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Code-Switching among Bilingual Speakers of *Cape Muslim Afrikaans* and *South African English* in the Bo-Kaap, Cape Town

A minor dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the award of the degree of Master of the Arts in Linguistics

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February 2020

COMPULSORY DECLARATION

This work has not been previously submitted in whole, or in part, for the award of any degree. It is my own work. Each significant contribution to, and quotation in, this dissertation from the work, or works, of other people has been attributed, and has been cited and referenced.

Signature: 

Date: 07-02-2020

Acknowledgements

Firstly, I would like to acknowledge the financial support provided by a National Research Foundation (NRF) South African Research Chair Initiative (SARChI) in Language, Migration and Social Change (No.64805) held by Professor Rajend Mesthrie. I am likewise appreciative of Prof Rajend Mesthrie's constructive feedback throughout the writing of this thesis – always succinct and helpful, it has been instrumental in bringing this work to a point of completion.

Additionally, I am grateful for financial support afforded by a Lestrade Scholarship, UCT Merit Award funding, and a Humanities Faculty Research Committee Completion Grant.

Finally, I would like to thank my partner, Erald Smith, for his unfailing patience and support during the final stages of the writing of this thesis. He and my sister, Ruth Cozien, provided (in their own unique ways) invaluable sounding-boards.

*Ja, jy moet Engels as number one language praat, Afrikaans is mos nou jou
tweede ene*

Yes, you must speak English as your number one language, Afrikaans is your
second one

(excerpt from corpus)

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List of Abbreviations

CS – Code Switching

CMA – *Cape Muslim Afrikaans*

SAfE – *South African English*

MLF – Matrix Language Framework

ML – Matrix Language

EL – Embedded Language

L1 – First Language

L2 – Second Language

Examples:

Throughout this paper the study's data set will be drawn upon to provide examples. These will be identified by the participants code initials in brackets above the example e.g. (NA) or (ZA).

In all example, *italics* are used for Afrikaans lexemes and morphemes, English appears in plain font, and the point of interest within the example (if applicable) is foregrounded using **bold text**.

Abstract

The Bo-Kaap is traditionally a *Cape Muslim Afrikaans*-speaking community, and socio-historically it is particularly relevant to the development of Afrikaans at the Cape (Davids 2011, Mahida 1993). The *Cape Muslim Afrikaans* spoken in the Bo-Kaap is a sub-variety of *Standard Afrikaans* (Kotzé 1989, Davids 2011) and is distinguishable by its retained lexis (Mesthrie and Bhatt 2008) from languages historically spoken by slaves at the Cape, such as Malay, Arabic, Gujarati, and Konkani. Over time a number of socio-cultural, geographic, and historical factors have introduced the use of *South African English* alongside *Cape Muslim Afrikaans* in this speech community.

The goal of this study was to provide insight into the nature of bilingual talk in the Bo-Kaap community, and to make a useful contribution to the growing body of code-switching¹ (hereafter CS) research generally. Based on natural language data collected during group interviews with members of the community, the study explored the language contact situation in the Bo-Kaap today, taking the viewpoint that what is occurring presently may be considered CS. Three aspects of the CS documented were analysed and quantified. Specifically, the study investigated language interaction phenomena (Myers-Scotton 1995, Deuchar et al 2007) triggers (Clyne 1987) and directionality (Muysken 1997, Deuchar et al 2017, Çetinoglu 2017). A quantitative approach was taken to the data analysis. The interview audio files were downloaded and transcribed in ELAN. (Max Planck Institute). The annotations² produced in ELAN were organised in a spreadsheet for analysis, resulting in a data set comprised of 356 annotations. The full data set was divided into subsets and tagged for language interaction phenomena, triggers, and directionality. These data sets were then sorted and quantified to identify trends in these three areas of interest.

The study found Intra-sentential switches to be the most common type of language interaction phenomenon in the CS of this speech community, being present in 79% of the sampled annotations. Results from other CS studies echo this finding in other speech communities (Al Heeti et al 2016, Koban 2012, Falk 2013). The most common trigger for Intra-word switching in this corpus was in the head of the past tense Verb Phrase. Out of 27

¹ Code-Switching is “the alternation of (two or more) languages within a conversation” (Matras 2009:101).

² An annotation is a transcription of a selected time interval of an audio or video file.

occurrences of Intra-word switching, 16 were of this nature. In all of those an English verb head was housed within an Afrikaans past tense structure. No exceptions were observed in the data set, a strong indicator of the relationship status of the two languages involved. *Cape Muslim Afrikaans* almost certainly playing the role of the Matrix language, with *South African English* embedded. In terms of directionality, switching from *Cape Muslim Afrikaans* into *South African English* was by far the most common, at 85%. This further supports what the findings on triggers suggest about the hierarchy between these two languages.

Keywords: *language contact; code-switching; language contact phenomena; triggers; directionality; ELAN; quantitative; Afrikaans; English; Cape Muslim Afrikaans; South African English; Bo-Kaap; Cape Town; speech community; Islam; Muslim*

Chapter 1: A Sociolinguistic History of the Bo-Kaap and *Cape Muslim Afrikaans* Speakers

1.1. Introduction

This study reports on code-switching (hereafter CS) among bilingual speakers of *South African English* (hereafter SAfE) and *Cape Muslim Afrikaans* (Davids 2011) in Bo-Kaap, Cape Town. It is based on natural language data collected during a series of interviews with Muslim, female speakers of *Cape Muslim Afrikaans* and SAfE from the community. Van Rensburg (1997:07) speaks about three main varieties of Afrikaans, namely *Kaapse Afrikaans*, *Oranjerivier Afrikaans*, and *Oosgrens Afrikaans*. Kotzé (1989) classifies *Malay Afrikaans* as a sub-set of *Kaapse Afrikaans*. Malay Afrikaans is what Davids (2011) calls *Cape Muslim Afrikaans*. Bo-Kaap is traditionally a Cape Muslim area. The “Cape Malay” heritage of its inhabitants has always been highlighted, and there is an intricate relationship with the Afrikaans language (Davids 2011). For these reasons, Bo-Kaap was chosen as the field study site.

In very simple terms, CS is “the alternation of (two or more) languages within a conversation” (Matras 2009:101). Using the data collected in these interviews, this study will identify language interaction phenomena, Internal Triggers, and Directionality trends in the CS of this study population. What is the most common type of switch? What constituents seem to trigger different types of switching? From which language into which language do speakers prefer to switch? And does this appear to be affected by the type of switch? CS, and some of the linguistic theory surrounding it, will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 2, as will the concepts of Directionality and Internal Trigger.

The findings from this study are intended to provide insight into the nature of bilingual talk in the Bo-Kaap community, and to make a useful contribution to the growing body of CS research generally.

The last available census data for South Africa is from 2011. The interviews were conducted in 2016. The 2011 count puts the total population of the Bo-Kaap at 3203 (SDI&GIS 2013). There are three initial variables to narrow that population down, namely age (>55years), gender (female), and religion (Islam). 11.7% of the population of the Bo-Kaap are female and over the age of 55. Of the entire population 56.9% identify as Muslim. In addition, the call

for participants for this study stated that the study was documenting *Cape Muslim Afrikaans* and asked for speakers of Afrikaans. According 2011 to census language statistics, this accounts for 38.7% of the total population of the Bo-Kaap. While we cannot calculate what percentage the study group represent, they were chosen to be representative of a particular demographic so that we can infer, to a certain extent, that the patterns in their CS behaviour are indicative of what occurs in that demographic generally.

1.2. The Bo-Kaap – its language, people, and history

The Bo-Kaap is a predominantly Cape Muslim community mainly “made up of the descendants of people who first arrived (at the Cape) as slaves and political exiles” in the mid-17th century (Hendricks 2014). Sandwiched between the mountain and Cape Town’s Central Business District, the Bo-Kaap’s position places it under constant threat from gentrification and the area has shrunk significantly since its heyday in the mid-19th century.

The land on which the Bo-Kaap was built was sold to Jan de Waal by Alexander Coel and the Burgher Council in 1760 and 1761 respectively. “Between 1763 and 1768 De Waal built several small *huurhuisjes* (houses for rent) on this land, which he rented out to his slaves” (SAHO, 2020). Between 1795 and 1820 an increasing number of lower income families, mostly artisans by trade, began to make the Bo-Kaap their home (SAHO 2012). Many of these were the families of *Vryeswartzzen*³ and ex-political prisoners who had served their sentences. They had the legal right to purchase property, unlike the slaves, and properties in the Bo-Kaap were inexpensive at that time (Boëseken 1977). Besides affordability, another attractive aspect of the Bo-Kaap was that it was home to the only two mosques in Cape Town – the Auwal Mosque (est.1794) and the Palm Tree Mosque (est.1807), and an Islamic school, the Dorp Street Madrasah (est.1793). After the abolition of slavery at the Cape in 1834 there was great demand for low-cost housing for the freed slaves, most of whom were Muslim. To answer this need, property developers built more *huurhuisjes* and many Cape Muslim families made the Bo-Kaap their home (Mahida 1993). The influx of Muslim families to the area, as well as lifting of the ban on religious practices at the Cape in 1804, was the beginning of a massive growth period for Islam and for the Bo-Kaap community. Between 1831 and

³ Free Blacks, or *Vryeswartzzen* were manumitted slaves or their descendants, ex-political prisoners who had served their time and gained their freedom, and voluntary immigrants from the East (Boëseken 1977).

1840 Shell (1994) records the presence of at least twenty-three *Imams* and teachers of Islam (*Galiefa*) in Cape Town. Mahida (1993:26) reports that, between 1866 and 1900, a number of disputes concerning the succession of *Imams* were heard by the Supreme Court, and that “practically every *masjied* (mosque) at the Cape in the 19th century faced this problem”. Disagreements over the succession of the *Imam* of a particular mosque, or over the style of Muslim jurisprudence followed, often lead to the establishment of a new mosque and a split congregation (Mahida 1993, Davids 2011). This was the case with the Auwal Mosque and the Palm Tree Mosque. As a result, present-day Bo-Kaap houses ten different mosques. By the middle of the 19th century the Bo-Kaap was known as the *Slamse Buurt* a Cape Dutch abbreviation of *Islamitische buurt* meaning ‘Islamic neighbourhood’ (Kotzé, personal communication, 2020).

After the First World War there was a general socio-economic decline and the area was declared a slum in 1934. Some families were forced out of their homes and, of those, some moved to District Six. Between 1938 and 1942 the Cape Town City Council constructed blocks of flats up against Signal Hill, which became known as the Schotsche Kloof flats. A clause in the rental contracts stipulated that the tenant had to be a “Malay Muslim”. In 1943 the Commissioner of Coloured Affairs, I.D. du Plessis, established a group for the preservation of the Malay Quarter, so that Muslims could “have a space which preserved their heritage” (Matthee 2008:90). All this was merely a sign of things to come, with the implementation of the Group Areas Act in the 1950s, whereby the Bo-Kaap became solely reserved for Muslims. Non-Muslims were forced to leave the Bo-Kaap, and many Muslims who had been living in District Six were relocated to the Bo-Kaap when District Six was destroyed. Later, in 1962, the Cape Town City Council and the Historical Monuments Council declared some parts of the Bo-Kaap national monuments, and the government reserved some budget for the rehabilitation of these areas. Specifically, fifteen houses in the block bounded by Rose, Wale, Chiappini and Longmarket Streets were restored, and in 1966 the area between Rose and Chiappini Streets, and between Wale and Shortmarket Streets, was proclaimed as a monument. (SAHO 2012). Mahida (1993:75) asserts that “the Cape Muslims did not believe that the Cape Town City Council’s 1962 action ... was purely for health reasons” and that it was actually a means by which the City Council could obtain ownership of properties in the Bo-Kaap, most likely because future expansion of the CBD would mean a rise in property value. The City is currently the majority landowner in the Bo-

Kaap, and very recently sold one of its Rose Street properties in an online auction for R 1.4 million, more than twice its market value, amidst fierce protest by residents (Le Roux 2016).

Today the Bo-Kaap is a popular tourist attraction, with free guided tours offered daily, but it is also still the home to many Cape Muslim families who live in the houses they inherited. The houses protected by the National Monuments Act in Rose, Wale and Chiappini Streets are well maintained. Painted in bright colours, they are the postcard picture that draws tourists to the area. According to the residents of the Bo-Kaap these properties are mostly owned either by the City or by wealthy foreigners who do not reside there permanently. In the other streets behind these houses, homes range from reasonably well maintained to dilapidated. Locals explained that most residents are in the middle to lower income bracket and do not have much expendable income to maintain the houses they have inherited. The threat of gentrification has driven up properties values and increased rates to the point which many residents can no longer afford (Dentlinger 2016). Some choose to sell their properties to wealthy foreigners or rent out their houses to foreign exchange students and move to lower income areas on the Cape Flats or in the northern suburbs of Cape Town. Others simply live with several generations under one roof. Behind the houses against Signal Hill the Schotsche Kloof flats have become derelict, and community members expressed concern about problems with gangsterism and drugs there. All of these are issues which residents feel are a threat to the fabric of their society, to their unity as a community, and to the Muslim ideals by which they have always lived. There are a number of NGO's that have been established to try and address these problems and the threat of gentrification. In a study by Beyers (2010) which involved more than 100 Bo-Kaap residents, participants said that they "enjoy living in the Bo-Kaap because of the community spirit, cultural and religious history and its close proximity to the city". The study also showed that a large number of residents "have lived in (the) Bo-Kaap for long periods and that family networks extend throughout the neighbourhood". Participants of this study shared the view that the Bo-Kaap retained strong ties with traditional Muslim culture and the Islamic way of life, which they valued. Most were of the opinion that there is a need to address issues of crime and to formulate ways to promote and protect significant spaces.

1.3. Language Contact at the Cape (16th century to present) with specific reference to the Cape Muslim community and the Bo-Kaap

It is difficult to ascertain how many different groups of indigenous people inhabited the Cape Peninsula prior to the arrival of Europeans, because historical records are inconsistent in the names they use for different groups, and the spelling of those names. It seems that there were two main groups that could be distinguished based on whether they owned livestock (pastoralists) or not (hunter-gatherers). The hunter-gatherers were variously referred to as *Soaqua*, *Bushmen*, or *San*, whereas the pastoralists were referred to as *Khoikhoi*, *Khoe*, *Khoi*, or *Hottentots*. (Elphick & Malherbe 1989, although this is called into question by other historians). Hunter-gatherers “lived in small, isolated communities among which there was considerable linguistic and cultural diversity, whereas the pastoralists’ clans were bigger, and they all spoke closely related dialects of the same language” (Elphick and Malherbe 1989:4-5 in McCormick 2002:9). Both groups were nomadic and frequently came into contact with one another. Hunter-gatherers were often employed by pastoralist clans as hunters and watch-keepers. It was common for an individual hunter-gatherer to live with the pastoralist group for which they provided these services. (Smith 1992 in McCormick 2002). In this case they learned the language of the pastoralists and became bilingual (Traill 1995 in McCormick 2002).

The arrival of Jan van Riebeeck at the Cape in 1652 is commonly thought of as the first instance of contact between Europeans and these indigenous inhabitants, which we may collectively refer to as the Khoi-San (McCormick 2002). However, there had already been sporadic contact between the Khoi-San and Dutch, British, and Portuguese seafarers a couple of decades earlier. The Portuguese had a disastrous attempt at establishing a fruitful relationship with the KhoiKhoi in 1510, when Francisco de Almeida dropped anchor at the Cape en route to Portugal from India. A failed raid on the locals’ cattle herd led to a battle between de Almeida’s men and the KhoiKhoi, which ultimately ended in the death of Francisco de Almeida and 64 of his men. After this the Portuguese elected to steer clear of the Cape (SAHO 2012. Johnson 2013) using Mossel Bay and Mombasa as replenishment stations instead.

