



CODE-SWITCHING IN SETSWANA IN BOTSWANA

BY

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Summary	i
Samevatting	iv
Acknowledgements	vii
Abbreviations	ix
List of tables	x

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1	Background of the study	1
1.2	Motivation for the study	3
1.3	Purpose of the study	6
1.4	Statement of the study	7
1.5	Structure of the study	8
1.6	Conclusion	9

CHAPTER TWO: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK OF THE STUDY

2.1	Introduction	10
2.2	What is a code?	11
2.3	What is code-switching?	12
2.4	The occurrence of code-switching in utterances	14
2.4.1	Tag-like or emblematic code-switching	14
2.4.2	Intra-sentential code-switching	15
2.4.2.1	Single morphemes	18
2.4.2.2	Clause level	19
2.4.3	Inter-sentential code-switching	20
2.5	How does code-switching occur?	21

2.5.1	The free morpheme constraint	22
2.5.2	The equivalence constraint	23
2.5.3	The switch-alpha constraint	24
2.6	Why do speakers engage in code-switching?	25
2.6.1	Code-switching to show identity	26
2.6.2	Code-switching to show the level of education	28
2.6.3	Code-switching to show authority	30
2.6.4	Code-switching to show language power	32
2.6.5	Code-switching to accommodate other participants	34
2.6.6	Code-switching due to the topic/subject	35
2.6.7	Code-switching to show socio-economic status	36
2.6.8	Code-switching to show emphasis	38
2.6.9	Code-switching to show confidentiality	40
2.6.10	Code-switching to show prestige	40
2.6.11	Exploratory code-switching	42
2.7	Conclusion	44

CHAPTER THREE: DATA COLLECTION

3.1	Introduction	46
3.2	Research methods	46
3.2.1	Selection of respondents	47
3.2.2	Selection of settings	47
3.2.3	Collection of data	48
3.2.3.1	Primary sources	49
3.2.3.1.1	Recordings	49
3.2.3.1.2	Interview	50
3.2.3.2	Secondary sources	50
3.2.4	Analysis, description and discussion of data	50



3.3	Problems encountered during data collection	51
3.4	The recorded conversations	52
3.4.1	At the church	52
3.4.2	At the furniture shop	55
3.4.3	Media (Radio Botswana)	58
3.4.4	At the National Stadium	64
3.4.5	At the public bar	66
3.4.6	At the taxi rank	69
3.5	Conclusion	70

CHAPTER FOUR: ANALYSIS, DESCRIPTION AND DISCUSSION OF THE DATA

4.1	Introduction	72
4.2	Analysis, description and discussion of the data	72
4.3	Research Question One: “ <i>Is code-switching linguistically determined?</i> ”	73
4.3.1	Tag-like switches or emblematic code-switching	73
4.3.2	Intra-sentential code-switching	74
4.3.2.1	Code-switching at clause level	74
4.3.3	Inter-sentential code-switching	80
4.4	Research Question Two: “ <i>Is code-switching random and meaningless?</i> ”	84
4.4.1	The free morpheme constraint	85
4.4.2	The equivalence constraint	86
4.4.3	The switch-alpha constraint	89
4.5	Research Question Three: “ <i>Why do speakers tend to engage in code-switching?</i> ”	89
4.5.1	Code-switching as an index of educational level	90

4.5.2	Code-switching as a signal of authority and annoyance	92
4.5.3	Code-switching to show language power	92
4.5.4	Code-switching due to the topic/subject	93
4.5.5	Code-switching to signal socio-economic status	94
4.5.6	Code-switching to signal emphasis	95
4.5.7	Code-switching to show prestige	96
4.6	Single morphemes	97
4.7	Phrasal insertions	99
4.8	Conclusion	101

CHAPTER FIVE: SUMMARY, RESTRICTIONS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1	Introduction	103
5.2	Summary	103
5.3	Restrictions of the study	107
5.4	Conclusion	107
5.5	Recommendations	110
	Bibliography	112
	Appendix I	119
	Appendix II	121
	Appendix III	122

SUMMARY

This study is concerned mainly with the nature and social functions of code-switching between Setswana and English. In Botswana, Setswana and English are utilised in conversations between speakers, resulting in the phenomenon of code-switching. Setswana is the primary language of the majority of the people in Botswana and is regarded as the national language, while English is used as the official language. The motive for the selection of English is based on the notion that this language plays an important role in social, economic and political spheres in the country. The fundamental assumption in this study is that code-switching exists as a result of social interaction and language contact amongst speakers with various linguistic repertoires.

The study aims to investigate the nature and social functions of code-switching in Setswana in Botswana, especially in the areas surrounding Gaborone City. From a syntactic point of view, the study attempts to determine whether the phenomenon is random and meaningless, while from a functional perspective, it examines the reasons why bilingual speakers engage in code-switching when they interact with other bilinguals, with whom they share the same linguistic repertoire.

The study is divided into five chapters. The first chapter comprises the introductory section, which includes the background, motivation, aims and statement of the problem, as well as the organisation of the study. The second chapter provides the theoretical framework of the study and includes the definition of key terms. Chapter Three explains how data was collected and includes transcripts of the speakers' conversations. The analysis, description and discussion of the data are dealt with in Chapter

Four. Chapter Five provides a summary of the findings as well as the conclusion and recommendations for future studies.

The problem was investigated around Gaborone City in various settings such as a church, a public bar, the National sports Stadium, the media (Radio Botswana), a furniture shop and a taxi rank. The speakers' interactions were recorded and unstructured interviews were conducted at a later stage. The speakers included people from all groups, that is gender, age and various degrees of education. The recorded conversations have been transcribed and analysed. The results have been used to gain a better understanding of the nature and social functions of code-switching.

The analysis also looks at the grammatical and syntactic features of switched phrases, clauses and sentences, as well as whether the switching violates any grammatical or syntactic rules of either the host or the guest language. The switches made by the speakers also determine the social functions of code-switching in Botswana.

The results show that the phenomenon is common in Gaborone City, as all the recorded speakers tend to indulge in this activity regardless of their level of education. It has been observed that, in general, the less educated people's conversations contain borrowed English words, while the conversations of the better educated sector contain larger stretches of code-switching in phrases and sentences. The results reveal that no violation of the grammatical structures of either language occurs during code-switching. It has also been found that the phenomenon occurs in all the formal and informal settings mentioned above.

In a functional sense, it has been observed that Batswana switch from Setswana to English for various communicative purposes, such as an indication of level of education, a signal of authority and annoyance and to show the powerful and less powerful languages. Other reasons for the switching include the topic/subject of discussion, emphasising a particular point and the signalling of socio-economic status and prestige.

