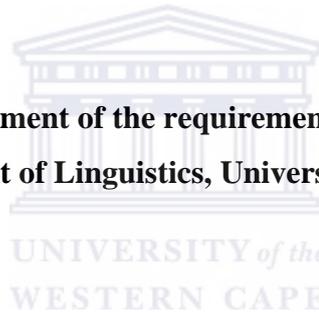


**GRAMMATICAL CONSTRAINTS AND MOTIVATIONS FOR
ENGLISH/AFRIKAANS CODESWITCHING:
EVIDENCE FROM A LOCAL RADIO TALK SHOW**

DIANE LESLEY BOWERS

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



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Supervisor: Prof. Felix Banda

November 2006

**GRAMMATICAL CONSTRAINTS AND MOTIVATIONS FOR
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Key words

Codeswitching

Constraints

Motivations

Bilingualism

Kaapse Afrikaans

English

Cape flats

Radio show

Identity

Sociolinguistics



Abstract

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The study investigated the practice of codeswitching within the Cape Flats speech community of Cape Town. Members of this speech community have always been exposed to both English and Afrikaans in formal as well as informal contexts. Due to constant exposure to both languages, as well as historical and political experiences, members of the speech community have come to utilize both languages within a single conversation and even within a single utterance. Codeswitching is an integral part of the community's speech behaviour.

The main purpose of this research was to uncover and analyze the motivations behind codeswitching in the bilingual communities of Cape Town, while also providing a strong argument that codeswitching patterns evident in their speech do not always correspond completely with linguistic constraints that are regarded as 'universal.'

In addition, the significance of this study was that, to my knowledge, no other study had ever dealt with codeswitching within the context of a talk show. Other studies have generally focused on codeswitching within the context of casual one-on-one conversations. Thus, this study was significant as it attempted to uncover motivations for codeswitching within a completely different context, but also as it attempted to uncover whether constraints proposed (based on recorded conversations) were evident in live radio broadcasts.

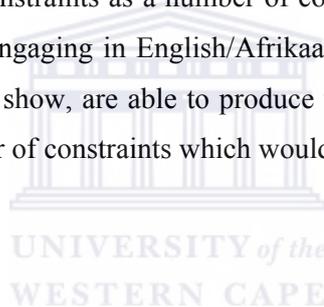
Data for the research consisted of transcripts of a popular radio talk show. The two shows, approximately five hours long, in total, provided the basis for the research. A conversational analysis of these transcripts provided insight into grammatical constraints

evident in English/Afrikaans codeswitching, as well as arguments for the reasons speakers engage in codeswitching.

In terms of social motivations, the study found that English/Afrikaans codeswitching is influenced by situational and contextual factors. Codeswitching is associated with in-group membership and allows speakers access to simultaneous roles and identities. In addition, codeswitching often signals changes in the tone or topic of a conversation and may be used to fill lexical or pragmatic gaps. Codes may also be switched as a means of expressing emotions, showing deference, and as a means of either accommodating an addressee or putting up a social barrier. The data also showed that, even within a talk show, speakers are able to assign roles and identities and are able to portray concepts of 'self' and 'other'.

In addition, the study concluded that codeswitching across English and Afrikaans is governed by a unique set of constraints as a number of constraints regarded as universal do not apply. Thus, speakers engaging in English/Afrikaans codeswitching, even within the context of a live radio talk show, are able to produce what they consider to be valid switches regardless of a number of constraints which would deem them unacceptable.

November 2006



Declaration

I declare that *Grammatical Constraints and Motivations for English/Afrikaans Codeswitching: Evidence from a local radio talk show* 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 complete references.

Diane Lesley Bowers

November 2006



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Chapter 1

Background to the Study

1.0 Introduction

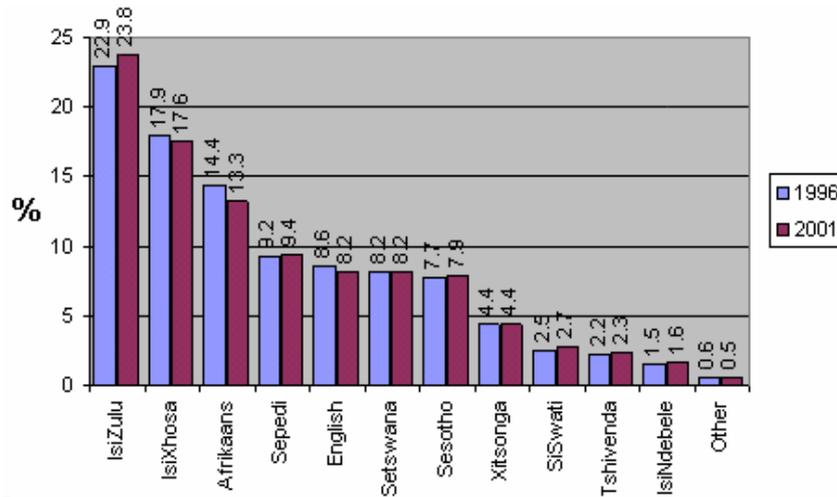
This chapter deals with the statement of the problem and provides background information on the development of Afrikaans and its speakers, as well as the current linguistic situation in South Africa.

1.1 Current Linguistic Situation in South Africa

South Africa is a culturally and linguistically diverse society and the government seeks to promote pride in the eleven official languages of the Republic. The National Constitution (1996) declares that all languages should have equal status and that conditions shall be created for their development and for the promotion of their equal use and enjoyment.

However, not all languages have equal status in the country's multilingual society. Although approximately 75 percent of South Africans are mother-tongue speakers of an African language, English is the language of employment and education, and is also the language associated with upward social mobility (Kaschula & Anthonissen, 1995). As the following graph (Graph 1) reveals, the majority of South Africans speak indigenous African languages, including Afrikaans, while English as a first language is only spoken by about 9% of the total population.

The following graph provides an outline of the statistics for mother tongue speakers per language in South Africa:



Graph 1: Comparative language use in South Africa (1996 and 2001)
www.cyberserv.co.za/~jako/lang/stats.htm

Census (2001) results show that 3 673 203 people in South Africa speak English as their mother tongue, constituting only 8.2% of the country's total population. Afrikaans mother-tongue speakers comprise 13.3% of the country's population, while the majority of the population speaks Zulu and Xhosa as a first language.

The scenario may appear to be as indicated in the foregoing graph and census statistics, however, statistics of the number of speakers do not provide a clear enough illustration of the current linguistic situation in South Africa. Although English only ranks in fifth place in terms of the number of mother tongue speakers (see *Graph 1*), it is a widely spoken language because a large population in South Africa speak English as a second language. Therefore, the significance of English emerges in terms of the number of people able to communicate in the language, rather than the number of mother- tongue speakers.

According to Gough, 33% of Africans have knowledge of English while 89% of Whites and 51% of Coloureds have a speaking ability in English (<http://www.ru.ac.za/affiliates/dsae/GOUGH.HTML>). Therefore, although

English is not the mother tongue of the majority, it is spoken and understood by the majority of the population.

Within the South African context, English appears to have the highest status among all the official languages. McCormick (2002b) argues that English is valued because of its status as a lingua franca and its use internationally. Further, McCormick (2002b: 102) states that English is also "... associated with a middle-class, prosperous lifestyle, with generations of city living, and with well-known and prestigious educational institutions."

In Cape Town, many Afrikaans speakers in the Coloured community are opting to send their children to English-medium schools, allowing their children to be educated in a language other than their mother-tongue. It appears as though parents are more concerned that their children are able to communicate in the language associated with an education and upward mobility, rather than the language that has been spoken by previous generations.

Ultimately, English is important for tertiary education and employment. According to McCormick (2002b: 101), "speaking English is ... the sign of being a city sophisticate, as opposed to a country bumpkin. Young people who want to be thought of as sophisticated and 'cool' have to be able to speak English fluently and with panache."

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Deviation from the standard language often has a stigma attached to it. Using two languages in the same utterance often implies that speakers are not fully competent in one language and, therefore, compensate for their linguistic inability by switching to an alternate language.

This notion has been a motivating factor for the lack of interest in codeswitching as a research topic prior to the 1970s. According to Chomsky (1965) (cited in

Hamers and Blanc, 2000: 258), this lack of interest is due to the “presumed deviant nature of codeswitching and codemixing judged against the prevalent paradigm of monolingualism and of the ideal speaker-hearer in a homogeneous speech community, who knows his language perfectly.”

According to Appel and Muysken (1987: 117) “many outsiders see code mixing as a sign of linguistic decay, the unsystematic result of not knowing at least one of the languages involved very well” but “the opposite turns out to be the case (and) switching is not an isolated phenomenon, but (rather) a central part of bilingual discourse.”

It is this approach I wish to undertake for this research as I set out to illustrate codeswitching as a complex process involving a great amount of skill in both languages involved. In the Cape Coloured speech community, many learners are exposed to English and Afrikaans throughout their schooling. English and Afrikaans are both taught as L1s and L2s. As a result of this, the majority of Coloured people in Cape Town are bilinguals in English and Afrikaans. In everyday conversation, these bilinguals communicate in both their mother tongue and their second language, very often in the same conversation and even in the same sentence. Therefore, these bilinguals are clearly engaging in codeswitching. In its simplest definition, codeswitching refers to the use of two or more languages within the same conversation.

In the linguistic situation on the Cape Flats today, it is clear that English and Afrikaans not only exist side by side, but that both are integrated into single communicative events and speech acts. Although Afrikaans is both the mother tongue and the language of preference for the majority of individuals residing on the Cape Flats, they show a tendency to add English into their casual, everyday conversations. For those who show a preference for communicating in English, their knowledge and ability in the Afrikaans language does not fall away. Instead it is continuously displayed in their English communication. Both groups display a unique mixture of the two languages to which they have been exposed in their

everyday communication. The nature of this mixture of English and Afrikaans within the Cape Flats community was the major focus of this study. The problem with codeswitching in the Coloured community is that it is stigmatized and regarded as a result of an inability to communicate fluently in either English or Afrikaans. I believe that this linguistic phenomenon is not a result of linguistic inability, but rather a result of history and the evolution of English and Afrikaans in the Cape Coloured speech community.

In order to establish a connection between Kaapse Afrikaans and the history of its speakers, it is necessary to take a look at their past.

1.3 The Cape Coloured Speech Community

In 1652 officials from the Vereenigde Oostindische Compagne (V.O.C.) arrived at the Cape to establish a refreshment station. Five years later the first free burghers were allowed to terminate their service to the V.O.C. and so became a regular part of the Cape community, consisting of the Khoi, as well as many foreigners who stopped over in the Cape. A year later slaves began to arrive at the Cape, bringing with them their own languages and cultures as well. (Ponelis, 1993)

This led to the formation of a diverse society at the Cape, as the area was occupied by people from a variety of cultures, speaking a variety of languages. However, the area and all aspects of society, such as religion, education, and administration, were controlled by the V.O.C. whose language was Dutch. Thus, Dutch became the language of the church and education and was even an important factor in the liberation of slaves.

Conflicting views exist on the origin of the Afrikaans language. While some believe it is a variety of Dutch, others argue that it is an African language in its own right. Ponelis (1993), for example, argues that Afrikaans is a form of Dutch, proposing that a Dutch speech community was formed from a linguistically diverse society at the Cape and that this society relied on Dutch as a transactional

language. Ultimately, this led to the emergence of Afrikaans as the mother-tongue of the Cape speech community.

Young (1988: 411) claims that there are two main hypotheses on the origin of Afrikaans:

The one asserts that Afrikaans developed spontaneously out of certain Dutch dialects on foreign soil, in the absence of the constraints of schooling and literacy. The other hypothesis is that Afrikaans is the product of contact between (1) Dutch and indigenous languages, for example, Khoi and Bantu; (2) Dutch and English, French and other European languages, especially German; and (3) Dutch and immigrant creoles, for example, Portuguese in the seventeenth century and Malay in the eighteenth.

Combrink (1978) (cited in Young, 1988: 411) takes a similar approach, but provides more specific details in terms of dates and language contact:

More than 90% of the structure of Afrikaans is of Dutch vernacular descent. In the process of development up to 1800 a few items of Malay, Portuguese, Khoi, German and French descent entered the language. After 1800, i.e., when Afrikaans was already in existence, a small lexical influence was exerted by Southern Bantu languages. English also had a pretty strong lexical, semantic and syntactic influence since 1800.

According to McCormick (2002a), the Dutch spoken at the Cape developed differences in vocabulary, syntax and pronunciation during the later stages of the seventeenth century. Afrikaans developed into a language of its own due to a process of creolization which was influenced by the language of the Khoi, slaves, Cape Malay and Portuguese.

Webb and Kembo-Sure (2000: 39-40) agree that Afrikaans developed out of Dutch, but argue that Afrikaans, as it is spoken today, is not an ex-colonial language. They propose that “Afrikaans is ‘African’ by nature” and that it “arose at a grassroots level and thus grew, so to speak, out of African soil.”

While researchers and sociolinguists generally agree that Afrikaans developed from Dutch and was influenced by the variety of languages present at the Cape, the debate is mostly about whether the language is an ex-colonial one or an African one and whether it is a form of Dutch or a unique language.

Based largely on Webb and Kembo-Sure's (2000) argument on whether Afrikaans is African or ex-colonial, my opinion is that Afrikaans is an African language as it is spoken and owned by the people of Africa. However, it is not exclusively African, owing to the fact the language was not created in isolation. Afrikaans did not become a language of its own, on its own. It developed mainly from Dutch, but was influenced by the languages spoken at the Cape during the seventeenth century – European and African alike. No exact date may be pinpointed to mark the birth of Afrikaans, as it was a process of evolution and creolization, leading to the existence of a language so different to Cape Dutch that it became a language in its own right.



1.4 Changing Attitudes toward Afrikaans

Attitudes toward language are usually based on the functions a language serves, as well as the politics and social conditions associated with it. The roles and status of Afrikaans have changed a great deal over time, and so, speakers have come to adopt different attitudes toward the language.

During the seventeenth century, Dutch was used for communication between slaves and their owners and was also spoken among slaves from the East Indies, Madagascar, East Africa and West Africa (McCormick, 1990). In addition to this, Dutch was the official language of the V.O.C. who had control over the administration, church, law, education and the economy. At the time, education was poor, but the V.O.C. later established a need to teach Dutch to the slaves and so the first school was established.

With so many languages being spoken at the Cape, it was necessary to have a single language which could be used across all domains, and, because the Dutch controlled the Cape, the lingua franca became Dutch. It was an absolute necessity to be able to communicate in Dutch and speakers were under a lot of pressure to learn the language. This learning took place both informally and very quickly. While the entire population at the Cape was under pressure to learn Dutch, I do not believe that negative attitudes were held toward the language. Dutch provided members of the community with a means of expressing themselves in a way that would be understood by those they addressed.

The eighteenth century saw the relocation of many members of the Cape speech community as a result of a shift from agriculture to stock-farming. Speakers migrated east along the coast to areas between the Great Karoo and Little Karoo, and also towards the Orange River and Southern Namibia. This migration led to the distribution of Afrikaans to areas outside of the Cape colony. (McCormick, 1990)

In the late eighteenth century, a complete shift in power occurred. V.O.C. rule was terminated in 1795 by British occupation of the Cape. In an effort to promote English, the British funded English-medium schools. The Afrikaans community rejected this and began establishing Dutch private schools. However, the Dutch schools were only accessible to members of the private sector, and so English-medium schools became more popular. Ponelis (1993: 47) argues that this was most likely due to the fact that “Standard Dutch, like English, was a foreign language...” and also because “English had decided economic value.”

Although English had become a part of the Cape society, Afrikaans still remained the home language of the majority, even up until the end of the nineteenth century. Ponelis (1993: 50) suggests that “a situation of complex diglossia developed with Afrikaans as the vernacular and both standard Dutch (in the church, in private education and in the media) and English as languages of culture.” English was the language of official correspondence as well as the

language of the court, education, and civil service, but Afrikaans was the home language of the majority of the Cape population.

During the nineteenth century, the establishment of a number of Muslim schools contributed to the elevation of Afrikaans. Initially, Arabic was the medium of instruction at all Muslim schools, but was later replaced by Afrikaans. This had a significant impact on Afrikaans as it led to the publication of a *kopiesboek* (school notebook) which consisted of translations from Arabic to Afrikaans.

The twentieth century saw great advancements in the development of Afrikaans. In 1909 the Zuid Afrikaanse Akademie voor Taal, Letteren en Kunst was established. In 1917 the first edition of Afrikaans orthographical principles (*Afrikaanse Woordelys en Spelreëls*) was published after being devised by the Afrikaans language board. By 1933 the final version of the Afrikaans Bible appeared and in 1925 Afrikaans was declared an official language of the Republic of South Africa. In the 1920s the first Afrikaans high schools were established (Ponelis, 1993).

The twentieth century was not only a period in which Afrikaans was officially recognized, but also a period in which political conflict arose out of the elevation of the Afrikaans language. During the twentieth century the National Party governed South Africa and enforced the apartheid system. White Afrikaners took charge of civil services and Afrikaans served as the language of the apartheid government. During this time, people were segregated, forced to be educated in Afrikaans and relocated under the Group Areas Act.

For the people of District Six, this meant that they were forcibly removed from their homes. Ponelis (1993: 60) suggests that, “the Group Areas Act displaced the oldest urbanized Afrikaans community by closing District Six in Cape Town and resettling its predominantly Afrikaans-speaking population.” Therefore, while the apartheid regime revolved around Afrikaner nationalism and an immense pride in the Afrikaans language, one of the oldest Afrikaans communities was torn apart.

Because the Coloured community of District Six was broken up and relocated as a direct result of apartheid, its members developed negative attitudes towards Afrikaans. Although Afrikaans was their home language, it was also the language of the oppressor. As a result, many Coloureds adopted attitudes which were negative toward Afrikaner nationalism, but sympathetic towards the British administration (Ponelis, 1993). In addition to this, Ponelis (1993) argues that the favourability of English over Afrikaans has been influenced by the fact that there was a shortage of Afrikaans-medium educational institutions, intermarriage between British immigrants and Coloured Afrikaans speakers, as well as the apartheid government. Apartheid, therefore, led to more favourable attitudes toward English and provides a distinct example of linguistic nationalism.

Webb and Kembo-Sure (2000: 17) comment on the effect of apartheid on Afrikaans and the Coloured community, in particular:

Although the language has deep historical roots in the country's Coloured (formerly Khoikhoi and slave) communities, it was appropriated by the white political intelligentsia of the past as an instrument of political mobilization. In the process it was ideologized and mythologized into a 'White Man's Language.' In the process of its 'standardization,' its non-white speakers were re-classified as speakers of non-standard Afrikaans, the language was purged (supposedly purified) of foreign elements (especially English elements), and it became a symbol of a particular socio-cultural identity (that of the Afrikaner).

Thus, Afrikaans became a 'white man's language' as a result of political control. Afrikaans, as it was originally spoken, was suddenly declared non-standard, containing too many borrowings, while the Afrikaans which was 'purified' by white Afrikaners became the standard variety. In a sense, this means that standard Afrikaans, as it is spoken today, is not the original variety, but rather the result of a political ideology.

This, then, makes it apparent why Coloured speakers now claim that they are unable to understand or speak ‘proper’ Afrikaans. In a study conducted by McCormick (1990), participants expressed an inability to communicate in Afrikaans. One participant made the following remark:

Die Afrikaans soos die Boere praat – daardie suiwer Afrikaans – ek kan ook nie daardie verstaan nie. Ek kan net verstaan soos ons mos nou praat, ja, maar nie die suiwer nie.
[The Afrikaans like the white nationalist Afrikaners speak – that pure Afrikaans – I can’t understand that either. I can only understand the way we speak it / the way we’re speaking it now, yes, but not the pure Afrikaans.] (McCormick 1990: 92)

Another participant made the following claim:

... if you speak Afrikaans – complete Afrikaans – people won’t understand you, but if you use an English word in between – an Afrikaans word in an English context – they almost seem to understand you better. (McCormick 1990: 92)

Participants in McCormick’s (1990) study claim that standard Afrikaans is unintelligible to them. This shows that the standard variety is not the language that they grew up with, as getting their messages across today means communicating in a language that is frowned upon and labeled non-standard.

In a study carried out by Neethling (1998) in the Kensington/Factreton area, participants expressed a belief that it is more beneficial to speak English rather than Afrikaans and regarded Standard Afrikaans as the language of the Afrikaners, rather than the language of their community. Neethling (1998) then argues that this may be the reason that Standard Afrikaans was previously interpreted as acceptance of the apartheid system.

Clearly, Afrikaans has come a long way since its origin. Standard Afrikaans as we know it today has undergone many changes over time and has been influenced by the authorities and politics of the time. Afrikaans, which was initially the language of the Coloured community, became that of the white community due to

a shift in political power that enabled the re-classification of the language. Essentially, the Coloured community developed negative attitudes toward standard Afrikaans and this is evident in the language choices they have already made and continue to make today.

1.5 Reconsidering Codeswitching in the Cape Coloured Community

Afrikaans, as it is spoken in the Coloured community, is not spoken in isolation. Instead, it is characterized by a great deal of codeswitching between English and Afrikaans.

While codeswitching may be attributed to linguistic inability in either of the two languages, this does not appear to be the case. For the Cape Coloured community, codeswitching may be a direct result of language attitudes, political ideologies, and educational circumstances.

Historically, the community of District Six consisted of predominantly Afrikaans mother-tongue speakers. The community at the time had to acquire English as a second language as it was needed for employment, trade and communication, in the neighbourhood as well as the Central Business District. In addition to this, almost all schooling took place through the medium of English (McCormick, 1990).

Over the centuries, English and Afrikaans have always existed alongside each other. Afrikaans was the home language of many, while English was the language used for communication outside of the home environment, for education, employment, and trade.

In a sense, Kaapse Afrikaans, as it is spoken today, could be the result of the co-existence of the two languages to which members of the Coloured community

have always been exposed simultaneously. Perhaps codeswitching is not merely a linguistic phenomenon displayed by speakers on the Cape Flats, but rather an indication of the type of Afrikaans which previous generations had spoken as their home language.

As mentioned earlier, Afrikaans was syntactically, lexically and semantically influenced by English (Combrink, 1978 cited in Young, 1988), but only later became “pure”, standard Afrikaans when all foreign elements were removed from the language during its standardization in the twentieth century (Webb & Kembo-Sure, 2000).

In the past, the Coloured community developed negative attitudes toward Afrikaans because of the apartheid system. At this time, they began to develop more positive attitudes towards English. Kaapse Afrikaans may, in this way, be the result of positive attitudes toward English and negative attitudes towards standard Afrikaans combined with respect for the language that generations of speakers grew up with in the comforts of their homes.

Young (1988: 411) argues that “the increasing use of English to replace Afrikaans is politically inspired and often motivated by a wish for upward mobility, rather than out of appraisal of English as a superior language per se.”

Swanepoel (1992) comments that the movement towards ‘Kaapse Afrikaans’ has its origin in black nationalism and speakers became mobilized for the freedom struggle through this variety. Further, Swanepoel (1992: 146) also suggests that one of the characteristics towards this sense of language nationalism is the strong sentiments toward Standard Afrikaans combined with its identification with Africa:

Die Kaapse beweging rondom Kaapse Afrikaans het byvoorbeeld sy breëre voiding in swart nasionalisme end die sprekers van Kaapse Afrikaans word deur hierdie variëteit gemobiliseer vir die bevrydingstryd. Een van die kenmerke van

hierdie taalnasionalisme is die sterk sentimente teen Standardafrikaans en die identifisering met Afrika.

Ultimately, codeswitching in the Cape Flats speech community is a process involving a great deal of skill in both English and Afrikaans. I believe that the language of the Coloured community should no longer be degraded, but recognized as a language in its own right. This research is, therefore, an attempt to illustrate the complexity of codeswitching, as well as possible functions of and motivations for codeswitching among the Cape Flats Coloured community.

1.6 Grammatical Structure of Standard Afrikaans

Van Dulm (2006: 58) proposes that codeswitching between English and Afrikaans is such an interesting research topic due to the fact that:

The two languages concerned are typologically dissimilar in certain respects, such as word order and the overt (phonological) realization of grammatical features such as tense and agreement, and the two languages have been used side by side (and mixed) in a wide range of sociolinguistic contexts and by a diverse range of population groups for around two hundred years.

While English and Afrikaans generally share an SVO structure, Afrikaans does not rely on this structure in the construction of past tense utterances. The two languages share the same structure in present tense constructions, but differ with regard to past tense. Consider the following examples:

1. a) Ek eet 'n appel.

b) I eat an apple.

S V O

2. a) Ek het 'n appel geëet.

* I have an apple eaten.

b) I have eaten an apple.

The past tense in Afrikaans is made up of the auxiliary 'het' and the verb, which in most cases takes the past tense prefix {ge-}. In a typical past tense sentence the past tense verb is placed right at the end of the sentence, resulting in a SOV structure, as evident in the above example.

Another difference is evident in the construction of subordinate clauses. Consider the following examples from van Dulm (2006: 58):

3. You know that I eat fish.

4. Jy weet dat ek vis eet.

*You know that I fish eat.

English and Afrikaans also differ in terms of verb placement in focalisation structures. Van Dulm (2006: 60) gives the following example:

5. gister **het** ek die koek gebak

* yesterday did I the cake PAST PARTICIPLE – bake

Yesterday I baked the cake

In English the subject appears before the verb which is followed by the object, while in Afrikaans the subject appears after the auxiliary, which is followed by the object and concluded with the verb.

In 'that' subordinate clauses, Afrikaans verbs appear in final position, but in English they appear between the subject and the object. The following is an example of the structural difference between English and Afrikaans in 'that' subordinate clauses:

6. Ek weet dat hy die studente sien.

*I know that he the students sees.

I know that he sees the students.

Here the verb appears in final position in Afrikaans, while in English the object is in final position.

In terms of yes-no questions, English relies on do-insertion to form a question, while Afrikaans constructs a question by placing the verb at the beginning of the question. A typical example would be:

7. Do you have a dog?

8. Het jy 'n hond?

While English relies on the insertion of 'do' to form a yes-no question, Afrikaans does not rely on the addition of any words, but rather adjusts the structure by placing the verb at the beginning of the utterance.

In English, the verb is placed before its complement, while in Afrikaans the complement is preceded by its verb.

The last important structural difference is that of negation. Afrikaans differs from English in that it uses a double negation, while English does not. The following is an example:

9. Ek kan nie sing nie.

* I can not sing not.

I cannot sing.

Thus, while Afrikaans places the negation element 'nie' on either side of the verb, English only uses its negation element 'not', placing it after the verb. Therefore, while English and Afrikaans do share grammatical structures at times, there are

also instances in which they do not, and in which switching should not be an option.

1.7 Pronunciation Differences between Standard Afrikaans and Kaapse Afrikaans

One of the main differences between Standard Afrikaans and Kaapse Afrikaans lies in pronunciation. As is the case with standard and non-standard linguistic varieties, the latter is usually not a written language and therefore differences between the two varieties emerge in the pronunciation of words.

With Kaapse Afrikaans, phonemes are often shortened. This results in a change in vowel quality. For example, where Standard Afrikaans uses a diphthong, Kaapse Afrikaans uses a monophthong. A typical example is the Afrikaans verb, ‘weet’, which is pronounced [VIət] in Standard Afrikaans, but [VIt] in Kaapse Afrikaans.

Kaapse Afrikaans, being the informal, colloquial variety, also displays elision as phonemes are often omitted. Elision often occurs when using the verb ‘to be’, the Afrikaans equivalent being ‘is’. In standard Afrikaans this is pronounced [əs], but in Kaapse Afrikaans, the phoneme [s] is simply attached to the end of the word preceding it. Typical examples are:

- | | | |
|-----|---------|----------------------|
| 10. | Daar is | (Standard Afrikaans) |
| | Daar’s | (Kaapse Afrikaans) |
| 11. | Sy is | (Standard Afrikaans) |
| | Sy’s | (Kaapse Afrikaans) |
| 12. | Hy is | (Standard Afrikaans) |
| | Hy’s | (Kaapse Afrikaans) |

Elision also occurs in Kaapse Afrikaans when the negating element, 'nie', is used. As opposed to Standard Afrikaans which places [ni] after the verb, Kaapse Afrikaans simply attaches [I] to the end of the verb. The following are typical examples.

13. Ek is nie (Standard Afrikaans)
Ek is'ie. (Kaapse Afrikaans)
I am not.
14. Ek kan nie (Standard Afrikaans)
Ek kan'ie (Kaapse Afrikaans)
I cannot

These are all typical instances in which Standard Afrikaans and Kaapse Afrikaans differ in terms of pronunciation. To summarize these differences briefly, the omission of phonemes seems to act as a means of simplification or brevity. This characteristic is evident and common in many other languages, but, in this case, it could be due to the close relationship that Afrikaans has with English. This elision is common in both the standard and the non-standard variety. The only distinguishing characteristic between the two varieties is the lowering of the diphthong [Iə]. This vowel change is a characteristic that is only evident in the Afrikaans spoken on the Cape Flats and is not found in Standard Afrikaans.

1.8 Aims and Objectives for the Study

The main aim of this study is to investigate the patterns and motivations behind codeswitching within the Cape Coloured community in relation to social or motivational theories on codeswitching, as well as the various grammatical constraints that have been proposed.

The main purpose of this research is to uncover and analyze the motivations behind codeswitching in bilingual speech communities in Cape Town, while also

providing a strong argument that codeswitching patterns evident in their speech do not always correspond completely with constraints put forward by some researchers. The rationale behind this research is to explain why speakers engage in codeswitching, as well as to evaluate contextual and situational factors that play a role in encouraging speakers to switch languages.

Deviation from the standard language often has a stigma attached to it because a good command of the standard variety is often associated with prestige, whereas non-standard forms may be associated with lower social status and lower educational levels. Using two languages in the same utterance often implies that speakers are not fully competent in one language and, therefore, compensate for their linguistic inability by switching to an alternate language. This, however, may not necessarily be the case as codeswitching is complex and speakers may, instead, require a good command of both languages in order for successful switching to take place.

Through this research I aim to encourage a way of thinking that does not demean an individual's linguistic ability because he or she engages in codeswitching. Instead, I would like to argue that codeswitching is a means of self expression and that it is not due to the inability to express oneself in a single language. It is my aim to demonstrate the reverse, arguing that, instead, codeswitching is used to add variety and flavour to communication by producing new phrases and forming a unique mixture of words when communicating.

Further, I will argue that codeswitching is complex and that there are constraints on what may or may not be switched. Switching is not a matter of merely substituting a word or phrase from another language because not any phrase can be substituted anywhere. Gumperz (1976), Joshi (1985)(cited in Myers-Scotton, 1993b), Poplack (1990), Myers-Scotton (1993b), Muysken (1995) and many other researchers have shown that constraints do exist and that codeswitching does not take place randomly, but is governed by rules or constraints. Therefore, individuals hold a sort of grammatical framework which influences the ways in

which switches may occur, and I aim to illustrate these constraints based on, and in relation to, the work of other researchers.

1.9 Scope and Limitations of Study

The study focuses mainly on transcripts of two broadcasts of a local radio show called *Update Kaapse Vlakte*. The show is on a Cape Town based radio station, formally called *P4* radio, but now called *Heart 104.9*. The show generally deals with social, political and economic matters of interest relating to the Cape Flats speech community, including special events and issues within the news. The audience, mostly Coloured Cape Flats residents, is encouraged to participate in the show as they call in to express their views and opinions or even to share stories. The language used throughout the show provides a typical example of what one would expect to hear in casual conversations on the Cape Flats.

The study is limited in that it deals only with grammatical constraints and social motivations for codeswitching. In addition, it is limited to two broadcasts of a talk show and is restricted to codeswitching within the Cape Flats speech community.

However, the significance of this study lies in the fact that, to my knowledge, no other study has ever dealt with codeswitching within the context of a radio talk show. Other studies have generally focused on codeswitching within the context of casual one-on-one conversations. Thus, this study is significant as it attempts to uncover motivations for codeswitching within a completely different context, but also as it attempts to uncover whether constraints proposed (based on recorded conversations) are evident in live radio broadcasts.

1.10 Outline of the Study

Chapter 1 provided an introduction to the research topic. Here the statement of the problem was discussed in relation to the current linguistic situation and what has led up to it. The sociolinguistic and historical background of members of the Cape Flats population was discussed along with attitudes towards English and Afrikaans at present as well as in the past.

Chapter 2 deals with social motivations for codeswitching. The chapter presents the markedness model (Myers-Scotton, 1993a) that was used in this study. This chapter also reviews literature related to the scope of this study in order to establish good background knowledge into the possible reasons that speakers engage in codeswitching.

Chapter 3 discusses grammatical constraints on codeswitching. Some of the constraints proposed are language specific, while others appear to be universal. This chapter enabled me to identify possible constraints and to evaluate them in relation to English/Afrikaans codeswitching.

Chapter 4 outlines the methodology used for this research and provides information on how data was collected and analyzed. The data used for the study consisted of transcripts of two talk shows which were broadcast on a local radio station. The study was carried out within a qualitative framework and relied mainly on a conversation-analytic approach to codeswitching.

The findings of the study are presented in Chapter 5 and are in two sections. The grammatical constraints and social motivations for codeswitching, as evident in the data, are discussed separately.

Chapter 6 is the conclusion to the research project, providing an overview of the findings as well as further recommendations.



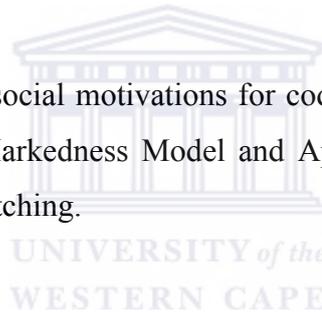
Chapter 2

Social Motivations for Codeswitching

2.0 Introduction

This chapter is divided into three main sections. The first section provides the various definitions of codeswitching that have been put forward by different researchers, while the second section covers explanations of how codeswitching is believed to occur and also the different kinds of switching that may occur. These include extrasentential, intersentential and intrasentential switching as well as tagging. The section also explains insertional versus alternational codeswitching and congruent lexicalization

The third section discusses social motivations for codeswitching, such as Myers-Scotton's (1993a, 2006a) Markedness Model and Appel and Muysken's (1987) functional model of codeswitching.



2.1 Definitions of Codeswitching

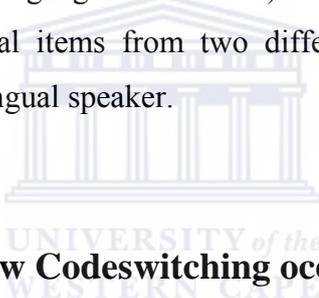
Various definitions of codeswitching have been proposed by a number of researchers, each with their own beliefs as to what exactly codeswitching is and what should be regarded as a switch.

McCormick (2002b: 88-89) distinguishes between code-mixing and codeswitching. Switching, she argues, refers to "...the alternation of phrases or longer chunks in one code or language with those in another..." while mixing refers to the "...incorporation of single lexical items from one language into phrases in another, and also for the affixing of morphemes from one language on to morphemes from the other language."

