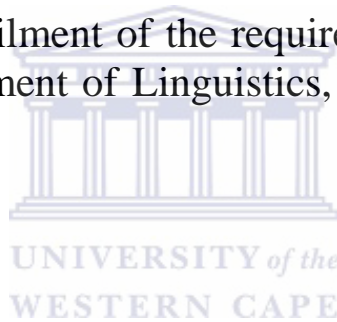# A Discourse Analysis of Code-Switching Practices among Angolan Migrants in Cape Town, South Africa

Dinis Fernando da Costa (2865747)

A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in Department of Linguistics, University of the Western Cape

UNIVERSITY *of the*
WESTERN CAPE

SUPERVISOR: PROF. Charlyn Dyers

June 2010

Abstract

**A Discourse Analysis of Code-Switching Practices among
Angolan Migrants in Cape Town, South Africa**

Dinis Fernando da Costa

This thesis is an extension of my BA (Honours) research essay, completed in 2008. This thesis is a more in-depth study of the issues involved in code switching among Angolan migrants living in Cape Town by increasing the scope of the research. The significance of this study lies in the fact that code-switching practices of Angolans in the Diaspora has not yet been investigated, and I hope that this potentially rich vein of research will be taken up by future studies.

In this thesis, I explore the code-switching practices of long-term Angolans migrants in Cape Town when they interact with those who have been here for a much shorter period. In my Honours research essay, I revealed a tendency among those who have lived in Cape Town for some time to code-switch from Portuguese to English even in the presence of more recent migrants from Angola, who have little or no mastery of English. This thesis thus considers the effects of space, discourses of power, language ideologies and attitudes on the patterns of inter- and intra-sentential code-switching by these long-term migrants in interaction with each other as well as with the more recent "Angolan arrivals" in Cape Town.

Twenty Angolan migrants participated in this study. Of these, ten were long-term migrants to South Africa, while a further ten were relative newcomers. While the long-term migrants could claim to be bilingual in Portuguese and English, the newcomers were largely limited to a few English words in their repertoire. However, both groups could speak one or more of the indigenous languages of Angola, like Kimbundu, Umbundu, Kikongo and even Lingala (which is an indigenous language from Republic Democratic of Congo). Some of the long-term migrants had even acquired South African indigenous language such as isiXhosa and Afrikaans. The study

made use of qualitative ethnographic methodologies to collect the data. These included recorded conversations, individual and focus group interviews, both general observation and participant observation.

The findings of this study revealed that the discourse of long-term migrants shows marked and unmarked social code-switching. The former case is characterized by a deliberate attempt by participants aiming to gain something for their action whilst the latter is more unconscious and does not necessarily depend on cost – rewards concern. In both cases marked code-switching predominated and was motivated by a search of a new identity and exclusion of the late arrivals (newcomers) from the group membership.

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A Discourse Analysis of Code-Switching Practices Among Angolan   Immigrants in Cape Town, South Africa

Keywords:

Code-switching

Angolans

Discourse Analysis

Cape Town

English

Portuguese

Language attitude

Motivations

Status

Power

DECLARATION

I, Dinis Fernando da Costa, declare that *A Discourse Analysis of Code-Switching Practices among Angolan Immigrants in Cape Town, South Africa* is my own work, that it has not been submitted for any degree or examination in any other university, and that all the sources I have used or quoted, have been indicated and acknowledged by the complete references.

Dinis Fernando da Costa   **June 2010**

**Signed** ----------------------------------

Acknowledgements

First and foremost I am most grateful to Almighty God for the gift and spirit of courage and perseverance I was blessed with during times of hardship.

To my supervisor with so many gifts, Prof Charlyn Dyers, I have no words, indeed, to thank you for the diligent way you guided and pushed me through this achievement, I can only wish you blessings in abundance.

To my mother Julieta, to my late father, aunt and uncle Marquinha and Fernando Cabina for bringing me into this wild universe: caring, nurturing and protecting me, I am truly thankful and I will always be.

To all lecturers of the Department of Linguistics at the University of the Western Cape, and the HOD, Prof Chris Stroud, I admire you all and I am most grateful. I will always use your example as template of my future as an academic.
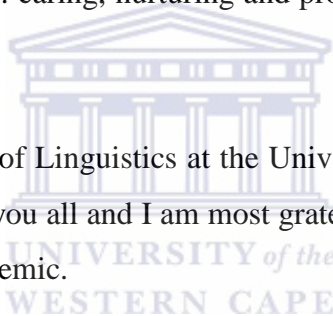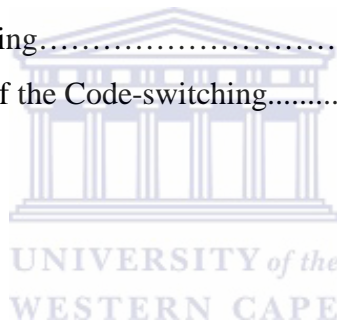
To the best secretaries ever, Mrs. Heather Williams and Mrs. Avril Grovers, UWC, and in particular this beautiful continent, AFRICA, can be proud of having you. We take your legacy of treating every human equally for healing the hatred among us Africans and bring the longed-for hope to this beautiful continent. *Obrigadíssimo*.

To my dearest fellow-students in the Dept. Linguistics, who selfishly shared their time, concerns and knowledge with me, *Muito Obrigado*.

List of Figures and Tables

List of abbreviations

CS   Code-switching

PLUA   United Struggle for Africans of Angola

MPLA   The Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola

UNITA   National Union for the Total Independence of Angola

UPNA   Union of the Populations of the Northern Angola

FNLA   National Front for the Liberation of Angola

DRC   Democratic Republic of Congo

SADC   Southern African Development Community

UNHCR   United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

LSA   Long- Term Migrants

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

1.0 Introduction

One of the characteristics of multilingual societies is language contact, resulting in multilingual individuals who use code-switching between languages as a special, symbolic and normal communicative tool. For Slabbert and Finlayson (2002:235) "switching languages or linguistic varieties within the same conversation, or code-switching (CS) as it is termed, is a dynamic and growing phenomenon as contact between speakers of various languages throughout the world continues to increase". Appel and Muysken (1987:117) see code-switching as "a central part of bilingual discourse", while Hudson (1996:51) perceives it as an "inevitable consequence of bilingualism or more generally, multilingualism".

The term 'code-switching' refers to "the use of two languages in the same conversation … (which) serves a specific interactional task for participants" (Gumperz, 1982; Auer1984; and Myers - Scotton, 1993b all cited in Auer & Wei, 2007: 279). Thus CS is a conversational or 'discourse strategy', to use Gumperz's (1982) term. Various studies have shown that code-switching does not happen in isolation, but it is influenced by factors such as trajectory, spatiality and scale. Blommaert *et al.* (2005) argue that every communicative event develops in some time-and space-frame and both have effects on what happens. Collectively or individually, these [factors] or complementary dimensions of space influence language practices [*which,* to me, *are forms of behaviour*], especially in multilingual settings (Vigouroux: 2005).
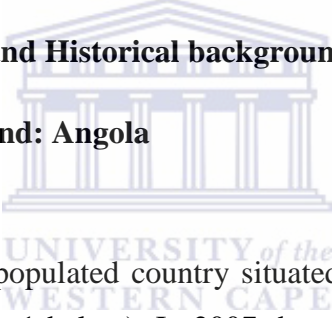
The focus of this thesis is an examination of code-switching discourse practices within a Diaspora population of Lusophones from Angola, and the study is informed by concepts such as space, discourses of power, language ideologies, attitudes, and identity.

The migration of Angolans to South Africa, and to Cape Town in particular, has been taking place continuously since 1994 "…despite the institutional racism that prevailed then" (Vigouroux and Mufwene, 2008:235), and it is still continuing. Vigouroux and Mufwene (2008:229) argue that migration has "…caught linguists' attention as an ideal domain for investigating language dynamics that can shed light on the spread of language and *various others interesting linguistic phenomena* such as code-switching practice, which it is a common phenomenon among bilingual speakers"**.**

This study is stratified by long- term migrants on the one hand and newer arrivals in the new 'ecology' or space on the other. Of central interest is how code-switching between English and Portuguese, in particular by the long-term migrants, affects interaction with newer migrants with very limited or no knowledge of the English language.

1.1 Geographical, Linguistic and Historical background of Angola and South Africa

1.1. 1 Geographical Background: Angola

Angola is a vast and sparsely populated country situated on the Atlantic coast of West Central Africa (see map, Figure 1 below)**.** In 2007 the population was an estimated 16, 941, 000 inhabitants. The country covers an estimated area of 1,246,700 km² and it is divided into 18 provinces namely Bengo, Benguela, Bié, Cabinda, Cuando Cubango, Cuanza Norte, Cuanza Sul, Cunene, Huambo, Huila, Luanda, Lunda Norte, Lunda Sul, Malanje, Moxico, Namibe, Uíge and Zaire. It has as its immediate neighbours the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC – formerly Zaire) to the north-east, Zambia to the east, Namibia to the south and the South Atlantic Ocean to the West. Although the country is situated in the tropics, most of the country occupies a plateau over one thousand metres high and it enjoys a temperature climate. However, the coastal plains to the south form part of the Namib Desert. North of Angola is the oil rich enclave of Cabinda province separated from the rest of the country by the DRC's corridor to the Atlantic Ocean (Grace & Laffin, 1991).

Figure: 1 (Map extracted from: masofworld.com / online)

1.1.2 South Africa

The Republic of South Africa is the southern-most country of the African continent(see Figure 2) bordered on the North-West by Namibia; on the north by Botswana and Zimbabwe; on the north-east by Mozambique and Swaziland; on the east and south by the Indian Ocean and on the west by Atlantic Ocean. The independent country of Lesotho forms an enclave in the Eastern part of the country. South Africa covers an area of 1, 219,090 Sq km with an estimate population of 44, 718,530, according to a 2004 survey (Van Der Merwe and Van Der Merwe, 2006).
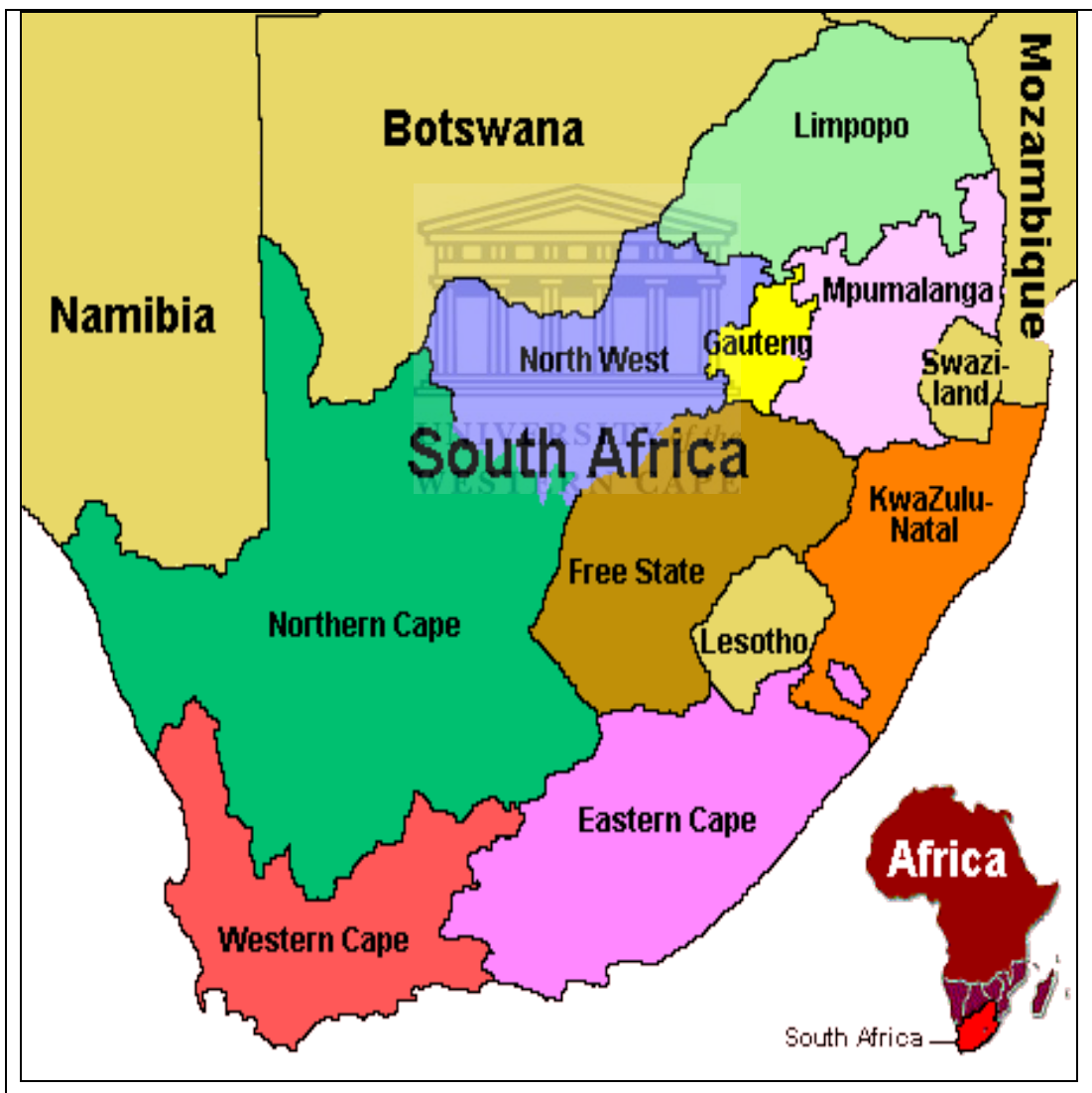
Figure: 2 (Map extracted from: masofworld.com / online/ 28/10/09)

1.1.3 A brief Historical Background of Angola

According to the *Manual de História* by Nsiangengo *et al*. (2009*)*, Angola's earliest known inhabitants were the Khoesan (hunter gatherers that evolved into nomadic cattle farmers) in the Savannah regions, and the *Vatuas* (better known as *Kwepes* and *Kuissis*) who also spoke a Khoesan language. This includes the Bantu people who entered Angola in two groups: one that entered through the Eastern and the other through the Southern region of Angola. As the migration process took its course, each one of these two groups initially only occupied a fraction of Angolan territory formed important kingdoms. The main kingdoms that emerged before the occupation of the European settlers were the Kingdom of Kongo, Ndongo, Kassanje, Lunda, Bailundo and the Kingdom of Kwanyama. The Bantu were divided into nine distinct ethnic groups – the Bakongo, Nganguela, Nyaneka-Humbe, Herero, Lunda-Kioko (Côkwe), Hambo and Ambundo. Each of these groups had its own language and all had advanced steel manufacturing and agricultural techniques.

The colonial domination of the Portuguese, according to Nsiangengo *et al.* (2009) started gradually with the establishment of successful and peaceful relations with various kingdoms in Angola. However, this ended when various kingdoms rejected D. João I's demand that they should adapt the ruling system of ***capitanias***[1] in their territories. In 1571 the Portuguese King ordered Paulo Dias de Novais to take control and to conquer 'by all means' the kingdoms of the territory that today is known as Angola . In 1575 Paulo Dias de Novais founded the city of Luanda as the colonial capital and strategic point of departure from which to penetrate and expand into other regions which were not under his authority. The effective occupation by the Portuguese colonizers can be dated from the founding of Luanda until Angola's independence in 1975. As a result of this colonization, the majority of Angolans are Christian with approximately 53% professing the Christian faith - 38% being Catholics and 15% Protestants, a further 47% practices indigenous beliefs (Nsiangengo *et al.,* 2009).

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[1] **Capitanias** were designations attributed to the first administrative divisions in Brazil. It consisted in giving the administrative power to military captains with vast powers to rule.

Nsiangengo *et al.* (2009) also provide an overview of the resistance to colonial rule. In the 1950s the first Angolan nationalist freedom fighter groups started to emerge such as *Partido de Luta Unida por Angola* (PLUA, in 1953) and the *União das Populações do Norte de Angola* (UPNA, in 1954) which later was changed into *União das Populações de Angola do Norte de Angola* (UPNA, in 1958). Between 1956s and 1966s respectively three rival guerrilla groups were formed to fight for Angolan independence, namely the *Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola* (MPLA) and *União para a Independência Total de Angola* (UNITA). This latter group emerged from the FNLA (*Frente Nacional de Libertação de Angola*). These groups waged the longest war of independence and decolonisation in recent African history. Portuguese colonial rule finally ended with the defeat of the Portuguese forces, and the declaration of Angolan Independence on the 11th of November of 1975.

For Angola, independence did not mean peace. An invading force of South African and other troops and mercenaries entered Angola on the eve of its independence. On Independence Day enemy troops were only few kilometres from Luanda. However, with the assistance of Cuba and other countries in Africa, the South African army was driven out of Angola on March 27, 1976, four months after independence. In addition to this war, Angola was also immersed in another long and bloody civil war between UNITA, which was strongly supported by then South African *Apartheid* government, and the MPLA, which was supported by the communist world. This long and painful conflict destabilised the country particularly in terms of the destruction of its infrastructure and a heavy loss of life; up to 1, 5 million lives may have been lost – and 4 million people displaced, according to Bloch & Heese (2007:15). This war was principally responsible for the migration of many Angolans to neighbouring countries, including South Africa.

Human migration, both voluntary and forced, ranks as one of the most contentious issues facing the world today. Already about 125 million people live outside the countries where they were born – it is "as if the entire population of Japan had packed up and left" (Kane, 1995:5). Furthermore, Kane holds that what precipitates migratory flow is persecution in the home country in the case of refugees, and job scarcity in the case of migrant

labourers. Civil war is part and parcel of "…a wide range of factors … involved in migration decisions, including factors related to poverty and services, events in individual or family life cycle, personal concerns and outside events" (Kok *et al*., 2006: 214).

Kok *et al.* (2006) further state that the number of migrants coming to South Africa, particularly those originating from the African continent, has increased since the early 1990s, and more so after the first democratic elections in 1994. These migrants came primarily from countries of the Southern African Development Community (SADC). With both South Africa's political transition which began with Mandela's release from the prison in 1990 and the end of the *apartheid* regime resulting in first democratic elections in 1994, masses of Angolan immigrants sought asylum and refugee status there. An estimated 15 000 Angolans currently live in South Africa, according to the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) (*Cape Times*, July 23/08, p.3). In the city of Cape Town, most of these migrants used to reside in suburban black townships such as Langa, Philippi, Nyanga and Gugulethu until the xenophobic turmoil between May and July 2008 which forced many of them to move to other safer places such as Woodstock, Rondebosch, Mowbray, Wynberg and Observatory. A large number of them work in the building construction industry.

1.2 The Linguistic Backgrounds of Angola and South Africa

1.2.1 Angola

Angola is a multilingual country with an estimated 41 indigenous languages and its main ethno-linguistic groups are Kikongo (also spoken in Congo and Republic Democratic of Congo (DRC), Kimbundu, Umbundu and Tchokwe (also spoken in the Republic Democratic of Congo and Zambia), Nganguela (also spoken in Zambia) and Oshiwambo (also spoken in Namibia) (Martin, 1980; Diarra, 2003). Portuguese is the official language of the country. When Angola gained independence, the favoured language, accepted and used at every level by the former colonial power, was its own language,

Portuguese. Local languages were looked down upon, so much that they were referred to as "dog languages" (Diarra, 2003: 183 - 190).

1.2.2 South Africa

Like Angola, South Africa is also a country with linguistic diversity, and over 31 languages are spoken here. The South African Constitution of 1996 gave 11 languages official status namely Sepedi, Sesotho, Setswana, siSwati, Tshivenda, Xitsonga, Afrikaans, isiNdebele, isiXhosa, isiZulu and the ex-colonial language, English. English is not only the national *lingua franca* but is also vested with much power and prestige, making it the dominant language in South Africa. This can be attributed, mainly, to historical reasons: In 1910, the four British colonies in South Africa and the two former Boer republics, which had been defeated in the Anglo-Boer War by the British, merged. However, in the new Union of South Africa, Dutch (known as 'Afrikaans' only from 1924) was given official status together with English, but English was the language of economic power and social status (Dyers, 2000). At the same time, the various homeland states created under the *apartheid* regime (one for each separate black ethnic group, like Transkei for the Xhosas, Kwa-Zulu for the Zulus, Bophuthatswana for the Tswanas and so on) used their 'independence' to overturn the policy of dual medium education, and in almost all cases opted for one language – English – as the medium of instruction at post-primary level (Dyers, 2000).

Overall, as hostility to Afrikaans remained steadfast and as the invisibility of African languages increased, black South Africans, as with Africans elsewhere, identified English as the language of advancement and democracy while at the same time English was nicknamed 'the language of liberation' as opposed to Afrikaans, which was known as 'the language of the oppressor'. Kamwangamalu (1995), cited in Dyers (2000), argues that the reality of South Africa is of state language policies that run counter to people's strong positive attitude towards, and preference for, one language, English. The dominant role of English in South Africa would therefore unquestionably have an enormous impact on migrants from other African countries.

1.3 Motivation for doing the research

On my second day in Cape Town in 1998, while visiting a friend in Langa, I was surrounded by a group of my compatriots whose curiosity about the political situation of Angola kept me in their company for almost the entire day. During our conversation I learnt that most of them were originally from Luanda, the capital of Angola and had been in South Africa since 1995.

After we had moved on to a local bar (shebeen), our topics shifted from the socio-political situation in Angola to a comparison of the life-styles back home and in the host country. During this discussion, some of them switched from Portuguese to English although they were aware that I could hardly speak any English. English is the dominant language in Cape Town, followed by Afrikaans and Xhosa as languages spoken by substantial numbers of people. Though I understand that not all code switching is necessarily marked or deliberate, I agree that unmarked cases are also possible if not inevitable phenomenon in bilingual or multilingual settings. Nevertheless, my experience as a newcomer motivated me to investigate the motivation behind the code-switching practices of my fellow countrymen who had already resided in Cape Town for many years.

Furthermore, an interview I conducted recently with ten refugees from the Democratic Republic of Congo and ten from Burundi, respectively, (as part of my work as a research assistant in the Dept. Linguistics at UWC) revealed that the behaviour I observed among Angolans in Cape Town is not an isolated case, but is also present in other migrant communities in Cape Town where individuals reveal various levels of proficiency in English, from hardly any to a fairly high degree of competence. This factor appeared to influence interaction patterns and relations of power between those more proficient and less proficient in English.

1.4 Research Aim

The overriding aim of this thesis is to explore the code-switching practices of long-term Angolans migrants in Cape Town when they interact with the new arrivals. The thesis thus considers the effects of space, discourses of power, language ideologies and attitudes on the patterns of inter- and intra-sentential code-switching.

1.5 Research questions

The study explores the following questions:

  I.   What patterns of code-switching are emerging in discourse between long term Angolan migrants and newer arrivals in South Africa, and what are the effects of the code-switching on the participants in the interactions?

  II.   What are the sociolinguistic and discourse factors that influence these patterns of code-switching?

1.6 Research Assumptions

The thesis is based on some assumptions which in my understanding were likely to influence the language attitudes and ideologies of these migrants:

1. The high status of English within South Africa, host country of these migrants, and worldwide, compared to their home language (Portuguese), will influence their language practices.

2. The use of indigenous languages from Angola among these migrants will be minimal owing to their deference to the official colonial language of Angola, Portuguese.

3. Certain traumatic experiences (Triandis, 1971) will also have contributed to changes in the former language attitudes of the long-term Angolan refugees, and they may even be exhibiting signs of language shift to English from Portuguese. Migrants in general in South Africa have been experiencing insults from local people by being called *amakwerekwere,* a derogatory word meaning 'people who don't speak our languages and who came to seek their fortune in South Africa'. As a result of such traumatic experiences, such people try to speak English only or even attempt using other local languages to avoid such behaviour.

1.7 Chapter Outlines

Chapter One

This chapter presents the linguistic, geographical and historical background to the study, as well as the aims of the research, research questions, research assumptions and chapter outlines.
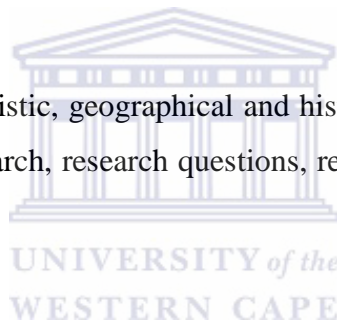
Chapter Two

In this chapter I focus on a detailed literature review on code-switching as well as its relationship with language ideology, attitudes and space.

