



A sociolinguistic case-study of code-switching and borrowing in Klerksdorp

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ABSTRACT

This thesis focuses on filling the particular research gap of investigating the linguistic landscape of the black community in what is currently Klerksdorp, a mining town in the North West Province, South Africa. Information about the area dates back to the mid-1830s, but the focus has primarily been on the two white groups from Europe (the Dutch from the Netherlands and the English from England), and subsequent studies in South Africa have more broadly mainly focused on their history and languages. One of these two prestigious languages is a variant of Dutch, which later came to be known as Afrikaans, and the other is English, which was brought to South Africa with the arrival of the British in the early 19th century. When the Afrikaners left the Cape Colony, they headed inland by crossing the Vaal River, thus ending up settling in Klerksdorp. At the time of these incursions, the Batswana, whose language is Setswana, were the original inhabitants of what is now Klerksdorp. Their language was later influenced by the arrival of white people who spoke Afrikaans (a variant of Dutch), and later, their language was further influenced by the arrival of the English. This study investigates how the two European prestigious languages have influenced the Setswana spoken in this area.

As employees of the Afrikaans-speaking white people, the Batswana, who were residents in the area, had to learn Afrikaans for economic opportunities as the Afrikaners owned land seized from black people, and in addition, they had senior positions in government, in the mines, etc. When the British arrived in the area years later, some ended up being involved in mining, but the majority were mostly tradesmen as Klerksdorp had developed into a fully-fledged town by 1888. This resulted in local residents also learning to communicate with the new arrivals from England in English. Language contact between Setswana and Afrikaans resulted in Setswana speakers including some Afrikaans words and expressions in their speech when they were interacting socially with other black people. Later, when English became commonly used through trade and eventually schooling, this resulted in borrowing and code-switching from Afrikaans *and* English as part of the Setswana spoken in Klerksdorp.

Based on the above, the study firstly addresses the dominance of Afrikaans and/or English vis-a-vis the Setswana spoken in Klerksdorp both pre-94 and post-94; in the case of the latter, this is when the democratic government came into power, thereby allowing the free movement of people, which

brought change to the linguistic landscape. Secondly, the study analyses how borrowing and code-switching from Afrikaans and English by Setswana speakers created contact-induced language change. Participants' age, gender and residential area (a proxy for social class) were used as social variables for determining how linguistic change likely manifested in Klerksdorp. The study analyses such borrowing and code-switching in the Setswana spoken in Klerksdorp by applying a mixed-methods research methodology, which combines both a quantitative and qualitative approach. The quantitative approach involved looking at the numbers/percentages of speakers using certain borrowings, and at how often speakers apply code-switching; while the qualitative approach was focussed on determining the broad linguistic trends of borrowing and code-switching and how these relate to social differences in the speech community. In addition to broad trends, the findings also highlighted how non-linguistic factors such as the setting, topic, and the relationship between participants, context, age and the level of education all contribute to the dynamics of how interlocutors apply the linguistic phenomena of borrowing and code-switching. Finally, the analysis of the data also highlighted the influence of a third language, Sesotho, an African language whose speakers are geographically close to Klerksdorp. South Africa is a multilingual country, thus communities like the study population in Klerksdorp often adapt to the influence of other local languages because of extensive language contact.

KEYWORDS: Borrowing, code-switching, Afrikaans and English, Setswana, language contact, linguistic trends, linguistic repertoire and multilingualism

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CHAPTER 1

Introduction

This chapter emphasises the crucial aspects of the study through Section 1.1 (Contextualisation, General Information and Background). Then it gives a clear and concise description of the issue that needs to be addressed in Section 1.2., which is the problem statement. The research questions are addressed in Section 1.3., the objectives (Section 1.4.), the hypothesis (Section 1.5.), and finally Section 1.6., the research methodology.

1.1. Contextualisation, General Information and Background

There is a general perception that Setswana speakers in Klerksdorp converge towards Afrikaans and English as these languages hold a higher status and offer economic opportunities, as most employers and people holding senior positions in government and the private sector speak these languages. This study will investigate the validity of this perception by trying to understand why and how Setswana speakers, who started employing Afrikaans and English words, phrases and sentences with others, presumably at school and at their places of employment, also started applying borrowing and CS outside the confines of the school and workplace. People from different social classes often have different life experiences, which may influence their speech patterns. It is a well-attested finding in sociolinguistics that people from the wealthier classes and females are more inclined towards convergence to high prestige languages or varieties in their speech than males and those in the lower classes (Labov, 1966). Studying the covariation that exists between social structure and speech patterns will highlight similarities and differences among the different ages, genders, and social classes in the specific research population.

Human beings interact through language, and because the world is a multilingual society, language contact is inevitable. This in essence leads to code-switching (alternating between two or more languages or varieties of language in a conversation) and/or borrowing (utilising a primary language and importing words from another language into it), to name just two of a number of linguistic phenomena (Poplack, 1988, Makalela, 2015). However, for purposes of this study, the focus is just on borrowing and code-switching (CS henceforth). Words that are borrowed from another language are referred to as loanwords (most loanwords are fully if not at least partially adopted), and they

are imported for different reasons. Borrowing is a concept that is generally associated with monolingual speakers, but bilingual and multilingual speakers also use it, while CS is a process that is embarked on by bilingual or multilingual speakers or people who speak different codes/dialects of the same language (Poplack, 1988). No study has yet examined the effect of social factors on the nature and degree of Afrikaans and English influence on Setswana conversations in Klerksdorp where the majority of residents speak Setswana as a home language. For the proposed research, data from audio recordings of a number of interviews were collected, as well as social-network data, with the emphasis on the elicitation of naturalistic speech. Purposive sampling was utilised to gauge the overall extent of borrowing and code-switching in this speech community and, in particular, to determine the relative impact of Afrikaans and English on Setswana depending on the social background of the individuals concerned. Males and females who were born pre-1994 and those born post-1994 as well as subjects belonging to different socio-economic classes were interviewed in order to determine how these relevant social factors (gender, age, and social class) had an effect on the nature of their CS and borrowing.

The Klerksdorp linguistic repertoire (the sum of a person's knowledge and skills of one or more languages, which in this case means languages commonly used in conversations by Klerksdorp residents) is different from those of neighbouring towns. This is because two prestigious languages, that is, Afrikaans and English, influence Setswana, which is a majority language, and in addition to these, another local language also influences the Setswana spoken in Klerksdorp. Further analysis of the linguistic repertoires of a sample of Klerksdorp residents showed that Sesotho is a local language that is also influencing Setswana. This, therefore, changes the linguistic dynamics even more, as now, with the addition of Sesotho, we find the influence of three local languages on the Setswana spoken in Klerksdorp. The basis for this influence is the long history of language contact between Setswana, Afrikaans and English going back to the late 1830s and 1840s. Sesotho was introduced much later after the town of Orkney was established, and one of the local townships, Kanana, eventually became a majority Sesotho-speaking area. In addition, Klerksdorp is close to the Free State Province, which is a majority Sesotho-speaking province. However, since the study focuses on the two prestigious languages, that is, Afrikaans and English, Sesotho will not take centre-stage, unless extensive borrowing and/or CS is found during data analysis. It is clear from impressionistic observation that linguistic variety across the different social classes, genders and age groups have surfaced in this speech community, but specific similarities, differences, and the overall impact on the linguistic repertoire of Klerksdorp need to be highlighted further.

1.2. Problem Statement

The linguistic trait that piqued my interest as a researcher for this study, therefore, was the relatively high application of CS and borrowing from Afrikaans by Setswana speakers in Klerksdorp. Although there is a fair amount of CS throughout the North-West province (both intra-sentential and inter-sentential switching), the dominance of Afrikaans borrowing and CS among Klerksdorp residents in particular, in the experience of the author at least, far outweighs similar usage anywhere else in the province, although there are some similarities in certain areas. However, over the years, the researcher has noticed CS and borrowing from English alongside Afrikaans. The question that arises from this is whether English is influencing Setswana speakers to the same extent as Afrikaans has managed to do, or if English influence has surpassed Afrikaans influence. If so, which group is it influencing more? Is it young people (post-1994) or older people (pre-1994), male or female, or a particular social class? This study will thus analyse the speech patterns of these subjects to see if there are similarities and/or differences across the various sub-groups in the selected research population, and will also try to ascertain reasons for these similarities and differences. The overall research goal for the study is, therefore, to explore how and why Afrikaans and English in Klerksdorp, both pre-1994 and post-1994 and across different sexes and social classes, have influenced Setswana.

1.3. Research questions:

This research study will seek answers to the following four (4) questions:

1. What social factors determine the nature and extent of CS and borrowing from Afrikaans and English by Setswana speakers in Klerksdorp?
2. Is Afrikaans still the dominant language of convergence which Setswana speakers in Klerksdorp utilise for borrowing and CS, or has there been a shift to English?
3. How has Afrikaans and English influenced Setswana at the various linguistic levels?
4. Is there another local language that influences Setswana besides Afrikaans and English?

1.4. Objectives

To answer the three questions provided in the previous section the proposed research will adopt the following four (4) objectives:

1. To determine how social factors influence the nature and extent of CS and borrowing from Afrikaans and English by Setswana speakers in Klerksdorp.
2. To explore whether Afrikaans is still the primary language of convergence for Setswana speakers when borrowing or CS, or whether there has been a shift to English.
3. To analyse the impact that Afrikaans and English have on Setswana at various linguistic levels.
4. To examine if there is another local language which influences Setswana besides Afrikaans and English.

1.5. Methodology

(a) Broad approach

The focus of the study is to find out how and to what extent Afrikaans and English have influenced Setswana in Klerksdorp via borrowing and CS, and to link this influence on Setswana with broad social factors such as gender, age and social class. The study design was exploratory and utilised a mixed-method approach. Quantitative analysis was used to compare trends while the qualitative approach was utilized to uncover reasons behind the relevant trends. The main approach to data-collection was through one-on-one interviews with the researcher, and the other data collection method was the collection of social-network data. Purposive sampling was utilised where participants were home language Setswana speakers in the Klerksdorp area.

(b) Literature review

The existing relevant literature on borrowing, code-switching, language-contact and sociolinguistics (both locally and internationally) was reviewed as part of the refinement of the exact methodologies (both in terms of data-collection and data-analysis) employed as part of this study.

(c) Empirical study

Data-collection

Both simple verbal interaction and audio recordings (using standard sociolinguistic recording equipment) were used to capture naturalistic spoken-data so that a full analysis of the forms and extent of borrowing and CS could follow the data-collection phase of the research. The data collection phase of the research encompassed two main methods:

- (1) One-on-one interviews where participants are sampled from the three areas of study so that the different parts of Klerksdorp will be covered. Unstructured interviews (in this case, the interviewer asks questions based on the flow of the interview from a range of relevant topics to the participants) were conducted through active participant interaction; here the emphasis was on naturalistic settings in the participants' homes. Interviews were recorded so that the researcher could mine the audio recordings for linguistic traits in the study population. A diary of linguistic traits was maintained and then mined for relevant information during the analysis stage of research.

- (2) Social network data was also collected in order to track the possible influence of the three relevant social factors of interest i.e. age, sex and social-class. Purposive sampling of Klerksdorp residents was applied in order to obtain enough participants for the social group discussions. Discussion groups took place in the area where participants live, and the researcher played no direct part in the social network data collection, as the main subjects participated and also oversaw the process of data collection. Social network data plays a crucial role in providing the platform that allows for the analysis of social dynamics in a group, and the role of the main subjects is to put the discussion group together where the group patterns aligning to sex, age and social class are likely to emerge during the discussion.

The tables below provide the range of subjects whose speech was analysed, where the first table shows the breakdown of the one-on-one interviews, and the second table is a breakdown of the social network data:

Age	Sex	The informal settlement	Jouberton Township	The former white areas
Pre-94	M	3	3	3
Pre-94	F	3	3	3
Post-94	M	3	3	3

Post-94	F	3	3	3
Pre-94 & Post-94	M & F	12	12	12

Each 'block' in the table above represents a number of interviews and thus a total of 12 interviews (per residential area) took place, during which participants were given a range of topics to be discussed in order to capture naturalistic speech.

Zone 1 (The informal settlement, Jouberton Township & the former white areas)	Zone 2 (The informal settlement, Jouberton Township & the former white areas)
Main subjects (are responsible for collecting data based on the format discussed with the researcher beforehand): Pre-94 male, Pre-94 female, Post-94 male & Post-94 female (Each main subject will be attached to a group, meaning that they are participants in the group discussion that they have assembled from the relevant zone, in this zone, the home group.)	Main subjects (are responsible for collecting data based on the format discussed with the researcher beforehand): Pre-94 male, Pre-94 female, Post-94 male & Post-94 female (Each main subject will be attached to a group that they have assembled from the relevant zone, in this zone, the public group, that is, participants residing outside the main subject's home environment.)

The social variables of age (born pre-1994 or post-1994) and gender (male or female) are clear enough. The researcher is fully aware of the LGBTQIA+ (lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer, intersex, asexual) community, which covers a wide spectrum, but for the purposes of covering gender in a simplified manner, the researcher opted to use the traditional male and female subsets. To clarify this, gender will henceforth be replaced by sex as shown in the table above. This is based on the fact that gender is a social construct, while sex is about biology, that is, how a person was born, which is either male or female. With respect to social class (as proxy for socioeconomic status where the informal settlement represents the lowest social class of the three areas of study), this was based on the current place-of-residence of the main subjects' where the other participants

must be residents of that area as well, that is, the informal settlement, Jouberton township or (ex-white) suburb. Conversely, the participants attached to the main subject had no restrictions on age or sex, thus, we had mixed groups, all-male groups and all-female groups.

With respect to the social network data, each social group in the study area, the informal settlement, Jouberton and the former white areas, had zone 1 and zone 2 participants. Thus, each area had a number of main subjects who were responsible for assembling discussion groups and recording the discussions, where each group was comprised of 5 members on average, making a total of approximately 120 participants.

While the analytic approach was a broadly qualitative approach, the overall, basic trends across the three social variables were displayed quantitatively in tables and graphs, more particularly, the range of forms of borrowing and CS from Afrikaans and English were reported on. The data collected as part of the participant observation phase of the research was, in addition, particularly useful in terms of assessing the social functions of borrowing and CS (the why aspect). In addition, the interview and the social-network data were particularly useful in terms of a close analysis of the kinds of borrowing and CS that is taking place (the what aspect).

1.6. Structure of thesis

The thesis follows a traditional structure. After the introduction, a theory chapter follows, along with a chapter on the speech community and then a chapter on the methodology employed. This is followed by two chapters dedicated to an exposition of the results (one on the one-on-one interviews, the other on the social-network data). There is then a conclusion, which focuses on the main contents in brief to capture the essence of the chapter.

The focus of this chapter, as discussed above, demonstrates how the different subsections from 1.1 to 1.6 align in highlighting the aspects of the role of language contact, and how language contact influences Setswana as a majority language and where variables play a role in the linguistic trends of the different subsets. The problem statement, research questions, objectives and the research methodology assist in structuring subsequent chapters so that all the sections and subsections are well aligned with the topic.

CHAPTER 2

Literature review

This literature review focuses on various pertinent (socio)linguistic phenomena, as seen in Section 2.1. (The role of language in society), Section 2.2. (Language contact), Section 2.3. (Code-switching and borrowing as linguistic phenomena). Of particular relevance is Section 2.4., the borrowing aspect, which among other things delves into the social determinants of borrowing (Section 2.4(b)), as well as the phonological and morphological aspects of borrowing (Section 2.4(c)). Section 2.5.(a), then focusses on code-switching as a linguistic phenomenon, Section 2.5.(b)., covers social determinants of code-switching, while Section 2.5.(c)., provides a comparison between intersentential switching and code-mixing. Finally, Section 2.6. looks at the notion of the speech community, which defines speakers who share certain linguistic trends, and describes how these linguistic trends manifest in the community.

2.1. The role of language in society

Sociolinguistics is a subfield of linguistics, which is the scientific study of the meaning, form and context of language (Stowell, 2000). There are different definitions of sociolinguistics; Hudson (1996) describes it as the study of language in relation to society, which means the study of language as a social phenomenon. Kaschula and Anthonissen (1995:1) share this view when stating that language is a phenomenon that “is partly shaped by society and in certain circumstances, it also shapes society.” Schreier and Hundt (2013, cited in Blommaert, 2013) state that many languages emerge from contact with other languages, regardless of their social standing in society, hence they all operate under one banner of, ‘language in society.’ This means that all languages perform the same function, and they have a direct impact on how society functions.

Researchers like Fuller and Wardhaugh (2014), Labov (1972), Sapir-Whorf (1956, cited in Rangriz & Harati, 2017), Stowell (2000), Nordquist (2020), etc. share information on the different disciplines that have influenced sociolinguistics. According to these researchers, sociolinguistics derives inspiration from different fields other than linguistics, for example, anthropology (the relationship between language and culture), sociology (the influence of language on social group organisation) and psychology (the role of language in explaining people’s behaviour). Sociolinguistics, in addition, includes research on how language and language varieties trigger language attitudes and stereotyped perceptions of linguistic groups. These perceptions play a crucial role in the subfield of

linguistics that studies the way language functions in societies under different social contexts, and in different subgroups; for example, age: we can guess whether the person who uttered words was a young or older person, depending on the use of language. The same perceptions apply to other phenomena like ethnicity, culture, sex, social norms, region, what is considered appropriate and inappropriate, who is authorised to speak and when, etc. Coulmas (1997: 2) shares the same view when indicating that “social structure influences how people talk and how language varieties and patterns of use correlate with social attributes such as class, sex and age.” Language variation triggers stereotypical perceptions; some of these language varieties lead to speakers being viewed as uneducated, smart, rough, well-off, etc. In essence, this means that sociolinguistics plays a role in highlighting stereotypes based on a myriad of reasons that sometimes categorise people’s language use negatively. Sankoff (1973; 1974) and Labov (1972, cited in Poplack, 1988) all support this view, and demonstrate that people who speak the same language might have differences in how they use this language.

Sociolinguistics attributes certain linguistic traits to culture, which Samovar & Porter (2000: 4) view as the way “people perceive their surroundings, be they events or other people.” In simple terms, this means that culture can affect language use, as language is embedded in society, for example, Hymes (1974a: 51) explains such embedding by focussing on three aspects: “speech situation, speech event and speech act.” Speech situation is the context that dictates what is considered appropriate language, speech event refers to any instance where communication occurs based on social rules of interaction, and speech act is an action that manifests through an utterance and is that utterance’s effect, purpose or intention (Hymes, 1974a: 51). Sapir-Whorf’s (1956, cited in Rangriz and Harati, 2017) hypothesis states that these sociocultural factors facilitate how interlocutors maintain interactions with different parties in different settings, and tries to show that language influences the way people think, thus forming an integral aspect of culture. Consequently, culture is an integral concern of sociolinguistics, since sociolinguistics does not operate in a vacuum; it operates within a sociocultural realm where culture and language are interlinked (Sapir-Whorf, 1956, cited in Rangriz and Harati: 2017). Linguistic traits are a microcosm of society as they collectively constitute linguistic repertoires that can differentiate one group from another. To exemplify that such variables play an important role in how language is used, it is a well-attested finding in sociolinguistics that people from the wealthier classes and females are more inclined towards convergence to high prestige language/s or varieties in their speech than those in the lower

classes and males (Labov, 1966). Languages thus play a crucial role in assimilating or segregating societies.

Some studies view sociolinguistics as descriptive, because it focuses on how society uses language by studying how language use is influenced by social factors. In essence, sociolinguistics explores linguistic diversity where the 'how' is crucial since it delves into the role of linguistic repertoire in societies, for example, how words, phrases and sentences from other languages are used during linguistic interactions. Alvanoudi (2017: 6) emphasises the sociolinguistic principle of addressing the 'how' when analysing code-switching and borrowing in particular – "How well speakers spoke the languages and how they utilised each language?" Based on this, one of sociolinguistics' descriptive role is to analyse the extent and nature of borrowing, code-switching and code mixing during verbal interactions, and to gauge their overall impact on language and society. The difference between code-switching and code-mixing is that the former refers to a speaker alternating between two languages or language varieties, while the latter is the practice of the integration of linguistic elements (words, phrases, or grammatical structures) from two or more languages within a single utterance or text. Language in society focuses on the roles of sociolinguistics and sociology of language by analysing how social factors (for example, income, race, level of education, etc.) influence language use, and how language use influences the broader social structure.

2.2. Language contact

Samovar and Porter (1994) posit that the need for human beings to interact is the driving force that compels them to connect, and they do so mainly using language. Interacting through language is an important part of being human since being able to use language to communicate is a trait that separates human beings from other species (Neuliep, 2000). Roberts *et al.* (1992:17) apply the term language socialisation, which they define as "the learning of speaking practices and language behaviours which construct and guide social interaction within specific social contexts." Human beings interact on a one-on-one basis and in groups, but the speaking interaction practices have rules, which apply for specific contexts. Samovar and Porter (1994) and Robert *et al.* (1992) emphasise the important role of communication to facilitate human interaction in different settings by adhering to common rules of linguistic discourse, which in turn maintains linguistic harmony. Gumperz (1992) is of the view that there are reciprocal effects from language and society because when language changes, so does society and vice versa.

Turning to language contact specifically, De Bot *et al.* (2008, cited in Treffers-Daller, 2009) propose that overlapping between languages (when two or more languages share certain features like grammatical structures, vocabulary, sounds, etc.) can occur at any level, namely, conceptual, syntactic, discourse, gesture, syllable and phoneme. Borrowing is the phenomenon of using words from another language in the recipient language, while code-switching is the practice of alternating between two languages or language varieties in a conversation, and code mixing is the concept of merging two languages or more at a sub-clausal level (Poplack, 1988).

According to Thomason (1997), determining contact-induced language change is not always clear-cut as code-switched varieties do not have clear boundaries, and it is, therefore, not easy to determine the origin of some linguistic elements since both structural and social factors influence them. Considering the fact that phenomena like borrowing, code-switching and code-mixing influence many languages to some degree, it is important to analyse different linguistic repertoires to determine the role they play in the change of language use over time. Sankoff (1973; 1974) analyses how linguistics studies enable linguistic anomalies and patterns to be identified in order to see how the principles of borrowing, code-switching and code-mixing influence language use. Hoffer (2005: 16) posits, for example, that there is a wide range of borrowing during most historical periods for most languages, and where one of the languages involved is usually classed as more “high on the scale of receptivity.” Bucholz (2005: 586) is of the view that linguistic changes resulting from socio-historical factors affect personal and/or group identity. Historical factors (past people or situations that have a bearing on present events) do at times influence language attitudes and thus language behaviour. This happens because people’s lived experiences tend to affect the way they negotiate their identity, and language is a crucial part of identity. Prah (2018) states that socio-historical factors also have a bearing on socio-political dominance which can influence language use through, for example, linguistic acculturation, where the language that has a low status will be influenced by a dominant language. This is in accordance with what Wardhaugh (1992) and Bekker (2003) refer to as political dominance, which often extends to language use where speakers of the dominant language will enforce their language on the less dominant group/s. As stated by Zentella (1997), children follow the linguistic traits of their parents; therefore, they often unconsciously lend themselves to ‘symbolic domination’ where they converge to the influence of the dominant language, but this can be a short-term influence because during teenage years, the influence of peers in language development is stronger. Symbolic domination is a term used by Bourdieu (1991), and it means that the dominant classes use the power of their status and/or language to convince

others that the social hierarchy is justified and must be accepted by everyone. Thomason and Kaufmann (1988: 4) concur by positing that “it is our conviction that the history of a language is a function of the history of its speakers, and not an independent phenomenon that can be thoroughly studied without reference to the social context in which it is embedded.” This means that language interlinks with many aspects of everyday life.

Language use thus highlights the intricacies of a society: where perceptions of a language or a linguistic group can trigger certain attitudes or stereotypes, which can be positive or negative. This is because some languages are viewed as ‘peripheral’ (which means those languages are not important when compared with other languages), while the prestige language(s) is/are viewed as having ‘high mobility resources’ (meaning that they have the potential to grow and be used by speakers outside of the home language speakers’ group). Dominance in language use is key in understanding language contact because in a linguistic power relationship, the subjugated language (the language that has been made less important) is most often the so-called substrate language, which means a language that has lower power or prestige compared to another language and which borrows (in the widest sense) material from another language. In contrast, the dominant language is referred to as the superstrate, which means the language that has power or prestige over another language (Blommaert, 2013) and which in a sense donates material to (or forces itself upon) the substrate language. Thus more specifically, this linguistic power relationship operates in such a way that the prestige superstrate language is the one that often supplies lexical items for borrowing, and it is also the language whose phrases and sentences are embedded in the substrate when speakers interact through the processes of code-switching and code-mixing (Blommaert, 2010). In such cases, the systematic use of certain word-forms from the prestige language become common and get passed on from generation to generation and eventually, the ‘correct’ ethnic form of the low status language might disappear from use, this happens if there was a form in the substrate language, which was later replaced by a foreign word form. In essence, the effects of language contact can be extensive and might lead to language shift or language convergence. Interestingly, as far as symbolic domination using language is concerned, there is no guarantee that any linguistic power relation will be passed from generation to generation: linguistic trends are not necessarily permanent. For one, the speech patterns children inherit from their parents might change as they grow older based on outside influences like peer pressure and schooling.

2.3. Code-switching and borrowing as linguistic phenomena

Studies show that no language is homogeneous as there are often layers of different codes; hence, speakers of the same language apply different linguistic phenomena to some extent when interacting with others. Bucholz (2005) concurs by emphasising that monolingual speech communities must not be perceived as homogenous as speakers might have differing 'levels' of linguistic traits. One way of demonstrating that different linguistic phenomena underlie language use is by studying how borrowing and code-switching manifest in linguistic interactions, and the best way of doing this is to compare and contrast how the two operate. In addition to the definition supplied earlier, there is on-going debate about the distinction between these two linguistic phenomena, but in this study, the distinction is made between the two whereby using single lexemes from another language is termed borrowing, while CS covers the incorporation of intrasentential and intersentential constituents. Finlayson and Slabbert (2014) are of the view that CS is a growing linguistic phenomenon as more people who speak different languages come into contact. According to Manfredi *et al.* (2015), there is a fine line between CS and borrowing, but there is a distinction in how the two linguistic phenomena manifest themselves. Importantly, borrowing can be applied by monolinguals, as it does not require knowledge of another language, since the speaker might not even be aware that they are using foreign elements. It is important to highlight that Gardner-Chloros' (2010: 196) view is that loans and code-switches can be distinguished on the basis that loans are more likely to be filling a 'lexical gap' in the host language, whereas code-switches tend to simply add themselves as a further option to the native equivalent. CS is utilised by speakers of at least two or more languages or language codes, that is, a language that has more than one distinct dialect. This of course enables such speakers to switch from one language or language code to another in a conversation. Bucholz (2009) expands this concept by adding indexicality as an explanatory factor, which manifests in social categories like class and age. It is thus important to note that there are many layers of linguistic identity, which can determine which language, or language code would best suit a situation. This can be intentional, but it can also be the result of interactional negotiation, which is often non-intentional and is triggered by something like setting, topic, cultural norms, etc. (Bucholz, 2005).

Both CS and borrowing are results of language contact, because when languages come into contact, there are bound to be changes in one or both languages. There is the view that when two languages come into contact, one of them will undergo changes, hence the term 'unilateral' is used when

changes manifests in only one of the languages in contact (Clyne, 2003). To argue against the notion that CS can only be unidirectional, Sarbaugh (1988) and Bucholtz (2009) have analysed the bidirectional stance of interlocutors, by using Mexican Americans as an example. After analysing the speech patterns of Mexican Americans, they concluded that the setting determines the extent and form of CS whereby speakers will use two languages in their interaction. Some researchers refer to this process as convergence where languages eventually come to resemble one another structurally because of prolonged language contact and mutual interference. For CS, it is apparent that in some cases, contact-induced language change does not only affect languages of different status, but also results in a more complex identity of speakers in contact with another language. For example, CS between French and Alsatian resulted in a mixed identity, meaning that the people referred to in this case identify with two distinct ethnic groups or two races (Gardner-Chloros, 2010). Hangen (1950) states that for borrowing, words that are imported into a language from other languages mostly retain their overall original meaning and their overall phonemic shape. However, in some cases, there are both semantic and phonemic changes when borrowing takes place. There are different views on whether it is borrowing or CS that more often leads to convergence between languages. Gardner-Chloros' (2010) argues that convergence is a linguistic trait that happens in borrowing, while languages that CS do not converge as each language retains its structure. However, "some researchers' dispute Gardner-Chloros (2010) claim." For example, researchers like Clyne (2003), Thomason and Kaufman (1988), Myers-Scotton (2002) and others state that there is CS structural convergence (where languages eventually end up being similar in certain aspects). Poplack (1981) indicates that this happens, for example, where the determiner comes from one language and the noun comes from the other language. Thus, some researchers accept that CS can lead to structural convergence and analyse it in order to clarify the sociolinguistic forces that are related to this phenomenon. They all concur that structural convergence occurs in areas that are geographically close, and where the level of multilingualism is high. Rindler-Schjerve's study (1998: 246, cited in Gardner-Chloros, 2010), for example, supports this view and indicates that CS "contributes to the maintenance of Sardinian in that speakers change the Sardinian language by adapting it to the majority language, thus narrowing the gap between the two closely related codes." The opposite case is evident with regard to Estonian and Russian where the Estonian language maintained its structure in CS and did thus not converge even though Russian is the dominant language (Zabrodsjaka, 2013). Leopold (1949, cited in Matras, 2011) is of the view that convergence of linguistic forms is likely to be promoted by children. This study indicates that if

children are raised as bilinguals, they might not separate the two languages early on. Unfortunately, thus, contradictory views add further challenges to the issue of convergence. Further studies are required to examine the process and to analyse how convergence manifests in language contact, and to determine the process and extent of convergence in contact-induced language change.

Different variables like gender, social class, area of residence, age, etc. can have a bearing on language use where interlocutors might vary with respect to borrowing or the application of CS. The concept of social class as a variable can often be divided into subcomponents, namely, level of education, income and occupation (Labov, 1966; Trudgill, 1974, cited in Snell, 2014). In Botswana, for example, the language that is mostly used by the Batswana in addition to Setswana is English. Molosiwa (2001) states that in Botswana, people who are educated prefer English as the medium of communication, and this places them in a different social class from uneducated people because English is commonly seen to be used by people who have middle class status. Gardner-Chloros (2009) posits, however, that there is no proof that educated people use CS more than uneducated people do. The common perception is that people who speak two codes will switch for convenience or if there is communication breakdown. As emphasised by Gardner-Chloros (2009), CS can be applied across social classes.

The ease with which some speakers use two codes came through when a nine-year old Puerto Rican girl in East Harlem, New York (a predominantly working-class neighbourhood) was asked by the researcher what language she speaks with her brothers and sisters. Her answer was "*Hablamos los dos. We speak both*" (Zentella, 1997). By this statement, she meant that they speak a mixture of both Spanish and English since they grow up interacting in both languages, so they switch between both languages with ease. Findings indicate that being bilingual and using both languages in a conversation can be something that comes naturally, where the speaker does not even realise that they are combining two languages and therefore two cultures. The nine-year old Spanish girl in East Harlem is a typical example of the dual usage of languages in one linguistic discourse. It is important to note that there are many layers and kinds of linguistic identity that can determine which language or code would best suit a situation. The kind of linguistic identity chosen can be intentional, but it can also be the result of interactional negotiation where an interlocutor automatically adjusts his speech to accommodate the listener (Bucholz, 2005). This is in accordance with Hymes' (1974) statement that within a community, speakers share rules for the structuring of their linguistic codes and for the socially appropriate ways of speaking them. This means that often, unconscious language rules underpin speech patterns. This example can be applied to the linguistic context of

South Africa, which is multilingual at a community and individual level, where the notion of using multiple languages for different functions is prevalent, and language appropriacy determines which linguistic phenomena are applied and when.

Hinskens (2007, cited in Wiese, 2018) posits that language contact can be studied from two angles, namely, a 'language-centred approach' and an 'ethnographic approach.' The language-centred approach focuses on investigating linguistic phenomena like, morphosyntactic aspects, phonological aspects and lexical aspects, while the ethnographic approach analyses the speakers' social relations, their linguistic practices, specific linguistic choices, etc. The current study focuses on the ethnographic approach to determine how interlocutors use language, and how the choice of language is influenced by social factors and where the setting determines the extent and the form of the linguistic phenomena that will be used.

2.4. (a) Borrowing

In addition to the definition already supplied (see 2.3), the general definition of borrowing is the process of utilising a primary language and importing words from another language into it (Bas, 2020). Thomason and Kaufman's (1988: 3) definition is in line with that of Bas (2020) as they view borrowing as "the incorporation of foreign features into a group's native language by speakers of that language." According to Thomason and Kaufman (1988: 20), researchers use borrowing to refer to all sorts of "substratum interference" when there are subtle differences of borrowed words resulting from the influence of factors that led to 'imperfect' learning of the target language. Linguistic materials borrowed can include phonemes, pronouns, lexemes, affixes, etc. (Poplack *et al.* 1988). Language borrowing is not a new concept as studies on it go back centuries. Sapir (1921), Whitney (1875), Haugen (1950), Lehmann (1962), etc. conducted some of the earliest studies on borrowing (see more in Hoffer, 2005). Later researchers' definitions correlate with the definitions of these earlier researchers: for example, Haugen (1950) offers the definition of borrowing as a process where a loanword is formed from foreign morphemes and incorporated into the recipient language. The loanword will in *broad* terms retain its meaning and phonemic shape, but will, however, and in different ways, usually be incorporated into the phonemic-structure of the recipient language.

Borrowing is a global linguistic trait, which demonstrates that different languages borrow from each other whenever there is contact between them for a period of time. Contrary to the views of

Stepanyan (2018) and Bekker (2003) who state that languages with a low status are the ones who borrow from other languages, Hoffer (2005) suggests that this is not always the case. Hoffer cites the example of English and Spanish, which have borrowed extensively from other languages in spite of the fact that both languages are languages of a high status. During linguistic interactions, interlocutors apply borrowing for a variety of reasons. Some of these applications happen when speakers of the less dominant language make a conscious decision to borrow from the dominant language because it has a higher status (Kauffmann, 1988, cited in Fields, 2002: 4), while speakers might also borrow for simple convenience (Hoffmann, 1991, cited in Fields, 2002). Important to note is that some languages borrow from each other even though they have different grammatical and phonetic structures, for example, Spanish and Portuguese have borrowed vocabulary from non-Indo-European languages like Finnish, Hungarian, and Estonian (Hoffer, 2005). Bas (2020) agrees with this, showing that, language contact can affect a language regardless of its genetic status, meaning that borrowing sometimes happens across whole language families, for example, between the Indo-European and the Semitic language families. Many studies that support the claim of contact-induced language change regardless of genetic and social status have been conducted across the globe, for example, Baugh (1951, cited in Gardner-Chloros, 2005), Thomason and Kaufman (1988), etc. Jespersen (1946, cited in Hoffer, 2005) concurs by mentioning that many loanwords have been integrated into the English language from different languages, especially European languages, but not exclusively from the later. This has occurred in spite of English not only having a high status, but also in spite of the fact that it is a lingua franca, meaning a language that is adopted as a common language between speakers whose native languages are different (Posel & Zeller, 2020; Lewandowska, 2019; Rowley-Jolivet, 2017).

Various agents like subcultural groups, educational institutions, the media, science and technology, etc. introduce loanwords into speech communities. In addition to this, Poplack (2018) explains how bilingual people in the community play an important role in introducing words from a foreign language, and some of those foreign linguistic items end up being adopted into the grammatical structure of the recipient language. Some researchers explore borrowing to determine *how* it manifests in the recipient language. Poplack *et al.* (1988: 48) contribute to this when asserting that for borrowing, “the phonological shape and morphological composition of borrowed words are not, at least initially, likely to coincide exactly with host language patterns.” This means that changes will be applied over-time as loanwords are more-and-more fully incorporated into the host language. This is confirmed by studies stating that when words are imported from one language to another,

the phonology, morphology and spelling are often modified to fit into the structure of the adoptive language (Myers-Scotton, 2002, cited in Poplack, 2012). Stefano, *et al.* (2015), for example, explore the “integration of lexical borrowing” at different linguistic levels, namely, the phonological, morphological and the semantic level.

Loanwords are only used regularly after achieving a certain level of recognition in the host language. Studies indicate how borrowing manifests in loanwords, which according to Manfredi *et al.* (2015) are mostly nouns. Aitchison (2000:62, cited in Gardner-Chloros, 2009), points out that “nouns are freer of syntactic restrictions than other word-classes,” therefore they are easier to incorporate into the receptive language. The donor language-material, will usually adapt “phonologically or morphologically to conform to the patterns of that language, and occupying a sentence slot dictated by its syntax” (Poplack, *et al.* 1988: 52). This simply means that the syntax (the arrangement of words and phrases to create well-formed sentences in a language) is the linguistic level which dictates how a loanword will fit into the structure of the recipient language, and, in addition, where the speaker’s first language will determine how loan words are changed to conform to its linguistic rules. An example of this is the English word “hammock,” which has been adapted from the Spanish word “*hamaca*” to fit in with the English structure.

Nouns are an example of lexical borrowing, which Poplack (2018) defines as involving parts of speech that manifest as individual words. Lexical borrowing comes in three types, those that take place at the morphological¹ level, morphosemantic² level and those at the semantic³ level.

To clarify this, Poplack (2018) focuses primarily on lexical borrowing, which typically comes in the form of nouns, for example, *place*, *bread*, *war*. Lexical borrowings like these and many others are also applicable to compounds that function as single words, for example, *bedroom*, *gingerbread*, *war-torn*, etc. Borrowing is a common phenomenon, as many languages need lexical items from other languages to enrich them as well as to help them to fulfil different purposes, and to supplement the process of language maintenance through adopting lexical items by making foreign words to conform to the structure of their language. Interestingly, Myers-Scotton (2006) refers to lexical items that come from another language as a form of CS, while other researchers refer to them as borrowings (Zabrodskaia, 2013). This contradiction is addressed by Gardner-Chloros (2010: 196) who takes the stance that there is a distinct difference between the two linguistic

¹ How words are formed and their relation to other words in that language.

² The analysis of words through their constituent morphemes.

³ The meaning of words.

phenomena as borrowing fills a 'lexical gap,' while CS is an independent option between the two languages used in the interaction, and for purposes of this study, these are the definitions that will be used. Some of the most common examples of lexical items which are borrowed into other languages with little or no change are, using English examples, musical instruments (for example, *piano*), food (for example, *pizza*), some clothing items (for example, *blazer*), drugs (for example, *cocaine*), sports (for example, *rugby*), etc. (Poplack, *et al.* 1988: 15). In addition, borrowing at the morphosyntactic level (the level of linguistic units that have both morphological and syntactic properties) more often maintains the same word-form as in the donor language, for example, *pay off*, *tune in*, *worse off*, etc. In essence, such examples show that loanwords can occur where words from the donor language are adopted into the receptive language with no change to the lexicon (Manfredi *et al.* 2015). In cases where languages do undergo change through the incorporation of loanwords, the latter can be classified into three categories, loan translations, loan blends and loan shifts (Hoffer, 2005). A loan translation is also called a calque, and it takes place when a phrase is translated word for word (for example, *liver sausage*, in English, from *leberwurst*, which is German). Loan-blends are a combination of the loanword and an element from the native language, or even a blend from two donor languages, for example, monolingual (*mono* is the prefix from Greek, and *lingual* is the root from Latin). Further examples of English loan blends from Greek, are for example, words that start with 'ph-': these are usually of Greek origin, for example, *phone*, *philosophy*, *philanthropy*, etc.

Loan shifts result from native words taking new meanings because of the influence of another language due to a variety of reasons (Alvanoudi, 2017), for example, *café* in English is from French, although in French it means coffee. Poplack *et al.* (1988) also explain the process of semantic extension, which takes place when certain lexical items have added meanings when they are applied to different concepts as a result of contact with another language. Social and functional factors will, of course, determine how semantic extension is received within a speech community, and whether it will become obsolete or be maintained over a period of time.

In borrowing, forms that are imported from one language to another can dominate the recipient language to such an extent that the recipient language ends up with an extensive 'foreign' vocabulary (Bas, 2020). Extensive borrowing can also be at the expense of the home language, which might undergo linguistic changes where some words might fall out of use after being replaced by loanwords (Poplack, 1988). Thomason and Kaufman (1988) use the term 'foreign interference' when referring to elements that come from another language and are inserted into the structure of the

host language. Contrary to this, researchers like Bolonyai (1998) and De Gruyter (2018) view this trend as language maintenance and not foreign interference because speakers will still continue using their language after adopting certain linguistic structures. According to Myers-Scotton (2002, cited in Poplack, 2012), borrowed words change over-time after being converted into native words where they end up assuming characteristics of the language that adopts them.

In many cases, foreign words can penetrate a language even if there are equivalent words for the item, concept, idea, etc. Since the native language already has equivalents for the foreign vocabulary, it would seem that borrowed words in such cases would be unnecessary, but the opposite seems to be the case, especially in cases of scientific and other concepts in indigenous languages. These examples attest to the need for languages to borrow words from each other to fulfil different purposes. Myers-Scotton (2006) and Manfredi *et al.* (2015) refer to this as core borrowing, which is the duplication of native words by foreign linguistic elements. Gardner-Chloros (2009: 31) describes this phenomenon as “taking the morphology of the borrowed variety” even though there are equivalent word-forms in the native language. The two equivalent words sometimes co-exist in a language, but the foreign word can end up dominating or even replacing the equivalent word in the recipient language (Hoffer, 2005). Stepanyan (2018: 18) refers to this as “the tendency to eliminate the polysemy of the original word,” which in simple terms means the coexistence of many possible ways to refer to the same meaning of a word. This happens when speakers of the recipient language opt out of using the native equivalent of the borrowed word/s. Leopold (1949, cited in Matras, 2011: 63) refers to this concept as the “one system hypothesis or unitary language system.” This means that after the loanwords have been adopted into the recipient language, they enjoy greater usage than the original word/s in the receptive language. One example in South Africa that shows that borrowing can influence another language in this way is the Afrikaans word *venster* (*fenstere* to Setswana speakers; and ‘window’ in English) which has almost totally replaced the Setswana word *letlhabaphelo*. In this case, most people in fact do not know the original Setswana word. The common noun *venster* is thus a typical example of replacement. There are, of course, many other Afrikaans words that have been integrated into Setswana and are no longer thought of as foreign words because they have been adapted linguistically into the receptive language and passed on from generation to generation. A similar example is apparent in the use of the English loanword *plate*, which has replaced the equivalent Setswana word *sejelo*.

In Setswana/Afrikaans interactions, the borrowed words from Afrikaans will maintain features of Afrikaans, but not completely, as some words will undergo change which I will refer to here as

'*Tswanalise*,' (to turn something foreign into Setswana), meaning adapting the word-form so that it fits into the Setswana language structure. The term '*Tswanalise*,' is applied to English or any language where the word-form is transformed to fit into the Setswana structure. Gardner-Chloros (2009) refers to such practices as to 'stylise,' because the original word form is changed to conform to the linguistic pattern or style of another language. In many cases, borrowed words use the syntax and morphology of the recipient language. It is crucial to note that borrowing is likely to be common in a speech community where loanwords have been integrated into the recipient language for generations. Therefore, younger generations grow up being exposed to the adopted words, and hence they will apply these loanwords unconsciously.

English has a strong dominance on the Internet, and in technology and science, primarily because of globalisation; so many English words are borrowed into different languages to supplement certain items if there are no equivalent words for the relevant items, ideas or concepts in the concerned language/s (Mikanowski, 2018). Poplack *et al.* (1988) share the same view as Mikanowski (2018) as they emphasise the role of science and technology in contributing to the spread of English borrowed words in many parts of the world. Sourabh and Mansotra (2012) posit that English has a global influence as it is spoken as a second, third or foreign language in many countries. In most cases, English words are imported into different languages and end up being commonly used, sometimes without undergoing phonological change. Sourabh and Mansotra (2012: 3) cite the example of India where "many English words have been localised" (meaning they are commonly used in a certain area where they have undergone some adaptation), but they retain their English structure).

2.4. (b) Social Determinants of Borrowing

For borrowing, the scale of adaptability (which refers to adjusting to a situation up to a certain level) shows how the phonological system adapts to integrate the imported word (Hoffer, 2005). Languages which borrow many words from other languages are ranked "high on the scale of receptivity" (meaning that there is a high acceptance of linguistic forms from another language into the receptive language) as they generally borrow from languages which have a high status (Hoffer, 2005: 16; cited in Stepanyan, 2018). Many African languages borrow from English, especially in cases where none of the other neighbouring African languages have words for certain items, concepts, etc.; and therefore, African languages are likely to be labelled "high on the scale of receptivity." Kennedy (2017) cites one African language (Bemba) in Zambia, which in spite of the structural

differences borrows heavily from English. At the other extreme, Chinese ranks low on the scale of receptivity because it has directly borrowed only a few foreign words, and most borrowings were loan shifts (that is, when words from the donor language change or extend their meanings under the influence of the host language). This receptivity scale shows that potential loanwords can be accepted and adopted as part of the vocabulary of the native/receptive language, or they can be rejected and viewed as ‘foreignisms’ which might corrupt the native language (Hymes, 1962). The scale of receptivity thus indicates resistance or acceptance of the foreign material. However, Thomason and Kaufman (1988) are not convinced of how reliable the claims regarding the degree of receptivity of some languages are, as the origin of some words cannot be fully established to determine their true origin. Centuries ago, English could have been classed as high on the scale of receptivity because it borrowed heavily from other languages. However, this process helped it to develop fast, but it still retained its structure.

Poplack’s (2018) views on borrowing differ from many other studies in that her study focuses on *how* foreign words are incorporated into the recipient language, in contrast to analysing the end product of borrowing. In simple terms, Poplack emphasises process as opposed to product. The process demonstrates how borrowed words are adapted into the recipient language, how they are spread across communities, how they adapt to the grammatical structure, and if they undergo any change over time.

Thomason (2001a) and Lauttamus (1991, cited in Zabrodska, 2013: 86) pose a question that needs clarity, “when should something count as lexical borrowing and when should it count as CS?” They pose this question as there are no definite boundaries to indicate where one ends and the other starts. Some studies hold the view that the alternative processes of borrowing and that of single word switches complicate the analysis of the patterns of the speech of bilinguals (Poplack *et al.* 1988). Manfredi (2015) posits that the confusion can be resolved by adopting a comparative analysis, which will help clarify the blurred boundary between the two concepts as well as the linguistic traits of each phenomenon. Morphophonological⁴ integration is the key concept here. Borrowing from this angle is morphophonologically integrated, meaning that it involves the morphophonological integration of morphemes into the recipient language, which will be the applicable definition for the purposes of this study.

⁴ The branch of linguistics that studies the interaction between morphological and phonological processes.

2.4. (c) Phonological and morphological aspects of borrowing

Borrowings thus sometimes end up almost losing many of their original characteristics. This change is referred to as structural change, and in phonology, results in alterations of sounds in a language (Fields, 2002). Change also affects morphological structure as in the example of Afrikaans loanwords in Tswana all having the same Tswana-influenced morphological structure, regardless of the geographical area (see Figure 2.1 in Chapter 5, which shows Tswanaised Afrikaans words). This results from the fact that the linguistic structure of the languages in question differ (in this case, the Afrikaans linguistic structure differs from the Tswana structure); hence, the word-form is adapted (Myers-Scotton, 2002, cited in Poplack, 2012 and Gardner-Chloros, 2009). Poplack (2018) shares this view when stating that borrowed words often use the syntax and morphology of the recipient language. In such cases, Pauline and Vince (2009) posit that the dynamics of borrowing determine the modifications of loanwords.

Interestingly, no language is homogenous, hence even though English is a lingua franca, it has also imported words from other languages, especially European languages like Latin, Greek and French, but even so, English loanwords have, in turn, penetrated many languages and influenced many host languages. An example of languages in contact affecting each other in such extreme ways is where the French and the English first came into contact centuries ago, resulting in their languages undergoing change over time. Contact between the two languages resulted in the Norman French contributing as the lexifier and the Old English being “the principal provider of grammatical structure” (Baugh, 1951: 191, in Gardner-Chloros, 2005). Non-European languages have, however, not just borrowed from English, they have borrowed from other European languages, and since the different languages-in-contact have different linguistic structures, the borrowed words are often modified. Another illustrative example of this is supplied by Heath (1989, cited in Gardner-Chloros, 2009) when analysing the speech of Moroccan Arabic interlocutors when they borrow French words and modify them by leaving out inflections. Modifying borrowed words takes many forms. For example, the morphological structure can change, and at other times, the pronunciation of a foreign word is simplified to fit in with the structure of the native/recipient language (Hoffmann, 1991, cited in Fields, 2002). Hoffer (2005) inspected the phonological systems of languages in contact and concluded that a different intonation system as well as a big difference in the number of vowels and consonants will negatively affect the borrowing process. In some cases, the phonological system of the recipient language has to be adapted if it is too different from that of the donor language. This

can happen when the recipient language has, for example, few vowels and/or consonants, or if its syllable structure is simple; the receptive language will then often undergo changes to make provision for the imported word/s. An example of this is provided by Kennedy (2017: 21) who states that English has almost double the number of sounds as Bemba (an African language spoken in Zambia), and that, therefore, this difference can be a challenge in the borrowing process; but this does not mean that borrowing between such distinct languages is impossible.

There are instances where borrowed words change their structure when embedded into the recipient language to such an extent that they almost lose their original linguistic characteristics. Hoffer (2005) cites the case of Japanese borrowing from English as a model example of borrowing across phonetic and grammatical structures. Hoffer's (2005) study shows that some integrated English words into the Japanese language are not intelligible to English native speakers because they have undergone extensive changes through the borrowing process. Typical examples are evident in cases where Japanese sometimes uses just a segment of a word if that word is too long – apartment = *aparto*, asparagus = *asupa*, etc.

Relatedly, borrowing across substantially different sound and grammatical structures can change how speakers of the recipient language use the host language. Wolfson (1989) demonstrates this when highlighting the influence of English on the Polish language. Contact between the two languages led to the Polish spoken in America by second generation immigrants being different from the one spoken in the Polish home country. Polish/English bilingual speakers, who have borrowed English words into the Polish language, use the Polish variety spoken in America. The linguistic repertoire used by the American Polish highlights, in addition, the age variable where the speech of the younger generation is different from that of the older generation (first generation immigrants versus second immigration immigrants). Baran (2017: 1) cites examples of borrowings used by younger people (*kara* – car; *biznes* – business; *salun* – salon; etc.) in a passage mainly in Polish, but mixed with English borrowings to indicate that English has penetrated Polish interactions. Poplack *et al.* (1988) also mention changes brought about by generational borrowing, that is, those which may result in the borrowing pattern changing the host language. This kind of language use changes the subordinate language (the language that has a low status) over time, and in the case cited by Baran (2017), Polish is the subordinate language, vis-à-vis English.

An illustrative study was conducted in Ottawa (located in Ontario Province) and Hull (located in Quebec Province) in Canada by Poplack *et al.* (1988) to determine how borrowing manifests in the majority French speaking parts (Quebec), and in the majority English parts (Ontario); Canada.