Muysken (2000: 1) also opts to use code-mixing to refer to “...all cases where lexical items and grammatical features from two languages appear in one sentence.” Further, Muysken (2000: 4) argues that “switching is only an appropriate term for the alternational type of mixing (and) as a term it already suggests something like alternation (as opposed to insertion).”

Mc Clure (cited in Pfaff, 1997: 344) distinguishes between code-changing and code-mixing, arguing that code-changing refers to “...alternation at a major constituent...” while the term code-mixing is “...used for sentence-internal, usually constituent-internal use of other language lexical items (words or idioms) which are not borrowed in the community.”

For the purpose of this research, the term codeswitching is used to refer to the use of two linguistic varieties (languages or dialects) in an utterance, or the use of both grammatical and lexical items from two different languages in a single utterance, produced by a bilingual speaker.



2.2 Explanations of how Codeswitching occurs

According to Poplack (1990) (cited in Hamers & Blanc, 2000) three types of switching can occur. Extra-sentential codeswitching (also called tag insertion) involves the insertion of a tag from one language into an utterance which is entirely in another language. Intersentential switching occurs between clauses or sentence boundaries. In such cases an entire clause or sentence in one language is followed by a clause or sentence in another language. The third kind of codeswitching occurs within either a clause or a word boundary and is referred to as intrasentential codeswitching.

The majority of studies on codeswitching and its constraints have focused on intrasentential codeswitching. Muysken (1995) initially proposed two ways in which such switching could occur. He argued that codeswitching could either be insertional or alternational. According to the insertional approach,

“...codeswitching is a form of borrowing, the difference between them being the size and the type of element being inserted (e.g. a single lexical element in borrowing, a whole phrase or clause in codeswitching.” (Muysken, 1995: 260)

This is the type of approach Myers-Scotton (1993b, 2006a) takes to explain codeswitching in terms of her Matrix Language Framework. Under this view, one language is the dominant one (matrix language) into which elements from the less dominant (embedded language) are inserted.

The alternational approach is distinctly why Muysken (1995: 260-261) distinguishes between codeswitching and code-mixing, viewing the two as completely different processes. Alternation is “...clearly exemplified in intersentential codeswitching (and is) likely when there are long stretches of elements from the second language, or when several elements are switched, which do not form a single constituent.”

Muysken (2000: 5) later developed a third approach to codeswitching, explaining it in terms of congruent lexicalization. In this case “...there is a largely (but not necessarily completely) shared structure, lexicalized by elements from either language” as is the case with homophonous diamorphs.

Poplack (1993) (cited in Muysken, 2000) has identified four kinds of mixing which include codeswitching under equivalence, nonce borrowing, constituent-insertion, and flagged switching. Based on Poplack’s (1993) definition of codeswitching – the juxtaposition of sentences or sentence fragments, each of which is internally consistent with the morphological and syntactic rules of the language of its provenance- Muysken (2000) argues that this view embodies the alternational approach.

On the contrary, Muysken (2000) argues that Myers-Scotton’s (1993a: 4) definition of codeswitching as “... the selection of forms from an embedded language (or languages) in utterances of a matrix language during the same conversation” – embodies an insertional approach. Myers-Scotton (1993a, 2006a)

describes switching as a process whereby elements from an embedded language are inserted into the frame of the matrix language.

2.3 Perspectives on Codeswitching

According to Eastman (1995), Blom and Gumperz (1972) were the first to draw a distinction between situational and metaphorical codeswitching. The former involves a change in participants, while the latter involves a change in topic. However, Eastman (1995: 5) proposes that

Current thinking is that rather than being motivated automatically by extralinguistic factors (e.g. changes in participants, settings etc.), codeswitching occurs due to either macro-linguistic patterns of language use or individual choices in the interest of negotiating social class or status changes, or individual choices inspired by poetic or performance motives.

In addition codeswitching may be attributed to political, economic and historical forces and can index social class consciousness as well as political and ethnic affiliations (Eastman, 1995). Thus, codeswitching can be attributed to a range of factors relating to individual and societal changes and should not be regarded merely as the result of participant or topic changes.

2.4 Social Motivations for Codeswitching

Various social motivations for codeswitching have been identified by a variety of researchers, each studying codeswitching between different languages. Theories on codeswitching are often alike, but also vary in the sense that researchers have been challenging previous theories and expanding upon them as a result of their own findings.

In this section, I attempt to provide a number of views on the social and pragmatic functions that codeswitching may serve by presenting the views of several researchers in the order in which the studies have been conducted.

Gumperz (1976) claims that there are specific functions related to codeswitching. These functions are related to the reasons speakers decide to switch between languages, as well as the ways in which switching assists speakers in carrying their meanings across. Gumperz (1976: 24) summarizes the functions as follows:

1. **Quotations:** codeswitched phrases may be identified either as direct quotations or as reported speech.
2. **Addressee Specification:** a switch may occur to direct the message to a particular addressee.
3. **Interjections:** switched phrases can be identified as interjections or sentence fillers.
4. **Repetition:** an utterance may be repeated in another code, so as to clarify or emphasize a message.
5. **Message Qualification:** switches may be identified as verb complements or as predicates following a copula.
6. **Personalization versus Objectivization:** relates to things like “the distinction between talk about action and talk as action. The degree of speaker involvement in, or distance from, a message, whether a statement reflects personal opinion or knowledge, refers to specific instances or whether it has the authority of a generally known fact.”

Appel and Muysken (1987) proposed a functional model for codeswitching based on the work of Jakobson (1960) and Halliday (1964). This model suggests that codeswitching serves various functions in interactions between individuals.

The referential function comes into play when speakers lack the knowledge to facilitate a conversation in one language. Also, when speakers feel that one of the languages they know is more appropriate for a certain topic, a switch may occur. In addition, a specific word from one of the languages involved may be semantically more appropriate for a given concept (Appel & Muysken, 1987).

Therefore, speakers may switch to a language when they lack the vocabulary necessary for a given topic or when they feel that certain words are more meaningful in one of the languages they know.

Switching may also serve a directive function. In this case a speaker may use a particular language or code to address a specific hearer. Alternatively, speakers may switch codes to exclude individuals from a conversation.

The phatic function of codeswitching is indicative of a change of tone in a conversation. Languages or codes may be switched to portray humour as is the case with punchlines and jokes that are expressed in the second language.

Appel and Muysken (1987: 120) argue that, “the metalinguistic function of codeswitching comes into play when it is used to comment directly or indirectly on one of the languages involved.” In such instances, speakers may switch languages or varieties in an effort to impress others by showing off their linguistic ability.

Lastly, according to Appel & Muysken (1987: 119), codeswitching serves an expressive function which enables speakers to “emphasize a mixed identity through the use of two languages in the same discourse.” Therefore, each language is associated with a distinct identity and the ability to use two languages allows one to demonstrate two separate identities.

Myers-Scotton (1993a, 2006a) proposed a model that seeks to explain the motivational aspects related to codeswitching. This markedness model accounts for the reasons individuals alternate between languages in communication.

2.4.1 The Markedness Model

According to Myers-Scotton, (1993a: 84), the markedness model assumes that, “... code choices are understood as indexing rights-and-obligations (hereafter

referred to as RO) sets between participants...” in any given type of interaction. The unmarked RO set is derived from the situational features that are most important in the community for that type of interaction.

The markedness model accounts for social motivations for all types of codeswitching, based on the ‘negotiation principle.’ This principle implies that speakers choose the form of their conversation contribution in a way that indicates the set of RO’s that they wish to enforce between speaker and addressee in a particular exchange (Myers-Scotton, 1993a). According to Myers-Scotton (cited in Pütz, 1992: 418), the negotiation principle and the maxims that are associated with it “... encapsulate the human predisposition to use code choices as implicating intentional context about presentations of self and/or perceptions of rights and obligations holding between self and others.” This negotiation principle underlies the motivations for codeswitching and rests on the following maxims:

2.4.1.1 The ‘unmarked-choice’ maxim

This maxim directs speakers to make their code choice the unmarked index of the unmarked RO set in exchanges when they wish to establish or affirm that RO set. (Myers-Scotton, 1993a, Coulmas, 2005)

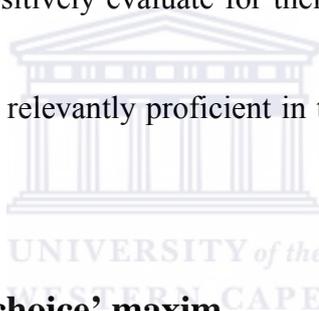
Following this maxim results in codeswitching as a sequence of unmarked choices- codeswitching as a result of change in situational factors during conversation- or as unmarked codeswitching - speakers engage in a continuous pattern of using two or more languages.

Codeswitching as an unmarked choice occurs “... in cases where it is expected that a person with the sociolinguistic profile of the speaker will wish to index the social identities associated with two or more codes in the same conversation and therefore the speaker switches between these codes to invoke simultaneous identities.” (Myers-Scotton, cited in Pütz, 1992: 419)

Sequential unmarked codeswitching implies that when situational factors change during a conversation, the unmarked RO set may change. Myers-Scotton (1993a: 113) uses the following example: when a security guard discovers that an enquirer comes from the same ethnic group as he does, the ethnicity factor changes from unknown to shared and the RO set changes from one held between strangers to one held between ethnic group members.

Further, Myers-Scotton (1993a: 119) states that the following conditions must be met for unmarked codeswitching to occur:

1. Speakers must be bilingual peers.
2. The interaction has to be a type where speakers wish to symbolize dual membership.
3. Speakers must positively evaluate for their own identities in this type of interaction.
4. Speakers must be relevantly proficient in the two (or more) languages involved.



2.4.1.2 The ‘marked-choice’ maxim

When codeswitching occurs as a marked choice, speakers simply do not wish to identify with the expected RO set and this usually occurs in conventionalized interactions. This maxim directs speakers to put aside presumptions that are based on societal norms for certain circumstances (Myers-Scotton, 1993a).

Marked choices, according to Myers-Scotton (cited in Pütz, 1992: 419), may be used to express a wide range of emotions or “... in cases in which the speaker wishes to dis-identify with the unmarked rights and obligations set for an interaction and negotiate a change in the social distance holding between other participants and himself/herself.”

Speakers may also engage in this form of codeswitching to exclude other ethnic groups by switching to a language that such groups cannot comprehend. For

example, Afrikaans speakers may switch to Afrikaans to exclude Zulu speakers from their conversation. This would then be an indication of their exclusion from each other's social and ethnic identities.

2.4.1.3 The 'exploratory-choice' maxim

Exploratory codeswitching is used when speakers are unclear of the expected communicative intent or unsure of which language should be used in order for them to achieve their (social) goals. Although the unmarked RO set can usually be derived from contextual and situational factors, it could be unpredictable in conventionalized exchanges or conversations.

According to Myers-Scotton (1993a), this form of codeswitching usually occurs when there is a clash of norms or when speakers are uncertain of which norms apply.

2.4.1.4 The 'virtuosity maxim'

When speakers do not have the linguistic ability to facilitate unmarked choices, the virtuosity maxim directs speakers to switch to whichever code is necessary for them to continue their conversation and allow other participants to be active in the conversation (Myers-Scotton, 1993a).

This type of switching would be used if speakers are not fully competent in one language and, therefore, need to switch to another to get their message across or it could be used to enable other participants to understand the speaker's message.

2.4.1.5 The 'deference maxim'

According to Myers-Scotton (1993a: 147), this maxim "directs speakers ... (to)... switch to a code which expresses deference to others when special respect is

called for by circumstances.” Deference may be expressed through politeness or honorific titles, but switching to accommodate the addressee can be seen as a major way of indicating deference.

Myers-Scotton (2006b: 206) argues that, “...when speakers switch languages, it is generally because a word or phrase in the other language conveys the speaker’s pragmatic intentions better”, but also claims that motivations for codeswitching may be interpersonally based. Whether they do it consciously or subconsciously, bilingual speakers make choices regarding which language to use. Speakers have the ability to select one language over another, but also to use both simultaneously. Myers-Scotton (2006a) argues that these choices are interpersonally based as selection of a particular variety is indicative of an individual’s view of self and their relationships with other participants involved in the conversation.

Further, Myers-Scotton (2006a: 145) suggests that code choice is indexical of ‘self’ – “... for a bilingual, choosing to speak one language over another says something about how that bilingual thinks of himself or herself.” Therefore, codeswitching serves as a means of portraying one’s own identity, but enables access to other identities associated with the second language.

From a sociolinguistic point of view, codeswitching presents bilingual speakers with opportunities to express themselves in an endless variety of ways. On the other hand, from a psycholinguistic point of view, according to Myers-Scotton (1993b: 2), “codeswitching is a way to overcome difficulties in sentence – planning by making use of the resources of more than one language...”

Franceschini (1998) views codeswitching as one possible result of speakers’ actions in a particular situation of language contact. However, Franceschini (1998: 62) argues that codeswitching cannot be regarded as a social language, acquired by generations of speakers, as it resembles interlanguages in that “both are produced anew in each sociocultural situation and are not stable in time.”

Further, Franceschini (1998: 62) states that what differentiates the two concepts is that, “codeswitching develops group norms and functions, and it expresses group identity.”

Furthermore, codeswitching is viewed in terms of a dual focus model of attention as codeswitching speakers utilize different varieties simultaneously, throughout a conversation.

In a paper presented at the European Science Foundation’s Conference on codeswitching in 1990, Gardner-Chloros identified five factors related to codeswitching. Gardner-Chloros (1990) argued that switches may occur due to factors related to the speaker’s linguistic competence. Thus, switching may occur as a result of the speaker not knowing how to say something in the L1 or as a means of filling a lexical gap.

Other factors relating to speakers’ perceptions of each other also influence codeswitching. These include perceptions relating to one another’s’ linguistic competence, such as accommodation and employing measures to make oneself understood. Factors relating to the characteristics of the conversation, such as changes in topic and setting, also play a role in codeswitching.

Lastly, factors related to the characteristics of the spoken language, as well as factors derived from deeper reasons, such as individual characteristics, social behaviour, language change and ethnic compromise, also influence whether a speaker may choose to engage in codeswitching or not.

Swann (2000: 170-171) summarizes social motivations for codeswitching as follows:

1. Bilingual codeswitching is meaningful: it fulfils certain functions in an interaction.
2. Codeswitching between languages allows speakers simultaneous access to different social identities.

3. Codeswitching is useful in cases of uncertainty about relationships: it allows speakers to feel their way and negotiate identities in relation to others.
4. “Marked switching may be used to increase social distance or to express authority or anger.

Slabbert and Finlayson (2002) argue that codeswitching serves mainly as a means of accommodation in a linguistically diverse society, particularly in townships where there is no majority language. Further, Slabbert and Finlayson (2002: 245) propose that a number of sub-functions are involved in the process of accommodation:

1. Having an awareness of what the addressee prefers and switching accordingly.
2. Establishing common ground, i.e. meeting the speaker halfway with language.
3. A willingness to learn and experiment with other languages in the communication situation even to the point of moving out of one’s comfort zone.
4. Employing measures to make oneself understood.
5. Making adaptations on the variety continuum of ‘deep’ to urban.

According to McCormick, (2002a) conversational codeswitching is common and appears to be a largely unconscious process and has a variety of stylistic and pragmatic functions.

When a speaker does not know or cannot remember a word in one language, but recalls it in another, the speaker may insert the word into the sentence as a borrowed word or the speaker may use it as the first word in the language switch.

McCormick (2002b) argues that language shifts may signal shifts in focus, but also allows speakers to incorporate idioms and phrases from another language. Speaker’s choice of code is also influenced by the topic of the conversation, the

context in which the speaker finds himself, as well as the speaker's personal preferences and those they address.

Based on a study of English/Afrikaans codeswitching, McCormick (2002: 199) concludes that, "... sometimes speakers switch languages in order to invoke community associations or in order to abide by community norms for language choice at a particular event, but at other times awareness of 'macro' associations falls away, and the switching serves only 'micro' stylistic or discourse functions."

Banda (2005: 217) argues that, "... casual conversationalists in a multilingual context have at their disposal register and genre in more than one code, thus giving them a wider scope in which to construct different roles and identities". Thus, bilinguals engaging in codeswitching are able to portray different roles and identities through different registers and varieties of the languages they know. A typical example would be evident in a situation in which an English/Afrikaans bilingual opts to use a standard variety of English to construct a role as an educated, upper-class individual. On the other hand, the same individual could choose to use a non-standard variety when speaking to an individual from the Cape Flats who has a poor level of education. In this way speakers manipulate varieties in order to construct an identity that enables them to share common ground with those they address.

Walters (2005) accounts for bilingual phenomena, such as codeswitching within the Sociopragmatic-Psycholinguistic interface (SPPL). Within this framework, codeswitching is said to be motivated by, both, aspects of identity, as well as contextual parameters.

In the SPPL Model, intentional codeswitching, motivated by internal as well as external considerations, is grounded in social identity, conversational context, genre, and speech act information. This is codeswitching meant to express one's identity, to bond with a listener, or to show cognizance of a particular setting, listener, or topic.

All the literature discussed so far focuses on the social motivations behind codeswitching in conversation, as well as the functions that they serve. What I would also like to focus on is the grammatical and structural aspects involved in switching. Questions that emerge are: When is it possible to switch? Which words or phrases can be switched? And how do these switches occur?

Various researchers have put forward many grammatical and structural constraints, each theory tested on a variety of languages, but most of which can be applied across languages. This is the focus of the next chapter, which discusses the grammatical constraints related to bilingual codeswitching.



Chapter 3

Grammatical Constraints on Codeswitching

3.0 Introduction

This section will provide a discussion on the constraints on codeswitching proposed thus far. A wide variety of constraints have been proposed by many different researchers, each focusing on switching across different sets of languages. Some of the constraints proposed may be language specific, whereas others may act as universal constraints for codeswitching in any language.

3.1 Borrowing versus Codeswitching

Before discussing any structural constraints, it is important to draw a distinction between borrowing and codeswitching. Should a single word in one language, found in an utterance constructed in another language, be regarded as a switch or is the term, 'borrowing', more applicable? Do borrowings constitute switches at all?

Treffers-Daller (2000: 1) defines borrowing, as "the incorporation of one language into another." According to Poplack (1990: 38), borrowing refers to "... the adaptation of lexical material to the morphological and syntactic (and usually, phonological) patterns of the recipient language. Simango (2000: 505) confirms this arguing that "borrowing is an active process wherein the recipient language, in intricate ways, reacts to the presence of foreign forms by making the necessary adjustments to its own system as well as to the features of the foreign forms themselves."

In addition, Simango (2000) argues that borrowing was traditionally thought to have been used in order to fill lexical gaps and to account for concepts in cases

where languages lacked the vocabulary to do so. Thus, speakers were forced to rely on a word from another language to convey the meaning they intended to.

In certain instances, codeswitching fulfils this function as well, but also serves a variety of other functions too. However, what differentiates codeswitching from borrowing is that the former only occurs in the speech of bilinguals, while the latter is evident even in the speech of monolinguals (Simango, 2000).

Poplack (1990: 55) further distinguishes between nonce loans and borrowing, arguing that, borrowings “tend to be content words which take the same inflections and occupy the same syntactic slots as corresponding native recipient-language words.” This implies that borrowings are generally single words which belong to open classes and occupy the same position in a sentence in either language whereas nonce loans are single words in one of the languages used and are found in sentences otherwise consisting of elements in the other language. In relation to English/Afrikaans codeswitching, distinguishing between borrowings and nonce loans appears to be quite challenging as, in many instances, the sentence structures are alike. Therefore, one will only be able to draw a clear-cut distinction between the two in cases where syntactic structures differ.

Poplack (1990) also argues that when a single word from one language appears in a sentence consisting of elements from another language, this word may be analyzed as an insertion of a minimal constituent if it occurs in an appropriate lexical slot. Thus, single words may be analyzed as borrowings, nonce loans or as the insertion of minimal constituents. For the purpose of this study, I will analyze borrowings as such, but will also regard them as switches in cases where there is a clear switch from one language to another. Earlier, I defined codeswitching as the use of two linguistic varieties (languages or dialects) in an utterance, or the use of both grammatical and lexical items from two different languages in a single utterance, produced by a bilingual speaker. Thus, while single words may be labeled borrowings, I believe that they should also be regarded as instances of

codeswitching as they do reflect the use of two languages within a single utterance.

3.2 Grammatical Constraints on Codeswitching

A wide variety of constraints have been proposed by many different researchers, each focusing on switching across different sets of languages. Some of the constraints proposed may be language specific, whereas others may act as universal constraints for codeswitching in any language.

Muysken (1995: 196) argued that switching is possible under the following conditions:

1. When no tight relation exists among elements: when there are no rules of government preventing a switch
2. Under equivalence: when the order of grammatical elements is the same in both languages
3. When the element undergoing the switch is morphologically encapsulated
4. When the first word of the switch can belong to either of the languages involved, such as 'in' which has the same meaning and is pronounced in the same way in German and English.

Cook-Gumperz (1976) argues that, both co-ordinate and sub-ordinate conjoined sentences can be freely switched, but the conjunction always goes with the second switched phrase:

John stayed at home because his wife was at work.

** John stayed at home because his wife was at work.

This theory may very well be applicable to English/Afrikaans codeswitching. It makes more sense for the conjunction to agree with the second part of the phrase because it is likely that the conjunction would be a part of the phrase being

switched, rather than the preceding phrase. To use an Afrikaans example, it would be impossible to say “John het by die huis gebly want his wife was at work.” Rather, the Afrikaans conjunction ‘want’ would have to be replaced by the English conjunction ‘because’ to produce the sentence, “John het by die huis gebly because his wife was at work.” This may be due to the fact that if the sentence were split into two phrases, the conjunction would ultimately belong with the second phrase which is, in this case, the switched phrase.

Myers-Scotton (1993b, 2006a) discusses some constraints proposed by other researchers as part of an introduction to the Matrix Language-Frame Model for codeswitching. These are important constraints which I think are relevant to this study.

Myers-Scotton (1993b) discusses word order equivalence as a possible constraint. This constraint prevents the occurrence of codeswitching when the word order of the matrix language (the majority language in the interaction) and the embedded language do not correspond.

Poplack (1980) (cited in Myers-Scotton, 1993b: 27) illustrates the equivalence constraint as follows:

Code-switches will tend to occur at points in discourse where juxtaposition of L1 and L2 elements does not violate a syntactic rule of either language, i.e., at points around which the surface structure of the two languages map onto each other. According to this simple constraint, a switch is inhibited from occurring within a constituent generated by a rule from one language which is not shared by another.

This constraint is therefore only relevant to codeswitching between languages sharing similar syntactic structures.

Poplack (1990: 58) also draws the following distinctions between constituent insertion and word order equivalence:

Constituent insertion differs from equivalence-based switching in that word order constraints across switch boundaries need not be respected for those elements eligible to be inserted. Switching at equivalence sites is the only mechanism which does not involve insertion of material from one language into a sentence of the other – once a switch occurs, the rest of the sentence may continue in a new language (although further switches are possible), whereas the other mechanisms generally require a return to the original language immediately after the nonce loan, inserted constituent, or flagged switch.

In summary, Poplack (1990: 37-38) argues that “intrasentential switching may occur at equivalence sites (where switch permissible switch points are constrained by word order homologies between switched constituents), or, more rarely, consist of constituent insertion (where word order constraints across switch boundaries need not be respected for constituents eligible for insertion)”.

Lipski (1977) (cited in Myers-Scotton, 1993b), who studied Spanish/English codeswitching, extends on this, arguing that the syntaxes may be different before the switch, but must be alike for the portion that is switched. Here again, this can only be applicable where the two languages involved belong to the same language family and share common grammatical and syntactic features.

All the above constraints deal with word order equivalence as constraint on codeswitching. Another major constraint that is important to consider is one which deals with the morphology of the languages involved in codeswitching, referred to as the free-morpheme constraint. Poplack (1980) (cited in Myers-Scotton, 1993b), argues that codes can be switched after any constituent, as long as the constituent is not a bound morpheme. This means that only free morphs may be switched and that a single, multi-morphemic word may not consist of morphs from different languages. In other words, switching is not allowed if it results in a word having different morphemes from different languages. This constraint, therefore, deals with inflection, plural markers, tense, adjectival endings, among others as these have to be indicated in a single language. Simply stated, these elements have to correspond with the word which they modify.

Joshi (1985) (cited in Myers-Scotton, 1993b), on the other hand, states that all major categories except closed class items can be switched. Therefore, items such as determiners, quantifiers, possessives, auxiliaries, and tense may not be switched.

In a study on Spanish/English codeswitching, Gumperz and Hernandez-Chavez (1975) (cited in Appel & Muysken, 1987) demonstrated that switching is possible between a head noun and a relative clause and also between a subject and a predicate in a copular construction. The following example was provided for switching between a head noun and a relative clause:

... those friends are friends from Mexico QUE TIENEN CHAMAQUITOS
(that have little children)

This rule seems to be applicable to English/Afrikaans switching if the above example is translated as follows:

... those friends are friends from Mexico WAT KLEIN KINDERS HET
(that have little children)

Here the entire relative clause is switched, appearing in Afrikaans. In my opinion, bilingual speakers would judge this as a valid switch.

Timm (1975) (cited in Appel & Muysken, 1987: 22) proposed that “subject and object pronouns must be in the same language as the main verb” and also that “an auxiliary and a main verb and an infinitive must be in the same language.” If the former constraint is applied to English/Afrikaans codeswitching, the examples below would not be considered grammatical:

* HY (he) says

* SY (she) goes

In these examples, the main verbs are English, but the subjects are Afrikaans. These examples would never be regarded as valid switches by English/Afrikaans bilinguals, hence, the former constraint proposed by Timm (1975) seems to apply.

Examples illustrating the latter constraint are evident in the following examples:

* they want TE EET (to eat)

* hy het (he has) ATE

These phrases are ungrammatical and would not be regarded as acceptable switches. In these examples, support for Poplack's (1980) constraint is also provided since, here, switching does not occur where the surface structures of the two languages map onto each other. In addition to this, the second example would not be regarded as a valid switch because both the auxiliary verb 'het' and the English verb 'ate' are marked for past tense.

Azuma (1996) proposes a new constraint on codeswitching which challenges Poplack's (1990) theory. Azuma (1996: 364) argues that Poplack's (1980) constraint "does not refer to the semantic content of an item switched ... (and that) ... it is more natural to consider that meaning takes precedence over form."

In addition to this, Azuma (1996) argues that if all categories were able to switch, the most commonly switched words would be 'high frequency words' like determiners, but it is commonly agreed upon that nouns are most frequently switched.

Azuma (1996) also argues against Joshi's (1985) constraint which states that closed classes cannot be switched, arguing that, although classified as a closed class item, a conjunction may be switched.

Taft (1990) (cited in Azuma, 1996) argues that the relevant issue in determining whether closed class items may be switched is the semantic content of the word.

The important issue is to consider whether the word carries meaning while standing on its own. The implication, then, is that closed class words may be switched if they have the ability to stand on their own and create meaning.

Based on these notions, Azuma (1996: 366) proposes the Stand Alone Principle that:

“A ‘chunk,’ any segment that can meaningfully stand alone in the speaker’s mind, may be switched.”

Azuma (1996: 366) further suggests that the Stand Alone Principle can account for switching of:

- a) most open class items which can meaningfully stand alone;
- b) some closed-class items which can meaningfully stand alone (e.g., discourse markers);
- c) ‘chunks’ such as noun phrases, adjectival phrases, and clauses; and
- d) frozen expressions (and) quoted expressions.

While some of these constraints do appear to be universal, others are language specific as they apply only to switching across particular languages. When constraints do not appear to apply to English/Afrikaans switching, they can clearly not be regarded as universal. However, where constraints are applicable to English/Afrikaans codeswitching, their credibility of being universal will be increased.

Chapter 4

Research Design and Methodology

4.0 Introduction

This chapter provides a detailed description of the research design and methodology, as well as the methods of data collection involved in this research.

One major goal of this study is to analyze whether the utterances produced by Cape Flats English/Afrikaans bilinguals show consistency with the grammatical constraints discussed in Chapter 3. The aim of the analysis, then, is to evaluate the applicability of these constraints in relation to English/Afrikaans codeswitching.

Another major goal of this study is to uncover the reasons speakers engage in codeswitching. While codeswitching has been attributed to a number of socially motivated factors, this study aims to uncover the social motivations within the Cape Flats speech community in particular.

4.1 Study Area

The current Cape Town population consists of around 2.9 million people, of which, Coloured people account for 48.13%, while Blacks and Whites account for 31% and 18.75% respectively (South African National Census 2001).

The Cape Flats refers to the low-lying, expansive area situated south of Cape Town's Central Business District. It is the area to which those who were classified as non-White by the apartheid government were forcibly moved during the 1950s. The Group Areas Act and pass laws, put in place by the apartheid government, forced non-Whites to relocate to this area and the central and western areas of

Cape Town were reserved for occupancy by those who were classified as White (McCormick 2002). The area rapidly became a slum and, to date, the majority of the communities of the Cape Flats are poverty-stricken, with social problems such as gangsterism, drug abuse, and high unemployment rates.

4.2 Methodology

A qualitative method of analysis was adopted for this study. To draw a distinction between the two, Flick (1992: 6) emphasizes the following:

Unlike quantitative research, qualitative methods take the researcher's communication with the field and its members as an explicit part of knowledge production in stead of excluding it ... (and) ... the subjectivities of the researcher and of those being studied are part of the research process. Researchers' reflections on their actions and observations on the field, their impressions, irritations, feelings and so on, become data in their own right ...

Qualitative methods are useful in that they provide detail and room for descriptive analysis, rather than mere statistics. Such methods are useful in providing answers to questions relating to the nature and purpose of specific phenomena (Leedy, 1997). Cresswell (1994) (cited in Leedy, 1997: 2) defines qualitative research as an "inquiry process of understanding a social or human problem, based on building a complex, holistic picture, formed with words, reporting detailed views of informants and conducted in a natural setting."

Leedy (1997) argues that qualitative studies have unique purposes, processes and methods of data collection and analysis. These criteria differentiate qualitative studies from quantitative ones.

In terms of purpose, Glesne and Peshkin (1992) (cited in Leedy, 1997) argue that one of the major goals of qualitative studies is to identify the ways in which participants construct the world around them within a particular social context.

Thus, qualitative research is an interactive process between researchers and participants, but also investigates interaction between participants and the context of the study.

In terms of process, Leedy (1997: 106) argues that, “researchers enter the setting with open minds, prepared to immerse themselves in the complexity of the situation.” In qualitative studies, researchers interact with the participants, variables emerge from the data, leading to patterns and theories that assist in accounting for a particular phenomenon (Leedy, 1997).

With regard to data collection, Glesne and Peshkin (1992) (cited in Leedy, 1997) suggest that, in qualitative studies, the researchers act as research instruments, in that data collection is dependent on their personal involvement. In addition, instead of sampling a large group and making broad generalizations, qualitative researchers specifically choose certain participants so as to learn about the range of behaviour related to the research focus; in order to gain understanding of the complex phenomenon in question (Glesne & Peshkin, 1992) (cited in Leedy, 1997).

Leedy (1997: 107) also argues that in terms of data analysis, qualitative studies tend to rely on inductive forms of analysis and that “by observing the specifics of a situation, qualitative researchers hope to increase their understanding of the broader phenomenon of which the situation is an instance.”

Qualitative research, therefore, entails working with participants and providing detailed accounts of patterns emerging from the data. Qualitative research provides detailed explanations for the occurrence of particular phenomena and provides detailed analyses in a way that statistics generated from quantitative research would not be able to. Thus, while, quantitative research is factual and objective, qualitative research is personal and subjective.

4.2.1 Transcripts and Data Analysis

As this study relies on a transcript to provide the data for the analysis, it is necessary to consider some of the advantages of relying on audio and transcripts when conducting qualitative research.

Silverman (2000: 149) argues that tapes and transcripts are beneficial for qualitative research as, "... they are a public record, available to the scientific community, in a way that field notes are not... they can be replayed and transcriptions can be improved and analyses taken off on a different tack unlimited by the original transcript."

Lastly, researchers have flexibility in selecting sequences of utterances for analysis as they have the option of including or excluding extracts used by previous researchers, should they opt to use the same transcript. While this is not the case with this study since the audio used was transcribed for the first time, the transcript will be available to other researchers who may then select the utterances which they wish to analyze.

Tapes and transcripts, therefore, are beneficial in that they are public records, can be replayed and reconsulted, and are also available for future researchers to analyze in whichever manner they may choose.

4.2.2 Conversation Analysis

According to Wei (1998), Peter Auer's 1984 publication, *Bilingual Conversation*, marked a turning point in research on the phenomenon of codeswitching. Situational codeswitching was thought to be triggered by a change in situational context and the assumption was that, "... only one of the co-available languages or language varieties was appropriate for a particular situation and that speakers needed to change their choice of language to keep up with the changes in situational factors in order to maintain that appropriateness." (Wei, 1998: 156)

However, contrary to Auer's 1984 views, Wei (1998: 156) believed that the aim of metaphorical codeswitching was to convey a specific communicative intent and, "...the interpretation of the speaker's communicative intent...depended on the association between a particular language or language variety and a particular situation."

However, Wei (1998: 157) argues that Auer challenged these approaches and she summarizes his approach as follows:

... participants of conversational interaction continuously produced frames for subsequent activities, which in turn created new frames. Every utterance, every turn, therefore, changed some features of the situation and maintained or re-established others.

Thus, the conversation-analytic suggest that each utterance is influenced and dependent on another. In this sense, when a switched phrase is analyzed, one needs to take other utterances within the conversation into account. Therefore, Wei (1998: 157) states that "the meaning of codeswitching must be interpreted with reference to the language choice in the preceding and following turns by the participants themselves."

It is this approach that was undertaken in the analysis of the data for this study. Code-switched passages will therefore not be accounted for in isolation, but in reference to preceding and following turns.

4.3 Data Collection

4.3.1 Process

The data for this study was obtained in August 2005. I purchased recordings of two episodes of *Update Kaapse Vlakte* after consulting Nick Feinberg, Production Manager of *P4* radio (now known as *Heart 104.9*). He was consulted both

telephonically and via email and was informed of the purpose for which the recordings were intended.

Once these recordings were obtained, I transcribed the audio, playing it repeatedly to ensure that no errors were made. The audio was transcribed using the transcription conventions suggested by Eggins and Slade (1997).

I had chosen to use transcripts from the show due to the fact that one would not normally expect to hear this type of speech on radio. The media often tends not to communicate with its listeners through the use of the vernacular, but with this talk show it appears as if the hosts are appealing to the very speech community to which they belong by using the very language that they would typically use in interactions with members of the community.

The content of the show focuses on matters of interest within the community. These include political issues and events that have made headlines in the news. However, the issues at hand are always dealt with and discussed in good humour and in a light-hearted way. At times, the show may tend to get serious, but usually it is all about having a good laugh. It appears as though the language used is symbolic of the light-hearted manner in which the topics are dealt with. Rather than using the formal, standard variety which would portray a more formal, serious tone, both the hosts and the callers use Kaapse Afrikaans which portrays a more casual approach.

