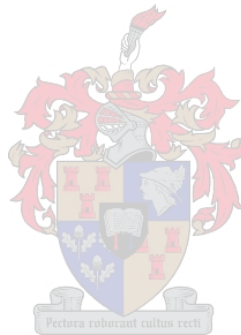


The functions of codeswitching in a multicultural and multilingual high school

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degree of MPhil in Intercultural Communication at Stellenbosch
University



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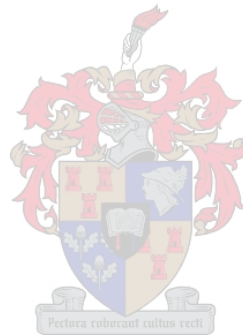
December 2006

Declaration

I, the undersigned, hereby declare that the work contained in this thesis is my own original work and that I have not previously in its entirety or in part submitted it at any university for a degree.

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Date



Abstract

The aim of the present study is to identify the functions of codeswitching in intercultural communication occurring in multilingual high school classrooms. The definition of “codeswitching” adopted here is that of Myers-Scotton (1993: 1), who states that the term is used to refer to alternations of linguistic varieties within the same conversation. The present study considers the use of codeswitching between Afrikaans and English by learners and teachers in the classroom. The study was conducted in a multicultural and multilingual high school in the Western Cape in five classrooms of three different subjects. The nature of the multilingual context of the classrooms is diverse and includes learners from various sociolinguistic backgrounds. Being a predominantly English school meant that most learners have English as an L1 and Afrikaans and/or isiXhosa as an L2. The data for the study were collected by the researcher by means of observations and audio recordings of the lessons and by a questionnaire completed by learners and teachers. The data collection was carried out over a period of three weeks and data were analyzed within the framework of Myers-Scotton (1993) Markedness model for codeswitching. According to Myers-Scotton’s (1998: 4) Markedness Model, markedness relates to the choice of one linguistic variety over other possible varieties. Myer-Scotton (1993) classifies codeswitching into four different types namely marked, unmarked, sequential, and exploratory codeswitching. Within these types a number of functions of codeswitching in the classrooms were identified, for example clarification, expansion, and translation. These functions are discussed in relation to the data from the questionnaire.

Opsomming

Die doel van die huidige studie is om die funksies van kodewisseling te identifiseer in interkulturele kommunikasie in 'n multikulturele hoërskool klaskamer. Die definisie van “kodewisseling” wat hier gebruik word is dié van Myers-Scotton (1993), wat sê dat die term gebruik word om te verwys na die wisseling tussen taalvariëteite binne 'n enkele gesprek. Die huidige studie oorweeg die kodewisseling tussen Engels en Afrikaans deur onderwysers en leerders in die klaskamer. Die studie is in 'n multikulturele hoërskool in die Wes Kaap uitgedra in vyf klaskamers van drie verskillende vakke. Die aard van die multikulturele konteks van die klaskamer is divers; leerders kom uit verskeie sosiolinguistiese agtergronde. Omdat dit hoofsaaklik 'n Engelse skool is, het meeste van die leerders Engels as 'n eerste taal met Afrikaans en/of isiXhosa as 'n tweede taal. Inligting vir die studie is deur die navorser versamel deur waarneming en audio opnames in die klaskamers. Verdere data is deur middel van 'n vraelys wat deur leerders en onderwysers ingevul is, ingesamel. Data is oor 'n tydperk van drie weke ingesamel, en is binne die raamwerk van Myers-Scotton se (1993) Markedness Model (“gemarkeerdheidsmodel”) vir kodewisseling geanaliseer. Volgens Myers-Scotton (1993) se Markedness Model het opmerklikheid te doen met die keuse van een taalvariëteit bo ander moontlikhede. Myers-Scotton (1993) klassifiseer kodewisseling in vier verskillende tipes, naamlik gemarkeerde (“marked”), ongemarkeerde (“unmarked”), opeenvolgende (“sequential”), en eksploratoriese (“exploratory”) kodewisseling. Binne dié raamwerk is die funksies van kodeswisseling in die klaskamers wat waargeneem is, geïdentifiseer, insluitend verheldering, uitbreiding en vertaling. Hierdie funksies word bespreek in verband met die data vanaf die vraelys.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Codeswitching is a widespread phenomenon in South Africa's multicultural society. All over South Africa bilingual speakers communicate in their every-day conversations in two or more languages. The eradication of Apartheid and the acknowledgement of the official status of African languages brought about a fundamental change in the demography of schooling. South Africa is now a multicultural society with eleven official languages, namely sePedi, seSotho, seTswana, siSwati, tshiVenda, xiTsonga, English, Afrikaans, isiNdebele, isiZulu, and isiXhosa. Codeswitching between languages takes place regularly and in all areas of South Africa's social, educational and professional environment. The former racial divisions in the education sector are now blurred, and many schools in South Africa contain learners and teachers from diverse linguistic and cultural backgrounds.

The Language in Education Policy (Department of Education, 1997) (Ncoko, Osman, and Cockroft 2000: 226) states that, in consultation with the school community and parents, schools are allowed to choose their own language policy. Furthermore, all children have a constitutional right to be taught in their mother-tongue and schools must aim to fulfill this right via an agreed-upon language policy. This means, for example, that a school has no obligation to teach an isiZulu learner in isiZulu if the school's policy is English-medium (Ncoko et al. 2000: 226). Language as a means of teaching and learning in South African schools remains a hotly debated and controversial issue (Ncoko et al. 2000: 226).

The aim of the present study is to identify the functions of codeswitching in intercultural communication occurring in multilingual high school classrooms. The definition of "codeswitching" adopted here is that of Myers-Scotton (1993: 1), who states that the term is used to refer to alternations of linguistic varieties within the same conversation. A number of studies have considered the functions and implications of codeswitching between African languages and English. The present study will consider the use of

codeswitching between Afrikaans and English by learners and teachers in the classroom. The study was conducted in a multicultural and multilingual high school in the Western Cape in five classrooms of three different subjects. The nature of the multilingual context of the classrooms is diverse and includes learners from various sociolinguistic backgrounds. Being a predominantly English school meant that most learners have English as an L1 and Afrikaans and/or isiXhosa as an L2. The school accommodates learners from various areas of the Western Cape, besides Stellenbosch itself, including Khayalitshia, Idas Valley and Kayamandi. Therefore learners with isiXhosa or Afrikaans as an L1 and English as an L2 are also accommodated for. Communicative interactions of the learners and teachers were observed and audio recorded over a period of three weeks. The study aims to show that codeswitching does indeed have specific functions and is used intentionally to convey meaning. The study focuses on codeswitching between Afrikaans and English, and is carried out within the theoretical framework of Myers-Scotton's (1993) Markedness Model. The Markedness Model accounts for codeswitching in terms of the degree of markedness of various code choices during conversation (Myers-Scotton 1993: 75). The research questions are given in (1) and (2) below.

- (1) To analyze the types of codeswitching in a multicultural classroom in terms of Myers-Scotton's (1993) Markedness Model.
- (2) To identify the specific functions of code switching in multicultural classroom.

Chapter two presents a literature review providing an overview of codeswitching research and some applications of Myers-Scotton's (1993) Markedness Model. Chapter three outlines the Markedness Model, providing an overview of the theoretical framework of the study. In chapter four, the methodology and data collection procedures are discussed. Chapter five discusses the analysis of the data and the findings of the study. Chapter six concludes with a brief summary of the findings of the study.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

Early research done by Hymes and Gumperz (1973) provided the background for the development of models such as Myers-Scotton's (1993) Markedness Model of codeswitching. Hymes and Gumperz (1973) distinguished between metaphorical and situational codeswitching. According to Blom and Gumperz (1972: 409), situational codeswitching occurs when alternations between language varieties redefine a situation, being a change in governing norm. Metaphorical codeswitching, on the other hand, occurs when alternations enrich a situation which allows for the allusion to more than one social relationship within the situation. Myers-Scotton (1993) offers a more elaborate model by which to analyze codeswitches as more or less marked or unmarked code choices (Myers-Scotton 1993: 113). The markedness model is considered a useful tool in which to analyze codeswitching because it accounts for the speakers' socio-psychological motivations when codeswitching (Myers-Scotton 1993: 75). The model also conveys the idea that a major motivation for variety in linguistic choices in any given community is the possibility of social-identity negotiations (Myers-Scotton 1993: 111). Negotiations play an important role in any interaction because it is a dynamic enterprise with at least two sides, without a forgone conclusion. Therefore what the speaker provides is a presentation of self (Myers-Scotton 1993: 111). The markedness model is predominately a speaker-centred model which seems to imply that no model of conversation can ignore the effect of the addressee and the audience even on speaker choice. The markedness model is motivated by the fact that speakers make choices primarily based on enhancing their own positions and on communicating their own perceptions (Myers-Scotton 1993: 111).

The research into codeswitching reviewed here focuses on the application of Myers-Scotton's (1993) Markedness Model to the phenomenon of codeswitching. The Markedness Model accounts for codeswitching in terms of the degree of markedness of various code choices during conversation. Many researchers have used the Markedness

Model as a basis upon which to analyze their data on codeswitching as a linguistic phenomenon. Much of the research into codeswitching carried out in South Africa has focused on its occurrence in the education environment, which is in most cases a multicultural and multilingual setting. Research has focused on the functions of codeswitching as well as the implications it may have for teacher education. By analyzing codeswitching in the education environment, researchers have been able to determine the role codeswitching plays in the classroom and in the wider social environment. Some research studies that are reviewed here also focus upon the basic functions of codeswitching and the way in which this linguistic phenomenon occurs in certain multicultural communities in South Africa.

Adendorff (1993) explores codeswitching among isiZulu-speaking teachers and their learners. Adendorff's (1993) study focuses on the functions of codeswitching, and the implications that this sociolinguistic behavior has for teacher education. He is opposed to the view that codeswitching leads to lower standards in education (Adendorff 1993: 4). Adendorff (1993: 4) states that, in his study, the function of codeswitching is that of a contextualization cue. A contextualization cue essentially helps to delineate the context and guides the participant in the interpretation of meaning in discourse. Working in close contact with informants, Adendorff (1993) determined that codeswitches define the context for the participants involved in the interaction (Adendorff 1993: 5). Adendorff (1993: 7) conducted his study in high school classrooms and observed the interaction of three different teachers and their learners. The first interaction was in an English literature class with an isiZulu mother tongue teacher, who often codeswitched between English and isiZulu. The second interaction took place in a biology class where the teacher was a mother-tongue isiZulu speaker. The biology teacher tended to speak mostly isiZulu and seldom codeswitched between English and isiZulu. The third class was a geography class. The teacher of the geography class was an isiZulu L1 teacher who displayed a similar language pattern to the biology teacher by occasionally switching to English. In the classroom, Adendorff (1993: 5) concluded that codeswitching functioned as a channeling and guiding mechanism for the participants. Codeswitching, according to Adendorff (1993: 5), guided the interpretations in the participants' academic goals and

their interpretation of social interaction in the class. Adendorff (1993) also observed codeswitching by the principal, while addressing the school during assembly. The morning assembly included considerably more codeswitching than any of the three classrooms. Adendorff (1993: 16) suggests that the principal used codeswitching as a means to paraphrase his messages, and employed codeswitching effectively as a conversational resource. The communicative function of paraphrasing is to clarify and reiterate the message. In this way, codeswitching also functioned to reinforce the points that the principal was making.

On the basis of his study, Adendorff (1993) reached some conclusions regarding the teacher's role in the classroom and on the implications of codeswitching in teacher education in South Africa. Adendorff (1993: 23) suggests that, in order to understand the role of codeswitching as an interactional communicative resource in a multicultural society, there is a need for "consciousness raising" among teachers. Consciousness raising, according to Adendorff (1993: 23), entails certain procedures which teachers need to consider. A number of these procedures are mentioned here. Firstly, consciousness rising entails contrasting perspectives, where an essentially purist view of language use which criticizes codeswitching, is opposed to empirical descriptive views which consider codeswitching without prejudice. Secondly, teachers need to appreciate South Africa's multilingual environment and encourage multi-dialecticism as a rich communicative resource. The third point is that teachers need to be disabused of the notion that codeswitching is dysfunctional and suggestive of ignorance (Adendorff 1993: 18). Adendorff (1993: 4) suggests that, contrary to popular belief, even among teachers themselves, codeswitching fulfils a number of functions, and does so efficiently. Adendorff (1993: 4) concludes that codeswitching is a communicative resource which aids teachers as well as pupils to achieve various social and educational objectives.

Kieswetter (1995) considers codeswitching among African high school learners. The aim of the study is to identify and compare different codeswitching patterns. These codeswitching patterns were analyzed according to different social environments within which the learners interacted. By identifying different codeswitching patterns, Kieswetter

(1995) was able to investigate the communicative resources of codeswitching. Kieswetter (1995) collected data by taping naturally-occurring conversation amongst the learners within the different social and educational contexts. Kieswetter (1995: 3) focuses on codeswitching between English and the Nguni languages in rural as well as urban multicultural schools. Kieswetter (1995: 5) compares an urban township, English-medium school in Soweto, a rural school in KaNgwane, and a model C English-medium school in a traditionally white suburb of Johannesburg. Model C schools are government schools in traditionally white neighborhoods that opted for racial integration (Kieswetter 1995: 71). In addition to the data recorded by the researcher, pupils themselves were also asked to tape their conversations at home, at break, and in the classroom. Kieswetter (1995) then analyzed the data in terms of codeswitching, borrowing and codemixing as separate phenomena.

Kieswetter (1995: 96) reveals that the conversations of African high school pupils are exciting and dynamic. The pupils do not speak a pure form of isiZulu or Swazi. Kieswetter (1995: 96) observes that through manipulation of their speech patterns and by codeswitching, these pupils have the linguistic ability to adapt to the various contexts or domains in which they find themselves. Kieswetter (1995: 94) found different codeswitching patterns in the different schools. In the urban context, the language pattern of a school in Soweto is observed. The conversations of these learners exhibit an overall pattern of codemixing as the unmarked choice and isiZulu is the dominant language. In KaNgwane, the learners of a rural township school spoke both isiZulu and Swazi. The overall pattern of conversation also contained more code-mixing, which is the unmarked choice for them in this context. For both of these schools, codeswitching does not play an important role in defining the overall conversational pattern (Kieswetter 1995: 94). The data within the urban, model C English school reveals an overall pattern of codeswitching as the unmarked choice in the conversations of isiZulu mother-tongue learners. This marked difference in the conversational patterns of the learners indicates that codeswitching carries the social meaning rather than codemixing in the model C school (Kieswetter 1995: 95).

Kieswetter (1995) concluded that the reason for this marked difference is because isiZulu-speaking learners in a model C school are exposed to spoken English on a daily basis. A high value is attached to English in this context and therefore the larger codeswitches are made in English (Kieswetter 1995: 95). The Markedness Model is used by Kieswetter (1995: 22) to explain the social motivations, structural constraints and social functions of codeswitching. Kieswetter's (1995: 96) study of codeswitching in such a diverse multicultural setting is considered to have important implications for teaching of African languages as a second or third language. Kieswetter (1995) discusses the implications for the teaching by saying that language is not static; a language phenomenon such as codeswitching is a dynamic communicative strategy. In their use of textbooks, teaching materials, and a syllabus, schools need to be aware of the dynamic nature of language, and adapt to suit the needs of the learners (Kieswetter 1995: 96). Teachers and learners need to be aware that language has more than one form and that codeswitching has specific social and educational functions. Kieswetter (1995) concludes that the interactional differences between the schools that were studied have an overall influence on the pupil's conversational patterns and on codeswitching. Therefore a study such as this offers a source of information in sociolinguistic research. Multicultural and multilingual speakers such as the African high school learners studied are able to use codeswitching as a linguistic tool (Kieswetter 1995: 96). Codeswitching can be used as a linguistic tool to reinforce and negotiate social factors such as identity, social positions, ethnic identity, level of education, interpersonal relationships, and solidarity (Kieswetter 1995: 22).

Lawrence (1999) focuses specifically on codeswitching between Afrikaans and English, noting that codeswitching is a relatively unexplored phenomenon in the social and public environment in South Africa. Lawrence (1999: 265) states that the aim of the study is to illustrate that codeswitching between Afrikaans and English is not a sign of inadequacy but that codeswitching is in fact an instrument for effective communication. Lawrence (1999) uses Myers-Scotton's (1993) Markedness Model to analyze the social motivations for codeswitching among lecturers and students at a teacher training college where Afrikaans and English are spoken by English, Afrikaans, and isiXhosa L1 speakers. Such

a multilingual and multicultural setting has become all the more common in such institutions in South Africa over the last decade.

Data were gathered by means of tape recordings of lectures, meetings and tutorials. Lawrence (1999) collected naturally-occurring data, thereby offering students as well as lecturers greater insight into the phenomenon of codeswitching. Lawrence (1999) uses Myers-Scotton's (1993) Markedness Model to analyze his codeswitching data, in order to define basic codeswitching terms such as marked and unmarked choices. Lawrence (1999: 265) explains that the lecturers as well as the students have had to adapt to a new language contact pattern. The new language contact pattern has seen that isiXhosa and Afrikaans lecturers are switching between Afrikaans and English when conversing with one another. According to Lawrence (1999: 265), the lecturers and students are codeswitching more frequently between English and Afrikaans, drawing on all their linguistic resources to accommodate each other in a multicultural and multilingual environment.

Lawrence (1999: 265) concludes that codeswitching is an effective and functional instrument for communication. Lawrence (1999) identifies four different functions of codeswitching. The first function of codeswitching is to identify a change in a situational factor, specifically to clarify discourse. Codeswitching to fulfill this function is often considered as natural and spontaneous for bilingual speakers (Lawrence 1999: 269). The second function, where codeswitching is the unmarked choice, is in situations where the speakers are both bilingual, in which case codeswitching may occur without a change in the situational aspects of the interaction (Lawrence 1999: 269). Lawrence (1999: 270) identified that when the codeswitch is typically unmarked, a general pattern in the use of two codes occurs; each code has its own social meaning. The third function is codeswitching as a marked choice (Lawrence 1999: 270). Lawrence (1999: 270) states that a marked codeswitch often indicates that the speaker is trying to negotiate a different balance of cost and reward to replace the unmarked code choice. The marked code choice also functions as a way for the speaker to dis-identify with the other speaker, or to dis-identify with what is expected in the interaction. The final function of codeswitching,

according to Lawrence (1999: 270), is codeswitching as an exploratory choice in uncertain situations. Exploratory codeswitching occurs when the speaker lacks substantial information about the other participant.

Lawrence (1999: 274) concludes that the Markedness Model can account for the motivations for codeswitching in his study. The Markedness Model offers a framework in which the social functions of codeswitching are determined. Lawrence (1999: 274) asserts that, even though cultural norms play an important role in codeswitching, the Markedness Model does recognize that speakers are creative and rational. Therefore Lawrence (1999) concludes that speakers make code choices based not only upon their norms, but because they consider the consequences of those code choices. Lawrence (1999: 265) also concludes that codeswitching should not be seen as a sign of inadequacy or inefficiency but that it should rather be seen as an instrument for effective communication. According to Lawrence (1999: 265), this research into codeswitching is vitally important for future courses on sociolinguistics being presented to university students and teachers in training.

Ncoko et al. (2000) focus on the implications of having 11 official languages in South Africa, specifically in South Africa's education environment. They consider codeswitching in various contexts and ask whether it carries any educational benefits. This study was undertaken in a primary school setting and was aimed at investigating, firstly, the speakers' motivations for codeswitching and secondly, the implications of codeswitching for the education environment in South Africa (Ncoko et al. 2000: 225). In their study, Ncoko et al. (2000) firstly compare Apartheid education policies to the new, current policies. Ncoko et al. (2000: 226) state that by having 11 official languages, South Africa entered into a new schooling dimension. The new language policy brought about many changes in the demography of South African education. Some of these changes include the idea that the interconnectedness of languages should be recognized (Ncoko et al. 2000: 239). This idea is closely related to and evident in codeswitching practices. According to Ncoko et al. (2000: 239), using a monolingual orientation to

understand a multilingual phenomenon such as codeswitching would have a negative effect on education and teaching.