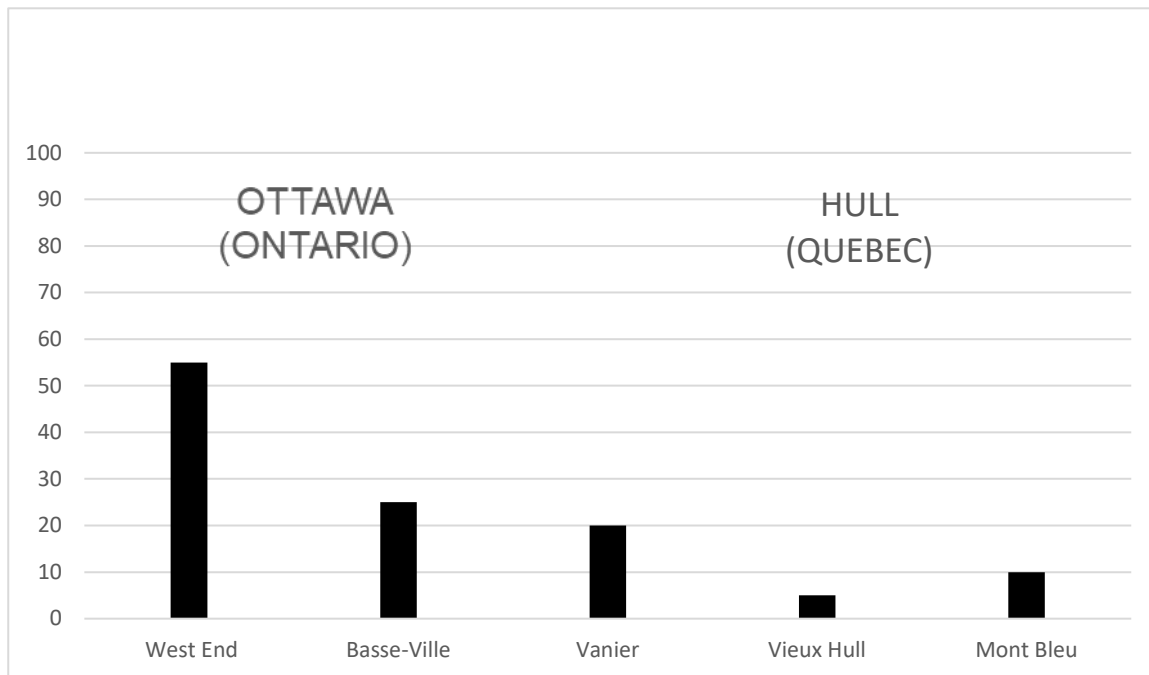


Table 1: English usage in Canada in the Ottawa and Hull regions

The aim of Table 1 is to draw a comparison of linguistic repertoires between the two areas to gauge the extent and forms of borrowing. Findings indicate that there are differences in how borrowing manifests in the two provinces, which underpins regional linguistic traits. Of the three regions in Ontario highlighted by Poplack (1988:51), West End, Basse-Ville and Vanier (all in the capital city Ottawa), the borrowing process differs from region to region. West End is a working class area with English majority speakers; therefore, residents are non-resistant to English borrowings. On the contrary, Vanier is middleclass and has a high population of Francophones, therefore English borrowing encounters some resistance, while Basse-Ville is a mixed area, and as a result, residents undergo moderate English borrowings. Importantly, in this province (at least as far as the three areas of the study in Ottawa are concerned) the findings by Poplack *et al.* (1988: 50) show the non-uniformity of borrowed words. This is because borrowed words identified in this study either underwent a once off occurrence, which is referred to as nonce borrowing, or became part of the lexicon (be part of established loans) by adapting to the host language’s linguistic pattern, or even,

sometimes, retaining the pattern of the donor language. In the Hull (Quebec) region, the working class region of Vieux Hull differs from the West End working class as its English borrowings generally approximate that of the middleclass region of Mont Bleu where “both have negligible anglophone populations,” but the English borrowing process is moderate in both areas (Poplack, 1988: 51). This means that English borrowings in this area does not depend on class, because if that were the case, then residents of Vieux Hull would be higher than Mont Bleu on the borrowing scale because of their low social class. Clearly factors other than social class were aiding or hindering borrowings, the general point being that borrowing is clearly situational and ‘sensitive’ to the social peculiarities of any particular location.

2.5. (a) Code-Switching - CS

Manfredi *et al.* (2005) highlight the use of sentential materials that belong to a different language, but are used in a linguistic discourse that is understood by the other interlocutor/s. This is apparent in the definition by Gumperz (1982: 59, cited in Manfredi, *et al.* 2005) who define CS as “the juxtaposition within the same speech exchange of passages of speech belonging to two different grammatical systems or subsystems.” Muysken (1995: 7, cited in Manfredi *et al.* 2005) defines it as “the alternative use by bilinguals of two or more languages in the same conversation.” These definitions highlight the use of two languages operating in the same interaction, but doing so independent of each other.

Researchers like Thomason (1997), Myers-Scotton (2002), Treffers-Daller (2009), Zabrodskaia, (2013), Gardner-Chloros, (2009), Manfredi, (2015), Posel & Zeller (2020), etc., concur that language switching is a linguistic practice that is commonly practised in bilingual communities. There are two main types of CS; and they are, intrasentential and intersentential CS. Finlayson & Slabbert (2009: 70) define intrasentential CS as usage of phrases from different languages, and intersentential CS as “the more skilled production, since the speaker must produce entire, well-formed sentences in both languages.” In essence, this means that the speaker must have a good command of all the languages used in the interaction to be able to CS at the intersentential level. Mastura (2003) concurs, but adds tag switching to intrasentential switching and intersentential switching to make three examples of CS. Meanwhile, Rampton (1995, 1999, in Fought, 2006: 197) views ‘language crossing’ or ‘code crossing’ as variants of the same form of switching, and defines them as “the use of language varieties associated with social or ethnic groups that the speaker does not normally belong to.” There are other studies with varying explanations and definitions of intrasentential CS and

intersentential CS, but for the purposes of this study, language switching cases which show switching at 'above' the sentential level will be referred to as 'intersentential switching,' while cases of switching languages at the phrase level and 'below' will be referred to as 'code-mixing.' Based on this description, the term 'code-switching' will then be reserved as a cover term for both phenomena.

The setting can determine the extent and type of CS used in any interaction. In essence, however, intersentential switching and code-mixing operate on the prescript that they are linguistic phenomena that penetrate the matrix language in interactions, where code-mixing operates on a phrase level, while intersentential switching operates on a sentential level. The matrix language plays a crucial role in CS as it determines the morphosyntactic frame, where it mostly contributes more morphemes for both intersentential as well as intrasentential interactions (Myers-Scotton, 1993b).

According to Edwards (2009: 30), language choice in CS is influenced by 'sociolinguistic subtleties' like situation, context and the participants; for example, work/home, public/private, formal/informal, adult/child, manager/subordinate, etc. Speech appropriacy and signalling conventions are critical as failure to adhere to these will lead to a "breakdown of interaction" (Roberts *et al.* 1992: 209). McCormick (2002, cited in Gardner-Chloros, 2009) reports that CS is mostly the linguistic choice of young people as they apply CS more than older people do. The same stance is emphasised by Roman's study in the 80s (cited in Fought, 2006). After analysing the speech of the black Caribbean population, the findings show that the youth applied CS more as a sign of forging a new culture and/or to show rebellion. Other studies that support this finding were conducted by Vermei (2004) in the Netherlands, Hill (1999) in Spain, Rampton (1995) in London, Boucholz (1999b) in the US, etc. (all cited in Fought, 2006: 200). Further analysis of these studies indicate that CS is more common among boys/young men than girls/young women, which seems, as an aside, to go in a direction opposite to one of the hypotheses of this study. CS is not race-specific as both black and white people from different social classes apply it. CS as a linguistic trait thus often separates the young male group from others as there are interactional stances that are perceived as inherently male (Bucholz, 2009). The point emphasised in these studies is that who code-switches depends more on the social relationship between the various languages since there is more to any speech community than just grammatical and communicative competence.

For Clyne (1987), CS is a response that is 'triggered' by a linguistic element that resonates with the interaction. Chun (2001; 2008) cites an example of triggering by stating that Korean American men use AAVE (African American Vernacular English) to identify with African men as a way of forging a new identity. Myers-Scotton (1995) shares this view by stating that CS is applied in appropriate contexts to show different emotions like deference, solidarity, anger, etc. This is referred to as 'Right and Obligations' (RO) as it emphasises the roles played by all interlocutors in an interaction. These forms of discourse are, however not used randomly as they are controlled by the social setting/context. In Bucholz's (2005) study, girls changed their speech to conform or identify with different groups, depending on the context.

Haust (1995) and Gardner-Chloros (1995, cited in Gardner-Chloros, 2010) share the view of Clyne (1987) in positing that CS forms start spontaneously, and are subsequently integrated into the host language. Different terms are used to explain how CS operates when integrated into the host language. The term devised for explaining deliberate CS is 'motivated switching,' while unconscious or unintended CS is termed 'performance switching' (De Bot, 2002, in Treffers-Daller, 2009). Many researchers view CS as a dynamic process, and this ties in with Rindler-Schjerve's (1998, in Gardner-Chloros, 2010) study, which does not support the view that CS necessarily leads to language shift. Findings in this study state that CS contributes positively to language maintenance because interlocutors, who are balanced bilinguals, like the Sardinian case in Italy highlighted earlier in this chapter, do not converge to the dominant language, but instead adapt their language to enable it to accept linguistic changes.

As mentioned earlier, it is important to note that CS does not only apply when two or more languages are used; it also applies when different dialects/codes of a language are used. Sometimes dialects are referred to by different names, and some examples used for English dialects are Black English, Chinglish, Spanglish, etc. and speakers often CS between these and standard English. According to Sarbaugh (1988), students may speak different codes, for example, on the one hand, an inner city (from The Bronx in New York City, for example) black student in the United States may speak the black dialect and standard English. On the other hand, a student (most likely white) might know just standard English. The two codes are different and this might cause communication problems, so the student who speaks two codes will switch to standard English in certain contexts. In some cases, CS between inner city students will dominate conversations as many interlocutors are exposed to two codes from early childhood.

CS operates similarly to the way different generations apply borrowing. The age variable is an example of navigating linguistic boundaries in a bilingual community where differences in intergenerational CS are common. This becomes apparent when analysing the speech repertoire of immigrant communities where the two generations apply CS differently because they effectively belong to different speech communities even though they reside in the same area.

2.5. (b) Social determinants of CS

Although many local, South African language-contact studies are education based, there are a number of studies conducted in South Africa that are based on the linguistic repertoires in communities. Community language studies by Dyers (2007, 2008 & 2009) follow the traditional linguistic approach, which deal with language phenomena like borrowing, CS, transfer, etc. while a few researchers follow a different approach, like translanguaging, which has been emphasised in some sociolinguistic studies (Makalela, 2013, 2014 & 2015; MacSwan, 2017, etc.). Makalela (2013) highlights studies on linguistic changes in the community when stating that migrants forge a new linguistic identity when they settle in urban areas. He uses the term 'translanguaging' to describe "the shifting between languages by multilingual speakers to enable them to navigate communication under different contexts" (Makalela, 2014: 113). However, borrowing and CS are still at the centre of many studies of a sociolinguistic nature, therefore, for purposes of this study, the focus will be on the traditional linguistic phenomena of borrowing and CS. An example by Ditsele and Mann (2014) focuses on how two African languages (Setswana and Sepedi), plus Afrikaans and English, influence the linguistic repertoire of three Tshwane Townships (Garankuwa, Mabopane and Shoshanguve) residents. Similar studies show that sociolinguistics provides useful insights into the relationships between people and languages in that it brings to the fore the myriad ways in how linguistic phenomena function in societies.

CS studies supply different reasons for this linguistic phenomenon, a major one being migration operating under a number of facets like trade, slavery, natural disasters, colonisation, wars, etc. Migration is a dominant contributor to CS as speakers of different languages or language codes are forced to interact (Wolfson, 1989). Migrants have to learn the language/languages of their host country or the language of the region where they live. If migrants have a home language that is mutually intelligible with some of the regional languages, they will use their linguistic repertoires to CS in order to communicate with residents of their host country. However, most of these languages are not mutually intelligible, so migrants have to forge a new communication channel by applying

CS and borrowing, which involve words and expressions from different languages. When people migrate to an area where a different language or language variety is spoken, they are often forced to negotiate a new linguistic identity by, among others, learning the language of the host community. McLaughlin (2009, in Wiese, 2018) posits that African cities are more multilingual than most places because of mixing between different African languages and European languages – in turn mostly a direct result of colonization. The complex multilingual contexts in African cities provide a sociolinguistic environment where a lot of language acquisition is taking place, and as a result, the potential for CS to be a prominent phenomenon in this context is high.

Although borrowing and CS might interconnect at some level, it is important to note that borrowing is not a precursor to CS, as some monolinguals might not have the competence to use another language in order to CS. Manfredi (2015) states that some linguists, however, like Romaine (1989), Heath (1989) and Myers-Scotton (1992) view CS as a form of support system that enables borrowing to take place. This is based on the premise that there is a continuum between these two linguistic phenomena. To refute this, Matras (2009) has tabulated differences between CS and borrowing as Table 2 below shows. These two linguistic phenomena are not mutually inclusive as borrowings use single words or compound words that are brought into communities by not just bilinguals, but also by technology (for example, *computer, wifi, cellphone*, etc.), science (for example, *laboratory, electricity, chemical*, etc.), medicine (for example, *injection, theatre* and related medical terms) etc. In addition, researchers like Gumperz (1992), Gardner-Chloros (2010), Alvanoudi (2017), etc. push back against this view. A typical example to refute the stance of the researchers who claim that CS is a precursor to borrowing happens when African languages borrow from European languages. This is based on the fact that while many African speakers are unable to interact in the European languages, they are more than capable of borrowing loanwords from English like *because, peanut butter, or, toilet paper*, etc. These examples of borrowing demonstrate that knowledge of another language is not a requirement for borrowing as interlocutors might not even be aware that they are using loanwords. Conversely, knowledge of another language is a requirement for CS. In essence, borrowing and CS therefore does happen simultaneously or at the same time in a community.

Below is a simplified outline based on Matras (2009), which highlights the basic differences between borrowing and CS.

Borrowing	CS
Commonly used by monolingual speakers.	Commonly used by bilingual or multilingual speakers.
Uses single lexical items.	Uses phrases and sentences, except in cases where there is a single word switch.
Items are likely to have regular occurrence in that frame of reference.	There will be a single occurrence for that phrase/sentence in a similar frame of reference.
It is viewed as a default expression.	It is used for specific conversational effect.
There is convergence when adopting a lexical item.	There is no convergence as the two or more languages used in the interaction remain separate entities.
It allows for structural integration of loanwords.	There is no structural integration.

Table 2: *The list of distinct differences between borrowing and CS*

2.5. (c) Comparison between intersentential switching and code-mixing

It is crucial to mention that the word ‘code,’ as explained by Gardner-Chloros (2009), means language or dialect, so, in essence, intersentential CS means alternating between languages *or* dialects, while code-mixing means combining different items from different languages *or* dialects. People from different cultures and languages mix now more than ever, so the boundaries between languages often overlap, hence intersentential switching and code-mixing have become common linguistic phenomena (Finlayson and Slabbert, 2014). Researchers do not make a clear-cut distinction between the two, as is the case with CS and borrowing. The study by Muysken (2000) indicates that monolingual characteristics are maintained in intersentential switching, while in code mixing, there is usually a greater degree of convergence between the relevant languages. Muysken (2000) continues by positing that in intersentential switching, the two languages remain separate, while for code mixing, the main feature is using phrases/linguistic elements from different languages or varieties in any single discursive interaction.

Havermeier (2016) also makes a distinction between intersentential switching and code-mixing by indicating that code-mixing does not affect the base (substrate) language (the language that provides the core structure), meaning that the core components of the morphosyntactic and morphophonological structures will remain intact. As highlighted by Havermeier (2016), code mixing thus occurs when units of speech from a superstrate language, such as words, phrases and clauses, are embedded in the base, substrate (matrix) language.

In Hong Kong, university students introduced a form of code mixing aptly called Mix. This was created as a reflection of youth identity among university students (Gibson, 1987, in Gardner-Chloros, 2009). There are many examples of such mixing being part of the creation of a subgroup formed on the basis of linguistic identity. For example, London Greek Cypriots use a code-switched mode among themselves as a mark of group identity (Gardner-Chloros, McEntee-Atalianis, & Finnis 2005; Gardner-Chloros & Finnis 2004). An in-group identity attached to code mixing is also apparent in Buchholz' (2009: 31) study of Mexican Americans; a study which demonstrates a linguistic identity of youthful masculinity as well "as a marker both of interactional alignment and of a particular gendered style among Mexican American youth." The linguistic trait of code mixing thus separates this group from others: it encapsulates an interactional stance that is perceived as inherently male (Buchholz, 2009). An example of code mixing in South Africa comes from Dyers' (2009) study in the Western Cape Province, where the focus is on a widely-dispersed linguistic phenomenon that is commonly referred to as 'tsotsi-taal' or 'flaaitaal.' Tsotsi-taal commonly translates to 'language for the street smart', and one that is used as a form of group solidarity among the urban youth in South Africa. Tsotsi-taal is thus a linguistic marker for the urban youth, originating it seems in the townships of Johannesburg. Initially, it had negative connotations, as the general perception was that it was the language used by young criminals (Hurst, 2014). Johannesburg is a sprawling city where many people who reside there come from different linguistic groups; consequently, a 'local' variety is needed that can be understood by different interlocutors from different backgrounds. This need to communicate facilitated the creation of tsotsi-taal, and this gradually spread to other urban areas across the country (Hurst, 2014).

In essence, code mixing is used to fulfil the dual purpose of either identifying with a group, which can be an individual choice or the linguistic trait of a group, or for an individual or a group to distinguish himself/itself from another group.

The table below shows that CS more broadly influences interlocutors on a wide spectrum.

Pragmatic factors of how CS manifests in interactions

Factors that influence CS	The end result on phrases and sentences
Social factors that influence CS	The setting (meaning the environment) can determine the extent and type of CS used in the interaction, for example, public engagement, professional discussion, family meeting, etc.
CS level of influence on languages which come into contact	Convergence on both languages which is referred to as bidirectional, and/or unidirectional change (where only one language undergoes convergence), language shift, structural change, etc.
Influence of context on CS	Certain topics are likely to 'trigger' some interlocutors to combine linguistic elements from another language.

Table 3: Factors that influence CS in conversations

This all means, of course, that linguistic material used to CS is influenced by factors beyond language itself, as the speaker exercises choice, but choice which is often circumstantial as indicated in the table above.

The three linguistic phenomena (borrowing, intersentential switching and code-mixing) analysed in this chapter are indicative of the fact that language contact influences linguistic variety. In addition, no language is homogeneous as even in cases where speakers are monolingual, they speak variants of that language. Factors highlighted in the table above are some of the influences that contribute to linguistic variety, which in turn results in different speech communities.

2.6. The speech community

'Speech community' is a sociolinguistic term which refers to a group of people who share the same patterns of language use. According to Kashula and Anthonissen (1995), a speech community is a unit whose members are identified by a common locality and the linguistic forms they use to interact. The same view is emphasised by Hudson (1996) and Lyons (1970, in Kaschula &

Anthonissen 1995: 62) who define a speech community as “all the people who use a given language or dialect to interact with others.” In simple terms, a speech community is a group of people who use language in a unique and mutually acceptable way among themselves. It operates in terms of relations between individual members in a community, and it uses language markers to highlight differences between different groups within any speech community, for example, male/female; young/old; educated/uneducated; etc.

Wardhaugh (1992), Dyers, (2007), Solloway (2018), Alfonzetti (2005) and Fought (2006) concur when stating that most communities are composed of social groups, which have slightly different speech patterns. Poplack *et al.* (1988), for example, analysed the sociodemographic characteristics (a combination of social and residence factors that define people into specific sub-groups or into particular sub-populations) of speakers and where the study gauges how different cultural, social and historical factors influence any speaker’s linguistic repertoire. Active verbal interaction underpins language use in any population group, hence exploring linguistic repertoires under different contexts and with different sub-groups is crucial because what is considered appropriate in one context or in relation to one sub-group might be viewed as inappropriate in another context, or with a different sub-group. This is because language has a bearing on interrelationships as society determines the way interlocutors use language. Coulmas (1997: 2, cited in Fuller and Wardhaugh, 2014) shares this view when positing that ‘macro- linguistics’ “studies what societies do with their languages, that is, attitudes and attachments that account for the functional distribution of speech forms in society.” Macro-linguistics is the study of language on a large scale (particularly a social scale) relating to the development and trends of languages and the usage of their speakers. Gardner-Chloros (1995) takes a closer look at different speech communities and notes that sociolinguistic factors play a key role in influencing CS patterns. For example, studying the covariation that exists between social structure and speech patterns will highlight similarities and differences among the different ages, genders, and social classes in any specific research population. The situation will determine which linguistic repertoire will be used, namely, the setting, the culture, the relationship between interlocutors and the like. Gardner-Chloros (1995) thus analyses how CS patterns manifest in different sub-groups in speech communities to determine which sub-group applies it the most and how it influences language use. CS and borrowing constitute significant linguistic reflexes of speech communities (and of the speech patterns of individuals who belong to them) that are characterised by language contact, and these linguistic reflexes affect speech patterns. Zentella (1997) concurs by stating that children are born into a certain culture, and they

therefore imitate the cultural practices of their group, including language use, thus becoming members of that speech community; as well as sub-parts of it.

Bucholtz (2009) contradicts Bell (1981) when highlighting that she does not, in fact, support a view emphasising social factors like age, region, ethnicity, etc. as the variables that determine how linguistic traits will unfold in a speech community, but rather supports the study of individual interactional alliances. Notwithstanding Bucholtz's view, linguistic socialisation assists in maintaining speech communities as it ensures that there is a continuum across different linguistic subgroups. Zentella (1977) is of the view that studies of language variation must take into account intercultural contexts in particular; contexts that result from different situations as interlocutors employ linguistic discourse that is appropriate for that particular speech community. In addition, transitions from one speech community to another tend to have an important impact on linguistic behaviour.

Cultural and linguistic norms are often acquired 'naturally' (but can also be taught). Samovar (1994: 34) terms the former process the 'cultural unconscious' (the profound historical, cultural or social practices of personal and group identities which define people), which is, in turn, underpinned by language, the social fabric that forms the basis of a speech community.

In certain multilingual speech communities, languages can be used as either high or low varieties (in a diglossic fashion), and this can have negative consequences on the language viewed as a low status variety. According to Thomason (2001) and Winford (2003), speech varieties are often assigned a positive or a negative value, which is then applied to the speaker. If people value a language or a variety of a language, they are more likely to have a positive attitude towards speakers of that language.

A sociolinguistic approach is crucial in this study: most residents in the North West Province are Setswana home language speakers, and many of them have a good or at least a satisfactory grasp of the Afrikaans language. Therefore, it is important to study the underlying sociolinguistic processes and patterns of borrowing and CS in Klerksdorp, which seem prevalent in this town. In addition to this, there seems to be a growing significant use of English and Sesotho through similar forms of borrowing and CS, so it is imperative to analyse the influence of English and Sesotho on Setswana alongside that of Afrikaans in order to determine if the linguistic trends are changing.

In brief, the literature review analyses the roles of language in not just sociolinguistics, but in the other disciplines like psychology, anthropology and sociology, thereby demonstrating how language use influences the lived experiences of communities and individuals. The focus of the chapter is,

however, on sociolinguistics where borrowing and CS take centre stage. The study of these phenomena in linguistic interactions have been conducted nationally and internationally. Some studies corroborate findings on borrowing and CS studies conducted elsewhere in the global world, while other studies raise pertinent questions on the different definitions of borrowing and CS, and how they manifest in linguistic interactions. A comparison of different findings on borrowing and CS highlights the role of these linguistic phenomena as social determinants, particularly in speech communities.

CHAPTER 3

The Historical, Social and Linguistic Context

This chapter covers South African history from 1652 until the democratic government in 1994, as well as the post-94 period and its changing linguistic landscape; thus, it provides the context in which language changes manifested over a few centuries. The subtopics are, in Section 3.1., a brief look at the linguistic landscape at the time of the arrival of the Europeans, followed in Sections 3.2 and Sections 3.3., respectively, by an overview of developments until and during the advent of Apartheid. In Section 3.4, the focus then turns to looking at the dominance of Afrikaans pre-1994 as well as the more general impact (in Section 3.5.) of English and Afrikaans on the language repertoire of South Africa's black people. Section 3.6. then looks at the post-1994 linguistic landscape, before turning (in Section 3.7.) to a (sociolinguistic) history of the Tswana people, followed by a history of Klerksdorp i.e. the specific geographic context of the speech-community under consideration (Section 3.8).

3.1. The arrival of the Europeans

Before the arrival of the Europeans in five ships under the leadership of Jan van Riebeeck in 1652, the Khoikhoi and the San (the two groups combined are known as the Khoisan) lived in the area where the Europeans chose to settle. The Khoisan lived semi-nomadic lives (they had temporary dwellings which allowed them to migrate whenever necessary), but they also owned land and livestock (Humby, *et al.* 2015). The South African landscape looked different then: there was, for example, no provincial demarcation when the Dutch from the Netherlands set up camp with the aim of starting a refreshment station to cater for the needs of sailors on their way to the East. Over time, the Dutch implemented changes and the area eventually became a colony.

The reason for the establishment of the refreshment station was to supply meat, fresh food and vegetables, water and medical supplies in compliance with the contract signed with the *Dutch East India Company* (Aartsma, 2008). While stationed at the Cape of Good Hope where the Dutch were running the refreshment station, they saw that the area provided long-term opportunities. Based on this, in 1657, nine members of the Dutch group obtained farms at the Cape of Good Hope, and this started the first permanent European settlement in South Africa. By 1795 the new arrivals had grown to “approximately 15 000 free citizens, (free burghers)” meaning that these people were no longer *Dutch East India Company* members, as they were no longer employed by the company

(Humby, *et al.* 2015: 101). In essence, 'free burghers' meant Europeans who were issued with free papers, which relieved them from their service to the *Dutch East India Company*, thus making them full citizens/burghers. This was all partly because more Europeans had come from the Netherlands with the support of the then Governor Simon van der Stel (the founder of Stellenbosch as shown in Figure 1 below). This governor gave a number of Dutchmen permission to come and join their compatriots; leading to the discovery of other opportunities in the Cape, including wine making in 1659, which was started just 7 years after their arrival in South Africa (Ramerini, 2014).

Since there were not many other white people in South Africa when the Dutch arrived, they saw colonisation as feasible. They ultimately realised that the option of allowing free burghers to settle would be advantageous to them, so they allowed more free burghers to come and settle in the area (Ramerini, 2014). Figure 1 below shows the first main areas of settlement in South Africa for the Europeans at the "Kaapkolonie." At the time, the Dutch who were in the service of the *Dutch East India Company* vastly outnumbered the free burghers who were often shopkeepers and craftsmen.



Figure 1: The areas predominantly occupied by the early Dutch settlers. Source: Marco Ramerini

3.2. The Dutch settlement at the “Kaapkolonie,” The Great Trek and the 1800s

Initially, the European settlers and the Khoisan existed side by side and engaged in trade through bartering. However, after the European numbers increased, charges of cattle theft caused great tension between the Khoisan and the Europeans (Aartsma, 2008). The established European courts did not pass fair judgement when dealing with conflicts between the two groups, as the court rulings generally favoured the Europeans. This resulted in the Khoisan losing many of their livestock to the Europeans for ‘trespassing,’ as the Europeans did not recognise their grazing land. This ultimately led to the Europeans also taking more land originally belonging to the Khoisan, because the Khoisan had no written title deeds to the land as the European law stipulates; this in spite of the fact that the Khoisan had owned land under local traditional laws (Aartsma, 2008). Such rulings deprived the Khoisan of the freedom to use their land to farm, keep livestock and engage freely in their culture as hunters and gatherers. No group of ‘mixed blood’ (a person or people whose ancestors belonged to two or more races) was accepted by the Europeans (the Europeans regarded the Khoisan as people of mixed blood), and for this reason, the Khoisan were allowed in the “Kaapkolonie” only as workers, specifically labourers and farm workers.

Many Europeans who had taken land from the Khoisan started using slaves from different countries, mostly Asian and African, as they needed a strong workforce for manual labour (Ramerini, 2014).

Year	Whites Free Burghers + Servants	Slaves	Total Whites +Slaves	Free Burghers	Soldiers	Total Whites +Slaves +Soldiers
1652	90	0	90			
1658	82	80	162			
1660		187				
1672	221	200	421	64		
1679	289	191	480	142		
1685					200	
1691	1.000	400	1.400			
1695				340		
1699	1.232	536	1.768	414	751	2.519
1717	2.500	2.500	5.000	2.000		
1733	2.598	2.218	4.816			
1756	5.000					
1780				12.000		
1795	16.000	16.839	32.839			

Figure 2 shows the increasing number of Europeans as well as the increasing number of slaves over more than a century.

Figure 2: *The increasing numbers of the Dutch population, the free citizens and the slaves from 1652 – 1795. Source: Marco Ramerini*

As Europeans were now employers and slave owners, this contributed to the segregation of black people, since the Europeans viewed the latter as an inferior community of slaves/labourers. They were, therefore, subject to marginalisation (Ramerini, 2014). Racial segregation continued unabated and non-white people suffered for centuries (Humby, *et al.* 2015). Over time, the white settlers spread to other areas in South Africa, and from 1795, it was not just the Dutch settlers who occupied land in South Africa, but a mixture of white people. This mixture included those who came as a result of “the first British occupation between 1795 and 1803” (Humby, *et al.* 2015: 101) and then as the result of the final British occupation from 1806 onwards. From 1652 until the *Dutch East India Company* went bankrupt in 1794, the Dutch regarded South Africa as their land, but the British ultimately overthrew them in 1795/1806, ushering in the period during which the Cape Colony was established (Ramerini, 2014).



Figure 3: *The Orange River and the Vaal River, showing the route taken by the Dutch to evade English rule. Source: Encyclopædia Britannica, Inc.*

The movement of Europeans, particularly the Dutch (later known as the Afrikaners and/or the Boers, the latter term mostly used to refer to Afrikaner farmers), from the Cape Colony to other areas of present-day South Africa was known as The Great Trek. In essence, The Great Trek was used to refer to the migration of large numbers of Dutch/Afrikaans speaking people across the Orange River from 1835 to 1846 where they occupied land as Boer farmers (Erasmus, 1995). The name 'Orange River' was provided by a Dutch official, Jacob Gordon in 1799, in honour of the Dutch royal family. The Orange River and the Vaal River (Figure 3) played a crucial role in the route taken by the Dutch when they undertook The Great Trek from the Cape and headed to the interior of South Africa to start new settlements. The Great Trek across the Orange River started in 1835 and it was buoyed by the Dutch/Afrikaner desire to live an independent life outside the reach of British rule (De Klerk, 2009). Their journey and eventual settlement inland caused tremendous social upheaval to indigenous tribes as the 'settlers' operated by using forced labour and, in addition, seized land from indigenous tribes for farming (South African History Online, accessed on 17 August 2024).

Because the first settlers in the Cape of Good Hope were of Dutch ancestry, the Afrikaans language developed as a variant (arguably a creole) of Dutch in South Africa. Hence, even today, Afrikaans is predominantly spoken in and around what is now the Western Cape Province, which was then the "Kaapkolonie." After the 1795/1806 English occupation, the status quo in the Cape changed, so for a period covering nearly a century, the Cape was a colony of Great Britain until South Africa became a Union in 1910. This then led to a new order where the first Constitution for the Union of South Africa gave ruling rights to the white minority (Adler & Steinberg, 2000). Adler and Steinberg (2000) emphasise tension between the two white groups, which made things difficult, but they both wholeheartedly supported the segregation of non-white people and supported the official use of the two white languages (Afrikaans and English).



Figure 4: A noticeboard indicating segregation of black people from accessing certain areas. Government notices were written in the two official languages, which were English and Afrikaans. Source: Timeline overview

The South Africa Act was passed in 1910 shortly after the 1908/1909 Union Convention to further consolidate the position of white people. As mentioned above, the act granted white minority rule over blacks and other races in South Africa (Bain and Venter, 2016). The study by Bain and Venter (2016) indicates that the 1910 Act also initiated policies on mining, agriculture, education, labour and other policies, all detailing how white people were going to govern South Africa.

3.3. The impact of racial and ethnic segregation on the linguistic landscape of South Africa pre-1994 (during the Apartheid period)

During the apartheid period, and to ensure among other things, that Afrikaans and English remained dominant as the languages of power throughout the country, ten (10) homelands or Bantustans, as they were sometimes called, were established in the 1970s, based on ethno-linguistic groups. Bantustans were areas where many black people were moved to, as a form of segregation, mainly to prevent them from living in urban areas. Posel *et al.* (2020) and Butler (2017) concur when stating that the 1970s culminated in the creation of homelands (see Figure 5), which deepened segregation as it separated black people from white people, but also separated black people from each other as Bantustans were created according to language and ethnic group. Before the creation of Bantustans by the apartheid government, South Africa was a country inhabited by different races, but the apartheid regime introduced homelands for ‘separate development’ to achieve the ultimate plan of racial segregation of black people, albeit that this was done under the guise of strengthening ethnic groups (Dugard, 1980: 15). In essence, the Europeans, who were the minority, displaced the majority (black people) so that they (the white people) could weaken black people; as they were

now going to be 'foreigners' in South Africa, which would in turn give white people absolute rule of the country.

According to Dugard (1980: 15), the *Bantu Homelands Citizenship Act of 1970* was introduced to restrict movement of black people and confine them to their homeland, as each person had "become a 'citizen' of the territorial authority area to which he (*sic*) was attached by birth, domicile, or cultural affiliation." The Bophuthatswana homeland, (see Figure 5) is a typical example of the homelands 'approach' of grouping people according to language: the relevant area of the map which covers Bophuthatswana is scattered along the Molopo River and the Vaal River, and stretches up to Pretoria where the demarcation of the Bophuthatswana homeland leaves out non-majority Batswana areas.

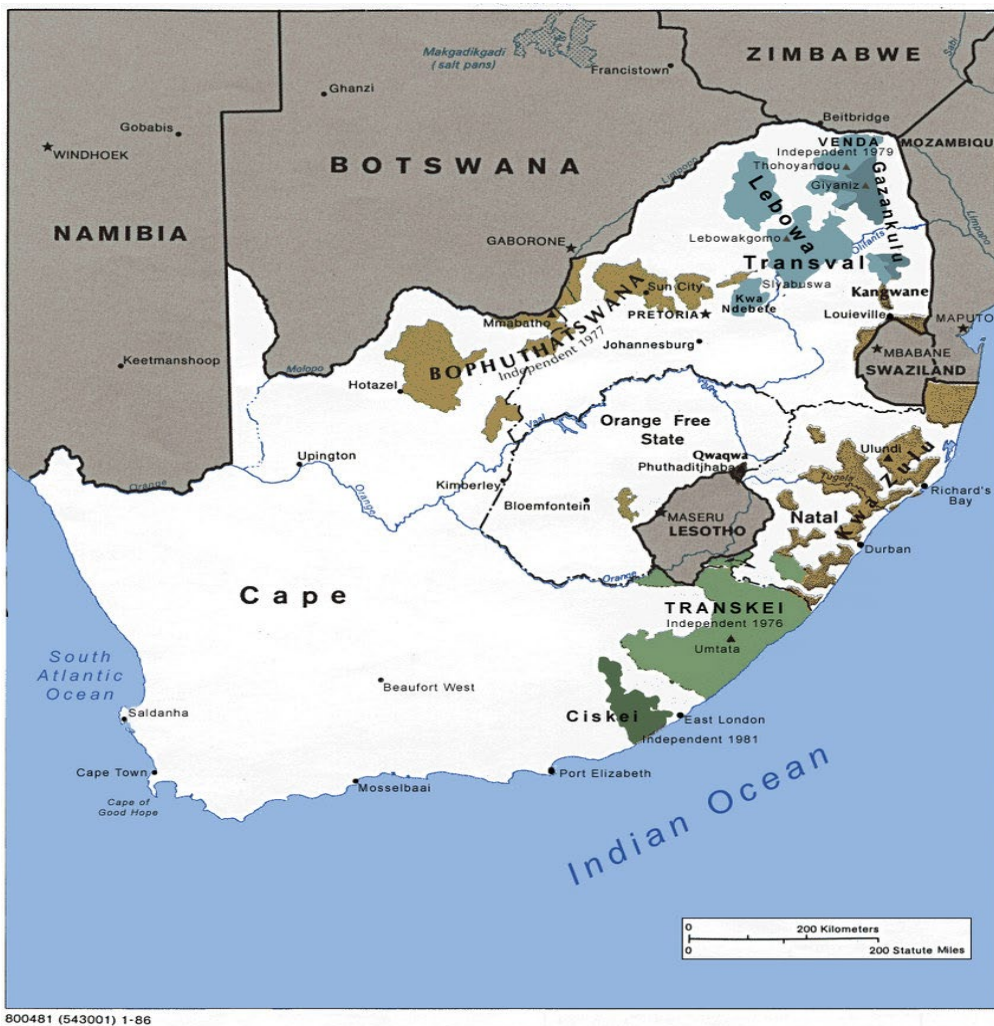


Figure 5: Map of Homelands 'designed' by the government during the Apartheid regime. Source: National Geographic Maps

The former Bophuthatswana was a homeland that was mainly occupied by the Batswana as highlighted above, KwaZulu was the homeland for the Zulus, Qwaqwa was the homeland for the South Sothos, Venda was the homeland designated for the Vendas, etc. (Butler, 2017; Deprez and Du Plessis, 2000; Posel *et al.* 2020). The explicit explanation for segregating people based on race and language was to encourage separate development, which would lead to the support and development of ethnic cultures and languages. However, the implicit aim was to weaken black ethnic groups and possibly their languages, given that these languages were downgraded to regional or community languages, while Afrikaans and English were used throughout South Africa as broader and prestigious lingua francas (languages that are adopted as common languages between speakers whose native languages are different). Thus, as mentioned, the apartheid government segregated people under the *South African Group Areas Act of 1950*, and the *Bantu Homelands Citizenship Act of 1970* (Dyers, 2007; Deprez and Du Plessis, 2000; Dugard, 1980; Posel *et al.* 2020). Such treatment ensured that languages spoken in these homelands remained on the periphery of the broader linguistic landscape, as they were relegated to homelands, thus denied the opportunity of being part of the linguistic mainstream in South Africa (Hogan, 2007; Kruger, 2012; Magaba, 2019; Mathebula, 2024). Thus, even though black people who remained part of South Africa during the apartheid period constituted the demographic majority, their languages remained on the linguistic periphery, and they were marginalised on many fronts by racist laws (Mkhabela, 2024; Siluma, 2022).

Overall, thus, the pre-1994 period was characterised by the marginalisation of the African languages in all public domains, except in the so-called homelands, where the Apartheid government's obsession with mother-tongue education was encouraged. In summarising what the years from 1948 to 1994 entailed, Prah (2018) observes that the African languages remained, throughout this period, societally inferior and relatively insignificant. They were used almost exclusively in the domestic and informal domains in the social lives of African language speakers. The continuous suppression of African languages resulted in speakers aligning themselves with the two dominant languages, as to them, the two languages represented personal growth and development as well as professional advancement, as speaking English and/or Afrikaans meant more economic opportunities (Prah, 2018). Mathebula (2024: 15) concurs by positing that, "English, privileged by the imperialism-driven power of primary colonialism, and Afrikaans, privileged by apartheid as a (secondary) colonialism of a special type, were institutionalised as the doorways to knowledge, science, commerce and industry." In essence, black people indirectly promoted the wide use of

English and Afrikaans, as they had to comply with laws that enforced the use of these languages in different public domains. Siluma (2022) posits that South Africa has over many years post-94 maintained the status quo of Afrikaans and English in many contexts, in both the public domain as well as in the private domain, where even medication information was written in Afrikaans and English.

The apartheid system is an example of ethnocentrism (the belief that your culture is superior to others); as characterised by the ill-treatment of other races and their languages by the two dominant language groups (Siluma, 2022). The system ensured, moreover, that there was very little opportunity for assimilation, given the notion that the separate development of ethnolinguistic entities was emphasised (Goitom, 2015). This division according to home language still promoted English and Afrikaans as they were not just the main languages in South Africa, but were used primarily in government and in education in the homelands where most students were assigned two second languages throughout their schooling years (Prah, 2018). Based on this exposure, many people who had gone through the schooling system ended up with a satisfactory level of written and spoken Afrikaans and/or English (Manyike and Lemmer, 2014). Segregation of black people was dissolved when the new dispensation came to power in the 1990s, when freedom of movement was introduced. According to Posel *et al.* (2020; Makalela, 2015; Mokoena, 2024; Mkhabela, 2024; Aineamani, 2024) this contributed to different languages intermingling, especially in the urban areas.

In the South African linguistic landscape pre-1994, Afrikaans was mainly used in rural areas and at the national government level, especially in the civil-service post-1948 (when the National Party came to power), whereas English was the language of urban areas and also an international language and the language of commerce. The linguistic landscape slowly started shifting in 1976 when students, particularly in Soweto, publicly boycotted Afrikaans after it was made the medium of instruction for subjects like Mathematics, History, etc. Many black people viewed Afrikaans as 'the language of the oppressor' because the white Afrikaans speakers especially were very intent on the segregation of black people, particularly from 1948 (Magaba, 2019; Mkhabela, 2024). After the 1976 riots, Afrikaans' position in the linguistic landscape of South Africa 'suffered' irreparable damage in the education realm, but it remained intact in various communities where its influence was already well established (Dyers, 2008). Change in the linguistic trajectory of the country seemed to have thus been fuelled by the Soweto students' protest, since after the protest, English started to slowly push Afrikaans away from the centre stage (De Klerk and Gouws, 2000). This change gained

momentum in the years following the riots, as reflected by the fact that many schools eventually chose English over any other language as the medium of instruction, hence contributing to English being more widely used in different spheres of society. Furthermore, English use was extended more and more to social interactions where English words and phrases were often mixed and continued being mixed with the African home languages in verbal interactions. Over time, black people's use of English expanded and, as a result, the position of English was elevated as people used this language to negotiate their individual as well as their collective identity (Dyers, 2008; Mokoena, 2024). This is because English became associated with the struggle against apartheid, and thus has arguably lost its colonial associations as a result. Posel *et al.* (2020) however posit that even though English is widely accepted and used in the new dispensation, it is not used to a high extent in all domains, especially the home environment. Mathebula's (2024: 15) perception is similar as he states that the current status quo of dominant languages benefiting from the 'weakness' of indigenous South African languages must not be viewed "as a permanent condition," as the balance of power is changing.

3.4. The dominance of Afrikaans in South Africa pre-1994

Throughout the whole apartheid period which lasted from 1948 to 1994 when the National Party (Afrikaans: Nasionale Party - the first all-Afrikaner party established in 1948), which was led by Afrikaans speakers, was in power, African languages were suppressed by the then ruling party (Kruger, 2012; Thamm, 2016; Prah, 2018; Dreyer, 2021). During this period of National Party rule, the objective of the Afrikaners was to preserve their language and identity, as their aim was to make Afrikaans the language of linguistic and social dominance (Kruger, 2012). There were four (4) provinces in South Africa pre-1994, but only from 1910 onwards, (see Figure 6) and they were the Cape of Good Hope, Natal, Orange Free State and Transvaal. Overtime, all four provinces had areas where Afrikaans was widely spoken, and such widespread exposure of Afrikaans cemented its linguistic dominance, and this encouraged the Afrikaans speakers and the government to retain this status.



Figure 6: A map of South Africa pre-94 with only 4 provinces. Source: Wikimedia commons

Over the years, Afrikaans slowly gained momentum as a prestigious language and “by 1974, Afrikaans accounted for 80% of the senior staff in government departments” (Giliomee, 2003: 16). Afrikaans was a language that had influence across the whole country, and it had a strong presence, particularly in the Cape Province (labelled ‘Cape of Good Hope’ in Figure 6). The then Cape of Good Hope is now mostly divided into the Western Cape Province and the Northern Cape Province (and parts of the Eastern Cape Province); where, in terms of the first two, the majority of speakers were and still are mother tongue Afrikaans speakers – See Figure 7 and Figure 10. This province was made up of mainly white people and coloureds, but the two groups spoke different Afrikaans dialects. White people viewed their dialect as ‘pure’ Afrikaans, while the Afrikaans dialects used by coloureds were viewed as having low status. Kruger (2012) is of the view that Afrikaans dominance transcended the Western Cape Province and the language was spoken in many other cities, towns, farms across the rest of South Africa; and in the homelands too.

Distribution of Afrikaans speakers.

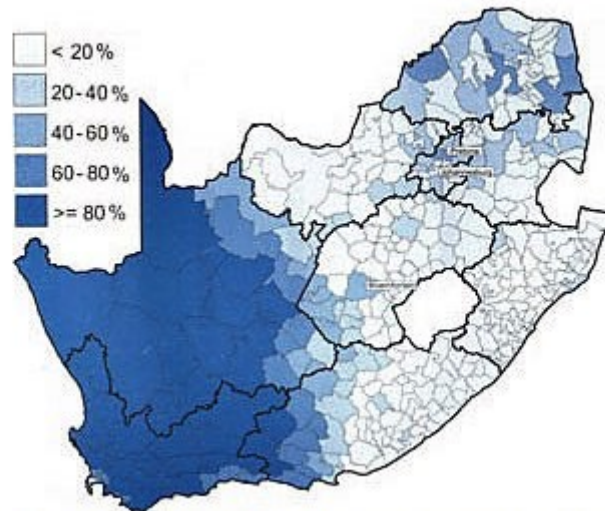


Figure 7: *Distribution of Afrikaans speakers in South Africa pre-1994. Source: South African tourism*

The pre-1994 linguistic landscape was different to the post-94 landscape; Afrikaans had a lot more home language speakers than English, and it still does, but its influence in official domains diminished overtime. Afrikaans use in social interactions covered a wide spectrum outside the educational realm, especially in areas like the then Cape Province where more than 80% of the population spoke Afrikaans – percentages of speakers’ distribution appear in Figure 7. Afrikaans speakers identify with their language for different reasons, and for both affective and instrumental reasons. An example of linguistic identity based on affective roots (when it holds sentimental value because it binds the group together) is the case of coloured Westbank residents who identify with ‘Kaapse Afrikaans.’ Alternatively, speakers can use a language because of ‘instrumental reasons’ where language use is linked to the individual’s goals like educational or economic mobility, and this is when benefits associated with that language are the driving force for speaking that language (Dyers, 2007). For white Afrikaans speakers, the aim of Afrikaans hegemony (dominance) by the ‘Nasionale Party’ became pivotal; hence, their dialect of Afrikaans was enforced in a variety of different ways and domains (Dyers, 2008).

3.5. The impact of Afrikaans and English on the linguistic repertoire of black people

The history of language use in colonial and Apartheid South Africa (a policy or system of segregation or discrimination on the grounds of race) favoured the two main languages (Afrikaans, which is a variant of Dutch, and English) at the expense of African languages. The aim of the 1908 – 1909 Union Convention was to unite the colonies, namely, the Cape Colony, Transvaal, Natal and Orange Free State (Southall, 2024) as Figure 6 shows. In addition, the Union Convention was a tool to foster equality between the Dutch (Afrikaans later became a variant of Dutch) and the English, and it also declared Afrikaans and English as the two languages which were going to share equal space in government, in schools and in the public service (article 137 of the Union Constitution – Giliomee, 2003).

The use of both English and Afrikaans, on for example, government and public notices quelled linguistic tensions between the two white groups for some time. Consequently, racial segregation strengthened on the back of such an agreement, which not only affected black people's daily lives, but also had an impact on language use by black people. This is in accordance with Wolfson (1989) who states that when two major languages come into contact, they may coexist for many years. South Africa pre-1994 is a typical example of such co-existence, which was characterised by the roughly 50/50 equal status for Afrikaans and English use; although the 1976 students' riots in Soweto challenged Afrikaans as a medium of instruction in schools (Deumert, 2010; Lemmer, 2010, cited in Manyike and Lemmer, 2014; Siluma, 2022). Afrikaans and English were South Africa's two (2) official languages during most of the Union and Apartheid periods:- they attained prestigious positions individually and together because they were promoted above all the other South African languages, this in spite of the fact that South Africa is a multilingual country (Manyike and Lemmer, 2014; Posel and Zeller, 2020; Magaba, 2023). Over time, exposure to these two languages influenced many black people's linguistic repertoire.

Afrikaans and English have and are still enjoying dominance as prestigious languages in South Africa, albeit to different degrees. The end of apartheid in 1994 signalled the end of Afrikaans dominance in government as it now had to make room for 9 other languages and no longer just one other language which was English (South African Constitution, 1996). One of the reasons for choosing English over Afrikaans post-1994 is because English is an international language, hence it gained power in democratic South Africa and black people had embraced it pre-94 (at least from 1976

onward). Thus, interestingly, English was embraced even pre-94 as black people perceived it as a language of liberation and opportunity.

English has now been fully incorporated into politics, where parliament now has a majority of black parties (although some parties state that they do not discriminate against any race) and black members, and the vast majority of parliamentary debates are conducted in English (Lodge, 2009). In essence, the post-1994 period has seen English gain in traction, and not only in education, but also in politics and in social circles, thus bringing in a new linguistic landscape.

When analysing the many studies conducted on these two prestigious languages, English and Afrikaans, there is a disparity between them because English is the language that is studied most extensively (Maluleke, 2015; Horne and Heinemann, 2003; Mathebula, 2024, etc.). English has attained a status over and above the other languages post-1994 mainly because South Africa is a multilingual country: for many, the country needs a language that can unify it, as it needs a common language across all language groups. English has thus become South Africa's main lingua franca, especially in urban contexts. Many studies that posit the influence of English on other South African languages have been conducted across the spectrum (Ridge 2000, 2004; Webb 2002; Alexander 2004, cited in Dyers, 2008). The consensus is that this is mainly at the expense of the other languages. According to Dyers (2008), English influence is more apparent in middle class families than in underprivileged families. Because Afrikaans was dominant during apartheid (see Figure 7), English then came to be viewed as the neutral language that symbolises liberation (De Klerk and Gouws, 2000). English use has been on the increase in many public places where there are bilingual and multilingual speakers. English has also become the medium of communication in many different areas where some speech communities now more than ever opt to use it to borrow and CS. Gardner-Chloros' (2009, 2010) view is that there are cases where CS takes place where a (numerically) minority language is used to CS even when the majority speaks a different language or different languages. A typical example is South Africa, where many individuals and communities have English as a second language even though it has fewer home language speakers when compared to other languages (Horne and Heinemann, 2003). To highlight the growing influence of English, it is apparent from the information published by the Central Statistics Services in 1994, that millions of black South Africans have a satisfactory understanding of the English language (De Klerk and Gouws, 2000). The number of black people who interact in English in one form or another has increased further after the 1994 general elections (Manyike and Lemmer, 2021). Mokoena (2024: 7) shares the same view when positing, "I am always troubled when the youth look down on our languages in favour of

others. They even use twang to show their mastery of foreign tongues.” This is an indication that some black people, especially young people, have put English on a pedestal at the expense of their home languages.

First home language	1996		2011	
	Second language (%)	Share reporting English as L2 (conditional)*	Second language (%)	Share reporting English as L2 (conditional)*
English	33.5	–	61.0	–
Afrikaans	22.2	88.6	74.5	93.8
isiZulu	10.3	44.9	47.6	73.4
isiXhosa	9.6	39.1	48.5	70.1
Sepedi	8.8	19.3	30.1	50.8
Setswana	12.3	26.1	44.8	55.7
Sesotho	16.6	17.7	47.6	38.1
Tshivenda	8.0	18.7	42.2	48.9
Xitsonga	17.6	5.7	50.1	29.0
isiNdebele	22.3	7.2	59.0	33.7
SiSwati	15.5	11.7	54.9	44.4
Other	57.1	75.5	75.0	75.0
Sign	–	–	40.0	57.3
All	15.2	36.7	52.5	59.4

Figure 8: Comparing second language usage in the 1996 census and in the 2011 census (Unfortunately, the 2022 census has not covered L2 usage). Source: Stats SA

This is evidenced by the use of English as a second language, which shows a steady increase from the 1996 census (Stats SA, 2011 – see Figure 8). Overall, studies conducted on English bear testimony to the influence of English on all linguistic groups because it is studied and spoken as a second language by many speakers of other languages throughout South Africa (South African Census, 2011).

To further illustrate the dominance of these two prestigious languages in the linguistic landscape: they hold position one and two as second languages, where English was first in the 1996 census, but was, interestingly-enough, surpassed by Afrikaans in the 2011 census. Interestingly, usage of all languages as second languages has undergone impressive changes where, in some cases, usage of African languages as second languages has doubled or even trebled from 1996 to 2011. This is a strong indication that the South African linguistic landscape has embraced multilingualism post-94.

Language contact is bound to happen because of what Gumperz and Hernandez (1969, cited in Gardner-Chloros, 2009) call social change, which in turn often results in new language contact phenomena, including borrowing, CS, creolization, pidginization, code-mixing, transfer, etc. to differing degrees. All these phenomena are influenced by linguistic factors, social factors and sociohistorical circumstances. Similar studies by Blommaert (2013) and Dyers (2005) indicate that specific environmental factors can enable or even disable the appearance of phenomena such as CS and code mixing. In the Westbank Township in the Western Cape Province (see Figure 10), the area of residence played an active role of 'enabling' the mother tongue as it was the language of choice at home and with close relations, while English or a code mix of Afrikaans and English was reserved for the 'outside' environment (Dyers, 2008). Titus (2008, cited in Dyers, 2008) posits that young Xhosa speakers in this residential area also employed their mother tongue when interacting with interlocutors from their home environment, and, similarly, employed English for interactions outside the home environment. Westbank is a typical example of so-called truncated multilingualism where Afrikaans-speaking coloureds and Xhosa speakers choose English as the language of value with regard to "spacio-social mobility" (Dyers, 2004 & 2006). The choice of English in South Africa is interesting because it is spoken by only 8.7% of the population as a first language (up from 8% in the 2011 census), and of the 12 official languages, it is ranked fifth, but it is spoken as a second language in all the 9 provinces (2011 Census & 2022 Census – see Figure 9). Interestingly, Afrikaans is also widely spoken, but its home language speakers actively promote its widespread use, which is generally not the case with English. Conversely, English enjoys widespread use as a result of mainly being promoted by speakers of other languages; hence it ends up being embedded in the linguistic discourse of many speakers through CS and borrowing in different areas throughout the country.

Interacting in English has, however, brought negativity in some quarters. There is a perception that some black people learn English in order to disassociate from African languages because some African languages "are associated with poor and uneducated people living in townships and rural areas" (Geidt, 1999). Even so, the post-1994 period is clearly characterised by the dominance of English as "the language of power used in commerce, law and technology" (Baldwin and James, 2010: 336). Because of the change in linguistic dominance, where English is on an upward trajectory, English is now arguably used more and more in comparison with Afrikaans in various forms of social interaction. Continuous exposure to the dominant language will eventually make speakers of subordinate languages, consciously or unconsciously, CS and borrow using the dominant language.