Just over a century later, in the early 1600s, there was a race between emerging European nations to do trade with the Far East. The Spanish and the Portuguese had an

overland route to the Far East, but they prevented the Dutch and the British from using it, so the latter two nations were forced to take a nautical route (SAHO 2016). The Dutch East India Company (DEIC) or the *Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie* (VOC) was formed in 1602, for the purpose of “expanding Dutch Influence by taking possession of land, expanding trade routes and establishing trade outposts” (SAHO 2012). Around the same time, in 1600, the British formed the East India Company (EIC) with the exact same goal (British Library ND). Both nations took control of various colonies in the Far East, and the VOC and the EIC found that the Cape of Good Hope presented a convenient midpoint stop for their merchant vessels. Both the Dutch and the British regularly set up tents on her shores and traded tobacco and brandy to get fresh meat from the KhoiKhoi and the San. Here they could also obtain fresh water. Both European nations also began to use the Cape and Robben Island as a dumping ground for prisoners and mutineers (SAHO 2012). However, British presence, and hence the influence of English, remained confined to the shores of the Cape until 1795 (SAHO 2016).

1.3.1. The arrival of the Dutch, and slaves and political exiles from the East, and the consequent spread of Islam and Afrikaans in the Cape Muslim community.

In 1647 one of the VOC’s ships, *Nieuwe Haerlem*, ran aground at Table Bay. Although countless other vessels had been wrecked at the Cape of Storms, this incident is of particular significance because the Captain of the *Nieuwe Haerlem* left behind a junior merchant, Leendert Janszen, and about 60 crew to guard the cargo which could not be transferred onto other Dutch vessels at anchor in the bay at that time. Janszen and his crew remained at the Cape for a year, regularly doing trade with the local Khoikhoi in order to survive. It is possible that this group of Dutchmen and the Khoikhoi began to develop some kind of rudimentary trade jargon at this point, or certainly they had the motivations to do so. Upon his return to the Netherlands Janszen was commissioned by the VOC to compile a report on the viability of establishing a refreshment station at the Cape, and so it was that in 1652 van Riebeeck landed at Table Bay to roll out the project. Du Plessis (2003:130), like so many others, marks 1652 as the beginning of language contact between Dutch and “other languages” at the Cape, but Den Besten (2012) assumes that a crude trade jargon existed before 1652, and that when van Riebeeck arrived at the Cape he found Khoikhoi who could already speak some Dutch.

The refreshment station was never meant to become a colony, and van Riebeeck was under orders to not to enslave the local population, but he soon found that his refreshment station was not able to meet the growing demand from passing ships for fresh supplies. Initially van Riebeeck released some VOC officials from their duties, making them *Vrije Burgers* (Free Citizens), and he gave them land on which to farm based on an agreement by which the *Vrije Burgers* could only do trade with the VOC, and not the local population. However, when this still did not solve the problem of supply and demand, van Riebeeck wrote to the VOC requesting slaves from the Far East. In 1658 this first two major shiploads of slaves arrived at the Cape, aboard the *Amersfoort* and the *Hasselt*. From this we can see that the period during which only Dutch and the Khoikhoi languages were in contact, without influence from the languages of the slaves, is relatively short (very sporadic contact circa 40 years, more intensive contact just nine years) and perhaps only really long enough (Sebba 1997) to have made some contributions to the lexicon of the jargon which would eventually develop into Afrikaans, i.e. not long enough to have affected less superficial aspects of the language, such as syntactic structure.

The *Amersfoort* brought slaves from Mauritius and Madagascar, whereas the slaves on the *Hasselt* came from the Coast of Guinea. A Portuguese slave ship travelling from Angola to Brazil was also intercepted by the Dutch and brought to the Cape. From the outset it is apparent how very mixed the slave population at the Cape was and, therefore, how many languages they brought with them. A list compiled by Boeseken (1977) from deeds documenting transactions relating to slaves conducted between 1658 and 1700 appears in Table 1 (compiled by Bradlow and Cairns, 1978, from Boeseken's data):

| Country | Number | Percentage |
|-------------------|--------------|---------------|
| Madagascar | 397 | 30.63 |
| Ceylon | 20 | 1.54 |
| India | 653 | 50.38 |
| Indonesia | 189 | 14.58 |
| Malaysia | 4 | 0.32 |
| Indo-China | 1 | 0.08 |
| Japan | 1 | 0.08 |
| Cape of Good Hope | 10 | 0.77 |
| Unidentified | 21 | 1.62 |
| Total | 1 296 | 100,00 |

Table 1 Nationalities of slaves bought and sold at the Cape between 1658 and 1700 (Bradlow and Cairns, 1978 in Mahida, 2008)

The majority of the slaves (50.38%) in the early period came from India. As India is an intensely linguistically diverse country, they may have spoken a wide variety of different dialects and languages. Archival records indicate Tamil, Bengali, Gujarati, and Hindi were spoken (Mesthrie, personal communication, Feb 2020). Davids (1990:8) notes that slaves from the Indonesian Archipelago could have spoken any of “seven main languages and fourteen different dialects”. However, because slaves were mostly bought on the west coast of India, Sri Lanka, Bengali and Tamil also feature in the linguist influences at the Cape (Mesthrie 2017, personal communications). Slaves had to learn Dutch for use in the workplace, but many of them used Portuguese creole and Malay as *lingua francas* while learning Dutch (Davids 2011). During the 17th century Portuguese, Dutch, and Malagasy were the popular *lingua francas*. McCormick (2002:14) asserts that there is no evidence to show that slaves “continued to use their own languages among themselves”. However, more recent discoveries, like notebook of Johannes (Jan) Smiesing (Dick 2010) suggests the contrary. By the 18th century Portuguese Creole and Dutch had become the *lingua francas* amongst slaves and their masters, “for both horizontal and vertical communication” (McCormick 2002:16). Roberge (2001 in McCormick 2002) postulates the development of a

stable Cape Dutch Pidgin within the Afro-Asian substratum by roughly 1710 that could have lasted at least until roughly 1840, when the last of the imported slaves would have died out, and the Pidgin became creolized in the mouths of locally born slave children”. Discussions concerning language use at *madrasahs* and in mosques in Davids (2011) and Mahida (1993) indicate that Portuguese creole and Malay had been replaced by Cape Dutch/Afrikaans in the slave and Free-Black community due to popular demand by 1830. Despite this, some words which relate to religion or culture from languages which include Malayu, Konkani, and Tamil have remained. These are what Myers-Scotton (in Matras 2009:110) refers to as “cultural loans”, though Mesthrie and Bhatt (2008) prefer the term “retentions” (in language shift).

Muslim traders dominated the spice trade in India in the Medieval Period, prior to the arrival of the Spanish and the Portuguese, and then the British and the Dutch. Between 1610 and 1669 the DEIC laid claim to several colonies in the Far East, including Batavia, Indonesia, Colombo in Sri Lanka, Malabar in India, and Makassar (SAHOND) but there were still a number of powerful *Imams* and Sheikhs living in these various colonies who posed an economic and political threat to the DEIC. Many of these political exiles spoke more than one language and were well-educated, literate individuals. They were also often spiritual leaders, well versed in Islamic jurisprudence, and their writings on Islam came to play a vital role the spread of Afrikaans in the Cape Muslim community. They wrote in Malayu, Arabic, Jawi, Bugis, and, later, in Afrikaans using Arabic script (Davids 2011).

In 1667 the first Muslim political exiles were banished to the Cape, Sheikh Abdurahman Matahe Sha and Sheikh Mahmood, rulers of Sumatra. In 1681 the Cape became the officially designated destination for political exiles from the DEIC’s colonies. Most of these political exiles were sentenced for opposing Dutch rule in the colonies. Although they were political prisoners many of them were allowed to bring their entire family and slave entourage with them to the Cape. From the outset it was the DEIC’s modus operandi to accommodate these political exiles as far away from Cape Town as possible, although this was not always the case (Some were housed in the stables at the Castle of Good Hope). Shaykh Yusuf, ‘Abidin Tadia Tjoessoep, of Goa, India, was captured and brought to the Cape after evading Dutch custody twice in the East. He was exiled to a farm named Zandvliet, near Stellenbosch, along with “his retinue of 49 which included his two wives, two slave girls, 12 children, 12 *Imams* and several friends with their families” (Mahida 1993:3). However, the DEIC was not successful in their attempt to isolate Shaykh Yusuf, as Zandvliet became a gathering place for other fugitive slaves and political exiles, who took Shaykh Yusuf as their

leader. Because many of them were originally from the Dutch colony Makassar, the area around Zandvliet became known by that name. Today the area is still known as Macassar (minor orthographic change) and it remains the oldest established Muslim community in South Africa. Although the majority of speakers from both the Bo-Kaap and Macassar claim Indonesian descent, differences in physical location present some different peripheral linguistic influences. Firstly, the two areas are about 50 kilometres apart. In addition to this, the Bo-Kaap is basically landlocked by the CBD of Cape Town where, although a multitude of different languages are spoken, the predominant language and lingua franca is English. Conversely, Macassar is on the False Bay coast and is bordered by a predominantly isiXhosa area (Khayelitsha) and a predominantly Afrikaans area (Somerset West). It is, therefore, likely that the vernacular spoken in Macassar today varies somewhat from that spoken in the Bo-Kaap. However, linguistic documentation of Macassar vernacular has not yet been undertaken.

Another political exile who played a significant role in the history of Islam at the Cape was the Rajah of Tambora (Java), Abdul Basi Sultania. He was convicted of actively opposing Dutch rule in his home country and was sent to live in isolation at Vergelegen, Stellenbosch, out of reach of other political exiles. Here he wrote from memory the first copy of the holy Qur'an written at the Cape and presented it as a gift to Governor Simon van der Stel. However, this copy of the Qur'an never passed out of Vergelegen, so it was not the one that became the religious text of the slaves. Rather, it was the work of Tuan Guru that began the spread of Islam, and Afrikaans, in the slave and Free-Black community at the Cape.

Tuan Guru had spent thirteen years on Robben Island as a political exile. Tuan Guru, or Qadi Abdus Salaam, was one of three prominent early Cape Muslim *a'immaah* (Imams or priests). He was a prince from Tidore in the Ternate Islands, where he and three others were accused of conspiring against the Dutch. They were brought to the Cape as state prisoners in 1780 and incarcerated on Robben Island. During his imprisonment, Tuan Guru wrote from memory several copies of the holy Qur'an and a book on Sunni Islamic law, *Ma'rifant al-Islam wa al-Iman*, which became the main reference work for Cape Muslims during the late 18th century and 19th century (Davids 1980:17-18, SAHO 2016). The *Ma'rifant al-Islam wa al-Iman* was completed in 1781 and written in Malayu and Portuguese using Arabic script, as was the common practice in the East Indian Archipelago in the 18th century (Barnard 2007).

After his release in 1792, Tuan Guru took up residence in Dorp Street, Bo-Kaap, where he met the Coridon of Ceylon, a Free Black. Formerly a slave, he had been

manumitted by his owner, Salie van de Kaap. He married Trijn van de Kaap⁴. The Coridon owned three properties in Dorp Street – numbers 28, 43 (Barnard 2007:58) and 39 (Cape Town Tourism ND). Trijn and the Coridon had a daughter, Saartjie van de Kaap. She married Achmat van Bengale, from West Bengal (Datta 2013). It's not clear whether Achmat was a slave (Mahida 1993:10) or a Free Black (Datta 2013:29), there are various conflicting reports, and the issue is confused by the large number of Achmat van Bengales that appear in historical records. However, what is clear is that Achmat van Bengale arrived at the Cape in the same year as Tuan Guru and, when they met in the Bo-Kaap several years later, he became Tuan Guru's close friend and confidant. He would go on to play an important role in the establishment and development of both the Dorp Street Madrasah and the Auwal Mosque in the Bo-Kaap. Mahida (1993) indicates that, upon moving to Dorp Street, Tuan Guru married a certain Ka'ija van de Kaap and went to live with her family. It seems highly likely that Ka'ija was the sister of Saartjie van de Kaap (Achmat van Bengale's wife) and the daughter of Trijn van de Kaap and the Coridon of Ceylon. Based on various sources (Mahida 1993, Davids 2011, Datta 2013, Barnard 2007, SAHO 2016) it seems that they all lived together in Dorp Street at the properties owned by the Coridon.

Tuan Guru's two projects he wanted to realise once he obtained his freedom were to establish a *madrasah* (an Islamic school) and a mosque where Muslims could gather for prayer. (Barnard 2007, Mahida 1993). In 1973 he established the Dorp Street Madrasah in a warehouse attached to the Coridon's house in the Bo-Kaap. Achmat van Bengale played an important role here, for it was "on his insistence that the Coridon of Ceylon made the warehouse of his home available for the ... madrassah" (Mahida, 1993:10). He also served the *madrasah* as a teacher for 25 years (ibid). The only two texts available to the students at the *madrasah* were the copies of the holy Quran written by Tuan Guru, and the book he wrote on Sunni Islamic law, *Ma'rifant al-Islam wa al-Iman*. From these they learnt the teachings of the Islamic faith, and they received tuition in reading and writing Arabic. This was the first *madrasah* in Cape Town, and the only form of schooling available "open to all, irrespective

⁴ Trijn was possibly Salie van de Kaap's daughter, but there is no record of this, and it is not possible to deduce relations based on surnames at this point in history, because slaves were given their last name based on where they came from, not biological relation. For example, any slave born in the Cape simply became *van de Kaap*, Dutch for 'from the Cape', and it is known that a slave woman named *van Bengale* had a biological child who was registered with the last name *van de Kaap*. (see Datta 2013:29-30 for more on this).

of race” (Davids 2011:66). In addition to this, “the *Imams* conducted lessons in Afrikaans, which appealed to the largest linguistic pool at the Cape at the time.” (Shell 1993:25 in Davids 2011:66). Davids provides evidence to indicate that a handful of Cape Muslims spiritual leaders were already transcribing their Dutch vernacular using Arabic script very soon after the establishment of the *madrasah*, and that Rajab of Boughies was commissioned by Tuan Guru to write additional copies of the Quran for the students, in Arabic Afrikaans. While most slaves and Free Blacks at this time probably still understood Malayu, the early form of Afrikaans was their preference. The *madrasah* was thus well received by the local Free Black and slave community (Davids 2011, Mahida 1993), and many others were converted to Islam via the Dorp Street Madrasah (Barnard 2007). “It was at this school where esteemed nineteenth century *Imams*, such as Abdol Bazier, Abdol Barrie, Achmat of Bengal and *Imam* Hadji, received their Islamic education” (Cape Town Tourism ND) in Afrikaans, and thus went on to disseminate this knowledge to their congregations via the same medium.

Tuan Guru’s first application to construct a mosque was denied by the authorities, so instead he led the local Muslims in an open air *Juma’ah* (Friday afternoon prayer) at the Chiappini Street quarry in the Bo-Kaap. Shortly thereafter, in 1795, the British took command of the Cape Colony after the Battle of Muizenberg, and General Craig granted Tuan Guru permission to construct a mosque. The warehouse belonging to the Coridon that housed the Dorp Street madrasah now doubled as a space for the mosque and became known as the Auwal Mosque (Davids 2011). When the Coridon died in 1797 the Dorp Street properties were bequeathed to his wife, Trijn van de Kaap (SA History.org.za ND). Trijn then sold two of the properties, numbers 28 and 43, to Saartjie van de Kaap in 1809 for a sum of 3000 guilders (Barnard 2007:58). Various sources (Barnard 2007, Mahida 1993, Cape Town Tourism) state that Saartjie then made number 28 available to be used as a mosque “for as long as Islam was allowed in the colony”. In some sources this has led to the erroneous reportage that the Auwal Mosque was established in 1806. For example, South African History Online state that “In 1806, the warehouse next to Coridon’s house was converted into the first mosque in the Cape”. However, we know from other sources (Davids 2011, Mahida 1993) that the warehouse was informally used as a mosque, or a gathering place for *Juma’ah*, from 1794, when the Coridon acquired the properties. Considering that permission to construct a mosque was only formally granted under British rule in 1795, and religious freedom only granted in 1804 (by then again under Dutch rule) it seems likely that the mosque would have been fairly unofficial during that time. Once religious freedom was

granted, the climate would have been right to make the mosque more official, hence the alterations made in 1807 “in order to convert the warehouse into a *masjied* (mosque)” (Auwal Mosque, ND). Specifically, the alterations involved the addition of “a *mihrab* (niche) indicating the direction of *qiblah* (the direction on must face while praying)” (Mahida 1993:12). Saartjie van de Kaap’s donation of the property in 1809 must then have been to the Auwal Masjied as a fixed asset, with the mosque now legally being able to run independently as a going concern.