Data for the study were gathered by means of observations and conversations in both the formal classroom setting and the informal setting of the playground. By analyzing the data, Ncoko et al. (2000) found that codeswitching has very specific aims in multicultural schools. In the classroom, Ncoko et al. (2000: 232) observed that the aims of codeswitching included expressions of defiance and of solidarity. Ncoko et al. (2000: 233) also observed that in an informal environment, such as the playground, the aims of codeswitching were different. The functions of codeswitching on the playground included the expression of group identity, group membership and solidarity. Codeswitching was also used for message clarification and as a strategy of neutrality (Ncoko et al. (2000): 234). Ncoko et al. (2000) apply Myers-Scotton's (1993) Markedness Model to their codeswitching data, defining marked and unmarked choices for codeswitching in a social and educational context. Ncoko et al. (2000) also apply their codeswitching data to this model because codeswitching emphasizes the interactive and negotiated nature of face-to-face interaction which is often seen in an informal context. They found that learners utilize their linguistic ability and resources to manipulate their conversations according to content and context (Ncoko et al. 2000: 231).

Ncoko et al. (2000: 239) focus much of their report on the benefits of codeswitching for teacher education, suggesting that codeswitching which is well-organized and well-structured can be used effectively in classrooms. Codeswitching should be seen as a linguistic tool which is explicitly available to the teacher and the learner. According to Ncoko et al. (2000: 239), codeswitching should be used as a teaching strategy since it has several communicative functions in the classroom. These communicative functions include translation, checking comprehension, giving instructions, and clarification. According to Ncoko et al. (2000: 239), the results of this type of research should be considered when planning a syllabus, and developing teaching material for multilingual schools in South Africa. Ncoko et al. (2000: 239) conclude that if educators in South Africa have the motivation to implement an effective language policy, which will benefit

all learners, then codeswitching should be recognized as functional, and indeed crucial, in the daily interaction of multilingual speakers. It should also be seen as a resource that may facilitate effective learning.

The literature discussed above focuses on codeswitching and language use in the South African educational context. For further research into codeswitching in the educational context in the rest of Africa, the interested reader may refer, amongst others, to Merrit, Cleghorn, Abagi, and Bunyi (1992), Goyvaerts and Zembele (1992) and Myers-Scotton (1992). All these studies centre around codeswitching in the educational context in other African countries. This literature may provide a deeper insight into the linguistic constraints and language dimensions found in different countries and different contexts.

Turning to codeswitching research outside the educational context in South Africa, Finlayson and Slabbert (1997) examine the functional aspects of codeswitching in a South African township. Finlayson and Slabbert (1997) concentrate on the social function of codeswitching as a form of accommodation rather than alienation in urban South Africa. According to Finlayson and Slabbert (1997: 381), the accommodation function reflects the linguistic flexibility of the speaker's knowledge and use of language. The accommodation function also works together with societal norms which are assigned to the process of codeswitching. Finlayson and Slabbert (1997: 384) collected their data by observing and having two to three hour discussions with 42 members of multilingual social networks. These members were interviewed and observed in their homes and in their social environments. Through the process of these discussions with the participants and observations of the participants, the researchers discovered common social values and functions which are attributed to the use of language varieties. Finlayson and Slabbert (1997: 385) state that the data in this study are unique in that they provide an explanation for the linguistic behavior of respondents while allowing the respondents to enact the values and functions which they identify.

On the basis of an analysis of their data within the Markedness Model, Finlayson and Slabbert (1997: 413) analyze a range of social functions that codeswitching evokes and

argue that codeswitching can function as an accommodation tactic. Within the Markedness Model the function of accommodation is problematic with regard to expectedness and social distance (Finlayson and Slabbert 1997: 413). To accommodate the addressee in an interaction does not imply a single code choice but rather a codeswitching pattern which varies according to different contexts and RO sets. Therefore the unmarked code choice in this function is a two-way process which operates under the constraints of the salient features of the interaction. The term “expected” is therefore problematic. The RO set for meeting the addressee half way with language is not set for an interaction, it is expected to be negotiated by the participants (Finlayson and Slabbert 1997: 414). Based upon Myers-Scotton’s (1993) Markedness Model, Finlayson and Slabbert (1997: 417) therefore interpret the function of codeswitching as a set of salient features which are comprehended as code choices in a speech event, according to the shared norms of the community.

Finlayson and Slabbert (1997: 419) conclude by saying that, when speakers use the accommodation function of codeswitching, they and the addressee are meeting each other half way in their linguistic interaction. The participants are accommodating one another as well as expressing their own ethnic identities through the use of their mother tongue and by codeswitching. Offering the possibility of using other languages to the addressee indicates a spirit of willingness to respect and accommodate. By not using the function of expressing one’s own identity by codeswitching for the process of successful communication, the speaker is alienating himself. This is regarded as disrespectful towards others. Finlayson and Slabbert (1997: 419) also conclude that their research could create a foundation for efficient language planning because the spirit of accommodation leads to respect and sensitivity towards language choice.

McCormick (2002) focuses upon the linguistic aspects of codeswitching, codemixing and convergence in Cape Town, more specifically in District Six. The study aims to highlight the forms and functions of codeswitching in Cape Town’s community of District Six. The researcher considers how the phenomenon of codeswitching is defined, as well as the kinds of contexts that are conducive to its occurrence. In order for McCormick (2002) to

make some generalizations about District Six's social speech patterns and alternations she works with two speech categories, namely codemixing and codeswitching. McCormick (2002: 217) defines "codemixing" as speech in which the alternation involves shorter elements, often just single word. Codemixing is a common practice in the speech community which can result in a fairly stable mixed code. "Codeswitching" is defined in formal terms as the alternation of elements longer than one word from two different languages (McCormick 2002:217).

According to McCormick (2002: 217), codeswitching can often serve a specific purpose or have certain stylistic or social effects. After the Apartheid regime only one small area of District Six remained intact; only two schools, three community centres and a church surround the small number of people who still inhabit the area (McCormick 2002: 222). McCormick (2002) gathered data for the study in this neighborhood. Her data consist of interviews, meetings, interactions with the families in their homes, and interactions with children at school. The data consist of fifty-two hours of tape recordings with people from the area, as well as with people who previously lived in the area. At the time no sociolinguistic history of the area had been written, therefore McCormick (2002) had to analyze other historical aspects in order to gather data about the factors that influence language use. These factors include the socio-economic conditions, social relationships, religious affiliations, cultural groups and educational institutions (McCormick 1995: 222).

Extensive codeswitching and codemixing between English and Afrikaans takes place in District Six, and this may be considered as striking to contemporary speakers of one or other of the contributing languages. McCormick (2002: 223) states that in this community non-standard English is seen not as a dialect but rather as imperfectly learned English, yet speakers are quite clear that their non-standard Afrikaans is a dialect in its own right. The people of the community use the term "kombuistaal" to cover both their non-standard Afrikaans and their switching between English and Afrikaans. The community does not distinguish between the concepts of mixing and switching (McCormick 2002: 223). McCormick (2002: 223) uses the term "vernacular" for

language use that covers all non-standard local usages and for language use that mixes and switches between Afrikaans and English.

McCormick (2002: 224) found that codeswitching serves many functions and takes on different forms in different contexts. For the purposes of this literature review, only codeswitching functions are considered. McCormick (2002: 224) distinguishes between situational codeswitching and conversational codeswitching in this community. Situational codeswitching data came mainly from interviews. The use of the vernacular is the only acceptable code for informal interaction in the community. The use of standard dialects of English and Afrikaans would be seen as unacceptable in social interaction. On formal occasions such as meetings, the code is Standard English. Only when the topic in the meeting becomes controversial, heated or informal, would the participants switch back to the non-standard vernacular, sometimes without the participants being aware of the change. According to McCormick (2002: 225), most of the families hold their discussions in their homes in the vernacular, yet a lot of the families' state in their interviews that there is an increase in speaking only English at home. The reason for this seems to be to improve their language use for educational and economic advancement, and social advantage. Conversational codeswitching is more common and is largely unconscious in this community (McCormick 2002: 225). Conversational codeswitching has many pragmatic and stylistic functions such as word replacement, loanwords, and using a different language to start a new sentence. By using conversational codeswitching, the speaker is drawing on a bigger linguistic pool and using it as a communicative skill (McCormick 2002: 226).

In conclusion, McCormick (2002: 223) states that local English is in the process of becoming the first language of this community due to an increase of education, but it is not yet grammatically stable because the structure of the language is also influenced by the people of the community who have English as a second language. Even though the children of the community have the motivation to learn standard English and attend English medium schools, at present local English does not have any social value, only a functional value. Non-standard Afrikaans is still highly valued because it is regarded as

warm and intimate and as a sign of membership in their community (McCormick 2002: 224).

This brief overview of some of the codeswitching research carried out in South Africa offers some background on its occurrence and functions. Myers-Scotton's (1993) Markedness Model is outlined in detail in the following chapter.



CHAPTER THREE

MYERS-SCOTTON'S (1993) MARKEDNESS MODEL

According to Myers-Scotton (1998:18), there is more than one way of speaking in almost every speech community. No community is without at least two different speech styles. In many communities, more than one language is spoken and often more than one dialect of a language is spoken. These different styles, languages and dialects are typically associated with different social groups or contexts. Not everyone in the community has complete command of all the varieties in the community's linguistic repertoire, and not everyone uses the varieties with the same frequency (Myers-Scotton 1998: 18). Markedness, according to Myers-Scotton (1998: 4), relates to the choice of one linguistic variety over other possible varieties. The speaker-hearer has the option of choosing what may be considered marked choices to convey certain messages of intentionality. The Markedness Model states that, when an individual speaks a language, other individuals can exploit the relationships that have become established in a community between a linguistic variety and those that use the variety (Myers-Scotton 1998: 18). Individuals can take advantage of the associations that their addressees make between a variety spoken and the variety's distinctive uses and users. Individuals are hereby able to create and design their conversational contributions with their addressees in mind, as well as base their particular conversational patterns on the speech associated with a specific social group (Myers-Scotton 1998: 18).

All linguistic codes or varieties come to have social and psychological associations in the speech community in which they are used. Given these associations, the use of a particular code is viewed in terms of the marked versus the unmarked opposition in reference to the extent its use matches community expectations for the interaction type. In other words, what community norms would predict is unmarked; what the community norms would not predict is marked (Myers-Scotton 1998: 5). The Markedness Model uses the marked versus unmarked distinction as a theoretical construct to explain the social and psychological motivations for making one code choice over another. As part of

their innate language faculty, all language users have a predisposition to view linguistic codes as more or less marked or unmarked, given the social and intellectual context. Therefore, all people have the competence to assess linguistic codes in these terms (Myers-Scotton 1998: 6).

According to Kieswetter (1995: 25), codeswitching as the unmarked choice may function as a linguistic variety, or as a badge of identity. The unmarked choice is considered the “in” way to talk within that particular context. Unmarked codeswitching is considered normal and expected for the situation because it carries no extra social meaning. As soon as the social context changes, the unmarked choice will also change. Kieswetter (1995: 15) states that making a marked choice often carries extra social meaning; the speaker is therefore sending a meta-message. When a speaker makes a marked code choice, the message conveys more than just the semantic content of the words; it also conveys an intention to question or change aspects of the interaction.

According to the Markedness Model, speakers have a sense of markedness regarding the linguistic codes available for any interaction. The speakers will choose their codes based on the persona or/and on the relationships which they wish to have in place. Markedness has a normative basis within the community, and therefore speakers also know the consequences of making marked or unexpected choices (Myers-Scotton 1993: 75). The speaker generally makes the unmarked choice as it is considered “safer.” It conveys no surprises because it indexes an expected interpersonal relationship. However, speakers do not and need not always make the unmarked choice. Speakers can also assess the potential costs and rewards of all alternative choices and make their decisions as typically unconscious ones (Myers-Scotton 1993: 75).

The Markedness Model accounts for speakers’ socio-psychological motivations when they engage in the linguistic behavior of code-switching. The model is based upon a common theme of disciplines including the sociology of language, pragmatics, linguistic anthropology, and social anthropology (Myers-Scotton 1993: 75). The common theme is that conversational participants “know” at some level that they enter into a conversation

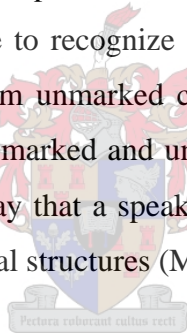
with similar expectations, whether about unmarked code choices or about unmarked communicative intentions. The Markedness Model emphasizes that the speaker is a creative actor, and that linguistic choices are accomplishing more than just the conveying of referential meaning (Myers-Scotton 1993:75). Myers-Scotton (1998: 19) states that, within the Markedness Model, code choices are intentional in that they are made to achieve specific social ends. Speakers make these choices with the expectation that the addressee will recognize a choice with a particular intention. The goal of the speaker under this model is to enhance the reward and to minimize the cost. Therefore the goal of the speaker is to optimize any chances of gaining some form of reward from the interaction (Myers-Scotton 1998: 19). This means that the speaker will choose one variety of a language over another because it has more benefits relative to its costs. Under the Markedness Model the speaker may accommodate to the style of the addressee in the interaction, or may even use politeness strategies, or refrain from using them, for example. The speaker will make his/her code choice depending on the strategy which will be the most optimal for him/herself. This often means that the speaker needs to put a few combinations of choices together, and to take all the available evidence into account regarding the best possible strategy for the specific interaction (Myers-Scotton 1998: 20). For example, if two speakers are arguing, then both may switch to their L1 in order to feel more confident and proficient in their argument and hence to reap the rewards and to minimize the costs of losing the argument.

3.1 Communicative competence and markedness metric

Communicative competence is the speaker-hearer's tacit knowledge of more than just the basic grammatical structure of the language. Communicative competence figures prominently in the Markedness Model because such competence entails the ability to judge the acceptability of an utterance in a given social context (Myers-Scotton 1993: 79). The Markedness Model depends on the addition of a markedness metric to a speaker's linguistic competence, thereby expanding communicative competence. This metric makes up part of the communicative competence of all humans, and it enables speakers to assess and conceptualize all code choices as more or less marked or

unmarked for the exchange type in which they occur (Myers-Scotton 1993: 79-80). A critical point is that, while the metric is considered to be a universal cognitive structure, it underlies a very particular ability. The ability to assess the markedness of codes is only developed in reference to a specific community and through the actual social experiences and interactions there. Thus, while it can be said that it is a universal feature of language use in that all choices are interpreted in terms of their markedness, one can speak of the markedness of a particular code choice only in reference to a specific context in a specific community (Myers-Scotton 1993:80).

Conceptualizing markedness means that the speaker-hearer possesses the potential to do two things. Firstly, the speaker-hearer is able to recognize that linguistic choices fall along a multidimensional continuum from more marked to more unmarked and that their ordering will vary, depending on the specific discourse type (Myers-Scotton 1998: 22). Secondly, the speaker-hearer is able to recognize and comprehend that marked choices will receive different receptions from unmarked choices. In order to develop either of these abilities, exposure to both the marked and unmarked choices in actual community discourse is required in the same way that a speaker requires exposure to a language in use in order to acquire its grammatical structures (Myers-Scotton 1998: 22).



3.2 Rights and obligations set

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

groups which are all the main social identity features of participants (Myers-Scotton 1998: 24). It can therefore be said that the speaker as well as the addressee is able to use the input of their experiences in daily interactions in their community, together with the markedness metric as a cognitive device, to arrive at readings of markedness. Firstly, they take the specific salient situational factors of a given community and interaction type into account and establish the perimeter of the unmarked RO set for a specific interaction setting. Secondly, they calculate the relative markedness of code choices to index the unmarked RO set (Myers-Scotton 1998: 25).

3.3 The markedness of codeswitching

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

The Markedness Model consists of a set of general maxims applying to any code choice. Myers-Scotton (1993:113) states that markedness is an organizing device. The markedness model accounts for all types of codeswitching and their social motivations as one of four complementary types. Relating the types of codeswitching to one another in a unified way contrasts with other research which produces an open-ended classification of functions. The Markedness Model rests on the negotiation principle, and on the maxims

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

3.4 Types of codeswitching

3.4.1 Codeswitching as an unmarked choice

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

In many multilingual communities, or in certain types of interaction, speaking in two languages within one conversation is also a way of following the unmarked-choice maxim for speakers. In this type of codeswitching, speakers engage in a continuous

pattern of using two or more languages. Often the switching takes place within a single sentence or even within a single word. The other types of switching, such as marked codeswitching or exploratory codeswitching, do not possess the same to-and-fro pattern (Myers-Scotton 1993: 117). It may be suggested that such unmarked codeswitching does not necessarily have a certain indexicality, but is the general and overall pattern which carries the communicative intent (Myers-Scotton 1993: 117). Myers-Scotton (1993:119) states that certain conditions have to be met for unmarked codeswitching to occur. Firstly, the speaker must have bilingual peers; as such codeswitching does not occur when there is a difference between socio-economic factors or if the speakers are strangers. Secondly, the interaction has to be one in which the speakers wish to symbolize the mutual membership that this type of codeswitching calls for. Such interactions will be of an informal nature and will only include in-group members. The third criterion, most important in this type of interaction, is that the speaker must positively evaluate for his/her own identity the indexical values of the varieties used in the switching. Fourthly, while proficiency is an important condition of codeswitching, a speaker-hearer need only be relatively proficient in the two languages involved (Myers-Scotton 1993: 19).

The conditions promoting unmarked codeswitching are not met in all communities; they are often met in many third world countries (Myers-Scotton 1993:20). For example, in Africa, there is much codeswitching between indigenous colonial languages. Formerly, Africans spoke their own common first language with their ethnic peers and indigenous lingua francas with other Africans. The politically and economically influential colonial language was mostly reserved for interaction between colonial personnel and other foreign nationals and a few highly educated Africans. With independence and the advent of more universal elementary education and access to a higher level of education, more and more Africans became proficient in the colonial languages, which were in most cases the official languages (Myers-Scotton 1993:20). The colonial language is now often the medium of instruction in education. School leavers then go on to occupy jobs in which they use the colonial language at least part of the time. Some Africans also speak the colonial language at home in order to give their children some practice in the medium which is crucial to their educational advancement. These local speakers do not use the

colonial language exclusively; rather they engage in codeswitching which includes the colonial language and at least one indigenous language. The matrix language (the base language) of the local conversations is typically not the colonial language but either a shared ethnic-group language, such as Shona in Harare, or a relatively neutral lingua franca, such as Swahili in Nairobi, Senegal, or Zaire (Myers-Scotton 1993: 121).

Structural features of codeswitching as the unmarked code choice contrast with the use of sequential unmarked codeswitching. Unmarked codeswitching includes a great deal of intrasentential switching and can be characterized by this occurrence (Myers-Scotton 1993: 125). Another structural feature of unmarked codeswitching is that one of the two codes involved is the main or matrix language and the other is known as the embedded language. The matrix language supplies the majority of the morphemes for the discourse, and it supplies inflections and function words for intrasentential constituents with morphemes from both languages (Myers-Scotton 1993: 125). This point is especially evident in unmarked codeswitching. In some instances or communities, the matrix language may change from one conversation to another, depending on the socio-psychological correlations of the different conversations (Myers-Scotton 1993: 125). An example is the case of some Hispanics in the United States for whom Spanish is the matrix language for certain topics or with fellow Hispanics, while English is the matrix language for other topics and participants. Myers-Scotton (1993:126) states that these conditions do not seem to exist in the current African setting. The unmarked codeswitching discussed in the above example does not occur in all communities. It may only occur in those communities where speakers wish to index their code choice simultaneously, especially with regard to informal ingroup interactions where identities are associated with the unmarked use of more than one code (Myers-Scotton 1993: 126).

3.4.2 Sequential unmarked codeswitching

When the situational factors change within the course of a conversation, the unmarked RO set may change (Myers-Scotton 1993: 114). In many cases, the unmarked RO set changes when the participant composition of the conversation changes, for example when

the focus or topic of the conversation is shifted. When the unmarked RO set is altered by such factors, the speaker will switch codes if he/she wishes to index the new unmarked RO set. By making the unmarked choice, the speaker is accepting the status quo and acknowledging the indexical quality of the unmarked choice (Myers-Scotton 1993: 114). The model predicts that the speaker will generally choose either to accept or to re-negotiate the new unmarked RO set (Myers-Scotton 1993: 115). While the switch in the markedness of RO sets which trigger sequential unmarked codeswitching is external to the speaker, it should be emphasized that it is still the speaker who has the choice to respond to this switch. The unmarked response is to switch codes to the index of the new, unmarked RO set, which is an indication that the speaker accepts that set for the remainder of the conversation. Such codeswitching can be labeled in such a way as to indicate that the change in codes is speaker-motivated, and not necessarily driven by the situation. It remains up to the speaker to make the choice and to act upon the choice, regardless of what the situational factors are (Myers-Scotton 1993: 115). Making unmarked choices indicates a type of acceptance by the speaker of the role association which those people in his or her community with specific social identities typically have with one another (Myers-Scotton 1993: 117).

