ETHNICITY AND CODESWITCHING:
ETHNIC DIFFERENCES IN GRAMMATICAL AND PRAGMATIC PATTERNS OF CODESWITCHING IN THE FREE STATE

Gerald Stell

Abstract

This article aims to compare three distinct grammatical and conversational patterns of code-switching, which it tentatively links to three different South African ethnoracial labels: White, Coloured and Black. It forms a continuation of a previous article in which correlations were established between Afrikaans-English code-switching patterns and White and Coloured ethnicities. The typological framework used is derived from Muysken, and the hypotheses are based on his predictions as to which type of grammatical CS (i.e. insertional, alternational, congruent lexicalisation) will dominate in which linguistic and sociolinguistic settings. Apart from strengthening the idea of a correlation between patterns of language variation and ethnicity in general, the article explores the theoretical possibility of specific social factors overriding linguistic constraints in determining the grammatical form of CS patterns. In this regard, it will be shown that – on account of specific social factors underlying ethnicity – CS between two typologically unrelated languages, namely Sesotho and English, can exhibit more marks of congruent lexicalization than CS between two typologically related languages, namely Afrikaans and English, while – from the point of view of linguistic constraints – insertional/alternational CS would be expected in the former language pair and congruent lexicalization in the latter. That finding will be placed against the background of different pragmatic norms regulating the conversational use of CS within the Black Sesotho-speaking community (which we will describe as 'language mixing' in Auer's sense) and within the Afrikaans speech community (which in the case of Whites we will describe as tending more towards 'language alternation' in Auer's sense, and in the case of Coloureds as occupying an intermediate position between language alternation and language mixing). The summary of findings on grammatical and conversational CS patterns across ethnic samples will finally be placed against the background of ethnicity and its specific definition in the South African context.

Keywords: Sociolinguistics; Code-switching; Conversation analysis; Ethnicity; South Africa.

Introduction

The study of the relationship between ethnicity and codeswitching (henceforth CS) has typically been undertaken in interactional contexts involving distinct ethnic groups simultaneously, leaving little scope for comparative analyses across groups. In previous articles (Stell 2009, and Stell 2010) we quantitatively and qualitatively contrasted in-group norms of Afrikaans-English CS across samples of White and Coloured Afrikaans-speakers and found major contrasts. Ethnically differentiated attitudes to Afrikaans as a tenet of group identity, as well as to the dominant post-apartheid ideology in which

English is regarded as the status raising language, were proposed as explanations for those contrasts.

A question which may arise in conjunction with those CS patterns is how far they may be characterized in reference to the broader South African context, as particularly in reference to the CS norms of the Black majority, among which identification with English is described as particularly strong. To what extent could possible differences in patterns and uses of CS among South African Blacks, Coloureds and Whites reflect or be strategically used to underwrite their different sociological and ideological positions?

In order to answer this question, three samples of speakers (one Black and Sesotho-speaking, one Coloured and one White Afrikaans-speaking) were assembled among the student population of the Free State University, Bloemfontein, and observed in in-group interaction. Partly following the same methodology as experimented with in Stell (2009) and Stell (2010), the patterns of CS observable in each sample are analyzed both grammatically and pragmatically, and cross-compared.

This article is organized as follows. First, an overview is given of the conceptions of ethnicity and their relationship with language with specific emphasis on the South African context. After a brief presentation of the corpus, our predictions and methodology, a grammatical and pragmatic description will be given of the patterns of CS in all three samples.

1. Ethnicity, language and the South African context

Part of the relationship between ethnicity and 'culture' may be essential, that is, based upon an inherited *habitus* (Bourdieu 1979). But part of it is also defined by the negotiation of boundaries towards 'outgroups': In Barth's view, the negotiable character of that boundary finds expression in a selective emphasis on, or even in the creation of differences via what he calls 'diacritical features' (1969: 14). Importantly, both the inherited *habitus* and the 'diacritical features' constitutive of ethnicity can assume a linguistic character. With regard to the relationship between language variation and ethnicity, Fought (2002: 452) reaches the conclusion that '[e]ven where, on the surface, extensive inter-ethnic contact and integration may seem to be the norm, the study of linguistic variation reveals the underlying preservation and expression of identities divided along the lines of ethnicity'. Illustrations for this contention can be found in situations where race and ethnicity may at times be confused: Bailey observed that Black American-Dominicans occasionally 'overcommunicate' their Latino heritage via the use of Spanish in reaction to their categorization as 'Black', while using Black African American English to signal solidarity with African Americans on other occasions (cf. Bailey 2007: 164, 171-2). Situationally determined identification or dis-identification with an outgroup referent via linguistic means is, therefore, an acknowledged practice in ethnically stratified societies.

South African society has long been characterized by a widespread preoccupation with scientific notions of race, which it institutionalized as a principle of socio-economic differentiation. The democratic transition saw the emergence of a new racialist discourse in which South Africa is presented as consisting of two 'nations': One privileged White nation, and one deprived Black nation (cf. Blaser 2004: 186-7). Ethnicity in the South African context cannot be dissociated from race, while race

cannot be dissociated from specific socio-economic positions. The economic competition between ethnic/racial groups, of which we nowadays find evidence in the form of Affirmative Action policies, tends to translate in ethnically/racially specific ideological outlooks, which are reverberated in the construction of collective identity across South Africa's racial divides.

According to Steyn (2005), the perception among Whites that they form a minority has caused a 'diasporic' English-speaking dimension to develop in their construction of 'Whiteness'. But in the specific case of Afrikaans-speaking Whites, one may wonder whether any such diasporic identification may not be subordinated to the maintenance of the Afrikaans linguistic heritage. In his analysis of Coloured discourses, Adhikari (2005) observes a strong tendency to reject the social category 'Coloured' as an artificially created interstitial social position in between Whites and Blacks. In the event, there may be in the Coloured community conflicting tendencies of identification with White or Black South Africans respectively. Yet, the perceived marginalization of Coloureds in today's South Africa seems to give rise to a collective discourse which Adhikari (2005) calls 'Colouredism', in which Coloured heritage and distinctiveness are valorized. Again, one may speculate that Afrikaans is perceived as part of that heritage. Generally, one can observe that Whites tend less to identify with South Africa as a nation than do Coloureds, while Blacks, on the other hand, are those who identify with it most (cf. Roefs 2006: 81-2).