After the success of the Dorp Street Madrasah and the Auwal Mosque many more mosques with *madrasahs* attached to them, sprang up in the Bo-Kaap and District Six. The first of these was the Palm Tree Mosque in Long Street (est. 1807) which was started by Jan van Boughies, an Arabic teacher who split off from the Dorp Street Madrasah and the Auwal congregation after a disagreement over who should succeed Tuan Guru as *Imam*. A total of ten mosques were established in the Bo-Kaap between 1794 and 1958. In District Six Al Azhar Masjied was established in the late 1800’s. Many of these mosques and *madrasahs* indirectly played a very important role in Afrikaans becoming the spoken language of the Cape Muslim community. “Not only was (Afrikaans) being used as a language of instruction in their religious schools and as the language for translation of their holy sermons, more importantly the language itself was being used as a medium of communication in their social and economic life.” (Davids 2011:85). Afrikaans rapidly replaced Malayu, and by 1903 Malayu was no longer spoken in Cape Town (ibid). However, many Malayu expressions still exist in *Cape Muslim Afrikaans* (Davids 2011, Soembain & van der Schyff 2014). The *madrasahs* also play a significant role in the influence of Afrikaans⁵ on the Bo-Kaap vernacular because students recorded what they learnt about Islam in their *koplesboeke* in Afrikaans using Arabic script. A *koplesboek* is a book used by *madrasah* students to copy down a lesson either written on a chalkboard or dictated by their teacher. “The student is then required to memorise it at home (getting the lesson into his *kop* (head) in the literal sense) and recite it from memory to the teacher on the next occasion” (Davids 2011:67). This “highly organised system of education...perpetuated the Afrikaans language variety of the Cape Muslim community” (ibid). Through the extant *koplesboeke* we can also trace the shift

⁵ That is not to say that there were not other factors at play. Certainly, the need for a lingua franca and the (economic) need to learn the dominant code also played an important part in the integration of Afrikaans into the Bo-Kaap community.

from Malayu to Afrikaans as educational medium in the Cape Muslim community in the very early nineteenth century. Davids (2011:62) shows how a report in the *Cape of Good Hope Literary Gazette* in 1830 confirms that Cape Muslims were using Arabic script in combination with Cape Dutch, which he refers to as Arabic Afrikaans (one of my participants called it *Nederlands-Arabiës* (Dutch-Arabic)). Davids points to the writing of Ghatieb Magmoed, a Bo-Kaap *madrasah* teacher and religious leader, as being the most accurate reflection of the local variety of Afrikaans, even still today. Certainly, reading it I had the same impression, particularly because of the style of pronunciation indicated by, and preserved by, the orthography. Because of the use of *Tajwīd* the spelling system used in these Arabic Afrikaans scripts remained fairly consistent, from the 1820's, to the last known publication, published as late as 1957. *Tajwīd* is a form of phonetic Arabic script. Its “function is to preserve the meaning of the revealed words of the Qur’ān, to preserve their sounds and expressions, and to protect these words from any alteration in utterance and pronunciation” (Davids 2011:20). “Misreading of the Qur’ān invalidates the prayer, and thus the correct pronunciation...is of great importance to Islamic ritual” (ibid:21) The Arabic Afrikaans scripts thus provide us with a very accurate record of the pronunciation norms of the Afrikaans spoken by Cape Muslims from the early 19th century onwards, and it also suggests that there has been little change in pronunciation. For example, *djai* in the text is equivalent to today’s *Cape Muslim Afrikaans dji* [dʒəi]. *Pebeer* is another example. This is Afrikaans *probeer* but *Cape Muslim Afrikaans* drops the [r]. There are also good examples of what I would judge to be *Cape Muslim Afrikaans* intonation, such as *lai-ster* ‘listen’ *ghat-te*⁶ ‘holes/ gulleys’ *dar-in* ‘therein/ inside there’ and *daveren* (not Afrikaans which would be *verskillende*, seems like a variation on English ‘different’). The aspiration ‘h’ following the ‘g’ [x] in words like *ghamaak* ‘made’ *ghalaik* ‘the same/ even/ equal’ *verghiewe* ‘forgive’ and *ghakaik* ‘looked’⁷ is indicative of the tendency to aspirate strongly after the velar fricative in *Cape Muslim Afrikaans*. An example of Ghatieb Magmoed’s writing appears in Figure 1.1.

⁶ [xatə] in this variety of Afrikaans but [xa:tə] in Std Afr and other varieties

⁷ The transliteration of the velar fricative (aspirated or not) as “gh”, by Davids, is somewhat misleading, since “gh” is used in Afrikaans orthography to represent the voiced velar stop (e.g. *gholf*, as against *golf* ‘wave’). *ghamaak* ‘made’ *ghalaik* ‘the same/ even/ equal’ *verghiewe* ‘forgive’ and *ghakaik* ‘looked’ should be transliterated as *gamaak*, *galaik*, *vergiewe*, *gakaik*.

En die koningskap is bai dee hoege Allah ta-aalaa. En waarlik Allah ta-aalaa is baas vir al dee ietse. En Allah-ta-aalaa het kragh op al dee ietse. En Allah ta-aalaa het ghamaak dee dood en dee lewe, al bai. Om te pebeer [try] en toet openbaar kom bai dee mense wat lais-ter vir Allah ta-aalaa sain oider [command]. En al wat Allah ta-aalaa maak het voordeel. En Allah ta-aalaa verghiewe vir dee ghienage wat toubat [Arab. = repentance] maak. En Allah ta-aalaa het ghamaak die seewe heemels een boe dee ander en dit raak an makaarn [each other]. En kan sien dar-in [therein] daveren [Eng. = different] wat Allah ta aalaa ghamaak het nie maar dit is ghalaik. En as dee mense kaik naa die heemels, wat sal djai [you] sien dar-in, djai sal nie sien ghat-te [holes] nie en oek nie sloote [gulleys] nie. En dan weer ghakaik na dee heemels toet die oe-ge [eyes] lam word, dan sal djai nie sien daveren van dee heemels nie.⁹⁸

Figure 1.3.1 Part of Ghatieb Magmoed's Afrikaans translation of chapter 67 of the *Qu'rān* dating from 1880, transcribed by Davids (2011:123)

Translation of the text in Figure 1.1 into English:

And the kingdom belongs to Allah alone. And truly Allah is the ruler of everything. And Allah has power over all things. And Allah made both the dead and the living. [?] And everything that Allah has made has purpose. And Allah forgives those who repent from their sins. And Allah made the seven heavens one above the other and they touch each other. And one can see differences between them but they are also equal. And if a person looks to the heavens, what will you see? You will not see gaps. And then look again to the heavens, until your eyes become tired. Then you will see that the heavens are indeed not different.

Although Malayu was replaced by Afrikaans as the spoken language of the Cape Muslim community, many words of religious reference remained in the vernacular. The lexicon attached documents some of these. Arabic remained the written language, because “Muslims regard the Arabic script as sacred...and it thus has a place of reverence in their socio-religious life” (Davids 2011:85) The vast majority of Cape Muslims can read and write Arabic, because they learn this at *madrasah*, but do not speak Arabic (the written and spoken forms of Arabic being quite different). These days some learn spoken Arabic to prepare themselves for their *Hajj* (pilgrimage) to Mecca, Saudi Arabia, and many *madrasahs* now

offer courses in spoken Arabic for this specific purpose. Today many of the Malayu expressions, such as salutations and words relating to religious activities, are being replaced by their Arabic equivalent in the wider Cape Muslim community. For example, the replacement of *baie tramakassie* with *baie shukran*. *Baie* is Afrikaans, adapted from Malayu, *tramakassie* is Malayu, and *shukran* is Arabic. Several Bo-Kaap Muslims I spoke to expressed an awareness of this trend, and of their choice to retain use of the Malayu expressions within their community as a marker of Bo-Kaap Muslim identity. As one participant said “*die slaamse taal is besig on uit te sterf*” ‘the Cape Muslim (Malayu-Afrikaans) language is in the process of dying out’. They also expressed the opinion that the increased popularity of Arabic expressions in other Cape Muslim communities is due to recent Saudi Arabian influence through financial support for mosques and *madrasahs*⁸. Two participants observed that one hears more Malayu expressions being used during the month of *Ramadaan*.

1.3.2. The arrival of the British, and the role of English in the Cape Muslim community.

British presence, and hence the influence of English, remained confined to the shores of the Cape until 1795 (SAHO 2016) when the British first won control of the colony in the Battle of Muizenberg. The British took the Cape in a strategic move to prevent the French Navy from using the Cape as a port during the French Revolutionary Wars. It remained the British Cape Colony until 1802 when it was returned to the Dutch under the Peace of Amiens agreement. Dutch control was, however, to be short-lived, as the British once again took control of the Cape in 1806 in the Battle of Blaauwberg, during the Napoleonic Wars. By

⁸ It is well known that Saudi Arabia has funded the construction of several mosques and *madrasahs* globally since the early 1980’s. In their own words: “The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia ...has played a significant role in establishing a large number of Islamic centres and mosques all over the world. The latest statistics show that the Kingdom has set up, or contributed to the building of, a total of 210 Islamic centres and 1 359 mosques worldwide, in addition to donating generously to another 1 569 such projects” (Embassy of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia in the United States, 2013). I am aware of two mosques established in Johannesburg and Islamic centre (mosque and Islamic school offering both Islamic and general education) in Cape Town, but there are likely several more. There has also been a move towards more Saudi Arabian style of dress in some Cape Muslim communities, specifically the wearing of the *Burqa* or *Hijāb*, which are not styles traditionally associated with Cape Muslims or seen in the Bo-Kaap.

1820 English was increasingly used as the official language and there was a steady stream of British economic immigrants. Some slaves therefore had exposure to English, especially those who apprenticed their previous masters after the abolition of slavery in 1834 (SAHO, 2016). After the Congress of Vienna formally ratified the Cape as a British colony, the British began to implement a language policy which favoured English. Despite this Afrikaans remained the language of preference in the Bo-Kaap and in the wider Cape Muslim community (Davids 2011, McCormick 2002), because it had been firmly established as the language of Islam at the Cape by the various mosques and *madrassahs*. Davids (ibid:86) also suggests that they did not “view Afrikaans as a language of inferiority”, as the British presented it, because of its use for religious writing by esteemed Islamic leaders. In 1830 the London Mission Society established a school in Dorp Street, with the aim converting some of the Cape Muslim community to Christianity. However, the school only gained some Muslim pupils in 1839 once they changed their medium of instruction from English to the Cape Dutch vernacular. It seems that, initially, the students were taught through the medium of English, even though they did not understand it well. The Cape Dutch Vernacular and the Malay language were both spoken in the Cape at this time, but the Cape Dutch vernacular was more widely understood. For this reason the London Mission Society translated lessons, scriptures and prayers into the Cape Dutch vernacular “for the benefit of such as (were) present who (did) not understand the Malay language” (Report of the stations of the London Mission Society 1846 in Davids 2011:65).

The discovery of diamonds and gold in the second half of the 19th century had a ripple effect across South Africa, bringing prospectors for all over the world who used English as their *lingua franca*. English became the “main medium of communication in Cape Town” (McCormick 2002:30). With reference to the Cape Muslim community, McCormick (ibid) indicates that “bilingualism became the norm, with (Afrikaans) used at home and in the neighbourhood, while English was the language of education and the workplace”. South Africa became a self-governing British colony in 1910, with English and Dutch as the official languages. The inclusion of Dutch as an official language was completely inappropriate and must have been political window-dressing because there would have been very few native Dutch speakers in South Africa by this stage in history. McCormick (2002:59) reports that, prior to 1912, the only general education available to Muslims was in English at Christian schools. “Preference was given to Christian children. Where Muslims were accepted, there was often an attempt to convert them...Some Muslim parents took their children out of

school rather than...risk having their faith undermined". When Rahmaniyyeh Muslim school opened in District Six in 1913 their choice of English as medium of education was "controversial in the Muslim community because English was regarded as the language of the infidel" (ibid). After substantial public pressure in 1925 the Official Languages Act was altered to the effect that Dutch by default included Afrikaans, and Afrikaans for the first time became an official language. Afrikaans speaking children could now be educated through the medium of Afrikaans. The twentieth century saw the rise of Afrikaner nationalism with various attempts at enforcing the use of Afrikaans as educational medium. Because the Apartheid government gave preferential treatment to Whites, at the expense of other races, including Cape Muslims, their language policies were routinely met with resistance as a sign of protest. Legislation was passed in 1921 to the effect that English-medium schools had to change to Afrikaans-medium if the majority of their pupils were from Afrikaans-language homes, which was the case with most Cape Muslim families. This policy was, however, largely ignored until 1956, when the Botha Report (PW Botha) led to its enforcement. It was met with resistance by the *Cape Muslim Afrikaans* speaking families, who wanted to retain the right to educate their children in English, because they felt that English provided them with better economic prospects (McCormick 2002). In order to avoid having the school that their children attend declared Afrikaans-medium, parents provided false information pertaining to home language on registration forms, and teachers simply turned a blind eye (ibid). However, while they may in some cases have succeeded in retaining English as the language of formal education in the classroom, I have little doubt that teachers used Afrikaans (most likely non-standard dialect) to explain concepts to learners, who spoke Afrikaans at home and probably ended up using some kind of mixed variety with one another in the playground. Perhaps this was the beginning of the *gemixte taal* (English-Afrikaans mixed dialect – cf. Odendaal 2014). McCormick (2002:35) states that, when she began her fieldwork in the 1980's, "it was not white English speakers but white Afrikaners who were commonly seen as the oppressors", and hence Afrikaans held lower status than English. However, Afrikaans regained popularity "with the introduction of a democratic order in the 1990s (because) many Coloured people feared that they would suffer under a Black majority government" (ibid).

In Post-Apartheid Bo-Kaap English has become the language of choice amongst "Born-Frees" (people born after 1994), whereas their parents and grandparents choose to speak *Cape Muslim Afrikaans*. When asked about language use in their families, participants

stated that their children understood Afrikaans but were unaccustomed to speaking it. Most agreed that, in general, their children preferred not to speak Afrikaans and that speaking English had become fashionable. Certainly, globally English has become the *lingua franca* and is seen as a language of economic opportunity. It is also the most commonly used language on the internet and on social media (Internet World Stats 2016) In the Bo-Kaap specifically, gentrification is one factor which has allowed English to infiltrate the community. Ironically, another factor that brought English to the Bo-Kaap is hosting foreign exchange students who come to Cape Town to learn English. These students are not there because the Bo-Kaap is the ideal environment for learning English, they are there because the Bo-Kaap is conveniently located, close to the CBD, and students can rent rooms more cheaply in the Bo-Kaap than in the city. No matter how nostalgic Bo-Kaap parents may feel about Afrikaans, they still choose to send their children to English medium schools and universities because they believe that this provides them with the best socio-economic opportunities in life. All my participants were over the age of 40 and spoke a mixture of Afrikaans and English during the interviews. I had the overall impression that there was a much higher frequency of language mixing in the 40 to 60 age-group than in the 70 to 90 age group. The older group spoke predominantly Afrikaans, with light mixing. Cape Dutch/Afrikaans became the language of choice in the Cape Muslim community quite early in their history, from the late 18th century, and remained so for a considerable length of time, until the mid-20th century. Thereafter Cape Muslims began to live in a state of bilingualism, as they accepted English into the sociolinguistic repertoire of the community. This state of “protracted bilingualism gives ample opportunity for languages to influence one another” (Den Besten 1989:227) which is perhaps why we now hear such a high frequency of English-Afrikaans language mixing in the Bo-Kaap.

1.4. Language in Cape Town’s District Six

There is a close socio-cultural and geographic link between District Six and the Bo-Kaap which should be considered, if we accept, despite the technical weakness of the terminology, that speech communities can be defined (Labov 1972, Mesthrie et al 2009, Gumperz 2009), and that contact between speech communities leads to language variation and change (Thomason 2001, Kotzé 2012, Mesthrie et al 2009). In 1840 Cape Town established its first municipality, zoning various areas into districts. District 12 was the area between Hanover and Lowry Streets. On the border of this area, above Muir Street, there was an open field

were many Cape Malay families built homes. This area became known as Kanaladorp, because of the spirit of *kanala* in the community. *Kanallah* or *kanala* which was originally *karna Allah karna rasul* meaning ‘please’ in Malayu (Davids 2011). Today *kanallah* has a more complex semantic value, meaning something like ‘please help me because I am one us’ somewhat like the idea of *ubuntu*⁹.