Chapter Three

This chapter gives a complete description of the methodology (qualitative) employed in this study. This includes a description of the research population, the data collection instruments or procedure and the tools I used. I also look at the limitations of qualitative ethnography as data collection methodology.

Chapter Four

This chapter presents an analysis and discussion of the data collected from questionnaires, observations, interviews and recordings.

Chapter Five

This final chapter summarises the study by focusing on the achievement of the research aims, assumptions and questions. The study will end with a reflection on recommendations for further research.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Introduction

This literature review starts with a comparative analysis of past and present linguistic systems in Angola and South Africa, with particular focus on the language attitudes of Angolans towards their indigenous languages. This is followed by the theoretical and conceptual framework for this study, which is located in studies of code-switching in multilingual settings. In particular, I focus on the relationship between code-switching and space, language identity, language ideologies and attitudes respectively. As discourse analysis is a core component of the methodology, this is also discussed in this chapter.
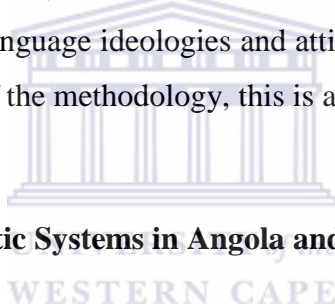
2. 1 Past and Present Linguistic Systems in Angola and South Africa

2.1.1 Angola

Angola, like most African nations, is a "…complex multilingual part of the world in terms of numbers of languages, the size of the communities speaking them, and the area each language covers" Abdulaziz (2003:103-112). The previous chapter we learned that Angola is a multilingual country with an estimated 41 indigenous languages. Its main ethno-linguistic groups are Kikongo, Kimbundu, Umbundu, Tchokwe, Nganguela and Oshiwambo (see Figure 3).

Ethno-linguistic map of Angola
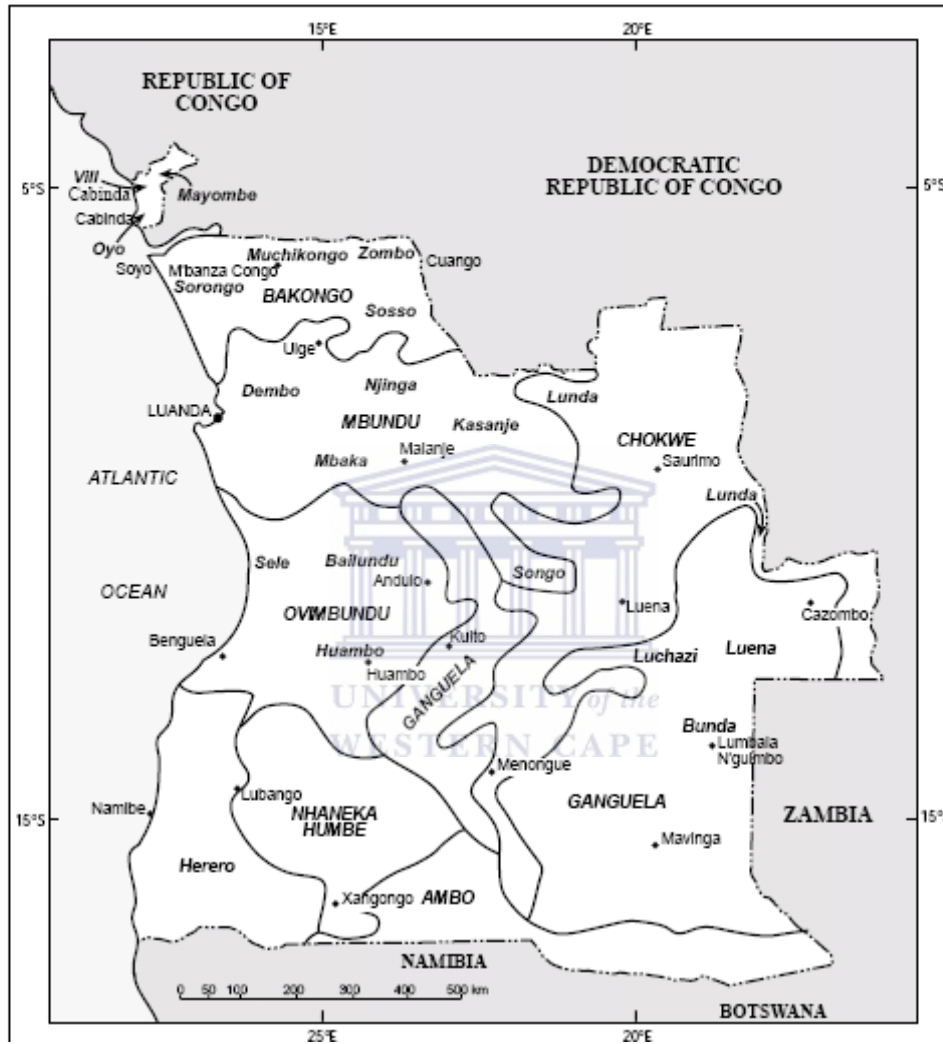
Figure 3 (Map extracted from: masofworld.com / online**)**

However, the colonial era in Angola was marked by intolerance on the part of the Portuguese colonizers towards Angola's indigenous languages. They regarded their overseas territories – Angola, Mozambique, Guinea Bissau and Cape Verde - as inalienable parts of metropolitan Portugal, and took stern measures to ensure that no

African languages were promoted. They even went as far as punishing missionaries who used African languages in education (Abdulaziz, 2003:105).

Following the colonial legislative measures of the 1920s, the colonized people in Lusophone (Portuguese-dominant) countries including Angola were separated into two legal categories: *assimilado* (assimilated) - loosely meaning a person, an African or *mestiço* (coloured) who could speak and write Portuguese and had adopted Portuguese culture, or *indígenas* – those who spoke their indigenous languages and practiced their indigenous cultures. In order to escape the much more lowly *indígenas* status, people had to prove they had become assimilated (Martin, 1980). The ideals of Portuguese colonial policy were traditionally based on the concept of racial equality (Figueiredo, 1961:121). But for Baker (2006: 400), the ideological position of *assimilado* is "a belief that cultural groups should give up their heritage cultures and take on host society's way of life". I partially disagree with Stroud (2007: 509-538) when he says that "in […] Portuguese Africa, a principle of assimilation allowed 'natives' a controlled access to […] Portuguese in order that they may become bona fide, assimilated citizens rather than mere subjects".

This argument can only be true if the colonial aim of the *assimilado* policy was to benefit and to promote multilingualism in the country which was clearly not the case. Instead, the policy aimed at eradicating indigenous linguistic as well as cultural values. Being black both culturally and linguistically in colonial Angola was never a bridge to full citizenship or the benefits whites enjoyed. The master plan of the Portuguese policy of monolingual was "to serve a goal of deculturation without structured assimilation, for the purpose of subordination and to strip Angolan people of their languages and to ensure their languages were suppressed" (Ricento, 2000:4). In addition "…this colonial official policy of *assimilado* helped to crystallize the stratification of group of people and levels of language. Along with the juxtapositions of languages, there was also a hierarchy of Portuguese social dialects and in spite African intellectuals re-inventing Portuguese as a form of cultural resistance, on the other hand, the colonizers vigilantly reaffirmed their

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dominance by ridiculing these attempts to master the superior language"(Hamilton, 1991: 313-323).

A major consequence of this policy, according to Hamilton, was that urban Africans and *mestiços* had only rudimentary, if any, knowledge of indigenous languages. Any representative work of Angolan literature is written in Portuguese, and although few indigenous people became westernized and learned the language, the system is believed to have left many Angolans and other citizens of Lusophone countries with negative attitude towards indigenous languages and culture. At the same time Angola and other Portuguese colonies in Africa "happen to be the most resistant to change […]" (Djité, 2008:56). The change Djité is stressing here is the attitude of local people towards acceptance of their own languages over Portuguese. This resistant attitude is understandable, given that independence have not diminished the position of Portuguese in Angola, which continued to be used at every level, while local languages were looked down upon and even referred to as "dog's languages" (Diarra, 2003: 183-190).

Because Portuguese cut across indigenous ethnolinguistic boundaries, it inevitably became the language of broad-based political indoctrination and popular mobilization. With independence, Portuguese again, inevitably, became the language of national unification as the leadership struggled to consolidate their ethnically and regionally diverse states around the idea of a single nationality (Hamilton, 1991: 313-323). Linguistically, this means that the 1975 independence has not benefited the Angolan people, although, according to Herbert (1992: 235), the liberation war radicalised African politics and made people increasingly aware of language as a symbol of culture and nationalism.

Today, after more than three decades of post-independence, none of the indigenous languages, referred to as *Línguas Nacionais* (National Languages) have been actively promoted and instead Portuguese is "marked by omnipresence to the detriment of the local languages"(Diarra, 2003: 183-190). Diarra further argues that the *de facto* language policy is the complementary coexistence of Portuguese and the national languages in a

context of multilingualism. Despite this policy, Portuguese takes the 'lion's share' and enjoys considerable prestige, as a result of the disdain in which the national languages were held under the colonial regime.

2.1.2 South Africa

"South Africa has been the meeting ground of speakers of languages belonging to several major families, the chief ones being Khoesan, Niger- Kordofanian and Indo-European as well as Sign Language. (Mestrie, 2002:11).

It is no longer a secret that the most indigenous of South African groups are people labelled 'Khoesan', who in the past existed as hunter-gatherers in small groups comprising a few small families. Some of them were livestock herders and their languages differed. In the early seventeenth century there were about eleven fairly similar Cape Khoekhoe varieties spoken from the Cape Good Hope in the west, along the southern Cape coast and its hinterland as far east as the Fish River (Elphick 1985:51).

The Bantu languages of South Africa, on the other hand, are classified as part of the Niger-Kordofanian family. These languages were spoken over two to three thousand years ago in what is today the Cameroon - Nigeria region, but today they span "…borderlands through the equatorial zone to the Kenyan coast and then Southwards to the Cape. The geographic expanse is thus enormous, as it occupies one-third of the African continent, as it is the degree of linguistic diversity" (Herbert & Bailey, 2002:50). The contact of these two linguistic groups, Khoesan and Bantu, in Southern Africa was quite extensive, and fairly amicable. According to Mesthrie (2002), the Bantu-speaking peoples of Southern Africa are inheritors of Khoesan ancestry and culture, and these can be noted not only in their physical features but also in their religions, medical ideas and in particular in their folk tales about wild animals.

In contrast, the contact with European settlers led to the ultimate destruction or radical transformation of Khoekhoe and San society, and Mesthrie (2002:14) observes that – with the exception of Nama - no Khoe languages are spoken in South Africa today. This

is confirmed by Köhler (1981:469): "Richtersveld and Orange river Nama are all that is left of the Khoekhoe linguistic tradition that included the many Cape Khoekhoe dialects as well as Nama spoken up the West Coast to Namaqualand and beyond". San languages continue to survive in Namibia, Botswana and elsewhere, and in ever-shrinking numbers in South Africa. Their speakers may have largely shifted to Afrikaans, but they often retain a distinctive identity.

Today, the Bantu languages are numerically predominant in South Africa and essentially comprise the Nguni cluster (Zulu, Xhosa, Swati, Ndebele); the Sotho cluster (North Sotho, South Sotho, Tswana); Tsonga and Venda. English, which serves as a lingua franca and it has developed into the main language of power, has been a major presence in South Africa for two centuries and, with its rival Afrikaans, has changed the linguistic ecology of Southern Africa irrevocably (Mesthrie, 2002:1). Until the advent of democracy in 1994, English and Afrikaans were South Africa's only official languages. As a language, Afrikaans has its roots both inside and outside South Africa. Standard Afrikaans developed between roughly 1900 and 1930, and it is drawn mainly from the Eastern frontier variety with adlexification from Dutch in learned vocabulary.

Nevertheless, in the post-democracy era, English has increased its dominance in South Africa. Platt *et al.* (1984:28) remind us that English is a world language which it is likely to continue to play a leading role internationally as an important language of education and as the language of choice for business, science and popular culture. De Klerk and Gough (2002:356) note a striking increase in the number of South Africans learning and using English as their second language, and attribute this to "its dominant position and growth as the language of power and as an important medium for the dissemination of knowledge". De Klerk and Gough's assumption raises the important question why English and not, for instance French, Spanish or any other language holds such a dominant position. Mesthrie and Bhatt (2008) contend that the spread of English has been due mainly to the power and prestige of the US economy, technology and culture (of which Hollywood and American English are vital parts) in the years following the

Second War and the phenomenon of globalisation which has made English a part of the linguistic ecology of most nations.

To draw an example from the South African context, De Klerk (1996) argues that in the post-*apartheid* era a demand for the immediate delivery of English-medium instruction in former black primary schools came from parents and parent-teacher associations. Additionally, their motivations were clearly articulated on the ground that through English, opportunities are offered, higher education - hence job opportunities - are facilitated and the outside world is made accessible to their children. Mesthrie and Bhatt (p.24) also talk about the many people in countries like China and Brazil who have become 'English-seeking' to keep pace with the requirements of international communication, technological and economic advances. In the same vein "…clearly, English is used in a complete range of interactional context across entire cultures, including spoken and written media" (Burns and Coffin, 2001:17). Jenkins (2003) states that the total number of L1 and L2 English speakers amounts to 337,407,300 and 235,351,300 respectively and together these speakers constitute almost a third of the total populations of the English speaking territories alone. However, the statistics of the L2 speakers of English is contrasted by Crystal (1997) cited in Jenkins (p.4) who argues that even the total of 235 million… does not give the whole picture, given that no estimates on the number of English L2 speakers are available, so that the number is probably much bigger. Crystal concludes that the widely accepted figure of 350 million L2 speakers is likely to be accurate.

It is now clear that the dominant position English hold in the international arena is justified by the socio-political and economic functions this language fulfils worldwide. For Mukhuba (2006:269) English is associated with status, prestige and social success. He further notes that it is used in the "glamour" contexts in wider society - for formal speeches and ceremonial occasions, in newsreaders and on the radio, and by those whom young people admire - pop stars, fashion models and disc jockeys. Crystal (2003:139) agrees, and calls English a language which has grown "…independent of any form of social control". The momentum of its growth has become so great that there is nothing

likely to stop its continued spread as a global lingua franca at least in the foreseeable future (Crystal, 2003: x).

From the above views drawn from various scholars one can conclude that English will continue playing the leading role among all languages, and that no other language is likely to rival it in the near future.

2.2 Attitude of Angolans towards their National languages

Abdulaziz (2003) defines national languages as ones that identify the state and they are the bases of national culture and unity. Adegbija (1994:3) concurs with him, arguing that such languages "…are needed in modern Africa to […] express national pride and independence". However, in spite of the role these languages could have played if they had been given the respect that is their due, they are rather most likely to continue to be used in informal interpersonal day to day interactions (Adegbija, p.2) while the colonial languages in Africa are given more power and institutional functions (Adegbija, p.5). In most African countries like Angola upward social mobility and political voice are determined by mastery of the ex-colonial languages (Adegbija, p.19).

The unequal position of indigenous versus colonial languages in Africa goes a long way in explaining the attitudes of Angolans towards their own indigenous languages. According to Abdulaziz (2003) national languages in Africa were typically the indigenous ones except in the case of the Portuguese territories. I assume this is because 'Angola, for instance, underwent five centuries of Portuguese colonisation in which Angolan languages were seen as 'dog' languages (Diarra, 1992 cited in Adegbija, 1994):

> When Angola gained independence, the privileged language accepted and used at all levels was the language of the old colonial power, the Portuguese language. National languages were oppressed up to the point of being dubbed: 'inferior languages'. After independence, six languages used in Angola, namely Kikongo, Kimbundu, Umbundu, Tchokwe, Nganguela and Oshiwambo, were selected to be used beside the official language, as vehicular languages of the new nation.

In spite the presence of these indigenous languages, Adegbija (1994) argues that generally and until recently, most indigenous languages in Angola and in other African countries were considered unworthy for use in official circles. They were regarded as lacking the capacity for expressing ideas in official domains and as a result they were largely denied use in these areas, with their perceived unworthiness increasing year after years as frontiers of knowledge expanded.

During the colonial era, the "Portuguese and the French, for instance saw their presence in Africa as a 'civilizing mission'. Consequently, indigenous languages and cultures were deliberately trampled on as if they did not exist. They were considered unfit for use in a civilized community especially as far as officialdom was concerned" (Adegbija, p.20). Furthermore "…the neglect suffered by these languages and the fact that they were not used in things that mattered and counted on the national plane, naturally built institutionalized negative attitudes around them. Such attitudes have been difficult to remove even after independence" (Adegbija, p.22). What we witness here is the fact that 'in all colonies, the minds of the elites and *of lay people at large* seem to have been colonised (Ngùgí Wa Thiong'o 1981 cited in Adegbija, p.22) and many of them now seem to regard everything European, including the languages and cultures, as inherently superior to African languages and cultures (Adegbija, p.22).

It is therefore understandable that many Angolans, as a consequence of the dominant language policy of the colonial era, have negative attitudes towards their own languages. However the negative language attitudes of Angolans and even of many Africans have economic as well as educational consequences. According to Djité (2008) Africans are still of the view that no meaningful education is possible in their languages. Furthermore he states that attempts to use local languages in education often come up against stiff resistance from the people concerned, because they view their own language(s) as dead ends educationally and of little use in official labour markets (Djité, p.62). Overall, such people "…have been so much taken in by the myths about African languages that they no longer believe their own language capable of intellectualisation, only knowledge of a European language is seen as prerequisite for higher education and socio-economic

success, with slogans such as" (Djité p.62), "if you want to get ahead, get an English head" (Williams, 1986:514).

Adegbija (1994:20) further argues that the colonial languages were implanted by a conquering European power on physically and mentally subjugated or colonized African majorities, mainly in the 19th century. What is more, in the case of Angola the post-independence period, which continues to be dominated linguistically by Portuguese, has done very little to change their negative attitudes towards indigenous African languages. Djité (2008: 9) contends that that most African languages lack international currency and are put under severe strain by the language of the former colonizers that arguably offer the African people economic and scientific advantages.

It is therefore not surprising that many Angolans consider national languages "…as a waste of time and would rather like to see themselves fluent in European languages" (Adegbija, 1994: 63). This is also because "European languages (are) being equated with transmission of knowledge, *on one hand and* European language/*s is* similar to being an educated person" (Adegbija, p.64) on the other. This neglect of the indigenous languages may also explain why some Angolans nowadays see English, rather than Portuguese, "as the language of success" (Herbert, 1992: 235). English, "in essence the language of power and high status functioning as boundary markers of socio-economic opportunity and mobility, largely excluded and still marginalise the vast majority of Africans languages *as well Portuguese* (my addition) from various aspects of everyday life that are considered the pillars of development" (Djité, 2008:9). For these Angolans, it is clear that knowing English comes with considerable advantages. "In fact, just when the local languages had drawn close to the international languages, these had already taken off for other heights, backed up by honours and privileges" (Ouane, 2003:20). The power of English blinds many to the importance of their own languages, which do not, according de Klerk and Gough (2002), "facilitate access to participation and mobility in wider society". Overall, Adegbija (1994) argues that for instance, these people are aware that information dissemination, especially in the print media, is also largely dominated by

European languages, particularly English. As such these migrants reject national languages while they regard the knowledge of English as the pillar of self development.

2.3 Code-switching

What in essence is code-switching and why do people code-switch between languages? Auer (1998:51) contends that code-switching is one of the language universals in the behaviour of multilingual speakers – in other words, it is an inevitable consequence of being bi- or multilingual. To give it a more formal definition, code-switching is "…the use of two or more linguistic varieties in the same conversation" (Myers-Scotton, 1993: X) and involves "…the selection by bilinguals or multilingual of forms from an embedded variety (or varieties) in utterances from a matrix variety during the same conversation" (Myers- Scotton, 1993: 3). Myers-Scotton (1993:1) is of the opinion that code-switching offers bilinguals a way of increasing their flexibility of expression, going beyond the style-switching of monolinguals, and it is also a way of overcoming difficulties in sentence-planning by making use of the resources of more than one language. In fact there is a considerable body of evidence that code-switching is a common phenomenon used as conversational strategy and can be found wherever in the world bilingual speakers draw on their two or more languages in interaction with other bilingual speakers.

Baker (2006:113) argues that among various reasons for code-switching, it can also be used to 'exclude' people from a conversation. Furthermore, he also argues that when a person changes from a minority language or dialect (in this case Portuguese within South African territory) to a majority language (English), it may indicate that the person wishes to elevate his/her own status, creating a distance between him/herself and the listener. In addition, Baker (2006:109) argues that code-switching does not happen randomly and that there is usually a purpose and logic in switching between languages. When code switching is used spontaneously, particularly in multilingual urban settings, we refer to it as an unmarked choice of language, this type of functional CS serve as strategies of

neutrality. In fact it serves as 'safe choice' in arriving at the code with a costs-rewards balance acceptable to all participants (Myers-Scotton, 1993: 147). In contrast, where people more deliberately use code switching for social, political or economic purposes, we refer to it as a marked choice of language. According to Myers-Scotton (1993), these two strategies or functions of conversation fall under the Markedness Model of code-switching.

Baker (2006) identifies thirteen overlapping purposes for code switching, of which I have identified four which are particularly salient for this study:

1. To communicate friendship/desire to identify and affiliate. The use of the listener's stronger language in part of the conversation may indicate deference, wanting to belong or to be accepted. (marked)

2. To show social distance between a speaker and a listener, the speaker may switch to a language of power to indicate that s/he is of different status and has less affiliation with the listener than might have been assumed. (marked)

3. To exclude others from your conversation.(marked)

4. To indicate a change of attitude during the conversation. For example, greetings may be expressed in one language, business in another. (marked/unmarked)

Code-switching may also serve as a means of portraying various identities (Banda, 2005). Familiarity, projected status, the ethos of the context and the perceived linguistic skills of the listeners affect the nature and process of code switching. In addition to the four reasons for code-switching provided by Baker, this study also pays attention to the *frame* (Goffman, 1974) provided by the ethos of the context. Within this frame, aspects like familiarity, projected status, topic of conversation, the participants in the conversation and their perceived linguistic skills in the languages supply the *footing* (Goffman, 1974). Frames, according to Lakoff (2004), are mental strctrutures that shape the way we see the world [...] the goals we seek, the plans we make, the way we act, and what counts as a good or bad outcome. For Levinson (1988), on the other hand, footing is the projection of speaker's stance towards an utterance (its truth value and emotional content) as well towards other parties and events. Wine (2008) is of opinion that the ideas on framing and

footing provide powerful lens for examining social roles, how they are signaled, and how speakers position themselves vis-à-vis one another.

The discourse on code-switching in this study takes a sociolinguistic perspective and develops from the '…Markedness model in which each language used is attributed a right and obligation set and is taken to be indexical of a discrete social identity' (Auer, 1998: 79). It has a strong ideological motivation: The idea behind this premise is that there is an intentional meaning of social calibre in the message of the participants. Their code-switching practices are designed to invoke identities during interaction and this is salient through deviation from the expected or unmarked choice of code-switching. On the other hand code-switching also'…reflects power and inequality attributed to incumbents of certain social categories accounted to societal and ideological structures to which the languages in question and their choice for a given interactional episode are related' (Auer:1998).

2. 3.1 Code-switching and Space

Closely related to the code-switching practices of my research population is the issue of space and its relationship to multilingual language practices. In any daily conversation in metropolitan bilingual populations, most speakers engage in code-switching (CS) merely because "with increasing displacement of formerly stable populations and the growing ethnic diversification of metropolitan centres, the communicative uses of code-switching are more likely to increase than to decrease" (Gumperz, 1982:64).]

In addition, "every communication event develops in some time-frame and in some space, and both, as we know, have effects on what happens and can happen" (Blommaert, 2005:203). Frame according to Goffman (1986) fits with the idea of spatial analysis in which individuals are seen as inhabiting and traversing physical spaces in the course of a day's and night's social activities. The idea of a frame is spatial metaphor connecting:

(I)   Space as already there before any activity begin and as designed to routinely embody the triggers for certain activities and courses of action to typically unfold, and

(II)   Space as inhabited, appropriated, shaped and (re) configured by occupants for the purposes of and during social activities.