The importance of these findings is that it invalidates the fears that some Batswana have with regards to code-switching in Setswana. Additionally, the research sheds new light on the importance of this phenomenon in Botswana.

One of the conclusions that can be drawn from the results is that the application of code-switching strengthens and enriches the Setswana language with the new vocabulary. It is a communicative strategy used by bilingual communities in their conversations and instances such as those described above.

SAMEVATTING

Die fokus van hierdie verhandeling is die aard en sosiale rol van kodewisseling tussen Setswana en Engels. In Botswana word sowel Setswana as Engels as gesprekstale tussen gespreksgenote gebruik. Hierdie feit het aanleiding gegee tot die voorkoms van kodewisseling. Setswana is die primêre taal van die meerderheid sprekers in Botswana en word as die nasionale taal beskou. Engels, daarteenoor, is die amptelike taal van Botswana. As rede vir die gebruik van Engels is die aanname dat dié taal 'n belangrike rol speel in die sosiale, ekonomiese en politieke sferes in Botswana. Die fundamentele aanname in hierdie studie is dat kodewisseling voortvloei uit sosiale interaksie en taalkontak tussen sprekers met verskillende linguistiese repertoires, soos Engels en Setswana.

Die studie beoog 'n ondersoek na die aard en sosiale rol van kodewisseling in Setswana in Botswana en veral in die Gaborone-omgewing. Daar sal spesifiek gekyk word na die gebruik en plasing van kodewisselingsitems in sinne. Vanuit 'n sintaktiese uitgangspunt sal die studie 'n poging wees om te bepaal of die fenomeen van kodewisseling toevallig of sonder betekenis is, of nie. Funkisioneel gesproke is die ondersoek daarop gemik om te bepaal waarom tweetalige sprekers van kodewisseling gebruik maak in hulle interaksie met ander tweetalige sprekers met eenderse linguistiese repertoires.

Die studie word verdeel in vyf hoofstukke.

Hoofstuk 1 is die inleiding en bevat 'n beskrywing van die agtergrond en motivering vir die studie asook die probleemstelling en die raamwerk.

Hoofstuk 2 omsluit die teoretiese raamwerk en die definiëring van sleutel terme.

Hoofstuk 3 beskryf die proses van dataversameling en bevat ook transkripsies van relevante gesprekke.

Die analise, beskrywing en bespreking van data word in hoofstuk 4 gedoen.

In hoofstuk 5 word 'n samevatting van die bevindinge met gevolgtrekkings gemaak en aanbevelings gedoen.

Bogenoemde aanname oor kodewisseling is getoets in verskeie gebiede en leefareas rondom Gaborone, bv. in 'n kerk, 'n openbare kroeg, die Nasionale Stadion, die media (Radio Botswana), 'n meubelwinkel en 'n taksi-halte. Interaksies tussen sprekers is op band opgeneem en ongestruktureerde onderhoude is op 'n latere stadium gevoer. Sprekers verteenwoordig albei geslagte, verskeie ouderdomsgroepe en verskillende opvoedingspeile. Gesprekke op band is getranskribeer en geanaliseer. Die resultate werp lig op die aard en sosiale funksies van kodewisseling.

In die analiseproses word die grammatikale en sintaktiese eienskappe van sinstukke, frases en sinne waarbinne kodewisseling 'n rol gespeel het, bestudeer. Daar word gepoog om 'n antwoord te kry op die vraag of die kodewisseling veroorsaak dat enige grammatikale of sintaktiese reëls van die gasheertaal of die gastaal oortree word. Die sinne met kodewisseling word ook gebruik om die sosiale funksie van kodewisseling te bepaal.

Die resultate toon die fenomeen algemeen voorkom in Gaborone-stad. Kodewisseling kom voor in al die gesprekke wat op band opgeneem is en hou nie net verband met die opvoedingspeil van sprekers nie. 'n Algemene afleiding is dat daar meer geleende Engelse woorde voorkom in gesprekke van mense met 'n laer opvoedingspeil, terwyl gesprekke van mense met 'n hoër opvoedingspeil langer Gevalle van kodewisseling bevat. Die resultate toon voorts dat geen oortreding van die grammatikale strukture van enige van die twee tale plaasgevind het tydens kodewisseling nie. Daar is ook gevind dat die fenomeen in al die bogenoemde areas en dus in beide formele en informele kontekste voorkom.

Wat die funksionaliteit betref, is daar waargeneem dat die Batswana vanaf Setswana na Engels wissel vir verskeie kommunikatiewe redes, bv. om opvoedingsvlak aan te dui, om gesag en afstand te handhaaf en taalmeerderwaardigheid aan te toon. Ander redes vir wisseling sluit in die onderwerp onder bespreking, die beklemtoning van 'n spesifieke standpunt die aantoon van sosio-ekonomiese status en mag.

Die bevindinge is van belang omdat dit aantoon dat die vrese van die Batswana met betrekking tot kodewisseling in Setswana ongegrond is. Verder werp die navorsing ook nuwe lig op die belangrikheid van die fenomeen in Botswana.

'n Gevolgtrekking wat gemaak kan word ten opsigte van die resultate is dat die gebruik van kodewisseling die Setswana-taal versterk en verryk. Dit is 'n kommunikatiewe strategie wat gebruik word deur tweetalige gemeenskappe in hulle gesprekke en in instansies soos hierbo beskryf.

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ABBREVIATIONS

The abbreviations that appear in this thesis are as follows:

adj.	adjective
adv.	adverb
aux.	auxiliary
conc	concord
conj.	conjunction
custo.	customer
dem.	demonstrative
det.	determiner
infin.	infinitive
interj.	interjection
interrog.	interrogative
mod.	modal
n.	noun
neg.	negative
p.	phrase
possess.	possessive
prep.	preposition
pron.	pronoun
s-ass.	shop assistant
t-driver 1.	taxi driver 1
t-driver 2.	taxi driver 2
v.	verb

LIST OF TABLES

GRAMMATICAL AND SYNTACTIC TABLES

Table 4.1	74
Table 4.2	76
Table 4.3	77
Table 4.4	78
Table 4.5	79
Table 4.6	81
Table 4.7	81
Table 4.8	82
Table 4.9	82

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

As Janson and Tsonope (1991:86) point out, Botswana is a multilingual country. The languages of the country include Setswana, Afrikaans, English, Ikalanga, Otjiherero, Sesarwa, Sesubiya, Seyeyi and Thimbukushu. Like many African countries, Botswana is internationally recognised as a bilingual country, due to its language policy, which encourages the use of only Setswana and English, leaving out the other languages. Molojiwa et al (1996:100) state that the country has retained the overall practice of the language policy inherited from the British administration, which emphasized the use of English in all official documents, while Setswana was only used for oral communication. The Batswana spoke their language (Setswana) with their ethnic peers and used English only for interaction with the colonial administrators as well as educated African nationals.