Myers-Scotton (1993: 116) uses an example to illustrate how a speaker or writer can use sequential codeswitching to illustrate a change in tone, namely a letter written from a Tanzanian friend to an English friend. Both people live in Nairobi. The letter starts in Swahili, outlining the reason for the letter and expressing a plea for help, yet a switch is made when it comes to the delicate request for an actual loan, where the Tanzanian switched over to English. This code switch marks the seriousness of his request, and even though he is proficient in English, it is more remote from him than Swahili, which is his first language. It can be said that the unmarked code choice for the Tanzanian is English because it is a way of distancing himself from the embarrassment of asking for a loan from a friend (Myers-Scotton 1993: 116). Myers-Scotton (1993: 117) states that making an unmarked code choice indicates a type of acceptance by speakers and writers of the role relationship which people from the same communities and same social identities have with one another.

3.4.3 The deference and virtuosity maxims

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

3.4.4 Codeswitching as a marked choice

This type of codeswitching directs speakers to make a marked code choice which is not the unmarked index of the unmarked RO set in an interaction. Such a choice is exercised when a speaker wishes to establish a new RO set as unmarked for the current exchange. In codeswitching as a marked choice, the speaker is said to “dis-identify” with the expected RO set (Myers-Scotton 1993: 131). Such codeswitching typically takes place in a relatively formal conversational interaction for which an unmarked code choice to index the unmarked RO set between speakers is relatively clear. The speaker in this case will not follow the unmarked code choice but takes a different approach, the marked choice. It can also be said that, in making a marked choice, the speaker is getting rid of all presumptions based upon societal norms in a particular interactive situation. A marked choice therefore derives its meaning from two sources. Firstly, since the marked choice is not the unmarked choice, it is a negotiation against the unmarked RO set. Secondly, the marked choice is a call for another RO set in its place, for which the speaker’s choice is

the unmarked index (Myers-Scotton 1993: 131). The marked code choices are relative in two senses because their recognition and interpretation depends upon the contrast with the unmarked choice and the indexicality of the RO sets for which they would be the unmarked code choice (Myers-Scotton 1993: 131).

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

A marked choice can be considered as an innovation because of how and where it is used, and needs to be rooted in a cultural and linguistic system to be accurately interpreted (Myers-Scotton 1993: 141). This is in line with the point discussed above, that making a marked choice is a risk preceded by the conscious or unconscious weighing of the relative costs and rewards of making the marked choice instead of the unmarked choice. The user of a marked choice is considered an innovator in the entrepreneurial sense, and may be one of two types (Myers-Scotton 1993: 141). Firstly, there are individuals with sufficiently high status which allows them to take linguistic chances. These users are positioned so that the possibility of achieving such status is real and would be elevated through successful negotiation of personal interpersonal position through marked choices. The second category is the category which includes entrepreneurs. The Markedness Model of codeswitching and code choice is more speaker-orientated than audience-orientated, in contrast with other communication theories (Myers-Scotton 1993: 141). Codeswitching is better at representing the imprint on a conversational exchange which a speaker wants to make for him/herself, and the speaker is thinking of his/her own

position in the RO set being negotiated. Speaker orientation is a lot more severe in making marked choices. Such a choice has a definitive effect, even if the addressee does not reciprocate in kind (Myers-Scotton 1993: 141).

Myers-Scotton (1993: 132) emphasizes that there is one general motive for making marked choices. This motive is that speakers engage in marked codeswitching to indicate a range of emotions from anger to affection, as well as to negotiate outcomes ranging from demonstrations of authority to assertion of ethnic identity. All these motives have one general effect, which is to negotiate a change in the expected social distance between participants, either to increase it or to decrease it. Codeswitching occurs in all communities and at all linguistic levels, and making a marked code choice may be the most universal use for codeswitching (Myers-Scotton 1993: 132).

According to Myers-Scotton (1993: 135), marked codeswitching may, for example, be used as an ethnically-based exclusion strategy. People generally feel closely related to those they can identify with as sharing the same language and ethnic background, and are often very aware of their own ethnic-group membership. There is an instrumental value in keeping ethnicity salient, but this is often the reason why conflict arises in a multi-ethnic setting. People are often careful of or even avoid overt displays of ethnicity, such as using one's own language among other cultures and in multi-ethnic settings (Myers-Scotton 1993: 136). Yet, in many instances, a speaker will take the risk and use his/her ethnic language as a case of marked codeswitching. It can be said that any codeswitching which excludes others never appears too favourable to the person or people being excluded. The excluded party often complains and views the use of a marked code choice as unacceptable because it excludes them. Such is a marked choice which is rejected by those who are excluded (Myers-Scotton 1993: 137).

3.4.5 Codeswitching as an exploratory choice

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

unmarked choice and thus as an index of an RO set which the speaker favours (Myers-Scotton 1993: 142). This type of codeswitching occurs when the speakers themselves are unsure of the expected or optimal communicative intent or RO set. Exploratory codeswitching is the least common type of code choice, not often needed, as the unmarked choice is usually clear (Myers-Scotton 1993: 142). Usually the unmarked RO set for the given speaker and other participants in a given interactional exchange is derived from situational factors together with the culture's norms. If the exchange is less conventional, however, then the unmarked choice is less obvious, such as when there is a clash of norms or situational values. Exploratory codeswitching also occurs when the speaker is uncertain which norms should be applied. This is often the case in the meeting of different cultures and social identities. Exploratory codeswitching may also occur when societal norms are in a state of transformation (Myer-Scotton 1993: 142).

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

3.5 Motivations for a speaker's code choices

The aspects of the Markedness Model discussed in the above section explain the theoretical foundation of the approach. This section presents a normative framework for the social motivations for codeswitching. It has been noted that all speakers are equipped with an innate markedness metric yet they only make actual indications of markedness through experience with linguistic structure and language use in a community (Myers-Scotton 1993: 109). The speaker can then consider whether it is a marked or unmarked code in their community's repertoire, according to the community's norms, or as the index of the unmarked RO set between participants in a conversation. This implies that conversations can be considered to be conventionalized and that speakers do have a sense of the unmarked scripts for them (Myers-Scotton 1993: 109).

Myers-Scotton (1993: 109) emphasises the argument that it is not possible for speakers to assume that their messages have any communicative intent, whether the choice is marked or unmarked, unless there is an existing normative framework with readings of markedness for the potential code choices. Such a normative framework is necessary for speakers to be able to interpret code choices (Myers-Scotton 1993: 109). Myers-Scotton (1993: 109) further suggests that most of the interpretation within a conversation depends upon the framework of markedness which is provided by the community's values and norms (Myers-Scotton 1993: 110). It is important to note that Myers-Scotton (1993: 111) argues that the Markedness Model does not view the actual choices themselves as arising from the community's norms, but that the speaker makes the choices. The norms are said to help determine the interpretation of choices and to help the speaker weigh the costs and rewards of alternative choices and to then make a decision. In the Markedness Model, the speaker makes choices primarily based on enhancing his/her social position and to communicate his/her own perceptions (Myers-Scotton 1993: 111).

CHAPTER FOUR

METHODOLOGY

In this study a qualitative, ethnographic approach was employed for the gathering of information, and for the analysis of the transcribed conversations and the questionnaire. The qualitative ethnographic approach was developed from work in sociology, anthropology, sociolinguistics and non-verbal communication (Jacobs 1987). Ethnographers of communication usually base their studies on participant observation data and on audio or video recordings of naturally occurring interactions (Ncoko, et al 2000). Other researchers who have based their codeswitching research on a qualitative ethnographic approach include Myers-Scotton (1992), Merrit, Cleghorn, Abagi, and Buyi (1992), and Finlayson and Slabbert (1997). For the present study the researcher made use of audio recordings and a questionnaire, as well as physical observation within the classroom. These research methods served as a source of information on the functions of codeswitching in the classroom. The questionnaire in particular aided in the analysis of how codeswitching affects the learner's language use in the classroom and at home. Many researchers, such as Finlayson and Slabbert (1997) and McCormick (2002), use audio recordings to capture spontaneous speech patterns and codeswitching. These methods of data collection provide an overall picture of the language use of the learners and a view into their personal feelings and perceptions about codeswitching.

4.1 Participants

The present study of the phenomenon of codeswitching was conducted in an all-girl, "former Model C" high school in the Western Cape, South Africa. The language of learning and teaching in this school is predominantly English, yet Afrikaans is also accommodated due to the large number of Afrikaans L1 teachers and learners who attend the school. The age of the learners in the study ranged from 14 to 16 years. Most of the learners speak English as an L1 with Afrikaans or isiXhosa as an L2, while some of the learners speak Afrikaans or isiXhosa as their L1 and English as their L2. A large

percentage of the speakers in the school are able to speak a number of the indigenous languages of South Africa such as isiXhosa and isiZulu. Such learners are well-represented throughout the school, even though this school is situated in a predominantly white suburb. The school has boarding facilities, and accommodates learners from all over the Western Cape area, and is therefore considered multicultural as well as multilingual. The teachers who took part in the study were two Afrikaans L1 speaking teachers, who taught Afrikaans as a second language, an Afrikaans L1 speaking Life orientation teacher, an English L1 Life orientation teacher, as well as an Afrikaans L1 Geography teacher.

4.2 Naturalistic data

Data were collected by means of observations and audio recordings of communicative interactions during formal class time by the researcher. The data consists of naturally-occurring conversations among learners of diverse cultures and languages and their teachers. The researcher was also able to observe conversations among the learners, as well as to observe how the teachers use codeswitching in order to teach the learners. By being able to attend and record all the classes, the researcher was also able to observe intercultural communication and how the learners interact with each other and their different teachers. The learners and the teachers were not told what the study was about, nor were they told what was expected of them during the observations or audio recordings. This non-disclosure aimed to prevent any conscious codeswitching and to ensure that the teachers and the learners were relaxed and spontaneous in their conversations. To assess the differences between contexts, for example with regard to how subject content could affect the pattern and functions of codeswitching, data were collected in five different classes of three different subjects, two Afrikaans (second language) classes, two Life orientation classes and a Geography class.

Learners who take Afrikaans as a second language learn the basic skills of the language and its use. They learn the grammar, study Afrikaans literature, and develop the skills using the language for oral conversations and creative writing. Afrikaans second

language is considered as language learning on an easier level than Afrikaans first language. All learners are required to take Afrikaans as either a first language or as a second language subject from grade eight to grade twelve.

The subject of life orientation helps the learner to acquire the necessary life skills to deal with situations which they will face in society during and after school. The subject focuses on issues such as career orientation, sexual education, and relationship skills. This subject is compulsory for all grade eight and nine learners.

The third subject which was observed was a Geography class, at grade ten level. These learners will take this subject up until their final year of school. Geography deals with context covering physical as well as population statistics, climate, mapwork and world changing phenomena such as disease and poverty.

All five classes were observed by the researcher over a period of three weeks, and three audio recordings were made of each class. The data were orthographically transcribed and then analyzed within the theoretical framework of Myers-Scotton's (1993) Markedness Model. On the basis of the natural data from observations and audio recordings, the researcher was able to determine how specific types of codeswitching functioned in the classroom.

4.3 Questionnaire data

A second source of data was a questionnaire designed to gain information on the personal opinions of the learners and the teachers (cf. Appendices A and B). The questionnaires included questions about language(s) of use, opinions regarding codeswitching and its functions, and language choices at school and at home. The questionnaires provided the researcher with information on the personal perceptions of learners and teachers with regard to language use and codeswitching. The questionnaire was completed by 92 learners from the five observed classes, and by three of the teachers of the classes observed. The teachers' and the learners' questionnaire contained similar questions

regarding language background and how language influences their daily life. The questionnaires differed where some of the questions were more specifically aimed at either the teacher or the learner. The teachers were asked specifically how their learners react to codeswitching and whether they found codeswitching useful in the classroom. The learners were asked whether codeswitching by their teachers affects their learning and concentration ability in the classroom. The questionnaires provided the researcher with more detailed information about the teachers' and learners' language use and their perceptions regarding codeswitching.

4.3.1 Learner questionnaire

Regarding the specific content of the learner questionnaire (cf. Appendix A), the first question asked the learner's name. The next three questions focused on establishing the language orientation of the learners, by enquiring as to their first language, the other languages they can speak, and their home language at present. Question five focused on the reasons why their first language had changed to another language at home, if indeed this had happened. The rationale for question five was to find out what causes such shifts in language choice. Question six was aimed at discovering how many learners actually switch their languages in conversation or are at least aware of doing so. If the learners answered yes to question six, they had to select the places where they codeswitch, given the options of home, school, and social events. Question seven was related to question six, in that the learners had to provide reasons why they switch their languages in the places they had circled.

The aim of questions eight to thirteen was to inquire further regarding the influences, opinions and effects of codeswitching in the classroom and the wider society. For these questions, the learners had to circle what they considered as the most appropriate answer, selecting one of two possibilities. Question eight inquired whether the learner thought mixing languages had a positive or negative influence on communication between people from different cultures. Questions nine to eleven focused on codeswitching in the classroom, and asked whether their teachers ever mix their languages, and whether such

codeswitching makes it more difficult or easier to learn and to concentrate in the classroom. The final two questions focused on the overall attitude towards codeswitching, asking whether the learners thought people in general have a negative or positive attitude towards codeswitching, and whether codeswitching has a positive or negative effect on the languages themselves.

4.3.2 Teacher Questionnaire

The first eight questions of the teacher questionnaire (cf. Appendix B) were the same as those of the learner questionnaire, and aimed at establishing their patterns of language use and codeswitching. Questions eight to twelve of the teacher questionnaire then aimed to inquire more on their perceptions of the effects of codeswitching and opinions about codeswitching in the classroom and the wider society. For these questions, the teachers were required to circle what they considered the most appropriate answers, selecting from two possibilities. Question eight asked the teachers whether they thought mixing languages had a positive or negative influence on communication between people from different cultures. Questions nine to eleven focused on codeswitching in the classroom and asked whether, from the teacher's point of view, codeswitching is considered a valuable linguistic tool when teaching. The teachers were required to indicate how their learners react to codeswitching in the classroom, how they think codeswitching affects their teaching ability, and how their learners react to their own codeswitching while teaching. The final two questions, were once again the same as those in the student questionnaire, and focused on the teacher's attitudes towards codeswitching. The teachers were asked whether they thought people have a negative or positive attitude towards codeswitching, and whether codeswitching has a positive or negative effect on the languages themselves.

CHAPTER FIVE

RESULTS

The results of the study are presented below. Firstly, in sections 5.1-5.4 the analysis of the code switching data into the various types of codeswitching identified by Myers-Scotton's (1993) Markedness Model is presented. A number of functions identified for each type are discussed and illustrated, with examples from the data (the complete set of data, including all exchanges in which codeswitching occurred, appears in Appendix C). Secondly, in section 5.5, the data gathered by means of the questionnaire is presented. The results from each question, representing and the perceptions and opinions of the participants about codeswitching, are presented in this last section.

5.1 Marked codeswitching

As discussed in detail in chapter three, marked codeswitching directs the speaker to a code choice which is not the unmarked index of the unmarked RO set in an interaction. A marked code choice is used when a speaker wants to establish a new RO set as unmarked for the current exchange. Such codeswitching usually occurs in relatively formal conversational interactions (Myers-Scotton 1993: 131). Marked codeswitching, according to Kieswetter (1997: 16), occurs is when a speaker changes some aspect of the RO set or the balance within a particular interaction in order to communicate a meta-message.

5.1.1 Clarification

Codeswitching in order to translate a single word was often found to function for meaning clarification. This type of codeswitching constitutes a way in which learners are able to clarify any misunderstanding. Codeswitching for such translation for purposes of

clarification was often noted in the language classes, where learners often require the correct meaning, as is clear in (2) and (3)¹.

- (2) T This exercise on the board is for next week, **taal!**
language.
- S **Juffrou** what is *aangesien*?
miss considering
- T It is like because.
- S Like *because*, *aangesien*?
considering
- T **Ja, ja** like *because*, and then you have to give a reason.
yes yes
- S Is it just **positiewe**?
positive
- T **Nee** also **tien negetiewe, tien negetiewe eienskappe.**
no ten negative ten negative characteristics
- (3) T **Vet ruspers.** Girls, who of you know what um, just look at number three,
fat caterpillars
who knows what **vet ruspers** is?
fat caterpillars
- S Oohhh.... Fat
- T **Vet, vet** is fat, **maar ruspers?**
fat fat but caterpillars
- S **Spek, spek** is bacon.
bacon, bacon
- T Caterpillars.
- S Oh okay!

¹ In the codeswitching examples in this chapter, English is in regular script, Afrikaans appears in bold, and italics are used to signify a particular term.

5.1.2 Expansion

Codeswitching for expansion is often used in a longer explanation where many codeswitches occur. This function seems to further clarify meaning and to make sure that the explanation is understood. This involves longer phrases whereby the teachers or learners further explain meaning, or where they translate certain concepts being taught in the lesson, as in (4) and (5) below.

- (4) T If you have sentences, who of you know how do you determine what the subject is in that sentence? **Hoe sal jy weet wat is die onderwerp?** What
how will you know what is the subject
will you ask, what question Emma?
- S What's the person's name?
- T Okay what is the name of the person, yes? But someone asked me something now.
- S Who?
- T Who, to find a subject you say.... Okay I'm just going to translate these words into Afrikaans as well. Who knows what a subject is in Afrikaans? **Onderwerp**, and to find the **onderwerp**, you say *who*. Or in Afrikaans
subject subject
wat is die woord in Afrikaans, wie. And what **is wie** in Afrikaans?
what is the word in Afrikaans who is who
- T Okay but that's not all you're going to ask grade nine. You're going to say **wie**
who
doen die werk, so its **wie** plus your, what is your doing word in the
do the work who
sentence Izenzi, what is the doing word, what is it called?
- S The verb.

and that she is feeling tense. In the examples (6) and (7), codeswitches are made when the teacher reprimands a learner.

(6) T Okay have you all got one now, right if we read from the top it says a very important part of choosing a career is working out what would suit your own interests and abilities. The average person works forty years before retiring. Okay so the average person goes to school for how many years?

Kom nou julle.

come now everyone.

S Um twelve.

T Twelve years, just think if you hate every minute of twelve years think how nice it's going to be to hate forty years, not nice hey? Okay so that's why we need to be very careful in choosing what you want to do one day.

(7) S What is in chapter six?

T Chapter six **ek gaan gou kyk**, oh it's about **Ouma** Ella and the opera

I going quickly look Grandma

music remember doing exercises by putting ear plugs in not to hear the music only to feel the vibrations remember that? Okay **niks anders doen**

nothing else do

nie graad nege. Ha ah jewelry not allowed, not in the classroom no. You not grade nine

have got a long week-end to wear that. **Graad neges nee, as hoofstuk ses**

grade nines no if chapter six

te min werk is dan doen jy ook hoofstuk sewe. So if you show me that

to little work is then do you always chapter seven

you going to sit and waste your own time now. Chapter six, one to ten.

Helen **kom gou-gou, maak oop.** Sixty-two **hoofstuk nege** okay **is almal**

come quickly-quickly make open chapter nine is everyone

by?

with

[Many of the students are without books]

You are asking for debits, and then I'll give it to you, you ask me to give it to you so I'll do that. See we know the code of conduct, you don't bring your books to class then you want me to give you debits. I hate this system but you ask me to give it to you. Okay, you have two debits so far, anyone else? Please ladies you know when its **lees** and when it's **taal**. Am I right?

literature

language

Almal weet!

everyone knows

S I bring my books everyday.

