Code-switching in the Afrikaans speech community of South Africa

Can Afrikaans-English code-switching lead to a language shift to English?

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A literature review in language contact and language maintenance

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Abstract

Code-switching, commonly referred to as language mixing, is the alternating use of two or more languages within one conversational utterance. It typically occurs in bilingual settings and although it can be seen as a free and voluntary use of two languages for a pragmatic or stylistic purpose, Afrikaans-language maintenance groups in South Africa have, for over a century, stigmatised the practice of Afrikaans-English code-switching as a danger to the language's intrinsic value and vitality. More recently, they have feared that in today's increasingly unbalanced South African bilingual situation, English will further dominate at the expense of Afrikaans, that language contact will intensify, and that code-switching could thus be implicated in a language shift to English. This book will explore instances of intense language contact in unbalanced bilingual situations from literature. Do these attested instances confirm the fears of the Afrikaans-language maintenance advocates? Could code-switching irreversibly compromise language vitality to the point that language loss will occur and a speech community will shift from speaking Afrikaans to speaking English?

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Introduction and review questions

This literature review explores the potential impact on the Afrikaans language of Afrikaans-English code-switching in South Africa. Code-switching (henceforth CS) is a result of a bilingual situation and can be defined as “the alternating use of two or more ‘codes’ within one conversational episode” (Auer 1998: 1). Here, a ‘code’ refers to a language. CS is, therefore, also popularly referred to as *language mixing*. An example of Afrikaans-English CS is:

> ***Meantime*** *het sy op haar IK-toets ge**cheat*** (Von Meck 1998: 10).
>
> ‘Meantime she cheated on her IQ-test’.

Although CS can be the result of a free and voluntary use of two languages for a pragmatic or even stylistic purpose, Afrikaans language maintenance groups have stigmatised the practice as compromising the language’s purity and vitality. Literature on the historical development of mixed languages does confirm the irreversible consequences of CS feared by language maintenance initiatives. Indeed, in an unbalanced bilingual setting, if pervasively engaged in, CS may turn out to be both a feature of and a reinforcing mechanism for language attrition of the first language and, ultimately, of the genesis of a new mixed language or of a language shift to the second language.

Issues surrounding Afrikaans-English CS. Immediately following 27 April 1994, when the first democratic elections were held in South Africa and the African National Congress (ANC) came to power, the Afrikaans language went through a drastic drop official use and status throughout the Republic. This was perhaps heralded by an announcement from the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) in the run-up to the elections, stating that the broadcaster would aim to use six times more English than Afrikaans in its election coverage (Du Toit 1999: 201). From that year onwards, the South African government has stood at the helm of a policy aimed to gradually scale down and abolish the use of Afrikaans in various

domains. This previously well-represented language has experienced serious set-backs as a medium in domains such as education, law, government administration, politics, and the media. In turn, English had gained ground in all domains as a medium language, and its prestige of a lingua franca and a language of progress in South Africa continues to grow to this day at the expense of Afrikaans.

Afrikaans commentators have marked the ensuing loss of functions and prestige of their language as a worrisome trend. Along with it, on the linguistic level, they have signalled that Afrikaans is unidirectionally converging with English due to a massive increase of Afrikaans-English CS. Increased CS reminds observers like sociologist Lawrence Schlemmer of the worrisome situation of the early twentieth century, when an established language shift from Afrikaans to English was caused by a loss of language prestige and accompanied by similar instances of lexical interference. In 2010, Schlemmer remarked that the recent increase of *taalvermenging* ('language mixing') among white speakers of Afrikaans is possibly a danger sign for the language and that today's incremental language mixing in Afrikaans homes is a preliminary to a language shift from Afrikaans to English (Steyn & Duvenhage 2011: 207).

Is there a link between CS and a language shift away from Afrikaans? To determine whether there is such a connection, we must ascertain whether scholars in the field of (socio)linguistics have hypothesised or empirically attested the role of CS has played in the process of a speech community giving up its mother tongue. This dissertation will review the relevant literature and its data.

Review questions. Throughout the literature review we will seek to answer the following questions:

1. Does intensified language contact, as currently found in South Africa, pave the way for intensified CS as an ultimate cause for language shift?

2. What do linguistic data have to say about a hypothetical causal connection between pervasive language contact, CS, and language shift?

Chapter 1: Historical context of CS and language attitudes

In order to acquire a better understanding of relevant language attitudes within the Afrikaans-speaking communities, we shall now briefly discuss the origins of Afrikaans, the history of spoken Afrikaans, unbalanced bilingualism in South Africa, and Afrikaans-language maintenance efforts.

1.1 Cape Dutch as a lingua franca. The history of Afrikaans traditionally begins in 1652, when the Dutch East India Company occupied Table Bay and started housing European employees, indigenous Khoikhoi, and later slaves in the area (Giliomee and Mbenga 2007: 42). Although the colony was merely designed to produce refreshments for ships sailing off to the Dutch colony of Batavia, a new society and language gradually came into being as an unintended by-product (Thompson 1995: 33). The diverse peoples that were housed acquired Hollandic dialects as a functional second language (L2), and over the next 164 years (Roberge 2002: 68), from the often limited language-teaching and acquisition process, a continuum of Dutch-based pidgins and creoles arose. This myriad of acrolectal, mesolectal and basilectal (see Holm 2004: 10) Cape Dutch varieties soon served as an interethnic lingua franca to slaves and Dutch masters (Roberge 2002: 68).

Giliomee and Mbenga assume that the absence of large-scale groups of slaves and servants on the plantations and farms scattered over the Cape of Good Hope area, as well as the slaves' continuous interaction with first-language (L1) speakers of Dutch, repeatedly interrupted the advent of a successful Dutch-based creole language among second-language (L2) speakers (Giliomee and Mbenga 2007: 71). The societal set-up and education prevented the slaves and their descendants, respectively, from employing any sort of seminal creole language as their 'own' language of community solidarity (cf. Roberge 2002: 70).

In addition, the introduction of Dutch-spoken schooling further checked creolisation among the first generation of native white settlers. However, at the

beginning of the eighteenth century, these L1 speakers did shift from speaking Dutch to speaking a Cape vernacular *creoloid* by adopting elements from Khoikhoi Dutch and slave pidgin, including some of the reduced grammar and lexicon found in the pidgin varieties. Language contact between the races was intense, as whites employed Khoikhoi people and slaves as nannies for their children and as servants in their homes. Throughout time non-whites continued to speak ethnically marked (basilectal) varieties of Cape Dutch (Van Rensburg 1997: 14-15, 20-31).

At the same time, eighteenth-, nineteenth-, and twentieth-century written and spoken Dutch continued to curb and simultaneously enrich the development of Cape Dutch – later known as Afrikaans (Giliomee & Mbenga 2007: 71). This was first done by the Dutch colony administration. During the British occupation (1795-1803, 1806-1814) and later the British colonisation (1814-1910) the church, Dutch-language education, and the Dutch Authorised Version of the Bible were the ones not only to introduce Dutch as a relexifier language (i.e. the language that would again supply the new language with a vocabulary), but also to maintain Dutch as a source for (re)standardising the Cape Dutch varieties.

1.2 Bilingualism, CS and language shift. The British occupation on 13 August 1814 marked the beginning of Afrikaans-English bilingualism in many Afrikaans-speaking communities – a language situation which continues to this day. Giliomee and Mbenga believe that English may have “moved Afrikaans aside” in the nineteenth century if the use of Dutch in church and in writing had not been sustained (Giliomee & Mbenga 2007: 71). British rule deprived Afrikaners of their customary control over labour (Thompson 1995: 87) and in 1836-1838 the implementation of British liberal ideals on labour and race relations prompted large groups of Afrikaans-speaking people in the eastern half of the colony to migrate to the north, which marked the spread of Eastern Cape Afrikaans through what was to become the Transvaal and Orange Free State republics.

In the Cape Colony language maintenance efforts initially focused on the promotion of Dutch along with Afrikaans. But later, Afrikaans increasingly became the focus of these efforts initiated and furthered in 1875 by influential Afrikaners and Dutch immigrants residing in the Cape area. Their movement would be known as the First Language Movement (*Eerste Taalbeweging*). They realised that if news and the gospel were written in the incomprehensible Dutch and English tongues, the semi-literate Afrikaans-speaking poor and the Coloured[1] people would further undergo social degradation (Giliomee 2003: 217). They published a newspaper and books in Afrikaans and they sought to translate the Bible into Afrikaans (Van Rensburg 1997: 43).