Assuming at the same time that every instance of communication always has an intrinsic spatiality to it as well as an intrinsic temporality, space is part of what we understand by context (Gumperz, 1982). Context organizes and defines sociolinguistic regimes in which spaces are characterized by sets of norms and expectations about communicative behaviour, known as orders of indexicality. Entering such spaces involves the imposition of sets of norms and rules as well as the invoking of potentially meaningful relations between one scale and another (e.g., the local versus the national or the global). This has an effect on:

a) What people can or can not do (it legitimizes some forms of behaviour while disqualifying or constraining other forms);
b) The value and function of their sociolinguistic repertoires;
c) Their identities, both self-constructed (inhabited) and ascribed by others.

The emphasis here is that "space does something to people though we also realize that people in interaction semiotically create and modify space" (Blommaert et al., 2005: 203). Space is therefore not a passive element but rather an active one in communication. The issue of space includes the notion of *trajectory* which includes "networks and flows" (Blommaert et al. 2005:203) and "… it is important to see where precisely the trajectory starts and where it ends, across which spaces flows occur, and what particular spaces are connected in networks". Trajectory therefore involves the movement of people and their linking up with different networks of people as they move from one area/space to the next, as in the case of international migrants like respondents in this study.

The interactional dynamics of space involves complex forms of behaviour which may result in including/excluding participants from a focus of activity. Goffman has drawn

attention to how specific interactional moves like CS affect frames (expand, narrow down or realign who can participate and what the nature of the activity will be). Space also comes with preliminary restrictions on participation and repertoires raises the question of inclusion and exclusion. It can be posed as a question of the production of communicative legitimacy: Who gets to enter the space in the first place? (Blommaert et al. 2005:209)

Whenever we speak of space, we also need to include the concept *scale* which "…offers an important extension of notions of trajectories, networks or flow, central to globalization" (Castells, 1996). Gumperz(1982) argues that the notion of scale emphasises that spaces are ordered and organized "…in relation to one another, stratified and layered, with processes belonging to one scale entering processes at another scale-as when skin colour, social class backgrounds or particular regional(peripheral) accent start influencing situated interactions".

For Vigouroux (2005), space is constantly being created, (re)produced, organized and negotiated by various social actors. Space mobility is therefore an important component of this thesis since '…migrants are a heterogeneous group with regard to (1) places of origin (2) migration trajectory and (3) purposes of migration' (Vigouroux, 2005: 197-216) which may influence their language ideologies and attitudes and subsequently their code-switching practices.

2.3.2 Code-switching and Language Identity

Language is a significant marker of social identity, cultural diversity and minority grouping. Apart from its symbolic value, the main function of a language is to provide a mode of communication between individuals of a specific cultural or ethnic group (Van Der Merwe & Van Der Merwe, 2006:4).

According to Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004: 19) identity can be viewed as the '...social, discursive, narrative options offered by a particular society in a specific time and place to which individuals and groups of individuals appeal in an attempt to self-name, to self-characterize, and to claim social spaces and social prerogatives'. In other words, identity

is "who and what you are" (Blommaert, 2005:203). Of particular salience for this study is the current focus in identity studies on diasporas and globalized network identities (De Vos, 1998; Castells, 1996). We tend to advertise our social identities in every social event through language which is the most salient way we have of establishing relationships. For Miller (2003:290) language use is a form of self representation, which implicates social identities, the values attached to particular written and spoken texts, and, therefore, the links between discourse and power in any social context. Lippi-Green (1997) reminds us that we represent and negotiate identity, and construct that of others, through speaking and hearing, since speakers may be marked as belonging to specific groupings by their use of spoken language, which provides for hearers an index to gender, age, ethnicity, geography, and education.

Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004) identify three types of identity, namely *imposed* (which are for one reason or another not negotiable), *assumed* identity (which are accepted and not negotiated), and *negotiable identity* (which are contested by groups and individuals). According to these scholars all these categories have a particular status within unique socio-historical circumstances, and options that are acceptable for some groups and individuals may be imposed on others or even on the same groups at a different point in time. In short, it means that identities both personal and social are shaped partly by 'otherness 'and by society, meaning identity can be constructed or deconstructed. On the other hand the shaping of identities comes "from the concrete interactions and social relationship within which identities are constantly renegotiated" (Calhoun, 1995:2).

 Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004) contend that imposed or non-negotiable identities or subject positions are the ones that individuals cannot resist or contest at a particular point in time, while assumed or non-negotiated identities or subject positions are those that many individuals are comfortable with and not interested contesting. However, negotiable identities or subject positions refer to all identity options which can be contested and resisted by particular individual groups. Identity becomes interesting, relevant, and visible when it is contested or in crisis. In other words identity is seen as "particularly salient in contexts where multiple interpretations or meanings collide,

resulting in power struggle as to whose interpretation prevails" (Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004: 19).

In my view, code-switching, particularly marked code-switching, is another mechanism for signalling a shift in identity or for revealing a new social identity and claiming a new social space. As the participants in this study have all migrated at different times to the new space of Cape Town, their social and personal identities may invariably have been affected by life in the diaspora. Miller (2003) reminds us: "...as we move from one site to another, encountering different partners in interaction, we invoke different representations of our identity, and draw on different linguistic resources". This is because according to Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004) the value of a particular language variety in symbolic market place derives from its legitimatisation by the dominant group and particular institutions. The explanation behind this view stands on the ground that both people and institutions involve a wide variety of situating processes: situating the individual in relation to several layers of (real, sociological) 'groupness'and socially constructed) 'categories' (age category, sex, professional category, but also national, cultural, and ethnolinguistic categories), situating this complex in turn in relation to other such complexes(young versus old, male versus female, highly educated versus less educated, and so on), and situating this identification in relation to the situation at hand, making selections that result in 'relevant' identity (Blommaert, 2005:204). In regard to code switching from an identity point of view, Eastman (1992) asserts that when people invoke another language in an obvious being negotiated and codeswitching represents, *for instance*, a marked choice. What it means to me is that identity is "being self-translated in this case as identities have to be renegotiated" (Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004:73) by means of discourse. I assume the explanation lies on the fact that "codeswitching in general is a way to mark or highlight a language situation to change the balance of power in an interaction, moving the relationship from one of distance to closeness, for manipulation purposes"(Eastman, 1992:15). Overall observation brings us to a point of understanding that when switching occurs participants who already have relatively high power, do most of the switching (Eastman, p.79). Considerably, the speakers are boasting, symbolically as it were the range of their identities (Eastman,

p.79). This is to say that "we have to flash our identity every time we enter into contact with administrative bodies" (Blommaert, 2005: 203) and any other entity.

2.3.3 Code-switching, language ideologies and attitudes

In multilingual societies, language choice, use, and attitudes are intrinsically linked to language ideologies, relations of power, political arrangements, and speakers' identities (Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2003; 2004). Furthermore Pavlenko and Blackledge argue that identity options offered to individuals at a given moment in history are subject to shifting language ideologies that legitimise and value particular identities more than others. In this sub-section, I will address the issue of language ideologies and attitudes in relation to the act of code-switching.

For Woolard et al. (1998:37) ideology is "...not necessarily [a] conscious, deliberate or systematically organised thought or even thought at all; it is behaviour, practical, pre-reflective or structural". In addition, she argues that ideology is a direct link to inhabitable positions of power – social, political, economic – and comprises the ideas, discourse, or signifying practices in the struggle to acquire or maintain power (Woolard et al. 1998: 7). Fairclough (2003:9) argues that ideologies are '…representations of aspects of the world which can be shown to contribute to establishing, maintaining and changing social relations of power, domination and exploitation'. Hodge & Kress (1993:6) on the other hand define ideology as a systematic body of ideas, organized from a particular point of view.

In my opinion there is a close affinity between these views on ideology. In other words the central idea developing from both assumptions is that speakers' beliefs are rationally motivated by their perspectives of their existing relationship with the world, thereby influencing their relationships with other members of different social groups in particular contexts. These social relations may also be reflected by the subordination of these other groups and unfairness in power-sharing. Interestingly, these assumptions also imply that inevitably ideology is attached to the ongoing life of a society and it is a conscious phenomenon. What is more, ideological forms are structures of meaning (versions of

social relationships) that are inseparable from a set of practices that are themselves kinds of meaning (Hodge & Kress, 1993:210).

How does this understanding of ideology relate to, and find reflection in, language? According to Rumsey (1990), the term *language ideology* refers to "a shared body of commonsense notions about the nature of language in the world, including cultural assumptions about language, the nature and purpose of communication". In addition, language ideology is "...a mediating link between social forms, and forms of talk *and* ideologies are not about language alone. Rather they envision and enact ties of language to identity, to aesthetics, to morality, and to epistemology" (Woolard et al., 1998). Woolard et al. suggest that in terms of ideology "dimensions of involvement of language in socio-political matters are often very close and even interdependent (Maurais and Morris, 2003:67) to what people identify themselves.

Wolfram & Schilling-Estes (2006) define language ideology as "...an ingrained, unquestioned belief about the way the world is, the way it has to be with respect to language". This view elicits multiple interpretations. Firstly, it means that "society operates on the language users" (Blommaert, 2005:35) on how relatively they conceptualize, perceive or even judge their surroundings. Secondly, it shows how language to a certain extent is contextualised in the physical environment in relation to socio-economic and political stand. Dyers and Abongdia (2010) are of the opinion that language ideology is constructed in the interest of specific social or cultural group: i.e. they are rooted in the socio-economic power and vested interests of dominant groups. In this regard language ideologies as ideas are not just about language structures or use; they often involve judgements of persons, for example as 'intelligent' or 'ignorant'; assumptions about places, for example cities versus rural areas, and the language(s) of this country versus those of other countries (Harris and Taylor, 2005: 185-195).

Therefore, "…how speakers draw on their repertoires – *depends primarily on the socio-ideological influences of the speakers* and on the personae they wish to project, both to

identify themselves as members of certain groups *and* to negotiate their position in interpersonal relations' (Myers-Scotton cited in Herbert, 1992: 165).

Language ideologies, which are socially constructed, will definitely influence the more personal and affective language attitudes (Dyers and Abongdia, 2010:119-134) because people's attitude reflects the social structures in which the momentary conversation takes place, as well as the nature of participants' relationships to each other (Diamond, 1996: 1) which in turn are dictated by power, status and other variables. Fasold (1984:184) argues that the concept of language attitude also includes attitude towards speakers of a particular language, and it is always encountered in communities where a particular group perceive its own language as superior than the other. The underlying assumption is that in a society (social or ethnic) groups have certain attitudes towards each other which relate the way turns in interactions are distributed among participants (Diamond, 1996:15). These attitudes affect attitudes towards cultural institutions or patterns characterizing these groups such as language, and carry over to and are reflected in attitudes towards individual members of the groups (Appel & Muysken, 1987). Figure 4 shows the attitude chain reproduced from Appel & Muysken.

attitudes towards a social or ethnic group	→	attitudes towards the language of that group		attitudes towards individual speakers of that language
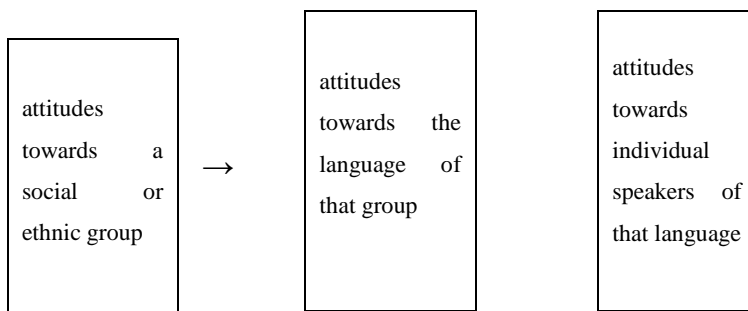
Figure 4

Furthermore, these personal attitudes and social relations are communicated in *multiple* ways by speakers such as what people say, how they say it, by the types of utterances speakers make, by the conversational structure, by the tone of the voice and by their differing social positions.

I contend that the ideologies of my respondents will have been shaped powerfully by the colonial language legacy in Angola, but that the long-term respondents will also have been influenced by dominant pro-English ideologies in South Africa. This in turn, may find expression through code-switching to English in conversations with fellow-Angolans as a means of exerting power over them.

2.4 Discourse Analysis

Discourse analysis remains an important field of study because "...we live and act, we speak and write in a world of real spaces and real time" (Scollon & Scollon, 2003). Sanders (1987) asserts that people have other purposes when they communicate than just expressing what they are thinking or feeling: on some occasions, people communicate to affect others - to exercise control over the understanding others, , the situation, their interpersonal relationships, the task at hand, etc., thereby to make different actions and reactions more or less likely.

Whenever people speak or write, they produce text (Halliday & Matthiessen 2004: 3) which is a 'discourse' conditioned by social issues. Gee (1996:127) states that discourses are ways of being in the world, or forms of life which integrate words, acts, values, beliefs, attitudes, and social identities, as well as gestures, glances, body positions, and clothes. In addition, discourse is "...a kind of identity kit which comes complete with appropriate costume and instructions on how to act, talk, and often write, so as to take on a particular social role that others will recognise" (Gee, p.127). Discourse refers to the close linguistic study, from different perspectives, of texts in use or to socially shared habits of thought, perceptions, and behaviour reflected in numerous texts belonging to different genres (Scollon & Scollon, 2003:538). Schiffrin (1994: VIII) contends that discourse analysis can tell us about language, society, culture and thought, and further argues that no detail of the conversation (or interaction) can be neglected a *priori* as unimportant. I agree with this statement, because all aspects of a conversation in a

systematic functional language are inseparable and irreducible and work together to produce an extensive understanding of the conversation and unveil its hidden meanings.

Among the central conditions for the production of discourse, Bordieu (1991) lists the mutual recognition of the presence of legitimate participants in expected roles as well as the recognition by participants that the legitimate speech forms are being produced. In this respect, he echoes Goffman's experiential outlook on the production of 'frames' (activities being enacted and being recognized as taking place by those involved), while also emphasizing more explicitly the political dimensions of discourse, especially when addressing the situated effects of symbolic violence.

Why is discourse analysis of relevance to this study? The answer lies in the fact that discourse analysis "...studies the way social power abuse, dominance, and inequality are enacted, reproduced, and resisted by text and talk in social and political context" (Van Dijk, 2003:352). Van Dijk also contends in an earlier study (1996:85) that "...one major element in the discursive reproduction of power and dominance is the very *access* to discourse and communicative events". In this respect, discourse is similar to other valued social resources that form the basis of power and to which there is unequally distributed *resources*. Secondly it deals with the socio-cultural and even cognitive aspects of its speakers – e.g. intelligence, ideology, knowledge - and finally its features involve the general functions of the language of the people involved in the exchange of information or interaction. For instance, many elements communicative events are controlled by different powerful participants who control the interaction by all means: who is or is not allowed or obliged to participate and what role they should play or not.

The crucial form of access consists of the power to control various dimensions of speech and talk itself: which mode of communication may/must be used (spoken or written), which language may/must be used by whom (dominant or standard language, a dialect, etc.), which genres of discourse are allowed, which types of speech acts, or who may begin or interrupt turns at talk or discursive sequences. And this is precisely what I believe will be revealed by the discourses of the participants in this study – a type of 'power play' by the long-term migrants, especially through their use of code-switching to

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English. In addition, discourse analysis is relevant to this study in investigating in detail how texts transcend linguistic (verbal) aspects of the conversation.

Van Dijk (1996) further states that in everyday *conversations* there may be culturally different patterns of access based on age, gender, class, education or other criteria that defines dominance and discrimination: women may have less access than men, blacks less than whites, young people less than adults" and possibly, in the case of this study, newcomers having less access than long-term migrants. Thus, for each social domain, profession, organisation or situation, we may sketch a discursive and communicative *schema of conditions and strategies of access* for various social groups involved: indeed, who *may say/*write what, how, to whom in what circumstances? Van Dijk (1996) is of the opinion that one of the crucial tasks of discourse analysis is to account for the relationship between discourse and social power, describe and explain how power abuse is enacted, reproduced or legitimised by the text and talk of dominant groups or institutions.
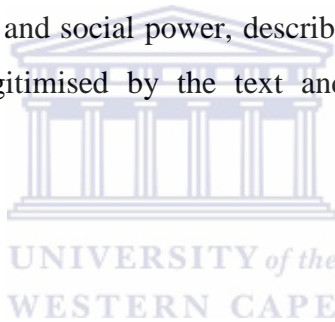
2. 5 Summary of main points

In this chapter, I started by discussing the diverse Angolan and South African linguistic histories. I stressed the fact that while many of South Africa's indigenous languages have attained official status, those of Angola remain marginalised. I then looked at the attitudes of Angolans towards their national languages. Next, the main theoretical and conceptual arguments were presented with a central focus on code-switching in relation to space, language identity, ideologies and attitudes. Finally, I discussed discourse analysis and its relationship with the study. Discourse analysis provides communication researchers with compelling way to study how people present themselves, manage their relationships, assign responsibilities and blame, create organizations, enact culture, persuade others, make sense of social members' ongoing interactional practices, and so on (Tracy, 2003: 743).

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

This chapter provides a detailed description of the research design as well as the methodological techniques and procedures used in this research. The study makes use of qualitative and ethnographic methodologies to collect the data. These include recorded conversations, individual and focus group interviews, observations and questionnaires.

3.1 Research Design

3.1.1 Qualitative Method

The research process as structured inquiry, aims to solve problems and create new knowledge which is generally acceptable (Grinnell, in De Vos, 1998) and must be supported by well planned *[…]* methodology to reflect the particular characteristics of the whole research project undertaken (Leedy, 1997). The use of appropriate research methodology is critical to the research process as the quality of research findings is directly dependant on the accountability of the research methodology (Mouton and Marais, 1990 cited in Leedy 1997).

In this descriptive research project, I made use of qualitative and ethnographic methodologies to gather detailed data from a research population consisting of twenty men. Qualitative research has a long and distinguished history in the human disciplines. In fact, the word *qualitative* implies an emphasis on processes and meanings that are not rigorously examined or measured (if measured at all), in terms of quantity, amount, intensity, or frequency (Denzin and Lincoln, 1998:8). In addition, Chilisa and Preece

(2005) argue that qualitative research as methodology refers to the type of inquiry in which the researcher carries out research about people's experiences, in natural settings, using a variety of techniques such as interviews and observations, and reports findings mainly in words rather than statistics.

Richards (2003: 9) presents four reasons for using qualitative methodology as data collecting instruments:

- It gets the researcher closer to the practice, to getting a first hand-sense of what actually goes on in the community;
- It is above all else a person-centred enterprise;
- It has transformative potential for researcher; and
- Analysis is based on a wide range of features.

From the above description, one can learn that this approach is relevant for this research in a numbers of ways which makes it appropriate for my research study: there is personal contact between the researcher, the main data-gathering instrument, and the research participants. According to Patton (1987) qualitative methods typically can produce a wealth of detailed data about a much smaller number of people, as in the case of this study. In addition, qualitative data is the primary focus in naturalistic inquiry, in other words inductive analysis with which the researcher "attempts to make sense of the situation without imposing pre-existing expectations on the program setting"(Patton:1987). In collecting qualitative data the researcher seeks to capture the richness of people's experiences in their own terms.

3.1.2 Ethnographic method

In our daily lives, we engage in a range of different linguistic activities and speech events. For instance we complement a person for achieving a goal or greet someone in the morning to find out whether that person is fine or sick; we might even call a secretary to make an appointment with a doctor or even send an email (letter). The truth is that all

these activities dictate a different speech event that requires a different approach of language style governed by different linguistic norms and conventions.

The field work for this thesis, as emphasised above, was also conducted by means of ethnographic communication methodologies. The aim of this approach is to guide the collection and analysis of descriptive data according to the ways in which social meanings are conveyed (Saville-Troike, 1982:3). The ethnography of communication is *not only* directed at the description and understanding of communicative behaviour in specific cultural settings, but it is also directed toward the formulation of concepts and theories upon which to build a global meta-theory of human communication (Saville-Troike1982:2).

Hymes 1967; 1972; Friedrich 1972 cited in Saville-Troike, 1989:138-139 describe eleven components which are likely to be salient in a communicative event:

- The *genre* or type of event (e.g. joke, story, lecture, greeting, conversation).
- The *topic* or referential focus.
- The *purpose* or *function*, both of the events in general and in terms of the interaction goals of individual participants.
- The *setting*, including location, time of day, season of year, and physical aspects of the situation (e.g. size of the room, arrangement of furniture).
- The *key* or emotional tone of the event (e.g. serious, sarcastic, jocular).
- The *participants*, including their age, sex, ethnicity, social status, or other relevant categories, and their relationship to one another.
- The *message form*, including both vocal and non-vocal channels, and the nature of the code which is used (e.g. which language and which variety).
- The *message content* or surface level denotative references; what is communicated about.
- The *act sequence*, or ordering of communicative / speech acts, including turn taking and overlap phenomena.
- The *rules of interaction*, or what proprieties should be observed.

- The *norms of interpretations*, including the common knowledge, the relevant cultural presuppositions, or shared understanding, which allow particular inferences to be drawn about what is to be taken literally, what discounted, etc.

From this group I selected seven components to explore in depth as they relate to my data, namely *topic, purpose, setting, key, participants*, *message form* and *rules of interaction*.

The first four components namely *genre*, *topic*, *purpose/function* and setting comprise the scene or the extra-personal context of the event. The *topic* signals what is being discussed among the participants, which is closely related to the *purpose / function* of the discussion. *Setting* relates to the physical circumstances of the speech event which includes among others spatiality and its physical aspects as well as time.

The crucial aspect of *key* "…is introduced to provide for the tone, manner or spirit in which the act is done" (Hymes, 1972: 62 cited in Saville-Troike) and it is described in terms of contrasts: teasing versus serious, sincere versus sarcastic, friendly versus hostile. Key is "…associated primarily with a particular function of language use, role-relationship between participants, or message form and content" (Saville-Troike, 1989: 142). The term *participants* relates to the question 'who is taking part in the event?'

The *message form* is the medium (spoken or written) and the channels employed by participants depending on the context. The channel for the spoken medium, for example, include face-to-face, telephone among others whereas for the written includes books, newspapers and e-mails to mention few. It is relevant to mention that this component also includes body language, including facial expressions, silence, laughter and even pauses which I argue are important aspects of my data since are all modes of communication and carry their own message. Ignoring these aspects of the message form will potentially omit meaningful occurrences. The message form is intimately related to the *message content* which refers to what communicative acts are about, and what meaning is being conveyed, as well as to the *act sequence* which explains the sequence of the communication and includes turn taking and ordering (greetings, complimenting, etc.).

Also of importance are the *rules for interaction* which '…include explanation of the rules for the use of speech which are applicable to the communicative event' (Saville-Troike, 1989:154). By *rules* it is meant that the aspects of behaviour which people should follow are bound to the shared values of the speech community. In turn, this means that rules are already codified. Saville-Troike (ibid.) argues that rules for interaction are often discoverable in reactions to their violation by others, and feelings that contrary behaviour is 'impolite' or odd' in some respect. These rules function in accordance with the *norms of interaction* which includes such common knowledge about the speech community and its culture as is needed to understand the communicative event.

3.2 Research Data Collection Methods

3.2.1 Observation & participant observation

Firstly, I collected my data through close observation as well as participant-observation in combination with the six components discussed previously. Obviously, this necessitated direct contact '…with the subject(s) of observation…*and* researchers must actively witness the phenomena they are studying in action (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998: 80). I would like to emphasize that appropriate data collecting materials for observation could include tools like video recorders and notepads. Participant-observation is looked upon as the most common method of collecting ethnographic data in any domain. Saville-Troike (1989: 119) argues that the key to successful participant-observation is freeing oneself as much as humanly possible from the filter of one's own cultural experience. This means that a researcher should be open and sensitive to recognising and understanding the cultural values of his/her research population.

3.2.2 Recording of group conversations

I conducted and recorded some interviews and conversations after church gatherings and Angolan community meetings. In addition, I invited twenty selected respondents over for lunch at my house on 4 weekends over a period of four months. This allowed me to invite four groups of five respondents (either two recent migrants plus three long-term ones or vice versa) to come to lunch on different weekends, and to record their conversations with their permission. According to Fishman (1972) linguistic choices are predictable on the basis of the domains in which they occur.