Unfortunately, research on the two European prestigious languages has taken centre stage for many years because the other languages were on the periphery, but the situation is changing as more and more researchers are now analysing African language use in various social contexts, including contact situations (Ditsele and Mann, 2014).

3.6. The linguistic landscape in South Africa post-1994 and the growing impact of multilingualism

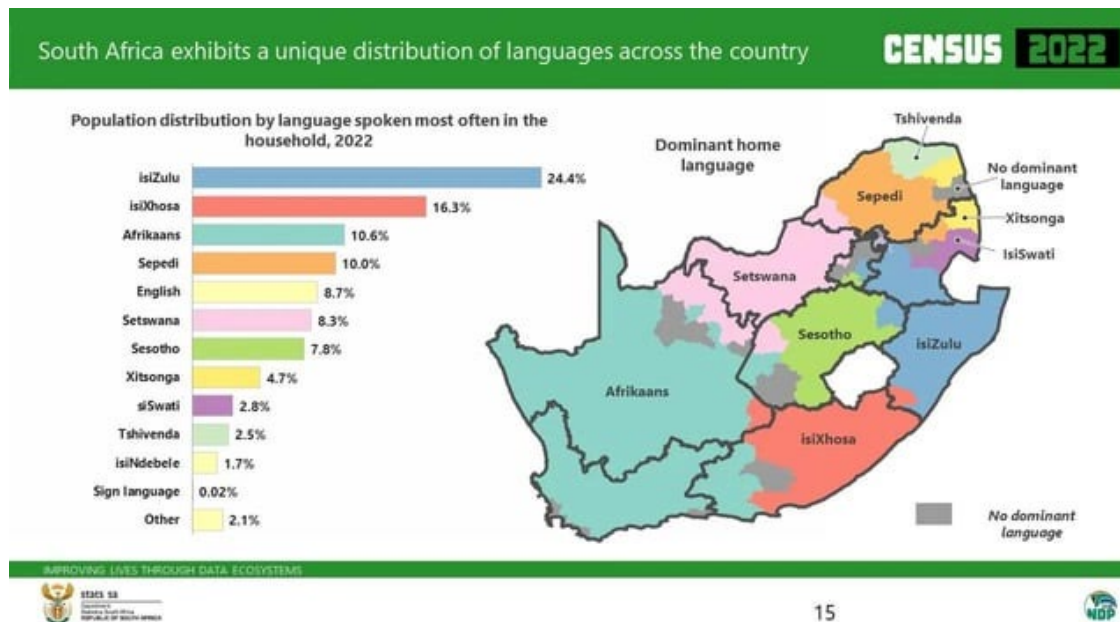


Figure 9: The distribution of the 12 official languages spoken in South Africa (Sign language is the latest addition).

Source: Stats SA - Census 2022

Language distribution indicates that Afrikaans still has many mother tongue speakers as it holds the third position (after Zulu and Xhosa) with 10.6%, while English is fifth with 8.7% and Setswana is sixth at 8.3% (see Figure 9 above). The map shows that Afrikaans is still predominantly spoken as a mother tongue in the Western Cape, which tallies with the distribution of Afrikaans speakers' pre-94 (see Figure 7). This has placed the Afrikaans speakers high on the population census because the Western Cape is the third highest populated province in South Africa, with nearly 3.1 million inhabitants (Census 2022).

The lifting of Apartheid legislation led to the democratic government, which helped reposition African languages: their speakers were no longer segregated to certain areas only; and in essence, this contributed positively to the integration of different linguistic communities (Makalela, 2014; Posel *et al.* 2020; Mokoena, 2024). As already mentioned, many languages in South Africa were

suppressed pre-1994, and for this reason, two years after the democratic elections in 1996, the *Pan South African Language Board* (PanSALB) was established to ensure that all 11 official languages are protected (Thamm, 2016). In spite of this, some African language speakers are still fighting for their languages to attain status in, for example, the media, especially on television; as they are still used primarily only as regional languages (Prah, 2018). The role of language in defining and supporting people's ethno-cultural identities (the awareness of individuals of their cultural and ethnic categories as part of their identity) has, however, gained some momentum post-1994 whereby different linguistic groups are free to claim their linguistic identity in education, in sociocultural settings and on the different media platforms (Dyers, 2008). The post-1994 period is thus symbolic of the celebration of the importance of all 12 official languages, which the constitution labelled as equal. The National Assembly recently approved amending Section 6 of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, to include South African Sign Language (SASL) as an official language to advance the rights of deaf persons; hence, Figure 9 has this addition. Eventually, SASL became an official language on 2 May 2023. All 12 languages are recognised before the law and are seen as playing a special role in the country's linguistic landscape as well as in their speakers' identity, which is an important aspect for many individuals and groups (South African Constitution, 1996). To clarify this, Schmidt (2006: 15, cited in Dyers, 2007) describes linguistic identity as "the features of a given language which distinguishes it from other languages, but also the identity of a person with regard to his/her language." This means that people are free to assimilate with other languages and cultures while still maintaining their own cultural and linguistic identity (Mathebula, 2024).

In addition, the post-1994 period in South Africa resulted in the mobility of mainly black people to urban areas, as there was now freedom of movement under the democratic government. This resulted in many economic migrants settling in urban areas after restrictions on the movement of black people were lifted (Butler, 2017; Mkhabela, 2024). Migration resulted in some integration of the different cultures and languages, which has, in turn, led to the need to navigate new linguistic identities. The general view is that mostly young people are driving this process. Continuous language contact forces multilingual communities to forge a complex urban identity. Makalela (2014: 112) views this new language landscape as "spacio-temporally complex" in that no one can lay claim to that space. Multilingualism forces a hybrid form of identity, which is common in urban areas where interlocutors 'reinvent' themselves through a new linguistic identity that is carved from blurred linguistic boundaries across different languages (Slabbert and Finlayson, 2000; Makalela, 2015; Ditsele and Mann, 2014; Mokoena, 2024).

Urban varieties thus ‘infiltrate’ the standard varieties of languages as more young people code-mix over time; these mixed varieties appear to become the linguistic resource commonly used in youth culture, most strikingly among traditionally African-language speakers. Based on what Wiese (2018) concluded, the linguistic make-up of urban life in South Africa operates to a similar pattern as that experienced in a European context and in the rest of Sub-Saharan Africa, since it is mainly young people from towns and cities who code-switch and code-mix. Such linguistic mixture ultimately draws on the processes of borrowing and CS to enhance communication. In South Africa, code mixing as a linguistic trend has grown, and while it is often associated with Johannesburg, as South Africa’s economic hub, it has spread to other cities, towns and townships like Gugulethu (in Cape Town) and KwaMashu in Durban (Hurst, 2014). In essence, the identity marker of particularly black young people is primarily code-switching, code-mixing and borrowing, as it is generally their everyday form of interaction.

Language contact has, for one, contributed to African languages influencing each other as demonstrated by Ditsele and Mann (2014) in their Sepitori study, where Setswana and Sepedi are code-mixed. Sepitori is a non-standard variety, which is based on three Tshwane Townships, namely, Garankuwa, Mabopane and Shoshanguve. Sepitori linguistic markers generally differentiate it from the linguistic repertoire of Pretoria residents. Sepitori is a typical example highlighting the impact of a shared linguistic repertoire as a form of identity for speakers who apply the same linguistic trends because they form a speech community.

3.7. The Batswana

Setswana is the language of the African ethnic group known as the Batswana. Setswana is a language that is mainly spoken by the majority of people in the North West Province and a reasonable number in Gauteng Province, in the Northern Cape and in the Free State Province (see Figure 10 & Figure 11). The location of these provinces shows that they are fairly close to each other as Figure 10 indicates, as it shows provincial demarcations post-1994 where the country no longer has 4 provinces, but now has 9 provinces. According to Mkhabela (2024), research shows that Setswana-speaking people had medium-sized settlements in what is now the North West Province and Gauteng Province long before the arrival of white people. This recent research supports the concept of seizure of land belonging to the Batswana by white people in the 1830s.

Klerksdorp is a mining town in the North West Province, and it has a steadily growing population “where blacks constitute more than nine-tenths of the population and are mostly Setswana speaking people; whites make up less than one-tenth of the population and mainly speak Afrikaans” (North West Sun, 2021). It is important to note that even though Afrikaans speakers make up only a tenth of the total population of Klerksdorp, Setswana speakers have often converged to Afrikaans because it has been a dominant language in Klerksdorp (and in South Africa at large) for many years. As already indicated in subsection 3.2, as a result of the Afrikaners embarking on the Great Trek, some of them settled in an area that was occupied by the Baswana (this was later named Klerksdorp), which then started language contact between Afrikaans and Setswana. Hence, Afrikaans influenced the Setswana linguistic repertoire in this area.



Figure 10: A map of South Africa post-1994. The nine provinces are written in upper case and are bolded. Source: International Press Telecommunication Council

As stated above, the South African landscape underwent major changes with the introduction of new provincial demarcations post-94, which changed the number of provinces from 4 to 9 (compare Figure 6 and Figure 10). This was done primarily to incorporate the homelands into the new structure of democratic South Africa, and also to dissolve the Apartheid South Africa’s demarcations

to make provinces more inclusive, as the democratic South Africa now allowed for free movement of people within the borders of the country (Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996). Free movement of people led especially to urban migration as people were looking for economic opportunities, which resulted in different languages mixing, thereby changing the linguistic landscape in particularly urban areas (Makalela, 2014). This migration to urban areas continues to this day.



Figure 11: Map of North West Province showing Klerksdorp situated in the south-eastern part of the province. Source: North West Province as a destination/www.sa.venues.com

Both oral history (information about what happened in the past being told by word of mouth) and written accounts indicate that black African people used to live in West and Central Africa, hence there are common words among the different African language groups (Jordaan *et al.* 1991). Many of these groups broke up because of mainly leadership fights thousands of years ago, which forced some groups to head south. This resulted in the different tribes ending up settling in different parts of South(ern) Africa (Moguerane, 2024). The two biggest Batswana groups, the Barolong and the Batlhaping settled between the Orange River and the Molopo River, where there was a further break-up in the 1770s (see Figure 3). After the breakup, the Barolong crossed the Orange River

where the European Dutch/Afrikaans settlers came across them in what was then Thabeng (a mountain retreat possibly chosen to evade capture by other tribes); it was later renamed Klerksdorp (Jordaan, *et al.* 1991; Brown, 1983). The original inhabitants of Thabeng were “The Rolong-Rapulana and Rolong-Seleka”. These two groups were part of the Barolong tribe and both were from the Molopo area (Jordaan *et al.* 1991: 14). There is evidence, however, that these Batswana were not the first group of black people to settle in what is now Klerksdorp. According to Kusel (2016: 8) “When the Batswana groups of the Barolong first moved into this region during the late 1700s/early 1800s, they probably encountered dispersed hunting and gathering groups.” Dreyer (2014) supports this claim when stating that when the Barolong came to settle in this area, there were other smaller tribes of Batswana like the Batlokwa, Bakgatla, Bakwena, Bahurutshe (these are Batswana groups which broke away from the large, original Batswana groups following leadership fights or defeat by another tribe) and a few others. The fact that Setswana speakers were the majority in this area (although they were made up of different tribes/groups) meant that koineization would have actively erased the different dialects, and that everyone eventually, in all likelihood, spoke in a similar way. In simple terms, koineization is the process where a new language variety emerges from the mixing, leveling, and simplification of different dialects, often in new settlements or communities.

The Batswana had land, which they used for cattle grazing; they were also farmers and traders who traded mainly in ostrich feathers and ivory from elephants. They had trade routes and used wagons pulled by oxen when travelling to trade with people in distant areas. Their settled life in Thabeng was disrupted by the Difaqane wars (crushing wars) in the 1800s fuelled by fighting for land by different tribes, which, in turn, led to the defeated tribe/s having to move to other areas, (Jordaan *et al.* 1991). Consequently, the Difaqane wars also drove the Barolong, (which was the biggest Batswana group who had settled in what was later named the Western Transvaal), and also those who had settled in other areas in what was later named the Transvaal, to scatter to other areas. As a result, when the white settlers moved in, there were only a few Batswana left in the area. Those who fled ended up searching for refuge at other places (in what is now the North West Province), like Ganyesa and other surrounding areas, which is why many Batswana speakers are found in the majority of areas in this province (Jordaan, *et al.* 1991). This departure of black tribes left the area with few inhabitants, so it was easy for the Europeans to claim black people’s land officially on the “20th of May 1839” (Brown, 1983: 13). Eventually, some of them came back, but the settlers (Europeans who had moved in a group to settle in South Africa) had already claimed large areas of

land for themselves. As an indication that white people had claimed the land for themselves, “the Dutch settlers allowed them to stay in the ‘Transvaal’ only if they worked for them; thus the settlers were able to rule over many Batswana in the area” (Jordaan *et al.* 1991). It is clear that the Dutch used the same *modus operandi* in this area (Klerksdorp) as they had done in the “Kaapkolonie” when they seized land from the Khoisan and only allowed them to stay on as labourers. The changed status quo of the Batswana and the Dutch/Afrikaans settlers changed the power dynamics in the area, whereby white people became the dominant group after seizure of land that originally belonged to black people. The relationship of employer/employee led to employees, who were the Batswana, learning to speak the employers’ language, and this influenced the Batswana’s linguistic repertoire. This linguistic trend transcended the work place, however, and spread to the Batswana community as a whole, thus, the Klerksdorp linguistic landscape changed because of language contact.

In terms of more recent developments, a pilot study of the residents conducted by the author indicated that some of the Batswana home language speakers have adopted other languages (English and Sesotho) into their linguistic repertoire. The long-term contact of Batswana with people who speak different languages has clearly influenced the Setswana language; hence, their speech patterns are constituted of at least three (sometimes four) local languages (Setswana, Afrikaans, English, Sesotho). Ditsele and Mann (2014) state that South Africa is experiencing a surge in the use of non-standard language varieties, which they termed Black Urban Vernacular (BUV). According to these researchers, BUV is a Setswana variety, which is also characterised by borrowing from Afrikaans and English. BUV generally brings semantic, phonetic and morphological changes to the languages or language varieties that are spoken in the concerned area/areas. It seems clear enough that more recently, young people have started incorporating more-and-more English into their BUV interactions. With BUV we clearly have a case of what Gardner-Chloros (2009) refers to as ‘mixed discourse’ (combining aspects of two or more languages but not clearly deriving primarily from any single language) where the speaker changes from one language to another in a conversation. The study by Ditsele and Mann (2014) shows that BUV is making inroads across different areas and young people mainly promote its use.

3.8. The history of Klerksdorp

Klerksdorp is located in the North West Province, South Africa. Mafikeng, the provincial capital, lies roughly 170 km north-west of Klerksdorp, and Johannesburg (the economic hub of South Africa; see

Figure 11) is 170 km in a north-eastern direction (Dreyer, 2014). The town was incorporated into the North West Province after the new provincial demarcations post-1994, including many areas which were previously part of the former Bophuthatswana Bantustan or homeland (see Figure 5). Other places in what is now the North West Province were part of the Cape Province pre-94, while Klerksdorp and a few surrounding towns were part of the then Transvaal Province. Kusel (2016: 6) posits that the location near the Vaal River makes Klerksdorp “the oldest European settlement north of the Vaal River and thus of the former Transvaal Republic” (see Figure 3 & Figure 11). As mentioned in the previous section, the first settlement of the European/Dutch in Klerksdorp was in 1837, and Klerksdorp was officially declared a town on 12 September 1888 after the first proclamation was made by the then President S.P.J. Kruger in 1886 due to the rapid growth of the place (City of Matlosana website, accessed on 11 January 2022).

This study was based in the broader Klerksdorp area (see Figure 11 and Figure 13), to which Jouberton Township contributes a large population. Jouberton Township (the traditionally black township pre-1994) is 8 kilometres from Klerksdorp’s town centre, and, together with all the residential areas indicated, forms part of the Matlosana Municipality (previously City Council of Klerksdorp), which covers the greater Klerksdorp area as shown in Figure 13 below, that is, the study population. The town started on the farm Elandsheuwel (one of the ‘boere’ areas of settlements in Klerksdorp as indicated in Figure 13), which means ‘Hill of the Eland,’ and this is where plots of land and communal grazing areas were first marked out by the Afrikaner farmers/‘boere’ (Nkululeko, 2013). The earliest population census of 1942 indicates that there were 6 254 white people in Klerksdorp at the time, but records do not indicate the population of black people or of other races who had come to settle in and near Klerksdorp (Brown, 1983). The suburb which is today known as Nesperhof (see Figure 13) was mainly occupied by black people during the pre-Apartheid period, but they were relocated in 1948 to ‘the new black township of Joubertina’ (later referred to as Jouberton, as Figure 13 indicates). Joubertina was named after Mr Joubert, who was then mayor of Klerksdorp, while the last part of the township name was taken from his wife’s name Tina, hence ‘Joubertina’. There were 32 households when the area was given its name and marked as a black residential area (Nkululeko, 2013). Before Jouberton Township was established, some Batswana lived in Makweteng, but the apartheid government forcibly relocated them to Jouberton Township in 1950, and some Batswana were later moved to other newly established townships in Orkney and Hartebeesfontein (City of Matlosana website, accessed 11 January 2022). Figure 12 shows areas near Klerksdorp where some Batswana settled after their forced removal from Klerksdorp itself.



Figure 12: Map showing Klerksdorp, Orkney and Hartebeesfontein (which is 27km from Klerksdorp and is shown by a red dot on the map). Source: Free 3d map

Klerksdorp is currently experiencing population growth as shown in the change in population as indicated in the censuses from 1996 to 2022.

<u>Name</u>	<u>Status</u>	<u>Population</u>	<u>Population</u>	<u>Population</u>	<u>Population</u>
		Census 1996-10-09	Census 2001-10-09	Census 2011-10-09	Census 2022-02-02
<u>City of Matlosana</u> (City Council of Klerksdorp)	Local Municipality	334,174	359,202	398,676	431,231

In the 26 years covering the 4 censuses post-94, the population has grown by almost 100 000, no doubt influencing the linguistic landscape in significant ways.

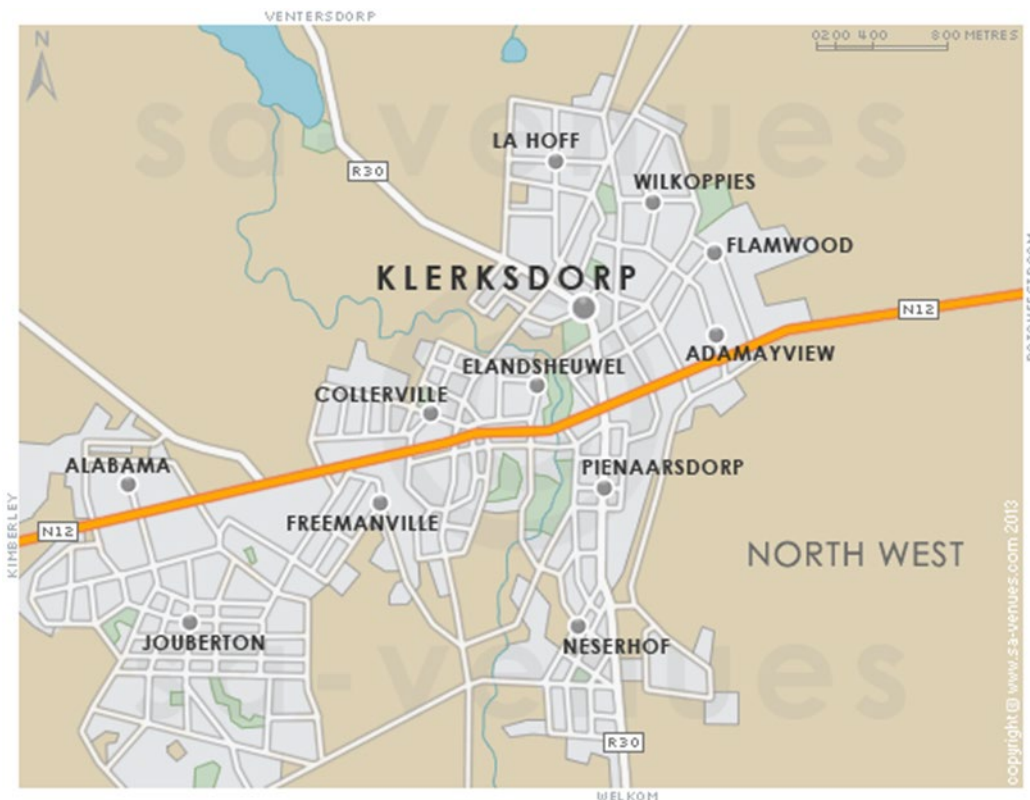


Figure 13: A map showing the breadth and width of the greater Klerksdorp area/Matlosana Municipality. Source: South African venues.com

Returning to the colonial history of Klerksdorp, it was noted that some of the Europeans migrating in The Great Trek ended up in an area across the Vaal River (see Figure 3), where the Afrikaners migrated to in the mid-1830s. This migration was the result of the English takeover of the colony (Bekker, 2012). Records show that the first white settler in what is now Klerksdorp was Coenraad de Buys, who lived in the area during the years 1762 to 1863 (Brown, 1983). The first 12 Voortrekker⁵ families settled in the area in 1837 (City of Matlosana website, accessed on 11 January 2022). The Voortrekker families settled in the area around the time when Klerksdorp was established as a town, but it had no official status then as it was only declared a town in 1888 (City of Matlosana website, accessed on 11 January 2022). The land in this town was good for farming, so other white people migrated to this area. In 1885, Mr van Vuuren claimed he had discovered gold, and he then wrote to the state president of the Zuid Afrikaansche Republiek to report this on the 7th November 1885. Interestingly, one Apie Roos is also credited with the discovery of gold in the area, which eventually led to Klerksdorp Goldfields being established after he sent a letter to the state president on 23 August 1886 (Brown, 1983: 179). Both letters were written in Dutch, with each of them claiming

⁵ A voortrekker is a member of one of the groups of Dutch-speaking people who migrated from the Cape Colony into the interior from 1836 onwards in order to live beyond the borders of British rule.

that they had discovered gold in Klerksdorp, so each of them wanted a stake in the mining of gold in the area. The discovery of gold led to the growth of Klerksdorp as many labourers descended on the town for work purposes and many ended up settling in the area (Brown, 1983: 173). The discovery of uranium also contributed to the town developing into a mining town. Klerksdorp eventually became a settlement for a large number of Europeans after one of the first settlers named Du Plooy gave other white people land and shared grazing field in exchange for labour to build a dam, after he claimed about 160 km² of land for himself in the area called Elandsheuwel (Kusel, 2016).

Most of the white people who settled in Klerksdorp in the 19th century were Afrikaans speakers, but some English-speaking white people joined them later – James Taylor and Thomas Leask from Scotland opened the first store in 1865. All establishments started by the British were ‘signed’ in English, as Figure 15 indicates. There is a street in the town centre which still bears Thomas Leask’s name today, even though he eventually returned to Scotland where he died in 1912 (Brown, 1983:18). Mr Leask was also involved in mining and he played a crucial part in the gold mining industry in both Klerksdorp and Orkney (a nearby town situated along the banks of the Vaal River - see Figure 12). As mentioned, gold mining and other businesses led to many labourers moving to this area in search of a better life, so over time, the town grew and became a trading town, and one which was connected to other big towns like Kimberley and Krugersdorp by railway in 1906 and 1897 respectively as Figure 14 shows (Kusel, 2016). The railway from Kimberley to Krugersdorp improved trade and it directly contributed to economic opportunities in Klerksdorp as travel was made easier. Many farmers and miners descended onto the town, thus making Klerksdorp an important trading town linking the two big towns already mentioned (Matlosana Municipality Catalogue of Heritage Sites, accessed 11 January 2022).



Figure 14: A map showing the main route from Kimberly, past Klerksdorp to Johannesburg (Krugersdorp is about 37km from Johannesburg) where the railway was established in 1897

Over time, Klerksdorp became an inland town perfectly placed between other big towns and Johannesburg, which is the economic hub of South Africa. Hence it has grown steadily (particularly as a result of being a mining town) from when it was declared a town in 1837, to the present-day population of 431 231 (Census, 2022).



Figure 15: The British owned the first general dealer in Klerksdorp. Source: Klerksdorp museum

Further groups of white people who were not part of the original Voortrekker group arrived as missionaries and traders in the early 19th century. Prominent among these was a group of white people belonging to the British nonconformist sects, meaning the British who were not part of the Church of England (the dominating denomination of the time) (Setswana, Encyclopedia.com – Updated, 28 May, 2018). The town expanded further when other traders, particularly English-speaking traders, started to settle in this town after 1837 (Brown, 1983). On the level of education, Afrikaans speakers had, from early on, already established schools for their children, where ‘Unie Laerskool’⁶ was established as the first Afrikaans school in Klerksdorp, and it is still operating today, although it now caters to a diverse community of learners (Hortwitz *et al.*, 1952). To accommodate English speakers, two English schools were established in 1890 – St Peters High School and Klerksdorp Grammar School, but schooling was disrupted during the Anglo Boer War that lasted from 1899 – 1902, when the two white groups fought against each other, and as a result, these two English schools were ultimately closed down (Brown, 1983: 49). The Anglo-Boer War disrupted life in the Transvaal from 11 October 1899 to 31 May 1902 as Great Britain and the two Boer Afrikaner republics fought over a number of issues, including the annexation of the Transvaal (Horwitz *et al.*

⁶ Union Primary School.

1952). The Anglo Boer war affected black people in Klerksdorp badly. Some of them were living on their employers' properties while others lived in squalor in areas around town; both of these groups of black people were thrown in concentration camps for the duration of the war where many died from malnutrition (City of Matlosana website, accessed on 10 January 2022). After the war, the survivors asked for permission to settle near the place where the concentration camp was situated, as it was by now uninhabited.

In early 1900, and as a result of the beginning of hostilities, British people were ordered by their government to leave the Transvaal, but many diehards refused to leave Klerksdorp. Some lodged objections to British authorities and, as a result, they were the ones allowed to stay. After the war, the British established Lower Milner School in 1902, which grew and by 1917, it had three sections (Lower Milner, Upper Milner and Lawley School). Another section was added in 1921 and it was called Milner High School, and it is still operating as an English medium school today (Horwitz, *et al.* 1952). This all revived the English language in Klerksdorp even though Afrikaans speakers far outnumbered English speakers, and the two languages ultimately affected the linguistic repertoire of the biggest group in Klerksdorp, the Batswana.

Initially, the Batswana integrated mainly with the Afrikaans-speaking white people through employment, but overtime, the Batswana started integrating with the English as well, especially because the latter were business owners in the town and were also involved in the growing mining industry (City of Matlosana website, accessed on 10 January 2022). Such language contact influenced the Setswana spoken in this town: over time, the Setswana language was sprinkled with borrowings and CS from these two prestigious languages, which in turn changed the speech repertoire of the existing Batswana speech community.

It is important to study the underlying processes of Afrikaans borrowing and CS in Klerksdorp since they seem particularly prevalent in this town. In addition to this, there seems to be a growingly significant use of English through borrowing and CS, so it is imperative to analyse the influence of English on Setswana alongside that of Afrikaans in order to determine if the linguistic trends are changing. The influence of the two prestigious languages on Setswana will no doubt show differences across the different sub-groups of this speech community, composed as it is of different social groups.

This chapter looks at the history, the social aspect and the linguistic context of South Africa from the arrival of the Europeans in the "Kaapkolonie" in 1652, to the current linguistic traits of Setswana

speakers in Klerksdorp. The linguistic context in the area started with the Great Trek ending inland where Afrikaans as a Dutch variant thrived after land seizure from the Batswana and forced labour in the 1830s, which ultimately led to the dominance of Afrikaans in government from 1948 to 1994. Setswana speakers in Klerksdorp first came into contact with Europeans of Dutch descent as the latter were the first white settlers inland, and later, language contact with Afrikaans and English influenced Setswana, hence the linguistic repertoire of the Batswana in Klerksdorp changed after incorporating these two prestigious European languages into their own language.

CHAPTER 4

Research design and methodology

Sections outlined under this chapter are Section 4.1., the definition and analysis of the research design and research methodology, Section 4.2., the sampling strategy, Section 4.3., participants; and Section 4.4., data collection. This is then followed by two sections on the interviews (Section 4.5.), and the social network data (Section 4.6.), respectively. The focus then moves to data analysis (Section 4.7.), and Section 4.8., covers ethical considerations.

4.1. Definition and analysis of research design and research methodology

Research design refers to the overall strategy that is used to conduct research, as it defines and tries to answer the research questions through the processes of data collection, data analysis and data interpretation. The research design also ensures that the research problem is adequately addressed by paving the way for the integration of the different components of the study through answering research questions and meeting research aims.

The research design best suited for this study is the descriptive design, because it allows for an analysis of how language is used in a speech community, which determines linguistic trends. Integral to this is a description of not only how the language itself is structured, but also the setting and cultural norms and practices, which establish norms of expected behaviour in certain situations to avoid communication breakdown. A combination of these components ensures that there is no misinterpretation of information, as any misstep will affect the interaction negatively (Canale and Swain, 1980). The research design was, in addition, exploratory and utilised the qualitative approach in describing the nature of CS and borrowing from Afrikaans, English and Sesotho by Setswana speakers in Klerksdorp, and in uncovering reasons (the social factors) behind the linguistic trends. Purposive sampling was utilised, where participants were Setswana home-language speakers in the greater Klerksdorp area (see Figure 13 in chapter 3). The data collection phase of the research encompassed two main methods, one-on-one interviews and social network data. The one-on-one interviews involved participants from 3 areas in Klerksdorp (Jouberton Township, the informal settlement and the former white areas/the suburbs) where the focus was on 'covering' the effect of the variables age and sex on the linguistic repertoire in each of these areas. The same applies for the main participants for the social network data, who are referred to as 'main subjects' to differentiate their role from other participants in the data collection process. The main subject is

the participant in the social network data who puts together a group for discussion, asks for consent to record the discussion, and if consent is given, the main subject then records the discussion and when this is done, the final responsibility is to send the recording to the researcher. The explanation and the asking for consent before participation ensures that there is no coercion to participate, or coercion to hold a certain viewpoint before or during the discussion. Thus the main subjects in the social-network phase had discussions with their first order zone (that is, people living in the main subject's home environment) and their second order zone (people residing outside the main subject's home environment).

In addition to the definition and the roles of the research design as outlined above, the research design lays out specific plans and procedures to be employed in integrating the different components of the study in a coherent and logical manner. The components of the study are the research questions, the different data collection methods and the method of data analysis, which are highlighted in the breakdown as provided in various subsections below.

Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (2006) provides a table of 14 different research designs. The design of the current research uses two of the 14 types, and they are:

(1) The exploratory research design type investigates a topic/problem that has not been thoroughly investigated in the past; this is a useful way of getting information on a relatively new topic. A typical case is the current study which involves 4 languages (Setswana, Afrikaans, English and Sesotho) used interchangeably and/or concurrently, something that is not the norm in sociolinguistics. The exploratory design approach will focus on the analysis of the nature and extent of borrowing and CS, as well as on uncovering social reasons behind the applicable linguistic trends.

(2) The second applicable research design is the descriptive research design type, which gives detailed information on the influence of variables, and answers questions like 'what, when, how.' Gay and Peter (2000) state that the descriptive research design approach attempts to discover patterns in social phenomena. The application of this research design approach thus allowed for the testing of evidence and the evaluation of the results through a thorough analysis of how language is used by participants in the research population; and by determining how and what outside elements (that is, social variables) affect the relevant speech patterns.

The research problem can be a gap in knowledge, and its solution can entail adding further detail to known phenomena or clarifying confusing information in the study. Solving the current study's research problem required the analysis of the overlapping of four languages in order to determine

the manner and extent of this overlap. In essence, the aim of 'solving' the research problem is to gauge the linguistic impact of two prestigious languages in South Africa (Afrikaans and English) in an African community where the matrix language is Setswana; as well as to gauge the impact of another neighbouring African language, Sesotho.

In addition to the two research designs mentioned above and as tabled in Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (2006), this study uses a mixed-methods approach, that is, a qualitative research methodology combined with a quantitative methodology. As stated by Maree (2016), the mixed methodology approach plays a crucial role in answering complex questions that sometimes cover a broad spectrum. This study falls in this realm, as it not only analyses one-on-one interviews and social-network data, but it analyses the variants of age, sex and social class. The qualitative methodological approach generally involves collecting and analysing non-numerical data, for example, text, audio speech, language use and other related concepts, which help the researcher to understand experiences, trends, opinions, etc. In relation to this particular research, its use was to focus primarily on pertinent questions like; how does society affect the way people speak? What social factors account for people's linguistic variation? The study thus utilised the qualitative approach to describe the nature and extent of borrowing and CS from Afrikaans, English and Sesotho by Setswana speakers. This manifested in how speakers of a low status language use linguistic forms from two prestigious languages (and another African language) to interact, and how this affects their language on a general level, and how societal factors influence this use (Creswell, 2013; Sapir-Whorf, 1956, cited in Rangriz and Harati, 2017). Furthermore, the focus of the qualitative approach was to analyse the participants' speech in terms of the way they interact with each other (that is, the relationship between the interlocutors). This approach is a reliable method of gaining insight into a problem by mainly using small groups to study the problem and to gain in-depth knowledge about the phenomena in question through focusing on unknown or little-known phenomena. Overall, the qualitative approach played a pivotal role in helping to understand how different variables influence the linguistic repertoire of a community, including the social network data where the researcher was not involved in any direct way during the data collection phase.

Although the qualitative approach covers a wide 'margin' in this study, the quantitative research approach added a different dimension, particularly for borrowing, because it allowed one to look at percentages of use by the different participants (based in turn on applicable social variables). Comparing language usage by relying on numbers/percentages when analysing borrowing across the different social variables focuses on similarities and differences, as it pinpoints high or low usage

for a particular sex, age group or social class. The one-on-one interviews might look like a low number as 12 participants were selected from each residential class (36 in total), but the data collection was extensive because most participants engaged in the interviews for more than 30 minutes on average as demonstrated by the tables below. The interviews were aided by open-ended questions to elicit active engagement and naturalistic speech.

The informal settlement:

Age and sex of participants	Duration of discussion
Pre-94 males (participant 1 - 3)	Participant 1: 29 minutes 24 seconds Participant 2: 43 minutes 50 seconds Participant 3: 42 minutes 48 seconds
Pre-94 females (participant 4 - 6)	Participant 4: 47 minutes 55 seconds Participant 5: 33 minutes 32 seconds Participant 6: 41 minutes 25 seconds
Post-94 males (participant 7 - 9)	Participant 7: 30 minutes 43 seconds Participant 8: 32 minutes Participant 9: 40 minutes 51 seconds
Post-94 females (participant 10 - 12)	Participant 10: 33 minutes 42 seconds Participant 11: 41 minutes 43 seconds Participant 12: 43 minutes 12 seconds
3 Pre-94 males; 3 pre-94 females; 3 post-94 males & 3 post-94 females = 12	8 hours 3 minutes (483 minutes = 40 minutes average per participant)

Table 1: Interaction time for participant 1 – 12 based on age and sex

Jouberton Township

Age and sex of participants	Duration of discussion

Pre-94 males (participant 1 - 3)	Participant 1: 35 minutes 02 seconds Participant 2: 32 minutes 29 seconds Participant 3: 40 minutes 11 seconds
Pre-94 females (participant 4 - 6)	Participant 4: 33 minutes 34 seconds Participant 5: 30 minutes 13 seconds Participant 6: 32 minutes 36 seconds
Post-94 males (participant 7 - 9)	Participant 7: 31 minutes 03 seconds Participant 8: 32 minutes 34 seconds Participant 9: 50 minutes 50 seconds
Post-94 females (participant 10 - 12)	Participant 10: 31 minutes 02 seconds Participant 11: 35 minutes 20 seconds Participant 12: 52 minutes 12 seconds
3 Pre-94 males; 3 pre-94 females; 3 post-94 males & 3 post-94 females = 12	7 hours 6 minutes (437 minutes = 36 minutes average per participant)

Table 2: Interaction time for participant 1 – 12 based on age and sex

The former white areas

Age and sex of participants	Duration of discussion
Pre-94 males (participant 1 - 3)	Participant 1: 36 minutes 04 seconds Participant 2: 52 minutes 32 seconds Participant 3: 30 minutes 40 seconds
Pre-94 females (participant 4 - 6)	Participant 4: 31 minutes 47 seconds Participant 5: 17 minutes 06 seconds Participant 6: 33 minutes 19 seconds

Post-94 males (participant 7 - 9)	Participant 7: 31 minutes 26 seconds Participant 8: 40 minutes 35 seconds Participant 9: 30 minutes 06 seconds
Post-94 females (participant 10 - 12)	Participant 10: 60 minutes 08 seconds Participant 11: 31 minutes 44 seconds Participant 12: 30 minutes 50 minutes
3 Pre-94 males; 3 pre-94 females; 3 post-94 males & 3 post-94 females = 12	7 hours 5 minutes (425 minutes = 35 minutes average per participant)

Table 3: Interaction time for participant 1 – 12 based on age and sex

For the one-on-one interviews, graphs were clearly useful in highlighting common borrowings and their frequency outright, thus making data analysis easier. However, for the social network data analysis, determining the age of interlocutors in the audio recordings tended to pose challenges (besides that of the main subject who was known to the researcher) because the age and sex of the main subjects are the only ones that are predetermined (pre-94 or post-94). With the other participants, the researcher could not always determine with any level of certainty whether use of a borrowing was by a pre-94 participant or a post-94 participant. Even so, the quantitative approach still played a crucial role in determining numerical usage across sex for CS and borrowing, especially for groups that were all-male or all-female. Overall, therefore, the mixed approach method ensured that the researcher was able to conduct a thorough analysis of language use across the different variables as outlined in Table 4 and Table 5 below (see section 4.5 and section 4.6).

In addition, this study is partly ethnographic in nature as it involves data collected in a natural setting, particularly by the main subjects of the social network data-component, and especially data collected in the home environment, which is referred to as Zone 1. Hymes (1962, in Roberts *et al*, 1992) introduced the term ‘ethnography’ as a way of highlighting that a society will exhibit certain behaviours that are specific to that society, particularly when the interaction is in the interlocutor’s environment. In essence, it is crucial to study speech patterns in the interlocutors’ ‘natural habitat’ as it is “through systematic observation of respondents’ daily life activities and the conditions under which attitudes, opinions, beliefs and folk knowledge are displayed that one gets to understand the

underlying linguistic traits of a community” (Blommaert, 2018: 113). Halliday *et al.* (1964) emphasise the importance of analysing language use in a natural setting, as this will most likely show the forms that individual speakers actually use, depending on the circumstances. Labov (1972: 209, in Dale and Vinson 2013) and Halliday *et al.* (1964) concur when positing that the most reliable results are when interlocutors are not aware that their language is being studied. In support of this view, Gardner-Chloros (2009, cited in Labov, 1972) notes that the so-called Observer’s Paradox has a bearing on the interlocutors’ speech patterns. In simple terms, this means that naturalistic speech is likely to be affected because interlocutors are more likely to speak with heightened purism when they know that their language is being studied and, therefore, linguistic data collected under such conditions might not always be reliable. Poplack *et al.*’s (1988) findings on Puerto Rican’s language use in New York are, for example, reliable because the study was conducted in the participants’ neighbourhood without them knowing that their language was being studied, so they were at ease and they interacted in alignment with their normal linguistic traits. In essence, research conducted in a natural setting is imperative for ensuring that participants display ‘appropriate’ behaviour for that particular context, as they will interact in a naturalistic manner. In this study, The Participant Information Leaflet and Consent Form (see Appendix) played a key role in ensuring that the participants knew that there was no obligation for them to participate if they do not give consent. They were made aware that the data collection process would be conducted in their area or in their homes, which was their natural setting, so there was no need to travel to another place to take part in the study.

4.2. Sampling strategy

Research sampling entails the selection of a group of participants (often referred to as a subset) that fits the purpose of the study, as it is generally impossible to study the whole population. Studying the whole population would be time-consuming and costly, which is why research uses sampling, which means selecting a representative part of a population to determine the characteristics of the whole population (Melville, 2001). In essence, therefore, sampling refers to the process of selecting a part from a larger population. Based on this, the bigger population will generally be represented by a small percentage of that population, but it is crucial for the sampled population to incorporate different ‘elements’ of the study population for it to be at least approximately representative. As such, findings from a fairly representative population sample were analysed in this study in order to generalise the findings to the bigger population of Klerksdorp. There are various sampling methods

that can be used to represent a bigger population; for example, probability sampling is when everyone in the population stands a fair chance of being chosen, while non-probability sampling is when some members of the study population stand no chance of being sampled. Other examples of sampling are random sampling (where participants are chosen by chance), purposive sampling (where only a certain group can be selected for participation, for example, a certain sex, a particular age group, etc.), clustered sampling (groups of people are randomly selected as participants instead of individuals), etc.

For this research, purposive sampling of Klerksdorp residents was conducted so that data could be collected from a variety of age ranges, sex and social classes (areas of residence). The aim of the study is to describe the linguistic phenomena comprehensively; hence, the age and sex variants are important. The area of residence has been used as a proxy for social class in both the one-on-one interviews and the social network data component. The hope was that this would clarify whether certain linguistic trends are common among a particular group, or if they are used across the board.

The researcher conducted the one-on-one interviews and recorded the relevant interaction after the potential participants had given their consent to participate and to be recorded. For the social network data component, the main subject explained to both their zones that there is a study being carried out in their area (about their views on different topics), and that if they give consent, their conversation will then be recorded. The main subject informed his or her contacts before any recording took place in order to get participants' consent before the recording started. After recording the conversation, the main subject sent the audio recording(s) to the researcher who then transcribed it/them. Recordings differed in length depending on how long the interaction lasted. All the recordings were of face-to-face interactions in relaxed environments in which participants clearly felt at ease and engaged in the discussion using their natural speech (the researcher is an insider by virtue of being a member of the speech community; hence they noted and responded to this). Initially, the participants were not informed that their language use was studied when they gave consent, because they were informed that the consent was for discussing topics of importance in their community. They later gave consent again for the study of their language use based on their earlier recordings which focused on life in their communities.

For this study, sampling of the Klerksdorp population takes into account the different residential areas, as well as the ages (the pre-94 and the post-94 age groups) and sex. This was to ensure a reasonably fair representation of the population by using the relevant variables, namely, area of

residence as proxy for social class, age and sex. According to official sources, Klerksdorp has one big township (Jouberton), while it also has a number of sprawling areas which fall under the informal settlement, and then a growing number of suburbs (formerly white residential areas), which have been allocated in areas with easy access to town and facilities. These three areas form part of what is called the 'City of Matlosana' (Figure 1). The broader Klerksdorp population at the time of the 2022 census was 431 231. Other important information about Klerksdorp as indicated in the 2022 census details are as follows:

Gender (sex) and age distribution of the population of 431 231 (2022 census)

Gender (C 2022)	
Males	209,074 (which is 48.4%)
Females	222,157 (which is 51,5%)

Racial makeup of the population of 431 231 (2022 census):

Black African	363,560 (84.3%)
White	54,154 (12.5%)
Asian	258 (0.05%)
Coloured	12,581 (2.9%)
Other group	632 (0.14%)

<u>Name</u>	<u>Status</u>	<u>Population</u>	<u>Population</u>	<u>Population</u>	<u>Population</u>
		Census 1996-10-09	Census 2001-10-09	Census 2011-10-09	Census 2022-02-02
City of Matlosana (City Council of Klerksdorp)	Local Municipality	334,174	359,202	398,676	431,231
South Africa	Republic	40,583,573	44,819,778	51,770,560	62,027,503

Figure 1: Klerksdorp population census from 1996 to 2022; showing a steady increase of the population from the 1996 census to the 2022 census. Source: Statistics South Africa

The variants used in the study aligns with the 2022 census information, which has also indicated gender (sex) as male and female, although gender is not just restricted to these two groups. The census also shows that the majority of residents are black (84.3%), while the white population is 12.5%. The low percentage of the white population highlights the dominance of the ‘European’ languages (English and Afrikaans which is a variant of Dutch), which are used for borrowing and CS by the majority of the black population to some degree.

4.3. Participants

Research participants are people who give consent to participate in the study after being given all the relevant information about the study in question. Participants can have a researcher or researchers visit them, they can be interviewed, be observed, be asked to form part of a focus group, participate in a survey, etc. If applicable, participants will have access to an information sheet which details what the study focuses on, how long the process will take place, the location of the study, all or any possible harm/injury or risk to participants and the potential benefits of the study.

The current study focused on how Setswana speakers apply borrowing and CS in their linguistic repertoire; therefore, the participants were all home language Tswana speakers residing in the Klerksdorp area. Not all Tswana-speaking Klerksdorp residents met the requirements for the study: for one, only those born in Klerksdorp were included in the study, however, those born outside Klerksdorp, but moved to this area during early childhood and continued living here would also be considered. This is based on the fact that the length of stay in a place shapes linguistic repertoire more than the place of birth. All potential participants gave consent to participate before their conversation was recorded (see Appendix A for the consent form). The participants engaged in general conversations so that the researcher could capture naturalistic speech data. The researcher did this by introducing topics that were likely to elicit naturalistic speech, for example, things that

directly or indirectly affect the participant's lives as individuals or as community members. This is based on the general assumption that freedom of speech evokes true feelings, and this translates to unmonitored and naturalistic language use.

The social network data (see Table 5 below) was sourced from participants who are Setswana home language speakers. The main subjects were asked and expected to engage in conversations with their first and second-order zone participants (that is, zone 1 and zone 2 groups). During these discussions, the main subjects recorded their conversations with their groups and then forwarded the recordings to the researcher. In addition, to zone 1 and zone 2 groups, there is a separate group of participants who are individuals who were involved in the one-on-one interviews with the researcher.

No harm or injury resulted from participating in the study as participants engaged in the study in their 'natural' environment, (in the case of the one-on-one interviews, this was done mostly in the participants' homes), which does not involve any travel or engaging with people who might pose any danger to them.

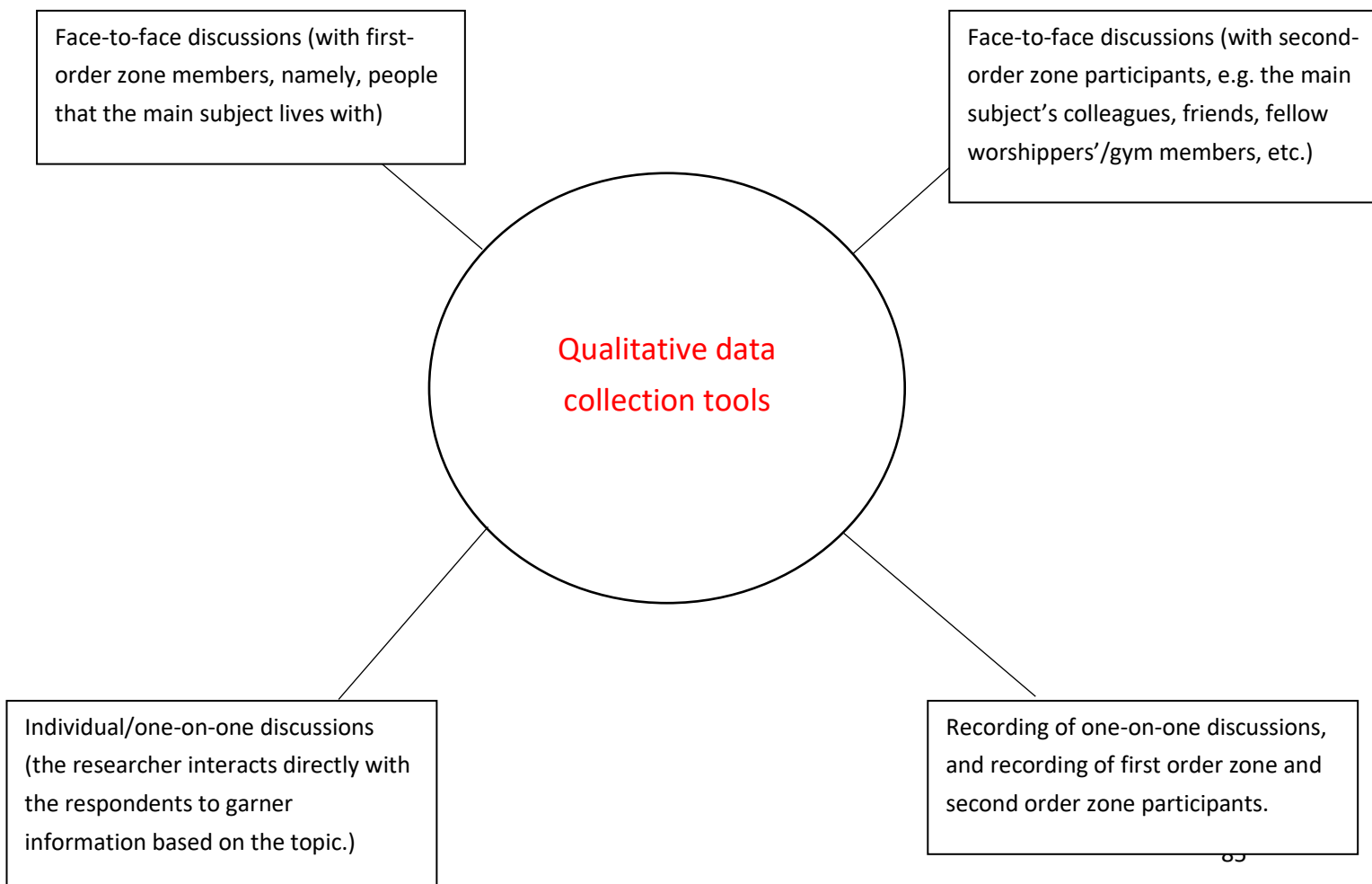
The researcher first approached potential participants and discussed the study (but did not mention that it is a study that analyses language use). This was done in order to avoid what Labov (1972) terms the Observer's Paradox (the well-known sociolinguistic observation that individuals change their speech when they know that their way of talking is being observed). The participants were only told after the initial discussion and interviews had taken place what the actual purpose of the study is, and consent was asked for again. Beforehand, participants were informed that the research is focussed on gathering opinions about certain topics in Klerksdorp, for example, service delivery in their area, their personal experiences with civil servants like the police and/or health workers, lack of job opportunities, etc. (or any topic of interest, as the focus was on garnering unmonitored speech). Approximately 116 participants were directly or indirectly included in this study – 36 participants (18 males and 18 females) engaged in the one-on-one interviews, and about 80 interlocutors contributed to the social-network data through the 12 main participants. Participants were generally evenly distributed over the three main social variables of sex, social class (that is, place of residence) and age.

The research was focused on studying the influence of three social variables on CS and borrowing, meaning that participants living in different areas and under different living conditions participated in order to determine if age, sex or social status has an impact on their linguistic repertoire in any

way. This therefore means that people living in vulnerable life circumstances like poverty also formed part of the research project. Only the main subjects in the social network component of the research were, however, compensated with data and/or airtime so that they could communicate with the researcher to clarify how the process should unfold, discuss any challenges in data collection, and to record their conversations with their group and then forward these to the researcher.

4.4. Data collection

Research data refers to information that has been collected in a specific way with the aim of validating research findings. Data collection focuses on the process of gathering and measuring information in a systematic fashion that will best test the research hypotheses, answer the research questions and allow for the evaluation of collected data. In general, sociolinguistics draws its data from varied sources like observations, surveys, interviews, censuses and documents (Wardhaugh 1992: 22). Data collection for the current study was founded on the common principle of discussing common (and emotive) topics to encourage participants to interact using language freely and naturally.



Data collection for both groups did not involve any travel for the participants (the researcher travelled to the participant's area or home for the one-on-one interviews). The main participants of the social-network data phase conducted their discussion with participants in their own environment. This was to ensure that there was no possibility of putting anyone's life and/or health at risk. Even though there was no obvious risk, all possible health and safety protocols were observed, for example, conducting discussions in a safe and clean environment where there was no loud noise. Creswell (2013) explains the process of the one-on-one interview by stating that the researcher can only engage with one participant at a time, but the researcher can schedule one interview immediately after another. The researcher played a participatory role by asking participants questions to elicit speech.

For the social network data, the researcher was not directly involved at any stage of the data collection process for the obvious reason that the information was captured by the main subjects through audio recordings of both the first and the second order zone participants. Face-to-face interactions applied to both the first order zone and the second order zone participants, that is, family members living in the same household as the main subject and then outsiders. The same principles of health and safety as discussed by the researcher for the one-on-one interviews were observed for both the first and second order zones where the main subject explained to the participants that the discussion needs to be held in a safe and quiet place; the latter so that the audio recording would be audible.