Soon after the Anglo-Boer War (1899-1902) had ravaged much of the Orange Free State and Transvaal – these historical republics are today known as the central and north-eastern South African territories – a language shift was imminent in the Cape Colony. It was the purpose of *milnerism*, Sir Alfred Milner's imperialist British policy, to anglicise the colony and the newly acquired former Boer republics on all levels of life, including administration, law and language (Giliomee 2003: 197-199). Most Afrikaans-speaking people hardly ever spoke or wrote Dutch. The language had lost its relevance both as a marker of Afrikaans identity and as an H-variety.[2] Alternatively, Afrikaans was not capable of providing its speakers with an H-variety either. Consequently, English continued to spread throughout various linguistic domains (Zietsman 1992: 84) – even in church, which had hitherto been the stronghold of Dutch (Pienaar 2012: 10). English had a much wider linguistic repertoire than Afrikaans and Dutch, and a situation of unbalanced bilingualism had arisen, with English as the dominant language. Among social aspirers English was associated with progress and personal success, whereas Dutch and Afrikaans were characterised with negative stereotypes: Dutch was considered too much of a learned language with a decreasing number of speakers and "Afrikaans still carried the stigma of a *bastertaal*, or mongrel language, as the language of the uneducated" (Giliomee 2003: 224). As early as 1903, the vast majority of Afrikaner MPs in the

Cape Colony, no longer proficient in Dutch, were too embarrassed to speak Afrikaans in parliament, but they were not hesitant to speak English. In English, they were at least able to make themselves understood, and they could impress their British peers with their command of the language (Zietsman 1992: 85).

In 1904 commentators in newspapers and congress-goers expressed their concern over finding women at the vanguard of the language shift – a statement of interest in contemporary sociolinguistics (Romaine 2000: 51-53, 146-150; Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg 2003: 111-112). Afrikaans-speaking mothers spoke English to their children at home so as to make them familiar with the language (Zietsman 1992: 86). A letter to the editor in the historical weekly *Ons Land* scornfully discussed Afrikaans-speaking girls who would go to English seminaries with Afrikaans first names, but who would leave the seminaries as graduated English-speaking girls, with English first names (87). Another letter to the editor implied that if girls can play a role language endangerment, they can also play a role in language revitalisation:

> If they wanted to save the language, 'Afrikaander' writes in March 1904, they should begin at the beginning – with themselves and the schools! Parents were right when they demanded that the language, the traditions and customs of the forbears should be taught. If only they could first cure the girls, the young men would follow. But as long as the boarding schools hand them back these renamed Joeys, Marys, Maggies and Lizzies who only read English books, sing English *songs*, correspond in English and ventilate their opinions at all times, even the *Taalbond* exams will not check the steady decline. (88)

In the domain of school and education (Holmes 1992: 23) Afrikaans was also losing ground, as well as elsewhere in the remaining upper half of what Holmes terms the *formality scale* (10). Afrikaans had now become but an informal language in the streets of the cities. However, according to Zietsman, English was spreading in the domain of friendship too – typically the area where Cape Dutch / Afrikaans as an L-

variety had had its turf for over two centuries: "They felt Dutch was too stiff and too formal and it did not belong in letters of friendship. An Afrikaner never talked to his friend like that! If he had to write to his friend in a foreign language then let it be in English, which he was capable of at least writing correctly" (Zietsman 1992: 87).

Symptomatic for the language shift was the sharp increase of CS in the utterances of youngsters. This "mixing of languages" done by children was regarded both as a consequence of English language acquisition in the English school system and as a way to impress others. It worried the South African Education Union (Zietsman 1992: 87) and after 1905 prominent Afrikaners started the Second Language Movement (*Tweede Taalbeweging*), encouraged by writers and poets.

1.3 Language maintenance and standardisation. The movement managed to prevent the language shift from fully coming about by the publication of elevating works in Afrikaans and Dutch, and by advising people to speak, write and read in Afrikaans and Dutch, and not in English. Afrikaans was largely an unwritten language, so in the endeavours to standardise Afrikaans in the years to come, an idealised variety of white Afrikaans would serve as a model for standardisation (Van Rensburg 1997: 48-50). Acrolectal, non-English elements were preferred, and European Dutch ones introduced (48). Coloured Afrikaans speakers were not consulted and their variety of Afrikaans was disregarded. Gradually, the powerful idea of linguistic purism as a marker of superiority and Afrikaner identity would dominate on the cultural and political level. This ethnolinguistically purist language attitude would inspire the white Afrikaner community in the century to come. To illustrate this, Kriel notes that the post-1994 Third Language Movement (*Derde Taalbeweging*) was particularly inspired by resistance to CS (Kriel 1997: 76), CS and shifting language borders were regarded as moral decline and speaking *suiwer* (pure) Afrikaans was a token of a high level of morality (80).

As mentioned in the Introduction, post-1994 Afrikaans has experienced serious set-backs in different domains and the prestige of the language has dropped

drastically. Today, the language is once again associated with negative stereotypes ('the language of the former oppressor', 'Afrikaans lacks prestige') and there is again mention of CS in the light of a language shift to English. To illustrate this, Jaap Steyn and political analyst André Duvenhage quoted Lawrence Schlemmer in their 2011 paper entitled *Taalverskuiwing en taalhandhawing in die Afrikaanse gemeenskap: tendense en toekomsperspektiewe*, 'Language shift and language maintenance in the Afrikaans community: tendencies and perspectives' (Steyn & Duvenhage 2011: 207): they referred to Schlemmer's unpublished 2010 lecture about the anticipated language shift from Afrikaans to English and stated that Schlemmer has signalled that " ... 'it is as though Afrikaans speakers are in the process of returning to the situation of one century ago, when many Afrikaners were using Dutch or English for formal or technical communication (and even in love letters)'." (207). Schlemmer claimed that this is possibly a danger sign for Afrikaans. Steyn and Duvenhage:

> The tendency to which Schlemmer points, is apparently linked with the increasing use of 'Engfrikaans' – the name that some speakers of Afrikaans give to the sort of Afrikaans which is heavily mixed with English. From being an informal language it has made progress to being used in churches and lecture halls, many theatre plays and TV-programmes and even books. (207)

Finally, in the *Die Volksblad* daily of 18 February 2010, Schlemmer stressed that Afrikaans as a home language has not yet weakened significantly, "but there is more language mixing in Afrikaans homes, which is the precursor (*voorloper*) to language shift from Afrikaans to English" (Rademeyer 2010)**.**

To curb CS and its influences on the language and to uphold the language's prestige, the cultural, educational and political elite – who can set an example – should refrain from CS and instead promote language awareness (Steyn & Duvenage 2011: 201, 233-4).

Chapter 2: The typology of CS in Afrikaans

Chapter 1 demonstrates that within the Afrikaans speech community CS has been a stigmatised practice for many decades. Still, Afrikaans speakers engage in CS to a large extent, particularly in informal settings. In addition, native Afrikaans speakers also meld English with Afrikaans at home.

When people engage in CS at home, they do not switch languages because they want to accommodate interlocutors who do not speak their mother tongue, for example. The home is by definition the domain where native speakers meet, e.g. where switching languages is uncalled-for. Nor do they seem to employ CS as a strategy to compensate for lack of proficiency in Afrikaans or English. The reasons people have for engaging in CS are manifold. In literature, code-switching individuals are presented as able to make free yet demarcated use of both languages, as CS is generally taken to be a consequence of a state of smooth bilingual symmetry rather than of bilingual asymmetry (cf. Muysken 2000: 10, 249).

2.1 Old examples of CS. CS in Afrikaans is an old practice. Mesthrie (1993: 49) has noted examples of Afrikaans-English (and vice versa) CS in sources dating back as far as the mid-nineteenth century, and Boshoff (1921: 414-419) has listed over a hundred old English loanwords that must have entered the language in the nineteenth century.

