (4) CS as an exploratory choice (Myers-Scotton 1993a:113-114).

4.2.3.1 Code switching as a sequence of unmarked choices

CS as a sequence of unmarked choices and CS itself as the unmarked choice occur under different circumstances but stem from similar motivations (Myers-Scotton 1993a:114).

Sequential unmarked CS occurs when a change in situational factors occurs. Due to this change a possible change in the unmarked RO set may occur. This change in RO set is

⁴³ The Virtuosity- and the Deference maxims are auxiliary maxims of the UCM, which guides speakers for all intents and purposes in the direction of marked choices (Myers-Scotton 1993a:113).

dependent on the change in topic or change in interlocutors of the conversation. Speakers either accept or negotiate the unmarked RO set (Myers-Scotton 1993a:114-115). The change which leads to the negotiation of this specific RO set is external to the interlocutor; the interlocutor, however, has the choice between responding and not responding to the change. This type of CS corresponds to Gumperz's situational CS; yet, according to Myers-Scotton (2006:115), the change in codes is still speaker-motivated. Sequential unmarked CS is exemplified by quotes or reported speech which occur in a language other than the marked language. The acceptance of the roles and the relationships that the interlocutors have, in terms of their social identity, in comparison to the other community members, leads to the choice of sequential unmarked CS. The identification of marked or unmarked is therefore also dependent on which RO set is emphasised. The underlying characteristic of unmarked CS is the "expectedness" of the code choice (Myers-Scotton 1993a:117).

4.2.3.2 Code switching itself as the unmarked choice

The UCM is also followed when interaction occurs between two languages in a conversation. Unmarked CS, in contrast to the other three universally occurring types of CS, occurs when each switch does not necessarily have a specific indexicality; the intention of the message is created by the overall pattern. Such switching normally occurs intrasententially, above or below word level, due to the continuous back-and-forth nature of the CS (Myers-Scotton 1993a:117).

4.2.3.3 Code switching as a marked choice

When CS occurs as a marked choice, it is due to a misidentification of the expected RO set. The unmarked code choice therefore corresponds to or indexes the unmarked RO set to achieve a conventionalised interaction (Myers-Scotton 1993a:131). Instead of following the UCM, the speaker follows the MCM. The marked choice therefore obtains meaning from the

negotiation of the unmarked RO set with a new or other RO set. The new or other RO set is then indexed as unmarked due to the speaker's code choice. Marked choices are therefore relative in terms of recognition and interpretation due to the contrast between the marked choice itself and the combination of the unmarked choice and the indexicality of the RO sets (Myers-Scotton 1993a:131).

4.2.3.4 Code switching as an exploratory choice

When the expected or best possible communicative intent of the conversation is uncertain, speakers may use exploratory CS. This type of CS does not occur often, because the interlocutors would simply use the unmarked choice in a confusing situation; the unmarked RO set would be derivable from a combination of the situational factors and the community norms. The unmarked choice is, however, not apparent in the least conventionalised of exchanges, due to a clash of norms. Unclear combinations of norms due to an unfamiliar situation or new interlocutor also lead to exploratory CS. Exploratory CS, lastly, occurs when the societal norms in terms of the linguistic code are unstable due to, for example, a change in language policy (Myers-Scotton 1993a:142). This type of CS is a prime example of 'negotiation', which takes place due to the interactive nature of the conversation (Myers-Scotton 1993a:143).

Unmarked CS and exploratory CS can therefore be strategies of neutrality, in which speakers commit to speaking two codes which are dependent on a single RO set. The RO set indexes a choice in terms of costs and rewards of the code use. Using two languages in one conversation is therefore a neutral choice in terms of cost and reward. Unmarked CS creates dual identities, while exploratory CS does not strive towards duality, but is rather a "safe

choice", in that all costs and rewards are balanced for all participants in the conversation (Myers-Scotton 1993a:147).

4.3 Sociolinguistic studies of code switching in the South African context

Research on CS in South Africa has mainly focussed on the sociolinguistic aspects of CS, especially in terms of the education setting. Van Dulm (2007) presents a comprehensive review of the most recent sociolinguistic studies of CS in the South African context. Adendorff (1993, in Van Dulm 2007:32), for example, studied the functions and implications of Zulu-English CS among Zulu-speaking teachers and their students. This study emphasised that the societal consciousness of CS should be raised due to the positive aspects of CS as it occurs in education through the clarification of information and the value it adds to academic and social aspects of education in terms of social solidarity and authority as well as the construction of relationships between speakers. Similarly, Kieswetter (1995) investigated CS between English, Zulu and Swazi by urban English-medium high school students and, like Adendorff, underlines the need for raising awareness of the functional aspects of CS.

Lawrence (1999, 2001, in Van Dulm 2007:33) focussed on CS as a communicative tool at a teacher's training college. He carried out his study within Myers-Scotton's MM, emphasising the use of Afrikaans-English CS as an effective communicative strategy for Afrikaans and Xhosa native (L1) speakers. Ncoko, Osman and Cockcroft (2000, in Van Dulm 2007:33-34) applied the MM to Zulu-English CS in a primary school. Both studies found CS occurring as marked, unmarked and exploratory choices. CS is used in these communities to express functions such as solidarity, defiance, and the desire for inclusion or exclusion, as well as neutrality. It is also used for reiteration and the adequate transfer of meaning. Ncoko et al.

(2000) found that CS is the norm among school children but also concluded that fluent CS is only viable if a certain level of bilingual fluency is present.

Myers-Scotton's MM was used by Rose and Van Dulm (2006, in Van Dulm 2007:34) in a study of the functions of Afrikaans-English CS in multilingual classrooms, where languages such as Afrikaans, English and Xhosa (L1) were present. Again, CS was found to be an effective academic and communicative tool in multilingual and multicultural classrooms.

Other more recent studies done on CS in the South African classroom context are those by Moodley (2007) and Probyn (2009). Moodley investigated the specific functions of CS by learners during group-work done in the English language, literacy and communication classroom. He focussed on whether and how CS may affect the acquisition of skills and knowledge and/or outcomes advocated by Outcomes Based Education (OBE) when students are working together (Moodley 2007:709). Ultimately, the study focussed on the use of English in classrooms, a focus also found in studies by Alexander (1999), Kamwangamalu (1998) and Pfaff (1997). This inevitable focus on English appears to be due to the seemingly unavoidable increase in the use of English in comparison to indigenous South African languages (Moodley 2007:708). According to Moodley, using CS as it occurs naturally in the speech patterns of those who have the linguistic repertoire to make use of it, learners could aid one another in various ways, including the acquisition of additional vocabulary, the comprehension and expansion of ideas and work discussed, and the improvement of listening and speaking skills (Moodley 2007:718).

Probyn, on the other hand, evaluated the gap which exists between language policy and practice, as well as how the deficit view of code switching practises is non-beneficial in

classroom situations, despite the fact that CS could be used as a common strategy to achieve a range of social and pedagogical goals. The paper thus primarily focuses on the conflict and tensions which are apparent during classroom CS, especially at the macro-level in challenging language rights and status (Probyn 2009:123). Probyn found that teachers used CS for a range of purposes, especially those which focussed on learners' affective rather than cognitive needs. CS from English to the home language was used in order to explain difficult concepts which the learners could not grasp due to their less than ideal proficiency in English. Probyn (2009:131) found that many teachers used the learners' home language for classroom management and discipline practices.

Research has also been done on the functions of CS in the wider South African society. Barnes (1994, in Van Dulm 2007:35) showed that CS between Afrikaans, English and indigenous South African languages is used for the purposes of direct quotations, idiomatic expressions in the original language, reiteration, and discourse marking, as well as creating a dramatic effect and intimacy in conversations. Kamwangamalu (1998) explored how Gumperz's *we/they*-codes are applicable to language use and CS in South Africa as a nation in which novel language use trends are developing. According to Kamwangamalu, the *we/they*-code distinction is too simplistic for the new complex language scene and a new "in-between" code is needed. The new "code-in-between", functions as a politically neutral code. This code can be used tacitly, as an appropriate medium, with which state business can be conducted (Kamwangamalu 1998:284). An additional identity is created by using English in terms of the "code-in-between" rather than in terms of the *we/they*-code dichotomy that English represented in pro- and anti-apartheid eras (Kamwangamalu 1998:284). Finlayson and Slabbert (1995, in Van Dulm 2007:35-36) did a study on CS between Southern Sotho and Tswana in a South African township, showing that Sotho-Tswana CS does not have the same

functions as English-Sotho/Tswana or Afrikaans-Sotho/Tswana CS. The primary function of Sotho-Tswana CS is to accommodate towards Sotho in the specific geographical area under discussion. In this instance CS is used for the purpose of accommodation, the display of linguistic versatility and the formation of a speaker's identity.

4.4 Pragmatic aspects of code switching

If children achieve communicative competence through language socialisation, as mentioned in Chapter 2, what is the product they construct? Pragmatics, the field of enquiry that deals with how language can be used to "do things" and "mean things" in real situations, addresses this question.

Firstly, there exists a complicated relationship between the words that people utter and the meaning of those words. In Cameron (2001:68), Thomas defines pragmatics as the study of "meaning in interaction". Different from 'speaker meaning' or 'utterance interpretation', pragmatics is a dynamic process of meaning making by means of speaker and hearer negotiation, as well as the incorporation of the utterance context (physical, social and linguistic) along with the potential meaning of an utterance.

Spoken discourse is therefore a dynamic process of meaning making. Throughout the years, researchers have illuminated different aspects of conversations which contribute to the formation of different discourses and ways in which these discourses can be analysed in terms of pragmatics. These aspects can aid in determining why the co-occurrence of languages takes place along with reasons for why CS occurs. Such conversational aspects include the above-mentioned context and how the manner in which spoken or written discourse are unified and organised can become meaningful to the user (Cutting 2002:2). The

following sections will provide more information regarding how conversation- and discourse analytic aspects can, equally in their own right, aid in understanding how and why CS takes place pragmatically. These aspects include context and turn taking, firstly in terms power negotiation in discourse analysis and exchange structures and secondly non-linguistic phenomena.

4.4.1 The roles of contextual aspects

Context includes situational context, which involves the speaker's knowledge of what they can see around them and what is happening around them. This includes background knowledge context, which entails what the speakers know about each other (interpersonal) and the world (cultural) (Cutting 2002:5) as well as co-textual context (co-text), which reflects the knowledge the speaker has regarding what has been said in the specific conversation (Cutting 2002:3).

The specific quality or relevance of an occurrence in pragmatics depends on the cohesion that exists between words as well as the co-text which occurs around the specific stretch of discourse (Cutting 2002:2). Cohesion, i.e. how a text or a conversation is held together, can either be lexical or grammatical in nature: Grammatical cohesion includes the use of reference, substitution (endophoric) and ellipses, while lexical cohesion involves the use of repetition, synonyms, and superordinates (Cutting 2002:13).

4.4.2 Discourse analysis and exchange structures

One framework, in which the pragmatic functions and properties of a discourse can be explored, is discourse analysis, with specific reference to exchange structures. In discourse

analysis the specific power structures are determined and reflected by examining the purpose of language in the social context. This analysis is done by looking at the various exchange structures. In certain situations, these structures can affect the sequence of a conversation, especially in terms of turn taking (Cutting 2002:2). The exchange structures focus on the general and conventional overall patterns of conversations. Data is analysed in terms of fitting into a model of conventionally predetermined patterns of which the conversation is a product (Cutting 2002:24; Cameron 2001:27). In the exchange structure the 'act' is seen as the lowest rank. Acts are defined by their interactive function which serves as a conversational filter (Cutting 2002:25). Acts are performed in a fixed sequence of moves in different levels or ranks. The three moves are 'initiation', 'response' and 'follow-up', respectively, a sequence which is abbreviated as IRF. Examples of initiation acts are inform-, direct-, elicit-, and prompt-acts. Response acts include react- and reply-acts, while follow-up acts involve accept- and evaluate-acts (Cutting 2002:26).

An example of the above-mentioned predetermined conventional patterns can be seen in the patterns of language use in a classroom. The combination of moves which occur in the conversation structure is collectively known as an "exchange", which subsequently combines to make a group of exchanges or "transactions". The final product of combinations is the "lesson" (Cutting 2002:24-25). It is however problematic to define such an exchange structure as a real conversation due to the unequal power balance inherent in primary school lessons. Exchange structure is further limited in that it does not leave space for accommodation to real-life pressures and disorderliness which can occur in a classroom or a natural conversation (Cutting 2002:26-27).

The above-mentioned pragmatic aspects can be applied generally across languages and cultures. Yet, not all languages and cultures are the same and these aspects may only be applicable to a variable degree (Cameron 2001:83). The existence of such variation does not eliminate the premise that successful communication is dependent on rational, purposeful and cooperative action (Cameron 2001:85). The application of these conversational aspects may also be variable, not only in certain languages and cultures but also in varying conversational situations.

The above-mentioned pragmatic aspects do not only apply to adults but also to children. Anderson (in Khattab 2009:144) states that children acquire a repertoire of registers and pragmatic rules which permit style-shifting, through which various contextual and social meanings can be expressed. Even children as young as three years old have the ability to adapt even non-linguistic aspects of speech depending on the interlocutors involved in the conversational situation. These non-linguistic phenomena include the reciprocation of conversational floor-time and response latency, as well as speech rate. Children at the age of eight will simplify these phenomena when speaking to younger children, while making use of more complex structures when speaking to adults (Khattab 2009:144). At a pre-adolescent age children are mostly influenced by their peers and friends, linguistically and socially. These influences are important in terms of bilingual speech and CS in that children might use CS as a tool with which such contextual communication differences may occur or with which a conversation may be more structured. Such action may lead to the use of CS in a bilingual conversation in order to aid with conversational organisation. Despite the availability and practicality of using the above-mentioned pragmatic aspects and non-linguistic phenomena to analyse the organisation of conversations on their own, these aspects can be combined, as

outlined in the section on CA below, in order to analyse how and why CS occurs socio-pragmatically.

4.5. Conversation Analysis

CA firstly emerged as a framework of analysis for a break-away group of sociologists known as "ethnomethodologists" in the 1960s. Garfinkel formulated a theory of social action based on the dialectical relationship between teleological and rationalistic aspects of social action that Parson adopted. Social actors had a 'normative orientation' or rules which lead to efficiency (Li Wei 2002:160). Garfinkel raised three questions in relation to Parson's theory, namely: Firstly, what is the status of the actors' accounts of their own actions, especially if a conflict arises between the analytical and causal views of the sociologist? Secondly, what is the status of people's shared knowledge? And, lastly, how are strategic choices which manipulate people's environments made?

According to Garfinkel social phenomena are meaningful even without analysis. He subsequently highlights the relationship between social-scientific analytic categories ('second order' constructs) and the real world experiences ('first order' constructs). Ethnomethodologists therefore focus on the "procedural study of common-sense activities" in which ethnic methods of production and interpretation of social interaction occur (Li Wei 2002:161, 162). With the above-mentioned questions forming the premise of CA, the central question became: "How do social actors come to know, and know in common what they are doing, and the circumstances in which they are doing it?" (Li Wei 2002:162). The answer to this question was that the interpretative procedures used every day in face-to-face interaction as well as the effectiveness in illuminating these procedures stemmed from naturally occurring conversation. With the growth of technology in the 1960s, recording of such

naturalistic conversation became possible and hence the analysis of these recordings also became possible. In this analysis very little importance was attributed to key social variables such as the formality of the context or the speakers' identities in terms of age, occupation and gender and (Li Wei 2002:162).

The great distinction between CA and sociology came about due to the interest of the conversation analyst in language, especially using language as a topic for the discovery of how the methods of ordered activity are generated. CA was therefore firstly focussed on the 'institution of interaction' being an entity in its own right, known as "pure CA". "Applied CA", in contrast, focuses on examining the management of social institutions in interaction (Li Wei 2002:163).

The CA perspective does have certain limitations which stem from the roots of the theory itself. The first limitation, according to Eggins and Slade (1997, in Cutting 2002:32), lies with the systematicity of the perspective, given that there is neither a complete list of all the possible adjacency pairs nor an exact description with which such adjacency pairs can be recognised. Secondly, the CA approach focuses on a qualitative, and not on a quantitative, approach. The CA approach, thirdly, does not take into account the sociolinguistic or pragmatic aspects of an interaction. The approach does not focus on the background context but rather believes that context is created within the text or conversation by means of sequential progression. Fairclough (in Cutting 2002:33), however, states that conversation does not occur in a social vacuum; it is for this reason that the interactional sociolinguistic approach might provide a more precise or holistic analysis. Auer (in Milroy and Muysken 1995:116) also argues that bilingualism and code alternation theories need to refer to the

micro and macro function of the interaction as well as the interdependencies between the different theories.

The CA approach, in comparison to the ideology expressed by Cutting, can be used as a general, interpretive framework, in which various data sets can be analysed and compared by providing links between conversational structures, grammatical structures and higher level social structures (Li Wei 2005a:276).

CA therefore does not require the researcher to have any circumstantial knowledge of the participants in the conversation: Identities, daily routines and beliefs are deemed unimportant, the assumption being that the talk itself will contain the relevant contextual information (Cameron 2001:88). This is an extremely purist view which is taken up by certain practitioners of CA and falls under the sociological school of thought called “Ethnomethodology”. Such a perspective has raised heated debates in the field due to speaker or circumstantial power relations or structures that may be prevalent in the discourse (Cameron 2001:88).

Despite the above-mentioned limitations of CA, it also has certain advantages. In CA only the relevant issues existing in the data take precedence. CA is also a ‘micro-analytic’ approach which “defamiliarises what we normally take for granted, and reveals the unsuspected complexity of our everyday verbal behaviour” (Cameron 2001:89). Ways in which this defamiliarisation takes place are examined in the section below, by examining what exactly CA entails and how it is appropriate specifically for the analysis of the data obtained in the study reported in this thesis.

4.5.1 What is Conversation Analysis?

Mackey (in Li Wei 2005a: 276) reminds one that

[b]ilingualism is not a phenomenon of language; but a characteristic of its use. It is not a feature of the code but of the message. It does not belong to the domain of 'langue' but 'parole.'

In terms of a pragmatic approach to CS, the researcher does not want to discover that which is basically concealed from the native language user. Rather, the researcher wants to reconstruct the "social processes of displaying and ascribing bilingualism" (Auer 1995:115). The form and meaning of such speech are complicated phenomena and are indirectly linked to each other (Auer 1995:116). The included joint action and co-construction of meaning by a participant in a conversation, forms the premise of the CA framework. In CA, the creation of meaning is accentuated by the surface structural features of a conversation by means of a sequential organisation. Just as words are grammatically and lexically cohesive, cohesion also exists between one complete utterance and another through the specific function that is through the specific function that form and meaning serves in building a discourse. This is also the case with larger chunks of speech (Cutting 2002:23). According to Cutting (2002:28), a conversation is also a discourse made up of sequential parts; these parts are mutually constructed, yet informally negotiated and unplanned in time by speakers. According to Cook (in Cutting 2002:28) talk is classified as conversation when:

1. It is probably not necessitated by a practical task.
2. Any unequal power of participants is partially suspended.
3. The number of participants is small.
4. Turns are quite short.
5. Talk is primarily for the participants and not for an outside audience.

Unlike exchange structures, the CA approach firstly looks at the real data and subsequently lifts out the patterns which emerge; forming a "bottom-up" approach, in which the data self-

dictates the structure of the conversation (Cutting 2002:24; Cameron 2001:28). CA can be used to analyse different types of data; it was however developed primarily to analyse 'talk-in-interaction' in which the researcher is interested in what happens when the conversation moves to the next speaker turn, thus focussing on interactive exchanges (Cameron 2001:87; Auer 1995:115). CA thus forms the perfect tool with which intersentential CS can be analysed. The lack of research which includes the pragmatic analysis of spontaneous conversational interaction between bilingual children lends itself to an approach in which all the data is used to test the theory, instead of the theory being used to account for only parts of the data. The types of and reasons for CS which occurs in a conversation can be identified and analysed by means of three aspects, namely turn taking, adjacency pairs and sequences. These aspects guide the researcher in completing a sequential analysis of the conversation.

4.5.1.1 Turn taking

Turn taking in a conversation aids in cooperation in the conversation. In most cultures it is accepted that one person speaks at a time and when that person is done or at the end of a sentence another person can take the floor. This is the general conversation structure one would find in a classroom, a quiz show or an interview. In more natural conversations, speakers tend to overlap or interrupt. The point in a conversation where turn taking, overlap or interruption takes place is called a transition relevance place (TRP) (Cutting 2002:29). When a speaker does not wait for the TRP, they interrupt the flow of the conversation. This can be seen in the following example:

(38) Speaker A: Yes, but how do you expect // to pay for it?

Speaker B: // with my savings money.

An overlap, on the other hand, occurs when a speaker can predict TRP, and come in just before TRP occurs. Overlap is illustrated in the following example:

- (39) Speaker A: I'm not sure. Uhm =
Speaker B: = Why don't you Google it?

Thus it becomes clear that a conversation is sustained by a continual negotiation and renegotiation of the floor (Cameron 2001:90). It is however important to note that each culture has their own unwritten customs of turn taking. This may involve differences in terms of the length of pauses between turns or in terms of whether or not interruptions are acceptable – in Japanese, for instance, interruptions are not accepted (Cutting 2002:29). Certain cultures do not tolerate long silences between turns and will interrupt a lull in the conversation with affirmative interjections such as *yeah* and *um* (Cutting 2002:30).

Other factors which are important in determining a TRP include the content of the utterance, and the prosodic and grammatical structure of the speech, as well as non-verbal behavioural aspects which the speaker displays (Cameron 2001:90).

Another aspect of turn taking includes a mechanism for allocating turns to specific participants in a conversation. If one utterance is terminated, the floor is not necessarily open to all speakers. In Cameron (2001:91), Sacks et al. suggest that an ordered set of rules exist in allocating the following turn. Firstly, the current speaker selects the next speaker by posing a direct question to them or gazing specifically at them. Secondly, the next speaker can self-select to take up the turn. Thirdly, the current speaker may continue but is not obliged to.

Turn taking in CA therefore does not only account for regular patterns in the data, but it also provides evidence that participants orientate to the existence of those patterns (Cameron

2001:92). It therefore offers an explanation as to how and why a conversation is formed and takes place.

4.5.1.2 Adjacency pairs

In CA, adjacency pairs reflect the relations which exist between acts and the frequently occurring patterns which exist between pairs of utterances. Such acts are ordered according to first and second parts which function to satisfy the expectation of the utterance known as the preference structure (Cutting 2002:30). A few examples of such adjacency pairs are given in (40) to (43).

- (40) A question – an answer
- (41) A greeting – a greeting
- (42) A blame – a denial
- (43) A complaint – an apology

Speakers who refuse to cooperate or disagree partake with dispreferred responses, which are normally unusual in conversations; such responses can however still be seen as indirectly meaningful or rude (Cutting 2002:30).

From a CA perspective, adjacency pairs point out solidarity in conversation in terms of assessing and agreeing with utterances or proposed meanings.

4.5.1.3 Sequences

Sequences are stretches of utterances which occur in a conversation. Such sequences emerge due to the mutual construction and negotiations between participants in the conversation. Types of sequences which are common in all conversations include: pre-sequences, insertion sequences and opening and closing sequences (Cutting 2002:31).

A pre-sequence is a signal utterance which predicts which type of utterance will follow in a conversation by preparing the ground for another sequence. There are different types of pre-sequences such as pre-invitations, pre-requests and pre-announcements which are exemplified in (44) to (46), respectively.

(44) “I won two tickets to the ballet...”

(45) “Can I quickly have a word with you?”

(46) “You won’t believe this!”

(Adapted from Cutting 2002:31)

Insertion sequences occur in various pairs which are embedded in adjacency pairs and which act as a macro-sequence. Opening and closing sequences include greetings and inquiries about the person’s health or a referential past event. Different cultures however use opening and closing references differently. North Americans and the British generally include a pre-closing sequence rather than just having a short farewell (Cutting 2002:32).

In example (47) below, the dialogue lines 1 and 2 are prime examples of an opening sequence. Lines 11 and 14 could be seen as closing sequences if the additional question was not raised in lines 12 and 13. Lines 12 and 13 are therefore exemplificative of a pre-closing sequence. Lastly, the combinational pairs of lines 5, 6, 7 and 8 show how lines 5 and 8 form a macro adjacency pair within which lines 6 and 7 fit contextually.

- (47)
- 1 Speaker A: Hi there, how are you?
 - 2 Speaker B: Fine thanks.
 - 3 Speaker A: I am glad I caught you. I have tickets to go see Swan Lake.
Didn't you want to see it?
 - 4 Speaker B: Yes, I really wanted to, but the tickets were sold out.
 - 5 Speaker A: Would you like to join me?
 - 6 Speaker B: For which date are the tickets?
 - 7 Speaker A: For the 3rd.
 - 8 Speaker B: Yes that would be great!
 - 9 Speaker A: Great seeing you but I am late and have to run.
 - 10 Speaker B: No problem. Will see you on the 3rd.
 - 11 Speaker A: Bye.
 - 12 Speaker B: What are you late for?
 - 13 Speaker A: A lecture!
 - 14 Speaker B: Bye.

Turn taking sequences, adjacency pairs and sequences are thus aspects of conversations and these aspects can be used in order to understand how conversations are structured and organised. These aspects can also provide insights into how CS occurs and hence affects the conversations.

4.5.2 Code switching in terms of Conversation Analysis

By using CA as a tool for micro level analysis of language, the macro level social factors leading to CS can also be validated (Li Wei 2005a:277).

CA accentuates the local construction of meaning, in contrast to the MM and other social perspectives in which predetermined social factors create meaning. The choice that the speaker makes plays an important role; more emphasis is, however, placed on creating specific meaning, in terms of where in the interaction CS takes place. Speakers therefore bring to the conversation “the interactional knowledge of the symbolic value of the languages in the community, as well as their own statuses and values of persons of like statuses”

(Myers-Scotton 1993a:172). CA reflects the second and third types of factors which affect CS, namely factors related to the speaker and factors related to the conversation.

CA also deals with linguistic choices which can lead to CS. CA, as an explanation of choices, offers an organisation in terms of turn taking and adjacency pairs as a systematic structural organisation, as explained in section 3.1. The structural sequencing, as well as the role of the speaker and the addressee are important in shaping the CS discourse. [? Who does the shaping here, i.e. who shapes the discourse?] CS is thus represented as a dynamic phenomenon which is not only a result of the social implications of the immediate context but also the context in terms of the project and product of the participant's actions. The current speaker's language choice in CA therefore stems from a bilingual perspective dependent on the response of the addressee (Myers-Scotton and Bolonya 2001:4). The linear sequence allows for a process of negotiation through speaker cooperation (Cameron 2001:28). It should thus be clear that CA does not stand on its own, but incorporates aspects of the above-mentioned aspects such as that of context, and cooperation in terms of joint action and co-construction in terms of the MM, as well as the ideas behind Gumperz's *we/they* codes. By analysing the occurrence of adjacency pairs, turn taking exchange structures and sequences within the discourse, a bottom up qualitative methodology will be followed to express how and which patterns of CS occur due to joint action and co-construction as well as exchange structures.

A CA approach in a study done by Steensig (2003) provides evidence of how the above-mentioned overarching components and characteristics of conversational CS can be expressed in terms of the evaluation of sequential structures as well as turn construction by analysing the actions presented by each participant in the conversations. Steensig (2003:799)

primarily characterises the actions carried out by the participants as a sound point of departure. In an extract used by Steensig (2003:800), announcements of proposal and requests for attention are identified in terms of the following actions which structure the conversation: acceptance, rejection, and reissues of request. Once identified, these actions can be analysed in terms of the sequence in which these actions occur and at which turn constructions they are evident (Steensig 2003:799-801).

The CA perspective subsequently adopts three fundamental points, namely: relevance, procedural consequentiality, as well as the balance between the social structure and the conversation structure. These points imply that the question of “why” we code switch can only be addressed after the question of “how” the CS occurs has been addressed (Li Wei 1998:162-163).

Social behaviour does influence CS but when does this influence become demonstratively relevant? Sociolinguistic studies attribute macro social value to specific parts of interaction. The procedural consequentiality of a conversation firstly, includes the fact whether an extra-linguistic context may exist and if, show how this context may subsequently also aid the analyst in showing how this may have specific demonstrative relevance in how the conversation is structured (Li Wei 1998:163). Auer (in Li Wei 1998:163) points out that context is continually shaped, maintained and changed by the participants of the interaction. This context is thus created by the balance between the social and conversational interactions that take place. Speakers therefore do not necessarily code switch in order to reflect speaker identity, attitudes, power relations or formality. Instead, speakers may code switch to show how these aspects change the conversation in terms of how the speakers themselves are presented and understood and how their contributions to the conversation are accepted,

rejected and changed in the course of the interaction. Such negotiation is structured by means of the occurrence of adjacency pairs, turn taking sequences and the general sequentiality of a conversation (Wei 1998:163).

The CA approach therefore, in comparison to other approaches, focuses on the perceived symbolic values of the different languages as well as on the establishment of meaning in CS by closely examining the types of interactions which involve the very act of language alternation. Li Wei (1998:173) concludes that:

the fact that a bilingual speaker has chosen to code switch invites a more detailed, perhaps multi-layered analysis which can demonstrate that in addition to its capacity of highlighting the status of the on-going talk, CS as a contextualisation cue has the capacity to 'bring about' higher-level social meanings such as the speaker's language attitudes, preferences, and community norms and values.

From the above discussion it should be clear *how* people can code switch. The next section deals specifically with *why* CS occurs. The structure of a conversation, as explored in studies done by Auer (1995) and evaluated by Li Wei (1998, 2002), is explored in terms of 'contextualisation cues', 'sequential organisation of alternative choices of language' as well as 'implicit language negotiation'

Looking back at section 4.2 and the Gumperz tradition, in terms of the interactional paradigm in which linguistic choices are realisations of a set of pre-determined functions, one will find the premise on which Auer built his pragmatic theory of CS. Auer proposes that CS works in a similar fashion to prosodic or gestural contextualisation cues. Such cues act as signals in orientating speakers towards each other (Shin and Milroy 2000:354).

Auer (1995:123) outlines the three main characteristics of contextualisation cues. Firstly, all contextualisation cues do not have referential or decontextualized meaning and the interpretation of such cues is therefore dependant on the process of 'inferencing'. Inferencing itself is dependent on the context of its occurrence; the situated meaning of CS can therefore only be interpreted by doing a sequential analysis of its occurrence itself.

Secondly, it has to be noted that inferencing is a dual process by which alternation occurs either by contrast or by the occurrence of an inherent meaning potential (Auer 1995:124). The inherent meaning, occurring in the local context of the cue's occurrence, is to indicate a change in itself, in which direction of the switch is irrelevant. Many other contextualisation cues, on the other hand, establish a contrast, indicating not only a change but a change in a specific direction in which the conversation is structured. Lastly, contextualisation cues frequently bundle together to give a redundancy of coding. Such redundancy is attributed to methodological access to the functions of the specific cue. The functions of the cues provide external evidence for the process of creating meaning during conversational code alternation, due to the local interpretation that other cues may provide and aid in (Auer 1995:124).

Contextualization cues can thus play an important role in the sequential organisation of alternative choices of language as well as implicit language negotiation which acts as a frame of reference for functional or semantic interpretations of conversational CS (Wei 1998:164).

Auer (1995:125, 126) proposes four sequential patterns of CS which provide an explanation of how CS can contextualise different speech activities. As such, Auer provides a way in which the socio-cultural context of a discourse or conversation on a macro level can be linked directly with the conversational sequential structure on a micro level.

Auer (1995: 124-125) distinguishes on these grounds between four different patterns which act as characteristic of CS. In (1) to (4) below the letters refer to the language which is used and the numbers refer to the speakers taking part in the interaction. The four schematic patterns are:

(1) Pattern Ia: A1 A2 A1 A2// B1 B2 B1 B2

Pattern Ib: A1 A2 A1 A2 A1//B1 B2 B1 B2

(2) Pattern IIa: A1 B2 A1 B2 A1 B2 A1 B2

Pattern IIb: A1 B2 A1 B2 A1//A2 A1 A2 A1

(3) Pattern IIIa: AB1 AB2 AB1 AB2

Pattern IIIb: AB1//A2 A1 A2

(4) Pattern IV: A1 [B1] A1

(Auer 1995:125, 126)

One pattern in which discourse-related CS is evident is Pattern Ib. Investigating the speech of Italian migrant workers' children in Germany, Auer found that the structure evident in Pattern Ib is also evident in the children's speech. The children's CS is thus found to serve a conversational function in that it organises meaningful understanding. Such understanding takes place by means of facilitating an in- or out-group (*we/they*-code) among the children in which the question of why CS occurs can be ascribed to the larger extra-contextual surroundings in the children's lives. This can also be illustrated by the occurrence of pattern IV in which the turn or sequential positioning of the different CS forms sheds light on how and why code alternation may occur not only intersententially but also inter-textually or between different parts of conversations or conversations themselves.

The occurrence of Patterns IIa and IIb indicate a preference-related switch, in which all participants may either diverge or converge in terms of language choices, creating specific language negotiation sequences. Thus discourse-related patterns account for why participants would use one language instead of another. This reason why this language choice occurs is firstly due to how the conversation develops but it also occurs in order to express the wider socio-political or cultural preference in the specific situation. Participant-related CS, on the other hand, indicates the preference of the individual speakers not in terms of the wider social context but rather by taking into account the language competence of the speaker and his or her co-participants in the interaction. Participant-related CS, in which partial speaker autonomy exists, however does not disallow the influence that these above-mentioned macro social dimensions may have on the micro conversational organisational level. It merely implies a shift in focus towards of a larger context dependent or independent point of view to that of more conversation specific regularities on the part of the interlocutors.

By proposing a distinction between discourse-related CS and participant-related CS (based on Auer's four patterns outlined above) an additional explanation other than identity-related explanations is thus included in an otherwise organisational explanation of CS. Discourse-related CS thus contributes to the organisation of the on-going interaction and the discourse as a whole to underline the interactional meaning of a particular sentence (Wei 2002:165). Participant-related CS, on the other hand, permits participants to evaluate the preference for, and the competence of the speaker in, one language or the other (Wei 2002:165)

Both Steensig and Auer's studies focused on these two important factors which influence CS namely participant and discourse related aspects. The study done by Auer focused on using

data from various researchers and many different language combinations; in order to not only indicate how CS occurs but also why it occurs.

Such discourse-related and participant-related CS distinctions can however only be drawn once the specific adjacency pairs, turn taking and sequential structure patterns have been determined. The methodology used in Chapter 6 to analyse intersentential CS will firstly include the identification of adjacency pairs, turn taking and sequential structure patterns as well as the identification of patterns that are created by these three conversational aspects. Reasons why these specific patterns occur will, secondly, be investigated by referring to Gumperz's *we/they*-code distinction as well as Auer's distinction between participant-related CS and discourse-related CS.

The methodologies and conversational aspects used in both the studies done by Auer and Steensig, therefore lend themselves to the analysis of Afrikaans-SAE CS under CA; not only to determine which adjacency pairs, turn taking patterns and sequential patterns are characteristic of such bilingual interaction but also whether these occurrences can be described in terms of an overall discourse-related perspective and/or a more participant-related perspective. This is especially appropriate due to the conversational units of analysis which occur in terms of the conversational corpus as a whole, and the specific conversational combinations, but also the CS of individual participants.

4.6 Conclusion

From the discussion in this chapter it should be clear that, just as certain grammatical theories account for the organisational structures below word level, certain socio-pragmatic theories, especially CA, are useful for describing how these same organisational structures can occur

between phrases, paragraphs, different speakers and even different conversations. Employing CA ensures that other important macro factors which also play a (primary or secondary) role in the formation and organisation of a conversation are not ignored. CA therefore provides a bottom up method of analysis in which all and only the relevant characteristics of CS are lifted out of the data and evaluated in order to explain not only how but also why bilingual language use may be structured in terms of language alternation.

The manner with which this bilingual language alternation organises conversations will be evaluated and analysed, in terms of the main grammatical and socio-pragmatic analytic aspects mentioned in Chapters 3 and 4. The methodology of how such aspects are employed will be discussed and outlined in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 5

METHODOLOGY

5.1 Introduction

In this chapter the data collection and analysis procedures will be described in detail, along with the descriptive profiles of each of the three participants involved in the study. A detailed description will be given of the analytical procedures undertaken to identify the ML for each individual and for each conversational combination, as well as for the entire corpus. The analytical procedure used to analyse the socio-pragmatic features of CS will also be described in terms of each individual, each conversational combination and the corpus as a whole.