As the language of ANC discourse, English has been associated with nation-building in post-apartheid South Africa, in which Blacks are demographically and demographically dominant (cf. Orner 2008: 99-100). Its surge to prominence has taken place largely at the expense of Afrikaans, formerly the country's other official language, and nowadays spoken as a native language by a majority of Whites and Coloureds. It has also taken place at the expense of the Black majority's Bantu languages: If there nowadays remains comparatively large scope for Afrikaans-medium instruction among the White and Coloured communities, mother tongue instruction among the Black majority is no longer systematically enforced as it used to in the Apartheid period, and it has at any event to compete with the 'straight for English' approach taken by many schools (cf. Webb 2002: 12). The sum of these observations suggests that Whites, Coloureds and Blacks can be linguistically characterized as unequally exposed to their heritage languages, and having different perceptions of English, which might reflect or underwrite their respective economic positions and associated ideological stances.

During the apartheid, English linguistic influence was demonised in Afrikaans medium instruction to such an extent that attitudes to Afrikaans-English CS were still largely negative among the White Afrikaans-speaking population back in the early 1990s (cf. Webb et al. 1992: 39-40). By contrast, Afrikaans-English has been positively rated among sections of the Coloured population, as particularly the Peninsula Coloureds (cf. Scheffer 1983; McCormick 2002). Whether or not Afrikaans is nowadays still positively rated as an attribute of White and Coloured ethnicity, Webb (2002: 30) notes the development of a 'strikingly code-mixed variety' among young educated Afrikaans-speakers in general. This development was largely confirmed in Stell (2009, 2010), even though patterns and uses of Afrikaans-English CS were found to considerably differ across regions and across the White/Coloured divide.

South African Black attitudes to CS from South African Bantu languages into English were documented by among other things Finlayson & Slabbert (1997) and Finlayson et al. (1998). The authors found that CS into English is widespread, and

perceived as indexing education and urbanity. Such perceptions of CS might in fact be widespread across South Africa's ethnic/racial barriers. Even if that is the case, the question which we wish to ask here is: How far can there be a question in the current South African context of a distinct Black pattern of CS involving English as much as there may be a question of distinct White and Coloured patterns of CS involving English? If there is any distinction, how far can it be explained in terms of ethnic/racial distinctness rather than in terms of educational or linguistic factors? In the following section we will present the predictions which can be made with regard to CS from South African Bantu languages into English, while summarizing the findings made with regard to Afrikaans-English CS among Coloureds and Whites in Stell (2009, 2010).

2. Patterns and uses of CS[1] and their predictability

Muysken's grammatical typology of CS (1997, 2000) covers a broad range of grammatical types of CS. It also allows correlations between grammatical forms of CS and linguistic and extralinguistic factors. Muysken distinguishes between three grammatical types of CS, i.e. insertions, alternations and congruent lexicalization. Insertions may generally be described as constituents in language B occurring in a grammatical structure determined by a language A (1). Alternations may be described as successions of more or less autonomous syntactic units in distinct languages, which may include, among other things, clauses and discourse markers (2). Finally, in congruent lexicalization, the grammatical structure is shared by languages A and B, and words from both languages are inserted more or less randomly, sometimes to the extent that contiguous words from A or B may not form constituents (3).

  (1) Yo anduve <u>in a state of shock</u> pa dos días.
       I walked <u>in a state of shock</u> for two days.
       (Spanish-English, cf. Muysken (1997: 361-4))

  (2) Ándale pues <u>and do come again.</u>
       That's all right then, <u>and do come again.</u>
       (Spanish-English, cf. Muysken (1997: 361-4))

  (3) <u>Anyway,</u> yo creo que las personas <u>who support</u> todos estos grupos como los <u>Friends of the Earth</u> son personas que <u>are very close to nature</u>.
       <u>Anyway,</u> I believe that the people <u>who support</u> all these groups like the <u>Friends of the Earth</u> are people who <u>are very close to nature</u>.
       (Spanish-English, cf. Muysken (2000: 146))

Muysken (2000: 247) attempts to summarize patterns of CS in terms of their correlation with the linguistic factor of typological similarity. According to the probabilistic model that follows, dominant patterns of insertion and/or alternations may be characteristic of typologically dissimilar language pairs. By contrast, congruent lexicalization is characteristic of typologically similar language pairs.

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[1] The term 'CS' has been used with different - and sometimes contradictory - meanings across structural and conversational fields of study. In order to avoid any confusion, we are using here the term 'CS' to refer to any language contact phenomenon in which outwardly distinguishable languages are involved.

Muysken (ibid.: 228, 247) further attempts to summarize patterns of CS in terms of their correlations with a range of extralinguistic factors. Dominant patterns of insertion may be frequent in communities characterized by relatively low levels of proficiency in the switched-to language. They are also found in combination with other patterns in bilingual communities in which one language is the high-status language and the other language the low-status language. Typically, the marks of insertional CS are found more in the low-status language than in the high-status language. Alternational patterns may be dominant in bilingual communities in which the two relevant languages are perceived as being 'in competition' across functions, meaning that both languages share comparable levels of prestige. Finally, congruent lexicalization may be frequent in bilingual communities in which the levels of prestige of both languages are unequal and where there are no attitudinal barriers against mixing.

On the basis of the linguistic factors involved in this probabilistic model, one could predict a dominant insertional/alternational pattern for CS from Bantu languages into English since the two are typologically dissimilar. By contrast, the higher degree of typological similarity between Afrikaans and English makes the co-occurrence of all types including congruent lexicalisation a distinct possibility, which as a matter of fact was borne out by the data described in Stell (2009, 2010).

Extralinguistic factors as outlined by Muysken could possibly limit the relevance of typological similarity in the formulation of hypotheses regarding grammatical forms of CS among Afrikaans-speakers and Bantu language speakers. As regards Afrikaans-speakers, we showed in Stell (2009) that – even though typological similarity between Afrikaans and English could favour congruent lexicalisation – that type of CS was found overwhelmingly among Coloured speakers and not at all – or marginally – among Whites. The explanation which we proposed was that the legacy of purism in the White section of Afrikaans-medium education may have encouraged a perception that Afrikaans and English ought to be kept equal and separate. The occurrence of congruent lexicalisation among Coloured speakers we conversely ascribed to English enjoying a higher status among the Coloured community. Could it be that high levels of prestige attached to English in the South African context generally override the linguistic factor of typological dissimilarity and allow for the emergence of congruent lexicalisation?

Muysken's grammatical typology is useful for characterizing the CS practices of given speech communities with reference to linguistic and sociolinguistic factors, but there are other, non-grammatical aspects of CS that also deserve to be characterized in the interest of identifying contrasts between CS practices, among which conversational patterns. On the basis of the Conversation Analysis framework (CA), Auer generally distinguishes between two types of conversational CS, which he refers to as 'code-alternation', or 'language-mixing' (1998: 16, 1999). Generally, switches in 'code-alternation' can be described as pragmatically salient, and thus relevant to the signalling of conversational frames. By contrast, switches in 'code-mixing'/'language-mixing' can be generally described as lacking pragmatic salience.