What follows now, are examples of early twentieth-century CS (A.). At the time, these samples were presented in order to illustrate the worrisome state of the language. In 1906, professor W.J. Viljoen from Cape Town (qtd. in Zietsman 1992: 87) reported having heard “jarring gibberish, showing more similarities with a gaudy harlequin’s suit than with the patched quilt of a poor yet decent commoner”, coming from youngsters. (The spelling employed was conceived by the First Language Movement and I have placed all English lexical items in bold type.)

A. *Laatste Maandag was daar 'n baing* ***interesting match on*** *tussen ons en di Hamiltons. Ons* ***First team*** *het hul met 'n* ***try gelick****, hul* ***thirds*** *het ons ge****beat****, en di* ***second*** *was 'n* ***draw match****. Dit was ver jou 'n baing* ***close game****, en di kêrls het* ***properly*** *rof gespeul!* [sic] (87-88).

After hearing this, Viljoen considers it recommendable that such people should rather speak English. The following example (B.), taken from Pienaar (1919), again records spoken Afrikaans. (A newer spelling system was employed, and I have again italicised the English lexical items.)

B. ***I say****, Joey, jij weet* ***for the life of me****, ik kannie meer* ***decent Dutch*** *praat nie,* ***is'nt it funny****? ... Ag wat, ik* ***worry*** *mij ook nie meer oor die* ***language question*** *nie, want 'n mens kan dit tog nie* ***avoid*** *om die twee* ***languages*** *op te* ***mix*** *nie!* [sic]. (Pienaar 1919: 10)

Present-day CS is not different from these examples. The final example is a written text from 1907 in Pienaar. It is a Dutch and Afrikaans letter to the editor, of which I have italicised all the English morphemes:

C. *Warde* ***Mister*** *Edukteur,*

Ons sou vraag een weinig plaats in u ***newspaper****, om te wiet wie te* ***blijme*** *is voordat ons nou ge****summon*** *word voor die* ***rations*** *wat ons van die* ***repat****. krij het. Wij heef gesoekt naar werkt en overal* ***applications*** *gemaakt, maar virniet –* ***houserent*** *is duur en moet wei ook* ***rates*** *betaal en* ***taxes*** *aan die munipalitei. Laas week ben wei met die* ***baisekel*** *na X gewees om te* ***apply*** *bij die* ***condokter*** *van die* ***road party****, maar hij* ***appoint*** *net Engelschen en kaffers*[3]*... ens.* (Pienaar 1919: 9)

This final example of CS should not be taken as an example of the language of a smoothly bilingual person. Rather, the tendency to use the English words *to summon*, *rations*, *repat*, and *taxes* suggests that the speaker's command of Afrikaans is insufficient in several functions within the (higher) domain of administration. CS is in fact filling lexical gaps in this user's language.

2.2 CS due to language interaction. South Africa is a strongly multilingual country. In strongly bilingual or multilingual settings, *language interaction* (Gardner-Chloros 2009: 4) shapes and creates languages. Muysken defines language interaction as "a very general cover term for different, frequently highly innovative, results of language contact, both involving lexical items (as in code-mixing) and otherwise (e.g. phonological or syntactic interference)" (Muysken 2000: 1). (Where Muysken employs the semantically similar term *code-mixing*, I shall consistently employ CS.) A number of identifiable linguistic outcomes of this interaction would be borrowing, convergence, pidginisation, language death, etc. (Gardner-Chloros 2009: 4), as well as mixed languages and creole languages. CS, being a situation of borrowing and convergence, is one of these outcomes. CS is a rather broad term, as it applies "to all cases where lexical items and grammatical features from two languages appear in one sentence" (Muysken 2000: 1). Muysken notes that CS (code-mixing) is a more commonly used term for "the rapid succession of several languages in a single speech event" (1).

In the nineteen-seventies and nineteen-eighties CS and other types of language mixing were also named *interference* (Deuchar and Davies 2009: 18). Likewise, in the field of contemporary second language acquisition it is dubbed lexical "negative transfer", whereby elements of the L1's system inappropriately infringe on the L2's system (Saville-Troike 2006: 35). Such characterisations do not provide much space for the study of this other side of CS: that is, bilinguals have pragmatic reasons for CS. As Van Dulm remarks: "(...) code switching is a voluntary behaviour, over which

the fluent bilingual has control, whereas interference occurs involuntarily, due to the influence of one language on the other" (Van Dulm 2002: 66). Anthonissen quotes Gal when she also presents CS as a creative anti-segregationist strategy for Coloured Afrikaans-English bilinguals in the South African Western Cape province: "Code-switching, '... a conversational strategy used to establish, cross or destroy group boundaries; to create, evoke or change interpersonal relations with their rights and obligations' (Gal 1988:247)..." (Anthonissen 2009: 65).

In this view, CS can generally be ascribed to pragmatics, and not to a strategy to compensate for a lack of proficiency or another involuntary event in a speaker's language system. Van Zyl (2002) also mentions CS as a skill of two bilinguals interacting rather than as a defect. To support this description Van Zyl quotes Poplack: "…code-switching is a verbal skill requiring a large degree of competence in more than one language, rather than a defect arising from insufficient knowledge of one or the other..." (qtd. in Van Zyl 2002: 87).

2.3 Patterns of CS. Muysken distinguishes three patterns of CS found in communities where language interaction takes place: insertion (1), alternation (2) and congruent lexicalisation (3). For each pattern, examples in Afrikaans will be given hereunder.

For this purpose, I have taken most examples from a South African novel, *Annerkant die Longdrop*, by Anoeschka von Meck (1998). The work is known for its true-to-life renderings of habitual manners of Afrikaans speech from young white (i.e. Afrikaner) individuals. Other examples are from an undated work by Gerald Stell, based on research in South Africa, and an article by Stell from 2010. Each relevant switch to English will be italicised. Muysken's threefold classification includes:

- (1) **insertion** of material (lexical items or entire constituents) from one language into a structure from the other language
- (2) **alternation** between structures from languages

- (3) **congruent lexicalisation** of material from different lexical inventories into a shared grammatical structure (Muysken 2000: 3).

(1) Insertional CS in Afrikaans:

1a. *Maar kyk hoe 'n groot* ***smile*** *het hy dan?* (Von Meck 1998: 51).

'But look how large a smile he has then?'

1b. ***Meantime*** *het sy op haar IK-toets ge*__*cheat*__ (10).

'Meantime she cheated on her IQ-test'.

1c. *Ontbyt* ***was served as usual*** */ Ontbyt was* ***served as usual*** (43).

'Breakfast was served as usual' / 'Breakfast was served as usual'.

English words are inserted into syntactically fully Afrikaans clauses. Note that in 1b. the English verbal stem *cheat* is prefixed with Afrikaans past-participle marker *ge-* (in most cases in Afrikaans, the historically Dutch past participle functions as a past tense marker in Afrikaans, in combination with the auxiliary verb *het*). 1a. contains an inserted English noun and 1b. contains an inserted English adverb and verb. Stell: "In the insertion pattern, one language A will usually dominate by determining the overall structure into which constituents from language B are inserted" (Stell 2010: 431). Larger units can be inserted, too: "Here the process of code-switching is akin to borrowing: the insertion of an alien lexical or phrasal category into a given structure. The difference would simply be the size and type of element inserted, e.g. noun versus noun phrase" (Muysken 2000: 3).

1c. is insertional if we take the 3SG.PST copular verb *was* to be Afrikaans. It yields an Afrikaans-based clause that is made up of a predicate with Afrikaans as the dominant language (*ontbyt was...*), followed by the insertion of an English constituent, the AP *served as usual*. The AP functions as a predicate complement. However, if we take *was* to be English, we have an instance of congruent lexicalisation – see under (3).

The occurrence of insertional CS is favoured by command of two typologically distant languages, and/or within colonial settings and recent migrant communities in

which languages have unequal prestige and where speakers are more fluent in the L1 (Muysken 2000: 9).

(2) Alternational CS in Afrikaans:

2a. ***Come to think of it**, sy's glad nie oortuig dat sanity so 'n ideale geestestoestand is nie.* (Von Meck 1998: 50)

'Come to think of it, she's not at all convinced that sanity is such an ideal state of mind.'

2b. *So amper gedog hy kom weg daarmee.* ***After action satisfaction.*** (111).

'(He) almost thought he got away with it. After action satisfaction'.