5.2 Participant profiles and background

The participants in the present study were three bilingual boys of approximately eight years old. The variables which remained constant with respect to the three participants, were: gender, age, socioeconomic status, geographical location and kinship relations. All three participants live in Paarl, a town in the Western Cape, and their parents all have a University level education. All three participants also attended the same dual medium playschool, where they were placed in the same age group and class and have subsequently moved on to primary school. The participants are therefore well acquainted with one another. The language proficiency of the children and the nature of their linguistic input are summarised in Table 2.

Table 2 Participant language background in terms of language input received

Participant Number	L1	Input in terms of Parents' Language	
		1	2
Participant A	Afrikaans	Afrikaans	Afrikaans
Participant B	Afrikaans and English	English	Afrikaans
Participant C	English	English	English

5.2.1 Participant A

Participant A has grown up in a family environment, with mainly Afrikaans input, from which his L1 language competence and proficiency has been acquired. Participant A's L2 English proficiency has been acquired largely through input received from television programs, movies and toys. Both participant A's parents are L1 Afrikaans speakers, although they do code switch into English on occasion. Participant A attended a primarily Afrikaans playschool from the age of 10 months; however, he did receive a limited amount of English exposure during his time at the playschool. Participant A comes into regular contact with family members who speak German. He can, however, not speak or understand any German. Participant A therefore communicates with his sibling and parents in Afrikaans, interspersed occasionally with English words and phrases. Participant A was enrolled in an Afrikaans primary school in Paarl at the age of four years and eight months. Currently, participant A is eight years old and still attending this primary school where he comes into contact with teachers and friends in a primarily Afrikaans environment. English is taught as part of the curriculum and it forms part of the daily Afrikaans interaction between friends.

5.2.2 Participant B

Participant B is being raised as a balanced bilingual, and has received input from his parents in both Afrikaans and English from birth. Participant B was also exposed from birth to German through his great-grandparents. Exposure to German has however decreased lately as participant B does not currently see his great-grandparents as regularly as before. Participant B also attended the same playschool as participants A and C, in which the language used by the teachers and caregivers was Afrikaans. Participant B attended this playschool from the age of six months. Participant B currently attends the same primary school as participant A, having been enrolled in the school at the age of 5 years. Not only do the two participants have the same linguistic input from the education institution they attend together, they have also stayed close friends and see each other on a daily basis. Due to the fact that participant B was raised with both Afrikaans and English in close to equal measures in his input, he can be classified as a mother-tongue speaker of both languages. Both parents are bilingual speakers of Afrikaans and English. The mother is an L1 speaker of English but also speaks Afrikaans fluently, while the father is an L1 speaker of Afrikaans but also speaks English fluently. Participant B uses Afrikaans approximately 80% of the time and English 20% of the time at home with his parents. Participant B mainly communicates with his sibling and teachers in Afrikaans, while speaking both Afrikaans and English to his friends. With other family members participant B uses English as the language of communication.

5.2.3 Participant C

Participant C has grown up in a more monolingual family setting, in which the language input is primarily English. Participant C's L2 proficiency in Afrikaans has been acquired by means of input received from both parents and a grandmother from birth. Participant C attended the same playschool as participants A and B where the language input was primarily Afrikaans.

Participant C did however receive English input during his time at the playschool, as it is a dual medium school. He attended this playschool from the age of three months. Participant C is currently enrolled in a dual medium primary school, in the English stream, as his parents believe that, due to his exposure to Afrikaans at the playschool, his English communication skills are not as good as they would like them to be. At home participant C uses English to communicate with his parents and siblings, while he accommodates to the language of the specific friend he interacts with, be it Afrikaans or English. He also communicates only in Afrikaans with his grandmother who is Afrikaans. Participant C knows and remembers participants A and B from the preschool but is not as intimately familiar with each of the other participants as participant A and B are with each other. This is due to the fact that participant C has been in a different primary school since 2008.

5.3 Data collection

5.3.1 Data collection procedure

Data was collected from naturally occurring conversations during informal and unstructured play sessions, in which the participants were free to play with toys such as general *Lego* pieces, *Lego Star Wars* and *Lego Harry Potter* as well as *GoGo's*⁴⁴. The toys used in each play session were the same, thus limiting the theme or topic of the conversations to a certain extent. A total of four sessions took place, of which three of the sessions included only two participants at a time. The first session involved all three participants, so that the participants could get accustomed to each other and the situation. In the remaining three sessions the participants were paired off in order to see how different language proficiencies, as well as different socio-pragmatic situations, would affect the CS patterns.

⁴⁴ Cf. *GoGo's Crack Bones*. Available online at: <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gogos>.

The participants played in a designated area of a room on which a video camera was focussed. A supervisor (the researcher and/or a parent) was always present during the play sessions in order to monitor the video recording process and to deal with any difficulties that the participants might experience. The exact purpose of the sessions was not made clear to the participants in order to obtain as naturalistic data as possible. The participants and their parents signed voluntary participation letters and the participants were informed only that the researcher “wants to hear how they speak”. The sessions were planned to last no longer than sixty minutes. In reality the sessions varied from thirty to sixty minutes due to a lack of interest in the toys or activities or a limited attention span on the part of the participants. The table below provides an overview of the four play sessions.

Table 3 An overview of play session information

Session number	Combination of Participants	Language combinations	Duration of session	Amount transcribed and used for analysis
1	A, B and C	A = L1 Afrikaans – L2 English B = L1 Afrikaans – L1 English C = L1 English – L2 Afrikaans	00:52:52	00:46:44
2	A and B (AB)	A = L1 Afrikaans – L2 English B = L1 Afrikaans – L1 English	00:35:04	00:33:54
3	B and C (BC)	B = L1 Afrikaans – L1 English C = L1 English – L2 Afrikaans	00:51:38	00:51:28
4	A and C (AC)	A = L1 Afrikaans – L2 English C = L1 English – L2 Afrikaans	00:54:55	00:40:21

5.3.2 Transcription procedure

The data was transcribed by means of a transcription program called *Praat*. *Praat* is a free scientific software program in which phonetic speech analysis can be done.⁴⁵ In this specific case *Praat* was used only for transcription purposes and not for the phonetic analysis of speech. The sound files were annotated into different tiers and speech boundaries were assigned for each speaker on each tier. By assigning speech boundaries, overlap and simultaneous speech could easily be incorporated into the text grids. With the text grid set up in such a manner, the time domain of the text grid will automatically equal that of the imported sound file. Secondly, the data from each session were separately and orthographically transcribed by the researcher and a research assistant. Unintelligible utterances, noises and sounds made by the participants while playing were not included in the transcriptions⁴⁶. Thirdly, the text grids created by *Praat* were exported as text files by means of a CA script. The final transcriptions then underwent coding and analysis in Microsoft Excel.

5.3.3 Data analysis

As noted, a bidirectional trend has developed in CS research, in which the focus falls either on the grammar of CS in terms of morphosyntax or on the socio-pragmatic meaning or function of CS (Dzameshie 2001:1). This study used an analytic methodology which lends itself to both directions of the trend.

⁴⁵ More information about *Praat* can be obtained at www.praat.org

⁴⁶ A key listing the transcription conventions can be found on page xviii of this thesis.

5.3.3.1 Grammatical analysis under the MLF model

The grammatical aspects of the data were analysed quantitatively and qualitatively using the MLF model proposed by Myers-Scotton (discussed in Chapter 3).

Analysis involved the following five-step process:

- 1) A quantitative identification of the ML was made per phrase. Each phrase was identified as having either Afrikaans or English as the ML. A distinction was also made in terms of extrasentential switches and intersentential switches, as well as above and below word level intrasentential switches, in order to aid the quantitative identification of the ML. The distinction between borrowings and CS forms was also made.
- 2) If a quantitative identification of the ML was not possible, phrases were coded by means of a question mark (?) and were analysed qualitatively under the MLF model to identify the ML.
- 3) Analysis under the MLF model, firstly, involved an analysis of the word order of each phrase in order to test the MOP. Secondly, the assignment of SMs was evaluated to test the SMP. If both principles were found to apply to the phrase in question the ML could be unambiguously identified for the phrase. In cases where the MOP and SMP did not apply, the assignment of theta roles (content morphemes) was evaluated to determine the ML. If the MOP and SMP as well as the assignment of content morphemes proved unreliable, the ML was either ambiguous or could not be identified at all.

- 4) Once the ML for each phrase had been identified, the number of ML and EL phrases was tallied and converted to percentages in order to identify the ML not only for the entire corpus but also in terms of the specific conversational combinations and for each individual.
- 5) The fifth and final step involved an analysis of the specific extrasentential as well as the above and below word level intrasentential CS forms in order to ascertain whether the CS forms found in the corpus could be identified as classic or composite cases of CS.

5.3.3.2 Socio-pragmatic analysis in terms of Conversation Analysis

The socio-pragmatic characteristics of the data were analysed using the theoretical framework of CA (as discussed in Chapter 4). CA can be used to analyse different types of data; it was however developed primarily to analyse ‘talk-in-interaction’ in which the researcher is interested in what happens when the conversation moves to the next speaker turn, thus focussing on interactive exchanges (Cameron 2001:87; Auer 1995:115). For this reason, CA is the perfect tool for analysing intersentential CS, while the grammatical approach discussed above was used in the analysis of other CS forms.

The methodology of analysing intersentential CS involves looking at three different aspects, namely: turn taking, adjacency pairs and sequences. The patterns identified in terms of these three aspects were also analysed in terms of the conversational corpus as a whole, the different conversational combinations, and each of the three individual participants.

5.4 Conclusion

Through the use of the MLF model for the grammatical analysis and CA for the socio-pragmatic analysis of the data, it is hoped that a more complete picture may be gained of how meaning is created in children's bilingual conversations. Both methods of analysis provide insight into the different characteristics of Afrikaans-English CS. The participant profiles and background provide further sociolinguistic and language acquisition information which may aid in the explanation of certain occurrences of CS in the data, as well as the use of the various CS forms in the conversational corpus as a whole, in the different conversational combinations and by each individual.

CHAPTER 6

DATA ANALYSIS

6.1 Introduction

This chapter will reflect the general results of data analysis. The analysis will include, as specified in chapter 5, the characterisation of different types of CS that occur within the data. By means of this analysis, an explanation will be provided (i) for why different types of CS occur and (ii) in order to determine which possible socio-pragmatic aspects are responsible for particular patterns of CS that occur in the data.

This analysis will take place in terms of the two bidirectional trends outlined in the previous chapters, namely the grammatical and socio-pragmatic trends. This chapter will include the following sections. Firstly, a general quantitative summary of the data and the distribution of different CS types will be provided. An overall identification of the ML will also be made. Secondly, principles of the MLF model – such as the ML hypothesis, MOP, SMP, USP and DAH, which were outlined in Chapter 3 – will be used to conduct a qualitative grammatical analysis of extrasentential, intrasentential, above and below word level switches as well as ambiguous switches. Thirdly, a distinction will be made between borrowings and CS forms, reflecting the theoretical definitions explored in Chapter 2. Fourthly, an analysis of intersentential CS will be conducted by means of CA – turn taking and adjacency pair sequences will be used to evaluate the socio-pragmatic characteristics of CS. Finally, the data will also be classified in terms of classic and composite CS, and the specific individual characteristics of the participants' CS reflected in the conversational combinations, will be

evaluated in order to examine other possible patterns found in the data in terms of CS and general interference.⁴⁷

6.2 The distribution of different code switching types

The total number of CS forms which occurred in the data was 422. The distribution of different types of CS will, firstly, be indicated in terms of number of occurrences and, secondly, in terms of percentage of total CS forms. Intrasentential above word level islands and intersentential CS forms occur 37 and 61 times in the corpus of 422 CS occurrences, respectively. Intersentential switches thus occur almost double the number of times that intrasentential island switches occur. These figures are provided in Table 4 below. The different types of phrase-level CS forms, together, thus make up 22.8% of all CS forms in the data and 5% of the 1987 phrases in the entire speech corpus.

Table 4 Distribution of code switched forms according to phrasal occurrence

Description of specific data	Coding	Number of occurrences	Percentage of total CS forms
Total number of intersentential switches		61	14%
Total number of intrasentential islands		37	8.8%

⁴⁷ Due to the different types of CS which occur in the data, it is necessary to analyse the occurrence of extra sentential, below word level intrasentential, and above word level intrasentential CS, as well as the occurrence of single words and borrowings in terms of the overall word count of the corpus. Occurrences of intrasentential above word level islands, intersentential switches as well as the the ML and EL will be tallied by means of in terms of phrasal occurrences in the corpus.

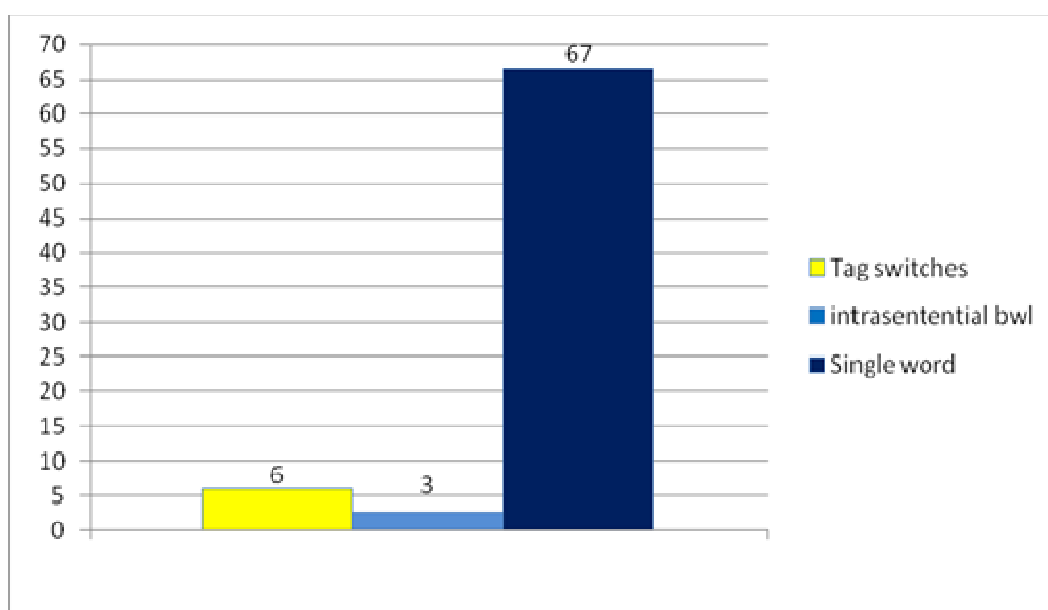
By looking at the corpus data in terms of word count, we can see that word-level CS makes up 3.7% of the corpus. The word-level CS forms include extrasentential switches, intrasentential switches which occur below word level, as well as intrasentential switches which occur above word level (single words). The number of switches which occurred into English and Afrikaans are provided in Table 5 below.

Table 5 Distribution of different code switched forms in terms of single word count

Description of specific data	Coding	Number	
		ENG	AFR
Total number of tag switches		25	0
Total number of below word level intrasentential switches		11	0
Total number of single word intrasentential switches		281	2
Total number of borrowings		5	0
Total number of words in the corpus		10665	

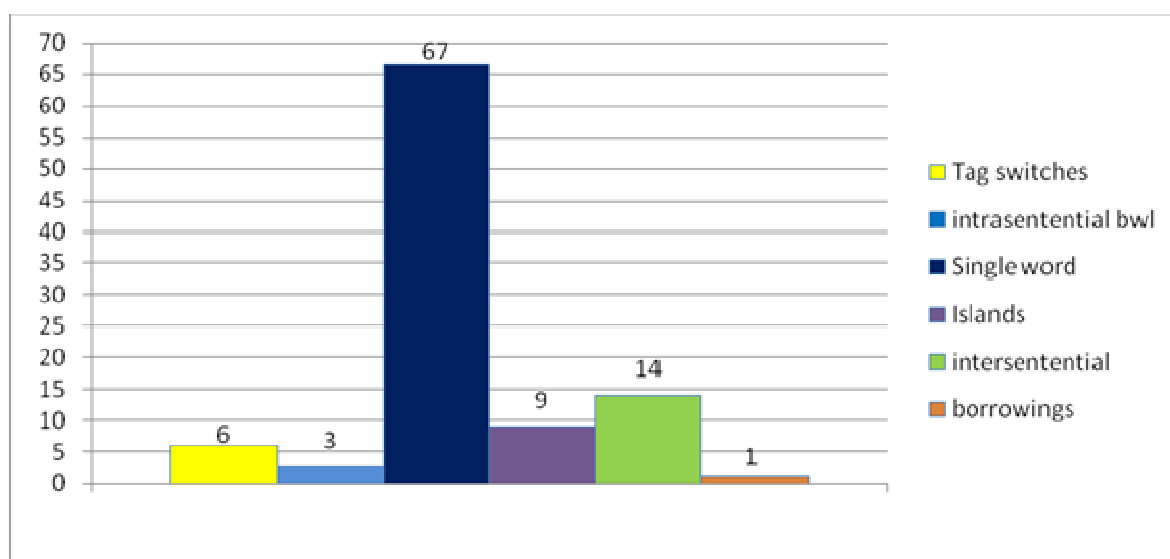
The graph in Figure 5 below illustrates the percentages with which each type of the above mentioned CS and related phenomena occur relative to the total number of CS forms.

Figure 5 Illustrative percentage distribution of all single word/morpheme code switched forms



From the graph above it is clear that single word switches make up the largest percentage of word-level CS forms in the data. Extrasentential switches and below word level switches occur minimally, making up only 9% of the total CS forms in comparison with single word switches which make up 67%. Figure 6 below illustrates the percentages for intersentential, intrasentential and tag switches, as well as borrowings.

Figure 6 Percentage of total number of code switches and borrowings in corpus



The switching practises of the participants only affected approximately 10% of the speech in the corpus. The focus of the study will however fall on the distribution of the different types of CS within this 10%. Intrasentential CS occurs the most frequently, making up 80% of the total occurrences of CS. Intersentential CS occurs the second most frequently in the data, making up only 14% of the overall occurrences of CS forms, with 61 phrasal turning points in the corpus. Extrasentential CS forms only account for 6% and borrowings for only 1% of the total number of CS forms. Intrasentential above word level CS, in terms of single word switches, makes up the biggest percentage of CS occurring in the data. Along with

intersentential CS, intrasentential CS will thus form the main focus of the analysis due to the frequency with which the forms occur.

Extrasentential CS forms and below word level intrasentential forms both occur seldom with 6% and 3% respectively, making up the final numbers of instances of CS occurring in the data. Despite the small number of instances with which these two types of CS occurs in the data, the occurrences of these types of CS are not unimportant. They still provide important information as to where and how CS occurs within a conversation as well as the underlying processes of language competence and production. The specific functions, where and why each type of CS occurs in different utterances and the corpus as a whole, as well as the underlying processes involved for each type will be discussed separately in the subsections of section 6.4 below.

6.3 The identification of the matrix language

In order to identify the ML of the corpus through quantitative analysis, in line with the Asymmetry Principle, all the transcribed phrases were tallied. For the purpose of this thesis, the term “phrase” will be used as an umbrella term which includes: meaningful single word utterances, full sentences, and incomplete sentences. Portions of phrases which occur as switches will be identified as either single word switches or EL islands. Unintelligible phrases, coded with a hash (#) or [xxx], were excluded from the total number of phrases. Single, unidentifiable ML phrases, for example single word phrases such as *okay*, *wow*, *awesome*, *hey* as well as single names being called out and exclamations such as *huh* and *yoh*, were tallied as part of the total number of phrases, and coded with a tilde (~). Analysis of these single words or phrases is problematic, not only in identifying whether these are Afrikaans or English phrases but also whether these utterances are CS forms or borrowings.

Without the presence of other structural phrasal constituents, identification of an ML or specific type of CS is impossible. Other phrases for which the ML could not be easily identified by means of a quantitative analysis were coded with a question mark (?). These phrases are either ambiguous or present difficulty in terms of a quantitative analysis and need to be analysed qualitatively under the MLF model. However, even after such a qualitative analysis (as discussed in section 6.4.5 below) some phrases remained completely unidentifiable or ambiguous. Due to this ambiguity, as well as the fact that these phrases only make up 4% of the entire corpus, these phrases are included in the total number of phrases tallied but not in the number of phrases included in the quantitative identification of the ML.

Table 6 below illustrates the quantitative occurrence of the above mentioned phrases and ultimately shows that the ML for the entire corpus is Afrikaans, as phrases identified as having an Afrikaans ML make up 77% of the total number of phrases with an identifiable ML.

Table 6 Distribution of phrases in the corpus

Description of specific data	Coding	Number
Total number of phrases		2172
Total number of unintelligible phrases (not included in total)	# / [xxx]	175
Total number of single word unidentifiable ML phrases (included in total)	~	96
Total number of Afrikaans ML phrases	A	1521
Total number of English ML phrases	E	466
Total number of ambiguous phrases to be analysed under MLF model	?	89
Total number of identified ML phrases		1987
Afrikaans %		77%
English %		23%
ML for the corpus as a whole		Afrikaans

6.4 Analysis of different code switching types

As mentioned above, CS forms occur when a complete shift from one language to the other takes place, where the switches are juxtaposed in relation to one another. This juxtaposition can create varying patterns of CS. Three overarching types of patterns are extrasentential switches, intrasentential switches and intersentential switches. Each pattern will occur due to different constraints or principles applied by the grammars of Afrikaans and English or even socio-pragmatic features or functions that are evident in the conversations.

6.4.1 Tag switches (Extrasentential)

Extrasentential switches only occurred for 6% of the total number of forms; thus playing only a small role in the kinds of speech patterns which are apparent in and between the types of CS. A total of 25 extrasentential switches occurred, in which four distinct and recurrent tags could be identified. These four distinct tags include the use of English emblematic tag insertions at the start of the clause, as illustrated in the examples in (48) to (51) below from the data.

- (48) *Hey*, waar's daai blokkie?
- (49) *Okay*, maar dit-en dit kan lossen.
- (50) *Awesome*, ek kan sien dit.
- (51) *Wow*, hier is Harry Potter.

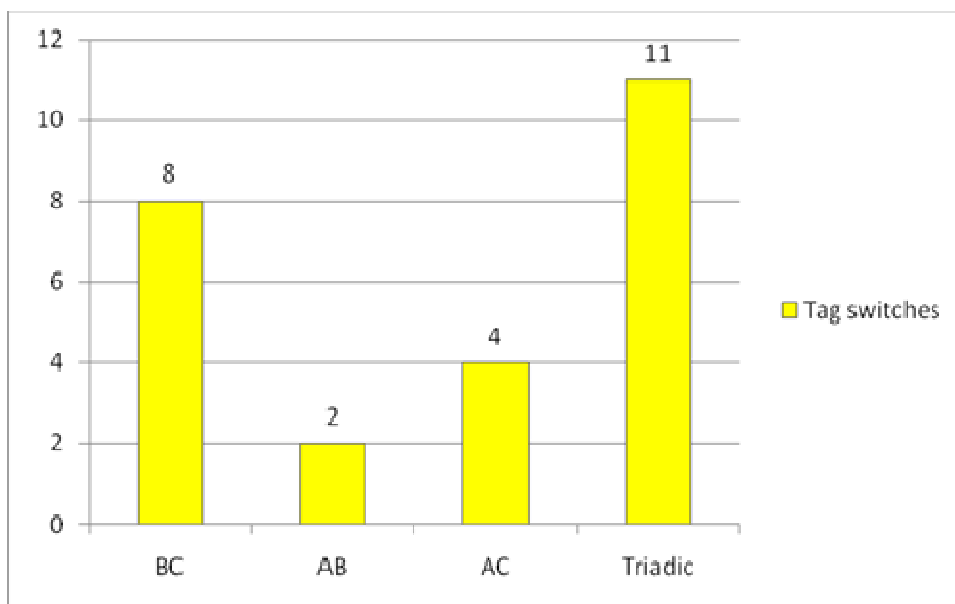
The recurrence of these emblematic tags can be attributed to the fact that all three participants made use of them. *Wow*, *awesome*, *okay* and *hey* could therefore form part of the shared lexicon of the participants.

Other examples, such as examples (52) to (60), illustrate the use of idiosyncratic tags, each of which only occurs once in the corpus; thus not forming any corpus or combinational patterns such as those mentioned above. These tags occur at the start of each phrase.

- (52) *Well*, nou het jy net twee kwaai manne aan die use gemaak.
- (53) *Uh what*, dit gaan in, daar's 'n Star Wars spaceship, daar.
- (54) *Here*, nee hierso.
- (55) *Oh no*, gee dit bietjie vir my aan.
- (56) *Oh weird*, sy naam is GoGo.
- (57) *Yay*, ach dis hoe die.
- (58) *Wait*, dis nie daai ding [xxx].
- (59) *Watch*, ek gaan vir jou 'n ander een bou.
- (60) *No*, dis my GoGos.

Extrasentential switches occur in all four conversations in much the same proportion, given the different lengths of each conversation. The conversation AB contains only two extrasentential switches while the conversations in which participant C takes part contain four, eight and eleven extrasentential switches, respectively. In the individual analysis of each speaker's utterances it was observed that participant C and participant B each produced 11 extrasentential switches in comparison with the four switches made by participant A. Conversation AB therefore contains fewer extrasentential switches as participant A does not make as much use of extrasentential switches. In the other conversations the higher frequency of these switches can be attributed to the combination of participant B and participant C. This distribution is illustrated in Figure 7 below.

Figure 7 Total number of tag switches in different conversational combinations



All three participants made use of the emblematic tags: *wow*, *awesome*, *okay* and *hey*. Each participant also used a variety of other emblematic tags as illustrated in examples (52) to (60) above. The use of such a wide variety of idiosyncratic tags by the different participants shows that emblematic switches are not constrained by any other processes or sentence structures beside the placement of the switch at the start of the phrase. In terms of the MOP and SMP, extrasentential CS forms have little effect on the morphosyntactic features of the CP. A tag is inserted at the start of the phrase but, as the name implies, it occurs outside of the phrasal structure of the CP. There are thus three kinds of patterns evident in this type of CS. The first is that the tags are sentence-initial tags. Four of these sentence initial tags, secondly, occur as established loanwords rather than single occurring CS forms. Thirdly, insertion of idiosyncratic sentence-initial tags also occurs. Patterns two and three may thus be illustrative of two subtypes existing for extrasentential CS, namely sentence-initial loanword tags and idiosyncratic sentence-initial tags.

6.4.2 Below word level intrasentential switches

Despite making up the smallest percentage of CS forms to occur in the corpus (only 11 instances, i.e. 3%), below word level switches indicate more than just the asymmetrical participation of the languages in aid of ML identification, or the overall structure of the phrase in terms of the MOP and SMP. Out of the 11 switches which occur, evidence about the inflectional process of past participle and superlative formation, as well as the derivation of noun phrases, provides insight not only into monolingual sentence structure but also into how this structure is reflected in CS: The manner in which morphemes are distributed and the various abstract levels at which this distribution and activation occurs, are made evident by means of conceptually and structurally assigned morpheme analysis.

In examples (61) to (64) below, the English EL constituents are italicised in juxtaposition with the Afrikaans conceptually-activated and system morphemes which form the ML frame.

- (61) Ek het 'n outjie *gecapture* by...die villain.
- (62) Ek het hom, hy't kop *gesend*.
- (63) Want die lawa het dit half *geburn*.
- (64) Want ek was die ene wat julle almal *gesave* het.

The majority of morphemes in each phrase are selected at the lexical level and are subsequently conceptually-activated. These morphemes stem from the Afrikaans lexicon, making the ML Afrikaans. Other morphemes (early SMs), which are also indicative of the ML, are function words, such as determiners, and inflectional morphemes, such as the plural affix. Derivational affixes and verb satellites also form part of the SMs which frame the ML. In the specific cases above, the determiners as well as the inflectional past participle

morpheme *ge-* stem from Afrikaans. The verbs used, however, stem from English and are content words. These verbs are prototypical thematic role assigners; in comparison to nouns which are prototypical thematic role receivers (see section 6.4.3 below).

Both conceptually-activated content and early system morphemes are activated in the mental lexicon providing the morphological realisation patterns for the spell out of surface devices such as word order, agreement and tense. In this case the conceptual activation would include English and Afrikaans. The frequency with which these morphemes are used within the CP will determine the ML.

In all the cases mentioned above (i.e. examples (61) to (64)), Afrikaans morphemes occurred with greater frequency than English morphemes. A derivational process also occurred in which the Afrikaans past tense inflectional prefix *ge-* was added to the English verb. With the Afrikaans occurring with greater frequency and the occurrence of the derivational process, it is clear that Afrikaans is the ML of the specific phrase(s) in question. The identification of conceptually-activated content and early system morphemes provides evidence, according to the 4-M model, that the mental lexicon and the feature bundles associated with each lemma, thus the underlying competence, play an important role in the production of CS. The derivational process which forms the past participle thus also occurs before the later production levels in the formulator.

Example (65) provides an example of how verb satellites from the EL can occur in combination with phrasal verbs as early SMs. This is possible because verb satellites occur along with their head to add extra meaning. They are not restricted by the SMP because they occur within the head of the phrasal verb and not outside the head as the SMP specifies.

(65) Hy het dit *gepick up*.

Another system morpheme which reflects how underlying competences and lemmas in the lexicon are organised is example (66).

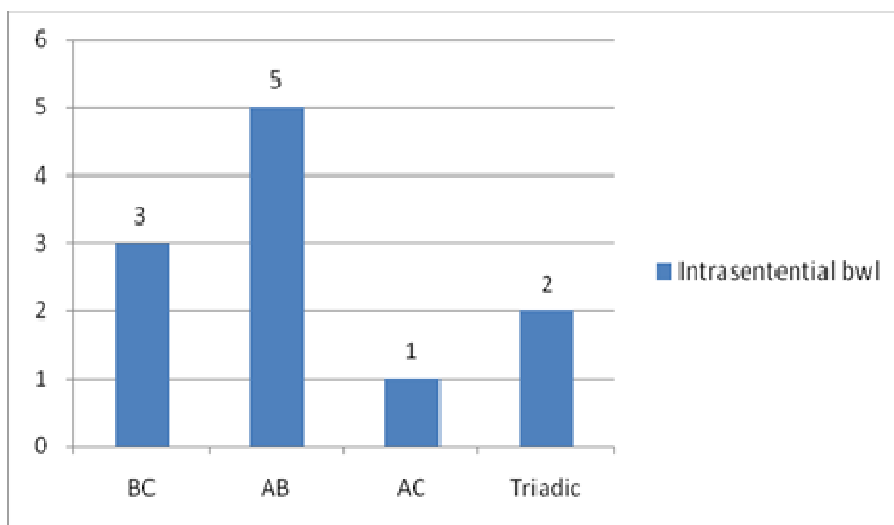
(66) Ek het 'n *race-mannetjie*...

This example shows the derivation of a new content word which stems from the ML and the EL lexicons. This adding together of two content words proves that below word level CS, as mentioned above, can happen at the level of the lexicon and not only at the level of the formulator. The derivational process of superlative formation is a third piece of evidence of how the competence of both languages interact at the conceptual lemma level, and not only at the level of the formulator.

(67) Wat het jy die mooiste gedoen en *braveste* ding gedoen?

Figure 8 below illustrates how these below word level CS forms are distributed across the different conversational combinations.

Figure 8 Total number of below word level intrasentential code switched forms



As can be seen in Figure 8 above, below word level intrasentential switches occur in all four conversational combinations; but more so in conversations BC and AB. In conversation AB, participant A was responsible for all five below word level switches occurring while the other six below word level switches were made by participant C across the other three conversational combinations. In this instance of the analysis, new insight in terms of grammatical characteristics of CS as exemplified in examples (65) to (67) cannot be attributed to patterns occurring in specific speaker combinations; these characteristics and the reasons why they occur in the data is, instead, made apparent by the analysis of the language use of the individual participants.

Participants C and A both used below word level switches, in which the Afrikaans inflectional morpheme *ge-* is added to an English verb stem. This occurrence not only provides evidence that participant A has, in terms of past tense formation, competently acquired his L1 grammatical system but also that participant C has achieved an L1 level competence in terms of this aspect of his L2.

The lack of evidence for participant B for below word level switches, along with the fact that he is a balanced bilingual, may not provide greater insight into the grammatical reasons for which CS takes place but can maybe rather be attributed to language choice and socio-pragmatic reasons. We can postulate that different participants use different types of CS according to the input they received during language acquisition, according to the level of underlying competence which is available to each participant (as is the case for participants A and C) or according to other socio-pragmatic reasons (as is the case for participant B).

Examples (68) and (69) below provide further evidence for this assumption: despite the fact that participant A has achieved a competent L1 proficiency in which he correctly embedded the EL verb stem above, he failed to do so in other instances.

(68) ...na ek daar in *gefell* het, het julle my Darth Vader gemaak.

(69) Hy's *geshot*.

Both of these examples can be seen as CS forms. The participant may have had the intention to voluntarily use CS forms as those used in examples (68) and (69). These examples are however also indicative of interference in which an involuntary deviation from the norms of either language occurs in the speech of bilinguals as a result of their familiarity with more than one language. In these examples the participant found difficulty in creating the past participle because instead of using the verb stem, the participant used the past participle form, in effect creating a double inflectional process of forming the past tense. Reasons why this interference occurs are not clear. The fact that the participant uses both the correct and incorrect form provides evidence that the participant does not have a fossilized L2 grammar. The fact that this form occurred more than once is indicative that this is not only a slip of the

tongue but rather evidence of an underlying L2 competence, in which not all grammatical concepts have yet been equally acquired. The interference can also be attributed to overgeneralisation errors made by L1 learners due to the use of irregular past tense verb forms occurring. The exact nature of the interference however cannot be determined due to a lack of evidence.

The analysis of below word level CS forms thus not only provides greater insight in terms of the grammatical structure and principles which constrain CS, but also underlines the role that language input plays in language acquisition as well as the role which language proficiency subsequently plays in terms of CS.

6.4.3 Above word level intrasentential switches

With regards to above word level intrasentential switches, the most frequently occurring switches in the data were single word switches, as shown in Table 7 below.

Table 7 The occurrence of above word level code switched forms

Description of specific data	Coding	BC		AB		AC		Triadic	
		E	A	E	A	E	A	E	A
Total number of above word level intrasentential switches	Single word	62	1	58	-	43	1	119	-
	Islands	10	2	7	-	9	-	8	1

Most single word switches occurred as English EL forms in the Afrikaans ML with the exception of two Afrikaans EL forms occurring in an English ML. Three patterns are evident in terms of semantics/word choice. The first pattern which occurs is that once a single word

switch has occurred in the data, the participants continue to use the English EL form of the word in the corpus. These words are thus used across speakers and conversations. The participants do not use the Afrikaans equivalent of the English EL form. Single word forms which followed this pattern are: *core, spaceship(s), weapons, gun(s), computer, count-down, signal(s), battleship, space, jetpack, outer space, airplanes, space pod, control panel, robot, game, fight, castle, source-powers, button, engine, jail, TV* and *diamond*.

Secondly, there are other words such as *memories, voice, fuel, gas, discovery, prison, pilot, brick wall, acid, soldier, owl, horse, villain, werewolf* and *expert* which in some cases occur only once and in others only occur within the specific conversational turn and immediate context and are therefore speaker-specific.

Thirdly, there are words which are used interchangeably in Afrikaans and English. This is apparent with words such as *sword* and *swaard*, *guy* and *mannetjie*, *house* and *huis*, *door* and *deur*, *room* and *kamer*, *boat* and *boot*, *camera* and *kamera* as well as *car* and *kar*. All participants use these words interchangeably in different situations.

From the single word switches which occur, it is clear that these words are content words, which are EL forms. All other content words, as well as the function words, thus stem from the ML, which simplifies the identification of the ML in terms of asymmetry in frequency.

The occurrence of the second content word pattern discussed above (i.e. the use of speaker-specific single utterances such as *fuel* and *gas*) can be attributed to the language competence of the speaker. This difference may be indicative of the participants' (lack of) knowledge of corresponding Afrikaans words, as well as the availability of such a lemma in the mental lexicon. Other sociolinguistic factors may also play a role in word choice. If the word was

used by another speaker, the participant may purposefully accommodate to the use of the same word in the same language in order to aid the other speaker. These sociolinguistic factors may play an even more significant role in the case of pattern three (i.e. words used interchangeably in Afrikaans and English such as *house* and *huis*).