Predictions with regard to conversational patterns of CS from Bantu languages to English can be formulated in reference to studies such as that by Blommaert & Meeuwis (1998), who analysed the patterns of alternation between Lingala and French in their data as a case of language mixing. Would that pattern apply to our Sesotho/English data as well? Hypotheses regarding conversational patterns of Afrikaans-English CS can be formulated on the basis of Stell (2010): On account of the

positive value attached to monolingual versions of Afrikaans among Whites, one may expect 'code-alternation' to occur among that population, as opposed to a pattern tending more towards language mixing among Coloureds as a reflection of the higher status attached to English among that population.

3. The corpus, its context and hypotheses

The location where we sampled Black, Coloured and White speakers is the Bloemfontein campus of the University of the Free State. The Province of the Free State's demographic majority is made up of Sesotho-speaking Blacks. Whites form a small minority of 9%, while Coloureds form an even smaller minority of 5%. Both overwhelmingly speak Afrikaans as a native language (South Africa Statistics 2001). Owing to the dominance of the Afrikaans speaking element in the local White population, English had less historical presence in the Free State than it had in other provinces. According to a survey in 1970, rural Whites in the OFS were less likely than in all other provinces to use English at home (cf. Malherbe 1977: 67). Afrikaans is not only dominant among local Whites, it also seems to be the most widespread L2 among local Blacks. Afrikaans was recently still described as the dominant lingua franca in the Free State (cf. Ponelis 1998: 22). In such settings, it might be predictably hard for English to achieve practical relevance in the form of day-to-day usability. It need not mean, however, that English cannot be locally appropriated by non-White populations – especially via the educational system, as it has been shown to be in socioeconomically disadvantaged Coloured and Black communities elsewhere in South Africa, where exposure to English as an L1 is likewise restricted (cf. Blommaert et al. 2005; Dyers 2008).

　　The Bloemfontein campus of the University of the Free State accommodates students from all three ethnic groups. In the wake of the democratic transition, the University of the Free State phased in a dual language medium policy involving both Afrikaans and English, replacing a previously monolingual Afrikaans medium policy. Although statistics could not be obtained, it seems that Afrikaans-medium courses are mainly attended by Whites and Coloureds, whereas Black students privilege English-medium courses.

　　A sample of students was selected using the 'Friend of a Friend Approach' (cf. Milroy 1987). The sample is composed of 2nd or 3d year students, among whom five Black native Sesotho-speakers, three Coloured native Afrikaans-speakers and six White native Afrikaans-speakers. All four Black students indicated having grown up in Bloemfontein or surrounding areas, and being exposed to Sesotho, Afrikaans and English in primary and secondary education. All White and Coloured students indicated having grown up in Bloemfontein and being exposed to Afrikaans and English in primary and secondary education.

　　Speakers were instructed to conduct casual group conversations, with no topic of discussion imposed, while the researchers stayed away in order to minimalize the Observer's Paradox. Altogether 9000 words were transcribed for each sample by native speakers.

4. Methodology: The identification of the ML

One important methodological issue to be tackled here is the identification of the Matrix Language (henceforth ML) of clauses in order to identify switches into the non-matrix or embedded language. In order to establish MLs, we decided to follow the approach taken by Deuchar et al. (2007: 309-11). In that approach, specifically designed for the Welsh-English pair (both inflectional languages), the ML is the language which provides the grammatical frame for the clause as illustrated by word order and subject-verb agreement. Since subject-verb agreement is generally limited to the 3d person singular in English and to two auxiliaries in Afrikaans, word order is the best indicator for which language provides the grammatical frame in the Afrikaans-English pair. In (4), the English verb stem *visit* is inserted at the end of the main clause as required by Afrikaans grammar for past participles and receives the Afrikaans prefix *ge-*. On this account we consider the main clause in (4) to be an Afrikaans matrix clause, and the verb stem *visit* to be an insertion.

(4)
[Nou julle het ander plekke ge-*visit*] of is dit net Bloemfontein?
Now did you visit other places or is it just Bloemfontein?

In the case of the Sesotho-English pair, word order can provide a clue as to which language provides the grammatical frame as far as the position of the attribute adjective and adverb are concerned, but unfortunately, their occurrence is relatively rare in our bilingual clauses. Perhaps more crucially than word order, the agglutinative character of Sesotho grammar suggests that the presence or absence of Sesotho morphemes in bilingual utterances should concurrently be used as an indicator of which language provides the grammatical frame.

According to Myers-Scotton's *System Morpheme Principle* (1993: 83), '[i]n ML+EL constituents, all morphemes which have grammatical relations external to their head constituent (…) will come from the ML'. In reference to her Nairobi Swahili-English corpus, in which she sees Swahili as the ML, she observes that there are no Swahili or English nouns or verbs inflected with English affixes: Either Swahili provides the system morphemes, or bare forms occur (forms without affixes, cf. 2000: 113, 127). Even if – according to Myers-Scotton – most system morphemes come from the ML, in a subsequent revision of her theory she stresses that only one category of system morphemes, namely 'outsider late system morphemes' must necessarily come from the ML[2]. Examples of such morphemes are tense marking in general or marks of concordial agreement in the specific case of Bantu grammars (cf. Myers-Scotton 2000: 79-80). On this account, it could be argued that the bracketed bilingual relative clause in (5) violates the System Morpheme Principle as the English verb (italicized) displays English tense marking, which could be indicative of a *ML Turnover*. In (6), the possessive infix *tsa*, whose form is determined by the possessee, would count as an

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[2] The validity of Myers-Scotton's Morpheme Principle has been contested on the basis of language contact phenomena observable in other regions of Africa. This does not, however, invalidate the potential of Myers Scotton's framework for underlying a typology of CS phenomena into what she calls 'classic codeswitching' (2002: 92) on the one hand, and other types of CS on the other.

early system morpheme, and its occurrence does therefore not violate the *System Morpheme Principle*. For those reasons, we shall consider (5) to contain a transition point from a linguistic structure with Sesotho as ML to a linguistic structure with English as ML (namely the inflected English verbal stem *voted*), and a transition point from a linguistic structure with English as ML (namely the inflected verbal stem *voted*) back into a linguistic structure with Sesotho as a ML.

(5)
　Hobane ke moo le PAC [e o e *voted*] e hlotswe ke ho nka maatla ka hara parliament ya puso ya nou.
　Because the PAC you voted for failed to make it to the parliament.

(6)
　We have different practices *tsa* culture and everything.
　We have different cultural practices and everything.