2c. *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***. (Stell 2010: 433).

'But it is your own decision whether you will allow it but I don't know I have no problem with any black people brown people pink people. Live and let live'.

Here the English clauses and emblematic markers have retained their English grammar, alongside of equivalent, grammatically fully Afrikaans clauses. Indeed, in alternational CS "...both languages A and B occur alternately, each with their own structure, with the switch point being located at a major syntactic boundary" (Stell 2010: 432), for example, at the beginning of a clause or after a pause. Alternation "takes place between utterances in a turn or between turns" (Muysken, 2000: 5), and the question which language provides the dominant matrix language decreases as the intrusive string of words is larger (Muysken, 2000: 97). The English clause in 2a. is a phenomenon called emblematic switching (99), in which a short idiom serves as way to indicate a change of mind with which to start a sentence.

A switch of the type demonstrated in 2a. is alternational because it exhibits "switched clauses with no formal relation to the neighbouring clauses", which is also

illustrated in 2c. (an utterance from a Coloured speaker of Afrikaans) (Stell 2010: 433).

Alternational CS typically occurs in situations where both languages are typologically distant, and/or where levels of bilingual contact are high, where both are being spoken within stable bilingual communities that have had a tradition of language separation, and where speakers are more fluent in the L1 than in the L2 (Muysken 2000: 9).

(3) Congruent lexicalisation in Afrikaans.

The following examples are utterances from a Coloured speaker from Stell (2, 4):

3a. *Hulle weet nie van die* ***disease especially those who are staying in rural areas and even the*** *mense die klein mensietjies sestien jare hulle weet nie van die ding nie*. (Stell, undated: 2)

'They don't know about the <u>disease especially those who are staying in rural areas and even the</u> people the young people sixteen year old they don't know about it'.

3b. *Hulle is almal swart* ***politically because politics is contested*** *in snaakse* ***ways*****.** (4)

'They are all black <u>politically because politics is contested</u> in weird <u>ways</u>'.

These strings are governed by a syntax that could both be Afrikaans and English. Stell: "the grammatical structure is shared by languages A and B, and words from both languages a and b are inserted more or less randomly ... Non-constituency is defining feature of congruent lexicalization" (Stell 2010: 433-434). No syntactic boundaries or constituents like APs, NPs or DPs seem to govern the switches. *E.g.* the Afrikaans determiner *die* and the English noun *disease* in 3a. cannot form a DP in either language because they are separated by a language switch.

This pattern of CS is based on 'congruence': the property by which words come together in a construction (Stell, undated: 2). It is known for its switches back

and forth (from Afrikaans to English and back to Afrikaans, often within one sentence), random insertion of fully-fledged English sentences and its frequency of randomly appearing homophonous diamorphs which function as triggers and link up the languages (Muysken 2000: 132-133). Homophonous diamorphs are both semantically and sonically similar words that "cannot be assigned phonetically to either of the two languages" (Deumert 2005: 191) and which, by their unidentifiable character within a grammatically congruent environment, function like bridges that take the speaker from one language to another.

The sample in 1c. *Ontbyt was served as usual* is noted as insertional, but in real speech, *was* could also pass for a homophonous diamorph (in fast, connected speech Eng. [wɒz] could meld with Afr. [ʋɐs]), making it uncertain whether the copula *was* is Afrikaans or English. If *was* is English, we would have *Ontbyt* ***was served as usual***, in which the switch-point follows after, inserted, *ontbyt*. As an Afrikaans lexical item, *ontbyt* now splits up an English copular clause, thus compromising the clause's constituent completeness in either language.

Both Muysken (2000: 5, 11) and – as noted – Stell (2010: 433-434) have mentioned instances of congruent lexicalisation in Dutch émigrés in Australia and in Coloured Afrikaans speakers, respectively. In Afrikaans it occurs mostly in Coloured Afrikaans communities in the Western Cape (Stell, undeated: 7), whose vernacular shows a greater variety and intensity of CS altogether. These communities have traditionally been relatively favourable towards English: due to political and cultural marginalisation in the past (discussed in Chapter 1), driven by government-enforced racial segregation, they are historically less inclined to language purism than white speakers of Afrikaans are (Stell, undated: 3, Deumert 2005: 166, Fortuin 2009: 29).

In turn, congruent lexicalisation occurs in situations where both languages are typologically similar, where levels of bilingual proficiency and language contact are high, and/or in a society where two languages have roughly equal prestige without a tradition of overt language separation, and where speakers are equally fluent in both the L1 and the L2. The congruent type would typically occur in societies that are

bilingually unstable, i.e. where extreme language contact and asymmetry of language prestige may ultimately even lead to a language shift from the L1 to the L2 (Muysken 2000: 9).

Congruent lexicalisation in Afrikaans is likely to occur, as Afrikaans and English are typologically close. However, it occurs less frequently in white Afrikaans communities (Stell, undated: 7), who have had a long tradition of overt language separation. This may be reflected in the fact that no example of this CS type was to be found in *Annerkant die Longdrop*, nor in other written sources such as Jeanne Goosen's *'n Pawpaw vir my Darling*; another contemporary novel known for its use of CS. But the low incidence of congruent lexicalisation in white Afrikaans may change, because "*given the forceful rise in prestige and knowledge of English across the whole Afrikaans speech community*, one may expect the patterns [...] to be making room for a dominant congruent lexicalization pattern, in reflection of the fact that Afrikaans and English are typologically close" (Stell, undated: 3-4) (italics are mine).

Thus congruent lexicalisation in Afrikaans is the result of increased bilingualism between two similar languages, pressure from a dominant L2, and permissiveness towards the blurring of language boundaries.

Chapter 3: CS rules, limitations and reasons

Chapter 2 has given an overview of the types of CS that can be established in Afrikaans speech. Furthermore, it introduced CS as a voluntary, pragmatically motivated act. Speakers seem to 'filter' English candidate words and assess the right moments for CS. Although observers in the field of language maintenance warn for the use of CS, people continue to engage in it in their conversations, especially where English is met with favour.

In order to acquire a better understanding of the persistence of CS in Afrikaans it is useful to first know how CS works (3.1) and why it is that CS appeals to Afrikaans bilinguals (3.2).

3.1 Content words and function words in CS. There are also lexical, morphological, and syntactical limitations to CS as a form of language mixing. The most productive form of language mixing in Afrikaans is interference on the lexical level, through single-word insertions and discourse markers as found in insertional and alternational CS respectively (Deumert 2005: 122 – on insertions, Stell, undated: 4). Theoretically, any word can be borrowed. But in Afrikaans, typically, insertional CS is usually done by the insertion of English content words (nouns, lexical verbs, adjectives, etc.) and less by the insertion of function words (articles, modals, prepositions, auxiliary verbs, etc.). Nouns stand out as they are "freer of syntactic restrictions than other word-classes" (Gardner-Chloros 2009: 30). The instances of insertional CS in samples A., B. and C. (Chapter 1) contain many English NPs (*thirds, condokter*, *languages*, *language question*), some NPs within collocations ([daar was 'n *interesting*] *match* + *on*, *decent* + *Dutch*), verbs (*avoid*, *worry*), an adverb (*properly*), an adjective (*funny*), and in emblematic units that function as discourse markers (*I say*, *for the life of me*).

Sample C. in Chapter 1 demonstrates the rich use of lexical items. This is a case in which the author does not have command of Dutch or Afrikaans vocabulary in the English-dominated domains of administration and law. In order of frequency it

contains 11 English nouns, 4 English verbs, 1 English adjective and 1 English term of address.

Sometimes a content word can be borrowed as it undergoes morphosyntactic modifications. A. has *het ... ge**lick***, ‘licked’, and B. has *op te **mix***, ‘to mix up’. Both verbal constructions are ‘split’ along the boundary of content and function. I.e. the content words (*lick* and *mix*) derive from English, whereas Afrikaans has, predictably, provided the function words (auxiliary *het*, preposition *op*, and the infinitive particle *te*), as well as a function morpheme; the *ge-* prefix. This prefix is also found in the following example, where the speaker makes the verb fit the expected Afrikaans past tense form (derived from the Dutch past participle):

*Hy moet ge**fine** word of hy moet ge**suspend** word* (Van Zyl 2002: 97).