T **Dis goed dis die veiligste. Jy weet wanneer jy lees het en jy weet**

that's good it's the safest you know when you literature have and you know

waanner jy taal het. Make sure want almal het leesboeke, ons gaan nie

when you language have because everyone has reading books we go not

vandag taal doen nie ons gaan lees. Nou hoe kan jy lees as jy nie 'n

today language do not we go read now how can you read if you not a

boek voor jou het nie. Of jy ken die hele storie uit jou kop, well then

book in front you have not either you know the whole story out your head

you're good, you're better than I am. You know the whole story, every

single word of **jy wil net sit en speel. So wat jy wil volgende keer doen,**

you want just sit and play so what you want next time do

die

the

ouens wat hier sonder boeke sit jy gaan vir ons 'n summary maak van

guys that here without books sit you go for us a make of

alles wat ons lees. Met ander woorde hoofstuk nege en dan as jy die

everything that we read in other words chapter nine and then if you the

summary **bring gaan ek dit miskien oorweeg om die debit weg te vat.**

bring going I it maybe consider to the away to take

So vir eers gaan die debit in my boek en dan as jy 'n goeie summary

so for first go the in my book and then if you a good

bring dan sal ek miskien goed wees en die debit weg neem. Is dit reg

bring then will I maybe good be and the away take is it correct

so. Do you understand me loud and clear?

so

5.1.4 Humor

The teachers and the students use codeswitching as a way to get a positive and humorous response, as in (8) and (9). These are marked codeswitches because they occur within the formal context of teaching not in an informal conversation. Neither the student nor the teacher is intending to be social, yet the switch still elicits a humorous response.

(8) T Okay **kom ons stop gou-gou daar, wie** volunteer to recap, Beccie **hoe lyk**
let us stop quickly there who how look
dit, jy doen dit goed.

it you do it well

S No, I missed the last part I was daydreaming about um, I was thinking about something.

[Class laughs]

T I can see that now. Okay, phone a friend. **Jy kan begin en dan kan**
you can begin and then can
Michelle maar, okay. Nee, nee moenie, nie lê nie, dan raak jy lelik,
but no no don't not lie not then become you ugly
okay what happened?

(9) T **Hoofstuk ses, nommer een tot tien.**

chapter six number one to ten

S1 Oh.

T Okay **ons gaan nie nou hare doen nie, lê of op jou arms want jy is te**
we go not now hair do not lie either on your arms because you are to
moeg om te werk en jy werk vanmiddg wanneer ons gaan naweek
tired to work and you work this afternoon when we go week-end
hou. Die anders ouens gebruik die tyd.

have the other guys use the time

S **Asseblief kan** Melissa stay with me?

Please can

[Melissa is busy playing with Becci's hair]

T **Hoekom?**

why

S Because it feels so nice, it makes me go to sleep.

T **Nee, maar jy gaan omval. Kom sit dan hierso.**

no but you go fall come sit then here

[Class laughs]

5.1.5 Social and identity function

Codeswitching is often seen as functional when participants of a conversation are being social. A teacher will often codeswitch while having a social conversation with her students, yet it can be considered as a marked switch because, although the relationship and socializing is relaxed, the teacher and the learners are still not in the same so-called “in group”, due to differences in age, L1, and culture. The function of codeswitching to establish a form of identity is often noted when the learners are able to understand one another and their switches, as in (10), yet the teachers (especially the one from America in example (11)) is not always able to understand, due to differences in language and culture.

(10) T Okay **julle sê vir my bietjie van julle vakansies toe** okay

everyone say for me little bit of your holidays come on

[Student puts up her hand]

T **Ja, wag julle stilte asseblief, sy wil vir ons vertel** that she went overseas.

yes wait everyone quiet please she wants for us tell

Ja you went overseas tell us about it.

yes

S I went overseas to America for 2 weeks, to see my family.

T **En was dit lekker?**

and was it nice

S Yes.

- S2 Where did you go?
- T **Sy het nou net vir jou vertel.**
she has now just for you told
- S2 No, but where in America.
- T Oh, okay, um.
- S To lots of places, Washington, and lots of places.
- T Okay **wie nog**, Beccie, **wil jy vir ons van jou vakansie vertel.**
who still want you for us about your holiday tell
- S3 Not really miss, I did not do anything.
- T **Ag nee.**
oh no
- (11) S1 Miss Shannon [student teacher from America] have you ever been to Table Mountain?
- T Yes I went yesterday.
- S2 Did you enjoy it? I have never been.
- T Really?
- S1 Me either, but we live here.
- S2 I know, should we go together?
- S1 Yes, then we can bungi jump off the cable cart.
- S2 Yes, that would be so **kwaai né?**
harsh hey

5.1.6 Codeswitching for confirmation

This type of codeswitch occurred when the teacher was seeking some form of confirmation. The teacher in example (12) makes the switch to establish that her learners understand, and the learner in example (13) makes the switch when she wants to confirm her language choice in her speech turn.

- (12) T That is right, so there might be other jobs as well, especially if you work for yourself. They say to work for yourself is the hardest boss to work for,

because you never want to give yourself off, and so on and you very strict on yourself. Now identify interests and abilities, choosing a career starts with self-assessment you need to know what you are capable of and what you should stay away of. You all have abilities and skills that is things that you have learnt over a period of time and can do well, interests, things that you enjoy doing and want to do. **Verstaan julle**, understand? It's understand everyone helpful to know your interests and abilities when choosing a career choice. Look at activity five to identify your interests and abilities.

- (13) T Okay, **mooi, nog iets**, Johanellie **nee**? Okay Michelle **jy kan maar**. Okay, good something still no you can just **ja toemaar, ja** Johanellie? yes nevemind yes [Afrikaans L1 student, who shakes her head]
- S Sy het um...
- T **Sê maar in Engels dan verstaan almal.** say just in English then understand everyone
- S Um.
- S2: Say it in Afrikaans.
- S She arrives with her crutches.
- T **Wil jy dit in Afrikaans vir ons sê nie? Jy kan probeer, ek weet jy kan.** want you it in Afrikaans for us say not you can try I know you can
- S **Maar ek wil nie.** but I want not
- T Okay, **jy wil nie**? Okay, **jy hoef nie**. Okay Michelle. you want not you need not

5.2 Unmarked codeswitching

As noted in chapter three, Myers-Scotton (1993: 114) states that unmarked codeswitching occurs when the speaker makes a code choice the unmarked index of the unmarked RO set in the speech exchange when he/ or she wishes to establish the RO set. According to Kieswetter (1995: 16) the unmarked code choice occurs when the overall speech pattern carries the social meaning, rather than the individual switches. The unmarked code choice is used to indicate simultaneous identities (Kieswetter 1995: 114), and usually consists of a continuous pattern of using two or more languages (Myers-Scotton 1993: 117).

5.2.1 Humour

Unmarked codeswitching for the purpose of humour can be seen in examples (14) and (15). In both cases the speaker codeswitches in order to get a positive and humorous response. Both examples take place in a relaxed environment and occur outside the context of the actual lesson where the teacher and learners are interacting on a personal level.

- (14) S Miss Lombard, what is *snaaks*?
funny
- T **Snaaks, dit is positief, Chloe is grappig.**
funny it is positive is funny
- S1 **Nee, sy is sommer lelik.** I am just joking Chloe.
no she is just ugly
- S2 Okay
- [Student S1 and S2 laugh].

- (15) S **My maag brom.**
my stomach drone
- T **Dis my maag grom, nie brom nie.**
it's my stomach grumble not drone not

- S **Ek** know Miss Taylor.
I
- T My stomach is past **gromming**, its now **bromming**
grumbling droning
[Everyone in the class laughs].

5.2.2 Social and identity

Examples (16) and (17) indicate how the learners codeswitch amongst themselves as a natural way of speaking with words which they have taken from Afrikaans and included in their English vocabulary. In these cases it is unmarked codeswitching which functions as a way being social amongst their in-group and peers. They understand each other and the words, even though the words are a different language and often have other meanings. This type of codeswitching, as a natural speech pattern, is often embedded in a culture's way of speaking, and therefore also functions an indication of identity.

- (16) S3 Is it difficult in the computer room?
[Afrikaans L1 student from Vredenburg]
S4 No it's okay. I don't know how true it is.
S3 Do you have to type?
S4 No.
S3 Oh, **ek wou nou net sê**. I hate to type, I used to do it in my old school. But
I wanted now just say
they don't have it at this school.
- (17) S1 Guess what Tammy and I are eating now at break, pizza slices
[S1 laughs]
S1 Ha, look at your face.
S2 Will you give me a **hap**?
bite
S1 Yes, man, I will give you a **hap**.
bite

5.2.3 Codeswitching at word-finding difficulty.

The function of codeswitching at a moment of word-finding difficulty is fulfilled by substituting the word in another language. The student or the teacher cannot think of the word in the language that they are speaking, so they switch to the equivalent word in the other language. In both examples, (18) and (19), the students and the teachers know what they are talking about, therefore the meaning of the words which are replaced is still understood, which makes it a marked choice.

(18) S Miss, **ek het “7de Laan”** gewatch.

I have 7th avenue watched

S2 Gekyk.

watched

[Everyone in the class laughs]

T **En George lyk my dit gaan bietjie beter** at the end **né?**

and seems me it go little better at the end hey?

S Yes.

(19) T We have so many diseases, I don't know what it is called in English but it is **'n ernstige siekte um Pokke in Afrikaans** its **Pokke**

a serious disease small pox in Afrikaans small pox

which killed half of the society many years ago but even today there's still such sicknesses in the world like what? Who can name one?

5.2.4 Expansion

Codeswitching to expand on an explanation can also be considered a function of the unmarked code choice. The use of an unmarked code choice for the function of expansion was often noted. The reason for this could be because the relationship between the teacher and learners is a familiar one, and often the learner as well as the teacher would expand on their meanings, opinions, or questions in a relaxed familiar tone. This can be seen in examples (20) and (21).

- (20) S Is **vet ruspers** um object.
fat caterpillars
- T No who's been **vreeting**?
gorging
- S The **vet ruspers**.
fat caterpillars
- T **Ja** the subject.
yes
- S So what's the object miss?
- T What has he been eating, eating what?
- S **Plantjies**.
plants
- T **Plantjies** is your object. Grade nines for subject you say *who is doing the*
plants
work who is eating? Vreet is mos eet né? So who is eating? The
gorge is indeed eat hey?
caterpillars, so the caterpillar that is your subject. **Vet ruspers is jou**
fat caterpillars is your
onderwerp.
subject
- T Hey, AJ **julle gaan aan**.
everyone go on
- S I'm explaining that you can eat **die fat ruspers** um....you can, I told you
the caterpillars
they are delicious, they're yummy.
- (21) T Marie, **nee jy sit mos nou mooi**, okay **goed julle is te mooi om te lê**.
no you sit just now nice good everyone is too nice to lie
Okay here we go.
- S Why is it bad **om te lê**?
to lie
- T Ha uh, **nie in 'n klas nie, in 'n bed, ja, nee, in 'n klas lê ons nie. Goed**
not in a class not in a bed yes no in a class lie us not good

sy lees, kom ouens ons moet hoofstuk nege doen vandag. Luister dit is

she reads come guys we must chapter nine do today listen it is

baie sad chapter hierdie né, dis sad, ons het 'n happy ending gehad.

very this hey it is we have had

Einde van chapter eight was **'n baie** happy happy.

end a very

S What happened in chapter eight?

[Whole class shouts out at once what happened]

T **Onthou julle mos?**

remember you indeed

[Whole class shouts again]

T Shoooo, Michelle **gaan gou vir ons sê**, Michelle **sê gou vir ons vinnig**

go quickly for us say say quickly for us quickly

what happened in chapter eight.

S Okay, at the end of chapter eight, Jak phoned Janna, they spoke to each other while walking to the train.

S2 Oh yes, they spoke to each other about school and how **Ouma** Ella is and

grandma

how Jak likes Ouma Ella.

T Ja, that's it, so she felt good about herself, **né, sy het baie goed gevoel.**

hey she has very good felt

Nou by hoofstuk nege is dit hartseer so ons moenie huil nie want dis

now at chapter nine is it sad so we must not cry not because it's

hartseer.

sad

S **Gaan ons huil?**

go us cry

T **Ja** okay. **Goed hier gaan ons mooi luister mooi kyk in die boeke** ok.

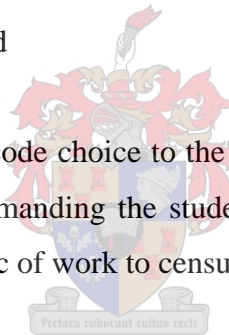
yes good here go us nice listen nice look in the books

5.3 Sequential unmarked codeswitching

As noted in chapter three, Myers-Scotton (1993: 114) states that sequential unmarked codeswitching occurs when the unmarked RO set changes. This often occurs when speaker composition changes, for example when the focus of the conversation is altered. When the unmarked RO set is altered by such factors, the speaker will switch codes if he/she wishes to index the new unmarked RO set. By making the unmarked choice, the speaker is acknowledging the indexical quality of the unmarked choice. The Markedness Model predicts that the speaker will choose either to accept or to re-negotiate the new unmarked RO set (Myers-Scotton 1993: 115). Sequential unmarked codeswitching occurs when the speaker changes from one unmarked code to the other as the situation or interaction changes (Kieswetter 1995: 16).

5.3.1 Codeswitching to reprimand

By changing from one unmarked code choice to the other as the situation changes, as in (22) and (23), the teacher is reprimanding the student and is changing the context and content of her speech from the topic of work to censure.

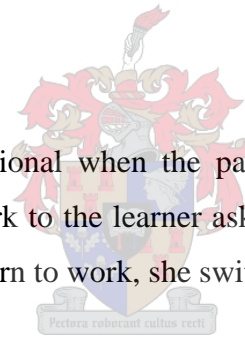


- (22) T **Okay *graad nege nou gaan ons 'n klein stukkie werk.***
 grade nines now go us a little piece work
- S No please. No Miss please.
- T **Kom ons het nog werk om te merk.**
 come we have still work to mark
- T Bianca why are you walking around?
- S Miss I am just busy with something.
- T Okay, **nommer twee-en-veertig, en drie-en-veertig.** Open up the books
 number forty two and forty-three
please, **maak gou oop. Ons het nie tyd gehad om te merk nie.** Okay
 make quickly open we have not time had to mark not
julle I am sure we are on this page forty two and forty-three, yes.
 everyone

- (23) T Okay, **bladsy een-en-vyftig** page fifty one is een-en-vyftig. You know
 page fifty one
 that **is een-en-vyftig**.
 is fifty one
 [Teacher asks the new student from Belgium if she understands the page numbers].
- S Yes.
- T Okay good. Okay, shoosh, **dankie, ons lê nie so in die klas nie, sit mooi**
 thank you we lie not so in the class not sit nicely
regop. Okay **jy het laas aan gelees gee vir ons die regte bladsy. Sy het**
 upright you have last on read give for us the correct page she has
verder gelees onthou julle?
 further read remember everyone

5.3.2 Social

Codeswitching can also be functional when the participants want to be social. Once again, the topic changes from work to the learner asking the teacher a random question, and when the teacher wants to return to work, she switches her code choice.



- (24) [A learner (Michelle) explains the rest of the chapter in English to her classmates]
- T **Ja, ja goed.**
 yes yes good
- S And Bruce?
 [Character in the book]
- T He left, but you can't argue with a drunk person can you?
- S No.
 [Followed by loud chatter and laughing from the students]
- S Miss what are you doing for Easter?

T Easter, well setting papers for my grade twelves, but that is the only work I am going to do then I am going to relax. But I am just going to stay at home I am not going to go anywhere. Relax.

[Students all chatter and laugh]

T Okay **kom ons lees verder, want nou weet ons van dronk mense en wat**

come we read further because now know we of drunk people and what

hulle doen né okay. En sy sê vir ma is jy nou tevrede,

they do hey and she says for mom are you now satisfied

[referring to the book]

T Shoo **kom by kom by gou-gou, en sy vra en so met haar tong gevoel**

come with come with quickly and she asks and so with her tongue felt

dat daar is nou two missing teeth.

that there is now

5.3.3 Confirmation

Codeswitches can function as a way of confirming with the learner what has just been said. In the example in (25) the teacher wants the learner (Lolla) to answer to see if she understands, but in between the teacher is changing her code to suit the situation and conversational changes.

(25) S Miss what is *kla-kla*?

moan-moan

T It's *complain-complain*.

S No but I mean.....

T Manner. Okay guys and girls now Lolla **sê gou vir juffrou**, we have our

tell quickly for teacher

mixing bowel we going to bake the vanilla word order cake. Okay subject, now we have to find the subject number one, that's our first ingredient that we need in our sentence. Which of those words is the subject?

S *My pa.*

my dad

5.4 Exploratory codeswitching

No examples of exploratory codeswitching were recorded in the classes observed (cf. the discussion in this regard).

5.5 Questionnaire data

5.5.1 Languages of use

The results in this section are based on questions 1-5 of the questionnaires (cf. Appendices A and B). The teachers will be referred to as teacher A, the first Afrikaans second language teacher; teacher B, the Life Orientation teacher; and teacher C, the Geography teacher. When asked about first languages and second languages in the questionnaire, 60 out of the 92 learners reported that the first language they had acquired was English. The second highest figure was for other languages besides Afrikaans and English. Eighteen out of 92 students stated that they acquired a foreign language first, among others Spanish, German, Italian, and Korean. African languages such as isiXhosa, isiZulu, seSotho, and seTswana were also acquired as first languages. Afrikaans as a first language was acquired by the lowest number of learners; only fourteen learners reported that they learnt Afrikaans as their first language.

The learners were also asked to indicate whether the first language they acquired is still their first language at home. In this regard the numbers had all decreased, even for English where only 54 of the 60 learners reported their first language is still English at home. Six of the Afrikaans L1 speakers, less than half the total of 14, still speak only Afrikaans as their home language. Many learners reported having more than one home language at present. Thirteen of the learners reported that they speak both Afrikaans and English as first languages, six reported that they speak English and one other language at home, while thirteen students reported that they speak just one other language at home. All three teachers (A, B, and C) who filled in the questionnaire said they acquired Afrikaans as their first language and it is still the only language they and their families

speak at home. The learners were asked to provide reasons if their first language differed from their home language at present. Some of the reasons stated were:

- The move from a rural school to an urban school.
- Immigration to South Africa from a foreign country. It would appear that English is so prominent in South Africa and around the world that it becomes the other language of choice in this country.
- The influence of parents at home. Parents were reported to think it is beneficial to be able to speak more than one language, encouraging the whole family to switch from an African language to English. English is considered economically beneficial.
- Living with other people (e.g. aunts, uncles and grandparents) who speak different languages to the one first acquired
- Parents speak different languages and the child's first language changes because one parent's language becomes more prominent at home.
- Parents speak a different language to that of the school the learner attends.
- Pre-school and primary school differ in language of use
- Living first with one parent and then with the other parent, where the parents speak different languages.
- Being sent to a monolingual school and coming under the influence of school and television, especially if your siblings are also sent to a school where the language is different to the one used at home.

5.5.2 Contexts of codeswitching

The results in this section are based on question 6 (cf. Appendices A and B). Of the 92 learners who filled in the questionnaire, 75 learners (81.5%) said that they do codeswitch, and 17 learners (18.5%) said that they do not codeswitch. All three teachers (A, B and C) stated that they do codeswitch at home, school and social events. As is clear from Table 1, most of the learners codeswitch at home, school, and social events. Twenty nine of the 75 (39%) learners who say they codeswitch, said that they codeswitch at all three places,

namely home, school and social events. The place where the learners report doing most of their codeswitching is at home, and the place where learners feel they do the least codeswitching is at social events.

