

ETHNICITY IN LINGUISTIC VARIATION: WHITE AND COLOURED IDENTITIES IN AFRIKAANS- ENGLISH CODE-SWITCHING

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Abstract

The Afrikaans speech community is characterized by a long-standing rift between Whites and Coloureds, and is for a large part bilingual, with English being increasingly integrated in its stylistic repertoire. Yet, the history of English is different across the White/Coloured divide, as in particular in terms of diffusion and in terms of ideological associations. The question we wish to ask is twofold. First, how far may there be a question of ethnic norms of Afrikaans-English code-switching? Second, if norms of code-switching are different across the ethnic divide, is code-switching used differently in the negotiation of White and Coloured identities?

This contribution is organized in three main parts. First, we give an overview of the different norms of Afrikaans-English code-switching encountered across Whites and Coloureds on the basis of a corpus of informal speech data. Then we give an overview of the sequential patterns of Afrikaans-English code-switching following a CA methodology. Finally, we determine with the help of macrosocial knowledge in how far these different forms and functions of Afrikaans-English code-switching are made relevant to the projection of White and Coloured identities in South Africa's current post-Apartheid context on the basis of select individual examples.

The results of our analysis indicate that Afrikaans-English code-switching in the Coloured data displays the features of a 'mixed code', which is perceived as a 'we-code', where English input tends to be stylistically neutral. By contrast, English input is more syntactically and sequentially salient in the White data, and more visibly serves purposes of identity-negotiation. Despite those differences, there remains a clear correlation in both White and Coloured samples between the use of English monolingual code and affiliation with 'New South African values'.

Keywords: Code-switching; Afrikaans; Sociolinguistics; Conversation analysis.

Introduction

The status of ethnicity with regard to linguistic variation has received considerable attention, but the theoretical perspectives from which it has been approached are not necessarily compatible. Whereas in variationist approaches ethnicity has often been implied in sets of variants of which the co-occurrence is presented as predictable on the grounds of social and contextual variables, approaches influenced by social constructivism have presented ethnic identity as a negotiated construal, projected in interactions by means of socially meaningful stylistic choices. Of interest here is the expression of ethnicity through linguistic variation involving varieties which are largely shared, yet attached historically different symbolic connotations across the ethnic divides of a given speech community.

The Afrikaans speech community provides a case in point: It is characterized by a long-standing rift between Whites and Coloureds, and is for a large part bilingual, with English being increasingly integrated in its stylistic repertoire. Yet, the history of English is different across the White/Coloured divide, as in particular in terms of diffusion and in terms of ideological associations. Nowadays, English is the unchallenged lingua franca of post-Apartheid South Africa, and its acceptance and use have become symptomatic of new national ideologies of which the notion of positive discrimination in favour of non-Whites is a defining tenet. The question which we wish to ask here is twofold: First, in how far is it possible to distinguish a Coloured from a White norm of code-switching? Second, how far can these norms of code-switching provide a background against which White and Coloured identities can be negotiated?

This article is organized as follows: First, we will briefly present the divisions in the Afrikaans speech community in ethnic and linguistic terms. Then we will provide an overview of the treatments given to identity in speech variation and their relevance to the task of identifying contrasts relevant to (ethnic) identity in patterns of code-switching. We will then attempt to identify White and Coloured norms of code-switching at the grammatical and sequential levels, against the background of which we will identify the uses individual speakers make of code-switching as a stylistic resource to negotiate their identities.

1. Ethnic identity and language in the Afrikaans speech community

Afrikaans has its origins in the 17th and 18th centuries Cape linguistic continuum, ranging from acrolectal to basilectal varieties of Dutch. White settlers, Slaves and Free Blacks of various origins, as well as Khoi-Sans, contributed through their mutual interaction to shaping the primary characteristics of Afrikaans, which were later consolidated and generalized through a standardization scheme led by Whites from the late 19th century onwards (Roberge 2004). The elements of a linguistic divide running along ethnic lines were present from the inception of the Cape Dutch speech community: Knowledge of the acrolectal varieties was the preserve of White society, who had, more than non-Whites, access to Metropolitan Dutch, whereas native or non-native basilectal versions of Dutch, Low Portuguese and Malay were deeply ingrained in non-White society (Ponelis 1993: 15-17).

The British takeover in 1806 brought a number of changes to Cape society, two of which are particularly relevant to our discussion. The first change, that took some time to take effect, was the arbitrary creation, originally for colonial administrative purposes, of a 'Coloured' administrative category that over time came to subsume all non-White Cape Dutch-speakers and acquired the trappings of an ethnic identity (Armstrong and Worden 1979: 122; van der Ross 1979). The second change was the introduction of English, which over time turned out to act as an agent of social differentiation, around which not only ideological but also ethnic tensions came to crystallize. English symbolized social advancement for all sections of Cape Dutch-speaking society regardless of ethnicity, but it came to assume a specific value for non-Whites. English was the language of liberal policies, which, among other things, led to the abolition of slavery and the enfranchisement of a number of Coloureds at the Cape in the 19th century. It was also, much more than Dutch, a language through which education for non-Whites was to some extent made possible (cpr. Lanham 1978: 22-3;

Malherbe 1977: 134-5). As a result, the Coloured intelligentsia soon displayed a tendency to identify with the ideals of the British Empire and the English language, causing the *African People Organization* – a political party furthering Coloured interests in the early 20th century – to recommend its followers to ‘drop the habit as far as possible, of expressing themselves in the barbarous Cape Dutch’ (*APO* 1910 in Adhikari 1996: 8).

The advent of Apartheid and its role in strengthening the socio-economic gap between Whites and non-Whites in general resulted in a growing ideological opposition between Whites and Coloureds in particular. Although the Coloured population tended to obtain favourable treatment from the ruling White-led *National Party* (NP) on account of its being culturally related to the Afrikaners, parts of the Coloured intelligentsia were more inclined to identifying with Black-dominated liberation movements such as the *African National Congress* (van der Ross 1979: 76-7, 82-3). Social and ideological differences between Whites and Coloureds also resulted in different attitudes to Afrikaans and English. While strong support for single medium Afrikaans education prevailed among White Afrikaans speakers, strong symbolic attachment to English remained conspicuous in sections of the Coloured population despite the policy of ‘Afrikanerization’ through education that it was subjected to by the NP (Malherbe 1977: 139; Steyn 1980: 265). Evidence of different language ideologies across the ethnic divide was found in the general disapproval of English linguistic influence among the White Afrikaans population (Dirven 1992: 39-40), while increasing identification with Afrikaans-English code-switching was observable among Coloureds, most especially in the Cape Town region and among sympathizers of the liberation movements (Scheffer 1983: 97; Esterhuysen 1986: 117; McCormick 2002: 99-100).