The difference between the occurrences of patterns one and three is, however, not clear cut. The single EL forms in pattern one appear to act as borrowings in the corpus due to the fact that all three participants use them continuously and systematically throughout the entire corpus. However, these words have not undergone any morphological or phonological adaptation in terms of the ML. The word *battleship*, for example, receives the English plural marker *-s* when referring to more than one.

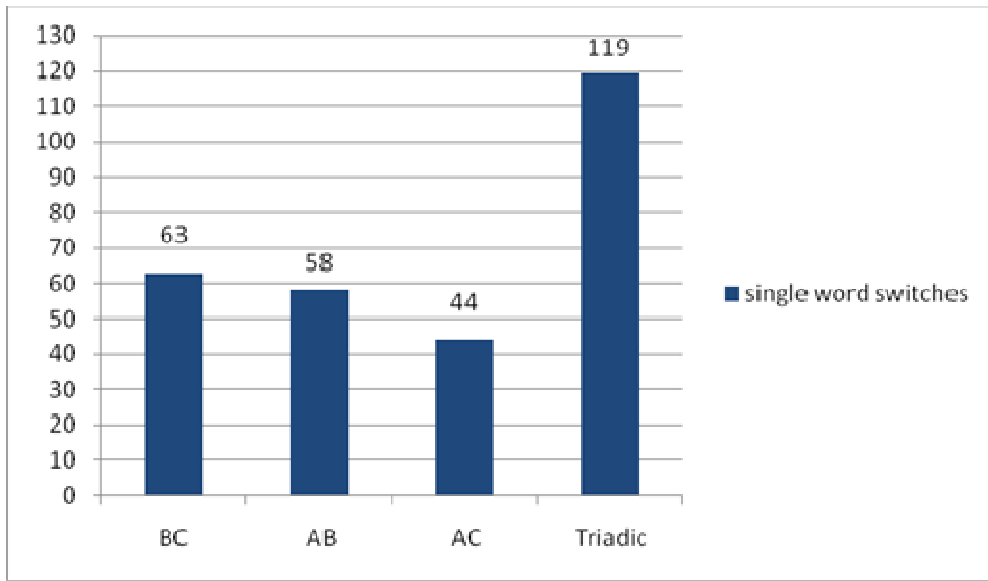
They also do not fill a semantic or lexical gap in Afrikaans because the language already has suitable equivalents available in the lexicon such as *kern*, *ruimtetuig*, *wapens*, *rekenaar*, *vegskip*, *ruimte*, *beheerbord*, *robot*, *knoppie*, *enjin*, and *diamant*. One explanation for this occurrence may be that in the context the participants are more familiar with the English EL form than the Afrikaans ML form and therefore use these words in a type of mixed code specific to the participants or the situation itself, despite knowing the Afrikaans equivalent. By comparing patterns one and three this assumption becomes more plausible. More common words which are not as situation or context specific, such as *sword*, *house* or *door* are used interchangeably with the Afrikaans equivalent because the participants are more familiar with the words due to the frequency with which they are used in other contexts. These words are thus CS forms which, as is the case for tag switches in section 6.4.1 above, are either participant specific and idiosyncratic intrasentential switches for pattern three or intrasentential switches which are discourse and group related switches in pattern one. Those

switches, used in pattern one, are however not loanwords because equivalents for these words do exist in Afrikaans, in contrast to the four tag switches identified as loan words in section 6.4.1.

All these above-mentioned content words in pattern one to three are thus conceptually-activated morphemes which are theta role receivers. This classification under the 4-M model thus shows that the occurrence of these English EL forms in an Afrikaans ML stem from the underlying interaction between the English and the Afrikaans mental lexicon. The fact that the nouns are theta role receivers means that a relationship between them and the verbs, which are theta role assigners, must exist. This relationship will be evaluated further in section 6.4.3.2 below when VP and word order will be discussed in more detail.

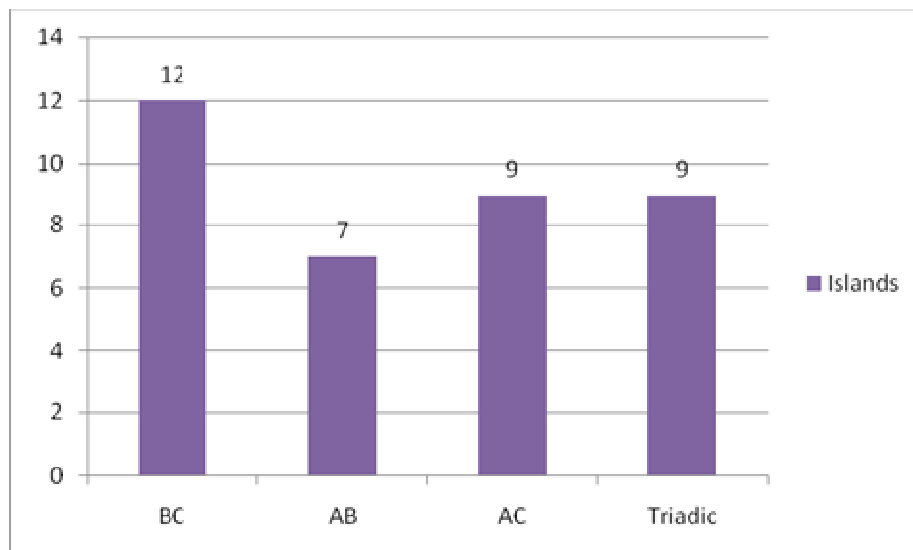
Figure 9 below provides the percentages with which these three patterns of single word switches occur in the data, across the different conversational combinations. It is clear from the graph that the frequency deviation in terms of single word switches is very small, showing that all participants make use of all three patterns irrespective of which participants are paired up.

Figure 9 Frequency distribution of single word switches⁴⁸



With regards to the other type of intrasentential CS, Figure 10 below provides the percentages with which EL islands occur in the data, across the different conversational combinations.

Figure 10 Frequency distribution of intrasentential switches - islands⁴⁹



⁴⁸ The frequency distribution of single word switches was determined as a percentage of the total word count for the corpus.

⁴⁹ The frequency distribution for islands was determined as a percentage of the total number of phrases in the corpus.

The different conversational combinations all have varying frequencies of EL island occurrences. Participants C and A both used EL islands and had the first and second highest frequency, respectively. Conversations in which these participants were paired up with each other will therefore have a higher EL frequency than those in which the participants were paired off separately. The conversations in which participant C took part will thus have a higher frequency of islands than the ones in which participant A took part. This is reflected in the above graph for conversations AC, BC and AB.

For all the above word level intrasentential switches (single word switches and islands), six overarching patterns were observed. These patterns include the formation of various differing Determiner phrases (DPs), Verb phrases (VPs), Adjectival phrases (AP), Prepositional phrases (PP), Adverbial phrases (AdvP) as well as the structural placement of these phrases in terms of the word order of the complementiser phrase (CP). According to the MOP of the MLF model, the morpheme order of the constituents must follow the order of the ML. If this is the case the ML hypothesis is verified because the ML should frame the morphosyntax of the ML and the EL constituents. The MOP therefore becomes applicable if two typologically distinct languages like English (SVO) and Afrikaans (SOV) are used in the interaction, as is the case in this study. The different phrasal categories discussed below will be used to determine whether the MOP is applicable or not, and if so in which cases.

6.4.3.1 Determiner phrases

One morphosyntactic constituent in which intrasentential CS can take place is the DP. Such switches can take the form of a single word switch in a DP, switched islands in a DP or the whole DP itself. For Afrikaans to be the ML, the EL English constituents must follow the word order of Afrikaans and vice versa. Despite Afrikaans and English having distinct word

orders in terms of possible verb and object combinations, the internal structure of the DP is identical in Afrikaans and English.

In order to identify the ML, the internal structure of the DP cannot therefore be the only indication. The head of the DP must still comply in terms of the surface structure of the entire CP and the other constituents in that CP. It would therefore be difficult to unambiguously identify the ML in cases where only the DP constituents are available for analysis. This ambiguous identification is evident in phrases which were coded with a (?) in the data. Examples (70) and (71) illustrate the ambiguity which arises due to the identical DP surface structure in Afrikaans and English.

(70) 'n Spacepod.

(71) Mmm, daai engine.

Despite proving difficult in the identification of the ML, the identical surface structure of the DP in Afrikaans and English allows for many different and interesting combinations in terms of CS. Formulaic DPs occurring in Afrikaans/English CS would therefore include the possibilities represented in example (72) below:

(72) DP: Det= \emptyset /A/E + ADJ= \emptyset /A/E + NP=A/E

As can be seen in (72), the determiner position can either be empty or filled with an English or Afrikaans determiner. These determiners can include possessive pronouns as well as

definite and indefinite articles.⁵⁰ This grammatical property is also applicable to the adjective and the noun position in the phrase. The examples in (73) to (79) illustrate the patterns found in the data in terms of the different possible combinations presented in (72):

- (73) a. DP: Det=Afr + NP=Afr
b. Where is *my sak*?
- (74) a. DP : Det=Afr + NP= Eng
b. Sy's 'n, 'n *girl*, maar sy's *die queen*.
- (75) a. DP: Det=Afr + Adj=Afr + NP= Eng
b. ...nou *die hele ship* gebreek amper.
- (76) a. DP: Det=Afr + Adj= Eng + NP=Eng
b. Toe sit ek vir hom 'n nuwe hoed aan en toe was hy 'n *good guy*.
- (77) a. DP: Det=Afr + Adj = Eng + NP=Afr
b. Ek het *die green ene*.
c. ...Daarso met *die security kamera*.
d. ... *my favourite outjie*.
- (78) a. DP: Det=Eng + NP= Eng
b. En het jy *these swords*?
- (79) a. DP: Det=Ø + NP= Eng
b. Dan moet jy *sound* afsit
c. Ek kyk vir *pieces*
d. ...hy betaal met *money*.

The data clearly shows that CS in terms of single noun phrases or even entire DPs is permissible in Afrikaans/English conversations. Such CS can occur frequently due to the

⁵⁰ Both the Afrikaans indefinite determiner 'n and the English indefinite determiner *a* are pronounced as a schwa, which makes the auditory distinction in terms of identifying the determiner as either Afrikaans or English impossible in the transcription process. However, the same problem does not arise in the case of definite determiners since the Afrikaans definite determiner *die* can easily be distinguished from the English definite determiner *the*. Importantly, throughout the CS data, Afrikaans *die* is used consistently instead of English *the* when CS occurs within the DP. There is no reason why indefinite determiners should behave differently than definite determiners; hence, it is safe to assume that in cases where CS occurs within the DP, the indefinite determiner is the Afrikaans 'n rather than the English *a*. Further evidence in support of this argument is that in cases where CS occurs within the DP, the indefinite determiner never takes the form *an*, even when the following noun has a vowel in initial position.

identical phrase structure of DPs in the two languages, in which any or all elements (function or content), can easily be interchanged while still creating a grammatical DP.

While some of the DP examples given above consist of single word switches, others consist of islands, as discussed at the beginning of this section. The relevance of the internal surface structure and type of morphemes included in these islands becomes apparent only in the identification of the ML and can only be evaluated within the surface structure of the entire CP as well as the frequency with which other morphemes occur in terms of the CP. EL islands, however, act as exceptions in terms of the original morpheme type principle of the MLF model and thus need to be discussed in terms of the 4-M model. EL islands occurring in the ML can contain conceptually-activated morphemes such as content words and early SMs. These morphemes can stem from the EL, because islands are complete EL phrases which are embedded into the higher level grammatical ML frame. The EL islands in examples (80) to (83) thus consist of conceptually-activated morphemes and early SMs in contrast with the CS elements in examples (84) to (86) which are made up completely out of conceptually-activated morphemes and no early SMs.

- (80) En het jy *these swords*?
- (81) Toe sit ek vir hom 'n nuwe hoed aan en toe was hy 'n *good guy*.
- (82) Where is *my sak*?
- (83) Hier kom 'n *spaceship to land*.
- (84) Nie 'n Star Wars een nie, 'n *battle spaceship outside*.
- (85) Hierso kom die *bad star spaceship*.
- (86) Sien jy 'n *tire anywhere*?

6.4.3.2 Verb phrases

Another phrasal constituent or surface structure which is evident in the data and contributes to the identification of the ML is the VP. As mentioned in Chapter 3, Chan (2009) identified four verb-object patterns which can occur within the CP of typologically distinct languages, namely:

1. VO order: verb from VO language
2. OV order: verb from OV language
3. VO order: verb from OV language
4. OV order: verb from VO language

Despite the fact that Afrikaans and English are typologically distinct languages, certain phrasal surface structures of the Afrikaans CP may overlap or seem identical to the surface structure of an English CP. English has a deep and surface structure in which a VO word order, as exemplified in (87) below, occurs:

(87) I kick the ball
 S V O

Afrikaans may have an identical surface structure for phrases and may thus, as illustrated in example (88) below, also have a VO surface structure word order.

(88) Ek skop die bal
 S V O

This VO surface structure word order is however achieved by means of movement operations in which the verb-final constituent in the deep structure undergoes a shift into the verb second position.

Patterns 1 and 2 above are hence applicable to Afrikaans and English and describe the general word order of declarative non-CS phrases in English, as well as phrases in Afrikaans, in which movement operations have taken place to achieve a verb second surface structure.

In terms of CS phrases occurring in the data, pattern 1 is thus applicable because Afrikaans sentences, in which the verb occurs in a verb second position, can have an embedded verb from an SVO word order language such as English. This is evident in examples (89) to (96) which were found in the corpus.

(89) Ek het 'n race-mannetjie, *look* hierso.

(90) *Break* nog 'n box.

(91) Dit *charge* nie.

(92) Ek *see* hom.

(93) *Watch* gou.

(94) *Record* die ding?

(95) Oh dit *click* so op.

(96) Ek *try* dit in die lig op te kry.

Certain Afrikaans phrases have a SOV deep and surface structure, as illustrated by theoretical examples (97) to (101) below.

(97) Hy gaan/sal die bal skop.
S O V

(98) Hy het die bal geskop.
S O V

(99) Hy sal die bal geskop het.
S O V

(100) Dat/of hy die bal skop
S O V

(101) Dat/of hy die bal geskop het
S O V

Examples (102) to (104) below have an Afrikaans SOV deep and surface structure, identifying Afrikaans as the ML, in which English (EL) VPs are embedded. These examples are illustrative of pattern 4 and show that phrases with the word order of a SOV language (here, the ML Afrikaans), in which a verb of a VO language (here, the EL English) is embedded, do indeed occur.

(102) Sal jy dié *confine* en dan...

(103) Dan gaan dit *explode* as dit in gaan.

(104) Julle moet nie dat ek in die lig op sit, *ride* nie.

In the entire corpus only one Afrikaans VP occurs as an EL form in an English ML. This instance is presented in (105) below. Despite the lack of other examples of this type in the data, it still provides evidence for pattern 3, in which a SVO (here, English) word order can contain a SOV language (here, Afrikaans) VP as an EL form.

(105) It's gonna *kry* him.

As stated earlier, according to the MOP the morpheme order must be that of the ML. In this case, the MOP is applicable to Afrikaans and English in terms of word order. This word order evident in patterns 3 and 4 is not only illustrated in DPs, as exemplified in section 6.4.3.1 above, but also in VPs. Consequently, despite the fact that other syntactic or lexical accounts may rule out patterns 3 and 4; these patterns are evidently possible in Afrikaans/English

bilingual CS. The MLF model theoretically allows for the insertion of content morphemes from a VO language into an OV order, according to the MOP. Thus the insertion of a verb, which is also a content morpheme, is not restricted under the MLF model.

6.4.3.3 Prepositional phrases

Another phrasal constituent or surface structure which is evident in the data and contributes to the identification of the ML is the PP. These phrases are also subject to the MOP in terms of word order. In the data different patterns of PPs occur. Eight general patterns exist in which a combination of prepositions, determiners and nouns can occur. In the CP, the preposition forms the head of a PP which is then paired with a DP (which can itself have one of a variety of different forms, as shown in section 6.4.3.1 above). The theoretical possibilities for PP patterns are exemplified in (106) to (113) below.

- (106) PP: P=Afr + Det=Afr + NP=Afr
- (107) PP: P=Afr + Det=Afr + NP=Eng
- (108) PP: P=Afr + Det=Eng + NP=Eng
- (109) PP: P=Afr + Det=∅ + NP=Eng
- (110) PP: P=Eng + Det=Eng + NP=Eng
- (111) PP: P=Eng + Det=Afr + NP=Afr
- (112) PP: P=Eng + Det=Eng + NP=Afr
- (113) PP: P=Eng + Det=∅ + NP=Afr
- (114) PP: P=Eng + Det=∅ + NP=Eng

In the corpus, instances of the patterns in (106), (107), (109), (110) and (114) occurred, as illustrated by examples (115) to (120) below.

- (115) ...we have two doors...*van die een*.
Exemplifies pattern in (106)
- (116) ...want hulle begrawe jou *in die space* ...
Exemplifies pattern in (107)
- (117) ...en ek is nou *in a battleship*.
Exemplifies pattern in (110)
- (118) Ons laat hulle *op prison*.
Exemplifies pattern in (109)
- (119) Weet jy ons is “*in outerspace*”?
Exemplifies pattern in (114)
- (120) Skiet dit *for real*?
Exemplifies pattern in (114)

Two other interesting occurrences in terms of prepositions in the data, are illustrated in examples (121) and (122) below.

- (121) Hy sit hierso. *By* “his work table”.
- (122) Hoekom is ‘n kat *on* hierso?

6.4.3.4 Adjectives and adverbs

Other above word level switches which occur less frequently, but also provide insight into how conceptually-activated morphemes can be switched, are those involving adjectives and adverbs. In simple sentences such as *I am happy* or *Die wêreld is groot*, English and Afrikaans have the same word order, in which the adjective follows the verb. Instances such as these in which the adjective was switched in the data, are illustrated by examples (123) and (124) below.

- (123) Hy’s *dead*.

(124) Ek is *serious*.

Only one adverbial switch is evident in the data and it occurred in the following sentence:

(125) ...kom ek *finally* aan.

Despite the fact that these occurrences are very limited, their existence still provides insight into which phrasal constituents can theoretically and in reality occur as Afrikaans-English CS forms.

In terms of above word level intrasentential forms it becomes clear that conceptually-activated morphemes, content and early system morphemes, may occur as single EL forms and as EL islands. The restriction in terms of classical CS and the SMP thus holds in that late SMs can only occur in the ML.

6.4.4 The distinction between borrowings and CS forms

The concept of ‘borrowings’, as stated in Chapter 2, includes the differentiation between loanwords and loanshifts, between nonce loans and established loans, and between language borrowing and speech borrowing. In this thesis, CS is seen to occur when a complete shift from one language to the other language takes place, where the switches are juxtaposed in relation to one another, in contrast to borrowings, which are words which have undergone phonological and morphological adaptation in terms of the ML constraints and have subsequently become part of the ML mental lexicon. It is important to note that just as speakers have different competencies and intuitions about how they use language, the audience and researchers also have their own intuitions about language use. During the

evaluation of the data in terms of borrowings and switches, I have used my own bilingual intuitions about what is seen as an Afrikaans or English word, not only by me but also by the speech community in which the specific language choice occurs. I have also used the theoretical account of borrowing proposed in Chapter 2 in the evaluation of the data.

What is interesting in this study is that the participants rarely use borrowings which can be equated with pure loan words, as illustrated by words such as *braai* and *stoep* in English. Most borrowings tend to occur as English phrases embedded into Afrikaans ML phrases. These embedded phrases are similar to nonce loans and loanwords, in which individual lexemes from the EL are embedded into the ML. Examples of nonce-loan-like borrowings which occur in the data are names for toys such as *Legos*, *GoGos* and *Walkie-Talkie*. Nonce loans however only occur with a single speaker in a specific context, and are not necessarily part of the repertoire of a monolingual speaker of the language (Van Dulm 2007:10).

However, in this study there is not a speaker-specific distinction with regards to the above-mentioned borrowings: all three participants use these forms. The borrowings which exhibit nonce loan characteristics can therefore be identified as established loans, which involve language borrowing on a community level, rather than nonce loans, which are associated with speech borrowing on an individual level.

Because in these cases no phonological and morphological adaptation in terms of the ML constraints has taken place, which is the main characteristic of established loans and loanwords, these occurrences cannot be seen unconditionally as established loans or loan words. If such a form shows only phonological or syntactic integration, it is seen as a code switch (Myers-Scotton 1990:101). The difference between borrowed forms and code

switched forms, therefore, only becomes apparent when a grammatical analysis, in terms of morphosyntactic and morphophonological processes, is done, to show the degree to which juxtaposition and/or integration has taken place.

Phonologically these phrases have not undergone Haugen's complete three step process as illustrated in Chapter 2. There is also, in terms of the data, no evidence which can shed light on the morphological adaptation of these elements, such as plural marking or case marking. Syntactically, however, these words are integrated into the structure of the ML not only as nouns but also as adjectives and are thus not CS forms.

The distinction between borrowings and CS forms arises due to different constraints which govern these abovementioned words (Eastman 1992:21). These words forms have become part of the ML mental lexicon, not by means of phonological or morphological adaptation, but either as single morphemes or morpheme islands which are used to fill a semantic, lexical gap in the ML. Equivalents for the above mentioned character names and toys do not exist in Afrikaans, as opposed to clear cut CS forms, such as *house* which has an Afrikaans equivalent *huis*. Ultimately, the above-mentioned examples do not fully qualify as pure loan words or nonce loans, nor are they CS forms.

It is important to note, however, that such a distinction distinguishing between pure loan words, nonce loans and CS forms is never straightforward, but a word or phrase with a high degree of social integration will most probably be identified as a cultural borrowed form in comparison to one with a low degree of social integration, which could be identified as a CS form. Despite the fact that these words are not pure loan words they are still borrowings due

to the shared social integration of the word into the repertoire of more than one speaker and the semantic/lexical gap that it fills in the language.

Out of the possible 169 borrowings identified, 158 instances were used to describe objects for which a semantic/lexical gap exists in Afrikaans and cannot be classified as proper borrowings. These 158 instances are hence not included in the total number of borrowings but are classified as being Afrikaans or English words depending on the immediate surrounding context in which they occur. If these words do occur in an EL island, as is the case in examples (126) and (127) below, they are classified as English words. If they occur on their own within Afrikaans serving as the ML, as is the case in with character names from cartoons/films, they are classified as Afrikaans words.

(126) Hier is 'n *Star Wars spaceship*.

(127) Dis 'n *laser Jedi sword*.

The other seven remaining instances of borrowings provide insight into other types of borrowings which can occur. In example (128) below, morphological and phonological adaptation in terms of the ML is evident:

(128) *Ons bou dit cooler*.

The English word *cool* has long been integrated into Afrikaans as a pure loanword. The process of inflection that takes place to make it a superlative is proof of this integration into Afrikaans.

The second instance of borrowing shows an example of the process of creation that takes place in loanshifts. Example (129) illustrates how the phrase *not for real* in English undergoes a literal, yet prescriptively faulty, translation. In standard Afrikaans this meaning would be expressed as *nie regtig nie* (“not real”).

(129) *Ek skiet nie vir regtig nie.*

There is thus not a big variety of different borrowing forms apparent in the data. Word usages which fill a semantic/lexical gap are indicative of the involvement of the mental lexicon, and the fact that the difference between borrowings and CS forms as well as the difference between different types of borrowings may lie in the existence of “lexicon-driven congruencies” (Eastman 1992:31).

The fact that some borrowings are morphologically and phonologically adapted, or integrated into the ML, also provides further evidence for Myers-Scotton’s MLF model in terms of the competence versus performance distinction and the distinction between conceptually-activated and system-activated morphemes. In both of these distinctions the language choices which occur in realising borrowed or CS forms is also directly linked to lemmas in the mental lexicon and the semantic and pragmatic feature bundles from which content morphemes stem and subsequently elect the SMs to build linguistic units in the formulator.

The distinction between borrowings and CS forms is thus lexically driven in the process of electing the lemmas in comparison to the placement or mapping of these forms within the sentence structure. Borrowed forms can therefore occur in the same manner and have the same grammatical placement within the sentence as certain CS forms. These borrowed forms

can thus act as tags in extrasentential CS or as single word insertions in terms of intrasentential CS. This is the case with examples (48) to (51) in section 6.4.1 above.

Another interesting phenomenon which occurs in the data, which does not necessarily need to be described in terms of word order and syntactic deep or surface structures, is word choice, as is evident in the case of single word switches in DPs. The same semantic distinction between borrowing and CS forms, which occur within DPs, is also apparent within the VP. Despite occurring in the correct word order and as examples of what may be possible combinations in terms of word order and verb insertion, many of the embedded verbs provide, as Chan (2009) states, a “usage” factor in terms of processing approaches. It is clear that content morphemes are being inserted; under the 4-M model content morphemes are conceptually-activated in the mental lexicon. This thus provides further insight in terms of processing approaches as well as the underlying competence of the speaker. Verbs such as *to check*, *to worry*, *to click*, *to cope* and *to try* all have equivalent lexical entries in the Afrikaans lexicon, namely *om te kyk*, *om mens te bekommer*, *om te klik*, *om te hanteer* (or *om baas te raak*) and *om te probeer*. These verbs can therefore be seen as code switches.

According to my own linguistic intuitions and judgements, the Afrikaans equivalents of these switches, however, do not convey exactly the same meaning as the literal translation, in the context in which they were used. Examples (130) to (134) illustrate a type of construction which is governed by sociolinguistic norms in terms of formality of the occasion, as well as the vernacular of the speaker, the group and the bilingual community as a whole. These verbs however are also still governed by grammatical and processing principles.

(130) *Check* hierdie mannetjie wat vir ons werk.

- (131) Nou *check* ek dat alles goed is en...
- (132) Ons *cope*, maar hoe gaan dit met die core?
- (133) Jy't niks om oor te *worry* nie.
- (134) Oh dit *click* (*kliiek*) so op.

These verbs, which are not necessarily recognised as Afrikaans verbs by language purists, still act as borrowed forms in which a semantic gap has been breached by means of using a loanshift, in which the English word is only influenced semantically and not phonologically. This is evident in examples (130) and (131) in which the word *check* can either mean *to look at with great enthusiasm or care* or *to make sure that everything is in order*, respectively. In example (131) the word *check* takes on the literal translation of *to make sure that everything is in order* while in example (130) the word *check* is a loanshift in which the meaning is broadened, resulting in *to look at with great enthusiasm or care*. In example (132), on the other hand, the word *cope* does not mean *to deal with* or *to understand and/or triumph over something*; instead, in this context it conveys the idea that one is *dealing with something relatively well, despite difficult circumstances*. In example (134), the word *click* (in this context) does not merely refer to a clicking sound but rather the action of joining two objects (here, two pieces of Lego), which makes a clicking sound. In this case, *to click* thus means to join two pieces together.

The verbs in examples (130) to (134) are therefore not English CS forms, which have been inserted from an EL, but rather form part of the ML, in that a new meaning has been attributed to an English form and has subsequently become part of the ML as a loanshift.

In terms of the English and Afrikaans CS forms which occur, it is clear that certain patterns can be described in terms of the MLF model and the MOP despite the fact that these explanations do not necessarily follow from other syntactic and grammatical theories. It also becomes clear that certain forms, which act as switches, are not necessarily switches, but can also be borrowings, incorporating a new processing approach in the analysis of the data.

6.4.5 Intersentential switches

Intersentential switches occur the second most frequently within the corpus, involving 14% of the total number of CS forms. The graph in Figure 11 below provides the percentages with which these intersentential switches occur in the data, across the different conversational combinations, while the graph in Figure 12 presents the actual count for intersentential CS.

Figure 11 Frequency distribution in percentage of intersentential of complete conversation

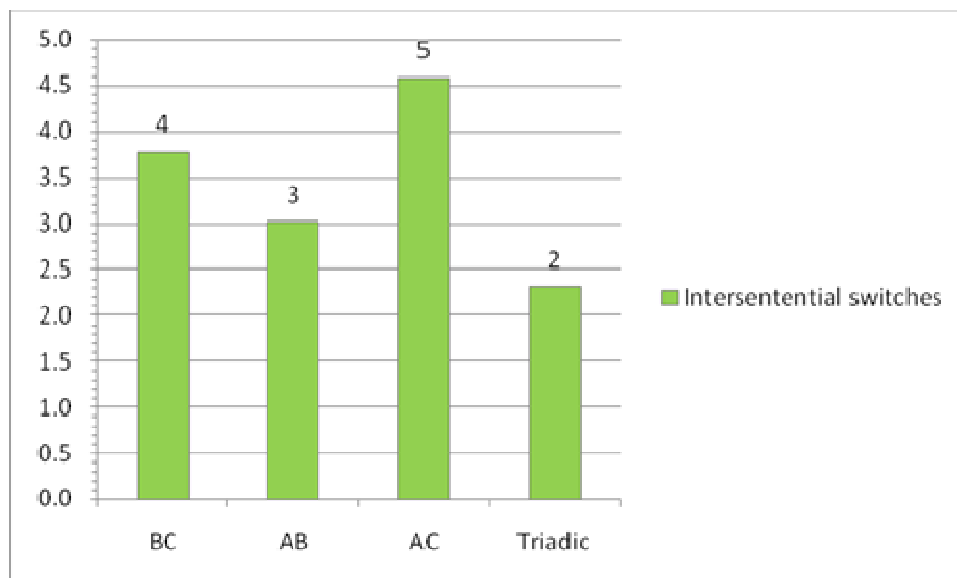
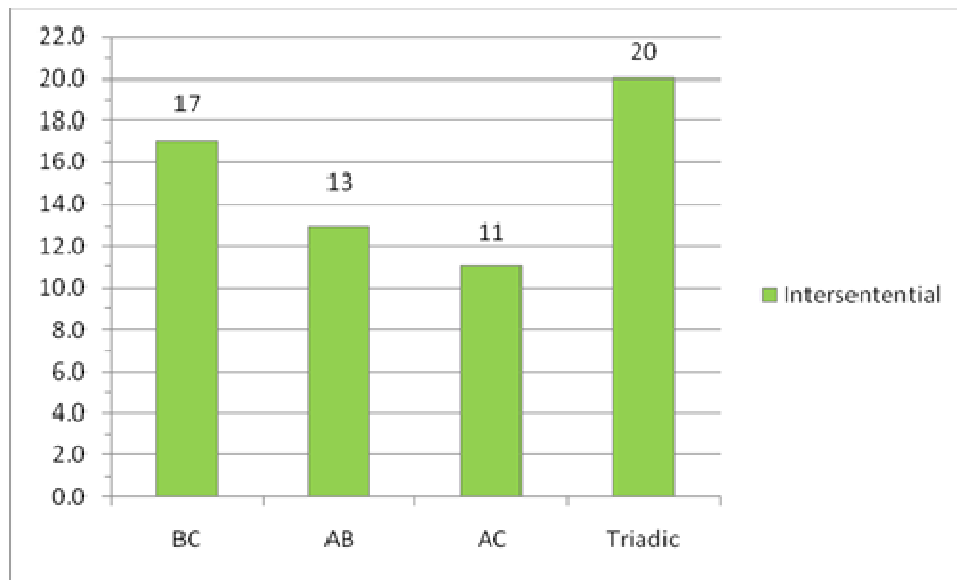


Figure 12 Total number of intersentential switches



Thus, intersentential CS, quantitatively contributes to the types of CS which occur in the data, and to the identification of the ML because this type of CS occurs with the second greatest frequency in the data. It cannot, however, be analysed qualitatively in terms of the MLF model because these switches do not have an impact on the grammatical systems participating in CS, as is the case with intrasentential CS. The occurrences of the various intersentential code switches will thus be analysed by means of CA methods at inter-sentence and inter-turn boundaries.

As discussed in Chapter 4, CA refers to the analysis of the organisation of a conversation in terms of adjacency pairs, turn taking sequences and the general sequentiality of the conversation.

In terms of the grammatical analysis, the units of analysis included the overall corpus, the different conversational combinations and the individual speakers. In terms of the general

pragmatic analysis of the data, the corpus as a whole does not indicate any general overarching patterns of pragmatic organisation, as is the case with grammatical features; nor does it illustrate general idiosyncratic patterns for each speaker in all conversations. The use of adjacency pairs and turn taking sequentiality thus fails in the analysis of the overall corpus because each conversational combination is organised by different socio-pragmatic motives. The relevant unit of analysis will thus be each conversational combination and how adjacency pairs and sequentiality play a role in the organisation of the specific conversation.

6.4.5.1 Analysis of conversation BC

Conversation BC is not structured by the speakers' intentions, which forms the basis of sequentiality, as is the case with typical adult conversations. Conversation BC is, instead, structured according to an extra-linguistic context. The conversational structure is thus built up by means of extra-linguistic and context-related motives, which are external to the speakers, rather than specific sequences and adjacency pairs which occur due to specific language choices made by the speakers. Conversation BC is not a continuous flow of meaningful utterances that are exchanged by the speakers, but rather an interaction, in which the availability of a specific Lego piece determines the flow or organisation of the interaction. The participants are less focussed on the specific socio-pragmatic rules which speakers normally innately adhere to. The objective of the conversation, as well as the theme of each turn, is dependent on the Lego pieces which the participants are looking for and inevitably find or do not find, and on those pieces which are found instead of others.

The majority of the conversation consists of either self-talk or general exclamations of what has been found. Whether the other speaker responds or not, is irrelevant. This is illustrated in the following extract, Extract 1, from conversation BC.

Extract 1 Conversation BC

[22.39s]	C:	This is a, um, a Jedi helmet.
[31.99 s]		[xxx]
[42.80 s]		Ek het twee mannetjies.
[44.08 s]	B:	Dis daar [xxx]
[47.30 s]	C:	Wow, dis a...
[55.81 s]		Look! The [xxx]s gone.
[58.62 s]	B:	Wow, hier's Harry Potter.
[82.73 s]	C:	Ok, ek het die mannetjie.
[98.06 s]		Hy's dood.
[101.68 s]		Hy's geshot.
[104.61 s]	B:	[xxx] at.
[106.51 s]	C:	Hy was net in ons [xxx] space.
[113.04 s]		Hulle...
[114.08 s]		Awesome, ek kan sien dit and [...]
[120.29 s]	B:	Hier's dit so[...]
[134.10 s]	C:	Sy kop's weg. Ek het hom, hy't kop gesend. Ek sê, hy't kop gesend. Hy betaal met money... kop, kop, hierso's jou kop.
[158.49 s]		No.
[161.20 s]	B:	Da is Ninja turtle!
[166.75 s]	C:	Waar's jou kop? Hierso, hierso, hierso.
[176.05 s]		[xxx]
[183.16 s]		[xxx] kan ek daai hakkies, as ek kan [xxx] hier's hier's um helmets, hier's Star Wars helmets.
[197.22 s]		Aah, hierso's dit ene. Hierso, hierso. Sy's 'n, 'n girl, maar sy's die queen.

None of the conversational turns overlap while none of the turns are cohesively linked to from a meaningful conversation. With each utterance that is made the other participant is not necessarily interested and continues on his own track and with his own intentions. There are thus no negotiation or cooperative exchange structures apparent in this extract or in many other parts of the conversation. It is due to this lack of speaker cooperation and negotiation

that this occurrence is defined as an interaction rather than a conversation. The intersentential CS, which takes place in self-talk or general exclamations, is thus not dependent on power relations nor is it exemplified of discourse-related CS. The interactions rather illustrate a more participant-related CS, in which the contextualisation cues are of little significance in comparison to the preference for, and the competence of the speaker in one language or the other. Extract 2 below is illustrative of this characteristic.

Extract 2 Conversation BC

[751.52 s]	C:	<i>Nou gaan ons wees...ek...almal moet 'n jetpack hê. Die jetpack gaan hierso wees.</i>
[778.19 s]		<i>Let's not pretend this is the engine.</i>
[782.58 s]		Let's not pretend this is the engine.
[784.97 s]	B:	Ok.
[785.93 s]	C:	[xxx]
[839.75 s]		<i>Key nou's ... sien jy die wheels? Sien jy 'n tire anywhere? We need tires to ride forth.</i>
[854.68 s]		If you see a big tire, give it to me, cause we need tires. There's (white/wide) one.
[863.09 s]	B:	I need also big big big tire. [xxx] Car show.
[877.02 s]	C:	<i>Nee, dit is nie my tire nie. That's not my tire.</i>

The italicised phrases in the above extract are examples of how intersentential CS takes place within self-talk in the interaction.