Violation of rules is avoided and the stronger language (Afrikaans) syntactically “interferes” with the lexicon of the “weaker” (embedded) language (English).

Likewise, an Afrikaans subordinate clause that requires object-verb inversion will normally not refrain from inversion if the subject it embeds happens to be borrowed from the English lexicon:

Hy organiseer dit. (Afr.)

He organises it. (Eng.)

*Hy **organise** dit*. (Afr.-Eng. CS)

Dit sal gebeur omdat hy dit organiseer. (Afr.)

It will happen because he organises it. (Eng.)

Dit sal gebeur omdat hy **organise dit*. (Eng.-Afr. CS interference)

*Dit sal gebeur omdat hy dit **organise***. (Afr.-Eng. CS)

“Split” English-Afrikaans phenomena such as *om <u>op</u> te **mix*** and *ge**lick*** have undergone morphosyntactic “loan-blending” (Gardner-Chloros 2009: 146). In Alsatian, a Low Allemannic dialect, loan-blending entails the adaptation of a French CS word to Alsatian morphology. This yields examples such as *demenagiere* ‘to move house’, *enregistriere* ‘to record’ and *choisire* ‘to choose’. Like in Afrikaans,

"CS creations can instantly acquire loan status owing to their being based on an existing well-attested borrowing paradigm" (Gardner-Chloros 2009: 47-48).

3.2 Pragmatic reasons for CS. Speakers of Afrikaans have several reasons for CS. The choice for switching from one language to another depends on factors like participants, status and solidarity (Gardner-Chloros 2009: 41).

First there is the actual switching to another language. When a new participant enters a conversation, the conversation may switch into another language (Gardner-Chloros 2009: 41, 59). For example, speakers of Afrikaans may code-switch to accommodate English-speaking visitors (De Klerk & Barkhuizen 2005: 135). As an act of diglossia an Anglophone family in a Dutch Reformed Church may switch from English to Afrikaans when the Standard Afrikaans-speaking *dominee* enters the church lobby (CS as an act of status recognition).

Conversely, as an act of diglossic 'switching to CS', thus switching to a code rich in CS, Afrikaans urban bilinguals will code-switch back and forth among peers because CS is the hallmark of many informal varieties of Afrikaans. As such, speech coloured by CS carries covert prestige. CS thus allows interlocutors to create less social distance: here linguistic convergence is a sign of solidarity (Gardner-Chloros 2009: 41, Romaine 2000: 77).

Language can be a marker of ethnic identity and therefore CS can have an ethnic basis of solidarity (Gardner-Chloros 2009: 41). For example: Coloured communities are (ethno)linguistic communities and due to their historical exclusion from politics and the standardisation of Afrikaans (see Chapter 1 and Deumert 2005: 116) they have habitually been more favourable towards English, which is reflected in the higher incidence of CS, loanwords, and other forms of mixing in their vernacular. For example, as opposed to the overt prestige (Nevalainen, Tertta and Helena Raumolin-Brunberg 2003: 134) attached to white language purism, people in the Capetonian District Six community employed the vernacular *Wietie* (an Afrikaans argot, abundant in CS) as a sign of covert prestige:

> Attitudes towards standard Afrikaans were therefore ambiguous in District Six. Although most homes in the neighbourhood were traditionally Afrikaans-dominant, rejection of the Afrikaans standard norm during the apartheid era could be emphatic and was often highly political. This is reflected e.g. in the following response of a resident: "The reason why the oppressed people hate the language is because the oppressor is jamming it down his throat". The local, non-standard dialect of Afrikaans, on the other hand, has always commanded strong "covert" prestige and functioned a marker of community solidarity. (Deumert 2005: 116)

CS also serves as a marker of intra-ethnic covert prestige: Afrikaans speakers who do not identify themselves with purism as a marker of (ethnically) moral status may deliberately use CS as a means of protest. Kriel mentions that during the Third Language Movement Afrikaans protest music used Afrikaans-English CS in their lyrics to dissociate itself from Standard Afrikaans and its ideology and redefine *Afrikanerdom* (Kriel 1989: 16). Thus, linguistically, Afrikaner nonconformists would form a subgroup within their society through CS dissociate themselves from the overtly prestigious main group.

In an editorial in *Die Suid-Afrikaan* magazine Afrikaans writer and activist Antjie Krog deliberately used CS as an act of *downward divergence* (Ellis 1985: 258) from her critics (from the prestigious main group), after they wrote about her in the established Afrikaans newspaper *Die Burger*. As a reply, she rejected their values by engaging in CS. Kriel quotes Krog: "Sandile Dikeni … word die uitvoerende redakteur. Ek is 'n raadgewende kapasiteit; of laat ek vir al dié vir wie my taal so'n kak gee in Die Burger, sê: *consulting redakteur*" (Kriel 1997: 82). Translation: 'Sandile Dikeni [...] will be the executive editor. I am a consulting capacity; or let me say to all those in *Die Burger* who 'get shit' from my language: *consulting* editor (*redakteur*)".

Lastly, speakers from ethnic groups may opt for insertion of an alien word in a discourse in order to switch from the *we*-code to the *they*-code (Gardner-Chloros 2009: 56). Gardner-Chloros exemplifies this with a conversation of Panjabi immigrants in England, but cross-linguistic interplay between *we*- and *they*-codes also occurs to Afrikaans language communities. *Eg.* The white Afrikaans people of today would speak Afrikaans as in-group members of the Afrikaner community. But at the same time, they would insert English phonetically adapted loanwords such as *gavament* or, mockingly, *gavamont* (< government) in order to maintain distance from the out-group, i.e. the overtly pro-English government (whose members do not pronounce the words in an English way). The *we*-themes (ordinary community matters) are expressed through the *we*-code and the *they*-themes (the government) are expressed through the *they*-code (57).

Chapter 4: Mixed languages and language shift

Chapter 2 concluded with the observation that congruent lexicalisation – a CS pattern which blurs language boundaries – in Afrikaans may increase due to the growing prestige of English. At the same time, sociolinguistic literature presented in Chapters 2 and 3 describe contemporary CS in terms of deliberate, socially required speech patterns.

The assumption that CS is a facultative lect (an L-variety) implies that it merely emerges as a diglossic option and that the speaker could just as easily switch back to a standardised H-variety of the mother tongue. Does CS, then, deserve a place in the ongoing language maintenance debates, in which a connection is made between persistence of CS and a language shift?

4.1 Loanwords and lack of proficiency. Chapter 3 states that "CS creations can instantly acquire loan status owing to their being based on an existing well-attested borrowing paradigm" (Gardner-Chloros 2009: 47-48), and subsequently, that the CS creations in a bilingual country (Gardner-Chloros refers to Alsace in France) tend to generalise themselves among speakers of the borrowing language (31). It plausibly follows that loanwords must have started life as CS creations. Afrikaans and English are typologically close, and further convergence of Afrikaans with English continues across the entire Afrikaans community, due to very extensive calquing (Van Rensburg 1997: 48, Van Zyl 2002: 99), syntactic interference and homophonous diamorphs – subjects that are outside the scope of this dissertation.

It is in the use of loanwords where CS as a voluntary, deliberate process meets one of its limits. In the field of second language acquisition loanwords are identified as "static interference" (Van Zyl 2002: 98): they reflect permanent signs of interference of one language on another. Dynamic interference, on the other hand, refers to a short-lived intrusion on another language, and is typically found in productive CS (98). (These are so-called "nonce borrowings": foreign words that

come and go.) Given their static inherited character, loanwords no longer fit into the picture of CS as a deliberate act, although they historically originate from the dynamic CS context (Gardner-Chloros 2009: 31). Puristic language maintenance efforts focus on the interruption of the transition of a CS creation to a loanword: they seek to prevent nativisation of an English lexical borrowing.

More generally, language-maintenance projects fear lack of language proficiency: CS and the accelerated introduction of new concepts and their loanwords signal that in discussing a specific topic bilinguals find the vocabulary of one language more suitable or easy to use than that of another. It is then no longer the speaker but the topic – often restricted to functions – that decides the switch to CS (Gardner-Chloros 2009: 46). It is now the topic that shifts the linguistic borders of these functions. For example, an Afrikaans student who goes to an English-medium university, may have to switch codes when he discusses his studies with Afrikaans interlocutors. Similar to the letter from 1907 (A., Chapter 1), the individual cannot produce Afrikaans words in the required field and is therefore forced to switch codes. Here CS obviously occurs as a sign of lack of language proficiency.