The data has been divided into two sets, Update Kaapse Vlakte 1 and 2, but the turns have been numbered so that Update Kaapse Vlakte 2 appears to be a continuation of Update Kaapse Vlakte 1. This is literally not the case as the two shows were broadcast on two different dates, but I have chosen to use this method to avoid confusion and make referencing easier as no two turns have the same number.

The transcripts were then analyzed within a quantitative research framework, relying mainly on a conversation-analytic approach, as discussed in Section 4.2. The findings of this analysis are discussed in detail in Chapter 5.

4.3.2 Description of Participants

All the participants involved in this study are members of the Cape Flats speech community. However, two main subjects play a dominant role in the talk show as well as the research project.

The main subject playing a role in the outcome of this research project is a former radio personality, known to the Cape Flats community as ‘Suster.’ I have chosen to use him as a subject due to the fact that the language he uses on his radio talk show, ‘Update Kaapse Vlakte,’ is the type of language one can generally expect from the Cape Flats speech community to which he belongs. Throughout the shows, ‘Suster’ engages in codeswitching in the same way that many other English/Afrikaans bilingual speakers do. Thus, his language use provides a typical example of what one would expect to hear within the broader Cape Flats speech community.

The co-host of the show is Clarence Ford, by the time of this study a disc jockey for *Heart 104.9* (formerly called *P4* radio). While his contribution to the talk show itself is minimal, he plays a significant role as facilitator of the show. He regulates the show, controlling the breaks for music as well as news and advertisements. He also acts as a commentator, providing listeners with information regarding what is currently taking place, as well as what is to be expected during the duration of the show.

Contributions to this study also come from a number of anonymous callers who participate in the second show. While some of these callers do provide their names on air, the transcript has been edited to ensure anonymity. Little is known

about these callers, apart from information provided on air, but the fact that they all appear to be members of the Cape Flats speech community is all that is required for the purpose of this research.

This chapter provided an outline of the way in which the research was conducted, including the framework in which the analysis took place and the instruments and procedures that were used.

The next chapter provides a detailed discussion on the patterns that emerged from the data. The discussion of the findings is split into two parts, the first of which focuses on grammatical constraints for codeswitching. The section provides insight into social motivations for codeswitching as evident in the data.



Chapter 5

Discussion of Findings

5.0 Introduction

This chapter covers the analysis of the data. I have chosen to split up the discussion of my findings into sections, so as to provide clarity and a structure that is easy to follow. I have split my analysis into two sections. Grammatical constraints and social motivations are therefore discussed separately.

The first section of this chapter covers the grammatical constraints related to codeswitching as evident in the data. As the data consisted of two shows, both were drawn on to provide support, as well as counter-examples, for the theories put forward by other researchers, as discussed in Chapter 3.

The second section of this chapter deals with the social motivations related to codeswitching. Once again, both shows were used to provide support for the theories that were dealt with in Chapter 3, but also in order to establish further social motivations that are related to codeswitching within the Cape Flats speech community specifically.

In addition, this section is divided into two parts – the first of which discusses codeswitching in the first data set (i.e. Update Kaapse Vlakte 1). This part provides a discussion on a number of reasons for which the host appears to engage in codeswitching. It focuses mainly on the use of Afrikaans as the dominant language for story-telling purposes, and the reasons why codeswitching occurs within this context.

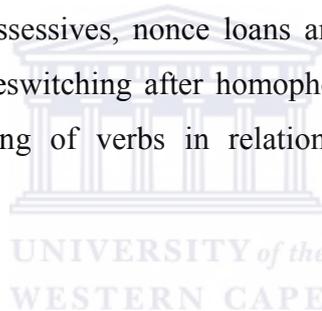
Part two provides a discussion on the second data set (i.e. Update Kaapse Vlakte 2), analyzing the motivational trends that emerged from the discourse, but focuses

particularly on the ways in which codeswitching relates to speaker-addressee relationships.

5.1 Grammatical Constraints on Codeswitching

In analyzing the discourse, I first evaluated the constraints proposed by previous researchers, checking for evidence of the application of these constraints in English/Afrikaans codeswitching, as well as counter-examples. Next, I analyzed the differences and evaluated these counter-examples in relation to possible social motivations for switching.

In my analysis, I have discussed the constraint on the switching of conjunctions, proposed by Gumperz (1976). I have also focussed on word order equivalence (Poplack, 1980 & Muysken, 1995), Joshi's (1985) constraint on closed class items such as determiners and possessives, nonce loans and the insertion of minimal constituents, as well as codeswitching after homophonous diamorphs. Lastly, I have discussed the switching of verbs in relation to Poplack's (1980) free morpheme constraint.



5.1.1 Conjunctions

Gumperz (1976) argued that the conjunction should always come from the language of the switched phrase. Therefore, the conjunction should form a part of the switch, rather than exist as a preceding grammatical element in a language other than that of the switched phrase.

However, this is not the case as the discourse provides many counter-examples. The table below provides examples from the discourse in which conjunctions are switched.

Table 1: Switched conjunctions

Turn	Phrase
2	<u>but</u> nie so alles nie man
10	<u>because</u> ek is nou officially promoted
22	<u>met</u> sign language <u>because</u> die French waiters <u>but</u> hulle gat maar aan
29	<u>but</u> kyk hierso
53	<u>because</u> hy't'ie gelees
59	<u>but</u> nou die hele contingent <u>and</u> die next ding <u>because</u> ons vang vir hom
63	<u>because</u> hulle kyk
71	<u>and</u> sulke goeters
79	by North Sea Jazz Festival
87	<u>but</u> ek is nie so
119	<u>but</u> hy sing VALS
125	<u>but</u> die's mos sy pa se nommer
127	<u>but</u> hy was slim
129	<u>but</u> hy, hy't gesê
158	<u>because</u> , um, hulle wil'ie
162	<u>and</u> toe gat slap ek
207	<u>because</u> jy kan nie
394	<u>but</u> ek wil'ie

The pattern that emerges from these counter-examples illustrates a consistent usage of the conjunctions ‘but’ and ‘because.’ Throughout the discourse, the Afrikaans equivalents (‘maar’ and ‘omdat’/‘want’) are never used. These English

conjunctions are used across a variety of speech situations, suggesting that they have become integrated into the speaker's Afrikaans lexicon.

These conjunctions also appear as interjections and sentence fillers. In addition to this, they are used to provide explanations and by-the-way, matter-of-fact information (See *Table 1*, turns 119, 125 and 127). In this way, 'but' and 'because' are used for colloquial effect, serving a social function (i.e. communicative effect) rather than a grammatical one.

The selection of English conjunctions in place of Afrikaans ones can also be attributed to social motivations. There is always a possibility that an English conjunction was used as the speaker had no clear intention of switching, but then switched based on some social motivation or lexical gap. Because switching is not planned and speakers are constantly negotiating meaning, one must assume that the switch occurred after the conjunction to serve a specific purpose and achieve a particular communicative goal, such as indexing one's identity.

Codeswitching may also serve as a means of portraying various identities (Banda, 2005; Walters, 2005). Throughout the discourse, the host constantly uses Afrikaans when speaking about himself. Generally, one finds that 'ek' is almost always used in place of 'I'. Also, when speaking about the group he travelled with, the host refers to them as 'ons' instead of 'we' or 'us'. Therefore, in many instances, Afrikaans pronouns such as 'ek', 'hy', 'ons' and 'hulle' mark the beginning of a switch.

This is evident in turns 10, 22, 53, 59, 63, 87, 119, 127, 129, 158, and 394. Here a switch occurs following an English conjunction as a means of indexing membership to the Cape Flats Afrikaans community. As McCormick (2002) argues, speakers may switch languages in order to invoke community associations. Thus, by using an Afrikaans pronoun alongside an English conjunction, the host is able to illustrate that he identifies himself and those he speaks of as members belonging to the Cape Flats Afrikaans speech community.

In turns 22, 53, 59 and 63, English conjunctions are followed by Afrikaans pronouns. In turns 22 and 63, the switches begin with the pronoun, 'hulle', while in turns 53, 119, 127, and 129 switches begin with 'hy'. These may all be accounted for in terms of identity as the speaker refers to himself as well as those he speaks of by using Afrikaans pronouns, implying that they wish to be affiliated with the Cape Flats Afrikaans speech community.

In turn 22, the switch can be accounted for in terms of a structural as well as motivational framework. The switched phrase, 'sign language', can be explained in terms of Azuma's (1996) Stand Alone Principle, as the basic premise is that any 'chunk' which carries meaning on its own may be switched. In this case, it appears as though the speaker is more familiar with the English phrase, rather than its Afrikaans equivalent. Therefore, the English phrase meaningfully stands on its own in the host's mind. Further examples of codeswitching which can be accounted for in terms of the Stand Alone Principle are provided in the discussion on verbs and nonce loans.

In addition, the switch may also be analyzed as a nonce loan or as the insertion of a minimal constituent as it requires no inflection, according to matrix language rules, and occupies the same syntactic slot as its Afrikaans equivalent would.

In terms of motivation, the term 'sign language' fills a gap in the host's Afrikaans lexicon as it is unlikely that the speaker is familiar with the Afrikaans translation. The same could apply to the listeners as it is highly likely that if the host did not know the Afrikaans equivalent, the majority of his listeners would not either. Therefore, the host may possibly have opted to use the English phrase, instead, as a means of accommodating his listeners and ensuring their understanding.

Again, in turn 22, switching fills a lexical gap. It seems the speaker wishes to continue in Afrikaans after using the conjunction 'but' since it is followed by the Afrikaans determiner, 'die'. However, the Afrikaans equivalent of 'French waiters' (Franse tafelbedienendes) would either be unknown to some listeners or

regarded as too formal. Therefore, the host once again uses codeswitching as a means of accommodating his addressees.

In two instances, English conjunctions are followed by Afrikaans discourse markers. In turns 59 and 162, respectively, ‘nou’ and ‘toe’ serve as discourse markers, which create an informal, colloquial tone. In turn 59, the English equivalent ‘now’ would not be an appropriate translation, while in turn 162, the English equivalent (‘then’) would not create the casual, informal tone the host wishes to create.

5.1.2 Word order equivalence

Poplack (1980) and Muysken (1995) proposed that switching can only occur under equivalence: where the grammatical structure of the two languages involved map onto each other, and when the syntactic structure for both languages are the same.

Lipski (1977) argued that syntaxes may be different before the switch, but that the syntaxes must be alike for the portion that is switched. Therefore, switching should not take place in instances where the past tense is used, where negation occurs, and within subordinate clauses, as the two languages differ in word order under these circumstances. The discourse suggests that, in terms of tense, English and Afrikaans only share the same grammatical and syntactic structure when the present tense is used. Below (*Table 2*) are a few examples of the similarity between English and Afrikaans in present tense constructions:

Table 2: Similarity between English and Afrikaans in present tense constructions

Turn	Present Tense (Afrikaans)	Present Tense (English)
10	ek is nou ...	I am now ...
27	Ek voel soos...	I feel like ...
47	Ek wonder of ...	I wonder if ...

Unlike in English, when the past tense is used in Afrikaans, the word order changes. The same applies for negation. In these instances the two languages share different grammatical structures, and so it would be impossible to switch if the switch contains tense or negation.

The following table (*Table 3*) presents some examples of word order differences between English and Afrikaans in past tense constructions:

Table 3: Comparison of word order of English and Afrikaans in present and past tense constructions

Turn	Past Tense	Present Tense
40	Ek het gewag ... I ___ waited ...	Ek wag. I wait.
57	... waar hy gebly het ... where he lived ___ ... Hy en sy vrou het buitekant die deur gestaan. *He and his wife ___ outside the door stood He and his wife stood outside the door.	... waar hy bly where he lives Hy en sy vrou staan He and his wife stand buitekant die deur. outside the door

These are just a few examples of the way in which the word order of Afrikaans is not like that of English once a tense marker is brought into the equation. The other major difference in word order is caused by the fact that Afrikaans uses double negation. Some examples of negation from the discourse are:

Table 4: Examples of negation in Afrikaans

Turn	Phrase
22	Os ken nie wat julle van praat'ie (Non-standard) Ons ken nie wat julle van praat nie (Standard) *We know not what you of are speaking not

Turn	Phrase
57	My shower werk'ie reg'ie (Non-standard) My shower werk nie reg nie (Standard) *My shower works not right not
63	Ek is'ie gewoonde'ie (Non-standard) Ek is nie gewoonde nie (Standard) *I am not used to not

Generally, switches do occur where surface structures map onto each other, that is, where the first word of the switch would be in the same syntactic position in either language. The only instance where this does not take place is with the use of the phrase “verstaan jy.” Here, the word order differs because English and Afrikaans interrogatives are not alike. English uses ‘do’, which is then followed by the subject, and then the verb, whereas the Afrikaans construction of interrogatives is made up of the verb, followed by the subject.

Consider the following examples of word order conflict from the discourse:

Table 5: Examples of word order conflict in negation constructions

Turn	Phrase
2	... ek kan nie alles uitbring nie * ... I can not everything bring out not ... I cannot bring everything out ...
22	... ons ken nie wat julle van praat'ie (praat nie) ... * ... we know not what you of speak not we do not know what you are speaking of ...
59	Nie die nag nie. * Not the night not. Not the night.

As is evident in the above examples, there is word order conflict between the two languages. Because English does not apply double negation, a blank syntactic slot occurs in the English translation, but the word order still does not show any

similarity to that of Afrikaans due to the use of the second negation element which appears at the end of the phrase.

However, examples from the data show that this constraint may be violated. Speakers demonstrate an ability to code-switch even under conditions where switching is not supposed to be possible. Below are some examples from the data of how this constraint is violated, while still resulting in what speakers would regard as an appropriate or acceptable switch:

Table 6: Violation of equivalence constraint

Turn	Phrase
182	... wie't vir wie ge-dump * ... who for who dumped ... who dumped who
207	... try jy om daai weg van my te vat *... try you to that away from me to take ... try to take that away from me
354	... by two 'o clock, gat ek jou klap * going to I you smack I am going to smack you
504	so, somehow or another, het ek nou begin * have I now begun I have now begun

5.1.3 Closed Classes

Joshi (1985) argued that closed class items may not be switched. These include determiners, quantifiers, possessives, auxiliaries, and tense. This constraint appears to apply to English/Afrikaans codeswitching as counter-examples from the data are almost non-existent.

Within the discourse, only one example is found in which a determiner signals a switch. This is in turn 22 where the host switches from ‘because’ to ‘die’, which is then followed by ‘French waiters’ – “because die French waiters”. Here it appears as though the host intends to continue the sentence in Afrikaans after the conjunction, ‘because’, as he switches to Afrikaans. However, a switch back to English occurs after the determiner ‘die’, as the speaker appears to have no other option. It appears as though the host has no choice but to use the term ‘French waiters’ in place of ‘Franse tafelbediendes’ in order to fill a gap in his Afrikaans lexicon. In addition, if he did use the Afrikaans equivalent, listeners may have thought the expression as too formal and would even consider it ‘suiwer’ Afrikaans.

In terms of possessives, Joshi’s (1985) constraint does seem to apply. While switches occur after a possessive, they generally don’t begin with one, except in one instance. This counter-example appears in turn 504 – “Just because **my** memory **begin te** ...” As was the case with the switched determiner, it appears as though the host’s intention was to switch to Afrikaans after ‘because’. However, it is likely that the host did not know the Afrikaans equivalent, ‘herinnering’, and so used the English word to fill a lexical gap. It is also important to consider that, if the host was unfamiliar with the Afrikaans equivalent, his listeners would be, too.

Taking these counter-examples into account, in addition to the fact that there are no others, it is more likely that they should be regarded as a switch to Afrikaans (beginning with the closed class element) which is then followed by the insertion of a minimal constituent, as the rest of the sentence continues in Afrikaans.

A pattern that does emerge from the data is a consistent use of an Afrikaans determiner or possessive alongside an English noun. In addition, it is important to note that throughout the discourse, the reverse never occurs, that is, an English determiner never precedes an Afrikaans noun. The table below (*Table 7*) provides examples of the use of an Afrikaans determiner before an English noun:

Table 7: Afrikaans determiners with English nouns

Turn	Phrase
6	die baggage
49	die smallprint die ticket die airport
53	die check in counter die small print
55	die continent
57	sy cases die trolley die baggage die hotel room key die passengers die temperature die combination my shower
61	die sunglasses
63	die boy die side
65	die grams
85	die sound engineers die stage sy sound problems
87	die tour sy ovaries sy hero sy idol sy highlight
129	die toilet
158	onse language
162	die group die map
182	die rumours

Turn	Phrase
280	my therapist die phones
343	die helicopter
370	die clients
401	die tour
410	sy theories
492	die studio
502	die shows
504	my memory
566	die client die speaker die mic die bicycle
582	die way die phone die call centre
611	die rollers
612	die floral dresses
615	jou traditional dress
618	jou wardrobe
623	die floral curtains
630	jou comment
744	die madam
794	die chocolate logs
852	onse assets
873	die song
902	die vocabulary
930	die wishes
950	die Indian

The fact that the entire phrase is not switched suggests that these nouns are either nonce loans or borrowings. If the host had adopted the English noun as part of his Afrikaans lexicon, he would be more likely to use an English determiner or

possessive. However, it appears as though the speaker intended to use Afrikaans, but then substituted with English instead. Therefore, the data suggests that when the matrix language of a particular turn is Afrikaans and switching of a single word occurs, the switched word must be analyzed as either a nonce loan or as the insertion of a minimal constituent.

5.1.4 Nonce Loans / Insertion of Minimal Constituents

The majority of loans within the discourse are content words, the bulk of which are nouns. Nouns are easily switched as they generally appear in the same syntactic slot in both languages, particularly in present tense constructions. Verbs are less frequently borrowed as these require inflection for tense and number, affecting the syntactic structure of an utterance.

Poplack (1980: 55) argues that borrowings are "... content words which take the same inflections and occupy the same syntactic slots as corresponding native recipient-language words. Nonce loans are single words in one language, found in sentences otherwise comprising of another language. These may also be analyzed as the insertions of a minimal constituent if they appear in an appropriate lexical slot.

The data provides a pattern which indicates a consistent use of an Afrikaans determiner before an English noun or noun phrase, as previously discussed (see *Table 7*). All of the examples given may be analyzed as nonce loans as well as the insertion of minimal constituents, as they appear in the appropriate lexical positions in Afrikaans matrix language utterances.

The Stand Alone Principle (Azuma, 1996) can also account for these switches, classifying them as 'chunks' which can meaningfully stand alone in a speaker's mind. A 'chunk' is any word which carries meaning on its own, thus representing an object or a concept for which the speaker cannot account in the other language.

The data also provides examples in which Afrikaans borrowings are inserted into English- matrix language sentences. However, this only occurs in cases where there is no direct or suitable English translation for the word being used. The following are examples of English-matrix language sentences where there is no direct translation for the word being used. Some of these are:

Table 8: Nonce loans where no direct English translation exists

Turn	Word used	Possible meaning
65	Manyanya	nonsense
109	Ghoema	type of drum
125	Boem	marijuana

Clearly, there is no single word which can replace the Afrikaans one being used by the speaker. There is no direct translation, although one can infer possible meanings.

In general, many switched words can be explained in terms of:

- i) Homophonous diamorphs
- ii) Content words
- iii) Phonetic similarities
- iv) Not having a direct translation
- v) The equivalent not being known by the speaker or listener

5.1.5 Codeswitching and Homophonous Diamorphs

Two homophonous diamorphs are present in the discourse. The first is the preposition ‘in’ which differs slightly in pronunciation, but does not appear to encourage a switch, even though it appears in the same syntactic position in both languages. This may be due to the fact that ‘in’ is usually followed by either the

indefinite articles, ‘a’ or ‘an’ in English, or ‘’n’ in Afrikaans, or by the definite articles ‘the’ or ‘die’, respectively.

The second homophonous diamorph present in the discourse is the indefinite article ‘a’ or ‘’n’, which are both pronounced [ə]. Of importance is the fact that while English has a second indefinite article (‘an’), Afrikaans does not.

The following is a list of utterances in which homophonous diamorphs are present:

Table 9: Homophonous diamorphs in the discourse

Turn	Phrase
2	‘n report back
55	‘n outfit ‘n boy
59	‘n unguarded manner
63	‘n South African
93	‘n suit ‘n tie
127	‘n SMS
129	‘n joke
162	‘n tour
182	‘n rumour
190	‘n pub
266	‘n All Blacks supporter
280	‘n South African
308	‘n personal storie
421	‘n rumour
502	‘n recording
504	‘n reminder diary
579	‘n request ‘n call centre
618	‘n floral dress

Turn	Phrase
677	'n company kar
734	'n gardener
752	'n helicopter
821	'n race
831	'n phone
852	'n divorce
854	'n daily basis
893	'n nice guy

The articles in these examples have all been transcribed as Afrikaans ones, as they are either preceded by Afrikaans phrases, or the sentences in which they appear are otherwise completely Afrikaans.

Four of the above examples are slightly controversial. As switching may only occur where the first word of a switch can belong to either language, the switches in turns 55, 59, 127, and 266 should not be allowed. In English, these four phrases would require the English article 'an' which does not exist in Afrikaans.

Therefore, the words 'outfit', 'unguarded manner', 'SMS', and 'All Blacks supporter' should be considered as either nonce loans or as the insertions of minimal constituents. In this way, they make more sense occurring with an Afrikaans determiner, as they indicate a switch to fill a lexical gap only once the determiner has already been uttered by the speaker.

5.1.6 Verbs

Throughout the discourse, the host uses English verbs in Afrikaans matrix language constructions. While there is no constraint arguing that this should not be possible in present tense constructions, the free morpheme constraint (Poplack, 1980) argues that this should not occur in past tense constructions, as Afrikaans relies on the morph, {ge}, for the construction of past tense utterances.

The following are examples from the discourse in which the host uses present tense English verbs in Afrikaans matrix language constructions:

Table 10: Present tense English verbs in Afrikaans matrix language constructions

Turn	Phrase	Afrikaans equivalent
63	... en ek <u>stare</u> ...	staar
65	... en nou hulle <u>experiment</u> ook ...	eksperimenteer
79	... en ek het gat visit daarso	kuier
85	... en toe ko' hy nou <u>discuss</u> ... Toe <u>touch</u> hy ...	bespreek raak hy aan
123	Jy <u>spoil</u> net nou my punchline ...	bederf
125	... toe <u>realise</u> hy ...	besef
127	... en ek <u>watch</u> vir hom ...	hou hom dop
182	En dan <u>argue</u> hulle	argumenteer
207	... jy kan nie reg <u>communicate</u> 'ie	kommunikeer
314	Hulle moet daai song vir hom <u>revive</u> .	herlewe
504	... dan remind iemand vir my ...	herinner
566	... en toe <u>phone</u> die client vir my ...	bel
625	Jy <u>clash</u> met jou ... Jy <u>clash</u> met die ... Jy <u>clash</u> , jy <u>clash</u> met die ...	bots
841	My vriend <u>phone</u> vir my nou ...	bel
893	... as mense nou <u>describe</u> ...	beskryf

With verbs, as with many content words, switches often serve as a means of simplifying the message or as a means of filling a lexical gap. The Afrikaans equivalents of these English verbs may be too long and complex, as is the case with 'touch' (turn 85) and 'watch' (turn 127). Alternately, they may be phonetically similar to the English word as with 'staar' (turn 63), 'eksperimenteer' (turn 65), 'argumenteer' (turn 182), and 'kommunikeer' (turn 207). Otherwise, they may not be common, everyday words and would be thought of as too formal

or ‘suiwer’ by the audience – ‘kuier’ (turn 79), ‘bespreek’ (turn 85), ‘bederf’ (turn 123), ‘besef’ (turn 125), ‘herlewe’ (turn 314) and ‘herinner’ (turn 504).

It is important to take into account that one of the host’s major communicative goals is to make sure that he is understood. Therefore, common words are used, rather than unfamiliar ones, to ensure that the audience is able to understand. In addition, the host also needs to maintain a comical, informal tone and thus avoids words which are seldom heard by his listeners in their everyday conversations.

The major constraint related to past tense verbs is the free morpheme constraint, proposed by Poplack (1980). This constraint proposes that switching should not occur if it results in a single word having morphs from more than one language.

The data suggests otherwise, as the host shows continuous violation of this constraint, switching without hesitation and without difficulty. Below are counter-examples from the discourse, in which the Afrikaans past tense prefix, {ge}, is used with an English present tense verb:

Table 11: Use of Afrikaans past tense prefix with English present tense verbs

Turn	Mixed verb	Afrikaans equivalent
14	ge-navigate	gevaar
55	ge-lug	gesleep
57	ge-argue	geargumenteer
71	ge-decide	besluit
119,410	ge-fine	beboet
162	ge-check	no single- word equivalent
182	ge-dump	no single- word equivalent
343	ge-blowdry	no single- word equivalent
390	ge-fire	no single- word equivalent
421,532	ge-share	gedeel
625	ge-clash	gebots
738	ge-horticulture	no single- word equivalent

Turn	Mixed verb	Afrikaans equivalent
852	ge-split	verdeel
858	ge-bless	gesëen
911	ge-jummuah	no single- word equivalent

All of the above counter-examples can be accounted for in terms of social motivations. It is crucial to bear in mind that the tone of this talk-show is informal and humorous, simulating an informal, casual conversation between friends.

In turn 14, the host opts to use ‘ge-navigate’ instead of, ‘gevaar’. This may be due to the fact that ‘gevaar’ also exists in Afrikaans as a noun, meaning ‘danger’. It is likely that the host has chosen not to use the word as a verb as listeners would be more familiar with the noun, which carries a negative connotation. Historically, the word *gevaar* is also closely associated with the National Party’s 1948 election slogan, ‘swart *gevaar*’, which led to the institution of apartheid. Also, by using a ‘big’ word (navigate), the host may be attempting to sound more professional and knowledgeable. In a sense, using a fancy, uncommon English word provides the speaker with some degree of prestige.

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In turn 55, ‘ge-lug’ is used to replace ‘gesleep’. This may be due to a close association between the noun, ‘luggage’, and its verb, ‘lug’. In addition, the correct Afrikaans verb, ‘gesleep’, suggests dragging and pulling, which in actual fact does not give a correct interpretation of what the person being spoken about was doing, as he was pushing his bags on a trolley, rather than dragging it on the ground.

‘Ge-argue’ in turn 55 could possibly be a shortened form of the phonetically similar Afrikaans equivalent, i.e. ‘geargumenteer’. The host may also have chosen not to use the correct Afrikaans verb as it is not a commonly used word in everyday conversation. The Cape Flats audience would more likely use the verb ‘geskel’, which is directly translated into English as ‘scold’. ‘Geargumenteer’ would be thought of as formal and would be unfamiliar to the audience.

Therefore, it appears as though the host has taken his audience into account and avoided using a term that would be thought of as formal.

In turn 78, the host begins his past tense construction with the prefix {ge}, but then switches to the English verb, 'decide'. The Afrikaans equivalent of this verb would be, 'besluit'. However, 'besluit' does not rely on the prefix {ge} to indicate past tense as the auxiliary verb 'het' suffices in this case. In turns 119 and 410, the host also avoids using the correct Afrikaans term in another instance where the auxiliary verb suffices. He chooses to replace 'beboet' with 'ge-fine'. Therefore, in two instances, the speaker avoids using verbs which maintain their original form, regardless of tense, and opts to construct a past tense verb with the prefix {ge}, and an English verb, instead.

In two other instances (turns 182 and 390), the host uses English verbs as a means of conveying meaning where Afrikaans would not be able to. Thus, he fills a pragmatic gap. 'Dump' and 'fine' are colloquial terms which cannot be directly translated without any meaning being lost. For example, in turn 390, the correct English verb would be 'dismissed', which translates as 'afgedank' in Afrikaans. 'Afgedank' would be a word that is unknown to many speakers and considered 'suiwer' Afrikaans. Thus, the host yet again, has to take the audience into account, ensuring that he is understood while also maintaining in-group identity by using the language of the audience, and not that of an educated Afrikaner.

In reference to turn 343, Afrikaans does not have an equivalent for the term 'blowdry'. If the host were to communicate this concept in Afrikaans, he would have to say something like, "Hulle wou hulle hare droog gemaak het." This would be long, and, so as members of the audience are familiar with the English term, the host opts to use it instead. Therefore, the term 'blowdry' is used as a nonce loan in order to explain a concept in a single word as opposed to an entire phrase.

In turns 421 and 532, the host substitutes the correct Afrikaans verb, 'gedeel', with a combination of the past tense prefix, {ge}, and the English verb, 'share'. This is unusual because listeners would be expected to be familiar with the correct Afrikaans verb. However, 'gedeel' suggests equal division, so perhaps the speaker is attempting to imply that the division of the assets will not be an equal one. Alternately, he may have constructed the verb in reference to the financial term, 'share', as he previously referred to the financial concept, 'assets'.

In turn 625, the host uses 'ge-clash' instead of the correct Afrikaans verb, 'gebots'. I believe that this may be attributed to the fact that 'gebots' is generally used by members of the Cape Flats speech community to refer to a physical fight. By using the English verb, the host may be attempting to denote that there was no physical fight, but rather a clash between two objects.

In turn 738 the host appears to create his own verb. In English, the appropriate verb to use in this context would be 'cultivated'. However, the host, who previously made use of the noun 'horticulturist', now uses the same noun to construct an English verb to use along with the Afrikaans past tense prefix.

It is possible that the host intended to use an Afrikaans verb, but then did not know the correct word. In addition, he may have attempted to use an English verb to fill the lexical gap, but then constructed his own verb as he did not know the correct English verb either. Therefore, he used an English noun to construct an English verb as a means of conveying a concept for which he did not have the lexical capacity.

It is also possible that the host is attempting to add humour by intentionally using the incorrect verb. In context, the gardener suddenly became a horticulturist and probably wasn't even aware of what the word meant. Thus, by using the incorrect verb, the host may be implying that if the gardener did not know what his new job title meant, he probably wouldn't have the vocabulary to describe it either.

In turn 858, 'ge-bless' is used in place of 'gesëen'. This could be because 'sëen' carries a religious connotation in that it refers to spiritual blessings. In addition, it is not a word which would be commonly found in everyday conversation. Therefore, by constructing the verb, 'ge-bless', the speaker is able to avoid using a formal term and is also able to illustrate that he is not referring to a religious blessing, but rather to a previous turn (852) in the show in which he asks a caller for her blessing.

The last example in which the free morpheme constraint is violated is in turn 911. Here, the host switches to Arabic to account for a concept which does not exist in the Afrikaans vocabulary. 'Jummuah' is the Arabic prayer which takes place on a Friday and is a term which is familiar to members of the Cape Flats speech community. Since Afrikaans does not have a verb to describe this concept, the host constructs his own and is thus able to fill both a lexical as well as a pragmatic gap.

In conclusion, the data suggests that English/Afrikaans codeswitching has a unique set of grammatical constraints. The constraints proposed by other researchers do apply to English/Afrikaans codeswitching in some instances, but many of them are also violated.

In terms of conjunctions, the data provides many counter-examples to the constraint proposed by Cook-Gumperz (1976), which states that the conjunction should be the same language as that of the phrase. The English conjunctions, 'but' and 'because', are always used in Afrikaans constructions as replacements for the Afrikaans conjunctions, 'maar' and 'omdat/want', suggesting that these have become incorporated into the speaker's Afrikaans lexicon.

In terms of word order equivalence, switching may only occur where the two languages share a similar syntactic structure. This means that English/Afrikaans codeswitching may only occur in present tense constructions. However, this does not apply to English/Afrikaans codeswitching as the data provides evidence for

the violation of this constraint, particularly in negative and past tense constructions where the two languages differ syntactically.

Joshi's (1985) constraint appears to be applicable, with only one counter-example emerging from the data, which can be accounted for in terms of a social motivation for switching.

Nouns appear to be the most frequently borrowed words but a number of verbs are also switched. With regard to nonce loans, the data suggests that these are used mainly as a means of filling both lexical and pragmatic gaps.

The free morpheme constraint (Poplack, 1980) is continuously violated, but can consistently be explained within a motivational framework.

Thus, the data suggests that while many constraints are both relevant and applicable, speakers engaging in English/Afrikaans codeswitching may violate these constraints while still producing what would be regarded as a valid switch. Therefore, constraints are not always applicable, particularly due to the fact that violations thereof are socially motivated and still result in acceptable switches.

The next section of this chapter will discuss the social motivations for codeswitching that emerge from the data. Each data set is discussed individually.

The first part provides a discussion on a number of reasons the host appears to engage in codeswitching, but will focus mainly on the use of Afrikaans as the dominant language for story-telling purposes, and the reasons for engaging in codeswitching within this context.

The second part will provide a discussion on the second data set, analyzing the motivational trends that emerge from the discourse, but focusing particularly on the ways in which codeswitching relates to speaker-addressee relationships.

5.2 Social motivations for Codeswitching

5.2.1 Update Kaapse Vlakte 1

Throughout the discourse, unmarked switching occurs as the host engages in a continuous pattern of using two languages. All through, he alternates between English and Afrikaans as opposed to the co-host of the show who appears to use English almost all of the time.

In some instances, switching occurs as a marked choice: when the speaker wishes to express emotion or increase social distance. One particular instance where the host switches codes to put up a social barrier is in turn 27 when he speaks about Blackman Ngoro, saying, “As ek daai jong in die hande kry / If I get hold of that guy”. Clearly, he does not wish to be associated with him and switches to Afrikaans as a means of putting up a social barrier and expressing his anger. Ngoro was born in and grew up in Zimbabwe. Therefore, it is unlikely that he speaks or understands Afrikaans. Thus, the host may be attempting to get Afrikaans speakers to side with him against Ngoro who is not a member of their speech community.

At times, English is used to allow the host to be taken more seriously and to assert authority. “No, Clarence, Clarence, I am so gonna smack you” (Turn 53) is a typical example of this. At other times, the host uses English as a means of expressing deference and showing respect. “... and of course, Clarence who’s the very knowledgeable person about the Red Light District...” (Turn 59) seems to illustrate deference and respect, as the host admits, in a somewhat sarcastic way, that Clarence is, indeed, knowledgeable.

A consistent pattern that does emerge from the data is the use of Afrikaans as the dominant language for story-telling purposes. Particularly in the first show, where the host reminisces on a trip to Europe, Afrikaans serves as the matrix language. However, switching occurs continuously (serving a variety of functions) as many English phrases and content words (the majority of which are

nouns) are used. I have selected a few of these and carried out a line by line analysis in an attempt to account for each switch from a motivational stance.

Turn 22

The first story begins in turn 22 where the host begins with two French words. These terms would be unknown to the audience, but obviously serve as quotations as he attempts to describe the situation to his audience. He then switches to English, uttering “Ooh girlfriend” even though he is addressing a group of people and not just a woman. However, this phrase is commonly used on the Cape Flats, particularly as slang among homosexual men. Thus, the switch here serves an identity function as the host flaunts his gay, agony-aunt persona.