4.5. Interviews

Interviews are examples of the qualitative research technique that is often used to elicit in-depth data regarding research participants' opinions, feelings, thoughts and other related life experiences. In this particular case, the emphasis was on collecting linguistic data from individuals for language analysis to determine which language/s they use 'alongside' Setswana in their interactions. The research also focused on determining the extent to which the participants use the other language/s and in what manner (e.g. borrowing or CS). Participants chosen for interviews were selected on the basis that they could best contribute to the research phenomenon by engaging in the topic or topics of discussion, and/or fully answer open-ended questions. The researcher thus engaged in the one-on-one interviews in order to track the possible influence of the three social variables in the study, as the focus is to understand the participant's linguistic trends. The following table provides the range of subjects whose speech was recorded and later analysed:

Age	Sex	Lower class (residing in the informal settlement)	Lower middle class (residing in the Jouberton Township)	Middle class (residing in an urban area)
Pre-1994	M	3	3	3
	F	3	3	3
Post-1994	M	3	3	3
	F	3	3	3
Total number of participants - 36	Males & Females	12	12	12

Table 4: The one-on-one interview participants distributed across the variables of sex, age and area of residence (social class)

The researcher approached 3 members (as individuals) from each of the categories in the table above and elicited a conversation about general topics (e.g. current news, their interests, life in their community, etc.). The researcher later transcribed the recording to determine the participants' language use.

4.6. Social network data

Social network data is one way of data collection that is used to discover knowledge about a community/group. Such information can be of different kinds, for example, to gain knowledge about public health, to gauge the impact of local law enforcement, to gain knowledge about social belief systems, etc. In the current study, the information gained is the speech-patterns of the relevant speech community. According to Botha and Coetzee-Van Rooy (2020), the focus of social network data is language mixing and social motivations. Kieswetter (1995) and Rose (2006) concur. Botha and Coetzee-Van Rooy tracked the personal life of a student to analyse his language mixing at university and at home. This is a different angle because most language mixing studies of students are based on what happens in classrooms, but Adendorff (1993), emphasises that social network data analyses language mixing in the different domains of participants. A similar division of groups into zone 1 (home group) and zone 2 (public/outside the home environment) discussion groups in

this study was implemented by Kieswetter (1995). In that study, Kieswetter used data of students' school conversations and conversations at home. Language proficiency plays a crucial role in the participants' language choice; hence, there will be minimal to no language mixing if participants lack language proficiency.

This component of the research had 12 main subjects (6 from the pre-1994 group and 6 from the post-1994 group) who met the variable requirements of age, sex and social class as stipulated in Table 5 below. In accordance with Botha's (2017) study, main subjects had two groups of participants linked to them. In this study, main participants are linked to the first order zone and the second order zone. The different groups detailing the distribution across the various social variables are tabled below:

AGE	Sex	SOCIAL CLASS (determined by area of residence)		
		Lower class (residing in the informal settlements)	Lower middle class (residing in Jouberton Township)	Middle class (residing in a previously white urban area)
Pre-1994	M	1 main subject (plus first and second order zone participants)	1 main subject (plus first and second order zone participants)	1 main subject (plus first and second order zone participants)
	F	1 main subject (plus first and second order zone participants)	1 main subject (plus first and second order zone participants)	1 main subject (plus first and second order zone participants)
Post-1994	M	1 main subject (plus first and	1 main subject (plus first and second order	1 main subject (plus first and

		second order zone participants)	zone participants)	second order zone participants)
	F	1 main subject (plus first and second order zone participants)	1 main subject (plus first and second order zone participants)	1 main subject (plus first and second order zone participants)
Total number of participants – approximately - 120	Males & Females	Approx. - 40	Approx. - 40	Approx. - 40

Table 5: Participants and variables for the social network data

As can be seen, there was a main subject for each of the sub-categories in the table above, which is a cross-table of the three social variables; age, sex and social class. The latter variable being subdivided in terms of place of residence, into lower class, lower middle class and middle class; each related in turn to a particular area of Klerksdorp. Each main subject had a first order zone, made up of people close to the main subject, for example, family members and certain very close friends. In the first order zone, all participants know and interact with each other regularly. The second order zone was, on the other hand, composed of the main subject’s friends, colleagues, fellow gym/society members, etc. The participants in this group might not know each other and/or interact with each other, but they all interact regularly with the main subject.

4.7. Data analysis

Data analysis refers to the process of inspecting and interpreting data gathered in order to determine trends, patterns and relationships. Data analysis was descriptive, meaning giving detailed account of features of the data in a study and using both qualitative and quantitative methods to determine the nature and extent of CS and borrowing in the relevant speech community.

For the data collected in the study, all verbal interactions were analysed; this means sets of recordings derived from the two main data-collection methods. The one-on-one interviews and the social network data were transcribed and analysed by the researcher to determine the forms and extent of CS and borrowing present in the various interactions. These analyses were then used, in addition, to trace the influence of social variables on these phenomena. An applicable case is

apparent in relation to the age-groups of participants, for example, where a full analysis of the natural speech interactions was conducted in order to gauge whether there has been any change of Setswana speakers' linguistic repertoire in terms of how they borrow and CS vis-a'-vis Afrikaans and/or English and/or Sesotho.

Speech captured in relatively informal settings across the different sub-groups provided reliable data given that it is in such settings that interlocutors tend to use language in a natural and spontaneous way. For the social network data, mining in-depth information in a format that is different from the traditional way, aligns with Charu (2011), who states that data collected using social network can be intensive and personal. In broad terms, the analysis was thus helpful in determining for example, and in relation to the various places-of-residences (social-classes) of participants, if there is a township 'lingo' (the vocabulary or jargon of a particular subject or group) as some people believe, and if so, who uses this linguistic pattern and to what extent. 'Township lingo' in this sense refers to CS and borrowing that is particularly the domain of young black males; in this study, that linguistic repertoire would be particularly expected of males born post-94.

Data analysis was also used to determine if there were any anomalies (things that do not follow the expected pattern or standard) for the different contexts and settings. Linguistic anomalies are common in cases where the relatively uncommon context or the setting of the interaction influences language use of a particular kind; for example, certain topics will lend themselves to certain language usage. A typical example is the democratic government introducing new vocabulary like 'loadshedding' to the public; and 'tsotsitaal' usage, to use another example, is also largely determined by the setting, that is, an all-male youth group is likely to use language that is different from that used in a mixed group or with older people. No pre-set questions were used for either the one-on-one interviews or the social network data as information was mined and analysed from naturalistic speech conversations.

In particular, the researcher paid attention to the participants' word-forms to see if some original Setswana word-forms have fallen out of use because they have been replaced by either Afrikaans words or English words, albeit sometimes with a slight change to the word form. The same was applied to the analysis of CS, that is, to determine if there are changes affecting Setswana vis-a'-vis the two prestigious languages (Afrikaans and English) and Sesotho as an African language; and if there are, where is this commonly applied and by which subgroup. Linguistic analysis was thus also focused on indicating the extent of CS, that is, if it is more or less prevalent in the Setswana spoken

by certain individuals or certain subgroups, and thus to determine which of the two prestigious languages is used more to CS and by which sub-groups.

The data collected was also particularly useful in terms of assessing the social functions of borrowing and CS (the why aspect). Social network data in particular was useful in terms of a close analysis of the kinds of borrowing and CS that take place in group discussions (the description aspect). Analysis was seen to provide answers to questions such as the following: Is CS commonly applied at the intra-sentential level or at the inter-sentential level? Are there participants who apply equal usage of both intra-sentential and inter-sentential CS as linguistic phenomena? Does the kind of borrowing used affect the matrix language, and if so, to what extent?

Overall, speech patterns were analysed to, in addition, juxtapose borrowing and CS across the different sub-groups to see when (in which instances) and how (the manner) these contact-based linguistic processes manifest themselves. The data collected was therefore analysed with the aim of testing the hypothesis that states that the upper classes and females apply more borrowing and CS (from Afrikaans and English) in their speech than the lower classes and males (Labov, 1966), given the prestigious nature of both Indo-European languages. It was also expected that data from both the interview and social network methodologies, would show more examples of CS and borrowing from Afrikaans than from English in the pre-94 groups. Contrary to this, the hypothesis indicates that the post-1994 groups would employ more English words, and they would CS using English more. Data analysis was thus an on-going process throughout the study to gauge whether there are any linguistic patterns or anomalies.

4.8. Ethical considerations

Ethical considerations are principles and values that must be adhered to during the research process to ensure that the correct procedures are followed, for example, where there is no misrepresentation or falsifying of any information. Respect for all participants where they are treated with dignity must be prioritised throughout the research process.

The researcher is obliged to adhere to society's moral principles between right and wrong, for example, not to coerce anyone into agreeing to something, not to abuse their authority, to adhere to legal norms and standards, to adhere to rules and regulations regarding age, vulnerability, etc.

Consent was sought from all participants beforehand so that they would be aware of the broad contents of the study and its purpose, as participants cannot be coerced into a situation where they are uncomfortable. This is especially important because their conversation was recorded; therefore, it was imperative that they felt comfortable throughout the whole process; hence, their opinions/views were not disregarded. Note, however, that full disclosure of the specific aim of the study (i.e. to study linguistic patterns and trends) was only provided at the end of the interview in order to avoid the Observer's Paradox.

After this full disclosure, the option for full deletion of the recording was provided, that is, at the end of the interview. In addition, no names have been published as part of the research: the anonymity of the subjects has been guaranteed.

Since the recordings served the purpose of investigating how the different social variables might affect speech patterns, there was no need to know any of the participants' personal information; therefore, if there was any personal information in the audio recordings, the researcher deleted that information during the process of transcribing data.

Participation in the study was thus done anonymously (that is, in no way were the participants' results linked to their identity) and it was also voluntary and confidential (meaning that the information shared in the study was protected, given that there was non-disclosure of any participants' details in the actual recordings). Any hardcopies containing data were kept in a secure office with locked cupboards while electronic data was password protected. Data will be stored for five years and all the people who will have access to the collected data will sign confidentiality clauses.

Ethical approval was obtained from the NWU's ECLM (*Ethics Committee for Language Matters*): the relevant number is: NWU-00702-21-A7

In brief, the research design and methodology chapter focuses on the approaches applied to determine the best way of explaining the influence of the variables of age, sex and social class on the language spoken in each area, and how the design of the study answers research questions. The issue of consent is highlighted to ensure that participants are not coerced to participate or to hold a certain viewpoint pertaining to the study. Overall, the linguistic phenomena of CS and borrowing take centre stage as they influence linguistic trends.

CHAPTER 5

One-on-one interviews

The outline of the chapter covers the following sections: Section 5.1., borrowing, which is then divided into Sections 5.1.1.–5.1.4., ‘standard’ Afrikaans borrowing and ‘Tswanalised’ Afrikaans borrowing in the three residential areas of the study. This chapter also looks at ‘standard’ English borrowing and ‘Tswanalised’ English borrowing (Sections 5.1.5. – 5.1.8.), and from there the focus shifts to Section 5.1.9., Sotho borrowing. The last part concentrates on code switching and code-mixing patterns in the three social classes: Sections 5.2. – 5.2.6.

5.1. Borrowing

Borrowing happens commonly in many speech communities where words are taken from one language and used in another. One of the focus of this study is on borrowing from Afrikaans and English by Setswana speakers. However, the analysis of the one-on-one interviews, for example, showed a number of loanwords used by Batswana participants being ‘other;’ therefore, it is imperative to classify the origin of these ‘other’ loanwords, and to gauge the impact they have on the study. The results in fact indicate that the non-Afrikaans and non-English loanwords used by participants are mostly from Sesotho. Setswana and Sesotho in Klerksdorp have close contact because of the close proximity of Klerksdorp, which has a majority of Setswana speakers, and Orkney, which has a majority of Sesotho speakers. The close proximity of Klerksdorp and Orkney, and the close proximity of Klerksdorp to the Free State Province, which is majority Sesotho speaking, has led to the two languages interacting; hence, Setswana speakers⁷ commonly use Sesotho borrowings, and vice versa. Such mixing of languages ultimately leads to what Poplack (1988) refers to as ‘blurred boundaries,’ which is certainly applicable in Klerksdorp, as many speakers are not always sure if certain words that they commonly use are originally Setswana or Sesotho words. In essence, Setswana speakers thus borrow extensively from three languages (Afrikaans, English and Sesotho). For this reason, Setswana is what Hoffer (2005: 16) refers to as “high on the scale of receptivity.”

After grouping together all the Sesotho words used by participants, a number of words remaining on the list come from what Makalela (2013, 2014) terms ‘tsotsitaal.’ ‘Tsotsitaal’ has its origins in

⁷ The researcher is fluent in both Setswana and Sesotho, therefore; borrowed words are easily correctly classified.

Johannesburg, and it is a language formed from a mixture of other languages, specifically Afrikaans and the Nguni languages. Since the usage of 'tsotsitaal' is generally minimal and falls into the category of nonce borrowing, which applies when there is a "once off occurrence of a loanword," no analysis will be conducted on this kind of borrowing (Poplack, 1988:50).

The different graphs below show the most commonly used borrowed words from the three languages highlighted above, where Afrikaans and English borrowings are, in addition, divided into standard borrowings and Tswanalised borrowings. Standard Afrikaans and standard English borrowing manifests in cases where words are used in a Setswana interaction with very little or no change to the word structure (the morphology) and sound structure of the foreign items. In contrast to this, there are cases where the loanwords adapt their structure to that of the recipient language (Hoffer, 2005). The term 'Tswanalise' thus means to make loanwords conform to Setswana grammatical structure. The process of adapting foreign items to fit the linguistic structure of the recipient language structure is also emphasised by Myers-Scotton (2002, in Poplack, 2012) and Gardner-Chloros (2009). Many Afrikaans and English loanwords have been adapted to fit in with Setswana linguistic structure. These Tswanalised loanwords are demonstrated in the graphs under the Tswanalised sections below (Figures 2.1 – 2.4 & Figures 4.1. - 4.4). Gardner-Chloros (2005) uses the term 'stylise' to refer to what is termed 'Tswanalise' in this context.

Setswana borrowings from Afrikaans and English are influenced by variables like age, sex and social class. This impact thus differentiates one subgroup from another. The main three subgroups are (a) Setswana home-language speakers from the informal settlement, (b) Setswana home-language speakers from Jouberton Township as well as (c) Setswana home-language speakers from the former white areas/suburbs. The stated geographical areas are used as a proxy for different Klerksdorp linguistic landscapes, and, more importantly social class, in this study. An analysis of participants' most commonly used borrowed words will highlight the impact that participants' residence (social class), gender and age have on linguistic trends.

Participants in this study are not just Batswana home-language speakers born in Klerksdorp; they are currently residing in Klerksdorp, and have lived in Klerksdorp for most of their lives. However, people who were not born in Klerksdorp, but moved to this town in early childhood and continued living here will also be eligible to participate. This is to ensure that linguistic trends outside of the focal area of this study do not cause any linguistic anomalies. The analysis of borrowing by Setswana speakers, as provided below, will endeavour to provide reasons for the modifications of loanwords,

and will look at the dynamics of borrowing in the different subgroups in order to determine the impact of the various social variables on similarities and differences across them.

5.1.1. Standard Afrikaans borrowing in the Klerksdorp area

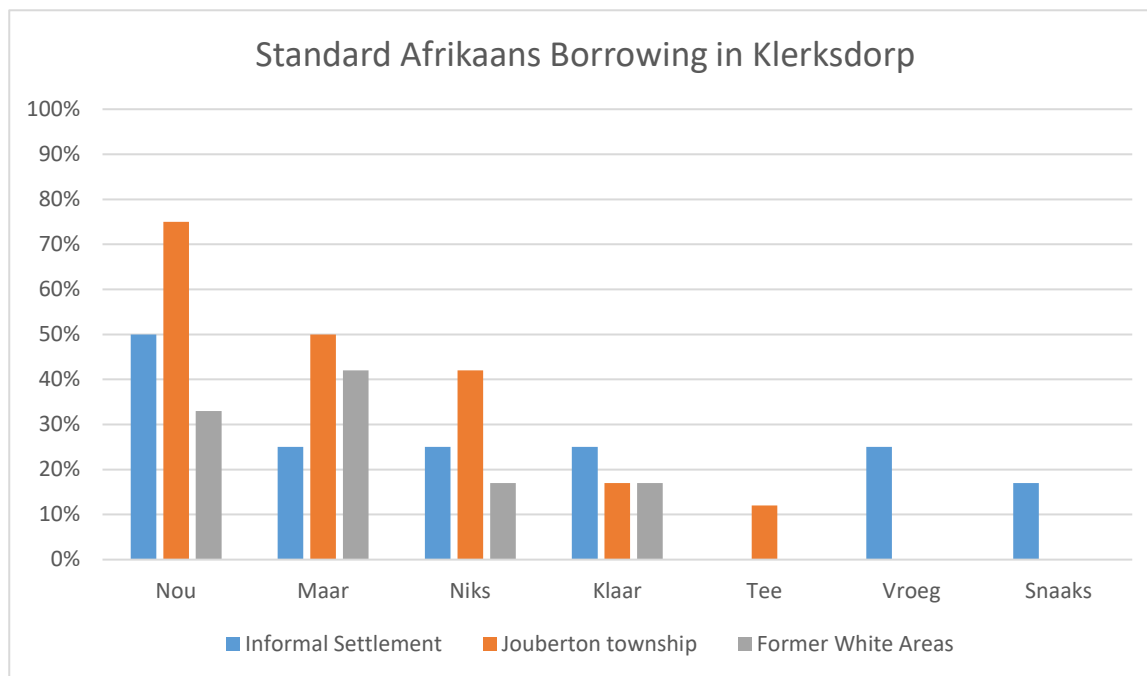


Figure 5.1.1: Usage of standard Afrikaans borrowings in the 3 areas in Klerksdorp

When looking at the four most commonly used loanwords in Figure 5.1.1., Jouberton Township clearly has a higher overall percentage of standard Afrikaans loanwords compared to the other areas (social classes). For the four most commonly used loanwords (*'nou, maar, niks and klaar,'* which have the English translations *now, but, nothing and finished/completed*), *'nou'* registered the highest usage. These are referred to as 'standard' loanwords because they have been adopted into the receptive language with little or no modifications, hence usage of the word 'standard.' The percentage of Jouberton participants who used all four of these loanwords at least once in the one-on-one interviews stands at 75% (usage for *nou*); 50% (usage for *maar*); 42% (usage for *niks*) and 17% (usage for *klaar*) as Figure 5.1.1 shows. The high Jouberton percentage of usage stems from the fact that Jouberton Township⁸ is an old established area with a large African population, and it is the area where residents have interacted with white Afrikaans speaking people, mainly through employment, for many years. Another reason for the higher Afrikaans borrowings could be that Jouberton and Alabama (a township that was established during apartheid for the coloured people

⁸ Jouberton Township represents the first Setswana home language speakers who settled in this area in the 1950s.

in Klerksdorp) are close in proximity; therefore, the high percentage of Afrikaans use could be a result of contact with coloured Afrikaans speakers in Alabama.

The percentage of informal settlement participants who used the four most commonly used loanwords at least once in the interview stands at 50% (for *nou*); 25% (for *maar*); 25% (for *niks*) and 25% (for *klaar*), while the former white areas usage stands at 42% (for *nou*); 33% (*maar*); 17% (*niks*) and 17% (*klaar*) respectively. Overall, Jouberton residents' usage of standard Afrikaans loanwords based on the 4 most commonly used loanwords, is 67%, while the informal residents' usage averages 56%. Based on the graph, participants in the former white areas use standard Afrikaans borrowings the least, at a 36% average. This is, as we will see later, because there is higher English usage for this last group (as demonstrated in CS usage below). Of the remaining borrowings of this kind, 'vroeg' and 'snaaks' are not commonly used in some areas as speakers often opt for the English equivalents of 'early' and 'funny.' Usage of *tee* only in Jouberton is further proof of higher pure Afrikaans loanwords use in this area.

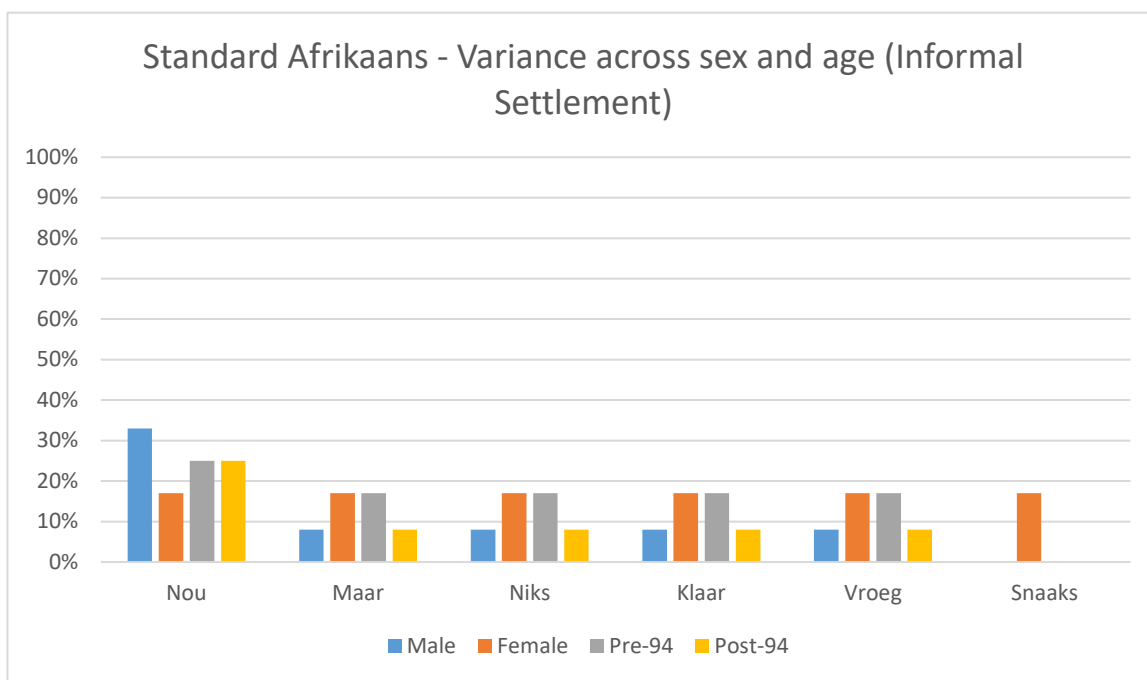


Figure 5.1.2: Commonly used standard Afrikaans borrowings in the informal settlement; divided by sex and age

Across all participants, there is a roughly equivalent usage of different standard Afrikaans loanwords by both males and females and by both the pre-94 group and the post-94 group. For sex, there is, however, a slightly overall higher female usage across the three residential areas compared to male usage (see Figure 5.1.3 and Figure 5.1.4 below as well). It is imperative to note that even if a certain social class (area of residence) or age group (this could be the pre-94 group or the post-94 group)

uses a loanword more, this does not mean that usage of that loanword is equal for both sexes in that group. This is apparent in Figure 5.1.2, which shows the overall results for the informal settlement, where the pre-94 group has a higher standard Afrikaans loanword usage, and closer analysis also shows that females are the primary users of standard borrowings, at least for most of the words.

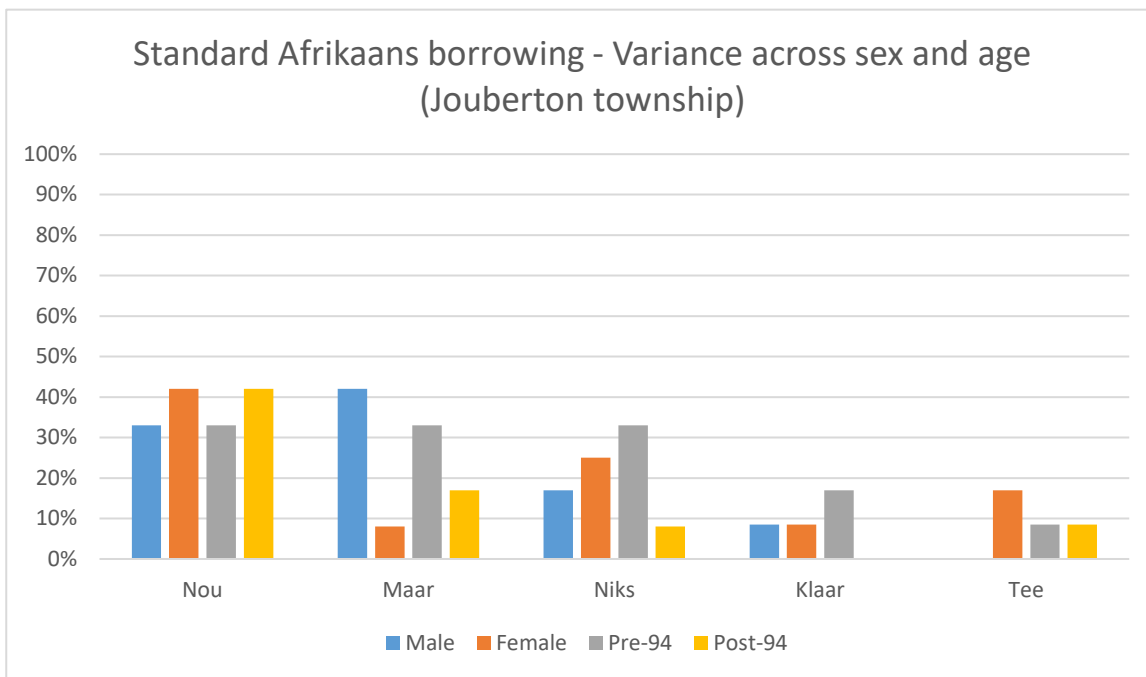


Figure 5.1.3: Commonly used standard Afrikaans borrowings in Jouberton Township; divided by sex and age

As already stated, contact between Afrikaans and Setswana is common in Jouberton because it is close to the majority Afrikaans speaking township of Alabama, therefore, standard Afrikaans borrowing is considerably higher in Jouberton than in the other areas (Moroke & Schoeman, 2019). The most commonly borrowed standard Afrikaans word for the Jouberton participants in the study is 'nou' (75%), which means *now*. It is sometimes used to pose the question, *Nou wat?* (Now what?). *Nou* in Setswana translates to '*gone jaanong,*' which can alternatively pose a question equivalent to the English question *Now what? – Jaanong?* It is imperative to remember that for the one-on-one interviews participants, 12 participants were sampled from each social class (area of residence), so in essence, 75% in Jouberton Township represents 9 out of 12 overall participants. Females used the loanword more, averaging 42% usage, while the average usage of male participants stands at 33%. Similarly, the post-1994 group used the loanword more as it accounts for 42% compared to the overall 33% pre-94 usage.

Overall, however, the pre-94 group shows a greater use of standard Afrikaans loanwords (see *maar*, *niks* and *klaar* in Figure 5.1.3). This is likely because these participants grew up during the apartheid years that cover the period when Afrikaans was dominant and was enforced on black people. According to Prah (2018), this is socio-political dominance, which occurs when the dominant language influences the language that has a low status. Participants' lived experience will culminate in their linguistic repertoire. Thomason and Kaufmann (1988: 4) concur when stating that the history of a language is a function of the history of its speakers.

Continued use of standard Afrikaans borrowings in Jouberton is, however, demonstrated by the fair usage of *nou* and *maar* by the post-94 groups (Figure 5.1.3). As we will see later, this is however the case even in the former white areas where English usage is common among young people. This is because some Afrikaans words have become entrenched in the Setswana language and are therefore passed on from generation to generation; hence, they are used in all areas, across both sexes and among all age groups in Klerksdorp.

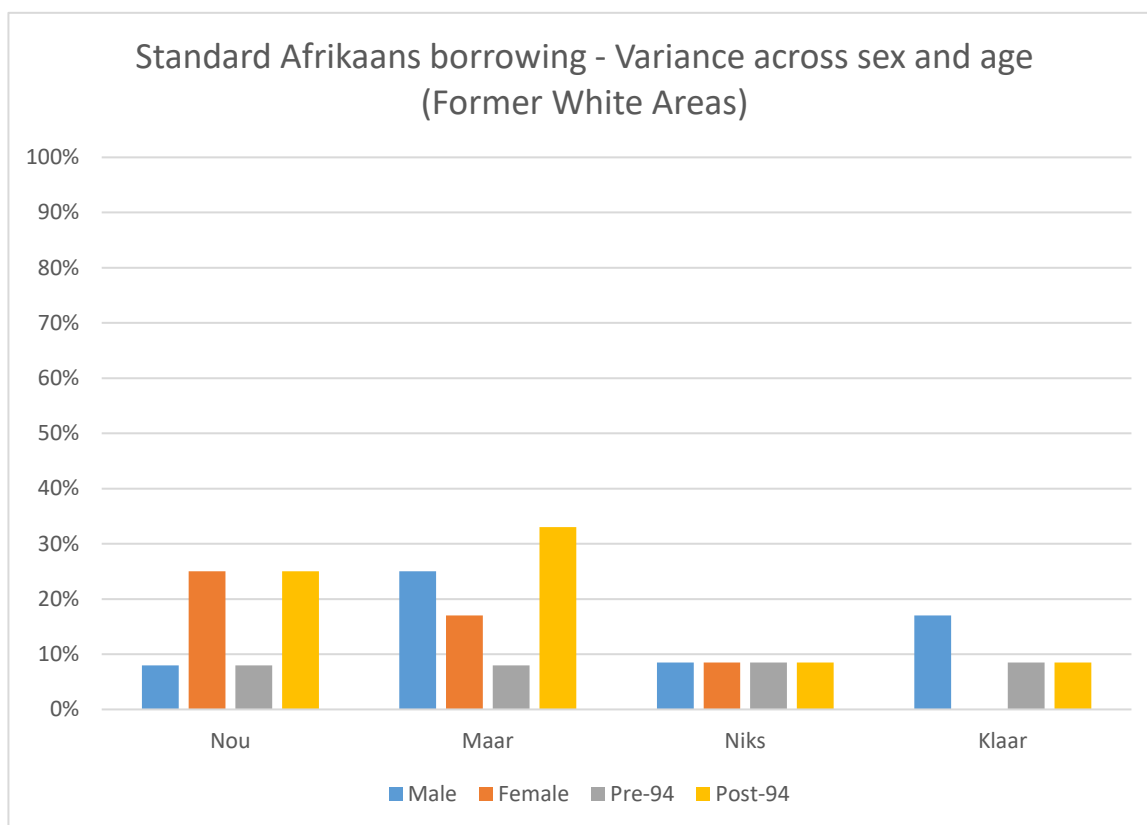


Figure 5.1.4: Commonly used borrowings in the former white areas; divided by sex and age

As can be seen from Figure 5.1.4, participants' usage of standard Afrikaans borrowing is lower in the former white areas compared to usage in the informal settlement and Jouberton Township.

Afrikaans borrowing in the former white areas is low, not just by frequency, but also by the overall number of loanwords used. This is because these participants use English more than they use Afrikaans in their interactions.

Maar is commonly used to the extent that even some participants who interacted primarily in English used it at least once; hence, it shows more than twice the overall percentage usage compared to the other loanwords. This loanword is clearly entrenched in the Setswana vocabulary; hence it is more commonly used compared to its English equivalent (*but*), or its Setswana equivalent.

5.1.2. Summary of standard Afrikaans borrowing:

There is high usage of an Afrikaans conjunction (a word used to connect clauses or sentences or to coordinate words in the same clause) which is dominant in Setswana interactions. Setswana speakers mainly use the borrowed Afrikaans conjunction, *maar*, across the board regardless of sex, age or area of residence, as highlighted by Figures 5.1.2, 5.1.3 & 5.1.4 above. This is a common occurrence in Setswana whereby if another language has one linguistic word for an item/concept or idea where Setswana uses a few words for that item, then borrowing is likely to be applied. *Maar* in Setswana is *le fa go ntse jalo*, which is five Setswana words; replaced here by one short word from another language. Interestingly, the English equivalent *but* is not commonly used in Setswana interactions; this is because *maar* has been adopted into the Setswana vocabulary and has become the preferred loanword across the board. The same linguistic reasons apply to the loanword *nou*, which in Setswana is *gone jaanong*. *Nou* has the same morphological structure as its English equivalent *now*, but since the Afrikaans word is entrenched in the Setswana language, it is the one that is commonly used. However, *niks* and *klaar* are anomalies because they have Setswana one-word equivalents, *sepe* and *fedile/feditse* respectively. This form of borrowing results, in all likelihood, from what Hoffer (2005: 16) refers to as “high on the scale of receptivity”: Setswana has clearly borrowed words even in cases where there are lexico-morphological equivalents of those loanwords in Setswana. However, these borrowings are used interchangeably with their Setswana equivalents, as they have not been as fully adopted as *maar* and *nou* have. All this can be attributed to the Setswana speakers’ long-standing relationship with Afrikaans. The other Afrikaans loanwords *tee*, *vroeg*, *snaaks* have low usage and they were only used in the informal settlement or in Jouberton, primarily because pure Afrikaans borrowing in the former white areas is minimal.

5.1.3. Tswanaised Afrikaans borrowing in the Klerksdorp area

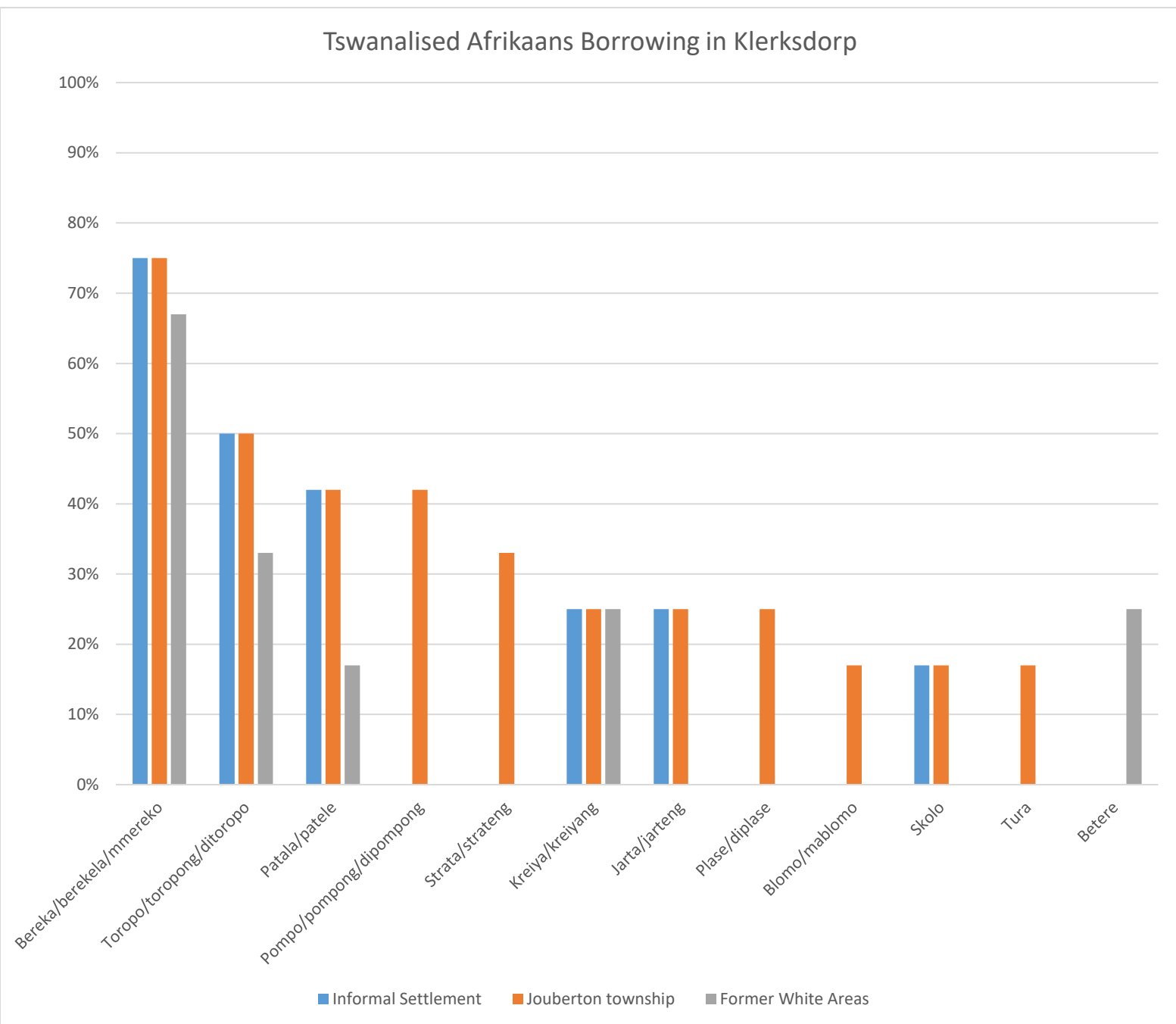


Figure 5.2.1: The most commonly used Tswanaised Afrikaans borrowings in the 3 areas of Klerksdorp

Above is the graph showing the most common Tswanaised Afrikaans words used by the participants: these words have been modified to fit in with Setswana linguistic structure. Figure 5.2.1 thus shows 12 Tswanaised borrowings that have been used by participants at least once in the one-on-one interviews.

Below is a table comparing the 'original' Afrikaans words with the Tswanaised form, along with their English translations.

Tswanalised Afrikaans loanwords	Standard Afrikaans words	English translations of Tswanalised Afrikaans loanwords
Bereka	Werk	Work
Toropo	Dorp	Town
Patala	Betaal	Pay
Pompo	Pomp	Tap
Strata	Straat	Street
Kreiya	Kry	Get
Jarta	Jaart	Yard
Plase	Plaas	Farm
Blomo	Blom	Flower
Skolo	Skool	School
Tura	Duur	Expensive
Betere	Beter	Better

When comparing the nature and extent of borrowing across the two main categories of borrowing above (Figures 5.1.1 and 5.2.1), Tswanalised Afrikaans borrowing exceeds standard Afrikaans borrowing judging by the number of borrowed words and the overall percentages. One example is the percentage of usage of the two loanwords with the highest usage in each group/residential area (that is, the informal settlement, Jouberton and the former white areas). For standard Afrikaans borrowing, *nou* stands at 75%; 50%; 33% (which averages 52.6%) in the three residential areas, while *bereka/berekela/mmereko*, which refers to work or working, stands at 67%; 75% & 67% (an overall average of 69.6%) respectively. This is a clear indication that standard Afrikaans borrowing is not as commonly used as Tswanalised Afrikaans borrowing. Even so, Jouberton participants are the highest users of both types of borrowing, as shown again in Figure 5.1.1 and Figure 5.2.1.

Jouberton participants' usage of Tswanalised borrowings exceeds the other two residential areas by not only the overall percentage, but also by the number of loanwords used. This could result from the higher standard Afrikaans borrowings in Jouberton where some borrowings ended up being Tswanalised. As Figure 5.2.1 shows, Jouberton participants used more loanwords (*pompo, strata, plase, blomo, tura*) than the other two groups. Jouberton participants and the informal settlement participants have, however, the same overall percentage usage (75%, 50%, 43%) of the three loanwords most frequently used (*bereka, toropo, patala*), while the former white areas have much less usage for these same loanwords.

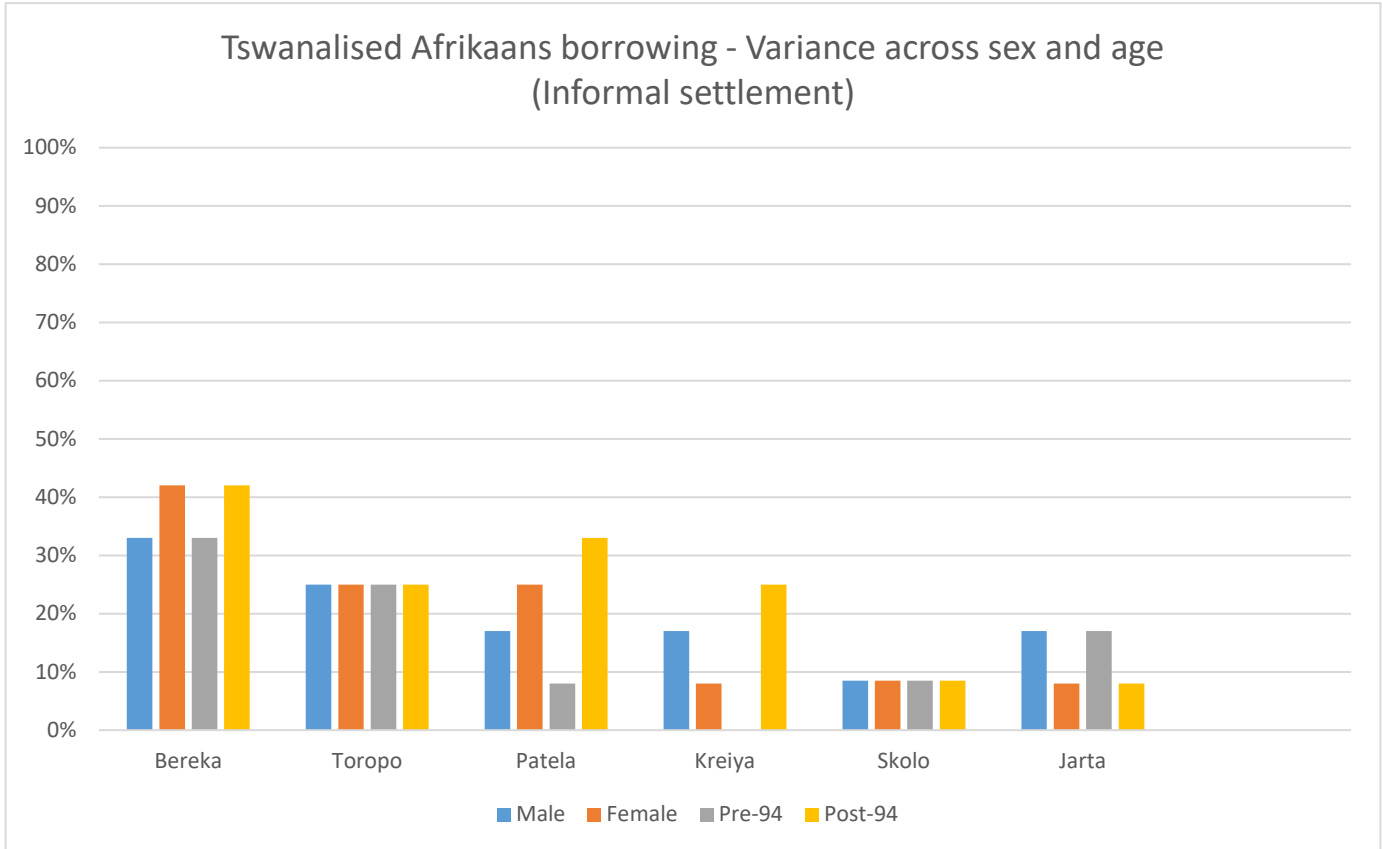


Figure 5.2.2: The most commonly used Tswanalised borrowings in the informal settlement; divided by sex and age

The majority of Klerksdorp residents had learned Afrikaans at school during the pre-94 period as it was one of two compulsory languages in schools in the country (article 137 of the Union Constitution – Giliomee, 2003), and they were exposed to it in workplaces too where Afrikaans dominated. Tswanalised Afrikaans borrowing was no doubt eventually promoted in informal social interactions between Setswana speakers when engaging with each other, and that is how this form of borrowing became common in Jouberton, which has a majority of Setswana speakers. It then no doubt spread to the informal settlement and the former white areas. The extent of usage of this form of borrowing differs from area to area based on social factors.

Tswanalised Afrikaans borrowing in the informal settlement is fairly high; all the different genders and age groups clearly interact using this kind of borrowing. The overall usage between males and females is generally equal. When comparing usage across the age variable, there is an anomaly because the general expectation would be for the pre-94 group to be the ones with a higher usage of Afrikaans borrowings throughout as they have had more Afrikaans exposure. However, the post-

94 group far exceeds that of the pre-94 group as demonstrated by the higher usage of *bereka*, *patella* and *kreiya*. It is likely that the post-94 group got Afrikaans influence from their peers, and/or

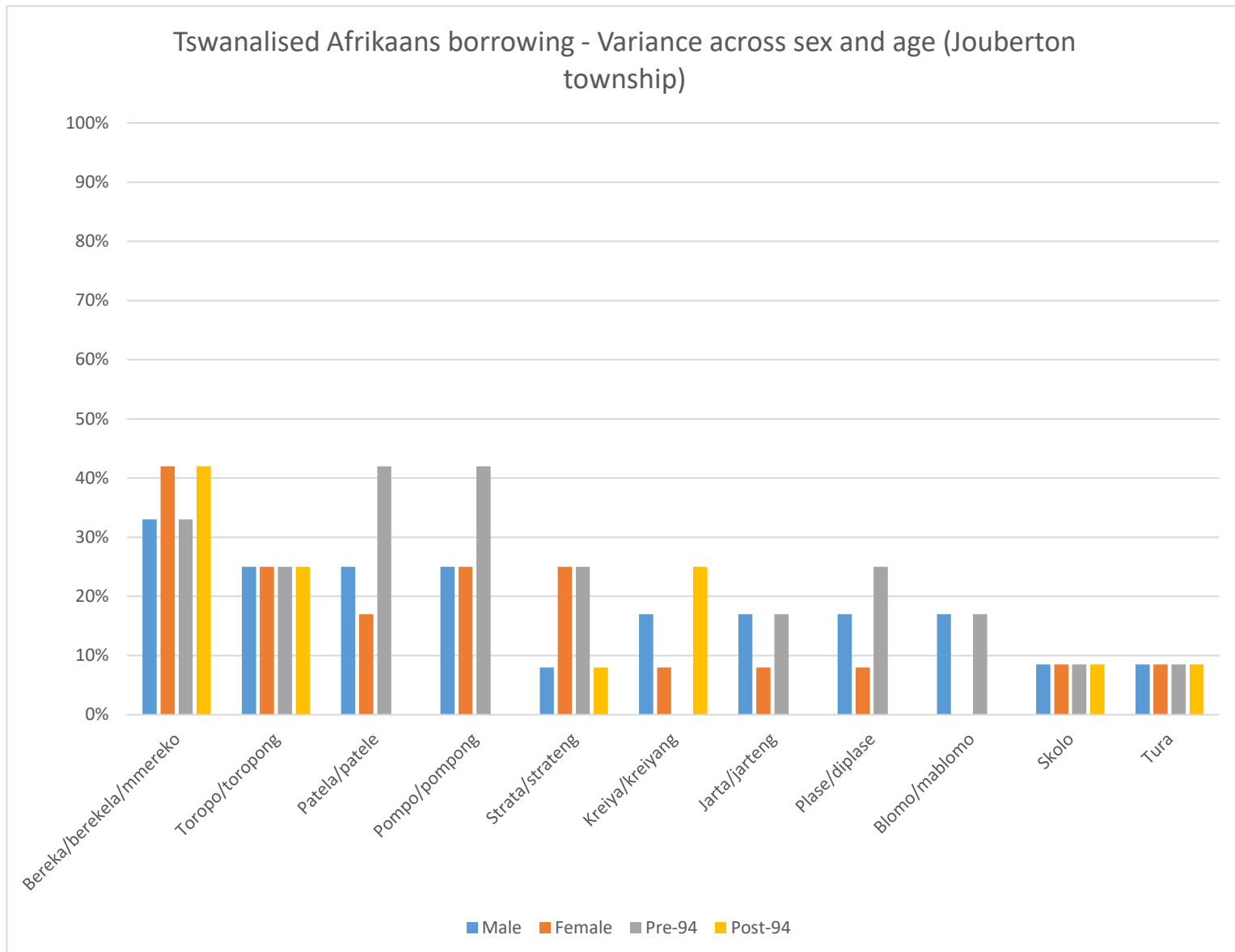


Figure 5.2.3: The most commonly used Tswanalised Afrikaans borrowings in Jouberton Township; divided by sex and age

from exposure to Afrikaans in schools as most of them attend school in Jouberton.

Jouberton township has the highest number of Tswanalised Afrikaans borrowings compared to the informal settlement and the former white areas. This is likely because Jouberton is an old black township, which was established during the time when Afrikaans dominance was high, and also by its proximity to Alabama township as stated earlier. The sex variance in Figure 5.2.3 shows comparatively high male usage (although with a few exceptions like *toropo/toropong*, *pompo/pompong*, *skolo*, *tura*, which have equal usage for both sexes). The age variant shows higher

usage for the pre-94 group, where all the borrowings have higher or equal usage, except for *bereka/berekela* and *kreiya/kreiyang*.

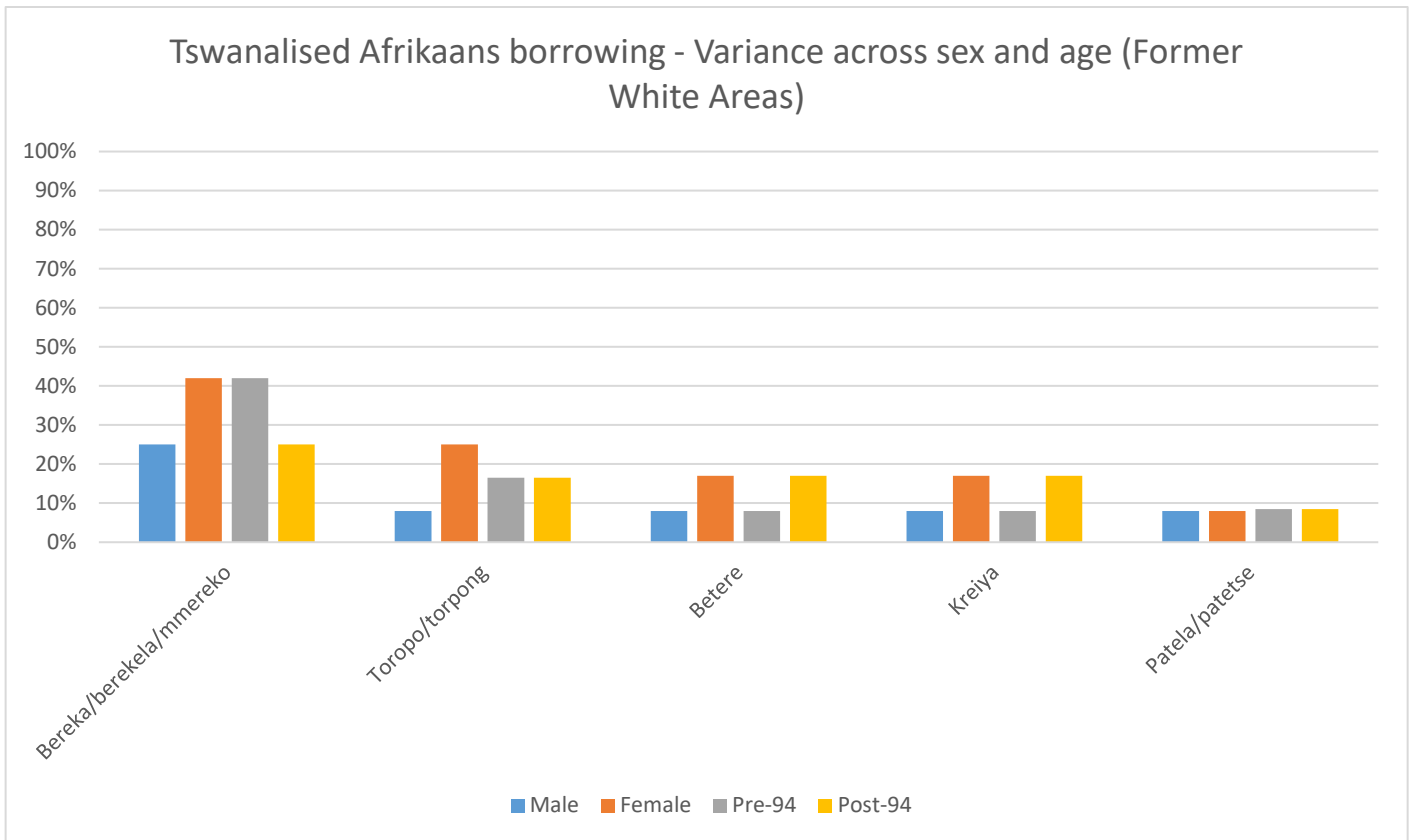


Figure 5.2.4: The most commonly used Tswanalised Afrikaans borrowings in the former white areas; divided by age and sex

Tswanalised Afrikaans borrowings are particularly common among the lower classes because people in the higher classes often opt for the most prestigious language/variety (i.e. English); hence, there is a low frequency of Tswanalised Afrikaans borrowings in the former white areas. This resonates with Labov (1966, in Snell, 2014) whose findings posit that the wealthier classes and females use speech that is more formal. The high usage and frequency of Tswanalised Afrikaans borrowings in Jouberton Township and the informal settlement bears testimony to this in the sense that there is more borrowing of the Tswanalised forms compared to the use of standard Afrikaans borrowing. This is based on the higher number of borrowed words and the higher average percentages of the Tswanalised forms. Figure 5.2.4, however, shows that participants in the formerly white areas do not follow the same linguistic pattern as demonstrated in Figure 5.2.2 and 5.2.3, at least in terms of the number of Tswanalised borrowings.

For this group, the sex variable shows higher female usage of Tswanalised Afrikaans borrowings. The age variable also leans in some cases slightly towards higher usage by the post-94 group, all of which is counter expectations but speaks more generally to the entrenched nature of these particular forms. Thus, interestingly, females in the post-94 group are the ones who used Tswanalised Afrikaans borrowings the most, more than the post-94 males. Based on the total average percentages of 11.4% male usage, versus 21, 8% usage by females, female usage is almost double that of males.