The dominant topics in this discussion were carefully selected by me, and alternated between religion, politics, the economy and xenophobia in South Africa. There are two reasons why I chose the topics of religion and politics. First of all, 53% of the Angolan population is Christian (mainly Roman Catholic) and they continue their practising their religion in South Africa. Secondly, freedom of speech did not exist in Angola, a former communist country. Government authorities arrested anyone who spoke against their system in a country ranked as the fourth most corrupt in the world. Enjoying that freedom of speech in South Africa, Angolans openly express their feelings by frequently discussing any controversial topic without fearing arrest. I also took into account the educational level of both groups of my respondents when I selected these topics, as neither necessarily required a high level of intellectual ability but relied on people's personal views of the situation in an informal discussion.

Prior to recording the interactions at my home, I first gave the participants, time to get to know each other better as some had little to know knowledge of their fellow Angolans in the Cape Town community. I grouped some of them around the barbecue while others were occupied with laying out the food and drink. Thereafter, we all shared a meal together which also allowed us to share our experiences in the Diaspora - the different dates of our arrival in Cape Town, the different means of transport we used (some smuggled across the border in trucks, others flying out) etc. The idea was to create a conducive and relaxed environment for a debate and to get them accustomed to each other's presence. However, like Kreckel (1981), I found that audio recording influenced

participants' behaviour. Kreckel argues that it is safest to assume that interactants never completely lose their awareness of being recorded.

Before recording them, I posed the following question to my research participants: *"How do you feel about being recorded while speaking to people you do not know very well?"* Their answers included the following responses:

"In the first time I found it almost very difficult to put across my feelings but in the second time was much better. How can one debate things with someone I don't know?"

"I did not want to sound stupid in recording in front of people I knew nothing about their affairs but later (meaning the second attempt at debate) *I became myself"*,

"It was sometimes intimidating knowing that what I was saying, the way I was saying it would have been wrong or wrongly understood by other people".

After the observations and recorded conversations had taken place, I interviewed selected respondents from both groups. They were also asked to complete a questionnaire after procedures had been explained to them clearly.
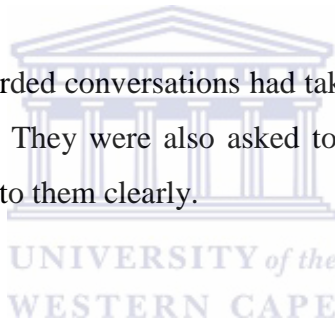
3.2.3 Interviews

My interviews consisted of open-ended questions. These interviews were conducted in a language preferred by the interviewees - in this case, Portuguese and English. Thus, I treated my interviews as '…a conversation, the art of asking questions and listening' (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998: 36). The interview is the favourite methodological tool of the qualitative researcher since its form can be structured, unstructured or even open-ended. Saville-Troike (1989: 123) argues that interviewing may contribute a wide range of cultural information and descriptions of encounters among members of the community in different contexts. I share this view since firstly, the researcher 'must be open to new ideas, information, and patterns which may emerge in the course of interviewing and to differences between 'ideal' and 'real' culture as reflected in statements of belief or values and in actions' (Saville-Troike, 1989:124), and secondly, because '…the essence of the ethnographic interview is that it is open ended, and carries as few preconceptions with it

as possible, or at least constantly attempts to discover possible sources of bias and minimize their effect' (Saville-Troike, 1989: 124).

3.2.4 Questionnaires

This was the final tool I used. A questionnaire is a printed list of questions that respondents are asked to answer (Goddard and Melville, 1996:47). Goddard and Melville (1996) present ten salient points that describe a good questionnaire, five of which I deemed essential for my research. An ideal questionnaire:

- Is short, for example, it does not abuse the respondents' time or concentration;
- Asks only relevant questions;
- Gives clear instructions;
- Is complete, i.e. gets all the data one needs; and
- Puts sensitive questions at the end.

I took special care to avoid bias during the drafting of the data collection instruments and in collecting the data. I used the most prominent question (the questionnaires can be found in (Appendix 1) to interview both groups of participants, i.e. the long-term and more recent Angolan migrants to South Africa. Questions were clearly formulated and procedures evaluated regularly in the course of the investigation. The questions were formulated both in Portuguese and English, taking into account the fact that especially the long-term migrants were bilingual. My aim was to create user-friendly questionnaires that did not require my intervention to help respondents' comprehension as such intervention might to some extent have influenced their answers.

By using these approaches I attempted to do accurate and natural research which would deliver high-quality information.

3. 3 Research Population

As was already stated above, this research focused on twenty male participants, all migrants from Angola. I only used males as, in my experience, there are few female migrants from Angola living and working in Cape Town. I selected equal numbers of long-term and more recent Angolan migrants. Their ages varied from 27 to 41, the majority being in their 30s. The respondents' educational background also varied from Standard 6 (grade 7 in high school) to university degrees, and while most worked in the construction industry, the group also included factory workers, bakers, chefs, a Computer Programmer, an IT administrator, a décor specialist, graphic designer, etc. These respondents all live in suburban areas of Cape Town, which included suburbs like Observatory, Woodstock, Rondebosch, Kenilworth, Retreat, Plumstead and Century City. These suburban areas are inhabited mainly by middle class people, and living in these areas is therefore an important marker of the social status of my respondents. The newcomers, on the other hand, spoke three indigenous Angolan languages namely Kimbundu, Kikongo and Umbundu, as well as Portuguese thus showing more proficiency on the later language in this case Portuguese. This group had been in South Africa from a minimum of three months to nearly 4 years. Their profession comprised of bakers, packers, fryers, tiller helpers and bartenders. The majority of the members of this group lived in mostly in Langa, Gugulethu, Dunoon, Woodstock, Observatory, Claremont, Phoenix, and Salt River and their age group ranged from 23 to 29 years old, the majority being in the house of early 20s. In terms of education (6) respondents had passed Pré-universitário study equivalent to Matric while the remaining ones (3) had passed standard 8 and (1) had lower than standard 6.

To sum up, the research closely scrutinized respondents' backgrounds, taking into account the length of time both groups have been in Cape Town, job preference, languages spoken and social status.

3.4 Research Settings

The observation and participant observation of this study was carried out for a period of approximately one year in both informal and formal settings. The informal settings were

the Bromwell Discotheque in Dublin Street, Woodstock, which is very popular with foreigners, the majority being Angolans, as well as the Mowbray Pub. My research in these setting was mostly conducted over the weekends and on public holidays during which I observed gatherings where these migrants put their money together to buy cases of beer and afterwards challenged each other in drinking competitions. These challenges often ended in a contest of who spoke better English with the best native-like pronunciation. I frequently visited my main formal setting - the Angolan Consulate in Cape Town - on personal business, and used these opportunities to carry out my observation of the language behaviours of others in this setting. However, I also did observations of conversations and meetings at another formal setting, the Jehovah's Witness Church in Observatory, on Saturdays. In these places I was able to observe many instances of code-switching behaviour.

3. 5 Data Analysis

A standard focus of my data analysis is the Markedness Model of Myers-Scotton (1993) and the ethnography of communication (Saville-Troike, 1982 & 1989) frameworks discussed in the previous chapter. The Markedness Model was chosen as the most conducive tool for analysing the data from this research because it provides an in-depth theoretical ground for analysing code-switching in both in- and out-group interactional situations. Engaging Auer's (1998) model on code switching in conversation will limit the research to individual inferences taken from 'turn-taking' (Eggins and Slade, 2006:7) Furthermore, Eggins and Slade state that the limitations are that such partial analysis can not describe the ways in which patterns from different levels of language (such as word, clause, and turn) interact to produce the meanings of casual talk. The limitations Markedness on the other hand, transcends this limitation by looking at class membership, ethnicity-identity, education, etc. Furthermore, the theory proposes that despite speakers having a sense of Markedness with regard to the available linguistic codes for any interaction, they choose their codes based on the persona and / or relations with others which they wish to have in place (Myers-Scotton, 1993: 61). This simply translates that

speakers '…weigh the potential costs and rewards of all alternative choices' (p.75). This consideration, unlike Auer's conversational analysis, taps into the existing groups' linguistic power relations (ethno-linguistic and identity) and not just the interlocutors' class or role in the immediate interaction. Moreover, I am driven by the outlook that "language is used to communicate much more than referential meaning" (p. 61).

During data processing, I took a critical approach in transcribing the data. Since my data consisted mostly of recordings I listened to the audio material repeatedly while transcribing the data, and whenever the information was not clear I had to rewind the material until the transcribed matched with what I was hearing. It is also here that I made some adjustments by adding missing information and deleting what was unnecessary. When I had eventually finished I compared both the audio with transcribed material to ensure that the vocal discourse of the participants matched the transcribed text.

The selected categories from Saville-Troike's ethnography of communication provided the necessary framework for the analysis of the transcribed data as well as the observation and participant observation. The transcribed data was analysed according to Myers-Scotton's Markedness Model (1993). The full data analysis is presented in a series of tables, and in the final analysis, a simple count was done of the number of occurrences of both marked and unmarked code-switching in order to determine which type dominated in the interactions between the two groups of respondents.

3. 6 Ethics

Considering the fact that the objects of inquiry, in recording and interviewing in particular, are human beings, extreme care was taken to avoid any sort of harm to the participants. Therefore, the ethical concerns of this study were based on:

- *informed consent* - consent which was granted to me after carefully and truthfully informing them about the research;
- the *right to privacy* - protecting the identity of the respondents; and
- *Protection from any harm* - be it physical, emotional, or any other kind.

In short, during the data collection activities, with the exception of observation, participants in this research study were briefed in Portuguese and English, language available in their repertoire, on the aims of the research and the importance of their participation in it. This was done prior to data collection so that they were aware of all implications so that necessary arrangements could have been made should they refused to participate. I emphasised the fact that participants' input was anonymous and confidential. They were assured that they could withdraw from the project at any time, stop me from using the material and or ask me to delete any recorded material that involved them. They were also required to sign a letter of consent, which was explained to them clearly.

3. 7 Limitations of the research

Cohen *et al.* (2000: 164) is of the opinion that as a methodological data collection approach, ethnographic research has several difficulties which might affect the reliability and validity of the research. These difficulties include:

- *reactivity* - the presence of the researcher alters the situation as participants may wish to avoid, impress, direct, deny and influence the researcher;

- *Neglect of the wider social contexts and constraints*. Research done in highly context-bound situations might neglect broader currents and contexts.

These two difficulties are relevant in the context of this study. I agree that participants' behaviour during data collection can to a certain extent be shaped by the presence of the researcher. I noted during particularly my interviews that some participants felt uncomfortable to be interviewed by someone from a higher educational level to their own. As a result the participants tried to speak 'deep' Portuguese or English perhaps to impress me. Respondents also had explicit feelings on being recorded:

"It was my first time to be recorded in my entire life so I was scare that I would have not sounded as if I was not being recorded";

"Next time tell us a month before so that we come prepared".

The last utterance was made by a participant who felt that he was unfairly treated as he had been given very short notice of the event. He felt that he needed time to prepare himself psychologically and academically so that he could participate as fully in the debate as those who more educated and better informed than him.

Another limitation of this research perhaps lies in the non-involvement of female participants in this study which may have given me different results. A final limitation stems from the degree of my involvement as researcher with the respondents and the closeness of our relationships which may have influenced certain assumptions of mine. To a certain point I forgot that each individual participant had his own social history and an individual view of the world. As Oakey (1981) cited in Denzin & Lincoln (1998:73) puts it, "Interviewing is rather like a marriage: everybody knows what it is, an awful lot of people do it, and yet behind each closed front door there is a world of secrets''.

3.8 Conclusion

This chapter provided an overview of how the research was conducted from its conception through to data collection and analysis. The next chapter provides a complete analysis and discussion of the transcribed data collected during the fieldwork.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESULTS AND ANALYSIS

4.0 Introduction

This Chapter presents an analysis and discussion of the data collected by means of the observations, recordings and interviews described in Chapter Three. Both observation and participant observation presented here will be analysed within the framework of Myers-Scotton's Markedness Model (1993) as well as Saville-Troike's ethnography of communication (1989).
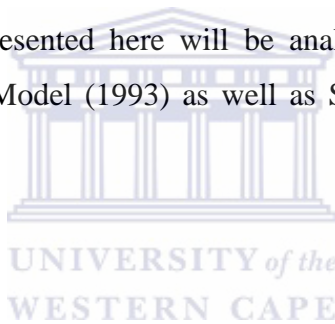
4.1 Results of Observation

4.1.1 Four observed cases in which CS was present

Following the ethnography of communicative events, the results in this section are presented in two tables before being discussed within the framework of Myers-Scotton's Markedness model (1993). Table I which illustrates the components of the communicative event must be studied in relation to Table IA, which presents the discourses, the categories of the code switching and the functions of the code switching in each transcribed excerpt. It was evident to me that the extra-linguistic behaviours of my research population played a key complementary role in the dynamics of the communication being observed. As Abercrombie (1968:55) puts it, "…we speak with our vocal organs, but we converse with our whole body". Non-verbal language is described as the language that encompasses not only what we say but also the way in which we say it: tone, sarcasm, the way a speaker ends a sentence, emphasis on words, and a variety of

other ways. The non-verbal language of the respondents in this study gave me a lot of clues about their responses both to the topics and their interlocutors.

Table I

Situations	Topic & Purpose/ Key/Body Language	Setting	Participants	Message form
Case I	Passport enquiry / demand for service; anger and very tense body language from client but disapproval and headshaking from official	Angolan consulate, Cape Town 5 March 2009.	client and government official	Verbal & nonverbal (standard Portuguese / and idiomatic English)
Case II	Photographs taken at a party; explaining/ Informing; happy – relaxed body language	Angolan consulate, Cape Town, 03 Sept 2009.	Two friends who haven't seen each other for a while	Idiomatic Portuguese & English
Case III	Talking to a friend about events at a pub and what to bring to a party; requesting information- excited – mirrored by walking up and down with many hand gestures	Cellphone conversation in pub in Mowbray 25 Sept 2009.	Two friends who normally drink together but have not seen each other for a while	Verbal & non-verbal / idiomatic & slang Portuguese
Case IV	Sharing info about SA Dept Home Affairs' decision on Angolans – serious, but with relaxed body language	Inside a church, before mass 5 Sept 2009.	Three church members	Verbal & non-verbal. Non-standard Portuguese/English Close to standard Portuguese
Case V	Sharing info about an atheist on a train – upset and disappointed as reflected in main speaker's body language	Inside church 31 July 2009	Two church members	Verbal & non-verbal Close to standard Portuguese

Table 1 A   Conversational Discourse (note code-switched texts in bold type); **Category and Function of CS**

		Category and Function of CS in terms of Markedness
Case I	**1**: Sempre que venho aqui dizem que o passaporte ainda não está pronto. **Service delivery is poor** [*Every time I come here you say that the passport is not ready yet. Service delivery is very poor*] **2**: *looking startled and embarrassed she answers.* Menino fala a nossa língua. [*Young man(implying son) speak our language*] **3**: **This is a country of English I speak a language I want to and finish.** [*This is an English speaking country I speak a language I want to*].	Marked choice to increase social distance via authority/anger; showing defiance as well as establishing identity by demonstrating knowledge of English.
Case II	**4**: Estás a ver este gajo é **troublemaker**. [*You see this guy is a troublemaker*] **5:** Estou a ver. [*I see*] **6: He's *dronk as you see him**. [*He's drunk as you see him (on the picture)*]. **7**: .... (*He nods his head in agreement looking on the floor*). ***** The word 'dronk' is Afrikaans for 'drunk'.	Marked choice for social inclusion and humour; possibly also for establishing identity by demonstrating knowledge of both English and Afrikaans
Case III	**8:** Qual é o programa? Onde é que os mangolês vão se encontrar neste fim de semana longo? [*What's on for this long weekend? Where are the mangoles (Angolans) going to meet?*] **10**: O gajo que me telefonou disse que estão reunidos no lugar de sempre, tenho só que trazer **six packs**. Olha disse também que o **fire** já está **on**. Se queres vir me dá então um **call**. [*The guy that called me said that they are gathered at the same place and that I have to bring a pack of six Amstel beers. Look he also said that the fire is already on]*] **11**: No Mowbray? [*In Mowbray?*]	Possibly sequence of unmarked choices, using commonly used English terms it is assumed the other person knows

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	12:Ia. [*yes*]	
Case IV	**13**: Ouvi dizer que os angolanos já não vão lhes dar estatuto, este é o último. ['*I heard that Angolans will no longer receive refugee status this is the last one*'] **14:** E o que é que vai acontecer connosco? Ouvi dizer que vão nos dar uma oportunidade de tratar residência mas quando é que vamos começar? ['*What will then happen with us? I heard that they (Home affairs) will give us a chance to apply for permanent residence but when are they going to start?*'] **15**: Também ouvi dizer mas temos de esperar **green light** da emigração antes deles começarem **issuing refugee status to Angolan citizens therefore Angolans who have been here for long should apply for residence**. ['*I also heard but we have to wait for the green light from Home affairs before they start issuing refugee status to Angolan citizens therefore Angolans who have been here for long should apply for residence*']	Marked choice used for information and to establish identity as one who has the relevant information and also possesses knowledge of English
Case V	**16**: Vi um senhor no **train** que me fez ficar muito zangado**. He's very stupid. He thinks God doesn't exist. What about the very people he sees around him?** ['*I saw a gentleman in the train that made me very cross. He's very stupid. What about all people he sees (meaning don't they remind him of God's creation)*] **17**: O que aconteceu? ['*What happened*?'] **18**: Disse que Deus não existe e nunca existiu. Até insultou um senhor que estava a pregar. Um homem que diz que Deus não existe é burro. ['*He said (meaning the man) that God does not exist and never existed in the first place. He even went on insulting a man who was preaching. A man that says God does not exist he's very stupid*']. **19**: Chama um homen de burro porque acha Deus não existe?	Marked choice – switch to English to show anger and establish identity, but back to Portuguese to maintain social relations and solidarity with non-English speakers. The speaker in **(21)** code switches to English to establish solidarity with the main speaker and possibly to indicate that he does not find his code switching behaviour offensive.

['*You call a man stupid just because he thinks God does not exist?*'] **20**: Porque não. **What about he who did made himself, God of course**. Esses gajos merecem apanhar chicote no rabo. Ooh **sorry brother** a palavra escorregou da boca. ['*Why not. And what about him who do you think created him. God, of course. These bunches of people deserve to be beaten with sticks on the bum. Ah Sorry for the word it slipped out of the mouth'*]. **21**: Você é cristão irmão deve se controlar. **You should never behave the same way as these** mundanos. ['*You're Christian brother, you must control yourself. You should never behave as these worldly peopl*e'].	

4.1.2 Analysis of these tables

As can be seen from the tables, participants' discourses consisted of both marked and unmarked code-switching. Marked code-switching, however, predominated, and appeared to indicate deliberate attempts to show a different identity which in turn excluded newcomers from group membership. According to Myers-Scotton (1993:131), in cases of Marked choice CS the speaker simply 'dis-identifies with the expected right and obligation (RO) set. The conversation takes place in a relatively conventionalised interaction, for which an unmarked code choice to index the unmarked RO set between participants is relatively clear'. Myers-Scotton argues that in making a marked choice the speaker is saying in effect, 'Put aside any presumptions you have based on societal norms for these circumstances. I want your view of me, or of our relationship, to be otherwise'. Clearly these premises reinforce the marked choices of my participants in the examples below from Table IA – Case I, discourses (1) and (3); and Case V, discourse 16.

(1): Sempre que venho aqui dizem que o passaporte ainda não está pronto. **Service delivery is poor** [*Every time I come here you say that the passport is not ready yet. Service delivery is very poor*].

(3): **This is a country of English I speak a language I want to and finish**.

[*This is an English speaking country I speak a language I want to*].

What we see in these utterances are cases of marked codeswitching accomplished by intersentential means. Intersentential code-switching is a switch at clause / sentence boundary, one clause being in one language, the other clause in the other. The same also applies to discourse (16). By adhering to the English linguistic norms the long term migrants position themselves very clearly as showing that they do not belong to the other group (newcomers). My assertion is reinforced by the fact that "one of the most fundamental ways we have of establishing our identity, and of shaping other people's views of who we are, is through our use of language" (Thomas, et.al, 2004: 158). Briefly it means that "social groups and communities use language as means of identifying their members, and of establishing their boundaries (Thomas, et.al, 2004).

(16): Vi um senhor no **train** que me fez ficar muito zangado. **He's very stupid. He thinks God doesn't exist. What about the very people he sees around him?** [*I saw a gentleman in the train that made me very cross. He's very stupid. What about all people he sees? (Meaning: 'Don't they remind him of God's creation?')*]

An important developing argument here lies on the fact that in both situations Portuguese on its own is the most unmarked choice for this type of interaction yet we see 'long – term' migrants rather opting for the marked code, the *unexpected* medium for conversation, given the norms of the society and the salience of the specific situational factors (Myers-Scotton, 1993: p.151)**.** My argument is that codeswitching of this nature "is a strategy which is followed when speakers perceive that their own costs-rewards balance will be more favourable for the conversation at hand through engaging in CS than through using only a single code(whether throughout the conversation or only at a specific point" (Myers-Scotton, p.152). I assume this is a bid to alter the rights-and-

obligations set which holds between participants; it is in this limited sense that identity is established (Myers-Scotton, p.152). Identity here is used in a very general sense; *however* I do not mean to imply that code choices can fashion new persons out of speakers. What they can do is negotiate a particular identity for the speaker in relation to other participants in the exchange (p.152).

A noteworthy example of this discussion occurs in discourses (1) and (3), where the participant deliberately code switches to English, despite the plea by the official that he should speak Portuguese. Obviously, he is distancing himself from any sort of solidarity or politeness to a lady (in her fifties), which is unacceptable behaviour if we take into accounting the Angolan cultural values.

Markedness however, is a gradient not a categorical concept and it is exchange-specific, clearly implying that what is marked in one exchange will be unmarked in another (Jacobson, 1990:91) due to a change in the dynamics of the larger social context. I presume this to be so because the continuum of unmarked to marked or vice versa, for instance, is linked to these factors. My understanding is that the same code choice will not necessarily and equally be marked for all participants involved in the same exchange as the following conversation between two church members, as from discourse 16 – 21, Case V, shows:

16: Vi um senhor no **train** que me fez ficar muito zangado**. He's very stupid. He thinks God doesn't exist. What about the very people he sees around him?**

[*I saw a gentleman in the train that made me very cross. He's very stupid. What about all people he sees (meaning don't they remind him of God's creation)*]

In the first discourse (16) the speaker starts the conversation in Portuguese (which is the unmarked code shared by both participants) and then switches completely into English (marked code to illustrates anger and identity). However, the other speaker does not seem to be bothered by the behaviour, responding firstly in Portuguese to show that he understood what the first speaker said (**17**): "O que aconteceu?" [*What happened*?]. He then continues in English and then switches back to Portuguese (**21**) "…**You should**

never behave the same way as these mundanos […*You should never behave as these worldly peopl*e].

Although the example shows marked code switching it is unmarked, as both speakers are exercising multiple, shared, identities and their proficiency in both languages.

In contrast, the use of unmarked forms of code switching implies that the speakers are negotiating 'a normative position, the *status quo'* (Myers-Scotton, 1993: 120), meaning the social distance between participants is narrower and a sort of solidarity is being established as in the following discourses**(4)** – **(5)** and **(10)** - **(11)**:

(**4**): Estás a ver este gajo é **troublemaker**. [*You see this guy is a troublemaker*].

5: Estou a ver. [*I see*]

10: O gajo que me telefonou disse que estão reunidos no lugar de sempre, tenho só que trazer **six packs**.Olha disse também que o **fire** já está **on**. Se queres vir me dá então um **call**. [The *guy who called me said that they are gathered at the same place and that I have to bring a pack of six Amstel beers. Look he also said that the fire is already on]*]

11: No Mowbray? [*In Mowbray?*]

What I want to make clear about unmarked code-switching is that it applies in most societies where speaking a language all can understand is considered appropriate (Myers-Scotton, p.148). Therefore, in the examples above, code switching to English symbolizes a sort of a sentiment of solidarity with the main speaker, without any secondary agenda. It is an unconscious one and yet is negotiated with the other participant that seems not be affected by the phenomenon merely because the word *troublemaker* in the discourse (**4**) and *six packs*, *fire*, *on* and *call* in discourse (**10**) are shared by both participants. It is available in their repertoire as their responses in discourse (**5**) and (**11**) shows:

5: Estou a ver.[*I see*]

11: No Mowbray? [*In Mowbray?*]

In the most basic sense, the rights and obligations balance for the speech event is the common Angolan nationality. The content of the nationality, or rather the ethnicity factor

changes from unknown to 'shared', and the unmarked RO set changes from that holding between strangers to that between ethnic brethren (Scotton, 1993:114). This is confirmed through the relaxed body language and constant smiles as they scroll through the pictures on the camera phone. I presume this is because when faced with choosing paths, the majority of speakers will follow the known path and make unmarked choices, thereby maintaining the status quo in the RO sets in which they participate (Scotton, 1993: 153). I shall discuss more aspects of marked and unmarked codeswitching in the next sections.