Janson and Tsonope (1991:75), quoting from *Botswana up to date* (1985), state the language policy as follows:

*The official language of the country is
English; the national language is Setswana.*

The language policy has been developed based on Setswana and English, the languages that the majority groups in the country speak, without considering the languages of minority groups. These two languages are now seen as the

national languages, Setswana being the first and English the second language. Setswana as a national language was to be the language of one nation, while English became and has remained the main language of the administration, especially in all official matters, such as, government administration, mass media, parliament, business and in the House of Chiefs. This practice was carried over from the colonial period and lasted until recently, when the use of Setswana was introduced in previously “English areas.” Official matters were written in English mainly because most senior civil servants were Englishmen, who could not speak nor understand Setswana. During that time, there were very few qualified Batswana who could fill the top posts. However, the lesser-educated Batswana mainly spoke Setswana, while the educated elite used both Setswana and English (Ibid: 74). Another reason for using English was related to participation in the activities of the entire world, such as trade and commerce.

The language policy after independence in Botswana encouraged the use of English in the education system. According to the *Report of the National Commission on Education* (1993:110), Setswana is to be used as a medium of instruction during the first two to three years of primary school, with English taught as a separate subject. During the rest of primary schooling until secondary level, English is the medium of instruction, and Setswana is taught as a subject. At university, lectures are presented entirely in English, and even Setswana as a subject is taught through the medium of English. In private schools, English is the medium of instruction during the first year of schooling and Setswana is taught as a subject. English thus dominates the education system in Botswana. Even at home some educated parents who hold high positions in government and parastatals, use English in conversations with their children to give them some form of practice in the

medium, which is beneficial to their educational advancement. Most Batswana, especially in urban areas, still believe that English is more useful and effective in public life than Setswana.

Setswana and English have come into close contact, thus encouraging communicative patterns such as code-switching, code-mixing and borrowing. Trask (1995:195) points out that, when two languages come into contact, the bilinguals switch between these languages in the course of their conversations. Such switching is the focus of this study. Some people in the country use neither Setswana nor English even at home or at work, but often engage in code-switching between the two languages.

1.2 MOTIVATION FOR THE STUDY

In Botswana, major phenomena such as code-switching, code-mixing and borrowing are frequently observed in the daily use of languages. However, very little research has been done in the field of code-switching. Even scholars who undertook studies on some linguistic aspects of major concern in Setswana paid little attention to code-switching. For instance, scholars like Janson and Tsonope (1991) in their book, *The Birth of a National Language*, refer to code-switching only in passing, and do not discuss the phenomenon in depth. The phenomenon is thus still unexplored and needs a thorough investigation, as it has become a common occurrence in the country. The reason for selecting Setswana and English for this study is that these are the two major languages, which play an important role in the economical, educational, political and social affairs of Botswana.

The use of English has resulted in language conflict in Botswana, because some Batswana fear that English will replace Setswana in most

communications, and they are unhappy and worried about this. The people who feel most threatened are all those who regard themselves as lovers of Setswana and have a fear that Setswana might become extinct.

Regarding code-switching, some Batswana, especially the elders in rural areas and those who are less educated, fear that the transition from Setswana to English might create cultural identity problems, especially in urban areas. These very conservative and traditional people do not want any change in their language and have negative attitudes towards the use of English. They believe that their culture is exactly how they themselves happen to live, and their language should remain as it is.

Some Batswana say code-switching creates problems in Setswana. The people who fear for Setswana seem to believe that their language is the only instrument for the communication of messages in such a way that the speakers learn the values, norms and beliefs of their society, and identify or strengthen their cultural identities. It is true that language and culture bind the people of a society together, since the two concepts are intertwined and cannot be separated (*Education for kagisano*, 1977:12). This could be the reason why these people fear that code-switching may pose a threat to the society's cultural identity. Language, however, is not only an instrument for the communication of messages. Language is a means by which cultural identity is strengthened and a way in which to learn the values, norms and beliefs of the society (Appel and Muysken, 1987:11). In addition to this, McKay (1988:5) quotes Kelman (1972), who states that language is so closely tied to group identity, and code-switching among the group is perceived as a threat to its very existence.

Many Batswana fear that as speakers continue to engage in code-switching when communicating, their language might change and its position might be affected. They fear that if Setswana loses its position as a national language, the chances are that code-switching will weaken it further. The mother tongue will then occupy a low status in the society and the Batswana will become less proficient in it and will start to undermine it. This will then strengthen the position of English allowing it to overpower the mother tongue, and become the only national language of the country.

Some of the criticisms made by these people are that some Batswana, especially those who grew up and attended school in towns, seem to have little sense of pride towards their language, as they use both Setswana and English in their communication and do not see the importance of their first language. They claim that they have observed some speakers, who even speak or behave like the British. These people frown, look down upon and shun all those who speak only Setswana, and seem to regard English as their mother tongue, using it even during leisure times.

Furthermore, some people believe that when speaking the mother tongue, one must use authentic Setswana words without foreign words. They say some speakers tend to lose their competence in their language due to the fact that there is so much interference from English in their utterances. Apparently, speakers sometimes use words even when equivalents exist in the borrowing language (Brenzinger, 1992:31). They fear that the use of English words instead of the Setswana ones may result in a decline in the proficiency in Setswana. According to some, code-switching is a sign of laziness in thinking and carelessness in speaking.

In addition, it is said that Batswana often no longer retain the idiomatic character of their language to signal language competency. While they used to incorporate many idiomatic expressions in their speech, it has recently been observed that such idiomatic expressions are no longer being used. Additionally, due to lack of interest they are not even translated (Malimabe,1993:20). It is feared that the use of Setswana concurrently with English could endanger Setswana in so far as it may undermine the knowledge and ability to use the first language, with the idiomatic expressions fading with time.

Considering all the fears expressed by the people, is there any reason to feel threatened or worried? Are there any real threats towards Setswana? Are some people, especially in urban areas, losing their cultural identities due to code-switching? Are these people justified in feeling threatened? Does code-switching change their lives? Are there some threats towards their government or wealth? Is the educational system affected? The answers to all these questions and related issues concerning code-switching will be discussed in the last chapter of this thesis.