Next, he switches to Afrikaans as he directly addresses both the co-host and the audience. Here, switching serves a directive function as the message is directed to a particular group. In addition he uses the language of those he addresses as Afrikaans is the home language of the majority of listeners. By switching to Afrikaans, the host is not only able to directly address a particular group, but is also to allude to their shared socio-cultural identity. The switch allows the host to bond with the audience by using the language that allows them to share common ground, while also signaling a shift to a more humorous tone.

The host then switches back to English, using a typical colloquial phrase – “you know” – which is followed by the Afrikaans conjunction “met” and then the English phrase “sign language.” It is likely that the host intended to make a single switch to Afrikaans, but was then forced to insert the English phrase in order to fill a lexical gap. It is highly unlikely that the host knew the Afrikaans equivalent and, even if he did, it would be considered too formal to use in this context. Thus, the host uses the virtuosity maxim (Myers-Scotton, 1993a, 2006a) as he switches, as a means of making sure the conversation is able to continue. In addition, he shows accommodation in that he switches according to what the addressees would prefer, while also employing a means to make himself understood.

The next switch to Afrikaans occurs after the conjunction “because” as the host uses the Afrikaans determiner “die”. However, he once again opts to switch back to English by using the phrase “French waiters.” Its Afrikaans equivalent, ‘Franse tafelbediendes’ would be considered ‘suiwer’ Afrikaans and, thus, too formal. Therefore, the switch serves both an accommodation function (Slabbert & Finlayson, 2002) and a phatic function (Appel & Muysken, 1987), as it changes the tone to an informal one, creating a humorous tone where its Afrikaans equivalent would not have.

The last important switch in this turn occurs after an Afrikaans quotation. “But this is radio ...” marks the beginning of a switch to English. In this instance, the switch once again indicates a change in tone as the host shifts from a light-hearted, humorous story to a serious explanation.

Turns 49 – 65

In turn 49 the host begins telling a story about his trip to Amsterdam with a group of listeners. There are many interruptions in between as the co-host asks questions and makes remarks. At times, the host ends a turn in one language and begins a new turn in another. Where this occurred, the language change was analyzed as a switch, regardless of the interruption.

In turn 49 the story begins in Afrikaans. The first switch that occurs is marked by the word [bəgΛɜ]. This is neither English nor Afrikaans, but it appears as though the host has used the English noun, ‘baggage’, and adapted it phonetically to make it sound French. This is likely because in a previous turn (i.e. turn 22), the host made reference to being in Paris.

Next, the host switches back to Afrikaans, using the typical colloquial phrase, “verstaan jy.” This phrase is used continuously throughout the discourse and functions as an interjection or sentence filler (Cook-Gumperz, 1976), rather than as an interrogative.

What follows are a few switches to English. In three instances within this turn, the host switches to English using only noun phrases. The three switches may all be analyzed as nonce loans or as the insertion of minimal constituents as they occur in appropriate lexical positions.

“Small print” may be accounted for in terms of the Stand Alone Principle (Azuma, 1996) as it carries meaning on its own. In addition it fills a gap in the speaker’s lexicon as it is unlikely that he would have knowledge of the Afrikaans equivalent, ‘fynskrif.’ In this way the switch serves a referential function (Appel & Muysken, 1987) and a virtuosity function (Myers-Scotton, 1993a, 2006a), as the host lacks the knowledge in one language and therefore switches to another in order to ensure that the conversation is able to continue.

The use of the English noun, ‘ticket’, as opposed to the Afrikaans, ‘kaartjie’, may be based on a pragmatic motivation. It is clear from the discourse that the host has knowledge of the Afrikaans noun, ‘kaartjie’, as he utilizes it in turn 57. However, even though in Afrikaans it applies to both, the host uses it here to refer to a card and not a ticket. Thus, it appears as though ‘ticket’ is a borrowing used to refer to a pass, while its Afrikaans equivalent differs in pragmatic meaning in the host’s mind, referring only to a card.

The fact that the host opted to use ‘airport’, rather than ‘lughawe’ may be attributed to accommodation (Slabbert & Finlayson, 2002), but also fulfils a phatic function (Appel & Muysken, 1987). Had the host used the Afrikaans noun, it may have been regarded as too formal for the tone of this show. Thus the host uses an English noun to maintain an informal tone, but also in an effort to show accommodation and consideration for his audience’s preferences.

In turn 51, the host begins to answer the question in English. In many instances, as is the case here, the host responds to the question in the same language as that of the question. However, here, the host switches immediately after providing an answer. This may be due to the Afrikaans identity associated with the subject, but

may also be due to the fact that the question had already been answered and the information being conveyed in Afrikaans results in a change in topic. The host then switches back to English as he reverts back to his answer – “no, no names”, but this shift to English also indicates a change in tone as the host becomes more serious and attempts to emphasize his answer.

In turn 53, the host once again begins in English as a means of portraying a serious tone, but then reverts to Afrikaans once the topic shifts back to the story being told. Once again, the dominant language is Afrikaans accompanied by some English nouns which fill lexical gaps (e.g. check-in counter, excess baggage). Other switches serve as possible quotations, as with “20 kilograms per person” and “R180 per kilogram”, where it appears as though the host is imitating an airline staff member. In addition, Afrikaans would not add a plural ending to the Afrikaans word ‘kilogram’. In other words, if the speaker had chosen to utter the phrase in Afrikaans, he would have said “twintig kilogram per persoon.”

In turn 55, the story is yet again told in Afrikaans, with the exception of a few words and phrases. The use of the English word, ‘outfit’, serves as a means of filling a lexical gap as it is unlikely that the host or his audience would have any knowledge of the Afrikaans equivalent, ‘uitrusting.’

The English adjective, ‘matching’, translates as ‘passende’ which is, to some extent, an uncommon Afrikaans word among speakers of Kaapse Afrikaans. Thus, it is possible that the host may have intentionally avoided using the Afrikaans equivalent in order not to risk being regarded as too formal. In addition, while the English adjective is used in conjunction with the Afrikaans nouns, ‘skoene’ and ‘sokkies’, the speaker may specifically have chosen to use the English conjunction because, in context, the shoes and socks matched the outfit. Thus, the adjective, ‘matching’, appears in the same language as the noun, ‘outfit’ as the shoes and socks match the outfit in this context.

The next switch is the insertion of the minimal constituent, 'boy'. This is immediately followed by a sentence completely English in, which is also a repetition of what was just said – “you know, you understand, he’s a boy.” In addition, ‘you know’ and ‘you understand’, are commonly used English phrases which serve as interjections (Cook-Gumperz, 1976) and which appear to have become integrated into the speakers lexicon as he constantly uses them throughout the discourse.

The next switch to Afrikaans begins with the pronoun, ‘ek’, which is once again a switch which is indexical of self (Walters, 2005, Myers-Scotton, 2006a) – “ek kan verstaan het ...” Switching occurs as a result of the host’s close identification with his Afrikaans identity and also allows the speaker a means of portraying his identity to the audience. The discourse then continues in Afrikaans until the English interjection, ‘like’, is used. ‘Like’ serves as a sentence filler and as an interjection, and appears in Afrikaans since its Afrikaans equivalent, ‘soos’, does not produce the same colloquial effect.

‘Verstaan’ marks the next switch to Afrikaans – “...but 22 kilograms overweight, verstaan.” Here it appears the host may have switched as a means of directing the address to his audience. Thus, the switch to Afrikaans serves a directive function (Appel & Muysken, 1987) because the host specifically directs his speech to the audience by using their perceived language of preference. ‘Verstaan’ also serves a discourse marker or interjection as the speaker is not sincerely asking the audience the question in anticipation of an answer. Rather, the interjection or discourse marker acts as a means of clarifying what was just said.

When the speaker switches back to English, he merely repeats a previous comment, providing a by-the-way information, before switching to Afrikaans again - “um because he didn’t read the small print that’s says 20 kilograms per person en hy’t sy [bægΛ:3] ge-lug reg oor die continent, verstaan jy”. The switch to Afrikaans is yet again a direct result of identity negotiation. The person being

spoken about is clearly Afrikaans and, thus, the switch to Afrikaans is a means of exposing his Afrikaans identity.

The host begins turn 57 in English after being interrupted by a question from the co-host. As the co-host questions him in English, he initially responds in English but almost immediately switches back to Afrikaans. This occurs as soon as identity becomes an issue. It is likely that the speaker initially responded in English as courtesy to the co-host or even as a means of accommodation. However, once the communicative goal is achieved, he proceeds to portray the identity of the subject of the conversation by switching to Afrikaans.

The story then proceeds in Afrikaans apart from the insertion of the nonce loan and minimal constituent, 'cases'. A suitable translation for this would be 'koffers', but it appears the speaker has avoided using what the audience may consider 'suiwer' Afrikaans by using the English equivalent in its place. This suggests accommodation as the speaker demonstrates his ability to take the audience's preferences into account.

The next switch to English is made in order to provide additional by-the-way information. The dominant or matrix language of this turn is Afrikaans. Thus, the body of the story and, therefore, its main points are conveyed in Afrikaans. In this way, a shift from Afrikaans to English signals a shift from the main points of the story to less relevant information. One would expect the speaker to maintain the use of Afrikaans once the identity element comes into play – "...he was quite happy..." - but here he intentionally avoids using Afrikaans in what appears to be an effort to indicate that the information being conveyed is less relevant to the story as a whole.

The switch to Afrikaans beginning with 'met' – "met, met sy [bəgΛ:3]" – may be an attempt on the host's part to alter the tone to a more humorous one, thus serving a phatic function (Appel & Muysken, 1987). However, the host later adds the English phrase, "and all." What is peculiar about this utterance is that the host

has chosen to split the phrase into two separate languages. Instead of saying, “with his [bægΛ:3] and all” or “met sy [bægΛ:3] en al”, the speaker chooses to draw on both languages. This implies that either ‘met’ has become incorporated into the host’s English lexicon, or ‘and all’ has become incorporated into his Afrikaans lexicon. The latter is more plausible due to the phonetic similarity between English [ænd):l] and Afrikaans [en Λl].

This switch is then followed by the Afrikaans phrase, ‘verstaan jy’, before the host reverts back to English, saying, “He paid his excess. He paid it with a smile.” Here, the switch once again indicates that the information being provided is merely additional and not one of the host’s main points in the storyline.

The final switch which is of importance in this turn is “Hy het nie eens...” Here the switch serves to amplify or emphasize the fact that the person under discussion was compliant and truly did not look for an argument or a way out.

The rest of the turn continues completely in Afrikaans, with the exception of a number of English nonce loans or minimal constituents which have either become integrated into the host’s Afrikaans lexicon, fill lexical or pragmatic gaps, or contribute to the speaker’s conversational goals.

Turn 59

In turn 59 one would expect the host to begin his answer in English as he tends to answer in the language in which he was addressed. Here, the answer begins with the word, ‘ja’, suggesting that ‘ja’ has become integrated into the host’s English lexicon. Within the broader Cape Flats speech community, ‘ja’ is used so often, even among English first language speakers, that it could very well be regarded as an acceptable South African English word.

The phrase, “that was a revelation” is a repetition of the host’s closing statement in turn 57 – “...but at Amsterdam that was a revelation.” The host then continues

with his story in Afrikaans as soon as the tour group is referred to, thus switching is indexical of identity (Myers-Scotton, 2006a; Walters, 2005; Banda, 2005).

As was the case with the previous story, the matrix language, Afrikaans, and switches occur for more or less the same reasons as previously discussed. Therefore, I find it more beneficial to discuss the major trends, as far as switching is concerned in this story, as opposed to carrying out a line-by-line analysis.

In this turn, as is evident in the rest of the discourse, proper nouns (particularly the names of places) are expressed in English. In this turn the speaker uses “Red Light District” as there is no suitable and meaningful Afrikaans translation. Other examples of this phenomenon in the discourse are ‘Amsterdam’, ‘Paris’, ‘The Hague’ (turn 55), and London (121). The only place the speaker does choose to translate into Afrikaans, however, is Cape Town, which he refers to as “die Kaap” (turns 49 and 162). This may be a possible result of the strong association the speaker holds between his mother tongue and the city from which he originates. Also, the variety of Afrikaans he speaks is synonymous with the city of Cape Town.

Another element which the speaker chooses to communicate in English is that of time. This is peculiar in that English and Afrikaans have distinct differences in the way in which time is told. Whereas English uses the word ‘past’ (as in half past one), Afrikaans uses the word ‘voor’, meaning ‘before’ (as in half voor twee). Thus, when the aspect of half an hour is communicated, English uses half past the hour that has just passed, while Afrikaans uses half an hour before the hour that is yet to come. In addition, Afrikaans speakers also omit the word ‘voor’, saying “half twee” and not “half voor twee.” In addition, Afrikaans does not rely on the phrase, “o’clock”, as English does, but simply states the hour. For example, Afrikaans speakers would translate one o’clock as “een uur”, literally translated as “one hour.”

The discourse suggests that the host chooses English above Afrikaans when communicating time due to its simplicity. While Afrikaans is more complex, English is straight-forward. Within the broader Cape Flats community, time is often communicated in English. Therefore, in this way, the host is able to keep things simple, while also accommodating his audience by showing consideration for their preferences.

In summary, the discourse from this first data set suggests that the host does engage in codeswitching for many of the reasons suggested by previous researchers. The main reasons for switching, as apparent in this discourse, are as a result of shifts in the focus and tone of the conversation, as a means of filling lexical gaps and thus serving a virtuosity function, as a means of expressing identity and, most importantly, as a means of accommodating the addressee.

Unique reasons for engaging in English/Afrikaans codeswitching that emerge from the first data set are the concepts of telling time and naming places. Thus, while English/Afrikaans codeswitching may be accounted for in terms of the motivations proposed by other researchers, it also displays unique functions as is evident in the this discourse.

Section 5.2.2 follows with a discussion on more motivational reasons related to English/Afrikaans codeswitching, as evident in the second data set.

5.2.2 Update Kaapse Vlakte 2

The second show, which is the host's final broadcast, consists mainly of dialogues between callers and the host, rather than a number of stories as in the previous show. For this section, I have chosen to focus my analysis on the conversations between the host and a few callers in an effort to uncover the ways in which switching relates to the relationships between the callers and the host.

A variety of listeners call in during this broadcast. While the host appears to know some of them, there are callers who are speaking to the host for the first time. The speakers are all members of the Cape Flats speech community, but vary in their linguistic abilities and proficiency in English and Afrikaans. As evident from the discourse, some speak English without any difficulty, whereas others speak only Afrikaans.

Caller 2

The second call that the host receives is from an Afrikaans speaker, who appears to be very proficient in the language, utilizing the standard variety. However, it is still very likely that he is a member of the Cape Flats speech community, based merely on the fact that he listens to the show.

The conversation is interesting in that, even though the host is addressed in Afrikaans, his response is dominantly English. This could be due to the fact that the caller speaks a standard variety or 'suiwer' Afrikaans and the host is unable to communicate in this variety. Therefore, he switches to English as a means of, either avoiding embarrassment, or as a means of putting up a social barrier. Thus, switching occurs as a marked choice (Myers-Scotton, 1993a, 2006a).

What is also of interest is that the host does not understand the caller when he asks: "... aan watter gronde gaan u?" (turn 383). The host responds, "Watter wat?" (turn 384) implying that he did not hear the end of the question, but then admits in turn 388 that he, in fact, did not understand the question at all – "Ek verstaan nou nie die vraag'ie." The host only comes to understand what the caller meant once the co-host puts forward the question, altering the vocabulary.

The host responds to the caller in English mostly, except for a few switches to Afrikaans which are socially motivated. In turn 390, "watter grond" is a repetition of the caller's words, while "nog 'n ding" and "nou die dag" are both colloquialisms and sentence fillers. Switches including "ek" are motivated by the

speaker's close association with his Afrikaans identity, such as “ek is nie ge-fire nie” and “ek is niks.” (turn 390).

The host may have chosen to answer the caller in English as a means of putting up a social barrier or as a means of intentionally differentiating himself from the caller. Thus, codeswitching occurs as a marked choice (Myers-Scotton, 1993a, 2006a). This may be a result of the fact that the two speak different varieties of Afrikaans. The caller speaks formal, ‘suiwer’ Afrikaans, while the host speaks Kaapse Afrikaans and, as a result, has difficulty understanding the caller. Therefore, by speaking English the host implies that he and the caller do not share in-group membership or a communal identity as the two do not share a common variety of Afrikaans.

It is also a possibility that the host selected English as a means of avoiding inadequacy. Clearly, he would not have been able to communicate as effectively as he would have wished had he attempted to speak ‘suiwer’ Afrikaans. Thus, he switches to a code that enables him to avoid embarrassment, but which also allows him to achieve his communicative goals. In this way, the switch serves a virtuosity function (Myers-Scotton, 1993a, 2006a).

In turn 394, the host reverts back to his normal style of talking. He begins the turn in Afrikaans and goes about switching as he usually does – “Is very deep [vədʌx] (vandag), verstaan jy, but ek wil ‘ie sad wies ‘ie, man ...” Of importance here is the fact that he is no longer addressing the caller, but the co-host, instead. Thus, it is clear that he intentionally switched codes when addressing the caller as he now reverts back to his usual style of conversation once he addresses someone with whom he shares common ground. Here, switching functions as a means of addressee specification (Cook-Gumperz, 1976) and also serves a directive function (Appel & Muysken, 1987).

In turn 396 the host responds to the caller for a final time. Here he responds in Afrikaans, but merely repeats what the caller has just said – “... voorspoed vir u

...” If he had been talking to the co-host, for example, or any other speaker of Kaapse Afrikaans, it is more likely that he would have chosen to use the English phrase, ‘good luck’, instead. In addition to this, he would have opted to use the Afrikaans pronoun, ‘jy’, as opposed to ‘u’, had he chosen to use this phrase at all.

Caller 3

The third caller during this show begins his address in Afrikaans and continues speaking in Afrikaans throughout the show. The discourse suggests that this caller is fluent in Afrikaans as he uses the standard variety. His use of Afrikaans differs significantly from that of the broader Cape Flats speech community as he continuously uses words and phrases which would be regarded by this community as ‘suiwer’ Afrikaans.

In turn 397, where speakers of Kaapse Afrikaans would simply say “hello”, the caller opts to greet the host in a more formal, therefore more respectful manner, as he says “goeie middag.” In turn 401, the caller avoids using the English phrase, ‘all the best for the future’, as many Kaapse Afrikaans speakers would, but opts to say: “... ek wil jou net graag toewens alles wat mooi is vir die toekoms...” In general, the caller uses more formal, ‘flowery’, language than would be expected of the average speaker of Kaapse Afrikaans. In a sense, this language use also suggests that he may be older than the rest of the callers and perhaps more educated, so to speak, in standard Afrikaans.

The caller also demonstrates clear avoidance of codeswitching, showing preference for the use of a single language. Throughout the duration of the conversation (i.e. turns 397-427), the caller only engages in codeswitching in two instances, where only single words are switched.

The first switch is the use of the English noun, ‘tour’, in an otherwise entirely Afrikaans sentence. The word, however, can be regarded as a homophonous diamorph as it is somewhat phonetically similar to its Afrikaans equivalent, ‘toer’, pronounced, [tU:r].

The next, and final, switch is to Afrikaans where the caller uses 'ja' in an otherwise English matrix language construction. However, whether or not this should be regarded as a valid switch at all is quite controversial as 'ja' appears to have become integrated into the lexicons of many English mother-tongue speakers and could very well be regarded as an acceptable South African English word.

In turn 433, the host engages in codeswitching for the first time in this conversation, in what appears to be an attempt to evoke the caller's Cape Flats identity and establish common ground:

Ja, right! Okay, ja Clarence. I mean, really now, because you were ... Clarence left here, I, if, if, we, we, were in countries where we had to cross borders between border police en sulke goed, we would have been in BIG trouble. He left here with a suitcase full of, of, med-, medication... Ja, it was like drugs for Africa. Its drugs vir 'ie (vir die), for the lung, drugs for the liver, drugs for the kidney, drugs for his left foot, drugs for his right foot ...

However, when the caller continues to maintain the use of a single language, the host resorts to speaking mainly English, except for a few instances in which switching serves as a means of creating a humorous tone.

This conversation provides yet another example of how the host engages in, or even avoids codeswitching as a means of accommodating his addressees. In this conversation the host attempts to evoke a shared, in-group identity by switching, but then avoids switching as soon as it becomes apparent that the caller wishes to speak only one language at a time. Thus, using a minimal amount of codeswitching serves as a means of indicating that not only is the host aware of the caller's preferences, but also takes them into account.

Roles and identities

Before concluding the analysis of the data, I would like to briefly discuss codeswitching in relation to speakers' roles and identities. As Banda (2005)

argues, codeswitching allows speakers access to a variety of roles and identities. Thus, it is necessary to discuss how the participants within this study use codeswitching as a means of portraying their roles and presenting their identities.

Suster plays the dominant role in the talk show. He serves as the host of the show and contributes to the show by controlling the topics under discussion, but also by personally providing the humour with which the show is associated. However, Clarence, who plays the role of facilitator, holds authority over Suster. It is he who controls the advertisement breaks and news breaks and controls when the show should be paused to provide the listeners with music.

Suster appears to acknowledge Clarence's authority over him through, both the comments he makes and the language he uses. At one stage, Suster even refers to Clarence as a "very knowledgeable person" (turn 59). Throughout the discourse he also appears to show deference toward Clarence by speaking to him in English (i.e. his language of preference). Only in instances where he needs Clarence to back him up, does he appeal to him in Afrikaans. A typical example of this is evident in turn 162 as Suster asks, "Hoe, hoe't jy vir hulle laat loop van Kaap tot Somerset West." Here, Suster intentionally appeals to Clarence in Afrikaans to back him up and prove him correct.

What is strange is that Clarence is also from the Cape Flats. The two therefore share in-group membership and both speak Afrikaans, yet Suster addresses him mainly in English. This then clearly illustrates that Suster is aware of Clarence's role and acknowledges his authority by 'speaking up'. On the other hand, when he does speak to Clarence in Afrikaans, it is as though he appeals to him to stand by him or back him up, on the grounds that they are from the same community and should therefore support each other.

Clarence, on the contrary, tends to take a backseat in terms of his involvement in the show. He acts mainly as facilitator and commentator, informing the audience

of proceedings throughout the show. His language use is therefore formal, as he communicates in Standard English.

However, at times when he does choose to make a comment and address either Suster or one of the callers, he switches to Kaapse Afrikaans. In this way, codeswitching allows Clarence to become directly involved in the discourse. Thus, by engaging in codeswitching, he is able to shift his identity from that of the person in authority to that of an ordinary member of the Cape Flats speech community who is just having a casual conversation with another member of the community.

Therefore, both the host and the co-host manipulate their language use so that it best portrays the identity they wish to assume at the time. Codeswitching, therefore, enables them to claim access to a shared or common group identity, but also enables them to achieve their communicative goals as they alter their language use to elicit the response they wish to receive. Thus, not only does codeswitching serve as a means of portraying various roles and identities, but also as a means of intensifying an appeal so as to attain the response one requires to ensure the achievement of one's communicative goals. Consider caller 13 below for example.

Caller 13

Turn 654 marks the beginning of a conversation between the host and the thirteenth caller. Based on the accent with which he speaks, it appears as though this caller is an Afrikaans mother-tongue speaker. However, he speaks English only, aside from the use of the Afrikaans word, 'ja', on four occasions as well as the use of the Xhosa phrase - "Molo. Unjani?" (turn 666). Even the use of the word 'ja' need not be regarded as a switch to Afrikaans due to its incorporation into South African English, as previously discussed.

Taking the context of this conversation into account, it appears as though the caller has specifically chosen to speak English due to its association with upward

mobility and the elite. The caller refers to his company car, conveying the impression that he is well-off and has a good job. Thus, using English amplifies the identity he wishes to portray. By using English fluently, he is able to convey the impression that he is educated, holds a good position within the company in which he is employed and should therefore be regarded as above average.

The host responds to the caller in English, as is expected, showing consistency with the trend of responding in the language in which one is addressed. There are, however, a few switches to Afrikaans which can be accounted for in terms of social motivations.

In turn 667, the host switches to Afrikaans, saying: “laat ek nou mooi verstaan.” Here he attempts to clarify some confusion and also to draw attention or shift the focus back to the topic at hand. Prior to this switch, the conversation had become a mixture of random Xhosa utterances. Thus, by switching to Afrikaans, the host is able to convey a serious tone, while also shifting the focus of the conversation back to the original topic.

The next switch to Afrikaans, which occurs in the same turn, serves a phatic function as well (Appel & Muysken, 1987), as it allows the host to convey a humorous, but also sarcastic, tone. Ironically, the host uses the Afrikaans pronoun, ‘jy’, as opposed to the English, ‘you’. This implies that even though the caller speaks English only in an effort to distance himself from the average Kaapse Afrikaans speaker, the host still regards him as a member of the Cape Flats speech community (probably due to the accent with which he speaks English) and thus switches as a means of indexing the identity that he associates with the caller.

In turn 669 the host switches to Afrikaans in order to change the tone yet again. By saying, “sê net jy ry in ‘n kar”, he is able to convey the humor that would not have been achieved with the English equivalent – “just say you drive a car.” The

host is being somewhat sarcastic, but is able to convey humour by switching to Afrikaans, thus preventing the caller from taking offence.

It is also interesting to compare the host's attitudes toward Caller 2 and Caller 13. Both callers appear to share a communal identity with the host, but their language use does not reflect this. Caller 2 speaks 'suiwer' Afrikaans, even though it is apparent that he is a member of the Cape Flats speech community. As a result, the host chooses to respond mainly in English. Caller 13, on the contrary, speaks English only even though he too is an Afrikaans mother-tongue speaker. The host responds to him in English as well, the only difference being that he does not do so as a means of putting up a social barrier as is the case with Caller 2. While the host clearly switches to English as a means of demonstrating social distance from Caller 2, he switches to English in response to Caller 13, as a result of taking the speaker's preferences into account.

It is important to note that the host would not have been able to communicate effectively in the same level of Afrikaans as that used by Caller 2. Also, had he chosen to respond to Caller 2 in Kaapse Afrikaans, it may have been regarded as disrespectful to the caller, who appears to be much older than the host himself. Thus, while he is putting up a social barrier due to the fact that he and the speaker do not share common ground (particularly with regard to language use), he is also displaying deference by communicating in a way that would not be interpreted as disrespectful to the older man.

With caller 13, on the other hand, the host does appear to take the caller's linguistic preference into account by communicating in the language of his choice. However, in this instance, he also attempts to show that regardless of the identity the caller wishes to portray, the two still share in-group membership. Thus, while he does respond mainly in English, he also switches to Afrikaans as a means of sarcastically implying that he is fully aware that he and the caller share in-group membership, despite the caller trying to portray another identity. In addition, by

switching to Afrikaans, he also implies that the caller should portray himself as he really is, instead of attempting to convey an 'English' identity (see turn 667).

Caller 19

The last call the host receives is rather peculiar in that the conversation is almost entirely in English. Usually the host switches consistently, but not in this case, where the only Afrikaans words he uses in the beginning of the conversation are 'ja' and 'braai'. What is of significance in this conversation is that the host only engages in codeswitching once the caller initiates it in turn 1010 – “Uh uh, ons is Sea Ridge.”

This suggests that the host is accommodating the caller by addressing her in her language of preference. In turn 1002, the caller reveals that she resides in Mitchells Plain, which provides reason to believe that she is able to speak Afrikaans. However, the host continues to speak English and only begins switching once the caller does.

The first time the host switches to Afrikaans is in 1013 – “daar.” When the caller goes on to respond in a completely Afrikaans sentence, only then does the host revert to his usual style of conversation as he utilizes both languages.

Thus, the host accommodates the caller by continuously responding in the language in which he was addressed. By doing so, he is able to ensure that both of them are able to achieve their communicative goals. In the same way, the caller attempts to establish a shared identity by addressing the host in his own linguistic variety. By using a common language, the two are able to establish a shared identity, while also ensuring that their communicative goals are achieved.

In conclusion, the discourse provides not just a clear impression of the ways in which language can be manipulated in order to portray a variety of identities, but

also of the ways in which language can be used in order to evoke a shared identity.

The host speaks mainly English to the second caller, who speaks 'suiwer' Afrikaans, as a means of either avoiding the embarrassment which could result from his own linguistic inability or as a means of putting up a social barrier.

With the third caller, he avoids switching at the beginning, but then attempts to evoke a shared identity by engaging in codeswitching. However, when the caller continues to maintain a single language, the host reverts back to speaking mainly English.

The host speaks mainly English to the thirteenth caller. This caller appears to be an Afrikaans mother-tongue speaker, choosing to speak only English as a means of conveying the upward mobility with which he wants to be associated. The host does, however, engage in codeswitching, which serves a phatic function in this context, as he changes the tone of the conversation.

The final caller to the show speaks only English up until the last few turns and so the host does the same. It is only when she engages in codeswitching, that he does the same. Thus, he takes her communicative preferences into account and communicates accordingly.

The second data set therefore demonstrates the use of codeswitching as a means of shifting the focus and tone of a conversation, but more importantly, it shows how closely linked codeswitching and accommodation are. While codeswitching may be a means of accommodating an addressee, avoidance on the same context may also be required in taking addressee preferences into account.

In addition, codeswitching allows speakers to negotiate and portray a number of roles and identities. By purposefully making certain linguistic choices, speakers are able to manipulate their identities and thus elicit the responses they wish to

receive. By switching codes, speakers are able to claim in-group membership or create social distance. It is merely a matter of making a linguistic choice that will best suit one's communicative intent and ensure the achievement of one's communicative goals.



Chapter 6

Conclusions and Recommendations

6.0 Introduction

This chapter discusses the main findings of the study and provides a summary of the conclusions that were reached. Recommendations and suggestions for further research are also provided.

6.1 Conclusions

The main purpose of this research was to uncover and analyze the motivations behind codeswitching in bilingual speech communities in Cape Town, while also providing a strong argument that codeswitching patterns evident in their speech do not always correspond completely with constraints put forward by a number of researchers.

The rationale behind this research was to explain why speakers engage in codeswitching, while also evaluating contextual and situational factors that play a role in encouraging speakers to switch languages. In addition, the study attempted to investigate whether social motivations and grammatical constraints, emerging from studies on recorded conversations, are applicable to codeswitching in the context of a live radio talk show.

In terms of social motivations for codeswitching, my research was based mainly on Myers-Scotton's (1993a, 2006a) Markedness Model. The main assumptions for the study were that codeswitching is socially motivated and that speakers switch codes in order to achieve a range of communicative goals. These include accommodating addressees, shifting the tone of a conversation, showing deference, filling lexical and pragmatic gaps, and accessing a variety of roles and identities.

The research has proven that codeswitching within the Cape Flats community serves all of these functions and that codeswitching may be both a conscious or unconscious process. In terms of social motivations, I conclude that situational and contextual factors play a role in codeswitching. Even within a talk show, speakers are able to assign roles and identities and are able to portray concepts of 'self' and 'other'. Codeswitching is associated with group membership and allows speakers access to simultaneous roles and identities. Codeswitching often signals changes in the tone or topic of a conversation and may be used to fill lexical or pragmatic gaps. Codes may also be switched as a means of expressing emotions, showing deference, and as a means of either accommodating an addressee or putting up a social barrier.

Codeswitching is a complex process which requires speakers to have good knowledge of both the languages involved. Not any word or phrase may be switched anywhere, therefore, speakers have to be aware of grammatical and syntactic differences between the two languages, enabling them to alternate between the two. Codeswitching is not an indication of lack of linguistic proficiency in one language, but rather an indication that a speaker has a high degree of competence in both of the languages being used.

While there are some constraints that are universal and that can be applied to English/Afrikaans codeswitching, there are constraints which seem to be language-specific and which therefore cannot apply. Many counter-examples have provided evidence for constraints which do not appear to be effective in English/Afrikaans codeswitching, therefore switching across these two languages must hold a unique set of constraints.

In terms of grammatical constraints for English/Afrikaans codeswitching, the following conclusions were drawn:

- While conjunctions do agree with the switched phrase, ‘but’ and ‘because’ have been integrated into the Afrikaans lexicon and are most likely to occur in their English forms, even when the switched portion is Afrikaans.
- Codeswitching occurs under equivalence only when present tense forms are used. Switches occur where surface structures map onto each other or when the first word of a switch would be in the same syntactic position in either language.
- Switching may occur even when there is no word order equivalence, as past tense and negation always results in word order conflict between English and Afrikaans.
- Closed class items may not be switched.
- Content words, such as nouns, may be switched.
- Afrikaans determiners may be used with English nouns or noun phrases when these have become part of the Afrikaans lexicon, or when there is no meaningful direct translation.
- Verbs may be switched, even if they result in a combination of morphs from English and Afrikaans. This may be done if a speaker wishes to use ‘ge-’, as an indication of tense, for verbs which do not usually take this form. Switching may also occur if the English verb is more likely to be understood or when it is phonetically similar to its Afrikaans equivalent.

Lastly, English/Afrikaans codeswitching has a unique set of constraints that determine what may constitute an acceptable switch. It is clear from the data that codeswitching fulfills many social and conversational functions, it allows speakers access to different identities, and it is a complex process involving great skill in both the languages being used. The data has proven that, even within the context of a live radio talk show, English/Afrikaans codeswitching is both socially motivated (as speakers are able to assign roles and identities and convey concepts of ‘self’ and ‘other’) and governed by a unique set of grammatical constraints that determine when a switch may or may not occur.

6.2 Recommendations

Due to the small-scale, limited nature of this study, I recommend that further research be carried out on English/Afrikaans codeswitching, so as to provide further insight into social motivations for codeswitching, particularly within the Cape Flats speech community.

I recommend that further studies also be conducted on grammatical constraints on codeswitching. The data for this research was limited to only two episodes of a talk show. Thus, further research needs to be conducted across a variety of settings, in order to provide a more concrete set of grammatical constraints for English/Afrikaans codeswitching.

In addition, future studies related to both social motivations and grammatical constraints on codeswitching should focus on the occurrence of this linguistic phenomenon within other media. Codeswitching is evident in the print media – with newspapers such as *Die Son* and *The Daily Voice* becoming extremely popular – and is also becoming a part of both print and television advertisements. Thus, I believe it necessary to investigate the occurrence of codeswitching, not only in relation to interpersonally based casual conversations, but as also with regard to the functions it serves within the general media today.