There are cases where the identification of switches on the grounds of constituency can be difficult. Example (7) shows three distinct clauses forming an utterance, with clauses 1 and 2 having English as ML, and clause 3 having Sesotho as ML. The English stretch starting from *give* and ending with *then* forms a non-constituent, which at first sight could then qualify as an instance of congruent lexicalisation.

(7) [*Give me the option*]1, [*put it there*]2, [*and then* nna ke tla *choose* hore na ke batla ho lo dula le bona makgowa, *or not*]3.
　　Give me that option, put it there, and then I will choose whether I want to live with them white people or not.

However, an alternative analysis could offer itself: 1+2 could form an English alternation (since the morphosyntactic structure is distinctly English), and 3 a Sesotho one (since the morphosyntactic structure is distinctly Sesotho), with the succession of *and* and *then* forming a discourse-related adjunct, and therefore possibly an alternation. To take account of both interpretations, we count such instances as illustrated by the English stretch in (7) as both two alternations and one non-constituent indicative of congruent lexicalisation. The same applies to cases as (8), where the English stretch does not form a single constituent, and could therefore be considered indicative of congruent lexicalisation. Yet, the alternative analysis offers itself of *but then* (which could qualify as a discourse-related adjunct) forming an alternation, and *the purpose* forming an insertion in a Sesotho matrix clause.

(8) *But then the purpose* ya teng ke eng?
　　But what is the purpose then?

Here again, account is taken of both possible interpretations, and cases as (8) are counted as both one alternation followed by an insertion and one instance of congruent lexicalisation respectively.
　　A final issue is concerned with the identification of alternations in the context of a conversation. For the purpose of this analysis, we resorted to linear criteria to count alternations. Since the basic unit of analysis in the grammatical section is formed by

bilingual utterances, we discounted instances of, say, all-English turns as instances of alternation, while still taking them into account in labelling the subsequent clauses as alternations (i.e. if the next turn begins with a Sesotho clause), or not labelling them as switches (i.e. if the next turn begins with an English clause). In the specific case of English discourse markers adjoined to a Sesotho matrix clause, we did not resort to linear criteria, and counted them all as alternations irrespective of the nature of the preceding clause.

5. General characteristics of CS in the data

Looking at the characteristics of the collected data, contrasts immediately appear between the three samples. The first global contrasts concern the respective proportions of English morphemes in the total number of morphemes in the respective samples. The highest share of English morphemes (22.13%) is found in the exchange between Sesotho-speakers (henceforth exchange I), whereas the proportion of English morphemes is much lower (6.1%) in the exchange between Coloured Afrikaans-speakers (henceforth exchange II), and even lower (0.88%) in the exchange between White Afrikaans-speakers (henceforth exchange III). Afrikaans morphemes are also present in exchange I, totalling 0.72%. One Sesotho morpheme is present in exchange II.

Another contrast concerns the respective proportions of bilingual utterances to the total number of utterances. The proportion of utterances involving both Sesotho and English reaches 63% in exchange I[3], while the proportion of bilingual utterances involving Afrikaans and English reaches only 26% in exchange II and 6.8% in exchange III.

If we now look at the general level of the conversational structure, there is a contrast in terms of diffusion of monolingual English speaker-turns. The proportion of all-English turns involving a verb (as opposed to just a discourse marker) in the total of turns totals 16% in exchange I, 1.97% in exchange II. There is no instance of an all-English turn involving more than just a discourse marker in exchange III.

We found that the ML changes 133 times in exchange I while it changes a mere 8 times in exchange II. By contrast, the ML remains Afrikaans throughout exchange III. Table 1 below summarizes the diverse positions of the switches described above, as well as their directionality, across the two groups of speakers.

The distribution of intrasentential switches per grammatical type differs across the three exchanges. The share of insertions in the total of switches is significantly higher in the exchanges involving Afrikaans-speakers: 89.9% and 91.83% out of all switches among Whites and Coloureds respectively, versus only 44% out of all switches in exchange I. There is likewise a contrast in terms of proportions of clausal alternations: While they form 12% of all switches in exchange II and are wholly absent in exchange III, they form 56% of all switches in exchange I. Finally, potential traces of congruent lexicalization in the form of non-constituents are only represented in exchange I (7.05% of all switches), while they are absent in the other two. Another type of contrast worth

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[3] There are a few cases where Afrikaans is also involved. There are, however, no instances of bilingual utterances involving only Sesotho and Afrikaans. In only one case is there a bilingual utterance involving only English and Afrikaans.

mentioning is that of bidirectionality of CS, present in exchange I, nearly absent in exchange II and wholly absent in exchange III.

Table 1: Position, range and directionality of switches involving change in ML

	Exchange I	Exchange II	Exchange III
Intraturn switches	80	5	0
Directionality	Sesotho>English: 47 English>Sesotho: 29 Sesotho>Afrikaans:2 Afrikaans>Sesotho:1 Afrikaans>English: 1	Afrikaans>English: 4 English>Afrikaans: 1	Afrikaans>English: 0 English>Afrikaans: 0
Between turn switches	41	5	0
Directionality	Sesotho>English: 26 English>Sesotho: 13 Sesotho>Afrikaans:2 Afrikaans>Sesotho:0	Afrikaans>English:3 English>Afrikaans:2	Afrikaans>English: 0 English>Afrikaans: 0

Further contrasts can be illustrated at the level of the grammatical characteristics of the various grammatical types of switches, which will come under discussion in the subsequent sections. Given the relative paucity of switched materials in exchanges II and III, Coloured and White corpus data used for Stell (2009, 2010) will regularly be referred to.

6. Grammatical characteristics of CS

6.1. *Insertions*

English insertions in the corpus could be described in two sets of terms. First, they could be described in terms of grammatical diversity, which is at its greatest in exchange I, while being much narrower in exchanges II and III (cf. Table 2). They could also be described in terms of their morphological integration. Altogether we find insertions exhibiting double morphology, namely English morphology and the morphology of the ML, or all-English morphology, or the morphology of the ML only. All three types were found in exchange I, whereas only the latter two were found in exchanges II and III. If all three exchanges share the latter two types, they are found in different forms across the three exchanges.

Grammatical categories of insertions across all three samples are nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs. Exchange I is the only one in which English verbal phrases (9)[4], prepositional phrases (10) and prepositions are present.

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[4] In this example, we are presented with an English insertion (underlined, note that that insertion itself contains a Sesotho insertion in the form of the possessive infix *ya*) inside a Sesotho insertion (bracketed).The Sesotho stretch consists of an ABA-nested relative clause in which the verbal head is the Sesotho verb *ho batla* ('to want'). The conjunction *if* in that embedded relative clause could be considered an alternation on account of its peripherality. Alternatively, the whole first English stretch starting from *the* and ending at *if*, as well as the whole second English stretch starting from *plant* and ending at *there*, could both form instances of congruent lexicalisation (cf. 6.3).