Many of the early Cape Muslims “were skilled artisans and were living in poverty, and over time a system of helping each other evolved. This system was known as the *kanala* system (*kanala* meaning “please” in Malay). From the building of houses to the sewing of wedding dresses and school uniforms, the people relied on each other. This created an atmosphere where everyone knew everyone and was willing to help out their neighbours in any way they could”

Hendricks (2014)

Die Woordeboek vir die Afrikaanse Taal (WAT cited by McCormick 2002) states that Kanaladorp got its name because “dwellings were built according to the system of *kanalla* work”. In 1867 Cape Town was rezoned, and District 12 and Kanaladorp became part of District 6 (SAHO 2013). Many people who grew up in the Bo-Kaap, and/or reside there again now, lived in Kanaladorp in District Six for a period of their life. Some families had relatives in both areas. For the majority of Cape Muslims there was a fairly constant state of migration between the two areas. Of the participants I interviewed, 45% were born in the Bo-Kaap, but spent the majority of their childhood in District Six, and most had parents and/or grandparents who had lived in District Six for a period of their lives. If language is an expression of socio-cultural identity (Eckert 1991, Labov 1972, Mesthrie et al 2009), then it seems logical that some of the linguistic traits of District Six would have been transferred to the Bo-Kaap with these speakers, and vice versa. Because of this it is necessary to take into account the sociolinguistic situation in District Six, with special reference to the Muslim community there. I have based my summary on Kay McCormick’s (2002) indispensable work, *Language in Cape Town’s District Six*.

⁹ *ubuntu* is a Nguni word which literally means "human-ness" but is more accurately translated as "humanity towards others". It is frequently used in a more philosophical sense to mean " I am what I am because of who we all are"

District Six was a cosmopolitan community located at the foot of Table Mountain, bordering on the CBD of Cape Town. McCormick describes its first residents as “ethnically diverse” and ranging from “well-to-do traders and merchants... to a large number of freed slaves” (2002:37). As mentioned, a large number of Cape Muslims resided in District Six, in Kanaladorp. It was common in District Six to find that ethnic groups lived in pockets, but mixed socio-economically. There was an area known as Irish Town made up mostly of Irish domestic workers and labourers (McCormick 2002). There was also an area of District Six predominantly inhabited by Yiddish-speaking Jews. These pockets allowed groups to retain some cultural distinctiveness, yet they were all subject to a certain amount of external sociolinguistic influence, at work and in their leisure time. The one sphere of life in which Muslims would inevitably have had contact with other linguistic groups though, is in the workplace. Selling fruit and vegetables, or flowers as they still do in Adderley Street, Muslim men and women would have conversed with clients from a range of linguistic backgrounds. Fishermen had, and still do have, mixed crews. Factories have linguistically diverse workforces. Muslims would, however, have had a much lower frequency of language contact via social interaction, because of their disinclination towards socialising in bars, a popular form of entertainment in District Six. In addition to this, there were no halaal restaurants, and the food from the kitchen of non-Muslim households is not considered halaal, so if they ate out, it would have been at the home of another Muslim. Socially, it made sense to socialize with other Muslims, because of the preference for marrying within the faith. Non-Muslims who wish to marry Muslims must convert (this is known as *draai* or *Kris draai* in *Cape Muslim Afrikaans*). Kotzé (1989) explains that Cape Muslims “constitute a fairly homogenous language group... primarily on account of the fact that every member embraces the Islamic faith, and only changes religious affiliation at the cost of social ostracism”. He asserts that “the social cohesion and cultural isolation brought about by the Islamic lifestyle” had the effect of preserving the dialect from external linguistic influence. However, there were some cultural activities which brought Muslims into contact with other cultural and linguistic groups. Cinemas (known as bioscopes) were a popular pass-time in District Six which would have attracted all cultures and which would have been an acceptable form of entertainment for Muslims. Films were only screened in English (McCormick 2002). Choirs and musical ensembles would also have been attractive socio-cultural activities for Muslims, and many belonged to singing groups or bands with mixed membership. Square dancing and ballroom were also popular, and generally there were dancing events on Sundays (ibid).

School life presented a bilingual environment for most Cape Muslim youth. Up until 1956, there were only two primary schools offering general education in the Bo-Kaap, Schotsche Kloof and St Paul's. For other options and for high school education learners had to look further afield, to District Six, which had more than twenty schools. Based on McCormick's (2002:56) data, the majority of these schools started out as single medium, some English, others Afrikaans, and then switched to parallel medium from the 1920's onward. As mentioned, parents often gave false information about home language in order to confound the government's attempts at linguistic hegemony, and the official medium of a school was not often a realistic representation of language use in the classroom or in the playground.

What is immediately apparent from McCormick's (2002) linguistic data from District Six is that English and Afrikaans comfortably shared the same linguistic space in the District Six vernacular. Whether they existed as two separate languages in the minds of speakers is a question which remains to be satisfactorily answered. McCormick (ibid:90) describes District Six having a linguistic repertoire which "can be seen as a spectrum with *Standard English* at one end and *Standard Afrikaans* at the other". Between that lies a kind of "vernacular speech (which) comprises (of) the non-standard dialects of both languages as well as a mode of speaking characterized by frequent switching between them or, less frequently, between non-*Standard Afrikaans* and *Standard English*". A visual representation of this linguistic spectrum appears in Figure 1.2 below:

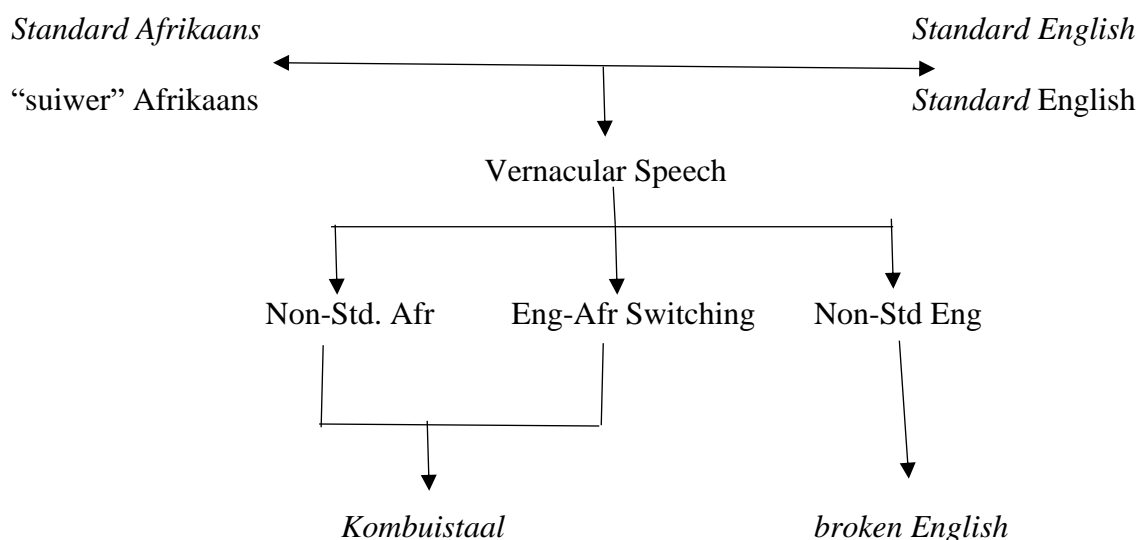


Figure 1.42 McCormick's (2002:90) schematic representation of the linguistic repertoire of the District Six speech community.

I would describe the Bo-Kaap as having a similar linguistic repertoire. The vernacular which McCormick refers to is commonly known as *gemixte taal* (Odendaal 2014) or *gemengde taal*. Kotzé (2012) describes this sort of mixing as being characteristic of *Kaapse Afrikaans*, of which he classes *Cape Muslim Afrikaans* to be a subdialect. The retention of cultural lexis (Mesthrie and Bhatt 2008) is one of the most obvious linguistic characteristics which differentiates *Cape Muslim Afrikaans* from other English-Afrikaans mixed varieties which also fall under the umbrella of *Kaaps (Cape Vernacular Afrikaans)*. To give a sense of the variety, here is a small sample of examples from this lexis, assembled from Soembain & van der Schyff (2014) and Davids (2011), as well as from unpublished data collected during this study (Cozien, forthcoming)

Afdal. ADJECTIVE best, preferable, better e.g. “*it is more afdal to do something a certain way*” See also *sunnah/soenat* – the liked upon or preferred manner of doing something. See also *fard*. Arabic Afrikaans

Bekend maak. VERB to invite to one’s wedding “*het jy bekend gaan maak al ?*” meaning ‘have you invited the guests to your wedding?’ Afrikaans.

Kanala/ Kanallah/ Gahnalah ADVERB Please/ please do this for me because I am one of us/ an appeal to working together as a community/ for mutual benefit e.g. “*ek vra ‘n guns kanala*” meaning ‘I’m asking this as a special favour’. From *karna Allah karna rasul*

meaning ‘please’ in Malayu (Davids 2011). See also *kanala jobbies/ kanallahwerk*, and *Kanallah dorp*. Malayu.

Kardoesie NOUN plate of hors d’oeuvres from a party or celebration covered with a paper serviette. It is expected that guests will small take a plate of hors d’oeuvres home with them, as well as eating at the party. Sometimes these plates are also made up from leftovers and given to people in need. Most likely from Dutch *kadeau/ kadootje* ‘packet/ package’ or ‘present’ which is borrowed from French *cadeau* meaning ‘gift’(TLFi). Possibly from Afrikaans *kardoes* meaning ‘paper bag’, which originates from Dutch.

Gasad ADJECTIVE to envy, or jealousy, where a person hates to see anyone else being a bit superior or better off than him or her e.g. “*hy is ‘n baie gasade person*” meaning ‘he is a very jealous person’.

Galiefa/ Ghaliefah NOUN *Madrrasah* teacher. Male or female person who teaches Muslim religious classes. Arabic.

Labarangklere NOUN *Eid* clothes; special outfit for *Eid*, the Muslim festival which celebrate the end of the fast (*Ramadaan*). Malayu *Labarang* Afrikaans *klere*.

Miedourah / medoura/ medora NOUN bride’s decorative head gear. (origin dubious – Javanese or Arabic)

Miesfal NOUN a less decorative scarf than the *Miedourah*, by my understanding also always worn by a bride. (origin dubious – Javanese or Arabic)

Pasang NOUN Death notice. Announcement from the mosque when a member of the community dies. Delivers information including name of deceased, where their funeral (*janaazah*) will be, etc. These days sometimes heard on the radio. In the past a person would walk through the streets of the Bo-Kaap repeating the death notice. Malayu.

Pwasa VERB to fast. Malayu. Past tense *gepwasa* (Malayu-Afrikaans)

Because District Six is situated on the border of the CBD it was inherently vulnerable to becoming an area of urban decay. Urban decay is the process whereby a previously functioning city, or part of a city, develops into a state of disrepair and decrepitude. Usually it is the areas immediately bordering the CBD that are most vulnerable because that real estate is most likely to be bought with the intention to demolish and build high-rise office blocks or apartments. Property owners, therefore, are hesitant to spend money on maintenance, and

tenants end up paying high rent for badly maintained accommodation, with uncertain lease periods. Urban decay is caused by a multitude of different inter-related socio-economic factors which have a knock-on effect on one another, including high local unemployment, fragmented families, political disenfranchisement, crime, poverty, and tight rent control. Geographic features which contribute to urban decay are having freeways and railway lines built over or alongside the area. These create ‘dead space’ which attracts criminals and decrease property resale value. They are frequently the result of urban planning decisions by government. (What is urban decay? 2010). District Six was a victim of an infamous urban planning policy known as the Group Areas Act (1950, 1957), whereby it was declared a ‘Whites Only’ area¹⁰ (with a view to expanding the CBD). Residents of all races (including Whites) were forcibly removed and the entire district, bar a small area around Chapel Street, was demolished. The churches and mosques were also left untouched by bulldozers, and congregations continue to attend these, even though no homes have been rebuilt since the fall of Apartheid. The free meeting and mixing of many cultures in District Six also meant the mixing of many languages, in particular Afrikaans and English. All the participants of this study spent their formative years in this environment of language contact and took the CS behaviour inherent of it with them when they returned to the Bo-Kaap later in their lives (see Chapter 3).

¹⁰ See the Group Areas Act of 1950. A “Whites Only” area was a physical space where, by law, only people classified as White in terms of the Group Areas Act may be.

Chapter 2: Theories of Bilingualism

Myers-Scotton (1993) identifies two important questions relating to CS that researchers have grappled with over the years. Firstly, how do we predict where in utterances CS may occur? Secondly, researchers have tried to understand and devise ways of describing the hierarchy between the codes involved in CS. This study will attempt to contribute toward the body of research which may begin to answer these questions. In response to the first questions, this study quantifies the presence of different language interaction phenomena in English/Afrikaans CS, as well as identifying what constituent most commonly triggers these different types of switching.

Studies on directionality begin to shed light on how codes interact with each other in bilingual speech. In other words, directionality data can offer answers to the second question. This study will therefore measure directionality in the data set, as well as quantifying the effect that switch type appears to have on directionality choices.

This chapter builds a foundation by providing a review of the linguistic theory and previous research relevant to this study's focus areas. A brief overview of linguistic thought on CS from both a sociolinguistics and a grammatical perspective is provided. This is followed by a discussion of the aspects of Myers-Scotton's work which touch this study, namely the language interaction Phenomena. Thereafter Clyne's concept of Triggers is covered, and finally a discussion of Directionality rounds up.

2.1. Defining Code-Switching

In very basic terms, CS may be described as “the term normally applied to the alternation of languages within a conversation” (Matras 2009:101). Similarly, Myers-Scotton defined CS as “the use of at least two languages in the same conversation” (Myers-Scotton 1993:19) and, later, “the “use of two languages in the same clause” (Myers-Scotton 2002:03). Poplack describes CS as “the alternation of two languages within a single discourse, sentence or constituent”. Although these definitions all make reference to switching between languages, CS can also involve switching between other sorts of codes, such as dialects, or slangs. While there is often reference to switching between two codes, switching may entertain more than two codes. Two is simply the minimum requirement. Over-simplified explanations of Myers-Scotton's Matrix Language Frame model (MLF) have perhaps contributed to the misconception of CS as binary. However, more thorough reading of Myers-Scotton reveals

that “one or more languages may serve as Embedded Languages (EL)” (Myers-Scotton 1992:19). Woolard (2004:74) confirms; “CS can occur between forms recognized as distinct languages, or between dialects, registers, “levels” such as politeness in Javanese, or styles of a single language”. CS research has focused on two main areas, namely sociolinguistic facets of CS (such as Gumperz 1971, 1976, Milroy & Muysken 1995, and McClure 1981), and grammatical frameworks for CS (notably Myers-Scotton 1988, 1997, 1995 and Poplack 1980).

2.2. Code-Switching with reference to this study’s speech community

In *One Speaker, Two Languages* Milroy and Muysken (1995:01) speak about the visible and audible increase in multilingualism globally “in the last forty years or so”, and how “large-scale social changes have led to a considerable increase in bilingualism...as a world-wide phenomenon”. While indeed this is true, it sets the scene for CS as a linguistic phenomenon as something new or recent. In the Bo-Kaap, and in the greater Cape Town area, multilingualism has been a fact of life for several centuries. Specifically, English-Afrikaans bilingualism had been a factor since the British first took control of the Cape in 1795. Seemingly English became more firmly entrenched in the linguistic repertoire of Cape Muslims in the second half of the 19th century. This was not so much as the result of the Anglican church’s quest to convert through education, as few Muslims were willing to send their children to Christian schools. Rather the motivation to add English to their linguistic quiver was economic, as the discovery of diamonds and gold in present-day Gauteng in the second half of the 19th century brought prospectors from all over the world who used English as their *lingua franca*. The Cape also being point of arrival for many of these prospectors on their journey North meant that soon English became the “main medium of communication in Cape Town” (McCormick 2002:30). Yet prior to this Cape Muslims maintained other shades of multilingualism, particularly at the point of transition from Malayo-Portuguese to an early form of Afrikaans as *lingua franca* in the late 1800’s (Davids 2011:85). Slaves and Free-Blacks would have spoken a home language, of which there were several, as well as the *lingua franca* of the time. In addition to this, for a long time Cape Muslims have learnt written Arabic in *madrasahs* and have used certain Arabic or Malayu expressions relating to religious life. The linguistic situation at the Cape has been intensely multilingual for some time, and certainly for long enough for code switches to cross the continuum and become

borrowings. The Bo-Kaap is perhaps what Milroy and Muysken (1995:09) refer to as a stable bilingual community – one where language change is gradual and does not occur in the rapid fashion that, for example, it does in immigrant communities where there is intense pressure to shift to the dominant language. Milroy and Muysken (*ibid*) suggest that stable bilingual communities provide a more hospitable environment for CS. Perhaps this is because it is more a case of language-addition, rather than language shift and attrition.