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English in South Africa

English in South Africa

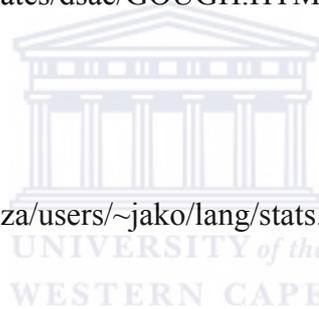
David Gough

<http://www.ru.ac.za/affiliates/dsae/GOUGH.HTML>

Statistics and Graphs

Jako Olivier

<http://www.cyberserv.co.za/users/~jako/lang/stats.htm> [Accessed:13/02/06]





APPENDIX

UNIVERSITY *of the*
WESTERN CAPE

Transcription Key:

- () Untranscribable Talk
- ... Short hesitation within a turn
- [] Non-verbal information
- = = Overlap (contiguity, simultaneous)
- . Certainty, completion (typically falling tone)

(Eggins and Slade, 1997: 5)

Bold text: Non-standard variety of Afrikaans (Standard form indicated in parentheses)

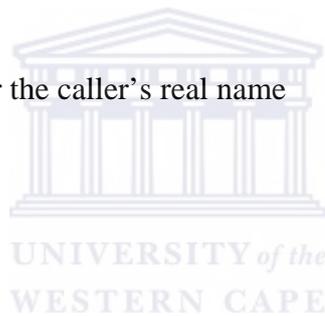
Bold, underlined text: French

Capital Letters: Emphasis

Blue text: English Translation

Italics: Xhosa

NAME: used as a replacement for the caller's real name



First Transcript: Update Kaapse Vlakte 22 July 2005

1. Clarence: Ten to two it is, sister's joined me. Welcome sister.
2. Suster: Hi Clarence... **Jy raas nou so van ek gaan nou so 'n report back gee** {You're making such a noise because I'm now going to give a report back} and whatever and what not, **verstaan jy** {you understand}. So yes, I am gonna give a report back, but **nie so alles nie man** {not everything, man}. You see, there's certain things that happened that must stay there, **man, verstaan jy meisie** {man, you understand girl}. It's like sort of an unwritten agreement. **Ja, so ek kan nie alles uitbring nie** {Yes, so I can't bring everything out}, but, ah, yes I am going to reveal a couple of = =
3. Clarence: = = You're not gonna reveal all?
4. Suster: No, no, not all
5. Clarence: So you didn't bring all the luggage along = =
6. Suster: = = No, **daar's nog, daar's nog van die** {there's still, there's still of the} baggage that went missing, **verstaan jy** {you understand} = =
7. Clarence: = = Ok, some of the baggage went, went missing.
8. Suster: Mmm.
9. Clarence: Why? Why not? Is this to protect the not so innocent?
10. Suster: Yes, yes, and also to pave the way for more people to come on the tour next time around, **verstaan jy** {you understand}, because **ek is nou** {I am now} officially promoted from assistant tour leader to tour leader, **verstaan jy** {you understand}?
11. Clarence: The big question I wanted to ask was, did you get lost?
12. Suster: Get lost where?
13. Clarence: Anywhere.
14. Suster: No ... I was the navigator of this tour **en ek het ge-navigate, verstaan jy** {and I navigated, you understand}.
15. Clarence: So, so what you gonna tell us about essentially? Are you gonna take it on a day by day kinda basis or a = =
16. Suster: = = from the time = =
17. Clarence: = = random incident basis?
18. Suster: **Ja** {Yes}, random. From the time we left here on a day by day basis. I mean as things came up on a daily basis from the moment we left here to, you know, **mense met, met klomp** [bəgΛ:3] {people with, people with lots of baggage}. **Ja** {Yes}.
19. Clarence: **Mense met klom** (klomp) [bəgΛ:3]. {People with lots of baggage}
20. Suster: [bəgΛ:3] {baggage} ...**ja** {yes}, like uh kilograms of [bəgΛ:3] {baggage}
21. Clarence: And how's the language doing?
22. Suster: Mmm ... **voir, oui**. {see, yes} Oooh, girlfriend, **het jy gesien vir mense wat met hulle hande praat om te vra vir, vir 'n koppie koffie** {have you seen people who talk with their hands to ask for, for a cup of coffee}. You know, **met** {with} sign language because **die** {the} French waiters **kyk vir hulle aan** {look at them}... **sê** "Huh uh, os (ons) **ken nie wat julle van praat 'ie** (nie)" {saying, "Oh no, we don't know what you are talking about"} but **hulle gat** (gaan) **maar aan met hulle, hulle** {they go on with their, their}... But this is radio so you can't explain really how some members of the tour asked for a cup of coffee cos they don't know the French word for **café** {coffee}. Mmm, but, be that as it may, we gonna have a lotta anecdotes about things and also reveal some secrets about some people.
23. Clarence: Oh, so there is some... lost baggage that has been found.
24. Suster: Mmmm. Mmmm. Mmmm.
25. Clarence: So that's from two 'o clock. That's in about five minute's time. Taking us there, something from Kayolin. It's called 'naked' It's yours next.

Adverts

Music

26. Clarence: [song still playing] It's 104.9, the heart and soul of Cape Town. From Kayolin, its called 'naked' and I like the one this one ends especially. [song ends] Not, not because it's finished now, but it's a nice kinda worked down end and a great song there. Some home root stuff from Kayoiln and a track called 'naked' brought us to two minutes past two. It's time for Update Kaapse Vlakke, uh, and we welcome back, uh to the studio, uh wise man sister. How are you today?
27. Suster: Oh, my word, **meisie** {girl}. **Ek voel soos, uh** {I feel like, uh}, Blackman Ngoro. **Wiet dzy** (Weet jy) **as ek daai jong in die hande kry, ek gaan gou Zimbabwe in** {You know, if I get hold of that guy, I'll go into Zimbabwe quickly}... () = =
28. Clarence: = = But you know him, don't you?
29. Suster: Mmm, yes, I've met him, uh, but, but that's on a professional level, but **kyk hieso** (hierso) **man, ek het** {but look here man, I have} something special **vir daai ou, verstaan jy** {for that guy, you understand} but, but I'll do it at the end of the, at the end of this hour = =
30. Clarence: = =For Blackman
31. Suster: **Vir** {For} Blackman Ngoro.
32. Clarence: What's the matter?
33. Suster: I just, I just decided to pen a letter to him and I sent it so I'll read it also publicly.
34. Clarence: Ok a radio letter to, to ... Blackman Ngoro
35. Suster: To Blackman Ngoro, to, to vent my feelings, **verstaan jy** {you understand}. **Ek het mos** {I do have} feelings **man, verstaan jy** {man, you understand} ()
36. Clarence: So you're taking umbrage? [laughter] You're taking umbrage.
37. Suster: Umbrage, baggage= =
38. Clarence: = = you see Blackman we, know, we know big words = =
39. Suster = = custard, **alles** {everything}.
40. Clarence: You're taking umbrage, custard [laughter] Okay, so Blackman Ngoro, if you're, if you're listening, maybe you don't wanna listen because Suster's got something aimed at you at, uh, just before three 'o clock. Sister, it's been a great tour. You've been a wonderful navigator and a great assistant tour guide.
41. Suster: Thank you Clarence. He says it publicly. **Ek het gewag vir 'n hele twee weke voor hy my iets gesê** {I waited for a whole two weeks before he said something to me}, but, no no no, I'm only joking.
42. Clarence: I know you are very good with a map. That's for sure, um and, uh, of course I've been busy, uh, the better part of the tour so sister was leading people through this wonderful tour. I purposefully left out any detail because I didn't want to, uh, duplicate matters. So, so, basically, we're gonna take this hour to recap on, on = =
43. Suster: = = **Ja** {Yes}, just, just the wonderful moments that we've experienced, um = =
44. Clarence: = = Are you gonna tell names and addresses? Will we be able to protect the not so innocent?
45. Suster: No, no. **Ja, ja** {Yes, yes}. No names. Don't even ask me for names.
46. Clarence: Is it? Why not?
47. Suster: Because, I, I, think there's twenty two people sitting and listening to this radio now and thinking, '**Ek wonder of** {I wonder if}... ' No, no, don't worry. I'm not going to mention your name because you do have children, you do have mothers, you do have sisters, you do have daughters and, and sons, and, and they are innocent in all this, **verstaan jy** {you understand}? So, therefore, your names will be left out of any type of story that I'm going to relate here, **soes, soes** (soos, soos) {like, like}... = =
48. Clarence: = = Even, even the person, **wat sy hele kas saam gebring het** {who brought his whole cupboard along}?
49. Suster: **Soos, ek wil nou praat van die ouens se** [bəgΛ:3] {baggage}, **verstaan jy** {Like, I now want to talk about the guys' baggage, you understand}. **Hy't** (hy het) **nou nie die small print gelees op die ticket nie en toe kom hy nou hier by die airport in die Kaap, verstaan jy?** {He didn't read the small print on the ticket and so he came here to the airport in Cape Town, you understand}
50. Clarence: What's his name again?
51. Suster: No, **en hy gat** (gaan) {and he goes}, no, no names = =

52. Clarence: Wilfred?
53. Suster: No, Clarence, Clarence, I am so gonna smack you. Um, **toe stiek hy nou uit met sy [bəgΛ:3] hierso by, by** {so he showed up with his baggage here at, at} Cape Town International, **verstaan jy** {you understand}, **en {and}** its **groot** {big}. **Hy moet twee trollies gebruik het om sy [bəgΛ:3] {baggage} tot by die check in counter te kry** because **hy't** (hy het) 'ie (nie) gelees **op die small print dit sé 20 kilograms per person, jy verstaan.** {He had to use two trolleys to get his baggage as far as the check in counter because he didn't read on the small print that it says 20 kilograms per person, you understand} **Toe kom hy met sy 42 kilograms aangestap en hy het betaal** excess baggage. {So he came marching along with his 42 kilograms and he paid excess baggage} **What's it, 180? Jy't** (jy het) **oek** (ook) excess baggage **betaal** {You also paid excess baggage}. **R180 per kilogram ne, nou werk 'it {dit} uit vir julle self mense** {hey, now work it out for yourselves people}. **Hy moet betaal het op en hy moet betaal het af weer.** {He had to pay up and he had to pay down again}
54. Clarence: Now what did he have in his suitcase?
55. Suster: **Hy het 'n {He had an} outfit .. twee {two} outfits vir elke dag {for each day}, matching skoene {shoes}** [laughter] matching **skoene {shoes}, matching sokkies {socks}, um, uh, hy dra 'n hempie vir vier ure dan word dit uitgetrek en nooit weer gedra nie, verstaan jy {he wears a shirt for four hours then it gets taken off and never worn again, you understand}**. Um, **so {so}, um, en hy's 'n {and he's a} boy.** You know, you understand, he's a boy. **Ek kan verstaan het as dit 'n vrou gewees het, verstaan jy, dan moet jy {I could have understood if it had been a woman, you understand, then you must}** like, okay excess baggage, you know but 22 kilograms overweight, **verstaan {understand}**? Um because he didn't read the small print that's says 20 kilograms per person **en hy't sy [bəgΛ:3] {baggage} ge-lug reg oor die continent, verstaan jy {and he lugged his baggage right across the continent, you understand}**? **Van {from} Paris tot {to} Amsterdam to The Hague to = =**
56. Clarence: = = I hope this **[bəgΛ:3] {baggage}** had wheels
57. Suster: No, his **[bəgΛ:3] {baggage}** didn't have wheels. **Hy het dood kuste saam gebring, sukke (sulke) groot swart goeters, verstaan jy {He brought dead-weight cases with him, such big black things, you understand}**? () **Sommer in die kamers waar hy gebly het, as hy sy cases ingesit het, dan moet hy plek soek vir hom oek (ook) om in te staan {Even in the rooms where he stayed, if he put his cases in there, then he had to look for place for himself to stand as well}**. But, but, he was quite happy with his, with his, um, lugging his **[bəgΛ:3] {baggage}** around and so it didn't mean anything to him except that he really had a good time, **met, met sy [bəgΛ:3] {with, with his baggage}** and all, **verstaan jy {you understand}**? He paid his excess. He paid it with a smile. **Hy het nie eens ge- argue nie {He didn't even argue}**. () I only found out about this extra baggage **toe ons in Amsterdam kom {when we got to Amsterdam}**. **Toe sien ons, cos toe, toe ons onse trollies stoot, toe stoot hy maar SWAAR agter {Then we saw cos when, when we were pushing our trolleys, so he was pushing far behind}**. **Toe dink ek miskien, hy stoot baggage vir iemand anders ook toe sê hy, nee, nee, die is almal syne {So I thought perhaps he's pushing baggage for someone else, so he said no, no, it's all his}**. **Toe steek sy kop net so bo die trolley uit verstaan jy,** because **die** baggage is **so, so hoog opgepak {So his head stuck out just above the trolley, you understand, because the baggage is packed up so high}**. But anyway. **Ja,** and so, **daar was nou like goeters soes, soes (soos, soos) wat mense nie nou gewoond aan is nie {Yes, and so, now, there were like things, like, like, that people now aren't used to}**. **Soes (soos) die {like the} hotel room key is mos so 'n kaartjie, verstaan jy, wat jy nou insit {is a card, you understand, that you put in}, right, wat jy nou in jou deur sit en dan draai jy die {that you now put in the door and then you turn the} handle, dan maak dit die deur oepe (oop) {then it opens the door} and (). Mense is gewoonde (gewoond) hotels en kaartjies, but, jy sien, jy kry die kaartjie wat jy insit, dan ruk jy dit uit, dan maak jy die deur oop {People are used to hotels and cards, but, you see, you get the card that you put in, then you pull it out, then you open the door}**. **Nee, die kaartjie het sukke (sulke) punched holes in, dan druk jy dit in, dan los jy dit in en dan maak jy die deur oop {No, this card has such punched holes in it, then you push it in, then you leave it in and then you open the door}**. **En daar's een van die passengers, daar's een van die, van die tour group wat 'n hele tien minute gevat het {And there's one of the**

passengers, one of the tour group that took a whole ten minutes}. **Hy en sy vrou het buitekant die deur gestaan** {He and his wife stood outside the door}. **Hulle het die kaartjie ingesit, uitgetrek, weer oopgemaak** {They put the card in, pulled it out, opened again}. **Huh uh, deur willie oopmaak nie** {Oh no, the door wouldn't open}. () **Toe sé ek vir hulle, "Hallo, jy moet die kaartjie in los daarso."** {So I said to them, "Hello, you must leave the card in there."} **Sé** {say}, "Ohhh, is daai hoe dit werk?" {Ohhh, is that how it works?} No names mentioned. **Daai's 'n goeie vriend van jou** {that's a good friend of yours} and uh, uh, there's like a couple of things that people's not really It's new to them, like the shower. **Haai foeitog!** {Oh shame!} **Nou die shower het twee knoppe so langs die kante en dan op die een kant sit jy die** temperature {Now the shower has two knobs along the side and on the one side you put the temperature}. **Op die ander kant sit jy nou die** combination van hot and cold {Now, on the other side you put the combination of hot and cold}. **Verstaan** {understand}? **En toe wiet (weet) nou die mense nie nou wat gat (gaan) hier aan nie verstaan jy, toe druk hulle nou die** temperature baie hoeg (hoog) {And so now the people didn't know what was going on here, so they pushed the temperature very high} [laughter] **en hulle wiet'ie** (weet nie) **wat die ander knoppie is toe druk hulle nou baie warm toestendig toe** {and they didn't know what the other one was so they pushed very warm, resulting in} 'My shower werk 'ie (nie) reg 'ie (nie) {My shower doesn't work properly}.' [laughter] **Toe moet ek nou weer vir hulle vertel, "Kyk hier, die's (die is) mos nou hoe** combinations werk" en {So now I had to tell them again, "Look here, this is how the combinations work" and}, but at Amsterdam that was a revelation.

58. Clarence:

This is the first day?

59. Suster:

Ja {Yes}, the first day. That was such a revelation **vir hoe mense nou die, die hele** {for how people now the, the whole}, um liberal view of the Nether, the, the Dutch people, um, especially the Red Light District. **Nou loop ons op 'n** {Now we're walking on a} Daylight Tour **deur die** {through the} Red Light District. **Nie die nag nie** {Not the night}. **Nie, nie, so die son onder** {not, not as the sun under}... **die son gaan maar baie onder so** {the sun often sets around} ten 'o clock **die aand gat** (gaan) **die son onder en daai** {ten 'o clock in the evening the sun sets and that}, that fascinated a lotta people. Half past ten **sien jy die son skyn nog altyd laat dit klap hier** {you see the sun is still shining to beat the band (closest translation)} [laughter] **en die halfte van die mense by die huis slap al** {and half of the people at home are sleeping already}(). **Toe loop ons nou in die** {So now we're walking in the} Red Light District. **Die's nou so so** {This is now around, around} three 'o clock **in die middag** {in the afternoon}, but **nou die hele** {now the whole} contingent, **verstaan jy** {you understand}? **Almal so agter mekaar** {one behind the other} and of course Clarence, who's the very knowledgeable person about the Red Light District, **loep** (loop) **nou voor** {is walking in front} () **so deur die gange en ek** {between the alleys and I} **wat nou die hele** {now this whole} () **en hier kom die een** {and here comes this one} boy. **Ons loop op 'n hoek verstaan jy, en op die hoek is die eerste, um, ons loop verby sex shops en alle soorte shops en alles te doen met sex en die eerste venster wat jy kry wat daar iemand in staan en die een ou hy skrik amper** {We're walking around a corner, you understand, and on this corner is the first, um, we're walking past sex shops and all sorts of shops and everything to do with sex and in the first window that you get where somebody's standing and this one guy nearly gets a fright}[laughter] because **ons vang vir hom op so 'n, op 'n** unguarded manner, **verstaan jy, en hy skrik** and **die next ding, nou vat ons mos die draai, man** {we catch him in such a, such an unguarded manner, you understand, and he gets a fright, and the next thing, now we take the corner, man}. **Daai's maar net een venster voor die draai** {That's only one window before the corner}. **Dan vat jy die draai, dan's (dan is) daar nog tien vensters, verstaan jy** {Then you turn take the corner, then there's another ten windows, you understand}? **Toe daai draai vat toe skrik hy vir hom groot, toe sit hy sy brille op.** {When (he) took that bend, so he got a huge fright, so he put his spectacles on}[laughter]

60. Clarence:

[laughter]

61. Suster:

Op met die sunglasses, toe loep (loop) **hy op die ander kant van die pad** {On with the sunglasses, so he walked on the other side of the road}. [laughter] **Hy wil'ie** (wil nie) **gesien wees 'ie** (wees nie) **in die plek 'ie** (plek nie) {He doesn't want to be seen in this place}.

- [laughter]
62. Clarence: **Die's** (die is) **nou die plek langs aan die kerk** {This is now the place next to the church}?
63. Suster: **Ja, daai was maar nou die begin, verstaan jy** {Yes, this was only the beginning, you understand}, and uh we saw most probably about a hundred of these windows all over the place. But now, **hou ek vir die boy dop en hy, hy, hy kyk, maar nou maak hy as of hy nie kyk nie, as of** {I'm keeping an eye on this one boy and he, he, he looks, but he makes as though he isn't looking, as if}... **Regtig, jy kan nou sien wanneer 'n South African in die Red Light District is en wanner** (wanner) **dit iemand wat nou gewoond is nou die goeters, verstaan jy** {Really, you can now see when a South African is in the Red Light District and when it's now someone who is used to these things}. Because **hulle kyk en maak nog, hulle wil ook kyk** {they look and pretend, they also want to look}, but okay. **Nie nou soos ek** {Not, now, like me}. **Ek is 'ie** (nie) **gewoond 'ie** (nie) {I'm not used to}. **Ek kyk, verstaan jy, en ek stare en ek kyk die dimensions aan** {I look, you understand, and I stare and I look at the dimensions}. **Nee, kyk so uit die side van hulle oog, so onderkant hulle** sunglasses {No, looking out of the side of their eyes, like underneath their sunglasses}.
64. Clarence: **Die kop is een kant en die oë is ander kant** {The head is one side and the eyes are another side}. [laughter]
65. Suster: **As of te sê**, right, “**Ooh nee, my Methodist upbringing gat** (gaan) **'ie** (nie) **vir my laat 'ie** (laat nie) **deur, deur, deur die goeters gaan** (gaan) **'ie** (nie).” {As if to say, right, “Oh no, my Methodist upbringing isn't going to allow me to go through, through, through these things”} But then we visited, on that same day we visited our first coffee shop. **My mense** {My people}! **Daar sit 'n klom** (klomp) **mense wat nog nooit** cigarettes **gerook het in hulle lewe nie** {There are a whole lot of people sitting there who have never smoked cigarettes in their lives}... **koop hulle nou diese manyana goeters, verstaan jy** {buying these manyana (no direct translation) things, you understand}? **En is by die** {and it's by the} grams, **ne, en nou hulle** experiment **ook mos nou, verstaan jy** {hey, and now they are also experimenting, hey, you understand}. **Nou gat** (gaan) **sit hulle mos nou, nou, met hulle goetertjies en toe kyk hulle mekaar aan en ek sê** “**Haai, wat gat** (gaan) **aan? Wat het julle gekoop?**” {Now they go and sit, hey, with, with their things and then they looked at each other and I said, “Hey, what's going on? What did you buy?”} **'is** (Dit is) **Jamaican die en is bietjie van daai en is** {It's Jamaican this and a bit of that and it's} () **en nou ons wiet 'ie** (weet nie) **hoe om te rol 'ie** (nie) {and now we don't know how to roll}. **Ai jene, toe moet ek nou my straat maniere uitbring en begin te rol daar vir hulle** {Oh gosh, so I had to bring out my street manners and begin to roll there for them}. [laughter]
66. Clarence: So, you're a **roller** {roller}.
67. Suster: Mmmm, one of my teenage mis-, mis-, misbehaving, uh, situations. [laughter]
68. Clarence: I can prove it. Here's Phil Fearen and some more recollections from our recent P4 radio listeners tour of the Netherlands and Paris ... later

Music

69. Clarence: It's 104.9, the heart and soul of Cape Town. Are you still there? I hope so. Judith Siphuma. In front of that Phil Fearen and 'I can prove it.' It's twenty minutes past two o'clock and of course Update Kaapse Vlakte. Very special little reflection on a journey that we took through the Netherlands. Of course Amsterdam, The Hague, being the cities in the Netherlands that's was taken in, consumed by a group of P4 listeners, uh, and the North Sea Jazz festival as well. Some wonderful music and, uh, we also went to Paris and some obviously memorable moments unfolded. Now sister is, or will be, sharing those memorable moments with you between now and three o'clock, so keep your ears, uh, peeled, uh, as we reflect on the 2005 listeners tour of the North Sea Jazz Festival and maybe you'll find more than adequate reason to, to start planning for next year's one so that you too can be part of all the wonderful moments. I know we've been doing this, the very first tour went off in 1998 and friendships were formed, just like this year, that are going to last lifetimes. Uh, and, we're reflecting on those moments that bring people together and that connect people in a very profound way and, uh, you kinda keep them there as friends forever. That's a travel kinda thing, kinda brings to

the, to the equation. It brings lots of wonderful experiences, uh, of course evaluating your culture in relation to others, and, uh, of course finding kinda solace and a home with your friends from back home in a foreign country. That's what it's all about. Suster's reflecting on that some more when we get back.

Adverts

Music

70. Clarence: It's 104.9, the heart and soul of Cape town. From Al Jerreaux, 'Get your boogie down.' We continue with, uh, our reflections on the P4 radio listeners tour of the Netherlands with Suster in the studio, but first we, I gotta tell you about this wonderful thing that you're going to witness. Cape Town is about to witness the best in under seventeen knockout soccer action at the 2005 Engen under seventeen knockout challenge. It takes place at the Steven Regan sportsground in Mitchells Plain on the weekend of twenty three and twenty four July 2005. Uh, this year a number of top teams such as Engen, Santos, Ajax Cape Town, Hellenic, Peninsula, Avendale, Athletico, Mitchells Plain Eleven, Mother City and Vasco to name a few will be represented. Join us, Engen and P4 104.9, together with our very own Nick Feinberg reporting live on the action on the day. Engen, with us you are number one. Suster, where are you taking us to next?
71. Suster: Um, **man, in die, in die** {man, in the, in the} Red Light District **is daar nou winkels, wat nou, nou goeters verkoop** {there are shops that now, now sell things} like **soes, soes** (soos, soos) {like, like} magic mushrooms and **sulke goeters, verstaan jy** {and such things, you understand}. **En toe het een nou ge-decide dat hy gat** (gaan) **nou, nie een** {And so one now decided that he's going to, not one} magic mushrooms, **maar somer ses** {but six}, but he's never done this before. **Nou mense, nou julle moet wiet** (weet) **iets van** {Now people, you must know something about} magic mushrooms. **Daai goed** {That stuff}, it, it grows naturally but = =
72. Clarence: = = It's not Denny's. It's not the stuff you have for breakfast.
73. **Verstaan jy** {You understand}? It grows naturally, but it's highly **deurmekaar, verstaan jy** {confusing, you understand}, and one bite of these things **laat vir jou goeters sien** {lets you see things}. Clarence, I mean, I mean you gave me an, an experience about something like this.
74. Clarence: Somebody shared an experience with me so I can well experience, well understand what somebody was feeling like after six. So you say it was one people, while my information is that it was two people
75. Suster: No, No. **Ja** {Yes}, it was two people who bought six. It was three in a pack so they bought two packs. It's like two hundred grams or something like that, **verstaan jy** {you understand}? Uh
76. Clarence: Ouch.
77. Suster: Ouch, and, and
78. Clarence: Okay, you don't have to say anymore [laughter] You don't have to say anymore. Needless to say, they were out for the count for the rest of the tour.
79. Suster: **Ja** {Yes}. [laughter] As a matter of fact they missed about a quarter of the, of the North Sea Jazz Festival. Talking bout the North Sea Jazz Festival, for me, Clarence, it was one hell of a personal experience. **Verstaan jy** {You understand}? It was, it was HUGE. It was, **man wat oek** (ook) **so mooi gewees het** {man, what was also so nice}, it was so nice. Me, I had a backstage pass for the **Vrydagaand** {Friday night}, for the Saturday and for the Sunday and the backstage pass gives you access to ANY stage – backstage, front, whatever. Um of the seventeen stages **by** {at} North Sea Jazz Festival, **van daar was sewentien** {because there were seventeen}, **ek was by, op** {I was at, on} backstage **by vyf van hulle** {at five of them}. **Vier, 'n nog 'n vier het ek gewet waar hulle is en ek het gat** (gaan) visit **daarso** {Four, another four I knew where they were and I went to visit there}, **so, so dinges** {no equivalent translation}. **Die ander ag** (agt) **het ek 'ie** (nie) **gewiet** (gewet) **waar dit is 'ie** (nie), **verstaan jy** {I didn't know where the other eight were} because this place is huge and you, you spend a lifetime just finding these places like in the bottom and the roof. **Ek het gegaan na, die na die dak terras toe en toe kan ek 'ie** (nie) **opkom daar nie** {I went to the roof

terrace and so I couldn't go up there}() But I've met personally Al Green, Solomon Berg, um, Katie Melua , um

80. Clarence: Joss Stone.
81. Suster: Joss Stone.
82. Clarence: Jamie Callam.
83. Suster: Jamie Callam. I mean personally met them.
84. Clarence: George Jack, Stanley.
85. Suster: **Verstaan jy {You understand}? Wie, wie's (wie is) ek {Who, who am I}? Ek, ek, ek is Suster van 'ie (van die) Kaap en hier staan ek en hulle staan so rondom my en praat, verstaan jy {I, I, I am Suster from Cape Town and here I'm standing and they're all standing around me and talking, you understand}? Stanley Clark, vir my kom dink ek is een van 'ie (van die), van 'ie (van die) sound engineers op 'ie (op die), op 'ie (op die) stage daarso en toe ko (kom) hy nou discuss sy sound problems met my en ek kyk oek (ook) vir hom net so en ek ,um, antwoord oek (ook) maar net, verstaan jy {Stanley Clark thought I as one of, of the sound engineers on the, on the stage there and so he came to discuss his sound problems with me and I also look at him just like that and I, um, also just answer, you understand}? En hy, hy lawaai net daar en toe het een van die regte sound engineers nou uitgevind {And he, he just makes a noise there and then one of the real sound engineers found out}. Mmm, die man praat met die verkeerde man {Mmm, this man is talking to the wrong man}. Toe touch hy so vir Stanley Clark {So he touched Stanley Clark like this}. "You're supposed to talk to me." Verstaan jy {You understand}? En ek sê net, "Mmm, ja" en ek {And I just say, "Mmm, yes" and I} () [laughter]**
86. Clarence: So you got really close to some of the big names?
87. Suster: **Ja {Yes}**. No, no, very up close and personal, but **ek is nie so, ek is nie {I am not like, I am not}** like a autograph hunter () But it was just nice to... **een van die ouens wat ons saam gevat het, wat ons saam, wat op die tour was, wat ons backstage toe gevat het {one of the guys that we took with, that we took with, that was on the tour, that we took backstage}**. **Hy het amper vir hom laat {He nearly let himself}** ()... **sy ovaries het deurmekaar geraak toe hy langs aan Stanley Clark staan {His ovaries got twisted when he stood next to Stanley Clark}**. **Sy {his} hero, sy {his} idol, en hy kan nie eens {and he can't even}... hy kan nie eens asem haal vir vyf minute nie {he can't even breathe for five minutes}**. **Ek sê {I say}, "Hallo, jy moet 'n bietjie asem ook haal hierso, verstaan jy, voor jy omval hier langs die man." {Hello, you must also take breathe in a bit of air here, you understand, before you fall over next to the man}** () **En vir die hele weekend na daai, daai was sy {And for the weekend after that, that was his}** highlight. I stood next to Stanley Clark, verstaan jy? () **soes (soos) daai goeters {like those things}**. Um...
88. Clarence: You met, you met Al Green as well?
89. Suster: **Ja {Yes}**.
90. Clarence: Still got a lot of life hey?
91. Suster: Mmm.
92. Clarence: Pack some, pack some punch there still.
93. Suster: I mean, **daai hall van agtienduisend mense was gepak vir Al Green {that hall of eighteen thousand people was packed for Al Green}**. I mean, and **hy, hy's (hy is) met 'n suit op daai warme stage met 'n tie aan en, hy {and he's wearing a suit on that warm stage, with a tie on, and he} = =**
94. Clarence: **= = en {and}** sunglasses
95. Suster: **En {and}** sunglasses **en hy het laat waai {and he lets loose}**. **Hy, met, met, met sy {He, with, with, with his}** music. I mean those of you who know the music of Al Green um, the soul music of Al Green of, of the seventies, um that man still has got it with him and Solomon Berg.
96. Clarence: Who stands out for you as, as, as, as a real great musical experience this year?
97. Suster: Um, man, I went to ... Solomon Berg, right, **en hulle't (hulle het) vir hom gebring met 'n rolstoel op daai {and they brought him with a wheelchair on that}** stage **daarso en, en Clarence, agter {there and, and Clarence, behind}** closed curtains.
98. Clarence: On his throne.

99. Suster: On his throne. Um, the charisma ... and stage presence and the personality and, and, and, and, = =
100. Clarence: = = And he can sing. **Hy laat waai {He lets loose}**.
101. Suster: **Hy laat waai, verstaan jy {He lets loose, you understand}**? Um, yes, there's just been so many highlights, **ja {yes}**.
102. Clarence: For me it was definitely Jo Zo and all. He's just absolutely, absolutely awesome and I was disappointed with George Duke... I, I thought that, uh, this project was awful. That's what I thought quite frankly. **Ja {Yes}**, but, uh, what an awesome musical experience.
103. Suster: What, what, what... One of the great revelations for me was, uh, Katie Melua. I mean I've heard about her. I actually, didn't, didn't really listen to her music, but sitting in that concert and listening to her, um, singing like real, real meaningful songs, you know.
104. Clarence: Mmm.
105. Suster: And I went to meet her backstage and she's such a lovely person. **So {Such}** tiny, small, **sieker 'n bietjie jou hoogte (hoogte) {probably a bit like your height}**, but beautiful, a beautiful personality and, and, and then just, just listening to what she's got to say and uh, uh, uh, uh, about her music. You know, for her its all personal experiences. **Ja {Yes}**, she just don't write because it's a poem, but it's a personal experience. She sings beautifully.
106. Clarence: Mmm.
107. Suster: **Ja {Yes}**, but **ja {yes}** = =
108. Clarence: = = That's the music. That's the music. Uh, what was, what was a wonderful moment because we are in The Hague right now, talking about the North Sea Jazz festival, was a moment, on the beach, Danny Mitchell playing his guitar, singing '**Daar kom die Ali Baba**' **{There comes the Ali Baba}**, in front of [laughter] a whole lot of, uh, Dutch people, uh, who are who are completely fascinated by, by this.
109. Suster: **Ja {Yes}** and, and we, we just ... I played the goema and Danny played the guitar and we were singing everything = =
110. Clarence: = = loud
111. Suster: Like very loud, like on this beach. This beach was packed and = =
112. Clarence: = = from Shosholozza to, uh, real **klopse {minstrel}** numbers
113. Suster: **Ja {Yes}**, and, and The Beatles and any other song that, that, you know, you also, you also, also normally ... **kamp {camp}** songs **wat hulle sing {that they sing}**. And before we knew, everybody sort of just gathered around us and somebody came and said, "Are you guys going to be here later on the evening as well?" You know? [laughter]
114. Clarence: [laughter]
115. Suster: Because, **toe wil hulle geld gee {so they wanted to give money}**.
116. Clarence: Where's your hat? [laughter]
117. Suster: **Toe wil 'ie (wil die) mense geld gee. Jeene. {So the people wanted to give money. Gees.}**
118. Clarence: **En mense sing vals, ne {And the people sing false, hey}**.
119. Suster: **Ja {Yes}**, oh yes, **ons het mense ge-fine {Yes, oh yes, we fined people}**. We had a fines committee. Uh, **daar was een ou wat gesing het {there was one guy that sang}**, but what I mean, **elke {every}** session **wat ons gesing het, sing hy saam {that we sang, he sang along}**, but **hy sing VALS {he sings FALSE}**. **Hy was {He was}** fined, what, five euros.
120. Clarence: What's his name?
121. Suster: Um Lesley. He was fined five euros for, for singing TOTALLY out of tune. But **hy sing oek (ook) {but he sings too}**, but it was the spirit of, of being there, uh, that he wanted to. **Nou, nou... baie mense het ge-communicate huistoe, verstaan jy {Now, now... many people communicated home, you understand}**? **Sê {Saying}**, like what a wonderful **tyd hulle het en so aan en een van 'ie (die), een van 'ie (die) ouens het nou die Vrydag, van wanneer het die London bombing nou afgegaan {time they are having and so on and one of the, one of the guys, on the Friday, because when did the London bombings take place}**? **Die Donner'ag {The Thursday}**. **Die Vrydag toe realise hy, toe hy sober raak, dat, oh yes, sy Suster is in London {So the Friday he realised, when he sobered up, that, oh yes, his sister is in London}**. **En toe sien ek hy vat iemand se {And so I saw him take someone's} phone. Toe stuur hy nou {So, now, he sent an} SMS na sy pa toe om te vra {to his father to ask}** like, um, is sy Suster o'right (alright) **en daai {is his sister alright and that}**. **Toe kry hy 'n sms t'rug (terug)**

{So he got an sms back} to say, “your sisters fine” dot dot dot dot etcetera, etcetera, but **die naam, uh, ‘it (dit) was gestuur deur sy beste vriend, die, die SMS {but the name,uh, it was sent by his best friend, the, the SMS}. En toe stuur hy nou {And then he sent} = =**

122. Clarence: = = from his father’s phone?

123. Suster: No, no, no, no, no **hy het net gewiet (geweet) ‘is (dit is) van die {he just knew it was from the} father’s phone. () Jy spoil net nou my punchline hierso, man {You’re now just spoiling my punchline here, man}.**

124. Clarence: Okay, okay.

125. Suster: **Toe, toe dink hy nou die vriend, ooh is die beste vriend, toe stuur hy nou sy, sy vriend die SMS t’rug (terug) {So, so now he thought (its) the friend, ooh, it’s his best friend, then he sent his, his friend this SMS}: “I am having a great time in Amsterdam. Um, I nearly got laid but didn’t have a condom. I got stoned. I smoked, this, this and the other and etcetera, etcetera and I’m gonna , and I still got so much uh boem (boom, slang for marijuana) left” en, en, en hy stuur ‘it (dit) na sy vriend toe {and, and, and he sends it to his friend}. Toe hy die, toe hy stuur, toe realise hy but die’s (die is) mos sy pa se nommer {When he sent it, so he realised, but this is his father’s number}. [laughter]**

126. Clarence: So, he’s grounded. [laughter]

127. Suster: **Nee, but hy was slim en ek watch vir hom en hy stuur sommer nog ‘n {No, but he was clever and I watched him and he sent another} SMS : “I’m only joking.” [laughter]**

128. Clarence: () I hope his father isn’t listening right now. [laughter] Okay, = =

129. Suster: = = but, **hy, hy’t (hy het) gesê sy pa gat uitwerk daar’s’ie (daar is nie) ‘n joke hier involved nie {but he, he said his father was going to work out that there isn’t a joke involved here}. But he... was my roommate, verstaan jy {you understand}? Toe gat (gaan) hy nou uit die Donder’ag (Donderdag) aand, toe kom hy nou t’rug (terug) met diese meisie en hy’s (hy is) in my kamer {So now he goes out the Thursday night, then he comes back with this girl and he’s in my room}. Dan, four ‘o clock die oggend, ja, en ek skrik wakker en ek sê: “Hallo. Daar’s (Daar is) twee van ons in die kamer hierso. Jy kan daai meisie vat in die toilet” {Then, four ‘o clock in the morning, yes, and I wake up and say: “Hello, there’s two of us in this room here. You can take that girl into the toilet”}, ()**

130. Clarence: Uh, lets, lets talk () His name is, is Nicholas. He was, it’s not important as far as I am concerned, and, and it clearly wasn’t important as far as he was concerned, but, uh, with group dynamics, you never know what’s going to happen. He was the only White person in this particular group, but he was absolutely wonderful and uh = =

131. Suster: = = **Ja {Yes}**, he was a great. He, he had such a great spirit, such a childlike spirit, uh, and it affected everybody. Like, they just wanted to be around him and he was just, like, nevermind ...He was in his own world and did his own thing and, and really want to be part of, of what everybody else was doing.