4.2 Results of the Recordings

Table II AND IIA are primarily intended as a summary of some data from the material derived from recordings done in my house over two sessions: one in August 2008, and the other in September 2009 with ten participants - five newcomers and five long staying immigrants for each session – giving a total of twenty participants. (Appendix 2) provides the full transcribed versions of both recordings). The topics of conversation were firstly, a religious issue (Case VI - a biblical explanation of the question 'When is the end of the world?') and secondly, xenophobia in South Africa (Case VII). Moreover, as previously discussed, the degree of non-verbal communication is of extreme importance in this study in particular with recordings, in revealing the behaviour of participants during conversations. The discussion of these results appears in the next section.

Table II

Situations	Topic & Purpose/ Key/Body Language	Setting	Participants	Message form
Case I	Religious issue (a biblical explanation of the question 'When is the end of the world?') / debate / Gesticulating; Laughs; Loud voices; Knocking on the table; Frequent interruptions	In my house (Observatory) Cape Town August 2008.	5 long-term migrants and 5 newcomers	Idiomatic Portuguese & non-standard English Verbal & non-verbal
Case II	Xenophobia in South Africa / debate / frequent interruptions; high pitch intonation; trying to speak fluent English with native like pronunciation	In my house, Wynberg, Cape Town, Sept 2009.	5 long-term migrants and 5 newcomers	Non –standard Portuguese & English / Verbal & non-verbal

Table II A   Conversational Discourse (note code-switched texts in bold type);
Category and Function of CS

		Category and functions of CS in terms of Markedness
Case VI	**Speaker (LSA) B**: Se alguem misturar vinho com a gasosa essa pessoa pode se levantar sem ter problemas mas quando chegar em casa vai ter problemas, estás a entender né, porque o açucar da coca - cola e o álcool do vinho, aquilo vai aumentar o conteúdo do álcool na vida dessa pessoa e haverá aquilo que os ingleses chaman de **hangover** estás a entender né? ['*If by chance someone mixes wine with soft drink he/she might stand up without necessarily having problems but when this person arrives home he /she might have problems. Do you understand don't you? Do you know why? Because the Coca-cola's sugar and the wine's alcohol*	Presumably unmarked (the speaker assumes everybody knows the meaning of the word), but then becomes Marked (the speaker switches completely into English in spite the

	are going to mix thus it will increase the percentage of the alcohol in that person's life and it will result in what the Englishmen call hangover. Do you understand, don't you?']	plea by the newcomer to speak Portuguese) (Newcomer A).
	Speaker (newcomer) A: Não entendi o que disseste. ['*I didn't understand what you've just said(meaning I don't understand English)'*]	
	Speaker (LSA) B: **I'm just trying to make a point here** [B laughing Loudly] [...']	Marked
	Speaker (newcomer) C: Vi um filme na casa do Y que diz que Deus não existe e nem existiu. ['*I saw a movie at Y's house that says God doesn't exist and never existed.*']	
	Speaker (LSA) A: [laughs] Eu não tenho nenhum problema você vive na África do Sul *and South Africa is a free country*. ['*I've no problem (meaning with your view) you live in South Africa and South Africa is a free country.*']	Marked
	Speaker (newcomer) D: A questão é que Deus está a provar mais...[*interrupted by A*] ['*The point is that God is proving more*']	
	Speaker (LSA) A...**let me give you some more signs.** ['*Let me give you some more sins'*].	Marked
	Speaker (newcomer) C: Quem vão ressuscitar? ['*Who are going to rise?'*].	
	Speaker (Newcomer) A: Que morreram em Cristo. ['*Those who died in Christ'*].	
	Speaker (LSA) B: A biblia diz que **countless number o people, countless number of people will rise from the death**. ['*The Bible says countless number of people, countless number of people will rise from the death.*']	Marked

Speaker (LSA) B: As pessoas vão desaparecer quando o dia chegar. Chamas o senhor Y, telefonas o Y, **the number you calling for is not available, please try again later. He's gone** [he knocks on the table, three times], *he's not coming back* [he knocks again on the table]. A Biblia diz que que duas pessoas estarão em negócio uma será levada e a outra ficará. **Yes, this is what gonna happen**. ['*People won't be in their houses when the day will come. You'll try to call Mr. Y, you'll make a phone call to Mr. Y, and you'll hear the number you [are] calling for is not available, please try again later. He's gone, he's not coming back. The Bible says that two people will be dealing in business one shall be taken and the other one left behind. Yes, this is what is going to happen.*']	Marked
Speaker (newcomer) A: Você é mais complicado. ['*I can't follow what you're saying.*'(*the speakers continues implying he does not understand English)*]	
Speaker (LSA) B: Todo aquele que envelheceu vai voltar conforme quando tinha dezoito anos, **and forever** [knocks on the table] e a comida [he knocks on the table again this time continuously] é aquele, aquele tipo que não vai te pôr velho **forever. Travel we'll travel yes, we'll be in Cape Town one day I know we used to be here**. Mas naquela época é aquilo que nós chamamos milénio em espaço de mil anos. *['' Those who died when they were old shall come [rise again] and they'll look as when they were eighteen years old, and forever and the food is that type that won't make you old forever [shall keep you young forever]. Travel yes; we'll be in Cape Town one day I know we used to be here. But is in that time we call millennium, a space of thousand years.''*]	Marked
Speaker (Newcomer) A: Mas quando a turbulência chegar as pessoas vão ficar cinco meses, dia e noite. Aliás vai ser cinco dias de noite, escuridão de todo tipo que nunca aconteceu. Não há nenhuma máquina que vai consequir dar luz. ['*But when the turbulence shall come people will stay five months, day and night. As matter of fact it'll be five days of night, darkness of all kind that was never felt before. There won't be a machine that will be able to create light.*']	

Speaker (LSA) B: **I don't want to be there.** [Meaning when that time comes]. A Biblia diz que quando aquele tormento acabar haverá luz mas quando vocês vão ver este mar desaparecerá, tá escrito. ['*I don't want to be there. The Bible says that at the end of that torment period there will be light but you'll realize that the sea will disappear too. It's written.*']	Marked
Speaker (newcomer) A: Até a própria Biblia vai sumir. ['*Even the Bible will disappear.*' (*Showing his Bible)*]	
Speaker (newcomer) B: As pessoas nem estão aí. Estão mais interessadas nas coisas do mundo...[interrupted by speaker A] ['*People don't even care much. They're more interested with worldly things...*']	
Speaker (LSA) A: Sim, eu já fui pregar uma pessoa que me disse ó A pá, [switches into English] **you know let me tell you one thing some people are loosing their friendship, don't come here all the time talk about God. You must talk about the mountains, talk about Table Mountain, talk about the birds and so on and so on. But I know** *[he knocks on the table]* **people will find excuses in order for them not to serve God yet they'll be praising the creation of God, instead of God**. Estás a entender né? ['*Yes the other day I went to preach a person that told me listen here A...Do you understand, hem?*']	Marked
Speaker (Speaker (LSA) C: E a outra coisa também é que as igrejas que nós chamamos de igrejas recebem instruções de um quartel general **somewhere in the world.** Olha a igreja faz isto, tem que fazer aquilo não sei quanto mais então nós vamos começar a desencandear as orientações do **headquarters**. **We end up serving those people instead of God** quando entramos nestes *buildings* feitos de mármores… ['*And the other thing is that churches, the so called churches receive instructions from headquarters somewhere in the world. They instruct that the church must do this, must do that I don't know what else. Then we must follow the ruling of headquarters and*	Marked

we end up serving those people instead of God when we enter in these buildings made of marble.']		
Speaker (newcomer) C: As pessoas nem estão aí. Estão mais interessadas nas coisas do mundo...[interrupted by speaker B] ['*People don't even bother much. They're more interested with worldly things...'*]		
Speaker (Speaker (LSA) B: **Is not by reading it that we'll understand**. Estás a entender né? [' *It is not by reading it that we'll understand do you understand, hem?*]	Marked	
Speaker (newcomer) A: Entendo mas esse povo adora idolos e serão como os idolos, têm boca mas não falam, têm orelhas não ovem, têm nariz mas não cheiram, têm pernas mas não andam... [*Interrupted by B*] [' *I do but this people worship idols and they will also be like idols: they have mouth but can't speak, have ears can't hear, have nose but can't smell, have legs but can't walk...*']		
Speaker (Speaker LSA) B: Meus irmãos podemos sentar em casa lermos a nossa Biblia **we'll not understand the words. The only word we'll understand is when God himself reveals himself to us.** Estás a entender né? **There must be a place where we need to go and pursue in searching God**. Acho que é a única razão que estamos aqui hoje.' ['*My brothers we can sit at home and read our Bible we'll not understand it. The only word we'll understand is when God himself reveals himself to us. Do you understand, hem? There must be a place where we need to go and pursue in searching God. I think it's the only reason we are here today.'*]	Marked	
Speaker (newcomer) C: Foi crucificado. ['*He was crucified.'*]		
Speaker (Speaker (LSA) C: Foi crucificado e **found himself face to face with Jesus Christ** ficou assim de pé quando ele estava assim atentar tomar posição um, um tropa romano veio, lhe empurrou **get out here**. [' *He was crucified and found himself face to face with Jesus Christ and stood still and when he was trying to control himself, a guard from the Roman Empire pushed him, saying get out here.'*]	Marked	

Speaker (newcomer) C: No dia em que nós menos esperarmos ou que as pessoas estiverem bem como no tempo de Noé quando destruiu o mundo, tudo corria como se tudo estivesse bem mas depois é que foi o trinta e um como se diz. ['*In the day when we'll less expect and people will be enjoying life like in the Noah's time when the world was destroyed everything was going fine but suddenly the trouble will come. God will destroy the world.*']		
Speaker (Speaker (LSA) C: Agora a pessoa **say** que não, **I'm born again Christian, yes is true** se você lhe faz a pergunta, quando é que você renasceu ele vai te dizer olha mesmo até naquele dia o pastor me deu a mão. **Yes, is good but what does the Bible say?** ['*Now people say that no I'm born again Christian, yes it is true but if ask him/her when did you born again the answer will be, it was on the day the pastor shook my hands. Yes it is good but what does the Bible say?*']	Marked Marked	
Speaker (newcomer) A: Aquele que não nascer de espirito... ['*The person who will not be born again in spirit...*']		
Speaker (Speaker (LSA) C: Quando no dia em que fui baptizado o padre... [Interrupted] ['*Like in the day I was baptized, the Priest...*']		
Speaker (newcomer) A: Pegou na gota... [*...Interrupted*] ['*Got a drop of water...*']		
Speaker (Speaker (LSA) C: Depois [*he knocks on the table as he switches into English*] **sprinkle of water, yes is good but what does the Bible say?** ['*Then the sprinkle of water. Yes it's good but what does the Bible say?*']	Marked	
Speaker (newcomer) C: No fundo, no fundo se nós aceitarmos a cruz do senhor vale a pena, o peso é ligeiro... [Interrupted by a speaker C] ['*Deep down, deep down if we accept the crucifix [follow Jesus] the burden will be light.*']		
Speaker (Speaker (LSA) C: A coisa mais frustante é que aqui onde nós estamos **somewhere deep down, deep there they are people who are**	Marked	

	shouting for help, yet they'll be there forever no one know it unless we go deeply into ourselves. When we go there we become hopeless there's no way out. ['*The most frustrating thing is that here where we are standing now, somewhere deep down [meaning those people who are buried] there are people who are shouting for help, yet they'll be there forever no one knows the truth unless we live in Jesus. When we go there [when we die] we become hopeless there won't be a way out.*']	
Case VII	**1**: O que é que acham da xenophobia? ['*What do you (all) think of xenophobia?*'] **2**: Não vou definir, nem[pause] mas pronto desde que é...[interrupted] ['I *won't define it...but well since it's …'.*] **3**: Posso falar? ['*May I speak'*] **4**: Sim. ['*Yes'*] **5**: A x**e**nofobia é coisa criada pelo governo. **You know**. Xenofobia é coisa criada pelo governo. É chantagem estás a ver, não sei se você entende. ['*Xenophobia is a thing created by the government. You know. Xenophobia is a thing created by the government. Propaganda can you see, I don't know if you understand'*.] **6**: Sim.['*Yes'*] **7**: A xenofobia não é criado pelo um Xhosa que vive no Joe Slovo, vive no Dunoon. Como se diz o boato, o coiso é que fez isto...[trying to find the name of a person responsible for zenophobia] ['*Xenophobia does not happen because of a X that lives in Joe Slovo, or Dunoon. There's a story going on that Mr…is the one responsible...'*] **8**: O X... ['Mr. X....']	This is possibly an unmarked choice. The speakers use this expression to mean you "Do you understand?" It's done unintentionally and assuming that all participants will understand.

9: Ó, e não me diz que vai acontecer o próximo ano. xenofobia pode acontecer a qualquer momento, estás a ver?

['*Hey, don't tell me xenophobia can happen next year. Xenophobia can happen any moment, do you understand?'*]

10: Sim eu não disse que vai acontecer o próximo ano...[interrupted]

['*I agree. I didn't say that it will happen next year...*']

11: Mas xenofobia acontece não é o X, o Y ou *wherever*, são pessoas grandes que fazem isso, que criam. ['*Xenophobia happens and is not the X, Y or whomever. Politicians are responsible, they're the ones who create it.'*]

12: Sim. ['*Yes'*]

13: Isso é culpa do governo, culpa do governo. O X que está metido nisso. O X é que fez aquela xenofobia que nem eu posso te provar isso.['*The government is to blame. The government. Mr. X is involved. Mr. X is the one who created it though I can not prove it to you.'*]

14*: Ia que é que acham do zenofobia? ['What do you think of Xenophobia?'*]

15: Eu por mim acho que tem muito a haver com a pobreza principalmente de outros africanos, porque a maior parte dos Xhosas por exemplo os meus colegas eles estavam a dizer que quando estava acontecer aquilo, que estes casas que o governo está a fazer aí em Joanesburgo por exemplo tinha muitos zimbabueanos, moçambicanos e outras nacionalidades que já tinham casas e muitos deles estavam a espera durante muitos anos, esperavam e nunca foram chamados[pause] então eles começaram a odiar todos os estrangeiros que tinham já casas e decidiram atacá-los.

['*By me I think that it has more to do with poverty. The majority of Xhosa people, for example my colleagues they were saying that when those attacks were happening because the government houses that was meant only for locals many foreigners such as Zimbabweans and Mozambican owned some of them as result they started hating*

This is possibly an unmarked choice. It's done unintentionally and assuming that all participants would understand

foreigners and decided attacking them'.]	
16: ...[a newcomer laughs]	
17: E a forma que a gente vive, por exemplo se você está a viver no **township** o teu **neighbour** é um sul africano o que é que vai acontecer[pause], enquanto que você tiver na pobreza como eles serão sempre amigos mas quando você mudar de vida de nível de vida, se tiveres um carro ou abriste um business ai começa já. … ['And *the way we live, for example, if you're living in township your neighbour is a south African what will happen? Surely while you're both living in poverty you will always be his friend but the moment you life change to better, if you own a car or a business the problem starts there.'*]	This is possibly an unmarked choice. It's done unintentionally and assuming that all participants would understand
18: Os X também vendem drogas. [*'The X also sell drugs'*]	
19: Ia, você vai ao Richards Bay, você vai encontrar quantos Y? Nunca! [*'Yes, but if you go to a place such as Richards Bay how many Y do you find there*?']	
20: Vamos só comparar alguma coisa. *[let us make a comparison]*	
21: hem. [*' yes'*]	
22: Se você comparar **nineteen percent against 5 percent who's gonna win then**? *[' if you compare 95 percent against 5 percent what is the major percentage.']*	Marked choice
23: **Is nineteen five percent**. *[95 percent]*	Marked
24: **Is nineteen five percent. If I tell you X spoil the country, X sell the drugs for may be** [pause, he realizes is peaking English].Oh, vende a droga na juventude quinze a doze anos de idade. *['Of course is 95 percent. If I tell you X spoil the country, X sell drugs*	Marked

to may be (pauses when he realizes is speaking English). Oh sell drugs to the youth of 12 to 15 yeas old.']	
25: Oh, oh… [Interrupted]	
26: Deixa acabar o meu ponto, deixa acabar o meu ponto. Vende a droga na juventude, eh, epa **let me speak English thirty, thirteen years alright, thirteen years, fourteen years old right. In South Africa black people, may be black people are being the same colour hem speaking both Xhosa and Afrikaans but in the same for example your colour black, or he's coloured but speak Afrikaans is a fight here in South Africa. Is a fight** [he hits the floor with is hand] **smoking drugs. Nigerians were staying Nigerians spoil the fucking country**. ['*Let me finish my point. Let me finish my point. They sell drugs to the youth….the fucking country.'*]	Marked
27: **Ok**, posso dar a minha opinião? Eu vou dizer que a xenofobia [pause] nós merecemos isto. ['*Ok. May I give my opinion? I will say that we deserve this xenophobia.'*]	
28: **Why? Why?**	Marked choice
29: Angola está bom. Porque é que não vamos para angola. Eu acho que a xenofobia para mim está certo... [*interrupted*] ['*Angola is fine now why don't we go to home? I think xenophobia is right...'*]	
30: O que? *['What?']*	
31: Xenofobia para mim está certo. ['*Xenophobia is right to me?'*]	
32: Isto quer dizer se me matarem esta certo? ['*Are you implying that if they kill me is right?'*]	
33: Porque é que não vamos para Angola...[*interrupted*] ['*Why don't*	

we go to Angola.']	
34: Então se me matarem está certo? ['So if they kill me is right?']	
35: Não... [*interrupted*] ['*Of course not...*']	
36: Porque o povo *angolano* não é xenófobo. ['Because *the Angolan people are not xenophobic.*']	
37: Não, neste aspecto estás certo. [*'No, in this case is not right.'*]	
38: **Wait, wait** [ ] **this guy he got * responsibly. He got three kids in this country right? He's got five kids in this country, he's married. He got a wife here in the country right?**	Marked
39: Is this South African people's problem?	Marked
40: **Not South Africa's problem. Wait. If he's got responsibly in South Africa, he got kids right, five kids he stay in South Africa. What do you think** (think pronounced as *thing*) **about that. He must leave the country, go away?**	Marked
41: **Ia, I can't go back to Angola and leave my *children here.**	Unmarked
42: **Ia who's gonna support he *don't even have** [pause] **only he plays no money** [pause] **you think is enough? That's why this country has a law when you marry got kids he not allowed to chuck you away do you understand?**	Unmarked
43: Ia mas está a ver né eu pensava que a África do Sul foi o primeiro país a fazer xenofobia. Estava a fazer uma pesquisa e disseram que os moçambicanos é que são os primeiros ...[interrupted] [*I was under impression that South Africa was the first country to show cases of zenophobia. I was doing a research to discover that in fact Mozambicans were the first ones...*]	
44: Sim são os moçá quando não sei mas quando X estava lá em Moçambique eles também sofriam de ataques, a África do Sul está também a fazer o mesmo tipo de ataques. [*Yes the Mozambican people were the first ones. I don't know if whe X were in Mozambique were victim of attacks as result South African is ragging the same attacks.*]	

45: Eu me lembro que nos anos oitenta ou no principio de noventa, angola também já teve uma situação contra os congoleses mas eu digo uma coisa, a xenofobia aqui na África do Sul é complexo de grau de inferioridade porque nós estrangeiros somos superiores do que os pretos daqui porque nós conseguimos trabalhar e sobreviver do pouco que nós temos, e damos o que nós temos por exemplo as irmãs dela, hoje muito de nós nos envolvemos ou vivemos com sul africanas e elas não foram muito connosco, porque nós temos mesmo mais do que eles porque nós conseguimos pouco e dar do pouco do que nós temos. Eles falam que nós estamos a roubar as mulheres deles e o trabalho como aqui na sua maioria já têm filhos. O Xhosa dá, o Xhosa não atura, ele vai embora o mangolê é que assume tudo, estás a ver e no caso de trabalho se um Xhosa ou mulato não vai diminuir o trabalho [pause] não é um mulato[pause] estás a ver né? Eles estão a falar porque não têm trabalho porque nós estamos a roubar o trabalho deles e eles não têm...[interrupted] ['I *remember that in the late 80s or early 90s Angola had also a similar case against Congolese people but xenophobia here in South Africa is the result of inferiority complex because somehow we're in better position than many local people. We're able to work and survive. For instance when it comes to some women that are married with foreigners at least get from the little that these foreigners earn. They just complain for no reason when saying that we're stealing their women and jobs when they don't take responsibility of their children and women in some cases. On the contrary foreigner person will take a different approach…'*] **45**: Mas não achas mesmo que nós estamos a roubar o trabalho deles? Quantas pessoas estão aqui e quantas pessoas não estão a trabalhar? ['*Don't you really think that we're indeed stealing their jobs? How many people are here, I mean foreigners, working and how many people are not working?'*] **46:** Desculpe só. No tempo que aconteceu zenofobia até os mulatos né porque mulatos não são muito contra nós [pause] mas o branco vive ali, o branco é mais estrangeiro do que nós. Nós somos da África né, o branco vem da Europa vem da America porque é que eles não vão atacar o branco? ['*Sorry for interrupting, when xenophobia occurred even coloured were on our side because coloured people aren't against us, but the whitemen in fact is even more foreigner than us. The whitemen come from Europe, America but why don't they attack them if were African people.*']	
47: **When they come from there they already got the money. When they come from there they buy their house here and make all big**… [Interrupted]	Marked
48: Mas eles criam também trabalhos. Vocês estão a criar trabalho? ['*But they create jobs. Are you doing the same?'*]	
49: Ia, **how many come from overseas and employ people from South Africa and only take two foreign people.**	Marked
50: Houve um angolano há tempos que mandou uma **letter** à rádio a	

dizer, só que não sei bem a rádio, que uma agente do transito lhe mandou parar no **robot** sem ele ter feito algo errado. Ela pediu a carta de condução que ele apresentou depois pediu o **permit**, é **permit** né? [' *There was an Angolan, days ago, that sent a letter to the radio station well I'm not sure what radio station it was but the point is that a traffic police officer asked him to stop at the robot in spite of doing nothing wrong. Afterwards he asked for the driving licence which he did so then he asked for the personal identification document.'Is a permit isn't it?*]	Unmarked
51: Ia ['*Yes*']	
52: O permite também mostrou, o permite de refugiado. Depois ainda pediu o passaporte ele mostrou. Como ela não tinha como arranjar desculpas de prendê-lo ela pediu para ele sair do país. Ele disse, eu tenho uma empresa cá que empreguei 30 sul africanos, 5 angolanos e 5 moçambicanos se eu ir embora como é que fica os 30 sul africanos? ['He showed his refugee permit then he asked for the passport since *he could not find any irregularity against him he asked him to leave the country. The guy told the officer that he had a company that employed 30 local people, 5 angolans and 5 mozambicans if he had leave the country what was going to happen with the local people who had to support their families.'*]	
53: Eu acredito [pause, while looking for words] estamos a falar de xenofobia. Eu acredito que a xenofobia é um processo na qual tem um elemento pobreza, ah na pobreza **comprise** o elemento **jeolosy e illiteracy**. Mas o elemento **jealosy** é o principal causador de todas essas maldades, estás a entender né? Porque? Porque o sul africano não só sul africano em general as pessoas tem ciúmes um das outras estás a ver né? Tu trabalhas, nós trabalhamos ele comprou um carro eu não estou satisfeito e começo a fazer, começo a falar epá este gajo é estrangeiro; este comprou um carro, etc, este gajo ganha mais do que eu etecetera...[interrupted] ['*I believe that xenophobia has the main factor as poverty and poverty on the other hand comprises of jelousy and illiteracy. However jelousy is the main cause of all this problem do you understand? People are jealous of one another. If we both work and he buys a car I will be unhappy and then I start complaining that this person is a foreigner, he bought a car...*']	Unmarked
54: [...]	
55: Ia, ia amanhã posso fazer um plano eu como sul africano falo com alguém este alguém rouba o carro dessa pessoa ou então bate essa pessoa crio um tipo de **environment** no seio dos sul africanos, nos meus irmãos sul africanos vamos combinar para bater os estrangeiros que moram na nossa rua e a partir dali começa o tal **fight** de zenofobia a confusão entre os estrangeiros e nacionais. ['*Yes, as South African i can arrange with someone to steal the car and to beat him/her up and as result a tension atmosphere is created among local people what they call as Xenophobia.*']	Umarked

56: Eu quero...ia, sim. ['*I want...yes, yes'*]

57: Há uma coisa que o senhor X comentou. Ele diz que a xenofobia tinha que acontecer; muitos disseram que não e, eu creio que não suporto que tinha que acontecer mas também aponto o dedo ao governo. Uns tiveram dito que Y estava envolvido nestas coisas então, nós também temos que encontrar o **way forward** porque até o presente momento a xenofobia já terminou então eu pergunto aqui todos que estamos sentados. A xenofobia terminou o ano passado, ninguém foi julgado, todos que estavam envolvidos na xenofobia nínguém foi julgado até de momento o governo não encontrou o cabeçario porque aquilo foi bem organizado. Havia líderes não era só uma pessoa que estava a frente e até hoje nínguém sabe nós temos que reflectir quem estavam envolvidos, quais são e a justiça tem que tomar o seu **course**.