In conversation BC the underlying preference which the participants have for something, and the competence they have in a language, cannot be ignored and plays as a vital role in explaining why CS occurs, not only in terms of the grammatical aspects of CS as explored in the sections above but also due to socio-pragmatic aspects.

One adjacency pair which is evident in the interaction and contributes to the structure of the conversation and the organisation of CS is a question-answer pair. In multiple instances the participants would pose questions in order to ascertain whether the other participant had found something that they were looking for or whether the other participant may need an item which they have already found. What is interesting about the use of these adjacency pairs is that two tendencies are present. In many cases the participants use the question-answer adjacency pair without using intersentential CS; this pair thus occurs in a monolingual Afrikaans or English sequence, as is evident in the exchanges in Extract 3 and Extract 4 below.

Extract 3 Conversation BC

[435.42 s]	C:	Daar was 'n Star Wars uhm helmet hierso in daai plek.
[447.54 s]		Hierso's die deur van jou boat wat jy bou.
[454.74 s]	B:	Die deur.
[457.18 s]	C:	Ooh, dis die long, hierso's die 'alarm'
[461.72 s]	B:	Uhuh.
[468.77 s]	C:	<i>[xxx] As ek dit stukkend maak. Kan ek dit stukkend maak?</i>
[476.47 s]	B:	<i>Ja, wat jy hier bou.</i>

Extract 4 Conversation BC

[1398.88 s]	C:	<i>Are you making an aeroplane?</i>
[1402.00 s]	B:	<i>No a race car.</i>
[1404.15 s]	C:	Race. But I was building a race car right here.
[1409.53 s]	B:	I'm building mine. I'm building my own. [xxx] pas nie in nie.

Other instances, in which adjacency pairs occurred as conversational organisation tools, are illustrated in Extract 5 below. These are instances, however, in which intersentential CS does occur, in contrast to the previous two extracts.

Extract 5 Conversation BC

[1341.02 s]	C:	<i>More van die Jedi-swords are, gaan, gaan hier, ok? Almal van die Jedi -swords gaan hierso!</i>
[1350.95 s]	B:	<i>Ah ok, just don't get mad.</i>
[1355.66 s]	C:	Dis die um the powerrator, dis die powerrator.
[1360.71 s]	B:	Hy't die generator.
[1362.96 s]	C:	Generator. Dit can, dit dit was um Jedi...[xxx] the Jedirator.
[1373.15 s]		Generates the...ugh. I say this.
[1380.39 s]		Daar's die owl by die window.
[1387.23 s]		<i>Ons het nie windows nie. Hoekom is daar owl hierso?</i>
[1393.04 s]	B:	<i>Mmm, I want it. It's nice.</i>

In Extract 5 participant C speaks Afrikaans and makes a request by asking participant B a question, but participant B does not respond. Participant C then makes a statement in order to stress the importance of his question. Participant B finally provides a preferred response but responds in English and not in Afrikaans. The intersentential CS in this case shows the speaker's intent in wanting to continue with what he is doing rather than participate constructively in a conversation. Participant B abruptly ends the request sequence by being uncooperative in the negotiation of the interaction. This is again the case in the second part of the extract when participant C asks a question and participant B again uses intersentential CS in order to show his discontent and lack of negotiation in having/starting a conversation with participant C.

In Extract 6 below, request sequences are disrupted just as in Extract 5 not only by a lack of response in terms of what is being asked but also in terms of an intersentential switch being made to English in which the topic as well as the language is changed. This use of intersentential CS again contributes to a lack of the organisation which one would find in a flowing and continuous conversation.

Extract 6 Conversation BC

[246.87 s]	C:	I got the engine, I got the engine, I got the engines!
[249.78 s]		Oo, here, here!
[251.31 s]	B:	With that engine, the other engine!
[254.91 s]	C:	That's how we just should have it, here.
[257.02 s]	B:	<i>Could you put it there? Could you put it there? [xxx]</i>
[272.99 s]	C:	<i>Is... Soek jy dit? Soek jy dit?</i>
[280.34 s]		[xxx]
[287.41 s]		Auwe, auw!
[288.99 s]	B:	<i>What's happened?</i>

Extract 7, on the other hand, provides an interactional sequence in which multiple requests are made back to back. Each request obtains a preferred response, but participant B's use of intersentential CS from Afrikaans to English is illustrative of the lack of cooperation and negotiation in the interaction. The switches made back to English by participant B show negotiation and power play that are not successful.

Extract 7 Conversation BC

[713.44 s]	C:	What's this?
[714.34 s]	B:	Engine.
[715.12 s]	C:	What's this?
[716.61 s]		What's this?
[718.29 s]	B:	Ek ken nie dit nie. It's a [xxx] (boekie).

[721.92 s]	C:	Ah!
[722.72 s]		A space-helmet
[724.52 s]	B:	We need that helmet.
[728.40 s]	C:	Daar onder!

Extract 8 below is also illustrative of a failing power play and a lack of negotiation and co-construction, resulting in a disjointed and non-meaningful interaction.

Extract 8 Conversation BC

[1504.99 s]	C:	<i>[xxx] Soek jy? Hierso, vir jou karretjie.</i>
[1514.03 s]	B:	<i>Put it there. C [xxx] flat stuff. Flat, flat, flat, flat [xxx].</i>
[1528.78 s]	C:	That's what I was looking for.
[1530.70 s]	B:	Yes.
[1539.76 s]		No they're too big in [xxx]
[1546.29 s]	C:	<i>Is dit regtig in?</i>
[1548.84 s]	B:	<i>The little one is in.</i>

The same interactional tendencies are also at play in Extract 9 in which no negotiation takes place and the request sequence initiated by participant C is not only ignored but a topic shift and intersentential switch occurs from participant B and subsequently from participant C too.

Extract 9 Conversation BC

[901.78 s]	C:	Hy gaan in die jetpack. Kyke dit. Hy gaan in die jetpack, kyk, kyk!
[909.65 s]	B:	I know.
[910.82 s]	C:	Sê my iets...[xxx] maar niks, hy het nie 'n kop nie.
[919.25 s]	B:	[xxx]
[921.04 s]	C:	Uh, hierso's sy kop.
[928.00 s]		<i>Wat's dit kop?</i>
[930.94 s]	B:	<i>This is the car and this is the engine.</i>
[937.43 s]	C:	<i>Ek's hom. Ek's hom. Ek's hom. Ek is hom.</i>
[948.22 s]		Weet jy ons is 'in' outerspace. Daar's aeroplanes, that is outerspace. Star Wars fight house [xxx]. Waar's sy guns. Oh, hierso is dit.

[969.72 s]		Ah. Hy's space, the last mean monkey. The gloves come off space.
[990.29 s]		Waar was jy?
[994.19 s]	B:	[xxx] dê.
[1009.99 s]	C:	<i>Can we take off his hat? He's got the space gloves on, and he's got them out of space.</i>
[1016.12 s]	B:	<i>Ja [xxx].</i>

From the frequency with which these examples occur within the conversation, it becomes clear that both participants may not have a firm grasp of language mixing, referring to the pragmatic strategy of CS in adults, as opposed to code mixing. Both children exhibit competence in both languages in that they can use both languages and accommodate to the language which is being used in the conversation. The use of intersentential CS of both participants, however, points to a deficiency in the pragmatic competence of these children (code mixing). CS is thus sometimes used as an appropriate style (Extracts 3 and 4) and other times as an inappropriate style (Extracts 6 and 9), showing that the participants have not yet “firmly established a strategy of bilingual pragmatic competence” (i.e. language mixing) (Lanza 1997:57). Extracts 10 and 11 below provide further evidence of code mixing, but also of the purist underlying beliefs that participant B has of participant C’s apparent faulty language use, in contrast to the actual underlying competence which participant C has.

Extract 10 Conversation BC

[1813.44 s]		<i>Dis 'n Jedi mannetjie en hy... hy't 'n maanstaasch.</i>
[1820.24 s]	B:	<i>A moustache. He has a moustache.</i>

Extract 11 Conversation BC

[166.75 s]	C:	Waar's jou kop? Hierso, hierso, hierso.
[176.05 s]		[xxx]

[183.16 s]	[xxx] kan ek daai hakkies, as ek kan [xxx] hier's hier's um helmets, hier's Star Wars helmets.
[197.22 s]	<i>Aah, hierso's dit ene. Hierso, hierso. Sy's 'n, 'n girl, maar sy's die queen.</i>
[210.12 s]	B: <i>She is the queen.</i>
[212.79 s]	C: <i>She is the queen.</i>

In both instances participant B uses intersentential CS to correct participant C's utterance. The intrasentential CS of participant C may point to a lack of sufficient competence in his L2, while the intersentential CS of participant B not only illustrates his competence in the language with which participant C seems to struggle, it also shows that participant B has different language beliefs/attitudes and pragmatic intuitions about language use than participant C. Although these two instances do not quantitatively allow for the above-mentioned conclusion to be made, they do provide qualitative data which indicates that the correction and intersentential CS occurring in Extracts 5 to 9 may involve the occurrence of code mixing in the process of understanding language mixing on the part of both participants.

6.4.5.2 Analysis of conversation AB

Conversation AB, in comparison to conversation BC, is much more organised in terms of speaker intention, and in terms of two functionally related language choices. Conversation AB contains much more meaningful speaker interaction in terms of language negotiation and cooperation. The conversation is structured around a narrative in which the speakers, firstly, are role-players or characters within a self-created story or role-play situation and, secondly, act as narrators of the story constantly informing the other participant of what is happening in the story. The participants therefore actively create the narrative by negotiating a discourse within a discourse. Within this conversation, the function of CS is to announce whether a speaker is a narrator or a character within the narration. A complete intersentential switch

from Afrikaans to English is indicative of the speakers assuming specific roles or character identities, as illustrated by Extract 12 below.

Extract 12 Conversation AB

[334.29 s]	B:	Ons speel nie met mekaar se spaceships nie...Nou waar is die kraan?
[342.73 s]	A:	Jy! Toe het ek genoeg gehad van jou. Toe bou ek my eie layer (lair).
[349.94 s]	B:	(Noises)...What ah, What you do? Oh Mr Frankenstein.
[361.21 s]	A:	Ah no, the lava is coming, it's gonna kry, get him. Nou gaan ek amper dood jy.
[370.10 s]		Jy't niks om oor te worry nie.
[376.18 s]	B:	Ek kan nog nie dood gaan nie. Ek moet goed nog op die spaceship...As ek net my mannetjie kry!
[381.38 s]		Come on! Kom kom mannetjie.

Afrikaans is used between the participants to talk about the immediate context in which the conversation occurs. In this part of the conversation the participants are building and negotiating the context and tools which they will use in the narrative. This is evident in Extract 13 below.

Extract 13 Conversation AB

[391.77 s]	A:	Wie gaan jy ooit wees?
[392.96 s]	B:	Ek weet nie.
[395.04 s]	A:	Ek het Skywalker of Woody.
[444.59 s]	B:	Die ding is, daar's net mannetjies, klaar gebou.
[460.89 s]	A:	En ek moes met hierdie al die goed klaar gebou het. Dan sou ek vir enige iemand Harry Potter gegee het om mee te speel!
[476.89 s]		Of sommer Darth Vader.
[492.58 s]		Sal jy my huis klaar bou?

In other parts of the conversation, Afrikaans is used as a narration tool. Participant A is telling participant B what is happening in the story at that specific point in time and what his

actions will be; thus directing how the story or narrative will continue. In this conversation there is a clear role of power in terms of which speaker leads the conversation, and in terms of the amount of time that the speaker takes up in the conversation. Extract 14 below is indicative of the narrative in which participant A has more power. The fact that this conversation sequence is conducted only in Afrikaans shows participant A's power. The fact that participant B does not use intersentential CS, as was the case in conversation BC, shows agreement by both parties in terms of negotiation and co-construction in the conversation.

Extract 14 Conversation AB

[171.84 s]	B:	Ek het sword gekry so.
[178.55 s]		Ek het die sword gekry.
[181.22 s]		Ek het die sword gekry.
[182.94 s]	A:	Auwe, sny jy my hand.
[189.01 s]	B:	Kom ons maak...
[191.56 s]		Kry al die mannetjies van dit.
[195.44 s]	A:	Toe val ek in die lawa.
[199.45 s]	B:	Ag, jy kan maar die sword kry. Ek sal vir my ander weapons kry.
[203.61 s]	A:	Jy!
[204.92 s]	B:	Wat?
[206.79 s]	A:	Het jy iets vergeet?
[208.91 s]	B:	Wat?
[209.88 s]	A:	Daai's moet vas aanmekaar wees.
[213.10 s]	B:	Dit is.
[215.02 s]	A:	Jy, toe moes ek nog eers gewoond, aan jou, jy't toe, toe jy vir my dood kom maak.
[223.70 s]	B:	Wat?!
[224.81 s]	A:	Jy't vir my kom so maak, en toe, ah, toe val ek.
[229.49 s]	B:	Ok. Ek sal jou dood maak.
[231.67 s]	A:	Toe val ek in die lawa. Toe brand my klere. Kyk hier jy. Toe het my hele klere gebrand. Aaah.
[246.06 s]		Ah, my hele broek steek hulle aan die brand. En dit steek nou vir my aan die brand.
[257.77 s]		Jy, daar smelt my broek in die lawa in.
[263.38 s]		Nooo!
[268.77 s]		Toe het hulle vir my gemaak...Darth Vader. Toe, toe kan ek nie nog gelewe
[281.83 s]	B:	Hy maak iewers sy gas vol.
[292.55 s]		Waar's sy mannetjie? Oja!
[297.30 s]		Waar's Anakin Skywalker?

[301.54 s]		...as jy hom kry[...]
[308.05 s]	A:	'Die!'
[311.43 s]		Jy. Ek het my Star Wars Jedi trick. Ek is nie groot genoeg om 'n hand oop te maak nie maar...ek weet jy druk dit saggies daarin, en dan...
[324.80 s]		Nee.
[326.21 s]		(Battle noises)

Extract 15 below shows that the conversation is dynamic in terms of power relations and further shows that the structure and flow of the narrative and the conversation is cooperatively negotiated. Here participants A and B are actively negotiating by means of using a multiple adjacency pair sequence of requests and denial of such requests. These requests and dis-preferred answers are made in a clearer and more cooperative manner than was the case in conversation BC.

Extract 15 Conversation AB

[492.58 s]	A:	Sal jy my huis klaar bou?
[494.34 s]	B:	Nee!
[495.73 s]	A:	Sal jy?
[496.56 s]	B:	Nee
[497.38 s]	A:	Sal jy?
[498.16 s]	B:	Nee.
[498.89 s]	A:	Sal jy?
[499.54 s]	B:	Nee.
[500.26 s]	A:	Sal jy?
[501.28 s]	B:	Nee.
[501.92 s]	A:	Sal jy nou?
[502.81 s]	B:	Nee.
[503.59 s]	A:	Sal jy nou?
[504.45 s]	B:	Nee.
[505.35 s]	A:	Sal jy nou?
[506.03 s]	B:	Nee.
[510.25 s]		Waar's daai swart kop?
[511.60 s]	A:	Sal jy nou?
[513.03 s]	B:	Nee.
[517.99 s]	A:	Will you now?
[520.72 s]	B:	No.
[521.91 s]	A:	Will you now?
[523.19 s]	B:	Nee.

[523.94 s]	A:	Will you now?
[524.90 s]	B:	Nee.
[526.12 s]	A:	Will you now?
[527.65 s]	B:	No.
[530.01 s]	A:	I said: Will you now?
[537.36 s]		Aij!
[547.85 s]		Ek moet nog hier[...]
[549.54 s]	B:	Ek moet nog 'n hele mannetjie kry.
[553.17 s]	A:	Ag, hier kom 'n hondjie jy.
[558.39 s]	B:	Is dit daai... dis daai koppie.
[563.72 s]		My handjies kry nou baie seer.

In Extract 15 above, accommodation and convergence in terms of language choice also indicate another function of CS. Participant A is using intersentential CS as an additional tool of negotiation within the conversation in order to achieve his preferred intentions. When the use of Afrikaans is not providing a preferred response, participant A switches to English, in order to ascertain whether this language choice will aid in achieving the preferred response. It becomes clear that participant B will not acquiesce to participant A's request. At first participant B answers in the same language as participant A (Afrikaans). When participant A switches to English to emphasise and aid in his request, participant B refuses to switch to English, which, in turn, serves to emphasise his answer. When the refusal to accommodate is not effective in conveying the dis-preferred response, participant B accommodates by switching to English. When this language choice is also ineffective, participant B ignores the request completely and initiates a change of topic and theme.

This extract only forms a part of the conversation; the majority of the conversation is structured by means of either narration of the story in Afrikaans, or the construction of the context in which the story will occur, and finally by the use of English in order to switch between the role of constructor and narrator and the role of character within the narration.

6.4.5.3 Analysis of conversation AC

Conversation AC is structured in a similar fashion as conversation AB, with the use of adjacency pairs and intersentential CS to indicate role playing within the interactions. Conversation AC is a rather short conversation when compared to the other three conversations. It thus has fewer adjacency pairs and role playing interactions. The conversation is also negotiated in such a cooperative manner by using Afrikaans as the main language that the majority of the interaction cohesively links up to create a smooth flowing conversation. Intersentential CS is used for a different function in conversation AC than in conversation BC, where, recall, intersentential CS had a disruptive and uncooperative function. The majority of the interaction in conversation AC consists of the construction of the narrative as well as the narration of the story itself by using Afrikaans, in which role playing and self-talk are identified by the use of intersentential CS to English. This intersentential CS is used to organise the interaction, making it clearer for each participant that it is a character within the story that has the floor and not a participant necessarily communicating with the other participant. The two instances in which role play is used to indicate a different topic or different type of interaction, are given below in Extract 16. The fact that a switch naturally occurs back to Afrikaans shows that cooperative negotiation is occurring due to the language choices being made by the participants in the conversation.

Extract 16 Conversation AC

[1584.65 s]	A: Dis stukkend.
[1585.07 s]	C: No, dit's, um, sleeping (blaas), so ons net sleep.
[1591.99 s]	A: Nou slaap julle.
[1593.21 s]	(xxx) Dit moet daar wees, dit moet daar wees.
[1593.64 s]	C: [Want-want jy't gekom, jy gaan <i>who's in my house.</i>]
[1602.08 s]	<i>[Who's in my house?]</i>
[1606.34 s]	A: Want ons moet dit so kan oopdruk.

[1609.79 s]	C: <i>Who's in my house? Oh, you two. Get out of my house, you have to ask first. Huh? What happened? You were in my house!</i>
[1622.41 s]	<i>Say where's my sword?</i>
[1625.38 s]	<i>Waar's sy sword?</i>
[1627.15 s]	<i>O.</i>
[1630.83 s]	<i>I (has) the sword.</i>
[1634.01 s]	A: Nou gooi hom maar hier weg.
[1635.81 s]	C: Hoekom?
[1636.06 s]	A: Dan hou ons die pyltjie, want as julle nou dit hier ingedruk het, dan (gaan dit geslaap het).
[1644.54 s]	C: (xxx) Jy gaan doodgaan. Want jy (xxx) doodgaan.
[1651.29 s]	(noise)
[1653.55 s]	Ek gaan net die stokkie (druk).
[1658.07 s]	(noise)
[1667.64 s]	Dan jy gekyk.
[...s]	
[1835.59 s]	<i>I (xxx) two hundred and (xxx) come on!</i>
[1840.49 s]	<i>You have to let me in en then</i> jy't geskop weer, (noise).
[1848.42 s]	Waar's die core? Jy't nie die core nie.
[1865.64 s]	<i>(Cut that core dan).</i>
[1869.77 s]	<i>This is (xxx)</i>
[1887.38 s]	A: (noise)
[1896.44 s]	C: Kyk my suster kan nie 'n (car ride) nie.
[1901.36 s]	A: Ek sit hom hier want jou suster is hier, dis ek.
[1903.42 s]	C: Ja.
[1924.84 s]	A: Dis ek, hoor. Ek het in haar verander.
[1932.43 s]	C: Het jy nog 'n mense daar?
[1934.81 s]	A: My ander mens is nou dood, want ek het al my powers vir haar gegee, toe't ek nou verander in haar.
[1944.71 s]	C: <i>I'm sorry. I'm sorry. I'm sorry.</i>
[1953.18 s]	<i>I'm sorry.</i>
[1958.09 s]	Ek het gejump into jou (handstoel). Was hy locked?
[1968.85 s]	A: Onthou jy nie ek het mos al my power vir - al my power vir haar gegee nie. So sy kan ook jump.

What is interesting to note in this specific role play is that when a participant plays two characters within the narrative, the speaker makes use of intersentential CS – a switch is made from Afrikaans to English – to indicate that the first character has the floor. A second intersentential switch, this time from English to Afrikaans, within the same narrative, is used to show that the second character now has the floor.

Lastly, intersentential CS is also observed in conversation AC, where it is indicative of self-talk, in which participant C switches to English in order to keep himself entertained by means of reciting the Humpty Dumpty nursery rhyme and humming it to himself – see Extract 17 below.

Extract 17 Conversation AC

[297.22 s]		Aw, I can't find (xxx).
[299.94 s]	A:	Ek maak dit nounou.
[301.45 s]	C:	Aw, ja, ons gaan nou (bike ry).
[310.77 s]		<i>Humpty Dumpty sat on the wall, Humpty Dumpty had a great fall!</i>
[319.24 s]		<i>All the king's men and all the king's horses couldn't put Humpty Dumpty together again.</i>
[326.16 s]		<i>(humming)</i>
[331.23 s]		<i>(singing)</i>
[364.48 s]	A:	(xxx) is te groot om aan te hou (xxx).

The occurrence of intersentential CS thus aids in the identification of different topics within the conversation and also different types of role play exchanges or interactions.

6.4.5.4 Analysis of triadic conversation

The triadic conversation, in which all three participants take part, has a much more complicated organisational structure in comparison to that of the other three conversations discussed above, and includes various combinations of talk, self-talk, interaction, narration and role play which create different meaningful parts of the conversation along with other merely interactive parts.

Due to the complicated nature of the conversational organisation and structure, the analysis cannot be presented in the same way as it was for the other conversations, i.e. in terms of general tendencies which are found in the conversation. For the triadic conversation the

analysis will be presented in terms of the sequential order in which the conversation occurs. Due to the length of the triadic conversation, only the pertinent parts will be discussed.

The triadic conversation begins in a similar fashion to conversation BC, as each participant engages in general talk. Within this less interactive and almost pre-conversational sequence participants are actively negotiating the starting point and direction of the conversation by means of a type of passive, non-interactive talk. Through the use of talk, a systematic movement occurs towards a more interactive exchange which will eventually render a more meaningful interaction. Extract 18 below is illustrative of how each of the participants asserts himself by means of multiple power relations in order to establish a common ground.

Extract 18 Triadic conversation

[3.33 s]	B:	Darth Vader is nie hier nie.	
[5.46 s]	A:	Ek weet, ek weet Darth Vader is nie hier nie.	
[9.09 s]	B:	[xxx]	
			(-0.05 s)
[13.84 s]	C:	Ben 10, and [xxx] and [xxx] hundred.	
[20.57 s]	B:	Yay. Ach dis hoe die[...]	
[24.13 s]	A:	Dis my Lego.	
[26.36 s]	C:	Wats this?	
			(-0.49 s)
[26.78 s]	B:	Waar, waar, waar?	
[28.09 s]	A:	Darth Vader Lord.	
[29.42 s]	C:	A bakugan.	
[31.54 s]	A:	Nee, kyk hier, hierdie outjie is die kwaaieste outjie hoor.	
[34.42 s]		Kyk hierso daar koek hy.	
[36.40 s]	B:	Ja daai spuit.	
			(-2.82 s)
[36.49 s]	A:	[Dan los hierdie outjie, los hierdie outjie.]	
[39.31 s]		Dis my Harry Potter, ek soek nou my Harry Potter goed.	
[41.87 s]	B:	Ek soek net Star Wars goed want dit lyk soos 'n Star Wars plek. Net Star Wars goed.	
[46.67 s]	A:	Dit is Star Wars, 'n Star Wars plek.	
			(0.27 s)
[49.53 s]		[...] om dit te wys.	
[52.81 s]		Ek wil ook die GoGos speel.	

[53.28 s]	C:		(-2.05 s)
[55.49 s]	B:	[[xxx]]	(-2.01 s)
[56.63 s]		OK, ek sal saam.	(-0.87 s)

The above extract is not only illustrative of the lack of interaction or adjacency pairs which usually organise a conversation but also of the amount of overlaps which occur within the conversation. Within such a small extract seven overlaps of significant duration occur, in which the participants do not take into account the appropriate TRPs – this is indicated by the negative pause durations. These pause durations indicate that the overlap occurred x amount of seconds before the previous speaker’s turn ended. It is only at the end of this extract that the speakers negotiate the direction which the conversation will take.

The following extract, Extract 19, stands out in the conversation due to the fact that multiple overlapping TRPs are present within the conversation.

Extract 19 Triadic conversation

[157.08 s]	B:	Oh ek verstaan, staan gebeur. Jy gaan daai ding dan skiet hy weg.	(6.77 s)
[168.34 s]	C:	Het hom.	
[170.29 s]		Daai , daai dan is die baas van, ek wil van die Star Wars.	
[175.38 s]	A:	Sit en kyk hier, [xxx] kyk hier [xxx].	(-3.23 s)
[179.22 s]	C:	Hy's maar hy's dood nou want UHM [xxx]	(-2.71 s)
[182.44 s]	A:	Waar's hierdie outjie. Dobby, are you there?	(-1.71 s)
[186.56 s]	C:	[Wie's Dobby?]	
[188.28 s]	B:	Uhm, hy's Star Wars.	(0.53 s)
[190.53 s]	A:	Huhumm.	

[192.28 s]		Dobby is van Harry Potter.	
[194.75 s]	B:	Huh, oja, die mannetjie dingetjie.	
[198.07 s]	A:	Hy weet.	
[200.26 s]		Dobby toe gaan Star Wars se logo saam. Where is 'my sak'?	
			(1.71 s)
[207.83 s]		Oh jaai, Star Wars swaard.	
[210.09 s]	C:	A triangle.	
[211.36 s]	B:	P1.	
[212.30 s]	A:	Ok! Ek het al klaar my eie Star Wars swaard.	
[215.97 s]		Wat julle... Aah Star Wars sword.	
[221.10 s]	C:	Kyk hierso, dis[...]	
			(-0.13 s)
[223.51 s]	A:	Julle kyk hier na my[...]	
			(-3.32 s)
[224.03 s]	B:	Daai's nie Star Wars nie. Dis nie Star Wars nie.	
			(3.18 s)
[230.53 s]		Nein.	
[231.78 s]	A:	Naai, P2. Kyk hier.	
			(3.82 s)
[237.67 s]	B:	This is from Harry Potter.	
[240.23 s]	A:	Huhuh, dis nie Harry Potter se goed nie.	
[242.48 s]	B:	Dit lyk soos Harry Potter se goed.	
			(0.005 s)
[...s]			
[405.67 s]	A:	Ek wil net gou hierdie vierkant-blokkie daar onder kry [xxx]	
			(-2.32 s)
[412.55 s]	B:	Ek gaan die ships vir my bou.	
			(-1.01 s)
[414.87 s]	A:	Ek gaan ook.	
			(-1.48 s)
[415.88 s]	B:	Ek het daai blokkie eerste.	
			(1.89 s)
[419.82 s]	C:	Jy wat sulkes het?	
			(-0.76 s)
[421.96 s]	B:	Mmm.	
			(0.63 s)
[423.35 s]	A:	Jy! Ek het iets gesit.	
[426.55 s]	B:	Hy's [xxx] die (cruise-ships) om die hele wêreld, ek het saggies gesit.	
			(-5.10 s)
[428.76 s]	C:	[Hy's my baas...hy's die baas.]	
			(-1.38 s)
[432.49 s]	A:	Los!	
			(2.07 s)
[435.94 s]		Los jy!	
[437.47 s]	B:	Ja, sho.	
			(2.09 s)
[441.90 s]		Sho.	
			(-0.49 s)

[442.99 s]	C:	En nou dit gaan af ... (noises).?? (-3.02 s)
[445.43 s]	A:	[xxx] vir iets anders.
[448.46 s]		[xxx]
[450.44 s]	C:	Kyk hierso, daar's 'n...ek gaan my...stukkend...ah. (1.87 s)
[458.31 s]	B:	Dan force jy die ding.

Participant A constantly challenges the power relations and the direction of the conversation as it is being interactively negotiated by participants B and C. While participants B and C are still discussing how certain Lego pieces work and how they want to use them, participant A interjects by using intersentential CS to assert power but also to change the direction of the interaction from a focus on the creation of the context and tools of the narrative to that of a role player acting out the narrative itself. Participant A thus pre-empts a narrative by means of role player talk. When this intersentential switch is not recognised or accepted by the other participants, participant A uses another adjacency pair, a command, along with an interjection to try and shift the topic and focus of the interaction.

The lack of compliance to the command by the other participants again asserts power in the structure of the interaction as participants B and C continue to cooperatively negotiate the interaction in the direction and theme of the context and discussion of how the narrative will play out once a shift in topic eventually occurs. This is done, not by using intersentential switches to English, but rather by continuing in Afrikaans. This type of turn taking overlap and adjacency pair interjection in the form of a command is a constant occurrence within the interaction as an attempt to cause a shift in power and topic. This disruption of the preferred conversational structure is illustrated in Extract 20 below, a condensed but sequentially occurring extract from the conversation.

Extract 20 Triadic conversation

[628.41 s]	A:	The spaceship.	(1.71 s)
[632.02 s]	C:	Kyk hierso.	
[633.74 s]	A:	Hierso kom hy in die... P2 bug out!	
[637.37 s]	B:	Wat, wat?	
[639.74 s]		(noises)	
[643.66 s]		Wat? Nee.	(2.00 s)
[647.57 s]	C:	Wat's dit.	(-1.38 s)
[648.01 s]	A:	Wag net gou...Watch out for my speed destroyed not.	(-0.33 s)
[652.89 s]	B:	Wat?	(8.89 s)
[663.97 s]		Nee, wat doen jy nou?	(-0.30 s)
[666.15 s]	A:	Wil net hom los kry.	
[668.28 s]	B:	Hoe?	
[669.08 s]		Wie se dog?	
[672.98 s]	C:	Wag ek het hom.	
[674.33 s]	B:	Sien ek hom?	
[675.79 s]	C:	Kyk hier so wat[...]	(-0.24 s)
[677.37 s]	A:	Hier, daai sit in die lig op julle.	
[680.13 s]	C:	Wie wil wit dak hê.	
[682.68 s]	A:	Hierso...sien.	
[686.20 s]		Julle moet nie dat ek in die lig op sit, ride nie. Ek's die enigste	
[693.42 s]		hope om julle te help. (noises)	(-1.88 s)
[694.46 s]	B:	If we want the low we start[...]	(-0.17 s)
[696.34 s]	A:	Nee.	
[697.44 s]	B:	In time for[...]	
[700.00 s]	A:	Dan sal ek bly.	
[702.43 s]	B:	Hoekom is hierso planes?	
[704.81 s]	A:	Tussen heliocopter laat almal kan sien.	
[708.70 s]	B:	Daar's die outjie weg. Ek het op een, vier rand gesit.	
[713.89 s]	A:	Hulle gaan nou in die lug opstyg. Toe's hulle weg.	
[717.34 s]	B:	Nee, hulle kan op die , op die lug opstyg. Kom ons sê ja is, al	
[725.58 s]	A:	Ek try dit in die lig op te kry. Maar kyk hier, myne is soos vining die lig, en dan hoër.	
[735.15 s]	B:	????????????????	
[740.04 s]		?????	
[742.97 s]		Nee	

[743.77 s]	C:	Ok she's gonna sh...Maar gaan my.	
[746.67 s]	A:	Ek het julle engine uitgetrek hoor.	
[748.83 s]	B:	Nee.	
[750.23 s]	A:	Dan wat is hierdie grys ding?	(1.30 s)
[753.50 s]	B:	Dis niks.	
[754.39 s]		Daai, daai was daarin...die engine.	
[759.55 s]	C:	Hy [xxx](koker aan dit). No, no.	(-2.18 s)
[764.00 s]	B:	Ek kry hom boos.	
[766.96 s]	A:	Myne, ek hoop julle begin hier...(noises) sien.	
[773.37 s]	B:	P1! Nee.	
[775.61 s]		Nee... A...luister hierso.	(-0.32 s)
[779.42 s]	A:	Ok! Ok, jy...ok.	

With the use of a second command-adjacency pair by participant A, another dis-preferred compliance is provided by participants B and C. The interaction is thus continually restructured by power relations as the structure of the narration is continuously renegotiated within the structure of the overall conversation. The conversation itself is constructed generally by means of interaction between participants B and C; but is constantly interjected with talk by participant A. This talk by participant A is facilitated in terms of adjacency pairs or role playing within the narrative. When the interjection, in terms of overlapping TRPs, intersentential CS and the use of adjacency pairs, proves ineffective in renegotiating the direction and structure of the interactions, participant A reverts to another strategy in order to try and change the direction and flow of the conversation. Participant A uses talk in Afrikaans to actually narrate what is happening within the story, rather than using intersentential CS to play a character within the story.

This strategy seems effective for about a third of the duration of the conversation until participant A, who is not satisfied with the direction of the conversation and play session, starts to include *GoGo* toys in the creation of the narrative context. Participant A thus uses

Afrikaans to cooperatively negotiate the context of the narration, by destroying it through super-imposing a completely different narration than the one that was being negotiated by the other two participants. This is done by destroying the Lego creations that the other two participants were building. Thus the participants are forced to change the direction of the interaction. This change in topic and direction of the conversation is ultimately achieved by means of participant B constantly using intersentential CS from Afrikaans to English to sway the conversational Afrikaans narrative. The parts of Extract 21 below which are italicised and printed in bold are instances of intersentential CS and role play.

Extract 21 Triadic conversation

[2373.40 s]	C:	Stop dit. <i>Stay there. Even if you want to get it.</i> Gaan daarso wees ook. Gaan ook wees. Wag. Ok. Ok ek kan dit ook[...] (-3.74 s)
[2385.27 s]	B:	<i>[He found the core.]</i> (-1.75 s)
[2387.25 s]	A:	<i>Where is it?</i>
[2389.01 s]	C:	<i>Now he's dead.</i> (-0.49 s)
[2390.44 s]	B:	Hier het iemand, hierso op ons blokkies gekrap. (-1.19 s)
[2392.74 s]	A:	<i>Cause he says you have the core, he says.</i>
[2396.97 s]	C:	<i>He says, I know. Do what?</i> (-1.89 s)
[2397.59 s]	B:	Kom gou hierso. Ons het nie die core nie. Kyk daar, kyk nou hierso, niks core nie, daarso, niks core nie.
[2406.55 s]	C:	Wat? Wat het...? (3.77 s)
[2413.65 s]		Ek weet wat 'n core is. Ek's weet waar dit is. Hy't dit gepick up. Dis baie klein.
[2419.76 s]	B:	Dit moet iewers hierso wees, of hierso. (-3.28 s)
[2421.69 s]	A:	[Jy kry...]
[2424.97 s]	C:	Nee, jy't dit gegooi. (-1.48 s)
[2426.61 s]	B:	Daai. Hierso. (2.00 s)
[2431.43 s]	C:	Nee, hy het nie. (2.47 s)

[2436.86 s]		Ok, dit gaan wees. Dit gaan hierso.	
[2440.39 s]	A:	<i>I know where a diamond is. You know where the core it is...I know where the diamond is. You know where the core is. If you take me to core, you take me to the core, I'll take you to the diamond.</i>	
			(-14.15 s)
[2441.44 s]	B:	[Daar, daar.]	
			(-12.28 s)
[2443.30 s]	C:	<i>[Take it.]</i>	
[2455.59 s]	B:	Watse diamond?	
[2457.23 s]	A:	Daar's die diamond rooi en groen en daar's nog 'n gele.	
[2462.97 s]	B:	Vat ons eers daarna toe.	
[2464.81 s]	A:	Nee. Kry eers die core.	
[2470.07 s]		(Noises)	
[2477.62 s]		Doen nou dit. Ek gaan nou nooit vir jou, vir julle vat na die diamond nie. Maar die diamond is nie daar binne nie.	
[2484.82 s]	B:	Die diamond is nie daar binne nie.	
[2487.36 s]	C:	<i>How do I?</i>	
[2489.68 s]	B:	Jy, ons gaan[...]	
			(1.32 s)
[2493.83 s]	A:	Nou gaan ek vir julle daai vat. [xxx].	
[2497.07 s]	B:	Maar ons weet nie waar die diamond is nie.	
[2500.71 s]	C:	Hey!	
			(1.84 s)
[2503.98 s]	B:	Waar's daai dingetjie?	
			(2.39 s)
[2509.56 s]		No. Toe jy jou ding gegooi het toe breek jy die spaceship.	
[2515.39 s]	A:	P3.	
			(3.77 s)
[2522.14 s]	B:	Dis P3 se huis, dis P3 se huis. Jy kan nie sy huis breek (nie)[...]	
[2526.81 s]	C:	Nee.	
[2527.72 s]	A:	Daar, trek trek.	
[2529.05 s]	C:	No. (Crashing noises).	
[2531.64 s]	A:	Trek so ver.	
[2534.94 s]	C:	<i>Plus that wasn't my house.</i>	
[2537.04 s]	A:	<i>Which one was your house?</i>	
[2539.50 s]	C:	<i>I don't know. You missed, did it here. I out of the way, thank[...]</i>	
[2543.67 s]	A:	<i>How about that? Is that your white house?</i>	
[2546.72 s]	C:	<i>No, it's not.</i>	
			(0.41 s)
[2549.19 s]	A:	<i>Well then, I heard it was yours and I will throw it.</i>	
[2554.07 s]	C:	<i>You threw it over here. Try this fff...first.</i>	
[2558.32 s]	B:	<i>Ah that's our car, that's your car. You[...]</i>	
[2561.49 s]	C:	<i>Oh. No. I tried it.</i>	
[2564.97 s]	A:	Ok.	