132. Clarence: He was even singing.

133. Suster: **Ja {Yes}**.

134. Clarence: He didn’t even know **‘Daar kom die Ali Baba’ {There comes the Ali Baba}**, but he was trying. And, Nicholas, it was such a pleasure, uh, sharing space with you. He’s a great guy, **lekker {nice}** guy. It was good having you... around.

135. Suster: Nicholas, next time, mushrooms for the soup. Sshh. Sshh

136. Clarence: Next, we go to Paris, the Eiffel Tower, **Le Louvre**, uh, museum. The **Arc de Triomphe** and the **Champs Élysées** and **Sorti**.

137. Suster: And **oui** [laughter]

138. Clarence: Here’s Jimmy Cliff for us. ‘Reggae nights’ on P4.

Music

139. Clarence: It’s 104.9. The heart and soul of Cape Town. ‘Reggae nights’ from, of course, Jimmy Cliff, bringing the time to twenty minutes from three o clock. Lee Downs is your man from three ‘o clock this afternoon. We continue to reflect on our wonderful journey across Europe, uh, when we get back.

Adverts

147. Clarence: Back with us at eighteen from three o'clock. Lee Downs, your man, is back. He's, uh, feeling better today. Under the weather yesterday. Uh, he had a good rest so he's back from three to six on the Down Low. **Bonjour monsieur. Bonjour madame.** Uh, we are in Paris, aren't we?
148. Suster: Uh, **oui**, uh, **parlez vous** English? ()
149. Clarence: **Non, non, non.**
150. Suster: () **Un café**
151. Clarence: Huh?
152. Suster: **Un café** () = =
153. Clarence: = = **si vous plait**
154. Suster: Ooh, **ja, un café si vous plait** () **jambon**, uh, = =
155. Clarence: = = **Champagne** or **jambon**
156. Suster: Non, jambon () [laughter]
157. Clarence: [laughter] More or less what the conversations sounded like between South Africans and French. [laughter] Uh, the French, they like their language. They do not speak English. Well, in Paris, quite a few of them do these days, uh, but of course a long standing, uh, uh, lets call it, I think it's an egotistical battle with the British. So they're passionate about their language and their culture, um, and constantly, uh, evaluating it and asserting it, uh, against the Anglo-Saxons.
158. Suster: **Ja {Yes}**, but, but what I find Clarence, okay they, they, they do have a problem with you know communicating in, in a language of, of your own language, like English for example, but they, they try, really try and communicate with you although they say, "I speak () little" Um, they really try and that is the funny part. **Ja {Yes}**, the way they try and the way you try to speak their language. Uh, what, I mean, one of the people on the tour sort of made a negative response. Uh, "**Ja, ek kan niks maak'ie** (maak nie) because, um, **hulle wil'ie** (wil nie) **onse language praat 'ie** (praat nie)." {"**Yes, I can't do anything because, um, they don't want to speak our language**" } So I said, "You are in France. You have to make the effort to speak French." **Ja {Yes}**, that is important.
159. Clarence: Another person on the trip said, "You know, they'll make so much more money if they can speak English."
160. Suster: Huh.
161. Clarence: I think the same applies to us. We'll make so much more money if we could speak French and if the principle is that, uh, everybody should speak, uh, the most dominant language, then the implication is that all of us need to learn to speak Mandarin because that is the most spoken language in the world. Just to set the matter straight.
162. Suster: **Ja**, but just to set the matter straight, **toe vat Clarence mos nou die group die Maandag toe ons nou in in Paris is {Yes, but just to set the matter straight, so Clarence took the group the Monday that we were in Paris}**. **Toe vat Clarence, ek was nou nie saam gewees 'ie** (gewees nie) because **ek het** decide my beauty sleep **is** very important, **verstaan jy**, because it affects my skin if I don't sleep a lot and **toe gat (gaan) slap ek die middag {So Clarence took, I now wasn't with because I decided my beauty sleep is very important, you understand, because it affects my skin if I don't sleep a lot and so I went to go sleep that afternoon}**. **Toe vat Clarence nou die res van 'ie** (van die) group **op 'n tour... en hulle't** (hulle het) **nou nie ge-check nou die map vir hoe ver goeters uitmekaar uit is 'ie** (is nie), **verstaan jy {So now Clarence took the rest of the group on a tour and they now didn't check the map as to how far apart things are}**. **Hoe, hoe't** (hoe het) **jy vir hulle laat loop van Kaap tot {How, how'd you let them walk from Town to}** Sommerset West. [laughter]
163. Clarence: [laughter] There's one thing, there's a couple of things = =
164. Suster: = = they walked
165. Clarence: = = there's a couple of things you have to do in Paris. You have to see **Le Louvre** Museum. You don't necessarily have to go in if you don't want to, but you have to see the pyramids outside and that's where our walk started. At the lower end of the **Champs Élysées** right up to the top end 'cos you've gotta walk the **Champs Élysées**.
166. Suster: So, so first **Le Louvre** and then, then the **Notre-Dame**, uh, or the, or the other way round and

- then you go from **Notre-Dame** up the side to, to towards the, uh, **Champs Élysées** ()
167. Clarence: Jamste Alices.
168. Suster: Jamste Alices, um... that's at the bottom end is, is this monument, whatever. That, the whole place is full of monuments in any case **en dan gooi jy daar af** {and then you go down there}.
169. Clarence: **Ja {Yes}**, () I don't think they walked that much.
170. Suster: Oh well.
171. Clarence: Completely fascinated by the underground, um, my sister was a little dumbstruck, having [laughter]
172. Suster: [laughter]
173. Clarence: My sister's first experience outside of the country. I think the furthest she's been is Stellenbosch, you know what I mean. [laughter] So, um, we're travelling in the underground and she looks a little kinda, uh, worried. **Wat gat** (gaan) **nou aan** {What's going on now}? So eventually she plucks up the courage to ask me, "Clarence, so why are all the stations called **sorti**?" [laughter]
174. Suster: [laughter]
175. Clarence: **Sorti** of course means exit in French [laughter] and there's obviously more exits than the name of the station. So I had to explain to her that that means exit. It was quite embarrassing for her. **Ja {Yes}**. [laughter]
176. Suster: [laughter] But she asked. But she asked and she got fined for that as well. [laughter]
177. Clarence: [laughter]
178. Suster: Two euros, you know. For, for asking that, for asking that question.
179. Clarence: Reflections on Paris?
180. Suster: I, I.
181. Clarence: Two dumpings.
182. Suster: [laughter] No, Paris is a, is a place of romance. It's a place of **dinges** {things}. But to, as, as would go in groups, you know, sort of relationships starts, you know. Some friendships, uh, do really develop in groups in that nature because you, you basically live with each other for a, for a fair amount of time. But also, relationships beyond friendship starts, uh, and, and ends. **Mense word ge-dump** {People get dumped}. **En dan** argue **hulle nou wie't** (wie het) **vir wie ge-dump**, **verstaan jy** {And then they argue about who dumped who, you understand}. **Oor 'ie** (oor die), **oor 'ie** (oor die) {Over the, over the} dinner **tafel** {table}, you know. No, I dumped you. No he dumped you. **En dan gat 'ie** (gaan die) rumours **rond en daar was baie** rumours **op die** tour {And then the rumours go around and there were many rumours on this tour}. **Ja, jy gat** (gaan), **jy gat** (gaan) **net toilet toe vir tien minute en dan's** (dan is) **daar 'n** rumour, **verstaan jy** {Yes, you go, you just go to the toilet for ten minutes and then there's a rumour, you understand}? [laughter] And rumours were abound, but, **ja {yes}**, rumours got squashed as well. Um, we had an advocate on the tour with us that acted as judge in our, in our tour court, uh, who handled himself excellently because uh, uh, a few people was, was called to order, uh, uh, for various things and the judge, uh, ruled on these cases, um, and ruled favourably on these cases in a in a lot of instances
183. Clarence: Thank you Advocate Joey Moses for taking that tough role. [laughter]
184. Suster: [laughter]
185. Clarence: Okay, so no other reflections on Paris?
186. Suster: Uh, Paris is a, is a place where you have to explore. You, you have to explore the dynamics. It's a VERY old city and it's got history and an, an amazing amount of history. Um, you, you, have to explore it in your own way. I, I explored Paris at three 'o clock, half past two in the morning I took a walk in Paris. From half past two till six o clock with two guys from Bontheuwel. Um, and we explored the parts, okay, **alles was toe gewies** (gewees) {everything was closed} but we walked and we walked up () and, and we walked to one district and through to another district for three hours. Three and a half hours we just walked.
187. Clarence: Looking for a pub.
188. Suster: [laughter]
189. Clarence: [laughter] Only to find out that the only pub that is open is at the hotel
190. Suster: Is right next door to the hotel. **Daarna was die twee, die twee Bontheuwel ouens baie kwaad, wiet jy** {After that the two, the two Bontheuwel guys were very angry, you know}.

Verstaan jy {You understand}. “Jy vat ons reg op, om Paris. Nou moet ons loop vir drie ure.” {“You take us right up, right around Paris. Now we have to walk for three hours.”} En hier kry ons ‘n pub reg langs die {And here we find a pub right next to the} hotel, but I mean, I sort of knew that that pub was open but, ah, toe gat (gaan) soek ons ‘n pub op ander plekke {so we went to look for a pub in other places}. But that was a great exploration, ja {yes}, because you could see things. There was nobody to tell you what was what was going on or what the history of the place was, but, be that as it may, it was just gaining experiences and talking, uh, uh, about things that matters

191. Clarence: This is, this is where the tour ends. You went on to explore the () and Barcelona and the Costa Bravo. We’re not going to talk about that part of the journey. This is where a lot of the people came back home. Um, and I, and I certainly hope that we will stay in contact. What lessons did you take from the trip Suster?
192. Suster: ... For me personally, I’ve, I’ve, I’ve travelled many places in, in, in the world and I’ve always done it alone or with one other person. For me all of a sudden to be all with twenty four that grow to forty people later on, uh, people and basically running a bit of a leadership role with them. For me it was like, uh, this is interesting dynamics, you know. Interesting, it’s, it’s people, personalities and whatever. But on the tour itself, um, I think Europe is an interesting place. Uh, there’s a lot of changes, political changes taking place in Europe, um, and I mean even the whole thing about the festival going from the Hague to Rotterdam next year. The festival, the jazz festival will be in the North Sea, will take place in Rotterdam after thirty years. And for a weekend, speaking to the Dutch people about their feelings about it and I mean their feelings were like they were upset that the festival is moving from the Hague to, to Rotterdam and they expressed it in that way. I remember Clarence, on the very last announcement Clarence made on the Stutton hall stage which is the big stage at the, at the festival and he mentioned, he said a whole lot of things and the very last sentence was, “See you next year at Rotterdam.” Boo.
193. Clarence: Boo.
194. Suster: There was like twelve, fourteen thousand people as one, just booing him off the stage, you know.
195. Clarence: I think that was probably twelve fourteen thousand people from The Hague. Obviously upset about the, about losing this big event for The Hague and about it going to Rotterdam.
196. Suster: But, but, also, on a very, and a moment of pride and admiration, was you, Clarence, being the only South African to be represented at the North Sea Jazz Festival. Um, Clarence introduced Shaka Khan as, as the first act for the festival on the Friday night. But unfortunately we, we were a little bit late to see that. But I witnessed people coming to him and saying what a wonderful, what a wonderful introduction, including Shaka Khan came to Clarence and said she’s never been introduced like that before. I mean, I’m, I’m hoping to see the tape because the man waxed lyrical about his heritage, about where he comes from, Africa, and making that connection with Shaka Khan as in a, a great Zulu leader by the name of Shaka Zulu and her name synonymous with her with her leadership.
197. Clarence: That was just one of the rumours. Let’s cut that story short.
198. Suster: Okay, but be that as it may, we all, the whole tour group was in admiration of Clarence and the role that he played.
199. Clarence: Okay. Let me come back in a short while. It’s Suster’s, uh, words to, uh, Blackman Ngoro. Um, Blackman said, Suster, that you are a drunken beg, beggar with an inferior culture. Um, that is, of course, if you consider yourself to be a Coloured. Um, we’re gonna find out what Suster’s response is right after this.

Adverts

200. Clarence: It’s 104.9, the heart and soul of Cape Town. Five minutes from three ‘o clock. We’re gonna end off on a, on a sad note in a in a sense because after this phenomenon of Suster for thirteen years, twelve years actually. We started back in 1993, uh, become a bit of a sought after character, Suster will be disappearing from the airwaves on the fifth of ... August. Um, and, ja {yes}, so its just two more weeks left on radio and then you’re retiring

201. Suster: Yes Clarence, it's, it, it took me a little while to come to that decision but ... business pressures, uh, business opportunities, uh, that, that is facing me and have been there. But due to the, doing broadcasting and being involved with other things connected with broadcasting takes up a great amount of time and after eleven years ... I have decided to ... break off COMPLETELY. When I say break off completely: no more broadcasting, no more public appearances, **hang op 'ie** (op die) skirt-**jie**, **sit als weg en**, uh, concentrate **op 'ie** (op die)... **ding** {**hang up the little skirt, put everything away and, uh, concentrate on the... thing**}. So on the fifth we will do a very, very special broadcast, a three hour broadcast on the fifth, um, and we'll just basically wrap it up and put ... Suster to bed once and for all. Uh, it's not gonna be a funeral. It's gonna be a happy broadcasting session.
202. Clarence: A farewell. A long live sister farewell.
203. Suster: No. [laughter] I've, I've many times before said it's the last and it was revived. **Ja {Yes}**, but this time, it's, it because Clarence is in agreement with me.
204. Clarence: **Ja {Yes}**. I'm completely **gatvol {fed-up}**. [laughter]
205. Suster: [laughter] Clarence is in agreement with me at last, he say. Yes, that is the right decision. So I will not be able, I will not come back, uh, um, um on radio again. This radio station or any other radio station for that matter. Now...
206. Clarence: ...The letter to Blackman.
207. Suster: The letter to the Blackman. Dear Blackman. I read your article on the website, also the newspaper report and comment. **Nou laat ek vir jou sé {Now let me tell you}**. Blackman, you are stupid, ignorant and not worthy to share my oxygen. Your views on culture is in a dimension that is one-sided and without exploration of others. In other words, **jy {you}** orbit **in jou eie {in your own}** planet **en nog 'n ding {and another thing}**: I don't want you to be a communications officer in the mayor's office because **jy kan nie reg** communicate 'ie (nie) **{you can't communicate properly}**. I'm generally pissed off, but I detest being pissed on and for that I'm going to be with others, your worst nightmare. I am an African. I am an African of the soil and not of the blood. Try **jy om vir my, try jy om daai van my weg te vat en ek slat jou in jou {Try to take that away from me and I'll hit you in your}** you know where. Blackman, be wise. Do whatever you have to do but get out... and vanish into... your planet, into your orbit because you are not worthy to share this space with others like myself, because you are not worthy to be called an African within your own rights. Thank you. Love you too, Suster.
208. Clarence: [laughter] That's the letter to Blackman Ngoro. Clearly, he's affected you profoundly.
209. Suster: Oh **ja {yes}**. Oh **ja {yes}**. I have, I've, I spent this morning = =
210. Clarence: = = so clearly you think of yourself as a Coloured.
211. Suster: **Ja {Yes}**, I, I spent this morning to... no no no, it's not a Coloured issue Clarence.
212. Clarence: Oh.
213. Suster: It's not a Coloured. If you, if you really, I didn't want to say, people asked me yesterday and I said I want to have a look at the website first and this morning I did.
214. Clarence: Is it on there?
215. Suster: It's on there and just reading it, it actually would make you because the, the views are so distorted. **Ja {yes}** = =
216. Clarence: = = and the grammar's so bad [laughter]
217. Suster: Yes, what, what, what I, what I do understand, people talk about these things, right. To put, to express it to paper, yes, yes, it's best put into writing. It takes on another meaning, **ja {yes}** because it becomes a little but more permanent. But when people talk about things, when they talk, yes you can defend it and things like that. It's not about the Colouredness. It's not about, about the, the Blackness or the Colouredness or whatever. Its about one person = =
218. Clarence: = = denying your right to be an African.
219. Suster: Thank you.
220. Clarence: On that note, sister, say goodbye.
221. Suster: Okay. I'm on my way, um my, next week I'll be back and the week after that will be my absolutely final broadcast. I love you all and thank you for sharing your space with me.
222. Clarence: That brings uh to an end the Clarence Ford show for today. Reece Isaacs is six today. Happy birthday. David, Nicky and the kids just wanna tell you that they love you and that you are just

their everything. So happy birthday Reece. He's six today. Reece Isaacs. On that note, God Bless. I leave you in the very capable hands of Lee Downs. He's your man till six

Second Transcript: Update Kaapse Vlakte 05 August 2005

223. Clarence Suster, welcome.
224. Suster YES **meisie** {girl}. Welcome and goodbye.
225. Clarence Mmm.
226. Suster Mmm. So, so, we are in to have so much fun here this afternoon
227. Clarence You've got really nice jackets, hey. Uh, uh yesterday you had a, a nice jacket on. Today you've got another nice jacket on. Um, um, All Blacks, New Zealand = =
228. Suster = = This, this one says, all, New Zealand, All Blacks = =
229. Clarence = = uh huh.
230. Suster = = and big at the back it says New Zealand, All Blacks = =
231. Clarence = = are you gonna be in the box tomorrow?
232. Suster Uh, yes, indeed.
233. Clarence Whose box?
234. Suster No I can't tell you whose box. No that's, that's () but I'm gonna be there. But I'm not gonna be there for the box.
235. Clarence Is it the Nestle Box?
236. Suster I'm not gonna, hey, hey. I'm not gonna be there for the box. I'm gonna be there for the, in a, in a, in a **boks** {box}.
237. Clarence Chocolate?
238. Suster **Ja**{Yes} , in a **boks** {box}. I'm gonna be in somebody's, uh, **lokaaldosie** {local little box}. **Doos** {box}, what's it?
239. Clarence **Ja** {Yes}.
240. Suster ()
241. Clarence I must say I've had a couple of invitations.
242. Suster Mmm and you turned it down.
243. Clarence I've chosen one.
244. Suster You've chosen one? You gonna be there?
245. Clarence Yes, of course.
246. Suster Clarence, its rugby. **Ja** {Yes}. Do you know anything about rugby? But, but, okay. Okay.
247. Clarence [laughter]
248. Suster Right, as you know, I'm wearing my All Blacks paraphernalia today because I can't wear it tomorrow because, because of, of other reasons. None, none of them happen to be political or basically my choice, but , um... I'm a All Blacks fan, **jy wiet mos** {you know} girlfriend and, you know, **ek is** {I am} = =
249. Clarence = = where's your loyalty and your patriotism?
250. Suster No, no. Patriast, patriasm, I am a South African = =
251. Clarence = = a South African?
252. Suster I'm a South African and I will always be a South African. **Ja** {Yes}, I will die a South African. I will die for the country. I will die for Africa. But I'm all South African, I'm a patriot, but I love the All Blacks, you know what I'm saying? But what I'm saying is that patriasm you do not carry on your sleeve, **meisie** {girl}. Patriasm **is in die hart** {is in the heart}.
253. Clarence No, no, you're talking. I don't understand. Are you supporting the All Blacks cos you like [pause] the name or = =
254. Suster = = No, No= =
255. Clarence = = because they're from New Zealand?
256. Suster No, no, no. (). I was seven years old and I found out what this game rugby was all about.
257. Clarence Uh.

258. Suster **Ja {Yes}**, my introduction to rugby was the All Blacks.
259. Clarence Mmm.
260. Suster You know, and I've always = =
261. Clarence = = when they were playing the Springboks?
262. Suster No, no they weren't playing the Springboks and, and I've been reading up, and, and ALWAYS, um, it was been the All Blacks.
263. Clarence So you're hoping the, the, the Safricans come, come second tomorrow?
264. Suster No. I think the South Afr, the South Africans, the South Africans, um, on the, on their past two games, based on those two games where they came actually back from, from behind to win a game show that they've gone a step up in terms of their rugby. But the All Blacks play the total game. They play running rugby and they play forward rugby. The All, the South Africans can only play one form of rugby. **Hulle speel {They play}** either expansive running rugby or they play forward rugby, but they cannot seem to cope with both where the All Blacks can do that. But, so that's an advantage.
265. Clarence The All Blacks have a good record at, at Newlands. The last time the Springboks won there was 1976 when Morne du Plessis was the captain.
266. Suster **Verstaan, verstaan jy {Understand, you understand}**? Um, and I was practically ejected from the last game at Newlands, um when the All Blacks beat South Africa, **wan, wan {when, when}** Francois Pienaar **se, se kneekoppe afgetrap was daai dag {Francois Pienaar's knee caps were trampled that day}**. Because I was a guest of Western Province Rugby **en toe jump ek op toe, toe die {and so I jumped up when, when the}** All Blacks 'n try score, **verstaan jy {you understand}**? () 'n try. I was told by Western Province Rugby not to come back ever again. But be that as, **daai is die dag toe {that is the day when}** Trevor Manuel **sê hy's (hy is) 'n {said he is an}** All Blacks supporter, **toe is 'it (is dit) nou {so it was now a}** big story the next day. But = =
267. Clarence = = So you're supporting the All Blacks?
268. Suster I'm supporting the All Blacks. I support the All Blacks. I would say it's going to be a sizeable victory for the All Blacks. It's going to be a tough game. Um, so = =
269. Clarence = = I think you're very unpatriotic.
270. Suster No.
271. Clarence I think you must move beyond your = =
272. Suster = = No.
273. Clarence Your, your nonsense, your justification = =
274. Suster = = Mmm. **Ja {Yes}**, right = =
275. Clarence = = and embrace, and embrace your own team.
276. Suster Right. Right. Right.
277. Clarence I think you must get rid of the anger. Do you wanna lay down and talk to us?
278. Suster [laughter]
279. Clarence Lay down on the desk.
280. Suster () Clarence, **watter {what}** anger, **watter {what}** anger? **Watter** anger **praat jy van {What anger are you talking about}**? **Is jy nou my {Are you now my}** therapist? **Ha (daar) gat (gaan) die phones {There the phones go}**. **Is jy nou my therapist hierso {Are you now my therapist here}**? **Nee {No}** Clarence. **Ek is 'n {I am a}** South African. **Ja {Yes}**.
281. Clarence You must get rid of your anger.
282. Suster Nah, nah, its nothing about anger, Clarence. It's just about enjoying entertaining rugby.
283. Clarence But I think its got to do with the name = =
284. Suster = = [laughter]
285. Clarence = = and now you're justifying everything else around the fact that you like the name of this New Zealand squad.
286. Suster [laughter]
287. Clarence [Nə].
288. Suster **Jy's (Jy is) {You are}** () So you = =
289. Clarence = = talk to us
290. Suster So you're there for the Springboks tomorrow.
291. Clarence So can you remember, what's the first thing that you remember about your childhood,

- Suster?
292. Suster I remember Sid Going, um, behind the scrum = =
293. Clarence = = [laughter]
294. Suster = = um = =
295. Clarence = = childhood, childhood, not rugby.
296. Suster But that was my childhood = =
297. Clarence = = I'm dealing with your anger here. You've gotta go = =
298. Suster = = () = =
299. Clarence = = you've gotta go back to the foetus now. What, what is the last point that you can remember?
300. Suster Uh, uh, um, when, my childhood?
301. Clarence Yes.
302. Suster () Um, it's when my mother told me "Stop shouting for the All Blacks". **Ja {Yes}**, so = =
303. Clarence = = [laughter]
304. Suster = = that's the earliest part of my childhood.
305. Clarence [music playing] Some magic for you. Zamajobe Sithole and of course its Suster's last day on radio here on P4. Now that's why you're hearing her voice. You'll be hearing it right through till three 'o clock. Some magic, as promised, on P4.

Music

306. Clarence It's the heart and soul of Cape Town. From () taking us back to the eighties and "The Second Time Around." We also had Darnell Jones, "Ill go" and Zamajobe Sithole with "Magic." Had a call this morning from a complete, total stranger wanting to know if Zamajobe Sithole is in town and not as far as I know. I mean, I would know if Zamajobe Sithole is in town, but I know there are a couple of efforts afoot to get this young incredible talent from Johannesburg into the city for a performance. So, hopefully, there will be some good news coming your way shortly. Its time for us to give away twenty-five thousand rands in cash. I'd like to welcome Red Cross Ronnie into the studio. I'd also like to welcome Edward Robinson of KPMG.
- Draw takes place and is followed by some music.
307. Clarence It's 104.9, the heart and soul of Cape Town. R Kelly and "Trapped in the closet, Chapter 3". **Nogal {Actually}**. It's a big story getting out of this closet, hey.
308. Suster **Kyk hierso {Look here}**, Clarence, **is daai ou nou, is, is 'it** (is dit) **'n personal storie {is that guy now, is, is it a personal story}**? **Is hy nou in'ie** (in die) closet **{Is he now in the closet}**?
309. Clarence I dunno what his story is, but I know that he was, at one stage, living a pretty reckless life. Uh, what's it, necrophilia (). No, not that one.
310. Suster [laughter]
311. Clarence **Nog 'n {Another}** -philia.
312. Suster Paedophilia? **Ja {Yes}**. ()
313. Clarence And then I know he was born again. I know he's, he's written a beautiful couple of gospel songs. Uh, and, uh, I, if, if I heard correctly, I'm sure I, I got an expletive in that song as well. So I don't know [laughter]
314. Suster () **Bietjie baie {A little bit very}** confusing. **Hulle moet daai song vir hom** revive **{They must revive that song for him}** – I'm coming out. I'm coming. I'm coming out. This is Diana Ross **[nə] {hey}**?
315. Clarence Right.
316. Suster I'm coming out, **ja {yes}**.
317. Clarence You, you're going back into the closet ... tomorrow.
318. Suster Tomorrow? Uh, at one minute past three.
319. Clarence You're in the closet.
320. Suster Mmm.
321. Clarence Back in the closet. Suster = =

322. Suster = = **Nou {Now}**, Clarence, **is jy {are you}** sad **nou oor die hele ding {now about this whole thing}**?
323. Clarence Cleopatra's standing by.
324. Suster Mmm. Here's the one 'o clock news read by Cleopatra.
325. Clarence Cleopatra Khan, our news anchor, standing by with news at one 'o clock.
- News follows.
326. Clarence Thank you Cleopatra.
327. Suster. Haml, Haml, Haml, uh, Hamilton. Ham, ham, what's it?
328. Zulpha Khan Hamilton Street.
329. Suster Okay, okay. Got it, got it.
330. Clarence Zulpha Khan with news at one 'o clock. Just this, this 'new look' Zulpha. I dunno if you've noticed. Looks, looks a little like those, those photographs of Cleopatra in the movies.
331. Suster I, I think it's a newsroom effect. You know, there's Poona and there's Zulpha, and you just have to work on the blonde a bit. You know, maybe next week the blonde will come in with her.
332. Clarence You say the, say the roots are = =
333. Suster = = **Ja {Yes}**, no = =
334. Clarence = = are deep.
335. Suster Can you imagine () I mean Jan in a, in a black, you know (). I think it must just amuse her having this black hairdo.
336. Clarence Jan also with a black hairdo?
337. Suster **Ja {Yes}**, there's Jan and its like, like, NICE. Mmm, you step out = =
338. Clarence = = the All Blacks.
339. Suster [laughter]
340. Clarence [laughter]
341. Suster Mmm, sy blush **{she's blushing}**. **Haai {Oh}** shame.
342. Clarence Okay. Right. Suster. Quarter past one. It's the beautiful game with Nick Feinberg and then we're probably gonna have a bit of a free, free for all from about half past one.
343. Suster **Ja {Yes}**. Clarence, you know, I, I sat, sat down this morning and I just looked at your, the, the past, what's it nearly twelve years of, of broadcasting and, and the moments the two of us had together. Can you remember the times **wat ons oorals gegaan het met daai** helicopter, **al oor die Kaap, verstaan jy {that we went everywhere with that helicopter, all over Cape Town, you understand}**? **Elke Sa'rag** (Saterdag) **middag is die** helicopter **die kant {Every Saturday afternoon the helicopter is this side}**, **die** helicopter. **Dan kom ons net Perel in {Then we just get into Paarl}**. Can you remember that day we landed in Paarl in, on that sportsground? **Toe haloop** (hardloop) **al die mense nader aan die {So all the people ran closer to the}** helicopter. **Toe spring jy van** ten metres high, **spring jy uit, uit die** helicopter **uit soos watse Jeb Jungle {So you jumped from ten metres high, you jumped out, out of the helicopter like some kind of Jeb Jungle}** [laughter]. Just because, **en al wat die mense wil gehad het is, hulle wil hulle hare ge-blowdry het {and all the people wanted is, they wanted to blowdry their hair}**, because of the down draught **van die {of the}** helicopter. **En toe {And so}**, you know, you, you spoiled their whole afternoon because **die {the}** rollers **en al het geha'loep** (gehardloop) **na die {and all ran to the}** helicopter. **Ja, en {Yes, and}**()
344. Clarence It sounds like even in your, in death throws. Suster is in death throws. Even in death throws Suster's still taking the Mickey out the Paarl.
345. Suster No Clarence (), **moet nou nie daar gat'ie** (gaan nie) **{don't go there now}** (). Nevermind days of Fairways. I mean, I had really, really rude letters from the people of Fairways. **Kyk {Look}**, Fairways was my favourite place, you know. They wrote "Leave Fairways alone" and "You can't afford us and that's why you're talking about us" and, and, **ek kry een brief nog van {I still get a letter from}** Fairways – "Since you've been talking about Fairways on radio, uh, all of a sudden people in, in taxis with all kinds of advertising is pulling up and trying to buy houses in Fairways and, and you're downgrading our place." **Verstaan jy {You understand}**? I really got letters like that. I, I must stop talking about Fairways, its not my

- favourite place = =
346. Clarence = = I, I really remember this one, this one letter that you got from, from, from Fairways as well – “We really do not decant our brandy. It’s not true.” It’s P4.
- Music followed by The Beautiful Game (a soccer show), adverts and more music.
347. Clarence It’s 104.9, the heart and soul of Cape Town. Of course done by Chicago and Peter Sentera. Done by Versus this time. They’ve stuck a bit of a funky new beat to it – “If you leave me now you take away the biggest part of me.” It is the very last, uh, performance, appearance = =
348. Suster = = Broadcast, Clarence. Broadcast. Performance – **ek perform ‘ie (nie) hierso nie {I don’t perform here}**. You know. My last I, my last I- , live performance was last night. What a wonderful show I had.
349. Clarence Is it?
350. Suster Two hun-, two hundred people. Very warm, receptive, ah, you know. I went **bos {wild}**, bananas, **die varkies is los {the pigs are on the loose}**, you understand? And I went all over the place and people really sort of (). It sort of became a little emotional for me = =
351. Clarence = = Could you see the shock on the people’s faces? How a big man like you transforms into a [laughter] an agony aunt is an absolutely amazing phenomenon. Anyway we’ve got some guests in the studio and they just looked quite shocked when you burst there into your tantrum, Suster. Go on. [laughter]
352. Suster [laughter] No man Clarence man. It’s like a, be nice to Suster day today. Its, its like the minutes are counting till three ‘o clock so, you know, really, work with me Clarence.
353. Clarence Okay.
354. Suster Because if you don’t, by two ‘o clock, **gat (gaan) ek jou klap, man {I’m going to smack you, man}**. You understand = =
355. Clarence = = I, I , I get the feeling there’s a lot you wanna get off your chest so maybe I should just sit back = =
356. Suster = = No, no, I think, why don’t you just converseate?
357. Clarence Conversate?
358. Suster Conversate.
359. Clarence Okay, () converseate.
360. Suster **Moet, moet, moenie worry nie {Don’t worry}**. Let’s take that call there.
361. Clarence You wanna take this call.
362. Suster **Ja {Yes}**. P4, good day.
363. Caller 1 Hi. Can I please speak to Suster?
364. Suster Speaking.
365. Caller 1 Suster = =
366. Clarence = = You wanna converseate with Sus- = =
367. Caller 1 = = I want to ask you, are you emigrating?
368. Suster NO, **meisie {girl}**, I’m not emigrating. Now, now – just in case there’s more questions coming up – I’m not emi-, emigrating. No, I’m not pregnant, um, will never be, um, no I have () Its just, I, I’ve just re-focussing my, my, my lifestyle = =
369. Clarence = = your energy.
370. Suster My energies in the, in the direction of business. My head has always been in business, so, you know, the broadcasting unfortunately just took up a little bit of that space, you understand, **en die clients is ‘n bietjie, ‘n bietjie op my gat {and the clients are a bit, a bit on my case}**, understand, cos they want to really get my attention and, and splitting it between broadcasting and that ... something had to give. Unfortunately, my sweetheart.
371. Caller 1 Okay, but listen, we’re gonna miss you hey.
372. Suster I’m gonna miss this broadcasting thing tremendously, you understand = =
373. Caller 1 = = is it?
374. Suster () You know, the good thing is I, I, I’ll most probably still be friends with Clarence. Maybe until Christmas but () that’s about it, you know.
375. Caller 1 Okay, you keep well hey Suster.