5.1.4. Summary of the structure and extent of Tswanalised Afrikaans borrowing

On a linguistic level, Afrikaans loanwords have often been adapted to fit in with Tswana linguistic structure, and this has affected the phonology and the morphological structure of these words. The latter often results from adding a prefix or a suffix to the different words. Examples from the loanwords in the graph, which have undergone such a change to fit the Tswana structure, are *betere*, *jarta*, *skolo*, *bereka*, etc. *Bereka* comes from the Afrikaans word *werk* (meaning work). The Afrikaans word *werk* has among other things, been adapted to Tswana morphophonological structure as it is applied to different words all relating to *werk* – *bereka* (present tense), *berekile* (past tense), *mmereko* (noun, meaning a task to be undertaken). Likewise in the case of the plural form; that is, Afrikaans-derived nouns in this category will often have the prefix '*di*,' which is one form of the plural in Tswana, attached to them; for example, *dijarta*, *ditoropo*, *distrata*, etc.

The phonetic form of *toropo* follows the Tswanalised phonological pattern as the Afrikaans '*d*' changes to a '*t*.' There are Tswana words which start with a '*d*' or a '*t*,' but for the Tswanalised Afrikaans forms where the initial Afrikaans word starts with a '*d*,' a '*t*' will replace the '*d*.' A similar change is apparent with Tswanalised loanwords like '*tura*' (expensive) = '*duur*' in Afrikaans. The change from a '*d*' to a '*t*' (*duur* to *tura* and *dorp* to *toropo*) indicate that loanwords sometimes end up losing many of their original characteristics. The phonology and morphology are adapted particularly because the linguistic structure of the donor language differs from the Tswana structure; hence, the word-form is adapted (Myers-Scotton, (2002), in Poplack, 2012 and Gardner-Chloros (2009)). Poplack (2018) shares this view when stating that borrowed words often use the morphophonology of the recipient language.

5.1.5. Standard English borrowing in the Klerksdorp area

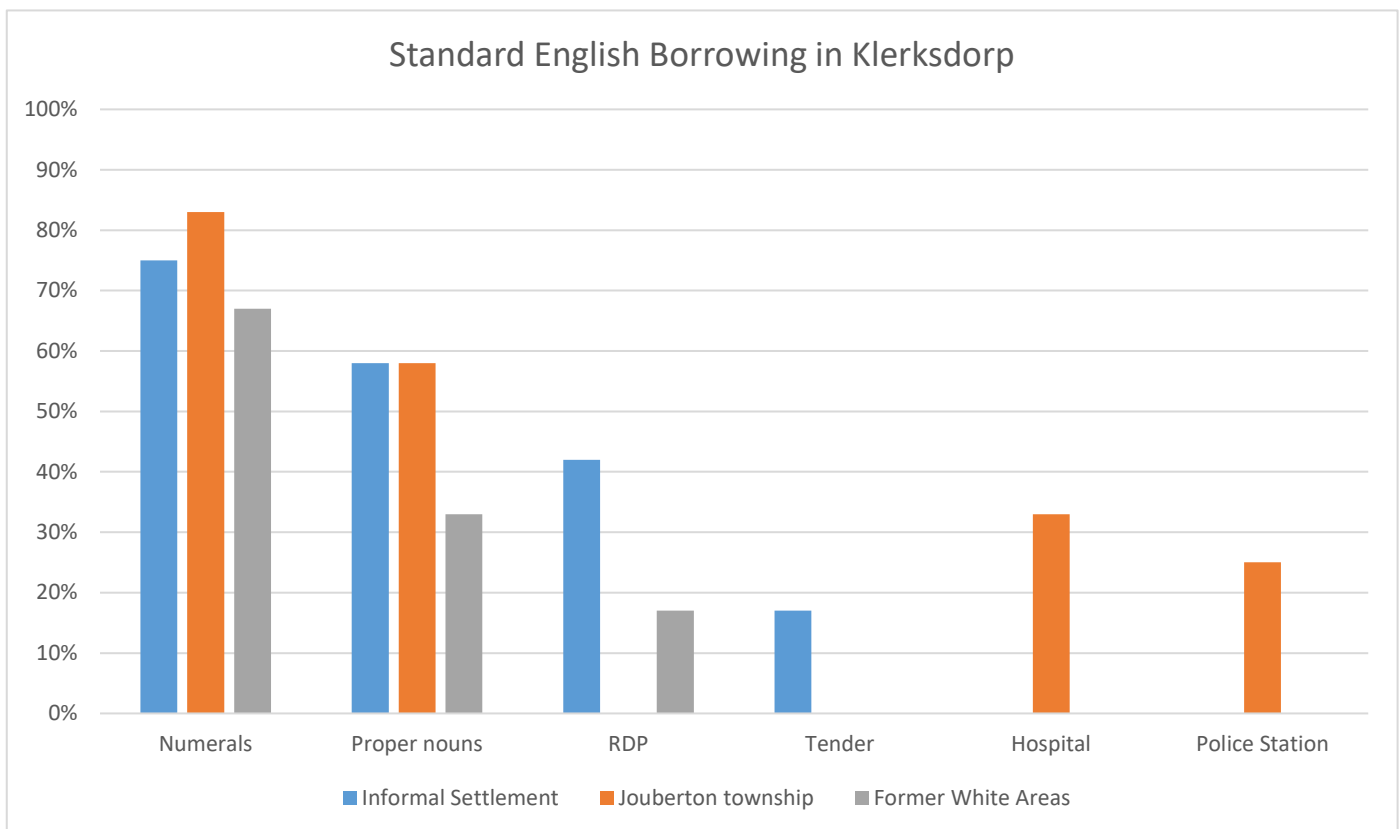


Figure 5.3.1: The most commonly used standard English borrowings in the Klerksdorp area

Standard English borrowing results from the incorporation of unchanged English words into a Setswana interaction. Thus, these borrowings are adopted with little or no phonetic or morphological change to the structure of the borrowed words. Standard English borrowing is not widespread in the Setswana home-language speech community of Klerksdorp, but it is gaining traction, especially when referring to service facilities like the police station, hospitals, etc. as used by mostly Jouberton residents in the above graph (Figure 5.3.1).

Many words borrowed from English are words that have no equivalents in Setswana, for example, medical and scientific terms, technological terms, etc. This is in line with Makalela (2010) who explains that although African languages borrow from each other, they are forced to borrow from other (European) languages because none of the African languages have words for certain items or concepts. According to Mikanowski (2018), the infiltration of these words is often the result of, for example, interactions between different populations and regions around the world due to the Internet and other forms of mass media. However, there are cases where speakers will opt for the usage of foreign items even when there are equivalents in the speakers' home language. Typical examples of duplication of words are numerals, as Setswana has equivalents, and *hospital* has the

equivalent Setswana word *bookelo*. However, *bookelo* is hardly ever used in Klerksdorp (it is however, used mostly in rural areas or in small Setswana-speaking towns). Myers-Scotton (2006) concurs and uses the term 'core borrowing' when referring to this phenomenon of foreign words being adopted to replace original existing words in a language. Poplack (1988), Manfredi *et al.* (2015) and Gardner-Chloros (2009) concur.

Interestingly, speakers in all the different social classes as demonstrated in Figure 5.3.1 opt for the use of English numerals. Numerals cover a wide spectrum like times on the clock, numbers referring to years, months, weeks and days, ages, weights, distance and anything relating to counting. In the initial stages, both the native words and the loanwords were no doubt used interchangeably. However, over time, usage of English numerals far surpassed that of Setswana, and ultimately most Tswana speakers adopted English numerals and these have been passed on from generation to generation, more especially in Klerksdorp. The continued high usage rate of numerals by both sexes and by different age groups may ultimately result in replacement, more especially considering the fact that many Setswana speakers do not even know some of the original Setswana numerals, especially those who attend or have attended English private schools. Children imitate the speech pattern in their community; therefore, they will continue to spearhead this process of linguistic change (Zentella, 1997). As demonstrated by Figure 5.3.2, 5.3.3 and 5.3.4, usage of English numerals is applied equally across the board, regardless of sex, residence (social class) or age. In such cases, Hoffer (2005: 16) classes a language like Setswana to be 'high on the scale of receptivity' because it uses English numerals extensively, which in turn not only replaces Setswana equivalents, but almost completely erodes the use of Afrikaans in numeral usage as well.

The education system promoted the use of English as the language of learning and teaching after the democratic elections in 1994, and this transition pushed Afrikaans to the periphery in education (De Klerk and Gouws, 2000). The post-apartheid democratic dispensation has thus led to the widespread use of certain standard English borrowings across the different geographic regions in Klerksdorp post-94.

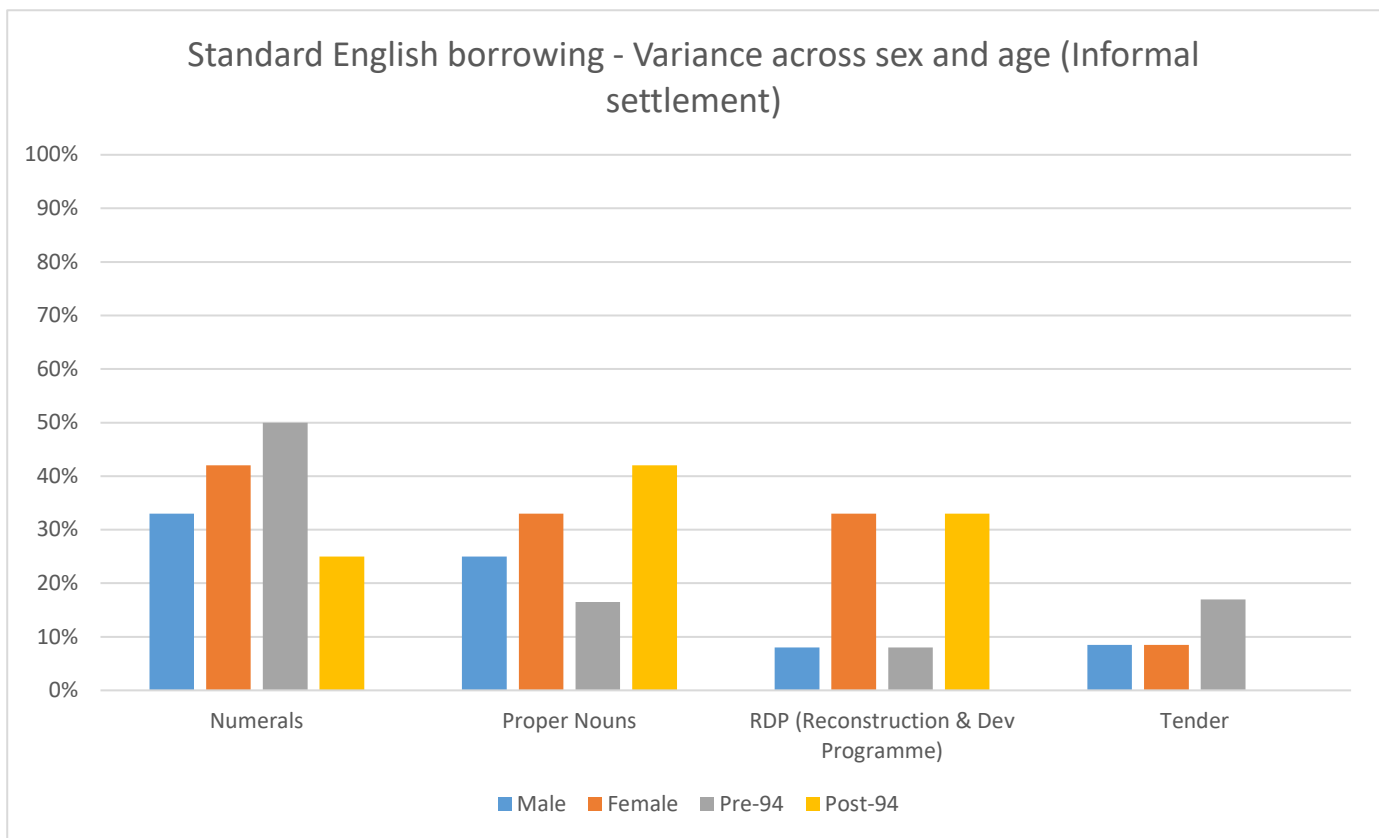


Figure 5.3.2: The most commonly used standard English borrowings in the informal settlement; divided by sex and age

The use of numerals in the informal settlement is high: Setswana speakers in Klerksdorp do not only commonly transfer numerals from English to Setswana, but they use them extensively. However, other than the high usage of numerals and proper nouns, the overall number of standard English borrowings is low compared to standard Afrikaans borrowings and Tswanalised Afrikaans borrowings in this area. Overall, female usage of such loanwords is higher compared to males, except for the loanword ‘tender,’ which has equal usage. Higher standard English usage by women attests to common findings in the sociolinguistic literature, which state that women use more formal speech (Labov, 1966, in Snell 2014). The post-94 group, which recorded a 25%, 42%, 33% usage for the three most common borrowings, can be compared to the pre-94 group which demonstrated a 50%, 17%, 8% usage for this same set of borrowings. These percentages demonstrate that the pre-94 group uses English numerals more, which goes against the general trend. However, as expected, *overall* standard English borrowings is higher for the post-94 group.

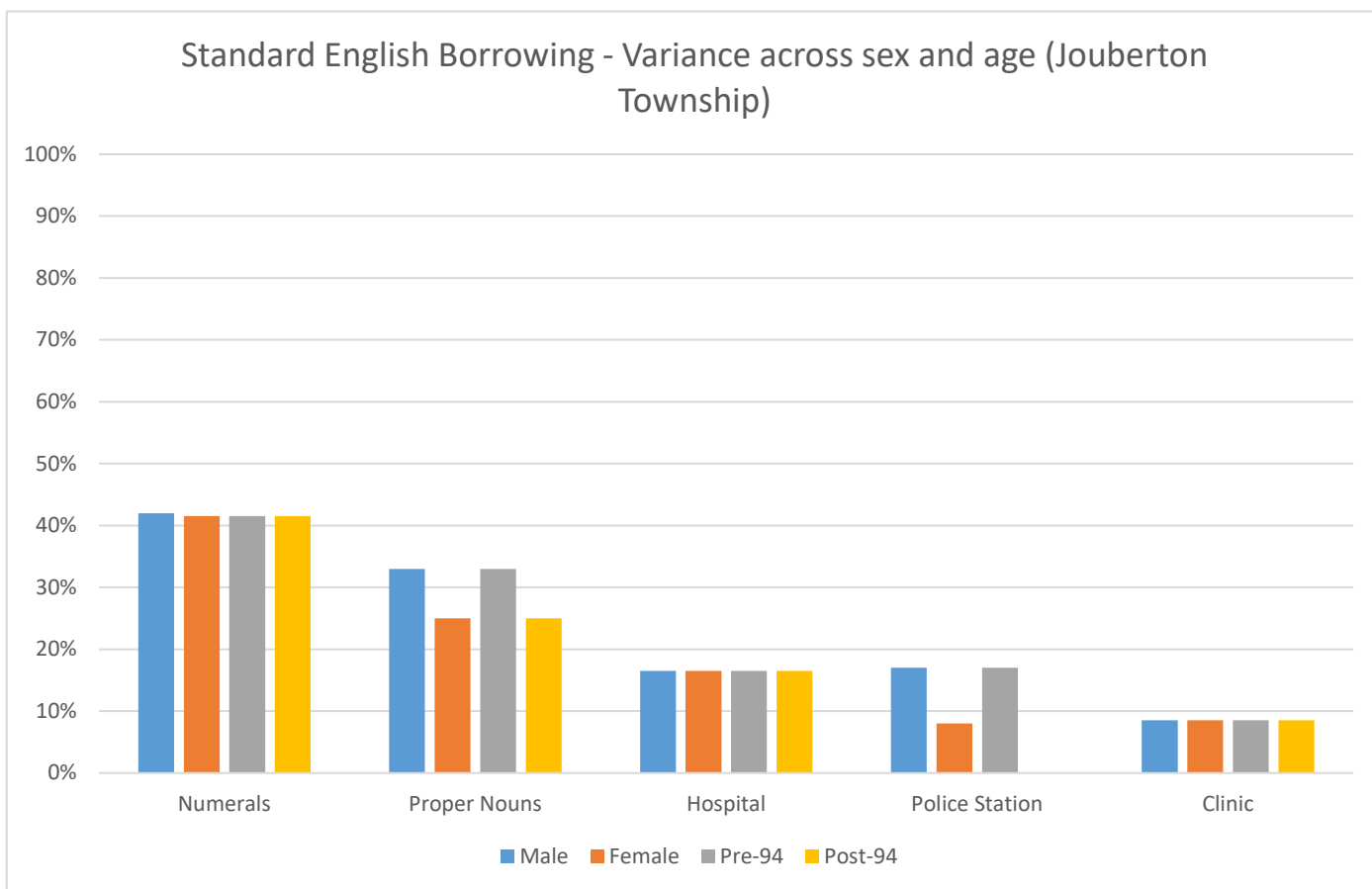


Figure 5.3.3: The most commonly used standard English borrowings in Jouberton Township; divided by sex and age

On average, standard English borrowing in Jouberton is steadily outperforming usage in the informal settlement; although usage here follows the same trend shown in the informal settlement where participants have fewer standard English borrowings compared to standard Afrikaans borrowings and Tswana-ised Afrikaans borrowings. Figure 5.3.3 shows the replacement of Setswana words by standard English equivalents. It is apparent from the graph that English loanwords for numerals and proper nouns are used to a high degree. A comparison between the sexes and the ages shows that males slightly outperform females, and the pre-94 group has higher usage compared to the post-94 group. Both these findings are somewhat anomalous as findings from other studies show that females opt more often for formal use of language, so one would expect females to use standard English borrowings more than males, as is the case in the informal settlement (Figure 5.3.2). Likewise, the Jouberton pre-94 group has higher Afrikaans use for standard Afrikaans and Tswana-ised Afrikaans borrowings (Figure 5.1.3 & Figure 5.2.3); therefore, one would expect English borrowings to be lower for this group, but the opposite is true, especially for proper nouns. These anomalies could result from the fact that interlocutors are often not proficient in English; therefore,

they use more borrowings (as opposed to shifting completely to English) as this does not require an interlocutor to be proficient in the language from which the foreign items come from.

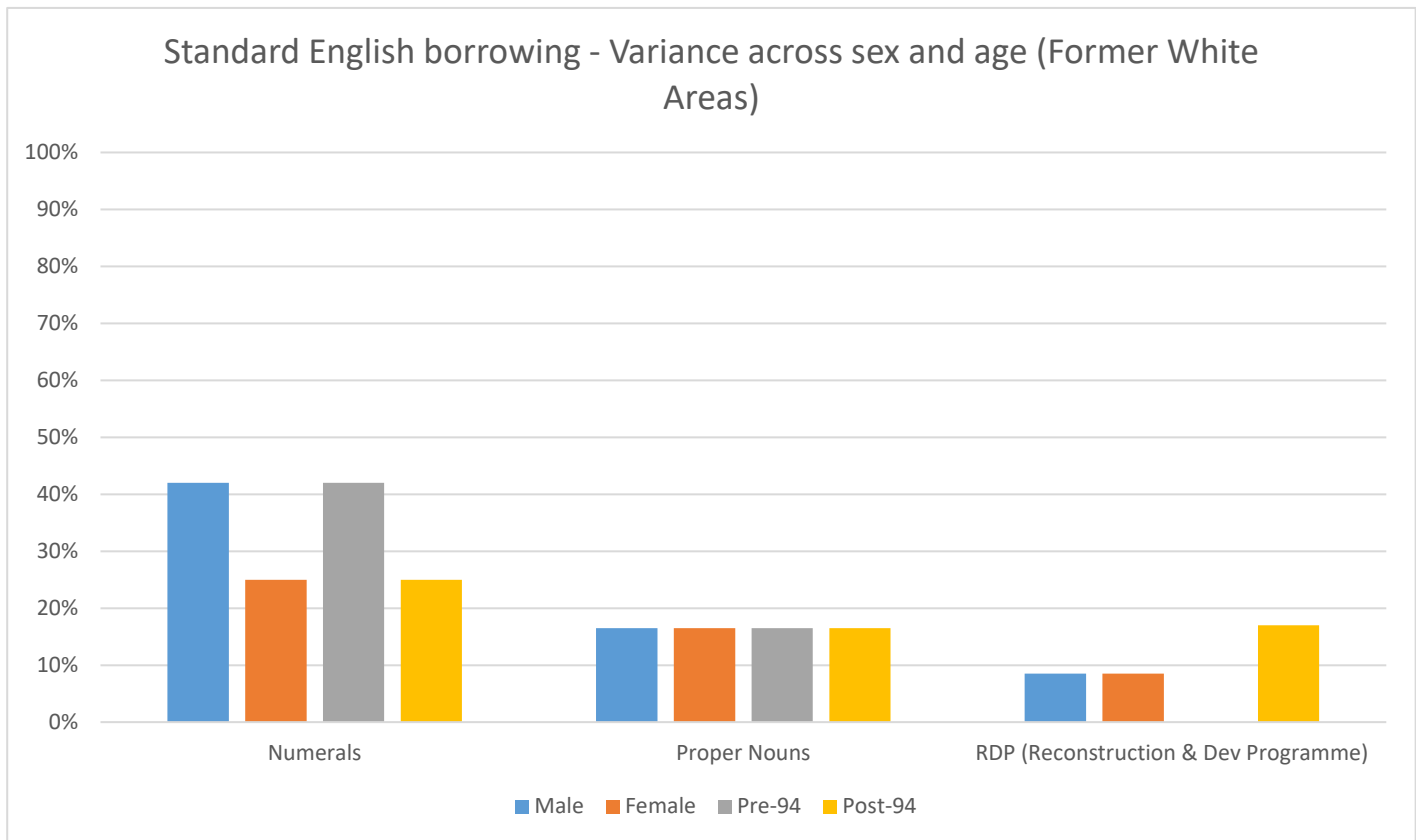


Figure 5.3.4: The most commonly used standard English borrowings in the former white areas; divided by sex and age

Standard English borrowing is lower in the former white areas than in the other areas, which is similar to the low usage for standard Afrikaans borrowing and the low Tswanaised Afrikaans borrowing as shown in Figures 5.1.4 & 5.2.4. This is in line with De Klerk and Gouws (2000) who state that borrowing is lower where CS is high. Participants in the former white areas apply English CS from a moderate to a high degree (as will be seen later); therefore, their overall level of borrowing is low. The sex record of borrowings places males higher than females while the pre-94 group has a slight lead in the overall borrowing rate. This is an indication that females and the post-94 group apply more CS in their interactions, hence they apply less borrowing.

This post-94 group trend (that is, the use of CS instead of borrowing) aligns with Dyers (2009 & 2012), whose findings show that young people use English more in their interactions as they see the value of English. Dyers (2012) further posits that the higher the level of education young people attain, the more they shift fully to English in their interactions, which is the stance shared by Mokoena (2024). This finding is apparent in the linguistic trends of interviewed residents here

because most post-94 participants in the former white areas are attending higher education institutions, or they have already graduated from higher education. (See below for more on the CS trends of speakers from the former white areas).

5.1.6. Summary of standard English borrowing:

The new dispensation in South Africa dawned in 1994, and this has changed the linguistic landscape as highlighted by terms/words that have since become commonly used. Examples of these are English words borrowed by Tswana speakers, for example, *tender* (a formal offer to supply goods or a service, which the government grants to companies or individuals after a bidding process) and the acronym *RDP* (Reconstruction and Development Programme, whereby the underprivileged are provided with housing by the government). Another commonly borrowed English word is *grant/social grant* (government help to different groups of individuals like the elderly, the disabled, etc. who need financial assistance for a living). Social classes in the study have fewer common borrowings because each participant used nonce borrowings (this happens when borrowed words are used only once); hence, the graphs show few standard English borrowings overall. As stated by Matras (2009), lexical borrowings in the form of nouns are common, and for this reason, proper nouns are used in all the social classes and by both sexes and age groups as shown in Figure 5.3.2; Figure 5.3.3 and Figure 5.3.4. Manfredi (2015) and Poplack (1988) concur when stating that borrowing mostly manifests in nouns. From more general observation by the researcher (i.e. outside of the interviews), the loanword *government* is one example of a noun that is used by Setswana speakers in Klerksdorp, and it occupies almost the same position of use as numerals because it is preferred over its Setswana equivalent *puso*. In some cases, *government* has completely replaced its original Setswana word, since *puso* is hardly ever used.

5.1.7. Tswanalised English borrowing in the Klerksdorp area

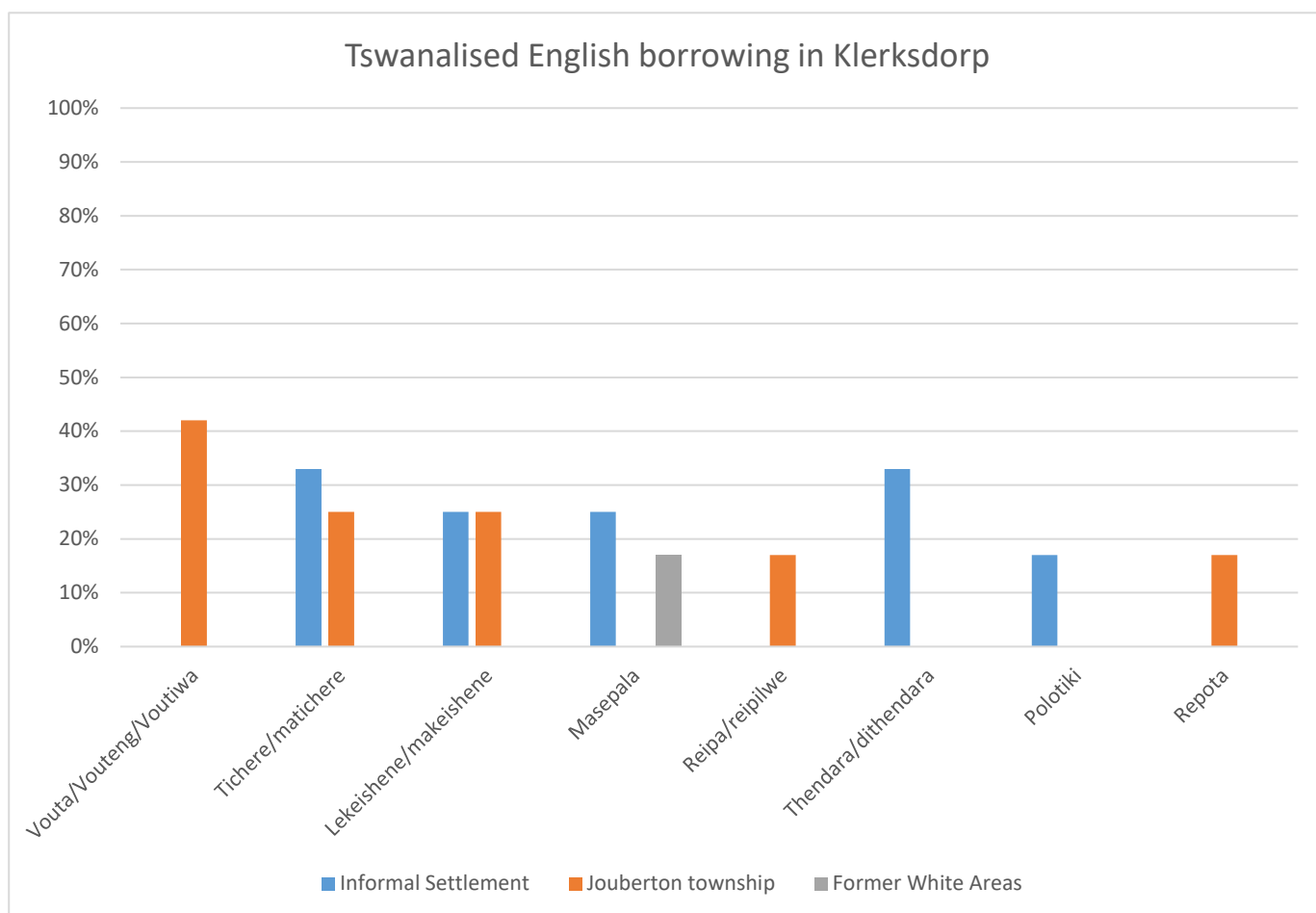


Figure 5.4.1: The most commonly used Tswanalised English borrowings in Klerksdorp

The English translation of words in Figure 5.4.1 are *vouta* (vote); *tichere* (teacher); *lekeishene* (location, which refers to a black township); *masepala* (municipality); *reipa* (rape); *tendara* (tender); *polotiki* (politics); *repota* (report).

The graph shows that the different areas in Klerksdorp use a number of Tswanalised English words, and interestingly, most of these words have a connection to politics (*vouta*, *masepala*, *tendara*, *polotiki*). This is based on the fact that four (4) out of the eight (8) listed borrowings fall in this category, and this is an indication that shows that the linguistic landscape has changed because some words that were not commonly used have become part of everyday life. Interestingly, the informal settlement and Jouberton Township share more Tswanalised English borrowings than they do with the former white areas.

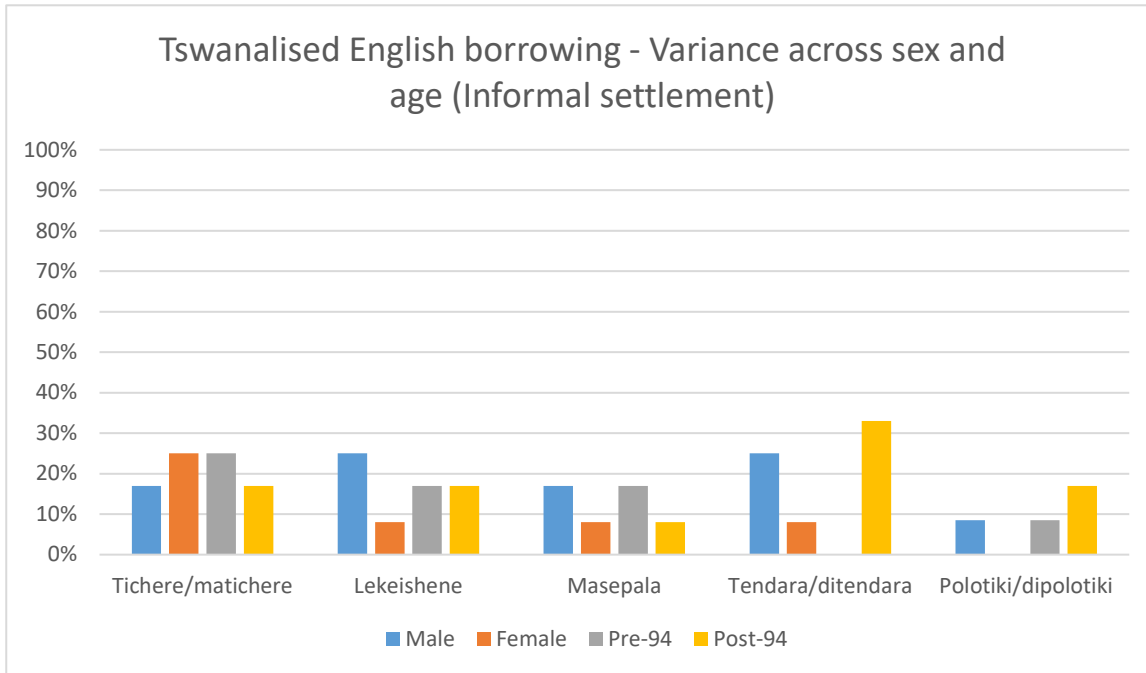


Figure 5.4.2: The most commonly used Tswanalised English borrowings in the informal settlement

Participants in this area applied roughly the same number of Tswanalised English borrowings compared to Tswanalised Afrikaans borrowings (see Figure 5.2.2). However, the percentage of usage is higher for Tswanalised Afrikaans borrowings. Discussions about life in the community centre around the same issues, hence, borrowings like *tichere* and *masepala* are used across the board. Overall, male usage is slightly higher than that of females (17%; 25%; 25%; 17%; 8% versus 25%; 8%; 8%; 8%). Interestingly, the post-94 group uses more Tswanalised English than the pre-94 group (17%; 33%; 17%; 8%; 17% versus 25%; 17%; 8%, 0%, 0%), probably because the pre-94 group uses Afrikaans borrowings more.

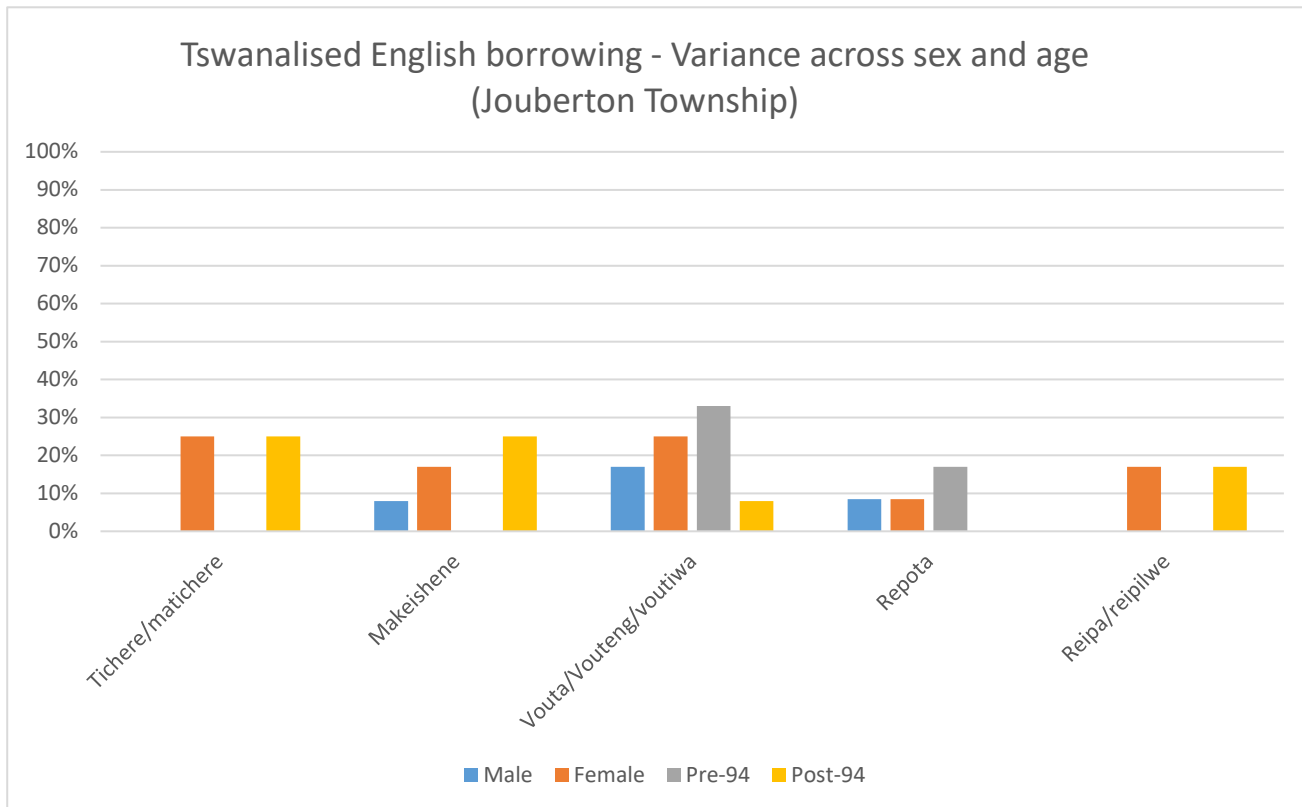


Figure 5.4.3: The most commonly used Tswanalised English borrowings in Jouberton Township; divided by sex and age

Jouberton Township participants have used Tswanalised English borrowings to the same extent as the informal settlement participants. However, the frequency of usage differs as shown by comparing Figures 5.4.2 and Figure 5.4.3. The higher frequency of use is demonstrated in the informal settlement through the use of *tichere* at 33%; *lekeishene* 25%; *masepala* 25%; *tendara* 33%; *polotiki* 17% versus *tichere* at 25%; *lekeishene/makeishene* 25%; *vouta* 42%; *repota* 17%; *reipa* 17% in Jouberton Township. Further comparison between the two groups shows that the overall usage percentages for the different borrowings are low, and both sexes and age groups use few borrowings. Jouberton Township shows higher usage for females at an overall 67% compared to 58% overall usage for males, which is in contrast to 50% for the pre-94 and 75% overall usage for the post-94 group. Once again, this supports the hypothesis of higher Afrikaans borrowing by the pre-94 group where the frequency of borrowing is higher for both pure Afrikaans borrowings and Tswanalised Afrikaans borrowings.

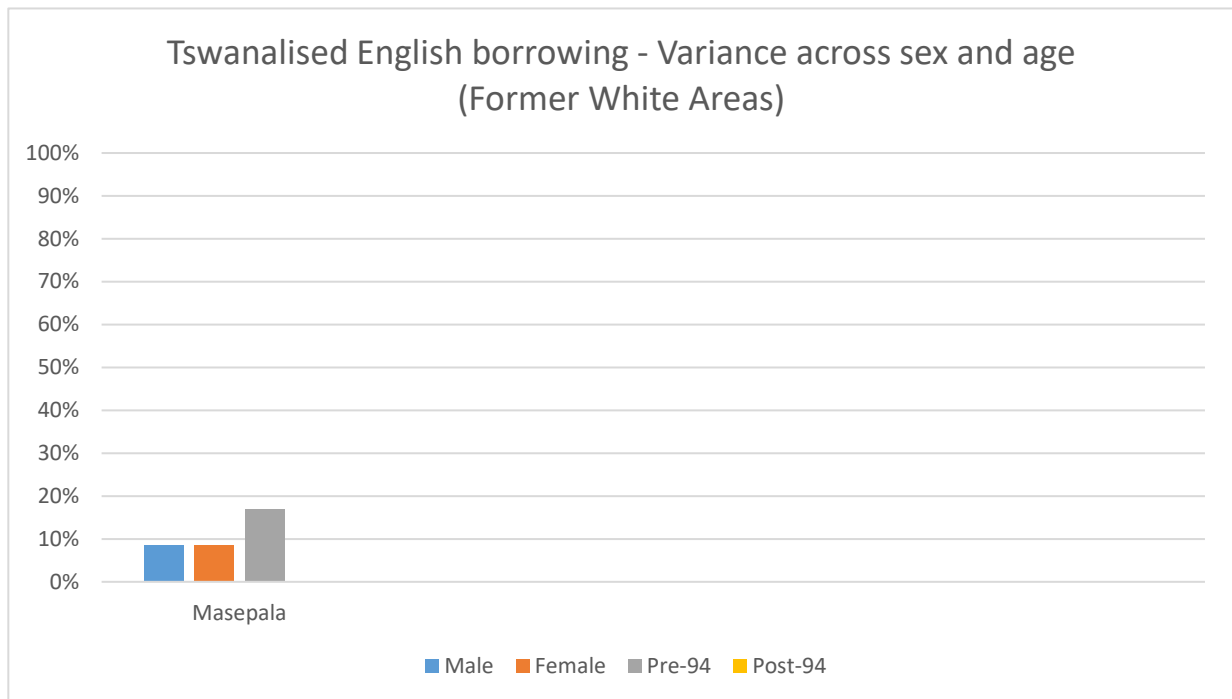


Figure 5.4.4: The most commonly used Tswanalised English borrowings in the former white areas; divided by sex and age

Tswanalised English borrowing in the former white areas is at the lowest percentage, at 17% overall usage. As explained earlier, this happens because of proficiency in both languages of interaction (Poplack, 1980, in Alfonza, 2005). The graph shows equal usage for both sexes (8.5% usage each) of the one case of borrowing. The pre-94 group is at 17%; the post-94 group is zero.

5.1.8. Summary of Tswanalised English borrowing

The previous few graphs clearly show that Tswanalised English borrowing is used more in the informal settlement and in Jouberton Township albeit at a low frequency (see Figure 5.4.2 & Figure 5.4.3). As Figure 5.4.4 shows, participants from the former white areas showed the use of only one Tswanalised English borrowing, *masepala* (17%) in contrast to 5 borrowings in the informal settlement, and 5 in Jouberton Township, where the borrowings *tichere* and *lekeishene/makeishene* have been used in both areas of residence. The distribution of usage is fairly spread across the sexes and age variables in both social classes.

5.1.9. Sesotho borrowings in the Klerksdorp area

The influence of Sesotho on the Setswana spoken in Klerksdorp is promoted by the distance between the two areas of Jouberton Township (in Klerksdorp) and Kanana Township (in Orkney). Klerksdorp is only 15.6km from Orkney where Kanana Township is located. The distance between

Klerksdorp and Jouberton Township is just under 10km (in the direction of Orkney), and the informal settlement is situated even further from Klerksdorp's central business district (CBD), and it is closer to Kanana Township in Orkney. Jouberton Township has the red mark on the map below, and it is the dominant area for Setswana speakers. Orkney as the Sesotho speaking town in the area has many Sesotho speakers residing in Kanana. The expansion of the two townships and freedom of movement has brought the two townships even closer to each other, and this has contributed to the two languages (Setswana and Sesotho) intermixing. The role of the location of the areas is important as these areas demonstrate how the linguistic landscape of the study operates, and how it keeps on evolving because of language contact. The influence of Sesotho on Setswana speakers is demonstrated in the graphs below where Sesotho borrowings are clearly highlighted.



Figure 5: A map showing Jouberton Township, Klerksdorp and Orkney. Source – Maphill 2011

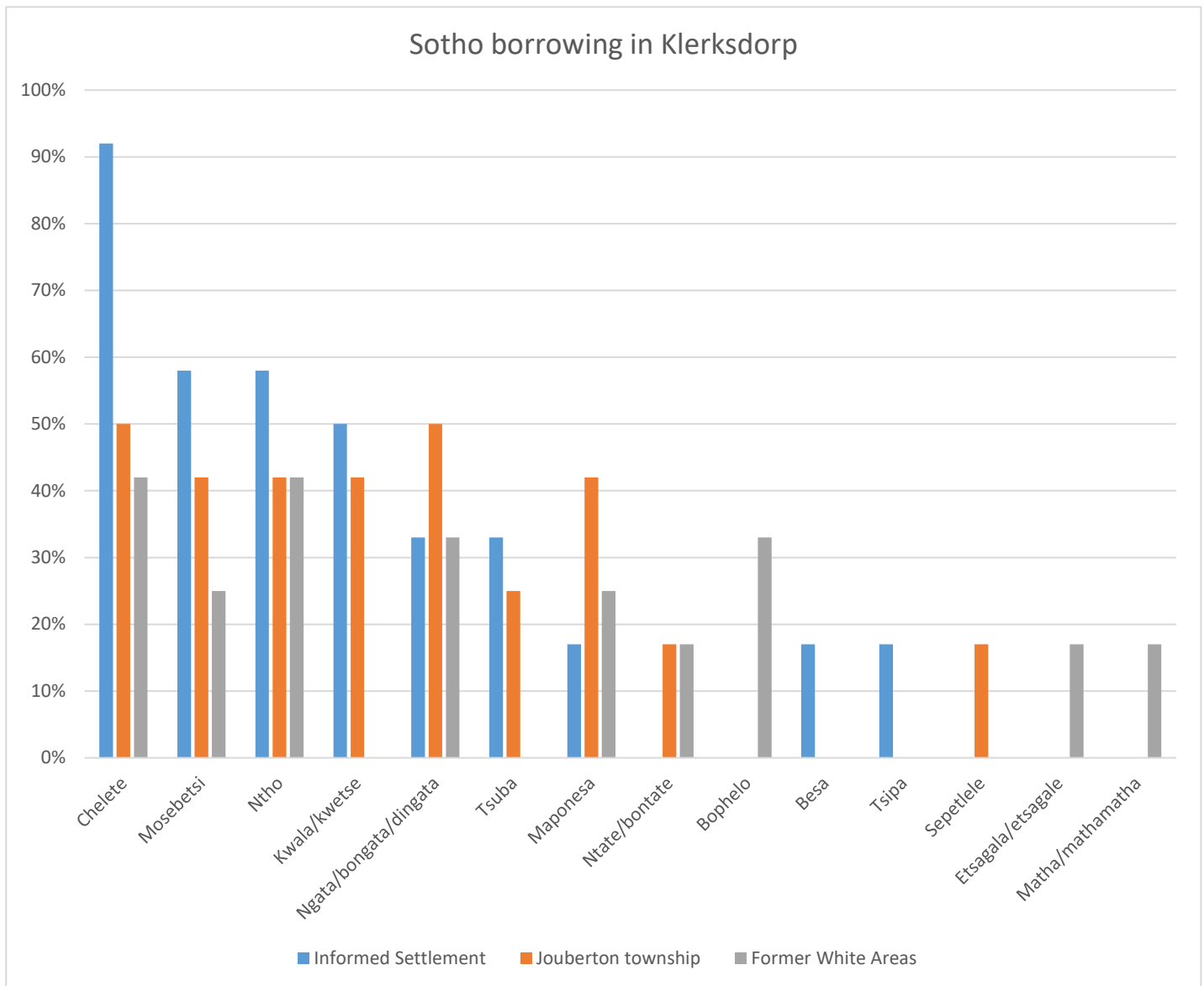


Figure 5.1: Sesotho borrowings commonly used in the Klerksdorp area

The hypothesis is that the informal settlement has higher Sesotho usage, and usage by the post-94 group exceeds that of the pre-94 group by a high margin. This is based on the fact that of the three areas of study, the informal settlement is the one closest to the Sesotho speaking area of Kanana Township in Orkney. Furthermore, the post-94 group exceeds that of the pre-94 group by a high margin because of increased post-94 mobility, especially through schooling and the influence of peer pressure. In essence, this posits that the high usage of Sesotho borrowings by the post-94 group indicates that young people are in all likelihood the drivers of this language change, and this changed linguistic trend is likely to be retained for a long period of time.

5.2. Translation of Sesotho borrowings to English

To facilitate understanding, here are the English translations of Sesotho borrowings in Figure 5.1

Sotho borrowings	English translations
Chelete	Money
Mosebetsi	Work/a job/traditional celebration
Ntho	Something
Kwala	Close
Ngata	Many/abundant
Tsuba	Smoke
Maponesa	Police
Ntate	Father or an older man
Bophelo	Life
Besa	Burn or make a fire
Tsipa	Pinch
Sepetlele	Hospital
Etsagala	Happen/occur
Matha	Run

Figure 5.2: English translations of commonly used Sesotho borrowings by participants

As explained in the chapter on the speech community (Chapter 3 – Section 3.6, Figure 12), Kanana Township in Orkney is close to Jouberton Township, but even closer to the informal settlement in Klerksdorp, and that is why Sesotho borrowing is high in both areas. Comparing Sesotho usage in the 3 areas of study, the informal settlement has the highest usage, followed by Jouberton township and then the former white areas. The Sesotho borrowing, *chelete* is the most commonly used borrowing as its total usage far exceeds total usage of the other borrowings. Many Klerksdorp residents are highly unlikely to know that the Tswana word for *chelete* is *madi*⁹.

⁹ This is because to them, the word *madi* means blood, but in essence, the word has dual meaning in Setswana – money and blood. In fact, Sesotho speakers have borrowed *chelete* from Afrikaans *geld*, and the Setswana borrowed it from Sesotho because mostly people who use many Sesotho borrowings because of language contact use *chelete* and not *madi*.

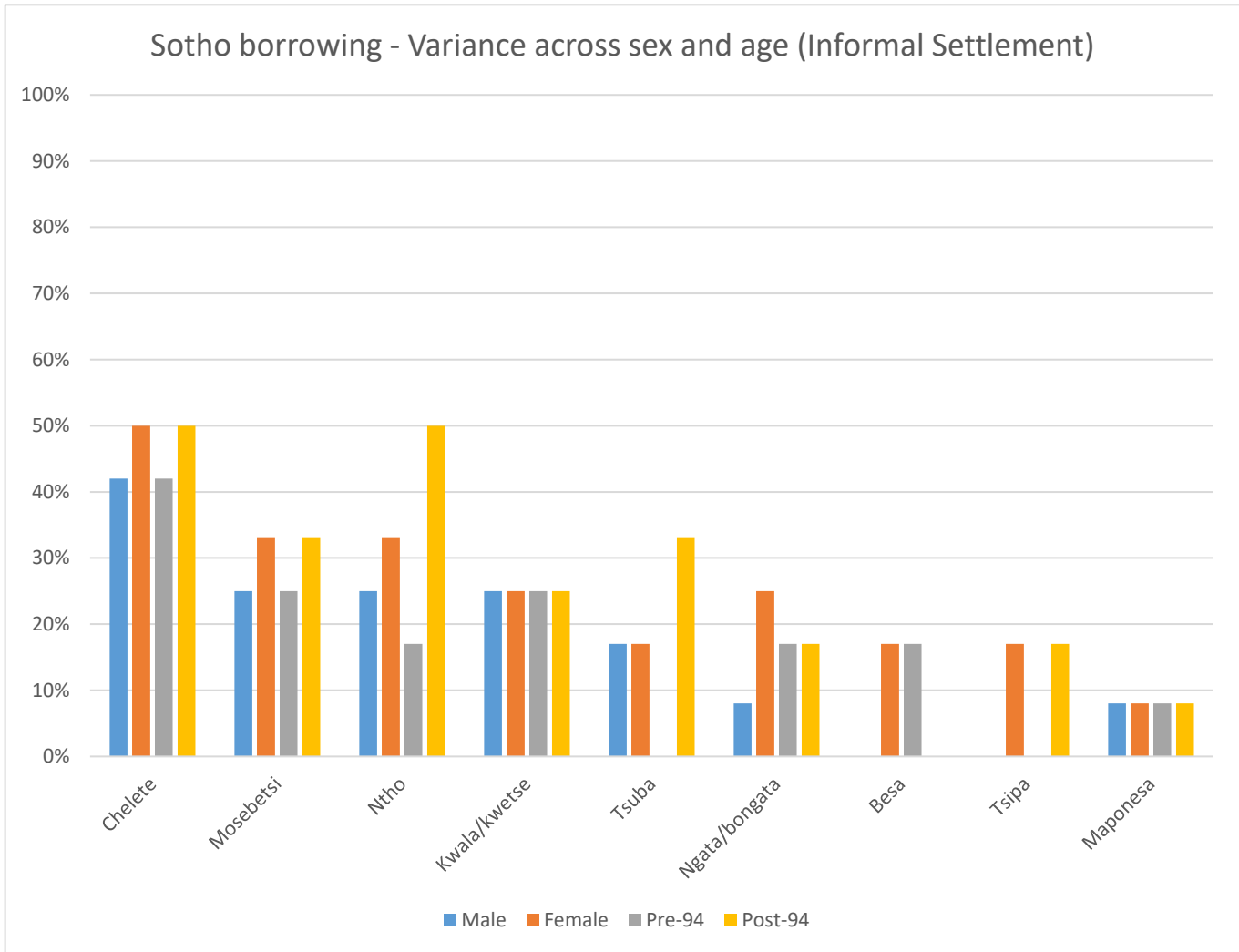


Figure 5.3: The most commonly used Sesotho borrowings in the informal settlement; divided by sex and age

In the informal settlement, Sesotho has the highest number of borrowings compared to other forms of borrowings (that is, from Afrikaans or English). As mentioned earlier, the research area is in close proximity to Kanana Township in Orkney, where most residents are Sesotho speakers, so the two groups borrow words from each other because of close language contact over a long period of time. This has in turn, resulted in the high number of borrowings from Sesotho by Setswana home-language speakers. The most commonly used Sesotho borrowing (*chelete*), records high usage by both sexes (42% male and 50% female), while the overall age distribution is 50% for the post-94 group, and 42% overall usage for the pre-94 group. Borrowed words like *kwala/kwetse* and *maponesa* have equal usage for sex and age group, and there is a similar extent of usage for *mosebetsi*.