The rest of the conversation is constructed by this organisation of interaction between participants B and C with constant interjection, from participant A, by means of

intersentential CS incorporated into role playing. Instances exist in which all three players take on the different roles interchangeably in order to continue the flow of the conversation.

6.4.6 Ambiguous switches evaluated under the Matrix Language Frame model

In this section a qualitative analysis by means of the MLF and 4-M models is done of specific examples, in which the ML could not be identified by quantitative means. This is done by analysing the sentences to see if the MOP and SMP are applicable. If the MOP and SMP are applicable, the analysis is used to see in terms of which language this principle occurs within the data, in order to identify a ML. The methodology followed in this analysis is similar to that used in Deuchar's study of Welsh-English CS, discussed in Chapter 3.

The examples in Tables 8, 9 and 10 below are only a subset of the examples which were coded with a question mark (?). Other examples which are not included here were either sentence fragments, or sentences which were intelligible but completely ungrammatical or incomplete and will thus never reflect grammaticality.

Table 8 Identification of matrix language by means of late system morphemes under the Matrix Language Frame model

Example		MOP	SMP	ML
(135)	<i>More</i> van die <i>Jedi-swords are</i> , gaan, gaan hier, ok	Either	Bridge late SM <i>of/van</i>	AFR
(136)	<i>Get</i> daar <i>more</i> van die <i>lifesavers</i> .	Afr	Bridge late SM <i>van</i>	AFR
(137)	Wie's hond.	English	Bridge late SM pos 's	ENG

The first pattern evident in the data occurs in examples (135) and (136) in which the ML is identified as Afrikaans. In example (136) the MOP along with the Afrikaans bridge late morpheme *van* allows for an unambiguous identification of the ML. In example (135) the application of the MOP is not as clear cut as in example (136) and either English or Afrikaans could be the ML, due to the similar word order applicable to this type of phrase. The occurrence of the Afrikaans bridge late SM *van* however supports the identification of Afrikaans as the ML. In example (137) English is identified as the ML due to the occurrence of an English word order and English possessive 's, despite the Afrikaans content words which are present. The ML of these sentences is easily identifiable due to the use of bridge late SMs in the phrases.

The second pattern in the data is prevalent in SVO word order examples (138) and (139) (see Table 9 below), in which the MOP is possible in Afrikaans and English phrases. Thus, according to the MOP, either language can serve as the ML. The lack of both kinds of SMs in these phrases contributes to the ambiguous identification of the ML. The simple inflectional processes, which are evident in English and Afrikaans, generally complicate the identification of the ML due to a lack of outside late SMs. It also allows for very similar grammatical features to occur in these sentences.

Table 9 The ambiguous identification of the matrix language in terms of the Morpheme Order

Principle under the Matrix Language Frame model

Example		MOP	SMP	ML
(138)	Ok, kom <i>let's</i> speel	either	n/a	either
(139)	Okay, <i>this is</i> klaar.	either	n/a	either

The third pattern evident in the data is illustrated by examples (140) to (151) in Table 10 below. In these phrases both Afrikaans and English conceptually-activated morphemes, such as verbs and nouns, are used. But neither language's word order is reflected and the MOP is not applicable in either of the languages. Late SMs and the SMP are also not applicable because these morphemes do not occur in these phrases. The ML, in these phrases, is hence not identifiable in terms of the MLF and the 4-M models. These sentences are therefore not instances of classic CS but may rather be instances of composite CS, in which the phrase is made up of an abstract grammatical structure and English and Afrikaans word orders occur simultaneously, along with the mixed use of Afrikaans and English conceptually-activated morphemes. These examples are also not explainable in terms of the Abstract Level Model. Due to the limited scope of this study and the small number of these phrases that occur in the corpus, further research in terms of whether this may be a mixed code needs to be done in the future in order to explain the occurrence of such utterances.

Table 10 Unidentifiable matrix language in terms of the Matrix Language Frame, 4-M and Abstract Level Models

Example		MOP	SMP	ML
(140)	*O, <i>like</i> dan ons gaan (<i>tight</i>) wees.	neither	n/a	neither
(141)	*C, die deur kan nie meer oop nie, jy't (vir my) gemaak so.	neither	n/a	neither
(142)	* Nou gaan dit...Jy kan nie <i>look strange</i> nou nie.	neither	n/a	neither
(143)	*En jy him skiet so fast dat jy can maak 'n - 'n (xxx)	neither	n/a	neither
	*So ek kan uitkom, want daar's 'n fire en jy's in die huis, <u><i>dan jy en dan - dan daar moet wees 'n crack, want dan ons kan, dan ons kan dit stukkendmaak.</i></u> Jy-jy sit, kon sou dit, want dit gaan super (noise), dit gaan afgaan, dan ons gaan dit stukkendmaak met my sword. <u><i>Dan dit gaan uitkom.</i></u>	neither	n/a	neither
(144)	*Jy't my geskop uit, nee jy't my geskop uit.	neither	n/a	neither
(145)	*Nou kan <i>never</i> inkom nie. Jy moet nou daarso sit een.	neither	n/a	neither

(146)	*Dan ek het in die <i>car</i> (gespring).	neither	n/a	neither
(147)	Nie <i>one that</i> weet wat's GoGo.	neither	n/a	neither
(148)	Ok now wish it. <i>And now hid</i> jy die <i>core</i> en moenie vir	neither	n/a	neither
(149)	<i>Ready</i> jou. Ons is is <i>fight</i> .	neither	n/a	neither
(150)	*Waar's daai mannetjie <i>you can</i> skiet? Wat ons het gebring.	neither	n/a	neither
(151)	*Waar's daai <i>guy</i> wat gaan in hierso?	neither	n/a	neither

6.5 Interference

The corpus does contain instances of interference, as discussed in specific examples in the detailed analysis above. These involuntary deviations from the norms of either language may occur in instances of mixed phrases in terms of ML and EL constituents but also in complete Afrikaans phrases in which no EL constituents are embedded. There are thus instances of non-developmental interference in CS forms due to the difficulty with which two typologically different languages are combined. Examples of such non-developmental interferences would be those of the phrases analysed in section 6.4.5 as ambiguous switches or composite CS. Instances of developmental interference in CS may be evident in examples (68) and (69) of below word level CS. Other developmental interference is evident in examples (152) and (153) below.

(152) Jy, ek het iets gesit.

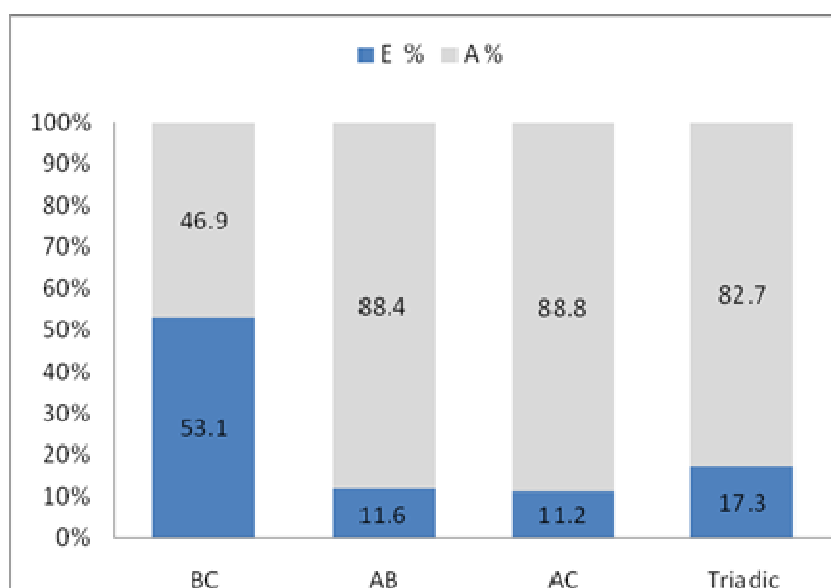
(153) Maar kyk hier, myne is so vining die lig, en dan hoër.

These developmental interferences however fall outside the scope of the study and will not be elaborated upon in greater detail.

6.6 Results according to conversational combinations

As discussed in section 6.2, the ML for the entire corpus is Afrikaans. This is also true for three of the four conversational combinations. The graph in Figure 13 below illustrates that in these three combinations, Afrikaans is the ML for $\pm 80\%$ of the utterances, while English is the ML for $\pm 20\%$.

Figure 13 The percentage of Afrikaans and English occurring in each conversational combination

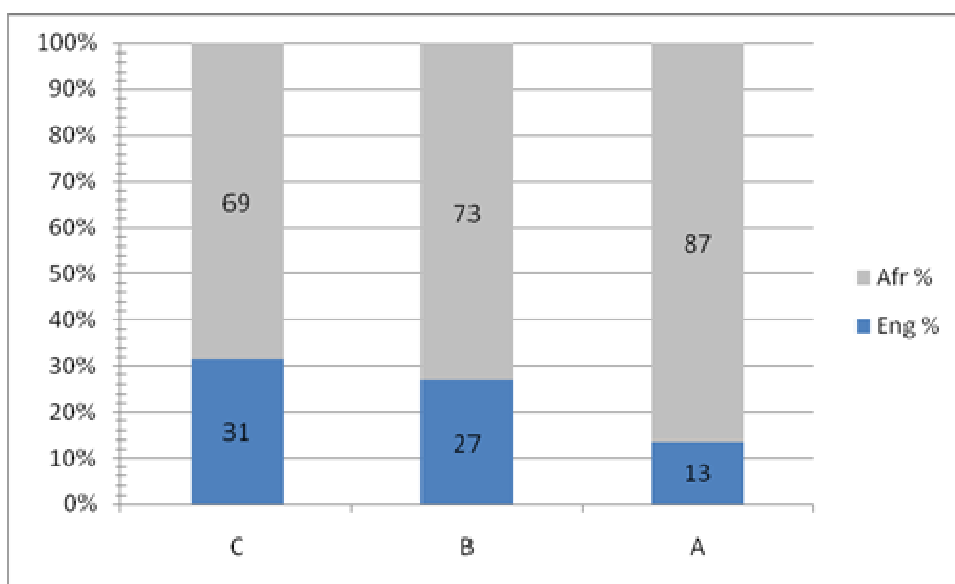


In the fourth combination, conversation BC, the ML is English. However, the asymmetry between percentage of Afrikaans utterances (46.9%) and percentage of English utterances (53.1%) is minor in this conversation, in comparison to the clear asymmetry in the other conversations and the corpus overall. This conversation thus seems to act as the exception to the apparent rule created in the triadic conversation, but also the conversational combinations in which each of the two participants, B and C, otherwise participated. This exception is, however, not surprising when one takes into account the different language proficiencies of the participants. Participant B is a balanced bilingual and can easily switch between Afrikaans and English. Participant C, despite being less bilingual than participant B and

characterised as an L1 speaker of English, appears to switch more easily between English and Afrikaans than participant A. Participant A is an L1 speaker of Afrikaans. It can be postulated that participant A cannot accommodate to the other language, in this case English, as easily as participants B and C; explaining the occurrence of a largely symmetrical conversation, in terms of ML, between participants B and C and the large ML asymmetry in conversations in which participant A took part.

From the graph in Figure 12 below, however, it is clear that, despite the identification of English as the ML in conversational combination BC, the ML for each individual is Afrikaans, which correlates with the ML for the entire corpus.

Figure 14 The percentage of Afrikaans and English utterances per participant



In section 6.4 above, the general characteristics of CS were analysed under the MLF model by looking at the different subtypes of CS. General overarching patterns were found. This section will not go into the detailed grammatical explanations of these occurrences as this was already explored in the section above; instead, this section will show how the different

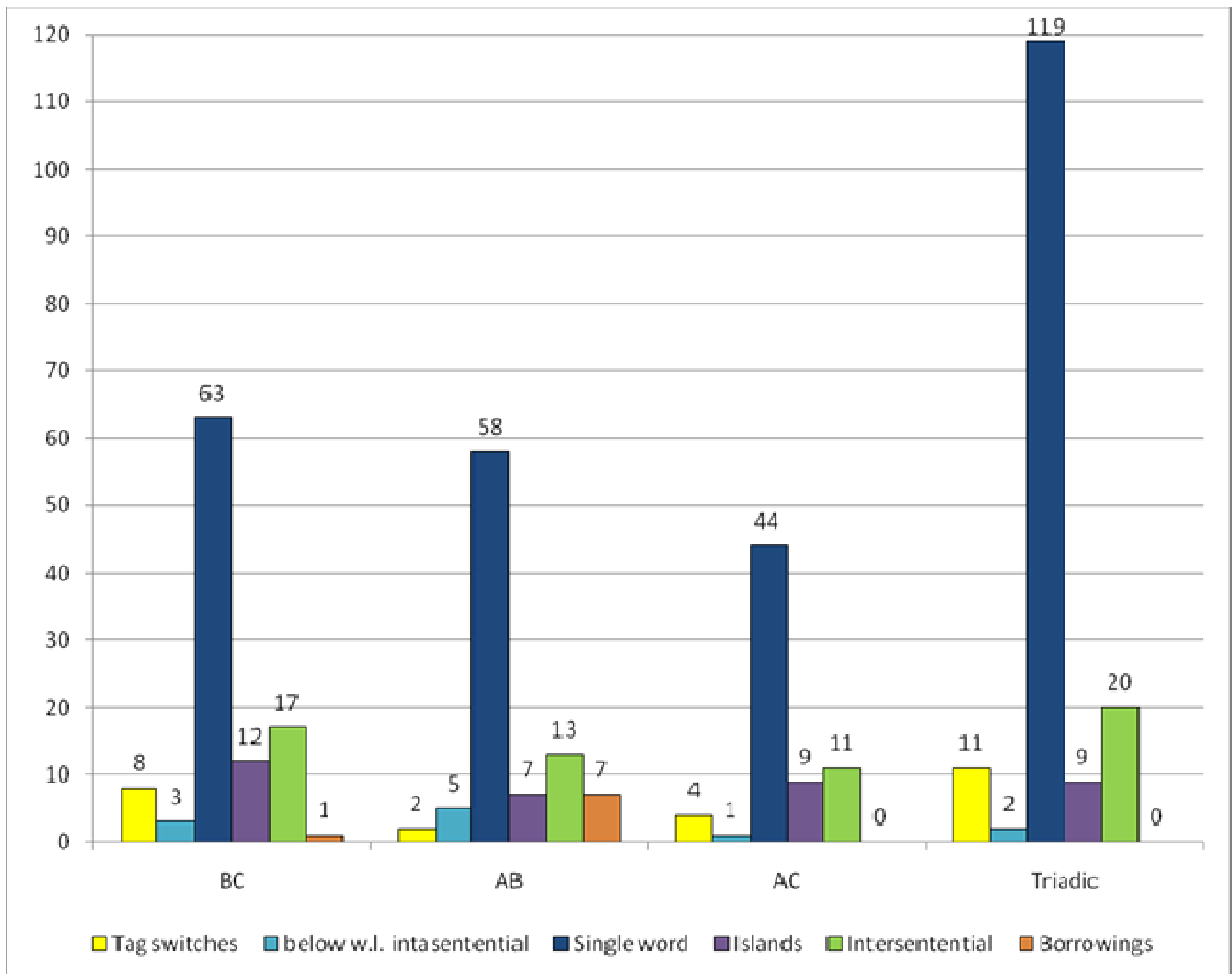
participants influence the percentage of occurrence of certain CS types in comparison to other CS types. A comparison between the different CS types will therefore be drawn in terms of the different conversational combinations, in which these CS types occurred. Table 12 below gives a detailed breakdown of the number of switches which occurred in each conversational combination (as explained in sections 6.4.1 to 6.4.3 above), and in terms of the number of words as the relevant unit of analysis.

Table 11 The total number of switches occurring in each combinational conversation

Description of specific data	Coding	BC		AB		AC		Triadic	
		E	A	E	A	E	A	E	A
Total number of tag switches		8	-	2	-	4	-	11	-
Total number of below word level intrasentential switches		3	-	5	-	1	-	2	-
Total number of above word level intrasentential switches	Single word	62	1	58	-	43	1	119	-
Total number of borrowings		1	-	7	-	0	-	0	-
Total number of words per conversation		2245		2420		1884		4116	

The graph in Figure 15 below comparatively summarises the occurrence of the different types of CS in the different conversational combinations.

Figure 15 Number of occurrences of the different code switching types in each conversational combination



6.7 Classic vs. composite code switching

The data analysed in sections 6.4.1 to 6.4.4 quantitatively and qualitatively indicates that Afrikaans is the ML for the overall corpus. From the results of an analysis in terms of DP, VP, PP, AP and AdvP structures it is clear that these different phrasal constituents can be CS forms and that content and early system morphemes may occur in any abstract frame in terms of the ML, as well as single EL forms and EL islands. Late SMs are however restricted to the

ML, in order to achieve an asymmetry between intrasentential phrasal constituents but also in terms of intersentential phrases in the overall conversation and corpus.

In order for classic CS to take place the USP underlines three basic premises which have to be met. Firstly, the participating languages must not equally influence the bilingual clause. This is indeed the case in the corpus. Secondly, not all morphemes can equally stem from the ML and EL. This too is evident in the above distinction between conceptually-activated morphemes and early SMs which occur as English EL forms in the Afrikaans ML. Afrikaans as the ML is however defined by the occurrence of late SMs. Lastly, the SMP limits the occurrence of SMs that build the clausal structure of the ML. Due to the paucity of inflection, in terms of conjugation and assignment of case, in Afrikaans and English, the SMP played a minimal role in the analysis of the data. The SMP mostly played a role in the identification of the ML in instances in which the ML could not be identified quantitatively, i.e. in phrases which were coded with a question mark (?). The majority of these phrases were finally identified as either having an ambiguous ML or not being subject to analysis and identification in terms of the MLF and the 4-M models. These phrases only make up 4.4% of the overall CS corpus and thus do not have an effect on the identification of Afrikaans as the ML for the entire corpus. Neither do these phrases play a role in defining the overall CS as composite or classic CS.

Due to the satisfaction of all three premises of the USP, as well as the application of the MOP and the SMP to the corpus as a whole, the CS data in the present study can be classified as classical CS.

6.8 Conclusion

In this chapter, the results of the data analysis were reported, firstly, in terms of an investigation into the grammatical characteristics of the CS data in the corpus (employing the MLF and 4-M models and their associated principles) and, secondly, in terms of an investigation into the socio-pragmatic characteristics of the CS data in the corpus (employing CA). The next and final chapter of the thesis provides a summary of the findings, returns to the research questions formulated in Chapter 1, discusses the limitations of the current study and offers suggestions for future research in this field.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

7.1 Linking aims, interests and outcomes

Recall that four aims were formulated for the present study in section 1.3 of Chapter 1. The first three aims relate to the investigation into the grammatical characteristics of Afrikaans-English CS by bilingual children. Firstly, the study aimed to theoretically differentiate between the phenomenon of CS and related sociolinguistic phenomena such as borrowing and interference; secondly, the study aimed to identify the types of CS that occur in Afrikaans-English bilingual children's conversation; and, thirdly, the study set out to determine which patterns of CS occur due to interference in terms of a child's (lack of) language proficiency, and which patterns are similar to adult patterns of CS. In the literature review (Chapter 2), the different types of CS – namely extrasentential, intrasentential and intersentential CS – were described and defined in terms of where these units manifest themselves in the discourse. It was noted that researchers have developed different views on how these types of CS are categorised and how they should be referred to. One example of this is the distinction between Muysken's (1995) typology of CS and Clyne's (1987) view of CS. An even more complex debate involves the definition of what these elements really are and how they can be distinguished from other sociolinguistic phenomena such as borrowing and interference. The present study has given clear definitions of what each phenomenon entails and has used these definitions consistently in the coding and analysis of the data. However, it should be noted that different speakers' language proficiencies and choices affect CS. The researcher's analysis, definition and interpretation of CS forms, borrowings and interference are thus also subject to the linguistic proficiency and intuitions of the researcher. The distinction between single CS forms and borrowings, as well as between EL islands and

idiomatic expressions, are not easily made and each speaker/researcher may have a different view on whether an element is a CS form or a borrowing, depending on whether or not they have a purist language view, as well as whether or not they are familiar with the status of the relevant languages in the relevant speech community.

The fourth aim of the study relates to the investigation into the socio-pragmatic characteristics of Afrikaans-English CS by bilingual children. Chapter 4 provided an overview of the main socio-pragmatic analytic theories and aspects of conversations including context, *we/they* codes, discourse analysis, as well as CA – in terms of turn taking, adjacency pairs and sequences which occur in the conversations. The data was analysed in terms of turn taking and adjacency pair sequences in order to examine how context and power relations were established and were inevitably responsible for the patterns evident in the data and what the reasons could be for the occurrence of CS within the conversations.

Just as CS can be found on a continuum between monolingual and bilingual language use, an internal continuum exists within CS, in which other linguistic and non-linguistic factors play a role in terms of which types of CS may occur. The types of CS on their own provide narrow insights into where CS manifests itself on the surface level of language production. How this switching manifests itself on a deeper processing level can be explained by the MLF and 4-M models.

The MLF model provides a framework within which a deeper analysis of CS can be done, not only in terms of where in the discourse CS occurs, but also in terms of frequency. The MLF model, secondly, focuses on language production but also on the underlying language competence from which this production stems, providing a deeper understanding of why CS occurs intrasententially or intersententially in certain instances. Insight into which building

blocks of language are more prone to occur in certain places rather than others is also obtained. The grammatical aspects, processing and acquisition of language are thus also all continuum based.

Grammar however is not the only factor at play; the situational context, the speakers and their individual characteristics (such as their language proficiency) as well as speaker intentions all play an important role in terms of why CS occurs. The section below addresses the four aims set out here by providing general findings from the data analysis.

7.2 Summary of the findings

The specific research questions which this study set out to address are repeated here, for ease of reference:

- (i) What are the *grammatical characteristics* of conversational CS by Afrikaans-SAE bilingual children?
- (ii) What are the *socio-pragmatic characteristics* of conversational CS by Afrikaans-SAE bilingual children?

The four aims of the study, as set out in section 1.3 and repeated in section 7.1 above, all followed from these two research questions. In terms of characterising the types of CS that occur in the data, all four conversations provided evidence of extrasentential, intrasentential and intersentential CS. Extrasentential and intrasentential CS were analysed under the MLF model in order to identify the different elements of language which occur in CS, as well as why these elements occur in certain distinct places within the utterance or conversation. Although all types of CS occurred within the data in both Afrikaans and English forms, Afrikaans was identified as the ML of the corpus and of three of the four specific conversational combinations (see section 6.6). Intrasentential CS occurred the most

frequently, followed by intersentential CS. In terms of intrasentential CS, single word switches occurred most frequently, involving content words, conceptually-activated morphemes and early SMs from the EL being inserted into the ML, which, in contrast, consisted of conceptually-activated as well as early and late system morphemes.

The occurrence and distribution of different types of CS, as well as the grammatical difficulties which drive children to use the specific types of CS identified in the data, can be attributed to the presence of the asymmetry between Afrikaans (73% of utterances) and English (27% of utterances) in the corpus, as well as the distinction between the occurrence of conceptually-activated and system morphemes. The evidence for conceptually-activated and system morphemes occurring on an asymmetrical level provides support for the two-system hypothesis, according to which Afrikaans and English would occur as two different systems within the brain and language processing would occur by means of the allocation of different morphemes from both languages at the lexical and formulator level. If Afrikaans and English were used in a symmetrical fashion, such a distinction would not be possible. It follows that in Afrikaans-English bilingual children's minds the two languages are two separate systems which interact only on the level of the lexicon and formulator when the grammatical structure of both languages allows this. It is the distinction between lexicon driven congruencies versus spell out in the formulator that underlines the difference between borrowing and CS forms. The distinction between borrowings and CS forms ultimately occur in the lexicon in terms of from which lexicon the selection of the lemma takes place and how the two lexicons of the two languages interact, in comparison to the syntactical placement and spell out in the formulator of the already elected lemma.

Despite the obvious variation in language background (and language input) of the participants, which may have led to different language proficiency levels, all three participants used Afrikaans as the ML. In terms of a grammatical analysis, the abstract grammatical frame of the phrases used stemmed from Afrikaans. The assumption can thus be made that the proficiency of the children allowed for Afrikaans to be the easiest form to use.

The reasons why the different types of CS occurred, as well as the difficulties which drive children to use the specific types of CS identified in the data, can however not only be attributed to the grammatical competency of the speakers. The communicative competency and subsequent language choice of the speakers also play an important role in the occurrence of Afrikaans as the ML, as well as socio-pragmatic difficulties which may lead to the use of CS. The fact that all three speakers attended an Afrikaans play school and two out of the three speakers received more Afrikaans input than the third speaker, also plays a role in the occurrence of Afrikaans as the ML. The less frequent use of English is not necessarily related to language proficiency and may instead be due to other pragmatic reasons, such as English being used as an organisational tool or strategy within an otherwise Afrikaans conversation. In using this strategy of switching to English speakers either narrate the story within the play context or assume the role of a character within the story. Afrikaans, in contrast, is used in order to build and negotiate the “real life” context around the story, as well as the imminent situational context in which this narration occurs. CS is also used by the speakers during self-talk as well as to negotiate power relations within the conversation.

A distinction made according to the data, in terms of the occurrence of interference and other unidentifiable phrases possibly resulting in a mixed code, may play a role in terms of language proficiency and language acquisition of the speakers. But the fact that these phenomena occurred in a very limited number of instances, renders them of little importance

to the present study especially since the study primarily focuses on CS and a detailed discussion of issues related to language proficiency and language acquisition thus falls outside the study's scope. Evidence of code mixing patterns is found in intersentential CS, especially in conversation AC, but is not sufficiently robust to allow the researcher to draw any general conclusions.

The CS of these three Afrikaans/English bilingual children is thus all encompassing in terms of the different types of CS: In terms of the grammatical characteristics of their CS, there is a preference for intrasentential single CS forms, and in terms of the socio-pragmatic characteristics of their CS, intersentential CS is used for negotiating context, topic and theme as well as power relations. In this way, the results of the data analysis provide support for the two hypotheses formulated in section 1.2 of Chapter 1, namely, that (i) the MLF and 4-M models can be used to account for the structural aspects of child bilingual CS, and (ii) a CA approach can be used to explain why CS occurs by capturing the socio-pragmatic characteristics of child bilingual CS.

7.3 Limitations and suggestions for further research

There are three main aspects which limited the study. Firstly, the fact that Afrikaans and English are not completely typologically distinct languages led to difficulties in terms of the data analysis under the MLF model. Late SMs which are responsible for forming the grammatical frame of the ML and which can usually be used in the qualitative analysis of the ML, by means of the SMP, when dealing with a language pair such as English-isiXhosa, are not available in Afrikaans or English. The fact that Afrikaans and English have the same DP and PP structures further complicates the qualitative analysis because it is not possible, on the basis of surface structure and analysis under the MLF model, to determine with certainty

from which language the abstract grammatical frame actually stems in creating the ML. One suggestion for further research would thus be to investigate CS by bilingual children whose languages are typologically more distinct.

A second limitation emerges during the pragmatic analysis of the data. Due to the nature of the play sessions and the unstructured nature of the conversations, an analysis by means of the CA model proved not to be entirely effective. Pragmatic adjacency pairs, turn taking strategies and sequences, which are found in structured adult conversations, do not necessarily apply to the data collected in this study. The inherent pragmatic rules which adults follow in interaction and conversations are also not applicable to all children or all play contexts. Related to this limitation of analysing the structure of a conversation is the structure of the play session itself. The play sessions could have been more structured, if the context of the story had been prepared and the props had been put in place for the children to play with, something which would have been possible without rendering the conversation unnatural or non-spontaneous. Due to the unstructured nature of the sessions, much of the allotted time in each play session was used by the children to build houses or cars, with which they could later play. By the time that this quiet construction was completed, the children's attention span and interest in the play session had decreased significantly. Consequently, a second suggestion for further research would be to set up more structured and goal orientated play sessions in order to maximise the potential for obtaining useful data from each session. Providing each participant with their own microphone might improve sound quality and make transcription easier, but at the same time this would complicate transcription in terms of turn taking overlap and would necessitate combining recordings digitally.

Finally, the fact that this study only had three participants may, of course, also be seen as a limitation. It is worth noting, though, that even with only three participants and despite the disrupted and minimal conversation during the play sessions, the study was extremely data intensive, to the extent that the time constraints linked to research at this level would not have allowed for the inclusion of additional participants. However, in order to allow for wider generalisations to be made, more participants and more play sessions should be included in further research. Such research could also include a more detailed investigation into the participants' language backgrounds and some (formal) measure of their language proficiency, which would lead to deeper insight into the CS practices of the participants. A longitudinal study could aid in providing a better understanding of how CS is incorporated in the acquisition of grammatical and communicative competence in an L2, and whether the socio-pragmatic use of CS develops towards adult pragmatic conventions over time.

As explained in Chapters 1 and 2, very little research has been done in terms of (i) CS in spontaneous conversations, (ii) CS by children, and (iii) the investigation of both grammatical and socio-pragmatic aspects of CS in a single study. The study reported in this thesis addresses all three of these research needs and in this way hopes to contribute to our understanding of how and why CS occurs. In comparison with certain other CS language pairs investigated internationally, the Afrikaans-English CS language pair investigated here has not received sufficient attention and further research into language pairs which include one or two indigenous South African languages would make a valuable contribution to the field of CS research. By expanding the scope of this study to include other languages, more can also be learned about the language processing of and the interaction between languages from a psycholinguistic and grammatical perspective. Numerous exciting possibilities thus still exist for investigating even the very specific phenomenon of spontaneous conversational

child CS in South Africa. A next step, in future research, would also be to determine the implications that the findings of studies such as this one may have for the future of bilingual language choice and use in a multilingual country such as South Africa.

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APPENDIX A

Conversation BC Final Transcription

[22.39 s] C: This is a, um, a Jedi helmet.
 [31.99 s] [xxx]
 [42.80 s] Ek het twee mannetjies.
 [44.08 s] B: Dis daar [xxx]
 [47.30 s] C: Wow, dis a...
 [55.81 s] Look! The [xxx]s gone.
 [58.62 s] B: Wow, hier's Harry Potter.
 [82.73 s] C: Ok, ek het die mannetjie.
 [98.06 s] Hy's dood.
 [101.68 s] Hy's geshot.
 [104.61 s] B: [xxx] at.
 [106.51 s] C: Hy was net in ons [xxx] space.
 [113.04 s] Hulle...
 [114.08 s] Awesome, ek kan sien dit and ...
 [120.29 s] B: Hier's dit so...
 [134.10 s] C: Sy kop's weg. Ek het hom, hy't kop gesend. Ek sê, hy't kop gesend. Hy betaal met money... kop, kop, hierso's jou kop.
 [158.49 s] No.
 [161.20 s] B: Da is Ninja turtle!
 [166.75 s] C: Waar's jou kop? Hierso, hierso, hierso.
 [176.05 s] [xxx]
 [183.16 s] [xxx] kan ek daai hakkies, as ek kan [xxx] hier's hier's um helmets, hier's Star Wars helmets.
 [197.22 s] Aah, hierso's dit ene. Hierso, hierso. Sy's 'n, 'n girl, maar sy's die queen.
 [210.12 s] B: She is the queen.
 [212.79 s] C: She is the queen.
 [215.42 s] B: Where is our herd? Where is the egg?
 [220.47 s] C: Wait, wait. Where's that...
 [223.95 s] B: Oh, oh give this I need power engins for the big ship.
 [235.09 s] What's the... (laughter). Build a house and round around with this wall. With this wall.
 [246.87 s] C: I got the engin, I got the engin, I got the engins!
 [249.78 s] Oo, here, here!
 [251.31 s] B: With that engin, the other engin!
 [254.91 s] C: That's how we just should have it, here.
 [257.02 s] B: Could you put it there? Could you put it there? [xxx]
 [272.99 s] C: Is... Soek jy dit? Soek jy dit?
 [280.34 s] [xxx]
 [287.41 s] Auwe, auw!
 [288.99 s] B: What's happened?
 [295.51 s] C: The lights are going on and off.
 [297.79 s] B: [xxx]
 [299.23 s] C: Put the lights off, we want the lights off!
 [301.79 s] B: No, leave it on, leave it on, then we can see!
 [306.84 s]

- [310.63 s] C: Where [xxx]...
- [312.68 s] B: It's a gun, weapon, it's a weapon so put it there, there. There.
- [319.88 s] C: Auwe, auwe.
- [331.68 s] C: Het jy die engin?
- [333.70 s] B: Mmm, daai engin.
- [356.31 s] C: Hellooo.
- [368.89 s] B: Oh weird, sy naam is GoGo.
- [374.81 s] [xxx]
- [375.55 s] C: [xxx]
- [377.00 s] B: Is nie,[xxx]...
- [380.12 s] C: Vat uit anders.
- [382.63 s] B: Machine gun ...
- [385.57 s] C: Uh uh, ek het ek het'n helmet gegee en now ek het dit gegooi in hierso, 'n Star Wars helmet.
- [394.53 s] Wats dit?
- [427.66 s] B: [xxx]
- [435.42 s] C: Daar was 'n Star Wars uhm helmet hierso in daai plek.
- [447.54 s] C: Hierso's die deur van jou boat wat jy bou.
- [454.74 s] B: Die deur.
- [457.18 s] C: Ooh, dis die long, hierso's die 'alarm'
- [461.72 s] B: Uhuh.
- [468.77 s] C: [xxx] As ek dit stukkend maak. Kan ek dit stukkend maak?
- [476.47 s] B: Ja, wat jy hier bou.
- [511.56 s] C: Is daardie racecars?
- [516.38 s] C: [xxx]
- [517.74 s] the racecar.
- [520.51 s] B: Build a racecar for me.
- [522.25 s] C: Ek het 'n race-mannetje, look hierso.
- [525.95 s] B: Kyk weer daaroor. Kyk.
- [528.94 s] C: Kyk. Walk-in racecar.
- [532.05 s] B: [xxx]
- [547.60 s] C: That will keep me (clear).
- [560.09 s] B: Ah thank you [xxx] build a, build a car for me.
- [565.36 s] C: Is dit die een sin?
- [569.10 s] B: No. Is die een sin.
- [575.08 s] C: 'n Nog 'n deur. Wait, wait. We have two doors, we have two doors... van die een.
- [583.99 s] We have two doors.
- [584.58 s] B: Ek hou van hom.
- [586.71 s] Swords.
- [588.61 s] C: Ah that may may be just the one.
- [591.20 s] B: No no, gee jy dit bietjie vir my aan.
- [594.60 s] C: Aah.
- [595.57 s] Huh, I'm building a car. There's a whole [xxx] here.
- [601.13 s] B: I am building the top, it is going to be a big car
- [607.05 s] C: I'm, I'm making it big.
- [640.72 s] Die mannetjie, hy gaan daarso wees. Ons sal gou-gou maak.
- [651.68 s] B: I am going mad and my man is here. Where's he now, now?
- [661.18 s] C: Ok, is that man that house?
- [668.40 s] C: [xxx] Can you get that piece toff. Can you get that piece off

- [675.59 s] B: What?
- [676.63 s] C: This piece over here, we can put some [xxx] on here. Dankie.
- [690.12 s] I am going to the circus today.
- [693.39 s] B: Lucky.
- [694.40 s] Lucky you. The real circus?
- [698.58 s] C: Yes.
- [700.06 s] B: Lucky you.
- [713.44 s] C: What's this?
- [714.34 s] B: Engin.
- [715.12 s] C: What's this?
- [716.61 s] What's this?
- [718.29 s] B: Ek ken nie dit nie. It's a [xxx] (boekie).
- [721.92 s] C: Ah!
- [722.72 s] A space-helmet
- [724.52 s] B: We need that helmet.
- [728.40 s] C: Daar onder!
- [729.58 s] B: There's plenty of space- huh, hel-...
- [737.97 s] Duh.
- [745.17 s] C: Ah, thats a jetpack too.
- [747.97 s] B: I know.
- [751.52 s] C: Nou gaan ons wees...ek...almal moet 'n jetpack hê. Die jetpack gaan hierso wees.
- [778.19 s] Let's not pretend this is the engin.
- [782.58 s] Lets not pretend this is the engin.
- [784.97 s] B: Ok.
- [785.93 s] C: [xxx]
- [839.75 s] Key nou's ... sien jy die wheels? Sien jy 'n tire anywhere? We need tires to ride forth.
- [854.68 s] If you see a big tire, give it to me, cause we need tires. There's (white/wide) one.
- [863.09 s] B: I need also big big tire. [xxx] Car show.
- [877.02 s] C: Nee, dit is nie my tire nie. That's not my tire.
- [881.28 s] B: [xxx]
- [885.23 s] C: Wats stuk [xxx]...
- [888.23 s] Kyk.
- [889.11 s] B: Tire.
- [890.59 s] [xxx] space.
- [901.78 s] C: Hy gaan in die jetpack. Kyke dit. Hy gaan in die jetpack, kyk, kyk!
- [909.65 s] B: I know.
- [910.82 s] C: Sê my iets...[xxx] maar niks, hy het nie 'n kop nie.
- [919.25 s] B: [xxx]
- [921.04 s] C: Uh, hierso's sy kop.
- [928.00 s] Wat's dit kop?
- [930.94 s] B: This is the car and this is the engin.
- [937.43 s] C: Ek's hom. Ek's hom. Ek's hom. Ek is hom.
- [948.22 s] Weet jy ons is 'in' outerspace. Daar's airoplanes, that is outerspace. Star Wars fight house [xxx]. Waar's sy guns. Oh, hierso is dit.
- [969.72 s] Ah. Hy's space, the last mean monkey. The gloves come off space.
- [990.29 s] Waar was jy?
- [994.19 s] B: [xxx] dê.