Table 2 % of single word insertion types per class out of all insertions, each sample

Type	Sesotho-English	Afrikaans-English (Coloured)	Afrikaans-English (White)
Noun	38.45%	63.63%	41.17%
Complex NP	1.92%	-	2.94%
Verb	17.3%	23.86%	11.76%
Adj.	7.69%	10.22%	35.29%
Adv.	19.23%	2.27%	8.82%
Verbal Phrase	5.76%	-	-
Prepositional Phrase	3.84%	-	-

(9)
Ene the best place to go [if o batla ho *plant a seed* ya *doubt in the system*] is right there ko sekolong.
And the best place to go if you want to plant a seed of doubt in the system *is right here in the school.*

In all three exchanges there is a clear dominance of nouns among insertions, although that dominance is less pronounced in exchange I. Adverbs, as a category of insertions, are more represented in exchange I than in the other exchanges[5].

Forms exhibiting double morphology are found primarily in exchange I, mostly in the form of English stems to which both a Sesotho plural prefix and an English plural suffix are appended (4 cases). Examples are *di-victims* ('victims', cf. ex. 10), *di-supporters* ('supporters'), *di-results* ('results'). *Di-* is the prefix usually appended to nouns falling in class 8, that is, that class in which most loanwords belong.

(10)
Just wave bottle ya bojwala in front of a black person le dijo, then you will get *di-results* tse o di batlang.
Just wave a bottle of beer in front of a black person and food, then you will get the results *you are after.*

Such strategies are not found in the other two exchanges. Yet, some cases of double verbal morphology could be found in the Cape Town Coloured sample discussed in Stell (2009: 115).

More widespread in exchange I is morphological marking from the ML. That strategy is illustrated again by English nouns used in the plural (12 cases), to which is appended only the class 8 prefix *di-*, such as, for example, *di-party* ('parties'), *di-group* ('groups'), *di-tjhommie* ('chummies'). There are only two cases in which an English

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[5] Muysken (2000: 97-8) considers adverbs to form likely cases of alternations on a par with 'discourse particles'. Yet, English adverbs can be argued to not totally share the same syntactic properties as 'discourse particles': The former are more mobile than the latter, which are generally adjoined to an utterance. For the purpose of this analysis we consider the former to be insertions. Those English adverbs which perform the role of discourse markers and which occur utterance-peripherally were counted as discourse particles, and hence alternations (e.g. *anyway*, *obviously*, etc.).

adjective used in predicate position receives a Sesotho prefix, as illustrated by (11), in which the English adjective *right* appears with the Sesotho class 3 adjectival concord prefix *o-*.

(11)
Mare I hope gore ba kra motho <u>*o-right*</u>.
But I hope they get the right person.

Cases of English stems displaying unambiguous Afrikaans morphology in exchanges II and III were mostly found with English participles (3 cases), to which the Afrikaans past participle prefix *ge-* is appended, as in *ge-visit* ('visited'), *ge-suffer* ('suffered'). This finding is consistent with that made in Stell (2009) regarding CS strategies among White Afrikaans-speakers.

Finally, there are those few cases whereby morphological marking is unambiguously English. This is illustrated in exchange I by mainly English plural forms, such as *challenge-s*, *contrast-s* (9 cases). We further found two cases of finite English verbal stems bearing English past morphology, as illustrated by (12).

(12)
Di <u>*formed*</u> mokgahlo ke COPE.
They <u>formed</u> COPE.

Unambiguous English morphology could not be found in exchanges II and III. In all cases, English nouns appear with the suffix *–s*, such as *boyfriend-s*, *partie-s*, *cousin-s*. The question is, however, whether the plural suffix *–s* may not be considered Afrikaans since it is the next most frequent Afrikaans plural suffix after *–e* (cf. Combrink 1990). In fact, we could here be dealing with the outcome of a strategy identified by Myers-Scotton (1993: 92-4) whereby a 'marked ML procedure' (in this case the Afrikaans suffix *–s* instead of its more widespread equivalent *-e*) is specified such as to facilitate compliance with ML-based procedures.

A strategy that can be related to the use of English morphology is found in the form of English adjectives bearing no Sesotho adjectival concords (5 cases), as illustrated by (13), in which the English adjective *sure* could appear with a class 1 concordial prefix. These cases can be likened to what Myers-Scotton (1993: 95-6) refers to as 'bare forms'.

(13)
Ba re ba dula somewhere mona ka masaeteng anee, ha ke <u>*sure*</u>..
They are said to live somewhere in that direction... I am not <u>sure</u> .

All in all, there is a higher grammatical diversity among insertions in exchange I, a tendency – absent in the other two exchanges – for those insertions to exhibit double morphology, as well as a tendency – more distinct than in the other two exchanges – to use all-English morphology.

6.2. *Alternations*

We find that alternations are on the average much more complex in exchange I than in the other two exchanges, in which the proportion of English single word discourse markers is much higher. This is illustrated by the average number of words contained in single alternations: 8.38 in exchange I, 2.63 in exchange II, 1.27 in exchange III. The difference between Coloureds and Whites in this respect closely reflects the findings made in Stell (2009).

Clausal alternations found in exchange I can be differentiated in terms of their syntactic embedding in the utterance. The most widespread type of clausal alternation in this respect is that of English alternations in the form of independent clauses modified by means of a Sesotho subordinate clause (10 cases). In (14), the underlined English stretch acts as a main clause, modified by the topicalized Sesotho subordinate clause headed by the complementizer *hore* ('that').

> (14)
> Nna wa tseba ke eng, hore Fourie a be a tsamaile, *I didn't see that as necessary*, wa bona?
> *You know what, I didn't see it as necessary for Fourie had to leave.*

Next we find English alternations in the form of subordinate clauses (headed by either a Sesotho or an English complementizer) or independent clauses modifying a preceding Sesotho independent clause (17 cases). In (15), a modifying English clause is headed by the Sesotho complementizer *hore* ('that'). Note that the verbal form *designate* selects the English clause, which could qualify it as an insertion. However, since that same English clause is located at the periphery of the utterance, it may just as well qualify as an alternation (cf. Muysken 2000: 102).

> (15)
> Akere ene as the big boss o na le batho ba o eleng gore o na ba-designate *hore they should take care of this and that and that*.
> *As the big boss he had people that he had designated to take care of this and that and that.*

Less widespread are English alternations in the form of peripheral circumstantials (3 cases, which could alternatively be analyzed as insertions if no account is taken of their peripheral syntactic position). An illustration is (16), where the English circumstantial *in the first place* appears on the periphery of a Sesotho independent clause.