Nowadays, Coloureds form the majority of Afrikaans speakers with 54% of the totals while the share of Whites is 42%. There is still a wide economic gap between White and Coloured Afrikaans speakers. By 1996, the former had managed to preserve their middle-class position with almost half of their effectives in semi-professional or high occupational categories. In terms of education, almost one third of White Afrikaans speakers were university or college graduates (Giliomee 2004: 627). By contrast, Coloureds were in 2001 on the average still earning little more than one fifth of the average annual income of White Afrikaans speakers. Only 15.8% fell in semi-professional or high professional categories. Only 4.9% possessed tertiary qualifications (South African Statistics 2001). Despite evidence of population movements across urban areas, the residential segregation of old has endured: In most South African municipalities, there are White- and Coloured-dominated areas.

The democratic transition has brought with itself a new sociolinguistic context in which English is systematically favoured at the expense of Afrikaans at the institutional level. In the event, the visibility of Afrikaans has steadily decreased as a language of public life, business, education and media (Giliomee 2003). Increasing exposure to English, and also ideological stigmatization of Standard Afrikaans, seem to have led to the valorization of Afrikaans-English code-switching among upcoming Afrikaans-speaking generations (Webb 2002: 30). This observation suggests that code-switching is spreading across the ethnic divide. It does not clarify, however, whether code-switching is found in the same forms and functions across the ethnic divide.

2. Code-switching and identity

Social identity and its place in linguistic variation has formed a bone of contention opposing theoretical outlooks derived from the variationist tradition on the one side and approaches influenced by social constructivism on the other. Whereas the former has been regarding linguistic variation as a predictable reflection of macro-social structures while downplaying or completely neglecting the identity dimension, the latter has placed speaker agency centrally, regarding linguistic variation as partly resulting from strategic choices made for the purpose of constructing or negotiating social identities at the level of the interaction (cpr. Coupland 2002: 188; Eckert & Rickford 2002: 3-5; Gumperz & Gumperz 2007: 481). Both types of approaches have been taken with regard to the relationship between ethnicity and linguistic variation, as illustrated among other things by the large corpus of research performed on African American Vernacular English (AAVE). Variationist treatments have tended to reduce 'Blackness' in the U.S. context to a mere parameter of variation, which, in specific combinations with the social class and context variables, is taken to predict frequencies of AAVE features. 'Black style', as 'styles' in general, is then often presented as a quantitative and collective measure determined solely by factors external to the speaker¹. By contrast, social constructivist approaches to Black ethnicity such as that taken by Ervin-Tripp (2002) have emphasized the creative use occasionally made of AAVE features for rhetorical purposes, irrespective of social class or context. From this point of view, 'Black style', as 'styles' in general, is a resource exploited by the speaker to achieve specific communicative ends. Social constructivist approaches to ethnicity in linguistic variation have also been taken in situations involving code-switching between different languages, i.e. the type of situation that we are concerned with in this present study, such as in particular Bailey (2007) on Spanish-English code-switching among Dominicans in the U.S.

Despite its empirical justification, the principle of speaker agency in linguistic variation cannot be considered to operate in complete autonomy. In criticism of Coupland's speaker-centred approach to style (2002), Rickford (2002: 223) takes a defensive stance on aspects of the variationist heritage, as in particular its collective view of style, warning that 'group styles and individual styles are both realities, and each can help us understand the other'. The implication here is that language practices of individuals must be socially interpreted against the background of social conventions surrounding them.

There are indications that code-switching, as a dimension of language variation, should also be looked at from both a collective and an individual perspective in order to determine its relevance to the negotiation of individual identities. A practical illustration is provided by 'mixed codes', i.e. conventionalised varieties characterized by high frequencies of code-switches which are not perceived as socially meaningful, or 'salient' by the speakers (cpr. Auer 1998: 20; Alvarez-Caccamo 1998: 38-40). If 'mixed codes' are found to be group norms, as it is the case in many African communities (cf.

¹ An example of variationist treatment given to variation between Black and White vernaculars is found in Labov (1987). Trends of divergence between the two are accounted for as 'an effect of residential, economic and educational segregation' (22). Other factors, such as identity-related factors, hardly come into play, even though Labov at one point alludes to the possibility that ethnic differences in speech may be consciously cultivated, observing that 'the local [Philadelphia] vowel system is an important claim to local rights and privileges, which blacks are not prepared to make' (20).

Meeuwis & Blommaert 1998), then the potential for individual instances of switching between languages A and B to form strategic choices relevant to identity-negotiation is diminished. This brings us to the question of how to distinguish in practice between those switches potentially relevant to identity-negotiation and other switches.

A point of departure for determining a group style is a quantitative survey of grammatical code-switching types. An obvious reason for this is that the only typologies of code-switching that have been quantitatively implemented are grammatical. A grammatical typology of code-switching that can be quantitatively implemented while offering the possibility of guessing at levels of social salience is Muysken's threefold distinction between insertions, alternations and congruent lexicalization (1997). Quantitatively implementing Muysken's typology on bilingual data can produce scales of grammatical pattern dominance which can reveal whether a given grammatical type of code-switching is more dominant than another within a given group or across groups (cf. Deuchar et al. 2007). Following a gestalt-psychological logic, there is a distinct possibility that salience and social meanings may be identifiable primarily in those less dominant grammatical types (cpr. Auer 1998: 20). To give a practical illustration, clausal alternations (a subtype of alternations in Muysken's typology) may possess salience, and therefore social meaning, in bilingual speech for which congruent lexicalization (a grammatical type of code-switching potentially indicative of a 'mixed code'²) is a dominant pattern.

Sequential types of code-switching form another quantifiable aspect of code-switching by which group norms may be illustrated and cross-compared. It may, for example, be speculated that the sequential type of code-switching that Auer (1998: 8) calls 'preference-related code-switching', involving the resetting of the language of interaction in the course of an exchange, is more typical of bilingual speech communities with no tradition of language compartmentalization. Directly related to the sequential domain of analysis, and also quantifiable, are the contextualisation functions assumed by language A and language B, which may not conform to the same patterns across bilingual speech communities: Language B may specialize in adding emphasis to the preceding information in language A in one given community while it may specialize in downgrading the preceding information in language A in another community (Sebba & Wootton 1998: 275).