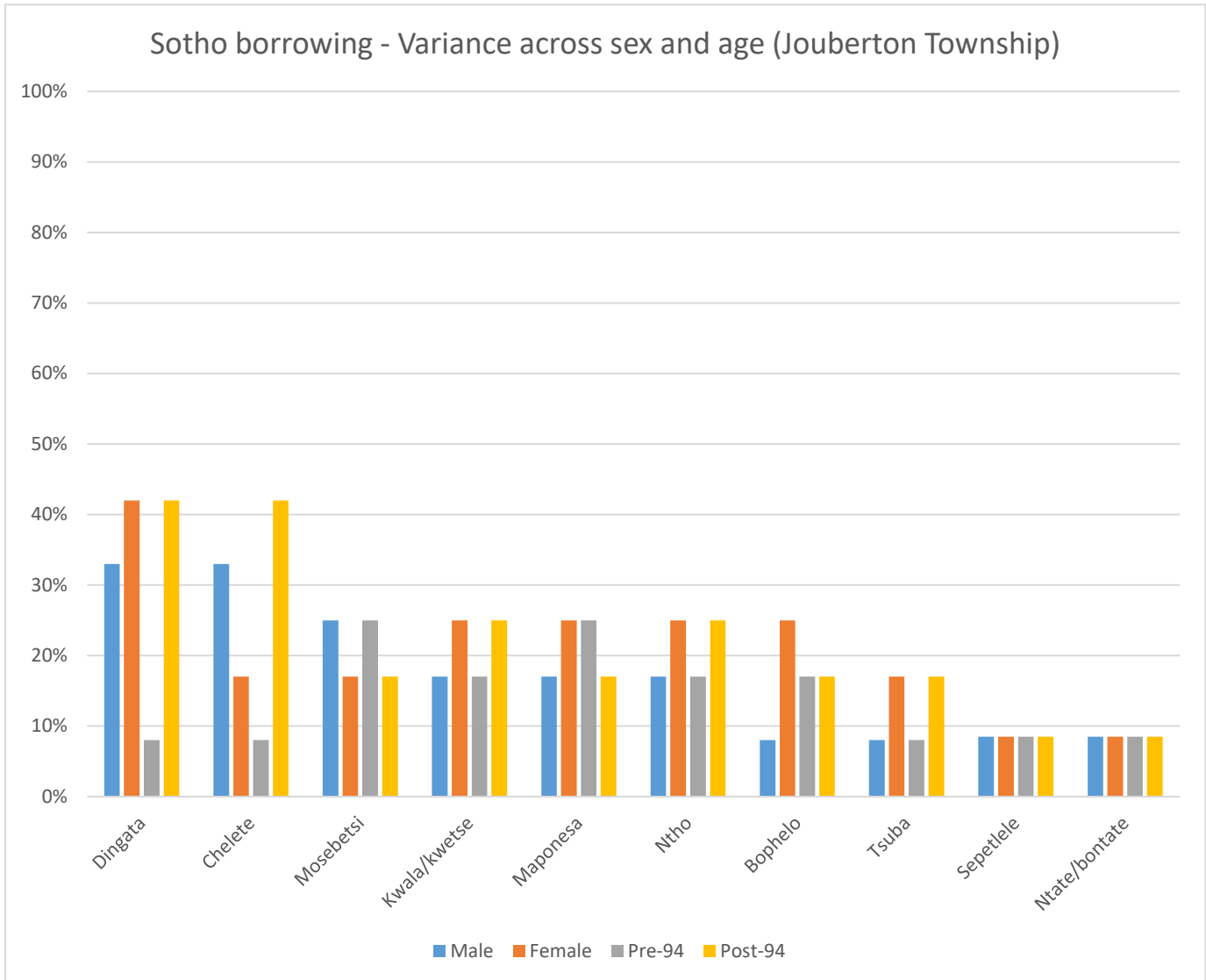


Figure 5.4: The most commonly used Sesotho borrowings in Jouberton Township; divided by sex and age

Jouberton Township participants have used slightly more Sesotho borrowings than participants in the informal settlement have, but participants in the informal settlement generally have a higher *frequency* of usage, probably because they interact more with Sesotho speakers because the two groups live in close proximity. Interestingly, both sexes and both age groups used all 10 loanwords used in the Jouberton Township, which is uncommon. The only other group, which has a similar usage trend, is the former white areas participants, and as for Tswana-ised Afrikaans borrowing, participants used half the number of borrowed words above, and the frequency is lower (see Figure 5.2.4). The least used loanwords (*sepetlele* and *ntate*) have equal usage for sex and age. The low usage of *sepetlele* is no doubt due to the use of the pure English borrowing *hospital* (see Figure 5.3.3), which is interesting because Setswana has the equivalent word *bookelo*. Usage of all the loanwords by both sexes and both age groups is proof that the extent of Sesotho borrowing in

Jouberton is high and compared to all the borrowings, it is the most commonly used form of borrowing across the spectrum when compared to standard borrowings and Tswanalised borrowings from Afrikaans and English. Similar to the informal settlement, the graph above shows high overall female usage. For the age variant, usage is higher for the post-94 group.

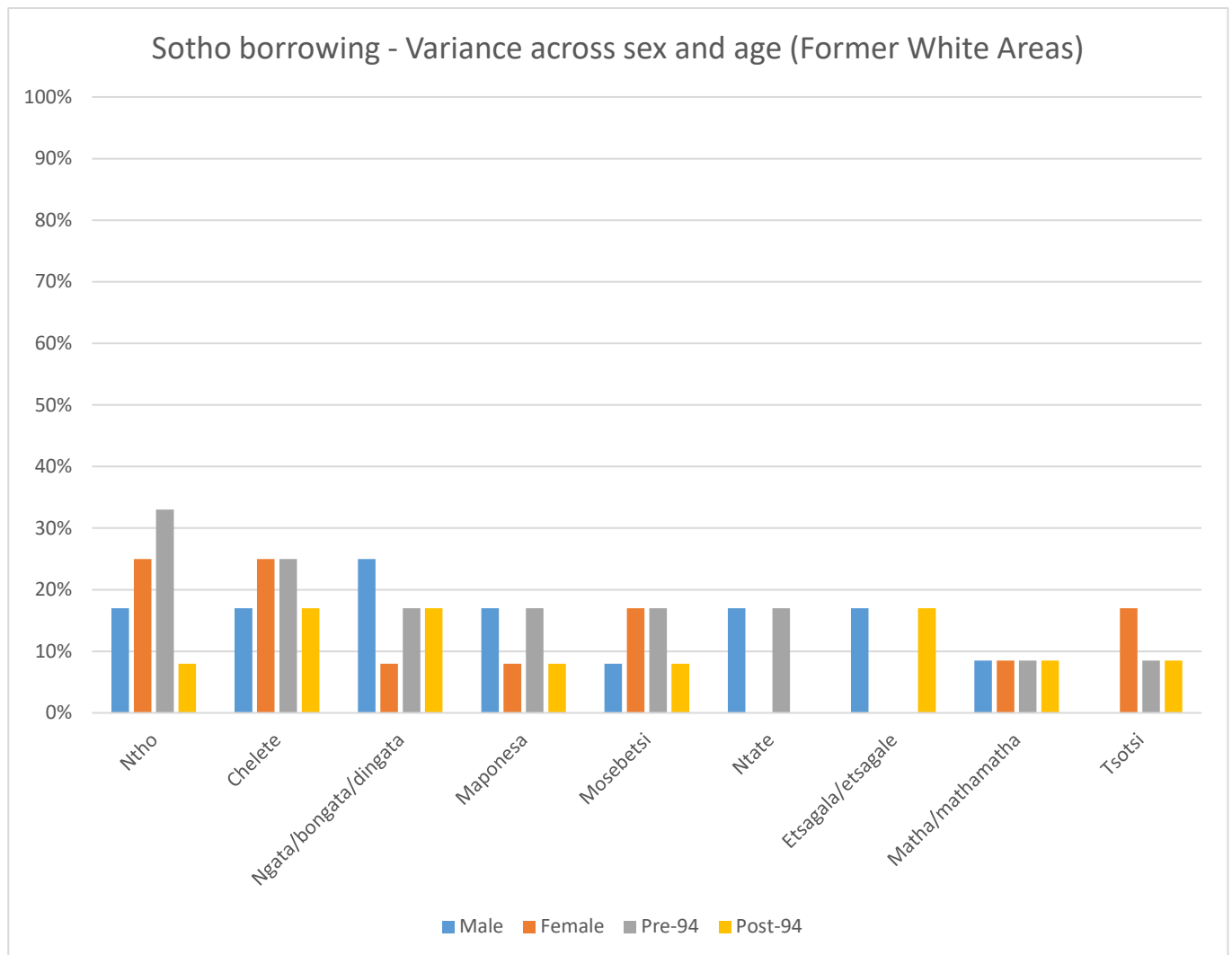


Figure 5.5: The most commonly used Sesotho borrowings in the former white areas; divided by sex and age

Sesotho borrowings in the former white areas account for 9 loanwords, the same number used by the informal settlement participants. Interestingly, the 9 loanwords from Sesotho accounts for the highest number of loanwords used in this area, but the frequency of usage is low as few participants used the listed borrowings. This low usage frequency corresponds to the low frequency borrowings in this area for standard Afrikaans borrowings (Figure 5.1.4), Tswanalised Afrikaans borrowings (Figure 5.2.4), standard English borrowing (Figure 5.3.4) and Tswanalised English borrowings (Figure 5.4.4). Participants' low numbers for borrowing aligns with Gardner-Chloros' (1991; 2010) study,

which posits that borrowing of foreign items is low because interlocutors apply CS more. Figure 5.5 indicates that male usage sometimes exceeds female usage, which is in contrast to the other areas where females recorded higher usage.

In the former white areas, the pre-94 group uses more Sesotho borrowing than the post-94 group, which also differs from the Sesotho borrowings in the informal settlement and Jouberton Township. Another reason is that English CS dominates in social interactions.

5.2. Code-switching and code-mixing patterns

As already explained in the literature review, code-switching (CS) manifests in two main forms, intersentential code-switching and intrasentential code-switching. Intrasentential CS is sometimes referred to as ‘code-mixing’, and this manifests when more than two languages are used in the same clause (Mysken, 2000). The difference between intersentential CS and code-mixing (henceforth CM) is that languages used to CS maintain their characteristics because the two languages remain separate, while the process of CM can go back and forth where words and phrases from different languages are combined in one clause (Gardner-Chloros, 2009). Below is Table 1 for the informal settlement where participants’ usage of (intersentential) CS and CM is exemplified.

5.2.1 Informal settlement participants – Table 1

(12 participants: subdivided into 3 pre-94 males, 3 pre-94 females, 3 post-94 males and 3 post-94 females)

Participant 1 (Participants 1 to 3 are male participants born pre-94)

Type of CS	Examples of CS used	CS English translations
Intrasentential code-switching/code mixing	Ba a sokola too much; kene kele mo 14 so meer as bo '83. (Languages used – Setswana, English & Afrikaans)	They are struggling too much. I was here in 14 (extension 14) round about '83.
Intersentential code-switching	None	None

Participant 2

Type of CS	Examples of CS used	CS English translations
Intrasentential code-switching/code mixing	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. That's why batho ba tshaba go tsaya career ya botichere. (Languages used – English & Setswana) 2. Ngwana yo monyenyane o nale bana, more than two. (Setswana & English) 3. Every Friday rena le ntho e e bitswang special. (English, Setswana & Sesotho) 4. Thaka ya gago ya go hira o ba boy or girl ya gagwe. (Setswana & English) 5. The way motho yo montsho a leng ka teng. (English & Setswana) 	<p>That is why people do not want to take up teaching as a career.</p> <p>A young person has children; he or she has more than two children.</p> <p>We have something called special every Friday.</p> <p>Someone who is your age group can hire you as his or her boy or girl.</p> <p>That is the way a black person is.</p>
Intersentential code-switching	None	None

Participant 3

Type of CS	Examples of CS used	CS English translations
Intrasentential code-switching/code mixing	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Dilo tse di ntseng jaana di batla gore busetsa back to ko morago. (Setswana & English) 2. Erile 1969 ha ke dira standard 5, jaanong kene ke tshwanetse ke tlogele ko skolong. (Setswana & English) 3. That's why ba feta mo thoka ga ntlo ya gago. (English & Setswana) 	<p>Such things are a drawback for us.</p> <p>I was forced to leave school in 1969 when I was doing standard 5.</p> <p>That is the reason they walk past your house.</p>

Intersentential code-switching	O tla go raya are - Jy kan gaan (Setswana & Afrikaans)	He will say to you – You can go.
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Participant 4 (Participants 4 to 6 are female participants born pre-94)

Type of CS	Examples of CS used	CS English translations
Intrasentential code-switching	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> Starting from 1995, go sebaka. (English & Setswana) O nale 30 something years. (Setswana & English) Go tloga ka late 90s. (Setswana & English) The following day ke ha motlakase o boa. (English & Setswana) Ke member ya EFF; a card holding member. (Setswana & English) Ke bua from experience. (Setswana & English) Up to this day, batho ba ward ya rona ba santse ba lwanela daai man. (English, Setswana & Afrikaans) 	<p>It has been a long time from 1995. He/she is 30 something years old.</p> <p>Starting from the late 90s.</p> <p>The electricity was reconnected the following day.</p> <p>I am an EFF card-carrying member.</p> <p>I am talking from experience.</p> <p>People in our ward are fighting for that man even today.</p>
Intersentential code-switching	Area ya rona e roof, maar - Not in a bad way (Setswana, Afrikaans & English)	Our area is rough (not safe), but not in a bad way.

Participant 5

Type of CS	Examples of CS used	CS English translations
Intrasentential code-switching	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> Ke dula mo RDP mo extension 14. (Setswana & English) Any open space batho ba e go ipaya ko go yone. (English & Setswana) Ba apara le dijeresi tsaaka, here God. 	<p>I live in an RDP house in extension 14.</p> <p>Where there is any open space, people should go there to claim land/stands.</p> <p>They even wear my jerseys, good God.</p>

	(Setswana & Afrikaans) 4. Maar nna hela by right mokhanselara wa rona ke a mo rata. (Setswana & English)	Me by right, I like our councillor.
Intersentential code-switching	None	None

Participant 6

Type of CS	Examples of CS used	CS English translations
Intrasentential code-switching	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Some of us re kgona go bereka ka matsogo, but ga rena sapoto. (English & Setswana) 2. So then le ha re ka aplaya ga gona sepe sere tswelang mosola. (English & Setswana) 3. Ke gone ba neng ba nthusa after two days ke fetsa go kreiya lekwalo. (Setswana & English) 4. That's true cos Juju o bua ntho e e teng. (English & Setswana) 5. Each and every Friday ne go tlhola go lwaniwa, go tlabanwa. (English & Setswana) 6. Nna I prefer EFF, dikolo di ka siama. (English & Setswana) 	<p>Some of us can do manual work, but there is no support.</p> <p>So, even if we apply, nothing will come of it because nothing will benefit us.</p> <p>They only helped me two days after receiving the letter.</p> <p>What Juju is saying is true.</p> <p>There used to be fights and stabbings every Friday.</p> <p>As for me, I prefer EFF; schools will be sorted/good.</p>
Intersentential code-switching	I don't think so; Klerksdorp ga ke nagane gore dilo tseo di teng. (English & Setswana)	I do not think so; I do not think those things are in Klerksdorp.

Participant 7 (Participants 7 to 9 are male participants born post-94)

Type of CS	Examples of CS used	CS English translations
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Intrasentential CS/code mixing	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Mo ANC ba kgona go tshepisiwa maaka, that's why most ya youth e sietse EFF. (Setswana & English) 2. The way ke neng ke utlwa ka teng. (English & Setswana) 3. That is why ba sa utlwaneng sentle. (English & Setswana) 4. At least mapodisa ba a lwananyana. (English & Setswana) 5. Hier so ba re bitsa dikaffir. (Afrikaans & Setswana) 6. That is why basha ba sa kgone ho hlompamatchere. (English, Setswana & Sesotho) 	<p>They are promised lies in the ANC, that is why most of the youth have joined the EFF.</p> <p>That is what I heard.</p> <p>That is the reason they do not get on.</p> <p>At least the police are fighting to some extent.</p> <p>They are calling us 'kaffirs' here.</p> <p>That is the reason young people do not respect teachers.</p>
Intersentential code-switching	None	None

Participant 8

Type of CS	Examples of CS used	CS English translations
Intrasentential code-switching/code mixing	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. For example, ba ntse ba dira fraud. (English & Setswana) 2. It's either o dropa out mo skolong. (English & Setswana) 3. Job opportunities tse di ka tsenyetsang batho income. (English & Setswana) 4. That's why kere ba tshwerwe. (English & Setswana) 5. If ever ga a kgone go patala. (English & Setswana) 6. Ke nagana gore bana ba ba nale anger issues. (Setswana & English) 	<p>For example, they have been committing fraud.</p> <p>It is either they drop out of school.</p> <p>We need job opportunities that can enable people to earn an income.</p> <p>That is why I say they have been caught.</p> <p>If ever he/she cannot pay.</p> <p>I think these children have anger issues.</p>

	7. If ever o ne o sena go tshaba go dira selo o le 1. (English & Setswana)	If ever you were not scared to do something alone.
Intersentential code-switching	None	None

Participant 9

Type of CS	Examples of CS used	CS English translations
Intrasentential code-switching/code mixing	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Ka the way dilo di leng ka teng. (English & Setswana) 2. That is why e ne e sa kgone go fitlhelela dilo tse dingwe. (English & Setswana) 3. Ba ba nang le bright future ele more stable. (Setswana & English) 4. Di PP what what tsa mo strateng. (English & Setswana) 5. Batho ba kgale ba hirilwe without qualifications. (Setswana & English) 6. Mo gongwe, ANC somewhere somehow e re thusitse. (Setswana & English) 	<p>It is the way things are.</p> <p>That is why it could not achieve certain things.</p> <p>Those who have a more stable bright future.</p> <p>The what what PP that belongs in the street.</p> <p>These people have long been employed without qualifications.</p> <p>The ANC has somewhere somehow helped us.</p>
Intersentential code-switching	<p>Ke nagana gore basha ba dirisa diritibatsi -Sometimes is to solve stress. (Setswana & English)</p> <p>Ha re tla go cheka - ANC is a ruling party. (Setswana & English)</p> <p>Ga e sare afecta - Because we don't know the story. (Setswana & English)</p>	<p>I think young people are using drugs. Sometimes is to resolve (relieve) stress.</p> <p>When we come to check, the ANC is the ruling party.</p> <p>It does not affect us - because we do not know the story.</p>

Participant 10 (Participants 10 to 12 are female participants born post-94)

Type of CS	Examples of CS used	CS English translations
Intrasentential code-switching/code mixing	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Di a tura tsone, ke R50 packet. (Setswana & English) 2. Go utswa le bo my friend ba a ba utswetsa. (Setswana & English) 3. A be a end up a utswile founu ya ga mama wa gagwe. (Setswana & English) 	<p>Those things are expensive, it is R50 a packet.</p> <p>As for stealing, even those referred to as my friends get their things stolen. He ended up stealing his mother's phone.</p>
Intersentential code-switching	None	None

Participant 11

Type of CS	Examples of CS used	CS English translations
Intrasentential code-switching/code mixing	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The way ke rutilweng ka teng. (English & Setswana) 2. O le motho yo montsho o kgona go catch up ka speed. (Setswana & English) 3. Mo go gongwe go siame because of motho yo montsho. (Setswana & English) 4. We've got education ka go lekana ka hofela. (English & Setswana) 5. Most of the time e dirwa ke batho ba bantsho. (English & Setswana) 6. At least ba kreiya R350. (English & Setswana) 7. Ya tena because of ga ba kgone go fa ba bangwe chance. (Setswana & English) 	<p>I have been taught that way.</p> <p>As a black person, you are able to catch up quickly.</p> <p>There are cases where things are good because of a black person.</p> <p>All of us have equal education.</p> <p>Most of the time it is done by black people.</p> <p>At least they get R350.</p> <p>It is annoying because they cannot give others a chance.</p>

	8. If ever go tlhagelela sale. (English & Setswana)	If ever there was a sale.
Intersentential code-switching	None	None

Participant 12

Type of CS	Examples of CS used	CS English translations
Intrasentential code-switching/code mixing	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Re santse re sa tritiwe equally in most cases. (Setswana & English) 2. Most of the people ba tlhoka chelete. (English & Setswana) 3. O nale source of income. (Setswana & English) 4. ANC ke yone the only party e tshwanetseng e lide. (Setswana & English) 5. Problem ya gagwe, o nna aggressive too much. (Setswana & English) 6. Ba kgona go thusa batho at some point. (Setswana & English) 7. E tlile go wina at the end of the day. (Setswana & English) 8. A mo gula, she was wrong ene. (Setswana & English) 9. Maar nna ke beliva gore they were wrong. (Setswana & English) 10. I don't like to dwell too much mo go yone. (English & Setswana) 	<p>We are still not treated equally in most cases.</p> <p>Most people need money.</p> <p>He has a source of income.</p> <p>The ANC is the only party that should lead.</p> <p>His problem is that he gets too aggressive.</p> <p>They can help people at some point.</p> <p>It is going to win at the end of the day.</p> <p>She was wrong for dragging him/her.</p> <p>But I believe that they were wrong.</p> <p>I do not like to dwell too much on it.</p>
Intersentential code-switching	Ke dumela mo Modimong – Every Sunday, I make sure I	I believe in God – I make sure I go to church every Sunday.

	go to church. (Setswana & English) Selo se 1; there's nothing different. (Setswana and English)	One thing is; there is nothing different.
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The pre-94 male participants from the informal settlement have used mainly Setswana in the one-on-one interviews, and in some of these cases, all the CM and CS cited show the complete usage of these phenomena and not just some examples of usage. This is the case for participant 1 and participant 3 as there is minimal usage of other languages in each of their interactions. However, besides these two participants, it is important to note that only examples of code-mixing and intersentential CS are provided, but not the extent of usage. In essence, this means that the examples cited on Table 1 show how many participants used CM and/or CS of a particular kind, not the frequency of usage. For some participants, the use of particularly CM is exponentially high.

5.2.2. Summary of CS and CM usage in the informal settlement

On the one hand, English CM is used extensively across the board as all the 12 participants used it to a greater or lesser degree. This means that there is equal usage of English CM for both sexes and for both age groups. Of this, 67% of the participants (2;4;6;7;8;9;11;12) have used CM four (4) times or more in their interactions. Based on the one-on-one audio recordings, however, the post-94 group has *higher* usage of English CM compared to the pre-94 group. Even so, the pre-94 female group has recorded a fair amount of code-mixing as all the participants in this group have used English phrases a few times, and some have also used intersentential CS (participants 4; 6), albeit to a low extent. The other female participant who used intersentential CS is from the post-94 group (participant 12). Sex variance shows high overall female English intersentential CS, which supports the view that females use more formal speech than males, a finding supported by Labov (1966). Only one male (participant 9) used English intersentential CS, which shows that English might be gaining traction in the different communities, including the informal settlement.

On the other hand, Afrikaans intrasentential CS (i.e. code-mixing) recorded an average of 42% (that is, 5 out of 12 participants – P1, P3, P4, P5 & P7). Of this, 33% (that is, 4 out of 12) are pre-94 participants, while 8% (1 out of 12) is from the post-94 group. The sex analysis has recorded 25% male usage and 17% female usage. Participants 1, 4 & 7 used 3 languages in one sentence (participants 1 & 4 used Setswana, Afrikaans & English; while participant 7 used Setswana, English and Sesotho). This is a breakdown of the three participants' multilanguage use in one of their

sentences: Participant 1 – *Ba a sokola too much; kene kele mo 14 so meer as bo '83*. The sentence showing multilanguage use by participant 4 reads thus – *Up to this day, batho ba ward ya rona ba santse ba lwanela daai man*. The sentence showing multilanguage use by participant 7 reads thus – *That is why basha ba sa kgone ho hlomp matichere*. Recorded usage for multilingual language use for this social class results in the overall pre-94 Afrikaans usage being higher (4 out of 12, which is 33% - participants 1; 3; 4; 5) compared to the post-94 group (1 out of 12, which is 8% - participant 7).

Based on the usage breakdown above, age and sex variance of English CM usage is equal at 50% for each group. On the other hand, Afrikaans CM shows higher male usage and greater usage for the pre-94 group. Analysis of language use for this group across both phenomena (i.e. borrowing and code switching) indicates that Afrikaans usage is generally sustained by Afrikaans borrowings as these are generally used extensively by both sexes and by both age groups (see above).

Sesotho CM reaches only 8% of usage, which comes from one participant who is a post-94 male. However, Sesotho has been used extensively for borrowing in this area as the usage number of commonly borrowed words are high (see Figure 5.3), but interestingly, there is no intersentential CS and only one case of CM across all the participants (participant 7 – *That is why basha basa kgone ho hlomp matichere*). This in spite of the fact that Setswana and Sesotho are not only mutually intelligible, but share similar morphosyntactic and phonological structure. Based on this, one would expect more Setswana-Sesotho CS or CM by L1-Tswana speakers.

5.2.3. Jouberton Township participants – Table 2

Participant 1 (Participants 1 to 3 are male participants born pre-94)

Type of CS	Examples of CS used	CS English translations
Intrasentential code-switching	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Life ha motho o ntse o gola, e ne ele alright, no difficulties. (Setswana & English) 2. Ha o re jikijiki ke metlakase e trepa nou en dan. (Setswana & Afrikaans) 3. Ke dilo tse di etsagalang, especially in our 	<p>When growing up, one's life was all right, no difficulties.</p> <p>In no time, it would be electricity tripping now and then.</p> <p>These are things that are happening, especially in our government.</p>

	<p>government. (Setswana & English)</p> <p>4. Even your family members ba ka se gofe R5 000, nog minder R1 500 go reka mosebetsi (English, Afrikaans & Setswana)</p>	<p>Even your family members will not give you R5 000, least of all, R1 500 to pay a bribe for a job.</p>
Intersentential code-switching	<p>E thata - It's tough out there. (Setswana & English)</p> <p>I'm living in one myself – Dust ya tse na mo ntlong, ya nela. (English & Setswana)</p>	<p>It is bad – It is tough out there.</p> <p>I am living in one myself – Dust comes in the house, and it is leaking.</p>

Participant 2

Type of CS	Examples of CS used	CS English translations
Intrasentential code-switching	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Re ne re eteletswe pele ke ene rre yo eleng president ya gone yaanong ha re foma the union of mineworkers. (Setswana & English) 2. Ke dilo tse re di kreiyang right here. (Setswana & English) 3. Go nale batho ba ba senyang ka gore ba na le political activities. (Setswana & English) 	<p>The current president is the person who was our leader when we formed the union of mineworkers.</p> <p>These are things that we find right here.</p> <p>There are people who get involved in corrupt activities because they have political activities/connections.</p>
Intersentential code-switching	None	None

Participant 3

Type of CS	Examples of CS used	CS English translations
Intrasentential code-switching	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Yaaka re di bitsa ka sekgoa re re ke social ills. (Setswana & English) 2. Ke bua le wena yaana, it's because there are no 	<p>Like we say in English, these are social ills.</p> <p>As I am talking to you now, it is because there are no</p>

	<p>opportunities tsa gore motho a ka sebetsa. (Setswana & English)</p> <p>3. Ra traya le private sector, but yaaka o itse gore its not simple go hitlhelela taba tsa gore re fundiwe. (Setswana & English)</p>	<p>opportunities for people to find employment.</p> <p>We try even with the private sector, but as you know, it is not easy for us to be funded.</p>
Intersentential code-switching	<p>Hee, ga wa tshwanela go bua - Some of them cannot even write an affidavit. (Setswana & English)</p> <p>Mo section e ke dulang mo go yone e mo down; there has never been any developments. (Setswana & English)</p> <p>Ke bua le wena yaana; I'm a graduate myself. I'm unemployed, not that I'm unemployable. (Setswana & English)</p> <p>ANC was the dominant party; in fact, it was the only party ya batho ba bantsho. (English & Setswana)</p>	<p>Hey, you are not supposed to say anything - Some of them cannot even write an affidavit.</p> <p>There has never been any developments in the lower section where I live.</p> <p>As I am talking to you now, I am a graduate myself. I am unemployed, not that I am unemployable.</p> <p>ANC was the dominant party; in fact, it was the only party for black people.</p>

Participant 4 (Participants 4 to 6 are female participants born pre-94)

Type of CS	Examples of CS used	CS English translations
Intrasentential code-switching/code mixing	None	None
Intersentential code-switching	None	None

Participant 5

Type of CS	Examples of CS used	CS English translations
Intrasentential code-switching/code mixing	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> Ke dira per order, ha motho a e batla ke a mo direla. (Setswana & English) Nna kene ke dira diteddy bear, ke ha bare it's one of a kind. (Setswana & English) 	<p>I make items per order, if someone wants something; I make it for them.</p> <p>I used to make teddy bears, and the comment was that it is one of a kind.</p>
Intersentential code-switching	<p>Maar embroidery is 'n bietjie duur; ya tura. (Afrikaans & Setswana)</p> <p>Ha letsatsi le phirima; jy moet in jou hoekie wees. (Setswana & Afrikaans)</p> <p>Dis al – Ga gona niks. (Afrikaans & Setswana)</p>	<p>But embroidery is a bit expensive; it is expensive.</p> <p>When the sun sets, you must be in your own place.</p> <p>This is it – There is nothing.</p>

Participant 6

Type of CS	Examples of CS used	CS English translations
Intrasentential code-switching/code mixing	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> Bare lomeleditse too much, too much, the most of them ba ne ba tseetse batho ba basweu kwa. (Setswana & English) That's why kere the most of nou ka se sebaka se, ga ba fitlhelele mo re leng teng. (English & Setswana) Ha o ya ko go bone a be a go bolelela plain are ene ga a kgathale as long as ticket ya gagwe e tsamaya¹⁰. (Setswana & English) Ga a na niks, maar o kreiya grant every 	<p>They have not done right by us; it is too much, too much. Most people held white people in high esteem.</p> <p>That is why I say at this point in time, they cannot reach where we are.</p> <p>When you go to them, the person will tell you that he does not care as long as his ticket moves.</p>

¹⁰ As long as the working hours move on, or as long as they are paid for those hours.

	month. (Setswana & English)	He has nothing, but he gets government grant every month.
Intersentential code-switching	None	None

Participant 7 (participants 7 to 9 are male participants born post-94)

Type of CS	Examples of CS used	CS English translations
Intrasentential code-switching/code mixing	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Di santse dile teng tsona, ga dina go chenchana because last time gone go nale choir competition. (Setswana & English) 2. Le ha scene e ka diragala like now, ga bana go hitlha exactly nou, baya go hitlha maybe 30 minutes ago. (Setswana & English) 	<p>They are still available; there will not be any change because last time there was a choir competition.</p> <p>Even if a scene (an incident) can happen now, they will not come now, they will get there maybe 30 minutes later.</p>
Intersentential code-switching	None	None

Participant 8

Type of CS	Examples of CS used	CS English translations
Intrasentential code-switching/code mixing	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Some of them obviously ke go tlhoka tumelo. (English & Setswana) 2. Basha ba bangata o ba kगतla ka daai ding eo, sort of wa imarketa. (Setswana, Afrikaans & English) 	<p>For some of them, it is obviously, because they have no faith.</p> <p>He impresses many youths like that, he is sort of marketing himself.</p>
Intersentential code-switching	None	None

Participant 9

Type of CS	Examples of CS used	CS English translations
Intrasentential code-switching/code mixing	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Ene ese ntho e right cos first of all, ba ile ba colonise mo countrying ya rona, ba tlile gore tseela di resources. (Setswana & English) 2. Ba go tsenya daar ba go bontsha like someone yo connected ko HR. (Setswana & English) 3. Ha ba e batla motho o dula a ntse ale after that. (Setswana & English) 4. Go botokanyana nou because nou re nale freedom of movement. (Setswana & English) 	<p>That was not the right thing because first of all, they colonised our country and took our resources.</p> <p>They take you there and show you someone who has connections in HR.</p> <p>When they want it, the person will go after that.</p> <p>It is better now because now we have freedom of movement.</p>
Intersentential code-switching	None	None

Participant 10 (participants 10 to 12 are female participants born post-94)

Type of CS	Examples of CS used	CS English translations
Intrasentential code-switching/code mixing	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Batho ba bua gore bophelo bo ne bole thata by then because ba ne ba sena dirights by then. (Setswana & English) 2. And le di salary were not up for discussion, o ne o kreiya se ba reng wa se kreiya. (Setswana & English) 3. Ekare e ne e se wena ko interview o dutse moo o ba kopa mmereko o ba bolelela gore I'll 	<p>People talk about how difficult life was because they had no rights by then.</p> <p>Even salaries were not up for discussion, you took what was offered to you.</p> <p>It looks like it is not you at the interview asking for a job and saying to them, "I will work under pressure."</p>

	<p>work under pressure. (Setswana & English)</p> <p>4. O ne a le kae by the time these match boxes di agiwa? (Setswana & English)</p>	Where was he when these match boxes were built?
Intersentential code-switching	None	None

Participant 11

Type of CS	Examples of CS used	CS English translations
Intrasentential code-switching/code mixing	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Dilo dine dile easier compared to now. (Setswana & English) 2. Bana ba sekolo ba a back chat. (Setswana & English) 3. There was this one boy wa class yaaka, o ne ale manganga. (English & Setswana) 4. Ga kere basha ba nou le bone ba rata gore ba in charge. (Setswana & English) 	<p>Things were easier then compared to now.</p> <p>School children back chat.</p> <p>There was this one boy in my class who was stubborn.</p> <p>The thing is nowadays, young people like to think that they are in charge.</p>
Intersentential code-switching	One man standing - Yo mongwe le yo mongwe o ja sa gagwe. (English & Setswana)	One man standing – Every person must feed himself.

Participant 12

Type of CS	Examples of CS used	CS English translations
Intrasentential code-switching/code mixing	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Le wena o tshwanetse o itse a certain person mo teng ko ga masepala. (Setswana & English) 2. Ke ipotsa gore why - Is it just because ene o kreiya di straight A's or whatever, then o betere than the rest of us? (Setswana & English) 	<p>You too must know a certain person working at the municipality.</p> <p>I ask myself why. Is it just because he gets straight A's or whatever, then he is better than the rest of us?</p>

	<p>3. So daai man le ene o tseetswe ko godimo. (Afrikaans & Setswana)</p> <p>4. Gone go se bad as nou. (Setswana & English)</p> <p>5. O bua le ka Afrikaans (Dutch - Belgium), ek gaan hulle eng eng. (Setswana & Afrikaans)</p>	<p>So that man too is held in a high esteem.</p> <p>It was not as bad as now.</p> <p>He even speaks in Afrikaans, "I am going to do what what."</p>
Intersentential code-switching	<p>O motona gore ke go kgalemelele dilo tse di yalo - You should know better. (Setswana & English)</p>	<p>He is old enough for me to tell him off about such things. You should know better.</p>

5.2.4. Summary of CS and CM usage in the Jouberton area:

Afrikaans CM is average, with 4 out of 12 participants using it (participant 1; 5; 8 and 12). Afrikaans intersentential CS is lower, where only one participant has used this linguistic phenomenon (participant 5). Even with the low Afrikaans usage for participants in this area, there is equal usage across both sex and age. The only participant (5) who has used Afrikaans intersentential CS is an older female.

On the contrary, English CM is high at 92% participants' usage (as one participant did not use any CM). In this area, the variance across sex shows higher male usage (the one participant who did not apply any English CM is female, so this gives male participants a slight overall lead in usage). The age variable shows lower usage for the pre-94 group for the same reason, that is, participant 4 (a pre-94 participant) only interacted in Setswana throughout the one-on-one interviews, thus giving the post-94 group slightly higher usage.

English intersentential CS has equal use across sex and age. Interestingly, English intersentential CS usage for the post-94 group has female participants only, while English CS from the pre-94 group comes from male participants. Education plays a crucial role in language use, so this is probably the reason behind this trend, as one pre-94 male participant (3) who used a number of English intersentential code-switches indicated that he is a university graduate. The two relevant post-94 female participants have post matric qualifications. The various subsections in the table above show that English surpasses Afrikaans usage on all fronts for participants in the study.

Based on this, the pre-94 group covers a wide spectrum where one participant (4) used no CS or code mixing as all the interactions are solely in Setswana, while others use either English or Afrikaans CM or CS in their interactions. It is apparent that even though Afrikaans CM is still used in Jouberton, the extent of usage is low, but even so, it equals usage in the informal settlement at 42%. Interestingly, the informal settlement recorded higher male and pre-94 usage, while Jouberton recorded higher female usage and higher pre-94 usage for participants 1, 5, 6, 8, 12. As is the case in the informal settlement, usage in Jouberton also shows 3 languages in one sentence for some participants (1; 6 & 8). Participants 1 and 8 used English, Setswana and Afrikaans CM with one Sesotho loanword (*Even your family members baka se gofe R5 000, nog minder R1 500 go reka mosebetsi*) and participant 8 used Setswana, Afrikaans and English (*Basha ba bangata o ba kgatla ka daai ding eo, sort of wa imarketa*). Participant 6 used Setswana, Afrikaans and English (*Ga a naniks, maar o kreiya grant every month*). Of importance to note is that multilingual use by all the three participants showed Setswana and the two prestigious languages in interaction, with 0% Sesotho CS or CM (albeit one Sesotho borrowing).

5.2.5. Former white areas participants – Table 3

Participant 1 (1 to 3 are male participants born pre-94)

Type of CS	Examples of CS used	CS English translations
Intrasentential code-switching	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Maikutlo a rona a mixed about that. (Setswana & English) 2. Bone ba dira eng the right way? (Setswana & English) 3. We usually patrol mo maitseboeng. (English & Setswana) 4. It's not going anywhere, either docket ya go mesa (go missing). (English & Setswana) 5. People are moaning ka ditshebeltso tsa teng. (English & Setswana) 	<p>Our feelings are mixed about that.</p> <p>What are they doing the right way?</p> <p>We usually patrol in the evenings.</p> <p>It is not going anywhere; it is either the docket will go missing.</p> <p>People are moaning with their service delivery.</p>
Intersentential code-switching	Ha ba lwana ko lekeisheneng, they run to the nearest suburb. (Setswana & English)	When they fight in the township, they run to the nearest suburb.

Participant 2

Type of CS	Examples of CS used	CS English translations
Intrasentential code-switching	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> Go ne go nale section e e leng gore ke whites only. (Setswana & English) Mmerekwa ya rekiwa, and it's sad. (Setswana & English) 	<p>There was a section that was for whites only.</p> <p>You must pay a bribe to get a job, and it is sad.</p>
Intersentential code-switching	<p>Ba baya nna mo setilong; I'm not a saint. (Setswana & English)</p> <p>Loadshedding is a nightmare; this thing ya loadshedding ene ese bad. (English & Setswana)</p> <p>Motho yo montsho o ne a beelwa nako ya gore after 8 he should not be roaming the streets. (Setswana & English)</p>	<p>They put me in a certain position; I am not a saint.</p> <p>Loadshedding is a nightmare - This thing of loadshedding was not bad.</p> <p>A black person had a curfew stating that after 8pm he should not be roaming the streets.</p>

Participant 3

Type of CS	Examples of CS used	CS English translations
Intrasentential code-switching	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> We no longer have the trust mo mapodiseng. (English & Setswana) Ere ke etse example, we find households tse motho wa ntate a abusiwang. (Setswana & English) 	<p>We no longer have trust in the police.</p> <p>Let me make an example, we find households where the man is abused in that house.</p>
Intersentential code-switching	None	None

Participant 4 (4 to 6 are female participants born pre-94)

Type of CS	Examples of CS used	CS English translations
Intrasentential code-switching/code mixing	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> This obviously ke ntho e e leng gore ke e utlwile ka batho, so I felt gore batho 	<p>This is obviously something that I heard from people, so I felt that black people were oppressed at that time.</p>

	<p>ba bantsho ka nako eo ne ba gateletswe. (English & Setswana)</p> <p>2. 95% of our clients e ne ele makgoa neh; 70% of that ke maAfrikaans. (English & Setswana)</p> <p>3. Black people ke batho ba di short cuts. (English & Setswana)</p>	<p>95% of our clients were white people neh, 70% of that were Afrikaans speakers.</p> <p>Black people often opt for short cuts.</p>
Intersentential code-switching	<p>Ka nako eo ha makgoa a ne a tshwere, that was one positive thing, the economy was steady. (Setswana & English)</p> <p>Now I work for a black firm, go nale batho ba bantsho hela koo. (English & Setswana)</p> <p>Gake batle go go bolelela maaka; I hate our government. (Setswana & English)</p> <p>Obviously the bathrooms were filthy – Nna kene ke nyonya. (English & Setswana)</p> <p>Taba e ya loadshedding, we even have a favourite time-slot. (Setswana & English)</p> <p>Le ha o swa, they don't have a sense of urgency. (Setswana & English)</p>	<p>At that time, white people were in charge, and the one positive thing was that the economy was steady.</p> <p>Now I work for a black firm where it is only black people employed there.</p> <p>I do not want to lie to you; I hate our government.</p> <p>Obviously, the bathrooms were filthy – I could not stomach it.</p> <p>This thing of loadshedding, we even have a favourite time-slot.</p> <p>Even if you are dying, they do not have a sense of urgency.</p>

Participant 5

Type of CS	Examples of CS used	CS English translations
Intrasentential code-switching/code mixing	None	None
Intersentential code-switching	None	None

Participant 6

Type of CS	Examples of CS used	CS English translations
Intrasentential code-switching/code mixing	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. To root it out, o tla tshwanela ke gore o pitikolole country upside down. (English & Setswana) 2. Do you know gore municipality ke ha ba batla go ntimela motlakase? (English & Setswana) 3. Mpolelele gore daai man o rutilwe ke mang chemistry ene. (Setswana & Afrikaans) 	<p>To root it out, you must turn the country upside down.</p> <p>Do you know that the municipality wanted to cut off my electricity?</p> <p>Tell me, who taught that man chemistry?</p>
Intersentential code-switching	<p>Waitse tsa Jouberton tsa di crime, its something like a culture. (Setswana & English)</p> <p>Ga ba kgathale, they do not care; I'm the child that fell through the cracks. (Setswana & English)</p> <p>There was a little booing, e ne ekare go rasisetse nna le bongwanake. (English & Setswana)</p>	<p>You know, anything that has to do with crime in Jouberton, it is something like a culture.</p> <p>They do not care, they do not care; I am the child that fell through the cracks.</p> <p>There was a little booing, it was like the noise was made by my children and I.</p>

Participant 7 (7 to 9 are male participants born post-94)

Type of CS	Examples of CS used	CS English translations
Intrasentential code-switching/code mixing	1. Ke tlhagile after 1994, which is ka	I was born after 1994, which is in 1998.

	<p>1998. (Setswana & English)</p> <p>2. Mo ke dulang ko teng it's ok. (Setswana & English)</p> <p>3. Ba roga bagolo, which is unparliamentary, undisciplined. (Setswana & English)</p>	<p>Where I live, it is okay.</p> <p>They swear at old people, which is unparliamentary, undisciplined.</p>
Intersentential code-switching	<p>From what I have heard and divideo tse ke ileng ka di sheba, it was a bad time for blacks. They had their trials and tribulations. (English & Setswana)</p> <p>E tsamaya sentle - How you use it is on you. (Setswana & English)</p> <p>Nna the way ke bonang ka teng, you can never say everything will be ok. There's a lot of broken telephone. (Setswana & English)</p>	<p>From what I have heard and from the videos that I have watched, it was a bad time for blacks. They had their trials and tribulations.</p> <p>It is going well - How you use it is on you.</p> <p>The way I see how things pan out, you can never say everything will be ok. There is a lot of broken telephone.</p>

Participant 8

Type of CS	Examples of CS used	CS English translations
Intrasentential code-switching/code mixing	None	None
Intersentential code-switching	None	None

Participant 9

Type of CS	Examples of CS used	CS English translations
Intrasentential code-switching/code mixing	<p>1. In terms of dilo tse di siameng, di limited. (English & Setswana)</p> <p>2. Ebile I see that part ya plenaryana ya bone. (English & Setswana)</p>	<p>In terms of things that are good, they are limited.</p> <p>I even see that part of their plan.</p>

	<p>3. What about batho ba ba senang diRDP, and ba bangata? (English & Setswana)</p> <p>4. I have a plan e eleng gore e tangible. (English & Setswana)</p>	<p>What about people who do not have RDP (houses), and they are many?</p> <p>I have a tangible plan.</p>
Intersentential code-switching	<p>Rona, we weren't really there. Re rutilwe ko dikolong, gape re utlwa ka batho. I don't know what happened; I can't really say what happened. (English & Setswana)</p> <p>E stata rele banyenyane - They give us vaccines. (Setswana & English)</p> <p>They were given less than they deserved. Batho ba ba neng ba dira yalo ke batho ba ba tlhagang ko ntle. (English & Setswana)</p> <p>Everything is going up. Ntho e nngwe le e nngwe ya khawata. (English & Setswana)</p>	<p>As for us, we were not really there. We were taught in schools, and on top of that, we hear from people. I do not know what happened; I cannot really say what happened.</p> <p>It starts when we are small – They give us vaccines.</p> <p>They were given less than they deserved. The people who did that are people who are foreigners.</p> <p>Everything is going up. Everything beats you down.</p>

Participant 10 (10 to 12 are female participants born post-94)

Type of CS	Examples of CS used	CS English translations
Intrasentential code-switching/code mixing	<p>1. Makgoa ba ne ba kreiya mesebetsi ka speed compared to batho ba bantsho. (Setswana & English)</p> <p>2. Ya shoot to kill ga ke itse. (English & Setswana)</p> <p>3. Lekgoa leo had every right to defend himself. (Setswana & English)</p> <p>4. O santse a nale hatred towards</p>	<p>White people did not struggle to get jobs compared to black people.</p> <p>That thing of shoot to kill is something I do not know.</p> <p>That white person had every right to defend himself.</p>

	<p>white people, but mostly ke batho ba bantsho. (Setswana & English)</p> <p>5. To be honest, ANC e ne ele sharp back then in the day ka nako ya boThabo Mbeki. (English & Setswana)</p>	<p>He still has hatred towards white people, but it is mostly black people.</p> <p>To be honest, ANC was good back then during Thabo Mbeki's time.</p>
Intersentential code-switching	<p>It's not to say I'm racist, but mostly ke batho ba bantsho. (English & Setswana)</p> <p>Gone yaanong go bereka gore who do you know in the industry. (Setswana & English)</p> <p>I haven't experienced it, but ke a e itse. (English & Setswana)</p>	<p>It is not to say I am racist, but it is mostly black people.</p> <p>The thing that works now is who do you know in the industry.</p> <p>I have not experienced it, but I know about it.</p>

Participant 11

Type of CS	Examples of CS used	CS English translations
Intrasentential code-switching/code mixing	<p>1. There's people going to bed basa ja. (English & Setswana)</p> <p>2. He has never lived le ha ele beke a bone seemo sa batho bao. (English & Setswana)</p>	<p>There are people who go to bed without having eaten anything.</p> <p>He has never lived there even for one week so that he can see people's living conditions.</p>
Intersentential code-switching	<p>Ramaphosa ba mo rekile - He's a front, he's a sell-out. (Setswana & English)</p> <p>Ga ke rate the way they tease Ramaphosa. It's childish. (Setswana & English)</p> <p>Se ke se utlwileng ka puso ele was that people were struggling back then. (Setswana & English)</p>	<p>They have bought Ramaphosa – He is a front; he is a sell-out.</p> <p>I do not like the way they tease Ramaphosa; it is childish.</p> <p>What I heard about that government was that people were struggling back then.</p>

	<p>If o sheba pila, South Africa is overcrowded by black people. (Setswana & English)</p> <p>Corruption in this country is a lot, le ko dikerekeng there's corruption. (English & Setswana)</p>	<p>If you pay attention, South Africa is overcrowded by black people.</p> <p>There is a lot of corruption in this country, even in churches there is corruption.</p>
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Participant 12

Type of CS	Examples of CS used	CS English translations
Intrasentential code-switching/code mixing	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> To be honest, nna gase ke e experience thata yalo. (English & Setswana) Dis hoekom batho ba bantsi ba lelela mo go EFF. (Afrikaans & Setswana) To be honest, gase ke ke bone mmereko wa yone more than wa ANC. (English & Setswana) Maponesa ga ba bereke, especially in the North West. (Setswana & English) 	<p>To be honest, I have not experienced it that much.</p> <p>That is why a lot of people go to share their grievances with the EFF.</p> <p>To be honest, I have not seen it provide better services better than the ANC.</p> <p>The police do not work, especially in the North West (Province).</p>
Intersentential code-switching	<p>Some still hurt; some ba latlhegetswe ke batsadi. (English & Setswana)</p> <p>Ga ke bone go le botlhokwa gore re pateletswe go vouta, because it's your own choice. (Setswana & English)</p> <p>Ke bone le ka nna, but that situation does not happen every day. (Setswana & English)</p>	<p>Some still hurt; some people have lost their parents.</p> <p>I do not see the need to be forced to vote, because it is your own choice.</p> <p>I experienced it myself, but that situation does not happen every day.</p>

5.2.6. Summary of CS and CM usage in the former white areas: Afrikaans CM in the former white areas is the lowest when compared to the informal settlement and Jouberton Township as only two participants (6 & 12) applied Afrikaans CM. This also translated into higher female usage and equal usage for age. This social class also recorded no examples of Afrikaans intersentential CS. For participants in this area, Afrikaans usage is possibly lower due to exposure to English; hence, they opt for English in conversations (De Klerk and Gouws, 2000).

On the other hand, 83% (that is, 10 out of 12 participants) in this area applied English CM, which is, however, less than the percentage recorded by the Jouberton participants, which stands at 92% (11 out of 12 participants). The informal settlement participants recorded 100% of English CM usage as all the participants used English CM to some extent. In all probability, lower CM in the former white areas is a result of higher intersentential CS. The 83% CM usage in the former white areas shows equal usage for gender and age. This means that, unlike the informal settlement and Jouberton, which have equal or higher CM post-94 usage, English CM is used equally across the board in this area (42% for each gender, and 42% for each age group).

Importantly, 75% usage (from participants 1, 2, 4, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11, 12) is recorded for intersentential CS in the former white areas, which is the highest record for all the groups as both the informal settlement and Jouberton have recorded 42% CS usage each. Some participants in this area used English extensively where chunks of information shared is solely in English, and such extensive CS shows that the two matrix languages are being used interchangeably, where Setswana is no longer the only language determining the syntactic structure of the interaction. One participant (8) engaged in the one-on-one interviews solely in English throughout the whole interaction, even though the researcher conducted the interview in Setswana. This could mean that for some subjects some participants clearly use mostly English in their workplaces and in formal domains.

The use of English for the different participants far exceeds Afrikaans usage (as the table subsections above show mostly English utterances and 0% Afrikaans intersentential CS). This is a case where language proficiency plays a pivotal role in enabling interlocutors to apply comprehensive intersentential CS (Slabbert, 2009). Thus, a summary of usage in this area shows a very low record of Afrikaans CM and no Afrikaans intersentential CS, which is in contrast with the very high English CM and intersentential CS. From the 75% English intersentential CS, gender usage stands at 33% (4 out of 12 participants) for males, while female usage stands at 42% (5 out of 12 participants). The age variance is 33% for the pre-94 group, and 42% for the post-94 group. In essence, this indicates

that for participants in this study, females and the post-94 group's usage of English intersentential CS is higher, and overall intersentential CS usage exceeds CS usage in the other areas by a high margin.

Overall, higher English intersentential CS usage comes from the younger generation when compared to the older generation. This is probably because a number of the post-94 group attended English medium schools at the time of the interviews, and some were university graduates or university students. These achievements support Molosiwa's (2010) view that in general, educated people use English more. In addition to this, Poplack (1980) emphasises the role of language proficiency when stating that it enables the speaker to use both intersentential CS and CM. The tables above show how the different groups (across sex and age) use the two types of CS to a greater or lesser extent. While it is apparent that English CM is used across the board, young people use it more when considering the high frequency of use in interactions. Of interest to note is that participants 5 and 8, in the previously white areas, did not use CM or CS in their interactions, the former using solely Setswana in their interaction, while the latter used solely English from start to finish. This is a typical example of how exposure to another language influences language choice in certain interactions as participant 8 had lived in an English-speaking country for some time, but had been living back in Klerksdorp for a number of years at the time of the interview. The setting, topic and the interviewer (knowing that the researcher is a university lecturer) have all possibly triggered the participant's language choice.

Afrikaans usage in conversations was generally low for certain subgroups, but it had particularly low usage in the former white areas, regardless of sex and age. This results from the fact that Afrikaans usage (particularly Afrikaans borrowing) is more entrenched in Jouberton and the informal settlement, and because participants in the former white areas are more exposed to English through education and their occupations, where English is commonly used, hence their English usage is high.

In short, the chapter analyses speech patterns of participants in the one-on-one interviews to determine how CS and borrowing manifest in the different subgroups of age, sex and social class as demonstrated in Table 1 to Table 3. Sesotho borrowings have an exponentially high usage in the one-on-one interviews where it accounts for high usage in all the three areas of study, and it has recorded higher usage than standard Afrikaans and Tswanalised Afrikaans, which is an unexpected result because the assumption was that Afrikaans would record higher borrowings.

Findings support the view that females generally use more standard forms than males, and young people (the post-94 group) generally use English CS more than the pre-94 group. These subgroups form speech communities.

English CM has lower usage in the former white areas, but it has high usage in Jouberton and the informal settlement. In the former white areas, some social factors like higher education and professional occupation have likely contributed to language choice, which is English CS, especially knowing that the researcher is a university lecturer who also resides in the suburbs. Overall, high English CM in the three areas of study is an indication that Afrikaans is no longer the language of convergence in Klerksdorp, at least as far as the participants in the study are concerned. English has not influenced Setswana at the various linguistic levels because there are generally low standard English borrowings, but more CM applications, which does not affect morphology or phonology. Sesotho is an unexpected local language that is influencing Setswana largely because many of the Sesotho borrowings end up replacing Setswana original words. This applies to a number of items, verbs and concepts. However, the one-on-one interviews have not produced many Sesotho CM or CS; standard English is taking centre stage in these later linguistic phenomena.

CHAPTER 6

Social network data

This chapter begins by looking at the role of zone 1 and zone 2 participants in the social network data (Section 6.1.) and then provides more detail about the application of this methodology (Section 6.2.). Further analysis of the data focuses on standard and Tswanalised Afrikaans borrowings (Section 6.3. & 6.4.), standard and Tswanalised English borrowings (Section 6.5. & 6.6.) and Sesotho borrowings across the three social classes of the study (Section 6.7). The chapter then turns to looking at intersentential code-switching and code-mixing (Section 6.8. – 6.9.); and Section 6.10, lastly, summarises the findings.