> (16)
> Actually Fourie o tsamaetse eng *in the first place*?
> *Why did Fourie actually leave in the first place?*

Alternations were also found in the form of English repair sentences (3 cases), which are included in alternations (cf. Muysken 2000: 102). English repair sentences are doubly illustrated in (17), where the two English clauses act as repair sequences for the preceding interrupted Sesotho reparandi.

(17)
So rêrig ha ho...*it's simply not necessary* because ha e...*it doesn't bring about positive changes anyway.*
So really it isn't...it is simply not necessary because if it...it doesn't bring about positive changes anyway.

There is a high diversity of English discourse markers, which form by far the most widespread type of alternation (49 cases). These may include adverbial forms (e.g. *so*), coordinating conjunctions (e.g. *but*, *and, then*), collocations (e.g. *I mean*, *you know what*?), and also conjunctions[6] (e.g. *because*, *if*, *once*).

The diversity of syntactic types of alternations that we found in exchange I is not matched in exchanges II and III. In exchange II, we find only 5 instances of English clausal alternations. Four of them are formed by adposed English independent clauses, as illustrated by (18), the remaining one being a peripheral English circumstantial.

(18)
Maar ek verstaan,* they don't help guys a lot.*
But I understand, they don't help guys a lot.*

In exchange III, the totality of English alternations found consist of English discourse markers with no verbal element (e.g. the coordinating conjunctions *so* and *well*, which coincide in form with their Afrikaans equivalents *so* and *wel*, but are not used in the same syntactic contexts). The fact that exchanges II and III are differentiated by the presence of English clausal alternations in the former, and their absence in the latter, loosely echoes the findings detailed in Stell (2009): Clausal alternations are mostly found in the speech of Coloured Afrikaans-speakers, while English discourse markers are dominant among White Afrikaans-speakers.

6.3. *Congruent lexicalisation*

Congruent lexicalization can be identified by several means, local and global. Locally, it can be identified by the presence of non-constituents. In exchange I, we find a number of cases of English stretches, which altogether do not form constituents, and which could be interpreted as either instances of insertions/alternations or of congruent lexicalisation. Most cases of English non-constituents surrounded with Sesotho material are found in the form of English discourse markers adjoined to another English element (8 cases), as illustrated by (19), where the interrogative formula *or what?* (which could be analysed as an alternation), is adjoined to an English NP (which could be analysed as an insertion). The remaining two types are formed by English stretches comprising an English constituent adjoined to an English clause, as illustrated by (20), where *more*

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[6] Muysken (2000: 111-4) treats subordinating conjunctions on a par with discourse markers. Another remark concerns the possibility of other analyses for English subordinating conjunctions: Even though conjunctions such as *because* or *if* may indeed possess a level of syntactic peripherality that qualify them as alternations, they remain positionally and categorially equivalent to their Sesotho equivalents *hobane* and *ha*. Congruent lexicalisation is characterized by the occurrence of switches under linear and categorial equivalence (cf. Muysken 2000: 123); therefore, there is no reason not to allow for an alternative analysis of such occurrences as instances of congruent lexicalisation in certain contexts, as we will do in section 6.3.

confirmed (an adjectival phrase, which could be analysed as an insertion) is adjoined to a subordinate clause headed by *because* (which could be analysed as an alternation).

> (19)
> E tlo ba *rector or what*?
> *Is he going to be rector or what?*

> (20)
> The racial whatever e be *more confirmed because now they want their own place and they're basically not gonna share with anybody*.
> *The racial whatever will be more confirmed because now they want their own place and they're basically not gonna share with anybody*.

In reflection of the above, there are cases of Sesotho stretches surrounded with English material which could be interpreted as instances of congruent lexicalization, if one chooses to disregard one of the criteria co-defining congruent lexicalisation, namely that of categorial and linear equivalence between switches in Language B and what elements of Language A they replace. Such instances (7 in total) again all comprise syntactically peripheral elements which could be counted as alternations (5 cases), such as in particular the complementizers *hore*, located in the direct vicinity of other Sesotho grammatical elements, as illustrated by (21) where the class 1 plural relative concord *ba* (which could be interpreted as an insertion) directly follows.

> (21)
> It's just the political big fish trying *hore ba* impose their status on us little people.
> *It's just the political big fish trying to impose their status on us little people.*

English non-constituents are wholly absent in exchanges II and III. This reverberates Stell (2009): Non-constituents are almost absent in White data, and in all Coloured data except those from Cape Town.

Globally, congruent lexicalization can be identified on the basis of three indicators: Grammatical diversity of switches, presence of homophonous diamorphs, and bidirectionality of CS. We saw in 6.1 and 6.2 that the grammatical diversity of switches is relatively high in exchange I. On account of the structural dissimilarity between Sesotho and English, homophonous diamorphs across the two languages are as good as non-existent. Bidirectional CS, which we quantified in 6.1 is amply illustrated in exchange I in that Sesotho words often appear in English matrix clauses, in the form of either alternations or insertions. Such alternations are frequently illustrated by emphatic Sesotho personal pronouns (22), which are generally positioned peripherally and directly followed by English pronouns, as well as by Sesotho complementizers, such as *hore* ('that') in particular (23).

> (22)
> *Nna* I'll just take advantage of the moment as well.
> *As for me, I'll just take advantage of the moment as well.*

> (23)
> My mother doesn't know *hore* I smoke.
> *My mother doesn't know that I smoke.*

In exchange II, the only trace of bi-directional CS that we found is limited to one instance of an Afrikaans response adjoined to a fully-fledged English clause (24).

> (24)
> A
> Do you guys take food with you if you go there? Op'n Vrydag ook?
> B
> *Nee*, it's only on Wednesday and Monday.
>
> *A*
> *Do you guys take food with you if you go there? Also on a Friday?*
> *B*
> *No, it's only on Wednesday and Monday.*

In the light of the figures on types of switching detailed in 6.1, it seems that, overall, exchange I displays a stronger alternational component than do the other two. A question which could be raised here is how high the potential is for exchange I to display congruent lexicalization as what Deuchar et al. (2007) call a 'secondary pattern' of CS. In their quantitative implementation of Muysken's typological framework, Deuchar et al. (2007) provide a comparison of CS patterns for three language pairs using diversity of switches, bidirectionality of CS and frequencies of homophonous diamorphs as indicators. Welsh-English and Tsou-Mandarin data are characterized by a primary insertional pattern and a secondary pattern of congruent lexicalization, and Taiwanese-Mandarin by a primary pattern of congruent lexicalization and a secondary insertional pattern. In table 3 below we are displaying next to the results from Deuchar et al. (ibid.) the results for that one sample which we found in Stell (2009) to exhibit the highest potential for congruent lexicalization as a secondary pattern, as well as those for exchange I.