['*There's something Mr. Y said that touched me: xenophobia had to happen. I don't support what happened; in fact I blame the government for what happened however we have to think of a way forward because at this point xenophobia is past nobody appeared in court for the crimes. I suppose justice will take its course.'*]

58: **The problem** também surgiu no principio pelos **somalis** se deram conta e até hoje dizem que os somalianos são culpados porque, eles quando chegaram nestes lugares, **townships,** como do Langa começaram a comprar as coisas e vender num preço mínimo; eles consequiram um comércio mais elevado. Até hoje, porque hoje em dia o povo no gueto pedem que se tem de se empregar alguém do gueto porque os somalianos nunca empregam nínguem, estão a começar agora antes só se empregavam entre eles e...[interrupted]

['*Some blame the somalis for the situation because they arrived at townships such as Langa and started buying goods and sell them cheaper than locals do and yet they don't employ local people instead employ themselves.'*]

59: Desculpe, o X falou das causa não é? Disse que certos estrangeiros viviam nas casas do governo, aquelas casas são casas deste povo. Estão a ver esses gajos, o Y comprou uma 15 mil Randes no Delft. Aquela casa foi dada numa senhora pelo governo. A senhora preferiu vender a casa e foi viver no Transkey, o Y comprou a casa. Imagina só então se for 5 ou 20 pessoas de nós a comprar essas casas, quando notarem vão encontrar que aquelas casas ocupadas pelos estrangeiros e sabe o governo põe essas pessoas dentro das casas mas não certas pessoas com documentos confirmados. Como o que aconteceu em Alexandra, aquele zimbabweano aquelas casas compraram com dinheiro estás a ver só [pause]. Temos exemplos de sul africans comparando com 15 ou 20 de vocês mas o desenvolvimento do trabalho vai ser diferente se vocês estão aprender profissão de tiles ou **ceiling** ou **something** você vai ser mestre obrigatoriamente em seis meses mas o Xhosa vai continuar a ser **labour** então com o tempo o salário vai continuar a subir e quando o salário subir vai ser problema, vai ser **jealosy** e isso també, provoca xenofobia estás a ver.

['*Excuse me, X spoke of other reasons such as that foreigners who*

lived in the government's houses that was meant for local people. These houses are given to them but they prefer to sell them and go back to Transkey, like one lady who sold her house for 15.000. 00 Randes. For instance if 5 or 20 foreigners buy these houses they will see that those houses belong to foreigners instead of locals as it happened in Alexandra with that Zimbabwen. Yet I cases were foreigners are concerned we've noticed that local people, in some cases, are not willing to work harder than foreigners as result if both a foreigner and a local person are learning ceiling skills or something else the tendancy is a foreigner doing better and as result earning a better salary which results in jelousy and therefore xenophobia.']	
60: Numa parte tem razão há um afluxo de estrangeiros na África do Sul porque a África do Sul é o país mais estável na região ou no continente o fluxo de, o número de coiso, quer dizer, a pobreza na frica do Sul é grande, é elevado e fluxo de estrangeiro também é elevado, estás a ver né, então, ah, ah[laughs] ['To *a certain extent they're quite right there are so many foreigner people in South Africa but that's because it's the most stable country in the continent right now. Poverty in South Africa is a big issue the same as the number of foreigner people, do you understand'*.] **61**: Espera só um momento...['*Wait a moment*.'] **62**: O Y é o presidente...[interrupted] [' *Y is the president.*'] **63**: X, ó X, esse povo antes de acontecer isso, antes de nos virmos aqui eles fugiram nos nossos **countries** estás a entender por isso o que o Y disse que esse country é para todos porque o próprio X e eles todos fugiram. Quando eles viveram no Congo, viveram em Angola. ['*X, X you must know that before happening this problem, before we came here they had also sought asylum in our countries do you understand. That's why Y said that this country was for all. They lived in Congo, Angola, and etecetera'*.] **64**: Eu só quis perguntar uma coisa... [Repeating the point in English]...**I wanna ask something.** **65**: Ia [' *yes*']	Unmarked Marked

66: **My name is X** [deleted for confidential reasons] **can I ask you something you guys?**	Marked
67: **You're from where?** ['*Where are you from?*']	
68: **From Angola.**	
69: **Where in Angola?**	
70: I'm from Lubango. I wanna ask you something. If you come here you *knewed the consequences to be so you mustn't compare those people they were in your country because they went away, they run to train and they come back and you want to do the same. It doesn't work that way you know. So you took advantage to leave your country to come here to face the consequences you don't like it go back my friend. ['*I'm from Lubango. I want to ask you something. When you came here you knew the consequences that you supposed to bear. You can't compare those people that were in your country they went there for military training purpose and they came back home. So it won't work comparing both situations. You left your country to come here to face the consequences if you don't like it go back home my friend.*']	Marked
71: I plead with you but… [loud]	Marked
72: No, no, no… ['*No, no, no…*']	
73: Plead with you. ['*I plead with you.*']	
74: You know what is talking about consequences? You didn't come from Angola to come against the consequences. You run… [*interrupted*] ['*You're talking about consequences? You haven't left Angola thinking there was no consequences*'.]	Marked choice
75: Aah [laughing]	
76: **You leave the country for the better way not the consequences**. ['*When someone leaves its country is for the better.*']	Marked choice
77: **Why you here?** ['*Why are you here?*']	Marked

78: **No you run away for the bad to better way not the consequences**. ['No*, one runs away from a bad situation to a better one but not to face problems.*']	Marked
79: Sendo humano tem todo o direito de viver qualquer lugar do mundo. Você tem direito do humano. ['*Being human he/she has all the right to live anywhere in the world.*']	
80: **Ok**, nós [*pause*] Y estava a dizer de, de que nós somos humanos temos direito de viver qualquer parte do mundo ah...até certo ponto é certo mas temos que imaginar que o mundo está dividido geograficamente, cada pessoa tem.., cada pessoa tem seu país. Nós quando vamos para um país temos que saber que vamos p'ra lá, epá e lá onde estamos a ir vamos sim senhora enfrentar qualquer consequência.... ['*Ok, we [pause] as Y was saying that you're all humans and we've all the right to live anywhere in the world but to a certain extent we must understand that the world is divided geographically and each person has its own country. When we go to another country we must know that we are going there… well … and where we're going he have, of course, to bear consequences.*']	Unmarked

4.2.1 Analysis of these recordings

As can be seen from these two transcripts, one of which was recorded in a period of an hour and 23 minutes while the other lasted for 30 minutes, code-switching among Angolan migrants is a common phenomenon. As in my observed data, marked forms predominated, although unmarked forms were also present. I surmise that the predominance of marked forms is the result of the long-term migrants having had more experience of xenophobia in South Africa as well as the religious freedom in this country (Angola used to be a communist nation with little tolerance for organized religion). Thus the discussions were rich in examples of marked code-switching by those who had been in South Africa longer and had greater proficiency in English.

Below are three examples of the kind of code-switching in the recorded conversation.

Speaker (newcomer) A: Não entendi o que disseste.

['I didn't understand what you've just said']

Speaker (LTA¹) A: *I'm just trying to make a point here.* [*B laughs loudly*]

['I'm just trying to make a point here.']

Speaker (LSA) B: As pessoas vão desaparecer quando o dia chegar. Chamas o senhor Y, telefonas o Y, *the number you calling for is not available, please try again later. He's gone* [he knocks on the table, three times]*, he's not coming back* [he knocks again on the table]. A Biblia diz que que duas pessoas estarão em negócio uma será levada e a outra ficará. *Yes, this gonna happen*.

Speaker (newcomer) A: Você é mais complicado. ['I can't follow what you're saying.']

46: Desculpe só. No tempo que aconteceu zenofobia até os mulatos né porque mulatos não são muito contra nós [*pause*] mas o branco vive ali, o branco é mais estrangeiro do que nós. Nós somos da África né, o branco vem da Europa vem da América porque é que eles não vão atacar o branco?

47: *When they come from there they already got the money. When they come from there they buy their house here and make all big*… [*Interrupted*]

48: Mas eles criam também trabalhos. Vocês estão a criar trabalho?

49: *Ia how many come from overseas and employ people from the south African and only take two foreign people*

In these cases, more specifically speaker **(newcomer A) versus (LSA B) and (46, 48) Versus (47, 48)** we see speakers, long term migrants, refusing to respond in Portuguese and in some occasions making use of idiomatic English as well ('I'm just trying to make a point here'; '…the number you are calling for is not available', etc.) despite a clear appeal from newcomers to speak Portuguese. Similarly it can be assumed that the newcomer group members cannot cope with this type of switching which often serves a directive function in that it involves the hearers, in this case the newcomers themselves,

directly and being the case it can take many forms: one is to exclude certain persons from a portion of the conversation (Appeal & Muysken, 1987:119). Appeal and Muysken further stress that the opposite is to include a person more by using her or his language, which is not happening in these examples. It is conceivable that consequences leave the newcomers in a state of a non-belonging and deprivation from the Angolan migrant community. This, in turn, increases the social distance and may also indicate a desire to demonstrate a dual(denominated expressive function of codeswitching) identity (Angolan, but also South African) and to show off their proficiency in a language of power what Appeal & Muysken (1987) identified as the metalinguistic function of codeswitching and which according to them speakers employ this function of codeswitching directly or indirectly to impress the other participants with a show of linguistic skills. Little consideration is shown for the newcomers in these excerpts. Moreover, English is the marked choice since it contrasts with the ethnic solidarity symbolised by Portuguese language in a conversation initiated by newcomers, in above examples, referred as speaker **B in the first example and in (46) and (48).**

On one occasion, I even noted that code-switching was employed when someone wanted to be rude to others by knocking on the table and floor, laughing and even by interrupting in order to prevent them from participating in a conversation. As other kinds of behaviour this one also aims creating distance of membership. How you choose to address people signals how you situate yourself in relation to others, either by creating social distance or intimacy, showing deference, condescension or even insulting behaviour (Thomas *et al*., 2004:164). This is shown clearly by the following examples:

Speaker (newcomer) B: As pessoas nem estão aí. Estão mais interessadas nas coisas do mundo... [Interrupted by speaker A]

Speaker (LSA) B: Sim, eu já fui pregar uma pessoa que me disse ó A pá, [switches into English] *you know let me tell you one thing some people are losing their friendship, don't come here all the time talk about God. You must talk about the mountains, talk about Table Mountain, talk about the birds and so on and so on. But I know* [he knocks

on the table] **people will find excuses in order for them not to serve God yet they'll be praising the creation of God, instead of God**. [He switches into Portuguese] Estás a entender né? [Do you understand hem?]

Speaker (newcomer) A: Não entendi o que disseste.['I didn't understand what you've just said']

 Speaker (LSA) B: **I'm just trying to make a point here.** [*B laughs loudly*]

['I'm just trying to make a point here.']

10: Sim eu não disse que vai acontecer o próxmo ano... [Interrupted]

[I agree. I didn't say that it will happen next year...]

11: Mas zenofobia acontece não é o X, o Y ou **wherever*, são pessoas grandes que fazem isso, que criam. [Xenophobia happens and is not the X, Y or whomever].

25: oh, oh… [*Interrupted*]

26: Deixa acabar o meu ponto, deixa acabar o meu ponto. Vende a droga na juventude, eh, epa **let me speak English thirty, thirteen year alright, thirteen year fourteen years old, right? In South Africa black people, may be black people are being the same colour hem speaking both Xhosa and Afrikaans but in the same for example your colour black, or he's colored but speak Afrikaans is a fight here in South Africa. Is a fight** [*he hits the floor with is hand*] **smoking drugs. Nigerians were staying Nigerians spoil the fucking country**.

These examples reveal the phatic function of codeswitching (Appel and Muysken, 1987) which serves to indicate a change in the tone of the conversation. There appears to be a strong link between having a command of the English language and the exercise of power and control in social relations among the Angolan migrant community, as can be seen by the manner in which the long-term migrants dominate the conversation. My argument is based on the principles of interaction whereby most participants in a conversation usually share a certain amount of background knowledge about 'proper behaviour' and the right way to do things (Wardhaugh, 1985: 5). In the absence of these values or principles, of course, I argue "any kind of interruptions or *unusual behaviour not available* in the principles which govern conversation is a violation of another's territory" (Wardhaugh,

150). Wardhaugh furthermore states that it is obvious that the most general principle governing turn-taking in a conversation is that one and only one person speaks at the time. This simply means that speakers know who gets to speak and when. Moreover, since "each conversational turn is best considered as negotiation […] only through successive turns can one determine whether an earlier turn succeeded in its negotiation concerning the interpersonal relationship" (Myers-Scotton, 1993:95). It is only "through shared communicative conventions, individuals treat each other as part of their own social group" (Jupp et al. 1982: 232).

This principle is however ignored in the above example. A noteworthy premise to consider here is the fact that a conversation not only requires one to work out who they are and to some extent what they are doing, but also demands that they perform. Each must choose a self or 'face' to present and relate to the selves and faces of others (Wardhaugh, 1985: 38). Yet one's conceptions of who they are as social beings (their identities) influence – and in turn are influenced by – their understanding of how the society is structured and what their particular experiences in that society are likely to be (Moya, and Garcia, 2000: 8). Moya and Garcia argue that identity has been a fundamental element of social liberation as well as social oppression.

Therefore code switching associated with interruptions and banging on the table, may be initial indicators that the long-term migrants are showing off their power in terms of social status and unequal language distribution and most obvious they reject the "sense of groupness or peoplehood" (Edwards, 1985:11). I also surmise that they are revealing a new identity imposed on them by colonial history, ideological orientations on languages and contemporary social demands; as *identity* also moves, changes, and is re-used to fashion new identities in diverse contexts (Bashkow, 2009: 290). In contemporary societies, people draw their sense of identity from a broader range of sources, including *social status*, gender, marital status, sexual preference, consumption patterns, etc. (Bradley, 1996: 23).

What should, in particular, be borne in mind here is that in the late-modern era of globalisation in which we find ourselves, the prestigious status of English bestows a certain power and class on those who are highly proficient in it. Therefore, code switching was a pre-determined and expected phenomenon among long-term Angolan migrants as well as many other communities of bilinguals who recognise English as the most prestigious language in the world. By code switching to English, these Angolans may be implicitly reminding their compatriots that they now belong to another social class. As Baker contends (2006), when a person changes from a minority language or dialect to a majority language it may indicate that the person wishes to elevate his / her own status, creating a distance between him/herself and the listener, in this case the newcomers. And this power and in turn behaviour generates a kind of inequality *amongst these two groups which* in general prevent the sharing of different opportunities (Bonacich, 1999: 297) *available in the society.*[*My own words in italic*]. Interestingly, it seems that some newcomers seem to have an acute understanding of what is central in the language power game. They realize that by speaking English they can gain equality with the long-term migrants and perhaps be accepted by this same community group, as the following example shows:
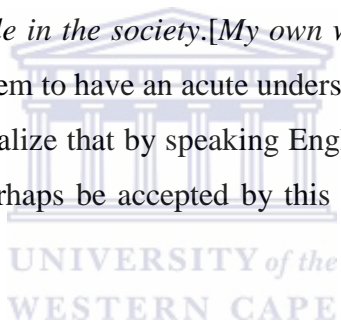
(17): Os X também vendem drogas. *[The X also sells drugs]*

(18): Ia, você vai num Richards Bay, você vai encontra quantos Y? Nunca.

[Yes, but if you go to a place such as Richards Bay how many Y do you find there?*]*

(19): Vamos só comparar alguma coisa. *[Let us make a comparison*]

(20): hem

(21): Se você comparar **nineteen percent against 5 percent who's gonna win then**?

[If you compare 95 percent against 5 percent what is the major percentage?]

(22): **Is nineteen five percent**. *[95 percent]*

(23): **Is nineteen five percent. If I tell you X spoil the country, X sell the drugs for may be** [pause, he realizes he is speaking English].Oh vende a droga na juventude quinze a doze anos de idade.

[Of course is 95 percent. If I tell you X spoil the country, X sell drugs to may be (pauses when he realizes he is speaking English). Oh sell drugs to the youth of 12 to 15 years old]

In the above discourse **(21),** Portuguese is spoken initially as the language available in every participant's repertoire, until a speaker code switches to English by means of intra-sentential code switching. Strangely, this speaker is a newcomer who has been in South Africa for only 18 months. However, his English language skill has a long history: at high school, in Angola, English was one of his core subjects. He also attended English course over 6 months at private institutions both in Angola and South Africa (English course provided to refugees, by some NGO's, in their arrival as part of life skills). His desire for social approval and new identity is absolutely dynamic as he is even willing to demonstrate his limited proficiency in colloquial English (as can be seen by his use of 'gonna'), and even tries to copy an American accent which is one variety acceptable in the long term community of migrants alongside to the British variety and which in turn serve as the passport towards the membership community. By trying to adopt the linguistic convention of the long term migrants he's shaping their views of who he is, simply because in order to " identify you[rself] as belonging to a particular group community often means adopting the linguistic convention of that group"(Thomas et. Al, 2004:158).

(24): oh, oh… [*Interrupted*] *[Oh, oh... (Interrupted)]*

(25): Deixa acabar o meu ponto, deixa acabar o meu ponto. Vende droga a juventude, eh, epá **let me speak English thirty, thirteen years alright, thirteen years, fourteen year old right**. … *[Let me finish my thought, let me finish my thought, sells drugs to the youth]*

It is necessary to explain my emphasis on the speaker's accent. Does it really matter if he tries to speak English with a Nigerian, Canadian or British accent? However, in line with Blommaert (2005:223) I argue that while the "…difference between 'South African English, British or *American* varieties' (including accent) 'is rather trivial linguistically', for *these migrants* it is 'huge in terms of social value and purchase in the world". By using the American accent the participant also successfully resists being interrupted by long-term migrants.

This remarkable approach by the newcomer highlights a search for affiliation while at the same time claiming a new identity which is only possible through a new social status provided by English, which confers power on him and also control in the production and reproduction of new social identity in a new location which "…at its most basic it gives him a sense of personal location, the stable core to *his* individuality *essential for social relationship*, his complex involvement with others" (Weeks, 1990:88). The newcomer is also, in Blommaert's terms 'deterritorialized' – removed from his former location – and… "(W) hen people get displaced, their discourses become deterritorialized - disconnected from their usual spaces and inserted in new ones governed by new rules" (Blommaert, 2005: 223).

In turn, deterritorialization results in people using seemingly fragmented utterances in which they "shift place' frequently and delicately, and each time, in very minimal ways, express different identities" (Blommaert, 2005:224). Blommaert further contends that space interacts with cognitive, moral, emotive frames within which people situate themselves and from and to which they speak.

The following exchange highlights the effects of deterritorialization:

63: X, ó X ele não dizer isso, esse povo antes de acontecer isso, antes de nos virmos aqui eles fugiram nos nossos **countries** estás a entender por isso o que o Y disse que esse **country** é para todos porque o próprio X e eles todos fugiram. Quando eles viveram no Congo, viveram em Angola.

64: Eu só quis perguntar uma coisa... [Interrupted]...**I wanna ask something.** [I want to ask a question]

65: Ia [yes]

66: **My name is X** [deleted for confidential reasons] **can I ask you something you guys?** [My name is X. can I ask you something?]

67: **You're from where?** [Where are you from?]

68: From Angola. [From Angola]

69: Where in Angola? [Where in Angola]

70: I'm from Lubango. I wanna ask you something. If you come here you *knewed the consequences to be so you mustn't compare those people they were in your country because they went away, they run to train and they come back and you want to do the same. It doesn't work that way you know. So you took advantage to leave your country to come here to face the consequences you don't like it go back my friend.

What we witness in this exchange is how the speakers (both newcomers and long-term migrants) constantly negotiate language cognitively, morally and emotively. For instance, the long-term migrant in discourse (**64**) responds to his counterpart's comments in discourse (**63**) first in Portuguese and then in English. I assume the intention was firstly to show that he was competent in both languages and secondly to remind the newcomer of his greater language proficiency even in the trans-territorial language, English. In fact this behaviour may have been initiated by the newcomer's (marked or unmarked) use of **countries** and **country** in discourse (**63**). As a result, the other long-term migrants respond by shifting the conversation completely into English as illustrated in discourses **(67), (68), (69)** and **(70).** The effect of this was to silence and possibly humiliate the newcomer.

In the light of these examples, it appears that space production in dynamic terms is not an isolated action but a combination of several interrelated ones such as the ones identified by Blommaert which generate new spaces by constantly redefining the space itself (Vigouroux, 2005:242). I assume this is because, according to Vigouroux, a spatial dimension and the choice to acquire a new resource (language) are evaluated according to its market value with regard to spatial and /or social mobility.

Thus the newcomers attempt at code switching in the above example, despite lacking sufficient vocabulary in English, may be based on a desire to create new social identities in new spaces. Bradley (1996: 23) argues that social identity is '…a complex issue, since it refers to the way that we as individuals locate ourselves within the society in which we live and the way in which we perceive others as locating us'. Weeks (1990:88) further

argues that *acceptance* lies in "…identity which is about belonging; about what he has in common with that group". I believe that the newcomer's behaviour "derives from the various sets of lived relationship in which this newcomer/s is/are engaged, such as dynamic of inequality" (Bradley, p.225). By shifting into English, he is establishing and negotiating a case of solidarity with long-term migrants while simultaneously distancing himself from the rest of the newcomers.

Numerical Distribution of the Functions of CS of the Observations and Recorded Conversations

In the following table the number of occurrences of marked and unmarked code-switching discourses in the observation and recordings is presented.

TABLE III   Summary of Functions of the Code-switching

Means of data collection	No. of cases of Unmarked CS	No. of cases of Marked CS
Observation case 1	0	2
Observation case 2	1	1
Observation case 3	1	0
Observation case 4	0	1
Observation case 5	0	3
Recordings case 6	1	18
Recordings case 7	7	16
TOTAL	10	41

It is highly significant that the distribution of functions suggest that the number of occurrences of marked CS far outnumbers the unmarked CS. This may indicate the unwillingness of the long term migrants to be accommodating towards newcomers, or their desire to increase the social distance between themselves and the newcomers through an adherence to a new identity.

4.4 Results of the interviews

In the following section I explore the results of the interviews conducted with both long-term and more recent migrants. Most of the interviews were conducted before or after the recording sessions done at my house. Others took place at the homes of participants and even at places where the data for this research was collected such as churches. I attempted to analyse the responses from the questionnaires. Each question is explored individually according to the responses of the number of participants (ten for each group) thus "permitting the subsequent exploration of cues on which their interpretation may depend" (Kreckel, 1981:5).

The questionnaires were available in both languages, Portuguese and English (Refer to the complete Questionnaires on p.).