2.3. Code-Switching as socio-linguistically motivated behaviour

Gumperz (1982a, 1982b) was one of the first to conceptualize CS not as deficient knowledge of a language, but as a resource for expressing social meaning. He “emphasized the strategic activities of speakers in varying their language choice within an agreed framework of social values and symbols” (Milroy & Muysken 1995:09). Since then Myers-Scotton (1988, 1997, 1995) with her Markedness Model, has been one of the most prominent promoters of this idea of CS being a socio-linguistic tool wielded by bi/multilinguals, although she has also proposed complex grammatical frameworks to explain CS alongside this. Building on from Jakobson’s (1932) concept of Markedness Myers-Scotton’s Markedness Model is based on the idea of CS events as either marked or unmarked, where the marked choice’s function is to manipulate the relationship with the interlocutor in some way. Myers-Scotton describes four CS patterns including CS as a series of unmarked choices, the act of CS itself as an unmarked or marked choice, and CS as an exploratory choice.

As a social process, CS has been understood to provide bi/multilinguals with “a resource for indexing situationally salient aspects of context in speakers’ attempts to accomplish interactional goals” (Heller, 1988:03). Some other papers which present CS as a bi/multilingual practice used as a conversational strategy to establish, maintain and delineate boundaries and identities, include Barker (1975) Hill & Hill (1986) Poplack (1980) and Zentella (1990). A bilingual’s language choice is usually indexical of an individual’s linguistic identity or desired linguistic relationship with their interlocutor/s. (Mesthrie et al, 2009, Woolard, 2004). Research suggests that speakers utilise CS not only to generate socio-cultural meaning, but also to negotiate social relationships or situations (Mesthrie et al, 2009, Woolard, 2004).

Research done by Myers-Scotton (1995) on urban African communities indicates that language use is influenced by speakers' social background and the type of interaction, including those specific to particular 'domains of language use' (Fishman 1972). Domains are defined by generalizing about patterns of language use that occur in particular multilingual settings, or between certain types of interlocutors. "Domains enable us to understand that *language choice* and *topic*, appropriate though they may be for analyses of individual behaviour at the level of face to face verbal encounters, are [. . .] related to widespread sociocultural norms and expectations" (Fishman 1972 in Mesthrie et al 2009). Different settings and/or the presence of certain interlocutors in a certain setting may influence language choice, the type of switching that occurs (if the domain encourages switching) and possibly which language takes the dominant or Matrix role.

Jakobson (1960) and Halliday et al's (1964) functional grammar models can be used to characterise five main motivations for CS – Referential, Directive, Expressive, Emphatic, and Metalinguistic. Referential code switches often involve a lack of knowledge of one language or the lack of a facility in one language to talk about a particular subject. Directive switches arise from a desire on the part of the interlocutor/s to include or exclude a hearer privy to conversation. Expressive switching is used to express some kind of mixed linguistic identity or a bi/multilingual identity. Emphatic switches, also called metaphorical switching by Gumperz and Hernandez-Chavez (1975) serves to place additional truth value, or to mark a change in tone in the conversation. Metalinguistic switches are used to comment directly or indirectly on one of the languages involved. Myers-Scotton (1979) suggests that this type of switching may serve to show off linguistic skill.

Yet the idea of CS as a conscious choice, as a premeditated social strategy, has been contested (Auer 1984, Woolard 2004). A distinction between overt vs covert switching may be useful here – overt switching being CS where the speakers are consciously aware of the switch. One type of switching which is almost certainly overt is referential switching which occurs because of "a lack of knowledge in one language or lack of facility in that language on that certain subject" (Appel & Muysken 2006:118). Other types may include switches brought on by change in topic, or the presence of another interlocutor. Covert switching is CS where the speaker is not consciously aware of the switch, and there is not necessarily any motivation behind the switch. For example, in Afrikaans the word for 'shop' is *winkel*. I observed that my participants used both lexemes seemingly at random. I asked several Afrikaans-English bilinguals if, in cases like this, they felt they made a choice between 'shop'

or *winkel* or if the words were equal in semantic value and more like synonyms. All felt that they were both just options, and they didn't really try to use one or the other based on the language they thought they were speaking (what Myers-Scotton would refer to as the Matrix language). Unless pressed to classify the words, they did not see them as belonging to two different languages at all. These sorts of synonyms may, for Afrikaans-English bilinguals, be "bivalent" (Woolard, 2004) in that they do not overtly belong to either code. The following observation by Appel & Muysken (2006:119) suggests that other communities also experience bilingualism/ CS in a similar way: "For fluent bilingual Puerto-Ricans in New York, conversation full of CS is a mode of speech in itself, and individual switches no longer have a discourse function"

Linguistic performance is complex, variable and largely unpredictable. It therefore seems unlikely that each and every instance of CS has a motivation. "One thing to keep in mind is that it is by no means certain that CS has the same function in all languages" (Appel & Muysken 2006:120) and "many speakers who code-switch within a conversation are not aware of this overt evidence of contact" (Myers-Scotton 1979:02). While much research points to CS being socially motivated, there is also enough evidence that not all instances of CS are so. Although speakers may not always be overtly aware of their CS, it is optional and dynamic in the sense that they have other linguistic items available to them for use in that particular context, which are subject to change. In this way CS is different from borrowing - borrowings have become part of the code and exist in a state of relative permanence.

2.4. Grammatical constraints on Code-Switching

CS might not be strictly sociolinguistically motivated but rather there might be grammatical or structural restrictions on CS (Myers-Scotton 1993). Initially, in the 1970s, studies (e.g. Gumperz & Hernandez-Chavez 1975) on the possible grammatical constraints on CS focused on hypothesizing particular constraints. That is to say, they made statements about where in the sentence structure CS could or could not occur, and these were specific to particular language combinations (not universal). These studies were based on both the analysis of recorded data and grammaticality judgements on made-up sentences. Towards the end of the 70's studies by Lipski (1978) and Pfaff (1979), based on the analysis of recorded data, proved many of the constraints proposed in studies based on grammaticality judgement tasks to be incorrect (cf. Grabowski 2011). Because there is a very strong possibility that certain aspects of CS are language-combination-specific, particular constraints have their place alongside

universal constraints in the study of the grammatical constraints on CS. For example, the points at which CS can occur in an agglutinative + analytic combination will be different from those in an agglutinative + agglutinative combination.

More recently, studies have aimed at proposing more universal constraints on CS and have focused on two main syntactic and psycholinguistic concepts – linearity and dependency. Linearity is the principle that “code-switches will tend to occur at points in discourse where juxtaposition of L1 and L2 elements does not violate a syntactic rule of either language” (Poplack 1980:587). In other words where the phrase structure rules of both codes correlate switching is possible, otherwise it is not possible. This is what became known as Poplack’s Equivalence constraint. Another Linear theory which is also the predecessor of Myers-Scotton’s Matrix Language Frame model is that of Joshi (1985). Joshi’s model proposed that the first word of a sentence could determine the base or Matrix language, and that the Matrix language’s syntactic framework would then dictate where in the sentence CS is possible. Joshi’s proposal works in terms with Poplack’s Equivalence constraint only where the phrase structure rules of both languages happen to correlate, but where they do not, the two theories no longer agree. Sobin (1984) suggested that semantics may additionally need to be considered when trying to determine where in the sentence a CS is possible. Despite all this, CS data from the field continues to produce evidence that disproves all these theories (Appel & Muysken 2006).

2.5. The Matrix Language Framework

The concepts of Matrix and Embedded Languages proved useful in the process of defining parameters for measuring directionality in this study, so a cursory discussion of Myers-Scotton’s (1992) Matrix Language Frame model is included in the review of relevant linguistic theory. The premise of the Matrix Language Frame model (MLF) is that all CS takes place within a grammatical framework determined by a Matrix Language (ML). The other language/s or codes involved in code-switched constituents, known as Embedded Language(s) (EL)¹¹, must conform to the grammatical framework of the ML. The exception to this rule is EL islands. These are constituents composed of only EL morphemes, which conform to the constraints of the EL grammar and which “show internal structural

¹¹ Both the terms Embedded Language and Matrix Language may be originally credited to Joshi (1985)

dependency relations” (Myers-Scotton 1992:23). That is to say, they are complete phrases (e.g. AdjP, IP, NP). Myers-Scotton (1993:31) also describes EL Islands as “passages entirely in the EL material”. Other types of constituents which may occur in code-switched data include ML+EL constituents, and ML islands. ML islands, as the name suggests, are constituents composed of only ML morphemes, “well-formed according to the ML grammar, (which) show structurally internal dependency relations” (ibid). ML+EL constituents consist of a combination of EL and ML morphemes, and their construction is dictated by the ML (*the Morpheme Order Principle*).

The ML is determined by frequency, and Markedness. With reference to social motivations for CS, the ML is typically the unmarked choice (see above) however because there are situations where the act of CS itself is the unmarked choice, Myers-Scotton proposes frequency as a parameter for determining the ML.

The ML in any CS utterance is the language of more morphemes in the type of discourse where the conversation in question occurs, if cultural borrowings for new objects or concepts are excluded from the morpheme count.

(Myers-Scotton 1992:22)

The EL, therefore, is the language/s or code/s in a code-switched conversation with a lower number of morphemes and which has its grammatical framework dictated by a language other than its own. One or more codes may serve as the EL. The “EL provides both singularly occurring lexemes in constituents otherwise comprised of the ML, as well as EL islands (constituents entirely of the EL)” (Myers-Scotton 1992:19). Note also that the ML may change within a conversation, based on socio and psycholinguistic factors such as domains of language use. Presumably, this means that there is a dynamic relationship between ML and EL’s, in that they may trade statuses.

2.6. Myers-Scotton’s language interaction phenomena

Myers-Scotton identifies four different kinds of language interaction phenomena which may occur in CS – Inter-sentential switching, Intra-sentential switching, Intra-word switching, and Tag switching.

The first language interaction phenomenon identified by Myers-Scotton is Inter-sentential switching. This is switching at sentence level, i.e. at the sentence boundary. The following is an example of Inter-sentential switching.

(1) (NA) *Inter-sentential switch*

I told her I didn't want to speak to her again. *Toe bel sy my die volgende dag weer.*

(I told her I didn't want to speak to her again. *Then she called me again the following day.*)

Hamminck (2000:4) suggest several social motivations for Inter-sentential switching, namely that it may be used to "highlight a point of conversation, to direct a point of conversation at a particular interlocutor, or to quote verbatim from another conversation or make reference to said conversation". It is equally possible that sentence boundaries simply provide a convenient switch point from a syntactic point of view, in that there are no impositions on the Deep Structure requirements of either code.

The second Language Interaction Phenomenon identified by Myers-Scotton is Intra-sentential switching. This involves switching from one language or dialect to another within the sentence boundaries, i.e. at phrase or clause level. The following is an example of an Intra-sentential switch:

(2) (ZA) *Intra-sentential switch*

| | | | | |
|-------------------|-------------|----------------|-----------|------------|
| <i>Toe't</i> | <i>hy</i> | <i>gesterf</i> | <i>in</i> | <i>die</i> |
| ADV'AUX PST | PRO S 2 | PST die | PREP | ART DEF |
| subsequent | <i>dae.</i> | | | |
| ADJ | day PL | | | |

(*Then he died in the subsequent days*)

According to Poplack (1980) Intra-sentential CS is the most complex kind of switching. Poplack also hypothesizes a correlation between degree of bilingualism and the

presence or absence of Intra-sentential switching. Seemingly because Intra-sentential switching requires good control of the grammars of both codes, there is a tendency for individuals with a high degree of bilingualism to use this type of switch. Presumably, Intra-word switching requires a similarly high level of bilingualism, as it involves mastery of the morphemic structure and, with agglutinating languages, the grammar of both codes. Poplack (cited in Hammink 2000) found that speakers with a lower level of bilingualism preferred Inter-sentential and Tag switching to more complex other forms of CS, such as Intra-sentential and Intra-word switching. Based on her participant observations, as well as studies by others, Poplack suggests that there are grammatical constraints on Intra-sentential switching, because it involves the use of the mental grammar. These are the equivalence constraint and the free morpheme constraint, and they serve to predict (not dictate) where CS is likely to occur within sentence boundaries. That is to say, the constraints are guidelines, which may in some cases be violated, but there appears to be a tendency to follow them. The equivalence constraint states that the word order before and after a switch must be grammatically possible in both languages. In Figure 2.1 we see two points where a switch would be unlikely, because the word orders of the two participating languages do not map onto each other easily. English places the object after the verb, here ‘told him’, Spanish places the object before the verb *le dije* (lit. ‘him told’). A switch such as ‘*dije* him’ or ‘*le* told’ seems unlikely and awkward. We see this again later in the same sentence with *la trajera* ‘would bring it’. Di Sciullo, Muysken & Singh (1980) would attribute this to governance.

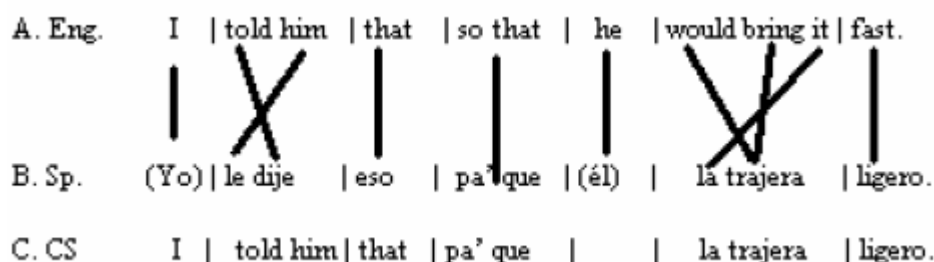


Figure 2.1 the equivalence constraint (Poplack 1980:586)

The free-morpheme constraint states that switching may occur “after any constituent provided that (that) constituent is not a bound morpheme”. Even though both languages are

morphologically poor, Afrikaans-English CS violates this constraint often, usually with the bound past tense marker morpheme *ge-*. Two examples of this from this study's data set appear below:

(3) (ZA) *free-morpheme constraint violated*

| | | | | |
|--------------|--------------|------------------------|-----------|---------|
| <i>Toe't</i> | <i>hulle</i> | <i>opgemeet</i> | somehow | |
| ADV'AUX PST | | PRO PL 3 | upPSTmeet | somehow |

(*then they met up somehow*)

(4) (FA) *free-morpheme constraint violated*

| | | | | | |
|-------------------|--|-----------------------|------------|------------|--------------|
| <i>Sy't</i> | | <i>geworry</i> | <i>oor</i> | <i>wat</i> | <i>mense</i> |
| PRO S 2 F AUX PST | | PST worry | PREP | REL | people |

| | | |
|------------|-----------|--|
| <i>sal</i> | <i>sê</i> | |
| AUX COND | say | |

(*she worried about what people would say*)

The third Language Interaction Phenomenon identified by Myers-Scotton is Intra-word switching, which occurs at morpheme boundaries, within a single lexeme. In the following sentence we see an example of English-Afrikaans Intra-word switching:

(5) (SA) *Intra-word switch*

| | | | | |
|--------------|--------------|------------------------|-----------|---------|
| <i>Toe't</i> | <i>hulle</i> | <i>opgemeet</i> | somehow | |
| ADV'AUX PST | | PRO PL 3 | upPSTmeet | somehow |

(*then they met up somehow*)

Finally, Tag switching is the insertion of a Tag phrase or word from another language. A common example of this in Afrikaans-English switching is the use of the Tag word *nè*¹² meaning ‘right?’ or ‘you know. In one conversation in this study’s data set the speakers alternated between using both *nè* and ‘right?’ as Tag switches, as below:

(6) (FA) *Tag-switch*

But he’s very well spoken *nè*

(But he’s very well spoken *right?*)

(7) (ZA) *Tag-switch*

*Cressy het nooit die hall gehad, hulle’t net die forum gehad **right?***

(*Cressy never had the hall, they just had the quad right?*)

This study will analyse its data set in terms of these language interaction phenomena, quantifying which of the four switch types occurs most frequently, as well as what part of speech appears to most frequently triggers (Clyne 1972) each type of switch. The constituent which leads the switch is what is defined as the (Internal) Trigger.