	School	Home	Social Events	School and home	School and Social events	Home and social Events	All three
Learners (n=75)	7(9%)	12(16%)	3(4%)	13(17%)	6(8%)	5(7%)	29(39%)

Table 1: Contexts of codeswitching among learners

5.5.3 Functions of codeswitching

The results in this section are based on question 7 (cf. Appendices A and B). Of the three teachers who completed the questionnaire, one teacher (C) said that codeswitching does not serve a specific function. The other two teachers (A and B) were of the opinion that codeswitching does most definitely have particular functions. These two teachers firstly felt that codeswitching is functional in that it helps with explanations and is also a part of the natural speech patterns in South Africa. Secondly, codeswitching was reported to help the students not to feel lost in the classroom, especially when learning a language. The teachers felt that codeswitching helps their learners to understand better and to feel free to give their opinions in the language of their choice. All of the 75 learners who said that they do codeswitch felt that codeswitching was functional, providing the following list of codeswitching functions:

- If the speaker is uncertain of a word in English, he/she is able to say it in Afrikaans and vice versa (14 learners)
- The students have friends who are from another culture and language group (e.g. foreign countries or rural areas) (6 learners)
- Codeswitching out of habit (6 learners)
- It is fun and can be humorous to switch between languages (5 learners)

- To communicate effectively and to accommodate other language use in conversation with friends or teachers at school (5 learners)
- To explain yourself better, when speaking to someone who speaks another language you can switch to your own language and be more clear (5 learners)
- Friendship groups and students codeswitch because of the intercultural, multicultural and multilingual nature of the school and the neighborhoods which they are from (5 learners).
- To express one self differently or more accurately because certain words, idioms, and phrases are suited to a specific language (e.g. the word “lekker”) (4 learners)
- To be social and accommodating towards others (4 learners)
- One parent speaks one language and the other parent speaks another language, which is also the case with the parent’s extended family (3 learners)
- When speaking to a person who speaks another language such as Afrikaans or an African language, you can switch between the languages when you are uncertain of a word (3 learners)
- There are some Afrikaans words that do not have an equivalent in the English language (e.g. the word “braai”) (3 learners)
- When practicing Afrikaans at home or school codeswitching occurs (2 learners)
- To be understood properly or accurately (2 learners)
- The family’s language situation may be bilingual or multilingual so codeswitching and code mixing is a natural way of speaking at home and school (2 learners).
- Home language is different to the language spoken a home (2 learners).
- Forgetting the word in one language the learners says it in another language (2 learners).
- Both your first and second languages (often learnt at school) become part of your life and normal way of speaking, therefore codeswitching is natural (2 learners)
- Part of being social in South Africa, codeswitching is part of South Africa’s culture (2 learners)

- To affirm your identity as an Afrikaans, English, or African language user (1 learner).
- Bilingual siblings reinforce the use of more than one language (1 learner)

5.5.4 Opinions regarding codeswitching

The results in this section are the results for questions 8 to 13 of the learner questionnaire (cf. Appendix A), and questions 8 to 12 of the teacher questionnaire (cf. Appendix B). Firstly, consider the responses to questions 9 to 11, which focused on codeswitching in the classroom. In response to learner question 9, 25% of the learners said that their teachers often codeswitch in the classroom, while 75% said that this seldom occurs. In response to learner question 10, where the learners were asked whether they thought that mixing languages makes learning in the classroom easier or more difficult, 58% said it is easier, while 42% said it is more difficult. In response to learner question 11, where the learners were asked if they thought that mixing languages makes concentration in the classroom easier or more difficult, 46% said it is easier, while 54% said it is more difficult. In response to teacher question 9, where the teachers were asked whether their learners react positively or negatively when they mix language in the classroom, two teachers (A and B) said that their learners react positively, while one teacher (C) stated that they react negatively. In response to teacher question 10, where the teachers were asked whether they thought that mixing their languages has a positive or negative influence on their teaching, one teacher (C) said it has a negative effect, while two teachers (A and B) said it has a positive effect.

Turning now to questions 8, 12 and 13 of the learner questionnaire (cf. Appendix A) and 8, 11 and 12 of the teacher questionnaire (cf. Appendix B), consider the responses regarding attitudes towards codeswitching in the wider society. Question 8 asked whether the learners felt that mixing languages has a positive or negative influence on communication between people from different cultures; 60% of the learners selected a positive influence and 40% a negative influence. Two of the teachers (A and B) reported that mixing languages has a positive influence on communication between people from a

different culture, while one teacher (C) said it has a negative influence. In learner question 12, learners were also asked whether they thought that people in general have a positive or negative attitude toward the mixing of languages; 71% of the learners reported a positive attitude, while 29% reported a negative attitude. Question 11 in the teacher questionnaire asked whether respondents thought that people in general have a positive or negative attitude towards the mixing of languages. Two teachers (A and C) responded negatively while one (B) responded positively. In learner question 13, the learners were asked whether they thought that mixing languages may have a positive or negative effect on the languages themselves; 43% of the learners said positive, while 57% said negative. Question 12 in the teacher questionnaire asked whether they thought that mixing languages may have a positive or negative effect on the languages themselves. Two teachers (A and B) responded a positive effect, while one teacher (C) responded a negative effect.

The results given in this chapter are interpreted in the discussion to follow in Chapter 6. Chapter 6 aims to provide an overall view and integration of the data which were collected by observations and the questionnaire. Each class is discussed individually, and the codeswitching patterns of the learners and the teachers are highlighted. Each class is then compared to the others with regard to the codeswitching patterns and functions which were observed. The discussion correlates the results from the questionnaire with the functions of codeswitching observed by the researcher. The discussion also compares the data of both these sources and highlights discrepancies.

CHAPTER SIX

DISCUSSION

The discussion of the results presented here focuses on each of the classes of the three different subjects individually. The patterns of language use and the functions fulfilled by codeswitching in each of these five contexts are discussed in detail in sections 6.1-6.3. The linguistic and cultural composition of each class is also discussed in terms of how these aspects may affect the patterns of language use and the functions of codeswitching in the classroom. The results of the questionnaire are discussed in section 6.4. An integrated discussion is presented in section 6.5, and a conclusion is offered regarding the merit of accounting for codeswitching within the framework of Myers-Scotton's (1993) Markedness Model.

6.1 Afrikaans second language classes

Two different Afrikaans (second language) classes were observed, as it appeared that codeswitching takes place more frequently and naturally in a language class. In learning about a language, the teachers as well as the learners have to switch between their language of choice and the language which is being taught in order to understand one another. In both classes observed, the language teachers are Afrikaans L1 speakers and they codeswitch regularly, as they are dealing with mostly English L1 and isiXhosa L1 speakers. The teachers also have to codeswitch to be understood by the learners and to efficiently teach the learners.

The first Afrikaans class observed was a multicultural class composed of coloured, black, and white learners. The learners are mostly English L1 and isiXhosa L1 speakers, and a few Afrikaans L1 speakers, yet the class also contained one Korean and one Belgian learner, whose families moved to South Africa a few years ago. The teacher is an Afrikaans L1 speaker who struggles to speak English, and she constantly codeswitches between Afrikaans and English to ensure that her learners understand her (cf. the example

in (7)). The learners as well as the teacher are very interactive and talkative and openly have discussions about various topics. The teacher asks most of the questions in Afrikaans, yet she does a lot of the explaining in English to ensure that her learners understand what is required of them. She reports that this class struggles with Afrikaans so she is forced to speak a lot of English in order for them to understand (cf. the example in (7)). The learners speak predominantly English, even when answering the Afrikaans questions asked by the teacher and when having discussions amongst themselves. The black learners speak isiXhosa to each other and English to the teacher and their fellow learners.

Due to the relaxed nature of the class and the way in which it is being taught, it appears that the learners feel comfortable and are allowed to express themselves freely in their L1 (cf. the example in (10)). The learners are not forced to speak only Afrikaans when explaining themselves, and this is where codeswitching is most often noted because the learners feel they should attempt to include Afrikaans but most of their sentences consist of English which is their L1 (cf. Appendix C, p. 82). The black learners never speak Afrikaans to their classmates or to the teacher unless they are forced to, for example during an oral presentation. The other learners also speak mostly English to each other because it is a second language class so most of these learners do struggle with the subject. Most of the codeswitching is done by the teacher because she is an Afrikaans L1 speaker dealing with mostly English L1 speakers/learners. The teacher makes spontaneous codeswitches to be humorous (cf. the example in (8)), to reprimand (cf. the example in (22)) and to ensure that her learners understand in the form of a confirmation (cf. the example in (13)), but she is also seen to make conscious codeswitches in order to translate or to expand on her explanations. The learners also codeswitch but their switches seem to be restricted to the following functions: to be humorous (cf. the example in (3)), when needing a translation (cf. the example in (19)), or to have something explained (cf. the example in (15)).

The second Afrikaans class observed was the most diverse in terms of the languages and cultures of the teacher and learners. The teacher is fluent in isiXhosa, English and

Afrikaans (cf. Appendix C, p. 89), her L1 being Afrikaans. She was reported being given the class with the most black students in grade nine because she has proven able to accommodate intercultural communication in the class. The class includes L1 speakers of isiXhosa, Afrikaans, and English, but mainly English L1 learners. The teacher is able to teach them the language of Afrikaans by explaining to them in Afrikaans, English and isiXhosa if necessary (cf. the example in (5)). By being able to codeswitch so efficiently between the three languages, the teacher is able to explain to everyone in the class in their language of choice. The teacher appears able to accommodate all the different languages and cultures.

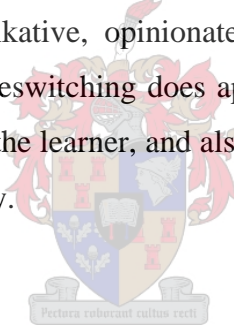
She teaches by explaining mainly in English but then translates from English into Afrikaans and isiXhosa when she sees that some of her learners do not understand (cf. Appendix C, p.86) She asks most of her questions in Afrikaans, which appears to be a way of testing the learners, although almost all the learners respond to her questions in English, even the black students (cf. the example in (5)). Some of the learners are fluent in Afrikaans, especially the coloured learners, yet they choose to do Afrikaans second language because it is easier than doing Afrikaans as a first language subject. The coloured learners appear to be exposed to less Afrikaans in their home environment than may have been the case in the past, and they go to an English school and take Afrikaans as a second language. This tendency may be related to the perceived power and status associated with English. It is noted that if the coloured learners are given the gap, they often codeswitch between English and Afrikaans to one another. These spontaneous codeswitches often function as an identity marker, or when they are being social (cf. the example in (15)) and humorous (cf. Appendix C, p.93.) amongst one another, which was noted relatively often.

All the learners, even those that are fluent in Afrikaans, ask most of their questions and communicate with the teacher in English. The teacher codeswitches naturally and spontaneously in her explanations between English, Afrikaans and isiXhosa which also functions for humour (cf. the example in (15)) or for being social with the learners. It was noted that when the teacher had discussions with some learners about topics outside of

the classroom environment, the language of choice for both the learner and teacher was English. The learners mainly codeswitch if they need something translated or when referring to a word (cf. the examples in (3) and (20)). This indicates once again that a second language class lends itself to codeswitching between different languages. The type of teaching which occurs in a language class is based around translations, the explanations of concepts and terms, and necessitates the mixing of languages in order for the learners to understand adequately. This class had the most codeswitching of all the classes, from both the teacher and the learners, possibly due to its very multilingual nature. Codeswitching in this class fulfilled a number of functions, including translations (cf. the examples in (3) and (5)), expansion (cf. the example in (4)), humour (cf. the example in (15)), and clarification (cf. the examples in (3) and (5)). As with the other second language Afrikaans class, this class, also struggles with the subject. It appears that this class struggles even more than the other class. This could be because it has more isiXhosa L1 learners who had never spoken and learnt much Afrikaans before highschool. Therefore the learners, and especially the teacher, take a long time with explanations and translations (cf. the examples in (4) and in (5)) to ensure that they understand one another and that they understand what is being explained to them. This was also a larger class than the other Afrikaans class which was observed which immediately tends to lead to more intercultural communication, and thus a lot more spontaneous and unconscious codeswitching.

Both second language Afrikaans classes were interactive, multicultural and numerous examples of marked, unmarked and sequential unmarked codeswitching were noted in both classes. The teachers from both classes codeswitch spontaneously, as a way of interacting with their learners and at the same time to teach various aspects of the subject to their learners. By codeswitching in this manner, the teachers do not alienate themselves from their learners by just speaking one language. By codeswitching, they translate terms, have fun, and explain so that their learners understand and learn at the same time. This appears to occur in both classes, and intercultural communication is naturally encouraged. One difference noted between the classes is that the teacher in the second Afrikaans class was more competent in English; therefore she did a lot of her

explaining in English first before switching to Afrikaans. The teacher of the first class was less competent in English, so she switched her codes when she felt less competent, and when she wanted to be taken seriously (e.g. reprimanding (cf. the example in (7)), or when she wanted to explain herself better. In both instances, the learners codeswitch less than their teachers, and their switches had more or less three specific functions, which were to be humorous, for translations, and to be sociable. In both classes they are never forced to speak only Afrikaans, but they are put under some pressure by being asked questions in Afrikaans. This appears to test their knowledge of the language and of the topic they are discussing. Due to the formal and respectful context of these classrooms, where the relationship between the learner and the teacher is most often polite and reserved, most of the codeswitches are marked code switches. Yet because the learners create friendships amongst themselves and to some degree build less formal relationships with the teachers, unmarked code switches are also noted. The context of a classroom appears to be communicative, talkative, opinionated and a place where intercultural communication occurs freely. Codeswitching does appear to be functional in both these classes, for the teachers as well as the learner, and also seems to aid in learning as well as teaching a new language effectively.



6.2 Life Orientation class

As in the case of the Afrikaans classes, two different teachers with two different classes were observed. One teacher is an Afrikaans L1 teacher and the other teacher speaks English as a L1. The subject of Life Orientation lends itself to interaction which is lively and social with lots of group work and discussions. A lot of interaction takes place between the teacher and the learners, yet a small amount of codeswitching occurred in both classes.

The first Life Orientation class which was observed was a large class of grade eight learners, which was very multicultural and consisted of coloured, black, and white learners. The learners are mostly English L1, yet some of them are also fluent in other languages such as Afrikaans and isiXhosa, speaking these at home. The first teacher who

was observed is an Afrikaans L1 teacher. She does not speak English fluently, yet she teaches most of the class in English, her L2, to accommodate the black English L2 learners and the English L1 learners. This is an interactive and talkative class, yet less so than the language classes. It is also a relatively young class in comparison to the other classes observed, and due to the nature of the subject, they socialize with one another but do not interact as much with the teacher. The conversations, explanations and questions between the learners and the teacher took place in English with surprisingly little codeswitching in their speech exchanges. The teacher's L1 is evident in her English grammar but she continues to interact and teach her learners in English. Most of the codeswitching which was observed in this class took place between the learners, which was difficult to hear and record, especially since they do a vast amount of group work in this subject. When given the gap there is a lot of natural conversational codeswitching among the learners between Afrikaans, English, and especially among the African learners with languages such as isiXhosa and isiZulu.

It was noted that the teacher did codeswitch when wanting to reprimand the learners or wanting confirmation that they understood what was being explained (cf. the examples in (6) and (12)). It appears that the teacher codeswitches in these instances in order to get a quick response or reaction from the learners if they were not listening, cooperating or paying attention. The learners in this class codeswitch less than the learners in the Afrikaans classes, and the functions of their switches appeared to only be for humor or the use of a loanword (cf. Appendix C, p. 96). Even though this subject lends itself to be an interactive subject with group work, most of the explaining and talking in the time that the class was observed was done by the teacher. It can be seen in the transcription that the teacher speaks and explains for long periods of time before learners are involved or asked a question. This does not mean that the learners were not interactive amongst themselves, but it could have had an influence on the fact that very little codeswitching occurred during this time.

The second Life Orientation class that was observed also had a multicultural composition of English L1, Afrikaans L1 and isiXhosa L1 speakers, with the majority being English

L1 learners. This class had an English L1 teacher and was more animated than the other Life Orientation class. It was lively and interactive with lots of group work and interaction between the teacher and the learners. The learners were older than the learners from the first Life Orientation class. This class contained a number of coloured learners who all speak English at school but who grew up in Afrikaans homes and communities. A lot of these coloured Afrikaans L1 learners speak Afrikaans at home but are in an English school due to their parents' perceptions of a better education in English, or because they moved into the school's official catchment area. A lot of natural, animated and spontaneous codeswitching takes place in conversation, mainly among the coloured learners (cf. Appendix C, p.97). These learners interact freely amongst one another and with the teacher (cf. the example in (16)). They speak their minds and even though this class was as multicultural as the other Life Orientation class, a lot more natural and spontaneous codeswitching occurred. For one of the classes that were observed, half the class was present and the other half was in the computer room doing a worksheet on the computer with the teacher. On this occasion, the learners were very interactive with one another and it was then noted that more codeswitching took place in this class than it did in the other Life Orientation class (cf. the examples in (11), (16) and (17)). It appears that, because the learners were in a less structured classroom environment, they felt more relaxed and therefore the interaction amongst themselves, the researcher, and the supervising teacher was more sociable and natural, and they spoke as they would amongst friends.

Codeswitching in this class fulfilled the functions of humor and of being social (cf. the examples in (11) and (16)), and appears to be a natural speech phenomenon in the learners' speech patterns, as noted above. A function of codeswitching in this class was also a way of affirming a learner's identity, especially amongst the coloured learners. They frequently borrow words from English and incorporate them into their daily speech patterns (cf. the examples in (11) and (17)). They assert themselves and their cultural identities by codeswitching as an unmarked choice. It can be said that a person who was not from the same cultural background as these learners would sometimes have difficulty understanding them (cf. the example in (10)). The teacher of this class, an English L1

teacher, did not once codeswitch, saying that she never has to and that she feels that everyone in her classes understands English and she prefers to speak only English. The language policy of the school is to teach in English, and this teacher feels that she should stick to that policy, yet she would accommodate any other languages if there were a need.

These two classes had a similar composition of learners and dealt with similar work, yet their speech patterns were quite different with regard to codeswitching. In the first Life Orientation class, very little codeswitching occurred, even though this class had an Afrikaans L1 teacher. Most of the codeswitching done by the teacher in this class was to confirm that her learners understood (cf. the example in (6)), or to reprimand them (cf. the example in (12)). This could have been due to the fact that the teacher did most of the explaining and because the students had less interaction with the teacher with regard to debating and discussing the topic. The fact that this class was younger also appeared to play a role in that they seemed less confident and familiar with the teacher and therefore fewer natural and relaxed conversations occurred.

In the second Life Orientation class, codeswitching occurred more frequently. This class had the older learners, and was more interactive amongst themselves and with the teacher in comparison to the first Life Orientation class. The teacher in this class never once codeswitched, and reported being completely unaware of the fact that her learners switched between Afrikaans and English so frequently. In this class the learners were seen to codeswitch between Afrikaans and English as a natural part of their speech patterns. Besides trying to be humorous, for example, they incorporated words from Afrikaans into their English sentences with ease in the appropriate context. They codeswitched spontaneously in their speech patterns and it was often an indication of their cultural identity. It was also noted in this class that, once the learners were unsupervised by their teacher and were attended to by the student teacher, they expressed themselves freely and codeswitched within their social interactions.

The two Life Orientation classes also differed in that the first class had more examples of marked codeswitching with functions such as confirmation and censure, while the second

class had more unmarked and sequential unmarked codeswitching, as the environment lent itself to codeswitching functions such as being sociable, humour, and assertion of identity. Both of these classes indicated that, because of their multicultural and multilingual nature, codeswitching occurs widely, and that it does indeed have particular function. It may not function as it does in the languages classes where it appears to aid teaching in the form of translations and clarification, but it is functional when it occurs in intercultural communication.

6.3 Geography class

The final class which was observed was a Geography class. A content subject class was selected on the assumption that the subject of language itself is irrelevant in such a class, and therefore may have less effect on the patterns of codeswitching. One teacher with the same class was observed over the period of three weeks. The geography classes were all smaller than the Afrikaans and Life Orientation classes, and less interactive because the teacher did most of the speaking and explaining. This class exhibited the smallest amount of codeswitching and intercultural communication. Like most of the other classes in this school, it is also a multicultural and multilingual class, consisting of Afrikaans L1 and English L1 learners, the majority being English L1 learners. The teacher speaks mainly English due to the fact that this is the policy of the school. There are colored and white learners in the class but no black learners. The smaller size and the less multicultural composition of this class could be the main reasons why so little interaction and codeswitching occurred. The teacher of this class is a white Afrikaans L1 teacher, who makes a lot of grammatical errors when teaching in English due to interference from Afrikaans. Despite this she teaches mainly in English, and like the English L1 teacher in the Life Orientation class, she appeared to be unaware of the codeswitches which occurred, amongst the learners.

This class is less disruptive, and the teacher does most of the explaining and talking. The learners only speak when asked a question or when they have an opinion or question themselves. Even then the exchange is only in English. The only codeswitching observed

was what may be called “structured codeswitching”, in the form of translations or explanations (cf. the example in (19)). No spontaneous conversational codeswitching took place. All questions and answers were directed in English by the teacher and the learners. The teacher seemed to struggle with explaining certain definitions in English, but did not codeswitch naturally and use the equivalent in her L1. Instead she continued to explain in English. The class is dominated by English L1 learners and codeswitching was only noted in one instance when the teacher used an Afrikaans word instead of the English equivalent for the word (cf. the example in (19)).