1.3 PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

The main purpose of the study is to investigate as closely as possible the nature and social functions of code-switching in Setswana in Botswana around Gaborone City. It will also determine the frequency of code-switching in daily conversations by some Batswana in the specified area.

1.4 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

The general belief is that the introduction of English in Botswana since the colonial era influenced and encouraged some Batswana to use both Setswana and English in their conversations. One of the proposed reasons for this is that some Batswana no longer use Setswana either at home or at work in their conversations. On the other hand, it is argued that English enriches Setswana, especially with words for which Setswana does not offer any equivalents. It has also become a common practice in multilingual communities for speakers to use a variety of linguistic codes in their daily conversations.

The motive behind this study is to provide a background, against which some of the issues raised in the study can be addressed. Code-switching has many research areas, therefore the problem to be investigated is: “*The nature and function of code-switching in Setswana in Botswana.*” To address this problem, the following questions pertaining to the use of code-switching in Setswana need to be posited and investigated:

- ◆ *Is code-switching linguistically determined?*
- ◆ *Is code-switching random and meaningless?*
- ◆ *Why do speakers tend to engage in code-switching?*

The above questions have to be addressed because we need to know the qualities and characteristics of code-switching. Additionally, emphasis needs to be placed on any constraints that may have an impact on code-switching. It is also vital to know the functions of code-switching; this will be made possible by considering the conversations of different speakers.

1.5 STRUCTURE OF THE STUDY

The study is divided into five chapters, as follows:

CHAPTER ONE

Chapter One is the introductory part of the study and has several sub-sections, which include a description of the background of the study, the motivation, the aim, the statement of the problem, and the organization of the study.

CHAPTER TWO

Chapter Two will be devoted to the theoretical framework of the study. The views of various scholars who studied code-switching will be surveyed, and key terms will be defined.

CHAPTER THREE

Chapter Three will explain how the data for the study was collected, and how it will be analysed, described and discussed. The transcripts of the speeches will also be provided.

CHAPTER FOUR

This chapter will deal with the analysis, description and discussion of the data.

CHAPTER FIVE

Chapter Five will provide a summary of the findings, the restrictions of the study, as well as the conclusion and recommendations for the future.

1.6 CONCLUSION

In the introduction of this chapter, the background of the research topic and the motivation for the study are highlighted. The area to which the research would be confined is also stated. The research problem has been formulated and the purpose stated. The structure of the study has been outlined.

Although many Batswana raise concerns about code-switching in Setswana, it is not easy, especially for people who are bilingual, to avoid it. Furthermore, Setswana does not have the vocabulary for modern technology, which encourages speakers to code-switch. It is thus necessary to investigate the phenomenon, in order to inform the people and, possibly, allay their fears with regards to code-switching by examining its impact on the language of Setswana.

CHAPTER TWO

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK OF THE STUDY

2.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter provides a theoretical framework based on the work of researchers in the field of code-switching. It is designed in such a way that it covers the nature and functions of code-switching in various utterances. The description of some key concepts, which are relevant to the study, will also be given.

According to Myers-Scotton (1993:45) many researchers have studied code-switching over the years. Some of the earlier studies that dealt with this phenomenon include Jan Blom and John Gumperz (1972), who explored code-switching between dialects of Norwegian in Hemnesberget. In 1968, Stewart discussed code-switching between Haitian Creole and French. Kamwangamalu (1999:256) observes that code-switching has been one of the most interesting topics of investigation in sociolinguistic for the past four decades. He notes that most studies on code-switching dealt with Spanish-English code-switching in the United States. Some of the scholars who studied the social functions of code-switching between Spanish and English in the United States include Donald Lance (1970; 1975), Guadalupe Valdes-Fallis (1976) and Rodolfo Jacobson (1978a – 1978b).

Some scholars are interested in code-switching in multilingual countries in Africa, as they seem to be rich in sources. Researchers have approached the phenomenon from a number of different points of view. Beardsley and

Eastman were among the first to investigate this phenomenon in Africa when, in 1971, they studied code-switching between Swahili and English. Abdulaziz Mkilifi (1972) studied code-switching in Tanzania; Parkin (1974) in Kenya, Myers-Scotton and Ury (1977) and Myers-Scotton (1979), studied code-switching between English and Nigerian languages (Ibid: 50). Other pioneers in the field include, Khati (1992), who explored this issue with regards to Sesotho and English; Nontolwane`s 1992 study of isiZulu and English; and Myers-Scotton, who dealt with Swahili and English in 1992 and English, Shona and Ndebele in Zimbabwe in 1993. One researcher who is making useful contributions in this area is Kamwangamalu. In 1977 he published an article entitled *Language contact, code-switching and I-languages*, and in 1994 he worked on siSwati and English. His recent works (1999) are *The state of code-switching research at the dawn of the new millennium* and *Languages in Contact*.

To understand the phenomenon of code-switching clearly, the definitions and descriptions of some key concepts, such as code and code-switching, will be given.

2.2 WHAT IS A CODE?

The Oxford companion to the English language (1992:228) defines code as:

A system of communication, spoken or written, such as a language, dialect or variety.

Franceschini (1998:69) defines code as:

A superordinate term to designate each systematic co-occurrence of features that speakers use as a consistent vehicle of social behaviour. Thus, a language is a particular realisation of a code, used by a large group of speakers (highly focused when elevated to, for instance, a national language).

Meeuwis and Blommaert (1998:76) see “code” in code-switching as:

The conventional equivalent of language.

In this study, “code” is used to refer to the language of a particular community or nation. A nation may have one code or be able to use two or more codes. For example, Batibo (1998:24) states that there are a number of “codes” in Botswana such as Afrikaans, English, Icisubiya, Ikalanga, Sekgalagadi, Setswana, Shiyeyi, Otjiherero, and Thimbukushu. Appel and Muysken (1987:1) point out that, when two or more codes are used in a community, code-switching is likely to occur.

2.3 WHAT IS CODE-SWITCHING?

Most researchers, such as Myers-Scotton (1992), Calteaux (1996), Kamwangamalu (1997) and Auer (1998) define code-switching as:

The alternating use of two or more languages within the same speech situation.

From the above definition, one can directly infer that code-switching deals with two or more codes or languages in the same conversation. When a

speaker uses two or more languages in the same utterance, he/she is engaged in code-switching. For example, a speaker may say in Setswana:

*Ke batla go bala thata so that I can pass
my examination. (I want to read thoroughly
so that I can pass my examination).*

In the preceding example, the speaker starts the conversation in Setswana and then switches to English. The speaker is switching codes, moving between Setswana and English.