2.7. Clyne’s concept of Triggers

Based on his research on immigrant groups in Australia, Clyne (1987) proposes two types of switching – externally motivated switching and internally motivated switching also known as Triggering. While external switching is motivated by factors external to the actual conversation, internal switches are ‘triggered’ by some sentence internal constituent which primes for a change to a different code. Changes in discourse setting may serve as External Triggers. Clyne refers to this as situational switching, which revolves around pragmatic factors such as domains of language use. Shifts in topic, the wish to include or exclude other participants, or the presence of bystanders may all serve as External Triggers.

¹² Note that in this variety *nè* is pronounced as a mid central to back vowel /nə/ not /ne/ as in *Standard Afrikaans*, which is more close-mid front.

Clyne's concept of External Triggers conceptualises CS as responsive to events surrounding the communicative situation: the occurrence of certain words, topics, participants or settings. Gumperz (1982) emphasises how CS empowers speakers to construct and broadcast a particular relationship between what is said and aspects of the conversational context.

Internal Trigger points appear to be points of Bivalency (Clyne 1987, Woolard 2004) or, in Clyne's terms, points where homophonous diamorphs occur (Clyne 1987 in Matras 2009:114). An example of a Bivalent Trigger event from this study's data set appears below:

(8) (NA) *Internal Triggers - Bivalency*

she worked **in a** / '*n fabriek*

'she worked in a factory'

Here the words *in* and *a* both prime for a switch from English to Afrikaans. The preposition *in* is written the same in both languages, and while in the standard forms it would be pronounced differently <in> Std Eng and <ən> Std Afr, it is my perception that most Capetonians simply pronounce both as <ən>. The indefinite article *a* is spelt differently (*'n* in Afrikaans) but both are pronounced <ə>. These points of Bivalency create the ideal springboard for a switch. With recorded speech data it is difficult to differentiate Bivalent words as belonging to one language or the other; they exist in a linguistic purgatory. Whether the speaker in this example switches to Afrikaans as a result of the Bivalent Trigger words, or if it is just because she does not know the English word for *fabriek* (factory), is difficult to judge. Possibly the speaker knows both words, but one feels more familiar or homely.

In addition to Bivalency, certain parts of speech may serve as Internal Triggers for CS. Parafita Couto & Gullberg (2017) de Jong (N.D) and Eichler (2012) have all written about the availability of NP as an Internal Trigger for CS. Green & Wei (2014) propose AUX in Spanish-English CS as an element consistent with Clyne's notion of a Trigger word.

The choices that speakers make between languages are not only determined by (external) situational factors and the social roles of those languages, they are also determined by (internal) dynamic and creative factors which facilitate expressivity. "It is clear that

language mixing is multilayered and that it can serve various different purposes even in the same conversation” (Matras 2009:101)

2.8. Directionality in Code-Switching

Building on studies which provide information about the relationship between language interaction phenomena/ switch types and their Internal Triggers, are studies which shed light on how switch type might relate to Directionality (Muysken 1997, Deuchar et al 2017, Çetinoglu 2017). Directionality analyses from which language into which language there a tendency to switch. That is to say, in some cases one finds that the CS direction is from the L1 into the L2. In other cases, the direction of the switching is from the weaker (L2) language into the stronger (L2) language. Some studies have shown that Directionality choices can be context dependent or socially influenced. Walters (2014) argues that L1 to L2 Directionality is more socio-pragmatically motivated, whereas L2 to L1 Directionality occurs where there are fluency issues (Walters 2014). Sunderman & Kroll (2006) suggest that Directionality is dependent on lexical processing by bilingual adults.

A standard format for coding Directionality does not appear to exist across studies that address this aspect of CS. In his analysis of Nortier’s (1990) data set of Moroccan Arabic/ Dutch CS Muysken (1997) indicates direction using the > symbol between abbreviations representing the codes. So Moroccan Arabic (MA) to Dutch (D) is MA>D. Çetinoglu (2017) indicates Directionality in his data set of Turkish/Greek CS using → to indicate direction along with his own language abbreviations. Raichlin et al (2018) use an @ symbol, then the letters ‘cs’ and a colon symbol to indicate Directionality in their Russian/Hebrew CS data set, following this is an abbreviation indicating the language into which the switch occurs. The language from which the switch occurs is not indicated. So “@cs:h to indicate Directionality from Russian to Hebrew and @cs:r from Hebrew to Russian”. This study uses Muysken’s method.

Directionality data is interesting because it tells us something about the relationship between the codes interacting in bilingual speech. Certainly, this study found analysing Directionality per switch type revealing, in terms of understanding the hierarchy between the two languages involved. A more detailed discussion of the results and what they seem to indicate appears in Chapter 4.

Chapter 3: Methodology & Data Analysis

The aim of this study is to shed light on the nature of CS in bilingual speakers of *Cape Muslim Afrikaans* and *South African English* in the Bo-Kaap. The data was collected in a number of groups interviews, with speakers chosen as a representative sample of a particular demographic within the Bo-Kaap. Specifically, they are representative of Muslim, female speakers of *Cape Muslim Afrikaans* over the age of 55 who reside in the Bo-Kaap.

Deuchar, Muysken, and Wang (2007) examined the typology applied various studies of bilingual speech and presented a systematic comparison of what aspects of language contact several different code-switching studies had focused on. While Deuchar et al's comparison highlighted the lack of uniformity in what different CS studies analysed, it also showed that there were three aspects of the CS that all the studies they compared did analyse. These were language interaction phenomena, external triggers, and directionality. This study will therefore focus its analysis on those aspects of CS in the data. The intention behind this is to build on the existing body of research we have on these three aspects of CS across different language combinations.

3.1. Data Collection Method

The primary motivation behind this study's approach to data collection was the desire to obtain natural speech data. This implied using interviews either led by the researcher or conducted by a member of the community. The former was chosen, but there was also a conscious decision to use group interviews. The premise here was that, if participants always outnumbered the interviewer, they would be more likely to talk amongst themselves and relax into their natural speech variety, instead of assimilating to the interviewer's variety of Afrikaans¹³. From the point of view that Directionality in CS has been shown to be influenced by the interlocutors present, group interviews were also important. The interview structure was "loose", i.e. the questions¹⁴ were not asked in any particular order, but rather to fit the natural flow of the conversation. Remembering the primary questions allowed the researcher to put the notebook aside in the interview and become an active participant in the

¹³ The interviewer speaks Cape Flats Afrikaans

¹⁴ The interview questions are detailed in Addendum B

conversation, thus shedding the “interviewer” persona as far as possible. Group interviews also helped negate the Observers’ Paradox (Labov, 1972) implied by interviews. Groups were interviewed in their homes or, in the case of two groups, in the community centre of one of the local mosques. The thinking behind this was to have participants in familiar, relaxing environments, in which they would not feel “on the spot”. Retrospectively, this approach worked well. Having said that, in hindsight there was one weakness in the approach to the data collection. With groups it is difficult to place the recorder in an optimal position. Lapel microphones would have been better. Fortunately, the data was not collected for phonetic analysis, but it still made transcription slower.

Addendum A shows an English translation call for participants that was issued to the community. It was sent out in Afrikaans (the English translation here is just for the benefit of the reader). The call for participants stated that the study was documenting *Cape Muslim Afrikaans* and was looking for speakers of Afrikaans. This included a sign-up sheet on which those willing to be interviewed could write their contact details. The notice describes what sort of participants were required, how long the interviews would be, and what sort of questions would be asked. It also served as a privacy agreement. This was disseminated to the community in two ways: via a student colleague living in the community, who got some community members to sign up and kindly introduced me to these speakers, and through a call to participate in the interviews that was put out via the Bo-Kaap Neighbourhood Watch Facebook page and the Bo-Kaap Senior Ladies Group. Perhaps for cultural reasons, far fewer men volunteered to be interviewed, only two in fact. It was therefore decided to exclude the interviews with males from the data set. There were also concerns about the Afrikaans of the younger generation being heavily influenced by English, so to exclude this, only participants 50 years or older were selected. Ironically, this did precious little to negate the influence of English in the interviews. During the interviews it was established at the beginning that we were going to speak Afrikaans, and the interviewer conversed in Cape Flats Afrikaans. Nonetheless, the speakers responded in a mixture of *Cape Muslim Afrikaans* and SAfE. Everyone knew that all present, including the interviewer, understood both codes.

Eleven women were interviewed over the course of four interviews, using a portable Olympus recorder. Of these one of the resulting .wav files was discarded because the sound quality and the amount of interference from background noise and other speakers made transcription completely impossible. Unfortunate, because it is in this recording that one of the women speaks at length about her family’s history as slaves on one of the big farms near

the Bo-Kaap, and consequently inheriting property. The final cut for the data set was thus eight speakers, female, 50 years and older, as given in Table 2.

| Speaker ¹⁵ | Year of Birth |
|-----------------------|---------------|
| AA | 1929 |
| FA | 1952 |
| FB | 1946 |
| KA | 1934 |
| JA | 1926 |
| SA | 1931 |
| ZA | 1955 |
| NA | 1958 |

Table 2 List of study participants

There are two other aspects that all this study's participants had in common. Firstly, they all identify as Muslim. Most likely this is because the Bo-Kaap is historically a Muslim area, partly because of the people who originally settled there and partly due to the Group Areas Act of 1950; chapter one of this dissertation discusses this in more detail. Secondly, all spent part of their childhood or early adulthood in the former inner-city residential area of Cape Town known as District Six, before returning to the Bo-Kaap. This is also an effect of the Group Areas Act in the 1950s, whereby many Muslims who had been living in District Six were relocated to the Bo-Kaap when District Six was destroyed and the Bo-Kaap became the area reserved for those categorised according to the Group Areas Act as 'Malay' (SAHO 2016). Iziko Bo-Kaap Museum (Iziko 2019) records also note that, before the destruction of

¹⁵ The 2nd initial is a numbering system, and only the birth year is given. This system is used to respect the participants' right to anonymity.

District Six and the forced relocations, “there were close community ties between the inner-city neighbourhoods of District Six and the Bo-Kaap.”

3.2. Data Analysis Method

Once the interviews were complete, the *.wav* audio files were downloaded to be transcribed in ELAN (Max Planck Institute). ELAN is an audio and video transcription software, created and constantly updated by the Max Planck Institute of Nijmegen, Netherlands. ELAN allows one to create, edit, and search annotations of audio and video files. An annotation is a transcription of a selected time interval of an audio or video file. The annotations were then transferred from ELAN into an Excel spreadsheet for analysis. Some annotations contained more than one point of interest, e.g. an Intra-word switch as well as an Intra-sentential switch. If that was the case the annotation was duplicated into another Excel record so that it could be categorised for both phenomena. In the end the data set is comprised of 379 annotations. These annotations represent the data samples for this study and were tagged as follows:

The full data set was tagged for switch type/ language interaction phenomena. Intra-word and Intra-sentential switches were then divided out of that to form two subsets of data which were tagged for the constituent that triggered the switch. This is intended to quantify Internal Triggers. Annotations containing Intra-sentential, Intra-word, Inter-sentential, and Tag switches were extracted to form a third data sub-set, which was tagged for Directionality. The different approaches to coding data for Directionality were detailed in Chapter 2. Of those Muysken’s method of using the > symbol to indicate Directionality along with language codes was used. The language codes used are CMA (*Cape Muslim Afrikaans*) and SAfE (*South African English*).

More detail and examples are provided in the body of this chapter.

3.2.1. Typology of language interaction phenomena

Myers-Scotton’s (1993) typology of language interaction phenomena was used. In addition, two other language interaction phenomena terms were born out of necessity, namely Inter-interlocutor, and Word-order. These are explained and exemplified below, after brief definitions of Myers-Scotton’s CS categories, which have already been discussed in detail in chapter 2.

- a. **Intra-word** – the switch occurs within the word/ lexeme, usually facilitated by morpheme boundaries. A note on phrasal verbs is warranted: these can appear to be two (or three) words but are in essence only one. This study applies the following rule to phrasal verbs which get involved in CS: If the switch occurs within the phrasal verb i.e. one word SAfE one word CMA, it is considered an Intra-word switch. However, if the entire phrasal verb is in only one language, that is different from the language surrounding it, it is considered an Intra-sentential or Tag-switch. By nature, Tag-switches are often phrases.
- b. **Intra-sentential** – the switch occurs within the sentence boundaries.
- c. **Inter-sentential** - the switch occurs at the sentence or clause boundary.
- d. **Tag-phrase** – a Tag-phrase such as ‘you know’, or ‘right?’ appears in a different language. Tag phrases are groups of words that collocate to form common expressions. Whether Tag-phrase switches are CS or are actually loans is debatable. The frequency of their repetition points towards borrowing.

Definitions of the additional language interaction phenomena observed, namely Inter-interlocutor and Word-order, are required. Let us begin with Inter-interlocutor. This term captures instances where two interlocutors communicate using two (or perhaps more) different languages. For example, speaker A speaks (unmixed) Afrikaans. Speaker B responds in English (again, without switching codes). In most instances they continued in this fashion for a short period. In a small number of instances, the two speakers then traded languages so that the person who had been speaking English spoke Afrikaans and vice versa, but still there was no CS and they were communicating in two different languages unhindered. Perhaps there is mutual understanding that everyone knows both languages anyway. Perhaps they do not see them as different languages in practice. It is the absence of CS in these instances which is both interesting and confusing.

Consider the examples that follow:

Initially speaker 1 speaks Afrikaans while speaker 2 speaks English:

(9) (FA & ZA) *Inter-interlocutor switching*

die ander kinders was almal by Cressy, my ander-- (Speaker 1 -FA) whoo, but *name*,
 what a time! It was very nice, enjoyable (Speaker 2 - ZA) *ek is bly dji't geaat*
 (Speaker 1 -FA) No, no, no, I had to go, for this one I had to-- (ZA)

Then they reverse the order, with speaker 2 speaking Afrikaans, and speaker 1 English:

(10) (FA & ZA) *Inter-interlocutor switching*

nee sy was 'n Christen (Speaker 2 - ZA) but she-- her one brother was a preacher
 (Speaker 1 - FA)

However, per speaker, no CS occurs.

The other additional language interaction phenomena observed was Word-order. Word-order refers to instances where the word order or syntactic framework is from one language and the lexemes are from another. Word-order in this study is something akin to what Muysken (2000) calls congruent lexicalisation: one language's structure with mixed lexical items from both languages. For example:

(11) (AA) *Word order*

| | | |
|---------------------------------|--------------|-----------------------------|
| <i>sy't</i> | <i>gehad</i> | <i>uh twee drie kinders</i> |
| 3RD S AUX | to have PAST | two three children |
| 'she had two um three children' | | |

This example has an SVO word order typical of English but features Afrikaans lexemes. The word order in *Standard Afrikaans* would be S.V1.O.V2 (de Villiers 1951). Note the cliticized

't. According to my observations, cliticizing the past tense auxiliary *het* is characteristic of this variety of Afrikaans.

(12) *Standard Afrikaans word order for example 10*

| | | |
|----------------|--------------------------|--------------|
| <i>sy't uh</i> | <i>twee drie kinders</i> | <i>gehad</i> |
| 3RD S AUX | two three children | to have PAST |

Some other parameters for deciding what constitutes a switch and what does not were necessary for uniformity in the data analysis:

Proper nouns, as seen in example 13, are not considered a switch:

(13) (KA) *False switch*

Rose Corner *was reg oor die straat vannie barber*
 'Rose Corner was directly across the street from the barber'

'Rose Corner' is the name of a place. The exception is proper nouns which do have an equivalent in the other language, for example:

(14) (FB) *True switch*

die **Dutch** *het oorgekom, 'n discovery ding*
 'the Dutch travelled over (from Netherlands to the Cape)- a journey of discovery'

There is an Afrikaans equivalent for the English proper noun 'Dutch', *Nederlanders*. Because it is not used here it is considered a switch.