It appears that in this content subject classroom, very little codeswitching occurred due to the fact that the class was fairly small, and because very little interaction occurred between the teacher and the learners and amongst the learners themselves. The teacher in this class also tended to keep a more formal environment in the class. She did not, for example, enquire about holiday plans or elicit any informal conversations. On most days, the teacher would simply explain the work and then it would be done by the learners without much conversational interaction. One similarity which was noted between this class and the other classes was that in this class most of the coloured learners were just as fluent in English as they were in Afrikaans due to their home environment and communities. But this was discovered by speaking to the learners, and not from natural codeswitching in the classroom. The learners apparently chose to come to a predominantly English school because their parents thought that it was better for their futures. Their bilingual abilities did play a role in their speech patterns or the expression of their cultural identities, as it had in the other classes such as the second Life Orientation class.

It is interesting to note that no exploratory codeswitching occurred. As explained in chapter three, exploratory codeswitching is exercised when an unmarked code choice is not clear. Exploratory codeswitching is used to make alternative exploratory choices as candidates for an unmarked choice, and thus as an index of an RO set which the speaker favours. Exploratory codeswitching occurs when the speakers themselves are unsure of the expected communicative intent (Myers-Scotton 1993: 142). The reason for the lack of

exploratory codeswitching could be the relatively relaxed and familiar environment in which the research was carried out. According to Kieswetter (1997: 16), codeswitching as an exploratory choice is usually momentary, as strangers explore code choices within a new and uncertain situation or interaction. In the present research context no new, strange or uncertain situations occurred because the relationship between the students and the teachers, as well the interaction amongst the students themselves, is of a secure nature. Exploratory codeswitching is more likely to occur in the wider society where different cultures meet and interact. In those situations speakers need to create boundaries and explore different code choices to be able to accommodate and accept one another. In the context of a classroom, and even of the school as a whole, the learners and teachers have already explored these linguistic boundaries and are able to communicate on a formal as well as an informal level.

It was further noted that only a few instances of sequential unmarked codeswitching occurred during the research. Most of the codeswitching which did occur in this context constituted either marked or unmarked code choices. The sequential unmarked code choices which were noted functioned as code choices for social purposes (but not as identity markers), reprimanding, and confirmation. This could be because sequential unmarked codeswitching occurs when the speaker changes his/or her code choice as the situation changes (Kieswetter 1995: 16). In this context, the only situational changes occurred when the topic of conversation changed, such as when the topic changed from the subject being taught to a social topic like week-end activities.

6.4 Questionnaire results

Issues arising from the questionnaire results are discussed here. With regard to the question concerning language of use (cf. question 5 of Appendix A and B), it can be recalled that participants offered a number of reasons why their first language had changed. These reasons included the move from a rural school to an urban school, the influence of parents at home who were reported to think that it is beneficial to be able to speak more than one language, and that English is thought to be economically more

beneficial than, for, example, an African language. A further reason offered was that learners were being sent to monolingual schools and coming under the influence of school and television, especially if siblings were also sent to a school where the language was different to the one used at home. These are just a few of the reasons mentioned by the learners which seem to reflect the changing demographics of the educational setting in the Western Cape. These language shifts are influenced by the prestige associated with English, by the prestige associated with particular schools in urban areas, and often by family dynamics. It appears that if the family unit becomes altered and a new language is introduced by other people or cultures, then that language may often have an effect on the language of use at home. These reasons highlight the fact that language use is dynamic and easily shifted under the influence of social and economic factors. Notably, the three teachers all stated that their language use at home has remained the same. They all have Afrikaans as a L1, and still speak it as their L1 at home. The reason for this could be that they were less influenced by intercultural communication when they were younger or at school, in comparison to their learners.

Turning to the question which focused on the occurrence of codeswitching, 81.5% of the learners reported that they do codeswitch, while 18.5% said that they do not. This high percentage of reported codeswitching correlates with the amount of codeswitching which was observed in the classroom by the researcher. With regard to context of codeswitching, 9% reported codeswitching at school, 16% at home, 4% at social events, 17% at both school and home, 8% at both school and social events, 7% at both home and social events, and 39% reported codeswitching in all three contexts. Thus, 73 of learners reported codeswitching at school, which once again correlates with the observations of the researcher. A possible reason for the high occurrence of codeswitching at school could be due to the increase of intercultural communication and the multilingual nature of the school where the research was carried out. A large number of the learners also come from communities that encourage intercultural communication. Many students stated that their home environments are influenced by the use of different languages by people of different cultures. The questionnaire data strongly indicate the bilingual nature of the learners' homes, where 72% reported codeswitching. It is interesting to note that fewer

learners (58%) reported codeswitching at social events, possibly suggesting that less intercultural communication takes place socially than it does at school. Furthermore, it may be that some social events tend to be conducted monolingually, or that codeswitching is deemed less acceptable at some social events. The high rates of reported codeswitching correlate with the opinions of most of these learners (71%) that people in general have a positive attitude towards the phenomenon of codeswitching itself (cf. Question 12 of questionnaire A). Interestingly, however, the majority of learners (56%) felt that codeswitching has a negative effect on the language itself (cf. Question 13 of questionnaire A).

With reference to the teacher questionnaire (cf. question 6 of Appendix B), all three teachers stated that they codeswitch in all three contexts, namely home, school and social events. However, codeswitching was not observed for teacher C, the geography teacher, who only codeswitched once during the three week observation period. It is uncertain whether she codeswitches at the other places, as it should be noted that teacher C exhibited the most negative attitude towards codeswitching of the three teachers who filled in the questionnaire. Teachers A and B quite likely codeswitch in all three contexts, as they expressed positive attitudes towards codeswitching, especially teacher A (the first Afrikaans class), who codeswitches frequently while teaching.

Concerning the functions of codeswitching (cf. question 7 in Appendix A and B), all 75 learners who said that they codeswitch felt that codeswitching fulfilled a function. The recurring reasons why these learners felt that codeswitching was functional were the following, if a speaker is uncertain of a word in English he/she is able to say it is Afrikaans and vice versa; to express oneself differently or more accurately because certain words, idioms, and phrases are suited to a specific language, because it is fun and can be humorous to codeswitch; to communicate effectively; and to accommodate other language use in conversation with friends or teachers at school. Finally, the learners also thought codeswitching was functional because they have friends who are from another culture and language group who they communicate with. These functions appear to correlate with the functions which were observed by the researcher, and which were

discussed in chapter 5. The functions alleviating word-finding difficulty, using loanwords, and codeswitching to be humorous correlate with the functions observed by the researcher. These functions were widely observed in the classroom environment. Codeswitching for accommodations in intercultural communication on a social level, was not observed to the same extent, but remains assumed to occur more outside of the classroom environment and at home. The fact that these learners report that codeswitching is used for accommodation while communicating on a social level with people of other languages and cultures. Teachers A and B, the Afrikaans teacher and the Life Orientation teacher, further stated that codeswitching is functional when teaching, as it helps them to explain, and accommodate, and not to alienate learners from other cultures.

With concern to the opinions towards codeswitching (cf. question 8-13 in Appendix A and question 8-12 of Appendix B), it appears that these learners feel that codeswitching has a positive effect on intercultural communication, as 55 (60%) learners out the 92 who filled in the questionnaire felt that codeswitching improves the communication between people from different cultures. Furthermore, as has been mentioned, 65 (71%) out of the 92 learners reported that they feel people have a positive attitude towards the mixing of languages. The fact that 52 (57%) of the learners feel that codeswitching has a negative effect on the language itself could be because codeswitching is perceived as a threat to the existence of a certain language and culture; mixing languages is considered an improper way to speak by certain language purists.

The majority of the learners (57%) reported that their teachers' codeswitch it actually makes learning a lot easier, but they also felt that it made it more difficult to concentrate in the classroom. It could be that the learners think that the occurrence of codeswitching would hinder concentration in the class because of the to-and-fro nature of codeswitching, when in fact it is clear from the data, especially in the Afrikaans classes, that codeswitching is beneficial in effectively teaching these learners. The number of learners who say their teachers codeswitch does not correlate with the observed data, as only 23 (25%) learners said their teachers often codeswitch, while it is evident that at

least the language teachers codeswitch on a regular basis. The reason for this misrepresentation could be that the learners have become used to the way in which their language classes are structured and taught, and that codeswitching is a natural part of those classes. Many of the other teachers possibly codeswitch, far more seldom, and this may influence the learners to think that teachers in general seldom codeswitch.

Regarding the teachers' opinions about codeswitching, these were largely consistent. Teacher C, the geography teacher expressed a very negative attitude towards codeswitching in the classroom as well as in wider society. Teachers A and B, the Afrikaans teacher and the Life orientation teacher, had positive views of codeswitching in general. These differing views are despite the fact that all three of these teachers are Afrikaans L1 speakers. Teacher A did agree with teacher C on one point, where both stated that people in general have a negative attitude towards codeswitching, while teacher B stated that people in general have a positive attitude towards codeswitching. The reason for this single inconsistency in teacher A's responses could be the perception that languages are under threat when they are mixed, and that people in the society in general think that codeswitching is not the proper way to speak.

6.5 Conclusion

This study aimed to provide an overall view of the functions that codeswitching fulfills in the classroom. The codeswitching occurring within the classes observed was analyzed within the framework of Myers-Scotton's (1993) Markedness Model, and examples of marked, unmarked and sequential unmarked codeswitching were identified. A number of specific functions of codeswitching were also identified, including clarification, humour, translations, expansion, confirmation, reprimanding, social, expression of identity and word-finding. It was concluded that no exploratory code choices occurred due to the context and the nature of the study. It may be concluded that Myers-Scotton's (1993) Markedness Model provides a useful framework within which to analyze types of codeswitching, and the validity of the types of codeswitching was attested in the data.

Codeswitching occurred in conversations amongst the learners and between the learners and teachers. The classes were dynamic and every class exhibited a different codeswitching pattern. Marked and unmarked codeswitches occurred widely throughout each class because of the dynamic environment of the classroom. Some classes were more formal, while some had a more relaxed context, and some classes switched between formal and informal phases of learning and teaching. Both second language Afrikaans classes had plenty of codeswitching with functions such as clarification, translation and expansion. The first Life Orientation class had less codeswitching, and the functions were specifically for reprimanding and confirmation by the teacher. The second Life Orientation class had more sociable, expression of identity, and humorous codeswitching functions. The geography class had the least amount of codeswitching. Only once did codeswitching occur, which functioned as a translation. Each context was unique, yet many functions of codeswitching overlapped and were seen across the classes.

Further data were collected by means of a questionnaire, which proved useful in gaining information about the awareness of, and perceptions about language of use and the phenomenon of codeswitching. The questionnaire was a useful way of finding out how codeswitching affects these teachers and learners on a daily basis. By analyzing the results of the questionnaire, it is clear that it provided the researcher with interesting and detailed information about the respondents' perceptions of codeswitching. The questionnaire allowed the learners and teachers to identify many more functions of codeswitching than were directly observed. Such functions include effective communication between cultures, alleviating uncertainty of a word choice, accommodation and acceptance of other cultures, socializing in the South African context, and being understood accurately. The general perception concerning codeswitching in the classroom is that it is effective in the process of teaching and learning, and that it improves intercultural communication.

The data collected and analysed in the present study provide insight into the functions of and opinions regarding codeswitching in education and in the wider society. It may be concluded that codeswitching is viewed as a positive linguistic phenomenon by the

learners and the teachers involved in this study, and that it has specific functions in our multicultural and multilingual society.



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APPENDIX A: LEARNER QUESTIONNAIRE

1. Name: _____
2. First language (the first language you learnt to speak): _____
3. Other languages: _____
4. Home language at present: _____
5. If 4. differs from 2., please say why. _____

6. Do you ever switch languages within one conversation? _____
If yes, where:

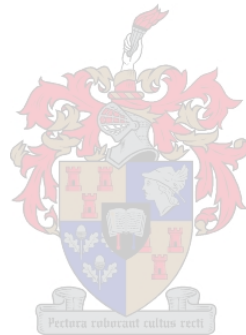
School	Home	social events
--------	------	---------------

7. If you do mix your languages in any of the above situations, please say why.

CIRCLE THE APPROPRIATE WORD IN THE REMAINING QUESTIONS:

8. I think that mixing languages has a **positive** / **negative** influence on communication between people from different cultures.
9. My teachers **often** / **seldom** mix their languages in the classroom.
10. I think that mixing languages makes learning in the classroom **easier** / **more difficult**.
11. I think that mixing languages makes concentration in the classroom **easier** / **more difficult**.
12. I think people in general have a **positive** / **negative** attitude toward the mixing of languages.

13. I think that mixing languages may have a **positive / negative** effect on the languages themselves.



APPENDIX B: TEACHER QUESTIONNAIRE

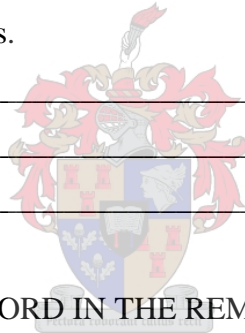
1. Name: _____
2. First language (the first language you learnt to speak): _____
3. Other languages: _____
4. Home language at present: _____
5. If 4. differs from 2., please say why. _____

6. Do you ever switch languages within one conversation? _____

If yes, where:

with colleagues	with learners	at home	at social events
-----------------	---------------	---------	------------------

7. If you do mix your languages in any of the above situations, what function(s) do you think this mixing fulfils.



CIRCLE THE APPROPRIATE WORD IN THE REMAINING QUESTIONS:

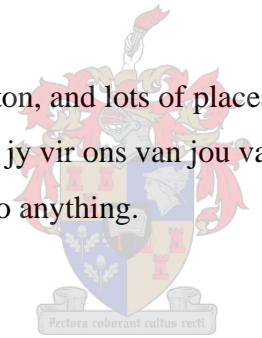
8. I think that mixing languages has a **positive** / **negative** influence on communication between people from different cultures.
9. My learners react **positively/negatively** when I mix my languages?
10. I think that mixing languages has a **positive** / **negative** influence on my teaching.
11. I think people in general have a **positive** / **negative** attitude toward the mixing of languages.

12. I think that mixing languages may have a **positive** / **negative** effect on the languages themselves.



APPENDIX C: THE DATA

Transcription 1: The first Afrikaans second language class

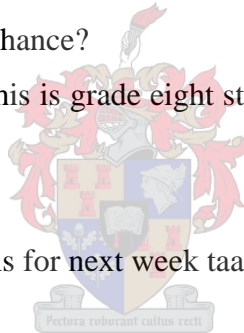
- T Okay, julle sê vir my bietjie van julle vakansies toe okay
[Student puts up her hand]
- T Ja, wag julle stilte asseblief, sy wil vir ons vertel that she went overseas. Ja you went overseas tell us about it.
- S I went overseas to America for 2 weeks, to see my family.
- T En was dit lekker?
- S Yes.
- S2 Where did you go?
- T Sy het nou net vir jou vertel.
- S2 No, but where in America.
- T Oh, okay, um.
- S To lots of places, Washington, and lots of places.
- T Okay, wie nog, Beccie, wil jy vir ons van jou vakansie vertel?
- S3 Not really miss, I did not do anything.
- T Ag nee.
- 
- T Okay, graad nege nou gaan ons 'n klein stukkie werk.
- S No please.....No Miss.
- T Kom ons het nog werk om te merk.
- T Bianca, why are you walking around?
- S Miss, I am just busy with something.
- T Okay, nommer twee-en-veertig, en drie-en-veertig. Open up the books please, maak gou oop. Ons het nie tyd gehad om te merk nie. Okay, julle, I am sure we are on this page forty two and forty three, yes.
- T Nommer een South Africa, ag, Suid Afrika. Yes did you also get that?
- S Yes.

- T Remember, the moment you quote you give aanhalings, remember inverted commas. Maak gou die oefening klaar so dat ons dit kan merk, dit was eintlik vir huiswerk.
- S We just came back to school, and now we doing work and you are giving us homework.
- T Ons moet. I am not giving you homework Shona. You were already supposed have done this work. Doen gou ook die blokkiesraaisel.
- S Miss, ek het 7de Laan gewatch.
- S2 Gekyk
[everyone laughs]
- T En George, lyk my dit gaan bietjie beter at the end né?
- S Yes.
- T Number four, lyk my julle sukkel almal 'n bietjie met nommer vier.

Transcription 2: The first Afrikaans second language class

- T Let's start. Do you all understand what I mean?
- T Forty-nine, okay, the first one is straight forward.
[Answer is given by the teacher]
Ek is lief vir my ouma en ouma, are you listening?
- S Ja.
- T Find the correct word order, its all about word order. And then I don't want you to do this, I want you to do this one, okay.
- S What must we do?
- T There you see goeie eienskappe, en slegte eienskappe. In other words goeie eienskappe is the positive one. You may use the dictionary if you don't know ten, but I want to make a little list of ten positive okay.
- S What is eienskape?
- T Eienskap is like um, characteristic, okay?
- S Characteristics of like what?
- T Of a person.
- S Where must we get this?

- T You think it here, you get it here okay
[Teacher points to the students head]
You get four in the little book you can use them, and then your own six. You add your own six, positive and then negative, okay. So you get the clues on page forty-nine, that's why I have written forty-nine here. And then fifteen, there's a tabel as we say in Afrikaans, 'n seuntjie en 'n dogtertjie. You have to pair them one to six, pair them one to six, that's what you do there. Doen table een tot ses, you understand on page fifty? Then B, you start there its just the words, skryf net die woord neer by nommer B. And then you have to read on, there is a little song and the questions are on the next page, okay. Exactly what I am saying on the board. So please get on this, I hope you have got your books here, and this is for next week taal, okay with that?
- T Kimberley I have your book here.
- S Do you have mine by any chance?
- T Lets have a look here; no this is grade eight stuff. No I don't have it; I don't have any other books.
- T This exercise on the board is for next week taal!
- S Juffrou, what is aangesien?
- T It is like, because.
- S Like because, aangesien?
- T Ja, ja like because, and then you have to give a reason.
- S Is it just positiewe?
- T Nee also tien negetiewe, tien negetiewe eienskappe.
- T Just keep it down and use your brains. What would you say is positive in a person, and what to you is negative in a person?
- S How many must we give, ten?
- T Ten, you get four from the book, you may write them down and then you have to add six.
- S What must you do?
- T You must make a list of everything positive in a person, like vriendelik, en...



- S Can we just write them in or must we make sentences?
- T No, no sentences.
- S Just a list?
- T Yes.
- S Miss Lombard, what is snaaks?
- T Snaaks, dit is positif, Chloe is grapij.
- S Nee sy is sommer lelik. I am just joking Chloe.
- S2 Okay.
[Student S1 and S2 laugh]
- T Okay, girls for tomorrow its chapter six, onthou julle nog? Yes I'm checking; make sure you have your books here.
- S Just chapter six?
- T Just chapter six, een tot tien.
- S What?
- T Have you all got this page grade nine? Don't tell me tomorrow. Chapter six vir more, al julle boeke moet hier wees.

Transcription 3: The first Afrikaans second language class

- T Okay, bladsy een-en-vyftig, page fifty one is een-en-vyftig. You know that is een-en-vyftig
[Teacher asks the new student from Belgium if she understands the page numbers]
- S Yes.
- T Okay, good. Okay, shoosh dankie, ons lê nie so in die klas nie sit mooi reg-op. Okay, jy het las aan gelees, gee vir ons die regte bladsy. Sy het verder gelees onthou julle?
- S Yes she did.
- S2 Whatever.
- T Nie whatever.
- T Begin van chapter nine, goed and that would be?
- S Sixty-two.