376. Suster Will do. Thank you my sweetheart. P4, good day.
377. Caller 2 Hi. Good day.
378. Suster Yes.
379. Caller 2 Suster?
380. Suster Yes.
381. Caller 2 Hello. May I speak to Suster please?
382. Suster Speaking.
383. Caller 2 Suster, **aan watter grond gaan u** {on what grounds are you leaving}?
384. Suster **Watter wat** {Which what}?
385. Caller 2 ()
386. Suster **Watter grond gaan u**{on what grounds are you leaving} ?
387. Caller 2 **Ja** {Yes}.
388. Suster **Ek verstaan nou nie die, die vraag 'ie** (nie) {I now dont understand the, the question}.
389. Clarence **Op watter gronde gaan jy weg, is dit die** {on what grounds are you leaving, is that the} = =
390. Suster = = OH! **Watter grond** {What grounds}! Okay, **nog 'n, nog 'n ding – ek is nie ge-fire nie** {another, another thing – I was not fired}. **Ek is niks** {I am nothing} [laughter]. No, it's purely on the grounds of business and it's a personal decision. Yes, and ... but, but, **soos** {like} Clarence **nou die dag gesê het** {said the other day}, "Somewhere, somehow, you see, I'm, I, I'm not owned by myself. I'm owned by you. I'm, just a custodian of me." **Verstaan jy daai** {Do you understand that}?
391. Caller 2 **Ja** {Yes} () **ek verstaan wat jy sê** {I understand what you're saying}.
392. Suster You.
393. Clarence ()
394. Suster **Is** {Its} very deep [vədʌx] (vandag) {today}, **verstaan jy** {you understand}, but **ek wil 'ie** (wil nie) sad **wies 'ie**, (wees nie) **man** {I don't want to be sad, man}, but you know I had, I had great times over the past () nearly twelve years. And wonderful highlights and every moment I met THOUSANDS of people. I think I only remember two of their names, but, I mean like, it's just, it's just that it was just a wonderful experience and its just time for that, for that journey to come to an end.
395. Caller 2 Okay, but, **alle voorspoed vir u** {good luck to you}.
396. Suster **Voorspoed vir u oek, [nə]** {Good luck to you too, hey}. Bye... P4, good day.
397. Caller 3 Suster, **goeie middag** {good afternoon}.
398. Suster **Goeie middag** {Good afternoon}.
399. Caller 3 **Dit is** {It is} NAME Miller.
400. Suster NAME Miller.
401. Caller 3 **Ja** {Yes}. Clarence, uh, sorry, Suster, **ek wil jou net graag toewens alles wat mooi is vir die toekoms** {I would just like to wish you everything of the best for the future}, hey. Uh, um, **jy onthou seker nog ons was saam op die tour gewies** (gewees) **na Europa toe** {you probable remember we were together on the tour to Europe}. **Ek het daardie pragtige fotos en** {I have those beautiful photos and} videotapes = =
402. Suster = = Oh, NAME! Yes, NAME. [neI] **ek** {No I} remember. **Jy't** (Jy het) **mos vir Oudemeester 'n goeie naam gegee in** {You gave Oudemeester a good name in} Europe, [nə] {hey}?
403. Caller 3 **Presies** {Exactly}! **Presies** {Exactly}! [laughter]
404. Suster **Presies, ja** {Exactly, yes}! **Ja** {Yes}, NAME is one of, NAME was the guy that, before we hit Par = =
405. Clarence = = I'm surprised he remembers anything
406. Suster He remembers it. **Ja** {Yes}, but, but, NAME was the guy before we, we travelled the last, last month, uh, um, July, we travelled to Paris, to, to Amsterdam and before we hit Paris, from Jo'burg to Paris NAME finished two bottles of brandy on the plane.
407. Caller 3 Yes.
408. Suster **Verstaan jy** {You understand}? [NAME laughing in the background] I, I, I think Blackman Ngoro was on that plane. Uh, um, **is daar wat hy sy, sy, sy** information {its there that he got his, his, his information}() = =
409. Clarence = = theories develop **het** {developed his theories}

410. Suster [laughter] Sy theories develop **het van die hele storie** {Developed his theories from this whole story}. But, NAME, man, anyway, it was such a lovely experience with YOU especially. You know, the times... NAME **was die een wat ons so baie ge-fine het** {was the one that we fined so much}. We fined him something like, how many eu, euros?
411. Caller 3 It was over a hundred euros.
412. Suster Over a hundred, **ja {yes}**, over a hundred euros for mis-, for bringing the ... constitution into disrepute ==
413. Caller 3 == [laughter] ()
414. Suster == in a foreign country, but **ja {yes}**, it, it was great. Thanks very much NAME.
415. Caller 3 **Ja {Yes}**, we had a beautiful time together ==
416. Suster == Okay ==
417. Caller 3 == with Clarence, with you, with all the other guys.
418. Suster Mmm.
419. Caller 3 It will always be in my heart. I will always treasure it. I always look at the videotapes when I got time and ... the photos. I would like us guys to come together again and share all that beautiful moments together.
420. Suster It, it is in the future. We will get together as, as, as a reunion.
421. Clarence **Ja, en Suster, daar was so 'n rumour gewies van julle twee wat, wat 'n kamer ... ge-share het** {Yes, and Suster, there was a rumour about you two that shared a room}. **Is 'it** (is dit) **waar** {Is it true}?
422. Caller 3 **Nee, dit is glad 'ie waar 'ie** (glad nie waar nie) {No, it is not at all true}. **Oh nee, dit is nie** {Oh no, it is not}.
423. Suster Thank you NAME ==
424. Clarence == Deny, deny!
425. Suster == for () NAME. Clarence, you know, you ==
426. Caller 3 == ()
427. Suster Thank you, thank you NAME. () How can you, you bring up rumours like that man? It's so, it's not nice.
428. Clarence But I just wanna get it in the open, you know. Then it ==
429. Suster == No
430. Clarence == doesn't continue to be a rumour, you know. Then, then you establish the facts.
431. Suster Mmm, like, I mean because ==
432. Clarence == the rumour was that you two were rock, rocking the boat that you were staying on.
433. Suster **Ja {Yes}**, right! Okay, **ja {yes}** Clarence. I mean, really now, because you were ... Clarence left here, I, if, if, we, we, were in countries where we had to cross borders between border police **en sulke goed** {and things like that}, we would have been in BIG trouble. He left here with a suitcase full of, of, med-, medication... **Ja {yes}**, it was like drugs for Africa. Its drugs **vir 'ie** (vir die) {for the}, for the lung, drugs for the liver, drugs for the kidney, drugs for his left foot, drugs for his right foot. It was like just ... just everywhere and Clarence is like, "Let me have a sip of ... expectorant and expectant" and I dunno. It was just ... it was such a nightmare. P4 good day.
434. Caller 4 Hi. Is that Suster?
435. Suster Speaking.
436. Caller 4 Hi Suster.
437. Suster Mmm, uhm.
438. Caller 4 I just want to wish you everything of the best for the future. You've been a great, great person ... on P4.
439. Suster Thank you sweetheart. As, as a matter of fact, I've feel more delightful just talking to you man. I just want to wish you well in whatever you do, you know, that if I left maybe a small gap in your, in your life, that it will be filled up very soon. Don't worry, we all [music starts playing]. **Nou's** (Nou is) **jy weer onbeskof** {Now youre being rude again}. **Sit net die music aan terwyl ek praat** {Just switch the music on while I am talking}, like I REALLY don't mind. Ha!
440. Clarence [music playing] "She's fresh", Cool and the Gang on P4 and of course Update **Kaapse Vlakke** with Suster. Very last appearance in the studio. We'll take some more of your calls in

a short while.

Music followed by adverts and then some more music.

441. Clarence It's 104.9, the heart and soul of Cape Town. From Ronnie Jordan, "Get to grips" bringing the time up to two 'o clock ... now, and of course the last of Suster on P4. And you say I'm, I'm offish, I'm abrupt ==
442. Suster == **Ja {Yes}**. I took, I took about three, four calls off-air now and every caller, um, referred to you are being abrupt and rude and (). No, I was ==
443. Clarence == you have developed a theory about it.
444. Suster **Ja {Yes}**, I was very much in defence of you ... () Just a theory, Clarence, because I've known you too long now, a day too long, because I said, "You know, Clarence has a problem just showing affection and things like that. So he's the type of person that does everything in the opposite to show what he actually means, you know. So he will go to the other extremes to say" ==
445. Clarence == but I wasn't nasty. I didn't do anything.
446. Suster **Ja, ja {yes, yes}**, you, you know, that type of **dinges {things}**, that type of attitude that you had now. You, your body language () where I'm sitting now in the studio, you know, it's your body language alone ... you know, telling me you're so offish, so, so, **kaka {shitty}**, you, and its not nice. P4 good day.
447. Caller 5 Hi Suster. How are you?
448. Suster I'm well girlfriend.
449. Caller 5 Um, I would just, um, you seem like you are now talking about attitude problems ==
450. Suster == Mmm.
451. Caller 5 What is wrong with Aden Thomas? Does he [hesitation, then silence]
452. Suster **Ja {Yes}**. P4, good day.
453. Caller 6 Hello Suster.
454. Suster Yes.
455. Caller 6 We really gonna miss you, hey.
456. Suster I, I'm gonna miss this as well, but, you know ==
457. Caller 6 == () no
458. Suster == its part of life, dear.
459. Caller 6 All this things that you talk on TV that make a person laugh, like the ==
460. Suster == TV!
461. Caller 6 I mean on radio. You said this morning about you and Clarence going on this plane to I dunno where.
462. Suster Mmm.
463. Caller 6 Helicopter and, and the people came running to the heli- ==
464. Suster == **ja {yes}**, that, **ja {yes}**
465. Caller 6 == **en hulle't** (hulle het) **hulle hare ko'** (kom) **droeg** (droog) **maak {and they came to dry their hair}**.
466. Suster **Ja {yes}**, but that, that serial ==
467. Caller 6 == you make people laugh and I'm mo- , here in the kitchen, most of the time and I listen to you and I laugh.
468. Suster [laughter]
469. Caller 6 I really laugh.
470. Suster [laughing] We don't make these things up. It's true, **bokkie {darling}**. It's true. That really happened.
471. Caller 6 You know, I went through a very rough time now. My sister was in hospital. She had a tumour on the brain ... and she made a remarkable recovery ... but, you know, through all the sadness I stand here in this kitchen and I always laugh for you. You make one feel ... good sometimes.
472. Suster Thank you.
473. Caller 6 You know when you're feeling down, then you uplift us ==
474. Suster == Thanks.

475. Caller 6 = = but everything of the best for you for the future.
476. Suster () Thanks very, very much. You know, its, its, its quite ... quite good to hear that cos I don't know what I'm doing. Sometimes Clarence don't know what we doing in the studio = =
477. Caller 6 = =there is just something about you = =
478. Suster = = you know, because we get like very little feedback () and like, like, let me tell you this little story. Once we were at this super, super, uh, uh, mall, not so long ago at Table View and, uh, what's that mall in Table View Clarence? We did the out, outdoor broadcast?
479. Clarence Bayside Centre.
480. Suster Bayside Centre. We do outdoor broadcasts and this woman came up to me – total stranger – and she said she need to talk to me and she need to tell me, relate something to me. She lost her mother and she was very close to her mother = =
481. Caller 6 = = **Ja {yes}**.
482. Suster = = and she ... there was this emptiness in, in her life.
483. Caller 6 **Ja {yes}**.
484. Suster And she then latched onto P4 radio and onto, onto this show and she really realised that, you know, she need to move on = =
485. Caller 6 = = ()
486. Suster = = through this show and I'm like, but how, how do you relate to it?
487. Caller 6 **Ja {yes}**.
488. Suster She said, you know, it's just that she learned to laugh all over again, you know = =
489. Caller 6 = = Mmm.
490. Suster = = and I thought, if I've done something like that its just, it just gives me, just, just kind of goosebumps, you know.
491. Caller 6 **Ja {yes}**.
492. Suster () **soes (soos)ek gesê het () ons ko' (kom) hier in 'ie (in die) {like I said, we come here in the studio} studio, ons wiet'ie (weet nie) wie luister nie {we don't know who is listening}**.
493. Caller 6 You'll be surprised to hear the amount of people that listens to you and that enjoy it, but God bless you = =
494. Suster = = Thank you.
495. Caller 6 = = and wherever you may be going, I don't know, you be happy = =
496. Suster = = Thank you very much.
497. Caller 6 = = hey.
498. Suster Thank you.
499. Caller 6 Okay, you keep well.
500. Suster P4, good day.
501. Caller 7 Hi good day. I'm holding for, I'd like to speak to Suster. Uh, are we not finally going to, um, get a book from you with all your experiences on P4 radio?
502. Suster Man, I believe in every person **meisie. In elke persoon is daar 'n boek {In every person ther is a book}**. **Maak 'ie (nie) saak wie jy is 'ie (nie) {Doesn't matter who you are}**. **Daar is 'n boek {There is a book}**. There's something to read and, and a story to write in every person. **Ek is nou nie daai memoirs type a person nie {I am now not the type for memoirs}**. **Wiet (weet) jy as, ons, ek het 'ie (die) {You know if, we, I don't have}**, between, between Clarence and myself, **ons het 'ie (nie) eers 'n {we dont even have a} recording van die shows wat ons doen nie {that we do}**, you know. I'm not a memoirs type of person. I believe that you, you do things = =
503. Clarence = = moments are moments.
504. Suster Moments, moments are moments. You do things. Things happen. It's for a reason. The, I don't believe in coincidence, and you take lessons out of this moments and you move on. And, and, **nie, nie, nie elke dag, vir 'n {not, not, not everyday, for a} fact**, but yes, I have, **tussen my en jou en tussen ons twee meisie, op my, op my, uh, computer, het ek begin te goeters skryf {between me and you and between the two of us, girl, I have begun to write things down on my computer}**. Just because **my memory begin te nou te fade, verstaan jy {my memory is now beginning to fade, you understand}**. So, **en, en elke keer dan remind iemand vir my {and, and everytime someone reminds me}** – you know when you said that and that on that show – **dan kyk ek vir hulle met 'n {then I look at them with a} blank stare**

because ... did I really say that, you know? Because I don't know. But people take a little bit out of the show and make it their own and, and YEARS later they remind me what I've said. So somehow or another **het ek nou begin te, om vir my 'n reminder diary begin te skryf, verstaan jy {I have now begun to, to write myself a reminder diary}**? So, just in case. But a book? Maybe. But thanks for the encouragement. P4 good day?

505. Caller 8 Hi Suster.
506. Suster Hi girl.
507. Caller 8 How are you?
508. Suster I'm well.
509. Caller 8 Is it? This is NAME.
510. Suster NAME, yes girlfriend.
511. Caller 8 Suster, I just wanna say, um, **ek gaan vir jou miss {I am going to miss you}**.
512. Suster Mmm.
513. Caller 8 **Ek gaan vir jou regtig waar miss {I am really and truly going to miss you}** because I really, really love you.
514. Suster Clarence = =
515. Caller 8 = = thank you, actually
516. Suster = = No, no, Clarence is the catalyst. Clarence **is altyd hierso {is always here}**.
517. Caller 8 **Ek weet, ja, ek weet hy is altyd daar, maar jy's (jy is) mos hier elke Vrydag op {I know, yes, I know he is always there, but you are on here every Friday}**.
518. Suster **Ja, en, en, en {Yes, and, and, and, and}**, you know, **som (sommige) mense vat 'n bietjie baie lank om gewoon te raak aan {some people take a bit too long to get used to}** change. So, uh, cos things are changing. Yes, **ons gat'ie (gaan nie) nou wees op 'n Vrydag meer nie {we are not going to be on a Friday anymore}**. **Ons gat 'ie (gaan nie) nou weer {We are not going to again}** () I'm not going to any other radio station. I'm not going into broadcasting. Period. That's it.
519. Caller 8 Okay.
520. Caller 8 So, um ... some how or another **gat (gaan) Clarence a way kry {some how or another Clarence is going to find a way}**. **Ek ken die jong {I know this guy}**.
521. Caller 8 [laughter]
522. Suster Somehow or another ... in the future **gat (gaan) Clarence a feature, a way kry om vir my hier in die studio te kry, verstaan jy {in the future Clarence is going to get a feature, a way to get me here in the studio, you understand}**. And it's gonna take a lotta soul searching () =
523. Caller 8 = = [laughter]
524. Suster **Ek ken hom {I know him}**, you know.
525. Caller 8 **Ek wens hy kry vir jou weer t'rug (terug) {I hope he gets you back again}**.
526. Suster **Ja {Yes}**, but you know = =
527. Caller 8 = = **Ja {Yes}**.
528. Suster = = but, but, you know, I, I love you = =
529. Clarence = = **Die's (die is) {This is} divorce meisie {girl}**. **Die's (die is) {This is} divorce**.
530. Suster **Die's (die is) {This is} divorce**. **'Is (dit is) {It is} final.** **'Is (dit is) {It is} divorce = =**
531. Caller 8 = = [laughter]
532. Suster = = **die assets word ge-share vanaand, verstaan jy {the assets will be shared tonight, you understand}**? Uh, uh, **die's (die is) {It is} serious divorce**. Okay.
533. Caller 8 Suster, **maar alles van 'ie (van die) beste {Suster, but everything of the best}**.
534. Suster Thank you, sweetheart.
535. Caller 8 [music playing] We're gonna miss you, but we love you.
536. Suster [music playing] Thank you. I love you too.
537. Clarence [music playing] NAME, Suster no more longer.
538. Caller 8 [music playing] [laughter]
539. Suster [music playing]
540. Caller 8 [music playing]
541. Clarence [music playing] Okay. Bye bye.

Music

542. Clarence It's 104.9, the heart and soul of Cape Town. From The Whispers, "It's a love thing". You also heard, from Tina Charles, "I love to love". Twelve minutes past two 'o clock and, of course, our farewell little show for Suster who leaves, uh, the studio, um, hopefully not for the last time. I hope you will pop by again some time, Suster. Um = =
543. Suster = = I pop by to say HALLO.
544. Clarence = = but this, this voice is going to be conspicuously silent.
545. Suster That's it. P4 = =
546. Clarence = = that loud voice of yours.
547. Suster P4, good day.
548. Caller 9 Hi, Suster?
549. Suster Yes, girl.
550. Caller 9 Suster, this is NAME. How are you doing?
551. Suster I'm well NAME. How you keeping?
552. Caller 9 OH, fine, fine. How can you leave ()? You're the only real thing that's on the airwaves.
553. Suster No, no, no, no. I am = =
554. Caller 9 = = hello
555. Suster Uh, no, no NAME. I disagree. I disagree. No = =
556. Caller 9 = = Can you hear me Suster?
557. Suster I disagree. There is a TREMENDOUS amount of talent = =
558. Caller 9 = = () How did you and Suster, I mean how did Clarence get hold of you? Did you audition for the role or what?
559. Suster Did I audition for this?
560. Clarence [laughter]
561. Caller 9 Huh?
562. Suster () Okay, I'm gonna tell this story AGAIN and = =
563. Caller 9 = = Oh, sorry. [laughter]
564. Suster Cla, Clarence must I tell the story again? Okay, you gonna listen on air NAME. It was one, uh, Friday morning, uh, LONG, LONG ago. No, it wasn't. [laughter] It was about, I think = =
565. Clarence = = Once upon a time.
566. Suster Once upon a time. The year was 1995 and it was, I think it was October, the 25th. It was on a Friday. If I remember it was Friday. I was on my way to, uh, an appointment in Sea Point **en toe phone die client om vir my te sê {and so this client phoned to tell me}**, "Don't come now, come, b, b, be at my office at half past twelve." But **toe's ek al nou {so I was already}**, um, half way **daar al {there}**, () op Eastern Boulevard. **Toe phone ek nou so vir {So I phoned Clarence}** Clarence. **Toe sê ek, wel, "Kan ek nou my tyd ko waste daar?" {So I said, well, "Can I come and waste my time there?"}** because I'm not gonna go back to where I'm from, to the Southern suburbs. **Ek wil nou my tyd ko' (kom) waste {I now wanted to come waste my time}**, cos, oh, () So I went there, went to read the newspaper as per usual, and then he had a very annoying, uh, listener on the phone, but off air. Like music was playing your side, and, and, and, on, in the studio ... he had a, um, a listener on the phone. It was one of those people that was SO excited, **verstaan jy {you understand}**, **om, vir met die DJ te praat van {to speak to the DJ}**, OOH, **hulle't (hulle het) deur gekom na Clarence toe {they got through to Clarence}**. **En Clarence was bietjie besig (besig) {And Clarence was a bit busy}** because **daai tyd was alles mos {then everything was}** analogue. **Jy moet jou CD in gesit het en jy moet die, die LP op gesit het en {You had to put your CD in and you had to put the LP on}**, you know, nothing was automated. **Jy moet alles self gedoen het {You had to do everything yourself}**. And Clarence **was besig (besig) om almal daai goed to doen {And Clarence was busy doing all of this}**. **En jy moet jou, jou goeters af tick en jou advertising opsit {and you had to tick your things off and put your advertising on}** and whatever. And (laughter) and, **die, hy kan 'ie (nie) rid ko' (kom) van die phone nie {And he couldn't get rid of this phone}**. **So {So}** it's like **die {this}** sort of **die {this}** handsfree environment **waar jy met die speaker moet praat {where you have to talk with (using) a**

speaker}. **En toe stoot hy nou die mic in my direction, vir my sê ()** “Get rid of the woman.” **Toe dink, dink ek aan myself, haai heene, daar sit ekke (ek) nou {So I thought to myself, oh gosh, here I’m sitting now}**. **Ek {I}, I mean, ek ken nie die mense nie {I don’t know the people}**. **Ek het niks te doen met {I have nothing to do with}**, I had no desire to be on radio **verstaan jy {you understand}**. **Ek het nou nog ’ie (nie) desire om op radio te wies ’ie (wees nie) {I still don’t have a desire to be on radio}**. And, um, he then, just pushed the mic and he says, “Do something” and ... I spoke. And I spoke in this voice ... and I told her where to get off the bus, where to get off the **kar {car}** or the taxi, **die {the}** bicycle. You know, I just told her basically where to get off. But, the more the more I was talking, it, it became more laughable – **en het ’ie (nie) gewiet (geweet) wat la-, laughing matters all about is ’ie (nie) {and I didn’t know what laughing matters are all about}**. **En toe ek nou opkyk {And when I now looked up}**, **toe, toe ek nou vir my like, to come to my senses, toe lag ’ie (die) vrou op ’ie (die) {when I like came to my senses, so the woman was laughing on the phone}** phone and Clarence is laying on the ground laughing. Because I had no idea what I said, what was so funny. Uh, in the meantime, the CD came to a dead stop because, you play music in a studio, it, uh, it runs, the time runs backwards. It’s a four minute CD, so like four to zero. **En toe hy opkyk toe sien hy zero daar {And when he looked up he saw zero there}** and basically, there was nothing on air **en al wat hy kan doen is {and all that he could do was}** to press the, the live button, which is the green button, which I didn’t know anything about buttons. **Ek ken nou nog ’ie (nie) goeters van buttons ’ie (nie), verstaan jy {I still don’t know anything about buttons, you understand}**? And ... my voice then went out live for all =

567. Clarence = = and the rest is history.
568. Suster And the rest is history. And why, how, how it came about – somebody asked him, “Who’s in the studio with you?” in that same programme. **En al wat hy kan sê is {And all that he could say is}**, “It’s my sister.” Well. Lo and behold, there I was born. I was bred **en daar gat (gaan) ons aan {and there we went}**. And so many years later its time to say goodbye = =
569. Clarence = = and she says you’re the only real thing on radio [laughing]
570. Suster **Ja {Yes}**, she says I’m the only real thing. Mmm.
571. Caller 10 Hallo Suster.
572. Suster P4 good day. Yes, **meisie {girl}**.
573. Caller 10 **Die’s (die is) {This is}** brother NAME, **hoe gaan dit {how is it going}**?
574. Suster **Broer {Brother}** NAME, girlfriend = =
575. Caller 10 = = ()
576. Suster () **Gat (gaan) dit nog lekker waar jy kyk {Is it still going well where you are}**?
577. Caller 10 **Dit gat (gaan) nog duidelik (slang, direct translation = clear) in die Kaapstad () {It is still going well in Cape Town.}**
578. Suster **Is ‘it (dit)? Is ‘it (dit)? Is ‘it (dit) {Is it? Is it? Is it?}**?
579. Caller 10 **Kyk hier, ek wil net hê jy moet net ‘n, ‘n {Look here, I just want you to, a, a} request, want ek werk moes hier vir {I work here for a}, um, ‘n {a} call center, sien jy {you see}**?
580. Suster Mmm.
581. Caller 10 **Net vir ’ie (die), is ‘n blinde {Just for the, it’s a blind} call centre ... met blinde mense, sien jy {with blind people, you see}**?
582. Suster [laughter] Richard, **die {the} way daai nou sound is it {that now sounds} ()**. Okay, **is blinde mense wat die phone handles by die call centre {Okay, its blind people that handle the phones at the call centre}**.
583. Caller 10 **Dis (Dit is) korrek, ja {That’s correct, yes}**.
584. Suster **Is ’ie (nie) ‘n blinde call centre nie {It’s not a blind call centre} = =**
585. Caller 10 = = **ek noem ‘it (dit) ‘n blinde {I call it a blind} call centre, man {man}**.
586. Suster Okay.
587. Caller 10 [laughter]
588. Suster Okay, **so, so niemand, nie een van julle wiet (weet) waar ’ie (die) call centre is ’ie (nie) {so, so nobody, not one of you know where the call centre is}**? [laughter]
589. Caller 10 [laughter] **En, dan wil ek hê jy moet net vir Meneer Potgieter ... net vir hom se dat NAME sê hallo {And then I would like you to tell Mister Potgieter, just tell him that NAME**

- says hello}.
590. Suster Okay. **Is, is, is Meneer Potgieter ook** (ook), uh, uh, **blind** {Is, is, is Mister Potgieter also,uh, uh, blind}?
591. Caller 10 **Ja, hy's ook** (hy is ook) 'n blinde man {Yes, he is also a blind man}.
592. Suster **Is 'it** (dit) {Is it}? Okay.
593. Caller 10 **Ja** {Yes}.
594. Suster Okay, **so julle't** (julle het) **nog 'ie** (nie) **mekaar gesien nie** {so you guys haven't seen each other yet}?
595. Caller 10 **Net, net mekaar gevoel** {Just, just felt each other}.
596. Suster Okay. [laughter]
597. Caller 10 () **en die res van 'ie** (die) {and the rest of the} team.
598. Suster [laughter] Okay NAME.
599. Caller 10 **En ek wil hê jy moet daai** {And I just want you to} twenty minutes re, request, um, uh, **vir** {for} bad advertising = =
600. Suster = = Okay, okay, bye NAME. Okay, bye = = [phone hung up]
601. Suster [laughing] P4 good day.[bad connection]. P4 good day.
602. Caller 11 Hi. Good day, Suster?
603. Suster Yes.
604. Caller 11 Hi. How are you?
605. Suster I'm well girl.
606. Caller 11 Listen! I never listened to P4 radio before.
607. Suster Mmm.
608. Caller 11 But the day when you were doing the show of the ... traditional wear in Cape Town.
609. Suster Mmm.
610. Caller 11 **Op die Kaapse Vlakte** {On the Cape Flats}.
611. Suster **Ja** {Yes}, that. **Die rollers en die voorskoot en die** {The rollers and the apron and the} floral = =
612. Caller 11 = = **en die** {and the} floral dresses
613. Suster = = **rokkie, ja, met die kaparangs** {little dress, yes, with the sandals}.
614. Caller 11 = = Since that day. Since that day I've loved the show.
615. Suster Okay, uh, so did you follow my advice? **Het jy nou, daai, jou** traditional dress **begin te dra** {Have you now begun to wear your traditional dress}?
616. Caller 11 **Nee, toe realise ek, want daai tyd was die** floral, floral dress **mos in die mode** {No, then I realised, because that time the floral dress was in fashion}.
617. Suster Uh huh.
618. Caller 11 **Kyk, as jy nie 'n** floral dress **in jou ... in jou** wardrobe **gehad het nie, dan was jy nie in die mode nie** {Look, if you didn't have a floral dress in your wardrobe, then you weren't in fashion}.
619. Suster **Ja, dan was jy niemand gewies 'ie** (gewees nie) **verstaan** {Yes, then you were a 'nobody', you understand}?
620. Caller 11 **Dan was jy niemand gewies 'ie** (gewees nie) {Then you were a 'nobody'}.
621. Suster **Ja, ja** {Yes, yes}.
622. Caller 11 **En dit het vir my laat kyk, in die Kaapse Vlakte rond, van as jy nie 'n vrou, as 'n vrou nie 'n** floral dress **gehad het nie dan was sy nie in die mode nie** {And that made me look around the Cape Flats because, if you weren't a woman, if a woman didn't have a floral dress then she wasn't in fashion}.
623. Suster **Ja** {Yes}, no, **di's 'ie** (dit is nie) {it is not}. **Alles was** floral **gewies (gewees)** {everything was floral}. **Die** floral dress, **die** floral curtains **het ge-clash met alles, verstaan jy** {The floral dress, the floral curtain clashed with everything, you understand}?
624. Caller 11 **Verstaan jy** {You understand}. [laughter]
625. Suster [laughter] **So waar, oorals wat jy geloop het, het jy ge-clash** {Truly, everywhere you walked, you clashed}. **Jy** {You} **clash met jou, jou tafeldoek** {with your, your tablecloth}. **Jy** {You} **clash met die** {with the} curtains. **Jy** {You} **clash, jy** {you} **clash met die man, verstaan jy** {with the husband, you understand}?
626. Caller 11 [laughter]

627. Suster [laughter]
628. Caller 11 But, but, that day when, uh, uh, ‘n dame het ingebel en sy was baie onsteld omdat jy die, die, onse, sal ek nou maar tussen hakkies noem, onse Kleurlinge so afgekraak het wat die rollers in ’ie (in die) kop {a lady called in and she was very upset because you, shall I say it between brackets, cracked up our Coloureds with rollers in their heads}
629. Suster **Hallo {Hello}**.
630. Caller 11 **Jou {Your}** comment **aan haar was {to her was}**, “If you don’t have a sense of humour, then you don’t call P4.”
631. Suster Uh, I still maintain that. I think we all born with an in, with an in, inherent sense of humour.
632. Caller 11 So, **daai het my laat maak luister met {that made me listen with}** a sense of humour **na die {to the}** show.
633. Suster Thank you.
634. Caller 11 **En nie alles net te vat na die, na die, hoe sê ‘n mens, na die ernstigheid van die saak nie {And not to take everything, how does one say, seriously}**.
635. Suster **Verstaan jy {You understand}**. **Is mos tongue en cheek {It’s tongue and cheek, hey}**. **Is tongue orals en, verstaan jy {Its tongue everywhere and, you understand}**.
636. Caller 11 **Verstaan jy {You understand}**.
637. Suster **Ja, meisie {Yes, girl}**.
638. Caller 11 **En {And}**, that, that made me like ... learn to have a sense of humour. Thank you very much for that.
639. Suster That’s wonder, wonderful. You know, it doesn’t matter how down, off, depressed you feel =
640. Caller 11 = = its true.
641. Suster Just think about something really corny and start laughing. You’ll be amazed how much (). Your problem will still be there at the end of the day, but you’ll just feel lighter about it and you’ll be able to tackle it more, with your eyes open.
642. Caller 11 That’s true = =
643. Suster = = Thank you.
644. Caller 11 = = that’s what I’ve learnt from that show = =
645. Suster = = okay.
646. Caller 11 = = and since ever that day I love to listen to your voice.
647. Suster Thank you sweetheart.
648. Caller 11 Thank you very much and may God bless you = =
649. Suster = = and continue laughing. Okay.
650. Caller 11 And, yes, I’ll do that and then I will ever think of you.
651. Suster Thank you sweetheart.
652. Caller 11 Thank you very much.
653. Suster Thank you. That’s so nice Clarence, man. P4 good day.
654. Caller 12 Hi there. Hi there Suster. How are you?
655. Suster I’m well. I’m well.
656. Caller 12 Lovely stuff. I was hoping to get through to you guys. [pause] Suster, oh, I just wanna say thank you, thank you, thank you very much for, um, for making the whole of Cape Town [pause] laugh and just for giving us a brilliant time. I was just speaking to my wife now over the phone and I said, “Who is going to make us laugh now? Um, what stories am I going to tell my friends?” You know, um = =
657. Suster = = No, but, but you see, Clarence is still there. Clarence might go on television and that’s something to laugh about, you understand? So, so, so don’t, don’t wanna, no, no. Clarence is still gonna be there. Clarence is one, one of the people that I’ve learnt humour from, **verstaan jy {you understand}**. You know?
658. Caller 12 Also, Suster and Clarence, thank you very much for being such and inspiration to us. Um, I, I think that it was the beginning of this year, um, when you guys said that you guys are gonna do Xhosa together.
659. Suster YES. **Ja, ja, ja {Yes, yes, yes}**.
660. Caller 12 I was riding, um, I was driving in the, in the, uh, company car and I was just laughing and I, I told myself I’m gonna take that up with you guys.