Reported speech also does not count as a switch, as in example 15 which follows:

(15) (ZA) *False switch*

toe sê hulle vir hom -- ah toe sê hy-- **"oh Randal, you can't say no, you have to say yes"**

‘so they said to him – ah so he said - "oh Randal, you can't say no, you have to say yes"

The text in italics is Afrikaans and the quoted speech (in bold) that follows is English but it is not considered a switch because the speaker is quoting someone else.

Reported speech may, however, sometimes trigger a switch, as in the example which follows:

(16) (ZA) *True switch triggered by false switch*

toe sê hulle vir hom -- ah toe sê hy-- "oh Randal, you can't say no, you have to say yis"
but he's very well spoken nè

‘so they said to him – ah so he said - "oh Randal, you can't say no, you have to say yes"
but he’s very well spoken you know’

The quoted English false switch leads a genuine switch to English, which is topped with a Tag-switch back to Afrikaans (*nè* meaning in this instance ‘you know?’).

3.2.2. Internal Triggers

Deuchar et als (2017) investigated whether studies contained “quantitative information about the nature of the constituents switched (noun phrases, verb phrases, etc.)” In other words, did the studies provide information about the constituent which triggered the switch? Deuchar et als comparison shows that, while all the studies provided some sort of information to this effect, there were differences in the depth of information provided per study. This study provides fairly in-depth information of this nature; Intra-word and Intra-sentential switches were both quantified for the constituent that triggered the switch i.e. what part of speech/syntactic element triggers the switch to another code. The constituent which leads the switch is what is defined as the Internal Trigger. For example:

(17) (KA) *Intra-word switch trigger*

hulle *het* *hulle* ***gecall'ie*** *Globe gang*

3rdPI V1 DEM PAST-V2 call DET Globe gang

'They called them the Globe gang/ They were called the Globe gang'

The Internal Trigger is V2 PAST suffix *ge-*. The determiner *die* 'the' of the NP *Globe gang* is cliticized to *'ie* and attached to VP.

3.2.3. Directionality of Code-Switching

Some recent CS studies have analysed Directionality (Muysken 1997, Deuchar et al 2017, Raichlin et al 2018, Çetinoglu 2017). Both Muysken and Çetinoglu additionally provide information about Directionality per switch type. Analysis of Directionality in this study is two-layered. The first is Directionality in all samples from the data set which contain some type of CS. The second layer of analysis will quantify what effect the type of switch or language interaction phenomenon has on the direction of switching.

When coding for Directionality one must decide to how to cope with sentences where there were several switches. For example, the sentence below reflects the following pattern:

(18) (NA) *Directionality*

CMA >**SAfE**>*CMA*>**SAfE**

die Coloureds is nou mos altyd in die middel, so wat is die point as jy nou gaan change na wit?

'the Coloured (people) are always in the middle, so what is the point of changing (your racial classification) to White?'

One way of seeing this would be to say that, in the above example, if we note a switch from Afrikaans to English, we must equally note the return switch from English to Afrikaans. However, to avoid over-analysing the same snippet of data, it helps to consider the concepts of Matrix and Embedded Language (Myers-Scotton 1992). Once we consider this, we can see that the English words are in fact embedded in an Afrikaans environment; that Afrikaans here is the Matrix language, so the direction is therefore from Afrikaans into English. And it occurs twice. There are two instances of Intra-sentential switching within the sentence, both

in the direction CMA>SAfE. It is equally possible to find situations where no language is embedded, and one language clearly leads the switch. For example, in the sentence below:

(19) (JA) *Directionality*

SAfE>CMA

There's a whole scene in the Biesmillah caff¹⁶ up here, *maar hulle praat daai plat Afrikaans*
'There's a whole scene in the Biesmillah café up here, but they speak that flat Afrikaans.

¹⁶ This is the usual *South African English* spelling of 'café'

Chapter 4: Discussion of results

4.1. Typology of language interaction phenomena.

The results of the analysis of all these language interaction phenomena appears in Figure 4.1 below:

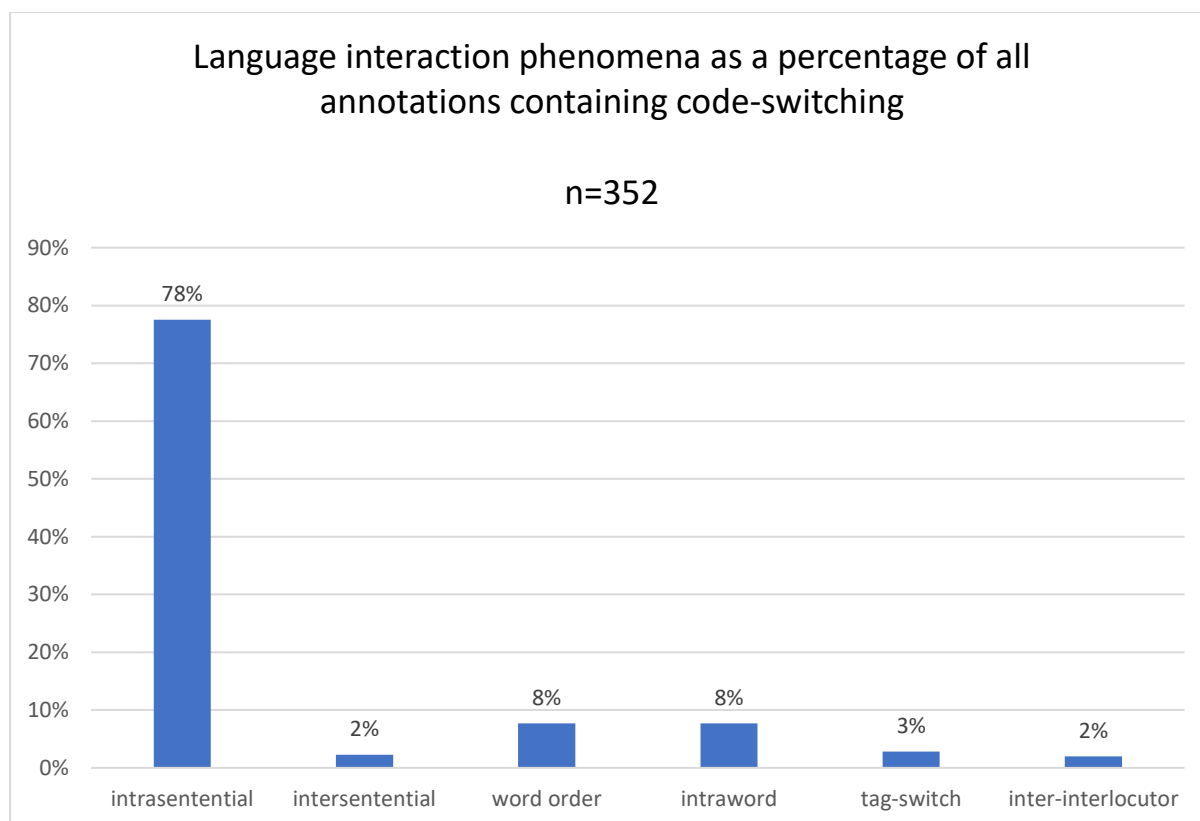


Figure 4.1 language interaction phenomena as a percentage of the data subset

The results presented in Figure 4.1 are expressed as a percentage of a data subset of 352 annotations (n=352). Only annotations which contain the following switch types are considered in this data-subset: Intra-word, Intra-sentential, Inter-sentential, Inter-interlocutor, Tag-switch, and Word-order.

At a lexical level, it is clear from these results that Intra-sentential switches were by far the most common type of switch in this data set, being present in 78% of the sampled annotations. Results from other CS studies corroborate this finding (Al Heeti et al 2016, Koban 2012, Falk 2013). The study on the type and functions of CS used by Iraqi doctors (Al Heeti et al 2016) further suggests that switch type is context dependent. This study did not analyse for context, but it would be interesting to look at this aspect of the switch-type distribution in a future study.

Beyond that there is an equal number of Intra-word and Word-order switches, which respectively account for 8% and 8% of the switching present in the data set. From this one can see that CS in this community extends beyond the lexical level. The data suggests that Tag-switching is not common in this speech community, comprising only 3% of all CS samples. The switching between interlocutors (Inter-interlocutor) comprises just 2% (n=7) of the data set, but it is coded for and quantified because it is interesting. Of the 379 annotations recorded, 352 contained instances of CS (the rest were stretches or “islands” (Myers-Scotton 1993) of uninterrupted English or Afrikaans. This means that 93% of what was said during these interviews was code-switched language. CS is the norm for these speakers.

4.2. Internal Triggers

Figure 4.2 below shows that the most common Trigger for Intra-word switching in this corpus was the main verb of the past tense Verb Phrase. Out of 27 occurrences of Intra-word switching, 16 were of this nature. An English verb head is always housed within an Afrikaans past tense structure. Nowhere in the data set was the opposite observed. The past tense structure of VP in Afrikaans is likely very susceptible to Intra-word switching, because it is constructed out of an auxiliary and a main verb, which is constructed the affix *ge-* + Verb head, so there is nothing preventing the speaker from just attaching *ge-* to an English verb head. With these speakers, the auxiliary *het* that *Standard Afrikaans* dictates must be present in the past tense construction is present, but cliticized to *'t*. The remaining Intra-word switches were Noun Phrases and Adverbs, which each made up 12% of the data set and Adjectives and Inflectional Phrases, which each accounted for 8% of the data set.

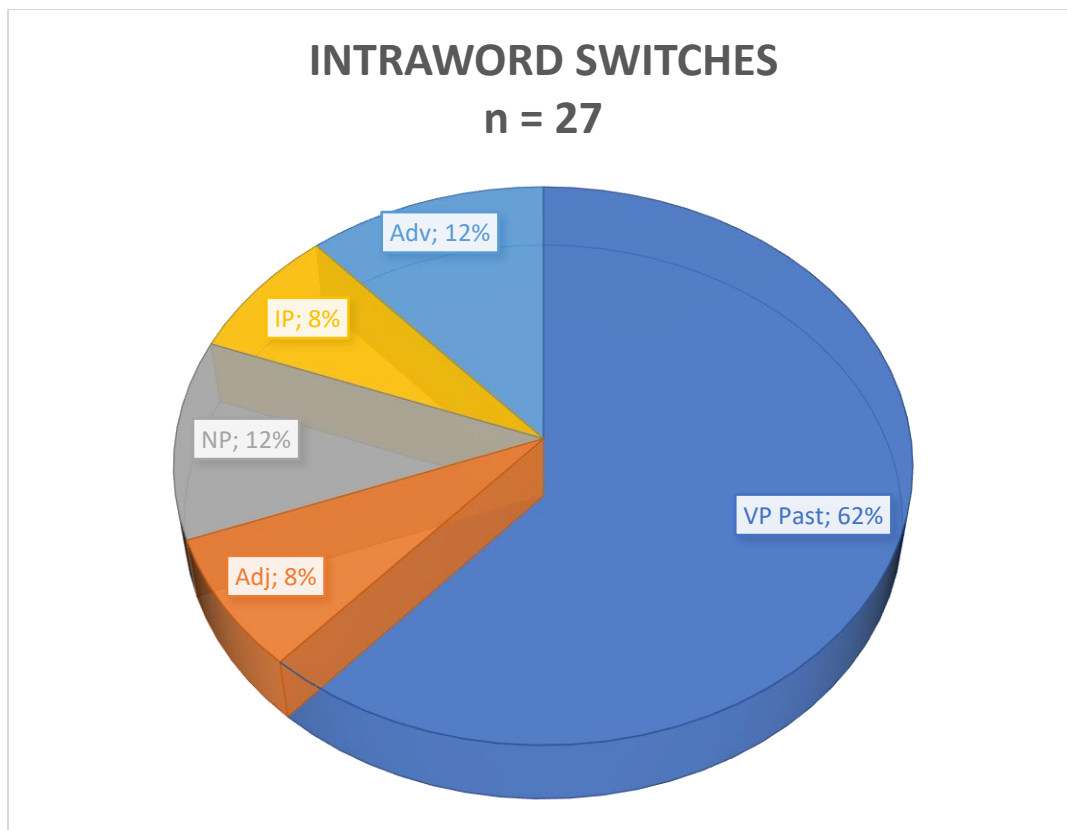


Figure 4.2 Constituent type in Intra-word switches

Intra-sentential switch

Intra-sentential switches, as we saw, were by far the most common type of switch in this corpus, but what triggered them? Here is an example of one Intra-sentential switch from this study's corpus:

(20) (JA) Intra-sentential switch

- *en toe't hy gesterf in die subsequent dae in Johannesburg:*

| | | | | | |
|-----------|-----------|--------------|-----------|-----------------|------------|
| <i>En</i> | <i>uh</i> | <i>toe't</i> | <i>hy</i> | <i>gesterf</i> | <i>toe</i> |
| CONJ | INT | ADV -V1 | 3SG | PAST-V2- to die | ADV |

| | | | | | |
|-----------|------------|-------------------|------------|-----------|--------------|
| <i>in</i> | <i>die</i> | subsequent | <i>dae</i> | <i>in</i> | Johannesburg |
| PREP | DET | ADJ | NOUN-PL | PREP | NOUN |

'and then he died in the subsequent days in Johannesburg'

Example 20 shows an Intra-sentential switch where the Adjective is the switched constituent. However, Figure 4.3 below shows that the Noun Phrase provided the best environment for a switch to another code, NP making up 55% of the triggers for Intra-sentential switching in this corpus. Adjectives followed as a close second, at 14%.

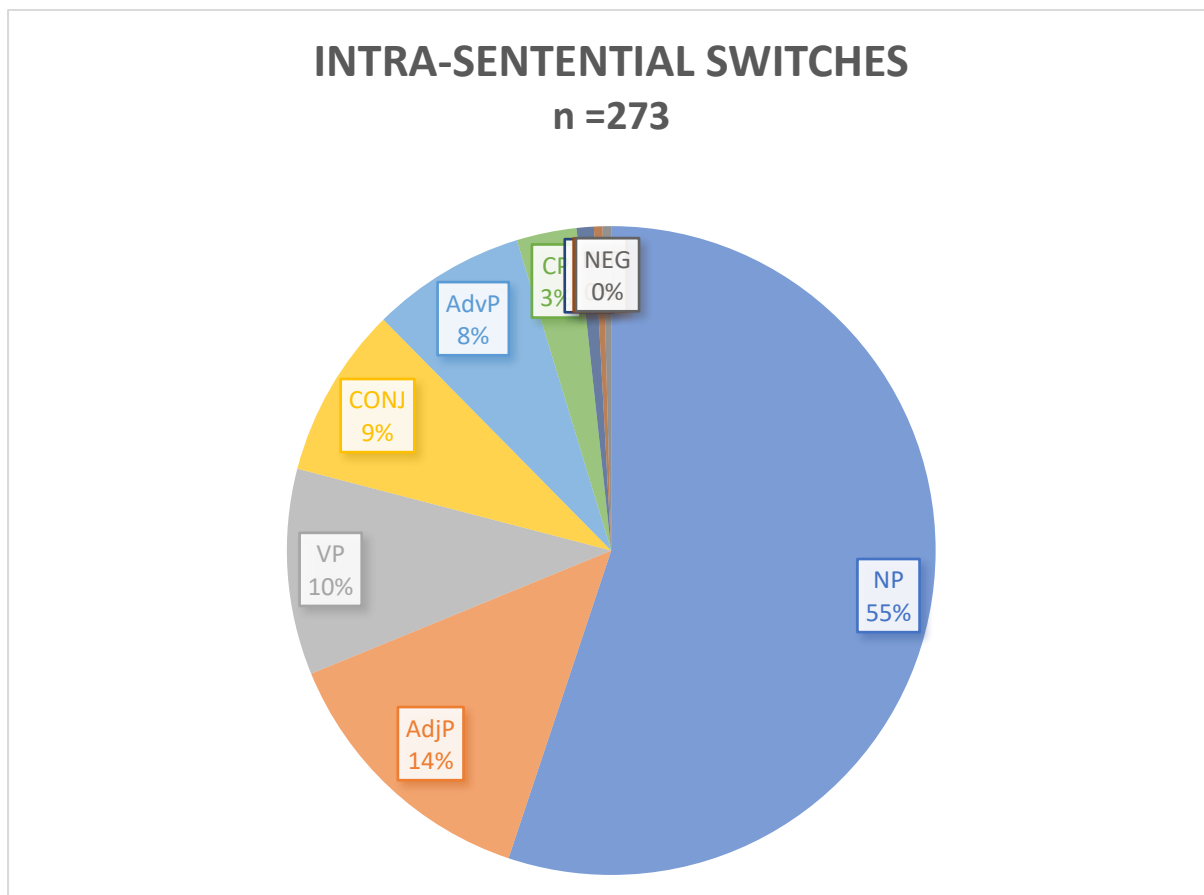


Figure 4.2 Intra-sentential switches by constituent type

Montes-Alcalá (2007) suggests that the popularity of the NP for switching may be because nouns are often words of cultural or religious significance which have no equivalent in the other language.