- T Sixty-two, and not fifty-one. Okay, wil jy lees? Who was missing the other day? Jy was absent the other day. Goed, is ons gereed? Watter lekker ander boek hou jy onder hom?
- [Student holds out another book from under the prescribed reading]
- T Helen, kom gou-gou, maak oop. Sixty-two, hoofstuk nege okay, is almal by?
- [Many of the students are without books]
- T You are asking for debits, and then I'll give it to you, you ask me to give it to you so I'll do that. See we know the code of conduct, you don't bring your books to class then you want me to give you debits. I hate this system but you ask me to give it to you. Okay, you have two debits so far, anyone else?
- T Please ladies you know when its lees and when it's taal. Am I right? Almal weet.
- S I bring my books everyday.
- T Dis goed dis die veiligste. Jy weet waanneer jy lees het en jy weet waanner jy taal het. Make sure want almal het lees boeke, ons gaan nie vandag taal doen nie, ons gaan lees. Nou hoe kan jy lees as jy nie 'n boek voor jou het nie? Of jy ken die hele storie uit jou kop, well then you good you better than I am. You know the whole story, every single word; of jy wil net sit en speel. So wat jy wil volgende keer doen, die ouens wat hier sonder boeke sit, jy gaan vir ons 'n summary maak van alles wat ons lees. Met ander woorde hoofstuk nege, en dan as jy die summary bring gaan ek dit miskien oorweeg om die debit weg te wat. So vir eers gaan die debit in my boek en dan as jy 'n goeie summary bring dan sal ek miskien goed wees en die debit weg neem. Is dit reg so, do you understand me loud and clear?
- S I found it.
- T Ag jo!
- S It was under all my books.
- S2 You must plan your things sometimes.
- S Do you really think I asked for a debit?
- T Hy is 'n bietjie stukkend maar hy is hier. Okay, nou gaan jy hom oop maak op twee-en-sestig okay, dan kan ek my boek toe maak dan kan ons begin lees dankie. Okay marie gaan vir ons lees....

- S Ja.
- T En ons lê nie so op die stoel nie. Dit is nie goed vir jou rug nie jy gaan so ‘n lelike ou vrou word. Jy is te mooi okay, sy lees ons volg met ons oë.
- S Wie lees?
- T Marie, nee jy sit mos nou mooi, okay goed, julle is te mooi om te lê. Okay, here we go.
- S Why is it bad om te lê?
- T Ha uh, nie in ‘n klas nie, in ‘n bed ja, nee in ‘n klas lê ons nie. Goed sy lees, kom ouens ons moet hoofstuk nege doen vandag. Luister dit is ‘n baie sad chapter hierdie né, dis sad. Ons het ‘n happy ending gehad einde van chapter eight was ‘n baie happy happy.
- S What happened in chapter eight?
- [Whole class shouts out at once what happened]
- T Onthou julle mos?
- [Whole class shouts again]
- T Shoooo, Michelle gaan gou vir ons sê, Michelle sê gou vir ons vinning what happened in chapter eight.
- S Okay, at the end of chapter eight Jak phoned Janna they spoke to each other while walking to the train.
- S2 Oh yes, they spoke to each other about school and how Ouma Ella is, and how Jak likes ouma Ella.
- T Ja, that’s it so she felt good about herself né, sy het baie god gevoel. Nou by hoofstuk nege is dit hartseer, so ons moenie huil nie want dis hartseer.”
- S Gaan ons huil?
- T Ja, okay. Goed hier gaan ons, mooi luister mooi, kyk in die boeke, okay.
- [Student reads their setwork book in Afrikaans]
- T Okay, kom ons stop gou-gou daar. Wie volunteer to recap, Becie hoe lyk dit, jy doen dit goed?
- S No, I missed the last part I was daydreaming about, um, I was thinking about something.
- [Class laughs]

- T I can see that now. Okay, phone a friend. Jy kan begin en dan kan Michelle maar okay. Nee, nee moenie nie lê nie, dan raak jy lelik, okay, what happened?
- S She was sitting on her bed and then she heard Bruce fighting.
[Student carries on explaining what happened in the book in English]
- T Okay, mooi nog iets, Johanellie [Afrikaans L1 student who shakes her head]
Michelle jy kan maar. Okay, ja toemaar, ja Johanellie?
- S Sy het um...
- T Sê maar in Engels dan verstaan almal.
- S Um,
- S2: Say it in Afrikaans.
- S She arrives with her crutches.
- T Wil jy dit in Afrikaans vir ons sê, jy kan probeer ek weet jy kan.
- S Maar ek wil nie.
- T Okay, jy wil nie, okay jy hoef nie. Okay, Michelle.
- S [Student (Michelle) explains the rest of the chapter in English]
- T Ja, ja.
- S and Bruce
[character in the book].
- T He left, but you can't argue with a drunk person can you?
- S No.
[Followed by loud chatter and laughing from the students]
- S Miss, what are you doing for Easter?
- T Easter, well setting papers for my grade twelves, but that is the only work I am going to do, then I am going to relax. But I am just going to stay at home, I am not going to go anywhere. Relax.
[Students all chatter and laugh]
- T Okay, kom ons lees verder, want nou weet ons van dronk mense en wat hulle doen né, okay. En sy sê vir ma is jy nou te vrede [referring to the book] shoo, kom by, kom by, gou-gou en sy vra en so met haar tong gevoel dat daar is nou two missing teeth.
- T Okay, kom ons kyk nou? Is jy moeg vir lees?

S Nee.

T Okay, Heather?

S1 Is Janna's two tande missing or whose?
[Student refers to a character in the book]

T Janna's

S1 Are Janna's teeth missing?

T Yes.

S1 Her two front teeth, but why? Did he hit her two front teeth out?

S2 No man she fell.

T She fell, ja.

S1 So can't she get them back?"

S2 No.
[Other students laugh]

S2 It's not as easy as that.

T Okay, goed okay, ons lees gou so dat ons kan klaar maak. Kom, uit met die boeke.
[Same student reads the book further]

T [Referring to the book] Good news hey, she is getting contact lenses.

S Oh yes, but she is still going to have those ugly teeth.

T They will do something about the teeth as well.

S So she is going to get contact lenses.

T Okay, Ouma Ella is going to do that for her né. Okay, goed.
[Student reads on]

T Dis baie sad hey?
[Teacher referring to the book]
Want hy raak so opgewonde oor Alicia dit, en Alicia dat. Alcia is die mooiste meisie in die skool, dis baie sad. Wat van ons ou arme een wat nie so mooi is nie.

S But isn't she nou mooi? But maybe she will look better now, when you know her teeth..?

T Ja sy gaan so mooi word, onthou Beccie sy gaan nuwe tande kry sy gaan, waar gaan jy nou heen?
[Teacher asks a student]

- S I just want to show her something
[Student shows something to another students]
- T Wat wil jy nou gaan wys?
- S Miss Lombard can we please stop there?
- T Okay, we can stop there because we need time to do the questions, so yes we can really stop for today.
- S Miss, um, please can I sit next to Sandra?
- T Sandra, sy wil baie graag daar lanks jou sit, would you mind? Nee sy gee nie om nie so jy kan daar sit.
- S Miss, where the questions?
- T Ek gaan dit nou vir jou gee.
[Lots of noise and talking from the students]
- T Okay, luister gou-gou graad nege, almal se ore oop, almal se ore, niks oë in die boek nou nie, jy moet nou mooi luister. Hoofstuk ses tot tien is op hierdie bladsy, ons het lanklaas vraagies gemerk. Ek het die boeke gecheck na hoofstuk vyf, onthou julle? So now its time to do questions and answers again, to recap with ons boeke bietjie. So vir next Wednesday we'll do chapter six. There is ten questions. If you're a clever girl you'll use the next ten minutes to do it. Becci will hand it out to you, en jy sal sien dat jy gaan gou-gou jou boekies uithaal en nie jou eie tyd mors nie. Okay, then you quickly recap chapter six so that you can just quickly go through it at home.
- S What's in chapter six?
- T Chapter six, ek gaan gou kyk, oh it's about Ouma Ella and the opera music. Remember doing exercises by putting ear plugs in not to hear the music, only to feel the vibrations remember that?
- T Okay, niks anders doen nie graad nege. Ha ah, jewelry not allowed, not in the classroom no. You have got a long week-end to wear that. Graad neges nee, as hoofstuk ses te min werk is dan doen jy ook hoofstuk sewe. So if you show me that you going to sit and waste your own time now.....Chapter six one to ten.
[Class does their work. noisily]

- T If you prefer to sleep, you welcome to sleep but next week Wednesday I am going to check, een tot tien van hoofstuk ses.
- S1 Een tot tien?
- T Ja, kyk op jou bladsy.
- S2 Hoofstuk six man.
- T Hoofstuk ses, nommer een tot tien.
- S1 Oh.
- T Okay, ons gaan nie nou hare doen nie. Lê of op jou armes, want jy is te moeg om te werk, en jy werk vanmiddag wanneer ons gaan naweek hou. Die anders ouens gebruik die tyd.
- S Asseblief kan Melissa stay with me?
[Melissa is busy playing with Becci's hair]
- T Hoekom?
- S Because it feels so nice, it makes me go to sleep.
- T Nee, maar jy gaan om val. Kom sit dan hierso.
[Class laughs].

Transcription 4: The second Afrikaans second language class

- T I did this with my grade eights but I discovered you didn't do this last year, am I right?
- S No, let's see.
- T Well, we have to get this right in grade eight and nine in order for you to do well from grade ten upwards. Okay, so please don't do other things. Don't read. You can eat, that fine, but I want your eyes to watch me and the board.
- T So there is only two people absent.
- S Who?
- T Okay, I am going to give you the flop-free recipe, and what is so cool about the whole thing is it's in English. Okay, and there it goes. This is the way that you must remember.
[Teacher writes on the board]
- T And I am even going to explain in isiXhosa as well.

[Teacher explains word order in isiXhosa]

T Okay, STOMPIE [Referring to the word written on the board]. You can all remember the word Stompie, it's a person's name. In Afrikaans, it is a kind of name, Stompie.

T Now the S stands for subject, I don't want you to write just listen you can copy this down just now. The T is for time, the O is for object.

S Manner.

T M ?

S Manner.

T Manner.

S Place.

T The P is place.

T And I, what does that mean?

S Um, improper noun.

T Improper noun, No.

S Intransitive.

T No.

S Intraverse, infinitive.

T Infinitive.

S Infinitive, I was close.

T Okay, Infinitive right now all sentences won't have time, and manner, and place, and infinitive, but they will all have at least a subject. And then there is something I have left out.

[All students shout answers at the same time]

T All sentences have at least a subject and a.....?

S Nouns, verbs

[Students all shout at once]

T A verb, a verb goes in here.

S Between the?

T Between the subject and the time.

S And another place isn't there. It goes between, no.



T Sometimes your verb consists of two words. That goes in, the first one goes in the normal place, but the second part of the verb will go to the end.

S Yes.

T We are not there yet AJ, we starting slowly.

T If you have sentences, who of you know how do you determine what the subject is in that sentence? Hoe sal jy weet wat is die onderwerp? What will you ask, what question Emma?

S What's the person's name?

T Okay, what is the name of the person, yes? But someone asked me something now?

S Who.

T Who to find a subject you say... Okay, I'm just going to translate these words into Afrikaans as well. Who knows what a subject is in Afrikaans? Onderwerp, and to find the onderwerp, you say who. Or in Afrikaans, wat is die woord in Afrikaans, wie. And what is wie in Afrikaans?

[Teacher explains the words and translations in isiXhosa.]

T Okay, but that's not all you going to ask grade nine. You going to say wie doen die werk, so its wie plus your, what is your doing word in the sentence Izenzi what is the doing word, what is it called?

S The verb.

T: So you are going to say plus, wie plus verb. So wie lag, wie huil, wie hardloop, and that answer will usually be the subject okay.

T Now, if you want to know the time of a sentence. What must you ask?

S When.

T When, wanneer in Afrikaans né? To find the time you going to say when and in Afrikaans wanneer. And in isiXhosa you'll say nini, when, nini. Okay.

T The object I will explain as we go along cause there's no clear cut way to find the object, okay. The object can be a little bit confusing, although most times even if you say wie doen die werk, of if you say the verb first and then wie, of wat you'll find the object. So you can do it that way, but that's not very clear cut, but I'll write it here. So its verb plus wie of wat.

- T But manner, what will we ask to get manner? To determine what is manner in that sentence?
- S How.
- T How, how is it being done. Hoe word dit gedoen. Njani, okay, how. That gives you manner, hoe in Afrikaans, ag, how, hoe and in isiXhosa njani.
- T How would we determine the place in a sentence?
- S Where.
- T Where, in English, where in Afrikaans you will say waar, and in isiXhosa you'll say phi.
- T And, then infinitive any phrase that has the words "om te" will always be last in the sentence. And note AJ, for now we are only working in the present tense. Okay, this is in Afrikaans, teenwoordige tyd.
- T So Stompie works for the present tense. So you going to be working in the present tense, en dan wil ons kyk, die selfde sinne wat ons in die teenwoordige tyd skryf gaan ons skryf in die verlede tyd to see how it will move around in that sentence. But now today we taking baby steps, and I have made you this worksheet with tenses. I made it last year.
- S Ag nee, Miss.
- T And what I want you to do now is to look at the different parts here that are all scrambled, see the sentences are all scrambled. Die skomel woorde is nie nou in die regte woord order nie, they not in the correct word order. But before you, you are going to try to write them in the correct word order by using Stompie.
- S Can we start?
- T Don't write anything we going to work together first, for the first sentences. Before you even do the word order write them in the correct word order, you have to determine, you have to label the different parts of the sentence and we are going to do it together now. We are going to look for the verb first, and if you have your verb you raise your hand. You don't give me the answer I want each and every one of you to find the verb first.
- [The teacher reads the muddled sentence in Afrikaans aloud to the class]

- T Find the verb for me, don't say it, don't say it. What is the verb? It's a doing word, you must be able to do the thing. If you find it just show me, just raise your hand, have you all got it, listen?
- S Ja.
- T Ester, what is the verb, what does spit mean?
- S To dig.
- T To dig in the ground, okay. Now you highlight spit, or whatever, and above it you write V or a W for Afrikaans werkwoord, so that is your verb.
- S Can I read now?
- T We can read them now, so spit is your verb or in Afrikaans the werkwoord, this is how we spell werkwoord, werkwoord.
[Teacher writes the word on the board]
- T Okay. Now how will we find the subject? We have got the verb, and the verb helps a lot hey? So how can we now find the subject?
- S We ask who, who.
- T Who's doing this work, wie doen die werk, okay, wie werk and wie spit.
[Teacher speaks in isiXhosa]
- S Pa, pa.
- T My pa, its not just pa, its not any father, it's my pa. So my pa, highlight that in a different colour or underline it and just above you write an S for subject. In Afrikaans it will be an O for onderwerp. But I don't mind if you name it with English letters.
- S Spit is the verb, right?
- T Spit is the verb, now you know my pa is die onderwerp of the subject.
- T Are you all happy with the first two, you found the verb and you found the subject. Let's try and find an object, let's see if there's an object in the sentence. Now I did say Nerina, usually by saying, verb plus wie or wat, will give you the object. Now we say spit wie of wat, my pa spit wie of my pa spit wat then answer.
- S Die grond.
- T Die grond, en wat is die grond.
- S Die object.

T Die object. Hy spit wat, die grond it's not just grond, its two words, die grond. Girls, if it was die bruin sagte grond you would have taken all those words as your subject because the bruin...

S The object.

T Ag object, because die bruin, die bruin tells you the colour, sagte is soft ground, it all goes together. All descriptions with subject and object move together, okay. So now we have a verb, we have our subject, and we do have an object. Is it necessary to have an object in a sentence?

S Yes.

T In the simplest shortest sentence?

S No.

T Must we always have an object?

S Yes.

T No, not necessary we can say AJ kla.

S Um, there's an object.

T There's no object, but you must always have an object and you must always have a verb. Okay, now we have verb, object, subject, um, look at the word saterdag, how would we translate that into English?

S Saturday.

T Saturday, so what does that tell you?

S Time, time, time.

T Does it tell you-how does it tell you-where?

S When.

T It tells you when, wanneer, nini, so its time. Okay, now in the groente tuin. Wat is in die groente tuin in English, Aj?

S Garden, um, in the garden, vegetable garden.

T In the vegetable garden, yes. Now what does that tell us, does that tell us how, when, or where?

S Where.

T Where, in die groente tuin, in the vegetable garden
[Teacher explains in isiXhosa]

T So in die groente tuin is?

S Where.

T Where, underline that whole thing, that whole thing is place. In die groente tuin.

T Okay, there is a little word there, two words kla-kla. Wat is kla-kla julle, wat is kla?

T Finished?

T Okay, klaar, with an r is finished, maar kla.

S Quickly, quick, quick.

S2 Moan, it's moaning.

T Nee, it's moaning, as jy kla dan moan jy. Julle weet almal hoe om te kla Nan, Zoe. Kla-kla, what does that tell you? Complain-complain. What does that say where, does that say when, does that say how? How is father digging in the garden?

S Moaning, moaning.

T Moaning, moaning.

S And groaning.

T So kla-kla is manner.

S But, but kla-kla can also be like quick quick?

T Ja, but then it has a r at the end, klaar-klaar. So how is father doing it, this is how they always doing it they moaning moaning. And then, a sweet, I will remember to bring sweets now because this is reward time. Om dit netjies te kry, we left with, om dit netjies te kry. What is that?

S Tidy.

S You want to keep it tidy.

T It's to keep it tidy, but what, where would it go in the sentence. What is it, manner, place subject, time?

S Infinitive.

T Infinitive, please highlight om en te; and you can't separate those word om dit netjies te kry to get it.

S Netjies as well?



T Om dit netjies te kry, that is one thing. Okay, now I we are going to bake our cake, a cake that won't flop because we have all our ingredients, and we going to put it now in the microwave, okay.

S Miss, what is kla-kla?

T It's complain-complain.

S No, but I mean?

T Manner. Okay, guys and girls now, Lolla sê gou vir juffrou. We have our mixing bowel we going to bake the vanilla word order cake. Okay, subject, now we have to find the subject number one, that's our first ingredient that we need in our sentence. Which of those words is the subject?

S My pa.

T My pa, so we write that down. In the bowel, and then we look for the verb.

S and T Spit, spit. Okay, in the bowel. What comes after the verb, do we have time?

S Time, yes.

T En wat is dit?

S Saterdag.

T Any name, ag, day of the week would be with a capital. So my pa spit kla, saterdag. Is there an object?

S Grond. Die grond.

T Die grond, is our next ingredient, okay. So we got subject, we have verb, we have time, and we have object. Do we have manner?

S Kla-kla.

T Kla-kla, we have manner. Is there place?

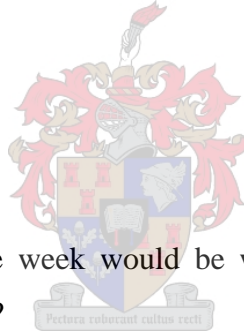
S Yes, die groente tuin.

T In die groente tuin, in die groente tuin. Is there infinitive?

S Yes, om te dit netjies te kry.

T Om dit netjies te kry. And then we have this, your sentence, in its correct order by using what?

S Stompie.



T Now girls, obviously in Afrikaans there is not only, we as mother tongue speakers Lolla, and Solange, we can sometimes move things around. We can put the time in other places, or the manner in other places. But if it's not your mother tongue, and you are completely clueless as to how the word order werk works, you can use Stompie and it will always be right. I promise. Unless you an Afrikaans mother-tongue, or you speak Afrikaans a lot, then you can swap things. But I'm also going to show you, it's just the time and the manner that can swap places. But that we will leave until next time, but for now if you unsure of the word order in the sentence you use Stompie. Now I want you please to get with a friend, number two to ten for now. I don't want you to write it in the correct word order what you must do for me in this lesson is to label the different parts. You look for the subject, you look for the time, you look for the object, and you look for the manner. Do it with different colour pens like green for..... And you do it now don't talk. Ladies, you ask for my help.

S Miss.....Juffrou.

T Quietly, you do it now; all you have to do is label the parts of the sentence.

T Come girly girls, you just label. You just label your sentences that's all you do. And after that is break so.

S Okay, so for the rest of the sentence I am stuck.

T What, with number two?

S I don't know what a verb is?

T Well, the verb is a doing word, so it must be something you can do.

S An adjective?

T No, an adjective describes.

T Let me help you all....and sentence number two. What does the word verbrand mean?

S Burn.

T Is it a doing word, did something burn, verbrand? Verbrand is a verb, it's it's a word.

T Vet ruspers. Girls, who of you know what, um, just look at number three. Who knows what vet ruspers is?

S oohhh, fat

T Vet, vet is fat, maar ruspers?