4.2 CS as an unmarked choice. In addition, due to intensified bilingualism the CS switch point in a sentence may become no longer be meaningful and CS no longer is pragmatically triggered. Here is an example of "overall CS" (Gardner-Chloros 2009: 26; Stell, undated: 6) from a Coloured speaker of Afrikaans.

> *Ja die* ***hostel*** *ai die* ***security*** *is ook rêrig* ***especially*** *die* ***women securities*** *vir my help dit eintlik nie* ***cause okay the other time we were like wanting to lock the doors of*** *…* ***of the*** *ja* ***the*** *…* ***the hostel the block doors*** *en toe wil die* ***securities*** *nie hê* ***cause apparently why are they there for but they don't really help because the other time at two o'clock a guy came knocking at my door and he like felt the door what if it was open*** wat … wat sou gebeur het?

> 'Yes the hostel err the security is also especially the women securities to me they actually are of no help, 'cause okay the other time we were like wanting to lock the doors of … of the ja the … the hostel the block doors and then the securities didn't want that 'cause apparently why are they there for but they don't really help because the other time at two o'clock a guy came knocking at my door and he like felt the door what if it was open what…what would have happened?' (Stell, undated: 7)

It is no longer possible to determine which is the "base" language that provides the function words for the borrowed content, although the dominant language appears to be English.

This type of overall CS can be identified as an advanced stage along a continuum of language mixing, proposed by Auer (1999), in which Afrikaans CS finds itself around the first and the second stage, while progressive codes, as in District Six where a "mixed code" is spoken (Deumert 2005: 126), gravitate to the third stage:

> Auer (1999) describes CS as the first point in a chronological progression along a continuum. At the CS stage, the point in the sentence where there is a switch is a significant aspect of the conversation. The next stage is language mixing, where [...] it is not the individual switch points which carry significance, but the use of the overall switching mode – this stage is also described by Myers-Scotton (1993a) as "switching as an unmarked choice". The third stage is that of fused lects, which are stabilised mixed varieties. (Gardner-Chloros 2009: 26)

Any switch within an utterance is *marked* if it is used in a certain context where it would otherwise not be expected. Thus a switch is meaningful in the contrast it evokes. Conversely, CS is an *unmarked* choice if it is done "with no apparent motivation" (Gardner-Chloros 2009: 46). About CS as an unmarked choice Stell adds: "Myers-Scotton (1988: 165) refers to it as ... a type of switching whereby 'each switch is not socially meaningful on its own', and 'only the overall pattern has a

discourse function'." (Stell, undated: 6). Such CS begins to acquire language-like properties, which is reflected by the use of CS for many linguistic functions and social contexts, and many people in increasingly bilingual societies do not (cannot) speak otherwise (Gardner-Chloros 2009: 46).

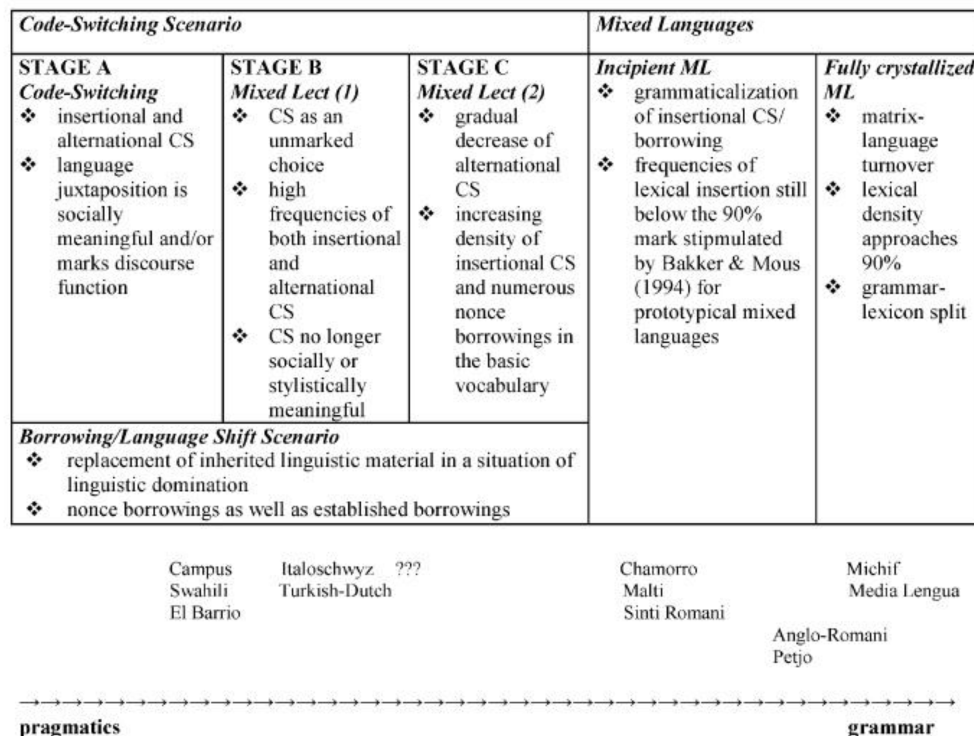
According to Deumert, the problem with presenting CS as a marked choice is that it assumes that speakers make rational choices. Deumert deems the assumption "an observer-centred construal of what could or might have motivated a given actor in a given situation or context. Moreover, rational choice models of behaviour tend to underestimate the importance of action by habit (iterative actions leading to the stabilization of linguistic and other behavioural regularities) ... " (Deumert 2005: 119). Hence, one should be careful to attach sociological interpretations to all forms of CS: they can often be "meaningless" and automatic.

4.3 Mixed languages. Linguistically, long-term intensive language contact in the form of CS can lead to a permanent structural change and eventually to a mixed language (Van Zyl 2002: 99). This corresponds to Auer's third stage: "... there is a loss of variation: the use of elements from one or other variety is no longer a matter of choice, but of grammatical convention" (Gardner-Chloros 2009: 26), which Gardner-Chloros calls a "fused lect"; a stabilised variety usually referred to as a mixed language. In this stage, the abovementioned observation that CS is but a "diglossic option" in which "the speaker could just as easily switch back to a standardised H-variety of the mother tongue" (26) is no longer viable. Diglossia and switching suppose a bidirectional motion, from one code to another, and back. But this process is "... unidirectional. It may never be completed, as bilingual communities may stabilize at any point along the way, but it does not allow for any movement in the opposite direction. Auer goes so far as to say that the movement from fused lects back to the state of language mixing, like in CS, is 'prohibited'" (26).

Today's attested mixed languages are autonomous language systems, with their own lexical, syntactic, phonological, and morphological rules. The African Ma'a

language and the North American Michif language are often mentioned as examples of such languages (Deumert 2005: 124, McConvell 2008: 187, Gardner-Chloros 2009: 35-37). They came into being after a period of intense language contact – after a hypothetical stage of CS. Mixed languages often display a grammatical split, e.g. in Michif “the structure of the nominal phrase is essentially French, and that of the verb phrase essentially Cree” (Gardner-Chloros 2009: 35). Other hybrid languages also exhibit a verbal-nominal split, such as Australian mixed languages (McConvell 2008: 187), whereas others show a different split. Evidence for the formative role of CS in the genesis of mixed languages is the observation that similar splits exist in contemporary instances of CS (e.g. the split between content words and function words in insertional Afrikaans-English CS).

Please note figure 1: *From code-switching to mixed languages*. This graph from Deumert (2004: 127) provides insight into the transition from CS to mixed languages. As can be seen, “Stage C” has not yet been supported by an attested code.