Table 3 Indicators of CS patterns across three bilingual corpora[7]

	Welsh-English	Tsou-Mandarin	Taiwanese-Mandarin	Afrikaans-English (Cape Town Coloured sample)	Sesotho-English (exchange I)
Diverse switches	64% nouns, NPs	30% nouns, NPs 34% non-constituent	34% NPs 37% non-constituent	45.1% NPs 1.3% non-constituents	25.6% NPs 7.05% non-constituents
Directionality	96% W>E	67% T>M	77% T>M	99.7% A>E	58.75% S> E 36.25% E>S 5% others
Homophonous diamorphs	11%	0%	3.4%	4.15%	0%

The proportion of NPs in the total number of switches appears to be low enough to qualify exchange I as prone to congruent lexicalization as a primary or secondary

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[7] For the purpose of the comparison between levels of bidirectonality of CS, account was only taken of those switches involving a change in the ML, and not of switched discourse markers.

pattern on the same terms as the Tsou-Mandarin and Taiwanese-Mandarin pairs (and more than the Cape Town Coloured sample), but the proportion of non-constituents in exchange I is much lower. Bidirectionality, on the other hand is as high or higher in exchange I than in the Tsou-Mandarin and Taiwanese-Mandarin pairs, which again speaks in favour of congruent lexicalization as a primary or secondary pattern. Finally, the absence of Sesotho/English homophonous diamorphs may not be consequential for qualifying exchange I as having congruent lexicalization as a primary or secondary pattern, since homophonous diamorphs are either absent or little widespread in the Tsou-Mandarin and Taiwanese-Mandarin pairs. All in all, exchange I qualifies more for a primary or secondary pattern of congruent lexicalization than does the Afrikaans-English pair as illustrated by not only exchanges II and III but also the Cape Town Coloured sample. This observation confirms the observation made in Stell (2009) that typological similarity has only a restricted incidence on the occurrence of congruent lexicalization. Yet, the type of congruent lexicalization we are dealing with here – if it really can be called congruent lexicalization – must be qualified as a specific type, in which the criterion of categorial and linear equivalence between Languages A and B (i.e. in our case Sesotho and English) is not necessarily satisfied.

7. The functions of CS

7.1. *CS from a sequential perspective*

Studies of CS through the Conversation Analysis framework have revealed that the position of the switch within the speaker turn, or within the exchange, can be indexical of specific pragmatic functions. Yet, whether switches possess a pragmatic function ultimately depends on their level of pragmatic salience, which tends to diminish as CS becomes more frequent. On this basis, we can predict that levels of pragmatic salience may be much lower in exchange I – where CS is most frequent – than in exchanges II and III – where it is less frequent.

Switches can among other things be sequentially categorized as turn-internal or turn-peripheral (under which category they may be subdivided into turn-initial and turn-final switches). If we compare the position of alternations within turns (cf. section 6.3), then it appears that there is a much larger proportion of turn-internal alternations in exchange I than in exchanges II and III.

Table 4 Position of alternations per sample (%)

Position	Exchange I	Exchange II	Exchange III.
Initial	28.42% (27)	66.67% (10)	100% (37)
Final	43.15% (41)	20% (3)	0%
Internal	28.42% (27)	13.33% (2)	0%

Sebba & Wootton (1998: 271-3) describe those cases in which turn-final switched stretches possess an emphatic function and announce the imminent end of the turn. While such functions cannot unambiguously be detected in the turn-peripheral clausal alternations featured in exchange I, they can be in exchange II. An illustration is (25) where the English clausal alternation in A's turn forms a generalization of the information presented in the two preceding turns, while also announcing the end of the

current turn. By contrast, the preceding Afrikaans stretch in the same turn merely acts as a 'back-channel'. This example reflects those from conversation samples involving White Afrikaans-speakers in Stell (2010).

(25)
A
Weet jy daai mense is so onregverdig. Daar sit'n auntie voor my, daai auntie weet letterlik niks van computers nie. Die demmie doen haar hele practical vir haar. Daai auntie slag met tagtig persent.
B
Ek dink hierdie auntie sy ken niks. Ek darem so bietjie. Hy kan darem myne kom maak het.
A
Maar ek verstaan, *they don't help guys a lot*.

A
You know those people are so unfair. There is a lady in front of me, that lady knows literally nothing about computers. The 'demmie' does her whole practical for her. That lady passed with eighty percent.
B
I think that lady knows nothing. I do a bit. He could have come and done mine.
A
But I understand, they don't help guys a lot.

Among the only instances in exchange I where mid-turn insertions visibly possess a conversational function akin to sequential subordination are found in the form of quotes. This is illustrated by (26), in which the turn opens with an English clause (introduced by the Sesotho discourse marker *mara*, phonologically adapted from Af. *maar* 'but'), followed by a Sesotho alternation which itself introduces a quote in Afrikaans.

(26)
Mara you know how white people are, in fact most people o tla thola ba-re '*'n boer altyd maak'n plan'*.
But you know how white people are, in fact most people always say 'a boer always makes a plan'.

Clearly, switches in exchange I tend to lack a conversational function, as opposed to switches in exchange II. That they might individually lack a pragmatic function need not mean that the occurrence of language alternation in exchange I is not derived from the pursuit of specific pragmatic purposes such as identity negotiation through stylistic variation.

7.2. *Monolingual, bilingual code and emblematism*

Research on CS has amply shown that CS may just form a 'style' (Gumperz 1964), and as such, operate contrastively with other styles within what Irvine (2001) calls a 'system of distinction'. In reference to Lingala-French CS studied by Meeuwis & Blommaert (1998), Auer (1998: 16) evoked the possibility of what they call 'second order CS', by

which contrasts serving pragmatic purposes can be achieved by the joint use of distinct styles characterized by different degrees of linguistic homogeneity in a structural sense.

There are indications within exchange I that second order CS could be operating, and that it involves up to five distinguishable styles. The first two styles could be considered 'more monolingual': One monolingual English style and one monolingual Sesotho style. Another two styles could be a bilingual Sesotho-English style, and a style involving Sesotho, English and Afrikaans concurrently. Finally, there could be a largely monolingual English style interspersed with markers of Sesotho identity. A location at which the alternation between these various styles can be observed is the boundaries between different speaker turns. Out of a total of 161 turns, 65 can be characterized as having Sesotho as an ML, 39 as having both Sesotho and English as MLs, 23 as monolingual English, 15 as monolingual English with inserted or adposed Sesotho elements, 11 as monolingual Sesotho with inserted or adposed English elements, and finally, 8 as involving Afrikaans. The emblematic value of CS in exchange I can be well illustrated by means of those English matrix turns which display inserted or adposed Sesotho elements. In (27), the emphatic Sesotho 1st person pronoun *nna* introduces the speaker's English turn.