S Spek, spek is bacon.

T Caterpillars.

S Oh.....

[The students all laugh and carry on with the assignment]

S Saans, what is saans again?

T Saans is in the evening.

T Grade nines, another word that you might not be familiar with that number three, is the word gulsig. Who of you know what gulsig means?

S The way you eat.

T It's the way that you eat, the manner, it's greedily. You know when you are very hungry and you just stuff everything in mouth, chew three times, and swallow. Gulsig, the only English word that I can think of is greedily. There might be another.

S Is vet ruspers, um, object.

T No, who's been vreeting?

S The vet ruspers.

T Ja, the subject.

S So what's the object miss?

T What has he been eating, eating what?

S Plantjies.

T Plantjies is your object. Grade nines, for subject you say who is doing the work, who is eating? Vreet is mos eet né? So who is eating? The caterpillars, so the caterpillar that is your subject. Vet ruspers is jou onderwerp.

T Hey, AJ julle gaan aan.

S I'm explaining that you can eat die fat ruspers, um, you can I told you they are delicious, they're yummy.

[Class finds this amusing and chats loudly and all at once]

[Rest of the class is spoken in English with the teacher keeping the class quiet to do their work]



- S My mag brom.
- T Dis my mag grom nie brom nie.
- S Ek know Miss Taylor.
- T My stomach is past gromming, its now bromming (everyone laughs).

Transcription 5: The first Life Orientation class

- T So you were supposed find some stuff on body language, am I right? And then I gave you a little exercise, four A. Who didn't get that, who wasn't here?
[A student raises her hand]
- T I am sure you were here pops, weren't you?
- S1 I wasn't here on Thursday. Actually I was here.
- S2 You just lied, that was so funny.
- S1 Me, I wasn't lying.
- T Okay, right so first of all just get out the information that you gathered for us on body language. Anybody else needs any of these exercise four A?
- T Do you all have a copy of this now? Right, so you can paste this into you book, this exercise, and I hope you have all done that. That you have answered all the questions, have you all done that?
- S Yes
- T Okay, let's just give those who got theirs late a few minutes to complete their questionnaire or just answer those few questions, and then we'll get back to the body language just now.
[Teacher leaves the class to do her photocopying and the class gets noisy]
- S Aroushka, you can hear your voice all the way over here.
[Teacher returns]
- T Okay who wants to tell us something about body language?
[A student raises her hand]
- T Okay, just give us a summary of what you have.
[Two students read a definition of body language from the internet in English]
- T Okay so, um, in other words you don't need words like a lot of the time to explain to someone else how you feel. And it's a very funny thing, I have often thought

about it, um, when you are within your body whether you are comfortable or not. And when you are working or cooking somewhere, um, most people feel that the whole world is looking just at them. Have you also had that thought? That's why you, um, keep, um, tugging at your clothes, um, and you would not like to walk on the beach?

T Somehow you are always conscious of what people around you may think, especially what they might think of you. And most of the time they not even looking at you, but that is just a human thing you feel conscious, self-conscious. Um, that's the moment that you put your shoulders back and you walk with confidence. Then if it looks like you walking with confidence you immediately feel better about yourself. If your shoulders are slouching and your back is bent, um, you you you sometimes think you going to hide yourself. In fact you going to make yourself look even more conspicuous, and people might think what is going on there. But most of the time..... yes?

S I have one on facial expressions.
[Student reads an English definition of facial expressions]

T Okay, who does that most of the time?
[Teacher is referring to a type of facial expression read by the student]

S My mom.

S2 My ma.

T Your mother, okay. So most of the time if you don't want to listen to what your mother wants to say you look to the right hand corner?
[Asking in reference to the girl's article]

S Right hand corner.

T Right hand corner, and you roll your eyes.

S And you look to the left.

T And you what?

S You look to your left.

T Okay, so that's a good clue to mom or dad, or whoever you are talking to at that stage, that you didn't believe a single word that they saying and that you have the right answer. Okay, anyone else that anyone wants to add something?

[Student carries on with definition of facial expressions]

T Right, so let's just look at one of these pictures.

[The teacher holds up a book with a body language example]

T For instance, can you all see this one, all these people sitting on a couch?

S Is that about body language?

T Ja.

S Is it in Afrikaans?

T Ja, but it's a picture.

[Teacher explains the picture in English]

S Lyf taal?

T Ja, so body language is just another way of communicating, actually a very very very strong way of communication. You must be able to manage it, you know a little one, little people they not able to manage it. If they want to feel they want to stick out their tongues they will do that. If they want to frown, they will do it.

Right, then the next step before we go on. I just want to read announcements [announcement are all in English]

S1 Can I please see your letter?

S2 No, Ombeskof!

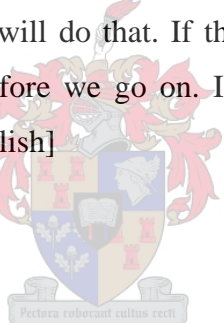
S1 I am not, asseblief?

S2 No.

S1 Please.

S2 Here read it...

S1 Thanks



Transcription 6: The first Life Orientation class

T Okay, right now we are going to go on. We spent quite a lot of time on relationships and friendship and so on, and communication, now. And the next thing, one of the reasons why you are at school is also to prepare yourself for your future in a different way. You all want to have a nice career one day and you all want to earn lots of money, am I right?

S Yes.

T And are you all going to earn lots of money?

S Yes.

T Yes, but you need to make a decision about what subjects you are going to take at the end of next year. Are you actually going to drop a subject at the end of this year?

S No

T Not at all, right but the most important thing that you can do while you are taking all these little subjects is to make sure that you do your duty in every subject. You might not like maths, many of us don't, but you will never know if you like it or not if you don't work hard at it. Do you like something that you get twenty percent in?

S No.....No-ways.

T Definitely not né? Do we like something that we get ninety percent in?

S Yes.

T Much better. Okay, but if we do well in something we also tend to work hard at something. If you don't do well in something you also tend to think you don't like it, or you can't do it. Now certain things like maths and science you can improve even if you feel that you are not going to become a rocket scientist you can improve, and that is by practicing, practicing, practicing. So the most important thing that you can do now is to do as much as you can in all your subjects because you will never know if like something, if you don't do well in it, and you won't do well in something if you don't work hard at it. So this is just what I am going to give out to you, just an indication or to make you think of some things that you do like better than others. Okay, so you might get ninety percent in maths, and you also might hate every single moment of it, and you also might decide not to take a career in maths. But you definitely need to think about it, you need to know if you want to become a psychologist for instance, you need to go to university and to be able to go to university you need to do things right in school already.
[Teacher hands out a worksheet and carries on explaining in English].
[Teacher hands out another sheet of paper]

- T Okay, have you all got one now. Right if we read from the top it says, a very important part of choosing a career is working out what would suit your own interests and abilities. The average person works forty years before retiring. Okay, so the average person goes to school for how many years?
- T Kom nou.
- S Um, twelve.
- T Twelve years, just think if you hate every minute of twelve years think how nice it's going to be to hate forty years, not nice hey? Okay, so that's why we need to be very careful in choosing what you want to do one day.
- S But if you think about it if you really passionate, for example, for what you do then after school then you choose to do something you enjoy not something you have to do. And then you have a good career and a good income and support your family.
- T Ja, that is absolutely true but sometimes we spoil our own opportunities, okay. If you don't really work hard then you don't really get to know yourself, and if you don't work hard and improve the things that you need to become passionate about then you make mistakes and it's sometimes very difficult to turn it around. The only thing that I want to tell you is that if you are bored, or if you have been extremely bored for the past, how many years have you been at school, eight?
- S Ja.
- T Just imagine how extremely bored you are going to be if you don't do something that you are passionate about. So the ideal is to be passionate always about everything that you do, and that's why it's such an important decision to make. The one that you make when you decide what you want to do one day, okay. So how many of you are going to get married to a rich man and not work?
- S Me. Ja, me.
[Most of the class laughs]
- T Please tell me where to find them, maybe it's not too late. Okay, so if you have that idea about life then you're not going to worry about your career you just going to get married to a rich man. So you better come and talk to me very quickly because we all want to feel that we are important and that we are doing

something worth while with our lives. Then it's important to do what you want and you passionate about it. Some people even work beyond retirement age according to their financial circumstances. If you going to spend at least half of your life working, then you have to think carefully about what you want to do. Now there's one person that I know of who works until he dies and he gets paid to work until he dies, and that is a judge. A judge, they work as a judge and they do very hard work doing lots and lots of things. Punishing other people for the things they do wrong, and they as they become older they actually gain more experience and they are actually supposed to work until they die and.

S They just get better when they older because they have more experience.

T Ja, that's right because there are so many different aspects of law, things that can go wrong and things that people do wrong. So they can never actually retire.

S I think the experience actually helps to be a better judge.

T That's rights, so there might be other jobs as well, especially if you work for yourself. They say to work for yourself is the hardest boss to work for, because you never want to give yourself off, and so on and you very strict on yourself. Now identify interests and abilities. Choosing a career starts with self-assessment, you need to know what you are capable of and what you should stay away of. You all have abilities and skills, that is things that you have learnt over a period of time and can do well. Interests, things that you enjoy doing and want to do. Verstaan julle, understand. It's helpful to know your interests and abilities when choosing a career choice. Look at activity five to identify your interests and abilities.

[Teacher explains the activity in English. And students then do the assignment.]

Transcription 7: The second Life Orientation Class

S1 Can I have a pen?

S2 Moenie girl, moenie.

S1 Please?

S2 Here.

S1 Thank you.

- S1 Miss Shannon have you ever been to Table Mountain.
[Student teacher from America]
- T Yes, I went yesterday.
- S2 Did you enjoy it? I have never been.
- T Really?
- S1 Me either, but we live here.
- S2 I know, should we go together?
- S1 Yes, then we can bungie jump off the cable cart.
- S2 Yes, that would be so kwaai né.
- S1 Ja, it would be, please help me with this work.”
- S2 Ag man, okay.
[The class works quietly, because half of them are out the class busy with a computer career form]
[Same students filling in career guidance form worksheet]
- T Okay, so we are going to do job shadowing next term as Mrs. Douglas has said. So I want you to fill in this list. It is a list to indicate what kind of jobs your parents do so that if one of your friends wants to shadow that type of job then we know of someone who they can shadow. Understand?
- S Can we put down our uncles and brothers jobs to?
- T Yes, if you think it will be helpful.
- S1 My daddy would never have been a teacher if knew how difficult it is.
- S2 But your daddy is so kwaai né. He must be such a good teacher, I think.
- S1 Yes I know.
[Some of the girls that have been in the computer room come back from doing a career test on the computers]
- S3 Is it difficult in the computer room?
[Afrikaans L1 student from Vredenburg]
- S4 No, its okay. I don't know how true it is.
- S3 Do you have to type?
- S4 No.

- S3 Oh, ek wou nou net sê. I hate to type, I used to do it in my old school. But they don't have it at this school.
- S1 Guess what Tammy and I are eating now at break pizza slices.
[Student laughs]
- S1 Ha, look at your face.
- S2 Will you give me a hap?
- S1 Yes man.

Transcription 8: The Geography class

Only two of the transcribed classes were included in this study due to the fact that codeswitching only occurred once during all the observations and recordings.

- T Okay, let's continue with yesterday's work where we were estimating forty-three thousand births a day forty-three thousand per day. Um, then I have there are three hundred and sixty five day in a year, so you get fifteen comma thirty three million people born in a year.
- S How many?
- T fifteen comma thirty three million people born in a year.
- S How many numbers is that?
- T Um, you just say a million, a million has six noughts?
- S What do you multiple it by?
- T Excuse me?
- S What do you multiple it by?
- T Three hundred and sixty five, those are days a year. And every day there is forty-three thousand births. So say forty-three thousand times three hundred and sixty five days to get your answer.
- T Right, um, there is a few people who want to celebrate a baby's birth. Um, many people would actually prefer if there was less people in India because there is so much people. Ja, they would actually want the population not to grow this much. That's why they not actually celebrating, they don't want it to grow this much, because what is there in India? There is poverty, there is illiteracy, people can't read and write. Um, diminishing natural resources, remember the more the

population grows, the more the people have to eat, the more water you have to use. The more pollution, and there is a lack of health care in India as well as a lack of education. Now these answer we get for India could apply to any developing country that has a population problem, right this is just general. Then you have to explain why the natural resources are diminishing. People, more people the greater demand.

S Over population

T Ja, so over population creates an over demand on the natural resources, more water and more agricultural land and sea the actual water. The food, the air, soil, clean and extra, um, um, what do call it? So it all places a burden on the natural resources. So is there a relation between poverty, literacy, and higher birth rates? Yes, of course people who are poor are actually denied good health care. Take a private hospital, if you don't have a medical fund they don't help you except if you pay cash. We have so many diseases, I don't know that it is called in English but it is 'n ernstige siekte, um Pokke in Afrikaans, it's Pokke, which killed half of the society many years ago but even today there's still such sicknesses in the world like what? Who can name one?

S Aids.

T Aids, right, aids is doing that to our society today.

[Teacher carries on explaining this question in English without any student interruptions]

T Now we are on page seventy nine, there are many places in the world which have gender discrimination where females are not treated in the same way as males, and especially if you look at, um, the economically less developed countries. What happens there is that the women in the world are treated less equally. They are actually seen as; babies that are girls are seen as less valuable. And also if we look at the different ways that females are treated unfairly. There's firstly, they not allowed to own property, so in other words they are poor and they stay poor. They can't buy anything to sell to make a profit. Right, so in South Africa are females allowed to own property? Yes anyone who can buy and afford it is allowed to own property, females or males. Then also in many of the

economically poor countries the females do not have an education, it is expected of them to stay home to help do the cooking and the cleaning and to help with the farming. So they don't receive an education or a less education. They just have to go to school until they're four for instance and then they have to stay at home to help their mom. Right, so I said they expected to work in the house they expected to work in the farmlands, and they not expected to work in the world of business and that is actually where you make your money. And also they get paid less
[Teacher carries on in English without any questions or interruptions from the students]

T Before we look at the pie graph, we have a huge amount of people one billion people in the world survive on less than seven rand a day.

S uhh?

T Now, think about seven rand. They have to pay water, electricity, food the transport. Think about seven rand a day, would you be able to survive on seven rand a day?

S No, no.

T Well, one billion people in the world survives on less than that, than seven rand a day. So we have a huge people that are really poor.

S Seven rand can't even by you anything.

T Ja, but you buy a loaf of bread and some Polony, and you have that for three days. You only have one meal a day for that matter. That is why poor people who buy something in bulk is cheaper, like bread. They don't have tax on bread and potatoes, if it's in season you can buy a huge bag and you can have it for two weeks. Alright, and it doesn't cost much but then those people, remember you have malnourished and undernourished.

[Teacher carries on in English]

T Okay girls, each one of you for the task must now receive fifty questionnaires.

S Wow.

T I going to fetch it. I programmed the Photostat machine and copied it so, ja. They probably going to send me a bill for all the Photostats hey?

[Teacher returns with the copies.]

T Come fetch the rest girls.
[Teacher hands out and girls do work at their desks.]

Transcription 9: the Geography class

T Okay, we haven't started map work and map reading yet so I have organized an introduction. I have organized an outing for you next Thursday. We will be leaving at half past eight, after lines. And we start there at half past nine; we must be there at half past nine, okay?

S Is it in Stellenbosch?

T No, no, no it's outside, it's.

S2 It is in Bellville?

T Ja, just ten minutes outside Bellville. Half an hours drive.

T Then what we are going to do is they start off in a lecture hall there is a thirty minute DVD presentation to give you background of what this is and so on. And there is a few a minutes where you can walk around and go to the conference room where they actually show you how to access information from the computer for the research data system. And then there is an intermission where they display charts that you can use as well for the information systems. And then we will come back here but we will be back here at 2, or just after two. But we will finish there at half past eleven, so then we can go for a milkshake or something.

S Ja, cool.

T So, it's not going to cost you anything going there, we are going to take the school bus. You must just bring some money for a milkshake or a snack or whatever.

T I will remind you again, um, I have written it in the outing book so everyone knows, um. Does anyone have any tests on that day? It just said grade twelve that are writing tests on that day.

T So, I will write it in the little bookie.

T Okay girls, now um you had to do an activity, activity on, um, nine and ten where you had the population pyramid and then questions were in relation to this population pyramid. Okay, activity nine page seventy four. They ask you how many males are aged fifteen to nineteen. Remember, what we said on the left

hand side males and on the right hand side females. What did you get? We have to round it off but it is more or less two point three million. Okay, who had something totally different because then you read the pyramid wrong? Did you all get that? Okay, then I want to know, second one, how many females? Also same, about two point three million. So you can say point 4, that's still fine also 2 that's fine. The age group with the largest number is the age group ten to nineteen. Um, three, the males age sixty and over about three and a half million people three point five million people are over sixty years old.

S I said over sixty five.

T Ja, that's fine. You see we are estimating you can't read exactly what it says. Then D, under fifteen that is about 12, 8 million. Alright, the shape of the pyramid would be classic pyramid shape. Okay, that means the pyramid shape and, um, classic pyramid it looks like a pyramid so its classic pyramid shape. And, um, ja just classify the shape of the pyramid. Okay, then just say a rapid or a high birth rate, a high death rate, um, but I don't need to ask you anything about that they just said the shape and that is the pyramid shape. Um, what does that tell you about South Africa's birth rate, death rate and life expectancy definitely? The birth rate is high, the death rate is high, as well and the life expectancy is not the good. Then you they ask you to do the economic and social advantages and disadvantages.

[Teacher lists a long list of advantages and disadvantages in English only; without being interrupted or without any codeswitching]

T Okay, gender, I think that there is, um, slightly more females. Look at that seventy five up to eighty.

S But what do you say, how do you know?

T Well, just say there are a little bit more females because they tend to live longer because they are genetically stronger.

[Class laughs]

T Activity ten, you have to do a dependency ratio. Now a dependency ratio is the number of children and adult, ag, number of children under fifteen plus the adults over sixty and you put that on adult between fifteen. So it will be four point three

- nine million kids, and nought point nought. Eight million sixty plus over six point five million times by one hundred, and then seventy four point nine. I am confusing you here, it is seventy five do you get that?
- S Yes.
- T That was for Zimbabwe. So in other words what does this answer mean? In Zimbabwe every hundred people working, 75 are depending on them. And in Sweden every hundred working, 61 people are depending on them .Okay, just look at your answer those are the dependence per hundred. Um,
- S I didn't get that, I just wrote the number like seventy five.
- T Ja, you can do that, but just explain afterwards what seventy five means.
- T Reasons for the differences between Zimbabwe and Sweden. Zimbabwe's ratio is higher so that means fewer workers, and fewer people earning an income. Um, so because there is fewer people earning an income they have to support more people. Seventy four is more than sixty-one, okay?
- S Please say that again.
- T Okay, Zimbabwe's dependency ration is higher; there is fewer workers, who have to support more people.
- T Okay, where do you think would the dependency ratio be high? Where there is lots of unemployment as well as no job opportunities okay?
- T So the dependency ratio would be high in a country where you don't have jobs. I think you should just write that down somewhere.
- T Okay, now on the right hand side of this page there are two different graphs. The top one is of the United Kingdom, and the bottom one is of Kenya. You can see the top one, the United Kingdom is a developed country. And the bottom one, Kenya, is not as developed. So Kenya has more the classical pyramid type shape where United Kingdom has a more long narrow shape, okay. Now on the left, what you have to do, on the left hand side it says you have to draw a pyramid for India and the information for India I gave you that table. Um, you have to do it in the same way that the United Kingdom and Kenya was done. So where do you start, you firstly draw a horizontal axis and then a vertical axis. Okay, so that it

looks like an upside down T. So that you can do males one side and females the other side. Then you draw in the horizontal columns.

[Teacher carries on explaining the process in English, and asks them to complete the task in class. After explaining the process she reprimands two students.]

T Okay, I don't what you two doing, you two working with cell phones?

S No miss.

T Please do the activity.

[The class carries on doing the assignment in silence.]

T Girls in the back, do you have earphones on?

S No, ma'm.

T Who wants to pack, work in the post office for me, for a while? To stamp some tickets, or haven't you got ears?

S No, no. Okay.

T But you can keep them in piles of ten please.

S Okay

[Teacher explains what to do with the tickets to the student in English. And the rest of the class does their assignment in silence]