In every switched speech, there should be at least two languages that are used interchangeably. Kamwangamalu (1999: 270) is of the opinion that:

*In code-switching two types of languages must
be distinguished, the matrix language on the one
hand, and the embedded language on the other.*

The matrix language is the main or the dominant language in code-switching, while the embedded language serves as the guest language. He further continues to say that the matrix language determines the overall behaviour of the speaker and it is usually the local language (normally the mother tongue). In the example given above, the matrix language is Setswana. (The speaker is a Motswana, whose mother tongue is Setswana).

Myers-Scotton (1993:1) has observed that when members of a society speak more than one language, switching between these languages is likely to occur (as we have seen in the above example).

Now let us examine the state of research with regards to the sub-questions mentioned in the previous chapter.

2.4 THE OCCURRENCE OF CODE-SWITCHING IN UTTERANCES

Code-switching occurs in three different types in utterances. It may occur as tag-like switches or emblematic code-switching, intra-sentential code-switching and inter-sentential code-switching (Poplack, 1979 as quoted in Nontolwane, 1992:8)

2.4.1 *Tag-like or emblematic code-switching*

Code-switching may occur as a tag-like or emblematic switching in an utterance. *Oxford Advanced Learner`s Dictionary* (1992:1307) defines a tag as a “*word or phrase that is added to a sentence to give emphasis,*” and Poplack (1980) quoted in Khati (1992:183) defines emblematic code-switching as:

A switch that involves the use of single words, tags and idiomatic expressions from one language into another.

In this type, the speaker uses elements of the second language in the first language. Poplack (1979a) states that the use of foreign language elements does not necessarily imply being conversant with the foreign language and that the speaker may insert the tags anywhere in the sentence (Nontolwane, 1992:9).

Khati (1992:182-3) asserts that some scholars, such as Elias-Olivares (1976) and Gingras (in McClure (1977) do not consider the tag-like or emblematic switching as a type of code-switching. Others like Poplack (1980) (Ibid: 183) consider the tags as a true type of code-switching because:

They are in effect an application of foreign language elements which may not necessarily be comprehensible to a first language monolingual speaker.

As Poplack states, sometimes these items may not be understood by the first language speakers, which is why she prefers to consider them as a type of code-switching and not nonce borrowing. As an illustration, Nontolwane (1992:10) gives an example from Poplack (1979a) of Spanish-English tag-like switches as follows:

*este umm "I mean"
dios mio! "oh my God!"
¿entiendes? "Understand?"*

The examples show the English tags that the speaker may use in a Spanish conversation. The speaker "switches to English" by inserting the tags in his conversation.

2.4.2 Intra-sentential code-switching

The second type of code-switching is intra-sentential. Myers-Scotton (1993:4) defines this type as follows:

Intra-sentential switches occur within the same sentence, from single morphemes to clauses.

The speaker in this type of switching may begin a sentence in the mother tongue and, before completing it, inserts either a word or a clause from the foreign language.

Kamwangamalu (1999:260) maintains that some scholars for example, Weinreich (1964), Poplack, Wheeler and Westwood (1989) would rather refer to intra-sentential code-switching where a single word is involved as borrowing because:

These items provide support for the view that when a linguistic item is borrowed it is integrated phonologically, morphologically and syntactically into the grammatical system of the borrowing language. ...In lexical borrowing lexemes from a more socio-politically dominant language are normally incorporated into a less commanding language (even if the latter does have equivalent lexemes).

He continues quoting Gumperz (1982), who defines borrowing as:

The introduction of single words or short, frozen idiomatic phrases from one language into another.

Kieswetter (1995:24) defines it as:

Words that have been integrated phonologically and morphologically into the host language and have been widely accepted by monolingual speakers, that is, these words look and sound like ordinary words of the host language.

On the other hand Khati (1992:184) says some scholars like Poplack and Wheeler (1987) prefer to call this type the “nonce borrowing” since the items are temporarily used for certain specific occasions and purposes. The items that are used permanently are said to be borrowed. He further states:

Intra-lexical switches can at least be seen as lexical items in a transition stage, that is, as potential loan words.

He argues that the items involved in this type of borrowing use clear phonemic and morphemic elements from both the first and the second languages. Kamwangamalu (1999:260) quoting Poplack (1978) defines nonce borrowing as:

Linguistic items from one language used in discourse in the other language, which do not show any adaptation to the linguistic system of the borrowing language.

This primarily means that, in nonce borrowing, the items from the second language are used in the first language, but are not linguistically integrated

into the first language. In other words, the items are used temporarily. For example, the following sentences show code-switching used for effect but not integrated into the first language:

*“I do not understand modern life, but **cest la vie**.”*

*“Where is your **joie de vive**?”*

The switched French words (which are in bold) are temporarily used in the examples. They are not linguistically integrated into English.

The intra-sentential code-switching is a change that occurs within a word boundary, like in “pena” (English pen with a Setswana ending {-a}) and at clause level. Thus this study is concerned more with the switches that occur at clause level since the investigation deals with code-switching and not borrowing or nonce borrowing. To illustrate this, Myers-Scotton (1993:5) gives two examples, firstly illustrating code-switching with single morphemes and, secondly, at clause level.

2.4.2.1 *Single morphemes*

The single morpheme switches occur in the form of single words such as nouns, verbs, adverbs, or adjectives. The example that she gives is as follows (Ibid: 5):

SETTING: A Nairobi office. Three young women from different ethnic groups (Luyia, Luo) are conversing about when schools will be re-opened. Swahili is the main medium of conversation with

switches to English.

Luyia 11: *Na kweli, hata mimi si-ko **sure** lakini*

*n-a- **suspect** i- ta-kuwa **week** Kesho.*

*“Well, even I am not sure, but I suspect it
will be next week.”*

The above example shows the speaker switching at verb phrases. The English words in “si-ko sure” and “ n-a-suspect” are single morphemes, which occur within the same constituent, that is, the verb phrase.

2.4.2.2 *Clause level*

These are switches that occur in the form of phrases and clauses such as noun, verb, adverbial, prepositional, or adjectival phrases. These switches can be seen in the following example (Ibid: 5):

SETTING: A female nurse is talking with a male teacher in Harare, Zimbabwe, about people, who buy a car outside the country and then sell it soon afterwards. The two speakers use Shona and English in their conversation.