- [1009.99 s] C: Can we take off his hat? He's got the space gloves on, and he's got them out of space.
- [1016.12 s] B: Ja [xxx].
- [1023.60 s] C: Could you please put them back on?
- [1028.19 s] C: Mom, take this off to Dad because he's got the space light on.
- [1035.85 s] C: I love this space, put the light off [xxx].
- [1051.14 s] B: [xxx] there it is. There's the body.
- [1075.82 s] C: Ek krap en daar's uit. [xxx]
- [1087.26 s] C: Have you seen a small tire?
- [1092.17 s] B: No.
- [1093.16 s] C: Small tires.
- [1098.84 s] B: Here's a little tire.
- [1101.06 s] C: Oh no, never mind. [xxx] I'm building a low car space model
- [1134.50 s] C: That long piece...ah.
- [1141.10 s] C: Huh, and this the wrong. Thats not a long piece. And we got a very long piece which I can use.
- [1150.36 s] B: You want a longer piece? A very long, here. Here take that one now.
- [1177.38 s] C: That's airoplanes, and space airoplanes, en baie klein wiele, alot alot of it.
- [1190.00 s] B: [xxx]
- [1266.21 s] B: [xxx]
- [1286.44 s] C: Have you seen that little small piece like this one?
- [1289.69 s] B: No.
- [1294.23 s] C: Another door. How much doors does our [xxx] have?
- [1300.96 s] C: About lots, because one door starts to yell
- [1305.61 s] C: I think I break this room.
- [1310.16 s] B: [xxx]
- [1321.04 s] C: [xxx]
- [1331.54 s] C: Ok, and push push.
- [1336.75 s] C: Ok.
- [1341.02 s] C: More van die Jedi-swords are, gaan, gaan hier, ok? Almal van die Jedi-swords gaan hierso!
- [1350.95 s] B: Ah ok, just don't get mad.
- [1355.66 s] C: Dis die um the powerrator, dis die powerrator.
- [1360.71 s] B: Hy't die generator.
- [1362.96 s] C: Generator. Dit can, dit dit was um Jedi...[xxx] the Jedirator.
- [1373.15 s] C: Generates the...ugh. I say this.
- [1380.39 s] C: Daar's die owl by die window.
- [1387.23 s] C: Ons het nie windows nie. Hoekom is daar owl hierso?
- [1393.04 s] B: Mmm, I want it. It's nice.
- [1398.88 s] C: Are you making a airoplane?
- [1402.00 s] B: No a racecar.
- [1404.15 s] C: Race. But I was building a racecar right here.
- [1409.53 s] B: I'm building mine. I'm building my own. [xxx] pas ni in nie.
- [1417.22 s] C: [xxx]
- [1418.86 s] B: Huh?
- [1419.71 s] C: The engin, it wouldn't hold the engin. Wouldn't work.
- [1425.43 s] C: Soek dit 'n engin.
- [1428.68 s] B: Yes [xxx].
- [1452.92 s] C: One noise, that, no. Dit gaan net 'n bietjie stink maak.

[1473.88 s] Hoe gaan dit aan hierso?
 [1476.89 s] B: Jy kan net opgaan en daar druk.
 [1481.30 s] C: Ok dan, daar?
 [1486.47 s] Ok [xxx] dit gaan, ble, dit gaan die space, uh, Star Wars room wees.
 [1497.49 s] B: Laat ek kyk.
 [1499.10 s] [xxx]
 [1504.99 s] C: [xxx] Soek jy? Hierso, vir jou karretjie.
 [1514.03 s] B: Put it there. C [xxx] flat stuff. Flat, flat, flat, flat [xxx].
 [1528.78 s] C: Thats what I was looking for.
 [1530.70 s] B: Yes.
 [1539.76 s] No they're too big in [xxx]
 [1546.29 s] C: Is dit regtig in?
 [1548.84 s] B: The little one is in.
 [1557.62 s] (want you to pull them).
 [1562.56 s] C: [xxx] dit.
 [1564.82 s] Ok, move in.
 [1566.29 s] B: Fire.
 [1571.75 s] He's too fast.
 [1573.36 s] Don't put it here.
 [1575.54 s] C: Dit aan, dit aan, dit aan, dit aan, dit aan. Dit is aan. Die lig is aan. Lig, lig. Daar's 'n lig aan dit.
 [1586.16 s] B: So kort. Dit was kort.
 [1589.42 s] I think the battery is flat.
 [1594.61 s] C: Hier's 'n Star Wars spaceship. Nou waar's ek?
 [1603.20 s] Waar's ek? Daar's ek. Dis waar almal van die spaceship kom.
 [1605.80 s] B: [Hierso.]
 [1630.08 s] C: Ah, ek het hom, ek het hom, ek het hom. Dis, dit is weg, as jy sien my kop...
 [1641.02 s] Rover, rover...(killed)...He's been killed.
 [1655.75 s] Wie's hond.
 [1657.80 s] B: Thats a Jedi [xxx]. Who's evil here.
 [1665.67 s] C: What did evil Jedi like?
 [1669.15 s] B: (Dis nie Jedi).
 [1672.45 s] C: Jedi?
 [1674.34 s] B: Yes, ship.
 [1676.43 s] C: Was I dead Jedi? I almost said deadi.
 [1688.87 s] Hoekom is 'n kat on hierso?
 [1691.85 s] B: It's kats. You play with them. You putt them there.
 [1697.51 s] C: No I didn't.
 [1698.76 s] B: Some one did it.
 [1700.91 s] C: And there was an owl in. I did not through the cat away... [xxx] threw [xxx] away. You can hurry.
 [1731.57 s] Soek jy wit?
 [1733.85 s] B: No. Think [xxx].
 [1738.52 s] C: Speaking.
 [1743.77 s] Ek gaan in die game wees.
 [1756.72 s] Kyk.
 [1769.49 s] No.
 [1778.40 s] Fine soos hy is.
 [1789.31 s] Nou waar is jy lig?

[1810.19 s] (Sigh)
 [1813.44 s] Dis 'n Jedi mannetjie en hy... hy't 'n maanstaasch.
 [1820.24 s] B: A moustache. He has a moustache.
 [1832.58 s] C: Ek dink dit gaan oor hom... hy kan in die game wees.
 [1852.80 s] Hierso's daai pyp ding.
 [1861.16 s] And that thing was on all night you know.
 [1876.03 s] Do you know this car's on all night?
 [1884.11 s] B: No it wasn't, wasn't. We just move it then [xxx]
 [1887.45 s] C: [Ja ja.]
 [1891.71 s] I need put it in.
 [1939.12 s] Hierso.
 [1986.16 s] Waar's daai mannetjie you can skiet? Wat ons het gebring.
 [1992.00 s] Kyk net hierso...(noise).
 [2002.56 s] Hy sal na ons wys.
 [2019.52 s] Hy's ook hierso.
 [2080.03 s] Hy sit hierso. Hy sit hierso. By (Afr) his work table.
 [2195.36 s] White horse and black horse... White horse and a black horse. We need horses.
 [2201.88 s] B: [Hum.]
 [2203.99 s] Jip.
 [2205.73 s] C: Ok jy het 'n horse.
 [2208.48 s] B: Hy moet draai.
 [2210.94 s] C: Maar in die game um...
 [2213.27 s] B: Jip we're in the game.
 [2216.57 s] C: [xxx]
 [2217.40 s] B: This is a big car. Huh, ohoh.
 [2226.35 s] This is...
 [2257.01 s] C: Ons soen nou nou toe. Looking forward but I stay.
 [2297.53 s] (In response to question: What are you doing on the weekend) I already told you, I'm going to the circus. Today actually.
 [2303.40 s] (And the rest of the weekend?)
 [2306.10 s] I don't know.
 [2308.41 s] B: I am just going to lie on the couch and play playstation.
 [2312.77 s] C: [xxx] Why don't you go play outside?
 [2317.52 s] B: It's dumb outside.
 [2328.42 s] C: [xxx] Maar ons is in outerspace.
 [2337.51 s] Ja maar ek's, ek hierso, en ons is weg.
 [2348.51 s] Ons het alles gedoen nou kan ons net speel. Dit's al gedoen.
 [2355.26 s] B: [xxx] Nou kan ons net speel. Ek moet net hierdie kar regkry.
 [2365.76 s] C: Dan?
 [2367.03 s] B: Ek wil net gou boor kry.[xxx] daai gaan [xxx].
 [2379.31 s] C: You stake what?
 [2386.94 s] [xxx]
 [2399.35 s] Hey, waar's daai blokkie?
 [2402.10 s] B: Buite.
 [2405.09 s] C: Het jy 'n nog 'n een van dit gesien?
 [2407.22 s] B: Nee, ek het nie, ek het nie. Ek soek nog ene. Ek wil gou iets kyk in die kassie.
 [2418.49 s] Yes.

- [2420.76 s] Gou, vroër het ek hierdie goeters op sy gesi... gesit dan kon hy oop draai.
- [2426.29 s] Ons kyk gou. Ja.
- [2431.34 s] C: Is...Kan hy op dit gaan?
- [2438.07 s] Ag, hier's die blokkies.
- [2440.30 s] B: Waar's my mannetjie? Steyn, Steyn ag please. Huh, his head is gone!
- [2452.17 s] C: Oo, ek het hom gevat.
- [2453.83 s] B: Where's his head, no.
- [2456.06 s] C: Here, nee hierso.
- [2458.12 s] B: Hey, this wasn't, this wasn't...good quality. This one is good, ai jai.
- [2467.59 s] C: Uuh, what?
- [2473.49 s] Hierso's ek. Ready jou. Ons is is fight.
- [2480.29 s] B: I'll dare you.
- [2483.81 s] C: Ek soek negt gou jou helmet.
- [2487.06 s] B: Mmmm, where is sword?
- [2491.08 s] C: Found them.
- [2492.67 s] B: Where, where, where, where, where... Here is Louise.
- [2511.68 s] C: Nou kyk ek blits. Dit gaan my blits. is dit [xxx]
- [2519.76 s] Kyke dit, dit kan skiet. Danne gaan hy wit....(noise) En hy toe kyk en hy toe skiet. In die Jedi castle lui, lui hy. Oops.
- [2568.94 s] Wag. Hierso ja.
- [2579.23 s] Soek ons, soek ons hom? Oh oh, dit moet.
- [2583.04 s] B: [Mmmm.]
- [2588.09 s] This guy, this guy can win this. And he's, and he's
- [2590.10 s] C: [Cowboy.]
- [2627.60 s] B: [xxx]
- [2633.11 s] C: Ek het daai... 'n nog 'n Star Wars spaceship. [xxx]
- [2642.45 s] Wag jy was eers nie soldier nie.
- [2648.85 s] B: Ooh, dit is.
- [2657.37 s] C: Jy's 'n [xxx].
- [2658.90 s] B: Uhum.
- [2675.32 s] C: Jy kom speel nou. Ons het alles. Ons moet speel.
- [2683.63 s] B: You can do everything on this side. You can ride [xxx]
- [2693.93 s] C: For real?
- [2695.10 s] B: Ja.
- [2701.95 s] And you can turn.
- [2710.12 s] C: Ok, kom let's speel. Hierso kom die bad star spaceship.
- [2722.74 s] Hierso kom hy. Een (doef)...hierso's die ding.
- [2732.03 s] Oh no.
- [2736.05 s] Kyk wat staan nou hierso.
- [2737.51 s] B: Wat?
- [2739.35 s] C: (Doef) Ek skiet, nie vir regtig nie.
- [2748.44 s] (Doef doef) Starswars lifesavers, lifesavers. Waar is die Star Wars heen. Hierso is ek. Ek het die green ene.
- [2768.54 s] Ek het Star Wars lifesaver, wat die bad ene is hierso.
- [2776.07 s] Hello die bad ene is hierso.
- [2782.55 s] Ok it's wheel has to move.
- [2784.94 s] B: Ah, it's broken.
- [2789.18 s] C: The [xxx] bad guy, het jy dit gesien?
- [2796.97 s] B: Toe druk ek hom in (noise).

[2800.55 s] C: Is hy dood?
 [2802.65 s] (noises)
 [2806.61 s] Hy't, nee jy mag hom nie dood maak nie. Hy gaan na die jail gaan.
 [2815.36 s] Hy, dit gaan hierso.
 [2817.18 s] B: We need to go in the [xxx]. Put all the Jedi lightsaver. There it wasn't in. No cats.
 [2833.88 s] C: (noises)
 [2843.56 s] B: Mine wrong, oh man.
 [2845.58 s] C: Get daar more van die lifesavers.
 [2853.04 s] Ok ek moet regenerate.
 [2856.13 s] 'My' head...
 [2860.39 s] B: Hoekom ai (jok um) jy vir my?
 [2863.42 s] C: [xxx]
 [2867.05 s] B: [xxx]
 [2871.13 s] C: Nee, hy moet in jail wees.
 [2873.10 s] B: No put his father in jail.
 [2878.74 s] You did wrong.
 [2884.43 s] Where is he? Again...
 [2886.03 s] C: Wait, wait wait, go to jail.
 [2889.13 s] What you got here. Here is the jail.
 [2891.55 s] [xxx]
 [2914.85 s] [xxx]
 [2922.10 s] Ok.
 [2923.78 s] B: We just, do...
 [2926.90 s] C: Ok so, ek, I'm going out of space now.
 [2931.85 s] Uh, what, dit gaan in, daars 'n Star Wars spaceship, daar. Nie a Star Wars ene, 'n battle spaceship outside. Lets go fight with them. John.
 [2947.43 s] B: Um I'm gonna stay here [xxx]
 [2953.07 s] C: Why am I taking my jetypack instead of this? Jetpacks are always inside just in case the...
 [2966.32 s] Bye I'm going to sp...
 [2981.39 s] Ok I'll put that [xxx] down just in case I got [xxx] not piece of jail.
 [2990.74 s] B: A ruby, a ruby.
 [2994.16 s] In his chest.
 [3000.06 s] C: Hier, hierso gaan ek. I'm a [xxx]
 [3007.15 s] B: Ugh.
 [3008.58 s] C: Hierso's die Star Wars venster.
 [3014.13 s] Kom jy nie meer met die Star Wars spaceship nie
 [3017.20 s] Wat [xxx] ek kan nie.
 [3021.09 s] Hierso's 'n Star Wars spacepod.
 [3026.21 s] Kom help, kom help [xxx] need your spaceship.
 [3033.84 s] B: [xxx] you've got a gun.
 [3041.11 s] C: Skiet dit for real?
 [3042.32 s] B: Jip.
 [3044.79 s] Just
 [3045.73 s] C: Ok, I'm on that spaceship. Let's put it oon here.
 [3051.68 s] B: I want to put it there.
 [3053.40 s] I'm just gonna put it here, it's where the guy is.
 [3059.26 s] C: Ok, so I'm don't want coming a spacepod. Whoever. Anyone must come in the spacepod.

[3070.01 s] UhUH, [xxx] moet in die spacepod gaan, want hy's 'n, 'n Jedi.
[3078.88 s] B: [xxx]
[3082.22 s] C: Now.
[3083.57 s] We're looking for your house here.
[3086.59 s] B: Your home is here.
[3088.55 s] C: A nice big home.

APPENDIX B

Conversation AB final transcription

- [5.07 s] B: Starsword. Ek het die Starsword gekry.
 [16.97 s] [xxx]
 [16.99 s] A: Hier's 'n mannetjie van Star Wars.
 [23.34 s] Dan koop ons hulle vir geld op. Ons laat hulle op prison [xxx]. Geld. Hierso.
 [33.98 s] B: Hy moet ook vas gebou word.
 [36.62 s] A: Ons vat hulle Star Wars swaarde af.
 [47.29 s] B: Ek wie ek vir jou gekry het.
 [49.84 s] A: Ek weet.
 [51.57 s] B: It's Harry Potter.
 [52.58 s] A: Dan tree hy...
 [54.61 s] B: Nog 'n mannetjie van Harry Potter, nê.
 [56.35 s] A: Ek het Dobby. Dobby, Dobby, Dobby, Dobby, Dobby, Dobby, Dobby...Ek weet.
 [60.32 s] B: [GoGo.]
 [62.83 s] A: Hierso's 'n kwaai man. Ons moet hom dood skiet. Vinnig jy. Skiet hom, skiet hom.
 [66.48 s] B: Pew, Pew, Pew.
 [69.56 s] A: Of druk die Star Wars in hom.
 [72.36 s] B: Check hier.
 [74.54 s] A: Druk die Star Wars swaard in hom.
 [75.76 s] B: Ek weet wie het die ander stuk van hom.
 [77.50 s] A: Jy, druk dit vinnig daar in.
 [80.10 s] (noises)
 [83.95 s] Hy't 'n swart kop.
 [85.52 s] B: Ek weet.
 [87.11 s] Hy's 'n clown.
 [89.14 s] A: Ek weet
 [90.41 s] B: ..Nou maar hoekom is 'n clown dood.
 [93.56 s] Ah hoor hier.
 [94.94 s] A: Nee, hy's een van die... hy's van die smellmen
 [98.44 s] Hy's die smellmen van Darth Vader.
 [101.75 s] En daai ander outjie het net daai helmet aan.
 [104.42 s] B: Waar's die spaceship?
 [106.48 s] A: 'Vader'.
 [110.22 s] B: Spaceship, spaceship, spaceship!
 [112.95 s] A!
 [114.97 s] A: Mamma just weg.
 [118.58 s] B: Kyk of al die stukke daar is. Kyk of alles daar is.
 [124.53 s] A: Jou! Vat sommer die stoel staan hier wonder. Hy wil sy bene nie buig nie.
 [129.83 s] B: En daar's 'n stuk in GoGos van die core. Die core is mos in jou GoGo sakkie.
 [135.80 s] A: Daar ja.
 [137.06 s] B: Gaan kry dit. Ek het sulke ding gekry.
 [143.98 s] Ah, Ah!
 [146.47 s] Ons het 'n sharpy.
 [154.49 s] Hy is nogals cool.
 [156.87 s] A: Raai wie is Darth Vader.
 [159.80 s] B: Jy!
 [162.05 s] A: Ja.
 [162.87 s] Maar wat is sy naam?
 [165.88 s] B: Luke Skywalker.
 [167.59 s] A: (noise)

[168.82 s] Harry Potter.
 [171.84 s] B: Ek het sword gekry so.
 [178.55 s] Ek het die sword gekry.
 [181.22 s] Ek het die sword gekry.
 [182.94 s] A: Auwe, sny jy my hand.
 [189.01 s] B: Kom ons maak...
 [191.56 s] Kry al die mannetjies van dit.
 [195.44 s] A: Toe val ek in die lawa.
 [199.45 s] B: Ag, jy kan maar die sword kry. Ek sal vir my ander weapons kry.
 [203.61 s] A: Jy!
 [204.92 s] B: Wat?
 [206.79 s] A: Het jy iets vergeet?
 [208.91 s] B: Wat?
 [209.88 s] A: Daai's moet vas aanmekaar wees.
 [213.10 s] B: Dit is.
 [215.02 s] A: Jy, toe moes ek nog eers gewoont, aan jou, jy't toe, toe jy vir my dood kom maak.
 [223.70 s] B: Wat?!
 [224.81 s] A: Jy't vir my kom so maak, en toe, ah, toew val ek.
 [229.49 s] B: Ok. Ek sal jou dood maak.
 [231.67 s] A: Toe val ek in die lawa. Toe brand my klere. Kyk hier jy. Toe het my hele klere gebrand. Aaah.
 [246.06 s] Ah, my hele broek steek hulle aan die brand. En dit steek nou vir my aan die brand.
 [257.77 s] Jy, daar smelt my broek in die lawa in.
 [263.38 s] Nooo!
 [268.77 s] Toe het hulle vir my gemaak...Darth Vader. Toe, toe kan ek nie nog gelewe het nie, toe...
 [281.83 s] B: Hy maak iewers sy gass vol.
 [292.55 s] Waar's sy mannetjie? Oja!
 [297.30 s] Waar's Angin Skywalker?
 [301.54 s] ...as jy hom kry...
 [308.05 s] A: 'Die!'
 [311.43 s] Jy. Ek het my Star Wars Jedi trick. Ek is nie groot genoeg om n hand oop te maak nie maar...ek weet jy druk dit saggies daarin, en dan...
 [324.80 s] Nee.
 [326.21 s] (Battle noises)
 [334.29 s] B: Ons speel nie met mekaar se spaceships nie...Nou waar is die kraan?
 [342.73 s] A: Jy! Toe het ek genoeg gehad van jou. Toe bou ek my eie layer (lair).
 [349.94 s] B: (Noises)...What ah, What you do? Oh Mr Frankenstein.
 [361.21 s] A: Ah no, the lawa is coming, it's gonna kry, get him. Nou gaan ek amper dood jy.
 [370.10 s] Jy't niks om oor te worry nie.
 [376.18 s] B: Ek kan nog nie dood gaan nie. Ek moet goed nog op die spaceship...As ek net my mannetjie kry!
 [381.38 s] Come on! Kom kom mannetjie.
 [389.20 s] A: Wat gaan hy ooit weeg?
 [390.70 s] B: Huh?
 [391.77 s] A: Wie gaan jy ooit wees?
 [392.96 s] B: Ek weet nie.
 [395.04 s] A: Ek het Skywalker of Woody.
 [444.59 s] B: Die ding is, daar's net mannetjies, klaar gebou.
 [460.89 s] A: En ek moes met hierdie al die goed klaar gebou het. Dan sou ek vir enige iemand Harry Potter gegee het om mee te speel!
 [476.89 s] Of sommer Darth Vader.
 [492.58 s] Sal jy my huis klaar bou?
 [494.34 s] B: Nee!
 [495.73 s] A: Sal jy?
 [496.56 s] B: Nee

[497.38 s] A: Sal jy?
 [498.16 s] B: Nee.
 [498.89 s] A: Sal jy?
 [499.54 s] B: Nee.
 [500.26 s] A: Sal jy?
 [501.28 s] B: Nee.
 [501.92 s] A: Sal jy nou?
 [502.81 s] B: Nee.
 [503.59 s] A: Sal jy nou?
 [504.45 s] B: Nee.
 [505.35 s] A: Sal jy nou?
 [506.03 s] B: Nee.
 [510.25 s] Waar's daai swart kop?
 [511.60 s] A: Sal jy nou?
 [513.03 s] B: Nee.
 [517.99 s] A: Will you now?
 [520.72 s] B: No.
 [521.91 s] A: Will you now?
 [523.19 s] B: Nee.
 [523.94 s] A: Will you now?
 [524.90 s] B: Nee.
 [526.12 s] A: Will you now?
 [527.65 s] B: No.
 [530.01 s] A: I said: Will you now?
 [537.36 s] Aij!
 [547.85 s] Ek moet nog hier...
 [549.54 s] B: Ek moet nog 'n hele mannetjie kry.
 [553.17 s] A: Ag, hier kom 'n hondjie jy.
 [558.39 s] B: Is dit daai... dis daai koppie.
 [563.72 s] My handjies kry nou baie seer.
 [567.47 s] Ek sien jou A.
 [571.06 s] Hoekom sit jy nou hare daar in?
 [574.33 s] A: Dis nie hare nie.
 [575.76 s] B: Ja dit is.
 [578.18 s] A: Weet jy, weet jy wat al ooit hier is.
 [581.84 s] B: Ja, hare.
 [583.58 s] A: Transportation music.
 [586.36 s] As dit in iets raak, en dit gaan aan enige iets wat aan daai ding raak, gaan dit transport.
 [594.61 s] Waar jy dit wil hê.
 [596.93 s] B: Ah wee, dis lekker. Waar's die star's mannetjies? Ons het laas net die star's mannetjies gehad.
 [605.50 s] A: Jy!
 [606.56 s] [xxx]
 [610.90 s] Jy, iemand het dit gebreek. Iemand het gebreuk. Somebody has breached.
 [616.69 s] B: Ag, dis nie hier nie.
 [619.27 s] A: Someone has breached the (munier)-tail. It's gonna go for the car. And if someone touches it, it gonna explode.
 [630.30 s] (noises)
 [639.13 s] B: Daar vrek hy. Toe sit ek vir hom 'n nuwe kop aan en toe was hy 'n goodguy...
 Kyk my mannetjies.
 [654.22 s] A: Hoop nou hy werk.
 [656.82 s] B: Nog een kop.
 [671.49 s] A: jy wil nie sien hoe lyk ek agter hierdie masker nie.
 [677.72 s] Toe wil jy sien hoe lyk ek agter hierdie masker jy.
 [681.00 s] B: Hoe lyk jy agter die masker?
 [682.94 s] A: Ok, as jy wil rerig sien.

[686.89 s] B: Ja.
 [691.20 s] Ah, dis 'n mannetjie. Hy sal vir ons werk. Check hierdie mannetjie wat vir ons werk.

[700.76 s] A: (noise)
 [701.54 s] B: Hy werk vir ons.
 [705.20 s] A: Wat is op hom eerste/
 [707.54 s] Wat is op sy kop eerste?
 [710.03 s] B: Sulke ander flippen lelike ding.
 [712.63 s] A: Jy!
 [713.82 s] Daai was een van my Star Wars outjies aan die werk.
 [717.92 s] B: Ek weet, en nou kan ek nie sy kop kry nie.
 [721.92 s] Ek het dit hierso neergegooi, altwee, altwee.
 [726.71 s] Altwee was hierso.
 [728.86 s] Nou's hulle weg.
 [733.97 s] A: Well, nou het jy net twee kwaai manne aan die use gemaak.

[738.98 s] B: Ag, my kwaai koppe aan die use gemaak.
 [743.35 s] A: Ahm, hulle is nou (control) aan die boddies.
 [746.20 s] B: Oh ja.
 [750.17 s] A: Hulle gaan vir die munitation signal.
 [752.98 s] It's gonna explode.
 [755.26 s] [xxx] ek.
 [758.12 s] B: Dit is die hele shield A.
 [761.34 s] A: Get out!
 [765.16 s] B: Oja, A.
 [767.11 s] A: Wat?
 [767.47 s] B: Daar's niks.
 [769.16 s] A: Oh, daar.
 [771.39 s] Enigste hoe way hoe kan daar deur kom is om my...
 [777.08 s] B: No...Waar's jy?
 [778.04 s] A: En om my helmet af te haal en dan gaan ek dood.
 [783.47 s] B: [xxx] Nou waar kom hierdie pype in?
 [788.35 s] A: (noise)
 [789.27 s] B: Waar kom die pype?
 [789.58 s] A: ...kom net dit hier in. Sien ek is dood.
 [794.05 s] Jy kyk maar, ek kyk maar daar onder, ek's dood.
 [799.68 s] B: Daar's jy vrek jaai! Nou's almal happy.
 [803.78 s] A: Nee, hulle gaan nog steeds met die signal. Ek's die een wat die kode ken en hulle het my brains nou as ek dood is.

[814.52 s] B: Nou waar kom hier goed? Dit charge nie.
 [818.60 s] Waar kom hierdie pype in?
 [822.50 s] Ooh.
 [825.14 s] Nee, waar!!
 [826.65 s] Waar kom die pype in?
 [829.55 s] A: Hierso.
 [831.32 s] B: A!
 [837.06 s] Hoekom sê jy dit nie vir my nie?
 [843.26 s] A: Toe kom ek finally aan.
 [850.74 s] Must get my sword in my hand.
 [853.10 s] Jy!
 [853.91 s] B: Ok, ok.
 [855.41 s] Speel net.
 [857.26 s] Wees 'n goodguy.
 [859.12 s] A: Ek is, as ek net my helmet kan kry, vinnig. Want dit vlieg nog en dit gaan reg vir die core.

[869.82 s] Dan gaan dit explode as dit ingaan.
 [873.04 s] B: (noises)

[875.43 s] A: As ek uit is, dan kan ek nie binne wees nie.
 [879.04 s] B: (noise)
 [880.52 s] A: Ek's die enigste een wat die kode ken.
 [883.85 s] B: [xxx]
 [886.16 s] (noise)
 [890.07 s] A!
 [891.91 s] A: Wat.
 [895.78 s] B: Nou waar kom hierdie kamera?
 [900.58 s] Oh, dit click so op.
 [909.10 s] A: They've been taken control of me.
 [912.04 s] (noises)
 [916.56 s] They've taken control of me!
 [921.18 s] (Noise)
 [922.06 s] Now I'm gonna make a fall countdown. No!!! (Beep noises)
 [931.71 s] (Exploding noise)
 [932.69 s] Nee.
 [937.97 s] Val ek in die lawa. Dit is waar outjies afval as hulle dood is.
 [943.03 s] B: (noises)
 [945.45 s] A: Jy! Ek gaan nou dood gaan.
 [950.57 s] B: Gaan 'n mens regtig daar uit?
 [953.13 s] A: Ja, jy gaan dood.
 [959.00 s] Kan ons net maak, na ek daar ingevel het, het julle my Darth Vader gemaak.
 [965.83 s] B: Ok.
 [967.54 s] A: Toe het hulle vir my ingegooi.
 [970.01 s] Toe, nee, nee!
 [974.66 s] Kyk hier, hulle het toe vir my dood gemaak, jy.
 [978.14 s] (noises)
 [985.52 s] B: Dis Harry Potter.
 [989.21 s] A: Jy, as jy nie kom help nie dan gaan ek dood.
 [992.87 s] B: Uhm.
 [993.47 s] A: Jy het eers gesien, toe die kamera vir my raakgesien het.
 [998.04 s] Toe sien die kamera ek lê daar?
 [1001.94 s] B: It's a cool world. Rather stick with it.
 [1009.99 s] A: Jy moet nou sê, of, dan sien jy op jou computer. Daarso met die security kamera.
 Daar sien jy kom ek.
 [1024.68 s] B: Wag dis nie jy nie.
 [1026.75 s] A: Dit is ek.
 [1027.82 s] Julle gaan vir my in Darth Vader verander.
 [1037.83 s] Uhuh, hierso. Julle moet nog aan my werk.
 [1042.36 s] Julle moenie julle koppe om ruil nie. Dit is hoe my kop gaan lyk.
 [1048.72 s] Want die lawa het dit half geburn.
 [1054.72 s] Julle moet nou die helmet...
 [1056.48 s] B: Dis verkeerde een.
 [1058.82 s] A: Toe...toe het my helmet weggegaan.
 [1062.53 s] En toe...
 [1065.57 s] Toe kan ek nie asem kry nie, ah, ah! (Noises) Nou lê ek op die earth-core. Nou moet jy dit vinnig aansit.
 [1078.06 s] Ek het nie nog my source-powers heentoe. (Noise)
 [1085.71 s] Moet ek net gou een ding doen. My hande afhaal want eke kort dit nie nou nie.
 [1094.57 s] B: Heat the spacepod.
 [1096.47 s] A: (Noises)
 [1099.04 s] B: Shht.
 [1102.67 s] A: Luckely he's dead. Now to stop them from getting the countdown right.
 [1111.54 s] (Noises)
 [1114.61 s] They're almost getting the countdown right.
 [1124.53 s] The countdown is almost ready.
 [1129.00 s] Huh?

[1132.17 s] (Wistling)
 [1133.64 s] B: Die kamera kan jou sien nê.
 [1142.80 s] A: Aij. Hello kamera. Ek het die ding vir jou. (Blowing noises)
 [1162.31 s] (Tongue noises)
 [1167.76 s] Huh. Now I am gonna do what you all do.
 [1172.39 s] What you did, to me...
 [1177.18 s] Wat met hulle gebeur het jy.
 [1179.97 s] Wat met my gebeur het jy...
 [1181.65 s] B: Uh.
 [1182.47 s] A: Gaan nog met hulle gebeur.
 [1187.84 s] ...stamp ek hulle in.
 [1190.37 s] (noises)
 [1213.56 s] They got the countdown right.
 [1218.02 s] I don't know how, but they got it right.
 [1224.15 s] JY. O flip die ding sit nou rerig vas.
 [1227.68 s] B: Here we go.
 [1231.10 s] A: Jo, hoe sit dit vas?
 [1236.64 s] Tok, tok tok.
 [1237.92 s] Oo de hel, hoe sit daai ding vas?
 [1239.92 s] B: Oo daar.
 [1242.57 s] Draai daai ding.
 [1246.42 s] Ek gee nou op met daai ding.
 [1252.56 s] Hierso's 'n stuk.
 [1258.18 s] A: Waar's die ander stuk?
 [1266.47 s] B: Hierso's 'n generator.
 [1271.19 s] A: Julle, iemand het die countdown signals gejam.
 [1279.09 s] Ons countdown, we can't see anymore who done it.
 [1285.39 s] B: Ons bou nou die hele plek reg.
 [1288.16 s] A: Hy kom daar.
 [1292.97 s] B: Soos dit?
 [1295.12 s] O ja.
 [1296.08 s] A: O hel, jy het dit verkeerd gedoen.
 [1300.13 s] B: Ag, ons bou maar dit anderste.
 [1302.62 s] Ons bou dit cooler.
 [1306.35 s] A: Ek kan net hier, hier sit.
 [1313.83 s] B: Dan gaan ek ook 'n spaceship. (noise)
 [1316.96 s] A: Jy, kyk hier. Hierdie hele ding gaan explode.
 [1322.85 s] (noise)
 [1325.71 s] Baai.
 [1327.42 s] Toe ...(noise) toe trek ek dit af. Toe gooi ek die ding net hier. En toe gooi ek die ding daar in by julle en toe (noise).
 [1341.18 s] B: Wat nou?
 [1342.78 s] A: (noise)
 [1344.60 s] B: Jy, nee, nee.
 [1345.39 s] A: Dit kom los. Dit mag dit kan los kom hoor.
 [1349.02 s] B: Maar moenie dit doen nie. Moenie dit doen nie. Dit was vas.
 [1354.91 s] Daar...
 [1355.71 s] A: Ons moet dit los kry.
 [1359.09 s] B: Ek hou vas, ek hou vas.
 [1363.82 s] A: Toe styg dit in die lig op. met my op dit. (noises)
 [1374.00 s] Toe gooi ek by julle.
 [1379.55 s] En toe (noise).
 [1383.03 s] Toe sien julle net my mantel kom val af.
 [1388.03 s] Ah, my helmet.
 [1395.46 s] B: Nou kry my ding genoeg krag.
 [1402.89 s] A: Julle moet nou vir my begrawe jy, want ek is nou dood.
 [1411.17 s] B: Ek gaan jou nou begrawe. Ek gaan jou in 'n glaskis.