661. Suster Mmm.
662. Caller 12 And, uh, **ja {yes}**, just through that now = =
663. Suster = = Okay, no, no, no. Listen, listen = =
664. Clarence = = *Molo buthi*.
665. Suster () *Molo*. Listen, listen = =
666. Caller 12 = = *Molo. Unjani?*
667. Suster Okay, okay, *buthi*, **laat ek nou mooi verstaan {allow me now to understand clearly}**. Okay, we've now determined that you are a very passionate person. We have now determined that **jy ry nie in 'n kar 'ie (nie), jy ry in 'n company kar {you don't drive in a car, you drive in a company car}**.
668. Caller 12 Oh sorry.
669. Suster Okay, okay. No, just be very careful how you phrase your words, **verstaan jy {you understand}**? **Sê net jy ry in 'n kar, maar {Just say you drive in a car, but}** = =
670. Caller 12 = = Okay sorry.
671. Suster No, no. **Jy hoef 'ie (nie) om te sê jy ry in 'n company kar 'ie (nie) {You don't have to say you drive in a company car}**, but it's nice. You're proud of your company and your car. Okay sweetheart.
672. Caller 12 **Ja{Yes}**. Just, thank you very much. Um, I have been trying, uh, for two years to get through to you guys and unfortunate its now at the end of the day = =
673. Suster = = Mmm.
674. Caller 12 = = to get through to you guys and I just wanna say thank you and, Suster, um, just enjoy the rest of your life and, **ja {yes}**, = =
675. Suster = = Okay, thanks.
676. Caller 12 = = we, we hope to see more of you some time, maybe on television. Maybe again just as a guest appearance on P4 radio. **Ja{yes}**, we just love you guys.
677. Suster Thank you. Thanks. Clarence = =
678. Clarence = = *Sala gahle*.
679. Suster *Sala gahle*.
680. Caller 12 Okay then. **Hamba kakuhle**.
681. Clarence [laughter]
682. Suster Okay, **[laIn] {Go}!**
683. Clarence [laughter]
684. Suster [laughter] You know Clarence, thank, thank you are two of the most wonderful words a person can hear (). Everytime someone says, um, thank you, the world becomes a little more beautiful. Like thank you recognises kindness in another person. Its one of the nicest phrases in any language. Like, you know, *enkos' kakuhl'*, thank you, because, because it recognises the art of, of human generosity, uh, that makes, um, our lives worth living. You know, so, its, I think, I just love to say thank you.
685. Clarence Sounds like its straight from a forget me not card.
686. Suster **[neI] {No}**, uh, uh, **jy (you). Ko' (kom), moenie ko' (kom) mos 'ie (nie) {Don't come and mess}**.
687. Clarence **Het jy weer kaartjies gelees {Have you been reading cards again}**?
688. Suster [laughter]
689. Clarence [laughter]
690. Suster [laughing] P4 good day. You know, **jy {you}**, you just, you just like = =
691. Clarence = = [laughter]
692. Suster = = you just being **rof en onbeskof {rough and rude}** today. P4 good day.
693. Caller 13 Hi Suster.
694. Suster Hi.
695. Caller 13 () Abrahams here.
696. Suster Yes Miss Abrahams.
697. Caller 13 You must excuse my voice because I've got flu, but I'm listening to your programme and I'm quite enjoying it.
698. Suster You must, you must be careful how you laugh with the flu **[nə] {hey}** because it hurts all over my sweetheart.

699. Caller 13 Yes, uh, I know that. I know that.
700. Suster Just ().
701. Caller 13 [laughing] Yes, it's quite funny that I can't stop laughing. () the funny one in the relationship.
702. Suster Okay.
703. Caller 13 Which, which brings me to you and Clarence, okay. Uh, I know that you're saying the show will continue because Clarence is there, but, by nature, Clarence is not as funny as you are.
704. Suster No.
705. Caller 13 You, you actually have to bring it out of him. He does laugh a lot, but only once people bring it out of him. You are funny by nature, even though you don't think that. Quite educated, quite literate, but you are funny by nature and that I quite enjoy. You're quite witty.
706. Clarence () Interesting. That is such a good point because you ARE funny by nature, Suster. But, strangely enough, you're Gemini hey? Suster's Gemini. When Suster = =
707. Suster = = ()
708. Clarence = =when Suster speaks English, then Suster's not funny. (laughing) When Suster speaks Afrikaans, then Suster's hilarious.
709. Caller 13 [laughter]
710. Clarence Why is that?
711. Caller 13 No, but Suster says quite witty things in English as well = =
712. Suster = = Thank you. Thank you.
713. Clarence = = ()
714. Caller 13 = = () and I must tell you, whenever I used to listen to, when I had the opportunity to listen to P4, Suster used to read these funny letters and I said to myself, "I wonder if Suster writes all these nonsense things by herself?"
715. Suster No. Its people writing it in to me. No, its people writing in.
716. Caller 13 Really?
717. Suster Yes.
718. Caller 13 (). I don't know about that = =
719. Suster = = **Jy kry mal mense wat sukke (sulke) goed skryf {You get crazy people that write such things}**.
720. Caller 13 = = () what am I gonna do on the programme tomorrow and then you would just come up with these funny letters. I mean, about people in Delft, um, painting their house with Tippex = =
721. Suster = = [laughter]
722. Caller 13 = = and their rooms are so small, you call it a four by four, and those kinda things. And, **wat is daai, die nuwe, uh, Suid Afrika wat vir jou lam laat {what is that, the new, uh, South Africa, that leaves you lame}**? I remember all of those things you know?
723. Suster [laughter]
724. Caller 13 The gardener who became a horticulturist. (). I remember that.
725. Suster Uh.
726. Caller 13 **Die nuwe Suid Afrika het vir hom lam gelaat {The new South Africa left him lame}**.
727. Suster [laughter]
728. Clarence **Sê gou weer {Say again, quickly}**. **Die nuwe Suid Afrika het hom lam gelaat {The new South Africa left him lame}**?
729. Caller 13 **Ekskuus {Excuse me}**?
730. Suster **Ja {Yes}**, no Clarence = =
731. Clarence = = What was the context of that? = =
732. Suster = = No, no, that, that letter that we received on this, uhm, this, uh, horticultural engineer.
733. Clarence Mmm.
734. Suster Gardener. Uh, from Constantia, man. Uh, **wat sy {that his}**, um, uh, pre- 94 **was hy nou net 'n gardener gewies (gewees) {he was just a gardener}** = =
735. Clarence = = Uh.
736. Suster = = **verstaan jy {you understand}**? **En toe maak hulle mos nou daai, daai speech en sulke goeters en toe's (toe is) hy nou, soma (sommer) nou die ... die, toe is die madam nou soma (sommer) interested in hom...** in more ways than one **{And so they made that, that speech and that kind of thing and so he was suddenly now the ... the, then the madam was**

- sinterested in him all of a sudden ... in more wyas than one} = =
737. Clarence = = Ooh, **ja** {yes}. Okay, okay, **ek onthou** {I remember}.
738. Suster = = **toe, toe** {so, so} () **die hele shed uitmekaar uit** {the whole shed apart}, you know, **ge-,ge-horticulture het, verstaan jy** {he horticultured it, you understand}?
739. Clarence [laughter]
740. Suster **Toe sê hy mos nou die hele, die nuwe Suid Afrika maak hom lam, verstaan jy** {So he said the whole, the new South Africa makes him lame, you understand}?
741. Clarence [laughter]
742. Suster () But, I mean, before that **het die trein hom lam gemaak** because of **die ge-stamp en stootery van die trein** {the train made him lame because of the knocking and pushing of the train} ...
743. Clarence [laughter]
744. Suster **Maar nou's 't** (nou is dit) **die madam verstaan jy** {But now it's the madam, you understand}, you know. [laughter] **Toe koop die madam vir hom 'n bakkie**, because, you know, **die madam wil vir hom preserve nog 'n bietjie langerer** {So the madam bought him a bakkie, because, you know, the madam wants to preserve him a bit longer}.
745. Caller 13 **Ja** {Yes}. Suster ... I wanna say I wish you everything of the best for your future endeavours, whatever you may do.
746. Suster Uh um.
747. Caller 13 **Ek het vir jou JARE gelede, dit, dit mag meskien die eerste jaar wees wat jy saam met Clarence was by Tafelsig Sekondêr** {YEARS ago I, it, it may perhaps be the first year that you were with Clarence at Tafelsig Secondary}. **Tussen daai tyd het ek oek Mitchells Plain baie besoek** {During that time I also visited Mitchells Plain a lot} = =
748. Suster = = **Daar, daar** {There, there}
749. Caller 13 = = () **ek het jou daar gesien** {I saw you there}.
750. Suster **Daar, daar't** (daar het) **ons nog geland** {There, there we still landed} = =
751. Caller 13 = = a beauty contest
752. Suster **Ja, daar, daar, ons moes** suppose **om geland het daai dag daarso met 'n helicopter** {Yes, there, there, we were supposed to land there that day with a heliopter}.
753. Caller 13 **Ek onthou, ja** {I remember, yes}.
754. Suster **Ja, toe kan os' ie** (ons nie) **land 'ie** (nie) because **daar was te veel vullis op 'ie** (die) **plek wat ons geland het** {Yes, so we couldn't land because there was too much rubbish in the place where we landed}.
755. Caller 13 [laughter]
756. Suster Can you remember that Clarence?
757. Caller 13 [laughter]
758. Suster **En toe circle ons daai hele** {And so we circled the whole of} Mitchells Plain = =
759. Clarence = = **Ja** {Yes}.
760. Suster = = because we couldn't land = =
761. Clarence = = the pilot said there was too much paper.
762. Suster There was too much paper on the ground, **toe kan ons 'ie** (nie) **land 'ie** (nie) {so we couldn't land}. **Toe moet ons nou 'n boodskap afstuur** {So we had to send a message down}, **"Maak 'ie** (die) **plek** {Make the place}" But **ons het weer t'rug** (terug) **gegaan** {we went back again}.
763. Caller 13 Yes, **ja** {yes}, yes you, you, um, they had a beauty contest and you were the MC or whatever.
764. Suster That's right, yes. **Toe soek os** (ons) **daai dag vir** {So that day we looked for} beauty.
765. Caller 13 **Ja** {Yes}.
766. Suster () **Toe kan ons net 'ie** (nie) **vir beauty in 'ie** (die) **hande gekry het nie by Tafelsig 'ie** (nie) {So we just couldn't get hold of beauty at Tafelsig}, but we got somebody at last.
767. Caller 13 [laughter]
768. Suster Okay sweetheart.
769. Caller 13 But I wish you everything of the best, okay. You keep well.
770. Suster Thank you.
771. Caller 13 And, Clarence, I hope, um, that we can continue in the same vibe. Um, prove me wrong ...

- when I say that you do not have a, a witty sense by nature. Prove me wrong.
772. Suster Dare to challenge him. That's it.
773. Clarence You asking me to change a personality defect = =
774. Caller 13 = = [laughter]
775. Clarence = = at the age of nearly forty. That's impossible.
776. Caller 13 I actually, I actually do not have to do that. Like I say, you are, um ... you're very quick when it comes on the update, but the thing is you need somebody like Suster to bring it out = =
777. Suster = = No.
778. Caller 13 = = now I wanna see you without Suster, if you, if you will = =
779. Suster = = No, you be, you be
780. Caller 13 = = because I don't think generally that you're like a drunk person or something like that.
781. Clarence [laughter]
782. Suster [laughter]
783. Caller 13 ()
784. Suster Okay, you don't wanna be around him when he's got PMS and things like that, but, but Clarence is generally a very, very funny person.
785. Clarence WHERE?
786. Caller 13 **Ek wiet** (weet) {I know}. **Hy's** (Hy is) **altyd so** {He is always so} prim and proper, **jy weet** {you know}. **En, en as hy Afrikaans praat dan, dan is hy eers** {And, and when he speaks Afrikaans, then he's only} prim and proper.
787. Suster **Ja** {Yes} . Prim **en** {and} prop **kop** {head}. **Ja** {Yes}. ()
788. Caller 13 **Ja** {Yes}. [laughing] **In elk geval Suster, alles van die beste, hoor** {In any case, Suster, all of the best, you hear}?
789. Suster Okay. Okay. Right. Bye. P4 good day.
790. Caller 14 Hi. Good afternoon Suster.
791. Suster Yes girlfriend.
792. Caller 14 Hi Suster. I just want to say thank you very much. I'm thinking of the nostalgic trip you took us on. Back to District Six. On the train to Kalk Bay. The watermelons.
793. Clarence [laughter]
794. Suster **Ja, en die chocolate logs wat rond float by** {Yes, and the chocolate logs that float around at}, you know, by Kalk Bay.
795. Clarence **En die blou eiers** {And the blue eggs} = =
796. Caller 14 = = in Kalk Bay and the Christmas choirs = =
797. Suster = = **Ja, die blou eiers** {Yes, the blue eggs}
798. Caller 14 = = and the coons, because we just lost our dad and he grew up in this place and, you know, I just want to say thank you VERY much.
799. Suster It's a pleasure. It's a pleasure. You can still do, like, Kalk Bay is still a bit like oily on the surface, the water. **Julle kan nog altyd julle hare gat daar gat** (gaan) **olie daarso** {You can still go oil your hair there}.
800. Caller 14 [laughter].
801. Suster They haven't improved on their water conditions in Kalk Bay.
802. Caller 14 [laughter].
803. Suster Okay.
804. Caller 14 Suster, thanks a million.
805. Suster P4 good day.
806. Caller 15 Good day to you, Clarence.
807. Clarence Good day to you, sir.
808. Caller 15 How are you doing?
809. Clarence Very well, thank you.
810. Caller 15 Well, its time to bid farewell to Suster, I believe.
811. Suster Uh um.
812. Caller 15 What a sad occasion.
813. Suster Nots, it's not sad, man. I, I think there's a lotta people in Cape Town that's very happy = =
814. Clarence = = you're late, you're late.

815. Caller 15 Man, usually they reckon when you go on retirement or leaving ... its like, **soes hulle sê dit, nou moet jy gat** (gaan) **wei** {as they say it, nou you must go graze}.
816. Suster No. Okay. **Nou wat mean ons nou, ons moet gat wei** {Now what do we mean now, we must go graze}? ()
817. Caller 15 **Jy wiet ... hulle sê as, uh, die koei kla gemelk is en haar tyd is op dan moet () mos nou vir haar veld toe gat** (gaan) **wei** {You know ... they say when, uh, when the cow has been milked and her time is up then () she must go graze in the field}.
818. Suster Okay, [neI], [neI], [neI] {no, no, no}. **Die koei gat glad 'ie** (nie) **wei nie, verstaan jy** {This cow is definitely not going to graze, you understand}?
819. Caller 15 [neI], [neI] {No, no}.
820. Clarence **Sy't** (Sy het) **nog baie melk** {She still has lots of milk left}.
821. Suster [neI], **die koei gat hulle nou enter in 'n, in 'n race, verstaan jy** {No, they are still going to enter this cow in a race, you understand}? [laughing]
822. Caller 15 But anyhow, all the best for you Suster.
823. Suster Thank you very much. Who, who am I speaking to?
824. Caller 15 Ah, you're speaking to one of your friends out in Athlone, NAME.
825. Suster Okay, Neville. Okay, thanks Neville.
826. Caller 15 Just have a good day, [nə] {hey}.
827. Suster Will do. Thanks. Bye. P4, good day.
828. Caller 16 Hi good day. Who's that speaking, Suster?
829. Suster Speaking?
830. Caller 16 How are you darling?
831. Suster I am fine, sweetheart. **Jy hoef 'ie** (nie) **te skree nie, ons praat op 'n phone nou** {You don't have to scream, we're talking on a phone now}.
832. Caller 16 **Ek lyk om te skree met jou** {I like to scream at you}.
833. Suster Okay.
834. Caller 16 **Jy maak my somtyds baie kwaad** {Sometimes you make me very angry}. **Waar'n** (Waar'n) **toe gat jy nou weer** {Where are you going to now again}?
835. Suster () **Maak ek vir jou kwaad** {Do I make you angry}?
836. Caller 16 **Jy maak my KWAAD, ja** {You make me ANGRY, yes}.
837. Suster You know Clarence, its amazing. Some people say I make them laugh. Some people say I make them cry, but **vir die antie maak ek nou kwaad, verstaan jy** {I'm making this aunty angry}.
838. Caller 16 **Antie {Aunty}? Ek is 'ie** (nie) **getroud met jou** uncle **'ie** (nie), **hoor** {I am not married to your uncle, hear}?
839. Suster [laughter]
840. Clarence [laughter]
841. Caller 16 **Waar'n** (Waar'n) **toe gat** (gaan) **jy nou weer** {Where are you going to now}? **My vriend** phone **vir my nou** {My friend phones me now}. **Sy sê** {She says}, "NAME, phone **gou daar vir** Suster {Suster quickly}."
842. Suster NAME, sweetheart = =
843. Caller 16 = = Yes darling.
844. Suster = = **Ek gat** (gaan) {I am going} absolutely ... um, in, in a different focus, **in 'n** {in a} different direction. On a more personal level I'm going in a direction, um, where I've been in = =
845. Caller 16 = = **Ja** {Yes}.
846. Suster = = for the past thirteen years.
847. Caller 16 Okay.
848. Suster But I'm just giving it more focus now, **verstaan jy** {you understand}?
849. Caller 16 **Gat** (Gaan) **jy nie weer t'rug** (terug) **kom na die radio nie** {Are you not coming back to radio}?
850. Suster **Nee, meisie** {No, girl}.
851. Caller 16 **Is jy mal** {Are you mad}?
852. Suster **Soes Clarence gesê het, is 'n** {Like Clarence said, it's a} divorce. **Ons het onse assets ge -**, **ge-split** {We spilt our assets}= =

853. Caller 16 = = **maar jy en** Clarence **kom ‘n lang pad, hoor** {but you and Clarence come a long way, hear}? **Jy sal ‘ie** (nie) **so kan maak ‘ie** (nie) {You wont be able to do this}.
854. Suster No, uh, sweetheart, **ek sien, ek gat die jong nog altyd sien op ‘n daily, amper op ‘n daily basis, verstaan jy** {I see, I am still going to see this guy on a daily, almost on a daily basis}? Um, we gonna do some other stuff together, but **daai’s nog ‘n, nog ‘n storie** {that’s another, another story}. But, um, on, from the broadcasting side, its, its time just to move on, you know.
855. Caller 16 Okay, darling. If you feel that is the right, um, direction for you to go in, do it your way, sweetheart.
856. Suster Sweetheart, I have your blessing, NAME?
857. Caller 16 Very much, darling.
858. Clarence, **wie** {who} **ever nou iets sê na die** {says something after this}, NAME **het vir my ge-bless, het gesê, “voorentoe”** {blessed me, she said, “go ahead”} [music playing] = =
859. Caller 16 = = **Nie** {Not} Nawathi. Awathi.
860. Suster (Caller 16 talking in the background)Awathi. NAME. **Kwaad ‘ie** (nie) {Not angry}. **Moenie gaan nie** {Don’t go}. **Jy’s ‘ie** (Jy is nie) **kwaad ‘ie** (nie) {You are not angry}. NAME, Na ‘athi. See you. Bye bye NAME.
861. Caller 16 But nevertheless, Suster, man. Enjoy **dit** {it}, darling.
862. Suster Okay sweetheart.
863. Caller 16 Okay my darling.
864. Suster Right. Bye. [music playing]
865. Clarence Don’t you wanna introduce the song? [music playing]
866. Suster Nowhere [singing]
867. Clarence No. [song continues to play]

Music

871. Clarence [song still playing in background] It’s 104.9, the heart and soul of Cape Town. Al Jarreau, “Sad and distracted” on this Friday afternoon. Very distracted, actually. Stressed. Cos it’s the end of the road for the Suster character, making her final appearance here on P4 radio, after ten glorious r, years of, of radio. And I must admit, its ten years, um, that got me in trouble a whole lotta times. I think I’ve seen more, uh, reprimands in the last ten years because of Suster than I’ve ever seen in my, in my whole life. Uh, it’s been ten years of incredible grounding as well for me, I think. Especially just, having just got into radio at a time when things weren’t necessarily as free and easy as it is today, where people expected you to speak a certain kind of English or a certain kind of Afrikaans. And, where you would be required to go to elocution, for example, because there’s only way of speaking, uh, according to some people. And of course, uh, it was, uh, **ja** {yes}, Suster that, uh, really strongly said, “No, hold on a second. Hold on a second. There isn’t just one way of speaking. People speak in a whole lotta different ways and we must speak in the language of the people.” So, one of those elements that kept me solidly grounded, um, **ja**, in Cape Town. And that’s what we’re just reflecting back on. Ten years of, of Suster. Lots of laughs and I think lots of tears as well. There’s been, uh, some incredible learning moments as, uh, we’ve shared together – you and I and Suster. And we will continue too reflect on those ten years when we get back.

Adverts.

872. Clarence It’s 104.9 the heart and soul of Cape Town. ‘Secret Rendezvous’ from Carin White taking us back. Bringing the time now to twenty minutes FROM three ‘o clock. Twenty minutes left of Suster.
873. Suster Mmm.Clarence, **voor die** {before the} **song, terwyl die song speel toe sê jy ons gat** (gaan) **vir die LAASTE keer saam sing** {while the song was playing you said we are going to sing together for the LAST time}. So you’re gonna prepare a song for us. [Coughing] Sorry, I just went through my files here () I just went through my files here, **verstaan jy** {you understand}. I came across this letter which I’ve done, I dunno, two, three years ago I did

this letter. Um, I read this letter. It says:

“Dear Suster. I have a condition. Suster, I don’t know who you are, but a friend on varsity said I must write to you for advice concerning my condition. I have a feeling that you will be able to assist me with my condition. My condition is of a very embarrassing, but personal nature and therefore I am shy to tell you what it is, but ill tell you anyway. You see, Suster, I Walk funny – not funny as in laughing – but funny as in walking with a r-, with a tight rhythm. How can I describe this to you? I sort of walk as if there’s a funky tune playing constantly. I got this condition since I was nineteen. I am now twenty-three. Suster, I, I know what the cause of my funny walk with the tight rhythm is. And the cause is I have an itch. It just not any itch, but it is THE itch. I am very, very hygienic. In other words, I bath, shower, wash at least three times a day when I get the opportunity, but the itch remains. I am from a very conservative family and discussions on itches is just not allowed. So therefore I keep my itch private. As a matter of fact, me and my itch have been together for s long that I gave it a name – Smiley. Sometimes the itch brings a sensation that I can’t describe to you and leaves me with a smile as wide as the ocean - that I found so nice- as wide as the ocean for days on end. That’s why I decided on the name Smiley. Suster, can you advise me? Should I get rid of Smiley or should I keep it? Sometimes Smiley irritates the hell out of me, but most of the time Smiley comforts me. Please reply soon. Regards, a friend of Smiley.”
Can you remember this letter = =

874. Clarence = =Mmm.
875. Suster = = Mmm. I got from this varsity student and, and I’ve, I’ve written back to her, but, but what I wrote to her back is actually quite private so **ek kan nou nie met julle hier {I can’t now here with you}**, uh, condensate, ah, or conversate **nou {now}** according, ac, according **daai dinges, verstaan jy {that thing, you understand}**?
876. Clarence No, come on, read it.
877. Suster No, no, I’ve, its (). It’s private Clarence. P4 good day.
878. Caller 17 Hi Suster. **Hoe gaan dit met jou {How are you}**?
879. Suster **Fris en gesond {Fresh and healthy}**, al gam doe lilah **{Islamic equivalent of fine}**, **meisie**.
880. Caller 17 Okay. **Ek wil net vir jou sê ons gaan jou baie miss {I just ant to say we are going to miss you very much}**. Um, **maar jy moet geniet ooral, waar oek (ook) al jy gaan {but you must enjoy everywhere, wherever else you go}**. **Dink aan ons want onse Vrydag gaan nie meer dieselfde wies ‘ie (nie) {Think of us because our Friday is not going to be the same}**.
881. Suster Sweetheart, **ek het {I have}** a funny feeling. **Is, is, {It’s, it’s}** Clarence **gat (gaan) try om so ... funky te hou, verstaan jy {is going to try to keep himself funky, you understand}**?
Clarence = =
882. Caller 17 = = **Hy gat (gaan) funky wies (wees), reg genoeg, maar dit gaan ‘ie (nie) dieselfde wies (wees) {He is going to be funky, right enough, but it’s not going to be the same}**.
883. Suster Well, you know, () change, change comes with responsibility and, and, and change comes with getting used to things, **verstaan jy {you understand}**?
884. Caller 17 Yes, it is.
885. Suster So you gonna get = =
886. Caller 17 = = Clarence is a nice guy and everything = =
887. Suster = = **Ja {Yes}**.
888. Caller 17 = = His show is brilliant = =
889. Suster = = **Ja{Yes}** .
890. Caller 17 = = but without you I, I, I don’t think a Friday is a Friday without, without you.
891. Suster **Ek ken van daai {I know about that}** nice guy story, **verstaan jy {you understand}**.
892. Caller 17 Mmm.
893. Suster You know, **as mense nou describe is ‘n nice guy {if people now describe it’s a nice guy}**. **Hy’s ‘ie (Hy is nie) lelik ‘ie (nie) {He isn’t ugly}** = =
894. Caller 17 = = **hy, hy {he, he}**
895. Suster = = **hy’s (hy is) oek ‘ie (ook nie), hy’s (hy is) oek ‘ie (ook nie) handsome ‘ie (nie) {he’s also not, he’s also not handsome}**. **Hy’s (Hy is) {He’s}** nice.
896. Caller 17 **Nee {No}**. **Ek gaan nou nie van {Now I don’t go for}** outerly, **ek gaan nou van {I now go**

- for} innerly ==
 897. Suster == **ja, innerlike mens** {yes, the internal person}.
 898. Caller 17 **Hy kan net die regte woorde sê om mens op** {He can say just the right words to lift a person} () ==
 899. Suster == **verstaan jy** {you understand}
 900. Caller 17 == **maar is nog altyd nie dieselfde nie sonder jou** {but it's still not the same without you}.
 901. Suster == **Ja, daai groot woorde wat hy gebruik** {Yes, those big words he uses}. () **groot woorde** {big words} ==
 902. Caller 17 **Hy, ja, daai wat ons' ie** (nie) **verstaan nie, wat ons nou die** vocabulary **moet gat (gaan) uithaal oek (ook)** {He, yes, those that we don't understand, that we now have to get the vocabulary out as well}.
 903. Suster [laughter] **Die** {The} dic – skinnery {skinner = gossip}, **ja** {yes}.
 904. Caller 17 **Ja, ja** {Yes, yes}.
 905. Suster Uh, **ja, ons gat** (gaan) **so** {yes, we go so}. **Hy, hy** {He, he}, no he's gonna come down a notch or two **met sy, met sy woorde, verstaan jy** {with his, with his words, you understand}. But **daai's** {that's} Clarence. Allow him to have his vocabulary. **En jy't** (jy het) **jou** {And you have your} dictionary **en hy't** (hy het) **sy** {and he has his} vocabulary and the two will go together.
 906. Caller 17 Okay, **dankie** Suster {thank you Suster}.
 907. Suster Thank you, sweetheart for the wishes. P4, good day. P4, good day. Hello? P4, good day. (call gets cut off) P4 good day.
 908. Caller 18 Good day Suster.
 909. Suster Hi.
 910. Caller 18 NAME speaking. How you?
 911. Suster Yes, I'm well NAME. **Kla, klaar ge-jummuah en alles nou** {Finished with jummuah (Islamic prayer) and all now}?
 912. Caller 18 [laughter] Um, **ja** {yes}. I think so.
 913. Suster Is it?
 914. Caller 18 No, I think, **ja** {yes}, if the time is right, yes.
 915. Suster Um, how's the baby, NAME?
 916. Caller 18 Uh, the baby is fine. UNIVERSITY of the WESTERN CAPE
 917. Suster ()
 918. Caller 18 () getting there.
 919. Suster () you know when the baby's going to move [nə] {hey}?
 920. Caller 18 No. When? Tell me.
 921. Suster Just about two weeks after he finishes university.
 922. Clarence **Haar pa wiet** (weet) **nog 'ie (nie), man** {Her father doesn't know yet, man}.
 923. Caller 18 [laughter]
 924. Suster [laughter]
 925. Caller 18 Okay. Okay. **Ja** {Yes}, rip me off, it's fine.
 926. Suster **Ja** {Yes}.
 927. Caller 18 I just wanted to ask, Suster, before you go, um, have you discussed with Clarence yet as to who's doing the Christmas wishes this year?
 928. Suster Uh, don't r-. I was hoping nobody would, nobody would **dinges** {thing}. That is something that is, NAME, I'm feeling, very, very, very **omgekrap** {confused}, but not **omgekrap** {confused} as in ... I feel very twisted about it.
 929. Caller 18 Uh um.
 930. Suster So I discussed with Clarence and he's like, "No, we'll talk about it closer to the time." What I said is, I will do all the things in the background, you know, like do all the preparations, do all the inquisition, and **gaan** through **al die, die** wishes {go through all the, the wishes}, and he will do all the on air stuff, **verstaan jy** {you understand}? **Toe, hy't** (hy het) **my net so met 'n lelike smile aangekyk en toe sê hy mos nou vir my** {So, he looked at me with such an ugly smile and so he now said to me} "We'll talk about it closer to the time."
 931. Caller 18 [laughter]
 932. Suster And, **ek sien al klaar hoe gat** (gaan) **hy vir my nou sê** {I already see how he is now going

- to tell me} = =
933. Caller 18 = = **in trek {pull in}**?
934. Suster **Intrek, intrek hiersa** (hierso) **{Pull in, pull in here}** because its something that I, I told the station, I told the P4 marketing people that its something that has to continue = =
935. Caller 18 It has to, yes. ()
936. Suster () It, it, it became, you know, if anybody asked me EVER, okay, **jy kan maar nou vra {you can ask}**, “What is your highlight of radio?” = =
937. Caller 18 = = Mmm.
938. Suster It is those moments, um, when we did those, those, those, those “Make a wish”
939. Caller 18 **Ja {Yes}**.
940. Suster That, that, that was to me was one of the MAGIC highlights about doing radio and about making, saying, like, “Its worthwhile coming out Fridays and whatever and weekdays and whatever to come and do this show.” That what made it so worthwhile.
941. Caller 18 No, that is true, but, um, Cr, Clarence is, uh, very emotional. I don’t think he’s gonna handle it, man.
942. Suster Um. But for, but, anyway. **Ja, [neI], [neI], [neI] {Yes, no, no, no}**, he’s = =
943. Caller 18 [laughter]
944. Suster () **Ja {yes}**, no, **hy’s** (hy is) **nou mos** like, **die** tough exterior, **verstaan jy {he’s now like this tough exterior, you understand}**.
945. Caller 18 **Ja {Yes}**.
946. Suster () But, but, but I went with him to a movie one day. It was a cowboy movie.
947. Caller 18 [laughter]
948. Suster Toe **HUIL ‘ie** (die) **klong {So the guy CRIED}**.
949. Caller 18 [laughter]
950. Suster **Toe hulle die, toe hulle, toe hulle die een** () **ou, die Indian doodskiet, toe HUIL hy, verstaan jy {When they, when they shot the one () guy, the Indian, so he CRIED, you understand}**.
951. Caller 18 [laughter]
952. Suster And, and, it’s not of a sad moment, **verstaan {understand}**, but **hy’t** (hy het) **gehuil {he cried}** because **die, die {the, the}** [laughter] Indian **het ‘n bietjie verkeerd** () **afgeval {fell off a bit wrong}**.
953. Caller 18 [laughter]
954. Suster **Verstaan jy {you understand}**?
955. Caller 18 [laughter]
956. Suster [laughter] ()
957. Caller 18 So, I hope you come and make a special guest appearance for our Christmas show. You did say you’re not coming back, but = =
958. Suster No, no, **ja {yes}**, no, no it’s, it’s, uh, my mind is made up, but I, I am finished with broadcasting, but [pause] there’s a but.
959. Caller 18 There is a but, yes.
960. Suster There is a but, and that but I will deal with when it gets there.
961. Caller 18 Okay, no, we’ll = =
962. Suster = = Okay, but at the moment I’m dealing
963. Caller 18 = = deal with that later in Manenberg = =
964. Suster **Ja {Yes}**. Thank you. Listen, are you gonna be at the board meeting?
965. Caller 18 Um, the board meeting is tonight, isn’t it?
966. Suster The board meeting starts at half past four, sweetheart.
967. Caller 18 At half past four.
968. Suster Just after four.
969. Caller 18 I’ll be a bit late.
970. Suster Okay.
971. Caller 18 I’ll be there at five.
972. Suster Thank you.
973. Caller 18 Okay.
974. Suster P4, good day. [bad connection] P4 good day.

975. Caller 19 Hello Suster.

976. Suster Yes.

977. Caller 19 How you?

978. Suster I'm well girlfriend.

979. Caller 19 I just want to sing you, for you something – [singing] So long, I hate to see you go, but have a good time.

980. Clarence [singing] Have a good time.

981. Caller 19 Lovely, Clarence.

982. Clarence Go on.

983. Caller 19 No, you go on.

984. Suster [singing] Babe, I'm leaving. I must be on my way = =

985. Clarence = = [singing] Goodbye. I hate to see you go but have a good time

986. Suster = = [singing while Clarence is singing] Time is drawing near

987. Caller 19 ()

988. Clarence [singing] So long. I'll miss you, [caller joins in] dear I will, but it's [caller sings have instead of it's] your holiday. [pause] It's your holiday. [caller stops singing] And when you're tired of being restless [caller joins in again] and carefree, remember that I'll be waiting to welcome you home [caller sings back to P4 instead of home.] So have a good time. Ah, you know, my mother that Seven's single all the time = =

989. Caller 19 = = **Ja {Yes}**.

990. Clarence = = and the words stick in my head.

991. Suster Okay, no, this is, this is for you sweetheart – Babe I'm leaving. [caller talking in background] I must be on my way. Time is drawing near. My car is leaving = =

992. Caller 19 = = [laughter]

993. Suster = = My heart is in your hands. [singing stops] But no, the song I really like is, is, is my, my, my favourite song – [singing] I believe I can **braai** = =

994. Caller 19 = = [lauging] Where you gonna **braai**?

995. Suster = = I believe I can touch the **braai**.

996. Caller 19 [laughter] Where's he gonna **braai**, Suster?

997. Suster () nevermind, nevermind, sweetheart. Okay

998. Caller You must invite me because you're leaving. I sang for you, hey Clarence?

999. Clarence We're gonna kiss and say goodbye next time.

1000. Caller 19 Okay.

1001. Suster We, we're gonna = =

1002. Caller 19 = = This is NAME here hey, from Sea Ridge Park, Mitchells Plain.

1003. Suster Okay NAME from Sewerage Park, Mitchells Plain.

1004. Clarence Not Sewerage Park

1005. Caller 19 And, and enjoy, enjoy wherever you going = =

1006. Suster = = Sewerage Park?

1007. Clarence No. Sea Ridge Park.

1008. Caller 19 And then may you prosper in what you gonna do.

1009. Suster Okay. NAME, was it Sewerage Park, Mitchells Plain?

1010. Caller 19 Uh uh, **ons is {we are}** Sea Ridge.

1011. Suster Oh SEA Ridge. Oh girl. Oh = =

1012. Caller 19 = = you, you know where the the, the BIG Apostolic church is?

1013. Suster Yes. **Daar {There}** Tafelsig, isn't it?

1014. Caller 19 **Ja, so ons is net aan die agterkant {Yes, so we're just at the back side}**.

1015. Suster Okay, **so julle's** (julle is) '**ie** (nie) Tafelsig '**ie** (nie) **{so you are not Tafelsig}**. **Julle's NET aan die agterkant {You are JUST behind it}**. **Julle's** (julle is) **{You are}** sewerage.

1016. Caller 19 **Net aan die agter, ja {Just at the back, yes}**. Sea Ridge ().

1017. Suster Sea Ridge. Okay. Okay, thanks NAME.

1018. Caller 19 Okay Suster.

1019. Suster Okay.

1020. Caller 19 Bye.

Adverts.



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