Identities may be partly reconstructed on the basis of contrasts between surveys of the distribution of grammatical and sequential patterns across samples. But identity may also be reconstructed on the basis of individual instances of code-switching, which form part of individual strategies of 'opposition-building' for the purpose of identity-negotiation. Individual switches may among other things serve the enactment of specific personae, alternately embodying values linked to the in-group or to the out-group (cpr. Gumperz 1982: 66; Coupland 2007: 221). Yet, individual switches may not all be relevant to the negotiation of identities: Identity-relevant social meanings may instead reside in 'constellations' of features 'which are interpreted together' (Auer 2007: 12). This means that, in order to ascertain the identity-relevance of individual instances of code-switching, a holistic point of view needs to be taken, by which the relationship between an individual switch and its wider conversational and social environment must be taken into account. A question to be asked here is how far individual strategies of

² Muysken does not use the term 'mixed code' in his typology, yet he considers the District 6 Coloured data that McCormick (2002) refers to as a 'mixed code' as indicative of 'congruent lexicalization' (2000: 148).

identity-negotiation can be implemented through code-switching in a context where code-switching is the norm and may therefore lack stylistic salience.

We intend to reconstruct White and Coloured identities in code-switching using a two-step approach. First, we want to determine how far 'Coloured' and 'White' identities are indexed by distinct code-switching norms. In the process, we take grammatical and sequential patterns of code-switching as a point of departure, which we treat as essential in the identification of potential identity-relevance in code-switching. Second, we contrast the obtaining picture of collective 'Coloured' and 'White' code-switching norms with a constructivist representation of code-switching strategies meaningfully employed by individual speakers to negotiate their ethnic identities in South Africa's current post-Apartheid context.

3. The corpus and its sociolinguistic context

Reflecting our two-step approach aimed at determining collective code-switching norms first and then reconstructing on the basis of individual instances how code-switching is used creatively as a stylistic resource for ethnic identity-negotiation, our corpus is organized in two parts. The first part is large enough to allow quantitative analysis, while the second part consists of select individual conversations.

Two samples comprising roughly 150,000 words and 174 speakers were collected from the Cape Flats and Gauteng respectively. The data from the Cape Flats form our 'Coloured' sample, whereas the data from Gauteng form our 'White sample'. Underlying our categorization into 'White' and 'Coloured' is the informants' self-ascription of these labels. There are several reasons why we consider these two samples comparable even though they do not originate in geographically contiguous regions. First, Cape Flats Coloureds and Gauteng Afrikaans-speaking Whites both share a long tradition of Afrikaans-English bilingualism. Second, the younger generations of these samples mostly consist of students attending academic institutions which are officially English-speaking (e.g. the University of the Western Cape), or in the process of becoming *de facto* English-speaking (e.g. the University of Pretoria or the University of Johannesburg).

Each sample is comprised of roughly equal numbers of males and females and can be broken down in three age cohorts (17-25, 25-50, 50+). The recruitment of informants mostly followed the 'friend of a friend' approach (Milroy 1987). Since the guideline for data collection was to minimize the Observer's Paradox in order to obtain a representative picture of spontaneous speech in intra-group communication, the task of interviewing was left to insiders sharing the ethnic background and age range of the informants. All younger speakers were recruited from the university campuses of the University of the Western Cape (UWC), the University of Pretoria (UP) and the University of Johannesburg (UJ). In terms of social categories, the older and median age cohorts comprised in the samples can be characterized as representative of average income levels within the White and the Coloured communities respectively³.

³ Average income levels are documented in reference to ethnic groups by South African Statistics (2001). The reason for using White and Coloured average income levels as a point of departure seems more appropriate than general indicators which may lead to comparisons between social categories not symmetrically distributed across the ethnic divide.

All younger members of our White sample enjoyed comprehensive Afrikaans medium instruction. Some members of the Cape Flats Coloured sample enjoyed comprehensive Afrikaans-medium education, others followed an all-English curriculum⁴.

In order to carry out a stylistic analysis with special focus on individual motivational processes relevant to the negotiation of Coloured and White identities, we singled out a number of conversations in which the activity of ethnic self-categorisation is most inferable. These conversations involve White students from UP and UJ respectively, and Coloured students from UWC. The topics around which these conversations are organized may overtly involve the meaning of being White or Coloured in the post-Apartheid context, but they also involve other topics which we regard as more or less directly relevant to the definition of White and Coloured identity, as in particular religious life and relations to the 'outgroup' embodied in abstract entities such as among other things policies of Affirmative Action or university administration. The question we want to answer is whether, in reflection of possible differences in grammatical and sequential patterns of code-switching, the use of English has different implications for the negotiation of ethnic identities across the White/Coloured divide.

4. Grammatical patterns of code-switching

The data proved to be lexically dominated by Afrikaans (over 97% of the lexicon), but the proportion of English items in the Coloured data is higher than in the White data, and also higher among younger than older speakers (roughly 9.5% among the younger speakers of our Cape Flats sample versus 3.37% in the Gauteng White sample). If we leave discourse markers out of consideration, it seems that the corpus is characterized by unidirectional switching (Afrikaans towards English) with a few exceptions (English towards Afrikaans) found in the Cape Flats sample. This present section is largely based on Stell (2009), to which I refer for methodological aspects such as the identification of switches. It first deals with insertions (4.1), followed by alternations (4.2) and congruent lexicalization (4.3).

4.1. Insertions

In the insertion pattern, one language A will usually dominate by determining the overall structure into which constituents from language B are inserted (cf. example 1 from our corpus where the English insertion is in bold, see further Muysken 1997: 361).

- (1) Vir my is dit net betjie **boring**.⁵
'For me it is just a bit boring.' (Gauteng sample)

Insertions clearly form the dominant code-switching type in the data in general, yet they occur more frequently among Coloureds than among Whites. Also, they occur more frequently among younger than older speakers, although frequencies are

⁴ No distinction was made between the two groups since they seemed to belong to the same social networks.

⁵ The switches under discussion are in bold, except when they are not relevant to the discussion.

comparably high across all three generations of the Cape Flats sample. A number of contrasts between samples can be observed with respect to the nature and form of insertions. One among these contrasts concerns the grammatical nature of insertions: English adverbs are represented primarily in the Cape Flats sample.

Another area of contrast concerns the levels of morphosyntactic integration of insertions. There is, for example, a tendency in the Cape Flats Coloured sample for using English adjectives more frequently in attribute position where they may require an inflection (which in fact they rarely receive, unlike in example 2) than in the other samples.