[1417.46 s] Waar's daar 'n kis?
 [1423.62 s] [xxx]
 [1427.27 s] Ah, I know, I konw.
 [1433.84 s] A: Julle moet nou gaan en almal vir my...
 [1436.58 s] Julle gaan nou almal vir my mis.
 [1439.92 s] Want ek was die ene wat julle almal gesave het.
 [1488.53 s] Ek kort 'n bietjie itching. Now must they.
 [1491.90 s] B: Trod.
 [1507.45 s] A: [xxx] my ding, hey?
 [1511.72 s] En daar werk dit jy. Ek sien nou iets.
 [1521.18 s] kyk hier.
 [1527.56 s] B: Dis 'n manekin. Dis eintlik iemand wat gelewe het.
 [1536.27 s] Which place ek 'n kis gekom.
 [1543.62 s] Daar wys dit wat het jy gehad het.
 [1548.86 s] Ah langs me ding staan.
 [1553.54 s] A: Uhhuh.
 [1554.65 s] En langs jou ding staan, wat het jy die meeste brave gedoen?
 [1560.30 s] Wat het jy die mooiste gedoen en braveste ding gedoen?
 [1566.49 s] B: Ek kan nie daai hele ding van in hou nie.
 [1569.90 s] A: Dan kyk hier jy. Maar alles staan net iets. Iets wat nou, wat ek gedoen het, op my pod. Dan, dan wys ek die ding wat ek al gedoen het.
 [1584.44 s] Driver.
 [1585.49 s] B: Ek kon nie daar gewees het nie, want hulle begrawe jou in die space en ek is nou in a battleship.
 [1592.55 s] Ek was nie iewers by 'n plek saam met 'n battleship nie.
 [1599.82 s] A: (noises)
 [1612.33 s] 'n Spacepod.
 [1616.03 s] (noises)
 [1619.64 s] Ok. Nou stoot hulle vir my in.
 [1629.66 s] B: You go get power.
 [1632.18 s] A: Hulle gaan nou weg, hulle stoot nou vir my in die lawa in.
 [1637.02 s] (noises)
 [1644.94 s] B: O ja.
 [1645.88 s] A: [xxx] maar ek het gelukkig 'n val(Schirm).
 [1653.39 s] Kyk hier ek kan vir jou dit so in s...
 [1657.05 s] Ek kan vir jou dit regmaak. kyk hier heel onder.
 [1661.30 s] B: Oooh.
 [1662.08 s] A: Daar onder is sulke...
 [1663.90 s] ...daarom breuk hy.
 [1666.49 s] Haal eerste, haal eerste jou ding uit.
 [1672.83 s] Mooi man!
 [1675.12 s] Hy moet net uit kan kom hier.
 [1684.66 s] B, al wat van my oor, julle kan nie vir my gekry het nie. Julle het...
 [1688.16 s] B: [(noises)]
 [1690.52 s] A: Nou die hele ship gebreek amper.
 [1693.22 s] B: Hy kom so.
 [1694.03 s] A: Hulle het toe, hulle het toe al daai goeters van my memories ingesit.
 [1703.15 s] Al my goeters van my memories.
 [1706.43 s] Alles wat ek al gedoen het.
 [1710.47 s] Nou gone jy.
 [1713.91 s] B: (noises)
 [1743.21 s] A: Jy, kan jy gou hier hellp?
 [1744.85 s] B: Ja.
 [1746.23 s] A: Kry om hierdie mantel hierom te kry.
 [1749.65 s] B: What?
 [1763.66 s] Toe het iemand dit aan my verkoop. Julle plek en die mense. Wat ek nodig het vir die plek.

[1780.16 s] A: Dit is wat al uit die lug uit kon val het. Na ek dood was.
 [1788.29 s] Al wat dood, wat hierso het, dit het, dit is al wat op die spaceship gelê het na ek dood was.
 [1807.56 s] (noises)
 [1810.72 s] Tot die hele ring explode.
 [1814.61 s] (noises)
 [1817.51 s] Jy, al wat oorgebly het jy, is dit en dit.
 [1825.33 s] Kyk toe julle ingekom het, toe sien julle, ek en my ding lê hier.
 [1833.64 s] En toe sien julle, ek ...
 [1839.98 s] B: Maar ons kry niks dan hier nie.
 [1846.93 s] A: Jy, hoekom, hoekom het my discovery...hierso moet julle...jy, outjie vir jou.
 [1857.27 s] Anikin Skywalker.
 [1858.85 s] B: Anikin Skywalker.
 [1861.96 s] Sulke, hierdie hare van my. Ek hou nie van die hare nie.
 [1867.58 s] Hierdie hare, hierdie hare, hierdie hare.
 [1874.93 s] (noises)
 [1878.97 s] A: Niemand kan vir my gesien het nie jy.
 [1882.09 s] Ek...
 [1888.99 s] In die spaceship.
 [1903.15 s] B: Wat doen jy?
 [1904.81 s] A: Do it.
 [1904.82 s] B: [Wat het nou gebeur?]
 [1906.63 s] Moenie laaste wees. Doen iets.
 [1906.83 s] A: (noises)
 [1910.59 s] B: Steel jy nou 'n spaceship?
 [1912.40 s] A: (noise)
 [1927.16 s] Ah, ek steel sy fuel.
 [1929.84 s] B: Sy wat?
 [1932.59 s] A: Ek het dit gesny, na dit na iewers anders toe gaan.
 [1937.91 s] (noise)
 [1940.20 s] Toe gaan dit in my boks in.
 [1944.14 s] Dis al wat ek gekort het.
 [1948.02 s] B: Al wat jy gesê het...
 [1948.96 s] A: Toe [xxx] toe sny, toe sny jy dit oop.
 [1953.22 s] En toe's ek, NO!. En toe het jy gesê, Ek ken daai voice.
 [1959.18 s] B: [xxx]
 [1961.57 s] A: Want, want dit is ek toe.
 [1973.09 s] (Noises)
 [1979.77 s] [xxx]
 [1983.20 s] B: Jou flippen wat?
 [1984.93 s] A: my flippen (tollewan)
 [1991.64 s] B: Jou flippen tol.
 [1993.71 s] Jou flippen tolleman.
 [1995.59 s] A: (noises)
 [2017.74 s] B: Nou check ek dat alles goed is en...
 [2022.25 s] A: Jy die kamera kan nie meer vir ons sien nie. (noises).
 [2034.69 s] End of transcription.

APPENDIX C

Conversation AC__final_transcription

- [2.65 s] A: Jy moet nog daai kop van daai groen outjie reg hom kry voor jy kan met hom speel.
- [8.79 s] Want hy- hy's die pilot van die vlieg - maar, C ons het nie meer ons vliegtuie, ons, daai groot spaceship en daai ding se staander.
- [21.09 s] C: Okay, maar kan ons met Lea speel? (xxx) waar ons net met, um, (xxx)
- [33.75 s] (xxx) Spaceship (noises).
- [47.61 s] Hey.
- [53.57 s] A: (xxx) Ek het daai kop gekry. (noise) Dis altyd moeilik om hierdie lyf in te kry.
- [69.36 s] C: Waar's daai guy wat gaan in hierso?
- [114.61 s] A: C! Kyk hier's die groot propeller.
- [116.01 s] C: [Huh?]
- [118.58 s] [Yoh.]
- [121.65 s] A: Ek gaan myne gebruik vir 'n boot.
- [124.89 s] C: (xxx)
- [130.76 s] Yoh.
- [153.51 s] A: [(I'm in.)]
- [155.51 s] [(noise)]
- [163.51 s] [(noise)]
- [225.54 s] [Waar's Mamma, Boeta? ... Ek wou net gou vir my ma gewys het ek doen dit. Sy gaan my -]
- [264.01 s] [C! Kyk hier. Drie propellers. [...] kyk hierdie (xxx), hahahaha!]
- [291.06 s] (xxx)
- [295.45 s] C: [Hey.]
- [297.22 s] Aw, I can't find (xxx).
- [299.94 s] A: Ek maak dit nounou.
- [301.45 s] C: Aw, ja, ons gaan nou (bike ry).
- [310.77 s] Humpty Dumpty sat on the wall, Humpty Dumpty had a great fall!
- [319.24 s] All the king's men and all the king's horses couldn't put Humpty Dumpty together again.
- [326.16 s] (humming)
- [331.23 s] (singing)
- [364.48 s] A: (xxx) is te groot om aan te hou (xxx).
- [373.84 s] [...], moenie vergeet vir GoGo nie. [...], GoGo.
- [406.73 s] C: Waar's daai klein dingetjie klein - O, daar.
- [437.99 s] A: C! Hier gaan 'n deur moet kom, so jy moenie daar toebou nie.
- [439.86 s] C: [Ja?]
- [443.18 s] (xxx)
- [445.05 s] Hierso's 'n deur vir jou.
- [454.43 s] (xxx) Awesome (xxx).
- [464.17 s] A: [Ek weet.]
- [468.55 s] C: Wie's dit?
- [470.91 s] A: Dis altyd vir my moeilik. My ma -
- [475.48 s] C: Yoh - ek het dit gedoen.
- [480.21 s] A: Ek weet maar dit (het) ook swaarde in sy (hand) (xxx).
- [483.01 s] C: Ek weet.
- [483.87 s] A: Maar hy's die verkeerde mannetjie.
- [488.05 s] Daar's ander daar - ons het net die speeling (opgehou).
- [494.31 s] My draak is 'n speelding - van ek nou -
- [498.08 s] C: Het jy nog 'n een van hulle?
- [499.79 s] A: Ja.
- [501.25 s] C: Waarso?
- [502.08 s] A: By my huis.
- [505.09 s] C: En het jy these swords?

[507.76 s] A: Ja.
 [509.35 s] C: Waar?
 [510.57 s] A: By my huis.
 [519.25 s] C: (noise) They're so fast that the man flings off.
 [552.62 s] Kyk, hy spin, en hy - die mannetjie (spray) nie af nie.
 [616.82 s] (noise)
 [619.86 s] Ek is dit mannetjie. Ek's dit mannetjie. Ek is dit mannetjie, so ek (xxx). Ek's (wit).
 [637.96 s] A: (xxx)
 [639.77 s] C: Wat?
 [640.87 s] A: Come on.
 [648.32 s] Ons vat ons huise in die lug op as iemand terwyl die nag en ek's nie by die huis, en iemand breek in, die pyl kom bo! die lug.
 [666.74 s] Ha-ah, net so! Ons kort dit vas nou.
 [677.16 s] C: Jy moet nou gaan.
 [716.34 s] Waar gaan die dak wees?
 [727.45 s] Waar gaan die dak wees?
 [730.75 s] A: Ons het - gaan nie 'n dak hê nie.
 [732.67 s] C: O, like dan ons gaan (tight) wees.
 [737.24 s] A: Dat ons mannetjies kan beweeg.
 [740.61 s] C: That's (xxx) mannetjie, waar's jou mannetjie?
 [745.23 s] A: (xxx)
 [751.78 s] C: Okay.
 [753.16 s] A: Ha-ah hierso's hy. (noise)
 [756.48 s] C: 'n GoGo!
 [758.66 s] A: Kyk hoe goed kan ek dit doen.
 [762.74 s] C: Yoh.
 [764.11 s] A: Ek kan ook iets doodmaak met dit.
 [766.83 s] C: En jy him skiet so fast dat jy can maak 'n - 'n (xxx)
 [775.64 s] A: Kom ons kyk gou of ons - van ons een - okay k'ons gaan teen die leer. Dit wil nie so maklik altyd werk nie. Sien jy dis los. (Ek gaan nou 'n bietjie).
 [828.07 s] C, jy hoef nie dit te doen nie.
 [830.51 s] C: Wat?
 [831.21 s] A: Want hierso bo gaan ons nie meer aan bou nie.
 [835.99 s] C: O, maar dan moet ek dit afvat.
 [839.86 s] A: Dit afhaal.
 [841.60 s] C: O.
 [844.17 s] A: (Tannie), hier's 'n ding in sy (oges).
 [853.81 s] C: (xxx)
 [857.97 s] A: Hier's (xxx)
 [865.59 s] Dit moet iewers langer aan kan kom.
 [881.77 s] C: Hy kom in to the huis (noise).
 [888.65 s] A: Dit is nie nog reg nnie.
 [890.15 s] C: Mmm-hmm.
 [905.20 s] A: Hierso kom dit.
 [910.03 s] C: Okay, this is klaar.
 [920.71 s] Klaar nou!
 [925.49 s] A: Nee, ek moet nog iets bou.
 [927.75 s] C: Ah, daar's (xxx).
 [942.65 s] Jy must be (xxx) en ek (xxx) (sings). Ek sal nou Darth Vader wees, hee-hee-hee-hee! (xxx)
 [982.88 s] Okay, ek (sing) kee-kee-kee! (niks, niks) Waar's die TV?
 [992.72 s] Ek gaan nou TV maak, maak.
 [1000.64 s] Ee-ee-ee-ee!
 [1002.30 s] A: Kom, jy hou hom verkeerd. Kyk hier, hy moet ...
 [1007.21 s] ... hierso wees.
 [1018.84 s] nou kan ons dit indruk, en nou -

- [1027.91 s] Dis 'n alarm.
- [1030.53 s] C: Ek het die alarm afgesit.
- [1033.36 s] A: Hier's 'it. O, jy kan nie die alarm hierso afkry nie. Ek het die sleutel.
- [1041.25 s] C: Nee, ek het through the windows gejump.
- [1044.34 s] A: Nee, man! Hoekom het ek met oop vensters gesit?
- [1054.97 s] C: Ek's (asap) klaar. Ek net maak die TV.
- [1093.44 s] (xxx)
- [1096.27 s] A: Okay.
- [1098.12 s] C: Waar's daai ander lig - liggie like that? Ek soek dit (mos).
- [1106.45 s] A: Wat's haar naam?
- [1108.12 s] C: Okay, maar dit - en dit kan lossier.
- [1111.47 s] A: Ah, nee dis die verkeerde een. Of jy kan sulke twee rooies maak. As ek - as ek die - die twee (xxx).
- [1123.57 s]
- [1131.32 s] C: Want dit gaan nie in huis nie wat sê ons het nie 'n TV nie.(xxx).
- [1152.53 s] A: Ons hond is hier binne.
- [1154.51 s] C: Ah.
- [1158.82 s] Ja, ons het 'n hondjie.
- [1169.26 s] A: (xxx)
- [1172.58 s] Hierso's die regte outjie wat daarop moet kom.
- [1181.67 s] C: (xxx)
- [1185.82 s] A: En hierso's die regte - jy's hierbinne! Oh, daar is dit.
Hierdie is die verkeerde outjie vir die spin. Hier's die regte outjie.
- [1204.69 s] Kyk hier.
- [1207.49 s] C: Ek (xxx).
- [1211.18 s] A: Dis nou leë man staan. Kyk nou hoe maak hom dood. So,so. Maar - daar kom sy een been los. Nee!
- [1223.38 s] C: (xxx)
- [1224.91 s] A: Ja, jy moet hom so draai laat jy hom om kan (slaan).
- [1229.64 s] C: Ek weet.
- [1244.47 s] Where's the (xxx) - oh, there. (noise)
- [1255.22 s] A: C! ons kan nou ingaan.
- [1257.32 s] C: Ek het hierso. Yoh! Boom! It still spins.
- [1266.36 s] A: C, die deur kan nie meer oop nie, jy't (vir my) gemaak so.
- [1296.17 s] Nou kan niemand hier inbreek nie.
- [1298.82 s] C: Nou ons is hom. Nou it's hom.
- [1303.93 s] (xxx)
- [1309.08 s] Ja!
- [1314.08 s] A: Maar jy mag nie hulle aan change nie want dis een van my outjies.
- [1317.88 s] C: Outjie mag change.
- [1319.54 s] A: Hy kom - ah! Daar gaan hy in te breek. Nou moet jy gou probeer om in te kom breek.
- [1333.20 s] Hierso's 'n (xxx) ding wat ek daar indruk.
- [1341.74 s] Ek moes die dop eers uithaal.
- [1349.76 s] C: En ek het nie voete nie, ek - ek - dit's my karretjie, kyk hierso, dit's my karretjie.
- [1356.46 s] (noise)
- [1358.97 s] (xxx) And hierso's my - hierso's my brother. I mean hierso's my sister, sy's kleiner dan my.
- [1370.63 s] Okay.
- [1372.22 s] A: And sy moet hierso staan met my - met die hond.
- [1377.82 s] K'ons sê jy moet hier in kom breek het. Maar jy kan nie, kyk daar.
- [1380.26 s] C: Maar dis eintlik maklik vir my. O, dit.
- [1389.04 s] Maar ek come through the window.
- [1393.53 s] A: Ek het niks vensters opgesit nie.
- [1396.41 s] C: (noise) Dan ek kan - dan ek sê little sister! Ek's hierso!
- [1406.99 s] Hello! Dis my karretjies. Ek moet uit.

- [1413.56 s] A: (xxx) Yoh, jy het (xxx) geweet van dit. En ek het nou gekom en vir julle toegesluit.
- [1425.57 s] C: (noise)
- [1426.46 s] A: En toe lê die hond so. Kom maar uit. En toe - en nou gaan ek vir julle -
- [1432.22 s] C: En ek het 'n sword, ek moet net (noise).
- [1436.01 s] A: Ha-ah jy kan nie deur nie.
- [1437.15 s] C: Waar is - daar is (xxx) kyk hierso, kyk hierso. Sien , die TV het dit gedoen.
- [1446.25 s] So ek kan uitkom, want daar's 'n fire en jy's in die huis, dan jy en dan - dan daar moet wees 'n crack, want dan ons kan, dan ons kan dit stukkendmaak. Jy-jy sit, kon sou dit, want dit gaan super (noise), dit gaan afgaan, dan ons gaan dit stukkendmaak met my sword. Dan dit gaan uitkom.
- [1472.98 s] A: Hierso, is dit nou vas? Daai muur kan nie uit nie.
- [1483.32 s] C: (noise)
- [1485.65 s] A: Dit spuit nou acid uit. Julle moet vinnig uitkom! Voor dit - voor jul - gaan doodgaan.
- [1486.04 s] C:
- [1493.95 s] (noise) Nou's dit die expert, jy moet dit skop. Die muur gaan stukkendmaak, wat emergency expert (jy gaan moet) skop. Ek skop so hard dat die - ek skop so hared dat die house (noise).
- [1528.74 s] A: Breek die heelyd die huis.
- [1530.84 s] (xxx) heelyd orals, ons moet kyk waar die deur kan kom, want jy mag nie in die deur kom nie en ons maak nou so.
- [1541.91 s] C: (noise)
- [1543.98 s] A: (noise)
- [1545.01 s] C: Waar's sy ding? Ek - jy't nou maar een daarso gesit.
- [1553.01 s] A: wag gou net.
- [1554.23 s] C: (noise)
- [1557.25 s] A: Dit kan nie oop nie, want (xxx) pas en al.
- [1559.04 s] C: [Ja, ek weet.]
- [1563.51 s] So, ek is stuck in.
- [1584.65 s] A: Dis stukkend.
- [1585.07 s] C: No, dit's, um, sleeping (blaas), so ons net sleep.
- [1591.99 s] A: Nou slaap julle.
- [1593.21 s] (xxx) Dit moet daar wees, dit moet daar wees.
- [1593.64 s] C: [Want-want jy't gekom, jy gaan who's in my house.]
- [1602.08 s] [Who's in my house?]
- [1606.34 s] A: Want ons moet dit so kan oopdruk.
- [1609.79 s] C: Who's in my house? Oh, you two. Get out of my house, you have to ask first. Huh? What happened? You were in my house!
- [1622.41 s] Say where's my sword?
- [1625.38 s] Waar's sy sword?
- [1627.15 s] O.
- [1630.83 s] I (has) the sword.
- [1634.01 s] A: Nou gooi hom maar hier weg.
- [1635.81 s] C: Hoekom?
- [1636.06 s] A: Dan hou ons die pyltjie, want as julle nou dit hier ingedruk het, dan (gaan dit geslaap het).
- [1644.54 s] C: (xxx) Jy gaan doodgaan. Want jy (xxx) doodgaan.
- [1651.29 s] (noise)
- [1653.55 s] Ek gaan net die stokkie (druk).
- [1658.07 s] (noise)
- [1667.64 s] Dan jy gekyk.
- [1679.79 s] (noise) Yoh! Hy't ook afgeval.
- [1685.69 s] How did you do that?
- [1699.17 s] A: Vat al die stukke en toe (noise)
- [1704.20 s] C: Ek kan 'n whirlpool maak met wit and then ek kan (noise).

[1710.93 s] A: (noise)
 [1713.71 s] C: (noise)
 [1719.94 s] Where's the door gone?
 [1735.49 s] A: (noise)
 [1749.23 s] (noise)
 [1754.21 s] (noise)
 [1761.23 s] (noise)
 [1762.94 s] C: (noise) Jy't die door kicked dat ek gaan - wat ek gestoot het, dan (noise).
 [1782.41 s] A: (noise)
 [1785.26 s] C: (noise)
 [1790.66 s] A: (xxx)
 [1798.37 s] C: (noise)
 [1835.59 s] I (xxx) two hundred and (xxx) come on!
 [1840.49 s] You have to let me in en then jy't geskop weer, (noise).
 [1848.42 s] Waar's die core? Jy't nie die core nie.
 [1865.64 s] (Cut that core dan).
 [1869.77 s] This is (xxx)
 [1887.38 s] A: (noise)
 [1896.44 s] C: Kyk my suster kan nie 'n (car ride) nie.
 [1901.36 s] A: Ek sit hom hier want jou suster is hier, dis ek.
 [1903.42 s] C: Ja.
 [1924.84 s] A: Dis ek, hoor. Ek het in haar verander.
 [1932.43 s] C: Het jy nog 'n mense daar?
 [1934.81 s] A: My ander mens is nou dood, want ek het al my powers vir haar gegee, toe't ek nou verander in haar.
 [1944.71 s] C: I'm sorry. I'm sorry. I'm sorry.
 [1953.18 s] I'm sorry.
 [1958.09 s] Ek het gejump into jou (handstoel). Was hy locked?
 [1968.85 s] A: Onthou jy nie ek het mos al my power vir - al my power vir haar gegee nie. So sy kan ook jump.
 [1980.49 s] C: (noise)
 [1984.85 s] Jy't my geskop uit, nee jy't my geskop uit.
 [1989.56 s] Maar ek het hierso.
 [1991.51 s] (noise)
 [1994.73 s] Ow.
 [1995.84 s] Let me in! Dan - dan ek iets gehardloop (noise), ek is stuck.
 [2007.09 s] A: (noise)
 [2009.59 s] (noise)
 [2011.77 s] C: Waar was jy daar?Hey, dis my sword!
 [2017.67 s] A: (noise)
 [2025.02 s] C: Uh!
 [2028.26 s] No, let me in! (noise) Whoopsie.
 [2032.79 s] A: Hahaha!
 [2034.06 s] C: Nou kan never inkom nie. Jy moet nou daarso sit een.
 [2040.82 s] Daai ene daarso, jy moet daai ene daarso. So, jy kan -jy kan - jy kan net uitkom, maar nie ek kan nie inkom nie.
 [2044.73 s] A: [Hah-ah.]
 [2061.97 s] C: Dan ek het - ek kan superpowers swap, so ek kan dit doen (noise).
 [2070.10 s] So, jy - so ek is -
 [2074.34 s] jy is -
 [2075.94 s] jy's binne in.
 [2077.84 s] Hello (xxx).
 [2093.80 s] A: Toe swap ons plekke.
 [2095.87 s] C: Ja.
 [2096.87 s] Dit een is jou - jy is hom nou.
 [2100.26 s] Ek's hom.

[2103.67 s] Want jy't su- - want ek kan ook superpowers swap nou,
want sy gaan nou weers super(powers swap.
[2115.74 s] A: Ek gaan vir julle nail.
[2117.68 s] Maar (jy kan nie vandag nie). Hello Mamma.
[2121.77 s] (xxx) ietsie gaan doen?
[2132.88 s] C: (xxx)
[2164.92 s] (noise) Ek's in! Ek's in!
[2175.82 s] Dan jy't 'n muur daarso gesit. So, en jy - en sy het superpowers sodat sy kan jump
over the wall.
[2186.20 s] A: Ja!
[2188.70 s] Ek het jou superpowers gevat!
[2192.42 s] Nee, jy (xxx).
[2194.13 s] C: Jy't hom die superpowers daarso (xxx) kan swap, dis al.
[2217.79 s] A: Ek moet net gou hier iets doen, hierdie mannetjies -
[2224.31 s] (xxx)
[2247.17 s] C: (xxx) gaan uit sy (smoke) en make 'n bubble!
[2260.51 s] A: (xxx)
[2279.52 s] (xxx)
[2282.93 s] Mamma, (xxx).
[2292.74 s] Kyk hier, dis 'n (ice tea).
[2317.62 s] C: Ek het superpowers, so ek - ek het - ek het my siperpowers -
[2350.49 s] Ek het superpowers geswap.
[2356.91 s] Ek het my superpowers sodat ons kan swap.
[2394.51 s] Dan ek het in die car (gespring).
[2406.74 s] A: Kyk nou hier.
[2409.59 s] C: watter een is myne?
[2421.02 s] A: This is where the transcription ends.

APPENDIX D

Triadic conversation Final Transcription

[0 s] A:

[0.11 s]

[3.33 s] B: Darth Vader is nie hier nie.

[5.46 s] A: Ek weet, ek weet Darth Vader is nie hier nie.

[9.09 s] B: [xxx]

[13.84 s] C: Ben 10, and [xxx] and [xxx] hundred.

[20.57 s] B: Yay. Ach dis hoe die...

[24.13 s] A: Dis my Lego.

[26.36 s] C: Wats this?

[26.78 s] B: Waar, waar, waar?

[28.09 s] A: Darth Vader Lord.

[29.42 s] C: A bakugan.

[31.54 s] A: Nee, kyk hier, hierdie outjie is die kwaanste outjie hoor.

[34.42 s] C: Kyk hierso daar koek hy.

[36.40 s] B: Ja daai spuit.

[36.49 s] A: [Dan los hierdie outjie, los hierdie outjie.]

[39.31 s] Dis my Harry Potter, ek soek nou my Harry Potter goed.

[41.87 s] B: Ek soek net Star Wars goed want dit lyk soos 'n Star Wars plek. Net Star Wars goed.

[46.67 s] A: Dit is Star Wars, 'n Star Wars plek.

[49.53 s] [...] om dit te wys.

[52.81 s] Ek wil ook die GoGoes speel.

[53.28 s] C:

[55.49 s] B: [[xxx]]

[56.63 s] OK, ek sal saam.

[57.50 s] [xxx]

[59.29 s] [xxx]

[63.33 s] A: [xxx]

[67.08 s] B: Ek speel met joune.

[70.32 s] C: Dis my GoGoes.

[73.50 s] A: Ek kies hierdie...

[75.09 s] Net drie. Just three.

[77.77 s] C: Ok.

[78.20 s] A: Hahuh, nou four.

[79.86 s] C: Ok, everyone take four and there are extras that we...extras...

[84.69 s] A: Hierdie outjie is my favorite outjie want hy het 'n lekker bom. Hierdie is die enigste outjie wat [xxx name of GoGo] kan bom.

[92.14 s] C: Huh, ek moet hom.

[94.04 s] A: Jy't four. You have four, and jy't al klaar vier.

[99.63 s] Auwe.

[100.54 s] B: Linker voet.

[102.43 s] A: Auwe, nee. Ek wil een van my outjies nou verruil vir 'n outjie.

[106.43 s] Nee, hierdie outjie, en hierdie outjie.

[112.45 s] C: Ek het daai mannetjie gewen.

[117.24 s] A: Julle wil nie met GoGo speel nie?

[119.49 s] B: Ek nie. Ek wil met jou GoGoes speel.

[123.49 s] C: Kyk my Star Wars [xxx] ...

[125.36 s] A: [[xxx]]

[128.42 s] Wil jy, [xxx] wil nie eers GoGoes speel saam met my nie.

[133.79 s] B: Kom ons...

[138.22 s] A:

[147.34 s] C: [Star Wars people.]

[148.58 s] B: Nee, dis 'n Starwar...

[152.15 s] A: Maar dit moet daar bly in.
 [157.08 s] B: Oh ek verstaan, staan gebeur. Jy gaan daai ding dan skiet hy weg.
 [168.34 s] C: Het hom.
 [170.29 s] Daai , daai dan is die baas van, ek wil van die Star Wars.
 [175.38 s] A: Sit en kyk hier, [xxx] kyk hier [xxx].
 [179.22 s] C: Hy's maar hy's dood nou want UHM [xxx]...
 [182.44 s] A: Waar's hierdie outjie. Dobby, are you there?
 [186.56 s] C: [Wie's Dobby?]
 [188.28 s] B: Uhm, hy's Star Wars.
 [190.53 s] A: Huhumm.
 [192.28 s] Dobby is van Harry Potter.
 [194.75 s] B: Huh, oja, die mannetjie dingetjie.
 [198.07 s] A: Hy weet.
 [200.26 s] Dobby toe gaan Star Wars se logo saam. Where is 'my sak'?
 [207.83 s] Oh jaai, Star Wars swaard.
 [210.09 s] C: A triangle.
 [211.36 s] B: A.
 [212.30 s] A: Ok! Ek het al klaar my eie Star Wars swaard.
 [215.97 s] Wat julle... Aah Star Wars sword.
 [221.10 s] C: Kyk hierso, dis...
 [223.51 s] A: Julle kyk hier na my...
 [224.03 s] B: Daai's nie Star Wars nie. Dis nie startwars nie.
 [230.53 s] Nein.
 [231.78 s] A: Naai, Johnaton. Kyk hier.
 [237.67 s] B: This is from Harry Potter.
 [240.23 s] A: Huhuh, dis nie Harry Potter se goed nie.
 [242.48 s] B: Dit lyk soos Harry Potter se goed.
 [244.87 s] A: Dit is nie.
 [245.80 s] B: O...
 [246.03 s] A: Gaan weg goed!!!
 [248.33 s] B: Dis Anakin Skywalker kit.
 [252.27 s] A: Ek weet.
 [255.72 s] Julle weet julle moet mooi praat want die screen hoor.
 [260.08 s] S: Nee julle kan maar net speel. Die kamera kan julle hoor.
 [265.43 s] A: So kan ons dan iets lekik sê vir mekaar dan kan die kamera dan dit afneem?
 [270.61 s] S: Ja.
 [271.75 s] A: Oop lug
 [273.94 s] B: A.
 [274.90 s] A: [xxx]
 [278.93 s] B: A die kamera kan jou hoor.
 [282.15 s] A: Neehy kan nie, hy's doof.
 [285.63 s] B: Dan moet jy clown, dan moet jy sound afsit.
 [290.57 s] A: Ok
 [292.42 s] B: A stop!
 [294.02 s] S: Jy mag nie daarmee speel nie.
 [295.43 s] A: Sy battery blou, sy battery blou
 [296.90 s] S: Nee hy maak so om te record hoor.
 [299.84 s] A: M E M E U
 [303.40 s] B: Nee, dit beteken, dit beteken tyd.
 [306.27 s] C: What?
 [307.01 s] (noise)
 [307.86 s] B: Die rooi kolletjie is tyd
 [309.08 s] S: Hy's besig om te record, ja.
 [311.62 s] B: Ek weet dit van die geel Bollywood kostuum
 [333.19 s] Is dit ook van die. O nee, dis 'n ander een...Ek het die.
 [341.27 s] A: (Loud noise0.
 [343.71 s] B: A...

[344.37 s] A: ...Op 'n computer...

[347.75 s] B: Daarso, gegly het.

[351.23 s] C: Wat?

[352.68 s] A: [xxx]

[356.71 s] B: What's happening?

[363.85 s] C: Look at this.

[367.58 s] A: [xxx] net nou gesê mamma? Wat het jy netnou gesê? [xxx]gesê attack A.

[378.46 s] Jy, ek het mos nog 'n ou ding wat gebou het. Ok, tyd om hom te breuk.

[384.50 s] B: Wat?

[385.61 s] A: Die computer binne in.

[390.07 s] C: Hey, ek probeer die drone herstel. Hy's al stukkend gemaak.

[395.57 s] A: Kyk hier! Ek het dit gemaak net soos 'n mevrou [xxx] want hy't nou olie ook.

[402.61 s] S: Maar jy moet vir Chris wys hoe werk daai ding. Wat hy alles kan doen.

[405.67 s] A: Ek wil net gou hierdie vierkant-blokkie daar onder kry [xxx]...

[412.55 s] B: Ek gaan die ships vir my bou.

[414.87 s] A: Ek gaan ook.

[415.88 s] B: Ek het daai blokkie eerste.

[419.82 s] C: Jy wat sulkes het?

[421.96 s] B: Mmm.

[423.35 s] A: Jy! Ek het iets gesit.

[426.55 s] B: Hy's [xxx] die (cruise-ships) om die hele wêreld, ek het saggies gesit.

[428.76 s] C: [Hy's my baas...hy's die baas.]

[432.49 s] A: Los!

[435.94 s] Los jy!

[437.47 s] B: Ja, sho.

[441.90 s] Sho.

[442.99 s] C: En nou dit gaan af ... (noises).??

[445.43 s] A: [xxx] vir iets anders.

[448.46 s] [xxx]

[450.44 s] C: Kyk hierso, daar's 'n...ek gaan my...stukkend...ah.

[458.31 s] B: Dan force jy die ding.

[460.13 s] A: Ons cope, maar hoe gaan dit met die core? Gou, die core is broken. Ek 'see' hom

[465.91 s] What does this mean, die een?

[468.28 s] ...die een.

[471.76 s] B: Het jy geweet?

[474.56 s] A: Nee, gee, gee. Daar's jou [xxx] (kop).

[479.55 s] B: Ek het vir jou gevra, is daai die kop, toe sê jy nee.

[483.45 s] A: Ek's nou bored van hierdie.

[490.11 s] B: A.

[497.22 s] A: Kom, vat al die weapons in die secret plek in.

[502.52 s] B: [xxx], vat Star Wars se goedvhier buite om... Net wat Star Wars se goed.

[511.22 s] A: Aah.

[513.33 s] Dis of 'n walky-talky of 'n [xxx].

[516.35 s] C: Ek gaan...

[517.87 s] B: Hier's jou ander spaceship [xxx].

[519.81 s] A: Nee.

[522.54 s] B: I see.

[524.68 s] A: Ons werk nie meer hier by al die controls nie.

[527.83 s] B: Wait...Dis nie daai ding [xxx].

[532.03 s] C: Ok, I'll get you that one...people p...

[533.67 s] B: [Ek wil Star Wars...]

[536.99 s] A: Hierdie outjie.

[540.57 s] Wag, daai ene.

[542.78 s] C: Ek's hom, hy's die baas. Ek's serious. Hy's die baas.

[547.73 s] Ek's...

[548.45 s] Ek het hom gesien en hy was die baas.

[551.49 s] B: A, dit is nie mooi nie.

[553.31 s] A: Nuhuh, ek het 'n outjie gecapture by...die villain
 [556.53 s] C: Ja nou, ja nou...hy's myne
 [561.23 s] B: Ek gaan, ek kyk, ek kyk vir ander.
 [564.69 s] A: [xxx]
 [567.65 s] C: [Kyk hierso.]
 [571.47 s] A: Ah. Mamma kan jy gou hierdie twee goeters van mekaar haal?
 [580.21 s] Sy poephol het so gegaan van die koue. Maar so vat hom gou en kyk hier, dit kan hy ook doen. Hierso, mamma, hierso is 'n hooghyser waarby hy kom en toe hier word ek 'n kat in my huis, en dan 'n kat in die ander een en dan kan ek daart afgang. En dan woho, en sien dan sny ek die ding af. Ek kan power cords uittrek.