Code-Switching Scenario			***Mixed Languages***	
STAGE A ***Code-Switching*** ❖ insertional and alternational CS ❖ language juxtaposition is socially meaningful and/or marks discourse function	**STAGE B** ***Mixed Lect (1)*** ❖ CS as an unmarked choice ❖ high frequencies of both insertional and alternational CS ❖ CS no longer socially or stylistically meaningful	**STAGE C** ***Mixed Lect (2)*** ❖ gradual decrease of alternational CS ❖ increasing density of insertional CS and numerous nonce borrowings in the basic vocabulary	***Incipient ML*** ❖ grammaticalization of insertional CS/ borrowing ❖ frequencies of lexical insertion still below the 90% mark stipmulated by Bakker & Mous (1994) for prototypical mixed languages	***Fully crystallized ML*** ❖ matrix-language turnover ❖ lexical density approaches 90% ❖ grammar-lexicon split
Borrowing/Language Shift Scenario ❖ replacement of inherited linguistic material in a situation of linguistic domination ❖ nonce borrowings as well as established borrowings				

Fig. 1. From code-switching to mixed languages (for Campus Swahili cf. Blommaert, 1992; English–Spanish CS in El Barrio, Zentella, 1997; Italoschwyz, Franceschini, 1998; Turkish–Dutch, Backus, 2003; Chamorro and Malti, Stolz, 2003; Petjo, Van Rheeden, 1994; the Sinti-Romani data is discussed by Auer, 1999; information on Anglo-Romani can be found in Thomason, 2001).

It is tempting to qualify mixed languages as “frozen” CS (Deumert 2005: 125), but due to lack of evidence, scholars have argued that mixed languages may not have arisen from CS (McConvell 2008: 187). Until recently, linear continua such as the one proposed by Auer (Gardner-Chloros 2009: 26) and the continuum from Fig. 1 have remained hypothetical because “[T]he general opinion has been that there are no documented examples of such a process” (McConvell 2008: 187). The unattested transition phase is visualised by the “language-less” stage C in fig. 1 (graphed in 2004).

However, in 2008 Patrick McConvell has published a paper, based on data he acquired among Gurindji communities in Australia, which “briefly describes one documented example of the recent emergence of a mixed language from code-switching: Gurindji Kriol ... and there appear to be other similar examples in Australia” (McConvell 2008: 187). This new hybrid language, based on the indigenous Gurindji language and Kriol (a local English-based pidgin language), also exhibits a split: like Michif, Gurindji Kriol shows that “one of the component languages dominates verbal and tense-aspect-mood syntax, morphology and in some cases lexicon, and the other language dominates nominal syntax, morphology and in some cases lexicon” (187-188). The CS pattern, in which there was a tendency for Kriol to be the matrix language, was stabilized in the new mixed language (189).

Of particular relevance to the discussion is that here a process from CS to a mixed language has been documented. In the seventies and eighties of the twentieth century it was documented that adults were speaking a mixture – CS – of Gurindji and Kriol. This instance of CS provided the sole input to child learners at the time, and simultaneously youngsters lost command of Gurindji. Gurindji Kriol subsequently became an L1; a fully-fledged language.

4.4 Is there a future for Afrikaans as a mixed language?

If CS is attested to lead to a mixed language in speech communities in

Australia, then, plausibly, Afrikaans-English CS can also shift from a marked, dynamic code for pragmatic purposes to an unmarked, permanently mixed and conventionalised language, in which speakers are no longer able to undo the mixing (Gardner-Chloros 2009: 26).

In order to uphold Afrikaans as a codified and standardised language in wide use, Afrikaans language maintenance efforts have focused on discouraging pervasive language mixing. But also the long-lasting effects of mixing have been taken into account. In the long run, language mixing compromises a language's authenticity. In 1980, Jaap Steyn commented on what could happen if Afrikaans fuses with English: "Consequently, a language can 'die' in two ways: people may stop speaking it, or interferences can change it to such an extent that it can stop being 'the same' language as in the past" (Steyn 1980: 7).

But does heavy borrowing through CS indeed pave the way to the language shift the advocates for language maintenance have warned for in Chapter 1? It may, but the push towards the shift is likely to come from outside the language.

Deumert remarks that "[m]ixed languages remain ephemeral, transitional phenomena in many speech communities and can pre-date the full assimilation of a minority group into the majority culture. However, despite their lack of stabilization these mixed forms of speech are often perceived as distinct codes by the speakers themselves" (Deumert 2005: 132). This means that the mixed code may acquire a language status, separate from the 'purer' codes; Afrikaans and English. Furthermore, when we look into the future, in an Afrikaans-English community as District Six, McCormick "touches repeatedly on the question of whether practices of CS and language mixing will give way to language shift in the context of the continuing prestige and growing hegemony of English in post-1994 South Africa" (Deumert 2005: 132-133).

Steyn remarks that pervasive language interference may change a language to such an extent that it may stop being the same language. Additionally, intense Afrikaans-English CS can lead to an increasing loss of prestige of Afrikaans to

English (Ponelis 1999: 168). After all, CS is part of an L-variety with little overt prestige and a function within the limited linguistic domain of informality.

Furthermore, it has been demonstrated that once language mixing has compromised a language's integrity to the point that the matrix language is hardly recognisable, speakers no longer deem it worth the effort to secure the language's continuity. For example, speakers of Nahuatl (Mexico) have been shifting to Spanish because they think their variety of Nahuatl is too heavily mixed anyway: "In their study of the far reaching influence of Spanish on Nahuatl in Mexico, Hill & Hill (1977: 67) note: '... Nahuatl speakers [feel] that relexification is 'spoiling' their language. They feel that their 'revuelta', 'mezcalada' usage makes the language not worth saving'"(168). Thus we find that within a speech community, language-internal changes (language mixing) interact with language-external cues (social dismissal of the mixed language) towards the shift from one language to another.

As fleeting as mixed languages may be, they also show instances of language death that have in fact bee-n observable language-internally. If one would argue that a mixed language has evolved from a donor language, and its entire speech community has shifted to speaking the mixed language, then really the donor language has ceased to exist as a consequence of its own linguistic change. Language death can thus also be anticipated based on signals of radical change within the language.

4.5 Matrix language turnover in the light of a language shift. Likewise, a language can become another language within the speech of individuals who increasingly engage in CS. CS is the combined action of a "base language" – or "matrix language" – and an "embedded language" (cf. 3.1). The base language usually provides the syntax and the embedded language the foreign lexical material. In a mixed language, this combined action has become fossilised. Mixed languages are probably the result of an arrested "matrix language turnover"; a term coined by Myers-Scotton, in 1998 (qtd. in Deuchar and Davies 2009: 15; Gardner-Chloros 2009: 47; McConvell 2008:

195). A matrix language turnover is the phenomenon where, after extensive borrowing, the embedded language has in turn become the matrix language.

A matrix language turnover can make a language shift language-internally observable. As languages with CS are languages whose lexical interference has not yet become irretrievable and fossilised, they are still capable of going through a matrix language turnover, which can result in a language shift. For example, English may have introduced so much of its grammar and vocabulary into Afrikaans, that strings of English alternational CS and congruent lexicalisation have grown to such an extent that there remains an English-based code, only flavoured with Afrikaans words and strings.

Once a community, heavily engaging in language mixing, no longer finds language maintenance worthwhile, its future generation may facilitate the turnover. In this case, language mixing is still theoretically reversible for one generation, but the stimulus or the lexical resources to do this are lacking. Deuchar and Davies (2009) give an example of a matrix language turnover from China:

> For the older speakers, Tsou was the matrix language in 79% of the clauses, whereas for the younger speakers Tsou was the matrix language in only 33% of clauses, with Mandarin being the matrix language in the remaining 67%. The Mandarin–Tsou-speaking community were assumed to exhibit matrix language turnover because of this difference between older and younger speakers. (Deuchar and Davies 2009: 21)

A matrix language turnover typically occurs in an unbalanced bilingual context, e.g. in a society where a language is spoken by only a minority, or where prestige and status relations cause borrowings to occur unidirectionally (e.g. when Afrikaans borrows extensively from English and not vice versa). Whether a hollowed-out language is still the language people would consider theirs to uphold remains to be seen. Only the future will tell when the tipping point – giving up a language and triggering the turnover – will occur.

Language shifts due to matrix language turnovers have probably not yet been documented, but it is not unthinkable that such a tipping point can be reached thanks to a process of ongoing convergence with the dominant language, i.a. CS.