- (2) Dit is die **stupidste** ding wat ek in my lewe van gehoor het.
'This is the most stupid thing I have heard of in my life.'
 (Cape Flats sample)

Also typical of the Cape Flats Coloured sample is the occasional use of English past participial affixes in predicate position, or the absence of affixes, or the use of an English past participial affix concurrently with an Afrikaans affix (4), while in the Gauteng White sample the Afrikaans affix dominates in the same context (3).

- (3) Nee hy is nie **ge-drop** nie hy het nie side-fenders nie hy is heel standaard.
'No it is not dropped it has no side-fenders it is all standard.'
 (Gauteng sample)

- (4) Die persoon wat my **ge-registered** het, het nie vir my gehelp nie.
'The person who registered me didn't help me.' (Cape Flats sample)

Flagging of insertions in the sense of insertions signalled by metalinguistic commentaries, is illustrated by (5), and occurs mostly among middle-aged and older Gauteng White speakers.

- (5) Nou my vrou het 'n **gout**, verskoon die Engels.
'Now my wife has a gout, excuse the English.' (Gauteng sample)

4.2. Alternations

In the alternation pattern, both languages A and B occur alternately, each with their own structure, with the switch point being located at a major syntactic boundary (ex. 6, see further Muysken 1997: 361). The implication is that there may be two matrix languages within one single utterance as long as the transition between the two is signalled by a salient syntactic boundary. Alternations may be found in the form of a discourse marker (example 7 from our corpus) or of a fully-fledged clause more or less loosely connected to the preceding one (example 6 from our corpus).

- (6) Toe discuss ek met my vrou en toe los ek my werk en ek apply hier by die university en **the rest as they say ja is history.**

'Then I have a discussion with my wife and then I resigned from my job and I applied here at the university and the rest as they say ja is history.'

(Cape Flats sample)

(7) **Oh well** dis wat gebeur as jy deel is van die Paaikikerikie Express.

'Oh well this is what happens if you are part of the Paaikikerikie Express.'

(Cape Flats sample)

Alternations in the form of discourse markers⁶ are more or less evenly distributed across samples, and also to a lesser degree across generations. Clausal alternations, on the other hand, are distinctly more represented in the Coloured sample, and among younger speakers in general. Clausal alternations are most marked generationally in the Gauteng White sample, and least marked generationally in the Cape Flats Coloured sample. Switches involving clausal alternations are less frequent, and therefore presumably more salient and likely to carry a social function than insertions.

A prominent area of contrast across samples with respect to alternations is found in the nature of the syntactic boundaries at which they occur. Alternations occurring at coordination or subordination sites (6) are roughly evenly distributed across samples. On the other hand, English main clauses followed by Afrikaans subordinate clauses (8) are only present in the Coloured sample, and switched clauses with no formal relation to the neighbouring clauses⁷ are proportionally by far better represented in the White sample (9).

(8) **So let us say** jy bly in 'n plek soos Manenburg dan kan jy nie jy kan jy kan nie 'n loan by die bank kry nie.

'So let us say you stay in a place like Manenburg then you can't you can't you can't get a loan from the bank.' (Cape Flats sample)

(9) Maar dis jou eie besluit of jy dit sal toelaat maar ek weet nie ek het geen probleem met enige swartmense bruinmense pienkmense nie. **Live and let live.**

'But it's your own decision whether or not you will allow that but I don't know I have no problem with any black people brown people pink people. Live and let live.' (Gauteng sample)

4.3. Congruent lexicalization

With congruent lexicalization, 'the grammatical structure is shared by languages *A* and *B*, and words from both languages *A* and *B* are inserted more or less randomly'

⁶ Many English discourse markers form established borrowings in Afrikaans. All English discourse markers listed in the AWS 2002 under the heading 'Colloquial Afrikaans' were left out of consideration here.

⁷ Muysken suggests that the switch point of alternations is necessarily located within the 'clause', while elsewhere he describes alternations as possibly occurring between 'utterances' (cpr. 2000: 33, 96). It has been chosen here to adopt the broadest possible definition of alternation and to include in the concept those utterances in language *B* which occur within turns and are formally unrelated to the neighbouring utterances in language *A* by means of coordination or subordination.

(Muysken 2000: 8). Non-constituency is a defining feature of congruent lexicalization, as illustrated by example 10 from our corpus, but it is not the only one: There is also ‘back and forth switching’, which may refer to ‘rapid succession of switches’ in the form of insertions and/or alternations (cpr. Muysken 2000: 132-3, 237).

- (10) Ek **suck at** dit.
‘I suck at it.’ (Cape Flats sample)

Two forms of non-constituents were met in the data, i.e. clause-internal non-constituents as in (10) and clause-peripheral non-constituents with an alternational character in the form of clause-final elements + discourse markers, as illustrated by (11).

- (11) Jy is ’n **daily obviously**.
‘You are a daily obviously.’ (Gauteng sample)

The Coloured sample is the only sample with both types, while the White sample only has the type illustrated by (11).

With ‘back and forth switching’, the likelihood of congruent lexicalization can be identified only at corpus-level rather than at the level of the utterance. The ‘global’ diagnostic features of congruent lexicalization which are most relevant to our data are 1) there is a high grammatical diversity of switches, 2) bidirectionality of switching is high, 3) non-constituents are common (Muysken 2000: 230). As mentioned earlier, 2) is hardly found in our data, but when it is, it is in the Cape Flats Coloured sample, which also musters the widest grammatical array of switches and the highest frequency of non-constituents. For these reasons, it is the Cape Flats Coloured sample that displays the highest potential for ‘congruent lexicalization’, and therefore for a ‘mixed code’ where all switches, including both insertions and alternations, are likely to lack salience and social meaning. By implication, salient and socially meaningful code-switches are more likely to be found among Whites, most especially in the form of clausal alternations.

5. Sequential patterns of code-switching

If speaker turns consisting only of an English discourse marker are left out of consideration, Afrikaans, or a ‘mixed code’ with Afrikaans as an identifiable matrix, is for all intents and purposes the only language-of-interaction with no sustained divergence of language choices. The dominance of Afrikaans across turns implies that Afrikaans-English code-switching in our data is mostly turn-internal, which according to Auer (1998: 17) forms one of the characteristics of a ‘mixed code’. This need not mean, however, that turn-internal code-switches in our data lack the salience to fill contextualising functions. In fact, contextualisation functions are generally inferable from a large number of code-switches, most especially clausal alternations. In this section we are looking at turn-internal clausal alternations in turn-peripheral and mid-turn positions (5.1 and 5.2), as well as between-turn code-switching (5.3).