4.4.1 Responses of ten long-term Angolan migrants to their questionnaire

My ten respondents, whose ages ranged from 27 to 41, with the majority in their 30s, spoke the following mother tongues (the numbers in brackets indicate how many spoke each language): Kikongo (2), Portuguese (4), Kimbundu (2), Nganguela (1) and Lingala (from Democratic Republic of Congo) (1). Most participants were bilingual in a combination of Portuguese / English. Others were trilingual in one indigenous language (Kikongo, Kimbundu or Lingala) and a combination of Portuguese, English and or

French. One participant spoke English, Portuguese and Spanish and another participant spoke four languages: English, Portuguese, Afrikaans and Xhosa.

When asked to rank particular languages according to their importance to them, half (5) ranked English as the most important language, while a further 3 ranked Portuguese as their most important language. Only 2 felt that their indigenous languages were important to them.

Reasons for these choices included the following responses:

I use English everyday is the language I'm most comfortable with while I forgot my mother tongue (Nganguela);

I have lost confidence in Portuguese; there is no better language in the world than English;

Even if you go to China you find people who speak English unlike Portuguese or our national languages;

Approximately 350 million native speak English and about 375 million people use it as their second language worldwide;

These languages will take me nowhere except English;

It is an international language therefore facilitates communication anywhere in the world.

The respondents all had different professions that mirrored their different educational backgrounds. Those in the top positions included a computer programmer, an IT administrator, décor specialist and graphic designer. Other professions included that of a baker; mechanical engineer; tiller; machine operator; carpenter; and an abseiler (someone who works attached to a rope). All of them lived in fairly decent low middle-class suburbs of Cape Town, namely (structured as per number of respondents) Retreat (1); Woodstock (3); Plumstead (1); Rondebosch (2); Century City (1); Observatory (1) and Kenilworth (1). Educationally, this group included a number of university students at first or second year (4), one who had completed a postgraduate degree (Honours) while the

rest (6) had completed high school up to matriculation. Only 1 participant had only managed to be educated up to Grade 8 (Standard 6).

Question 7 elicited many interesting responses. The question asked: *Do you sometimes mix English with Portuguese when you are talking to other Angolans? Can you explain to me why you do this? Do you ever do this when you are talking to new Angolan migrants to Cape Town who cannot speak any English?   Why/Why not?*

With the exception of just one respondent who claimed not to code-switch to English at all when interacting with other Angolans, all the respondents admitted freely that they code-switched regularly. Their reasons included:

> *... because I forget certain words; I'm out of Angola for 18 years which is a long time; ...because of the influence of English into Portuguese, ...is easier for me to speak English; I don't see any problem in speaking English.*

On the other hand, when asked whether they code-switched when talking to newcomers who had not yet mastered the language, 8 participants admitted that they did, while only two said that they did not. Reasons for code-switching even when in conversation with new arrivals included:

I forget the language;

I no longer understand Portuguese well;

It's a matter of habit;

...because when I'm talking I don't want delay the conversation in Portuguese therefore inserting English words help me a lot;

...first of all to ignore other people;

I do it unconsciously because those who do it knowing others can not speak English do it out of ignorance (for Angolans, the word 'ignorance' means a purposeful action with exclusionary intentions) *and to show they are more important than others*.

The two participants who claimed not to code-switch said:

I never do it and those who do want to ascertain whether that person can speak English or not;

I don't do the same, those who do want to show superiority towards others.

These responses will be analysed fully in section 4.3.3.

4.4.2 Responses of the 10 new migrants from Angola to their questionnaire

As far as the language repertoire is concerned the newcomers spoke three indigenous Angolan languages namely Kimbundu, Kikongo and Umbundu, as well as Portuguese. This group had been in South Africa from a minimum of three months to nearly 4 years.

Apart from one respondent who did not appear to mix much with long-term Angolan migrants, all the respondents agreed that the long-term group tended to code-switch from Portuguese to English conversing with them. Yet, with two exceptions, most members of this group responded negatively to the code-switching practices of the 'long-term' migrants, saying things like:

I feel very lost;

If we are all Angolans why don't we speak Portuguese?

If he speaks Portuguese, what is the need for that in fact he makes me feel he's superior to me;

I feel excluded from the group and conversation.

Their understanding of the code-switched conversations varied from experiencing *some confusion in understanding* to understanding it *if the conversation is short*, or even having a complete understanding.

4.4.3 Analysis of the interview responses

The evidence shows that the long-term migrants I interviewed firstly appear to attach more values to English than to the indigenous Angolan languages and even Portuguese because for these migrants, indigenous languages "…lack international currency and are put under severe strain by the languages of the former colonizers, *in this case English*, that arguably offer *these migrants* [...] economic and scientific advantages not available to them through their own languages" (Djité, 2008:9). In line with the behaviour of these migrants in choosing English over their own languages, Phillipson (1992) asserts that the colonial linguistic ideology laid a foundation for the maintenance of structural and cultural inequalities between English and other languages in the post-colonial age. As a result the migrants' discourses and views on language and social power resemble an assimilationist view towards English, e.g. *there is no better language in the world than English.*

Among the important determinants of attitudes are aspirations to acquire international languages and achieve ownership of language associated with socio-economic power (Muthwii & Kioko, 2004: 3). Portuguese and indigenous languages are the less prestigious languages in this setting in the linguistic repertoire of these Angolan migrants as their interviews reveal:

I have lost confidence in Portuguese; there is no better language in the world than English.

These languages [meaning Portuguese and national languages] *will take me nowhere except English.*

These responses appear to isolate the newcomers from group membership with long-term Angolan migrants. Responses from the newcomers included, '*I feel excluded from the group and conversation'; if we are all Angolans why don't we speak Portuguese.'*

Taking the above data into account, I suggest that the notion of ideology, "often characterised as false consciousness or even imagined representation of the real conditions of existence" (Mills, 1997: 32), appears to be playing a role in the relationship between language and the world-view of the long-term migrants. I further contend that this may be a reflection of the "…legacy of the colonised mind manifested in the underestimation of the indigenous African languages [*as well as Portuguese in this case*] and the overvaluing of English" (Alexander, 1989: 39). Herbert (1992: 235) asserts that people see English as the language of success, and *in speaking it* they may perceive themselves as individuals holding positions of power and prestige. In the case of my respondents, the code-switching behaviour of the long-term migrants leaves the newcomers in a position of exclusion and helplessness, as can be seen from comments like *'I feel very lost'; 'He makes me feel he's superior to me'*.

Based on the high values attached to English I deem CS a justified social phenomenon. This is because the individuals concerned with *code-switching* live in situations of rapid transition where traditional intergroup barriers are breaking down and norms of interaction are changing (Gumperz, 1982: 64). Gumperz furthermore states that eventually such situations lead to the displacement of one language variety by the other. I agree with Gumperz's premise because Angolans in South Africa are now placed in a more socio-linguistically dynamic context compared with their home situation. As a result, their own languages (Portuguese and indigenous) are "…not objects of desire for multitude of speakers of those very same languages" (Rubdy, 2009:158). It offers them almost nothing in South Africa as opposed to English which offers them work and other privileges essential for survival in the Diaspora.

What is clear for all migrants is that "…migrating is thus more than crossing transnational boundaries; it entails entering new discursive spaces and socially stratified organisations *which* all affects speakers' management of their language repertoires, as they may have to reshuffle their language resources, learn one or more of the host languages, and change language functions in the new ecology" (Vigouroux and Mufwene, 2008: 229). This can clearly be seen in the following statement:

I use English everyday is the language I'm most comfortable with while I forgot my mother tongue (Nganguela).

For the long-term migrants, that the dynamics of interactions in the new space are closely linked to the "…cost benefit analysis, conscious or otherwise, (that) lead to the decision to shift to English" (Edwards, 2004:80). The participant quoted above is claiming a new particular, symbolic identity associated with a new space. Ultimately the move is also an attempt by this migrant to locate himself in terms of social status which is associated with a new accomplished migratory expansion to fairly decent low middle-class suburbs of Cape Town such as Woodstock, Plumstead, Rondebosch, Observatory, Kenilworth, etc. This is in turn interwoven with a range of middle class professions which these migrants never dreamt of having in South Africa, which adds the important dimension of a new social status. Bradley (1996) claims that *social status* or class is everywhere and nowhere because it has no very definite physical signs or markers and is hard to observe. In addition Bradley argues that class should be seen as referring to a much broader web of social relationships, including, for example, lifestyle, educational experiences and patterns of residence. As a result of social changes, class becomes a lived relationship surrounding "…many aspects of our material lives" (Bradley, 1996: 19) therefore it can indeed generate a kind of power inequality, because class above all is not attached to an identity "…but a system of economic power and domination" (Bonacich, 1999: 279).

It was also clear from my observations and interviews that nobody makes much effort at acquiring 'township English', which is considered to be of low social status: "*they speak bad English*". Migrants may only use 'township English' initially for basic survival purposes while waiting to move to a decent middle or even high class suburb – the passport to which is often 'pure English'. Vigouroux and Mufwene (2008:238), in her research on African migrants to Cape Town, note that the townships were hardly envisioned as permanent settlements by these migrants. She contends that among the social reasons often invoked by migrants for wanting to leave the townships was the fact that the residents usually speak only IsiXhosa or Afrikaans. The townships therefore are

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not enabling spaces for the learning of English. Consequently, many African migrants exhaust themselves trying to acquire what they perceive as the 'pure' English spoken in the middle or high class suburbs. Vigouroux's and Mufwene findings correspond to my data which showed that only one of my participants had bothered to learn two other local languages – Afrikaans and isiXhosa, despite the majority of the long-term migrants having been here for more than 12 years. In embracing English, this group of migrants accepted '…the cultural values embedded in that language' (Otim, 2000:77).

This information leads us back to the reasons or motivations behind their code switching activities. Four of my informants gave as their motivation:

"*...first of all to ignore other people*";
"*… I do it unconsciously because those who do it knowing others can not speak English do it out of ignorance* (for Angolans, the word 'ignorance' means a purposeful action with exclusionary intentions) *and to show they are more important than others*".
"*… those who do want to show superiority towards others*".
"*… want to ascertain whether that person can speak English or not*".

Only one of the participants cited here has a slightly divergent opinion regarding the motives of code-switching. The rest of the group agree that code-switching is used as a deliberate (marked) phenomenon among Angolan immigrants. On the other hand, unmarked CS may also be unconsciously motivated (Gumperz, 1982:65) by speakers' inability to find words to express what they want to say in one or the other code as shown by the following responses:

I forget the language;
I no longer understand Portuguese well;
It's a matter of habit;
…because when I'm talking I don't want delay the conversation in Portuguese therefore inserting English words help me a lot;
… because I forget certain words".

The interviews with newcomers revealed that they reacted negatively to the code switching practices of some long-term migrants. These behaviours often made them feel marginalized and excluded from the community despite sharing a common identity in terms of ethnicity, languages and even citizenship, as can be seen from their reactions to the question "*When this mixing of Portuguese and English happens, how does it make you feel?*" Their responses included:

I feel excluded from the group and conversation;

I feel very lost;

If he speaks Portuguese, what is the need [the main emphasis is that there was no need to code- switch] *for that in fact he makes me feel he's superior to me.*

What appears clear from these responses is that if an Angolan speaks English when talking to a newcomer from Angola, in each instance the English speaker identifies himself with a different group to which he has a sense of belonging and from which he seeks acceptance. So considerations of intimacy versus distance, solidarity versus non-solidarity, status (of power) equality versus inequality are being tested. In this case the new identity of long-term migrants as indicated by their proficiency in English discourse appear to be of greater importance to them in this setting than common nationality, language or shared cultural values, and this attitude in turn increases the social distance. I argue that this group's goal is probably to move out of the migrant society and to enter the host society (Fishman, 2000:94). Overall code-switchers here are establishing group boundaries through interaction with non-members (newcomers) who at the end of the process have to bear consequences of social, moral and cognitive dimensions which leaves them feeling marginalized, discriminated against, excluded and even powerless in the community.

4.5 Conclusions

In the light of all this information I contend that "…switching to a language not known by all participants, *as seen in above situation*, is a common means of exclusion, often conscious *and* at least, it withholds information from those not knowing the language" (Myers-Scotton, 1993: 157). Baker (2006:113) also argues that among various reasons for code-switching, it can also be used to 'exclude' people from a conversation. Furthermore, he contends that when a person changes from a minority language or dialect (in this case Portuguese within South African territory) to a majority language (English), it may indicate that the person wishes to elevate his/her own status, creating a distance between him/herself and the listener. According to Baker code-switching does not happen randomly and that there is usually a purpose and logic in switching between languages.

Furthermore, the switching itself in this context conveys that the long-term migrants in my study share an identity others do not have. It is as if the switch is made to remind other participants that the speaker also has a multi-faceted identity, as if the speaker were saying 'not only am I "X", but I am also "Y". This ploy, in and of itself, is a powerful strategy because the speaker 'enlarges' himself through marked choices in mainly unmarked discourse, asserting a range of identities (Myers-Scotton, 1985:113). This behaviour "…tends to increase social distance *among different groups* and it encodes anger or the desire to make a power differential salient when it would not be salient ordinarily" (Myers-Scotton, 1993:150). This greater power of the long-term migrants as demonstrated by their marked CS may not be liked by the newcomers, but they have no choice but to permit it.

In this chapter, I provided extensive results of the data collected by means observation and participant observation, interviews and recordings. Patterns of marked and unmarked codes were analysed in relation to space, identity, language ideology and attitude.

In the final chapter, I shall provide the conclusions on my research and suggest possible further areas of linguistic research among Angolan migrants to Cape Town.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

5.0 Introduction

This chapter looks at the main findings of this study and offers a suggestion for future research in this area.

This study focused on two research questions:

- What patterns of code-switching are emerging in discourse between long term Angolan migrants and newer arrivals in South Africa, and what are the effects of the code-switching on the participants in the interactions?

- What are the sociolinguistic and discourse factors that influence these patterns of code-switching?

Four assumptions influenced this research:

- The high status of English within South Africa, host country of these migrants, and worldwide, compared to their home language (Portuguese), would influence their language practices;

- The use of indigenous languages from Angola among these migrants would be minimal owing to their deference to the official colonial language of Angola, Portuguese;

- Certain traumatic experiences (Triandis, 1971) would also have contributed to changes in the language attitudes of the long-term Angolan refugees, and they may even be exhibiting signs of language shift to English from Portuguese.

- Migrants in general in South Africa have been experiencing insults from local

people by being called *amakwerekwere,* a derogatory word meaning 'people who do not speak our languages and who came to seek their fortune in South Africa'. As a result of such traumatic experiences, such people try to speak English only or even attempt using other local languages to avoid such behaviour.

The summary of the major findings below should show to what extent my research questions were answered and also to what extent my assumptions were valid.

5.1 Summary of Major Findings

The main goal of this research study was to uncover the patterns of code switching practices in the discourses of long-term Angolan migrants in Cape Town when interacting with new arrivals who have little or no mastery of English.

The observation, participant observation and recordings showed that the majority of long-term migrants code-switch during conversation with new arrival, making marked rather than unmarked choices for their code-switching behaviours. What is evident is that many long-term Angolan migrants refuse to use a 'monolingual mode' of discourse when speaking to more recent arrivals who have not yet mastered English. In spite their common membership in terms of ethnicity and nationality, the long-term migrants appear to use English to signal their different status and possibly their language attitude towards Angolan Portuguese. Speaking English here is "seen as an accomplishment of a loyal citizen" (Stroud, 2009:3).

The notion of a loyal citizen in this context translates into the status of pure migrants or rather long-term migrants who are socially, politically and economically more settled than their counterparts. To me, their behaviour shows similarities with the "colonial notion of *assimilado*, which comprised the colonial state's crowning attempt to form a colonial subject, rested heavily on the requirement of proficiency in Portuguese and in exclusion of local languages" (Stroud, *ibid*. p.3). These migrants are focused on good English proficiency while paying less attention to Portuguese and Angolan indigenous

languages which *are both minority languages in South Africa and* offers a very limited political space and privileges to express themselves and be heard in – in Stroud's terms (p.12), they lack or are deprived of their *voice* should they use either Portuguese and Angolan indigenous languages (Stroud, *op cit*: 12).

In short, both Portuguese and indigenous languages index, in different ways, social categories of speakers with which the long-term migrants are generally reluctant to identify (Vigouroux and Mufwene, 2008:239). Neither Portuguese nor any indigenous Angolan language is perceived as an asset that can help them penetrate the local South African labour market. They therefore recognize that the economically dominant language, English, holds a key to the improvement of their socioeconomic conditions. Moreover, their behaviour is a reflection of the ideology inherited from socially determined ideologies towards colonial languages in Africa (Vigouroux and Mufwene, *ibid.*239).

Apart from the research methods already referred to above, the interviews I conducted also provided a useful framework for understanding their choices of code-switching and the patterns emerging from it. While the avoidance of code-switching enabled them to negotiate a common Angolan ethnicity with newcomers, the interviews revealed that code-switching enabled the long-term migrants to

- assert multiple identities
- show their high competence in English which in turn connote membership of educated elite
- exclude newcomers from conversation and group
- elevate their own status
- search / claim a new identity in the new space / dis-identify with new arrivals.

The one incidental case, if I can label it thus, in which a newcomer engaged in code-switching into English, his reason for this behaviour, was to balance the inequality of rights and obligations and in turn to stay on the same footing as his long-term counterparts and to affiliate with them. The study confirmed that such patterns of

codeswitching were nurtured, apart from language ideology and attitude, by dynamic factors such as, "mobility of speakers and mobility of language repertoires, as if "moving from one socio-cultural space to another necessarily entailed that relevant speakers could automatically transfer their language resources to the host locality and these could work smoothly in the new discursive spaces" (Vigouroux and Mufwene, 2008:239). It seemed that the long-term migrant group was very aware that as speakers of Portuguese they could have a better chance of being integrated into their new English- speaking host country, South Africa, if they became competent in the language. Once again the costs and benefits were carefully weighed by these migrants.

A strong link could also be found between the languages available in the repertoire of these code-switchers and their attitudes towards newcomers. First of all, indigenous Angolan languages have generally been perceived as functionally restrictive languages, because these have a spatial scope that is confined to only particular speech communities and do not have wider sociolinguistic significance in the economic and political life of these speakers. As for Portuguese, their erstwhile language of power, it has a restricted role as a minority language in South Africa, and even at international level. This being the case, it also restricts them from accomplishing international self-actualization unless they embrace English which is the only language that can provide such recognition on a broader scale.

Having now almost acquired that recognition by speaking the language at fluency level they see themselves as having a new identity and belonging in a higher status group. This means that the switch to English by Angolans in South Africa invokes the authority associated with speakers of that language since English is spoken by educated individuals often holding positions of power and prestige. In addition, it also evokes the colonial experience in which relative authoritative status is salient (Herbert, 1992: 173). Furthermore, speaking English is also a means to them of representing themselves and even claiming many of the cultural values embedded in the language.

Finally, I also argue that the colonial legacy of *assimilados* and even other relevant ideological thoughts present in the study are factors that contribute towards the marked code-switching behaviours of my long-term respondents. I did not find that their code-switching was motivated by what Gumperz (1982:65) describes as speakers' inability to find words to express what they want to say in one or the other language, although this motivation may have been presented in the examples of unmarked code-switching. As the study reveals, the insertion of the migrants in the host community also causes this group to amend its own patterns of interaction, e.g. speaking English despite incomplete mastery of the language in order to assert their establishment in the host country after a much longer period of living here than the new arrivals. One may conclude that these respondents' switch to English in this context is likely to be indexical, suggesting some social stratification among the migrants based on the time of settlement (Vigouroux and Mufwene, 2008:248).

By emphasising the code-switching behaviours of the long-term migrants, the study also provides insights on the position of the new arrivals. Unable to interact in English, they find themselves in a subordinate position with regards to socializing with the long-term migrants to the point of alienation from the latter group. This has led to the creation of two complex separate entities of Lusophones in Cape Town. As pointed out in the previous chapter the inequality of competence in English has created the main boundaries of interaction between the two groups. The linguistic resources of the newcomers are not being acknowledged in the new space, and they are deemed incompetent in the host language, leading to exclusion and dis-identification with the long-term migrants.

5.2 Recommendations for further research

As was pointed out in Chapter Three, the main limitations of this study were the use of only male respondents and its small-scale nature. I suggest that a further study on a larger scale should be conducted with both male and female participants to see whether it will

shed a different light on code-switching patterns among Angolan and other migrant groups to South Africa.

In sum, the findings of this research indicate that the long-term migrants' code-switching practices in general are deliberate (marked) attempts at excluding the new arrivals from membership of the long-term group of migrants. Their behaviour is shaped in particular by the colonial language idealism of *assimilados* and the new space of South Africa (Cape Town, in particular) where the demand for acquiring English as part of their linguistic repertoire is crucial since it allows them to participate in the socio-economic and political environment.

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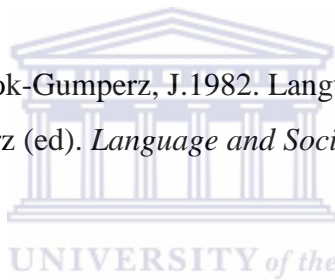
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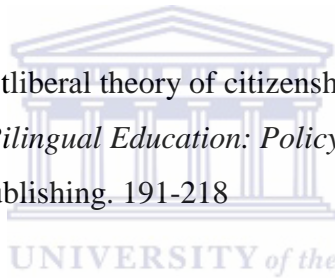
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APPENDICES

Appendix 1

University of the Western Cape (UWC)

Trabalho de Pesquisa / Research Project

Questionário / Questionnaires

Perguntas para os imigrantes recém-chegados na Cidade do Cabo, África do Sul /
Questions for newcomer migrants in Cape Town, South Africa

1. Qual é a sua língua materna? / *What's your mother tongue?*

2. Há quanto tempo estás aqui na África do Sul? *For how long have you been in South Africa?*

3. Tens se encontrado com muitos angolanos que vivem aqui em Cape Town há muito tempo? Algum deles mistura portugês e ingles quando estão a conversar contigo*? Do you meet a lot of Angolans in Cape Town who have been here for a long time? Do any of them mix Portuguese and English when they speak to you?*

4. Quando misturam português e inglês como é que te sentes? Ainda podes entender a conversa? *When this mixing of Portuguese and English happens, how does it make you feel? Can you still understand the conversation?*

5. Qualquer comentário? / *Any additional comment?*

Muito obrigado pela sua colaboração / *Thanks for your kind colaboration*

University of the Western Cape (UWC)

Trabalho de Pesquisa / Research Project

Questionário / Questionnaires

Questionário para os angolanos, imigrantes, que estão há um bom tempo na Cidade do Cabo, Africa do Sul / **Questionnaire for Angolans Migrants who have been in Cape Town, South Africa for a longer period.**

Trabalho de Pesquisa / *Research project*

1. Qual é a sua língua materna? / *What's your mother tongue?*

2. Entre as seguintes línguas assinala por ordem de 1 a 3 a que achas mais importante. Por exemplo 1 sendo a mais importante e 3 menos importante.e diga porque. / *Among the following languages, mark with numbers from 1 to 3, thus 1 being the most important one and 3 the least important and explain why.*

a) Português / *Portuguese*
b) Inglês / *English*
c) Línguas nacionais / *Indigenous languages*

3. Profissão / *profession*

4. Onde mora? / *Where do you stay?*

5. Qual é a sua idade / *what is your age group* : 20 - 25; 26 - 30 ; +31

6. Circunda o seu nível de escolaridade./ *Circle your higher qualification:*

Menos de 8ª classe (less than grade 8), 9ª classe; 11ª classe; 12ª classe; 1°- 3° ano universitário (*1st – 3rd year university student*; *pôs-graduação* (*post-graduation*).

1. De vez em quando misturas inglês e português quando estás a conversar com

outros angolanos ? Podes me dizer porque é que fazes isto? Também fazes o mesmo quando estás a conversar com angolanos que estão em Cape Town a pouco tempo e não falam inglês? Porque/ porque não? _Do you sometimes mix English with Portuguese when you are talking to other Angolans? Can you explain to me why you do this? Do you ever do this when you are talking to new Angolan migrants to Cape Town who cannot speak any English? Why/Why not?_ [1]

8. Quantas línguas falas? Quais são? / _How many languages do you speak? Write them down._

Comentário? / Any additional comment.