4.6 Shifting languages. A community shifts from one language to another because its speakers decide to speak another language (Matthews 1997: 216). Likewise, the transition from CS to a matrix language turnover is facilitated by external, social factors, such as a socio-political context:

> ...it is not inevitable that the matrix language which is most frequent at one point in time will give way to another language to take its place. For this to happen, there has to be a change in the "socio-political balance" in a community, which Myers-Scotton (1998: 300) says could be caused by "such major social changes as immigration on the part of individuals or the takeover of a community by a foreign power". (Deuchar and Davies 2009: 21-22)

According to Gardner-Chloros, social situations facilitate the transition from CS to a language shift: "CS can arise in situations of widely varying stability. It can be a feature of stable bilingualism for an extended period, and then, following social changes, it may persist and become implicated in language shift" (2009: 25).

Since the fundamental socio-political changes following 1994, two language shifts from Afrikaans to English have been established in South Africa. Research conducted in urban Coloured communities in the Western Cape in 2003, 2008, 2009 (Anthonissen 2009: 61-76), in Port Elizabeth, Eastern Cape in 2008 (Fortuin 2009: 1-60) and in 2015 (Bas, forthcoming), shows that the most important factor for a language shift is the way the youngest generation views the mother tongue. A language shift can take place within a generation, and is, in the South African context, preceded and facilitated by the widely held view that command of English is advantageous in the pursuit of upward mobility and access to the world (Fortuin 2009: 7, Anthonissen 2009: 70-71). The following generation (the bilingual parents

of the monolingually English-speaking children) indicated that they had felt held back when they were youngsters, as they were denied the opportunity to receive bilingual education (i.e. exposure to English) during the apartheid years. Coloured people were forced to follow compulsory Afrikaans-medium education (Anthonissen 2009: 71, Fortuin 2009: 29-30). Therefore, once the colour bar was lifted, they did not consider giving their children a bilingual upbringing or education. These children are growing up in an L2-English household, with parents addressing them in L2-English (thereby receiving often deficient English language acquisition), while these parents converse in Afrikaans between themselves.

However, among these instances of a generational language shift, two Coloured communities in the vicinity of Stellenbosch are reported to not have undergone a language shift. The reason for this stability is that their Afrikaans working-class vernacular has remained a strong index of identity (Thutloa & Huddlestone 2011: 63) while command of Afrikaans has offered them economic opportunity (62, 63). These are close-knit communities and since work and education are found in the adjacent rural Afrikaans-speaking Stellenbosch area, the opportunity for socioeconomic mobility remains limited and the language remains a daily reality. Afrikaans is used in all domains (61):

> It follows from these trends that there is no clear evidence of language shift, from Afrikaans to English, in the two communities. Even increased use of English in the domains of work and the church are evidence of the need for interlocutors to speak and interact across multilingual contexts, while maintaining their L1, rather than evidence of a potential language shift. (61-62)

Furthermore, the South African 2011 census has shown that the number of South Africans who report Afrikaans to be their first language has increased over the preceding ten years by 872.000 individuals, to a total of 6.855.082. Percentagewise their numbers in South Africa rose from 13,3% in 2001 to 13,5% in 2011 (Pienaar & Otto 2012).

Demographically, Afrikaans is doing well: it may be the first language to almost seven million people. But what sort of Afrikaans do they speak? There are many Afrikaans idiolects that may inspire speakers to language loyalty and to identification with the language as a marker of identity (of covert prestige, perhaps), whereas from within, the idiolects may heavily lean on borrowings and fully-fledged English sentences, without which “Afrikaans maar nie sy ding kan doen nie” (an Afrikaans expression calqued on English “without which Afrikaans just can’t do its thing”).

When we assess the growing prestige of English, the loss of prestige for Afrikaans, furthered by the language’s prestige due to intense CS, then increasing lexical interference from English can compromise the language’s vitality and the linguistic identity of its speakers. CS could thus function as the catalyst through which a language shift is triggered.

Conclusion

Literature has presented us with the possible consequences of intense language contact in a bilingual society, where one language dominates the other. These possible consequences are, among others, CS, language fusion, mixed languages, and language shift.

Pervasive CS in bilinguals arises from intense language contact within a bilingual speech community. Any bilingual speech community shows instances of interaction and convergence with participating languages, of which some leave permanent traces in these languages. Although CS is often portrayed as a practice of free, pragmatic speech confined to certain linguistic domains, Afrikaans-language maintenance advocates have expressed their concern over the practice of Afrikaans-English CS in contemporary South Africa. They claim that CS can have lasting lexical consequences for Afrikaans, which, in their view, will compromise the language's prestige. Some Afrikaans-language advocates have additionally warned for the demise of Afrikaans in the light of continued and intensified CS. They fear that CS may compromise the language's integrity and survival by ultimately facilitating a language shift to English.

Linguistic literature not only supports the tenet that CS may have irreversible consequences for a language's lexicon; it also presents wider and greater consequences for a language as a whole. It suggests that intensified language contact, as currently found in South Africa, could indeed pave the way for intensified CS as an ultimate cause for language shift.

A strongly bilingual setting can cause a language to interact with the dominant language in two different ways. In the first scenario, an L1 code with pervasive CS can continue to converge with the dominant L2 language until, through a matrix language turnover, the former ceases to exist – it internally abolishes itself by switching to the dominant L2. In the other scenario, a continued CS code has reached the state of a mixed language; it could either maintain its state as a new language or –

more likely – it could be abandoned by its speech community under the growing pressure of the dominant L2 and the lack of intrinsic value of what has remained of the L1.

The data presented by literature show a hypothetical causal connection between pervasive language contact, CS, and language shift. They suggest a continuum between language contact, CS, and language shift / language demise, which can be represented as follows:

- bilingual state of increased language contact leading to
- pragmatic, deliberate, “marked” CS to
- highly frequent, often congruent mixing as an “unmarked” choice to
- a short-lived mixed language or a matrix language turnover

Both a mixed language and a matrix language turnover imply that a language has ceased to exist. Following profound socio-political changes in which English has become more dominant, pervasive CS could give speakers the final impetus to shift to another language. A speech community’s loss of language-separation attempts is reflected by the blurring of language boundaries in such pervasive, permissive CS (as in congruent lexicalisation). Likewise, the dwindling vitality of a speech community’s language is reflected by the formation of a mixed language or a matrix language turnover.

For now, the imminent language shifts, matrix language turnovers and demise of mixed languages that are discussed in this review may not be applicable to the vast majority of Afrikaans communities. Indeed, Afrikaans is still vital in most communities and the idea of language separation is still engrained in the Afrikaans speech community – and Afrikaans has more speakers than any of the discussed mixed languages. But if, in the decades to come, the will to apply language separation continues to decrease against the backdrop of increasing pressure and persistence of unbalanced bilingualism in South Africa, the old fear of CS, as expressed by Afrikaans-language maintenance advocates, may be found to be not unrealistic or unfounded.

Notes

1. In this work the labels *Coloured* and *Coloured people* will consistently refer to the largely Afrikaans-speaking communities of mixed Khoikhoi, Asian, European, and African descent. In Afrikaans, these labels are commonly translated as *bruin* (adjective) and *bruinmense* (plural noun). I am aware of the fact that *Coloured* might still be a controversial label to some readers: certain lexicographers still deem it a dated or offensive label (Silva 1996: 160; Soanes 2011: 169), while other scholars would use it in inverted commas, or in the well-nigh formulaic collocation "so-called coloured" (Silva 1996: 160; Beyers 2012: 828, 830; Anthonissen 2009: 61-3, 67, 70, 74, and others). However, according to Adhikari (2005) *Coloured* has gained rehabilitation after 1990. He employs the term to refer to those people who regard themselves as Coloured (Adhikari, 2005: xiv-xv). In my own research into the use of CS in Port Elizabeth, South Africa (2015, forthcoming), my experience has been that people within the Afrikaans-speaking Coloured communities indeed use *Coloured* as a label for self-reference, both in Afrikaans and English. Likewise, I will employ the label corresponding to its contemporary, conventional and denotative uses.

2. An H-variety is the variety of the language that is used in the higher functions of society, e.g. in a lecture, a sermon, while speaking on television, or writing in a newspaper. An *L-variety* ("low variety") is the variety used at home, *e.g.* with family, friends, etc. (Romaine 2000: 47-48).

3. Today *Kaffer* is a derogatory and racially offensive term.

Illustration

"From code-switching to mixed languages" (from Deumert 2005: 127)

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