5.1. Code-switching in turn-peripheral position

Among all cases of alternations, the most frequent type is turn-peripheral in the form of either turn-initial or turn-final English discourse markers or clausal alternations (cf. 4.2). Table 1 shows that the turn-initial and turn-final positions for English alternations (excluding quotations) is almost identical across the two samples in that the turn-final position seems to dominate in both cases.

Table 1 Turn-peripheral English alternations per sample (younger age cohorts, %)

Position	Gauteng White	Cape Flats Coloured.
Initial	37%	37.5%
Final	63%	62.5%

A striking contrast between the White and the Coloured sample is concerned with the proportion of discourse markers in initial and final English alternations: The share of discourse markers is proportionally larger in the White sample than in the Coloured sample, while the share of clausal alternations is conversely higher in the Coloured sample than in the White sample.

Table 2 Proportions of discourse markers and clausal alternations in total number of turn-peripheral alternations (younger age cohorts, %)

	Gauteng White	Cape Flats Coloured.
DM	77.4%	28.5%
Clausal	22.6%	71.5%

Generally, clausal alternations are more likely to be found in turn- or utterance-final position (cf. example 9) than in turn- or utterance-initial position (cf. example 8). The only sample where clausal alternations may be found in turn- or utterance-initial position is the Coloured sample.

Another area of contrast concerns the levels of syntactic embeddedness of turn- or utterance-final clausal alternations. In all cases found in the White sample, they are not syntactically connected to the preceding clause, and are therefore of a paratactical nature. Example 9 illustrates this point, with the English clause *live and let live* being connected to the preceding Afrikaans clause only by forming part of the same intonational unit⁸. By contrast, example (6) illustrates the higher level of syntactic embeddedness found with turn- or utterance-final clausal alternations in the Coloured sample, where overt syntactic markers used as coordination devices in particular connect the English clause to the preceding Afrikaans clause. There are also cases where a turn- or utterance-final English clausal unit is syntactically interwoven with the preceding Afrikaans clause by being 'triggered' by an English element comprised in the latter, as shown in example (12) where prepositionally used *like* introduces an English clause which then introduces yet another clause. Such instances of 'triggering' constitute defining characteristics of congruent lexicalization or of a 'mixed code' (cpr. Muysken 2000: 231, Auer 1998: 17).

⁸ Cf. Hopper & Closs Traugott (2003: 180-1) for intonational cues as means to identify parataxis.

(12) So en mens hum is amper soos (.) ek weet nie dis **like spitting in the wind when you are dealing with the administration at this university**.

'So and one is erm almost like (.) I don't know it's like spitting in the wind when you are dealing with the administration at this university.'
(Cape Flats sample)

Contrasts in degrees of syntactic embeddedness seem reflected in contrasts in pragmatic embeddedness. Turn- or utterance-final clausal alternations are often linked in a metonymic relationship to the preceding clause in the White sample while in all cases forming 'closing sequences' (cf. Alfonzetti 1998: 188-9). This is again illustrated by example (6) where the English clause *live and let live* is a catchphrase used by the speaker to subsume her previous argument while also signalling the end of her turn. By contrast, the English chunk *like spitting in the wind when you are dealing with the administration at this university* in example (12) could possibly be read as a metonymy for preceding observations (not reproduced here) only if taken together with the Afrikaans elements it is introduced by. In other words, it is the whole bilingual sequence in (12) that could be read as a metonymy (as well as possibly a 'closing sequence'), not just the English chunk, which does not possess enough local syntactic and pragmatic salience.

5.2. Code-switching in mid-turn position

The share of alternations occurring in mid-turn position is proportionally larger in the Coloured sample than in the White sample (38% versus 70% in the Coloured sample, excluding quotations). The imbalance between the two samples in this respect is also reflected, to a lesser degree, in the distribution of alternations occurring within utterances (23% in the White sample versus 37% in the Coloured sample, excluding quotations). A more striking contrast resides in the nature of mid-turn alternations, which happen to much more frequently consist of clausal alternations in the Coloured sample (cf. example 14) than in the White sample, where discourse markers are more dominant (cf. example 13).

(13) Ja, want baie mense gaan werk **actually** by plekke wat wat hulle glad nie geswot het.

'Yes because lots of people actually take up employment for which they have not studied.' (Gauteng sample)

(14) Hulle het 'n policy gehet van van redlining so basically wat daai beteken is **if you live on the other side of there you know arbitrary demarcated red line** dan kan jy nou nie 'n homeloan kry nie irrespective of your credit history.

'They had a policy of of redlining so basically what that means is if you live on the other side of there you know arbitrary demarcated red line then you can't get a homeloan irrespective of your credit history.' (Cape Flats sample)

As already mentioned in 5.1, there is a possible tendency of ‘triggering’ in the Coloured sample, whereby the use of an English element causes the following element to be in English as well. This is among other things illustrated by the use of English discourse markers, which tend to be combined in the Coloured sample as in *so basically*⁹ (with *so* phonetically realized along the English pattern¹⁰) in (14) above. That tendency of triggering and the relative lack of syntactic salience that it entails for English clausal alternations seems to again result in a relative lack of pragmatic salience. In other words, if we leave aside quotations (cf. 5.4), most clausal alternations in the Coloured sample seem not to fill any contextualisation function except when they form self-repairs. By contrast, the few mid-turn clausal alternations (excluding quotations) that we find in the White sample can be sequentially accounted for as either ‘pre-closings’ (cf. Alfonzetti 1998: 188-9) or self-repairs.

5.3. Between-turn switches

What we refer to as ‘between-turn switching’ here is single English turns with which our data are occasionally interspersed. Most instances of English between-turn switching are formed by English discourse markers such as *ok*, *alright/oraait*, *cool*, etc., which form acknowledged borrowings in Afrikaans (cf. 4.2). In the remaining cases, we find English clauses ranging from nominal to complex. If we consider between-turn switches to form special cases of alternation, then their share in the total number of alternations is proportionally higher among Whites than among Coloureds (23% versus 7%). An explanation for this could be that the tendency among Coloureds to use an Afrikaans-English ‘mixed code’ (cf. 5.1) causes all-English between-turn switches to be less likely to occur than among Whites. Evidence for the occurrence of all-English between-turn switches being hampered by that tendency to use a ‘mixed’ Afrikaans-English code is shown in example (15) where B’s response to A’s self-justification about HIV testing starts in English in what seems to be a beginning ‘closing sequence’ (cf. 5.1) but then carries on into Afrikaans past the dual language form *is* which forms the triggering factor here¹¹.