Muito obrigado pela sua colaboração **/** _Thank you for your much appreciated collaboration._

Topic: Xenophobia

1: O que é que acham da Zenophobia ?
2: Não vou definir nem..mas pronto desde que é...[interrupted]'
3: Posso falar?
4: Sim.
5: A zenofobia é coisa criada pelo governo. You know. Zenofobia é coisa criada pelo governo. Chantagem estás a ver, não sei se você entende.
6: sim
7: A zenofobia não acontece pelo um Cossa que vive no Joe Slovo, vive no Danuno. Como se diz o boato, o coiso é que fez isto...[trying to find the name of a person responsible for zenophobia]
8: O zuma...
9: O zuma, e não me diz que vai acontecer o próximo ano. Zenofobia pode acontecer a qualquer momento, estás a ver?
10: sim eu não disse que vai acontecer o próxmo ano...[interrupted]
11: mas zenofobia acontece não 'e o X, o Y ou wherever, são pessoas grandes que fazem isso, que criam.
12: Sim.
13: Isso é culpa do governo, culpa do governo. O Zuma que está metido nisso.O Zuma é que fez aquela zenofobia que nem eu posso te provar isso.
14: ia que é que acham do zenofobia
15: Eu por mim acho que tem muito a haver com a pobreza de principalmente de outros africanos, porque a maior parte dos Cossas(Xhosas) por exemplo os meus colegas eles estavam a dizer quando estava acontecer aquilo que estes casos que o governo est'a a fazer aí em Joanesburgo por exemplo tinha muitos zimbabueanos, moçambicanos e de outras nacionalidades que já tinham casos e mitos deles estavam a espera durante muitos anos esperavam e nunca foram chamados[pause] então o que aconteceu eles começaram a odiar todos os estrangeiros que tinham j'a casos e decidiram atacá-los.
15: ...[a newcomer laughs]
16: E a forma da maneira que a gente vive por exemplo você está a viver no township o teu neighbour é um sul africano o que ´que vai acontecer[pause] enquanto que você tiver na pobreza como eles são sempre amigos mas quando você mudar de vida, se tiveres um carro ou abriste um business ai começa já. Eles vêm, que você tem, ia. Depois começam a falar: esses é que fazem todo distúrbio, eles é que fazem ter muita desordem aqui, a vilencia você sabe, poe exemplo coisa de drogas é com nigerianos. Nigerianos é que fazem tudo de droga seja o negro, o branco ou zonas dos mulatos sempre é nigeriano mas nós todos sabemos que a maior parte das pessoas que vendem drogas e gangsterismo são os sul africanos.
17: Os muçulmanos também vendem drogas
18: ia, você vai num Richards Bay, você vai encontra quantos nigerianos? Nunca.

19: Vamos só comparar alguma coisa

20: hem

21: Se você comparar nineteen percent against 5 percent who's gonna win then?

22: Is nineteen five percent.

23: Is nineteen five percent. If I tell you Nigerians spoil the country, Nigerians sell ing the drugs for may be[pause, he realizes is peaking English].Oh vende a droga na juventude quinze a doze anos de idade.

24: oh, oh… [Interrupted]

25: Deixa acabar o meu ponto, deixa acabar o meu ponto. Vende a droga na juventude, eh, epa let me speak English terty, tertin year alright, tertin year fourtin year old right. In South Africa black people, may be black people are being the same colour hem speaking both Xhosa and Afrikaans but in the same for example your colour black, or he's colored but speak Afrikaans is a fight here in South Africa. Is a fight [he hits the floor with is hand] smoking drugs. Nigerians were staying Nigerians spoil the fucking country.

26: Ok posso dar a minha opinião? Eu vou dizer que a zenofobia nós merecemos isto.

27: Why? Why?

28: Angola está bom. Porque ´que nós não vamos em angola. Eu acho que a zenofobia para mim está certo...[interrupted]

29: O que?

30: zenofobia para mim está certo.

31: isto quer dizer se me matarem esta certo?

32: Porque é que não vamos em Angola...[interrupted]

33: Então se me matarem está certo?

34: Não...[interrupted]

35: Porque o povo *angolano* não é zenofobico.

36: Não, neste aspecto estás certo.

37: Wait, wait [ ] this guy he got responsibly. He got three kids in this country right? He's got five kids in this country, he's married. He got a wife here in the country right?

38: Is this a South African people's problem?

39: Not South africas problem wait. If he's got responsibly in South Africa, he got kids right, five kids he stay in South Africa. What do you think (think pronounced as *thing*) about that. H must leave the country, go away?

40: Ia I can't go back to Angola and leave my childrens here.

41: Ia who's gonna support ……………………..he don't even have[] only he plays no money[] you think is enough? That's why this country has a law when you marry got kids he not allowed to chuck you away do you understand?

42: Ia vamos ouvir outra opinião também.

43: Ia mas está a ver né eu pensava que a ´Africa do sul foi o primeiro país a fazer zenofobia. Estava a fazer uma pesquisa e disseram que os moçambicanos é que são os primeiros ...[interrupted] *I was under impression*

44: Sim são os moça quando não sei se é X estava lá em Moçambique eles também sofriam de ataques, a áfrica do Sul está também a fazer o mesmo tipo de ataques.

45: Eu me lembro que nos anos oitenta ou no principio de noventa angola também já teve uma situação contra os congoleses mas eu digo uma coisa, a zenofobia aqui na

Africa do sul aquilo é complexo de grau de inferioridade porque nós estrangeiros somos superiores do que os pretos daqui porque nos conseguimos trabalhar e sobreviver do pouco que nós temos, e damos o que nós temos por exemplo as irmãs dela, hoje muito de nós nos envolvemos ou vivemos com sul africanas e elas não foram muito connosco, porque nós temos mesmo mais do que eles porque nós conseguimos pouco e dar do pouco que nós temos. Eles falam que nós estamos a roubar as mulheres deles e o trabalho como aqui na sua maioria já têm filhos. O Cossa dá, o Cossa não atura, o Cossa vai embora o mangolê é que assume tudo tá a ver e no caso de trabalho se um Cossa ou mulato não vai diminuir o trabalho[ ] não é um mulato estás a ver né? Eles estão a falar porque ah eles não têm trabalho porque nós estamos a roubar o trabalho deles eles não têm...[interrupted]

45: Mas não achas mesmo que nós estamos a roubar o trabalho deles? Quantas pessoas estão aqui e quantas pessoas não estão a trabalhar?

46: Desculpe só. No tempo que aconteceu zenofobia até os mulatos né porque mulatos não são muito contra nós[pause]mas o branco vive ali, o branco é mais estrangeiro do que nós. Nós somos da África né, o branco vem da Europa vem da america porque é que eles ão vão atacar o branco?

47: When they come from there they already got the money. When they come from there they buy their house here and make all big… [Interrupted]

48: Mas eles criam também trabalhos. Vocês estão a criartrabalho?

49: Ia how many come from overseas and employ people from the south African and only take two people foreign people.

50: Houve um angolano há tempos que mandou uma letter pela radio a indicar só que não sei bem a radio, que uma transita lhe mandou parar no robot ele, ele não fez nada. Ela pediu a carta de condução, ele apresentou a carta de condução pediu o permit, é permit né?

51: Ia

52: O permite ele mostrou o permite de refugiado pediu o passaporte ele mostrou não tinha como ele fazer algo por ele pediu para ele sair do país. Ele disse: eu tenho uma empresa cá que empreguei 30 sul africanos, 5 angolanos e 5 moçambicanos se eu ir embora como é que fica os 30 sul africanos?

53: eu acredito[pause, while looking for words] estamos a falar de zenofobia. Eu acredito que a zenofobia é um processo na qual tem um elemento pobreza, ah na pobreza comprise o elemento jeolosy e illiteracy. Mas o elemento jealosy é o principal causador de todas essas maldades, estás a entender né, porque? Porque o sul africano não só sul africano em general as pessoas são tem ciúmes um das outras estás a ver né. Tu trabalhas, nós trabalhamos ele comprou um carro eu não estou satisfeito e começo a fazer, começo a falar epá este gajo é esrangeiro; este comprou um carro, etc, este gajo ganha mais do que eu etecetera...[interrupted]

54: [...]

55: Ia, ia amanhã posso fazer um plano eu como sul africano falo com alguém este alguém rouba o carro dessa pessoa ou então bate essa pessoa crio um tipo de environment no seio dos sul africanos, nos meus irmãos sul africanos vamos combinar para bater os estrangeiros que moram na nossa rua e a partir dali começa o tal fight de zenofobia a confusão entre os estrangeiros e nacionais.

56: eu quero...ia, sim.

57: Há uma coisa que o senhor X perguntou. Ele diz que a zenofobia tinha que acontecer, muitos falaram que não e eu creio que não suporto que tinha que acontecer mas tamb'em aponto o dedo no governo uns tiveram dito que Y estava envolvido nestas coisa então, nós também temos que conversar o way forward porque até momento a zenofobia já terminou eu pergunto aqui todos que estamos sentados aqui terminou o ano passado, ninguém foi julgado, todos e, estavam envolvidos na zenofobia nínguém foi julgado até de momento o governo não encontrou o cabeçario porque aquilo foi bem organizado. Havia líderes não era só uma pessoa que estava a frente, até hoje nínguém sabe nós temos que reflectir quem estavam envolvidos, quais são e a justiça tem que tomaro seu course.

58: The problem também surgiu no principio pelos somalis se deram conta e até hoje dizem que os somalias são culpados porque, os somalias que chegaram nestes lugares, townships como do Langa começaram a comprar as coisas e vender num preço mínimo consequiram um comercio mais elevado até hoje porque porque hoje em dia o povo no gueto pedem que se tem de se empregar alguém do gueto orque os somalias nunca empregam nínguem ees estão a começar agora se não trbalhavam eles e...[interrupted]

59: Desculpe o X falou das causa não é disse que certos estrangeiros viviam nas casas do governo, aquelas casas são casas que estão a ver esses gajos o Y comprou uma 15 mil Randes no Delft aquela casa foi dad numa senhora pelo governo. A senhora preferiu vender a casa e foi viver no Transkey o Y comprou a casa só então se for 5 ou 20 pessoas de nós a comprar essas quando eles vier vão encontrar que aquelas casas está ocupada pelos estrangeiros e sabe o governo põe esssas pessoas dentro das casas mas não certas pessoas com documentos confirmados. Como o que aconteceu em Alexandra, aquele Zimbabueano aquelas casas compraram com dinheiro estás a ver só [pause] se você temos exemplos de sul africans com 15 ou 20 de vocês mas o desenvolvimento do trabalho vai ser diferente se vocês estão aprender profissão de tiles ou ceiling ou something você vai ter a ser mestre obrigatoriamente em seis meses mas o Cossa vai conrinuar a ser labour então com o tempo o salaário vai continuar a subir e quando o sal'ario subir vai ser problma vai ser jealosy e isso també, provoca zenofobia est'as a ver.

60: Em parte tem razão há um afluxo de estrangeiros na áfrica do sul porque a áfrica do Sul é o país mais estável região ou no continente o fluxo de, o número de coiso, quer dizer, a pobreza na África do Sul é grande, é elevado e fluxo de estrangeiro tamb'em é elevado, estás a ver né, então, ah, ah[laughs]

61: Espera só um momento...

62: O Y é o presidente...[interrupted]

63: X, ó X ele não dizer isso, esse povo antes de acontecer isso, antes de nos virmos aqui eles fugiram nos nossos countries estás a entender por isso o que o Y disse que esse country é para todos porque o próprio X e eles todos fugiram. Quando eles viveram no Congo, viveram em Angola.

64: Eu só quis perguntar uma coisa...[interrupted]...i wanna ask something.

65: Ia

66: My name is X [deleted for confidential reasons] can I ask you something you guys?

67: You're from where?

68: From Angola

69: Where in Angola?

70: I'm from Lubango. I wanna ask you something. If you come here you *knewed the consequences to be so you mustn't compare those people they were in your country because they went away, they run to train and they come back and you want to do the same. It doesn't work that way you know. So you took advantage to leave your country to come here to face the consequences you don't like it go back my friend.

71: I plead with you but [loud]

72: No, no, no…

73: plead with you.

74: You know what is talking about consequences? You didn't come from Angola to come against the consequences. You run[interrupted]

75: aah

76: You leave the country for the better way not the consequences

77: Why you here?

78: No you run away for the bad to better way not the consequences.

79: Sendo humano tem todo o direito de viver qualquer lugar do mundo. Você tem direito do humano.

80: Ok, nós[pause] Y estava a dizer de, de que nós somos humanos temos direito de viver qualquer parte do mundo ah...até certo ponto é certo mas temos que imaginar que o mundo está dividido geograficamente, cada pessoa tem.., cada pessoa tem seu país. Nós quando vamos para um país temos que saber que vamos p'ra lá epá e lá onde estamos a ir vamos sim senhora enfrentar qualquer consequencia mas como eu estava te a dizer porque exemplo a Áfricado Sul é um país que está em Africa existe um grande número de pobreza na Africa do Sul e o fluxo de estrangeiros é grande quer dizer que o povo desempregado, não há emprego, o povo sul africano que já está desempregado quando vê o estrangeiro a ser empregado, ou a ser empregado por um patrão ganha aquela, aquela aquele ciúme quer dizer que fica nos olhos então começa a lutar, por exemplo com o patrão otherwise o coiso, tu podes viveres em partes onde tiveres legal ou ilegal tu tens direito a [proteção. O teu, o teu o coiso se te vilarem alguns dos seus direitos você pode ir ao tribunal e dizer os meus foram vilados ali e ali mas eu setou ilegal na Africa do Sul, vão te proteger, vão te proteger. A lei sul africana[interrupted]

81: Eu quero dizer uma coisa nós os angolanos [pause] ia nós os angolanos não podemos também criticar muito o governo sul africano pela xenofobia em Angola aconteceu xenofobia pior. Você se lembra quando os congoleses que a gente chama langa chegaram em Angola todos estavam contra eles. Os policias mataram muitos congoleses, prenderam muitos congoleses, lhes recebiam muitas coisas e entre nós em 92 em Luanda estavam a matar pessoas do sul de Angola, do sul chamado bailundos, aí do Úige também estavam a lhes caluniar que são langas e o resto ia então isso em si é xenofobia, ia isso é xenofobia, somos todos angolanos, somos todos angolanos.
Como é que você vai chamar o outro de bailundo o outro é langa do Úige ou do Zaire. Nós sabemos que no Úige e no Zaire é o mesmo povo que temos no Congo nos dois Congos, tá a ver.

82: Desculpa só, não quero ir contra ti né. Xenofobia. Sabes o que significa Xenofobia? Sabes que o angolano morreu também em 92. E da UNITA não sabiam mata e guerra civil so Deus que sabe. Não é a guerra contra os **foreigner**. Xenofobia não é isso que estás a falar agora. Nunca existiu a xenofobia em Angola.

Appendix 3

Topic: Religious) When God Comes

Speaker (LSA) B: Se você misturar vinho com a gasosa pode essa pessoa   se levantar sem ter problemas

mas quando chegar em casa vai ter problemas, estás a entender né, porque o

açucar da coca - cola e o alcool do vinho, aquilo vai aumentar o conteúdo do alcool na

vida dessa pessoa e haverá aquilo que os ingleses chaman de **hangover**

estás a entender né?

Speaker (newcomer) A: Não entendi o que disseste.

'I didn't understand what you've just said'

Speaker (LSA¹) B: *I'm just trying to make a point here* [B laughs loudly]

['I'm just trying to make a point here.']

Speaker (newcomer) C: Vi um filme na casa do Y que diz que Deus não existe nem existiu.

['I saw a movie at Y's house that says God doesn't exist and never existed.]

Speaker (LSA) A: [laughs] Eu não tenho nenhum problema você vive na África do Sul

and South Africa is a free country.

['I've no problem [meaning with your view] you live in South Africa and South

Africa is a free country.']

Speaker (newcomer) D: A questão é que Deus está a provar mais...[interrupted by A]

['The point is that God is proving more']

Speaker (LSA) A…let me give you some more signs.

['Let me give you some more signs.']

Speaker (newcomer) C: Quem vão ressuscitar?

['Who are going to rise?']

Speaker (Newcomer) A: Que morreram em Cristo.

['Those who died in Christ']

Speaker (LSA) B: A biblia diz que *countless number o people, countless number of*

people will rise from the death.

['The bible says that countless number of people, countless number of people will raise from the death.']

5. Speaker (LSA) B: As pessoas vão desaparecer quando o dia chegar. Chamas o senhor Y, telefonas o Y, *the number you calling for is not available, please try again later. He's gone* [he knocks on the table, three times]*, he's not coming back* [he knocks again on the table]. A biblia diz que que duas pessoas estarão em negócio uma será levada e a outra ficará. *Yes, this what gonna happen.*

['People won't be in their houses when the day will come. You'll try to call Mr. Y, you'll make a phone call to Mr. Y, and you'll hear the number you [are] calling for is not available, please try again later. He's gone, he's not coming back. The Bible says that two people will be dealing in business one shall be taken and the other one left behind. Yes, this is what is going to happen. ']

Speaker (newcomer) A: Você é mais complicado.

['I can't follow what you're saying.']

6. Speaker (LSA) B: Todo aquele que envelheceu vai voltar conforme quando tinha dezoito anos, *and forever* [knocks on the table] e a comida [he knocks on the table again this time continuously] é aquele aquele tipo que não vai te pôr velho *forever. Travel we'll travel yes, we'll be in Cape Town one day I know we used to be here.* Mas naquela época aquilo que nós chamamos milénio em espaço de mil anos.

['Those who died when they were old shall come [rise again] and they'll look as when they were eighteen years old, and forever and the food is that type that won't make you old forever [shall keep you young forever]. Travel yes; we'll be in Cape Town one day I know we used to be here. But is in that time we call millennium, a space of thousand years. ']

Speaker (Newcomer) A: Mas quando a turbulência chegar as pessoas vão ficar cinco meses, dia e noite. Aliás vai ser cinco dias de noite, escuridão de todo tipo que nunca aconteceu. Não há nenhuma máquina que vai consequir dar luz.

 'But when the turbulence shall come people will stay five months, day and night. As matter of fact it'll be five days of night, darkness of all kind that was never felt before. There there won't be a machine that will be able to create light.'

Speaker (LSA) B: I don't want to be there [meaning when that time comes]. A biblia diz que quando aquele tormento acabar haverá luz mas quando vocês vão ver este mar desaparecerá, tá escrito.

 'I don't want to be there. The bible says that at the end of that torment period there will be light but you'll realize that the sea will disappear too. It's written.'

Speaker (newcomer) A: Até a própria Biblia vai sumir.

'Even the bible will disappear.' [Showing his bible]

Speaker (newcomer) B: As pessoas nem estão aí. Estão mais interessadas nas coisas do mundo...[interrupted by speaker A]

'People don't even care much. They're more interested with worldly things…'

7. Speaker (LSA) A: Sim, eu já fui pregar uma pessoa que me disse ó A pá, [switches into English] you know let *me tell you one thing some people are loosing their friendship, don't come here all the time talk about God. You must talk about the mountains, talk about Table Mountain, talk about the birds and so on and so on. But I know [he knocks on the table] people will find excuses in order for them not to serve God yet they'll be praising the creation of God, instead of God.* Estás a entender né?

'Yes the other day I went to preach a person that told me listen here A…Do you understand, hem?'

Speaker (Speaker (LSA) C: E a outra coisa também é que as igrejas que nós chamamos de igrejas recebem instruções de um quartel general *somewhere in the world*. Olha a igreja faz isto, tem que fazer aquilo não sei quanto mais então nós vamos começar a desencandear as orientações do *headquarters. We end up serving those people instead of God* quando entramos nestes *buildings* feitos de mármores…

'And the other thing is that churches, the so called churches receive instructions from headquarters somewhere in the world. They instruct that the church must do this, must do that I don't know what else. Then we must follow the ruling of *headquarters and we end up serving those people instead of God* when we enter in these buildings made of marble.'

Speaker (newcomer) C: As pessoas nem estão aí. Estão mais interessadas nas coisas do mundo...[interrupted by speaker B]

'People don't even bother much. They're more interested with worldly things…'

Speaker (Speaker (LSA) B: Is not by reading it that we'll understand. Estás a entender né?

'Is not by reading it that we'll understand do you understand, hem?'

9. Speaker (newcomer) A: Entendo mas esse povo adora idolos e serão como os idolos, têm boca mas não falam, têm orelhas não ovem, têm nariz mas não cheiram, têm pernas mas não andam... [Interrupted by B]

'I do but this people worship idols and they will also be like idols: they have mouth but can't speak, have ears can't hear, have nose but can't smell, have legs but can't walk…'

Speaker (Speaker LSA) B: Meus irmãos podemos sentar em casa lermos a nossa Biblia *we'll not understand the words. The only word we'll understand is when God himself reveals himself to us.* Estás a entender né? *There must be a place where we need to go and pursue in searching God.* Acho que é a única razão que estamos aqui hoje.'

'My brothers we can sit at home and read our Bible we'll not understand it. The only word we'll understand is when God himself reveals himself to us. Do you understand, hem? There must be a place where we need to go and pursue in searching God. I think it's the only reason we are here today.'

10. Speaker (newcomer) C: Foi crucificado.

'He was crucified.'

Speaker (Speaker (LSA) C: Foi crucificado e *found himself face to face with Jesus Christ* ficou assim de pé quando ele estava assim atentar tomar posição um, um tropa romano veio, lhe empurrou *get out here*.

' He was crucified and found himself face to face with Jesus Christ and stood still and when he was trying to control himself, a guard from the Roman Empire pushed him, saying get out here.'

Speaker (newcomer) C: No dia em que nós menos esperarmos ou que as pessoas estiverem bem como no tempo de Noé quando destruiu o mundo, tudo corria como se tudo estivesse bem mas depois é que foi o trinta e um como se diz.

'In the day when we'll less expect and people will be enjoying life like in the Noah's time suddenly the trouble will come. God will destroy the world.'

Speaker (Speaker (LSA) C: Agora a pessoa say que não eu *I'm born again Christian, yes is true* se você lhe faz a pergunta, quando é que você renasceu ele vai te dizer olha mesmo até naquele dia o pastor me deu a mão. *Yes, is good but what does the Bible say?*

'Now people say that no I'm born again Christian, yes it is true but if ask him/her when did you born again the answer will be, it was on the day the pastor shook my hands. Yes it is good but what does the Bible say?'

Speaker (newcomer) A: Aquele que não nascer de espirito...

'The person who will not be born again in spirit...'

Speaker (Speaker (LSA) C: Quando no dia em que fui baptizado o padre... [Interrupted]

'Like in the day I was baptized Father…'

Speaker (newcomer) A: Pegou na gota...

'Got a drop of water… [Interrupted]

Speaker (Speaker (LSA) C: Depois [he knocks on the table as he switches into English] *sprinkle of water, yes is good but what does the Bible say*?

'Then the sprinkle of water. Yes it's good but what does the Bible say?'

Speaker (newcomer) C: No fundo, no fundo se nós aceitarmos a cruz do senhor vale a pena, o peso é ligeiro... [Interrupted by a speaker C]

['Deep down, deep down if we accept the crucifix [follow Jesus] the burden will be light.']

Speaker (Speaker (LSA) C: A coisa mais frustante é que aqui onde nós estamos *somewhere deep down, deep there they are people who are shouting for help, yet they'll be there forever no one know it unless we go deeply into ourselves. When we go there we become hopeless there's no way out.*

['The most frustrating thing is that here where we are standing now…]

Apendix 4:

Unmarked code switching

1. **Speaker (newcomer) B**: Desta vez o José Eduardo vai sair do poder.
                        'This time José Eduardo will lose the presidency seat.'

Speaker (LSA) B: Não, ele vai fazer o *hold on*.

                     'No he'll hold on (meaning, he'll hold on onto power).'

2. **Speaker (newcomer) B**:   O governo não cria universidades. Não há educação.

                     'The government doesn't build universities. There's no education at all.'

  Speaker (LSA) A: Ia é verdade. É *low level*.

                  'Yes is true the education system has low level'.

3. **Speaker (newcomer) B**:   As pessoas são cegas não conseguem entender o mistério the Jerusalém.

                     'People are blinded they can't understand the mistery of Jerusalem '

  Speaker (LSA) A: Sim nova Jerusalém está *somwhere* no espaço pelo menos sei tenho *my house there.*

               'Yes, new Jerusalem is somewhere in heaven at least I know I

             have my place reserved there when I die]'.

[1] Immigrants who have been in the country for longer period