TEACHER: *Manje hazvibvumirwe waona. Unofanirwa*

*kupedza **one year** uinanyo **motor** yacho.*

*Wozotegesa **after one year**.*

*“That is not allowed, you see. You could
spend one year with that car. Then you
can sell it after one year.*

The example shows the intra-sentential code-switching in the entire syntactic constituents. The switches occur in the verb phrase complement "one year" and the prepositional phrase "after one year." The word "motor" has been borrowed from English and it has been integrated phonologically, morphologically and syntactically into the Shona language. The example given on page 19 illustrates this type of code-switching. The switches occur at clause level.

2.4.3 *Inter-sentential code-switching*

Myers Scotton (1993:4) points out that:

*inter-sentential code-switching involves
switches from one language to the other
between sentences.*

This type of code-switching occurs in major syntactic boundaries, the alternation occurs at sentence boundaries. A speaker may utter one sentence in the first language and another one in the second language. This means that the speaker is alternating between two different languages from sentence to sentence. This is evident in the following cited example (Ibid: 4):

SETTING: Outside a grocery store in Nairobi West. Three men from different ethnic groups (Kikuyu, Kalenjin, Luyia) have been talking for several minutes already about the recent rains. The conversation is mainly in Swahili, with switches to English.

KIKUYU: *Haya mambo ya mvua tuwache tu.*

Sisi hatuna uwezo. We can do nothing.

“Let’s just leave these matters of the rain.

We can do nothing.”

This example shows the alternation between Swahili and English sentences. The speaker utters two sentences in Swahili, that is “Haya mamba ya mvua tuwache tu,” and “Sisi hatuna uwezo,” and switches to an English sentence: “We can do nothing.”

We have now seen that code-switching occurs in different forms in utterances. The question that arises is whether the speaker can switch between languages in any random way or whether the process is systematic.

2.5 HOW DOES CODE-SWITCHING OCCUR?

Some researchers have attempted to find out how code-switching occurs in sentences. According to Kamwangamalu (1999:257), several studies on code-switching have demonstrated that code-switching is not random and that its occurrence is governed by rules. In his paper (1994:72), he points out that it has been generally agreed that bilingual speakers are bound by certain rules on how to switch in their speech and when to switch. Hoffman (1991:114) has observed that the languages involved may determine the pattern of language switching, that is, where switches in sentences are acceptable.

Poplack (1978), (1979a), (1979b) has confirmed that there are only two general linguistic constraints on where switching may occur, that is, the free morpheme constraint and the equivalence constraint (Sankoff and Poplack 1981:5). But Kamwangamalu (1999:257) cites the constraints that

commonly govern code-switching as free morpheme constraint, equivalence constraint and switch-alpha constraint.

2.5.1 *The free morpheme constraint*

Sankoff and Poplack (1981:5) have made various observations in the free morpheme constraint and state that:

A switch may occur between a bound morpheme and a lexical form unless the latter has been phonologically integrated into the language of the bound morpheme.

The constraint does not allow any switch in bound morphemes, that is, between a prefix or suffix and a stem of the same word. To illustrate this, they give an example of Spanish and English items as follows (Ibid: 5):

1. *flipeando* “*flipping*”
2. *swim-eando* “*swimming*”
3. *run-eando* “*running*”

Kamwangamalu (1994:72) points out that the first example is acceptable as borrowing because it has been integrated into the grammar of Spanish. In the second and third examples the phonology of the English morphemes “swim” and “run” is definitely English while that of “eando” is clearly Spanish. Sankoff and Poplack (1981:5), point out that these morphemes cannot be bound together because they are not accepted in both Spanish and English as lexical items. The English morphemes “swim” and “run” are not integrated into Spanish grammar, nor has the Spanish morpheme “eando”

been integrated into English grammar. In this case, the phonologically, morphologically and syntactically integrated items are considered.

2.5.2 *The equivalence constraint*

The other constraint that governs code-switching is the equivalence constraint, which Kamwangamalu (1994:72) explains as follows:

Code-switching will tend to occur at points where the structural integrity of both languages is preserved, that is, at points where the juxtaposition of first language and second language elements does not violate a syntactic rule of either language.

This constraint deals with code-switching at the phrasal level, for example the noun or verb phrases. It only occurs at points around which the structures of the first and second languages correspond to each other in order to avoid the violation of the syntactic rules of either language (Ibid: 72). In addition, Clyne (1987:747) states that the syntax on either side of the code-switch must be grammatical for the language concerned.

Kamwangamalu (1994:72) illustrates this constraint by giving an example of English and Spanish code-switching.

English	<i>I</i>	<i>seen</i>	<i>everything</i>	<i>'cause</i>	<i>I</i>	<i>didn't</i>	<i>take</i>	<i>anything</i>
Spanish	<i>Yo</i>	<i>vi</i>	<i>todo</i>	<i>porque</i>	<i>yo</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>cogi</i>	<i>nada</i>
Switching	<i>I</i>	<i>seen</i>	<i>everything</i>	<i>'cause</i>	<i>I</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>cogi</i>	<i>na</i>

The above example shows points at which switches are accepted under the equivalence constraint. The switches occur at the verbal phrase level, “didn’t take anything.” and “no cogi na.”

2.5.3 *The switch-alpha constraint*

The third constraint that governs code-switching is the switch-alpha constraint. Choi (1991) defines switch-alpha as (Ibid: 73):

...switching anything anywhere, that is, any element can be switched in any place in a structure so long as the particular-language-pair integrity is maintained.

In this constraint, code-switching occurs anywhere as long as the virtue of both the first and the second language is maintained. The points at which codes are switched are not necessarily the exact points at which one language ends and the other begins, but may be switched some distance away.

Choi (1991) cites an example of Korean-English code-switching as follows (Ibid: 73):

ENGLISH: *the horse turns into a unicorn*

KOREAN: *mal- I unicorn- ulo pyehae*

SWITCH: 1 *mal- ka turn into unicorn hae*

SWITCH: 2 *horse-ka unicorn turn to hae*

To clarify the above example, Kamwangamalu (1994:73), points out that the first example of code-switching has the English structure while the second example has the Korean structure. The two sentences are grammatically correct, as they do not violate the structural quality of the language pair involved (English and Korean). The English verb phrase “turn into” is used and observed in both sentences, and they both end with the Korean auxiliary “hae.”

The dominant (matrix) and the lesser (embedded) languages determine the application of the constraints in code-switching. The morphosyntactic structure of the matrix language determines which linguistic elements of the embedded language can be switched, and how they should be switched. He believes that in a code-switching structure, only the matrix language will determine the acceptability or unacceptability of any participating constituent from the embedded language. It sets the standard of what is needed or not needed from the embedded language (Ibid: 74).