(15)

A

As ons nou saam is gaan toe sê hy vir my hy gaan elke keer Botswana toe en dan gaan hy dan gaan hy dalk uit wees maar hy sê nou nie hy gaan op my cheat nie but ek moet versigtig wees en ek moet (.) ek moet aanhou om elke drie maande te gaan vir HIV testing no no mama...

B

⁹ Note that, since it does not form a constituent, the English stretch *redlining so basically*, could count as an instance of congruent lexicalization (cf. 4.3). Yet, that instance of code-switching may alternatively be read as an insertion (in the form of the substantive *redlining*) followed by an alternation (in the form of the combined discourse markers *so* and *basically*).

¹⁰ The English connective *so* has an Afrikaans homograph realized as [suə] which may be used in comparable functions in colloquial Afrikaans speech, even though its generalized usage along English lines is not recognized by Afrikaans lexicographic sources.

¹¹ The fact that the use of English in that example is not co-extensive with the closing sequence is reverberated elsewhere in the use of English to introduce the first part of a quotation rather than to report the whole quotation.

I think I think the moral of the story is jy moet jou (.) dit is jou eie responsibility always as (.) individuals het 'n personal responsibility, aanhou jouself om maar jouself te protect.

A

When we are together he tells me he goes every time to Botswana and then he may go out but then he doesn't tell me he is going to cheat on me but I must be careful and I have to keep on going for HIV tests every three months no no mummy...

B

I think I think the moral of the story is you must (.) this is your responsibility always as (.) individuals have a personal responsibility, carry on protecting yourself.
(Cape Flats sample)

Between turn switches involving clauses differ across the two samples in terms of their sequential position. While they may occur in both initiative and responsive turns in the Coloured data, between turn switches involving clauses only occur in responsive turns in the White data (16). Another contrast between Coloured and White usage worth mentioning has to do with the semantic contents of between-turn switches and their interactional function. Between-turn switches involving clauses in the White sample often consist of aphorisms used as 'back-channels' in a metonymic relationship with the previous speaker's utterance, as illustrated by (16).

(16)

A

Maar hoor net gou. Weet jy? Weet jy hoekom sê sy sy is slim? Want sy het hum net deur daardie single sin wat sy gesê het dat mense die show in die eerste plek kyk om actually te sien hoe dom sy is.

B

There is no such thing as bad publicity.

A

Presies.

A

But listen. Do you know? Do you know why she says she is clever? Because she erm only by that single sentence she said that people watch the show in the first place to actually see how stupid she is.

B

There is no such thing as bad publicity.

A

Precisely. (Gauteng sample)

In this example, B's reaction to A assumes the form of a catchphrase acting as metonymic acknowledgement of the information provided by A. B's switching to English does not imply the resetting of the language-of-interaction, as the exchange carries on in Afrikaans from A's Afrikaans back-channel onwards.

6. The construction of identities through code-switching

The preceding sections have focused on grammatical and sequential contrasts between Coloured and White code-switching practices. A range of contrasts have been identified at group-level, such that we may claim to have a representation of 'Cape Flats Coloured' and 'Gauteng White' code-switching styles. Now the question arises how code-switching is meaningfully used by individual speakers to negotiate their identities. This section examines how individual uses of code-switching vary according to younger speakers' self-positioning in relation to topics which are relevant to the representation of White and Coloured identities in the current South African context. Against the background of these topics it first attempts to reconstruct the identity-relevance of code-switching involving opposition between monolingual English code and Afrikaans or mixed Afrikaans-English codes (6.1), and then focuses on the identity-relevance of 'mixed' Afrikaans-English codes (6.2).

6.1. Identity and English monolingual code

Younger generations of Afrikaans-speakers currently find themselves in a challenging sociocultural context where the notion of 'South African-ness' is being redefined to a certain degree at the expense of the White and Coloured ethnic groups through among other things Affirmative Action policies based on the racial categories upheld under the Apartheid. Positive discrimination in South Africa inevitably implies the maintenance of White and Coloured ethnic stereotypes with which identification is problematic since it may be interpreted as the rejection of 'New South African' values. We find among both White and Coloured speakers instances clearly illustrating the association made between English monolingual code and 'New South African' values. It seems that contrasts between Afrikaans and English monolingual clauses is a common device among the younger generations of the Gauteng White sample for claiming parts of a 'White' heritage while endeavouring to situate it as uncontroversially as possible within a broader South African context. A telling example is (17) below:

(17)

A

Uhm, ons praat nou daarvan, maar ek bedoel, as ons nou praat van Afrikaanse mense in Suid-Afrika. Jy weet so, jy sou sê jy voel deel as ... jy is 'n Afrikaanse mens?

B

Ja, **first and full**.

A

Voel jy as deel van Suid-Afrika?

B

Ja, ek is 'n Suid-Afrikaner.

A

Erm, if we are talking about it, I mean, if we are now talking about Afrikaans people in South Africa (.) You know, would you say you feel part of...you're an Afrikaans person?

B

Ja, first and full

A

Do you feel part of South-Africa?

B

Yes, I am a South African. (Gauteng sample)

In this example, A is quizzing B about his stance towards the Afrikaans heritage, which in this conversation is mainly expressed in terms of language loyalty. Being 'Afrikaans' in Gauteng does however inevitably have a strong White connotation (since Whites locally form the overwhelming majority of Afrikaans speakers). B's English response to A's question must be read against the background of that obvious fact as well as B's subsequent claim to South African-ness. (White) Afrikaans and South African identities tend to be perceived as being mutually exclusive in the current context, as suggested by Roefs (2006: 81-2), and it is in order to lift that perceived incompatibility that B rhetorically lays claim to his (White) Afrikaans heritage by means of English, i.e. the language associated with South Africa's public sphere and ANC discourse (Orner 2008: 99-100). In other words, what speaker B does is signalling affiliation with Afrikaans and Whiteness while tempering the ideological implications of that affiliation by fitting it in a 'New South African' frame of interpretation subsumed in the use of English. Monolingual English code in the form of clausal alternations or between-turn switching can be found in similar functions among younger Coloured speakers, who may exploit the contrast it offers with monolingual Afrikaans or mixed Afrikaans-English codes. An illustration is found in example (18) where the speaker summarizes his point of view with regard to the discrimination faced by Coloureds in the implementation of the Affirmative Action policy.