(27)
Nna I think this is bullshit, and it's not right.

Turns involving Afrikaans do not seem to be prompted by any shift in topic. Rather, they may form attempts to conform to the stereotype of *Tsotsitaal*, an Afrikaans-influenced variety present in urban townships (cf. Mesthrie 2008). Such turns can be illustrated by (28), in which an English/Sesotho is succeeded by an interrupted Afrikaans clause.

(28)
So le bone they just turn around and ba…*hulle raak nou*…o rile what? *Harde gate*!
So they too just turn around and then they turn into…how do they say? Assholes!

What are the implications of these observations for the reconstruction of the processes of identity negotiation through CS in exchange I? The speakers involved possess a high level of fluency in English, which shows in the occurrence of all-English turns. Against that background, the use of emphatic Sesotho forms is pragmatically salient enough to be considered a strategy of Sesotho identity marking. Likewise, the use of Afrikaans forms amid a dominantly Sesotho and English linguistic environment of exchange I could be taken as a strategy of local urban identity marking, for which monolingual Sesotho or monolingual English code are perceived as inappropriate. Clearly, monolingual English code forms one end of a stylistic continuum which may involve sporadically occurring Sesotho and Afrikaans linguistic emblemas, as well as Sesotho matrix clauses, which in turn may or may not be interspersed with English or Afrikaans elements.

Exchange II suggests that speakers also cultivate a stylistic repertoire of which monolingual English code is part (as opposed to exchange III, in which there are only isolated English insertions or discourse markers). Yet, there seems to be no or little room within that stylistic repertoire for varieties of English containing Afrikaans linguistic emblemas. In other words, there is a rather tight separation between English

monolingual code on the one hand, and mixed or unmixed Afrikaans matrix varieties on the other hand. This idea is strengthened by the data in Stell (2009, 2010), in which bidirectional CS (i.e. CS from both Afrikaans into English and English into Afrikaans) is limited or non-existent in all involved samples but the Cape Town Coloured one. When English alternations are present, they are unalloyed with unambiguously Afrikaans elements. This suggests that whenever identity negotiation is taking place through linguistic means among Afrikaans-speakers, monolingual code forms part of those linguistic means more than it does for the Sesotho-speakers under scrutiny.

8. Discussion

The data collected for the purpose of this research show three distinct patterns of contact between languages. Differences were identifiable at distinct levels. From the more general perspective of contact with English, our Sesotho-speakers used English elements most – in the form of either lexicon, clauses, or turns, followed with a distance by the Coloured Afrikaans-speakers and the White Afrikaans-speakers.

At a grammatical level, all three exchanges exhibit the characteristics of insertional and alternational CS patterns. Despite the typological dissimilarity between Sesotho and English/Afrikaans, exchange I exhibits a higher potential for congruent lexicalization than exchanges II and III, as well as any sample described in Stell (2009). Of course, English non-constituents surrounded by Sesotho materials rarely show categorial and linear equivalence with the Sesotho elements they are meant to replace, which may not qualify those non-constituents as indicative of congruent lexicalisation in the strictest sense. But there might be enough 'global' indicators of congruent lexicalisation for presenting the type of Sesotho-English CS we observed as running counter to the prediction that typological dissimilarity forms an obstacle to the occurrence of congruent lexicalisation. In other words, the type of Sesotho-English CS that we observed might confirms that linguistic factors in the occurrence of specific types of CS can be overridden by extralinguistic factors, which can on their own cause the occurrence of congruent lexicalization.

Our conversational analysis revealed that, more than exchanges II and III, exchange I exhibits the characteristics of language mixing. Points of alternation between languages in exchange I tend to lack pragmatic salience whereas they tend to possess pragmatic salience in exchanges II and III. This observation – which certainly needs to be qualified in view of the relative paucity of CS in exchanges II and III – can be backed up by the general trends observed among Afrikaans-speakers in Stell (2010): Except in the specific cases of Cape Town and Windhoek Coloureds, CS tend to possess pragmatic salience in conversation, most especially among White Afrikaans-speakers.

How can our observations at the grammatical level be correlated with our observations at the conversational level? One obvious correlation is that – the more visible the potential for congruent lexicalization is, the more pronounced the tendency for language mixing is. This observation has implications for stylistic variation: The scope for monolingual code is smaller in exchange I than it is in exchanges II and III. Stylistic contrasts need not be sought in points of alternation between codes which can be considered as either monolingual English, monolingual Afrikaans or monolingual Sesotho from an analyst's perspective; instead, they may be imputed to points of alternation between stretches of talk differentiated on the basis of frequencies of CS.

There seems, on the basis of our data, to be indications of a distinct Black, Coloured and White pattern of CS in the context of Bloemfontein. As a potential factor of variation in CS patterns, ethnicity could be presented as conflated with educational traditions (cf. Section 1). The heritage of linguistic purism carried by White Afrikaans-medium education could account for the fact that relatively little Afrikaans-English CS could be found in exchange III. By contrast, the 'Straight for English' approach typical of Black schools could account for the observation that exchange I comparatively displays much more CS. Coloureds could be said to stand in between. The monolingual characters of historically Coloured schools in the Bloemfontein area could account for the observation that Coloured speakers in exchange II display a lower disposition than their Black peers for using English. On the other hand, the observation that they display a higher disposition for using English than do Whites could be accounted for as a collective attempt to express solidarity with New South African values.

The Black, Coloured and White patterns of CS found in the three exchanges involved in this research could perhaps be considered the product of educational traditions, and could, therefore, be viewed as the reflection of different forms of *habitus*. But the limitations of an account in which the notion of *habitus* features centrally are suggested by the observation that ethnic identity can be expressed by pragmatically salient means, that is, linguistic devices which are likely to be consciously used. We found evidence of these in exchange I where, against a monolingual English code, emphatic Sesotho forms or discourse markers are used in an apparent bid to mark Sesotho identity. Why is the insertion or adposition of Afrikaans elements in English utterances conversely so rare in exchange II as well as in most samples involved in Stell (2009, 2010)? A circumstantialist account of that contrast could be that there is more scope for Blacks – the first beneficiaries of the post-Apartheid order – not to strictly conform to standard forms of English without thereby compromising their social position. Conversely, pressure to conform to the post-Apartheid order is much stronger among Afrikaans-speakers, and the benefits of expressing a Coloured or White Afrikaans-speaking identity through lexically non-standard forms of English are not necessarily perceived as worth pursuing.

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