[607.72 s] B: [xxx] die Harry Potter mooi...
 [612.52 s] C: Star Wars spaceship come in.
 [614.41 s] A: Nee.
 [615.09 s] C: Star Wars spaceship come in.
 [616.96 s] A: Awe! [xxx]
 [618.45 s] Ek gaan net gou bou.
 [620.28 s] C: Nee wag gou.
 [622.43 s] Dis die Star Wars spaceship.
 [624.78 s] A: Nee dit is nie.
 [626.86 s] C: Ok, wat is dit?
 [628.41 s] A: The spaceship.
 [632.02 s] C: Kyk hierso.
 [633.74 s] A: Hierso kom hy in die... Jonaphan bug out!
 [637.37 s] B: Wat, wat?
 [639.74 s] (noises)
 [643.66 s] Wat? Nee.
 [647.57 s] C: Wat's dit.
 [648.01 s] A: Wag net gou...Watch out for my speed destroyed not.
 [652.89 s] B: Wat?
 [663.97 s] Nee, wat doen jy nou?
 [666.15 s] A: Wil net hom los kry.
 [668.28 s] B: Hoe?
 [669.08 s] Wie se dog?
 [672.98 s] C: Wag ek het hom.
 [674.33 s] B: Sien ek hom?
 [675.79 s] C: Kyk hier so wat...
 [677.37 s] A: Hier, daai sit iin die lig op julle.
 [680.13 s] C: Wie wil wit dak hê.
 [682.68 s] A: Hierso...sien.
 [686.20 s] Julle moet nie dat ek in die lig op sit, ride nie. Ek's die enigste hope om julle te help.
 [693.42 s] (noises)

[694.46 s] B: If we want the low we start...
 [696.34 s] A: Nee.
 [697.44 s] B: In time for...
 [700.00 s] A: Dan sal ek bly.
 [702.43 s] B: Hoekom is hierso planes?
 [704.81 s] A: Tussen heliopter laat almal kan sien.
 [708.70 s] B: Daar's die outjie weg. Ek het op een, vier rand gesit.
 [713.89 s] A: Hulle gaan nou in die lug opstyg. Toe's hulle weg.
 [717.34 s] B: Nee, hulle kan op die , op die lug opstyg. Kom ons sê ja is, al ligte is blou. Dis blou.
 [725.58 s] A: Ek try dit in die lig op te kry. Maar kyk hier, myne is soos vinnig die lig, en dan hoër.
 [735.15 s] B: ??????????????
 [740.04 s] ??????
 [742.97 s] Nee

[743.77 s] C: Ok she's gonna sh...Maar gaan my.
 [746.67 s] A: Ek het julle engin uitgetrek hoor.
 [748.83 s] B: Nee.
 [750.23 s] A: Dan wat is hierdie grys ding?
 [753.50 s] B: Dis niks.
 [754.39 s] Daai, daai was daarin...die engin.
 [759.55 s] C: Hy [xxx](koker aan dit). No, no.
 [764.00 s] B: Ek kry hom boos.
 [766.96 s] A: Myne, ek hoop julle begin hier...(noises) sien.
 [773.37 s] B: A! Nee.
 [775.61 s] Nee... Stefan...luister hierso.
 [779.42 s] A: Ok! Ok, jy...ok.
 [781.97 s] C: Ok, dis die water-room.
 [784.88 s] A: Nee, daar is niks water daar binne nie. Ma C daai huis is van water gemaak.
 [790.70 s] S: 'n Mens kan mos so speel.
 [792.42 s] A: [xxx] ... die hele wêreld is van water gemaak.
 [798.02 s] B: Nee.
 [800.28 s] A: Wha...uit water het [xxx] (Snake) toe gekom.
 [802.78 s] B: Ja [xxx] maar dis nie [xxx]
 [808.63 s] C: Kyk
 [810.22 s] A: Waar's 'n, waar's 'n balletjie. Waar's 'n balletjie.
 [813.85 s] C: Ek het so 'n ding. Kyk hierso, kyk hierso, dit, dit. Kyk hierso.
 [822.14 s] B: Ek weet.
 [823.70 s] C: Hierso's daai mannetjie... nee sy kop is mis(...)
 [840.32 s] B: Hierso's die werewolve.
 [842.79 s] C: Spiderman.
 [843.70 s] A: Nee.
 [844.63 s] C: Spiderman.
 [845.28 s] A: Nee man.
 [846.15 s] C: Kyk, hier's 'n Spiderman. Spiderman to the rescue. Spiderman.
 [846.16 s] B: [xxx]
 [851.67 s] A: En hy wil iewers hê.
 [853.39 s] C: Spiderman
 [855.98 s] Hoekom is half, kyk nou [xxx]
 [862.16 s] B: A.
 [863.39 s] A: Huh?
 [864.64 s] C: My spaceship is huge.
 [867.75 s] A: Dis 'n lewendige beam.
 [870.23 s] B: What?
 [871.62 s] so.
 [872.55 s] A: Daar's hy.
 [873.44 s] Nee, that's me, nee.
 [876.97 s] B: A.
 [877.96 s] A.
 [879.69 s] A: (noises) The core has been found. All I need, the bullet, the jail, the chain.
 [895.73 s] B: [xxx] ... ek gaan C
 [899.25 s] A: Nee, dis 'n ???????
 [906.01 s] B: ???????
 [908.34 s] C: Wat's dit?
 [910.11 s] A: Ah dis ons hond. Los.
 [916.84 s] (noise) Kyk my ding.
 [922.00 s] C: Nah, hy sit nie. Ons is...niks.
 [925.63 s] B: Klaar. Kom nou. Hoor hier, kan ek 'n hond kry?
 [929.91 s] C: Dit gaan hierso.
 [931.41 s] B: Dit. Vat sy orige ene.
 [935.53 s] Hier is...
 [936.72 s] hey, hey, hey , hey...wat doen jy daar?

[942.69 s] A: Ek wil 'n nuwe core bou vir daai ding se [xxx].
 [947.42 s] C: Hey, kyk hierso.
 [948.40 s] B: Nee. Jy gaan nie daai een. Jy weet hoe om uit te kom. Bakkies [xxx]. A.
 [956.92 s] A: Kom in.
 [961.00 s] C: Awesome. Kyk hierso, dit en dit.
 [966.30 s] A: Ek weet. Ek wil nog 'n swarte. Ek sal hom kry C as jy daai een terug kry, dan
 koop 'n ander een hier bo. En die koue core can't be heated.
 [980.56 s] Toe hoor 'n poep.
 [984.48 s] C het gepoep.
 [986.06 s] S: Dit gebeur met almal hoor.
 [991.03 s] (Nothing)
 [1012.74 s] B: Kom hier, my kan jy kry.
 [1018.04 s] A: Ek het nou iets vir die core.
 [1021.02 s] Ons gaan sam eers bly.
 [1023.07 s] C: Wie wil dit hê?
 [1024.74 s] B: Nou toe bloom.
 [1027.10 s] C: Wie wil wit hê?
 [1028.64 s] A: Want hy bou.
 [1030.67 s] C: It's Lego, it's Lego.
 [1030.85 s] B: Van die GoGo.
 [1032.93 s] Maar nie by om te ry nie.
 [1035.31 s] C: Die Lego.
 [1036.96 s] A: Ek gaan nou (doop/dood) as ek nou saam met jou ry.
 [1039.87 s] C: Lego.
 [1040.83 s] Wil jy dit hê? Dis Lego.
 [1043.15 s] A: Hy sê nee. Ek gaan hom dood ...
 [1044.80 s] C: Hey, soek dji. Jy moet ons sag [xxx] ek gaan stukkend break.
 [1049.70 s] A: Ok, ons is broers in die game, maar ons gaan nie in die selfde huis bly nie. Ok?
 [1054.33 s] C: Almal, sal hy dit doen? Ek kan dit doen, kyk hierso.
 [1059.37 s] B: Ek weet.
 [1060.64 s] Watter ene is dit?
 [1063.99 s] Sodat hy kan inkom.
 [1068.27 s] C: Star Wars mannetjie.
 [1069.83 s] B: I stay.
 [1071.35 s] C: Star Wars mannetjie.
 [1072.45 s] B: Al die Star Wars mannetjies moet hier uit.
 [1075.42 s] C: Ok. Hierso is dit.
 [1077.03 s] B: Almal.
 [1077.63 s] C: Hierso.
 [1081.12 s] A: Ek weet maar, maar...
 [1082.47 s] C: Dis 'n laser Jedi sword.
 [1084.88 s] A: Dis die, ahah, dis 'n ander een se swaard. Het jy al die storie
 [1090.25 s] B: Wat het nou gebeur?
 [1091.45 s] A: Dis ekki.
 [1096.04 s] Wie het daai swart hand uitgehaal?
 [1099.97 s] B: Nee ek het hom net reggemaak, dis die swart...
 [1103.67 s] A: 'n [xxx](swart) hand is 'n [xxx].
 [1106.91 s] B: Hy draai nie nou with nie.
 [1110.04 s] A: Hierso's die [xxx].
 [1115.81 s] C: Hy's die guard.
 [1117.11 s] B: Hey, A.
 [1118.41 s] C: Dit is guards. Kyk hierso.
 [1121.13 s] A: (Noises)
 [1124.11 s] B: A...Ok, ek weet waar...A, waar/
 [1132.21 s] C: Daar's ons spaceship.
 [1133.51 s] B: Gee.
 [1134.15 s] A: Gee.

[1135.74 s] B: Nee, jy gaan nie daai van my...

[1137.98 s] A: Ok.

[1139.61 s] Vang.

[1141.25 s] C: (noises)

[1144.10 s] B: [Gee jy hom.]

[1145.12 s] A: [Nee.]

[1146.27 s] B: Jy kry hom nie. Hier lê mannetjie

[1149.05 s] (Sure), die Jedi gee.

[1152.93 s] A: Ok, ok, ok, ok.

[1155.18 s] Ok, ek skiet op hom met die glasie.

[1155.91 s] C: Jo, kyk hierso.

[1157.83 s] B: Shooting who?

[1158.66 s] C: Kyk hierso.

[1161.04 s] Kyk hierso.

[1163.05 s] A: So gelukkig het ek dit. Hy kom kyk hoe lyk die hele resistance. Hy gaan kyk hoe lyk julle resistance.

[1164.11 s] C: [Kyk hierso. Hy kan skiet, hy kan skiet.]

[1168.47 s] [Ok, ek mag skiet.]

[1168.61 s] B: [Nee A.]

[1172.30 s] C: Kyk hierso, kyk hierso.

[1174.96 s] B: [xxx]

[1184.09 s] Ek het gedog...

[1184.95 s] Is Jedi huis.

[1186.72 s] C: Hierso's 'n Jedi.

[1188.82 s] A: jy sal by my huis kom speel, nie, na dit gaan jy saam met ons ry.

[1194.66 s] C: Jedi spaceship.

[1196.68 s] B: Ek weet dan gaan ek, dan gaan ek, dan gaan ek na 'n ander plek toe.

[1202.38 s] C: Ja...

[1203.05 s] A: Jy kom kyk hier.

[1204.42 s] C: Kyk [xxx] ek kom speel met jou.

[1209.36 s] B: Daai ander outjie is weg.

[1211.07 s] C: Kan ek asseblief, ek, ek 'n Jedi wees.

[1214.03 s] B: Daai een's 'n Jedi...maar behalwe... Waar's Annik

[1220.42 s] A: Gee.

[1222.37 s] C: Hey, ek's hom.

[1224.35 s] B: Nie, ja, hulle is... ek het die Starw... hy's 'n bad guy.

[1234.24 s] A: Oh, daar val hey.

[1238.42 s] B: Ok.

[1239.55 s] C: Kan ek dit toets?

[1243.88 s] Kan ek sien dit?

[1246.78 s] B: Jy kan gee daai dingetjie, gee dit. Hierdie dingetjie daar. [xxx].

[1253.59 s] A: No way, you're not getting this.

[1256.22 s] B: Gee my, gee my ding.

[1258.26 s] A: Nee.

[1258.97 s] C: Hey.

[1259.51 s] A: No way Hosay.

[1261.10 s] C: Wat's dit?

[1262.79 s] A: Los! Nou, myne, myne, myn...

[1267.18 s] C: Ok. Ek dit robot want,...Ek's soos. Ek's net 'n robot dan.

[1276.03 s] A: Robot is a junk

[1277.46 s] B: Hey waar's sy hoof?

[1279.26 s] A: Ek sal vir jou sê.

[1281.41 s] B: noises

[1288.14 s] Waar bly jy?

[1289.28 s] A: Up here.

[1291.21 s] B: Jy.

[1293.07 s] C: Hey, hy wil nie sit nie.

[1294.91 s] B: Jo.
 [1296.91 s] C: Hy't 'n bankie, hy't 'n
 [1297.87 s] B: Hy't jou geslaan.
 [1299.30 s] A: Naai, ek het 'n grappie gemaak. Dis nie eintlik die beste swaard nie. Die is. Ek
 het
 [1309.12 s] Ek het nou die swaard van die black.
 [1314.23 s] Kom ons gaan aan. [xxx].
 [1316.69 s] B: Nee man. Kyk nou die dingetjie
 [1319.44 s] A: Nee dis my propeller.
 [1327.13 s] B: Sê hierdie ding moet breek.
 [1328.64 s] A: ...Altyd bewe as verkeerde ding hier doen.
 [1335.81 s] Daar's nie meer 'n computer nie.
 [1343.24 s] B: Gee my gou daai bloeddruk button hier aan. Steeds spuit meds, meds.
 [1347.49 s] C: Nee, ek...ek, I recline to you.
 [1353.52 s] A: C hier.
 [1355.26 s] noises
 [1364.81 s] C: Steven, stop that, one two.
 [1369.59 s] A: Soos dit? Is dit 'n control panel?
 [1375.69 s] Hoe kort die control panel sit plek?
 [1381.40 s] C: Hier kom 'n spaceship in.
 [1383.75 s] B: En dan moet jy die jail los.
 [1385.64 s] A: Vir wat?
 [1386.29 s] C: Hey.
 [1386.88 s] A: Ek kort sulke control panels hier.
 [1391.66 s] B: Sulke, sulke sea. Sulke sea, sea.
 [1392.42 s] A: [Wie wil my smeel?]
 [1394.92 s] C: Dit is net 'n sea.
 [1397.90 s] A: Sulkes, sulke, flippen.
 [1401.28 s] B: Die hele...
 [1402.31 s] A: Die sulke ding, ek soek die hele sulke ding. Dan gee ek hierdie vir jou.
 [1407.03 s] B: Nee.
 [1408.08 s] C: Hier's 'n Jedi, 'n Jedi, 'n Jediship.
 [1413.67 s] B: Nee, dan kan jy kyk daar vir iets anders.
 [1416.35 s] A: Hoekom.
 [1417.12 s] C: Kyk hierso.
 [1418.99 s] A: Sien jy wat gebeur?
 [1421.08 s] C: Hierso's 'n Jediship vir jou.
 [1426.47 s] A: Dare and I'll shoot me, ok?
 [1429.45 s] C: Jediship...Coming in... See this is a Jediship...(Four/for) mannetjietjietjie gaan
 daar
 [1438.57 s] B: Dis nie 'n Jediship nie. [xxx] Dis nie 'n Jediship nie.
 [1445.92 s] C: Now where does suit you?
 [1454.29 s] A: Te laat want, want dis al klaar ingebou.
 [1459.49 s] Dit. [xxx] (En gaan nou/en gat) deur die muur loop. Dit was weg vir hom. Kan ek
 net so maak.
 [1467.52 s] Oh flip [xxx] set [xxx] Jonaphan, ek sê jou.
 [1473.85 s] C: Ich hab daai men.
 [1475.77 s] A: Jonuphan. Jy ken daai speelding, jy weet 'n way om dit te uittemaak.
 [1480.74 s] B: Vat net 'n [xxx]
 [1483.89 s] A: Ah ek word dood geneem.
 [1485.94 s] B: Hardly.
 [1494.27 s] Hou dit vas.
 [1495.70 s] C: Nee.
 [1496.97 s] B: [xxx]
 [1503.99 s] A: Mamma, sê mos ek mag, mag, mag, stukke, stukke van daai, van daai ding kry.
 [1510.38 s] C: Nee, hy gaan ...
 [1511.03 s] B: Hy gaan nou hierdie stuk met daai stuk link.

[1514.26 s] S: Dit is sy Legoes.
 [1516.39 s] B: [Ja.]
 [1518.59 s] A: is my Legoes.
 [1521.99 s] B: Nou waar gaan die een?
 [1524.72 s] A: Mamma, hy sê ek moenie eers dit doen nie as dit my Legoes is.
 [1531.03 s] B: Ek sal dit nie doen met my lego nie.
 [1533.35 s] S: Jou ma het lank daaraan gebou nê?
 [1536.67 s] C: Dis tot spider...dis dis daai spider ding.
 [1553.15 s] B: Sien jy die ??????????
 [1560.94 s] C: Hier kom die ander mannetjie.
 [1564.62 s] A: Kom kom. Nou nou nou. Climb out of my spaceship.
 [1569.75 s] B: In die spaceship.
 [1575.98 s] C: hier kom 'n spaceship 'to land'.
 [1580.29 s] B: Sien jy. Sien jy. Nou gaan ek daai terug sit in die [xxx].
 [1587.23 s] C: You wish you can.
 [1589.92 s] A: ????????
 [1600.77 s] C: Kyk dit.
 [1602.38 s] A: Wil julle weer aan die se kant.
 [1605.14 s] (noises)
 [1609.70 s] (laughter)?????
 [1616.58 s] B: Ja, ja ons sien dit in die laaste tyd.
 [1619.60 s] C: Ja, dis 'n place op die weapons.
 [1623.15 s] B: Ek weet.
 [1624.53 s] A: And, he found all the weapons. Isn't that dangerous? Dude, he didn't know that he was gonna destroy the whole place.
 [1635.44 s] C: I want what you are throwing.
 [1636.93 s] B: Ek's nogsteed Annikan Skywalker. Waar is...?
 [1640.39 s] A: Ekke dog dit was jy...No.
 [1644.05 s] B: Daar. Hierso.
 [1649.37 s] A: Wat het jy?
 [1658.83 s] Nou gee, gee. Ek trap op jou. Dankie.
 [1663.24 s] B: Waar is? Ek's nogsteeds Annikan Skywalker.
 [1666.94 s] A: Darth Vader.
 [1667.86 s] C: Wat wil hy hê?
 [1670.59 s] B: Ek's nogsteeds, I'm Annikan Skywalker [xxx] toe hy daar was [xxx].
 [1679.53 s] Kyk...
 [1681.76 s] Wat?
 [1683.06 s] A: (Crashing noises)
 [1688.27 s] B: Wat het nou gebreuk van die skip?
 [1690.62 s] C: Niks, hier's ook 'n GoGo.
 [1695.75 s] B: Daar't iets gebreek van dit. Daar't iets gebreuk.
 [1700.44 s] C: ja ek weet... maar wat is dit?
 [1705.94 s] Nie one that weet wat's GoGo.
 [1707.66 s] B: Ons het
 [1708.64 s] A: No dis my GoGoes.
 [1710.01 s] B: Ons het twee.
 [1712.17 s] A: Vier.
 [1712.84 s] B: Jy daar ons het nog vier GoGoes.
 [1715.52 s] A: [Dankie.]
 [1717.57 s] B: Nee, vyf.
 [1720.71 s] Hier's vyf GoGoes hier.
 [1722.56 s] (noises)
 [1726.43 s] Gooi hierso nou.
 [1730.02 s] A: He's go J..
 [1730.72 s] B: Gooi, hier's ook een.
 [1733.74 s] Ek het, ekke hier, ons is baie bly hieroor.
 [1740.72 s] A!

[1741.45 s] Auwe!
 [1743.24 s] A!
 [1744.98 s] A: Altyd die die.
 [1746.19 s] B: Ah, A maak dit vas aan R2D2 se kop, dan is die R2D2 se kop.
 [1751.35 s] A: Nee, die los ons.
 [1753.96 s] B: (laughter)
 [1757.85 s] Oja, dit moet hierso wees. Kan dit seer wees...
 [1764.00 s] Sit A ek sien jou.
 [1765.79 s] Ek sal vir jou dit gee as jy my uitlos.
 [1769.12 s] A: Nee.
 [1770.04 s] C: Dit was 'n hunt-spaceship.
 [1771.59 s] B: Nee.
 [1771.91 s] C: Oraait, ek gaan dit...
 [1775.52 s] You. Dit dit, dis die toegooi penne.
 [1780.72 s] B: Dan kan jy iets op jou muur sien...Wat's daai? Nie nou nie.
 [1787.65 s] A: Fire all GoGoes.
 [1791.49 s] B: A, wat doen jy?
 [1793.21 s] Speel jy lekker GoGoes?
 [1796.55 s] A: Nou speel Dobby nie verder met jou.
 [1798.57 s] B: [xxx] R2D2 vlieg.
 [1801.54 s] A: Aah.
 [1806.42 s] S: A moenie goed rond gooi nie, nou nou kry iemand seer.
 [1812.42 s] C: Hy's dead. Nou gaan dit...Jy kan nie look strange nou nie.
 [1819.31 s] A: (noises)
 [1831.73 s] B: Wa
 [1832.38 s] A: Jy nou, hou nou op.
 [1834.89 s] C: (Laughter)
 [1849.58 s] S: A dis 'n oom se kantoor hier lanksaan. Huh ahahahaah. Die oom gaan nie kan konsentreer nie. Speel bietjie met die Legoes. Julle het nie meer so baie tyd nie hoor...speel
 [1862.14 s] A: C kyk hier.
 [1869.63 s] C: Ek gaan vir jou span nou.
 [1872.00 s] B: (noise)
 [1878.59 s] Wat de... A hou op GoGoes rond gooi.
 [1881.24 s] A: (laughter)
 [1883.63 s] B: A!
 [1889.66 s] C: Ok.
 [1892.36 s] B: Wat het nou afgebreek?
 [1895.42 s] Daai.
 [1897.42 s] S: Nee A.
 [1898.83 s] A: Hier kom dit nou.
 [1900.18 s] B: A!
 [1907.55 s] So dis wat afgebreek het.
 [1909.32 s] A: Jip.
 [1913.63 s] B: Ok now wish it. And now hid jy die core en moenie vir
 [1917.00 s] C: En ek het dit.
 [1918.64 s] B: A!
 [1919.78 s] A: Nou gooi hy weer.
 [1921.51 s] B: Soek jy nou vir ons twee? ... Wag daar's twee.
 [1926.77 s] C: Hey, en ek het dit.
 [1931.26 s] B: A. Hou op. Stop...jy kan jou ki...jy kan jou core daar in sit, kan jou core daarin sit.
 [1940.25 s] C: Hierdie is nie regtig gedoen nie.
 [1941.57 s] B: Het jy jou core hierin sit?
 [1943.49 s] C: Nee dit's 'n, dis 'n Star Wars-spaceship.
 [1946.34 s] B: A, hou nou op.
 [1948.01 s] C: Ok. Ek gaan dit nog break. This ding.

[1950.87 s] B: Breek alles.
 [1952.13 s] C: Ok.
 [1952.91 s] B: Ek het jou mannetjie.
 [1953.53 s] A: Nee!
 [1955.99 s] B: Deel.
 [1958.44 s] S: A, A dis nou eers genoeg.
 [1961.71 s] C: Kyk hierso. A, A.
 [1964.20 s] S: A, mooi, moenie meer goed rond gooi nie.
 [1969.34 s] B: Hiedie mannetjie is in gevaar.
 [1972.85 s] C: Ok. Ek kyk vir pieces.
 [1977.41 s] B: ???
 [1979.90 s] C: Ok. Dit het nie gebreek nie.
 [1984.29 s] A: [xxx]
 [1986.57 s] B: No...(laugther) No.
 [2009.64 s] C: Dis the Jediship.
 [2012.19 s] Wat van hom.
 [2013.59 s] B: Tot dit het afgebreek.
 [2015.90 s] A: Dit het.(laughter).
 [2018.07 s] C: Nee, jy moet nie dit weer gooi nie. Hy wil nog 'n een van dit gooi.
 [2024.46 s] A: [xxx]
 [2026.40 s] B: Ship!
 [2030.24 s] C: Dis nie stukkend nie.
 [2032.23 s] B: Squash it, flat.
 [2036.26 s] C: Kyk, hoe 'hang' ek dit?
 [2044.16 s] A: Record die ding?
 [2047.97 s] [xxx]
 [2049.99 s] B: A
 [2051.73 s] A: Gee my oranje stuk.
 [2053.34 s] C: If you, if you through that, if you through that break the whole thing.
 [2058.46 s] A: Sure I can break it.
 [2059.97 s] B: Wat?
 [2061.21 s] S: A, ek gaan nie weer praat nie.
 [2068.92 s] C: Skiet dit, skiet dit... skiet dit toe daarteen.
 [2074.53 s] S: A asseblief moenie julle, die Legoes breek nie speel mooi.
 [2081.25 s] C: Dit, hy't afgegaan. Hy't dan sy beams.
 [2093.04 s] B: (noises)
 [2094.75 s] C: Bam, bam, bam, bam.
 [2097.48 s] B: Yes, yes, yes, yes.
 [2100.64 s] C: Jy wou?
 [2101.49 s] A: Wou dit klaar gedoen het in my huis.
 [2105.11 s] S: Maar jy moet ook nie goed rond gooi nie.
 [2107.53 s] A: Maar hulle het nou my hele huis gebreek.
 [2110.30 s] S: Help gou-gou vir mekaar om hom weer te bou.
 [2113.83 s] B: Ok. Ons is nou besig om te bou.
 [2116.24 s] A: Ok. Dan gooi ek net weer 'n brick wall. Ek het nog 'n ekstra een.
 [2119.75 s] C: Dan ek gaan ander van jou break.
 [2122.76 s] A: Ok, dan sal ek hierdie een brickwall.
 [2125.75 s] C: Oh nee.
 [2128.04 s] B: O nee, so gan ek nie jou hele huis bou.
 [2131.33 s] A: Ek gaan.
 [2133.12 s] C: Nee.
 [2138.27 s] Nee.
 [2139.18 s] A: En [xxx] agter daai hoop.
 [2141.70 s] C: Kyk hierso, hierso.
 [2143.96 s] A: I'll take my best shot.
 [2146.06 s] C: Ok. Wil I..
 [2147.51 s] B: Uhuh, ek wil nie.

[2148.50 s] C: Kyk, ons moet.
 [2150.27 s] A: [xxx]
 [2151.95 s] B: A...Klap hom hier aan, klap hom nader aan dit C.
 [2159.15 s] C: Wat een?
 [2159.93 s] B: Push to front C. C gaan vir my dit doen, die rubbish ...[xxx].
 [2168.19 s] A: [xxx]
 [2169.36 s] B: Dit, dink hy sal...
 [2171.41 s] C: Hy's , hy kan wen... hy kan wen.
 [2175.96 s] A: I'll go to prison. I'll go ...[xxx]
 [2180.27 s] C: [What?]
 [2181.61 s] B: [Nog sulke een.]
 [2190.08 s] A: Twee koorde.
 [2191.87 s] Three.
 [2193.94 s] No. You get one.
 [2197.35 s] B: [xxx]
 [2200.05 s] C: Help me. Die gooi gou.
 [2202.98 s] B: Crazy.
 [2209.94 s] A: Ek het...
 [2212.96 s] Tot by tien. Een , twee, drie...
 [2217.07 s] C: Wow.
 [2217.52 s] A: Muhuh.
 [2217.86 s] B: Muhuh.
 [2218.46 s] Ek wil gou...
 [2221.63 s] C: Ok, net nou skiet hy ... [xxx]
 [2223.56 s] B: [xxx]
 [2225.81 s] C: What?
 [2226.69 s] B: Watch, ek gaan vir jou 'n ander een bou. [xxx]
 [2228.52 s] A: Ses, sewe, agt...
 [2230.92 s] C: Hierso.
 [2240.53 s] A: Waar's my gogga?
 [2242.69 s] B: Watch gou. Gooi hierdie vir my heentoe.
 [2254.96 s] Daar verloor die masjien ...[xxx]
 [2256.70 s] A: Kyk hier.
 [2260.46 s] C: Toe't ek hy kry ...
 [2261.32 s] A: ... my gogga.
 [2263.07 s] B: Ek weet om te doen.
 [2265.24 s] (Laughter). Ja.
 [2266.27 s] (Laughter) Watse gogga? Watse gogga? Watse gogga?
 [2272.61 s] A: Myne...Jeuk
 [2273.12 s] B: Watse gogga? Daai gogga. Daai's die...
 [2276.68 s] S: Ok, ek gaan 'n put maak.
 [2277.97 s] A: Waar is die core?
 [2281.17 s] Waar is die core, waar is die core?
 [2283.22 s] B: Die core is weg.
 [2284.88 s] [xxx]
 [2288.25 s] A: Core!
 [2289.31 s] B: Maar ons het nie, ons het nie.
 [2291.32 s] A: Where is the core?
 [2292.80 s] B: Hierso op die ... jy't ons ge... jy't ons
 [2295.89 s] Ampter.
 [2297.22 s] Jy't hom stukkend...
 [2298.33 s] C: Where is the core?
 [2300.30 s] B: Jy't hom stukkend...
 [2302.62 s] Jy het stukke van jou huis daarop gegooi, en toe, dalk het dit weg gespat.
 [2311.39 s] C: Jo, do you want this?
 [2313.91 s] S: A de goed spat al teen mamma se voete vas. Dis nougenoeg.
 [2321.39 s] A: My hele, my hele...

- [2325.73 s] (noises)
- [2327.21 s] C: Kyk ek dit. Ek het dit.
- [2327.91 s] B: [[xxx]]
- [2331.29 s] C: Kyk hierso. (laughter). My (AFR) secret ding.
- [2339.88 s] Ok.
- [2342.81 s] A: Found it.
- [2345.55 s] The core.
- [2347.49 s] B: Weet nie waar die core is nie. Jy't mos hom hier gegooi.
- [2350.55 s] C: Ok, waar kan ek stick dit? Waar kan ek stick dit? So hy kan nie hom kry nie.
- [2352.43 s] B: [Ons gaan ons hier wag.]
- [2355.31 s] Kry hom core, kry hom core wat ek gehad het. Op die [xxx].
- [2359.60 s] A: Ek gaan tien tot twintig tel. Een, twee, drie... (crashing sound).
- [2367.79 s] B: Mis.
- [2368.49 s] S: A!
- [2373.40 s] C: Stop dit. Stay there. Even if you want to get it. Gaan daarso wees ook. Gaan ook wees. Wag. Ok. Ok ek kan dit ook...
- [2385.27 s] B: [He found the core.]
- [2387.25 s] A: Where is it?
- [2389.01 s] C: Now he's dead.
- [2390.44 s] B: Hier het iemand, hierso op ons blokkies gekrap.
- [2392.74 s] A: Cause he says you have the core, he says.
- [2396.97 s] C: He says, I know. Do what?
- [2397.59 s] B: Kom gou hierso. Ons het nie die core nie. Kyk daar, kyk nou hierso, niks core n daarso, niks core nie.
- [2406.55 s] C: Wat? Wat hett...?
- [2413.65 s] Ek weet wat 'n core is. Ek's weet waar dit is. Hy't dit gepick up. Dis baie klein.
- [2419.76 s] B: Dit moet iewers hierso wees, of hierso.
- [2421.69 s] A: [Jy kry...]
- [2424.97 s] C: Nee, jy't dit gegooi.
- [2426.61 s] B: Daai. Hierso.
- [2431.43 s] C: Nee, hy het nie.
- [2436.86 s] Ok, dit gaan wees. Dit gaan hierso.
- [2440.39 s] A: I know where a diamond is. You know where the core it is...I know where the dimond is. You know where the core is. If you take me to core, you take me to the core, I'll take you to the diamond.
- [2441.44 s] B: [Daar, daar.]
- [2443.30 s] C: [Take it.]
- [2455.59 s] B: Watse dimond?
- [2457.23 s] A: Daar's die diamond rooi en groen en daar's nog 'n gele.
- [2462.97 s] B: Vat ons eers daarna toe.
- [2464.81 s] A: Nee. Kry eers die core.
- [2470.07 s] (Noises)
- [2477.62 s] Doen nou dit. Ek gaan nou nooit vir jou, vir julle vat na die diamond nie. Maar die diamond is nie daar binne nie.
- [2484.82 s] B: Die diamond is nie daar binne nie.
- [2487.36 s] C: How do I?
- [2489.68 s] B: Jy, ons gaan...
- [2493.83 s] A: Nou gaan ek vir julle daai vat. [xxx].
- [2497.07 s] B: Maar ons weet nie waar die diamond is nie.
- [2500.71 s] C: Hey!
- [2503.98 s] B: Waar's daai dingetjie?
- [2509.56 s] No. Toe jy jou ding gegooi het toe breek jy die spaceship.
- [2515.39 s] A: C.
- [2522.14 s] B: Dis C se huis, dis C se huis. Jy kan nie sy huis breek (nie)[...]
- [2526.81 s] C: Nee.
- [2527.72 s] A: Daar, trek trek.
- [2529.05 s] C: No. (Crashing noises).

[2531.64 s] A: Trek so ver.
 [2534.94 s] C: Plus that wasn't my house.
 [2537.04 s] A: Which one was your house?
 [2539.50 s] C: I don't know. You missed, did it here. I out of the way, thank...
 [2543.67 s] A: How about that? Is that your white house?
 [2546.72 s] C: No, it's not.
 [2549.19 s] A: Well then, I heard it was your's and I will through it.
 [2554.07 s] C: You threw it over here. Try this fff...first.
 [2558.32 s] B: Ah that's our car, that's your car. You...
 [2561.49 s] C: Oh. No. I tried it.
 [2564.97 s] A: Ok.
 [2565.97 s] C: [xxx]
 [2569.21 s] B: No, jou, nobody...
 [2572.29 s] No. (laughter and noises)
 [2576.85 s] Check it out. Run for you life.
 [2593.20 s] A: (Nothing)
 [2628.86 s] C: Don't break this.
 [2630.16 s] A: [xxx]
 [2635.38 s] B: Jy moet een kies, een kies.
 [2639.14 s] C: Hulle kan nie meer...
 [2640.39 s] B: They're gonna be...
 [2641.14 s] A: ... the blue one or ah make a new one for him to through at your house.
 [2647.04 s] C: Ja, like a spaceship.
 [2649.79 s] Let's break everything.
 [2650.98 s] A: You thinking blue. Just use (PIECES) golden too. I just ask, golding.
 [2660.07 s] C: No. You don't know where the house is.
 [2664.23 s] B: [xxx]
 [2667.25 s] Wat van jou boude. Waar't jy die weggooi plek deesdae? Jy kan jou huis daar binne maak soos 'n shield.
 [2679.19 s] A: My huis te op die Lego wees.
 [2686.22 s] B: [xxx]
 [2688.69 s] A: (noises)
 [2692.27 s] B: A!
 [2694.74 s] C: Oh. (noises)
 [2701.18 s] Hey I found it, found it.
 [2705.85 s] Wat's 'n core? How does it look?
 [2707.35 s] B: sal ons neet vir die joke speel?
 [2709.41 s] A: Nee.
 [2712.28 s] B: Ek het so gemaak.
 [2713.69 s] Is daai nie. Daar by jou ma se voete. Daar by jou ma se voete. Daar. Daarso!
 [2722.70 s] A: Die core...[xxx]
 [2725.65 s] B: Daarso is hy.
 [2728.79 s] A: ...[XXX] daar ek die core.
 [2732.36 s] B: Ek het ons lewens gered.
 [2733.84 s] C: Ok. Nou hy kan nie ons... gooi nie. Ek het dit to keep ons special gus aan hom.
 Mannetjie af dit, so hy mannetjie.
 [2744.63 s] A: I was actually lying.
 [2747.72 s] B: Watse core?
 [2749.33 s] A: I was lying.
 [2751.81 s] B: [xxx]
 [2758.04 s] C: Break nog 'n box. Sal jy die confine en dan vir my die box ...another thing to broke[xxx]. It's broken you can't go... or through out breaking the block... ja breaking.
 [2772.55 s] B: No no, not that.
 [2775.69 s] A: Jy, You, Kom, julle kom. Gaan in die lawa in.
 [2783.85 s] C: No.
 [2785.77 s] The camera can't see us.

[2794.55 s] S: Thank you.
[2796.76 s] B: Thank you. Dankie tog.
[2801.34 s] A: Waar's daai ander een.
[2803.11 s] B: Wat nou?
[2804.30 s] A: (END OF TRANSCRIPTION)