However, there is enough evidence that bilinguals engage in all the types of code-switching discussed above, and follow the preceding constraints when making the switches.

2.6 WHY DO SPEAKERS ENGAGE IN CODE-SWITCHING?

Researchers like Apple (1987), Hoffman (1991), Myers-Scotton (1993), Kamwangamalu (1999) and Kembo-Sure and Webb (2000) state that bilingual speakers use code-switching as a communicative strategy in order to signal their cultural identity, level of education, authority and annoyance, language power, accommodation, the topic/subject they are talking about, socio-economic status, emphasis, confidentiality and prestige. Code-

switching is also used as an exploratory strategy. These are some of the common social functions of code-switching, which will be the focus of this study. Code-switching is seen to be motivated by the speaker's purpose regarding social position.

2.6.1 *Code-switching to show identity*

Hoffman (1991:116) suggests that code-switching is sometimes used to express individual or group identity, that is, the speaker may use code-switching to signal the group he/she belongs to. These could be identities such as cultural or ethnic identity, level of education, socio-economic status and authority. The last three identities will be discussed later.

Those who wish to show their ethnic identities are likely to switch to their local languages or mother tongue languages. To clarify this, Myers-Scotton (1992:175) gives the following example:

SETTING: A young, well educated Kenyan who speaks Maragoli, a Luyia variety, as her first language is driving her car into a Nairobi athletic club where she is a member. She has stopped her car and wants the gatekeeper to open the gate. The conversation starts in Swahili and later the two switch to Maragoli which is both their first language.

Gatekeeper: (Swahili): *Ingia kwa mlango mmoja tu.*

“Enter by using only one gate.”

Woman: (Swahili): *fungua miwili. Siweza kwenda*

revas! Kuna magari mengi nyuma

“Open both. I can't reverse. There

are other cars behind me.”

The gatekeeper opens both gates. Young woman driving by him:

Woman: (Swahili): *Mbona wewe mbaya sana leo?*

“Why are you so difficult today?”

After several hours the woman leaves and talks to the gatekeeper again.

Woman: (Maragoli): *Undindiyange vutwa.*

“You were being unkind to me.”

Gatekeeper: (Swahili): *Pole.*

“Sorry.”

(Maragoli): *Simbere ni khumany ta.*

“I didn` t know it was you.”

In the above example, the woman switches to Maragoli (a Luyia variety) when she realises that the gatekeeper is being impossible towards her. Her reason for switching to this variety seems to be that something may be gained from making the gatekeeper aware of her ethnic identity, which they share. When the gatekeeper recognises her ethnic identity, he becomes nice towards her. Myers-Scotton (1991:95) has observed that in private settings where all share the same ethnicity, most Nairobi residents would be at ease to speak anything but their own mother tongue. To support this, Trudgill (1983:53) states that in many cases language may be an important or essential concomitant of ethnic group membership.

2.6.2 *Code-switching to show the level of education*

Myers-Scotton (1993:39), has observed that code-switching may function as an emblem of the speaker's educational level. The speaker may use two or more languages in a single conversation to show his/her level of education. Myers-Scotton (1992:170) cites the following example from Africa:

In Africa the educated speakers are often motivated to signal the identities associated with speaking the international language widely spoken in the nation (and often the official language). These are typically identities as an educated person and sometimes as a person of authority, among other possibilities.

In her study in Nairobi, she discovered that a group of people with only primary education use English in their conversations to a limited extent, whereas those with secondary education use both English and Swahili or, sometimes only English in their entire conversations. She also discovered this in Harare, where educated Zimbabweans prefer English to Shona or use both of them even in instances where Shona can function adequately. She observed that the amount of code-switching that occurs is directly proportional to the people's level of education. She further states that in Nairobi, most speakers who speak English are regarded as having a high level of education. As an illustration, she gives an example of a bus conductor and a passenger from (Scotton and Ury, 1977) (Ibid: 172).

SETTING: A bus conductor in Nairobi asks a passenger in Swahili where he is going in order to determine the fare. The passenger also responds in Swahili but switches to English when she demands her change.

Passenger: (Swahili): *Nataka kwenda posta.*

"I want to go to the post office."

Conductor: (Swahili): *Kutoka hapa mpaka posta*

nauli ni senti hamsini.

"From here to the post office, the fare is 50 cents."

The passenger gives the conductor a shilling from which there should be 50 cents change.

Conductor: (Swahili): *Ngojea **change** yako.*

"Wait for your change."

Passenger: (Swahili): *Nataka **change** yangu.*

"I want my change."

Conductor: (Swahili): ***Change** utapata bwana.*

"You'll get your change mister."

Passenger: (English): ***I am nearing my destination.***

Conductor: (English): ***Do you think I could run away with your change?***

This example shows how some people in Nairobi speak. The passenger employs code-switching as a marker of his identity, which is high level of education. Instead of using only Swahili the unmarked language in his conversation, he prefers to employ both Swahili and English. It also shows

that there is no social relationship between the speakers. The passenger uses English to distance himself from the conductor because he regards himself as an educated person and the two do not share any social characteristics. The conductor also switches to English to show the passenger that he is not the only one who can speak English. He is also a person with whom one should not trifle, and shows the little education that he has. Myers-Scotton (1993:39) states that in this case, the frequency of switching seems to be an indication of the speaker's educational level.

2.6.3 *Code-switching to show authority*

Concerning authority, Myers-Scotton (1993:132), states that:

One of the most common uses of code-switching is to express authority, along with anger or annoyance.

Those who express anger are often associated with authority. If someone switches to a powerful language, it gives him/her some weight of authority, as powerful languages are sometimes associated with authority. She cites the following example to show how authority could be expressed by the use of code-switching (Ibid: 107).

SETTING: Meeting of a location development committee. Twice during the meeting the local chief, who is chairing the meeting, responds forcefully in Swahili although Lwidakho, with some English switching, has been the medium of the meeting. All present are first language speakers of Lwidakho.