(18)

1. Almal wil nou die equity numbers regkry. Dit gaan alles oor nommers. Mense
2. moet nou hulle nommers regkry en die deadline kom, so basically ek hou nie
3. van die terms nie maar mense moet maar seker descriptive wees en nou moet
4. jy net...dis nou net **Africans of black people** wat nou inkom verstaan jy en daai
5. create daai create nogals 'n groot fiction maar ek dink Affirmative Action (.) Ja
6. mens moet seker maar **re-define what is black and what is white** nè if you
7. **are not white you are black** (.) ja because daai is maar bietjie van 'n probleem.

1. *Everybody wants to get their equity numbers right. It's all about numbers. People*
 2. *have to get their numbers right and the deadline is there, so basically I don't like*
 3. *the terms but people surely have to be descriptive and now*
 4. *you just have to...it's only Africans or Black people coming in do you understand and that*
 5. *creates that creates quite a big fiction but I think Affirmative Action (.) Yes*
 6. *one surely has to re-define what is black and what is white right if you*
 7. *are not white you are black (.) Yes because that is a bit of an issue.*
- (Cape Flats sample)

Following a description of the Affirmative Action policy (line 1 to 2) the speaker states his opposition to it. He tempers his opposition with a concessive move which he

interrupts with the racially restrictive observation bordering on indictment that it is only black people who benefit from the policy. However, the thrust of the whole argument is not a wholesale condemnation of Affirmative Action. Rather, the speaker calls for a redefinition of the policy along new terms equally favourable to both Blacks and Coloureds. The use of English across 6 and 7 coincides with that call for a redefinition of Affirmative Action's ethnic nomenclature, to which it adds a dimension of solidarity with the current beneficiaries of that policy, i.e. 'Africans' or 'black people'. 'Colouredness' is thus projected in opposition to 'Whiteness' and in affiliation with 'Blackness'. Just as in (17), monolingual English code is projecting an identity-relevant stance through an interpretive frame in which solidarity with a racially blind or Black South African-ness is emphasized.

In summary, English monolingual code may in both samples imply some degree of identification with 'New South African' values. But there remains a major contrast between samples in the identity-relevant functions assigned to 'mixed codes'.

6.2. 'Mixed codes' and identity

We established in 4.3 that there are symptoms of congruent lexicalization in both the Gauteng White and the Cape Flats Coloured samples. These symptoms suggest the possible use of a 'mixed' Afrikaans-English code, which may meaningfully contrast with a monolingual English code. But we do not yet know how far there may be a question of a 'mixed' Afrikaans-English code meaningfully contrasting with a more monolingual Afrikaans code. If any such alternation takes place, could it be used along the lines predicted by Gumperz (1982: 66) to project an opposition between a 'we-code', associated with more monolingual varieties of Afrikaans, and a 'they-code', associated with Afrikaans varieties with a stronger English input?

Many bilingual communities have been reported to recurrently use 'mixed codes' as 'recurrent cues' to given episodes or invoked social identities. But the composition of such 'mixed codes' may fluctuate in reflection of changing situations and communicative goals (cf. Alvarez-Caccamo 1998: 39). This is reflected in our data by evidence that (mostly White) speakers do to different degrees operate stylistic choices by modulating the English input in their Afrikaans within the same situational contexts, resulting in individual ranges of distinct styles, of which the contrastive value may serve the negotiation of identity.

The language use of one female speaker (whom we will refer to as 'A.R. '), who is referred to as 'non-conservative' by the other participants, provides a revealing illustration, in that it displays different levels of English input across ideational focuses and personal stances. When quizzed about her feeling versus Afrikaans as a language, A.R. takes a clear affiliative stance illustrated by comments such as 'I prefer to write in Afrikaans', 'there are more descriptive terms in Afrikaans than there are in English'. In reflection of much of the surrounding speech material, this affiliative stance is conveyed through a monolingual Afrikaans code. A stylistic contrast is created when, quizzed about her feelings versus certain Afrikaans stereotypes, A.R. takes a clear disaffiliative stance, linguistically signalled by English input (19).

(19) Dit is regtig...jy kry...dis net jou **hardcore** uhm AP Kerk Afrikaner wat sou Kyknet kyk reg deur die dag oordat hulle nog vasgevang is in die voor **ninety**

four era en dis al hoekom hulle Kyknet kyk uhm want Kyknet se programme is **up to shit** en daar is nie genoeg nie so jy sien hulle ses keer'n dag.

'This is really...you get...that's just your hardcore AP Church Afrikaner who would watch Kyknet all day long because they are still stuck in the pre-ninety four era and this is why they watch Kyknet erm because Kyknet's programmes are up to shit and there isn't enough so you see them six times a day.' (Gauteng sample)

The English input here clearly has a discourse function in that it casts in a derogatory frame a stereotypical conservative 'Afrikaner', i.e. the 'hardcore A.P. Afrikaner, characterized by radical Christian religiousness (the *Afrikaans Protestantse Church* counts among the more radical Afrikaans churches). Not only for its English origins but also for its alternative pop-rock connotations, the label *hardcore* collides head-on with the A.P. stereotype, who necessarily identifies not only with *Suiwer Afrikaans* ('pure Afrikaans') but also with past and outfashioned values. The implied conflict between the 'A.P. Afrikaner' stereotype and modernity is emphasized again in the use of the expression *ninety four era*, of which the English form accords with its symbolic connotation as the end of Afrikaner dominance in South Africa. Finally, the derogatory expression *up to shit* expeditively dismisses one of the defining cultural attributes of the 'A.P. Afrikaner', i.e. the all-Afrikaans channel Kyknet, as not only qualitatively low but also as hopelessly out of place in a modernity dominated by Anglo-Saxon judgment values. The constellation of English insertions here assumes the resonance of a 'they-code', a city sophisticate and also post-Apartheid voice, which A.R. appropriates to distance herself from ingroup values she rejects.