6.1. Social network data: The role of zone 1 and zone 2 participants

This chapter focuses on the processes involved in collecting data and investigating social structures using the social-network approach. In this study, the collection of social network data is meant to help determine linguistic trends that are characteristic of social *group* interactions; these linguistic trends will, in turn, help us to determine if the linguistic repertoire is different in the different residential areas (social classes), and across the other social variables, namely, sex and age groups. Each residential area had main subjects who were responsible for recording linguistic social interactions in both their zone 1 and zone 2 ‘areas.’ Main subjects in each residential area consisted of participants from different age groups and sexes, that is, 1 male participant born pre-94, 1 female participant born pre-94, 1 male participant born post-94 and 1 female participant born post-94. Other than the age and sex requirements the main subjects had to comply with, there were no restrictions vis-a-vis age, sex, area of residence or number of (other) participants when it came to the zone 1 and zone 2 social groups of any main subject. For this reason, some groups were constituted of only males or only females, while other groups had participants from both sexes. In addition, some groups had mixed age groups, while other groups had all participants born pre-94 and other groups had all participants born post-94.

Zone 1 is the main subject’s ‘home’ group; this means family members or people that the main participant shares a residence with. As indicated in Chapter 4, zone 2 comprises of the main subject’s social group outside the home environment, for example, colleagues, friends, fellow congregants, etc. A number of main subjects ended up with social network data from both the home group and the outside group, which provided salient linguistic features for comparison between the two zones.

The social network data reached saturation after the first few main subjects submitted their data, which showed that there was a repeat of the same linguistic trends. Based on this, it does not make any difference that not all main subjects submitted both zone 1 and zone 2 group data. Naturally, in those cases where the main subject recorded discussions for both zone 1 and zone 2, the social network data analysis was based on both zones.

6.2. Social network data in the Klerksdorp area

As mentioned, the different social network groups are represented by 4 main subjects from each residential area, as shown in the tables below. The overall number of discussion groups are 19, and the overall recorded discussion time is 5 hours, 24 minutes 53 seconds. This means that on average, each group discussion was 17 minutes 8 seconds long. Each table below represents common borrowings in zone 1 and zone 2 in each of the 3 main subjects' residential areas. The listed borrowings do not indicate frequency, as a few participants sometimes used the listed borrowing once during the discussion, or one of the interlocutors used the borrowing multiple times during the discussion. Borrowings used in group discussions are first separated and identified by their zone (zone 1 borrowings are on the left side of the table, and zone 2 borrowings are on the right side). Commonly used borrowings in both zones are listed at the top of both zones and they are in green, while borrowings used only in zone 1 are in blue and those used only in zone 2 are in red. It is important to note again that a few main subjects only had zone 1 or zone 2 data, as indicated in subsection 6.1 above. The analyses below were mainly based on the *main* subject's area of residence, as there was no limitation on who should participate in the group discussions. This means that participants might reside in the main subject's area, or in one of the other two areas of the study in the Klerksdorp municipality (see map in Chapter 3, Figure 13). Even so, the analysis of zone 1 data was based on the main subject's home environment, which means that borrowings were largely relatable to the main subject's social class. In addition to this, there were cases in either zone 1 or zone 2 where the group consisted of solely males or females; so, in essence, these groups helped to determine the effect of sex on borrowing. There were no time limitations set for the groups discussions so that the interactions could have a natural flow; hence the discussion time ranged from about 8 minutes to 34 minutes 17 seconds. The recorded discussion time lay solely with the discretion of participants.

6.3. Standard Afrikaans borrowings in the informal settlement, Jouberton Township and the former white areas

THE INFORMAL SETTLEMENT: SOCIAL NETWORK DATA

Social network data - Standard Afrikaans borrowings in the informal settlement

Main subjects – Pre-94 male, Pre-94 female, Post-94 male & Post-94 female

Borrowings in Zone 1 and discussion times for each group	Borrowings in Zone 2 and discussion times for each group
<p><i>Main subject 1</i> – Pre-94 male in a mixed sex group (discussion time: 10 minutes 51 seconds); <i>Main subject 2</i> – Pre-94 female in a mixed sex group (discussion time: 13 minutes 19 seconds); <i>Main subject 3</i> – Post-94 male in a mixed sex group (discussion time: 21 minutes 15 seconds); <i>Main subject 4</i> – Post-94 female in a mixed age all-female group (discussion time: 21 minutes 4 seconds)</p>	<p><i>Main subject 1</i> – Pre-94 male in a mixed sex group (discussion time: 16 minutes 10 seconds); <i>Main subject 2</i> – Pre-94 female in an all-female group (discussion time: 23 minutes 15 seconds); <i>Main subject 3</i> – Post-94 male in an all-male group (discussion time: 20 minutes 50 seconds)</p>

Table 6.3.1: Borrowings and group discussion times in the Informal Settlement, Zone 1 and Zone 2

*Commonly used borrowings in **Zone 1 and Zone 2** are in **green**.

*Commonly used borrowings in **Zone 1 only** are in **blue**

*Commonly used borrowings in **Zone 2 only** are in **red**

Social network data - Standard Afrikaans borrowings in the informal settlement

Zone 1	Zone 2
Maar	Maar
Klaar	Klaar
Niks	Nou
Net	
Apartheid	

Vroeg	
Spieel	
Lai	
Eiers	
Voetsek	

Table 6.3.2: Commonly used Standard Afrikaans borrowings in the informal settlement

English translations of the most commonly used Standard Afrikaans borrowings in the Informal Settlement

Standard borrowings	Afrikaans	English translations of standard Afrikaans borrowings
Maar		But
Klaar		Done/Complete/Finished
Niks		Nothing
Nou		Now
Net		Just
Apartheid		Apartness (in the South African history context, it means separation or segregation based on race)
Vroeg		Early
Spieel		Mirror
Lai		Drawer
Eiers		Eggs
Voetsek		Fuck off/piss of

Table 6.3.3: English translations of standard Afrikaans borrowings in the informal settlement

Only 2 borrowings (*maar* and *klaar*) were used in both zones, while there were a number of borrowings used by discussion groups in zone 1, which far exceeded zone 2 borrowings. This could be because many participants in zone 1 were very interactive in their discussion, and they probably felt more at ease in the more intimate context. Hence, there was even a 'swear' word, *voetsek*, to show strong emotion. Closer analysis shows that even though *nou* has only been used in zone 2, it is used in all 3 group discussions in this zone (one main subject, that is, the post-94 female) did not

have zone 2 data as explained in subsection 6.1 above). The same applies to *klaar*, as it had also been used in all the three zone 2 groups as well as in both zones. The usage of *maar* exceeds any other borrowing, as two discussion groups attached to the pre-94 male main subject, and the post-94 female main subject in zone 1 used it; it was, in addition, used in all three zone 2 groups. This resulted in higher usage for the groups led by the pre-94 main subject. Note, however, that it was difficult to always determine the correct age of participants using borrowings, as they are often mixed groups and the participants did not complete a demographic questionnaire to capture their age. The only group where the age of participants could be confidently determined was the all-male group of youths attached to a post-94 male who is a 19 year old young man. The main subject indicated to the researcher after forwarding the recording that he grew up in the same area as his friends; they were the same age, they completed matric in the same school and they are now young motor mechanics. Interestingly, this group of youths only used one standard Afrikaans borrowing, *niks*. This is in contrast to the mixed age group led by the post-94 female, which had an older participant in her 70s, and this group alone used more than 50% of the listed borrowings in zone 1.

When comparing these common borrowings to the one-on-one interviews, certain borrowings in Table 6.3.2, *nou*, *maar*, *niks*, *klaar* and *vroeg*, are also reported on extensively in Chapter 5 (see Figure 5.1.2).

Naturally, all these borrowed words have retained their morphological and phonological structures.

JOUBERTON TOWNSHIP: SOCIAL NETWORK DATA

Social network data - Standard Afrikaans borrowings in Jouberton Township

Main subjects – Pre-94 male, Pre-94 female, Post-94 male & Post-94 female

Borrowings in Zone 1 and discussion times for each group	Borrowings in Zone 2 and discussion times for each group
<i>Main subject 1</i> – Pre-94 male in a mixed age group (discussion time: 23 minutes 53 seconds); <i>Main subject 2</i> – Pre-94 female in a mixed sex group (discussion time: 10 minutes 14 seconds)	<i>Main subject 1</i> – Pre-94 male in an all-male group (discussion time: 22 minutes 9 seconds); <i>Main subject 2</i> – Pre-94 female in a mixed sex group (discussion time: 7 minutes 50); <i>Main subject 3</i> – Post-94 male in a mixed sex group (discussion time: 20 minutes 10 seconds); <i>Main subject 4</i> – Post-

	94 female in a mixed sex group (discussion time: 12 minutes 49 seconds)
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Table 6.3.4: Borrowings and group discussion times in Jouberton, Zone 1 and Zone 2

Jouberton Township: Social network data of the participants: most commonly used standard Afrikaans borrowings

Zone 1	Zone 2
Maar	Maar
Nou	Nou
Niks	Niks
Klaar	Oupa
	Daar
	Baie
	Vandag
	Broer

Table 6.3.5: Commonly used Standard Afrikaans borrowings in Jouberton Township

English translations of the most commonly used standard Afrikaans borrowings by participants

Standard borrowings	Afrikaans	English translations of standard Afrikaans borrowings
Maar		But
Nou		Now
Niks		Nothing
Klaar		Done/Complete/Finished
Oupa		Grandfather
Daar		There
Baie		Many
Vandag		Today
Broer		Brother

Table 6.3.6: English translations of Standard Afrikaans borrowings in zone 1 and zone 2

Standard Afrikaans borrowings in Jouberton shows more usage in zone 2, which probably results from the fact that zone 2 had more participants since all 4 main subjects had recordings of discussions 'in' this zone. In zone 2, the pre-94 male subject group consisted solely of older males, and the group discussion used all the commonly used borrowings in the two zones (*maar, nou, niks*). In addition, they also used *broer* and *vandag*, and this pre-94 all-male group used the same number of borrowings as that used by the three mixed groups in zone 2. The most commonly used Afrikaans words are derived from the quantitative methodology by listening to group discussion recordings, transcribing the recordings, and from this, by writing down borrowings that are commonly used by different participants in zone 1 and zone 2, which can be measured in numbers or percentages. This means that in essence, male usage of standard Afrikaans is higher in Jouberton because of contributions primarily from the pre-94 all-male group, which could be a result of the proximity of Jouberton to Alabama where Afrikaans is commonly spoken. This is in contrast to the low number of borrowings by the post-94 all-male group in the informal settlement, which contributed only one of the eleven most commonly used borrowings used by participants in that area.

Interestingly, the three most commonly used borrowings above are also used in the one-on-one interviews by both sexes (and by both the pre-94 and post-94 participants), and *klaar* was also used by the stated participants except the pre-94 male participants (see Chapter 5, Figure 5.1.3). This is an indication that the 3 most commonly used borrowings in the table above, *niks, maar* and *nou*, are entrenched in the linguistic repertoire of Jouberton residents, regardless of whether the participants are interacting with a stranger or within their own social circles. Even though *klaar* has only been used in zone 1, it was used in all the 3 residential areas of the study in the one-on-one interviews (see Figure 5.1.1 in Chapter 5), meaning that it is also entrenched in the Setswana language as it has extensive use as demonstrated by participants across sex and social class.

Usage in Jouberton also overlaps to some degree with the informal settlement social-network data as provided in Table 6.3.2 above. The extensive use of borrowings in these two areas supports the hypothesis that standard Afrikaans borrowings are used to a high extent in the informal settlement and in Jouberton. The high overall use of the same borrowings indicate that these borrowings are no longer used as duplicates of Setswana equivalents but have, rather, been adopted into the Setswana language and they have by and large replaced the Setswana original words; hence, they are used in different interactions regardless of whether it is the home environment, or the public sphere.

There were no differences in the phonological and morphological structures across the various participants: here we are focusing on standard Afrikaans borrowings.

FORMER WHITE AREAS: SOCIAL NETWORK DATA

Social network data - Standard Afrikaans borrowings in the former white areas

Main subjects – Pre-94 male, Pre-94 female, Post-94 male & Post-94 female

Borrowings in Zone 1 and discussion times for each group	Borrowings in Zone 2 and discussion times for each group
<i>Main subject 1</i> – Pre-94 male in an all-male group (discussion time: 15 minutes 12 seconds); <i>Main subject 2</i> – Post-94 male in a mixed sex group (discussion time: 34 minutes 17 seconds); <i>Main subject 3</i> - Post-94 female in a mixed sex group (discussion time: 10 minutes 10 seconds)	<i>Main subject 1</i> – Post-94 male in a mixed sex group (discussion time: 21 minutes 36 seconds); <i>Main subject 2</i> – Pre-94 female in an all-female group (discussion time: 13 minutes 47); <i>Main subject 3</i> – Post-94 female in a mixed sex group (discussion time: 9 minutes 02 seconds)

Table 6.3.7: Borrowings and group discussion times in the Former White Areas, Zone 1 and Zone 2

Social network data - Standard Afrikaans borrowings in the former white areas

Zone 1	Zone 2
Maar	Maar
Nou	Nou
Niks	Niks
Eintlik	Klaar
Jonk	Stout
Kleurling	Familie
Oompie	
Daar	
Vuil	
Apartheid	

Table 6.3.8: A list of commonly used standard Afrikaans borrowings in the former white areas

English translations of the most commonly used standard Afrikaans borrowings by participants

Standard borrowings	Afrikaans	English translations of standard Afrikaans borrowings
Maar		But

Nou	Now
Niks	Nothing
Eintlik	Actually
Jonk	Young
Kleurling	Coloured
Oompie	Uncle
Daar	There
Vuil	Dirty
Apartheid	Apartness (in the South African history context, it means separation or segregation based on race)
Klaar	Done/Complete/Finished
Stout	Naughty
Familie	Family

Table 6.3.9: English translations of commonly used standard Afrikaans borrowings in the former white areas

The high rate of standard Afrikaans borrowings as captured above is somewhat of an anomaly because Setswana speakers in the former white areas tend to favour English usage in the one-on-one interviews (see Chapter 5, Figure 5.1.4). Higher usage of borrowings in Table 6.3.8 could be the result of the informality of the social network data as opposed to the one-on-one interviews. In addition, there are no restrictions placed on who can participate in the group discussions, since the restriction is only placed on the main subjects' area of residence, age and sex; so lack of restriction on participants can influence the choice of language use in group interactions.

Interestingly, there is overlap between the two forms of data: all the 4 most commonly-used borrowings (*maar, nou, klaar, niks*) in the one-on-one interviews are used in the group discussions as well (see Chapter 5, Figure 5.1.4). However, only these 4 borrowings are used in the one-on-one interviews, compared to 13 in the group discussions. *Nou, maar, niks* have high usage in social network groups in the other areas as well (see Table 6.3.2 & Table 6.3.5). This indicates that standard Afrikaans borrowings are used to a far greater extent compared to English borrowings; and this is the case in all the 3 residential areas of the study. This implies that Afrikaans borrowings are more entrenched in speakers in the different areas than is the case with English.

Given that these are standard borrowings, there was no influence on the phonological or the morphological structure of any of the lexical items.

6.4. Tswanaised Afrikaans borrowings in the informal settlement, Jouberton Township and the former white areas

Social network data: Tswanaised Afrikaans borrowings in the informal settlement

Zone 1	Zone 2
Bereka/mmereko/mmerekong	Breka/mmereko/mmerekong
Kreiya	Kreiya
Hira	Hira
Skolong	Skolong
Toropong	Toropong
Strata/strateng	Strata/strateng
Tura	Lata
Sefamili	Bostoutu
Borotho	Kolomakiwa
Betere	Tronkong

Table 6.4.1: Tswanaised Afrikaans borrowings used in the informal settlement

Translations of Tswanaised Afrikaans borrowings in the informal settlement

The table below shows standard Afrikaans and English translations of Tswanaised Afrikaans borrowings

Tswanaised borrowings	Afrikaans	Standard Afrikaans borrowings	English translations of Tswanaised Afrikaans borrowings
Bereka/mmereko/mmerekong		Werk/by die werk	Work/at work
Kreiya		Kry	Get
Hira		Huur	Hire
Skolong		By die skool (skool)	At school
Toropong		By die dorp (dorp)	In town
Strata/strateng		Straat/in die straat	Street/in the street

Tura	Duur	Expensive
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Sefamili	Familieskap	Family/kinship
Betere	Beter	Better
Borotho	Brood	Bread
Lata	Laat	Late
Bostoutu	Stoutigheid	Naughtiness
Konomakiwa	Skoonmaak	Clean/make clean
Tronkong	By die tronk (tronk)	Prison

Table 6.4.2: Translations of Tswanalised Afrikaans borrowings in the informal settlement

The list in Table 6.4.1 shows high usage of the same borrowings between the two zones (six common borrowings). There are a few other borrowings used by participants in the two zones, but the main focus is on borrowings used in both zones. The borrowing *mmereko* has replaced the equivalent Setswana word *tiro*, *strateng* has replaced the Setswana equivalent *mmileng*, and *hira* has replaced the Setswana equivalent *thapa*. A similar trend to that seen in Tswanalised Afrikaans borrowings in Table 6.4.1 is apparent in Tswanalised Afrikaans borrowings in the one-on-one interviews (see Chapter 5, Figure 5.2.2) since the extent of usage is high in both cases. For social-network data, both sexes and age groups use the same borrowings across the board, and the same pattern has emerged in the one-on-one interviews. This indicates that Setswana in this area of Klerksdorp leans on some form of borrowing from Afrikaans even in cases where it has Setswana equivalents of the borrowed words.

The common borrowings are *bereka/mmereko*, *skolo/skolong*, *kreiya* and *toropo/toropong*. This is further proof that Setswana uses Afrikaans borrowings to a higher extent than it incorporates English borrowings, regardless of the setting, the age group of interlocutors or the social status of participants.

Social network data: Tswanalised Afrikaans borrowings in Jouberton Township

Zone 1	Zone 2
Hira/mohiri	Hira/Mohiri
Patela	Patela
Bereka/mmerekong	Bereka/mmerekong

Skolong	Plase/diplase
Strata	Skontere
Tronkong	Jarteng
Kreiya	Toropong
Konomakiwa	
Pleke/diplekeng	

Table 6.4.3: Tswanalised Afrikaans borrowings in Jouberton

English translations of Tswanalised Afrikaans borrowings in Jouberton Township

Below is a table showing the linguistic changes that have taken place vis-a'-vis the borrowing of Tswanalised Afrikaans words in the social-network data, and their English translations.

Tswanalised Afrikaans borrowings	Standard Afrikaans translations	English translations of Tswanalised Afrikaans borrowings
Hira/mohiri	Huur/huurder	Employ/employer
Patela	Betaal	Pay
Bereka/mmerekong	Werk (by die werk)	Work (at work)
Skolong	By die skool	At school
Strata	Straat	Street
Tronkong	In die tronk	In prison
Kreiya	Kry	Get
Konomakiwa	Skoonmaak	Clean
Pleke/diplekeng	Plek/plekke	Place/places
Plase/diplase	Plaas/plase	Farm/farms
Skontere	Skoon teer/Teerpad	Tarred road
Jarteng	In die jaart	In the yard
Toropong	By die dorp	In town

Table 6.4.4: Afrikaans and English translations of Tswanalised Afrikaans borrowings in Jouberton

There are 3 common borrowings across the two zones, but zone 1 has recorded a higher number of Tswanalised Afrikaans borrowings when compared to zone 2. The all-male group (pre-94) used 2 of the 3 common borrowings in both zones (*hira* and *bereka*), meaning that, male usage and the pre-94 group usage is higher than the female usage and the post-94 usage. This is based on the fact that the 2 male groups combined (see Table 6.3.4) used 5/13 (that is 38%) of the recorded borrowings (*bereka*, *hira*, *konomakiwa*, *plase/diplase*, *skontere*). In addition to this, the 2 remaining mixed groups have one group with an equal number of male and female participants, while the other group has more male participants who have also used the recorded borrowings.

The borrowing, ‘*skontere*’ used by one group in zone 2 where the main subject is a post-94 male, is a typical example cited by Hoffer (2005) when stating that sometimes borrowed words undergo extensive changes and end up being substantially different from the original word. It is crucial to highlight the fact that Setswana speakers have an alternative to *skontere*, which has the Tswanalised form *teerpata*. In essence, *teerpata* is closely related to the original Afrikaans form *teerpad*. However, the Tswanalised form *skontere* is the one that is more commonly used; hence, participants used it in the group discussion.

Two of the three commonly-used borrowings in Table 6.4.3 (*patela* and *bereka/mmerekong*) are also used by participants in Jouberton in the one-on-one interviews. In addition, some borrowings used in the group discussions like *kreiya*, *strata*, *plase*, *toropong*, *jarteng* above were also used in the one-on-one interviews more generally, meaning that there is common usage of Tswanalised Afrikaans borrowing across the one-on-one interview and social network data.

The Tswanalised forms take on an altered phonological structure, in comparison to standard Afrikaans borrowings, because there are changes that take place during borrowing. Morphological structures are also different; thus, for example, *bereka* has a vowel as a suffix (*a*), which is common in Tswanalised Afrikaans borrowings for verbs. For example, the Afrikaans verb *huur* is *hira* in Tswanalised Afrikaans borrowing. Another difference in the morphological structure is the example, *dipleke* as a plural form for the original *plekke*. In such cases, the ‘*di*’ is a prefix denoting the plural form in Setswana. A different example of morphological change in borrowing is the suffix in *tronko* where the suffix uses the vowel ‘*o*,’ which is added to the standard Afrikaans word *tronk*. From this comes *tronkong*, which is a noun resulting from adding the suffix *-ong* to denote a location, as in *skolong*, *mmerekong*, *toropong*, etc.

In some cases, we actually note additional Tswanalised Afrikaans borrowing for essentially the same concept. For example, the Tswanalised borrowing *skontere* is a variant of *teerpata*, which is *teerpad* in standard Afrikaans. The general explanation of *skontere* is that *skon* is the Tswanalised form for *skoon*, meaning clean, *tere* is tar (for tarred road), so *skontere* in essence means clean road; compared to mud road.

Social network data: Tswanalised Afrikaans borrowings in the former white areas

Zone 1	Zone 2
Bereka	Bereka

Strata/strateng	Strata/strateng
Dibesig	Dibesig
Venneng	Kreiya
Reiya	Skolo
Betere	Sokola
Konomaka	
Toropong	
Freitaga	
Tomo	

Table 6.4.5: Participants' commonly used Tswanalised Afrikaans borrowings in the former white areas

Translations of Tswanalised Afrikaans borrowings in the former white areas

Tswanalised Afrikaans borrowings	Afrikaans translations of Tswanalised Afrikaans borrowings	English translations of Tswanalised Afrikaans borrowings
Bereka	Werk	Work
Strata/strateng	Straat (in die straat)	Street (in the street)
Reiya	Ry	Drive
Venneng	Wen (het gewen)	Win (has/have won)
Reiya	Ry	Drive
Betere	Beter	Better
Konomaka	Skoonmaak	Clean
Toropong	Dorp (by die dorp)	Town (in town)
Freitaga	Vrydag	Friday
Tomo	Dom	Dumb
Dibesig	Besighede	Businesses
Kreiya	Kry	Get
Skolo	Skool	School
Sokola	Sukkel	Struggle/Suffer

Table 6.4.6: Afrikaans and English translations of Tswanalised Afrikaans borrowings

One can argue that the borrowing *betere*, could be the Tswanalised form of either Afrikaans or English, but the pronunciation is closer to Afrikaans than English, hence it is placed on the Tswanalised Afrikaans list. The participants' Tswanalised Afrikaans borrowings have a comparatively high usage, which, as mentioned, is also an anomaly in this area when comparing it with the extent of equivalent borrowings in the one-on-one interviews. Only 5 Tswanalised Afrikaans borrowings have been used in the one-on-one interviews compared to 13 borrowings in the group discussions (see Chapter 5, Figure 5.2.4). This high usage could be attributed to where some of the participants in the group discussions reside (as mentioned earlier that there were no restrictions on this). In addition, the topics of discussion, the setting and the relationship between participants in the group could also have played a role in the kind of borrowings used. Four of the five Tswanalised Afrikaans borrowings (*bereka*, *toropo*, *betere*, *kreiya*) used in the one-on-one interviews are also used in the group discussions. The common usage of borrowings between the 2 'platforms/sections' of the study are evidence that the same linguistic trends are entrenched in the different residential areas; the social network data reinforces this. Zone 1 has slightly more borrowings than zone 2, even though it had only 3 social groups instead of 4. This shows that entrenched borrowings are used in conversations, regardless of whether the interlocutors engage in one-on-one interviews or in small discussion groups. Different sexes also use the same borrowings, for example, the all-male group in zone 1 used *bereka* and the same borrowing is used in the all-female group in zone 2; and it is, in addition, also used in the mixed zone 1 group and the mixed zone 2 group.

The Tswanalised borrowings are derived from Afrikaans words; and have been subject to the phonological and morphological structures of Setswana, for example, as mentioned above, *betere* is classified as Tswanalised Afrikaans and not Tswanalised English based solely on the phonological structure. The Setswana morphological structure determines how prefixes and suffixes will change the words. For example, and as mentioned, many Afrikaans verbs will be Tswanalised by putting in a vowel as a suffix (*kry* – *kreiya*, *ry* – *reiya*, *skoonmaak* – *konomaka*, etc). Most nouns will have the Setswana suffix *-ng* when indicating the location of something (*jaart* – *jarteng*, *blom* – *blomong*, *plaas* – *plaseng*, etc.).

6.5. Pure English borrowings in the informal settlement, Jouberton Township and the former white areas

Social network data of Standard English borrowings in the informal settlement

Zone 1	Zone 2
Numerals	Numerals
Gang/gangsterism	Connection
Police station	
Corruption	
Government	

Table 6.5.1: Standard English borrowings used by participants in the informal settlement

Standard English borrowings in the table above show that numerals are used across the spectrum and to the same extent as they are used in Jouberton Township and in the former white areas, as will be demonstrated below. Considering that numerals are used to refer to a number of things that have to do with counting, this means that they are extensively used, as hardly any Setswana speakers use the numerical Setswana equivalents. The other listed borrowings are just some examples of the different borrowings used in both zones. Many of the borrowings in the data were, in fact, nonce borrowings (borrowings used only once by individuals), which are many and varied, so only the borrowings used by more than one participant are listed (Poplack, 2012). In essence, thus, the listed borrowings are the ones, which have been used more than once in either zone 1 or zone 2.

As indicated earlier, topics and the setting determine the kind of borrowing, but even so, there are not many commonly used standard English borrowings in the different residential areas of the study. Usage follows the same pattern of the one-on-one borrowings in the interviews where common borrowings are few, which indicates that the overall extent of standard English borrowing is low.

Naturally, standard English borrowings are those where the morphological or phonological structure of the listed words have not been affected.

Social network data: Standard English borrowings in Jouberton Township

Zone 1	Zone 2
Numerals	Numerals

Table 6.5.2: Commonly used Standard English borrowings in Jouberton

Numerals are commonly used, and there is extensive use of numerals when referring to time, measurements, distance, etc. When discussing South African politics or life in the participants' community, borrowings relating to these are for example, *corruption, potholes, bribery, poverty, maintenance*, etc. Nevertheless, all of these are all nonce borrowings hence they are not listed. It is interesting to note that other than numerals or proper nouns, there are many nonce standard English borrowings, but certainly not as many as was the case with standard Afrikaans borrowings. The extent of widely and commonly used standard Afrikaans and Tswanaised Afrikaans borrowings thus far exceeds those of English. The longstanding relationship between Setswana and Afrikaans has contributed to many Afrikaans borrowings. In addition to this, the political dominance of Afrikaans during the apartheid era, which extended post-94, plus many long-term business owners in the area being Afrikaans speakers, contributed to this. Figure 5.3.1 (Chapter 5), which provides data for the Klerksdorp area, demonstrates few commonly used standard English borrowings in the 3 areas of this study.

For the data above, there was of course no structural change. All the borrowings retained their basic phonological and morphological structures because participants apply standard English rules without incorporating any changes.

Commonly used standard English borrowings in the former white areas

Zone 1	Zone 2
Numerals	Numerals
Government	Government

Table 6.5.3: Participants' commonly used borrowings in the former white areas

As already indicated in both the informal settlement and Jouberton social-network data, numerals have extensive usage as they cover a wide spectrum. High numeral usage in all the areas of study is proof that English numerals have replaced the original Setswana equivalents in all spheres. Stepanyan (2018: 18) refers to the process of replacing words that have equivalents in the receptive

language as “the tendency to eliminate the polysemy of the original word.”¹¹ Setswana numeral replacement is extensive in the Klerksdorp area as the English equivalents are used by both genders and in all the residential areas; as well as by different age groups.

There is an extensive list of standard English borrowings from the social-network data, which are used by participants in the different groups, but the borrowings are only used once, hence there is only one common borrowing other than numerals, which is *government*. Few commonly-used standard English borrowings indicate that English borrowings are more often in variance with the Setswana original words, rather than borrowings which have been fully incorporated into Setswana (perhaps as a form of group identity), a phenomenon which, as we have seen, is common for Afrikaans borrowings. Different choices in topics also contribute to the low number of ‘repeated borrowings’ of English words in the different groups.

6.6. Tswanaised English borrowings in the informal settlement, Jouberton Township and the former white areas

Social network data of Tswanaised English borrowings in the informal settlement

Zone 1	Zone 2
Founa	
Seife	

Table 6.6.1: Participants’ Tswanaised English borrowings in the informal settlement

English translations of Tswanaised English borrowings

Tswanaised English borrowings	English translations of Tswanaised English
Founu	Phone
Seife	Safe

Table 6.6.2: Participants’ commonly used Tswanaised English borrowings in the informal settlement

Once again, the same pattern results from a short list of Tswanaised English borrowings. The plural form where English words have the suffix ‘*di*’ added are commonly used, for example, *diambulance*, *didrug*, *diright*, etc. (these latter examples were nonce borrowings). The 2 listed borrowings for zone 1 are used by different groups in this zone. The borrowings *founu* and *seife* are generally used in everyday life instead of their potential Afrikaans equivalents, even though Tswanaised Afrikaans

¹¹ Getting rid of the coexistence of the many possible meanings of a word, so in essence, the foreign word will ultimately replace its equivalent in the original language.

borrowings are the common linguistic choice in this area. In addition, *founu* (classed as Tswanalised English borrowing based on how it is pronounced) has a Setswana equivalent *mogala*, while *seife* has the Setswana equivalent *bolokega/bolokegile*; in addition not all speakers use the Tswanalised form as educated people generally opt for the standard English borrowing, *safe*.

Social network data of Tswanalised English borrowings in Jouberton Township

Zone 1	Zone 2
Masepala	Masepala

Table 6.6.3: Tswanalised English borrowings used by participants in Jouberton

The Setswana plural form (the prefix '*di*') is commonly used to denote plural nouns in English borrowings like *dibusiness* (businesses), *ditruck* (trucks), *diservice* (services), *dibenefit* (benefits) etc. but all these are examples of nonce borrowings as explained above. These Tswanalised English plural forms are commonly used in the different residential areas in Klerksdorp, and have a high usage by both sexes and by both the pre-94 group as well as the post-94 group. *Masepala* (*municipality* in English) is the only common borrowing in both zones, and it is used when discussing service delivery or lack thereof, by municipal workers. This is mainly because there is no Setswana equivalent of the word, so it has clearly been adopted into the Setswana language, along with structural changes.

As mentioned earlier, common Tswanalised Afrikaans borrowings far exceed common Tswanalised English borrowings, which possibly results from the Afrikaans language's history in South Africa, and more specifically in the Klerksdorp area: and from centuries ago (see Chapter 3). The Tswanalised plural form of adding the prefix '*di*' is of course an example of morphological change. This is interesting because when the Tswanalised Afrikaans borrowings are juxtaposed with the Tswanalised English borrowings, the same Setswana plural rules are applied. In the case of *masepala*, we also have changes to the phonological structure of a word.

Social network data of Tswanalised English borrowings in the former white areas

Zone 1	Zone 2
Voutele/voutang	Voutele/vouta

Table 6.6.4: Participants Tswanalised English borrowings in the former white areas

Participants in this area have also used the Tswanalised plural form as one-time borrowings. As the table above shows, *voutele/voutang* is the only repeated borrowing used in both zones, while all the other borrowings are used only once. The same reasons of low usage cited above are applicable in this area.

6.7. Sesotho borrowings in the informal settlement, Jouberton Township and the former white areas

Commonly used Sesotho borrowings by participants in the informal settlement are as follows:

Zone 1	Zone 2
Chelete	Chelete
Mosebetsi	Mosebetsi
Kwala/kwalla	Ngata

Table 6.7.1: Participants' commonly used Sesotho borrowings in the informal settlement

English translations of Sesotho borrowings in the Informal Settlement

Sesotho borrowings	English translations of Sesotho borrowings
Chelete (Madi in Tswana)	Money
Mosebetsi (Tiro in Tswana)	Job
Kwalla/kwalwa (Tswala/tswalela in Tswana)	Close/close in
Ngata (Bontsi in Tswana)	Many/abundant

Table 6.7.2: English translations of Sesotho borrowings in the informal settlement

Borrowings in Table 6.7.1 show duplication of Setswana words, as all the borrowings listed have Setswana equivalents. There are 2 common borrowings (*chelete* and *mosebetsi*), while the other 2 listed borrowings have been used in one group in each zone. One group in zone 1 is an all-male group, another group is an all-female group, and both groups used the listed borrowing *chelete*. The all-female group in zone 1 also used the borrowing *kwalwa*, which is also used in the mixed age group in zone 1, meaning that there is higher female usage of Sesotho in this zone.

A comparison of Sesotho borrowings shows higher usage in the one-on-one interviews compared to borrowings in group discussions, which might be because of the choice of topics, the setting, the relationship between the participants; and the like.

Interestingly, all the borrowings shown in the table above are used in the one-on-one interviews (see Chapter 5, Section 5.2), which is indicative of the wide use of some Sesotho borrowings in the different areas, and among the different ages and both sexes.

Commonly used Sesotho borrowings by participants in Jouberton Township

Zone 1	Zone 2
Bangata ¹² /dingata ¹³ /mangata ¹⁴	Bangata/dingata/mangata
Bophelo	Ntho
Taba	Sebetse/mosebetsi
Thahasello	Hlekefatsa
	Kwala/kwalla
	Chelete/dichelete
	Etsetsa
	Fumane
	Kaofela

Table 6.7.3: Participants' commonly used Sesotho borrowings in Jouberton

English translations of Sesotho borrowings used in Jouberton Township

Sesotho borrowings	English translations of Sesotho borrowings
Bangata/Dingata/Mangata (Bantsi/dintsi/mantis in Tswana)	Many/Abundant
Bophelo (Botshelo)	Life
Ntho (Selo)	Thing
Taba (Kgang)	Issue/Concern
Thahasello (Phisego)	Urge/wish
Sebetse/Mosebetsi (Dira/Tiro)	Work
Hlekefatsa (Tlhorisa)	Harass
Kwalwa/Kwalla (Tswala/tswalela)	Close
Chelete/Dichelete (Madi/madi)	Money/Monies
Etsetsa (Direla)	Do/Service
Fumana (Bona)	Get
Kaofela (Tsotle/botlhe)	All/Everything

¹² Human beings in big numbers.

¹³ A big number of non-human beings.

¹⁴ Many things.

Table 6.7.4: English translations of commonly used Sesotho borrowings in Jouberton

Zone 1 has minimal Sesotho borrowings as the group attached to the pre-94 female main subject did not use any Sesotho borrowings, possibly because there is a high usage of English borrowings and CS, which could, in turn, result from these participants having teaching as a profession, and the topic of discussion relating to government operations and teaching and learning. Such usage is in line with Molosiwa (2010) when stating that educated people generally tend to use English in conversations more than uneducated people do. Even so, the mixed zone 1 group attached to the male pre-94 main subject used a few Sesotho borrowings, including the usage of *bangata/dingata/mangata*, which are words also used in more than one group discussion in zone 2. The zone 2 all-male group also used this specific borrowing, indicating widespread use of this borrowing by both sexes and age groups. Even though there is only one common borrowing across zone 1 and Zone 2 as shown in Table 6.7.3, there are a number of Sesotho borrowings that were used in both the one-on-one interviews (see Chapter 5, Section 5.2, Figure 5.4) and in the social-network data in this area (see borrowings in blue and red in Table 6.7.4). These borrowings are *bophelo*, *mosebetsi*, *kwala*, *chelete* and *ntho*. This overlap might result from the fact that all the participants in the one-on-one interviews engaged in related topics with the researcher. It should be noted, however, that the social group discussions engaged in different topics of choice, where the topic might influence what kind of borrowings are used. In the social-network data, participants who were discussing their life struggles used some of these borrowings. The setting and sociocultural factors also play a role in what kind of borrowing is used in an interaction (Hymes, 1974a). There are general cases where *thagasello* (the Tswanalised form) is used as an alternative to *thahasello*, however, this was not used by any participant in zone 1 because: they used the standard Sesotho borrowing.

Social network data of Sesotho borrowings in the former white areas

Zone 1	Zone 2
Ngata/bangata/dingata	Ngata/bangata/dingata
Chelete/dichelete	Chelete/dichelete
Kula	Kula
Tseba	Tseba
Etsa/etsahala	Etsa/etsahala
Ntho	Ntho
Nkile	Nkile

Table 6.7.5: Commonly used borrowings in the former white areas

English translations of Sesotho borrowings used in the Former White Areas

Sesotho borrowings	English translations of Sesotho borrowings
Ngata/Dingata/Bangata (Ntsi/dintsi/bantsi in Tswana)	Many/Abundant
Chelete/Dichelete (Madi)	Money/Monies
Kula (Bobola)	Fall ill
Tseba (Itse)	Know
Etsa/Etsahala (Dira/diragala)	Do/Happen
Ntho (Selo)	Something
Nkile (Tshotse)	Took

Table 6.7.6: English translations of commonly used Sesotho borrowings in the Former White Areas

Sesotho borrowings in this area show high, repeated usage and all the listed borrowings in the table are used in both zones. There are a number of borrowings used in either zone 1 or in zone 2, which are not listed in the table because they have been used by different participants as nonce borrowings in that area.

Sesotho borrowings also have high usage in the one-on-one interviews, and common borrowings shared with the social-network data are: *ntho*, *chelete*, *ngata* and *etsahala* (see Chapter 5, Figure 5.5 & Table 6.7.9 above). Interestingly, *etsahala* was Tswanalised in the one-on-one interviews, hence it is *etsagala*. The Setswana morphology has been applied where the *h* in Sesotho changes to a *g* in Setswana. The extent of Sesotho borrowing makes it one of the languages in Klerksdorp that has greatly influenced Setswana because some of the Sesotho words have been incorporated into Setswana, and some borrowings like *chelete*, *etsa*, *maponesa*, etc. have overtime replaced their Setswana equivalents because of the proximity of the two areas, and the continuous interaction of speakers from both groups.

6.8. Summary of social network data in Klerksdorp

As the various borrowing tables for Afrikaans, English and Sesotho show, Setswana uses borrowings from these 3 languages to a greater or lesser extent in the different residential areas. There are cases where some borrowings are used extensively and repeatedly to the extent that they end up replacing their Setswana equivalents. The most commonly used standard Afrikaans borrowings are *maar*, *nou*, *niks* and *klaar*, which are used to a high extent in the 3 areas of study, and they have not only been adopted into the Setswana language, but they have replaced their Setswana equivalents. Some commonly used Tswanalised Afrikaans borrowings that have replaced their Setswana equivalents are *strata*, *konomaka*, *patela*, *kreiya*, some days of the week like *Freitaga*, etc. (see

Table 6.4.6; 6.4.5 & 6.4.4). Many commonly used standard Afrikaans borrowings and Tswanaised Afrikaans borrowings are entrenched in Setswana and are used across the board by both sexes and people of different ages.

Contrary to standard Afrikaans and Tswanaised Afrikaans borrowings, which generally have extensive lists of borrowings above, as they are used on a daily basis, English borrowings that have replaced their Setswana equivalents are not common. In fact, numerals seem to be the main Setswana equivalent replacement as demonstrated in the standard English borrowings lists (see Table 6.5.1; 6.5.2 & 6.5.3). There were a few other English borrowings like *pothole*, *corruption*, *crime*, etc., but they were restricted to certain topics and were used as nonce borrowings in this study. For Sesotho, borrowings like *kula*, *ngata*, *ntho* and many others used in zone 1 and zone 2 (by participants in all the different areas), have replaced the original Setswana words. In essence, this means again that Setswana clearly falls in the category that Hoffer (2005: 16) refers to as “high on the scale of receptivity.” Myers-Scotton (2006) shares this view and uses the term, ‘core borrowing’ when referring to this concept of foreign words being adopted to replace original words in a language. The above analysis of borrowings shows that Setswana readily adopts borrowings from other languages, particularly the 3 local languages as indicated in the different areas of the study. This gives the overall linguistic repertoire of L1-Setswana speakers in Klerksdorp as consisting of several Afrikaans and Sesotho loanwords, and with a few additional English loanwords, especially numerals, which show extensive use.

Code-switching and code-mixing patterns in the social network data

Code-switching (CS) in the social network data manifests in the same basic manner as shown for the one-on-one interviews in the previous chapter, that is, through intersentential code-switching and intrasentential code-switching. Muysken (2000), again, explains the difference between the two concepts when highlighting that intrasentential code-switching is sometimes termed code mixing, which takes place when several languages are used in the same clause. This is in contrast to intersentential code-switching which uses at least two languages, and the two languages used essentially remain separate.

Group 1 - Social network data in the informal settlement (based on the different participants' zones)

6.9. Social network data - Intrasentential code-switching/code-mixing and intersentential code-switching in the informal settlement

The information below is similar to that supplied in subsection 6.3, which stipulates information about each of the 4 main subjects attached to participants in zone 1 and zone 2, or in only one of the two zones.

Main subject – Pre-94 male, Zone 1 (mixed sex group)

Type of CS	Examples of CS used	CS English translations
Intrasentential code-switching/code-mixing	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. That's why mo tikologong ya rona go nale crime e ntsi. (English & Setswana) 2. Ha o le over 55, over 50 years, ga o qualifae go tsena mo mmerekong. (Setswana & English) 	<p>That is why there is a lot of crime in our area.</p> <p>If you are over 55, over 50 years old, you do not qualify to be employed.</p>
Intersentential code-switching	None	None

There is minimal CM and no CS in this discussion. The two sentences used for CM have Setswana and English, and the main subject, a pre-94 male, is the one who used both English-influenced CM phrases.

Main subject – Pre-94 male, Zone 2 (mixed sex group)

Type of CS	Examples of CS used	CS English translations
Intrasentential code-switching/code-mixing	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Last of last week, re kenetswe mo difemeng mona. (English & Setswana) 2. Swerishe e dula e matha, e stopa 2 days, after 2 days ya matha hape. (Setswana, English & Sesotho) 	<p>We had a break-in here at the firm two weeks back.</p> <p>The sewage keeps on running; it stops for 2 days and after 2 days, it runs again.</p>

	<p>3. Ba tsene ba nke difinger prints difenstereng. (Setswana & English)</p> <p>4. Ba tle go fa nkgono case number after 2 months. (Setswana & English)</p> <p>5. Di krekegile too much. (Setswana & English)</p> <p>6. Ka nako ya divoutu, door to door, re vouta kaofela. (Setswana & English)</p>	<p>They come to take fingerprints from the windows.</p> <p>They will only come to give the old woman a case number after 2 months.</p> <p>They have serious cracks.</p> <p>When it is time to vote, it is door to door; we all vote.</p>
Intersentential code-switching	None	None

In this case, the participants in the two zones have used a lot of borrowings, especially from Sesotho. There is also standard English borrowing (proper nouns and numerals), and they have used a few code mixes here and there. There is also some Sesotho code-mixing in the participants' interaction in zone 2, here are two examples, *Last of last week, re kenetswe mo difemeng mo na* and *Swerishe e dula e matha, e stops 2 days, after 2 days ya matha hape*.

Such usage is because some of the participants live within close proximity of Kanana Township (near Orkney) where Sesotho is commonly used (see Chapter 3, Figure 11).

Main subject – Pre-94 female, Zone 1 (mixed sex group)

Type of CS	Examples of CS used	CS English translations
Intrasentential code-switching/code-mixing	<p>1. I mean o kase tswe mo o itlha o dula ko serameng vroeg. (English & Setswana)</p> <p>2. Ba godile as they are, and nou yaana le di challenges tsa kwa leng leng go tlabbe gote medication ga o yo. (Setswana & English)</p> <p>3. Yaanong what's the use tsa gore bafe bagolo ba rona di date. (English & Setswana)</p>	<p>I mean you cannot leave and go sit in the cold early in the morning.</p> <p>They are old now, now the challenges in there are you will be told of the non-availability of medication.</p> <p>Now, what is the use of giving our elderly people consultation dates?</p>

	<p>4. Re kopa thuso bathong when it comes to that.</p> <p>5. Nou yaana re nale bana ba bo 12/13, under 16 years. (Setswana & English)</p> <p>6. Ga e sa tihole ele above 16, ke under 16 years. (Setswana & English)</p> <p>7. Ee, one other thing go tshwana le diright tse bana ba rona ba nang le tsone. (English & Setswana)</p> <p>8. Bana ba tla boela mo tseleng as much as le rona re ne re bitsiwa re tla re gola. (Setswana & English)</p>	<p>Good people, we are asking for assistance when it comes to that.</p> <p>We now have children aged 12/13, under 16 years.</p> <p>It is no longer above 16; it is under 16 years.</p> <p>Yes, one other thing is children's rights, which our children have.</p> <p>Children will get back on track; we too were spanked when we were growing up.</p>
Intersentential code-switching	None	None

Main subject – Pre-94 female, Zone 2 (all-female group)

Type of CS	Examples of CS used	CS English translations
Intrasentential code-switching/code-mixing	<p>1. Age restriction yone ya tena go bua nnete. (English & Setswana)</p> <p>2. The following day wa tla, maar o tshwerwe ka didrugs. (English & Setswana)</p> <p>3. Government ya rona e tlamehile e dire something about it. (Setswana & English)</p> <p>4. Government e analaese that thing. (Setswana & English)</p> <p>5. Nou re challenged left, right and centre. (Setswana & English)</p>	<p>To be honest, age restriction is annoying.</p> <p>The following day, the person is released (from prison) even though he was arrested for drugs.</p> <p>Our government must do something about it.</p> <p>The government must analyse that thing.</p> <p>Now we are challenged, left, right and centre.</p>

	<p>6. Ba ne ba fiwa kgetsi once a month. (Setswana & English)</p> <p>7. Maybe department e re tlhalosetse gore ha gole yaana go berekiwa yang. (English & Setswana)</p> <p>8. Ha di a ntshiwa at all. (Setswana & English)</p> <p>9. And one other thing bathong, le abuse ya bomme. (English & Setswana)</p> <p>10. Bana ba rona ba tlhabiwa nou en daan. (Setswana & Afrikaans)</p>	<p>They used to get a bag once a month (porridge from the feeding scheme at school).</p> <p>Maybe the department should explain to us what must we do in such a case.</p> <p>They have not been distributed at all.</p> <p>Another concern is the abuse of women.</p> <p>Our children are immunised now and then.</p>
Intersentential code-switching	None	None

The main subject's two zones are comprised of participants from her neighbourhood, and none of them has used intersentential CS, probably because all of them have qualifications that are below matric; hence English usage is used only for borrowing and code-mixing.

Main subject – Post-94 male, Zone 1 (mixed age group)

Type of CS	Examples of CS used	CS English translations
Intrasentential code-switching/code-mixing	<p>1. Why should we be concerned ka batho ba re reng ke batho ba bontate? (English & Setswana)</p> <p>2. Rona re thomile go peipa at the age of high school, bone at the age of primary. (Setswana & English)</p> <p>3. Ba trita each other like one thing. (Setswana & English)</p> <p>4. Rona yaanong, why salaries? (Setswana & English)</p>	<p>Why should we be concerned with people that we label as men?</p> <p>We started smoking at high school age, while they started at the age of primary (school).</p> <p>They treat each other as one thing.</p> <p>Now as for us, why salaries?</p>

	<p>5. And never o kreiye lekula, lechaena ko orphanageng. (English & Setswana)</p> <p>6. Ebe e nna gang to gang. (Setswana & English)</p>	<p>And you will never find an Indian, or a Chinese at the orphanage.</p> <p>It then gets to the stage of gang to gang (fights).</p>
Intersentential code-switching	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Police are useless – Ntwana yaaka. (English & Setswana) • There was this other lady – O palame koloi a sia ngwana. (English & Setswana) • E e chenchileng generation ya nou – It's not a good thing. (Setswana & English) 	<p>Police are useless – My boy.</p> <p>There was this other lady – She got in the car and left her child behind.</p> <p>It has changed the current generation – It is not a good thing.</p>

Main subject – Post-94 male, Zone 2 (all-male group)

Type of CS	Examples of CS used	CS English translations
Intrasentential code-switching/code-mixing	<p>1. And serious, ya vaya laaitie yaaka. (English & Setswana)</p> <p>2. And wa bona daai ding e o e bonang, ke waar laaitie yaaka. (Setswana & Afrikaans)</p> <p>3. Rona re tshwanetse re create something that will last. (Setswana & English)</p> <p>4. Some of them ke disisters tsa rona ntswa yaaka. (English & Setswana)</p> <p>5. Re tsetswe the same way. (Setswana & English)</p> <p>6. Ga rena youth because of drugs. (Setswana & English)</p> <p>7. Re nale set of work. (Setswana & English)</p>	<p>And serious, it runs fast my boy.</p> <p>And as you can see that thing, it is true my boy.</p> <p>As for us, we must create something that will last.</p> <p>Some of them are our sisters my dog.</p> <p>We were born the same way.</p> <p>We do not have the youth because of drugs.</p> <p>We have a set of work.</p>

	<p>8. Daai ding e o e buang ka e tlhologanya mfanaka. (Afrikaans & Setswana)</p>	<p>I understand what you are saying my boy.</p>
<p>Intersentential code-switching</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Jaaka rele batho ga re tshwane – We have different kinds of mindsets and hardwork. (Setswana & English) • Re e lokisitse – With no guidance, with nothing. (Setswana & English) • As people, we have to believe we can do anything – Le skill se re nang le sone re se berekisitse. (English & Setswana) • Sometimes you can still do woodwork – Ke tswa go spana ka roofing. (English & Setswana) • Go etsagalang ka youth ya rona? – Nowadays there is something called connection. (Setswana & English) • After varsity, o tla bloma 5 years because spane se wena o se kgethileng ga seyo – Sometimes it might be 5, 6 , 7, who knows; sometimes it might be 4, who knows. (Setswana & English) 	<p>As people, we are different - We have different kinds of mind-sets and handwork.</p> <p>We fixed it – With no guidance, with nothing.</p> <p>As people, we have to believe we can do anything – Even the skill that we have, we have used it.</p> <p>Sometimes you can still do woodwork – I have worked on roofing.</p> <p>What is happening with our youth? – Nowadays there is something called connection.</p> <p>After completing at university, you can be unemployed for 5 years because the job that you studied for has no posts – Sometimes it might be 5, 6 , 7 years, who knows; sometimes it might be 4, who knows.</p>

The all-male group used a lot of both code-mixing and intersentential CS. They all went to the same English medium school in town. In addition, they used a lot of ‘tsotsitaal’ (examples, *ya vaya* – it drives well, *ke waar* – it is true, *go spana* – to work, etc.) probably because it was just them interacting as peers in the group discussion. This is probably why they referred to each other as *laaitie*, *ntwana*, *mfanaka* and *ntswa yaaka* (all loosely translated to ‘dude’), which are all forms of camaraderie as street-smart young people. The Afrikaans code-mix *daai ding* (as in 8 above: *Daai ding e o e buang ka e thaloganya mfanaka*) is used a twice in the conversation. This is testimony to the common and repeated use of this phrase, because participants in the one-on-one interviews also used it a few times.

Main subject – Post-94 female, Zone 1 (an all-female mixed age group)

Type of CS	Examples of CS used	CS English translations
Intrasentential code-switching/code-mixing	None	None
Intersentential code-switching	None	None

This is an on-the-surface anomaly: this group did not use any CM or CS even though their discussion lasted 21 minutes 4 seconds. In the group, however, the main interaction happens between the main subject and her elderly mother, and this is probably why the use of Setswana dominates. However, standard English borrowing dominates the discussion, especially when the main subject talks about the struggles of her daughter who is a slow learner at school. The other female participant makes occasional comments where she uses standard English borrowing for proper nouns. Standard Afrikaans borrowing has minimal use. The overall dominance of borrowing could be behind the 0% usage of CM and CS.

Group 2 - Social Network Data in Jouberton Township (based on the different participants’ zones):

Social network data - Intrasentential code-switching/code-mixing and intersentential code-switching in Jouberton Township

As with the former (informal settlement) group-analysis, below are some examples derived from the Jouberton social network groups whose main subjects were pre-94 male, pre-94 female, post-94 male and post-94 female respectively. As was the case with the one-on-one interviews, only some examples are provided because quoting all the examples used in the discussion would be a long list: most phrases or sentences from another language are used only once as usage is determined by the context, so there are plenty of different examples of usage.