(21) (NA) Intra-sentential switch triggered by NP

- *daai is 'n ander generation you know:*

| | | | | | |
|-------------|-----------|-----------|--------------|-------------------|-----------------|
| <i>daai</i> | <i>is</i> | <i>'n</i> | <i>ander</i> | generation | <i>you know</i> |
| DEM | VERB | DET | ADJ | NOUN | TAG-PHRASE |

'that is a different generation you know'

There is quite a bit written about the availability of the noun phrase as an Internal Trigger for CS (Parafita Couto & Gullberg 2017, de Jong N.D, Eichler 2012). A fairly high percentage of NPs in Intra-sentential switches are numeric and refer to time or dates – most commonly the year. Of 129 Noun Phrase Intra-sentential Triggers, 10% were numeric, and of that 85% referred to time. Example 22 shows this.

(22) (SA) Example Numeric NP

- *ek't*¹⁷ **thirty-four great grandchildren:**

| | | | |
|-------------|--------------------|--------------|----------------------|
| <i>ek't</i> | thirty-four | great | grandchildren |
| 1SG-POSS | NOUN PHRASE-NUM | ADJ | NOUN |

‘I have thirty-four great grandchildren’

(23) (AA) Numeric NP referring to time

- *Sewetiende van die twaalfde maand* **nineteen thirty-four:**

| | | | | | |
|-------------------|------------|------------|-----------------|--------------|-----------------------------|
| <i>sewetiende</i> | <i>van</i> | <i>die</i> | <i>twaalfde</i> | <i>maand</i> | nineteen thirty-four |
| NOUN | PREP | DET | ADJ | NOUN | NOUN PHRASE-DATE |

‘the seventeenth of the twelfth month 1934’

Inter-sentential switches are not coded for Trigger because, by definition, the sentence boundary is the Trigger.

4.3. Directionality of Code-Switching

In all samples from the data set which contain some type of CS, CMA>SAfE switching was by far the most common direction, at 85% (279 out of 329 samples). SAfE>CMA Directionality accounts for only 15% (49 out of 329 samples). All this points to CMA being the Matrix or host language, with SAfE embedded in it. A visual representation of this appears in Figure 4.4 below.

¹⁷ Pronounced [ekət]

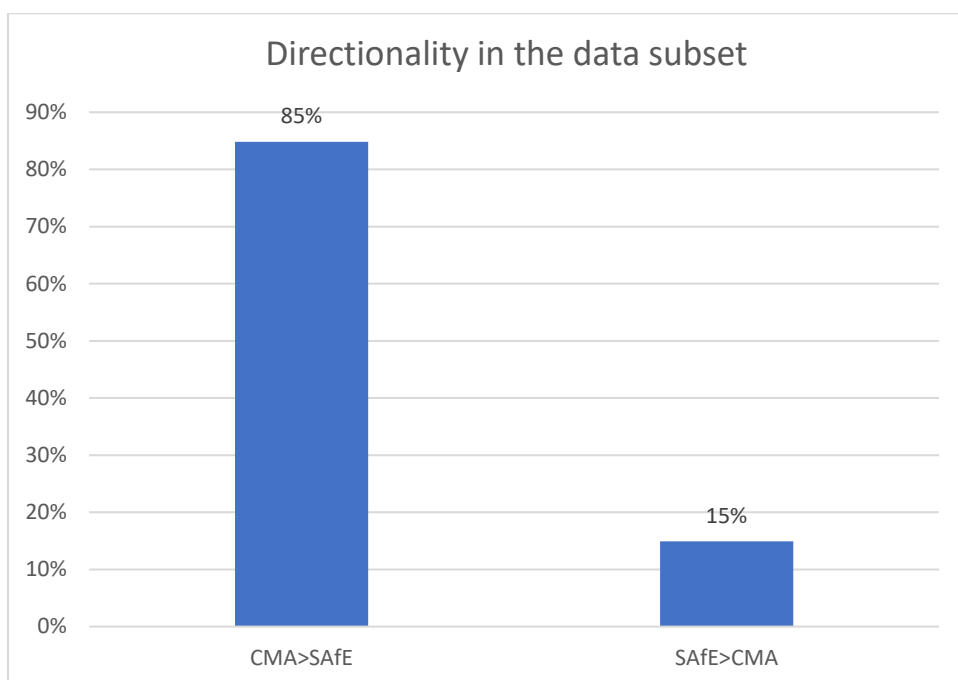


Figure 4.3 Directionality in the data subset

The concept of Directionality provides insight into what language seems to be playing the role of Matrix Language and which is the Embedded Language, in Myers-Scotton's (1993) terms.

The second layer of the Directionality analysis quantified what effect the type of switch or language interaction phenomenon had on the direction of switching. By far the most common language interaction phenomenon was Intra-sentential switching. Of 273 Intra-sentential switches, CMA> SAFE was the most dominant direction, at 84%, as shown in Figure 4.5:

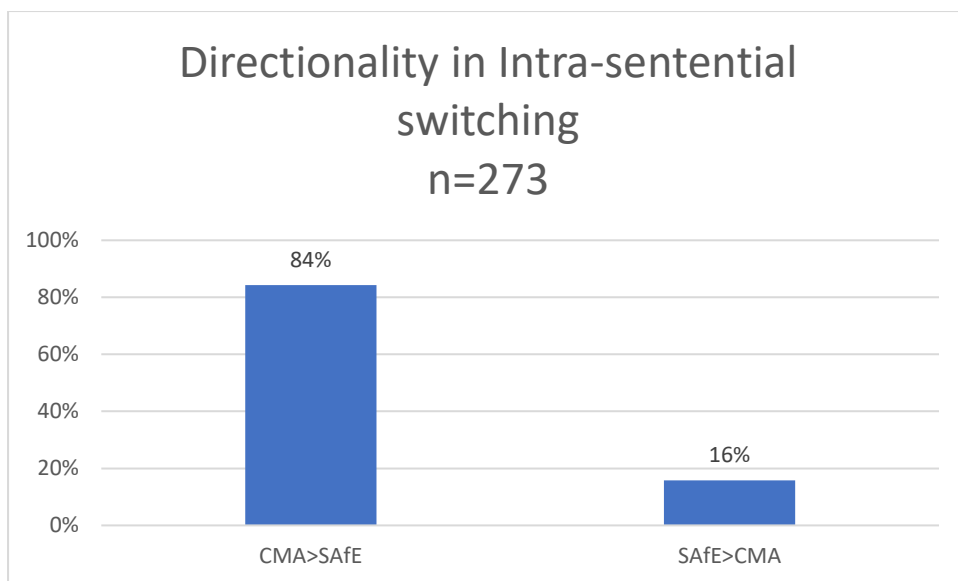


Figure 4.3 Directionality in Intra-sentential switches

The next most common type of switch was Inter-sentential switching (n=30). An interesting situation arose here, in that the balance of Directionality was even, at exactly 50% CMA>SAFE and 50% SAFE>CMA (see Figure 4.6).

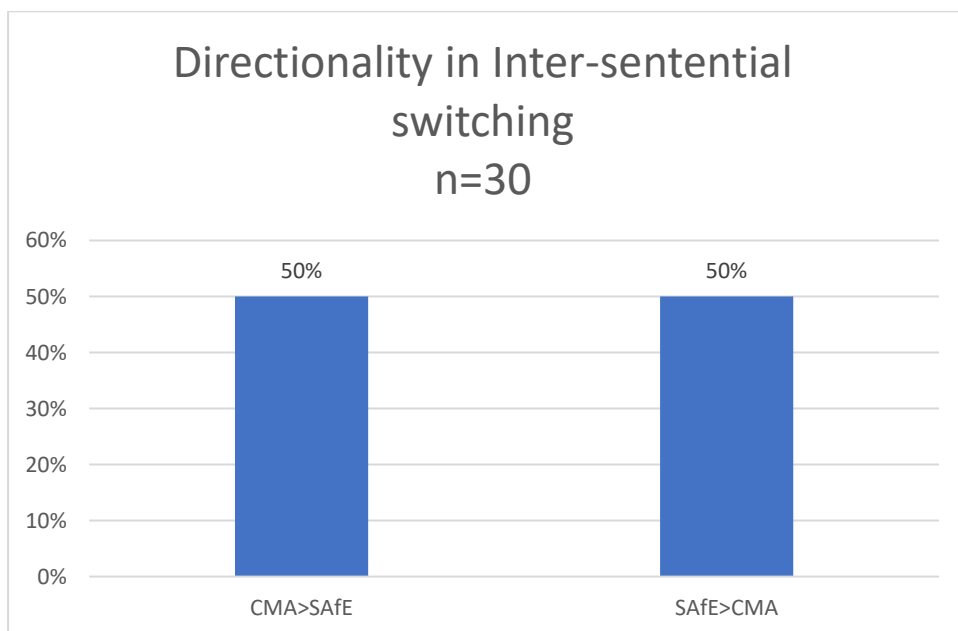


Figure 4.3 Directionality in Inter-sentential switching

Another interesting Directionality finding is that, out of 31 occurrences, only one Intra-word switch is in the direction SAfE>CMA. That one occurrence is a phrasal verb. All the CMA>SAfE Intra-word switches were past tense verbs. In Tag-switching, SAfE>CMA Directionality does not feature. 100% of Tag-switches were CMA>SAfE.

Chapter 5: Conclusions and Recommendations

In conclusion, this study echoes the findings of several other studies that Intra-sentential switching is by far the most common language interaction phenomenon in CS, even though this type of switching requires the highest level of mastery of both codes. Noun Phrases were the most common trigger for an Intra-sentential switch, a finding which is also in line with the findings of other studies in this area (Parafita Couto & Gullberg 2017, de Jong N.D, Eichler 2012).

It was observed that, in this community, the most common Intra-word switch in this corpus was in the past tense Afrikaans verb. As explained in the discussion of the results, a possible reason for this is that the construction of past tense verbs in Afrikaans is such that it invites Intra-word switching. This is because the past tense is constructed out of the auxiliary *het* and a main verb, which is constructed using the affix *ge-* + Verb head. There is, therefore, nothing preventing the speaker from just attaching *ge-* to an English verb head (or a verb head from any other language for that matter). It would be interesting to analyse other Afrikaans-English CS corpora to see whether to what extent this is true for other varieties of Afrikaans.

Another interesting discovery was that Noun Phrases in Intra-sentential switching most often refer to time. One wonders whether this phenomenon is limited to Afrikaans-English CS in this community, and if so why. An opportunity for future research exists in exploring whether this phenomenon extends to CS in other languages too.

One of the identifying features of *Cape Muslim Afrikaans* is its retained (Mesthrie & Bhatt 2008) cultural lexis. My awareness of this led me to ask participants during the interviews for this study for words which they thought of as unique to or typical of *Cape Muslim Afrikaans*. What resulted was a collection of words over 25 pages long. It was never the expectation that such a large lexicon would be assembled from this study, and this is certainly an inspiration for further research as well as publication. I found doing fieldwork within the Bo-Kaap community to be a culturally valuable experience. Through my conversations, as well as through unearthing the meanings of all the words in the word list, I learnt about many traditions that I had never known about before. Traditions of life, death, love, and respect which all speak so strongly of Belonging (Antonsich 2010, Buonfino and Thomson 2007) in this community, that this too deserves to be written about in the future.

Possibly the strongest finding of this study is that 93% of the transcribed conversation contained CS. A further question that arises from this is whether language mixing (not just

with English but other languages too as we have seen) is in fact characteristic of *Cape Muslim Afrikaans* as a variety. Before embarking on this study, I had the impression that Afrikaans-English mixing was typical of this community (and others in the Cape). At least for the demographic represented by this sample, that hunch is confirmed. Broader fieldwork within the community would reveal more.

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Addendum A – call for participants translated into English



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Language, Migration and Social Change

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I am a Masters student at the University of Cape Town and my research is on Afrikaans in the Cape Muslim community. The final goal of my research is to document *Cape Muslim Afrikaans*. I am looking for Afrikaans speaking people in the Cape Muslim community who are willing to participate in a short interview. I would like to know a bit about your personal history, for example:

- Where were you born?
- Where did you go to school?
- How long have you been living in the Cape?
- Where are/were your parents from? Are/ were they Capetonians?

Then I would also like to ask a bit about your personal language use habits, for example:

- When do you use Afrikaans? At home? At work?
- Do you speak Afrikaans to your children?
- How do you feel about the Afrikaans language?

Finally there is a short list of words said to be unique to *Cape Muslim Afrikaans*, such as *bangoeroe*, *uitboek*, and *gepwasa*. I would like to know if you know these words, and if you know their meaning.

Participants can be mother tongue, second language, or bilingual speakers of Afrikaans.

Interviews will be in Afrikaans and will take about half an hour.

I am also seeking *kopiesboeke* or *kitaab boeke*, or any other documents written in *Cape Muslim Afrikaans/ Malayu Afrikaans*, of which I could make photocopies.

If you are able to assist me in documenting this unique variety of Afrikaans, please write your contact details on the form below.

Addendum B – interview questions with English translations

- *Wanneer en waar is jy gebore?*

When, and where, were you born?

- *Hoe lank het jy daar gebly? Het jy daar or êrens anders grootgeword?*

How long did you live there for? Did you grow up there or somewhere else?

- *Was jy ook op skool daar?*

Did you also go to school there (where you grew up)?

- *Wat het jy ná school gedoen? Het jy verder studies voltooid, of het jy onmiddellik begin werk?*

What did you do after you finished school? Did you take on further studies, or did you enter the working world straight away?

- *En nou, watter tipe werk doen jy?*

And now/ these days, what sort of work are you doing?

- *Hoe lank het jy al in die Bo-Kaap gebly?*

How long have you been living in Bo-Kaap?

- *Vertel my van jou ouers – waarvandaan kom hulle? Was hulle ook deel van die Bo-Kaap gemeenskap? Was Hulle albei Muslim?*

Tell me about your parents – where were they from? Were they also part of the Bo-Kaap community? Were they both Muslim?

- *Was jy Muslim opgevoed?*

Were you raised Muslim?

- *Is jy getroud en het jy kinders? Hou oud is hulle? Is hulle nog op skool of is hulle werkend?*

Are you married, and do you have children? Are they still at school or are they working?

- *As hulle nog op skool is, wat dink jy sal hulle na skool doen?*

If they are still at school, what do you think they will do after they finish school? (*looking for future tense constructions*)

- *Wanneer gebruik jy Afrikaans? by die huis? by die werk? Social media?*

When do you use Afrikaans? At home? At work? Social media?

- *Praat jy Afrikaans met jou kinders?*

Do you speak Afrikaans with your children?

- *Wat dink jy oor die toekoms van Afrikaans in jou gemeenskap?*

What are your thoughts on the future of Afrikaans in your community?

- *Sommige mense met wie ek gesels het het die opinie uitgespreek dat Maleier Afrikaans verskil van die ander tipe Afrikaans in die Kaap – dink jy ook so? Op watter manier(e) verskil Maleier Afrikaans?*

Some people that I have spoken to have expressed the opinion that Malay Afrikaans differs from the other types of Afrikaans spoken in the Cape – would you agree? In what ways is Malay Afrikaans different?

- *Ek is besig om 'n woordelys te versamel; woorde wat uniek aan Maleier Afrikaans is. Miskien kan jy my help om die lys te vergroot – het jy enige woorde wat jy wil bydra?*

I am compiling a list of words unique to *Cape Muslim Afrikaans*. Perhaps you can help me to improve the list - can you think of other words unique to this variety or your community? (*this list has ended up being one of the most successful aspects of my data collection. The resulting lexicon will be published as an independent work in the future*).