There is no compelling evidence of a continuum of distinguishable Afrikaans-English mixed codes in the Coloured data contrastively used within the same communicative situations. This could mean that the 'mixed' Afrikaans-English code found in the data forms a 'recurrent cue' of Coloured identity, the use of which is not determined by alternations between interpretive frames as exemplified by the instance of 'mixed' Afrikaans-English code in (19). The assumption that the 'mixed' Afrikaans-English code is perceived as a 'we-code' by default, which could be one more clue that individual switches observable on the surface are not socially meaningful in Coloured speech, is directly suggested by those instances where it is found in contiguity with a monolingual English clause used in an emphatic function. In example (20), the monolingual English clause in *you see this is not something that is one dimensional* is used conclusively as a 'topper', a function associated with the prestige language or the 'they-code' by many bilingual communities, suggesting that the preceding utterance – which displays the features of a 'mixed code' and serves to convey pragmatically less salient information – possesses the typical functions of a 'we-code' (cf. Sebba & Wootton 1998: 275).

(20) Dit het baie te doen met die kulturele **perspective** ook **because** daar is nog mense wat dink as jy as jy **Aids** het en jy **rape**'n **baby** dit gaan jou **cure you know what I mean so** sulke sulke **cultural misconceptions** is wat ons ook moet... gaan nie maklik...**you see this is not something that is one-dimensional.**

'It has lots to do with the cultural perspective also because there are still people who think that if you have Aids and you rape a baby it's going to cure you know what I mean so such such cultural misconceptions are what we also...it's not going to be easy... you see this is not something that is one-dimensional.' (Cape Flats sample)

7. Discussion

Our study has revealed a range of similarities and contrasts in forms and functions of Afrikaans-English code-switching across the Coloured/White divide. These can be found both at the group-level and at the individual level. We have been able to identify a White and a Coloured group style, against the backdrop of which certain uses made of code-switching by individuals could be identified as relevant to the negotiation of identity.

Code-switching forms and functions turned out to be similar to a certain extent across the Coloured/White divide. Our survey of grammatical patterns has shown that Afrikaans is the dominant matrix language in both samples, and that the frequency of insertions, alternations and congruent lexicalization is increasing across generations of both Coloured and White samples. Yet, a more detailed glance at the data reveals a range of contrasts.

English material is morphologically and syntactically more integrated in the Coloured data than it is in the White data. This is illustrated by the observation that Afrikaans morphological rules are more often waived in the Coloured data, where English adjectives occur more often in uninflected form in attribute position, and English verbs occur more often with English past participles morphemes. By contrast, English adjectives tend to occur in the White sample where they do not need to comply with Afrikaans morphological rules and English verbal forms are assigned Afrikaans past participle morphemes. Evidence of English material being syntactically more integrated in the Coloured data is found in the higher proportion of English clauses at subordination or coordination sites and in the more frequent mid-sentence occurrence of English non-constituents. By contrast, English clauses are more often flagged or detached syntactically in the White data, while non-constituents tend to be rare and sentence-peripheral. Generally, the nature and frequencies of insertions, alternations and non-constituents indicate that the potential for congruent lexicalization is stronger in the Coloured data than in the White data.

The sequential characteristics of Afrikaans-English code-switching display stark differences across the White/Coloured divide. We find in the Coloured data that complex English input (in the form of English clauses or English non-constituents) tends to occur more in mid-turn position, apparently not filling any contextualisation function. When it can be interpreted as signalling a new conversational frame, the English input is not co-extensive with that conversational frame: It may unpredictably give way to Afrikaans or spill over into the subsequent sequential unit following a logic of 'triggering'. Also, we find in the Coloured data that between-turn switching tend to occur in all sequential positions. By contrast, English clausal alternations tend more to be turn-peripheral in the White data, and to fill contextualisation functions such as that of closing a turn. In contrast to the Coloured data, English clausal alternations are co-extensive with the new conversational frame they signal. When they occur in between

turns, English clauses tend more to occur in responsive turns in the White data. The apparently freer sequential position of complex English input in the Coloured data reflects the characteristics associated with 'mixed codes' in Conversation Analysis (cf. Auer 1998: 17-20), which reflects at the conversational level the higher potential for congruent lexicalization which we made out in the Coloured data. The more restricted sequential position of complex English input in the White data, as well as its higher functionality as a contextualization device is obviously reflective of another norm of code-switching, whereby the use made of the guest language, i.e. English in our case, is perceived as interactionally more salient.

This picture presented above summarizes the similarities and differences between what we could term a Coloured and a White code-switching norm. These norms provide the backdrop against which code-switching may be used by individuals for the purpose of negotiating their identities. That use is to a large extent determined by salience. The observation that Afrikaans-English code-switching in the Coloured data occurs more visibly within the frame of a 'mixed code', of which we find symptoms across all three age cohorts of the Coloured sample, suggests that individual switches may lack the social meaning which is required for serving as devices for negotiating identities. On the other hand, the syntactic detachment of English input in the White data, as well as the observation that English input strongly increases across age cohorts in the White sample, suggests that it is likely to serve stylistic opposition-building among upcoming generations (cpr. Auer 2007: 14).

This prediction is met in individual examples we used. English input as used by young White speakers was found in many instances to signal ideological disaffiliation from traditional conservative stereotypes within the in-group context of the White Afrikaans-speaking community. Conservative stereotypes are also present in the Coloured community, but we found evidence of such stereotypes only in discussions revolving around aspects of religious practices. The fact that these conservative religious practices are not necessarily associated with Afrikaans monolingualism in the context of the Cape Flats implies that there is less scope for English input to fill a disaffiliative function within the in-group context in which our Coloured speakers were observed. Rather, English input in Afrikaans in the context of the Cape Flats tends to possess what seems to be a stylistically neutral status as observed for much of the post-colonial language input in other 'mixed codes' in Africa (cf. Meeuwis & Blommaert 1998). If English more visibly fills a disaffiliative function among our White speakers than among our Coloured speakers, it is equally used to create affiliation with 'New South African' ideological values, which are associated with English. We found among other things evidence of English being used in the expression of solidarity with multiracial ideals or with the Black majority.

Signs of convergence between White and Coloured code-switching practices are observable at the grammatical level, and could suggest that congruent lexicalization and a 'mixed' Afrikaans-English code could spread among upcoming White generations. It is open to question, however, whether English input will lose all features of its current opposition-building potential, as among other things its sequential specialization. In other words, Afrikaans-English code-switching may carry on filling a variety of identity-relevant functions more visibly among Gauteng Whites than among Cape Flats Coloureds.

A theoretical implication of our study is that the reconstruction of the identity-relevance of code-switching is facilitated by a reconstruction of group norms.

Grammatical and sequential measures for identifying 'mixed codes' and opposition-building potentials are instrumental in making predictions as to the identity-relevant potential of individual switches. Quantitative and qualitative approaches are thus confirmed to be complementary in the reconstruction of identity in language variation.

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