Main subject – Pre-94 male, Zone 1 (mixed age group)

Type of CS	Examples of CS used	CS English translations
Intrasentential code-switching/code-mixing	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Re tlile go discussa ka taba ya gore president over the weekend ka di 27 o ne a tlile mo Klerksdorp. (Setswana & English) 2. O tseba a tswa because crime e teng. (Setswana & English) 3. To make matters worse, ke loadshedding e diga dibusiness. (English & Setswana) 4. That's why baswa ba bantsi ba tswa mo ditoropong tse di nyenyane. (English & Setswana) 5. Ba tshaba gore batho ba tla bona mo tv gore 2014 go tswile 9.6 million for upgrade ya stadium. (Setswana & English) 6. Re nale yone info, now ekare re worse than apartheid. (Setswana & English) 7. They are very quick mo go jeng chelete. (English & Setswana) 	<p>We are going to discuss the fact that the president came to Klerksdorp over the weekend on the 27th.</p> <p>He goes in and out because crime is rife.</p> <p>To make matters worse, loadshedding disrupts electricity supply, thereby making businesses struggle.</p> <p>That is why many young people leave small towns.</p> <p>They are afraid that people will see on tv that in 2014, 9.6 million was allocated for the upgrade of the stadium.</p> <p>We do have the information; it looks like we are now worse than we were during apartheid.</p> <p>They are quick at using funds for their benefit.</p>
Intersentential code-switching	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • You get all sorts of promises - Tse eleng gore they know they made them 20 years ago. (English & Setswana) 	<p>You get all sorts of promises, which they know they made 20 years ago.</p>

Main subject – Pre-94 male, Zone 2 (all-male group)

Type of CS	Examples of CS used	CS English translations
Intrasentential code-switching/code-mixing	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Ke ne ke kopa go go botsa my broer. (Setswana & Afrikaans) 2. Rona re sala rele ko strateng ga go diragale niks at all. (Setswana & English) 3. Batho ba complaina on a daily basis, elke dag, but ga go tle gore ba kreiye thuso. (Setswana, English & Afrikaans) 4. Ga gona chain of command. (Setswana & English) 5. A bua gore by the end of March, matlo a tlabane heditse. (Setswana & English) 6. And the other thing gape ke gore go nale dighost employees. (English & Setswana) 	<p>I am making a request to ask you my brother.</p> <p>We are left on the street where nothing at all is happening.</p> <p>People complain on a daily basis, every day, but they do not get help.</p> <p>There is no chain of command.</p> <p>He said houses would be completed by the end of March.</p> <p>And the other thing is that there are ghost employees.</p>
Intersentential code-switching	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ke di R350 tse re di fiwang tse; cost of living is too high. (Setswana & English) • Yaanong go safara rona – They are nowhere to be found. (Setswana & English) 	<p>It is the R350 that we are given – Cost of living is too high.</p> <p>Now it is us who suffer – They are nowhere to be found.</p>

As is clear from the above table, English code-mixing appears in both zones to more or less the same extent, and this comes from different participants in each zone. One participant has used Setswana and English intersentential CS in the home group (zone 1), while zone 2 participants have used two English intersentential CS's. Interestingly, even though CS usage is low, only a fraction of the English CM is cited in the table above. In contrast, Afrikaans usage is low, and all usage in the two zones are cited in the table above. For borrowing, the all-male group used more Afrikaans than the mixed

group. Firstly, we see examples of standard Afrikaans borrowing (*niks*) and Tswanalised Afrikaans borrowing (*strateng, kreiye*). For code mixing, the all-male group uses one Afrikaans phrase, *Ke kopa go go botsa my broer*. There is one example of code-mixing using 3 languages (Tswana, English and Afrikaans), *Batho ba complaina on a daily basis, elke dag, but ga go tle gore ba kreiye thuso*, all of which seems to indicate that males use more of Afrikaans than females (the all-male group is a good example of this). We see that in the mixed age group, there is only one standard borrowing (*apartheid*), one Tswanalised Afrikaans borrowing (*ditoropong*) and no Afrikaans CM or CS. The main subject has stated that he is educated, (a university graduate), and this explains his use of English code-mixing and intersentential CS in both zones, which aligns with the views of Molosiwa (2010) when stating that educated people, generally use English more when compared to uneducated people.

Main subject – Pre-94 female, Zone 1 (mixed sex group)

Type of CS	Examples of CS used	CS English translations
Intrasentential code-switching/code-mixing	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Dilo tse di dira gore rona the citizens we are not satisfied about them. (Setswana & English) 2. I think poor policies ke tsone tse di khosang batho ba nne free in our country. (English & Setswana) 3. A o batla go nthaya ore education in or country has got lots of inequality? (Setswana & English) 4. The judiciary le yone it fails us. (English & Setswana) 	<p>These things make us the citizens to be unsatisfied about them.</p> <p>I think poor policies are to blame for causing people to have free movement in our country.</p> <p>Do you mean to tell me that education in our country has lots of inequality?</p> <p>Even the judiciary fails us.</p>
Intersentential code-switching	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • High rate of unemployment, corruption and fraud, service delivery – Batho ba denyiwa that opportunity to get electricity. (English & Setswana) 	<p>High rate of unemployment, corruption and fraud, service delivery – People are denied that opportunity to access electricity.</p>

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cabinet ministers are reshuffled, and ga gona consistency and productivity. (English & Setswana) • Tenders are not well monitored – Le tsone ditendara tseo they're biased. (English & Setswana) • Gape fa a burning issue ke unemployment – Our people are suffering, they're unable to educate their children, they're unable to build houses. (Setswana & English) 	<p>Cabinet ministers are reshuffled, and there is no consistency and productivity.</p> <p>Tenders are not well-monitored – Even those tenders are biased.</p> <p>Another burning issue here is unemployment - Our people are suffering, they are unable to educate their children, they are unable to build houses.</p>
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Main subject – Pre-94 female, Zone 2 (mixed sex group)

Type of CS	Examples of CS used	CS English translations
Intrasentential code-switching/code-mixing	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Poverty e causiwa ke lack of management. (Setswana & English) 2. Jaaka like myself, ke kreiya disability. (English & Setswana) 3. O kreiya ele gore o dutse 3 months or 6 months o saye go di tsaya. (Setswana & English) 4. Daai ding ya gore digrant di okediwe, because of corruption, ba palelwa ke go oketsa madi. (Afrikaans, Setswana & English) 	<p>Poverty is caused by lack of management.</p> <p>Like myself, I get a disability grant.</p> <p>You find out that you stay for 3 months or 6 months without going to collect them (the R350pm grant).</p> <p>That thing/issue of increasing grants is failing because corruption prevents them from increasing the amount of money (that beneficiaries get).</p>
Intersentential code-switching	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Go tlhoka go nagana le gone go bakela poverty – Failing to manage our money 	<p>Lack of rational thinking also causes poverty – Failing to manage our money well and lack of savings. Even if I can</p>

	<p>well and lack of savings. Even if I can misuse this money, someone else will keep my light burning. (Setswana & English)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Disocial grant tse di newang bana – They cause our country to become overpopulated. (Setswana & English) • Ba utswitse dichelete – R20 000, illegal businesses, money laundering, those things rip off our country. (Setswana & English) 	<p>misuse this money, someone else will keep my light burning</p> <p>The social grants that are given for children– They cause our country to become overpopulated.</p> <p>They stole money – R20 000, illegal businesses, money laundering, those things rip off our country.</p>
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The main subject is a teacher, and she has used a number of English phrases and sentences with both groups. Her use of language is likely to have influenced the use of code-mixing and intersentential CS for the other participants in both zones. The zone 1 language use consists of code-mixing and intersentential CS in Setswana and English. The same applies to Zone 2, but in addition, participants in this zone have used the Tswanalised Afrikaans borrowing *kreiya* more than once. There is code-mixing of 3 languages (Afrikaans, Setswana and English) in one sentence *Daai ding ya gore digrant di okediwe, because of corruption, ba palelwa ke go oketsa madi*, which brings in a new dynamic in the group discussion, which is otherwise generally dominated by English. A number of intersentential code-switches in both zones demonstrates overall higher English usage.

Main subject – Post-94 male, Zone 2 (mixed sex group)

Type of CS	Examples of CS used	CS English translations
Intrasentential code-switching/code-mixing	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Distatement re di latlhela mo ofising because of ga ba teng. (Setswana & English) 2. Ke yone ruling company. ANC e 	<p>We throw statements in the office because they are not there.</p> <p>It is the ruling company.</p>

	<p>wina because of bonkgono. (Setswana & English)</p> <p>3. Ke suffering moo; kana ba qadile ho thola metsi ne neng mo? (Setswana & Sesotho)</p> <p>4. But Sunday ene ele official meeting. (English & Setswana)</p> <p>5. Sunday ene ele meeting like ba bua ka the way ba ikutlwang ka teng. (Setswana & English)</p> <p>6. So that is why kere ya strike yone go raya gore e simolotse Friday go seng. (English & Setswana)</p> <p>7. This month ga go patelwe rent. (English & Setswana)</p>	<p>ANC wins because of old women.</p> <p>There is suffering there; when did they start to get water here?</p> <p>But Sunday was an official meeting.</p> <p>Sunday was a meeting where they were talking about how they feel.</p> <p>So that is why I say that it means the strike started Friday morning.</p> <p>No one is paying rent this month.</p>
Intersentential code-switching	None	None

Here code-mixing is generally constituted of Setswana and English, but there is one question posed in Sesotho when discussing water problems, *Ba qadile ho thola metsi ne neng mo?* Interestingly, the discussion group has 7 members (3 males and 4 females), and the recording ends at 20 minutes, 10 seconds, but there are only a few examples of CM and no CS. This could be because the group is mainly made up of participants who did not finish matric, and a number of them are in low-paying jobs or unemployed (this information was shared by the main subject to the researcher after the recording was completed). This is likely an indication that the social status of participants has an impact on their language use, that is, where there is minimal use of prestigious languages.

Main subject – Post-94 female, Zone 2 (mixed sex group)

Type of CS	Examples of CS used	CS English translations
Intrasentential code-switching/code-mixing	<p>1. Ke tsene mo ele gore you rent to buy. (Setswana & English)</p>	I got here when one had to rent to buy.

	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 2. Batho ba itse ele covid-19 ba ne bare re sa tlala, re sa nna occupied in one space. (Setswana & English) 3. Worst part, o ntshitse deposit. (English & Setswana) 4. Maar in real life, wena dibusiness tsa gago ra tlala ko go tsone. (English & Setswana) 5. Taxi e tla after 4. (Setswana & English) 6. Here's a person o o nang le a small business mo Matlosana Gardens. (English & Setswana) 7. I run the business kele motho wa mosadi, then there's no support ya batho ba bontate. (English & Setswana) 8. I don't mind to run it even though batho ba sare supporte. (English & Setswana) 9. Motsepe ke ha a etsa a bitsa bo Beyonce, bo mang mang, a etsa what what, fill up FNB. (Setswana & English) 	<p>During covid-19, people said we must not fill up a space; not many people must occupy a small space.</p> <p>The worst part is that you have paid a deposit.</p> <p>But in real life, we fill up your businesses (not maintaining a safe distance).</p> <p>The taxi comes after 4.</p> <p>Here is a person who has a small business in Matlosana Gardens.</p> <p>I run the business as a woman, then there is no support from men.</p> <p>I do not mind to run it even though people do not support us.</p> <p>Motsepe then invited people like Beyonce, and others to do what what, fill up FNB.</p>
Intersentential code-switching	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Re ka e thabela from people ba ba batlang go thusa rona dismall business – It's shelters and maybe more advertisements. (Setswana & English) 	<p>We will appreciate it from people who want to help us who run small businesses – It is shelters and maybe more advertisements.</p>

Here there is a mixture of short and long usage of CM of Setswana and English phrases from the different participants in a recording lasting 12 minutes 49 seconds, and there is usage of CS as well. The participants are of a similar age, and according to the information supplied in the recording, they engage with different people, as one works in the mine while two are entrepreneurs. They are all ambitious. Their linguistic repertoire of a lot of English CM usage might be because of their daily interactions with different people and because of their lines of work.

Group 3 - Social Network Data in the former white areas (based on the different participants' zones):

Social network data - Intrasentential code-switching/code-mixing and intersentential code-switching in the former white area

Main subject – Pre-94 male, Zone 1 (all-male group)

Type of CS	Examples of CS used	CS English translations
Intrasentential code-switching/code mixing	1. O gola a little bit above that amount. (Setswana & English)	He earns a bit more than that amount.
	2. O patala almost 6 times the amount ya motho yo o dulang ko township. (Setswana & English)	He pays almost 6 times the amount paid by someone who lives in the township.
	3. Most of the township residents ga ba patale. (English & Setswana)	Most of the township residents do not pay.
	4. Masepala wa rona doesn't pay employees. (Setswana & English)	Our municipality does not pay employees (well).
	5. Ba bangwe bone they get defunded in the middle of the year. (Setswana & English)	Some of them (students) are defunded in the middle of the year.
	6. Masepala ga a batle re patela direct to Eskom. (Setswana & English)	The municipality does not want us to pay directly to Eskom.
	7. Those countries ba na le less consumption than	Those countries have less consumption than South Africa.

	<p>South Africa. (English & Setswana)</p> <p>8. Motho yo o dulang ko a township le yoo dulang mo suburbong o patela almost more than 70% of the actual amount that they are supposed to pay. (Setswana & English)</p>	<p>Someone who lives in the township compared to someone who lives in the suburb (the latter) pays almost more than 70% of the actual amount that he is supposed to pay.</p>
Intersentential code-switching	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ga go kgone gore ba ka identifaiwa – It’s fraud. (Setswana & English) • Ga di funde bana ba bangwe – They get defunded. (Setswana & English) • Mo North West batho ba lwanela ditendara – They kill people for tenders. (Setswana & English) • Service delivery is so poor – Re ka reng? Ke bophelo. (English & Setswana) • They sabotage the ruling party – Maar gape why would they sabotage us whereas they supply other people? (English & Setswana) 	<p>It is impossible to identify them – It is fraud.</p> <p>They do not fund others (students) – They get defunded.</p> <p>In the North West, people fight for tenders – They kill people for tenders.</p> <p>Service delivery is so poor – What can we say? It is life.</p> <p>They sabotage the ruling party – But then again, why would they sabotage us whereas they supply other people?</p>

Participants in this group have used Setswana-English CM from start to finish, and only some examples of this are provided above to avoid a long list. Interestingly, the discussion only lasts 15 minutes and 12 seconds, but there is a lot of back-and-forth between Setswana and English. The high extent of English CM usage is likely because of the level of education of the participants; the main participant’s son is a university student and all the participants live in an affluent suburb.

Setswana speakers who belong in the higher social class generally tend to shift to English use in social interactions among themselves. This could be why no Afrikaans CM or CS is used in the discussion. Setswana and English intersentential CS is used in the discussion, albeit to a lower extent when compared to CM usage.

Main subject – Pre-94 female, Zone 2 (all-female group)

Type of CS	Examples of CS used	CS English translations
Intrasentential code-switching/code-mixing	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. My neighbour o etsa research ka these things. (English & Setswana) 2. Ha o sa rutega menyako e mentsi ya kwalega. (Setswana & Sesotho) 3. Nna according to me, education e santse ele the key to success. (English & Setswana) 4. We don't have enough resources gore re ka thusa bana bao. (English & Setswana) 5. Diprivate schools bana ba fiwa quality education because everything is easily accessible. (Setswana & English) 6. Batho ba dirisa dilo tseo for other things. (Setswana & English) 7. Ba bua lefoko support, but they don't practise the word support. (Setswana & English) 8. Le gore at the end of the day, re kgone go yusa diservices tsa gagwe. (Setswana & English) 	<p>My neighbour is doing research about these things.</p> <p>If you are not educated, many doors are inaccessible to you.</p> <p>According to me, education is still the key to success.</p> <p>We do not have enough resources to help those children.</p> <p>In private schools, children get quality education because everything is easily accessible.</p> <p>People use those things for other things.</p> <p>They talk about support, but they do not practise the word support.</p> <p>So that at the end of the day, we should be able to use his services.</p>

Intersentential code-switching	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ba nna pregnant bale mo skolong – So they're in and out of school. (Setswana & English) • Ga ba treiniwa go ticha mo dikolong tse di yalo – As a result, they don't understand the type of learners they're teaching, and it's frustrating for them. (Setswana & English) • They don't get enough support – Re nale insufficient devices. (English & Setswana) 	<p>They get pregnant while they are in school – So they are in and out of school.</p> <p>They have not been trained to teach in such schools – As a result, they do not understand the type of learners they are teaching, and it is frustrating for them (learners).</p> <p>They do not get enough support – We have insufficient devices.</p>
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All participants in this group discussion are teachers, which could be why they use a lot of English CM and CS in their group discussion. Not all CM phrases used are listed in the table, and there is no Afrikaans CM or CS. The topic of discussion might also play a role in the language used as they are discussing challenges in their jobs as teachers in a special/remedial school; hence, a lot of the discussion is centred on a comparison between private schools, public schools and special schools.

Main subject – Post-94 male, Zone 1 (mixed age group)

Type of CS	Examples of CS used	CS English translations
Intrasentential code-switching/code-mixing	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Ke ne ke ikutlwa very bad because a kabe a tlile mo. (Setswana & English) 2. Waitse go dirilwe iewers skielik. (Setswana & Afrikaans) 3. Ke a go hirwa quick service kwa. (Setswana & English) 4. So lank hela o ile mo disub 	<p>I felt very bad because he could have come here.</p> <p>They did it suddenly you know.</p> <p>I am going to be hired with no hassles there (quick service).</p> <p>As long as you have gone for subcontracting.</p>

	(subcontractor). (Afrikaans & Setswana) 5. I'm sure wa tlhaphisiwa. (English & Setswana) 6. Ga gona government oversight. (Setswana & English)	I am sure he gets bathed. There is no government oversight.
Intersentential code-switching	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • I don't really know what to feel about it - Politicians are trying to campaign – Ba tlile gore loka. (English & Setswana) • Hulle maak dieselfde ding – Ba dira sone selo seo. (Afrikaans & Setswana) • Nee man, dis nie die lewe – Ga se bophelo. (Afrikaans & Setswana) • Hulle se niks nie – Magistrata le ene wa ba ntsha ko court. (Afrikaans & Setswana) 	I do not really know what to feel about it, politicians are trying to campaign – They are going to lock (convince) us. They do the same thing – They are doing that very thing. No man, that is no life – It is no life. They say nothing – The magistrate himself allows them to leave from court.

The post-94 male main subject has two elderly family members (a male and a female) in the Zone 1 group discussion. In essence, this group discussion is constituted of participants aged between late 20s to mid-70s. There is a mixture of English and Afrikaans CM and CS. Interestingly, all Afrikaans CM (*Waitse go dirilwe iewers skielik; So lank hela o ile mo disub*) and CS (*Hulle maak dieselfde ding; Nee man, dis nie die lewe nie; Hulle se niks nie*) came from the elderly participants, while English usage in the discussion comes from all participants. Usage of English CM by all participants is evidence that English usage is gaining traction, even for the older people.

Main subject – Post-94 male, Zone 2 (mixed sex group)

Type of CS	Examples of CS used	CS English translations
Intrasentential code-switching/code-mixing	1. After 2 days or kgwedi, ditsela gape	After 2 days or a month, roads have potholes again.

	<p>di bulegile. (English & Setswana)</p> <p>2. Ba aga matlo a poor standard. (Setswana & English)</p> <p>3. Ba tlabane ba dira di door to door ba bereka. (Setswana & English)</p> <p>4. Le bone ditsotsi ba tseba load-shedding schedule. (Setswana & English)</p> <p>5. Because every day ha o kaya court go nale line ya protection order. (English & Setswana)</p> <p>6. It's an empty promise mo go bone. (English & Setswana)</p> <p>7. Jaaka last time ha president a ne a tlile yaana. (English & Setswana)</p>	<p>They build houses of a poor standard.</p> <p>They would be working doing door to door, being busy at work.</p> <p>Even the criminals know the load-shedding schedule.</p> <p>Because if you can go to court every day, there would be a line of protection order.</p> <p>To them it is an empty promise.</p> <p>Like last time when the president had come here.</p>
Intersentential code-switching	None	None

This discussion group is different from the main subject's Zone 1 group; hence, the language used is different even though the topic of discussion is similar (municipal service delivery in their area). This derives from the hypothesis that different age groups tend to use different language repertoires. In support of this hypothesis, no Afrikaans CM or CS is used in this group, which is made up of only younger participants. On the other hand, there is no Setswana/English CS, and only minimal English CM as all CM usage is listed in the table above, which could be because of the different levels of education of participants.

Main subject – Post-94 female, Zone 1 (mixed sex group)

Type of CS	Examples of CS used	CS English translations
Intrasentential code-switching/code-mixing	1. Hee monna, daai ding ke ya makgoa, obvious. (Setswana & Afrikaans)	Hey man, that thing is obviously for white people.

	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 2. Go vouta batho ba ba less than 50 years. (Setswana & English) 3. Nna kare you can vote for anything besides ANC, even smaller parties tse di ntseng di tla. (Setswana & English) 4. Ha nkabe ke nale power or that influence. (Setswana & English) 5. Nna kare I'm voting for EFF (Setswana & English) 6. Kana ntho eo it's a curse. (Setswana & English) 7. And already makgoa a re sebedisa bothoko. (English & Setswana) 	<p>People who vote are younger than 50 years.</p> <p>I say you can vote for anything besides ANC, even smaller parties that are coming up.</p> <p>If I had power or that influence.</p> <p>Me, I am definitely voting for EFF.</p> <p>That thing is a curse.</p> <p>White people are already making our jobs unpleasant.</p>
Intersentential code-switching	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Re voutele EFF e lide, Malema e nne president – That guy will never be a president. (Setswana & English) • How sure are you? I'm sure because of open borders – gore makgoa ba balehe. (English & Setswana) 	<p>We should vote EFF so that it can lead and Malema will be the president – That guy will never be the president.</p> <p>How sure are you? I am sure because of open borders – So that white people can leave.</p>

The recorded discussion for this group is short (9 minutes 2 seconds), but participants used Setswana and English CM and CS to a moderate extent. Other than this, one participant used the Afrikaans code mixing *daai ding*, which is used in one social group discussion in Jouberton, and in the one-on-one interviews in Jouberton and in the former white areas. Afrikaans usage is minimal as this is the only time that any Afrikaans is used in the whole discussion.

Main subject – Post-94 female, Zone 2 (mixed group)

Type of CS	Examples of CS used	CS English translations
Intrasentential code-switching/code mixing	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Ho kene ba 5 neh, but apparently, go nale ba bangwe. (Setswana & English) 2. And Amazi already ga se ntho e e etsang chelete. (English & Setswana) 3. A re o bua le somebody over the phone a be a utlwa bo busy. (Setswana & English) 4. Ha gote ha mang mang ho etsahala something. (Setswana & Sesotho) 5. A be a bua le wena ekare you're nothing. (Setswana & English) 6. The same SACE re e patella every month. (English & Setswana) 7. Eo ke conflict of interest. (Setswana & English) 8. Ha o resigna to be on your own, go a tshwana. (Setswana & English) 	<p>5 came in neh, but apparently, there are others.</p> <p>And already Amazi is not something that generates profit.</p> <p>He was trying to talk to somebody over the phone and he heard that it was busy.</p> <p>When it is said that something is happening at so and so's house.</p> <p>Then he talks to you as if you are nothing.</p> <p>We pay the same SACE every month.</p> <p>That is conflict of interest.</p> <p>If you resign to be your own boss, it makes no difference.</p>
Intersentential code-switching	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mo police station o jumpa strata - They heard gunshots. (Setswana & English) • I heard gunshots – Mo pele ha ko ha bone ne go nale mo ba tshwarang poo. (English & Setswana) 	<p>He crossed the street at the police station - They heard gunshots.</p> <p>I heard gunshots – There was a mugging hotspot near the front of his house</p>

Participants of this main subject's Zone 2 used Sesotho CM and CS at different points of the conversation. Setswana and Sesotho CM are used, for example, in *And Amazi already ga se ntho e e etsang chelete; Mo pele ha ko ha bone and Ha gote ha mang mang ho etsahala something*. Code-mixing across 3 languages (Sesotho, Setswana and English) is used in this sentence: *Ho kene ba 5 neh, but apparently go nale ba bangwe*. The reason could be that some participants live near Kanana Township which is mainly Sesotho speaking, or maybe some of these participants went to a school in Jouberton which has a moderate number of Sesotho speakers. No restrictions were placed on who could otherwise participate in the group discussions.

In brief, this chapter focuses on discussion groups where some groups were mixed (that is, mixed age or mixed sex), and other groups constituted of an all-male group or an all-female group. The type of participants interacting in a group influences language use to some extent, for example, a group of young people (post-94) will use a linguistic repertoire that is different from that used by participants in a group made up of solely older people (pre-94). Interestingly, mixed age groups operate differently because generally, they use their home language in their group discussions more than the prestigious languages (Afrikaans and English). Salient linguistic features in zone 1 and zone 2 corroborate findings of related studies, which highlight that English is mainly used in public domains.

This chapter answers all four research questions since it addresses social factors that play a role in language choice, namely, the setting, topic, the relationship between participants, the level of education of participants, etc. Afrikaans borrowings (both standard Afrikaans and Tswanaised Afrikaans) are used extensively regardless of social factors, as many borrowings are entrenched in Setswana, while standard English borrowings are mostly based on numerals, proper nouns and nonce borrowings, and Tswanaised English borrowings have minimal use. However, different sexes, age groups and social classes commonly use English CM, while Afrikaans CM and CS are the domains of the pre-94 participants, particularly male; so in this regard, Afrikaans is no longer a language of convergence. Educated people mostly use English CS; therefore, participants belonging to the middle class and the upper class are the ones who commonly use English CS; more than people belonging to lower social classes. Sesotho is another local language that is influencing the Setswana linguistic repertoire, especially for borrowing, and it is gaining traction, especially in the speech patterns of the post-94 group.

6.10. Findings and conclusion

Some of the group discussions above have interactions where Sesotho is not just used primarily for borrowings, as that was the case in the one-on-one interviews, but is also used for CM and CS (in the social network data). Such usage of Sesotho is cited in Zone 2 where a main subject attached to the group resides in Jouberton, and this is also the case in Zone 2 where a main subject resides in the former white areas. Such examples emphasise the influence of language contact, and this is apparent in cases where one group member resides closer to the Sesotho-dominant Kanana Township.

As just mentioned, in some cases the main subject might be the one residing in close proximity to Kanana Township. In such cases, it appears that the main subject's language use influences the linguistic repertoire of the group. In other cases, the main subject uses CM or CS to show status in the group, since he or she is the one who is recording the discussion. There were also cases where the kind of language used in an interaction was influenced by different factors. Those influences highlight the role of setting in the group. Setting can influence the linguistic repertoire to the same extent as the topic, or the social status of participants, for example, an all-female group of teachers, or a group of graduates. Other than these, language use in the group was often influenced by personal relationships, for example, a group of children and adults, colleagues, a group of youths, etc. Emotions evoked by the discussion were also seen to influence language use. This sometimes determined the use of specific phrases or clauses used to express the interlocutors' feelings.

CM in group discussions was primarily in Setswana and English in all the residential areas, except for one group which only used borrowings. Although many discussion groups used some intersentential CS (mostly Setswana and English CS), 6 out of 19 groups (which is 32%) did not use any intersentential CS. Afrikaans CM and CS is mainly the domain of the pre-94 participants, particularly male, while the post-94 participants apply both English CM and CS regardless of the area of residence.

CHAPTER 7

Conclusions and implications

The sections below deal with conclusions based on findings from the data analysis. These begin with looking at borrowing trends, highlighting the extent of Afrikaans and English usage in the one-on-one interviews and the social network data (Section 7.1. & Section 7.2). The chapter will then summarize how Afrikaans and English were seen to have influenced Tswana at the various linguistic levels (Section 7.3.), and it will determine linguistic trends across the social-network zone 1 and zone 2 data (Section 7.4). Finally, Section 7.5 deals with the current linguistic landscape in South Africa, and particularly in Klerksdorp, along with a brief section dealing with recommendations for future research (Section 7.6.).

7.1. Borrowing trends: The extent of borrowing from Afrikaans and English in the one-on-one interviews and the social network data

In the one-on-one interviews, the researcher asked similar questions, which were based mainly on the participants' everyday experiences, for example, life in their community and their views on South Africa before and after the dawn of democracy. Some of the questions asked were; What are your views on service delivery in your area or in South Africa in general? Is education still the key to success? Share any current news that struck a nerve with you. What are your views on domestic violence? Should people be forced to vote even if they feel that there is no party that addresses their concerns? There is a high probability that similar topics contributed to the kind of borrowings used because the topic of discussion plays a role in the kind of borrowings applied in specific linguistic interactions. Other than the study focusing on variables like age, sex and social class, which influence language use, non-linguistic factors that also influenced the choice of language use were the setting, level of education, the relationship between participants, cultural norms and practices, etc. Conversely, in the social network data, participants discussed varying topics; hence, their borrowing trends tended to differ. Even so, standard Afrikaans borrowing was, for example, clearly centred on some commonly borrowed loanwords, which have become part of the Setswana language. Even so, social factors and the non-linguistic factors mentioned above have played a significant role in the extent of borrowings used, as indicated in the nature and extent of standard and Tswanalised Afrikaans and standard and Tswanalised English borrowings.

As mentioned, certain standard Afrikaans borrowings were used to a high extent, as demonstrated in the high usage of *maar*, *nou*, *niks* and *klaar*. These are clearly entrenched in the Setswana spoken in Klerksdorp, thus they are used in conversations in both the one-on-one interviews and in the social network data (see Figure 5.1.1; Table 6.3.2; Table 6.3.5 & Table 6.3.8). *Maar* and *nou* are used extensively across the board. Evidence of this surfaced in the one-on-one interviews where one post-94 male participant interacted in English throughout the whole interview, but he used the Afrikaans loanword *maar* (the purpose of this was to bring in a contradictory point to what he had just said). Naturally, he also had the option of using the English equivalent of *maar*, which is *but*. Thus, his choice of conjunction emphasises how entrenched these standard Afrikaans loanwords are in Setswana. Usage of this loanword in a solely English interaction bears testimony to the deep-seated roots of some standard Afrikaans loanwords because such usage resulted from an unconscious linguistic choice where entrenched borrowings ‘come naturally’. The usage of *maar* and the other loanwords just listed above have recorded high usage across the board, even in the former white areas, and even and especially by the post-94 group (see Figure 5.1.4). Higher usage of these loanwords by the post-94 group demonstrates vitality, meaning that there is dynamic use, which will sustain the linguistic trend of these entrenched standard Afrikaans borrowings by Setswana speakers in Klerksdorp. This high usage of standard Afrikaans borrowings is also apparent in that *maar*, *nou* and *niks* have also been extensively used in both zones in the social network data; while *klaar* has been used only in zone 2 (see Table 6.3.8). Such findings attest to the fact that these Afrikaans loanwords are used to a high extent by Setswana speakers compared to English borrowings. In essence, Afrikaans borrowings have high “mobility” in Setswana as they are used in the one-on-one interviews and in both zones in the social network data, regardless of the topic of discussion.

In contrast, pure English borrowings do not show much sign of entrenchment, except numerals, some proper nouns and a few other borrowings, as demonstrated in findings in both areas of focus of the study. This is evidenced especially in the social-network data with its unrelated topics of discussion that resulted in many nonce borrowings. In addition, many nonce borrowings were also present in the one-on-one interviews. Thus, for example, it was especially common in the social-group discussions, that the only common standard English borrowings were numerals, the main reason for this usage being that this particular form of standard English borrowing has replaced the Setswana equivalents for numerals. Otherwise, without numerals replacing their Setswana equivalents, there might not be any common borrowings between these two sections of the study.

Without a doubt, standard Afrikaans borrowings far surpass standard English borrowings in all domains.

Even so, Tswanaised English borrowings fare slightly better than pure English borrowings, but there is no comparison between them and Tswanaised Afrikaans borrowings, as the latter have entrenched roots in the Setswana language. Tswanaised Afrikaans borrowings manifest in the high extent of usage where many borrowings have been adopted into Setswana because either Setswana did not have equivalents of those linguistic items or concepts, or core borrowing led to replacement. Common entrenched Tswanaised Afrikaans borrowings in both the one-on-one interviews and the social network data includee *toropo*, *bereka*, *kreiya*, *betere*. These are, however, just a sample of the Tswanaised Afrikaans borrowings used. Thus, Tswanaised Afrikaans borrowings surpass Tswanaised English borrowings by a large margin, meaning that Tswanaised Afrikaans borrowings are used to a higher extent compared to Tswanaised English borrowings. Adapting these borrowings to fit in with the Setswana structure has resulted in phonological and morphological changes as demonstrated in the provided translations.

Interestingly, Sesotho borrowings have brought in an unexpected angle to this study, as this African language was not part of the original focus, but analysis of data showed that it has a big influence on the Setswana spoken in the area of the study, so its influence cannot be ignored. In essence, Sesotho borrowing in Klerksdorp is extensively used, and it tops the list in all the residential areas of the study in the number of borrowings used in each social class. When analysing usage in the one-on-one interviews, Sesotho surpasses Tswanaised Afrikaans borrowings in terms of sex and age as demonstrated by equal usage across the board (see Figure 5.4). This is one example of how far-reaching Sesotho borrowing is because in this social class, all 10 Sesotho borrowings have been used by both sexes and by both age groups to a high extent. Further evidence of this comes through in the high number of borrowings in the informal settlement, and in addition to this, the same number of borrowings have been used in the former white areas (see Figures 5.3 & Figure 5.5 in chapter 5). This is, by far, the highest source of borrowing across all the social classes.

Social network data supports the high Sesotho usage, especially in Jouberton, which has recorded a higher number of borrowings than the one-on-one interviews (12 against 10); albeit with fewer common borrowings between the two zones (see Table 6.7.3 in chapter 6). The informal settlement recorded the lowest borrowings, which is unexpected considering that it is geographically the closest to the Sesotho speaking area, Kanana, where some sections of the informal settlement have

actually reached the edge of this Sesotho-speaking area. The most surprising manifestation of Sesotho borrowing is in the former white areas, which has not only recorded high usage, but has the highest frequency as shown by common usage across zone 1 and zone 2 (see Table 6.7.5 in chapter 6).

The overall summary of borrowing trends in this study is that standard Afrikaans borrowing involves loanwords that have become entrenched into Setswana; and they are, consequently, commonly and widely used. Tswanalised Afrikaans borrowings also enjoy extensive use across all the social classes, but Sesotho borrowings vastly outperform Tswanalised Afrikaans borrowings on all fronts, which in turn means that Sesotho borrowings are more entrenched in the Setswana spoken in Klerksdorp in terms of both the number of borrowings and the high frequency of use. Overall, Sesotho assumes 'position one' for its influence on Setswana, for borrowing, at least. Seeing that young people apply this linguistic phenomenon to a high extent, it is likely to grow and be passed on from generation to generation and will likely blur the Setswana-Sesotho boundary, at least as far as the origins of some borrowings are concerned because the two languages have a similar morphosyntactic structure.

7.2. CS: Linguistic trends in the one-on-one interviews and the social network data. Determining the language of convergence

In the data there were many cases where an interlocutor switched between two languages, using either intrasentential CS (code-mixing) or intersentential CS; or even, in some cases, a mixture of three languages in one sentence. Usage of such three-language multilingual sentences featured in both the one-on-one interviews and in the social network data in Jouberton and in the informal settlement. The fact that all these multilingual sentences use Afrikaans and English shows the dominance of these prestigious languages. However, Setswana speakers in the former white areas seem to show no or less usage of such multilingual sentences, and this possibly stems from the fact that residents in the former white areas generally CS and CM using English. For the one-on-one interviews, Figure 5.2.5 (in chapter 5) shows 75% of participants in the former white areas using English CS, which is exponentially higher than English CS in Jouberton and in the informal settlement (see Figure 5.2.1 & Figure 5.2.3), and it is even higher compared to Afrikaans CS (both intersententially and intrasententially). A similar trend is apparent in the social network data where English intersentential CS usage is slightly higher in group discussions in Jouberton and in the informal settlement compared to Afrikaans, a sign that English usage is growing in all the social classes. Usage of intrasentential CM in English also has higher usage across all social classes

compared to Afrikaans. This indicates that overall, Setswana speakers use English as the language of convergence and not Afrikaans, and they do so in individual interactions as well as in group interactions.

Because Sesotho showed a surprisingly high incidence of borrowing, it was pertinent to see how it fares in CS usage by Setswana speakers. Sesotho CM is generally low in all the areas, and there is no Sesotho intersentential CS, which is perhaps unexpected given that Setswana and Sesotho are structurally and morphologically similar. The assumption would be that Sesotho would penetrate Setswana on a deeper level, and vice versa; but so far, using these findings as evidence, this has not happened. Given that young people are generally the drivers of CS (Wiese, 2018), chances are that it will be this group that will determine, over time, whether Sesotho will be used to CM and CS more or less in this speech community.

7. 3. At what linguistic levels have Afrikaans and English become entrenched?

Setswana speakers use both Afrikaans and English for borrowing, but the Tswanalised borrowings for both Afrikaans and English are different to standard Afrikaans and standard English borrowings to some extent. During this process of 'Tswanalisation', the Afrikaans and English words are adapted to suit Setswana on both a phonological and morphological level. Many examples of such borrowings have been provided in the previous two chapters. One of the other side-effects of this process is that such borrowings even replace pre-existing (more 'traditional') Setswana words and, in a certain sense, become part of the host language. This is especially true of Afrikaans borrowings and this is, of course, at least in principle, different to CS and CM, where the two (or more) languages are still being kept distinct.

Therefore, for example, on the morphological level, Afrikaans words undergo structural changes to fit in with existing Setswana morphological structure. Thus, the Afrikaans word *werk* (meaning *work*) is firstly subject to Setswana phonological structure (thus *bereka*) but then also inflected and adapted in alignment with existing Setswana morphological paradigms. It is in this manner changed to end up fulfilling the functions of a noun or a verb (with different tenses): *bereka* thus changes to *berekela*, *mmereko*, *mmerekong*, etc. (see Figure 5.2).

From the results analysed in the previous two chapters, it is clear that English has not been as thoroughly 'Tswanalised' or entrenched into the host language as is the case with Afrikaans. The one exception in this regard is the use of English numerals instead of either the Setswana or

Afrikaans equivalents. While now clearly part of the core vocabulary of Setswana, these English numerals nonetheless retain their basic phonological and morphological structure. The role of English is clearly more as a language with which Setswana is prone to code-mix or code-switch at an intersentential level.

7.4. Linguistic trends across zone 1 and zone 2 social-network data

Languages are markers of identity, that is why African languages are still vital among black people (that is, Africans), especially in the home environment. Titus (2008, in Dyers, 2008) concurs when stating that home language usage is still common in the home environment. This has come through in data collected from zone 1 in particular; in this zone, which involved close ‘companians’ of the main subjects, the general trend was to see lower usage of linguistic phenomena like CS and code-mixing. Setswana speakers have thus, in a sense, aligned themselves with the views of Siluma (2022: 13) when emphasising the importance of identity by defining a language as “a bearer of the culture of its speakers,” hence, interacting in Setswana is highly maintained in the home environment where the sense of identity through usage of the home language is strong. This view is supported by zone 1 mixed groups especially, whereby, if the group had older people, then there was a high chance that the interaction would be conducted mostly in the home language with some or even just a few linguistic phenomena like CS and CM, if at all. A similar finding appears in the study conducted in the Vaal Triangle (Botha & Coetzee van Rooy, 2021).

The ‘foreign’ linguistic phenomenon that has been used in such groups has, in contrast, been borrowing. In addition, when the older participants apply borrowing, it is often standard or Tswanaised Afrikaans borrowing, because many of them have been exposed to Afrikaans influence for a long time. In essence, it seems clear enough that Afrikaans use in mixed age groups generally originates from the pre-94 participants.

Conversely, English dominates for both intersentential CS and code-mixing, especially in zone 2; and especially by middle class people (prominent in the ex-white suburbs). In addition, the post-94 participants mainly used English in both the one-on-one interviews *and* the social group discussions. In general, though, it seems that English is used more in the ‘public’ sphere as demonstrated in its comparatively high usage in zone 2 across the different groups. Such usage is in line with findings by Dyers (2004 & 2006), and the views of Posel *et al.* (2020), Mathebula (2024), Posel and Zeller (2020) and Mokoena (2024). According to the findings of this study, educated people, as

demonstrated by social groups comprised of teachers, those with post-matric qualifications and/or post-94 participants, promote English usage outside the home: they generally, as a rule, use English to a high extent compared to other social groups. Posel *et al.* (2020: 7) concur by stating that “location and economic status result in a marked variation in the use of English outside the home.” Similar examples came through in the one-on-one interviews where some participants who were graduates mainly interacted with the researcher in English even though the interview was conducted in Setswana. These findings demonstrate that English usage is generally the practice of a certain group of people, and even then, specific social settings (particularly zone 2 as a setting), contexts or kinds of social standing, trigger it.

7.5. Overall summary of the current linguistic landscape in South Africa, and particularly in Klerksdorp

The South African linguistic landscape is transitioning on the educational and social ‘platforms’ where the incorporation of African languages is, at least in a legal sense, promoted. English is a language that is widely spoken across the globe, hence Bloemmaert (2013) states that such a language has high mobility resources. However, Mathebula (2024: 15) cautions the general populace about making the wrong assumption that important things can only be shared in a particular language, and by this, he is referring to English. The good news is that South African statistics confirms a changed linguistic landscape, where, in fact, second-language speakers of African languages have increased (Census 2011). This has, no doubt, given many African language speakers the impetus to maintain their language, and for this reason, Setswana speakers, as shown by participants in this study, will incorporate other languages for borrowing and for code-switching as a means of language maintenance. This is similar to the case of Sardinians in Italy who did not converge to the dominant language, Italian, but rather adapted their language to accept linguistic changes (Gardner-Chloros, 2010). Evidently, the Setswana linguistic repertoire in Klerksdorp is not shifting to any language, but it has instead adapted to accommodate three local languages, thus maintaining its position as a majority language in the Klerksdorp area.

7.6. Limitations and considerations for future research

The limitations of this study are related to all the constraints that have emanated from the research design or the methodology; and which are likely to have influenced the results of the study in some form or fashion. Some examples of limitations include time constraints affecting some participants,

lack of trust regarding recordings, unwillingness to be in a discussion group with strangers (this is applicable in some cases in zone 2), some main subjects wanting to control the group dynamics, etc. Other examples that affected the study negatively are a lack of trust and an unwillingness among some potential participants to participate if there was no compensation; this led to failure to get the desired sample size in some social network data groups in zone 1 or zone 2. Other potential participants were unwilling to go ahead with group discussions because they were afraid that scammers or politicians might get hold of the recording and do something with the information supplied, which might affect them negatively. Therefore, they chose not to participate. Thus, one of the limitations was that the approximate overall number of participants for the social network data was lower than anticipated. A different perspective on limitations of the study is that lack of conducting baseline demographic data from participants to firm up protocols by the researcher would have given clarity on the linguistic repertoire in zone 1 and zone 2. Relatedly, the exploratory approach applied in this study by its very nature uses a small sample size; therefore, the findings might not necessarily apply to the larger Klerksdorp population in an uncomplicated fashion.

Likewise, the qualitative methodology is more inclined to capture opinions and trends. Therefore, as already mentioned, the results obtained from the sampled population might not be the ideal indication of linguistic trends for the whole population.

As stated in chapter 4 (see 4.1, subsection 1), the focus of the research started off as being on 3 local languages (Setswana, Afrikaans and English), which in itself is not common in sociolinguistics, as often, similarities, differences and/or convergence are based on two languages. However, findings highlighted Sesotho as yet another language, from a neighbouring township, influencing Setswana in Klerksdorp. It is apparent that this language seems to be gaining traction, especially for borrowing. Based on this, studies focusing specifically on young people in Klerksdorp and how they co-opt Sesotho, in particular, in their interactions might shed new light on the extent of how young people are promoting Sesotho; as this study shows that they use it more, especially in cases where a group was constituted of more young people than older people. There are a number of schools in Jouberton with Sesotho names, and interestingly, Jouberton schools seem to be the main source of Setswana and Sesotho interactions. Hence, a closer investigation of this context might yield interesting results. Social network data on groups of young people interacting with *each other* is likely to be important in this regard because young people clearly tend to change their speech patterns when interacting with other groups, particularly older adults. This argument is also based on some of the data collected for this research, for example, the kind of language used by a post-94

group composed of all-male youths in the informal settlement: where they used some 'tsotsitaal' throughout their interaction. Interestingly, the main subject from this group did not use any 'tsotsitaal' when interacting with his other group, zone 1 (see group 1 in the previous chapter). A similar example is the mixed sex group of young people attached to the post-94 female main subject in the former white area, where this group used more Sesotho than the other groups. These examples attest to a different linguistic repertoire among young people when comparing them to an all-male pre-94 group and an all-female pre-94 group, or even a mixed group of pre-94 participants. The older participants did not use any tsotsitaal or any Sesotho code-mixing in their discussions. Further research of this kind – and on related topics – will go a long way to unravelling the complex nature of contact-based linguistic phenomena in highly multilingual contexts like that found in Klerksdorp.

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30 Nov 2020

ECLM Authorization

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION LEAFLET AND CONSENT FORM

TITLE OF THE RESEARCH PROJECT: A sociolinguistic case study of code-switching and borrowing in Klerksdorp

REFERENCE NUMBERS:

PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR: Victoria Magaba

ADDRESS: 54 May Avenue, Adamayview, KLERKSDORP, 2571

CONTACT NUMBER: 078 966 8228

You are being invited to take part in a research project that forms part of my PhD studies at North-West University. Please take some time to read the information presented here, which will explain the details of this project. Please ask the researcher any questions about any part of this project that you do not fully understand. It is very important that you are fully satisfied that you clearly understand what this research is about and how you could be involved. Also, your participation is **entirely voluntary** and you are free to decline to participate. If you say no, this will not affect you negatively in any way whatsoever.

This study has been approved by the **Ethics Committee for Language Matters (ECLM) of the Faculty of Humanities of the North-West University (NWU Potchefstroom campus)** and will be conducted according to the ethical guidelines and principles of the international Singapore Statement on Research Integrity (2010) and the ethical guidelines of the National Health Research Ethics Council. It might be necessary for the research ethics committee members or relevant authorities to inspect the research records to make sure that we (the researchers) are conducting research in an ethical manner.

What is this research study all about?

- *This study is being conducted to investigate the language of people who use Tswana as a home language and who live in Klerksdorp.*
- *The study will be conducted using the mixed methodology approach to study naturalistic speech of participants.*

- *Approximately 156 participants will be included in this study.*
- *The broad objectives of this research are to determine how social factors are related to language use of Tswana home language users in Klerksdorp.*

Why have you been invited to participate?

- *You have been invited to participate because you are a Klerksdorp resident and you identify yourself as a Tswana home language speaker.*
- *You will be excluded from participation in the study if: You were not born in Klerksdorp and you do not identify yourself as a Tswana home language speaker.*

What will your responsibilities be?

- *If you agree to participate in the study, you will be asked to participate in the one-on-one interview with the researcher, and if you give consent, the interview will be recorded.*
- *If you agree to participate in the study as a main subject, you will be asked to identify people that will you have conversations with and form two group discussions where one group will be from the home environment, and another group will be from outside the home environment. You must ask for consent from the interested/potential participants to record the conversation, and if they agree, you will record the conversation with each of these groups and forward audio recordings to the researcher.*

Will you benefit from taking part in this research?

There are no benefits to participating in this study, other than that you assist language researchers like me to better understand how Tswana-speaking people in Klerksdorp use Tswana in their everyday lives.

Are there risks involved in your taking part in this research and how will these be managed?

Participation in this study will almost pose no risks at all, because you will be audio-recording ordinary conversations that you have with the researcher or with people in your discussion group.

- *The risks in this study, and how these will be managed, are summarised in the table below:*

<i>Probable/possible risks/discomforts</i>	<i>Strategies to minimize risk/discomfort</i>
You might mention private things in the conversations that you do not want to be included in the study.	I will ensure that this potential risk will be managed in two ways. (i) All names of people will be removed from the transcriptions of the recordings. (ii) I will not use the sections that you want to be removed in the study. (iii) You are free to stop participating at any point if you feel uncomfortable, and no one will hold this against you.
You might not have the funds to send the researcher the audio-recorded files of your ordinary conversations with the people that you know.	I will provide data and/or airtime for all main subjects so that they do not incur any costs if they agree to participate in the study.
NONE	NONE

- *However, we do believe that the benefits to you and to science (as noted in the previous section) outweigh the risks we have listed. If you disagree, then please feel free not to participate in this study. We will respect your decision.*

- *Should we learn, in the course of the research, that someone is harming you, or that you are intending to harm someone, then we must tell someone who can help you/warn the person you are intending to harm.*

Who will have access to the data?

- *We will ensure your anonymity in the project. That means in no way will your results be linked to your identity or your name. We ensure confidentiality of your participation in the project. That is, I/we assure you that we will protect the information we have about you. This includes that we will not disclose your personal details in the recordings. Reporting of the findings will be anonymous by avoiding any mention of a participant's identity or name.*
- *Only the researcher and the supervisor as well as the examiner of the PhD will access data for this research. Data will be kept safe and secure by locking hard copies in locked cupboards in the researcher's office. The audio-recordings will be password protected.*
- *Data will be stored for 5 years in a locked safe/filing cabinet or electronic archive that is password protected.*

What will happen to the data?

The data from this study will be reported in the following ways: *I will publish the findings in my PhD thesis; in national or international academic linguistic journals, and I will report these findings at academic conferences nationally and internationally if my abstracts are accepted. In all of this reporting, you will not be personally identified. This means that the reporting will not include your name or details that will help others to know that you participated (e.g. your address or the name of your school).*

This is a once-off study, so the data will not be re-used.

Will you be paid/compensated to take part in this study and are there any costs involved?

No, you will not be paid/compensated to take part in the study. However, I will provide main subjects with data/airtime so that they can audio-record conversations and forward them to the researcher. No travelling is needed, as participation requires of participants to record ordinary daily conversations that they have with the people that they know, and/or those who agree to participate in the social group discussions.

How will you know about the findings?

- The general findings of the research will be shared with you by sending you an electronic copy of the PhD thesis - if you request to receive this.
- If you would like feedback on your personal results, you are welcome to contact the principal investigator.

Is there anything else that you should know or do?

- You can contact (the *researcher*) Vicky Magaba at 078 966 8228 if you have any further queries or encounter any problems.
- You can contact the chair of the Ethics Committee for Language Matters (Prof Susan Coetzee van Rooy) at 016 910 3442 or susan.coetzeevanrooy@nwu.ac.za if you have any concerns or complaints that have not been adequately addressed by the researcher.
- You will receive a copy of this information and consent form for your own records.

Declaration by participant

By signing below, I agree to take part in a research study entitled: A sociolinguistic case study of language used by Tswana home language speakers in Klerksdorp.

I declare that:

- I have read and understood this information and consent form and it is written in a language with which I am fluent and comfortable.
- I have had a chance to ask questions to both the person obtaining consent, as well as the researcher (if this is a different person), and all my questions have been adequately answered.
- I understand that taking part in this study is **voluntary** and I have not been pressurised to take part.
- I understand that what I contribute (what I report/say/say in audio recordings/write/draw/produce visually) could be reproduced publically and/or quoted, but without reference to my personal identity.
- I may choose to leave the study at any time and will not be penalised or prejudiced in any way.
- I may be asked to leave the study before it has finished, if the researcher feels it is in my best interests, or if I do not follow the study plan, as agreed to.

Signed at (*place*) on (*date*) 20....

.....
Signature of participant

.....
Signature of witness

- You may contact me again **Yes** **No**
- I would like a summary of the findings of this research **Yes** **No**
- I would like feedback on my functioning/wellbeing as reflected in the questionnaires I completed **Yes** **No**

The best way to reach me is:

Name & Surname: _____

Postal Address: _____

Email: _____

Phone Number: _____

Cell Phone Number: _____

In case the above details change, please contact the following person who knows me well and who does not live with me and who will help you to contact me:

Name & Surname:

Phone/ Cell Phone Number /Email:

Declaration by person obtaining consent

I (name) declare that:

- I explained the information in this document to
- I encouraged him/her to ask questions and took adequate time to answer them.
- I am satisfied that he/she adequately understands all aspects of the research, as discussed above.
- I did/did not use a interpreter.

Signed at (*place*) on (*date*) 20....

.....
Signature of person obtaining consent

.....
Signature of witness

Declaration by researcher

I (name) declare that:

- I explained the information in this document to
- I encouraged him/her to ask questions and took adequate time to answer them.
- I am satisfied that he/she adequately understands all aspects of the research, as discussed above
- I did/did not use a interpreter.

Signed at (place) on (date) 20....

.....
Signature of researcher

.....
Signature of witness