Teacher: (Lwidakho): *Tsi shilinja tsya local rate tsyamenya
T-yi tsi ligavulwa lyatsyo shilili
lilahi muno tawe. Mwahana khu
tsi project tsindala tsinyishi nendio
shivuli vulahi tawe. Genyekhanenga
khu-revise ligavula yili.
“Money for the local rate, which is in
T-, wasn’t properly shared out to the
projects we have so that some have
been granted more money than others
and this is not good. This committee
should have been the one to portion
out the money. The whole breakdown
should be revised.”*

Chief: (Swahili): *Mimi kama chief. Naweza kuamua
na ni lazima mkubaliane nami, mpende,
msipende.
“I’m the chief. I can decide and it is
necessary that you agree with me,
whether you like it or not.”*

In this case, what the teacher says annoys the chief. In order to express his anger and annoyance, the chief shows his authority by switching to Swahili, which is more powerful than Lwidakho. The switch to Swahili gives the weight of authority to the chief’s anger and annoyance, since the use of Swahili is associated with persons of authority. The anger and annoyance are the message of the chief’s words associated with authority.

2.6.4 *Code-switching to show language power*

Sometimes speakers switch codes to signal the power of the language to which they switch. This is shown in section 2.6.3, where a speaker switches to a powerful language to signal his authority. Kembo-Sure and Webb (2000:127) state that:

Languages are embedded in the power relations in a country or community.

This means that, in any country or community, there are strong, influential languages and weak, less influential languages. They cite an example with English, which is the majority language, as it is functionally the most powerful language in public settings, especially in the former British colonies. Most speakers in these countries have adopted the English language, which is regarded as more powerful, and abandoned their own languages. This is evident in the following example cited by Herbert (1992:10) of a Motswana and Xhosa conversation recorded by Senne Bogatsu.

SETTING: A Setswana speaking man asks for a lift from a Xhosa, who is then speaking Zulu. The Setswana speaking man starts the conversation in Setswana and the Xhosa responds in Zulu. Later the two speakers both use Zulu in their conversation. As the conversation continues, the Setswana speaker realises that the other speaker is a Xhosa not a Zulu, and they both switch to Setswana.

A: (Tswana): *Ke kopa lifti toe.*

"I'd like a lift, please."

B: (Zulu): *Uyaphi? "Where are you going to?"*

A: (Tswana): *Seteisheneng. "To the station."*

B: (Zulu): *Woza, kodwa ngisaya lapha e West bank ngimukisa incwadi.*

"Come along then, but I still have to go to Westbank. I'm taking a letter there."

A: (Zulu): *Kulungile. "That's all right."*

B: (Tswana):... *ao, gantle o Motswana?*

"so, you're a Motswana?"

A: (Tswana): *E, wena o bua Sezulu sa Sexhosa mos.*

"Yes, and you speak Zulu with a Xhosa accent."

B: (Tswana): *E, ke Moxhosa fela ke goletse mo Batswaneng...*

"Yes I'm a Xhosa, but I grew up among Batswana...."

A: (Tswana): *Goreng fa o mpuisa ka Sezulu ka pele?*

"Why did you speak to me in Zulu at first?"

B: (English and Tswana): *Because batho ba botlhe ba*

buu Sezulu ka tlwaelo.

"Because everybody usually speaks

Zulu."

The above example shows that isiZulu is the language with power. So everybody in South Africa (especially the black people) wants to be associated with the Zulus, this is why the Xhosa speaker is communicating with the Setswana speaker in Zulu. This shows the societal language power differences in South Africa. Setswana and Xhosa seem to be regarded as languages with less power.

2.6.5 *Code-switching to accommodate other participants*

Hoffman (1991:116) indicates that accommodation in code-switching refers to members of a group who switch with the intention to be accepted by that particular group. Kembo-Sure and Webb (2000:120) also state that some speakers switch in order to be accepted or accommodated in the community or the conversation of its speakers. In addition, Myers-Scotton (1993:148) states that:

In Africa, the virtuosity maxim often comes into play to accommodate others. Educated persons typically recognise the limited repertoire of less educated family members especially their elders, by switching to the shared mother tongue in their presence.

The speakers may switch to whatever code is necessary in order to carry on the conversation or accommodate the speakers present. She gives an example of a Luo student at the university of Nairobi, who accommodates his elderly father while conversing with his brother, with whom he normally employs switching to English and Swahili. When the father is away, they normally say (Ibid: 149):

Mekosiche enough water tu chu.
“These cattle are not getting enough water.”

When their father is present, they would say something like this:

Mekosiche beeh che yame tu chu.
“*These cattle are not getting enough*
water.”

They avoid the English switches to accommodate their father in their conversation. Etter-Lewis (1985:35) also says that there are some speakers who sometimes switch codes to English when a white person joins the group with the intention to accommodate him/her in their conversation.

2.6.6 Code-switching due to the topic/subject

Certain topics/subjects may be more appropriately discussed in one language than in another, and the introduction of such a topic/subject can lead to a switch. Hoffman (1991:115) has discovered that:

Talking about a particular topic or subject may cause a switch, either because of lack of facility in the relevant register or because certain items trigger off various connotations which are linked to experiences in a particular language.

When talking about a certain topic or subject, a specific word from one of the languages involved may be more appropriate for a given concept. She cites the following example to support her claim (Ibid: 111):

SETTING: A mother is talking to her son in German about the football game that her son was part of.

MOTHER: *Na, wie war`s beim fußball?*

“How was the football?”

PASCUAL: *Wir haben gewonnen. Unsere seite war ganz toll. Ich war der **goalie**.*
*“We won. Our team was brilliant. I was the goalie.” **I stopped eight goals. They were real hard ones.***

In this example, the mother starts the conversation in German and the son uses an English word “goalie.” She further says it is because the German word for “goalie” is not known, and the switch then causes the rest of the conversation to be in English as well (Ibid: 115). This kind of code-switching sometimes happens as a result of the modern technology introduced in the Third World, for which the underdeveloped countries have insufficient vocabularies. Hadebe (1997:13) points out that some topics may be discussed in either code, but the choice of code adds a distinct flavour to what is said about the topic.

2.6.7 Code-switching to show socio-economic status

According to Myers-Scotton (1993:35), some speakers engage in code-switching with the intention of showing their socio-economic status. She states that:

In every nation, successful business people and Professionals, who happen to have a different home language from the language dominant in the society where they live, frequently engage in code-switching with friends and business associates who share their linguistic repertoires.

She discovered that people, who are in the middle or at the top of the socio-economic scale, tend to switch from their mother tongue to foreign languages. According to her, code-switching does not happen when there is a socio-economic differential between speakers, because the speakers do not share the same socio-economic background.

Hoffman (1991:113) observed that, in an informal conversation between people who are familiar with each other and have a shared socio-economic status, code-switching might occur quite frequently. In a formal speech situation between persons who have little in common, however, code-switching may be avoided.

Myers-Scotton (1993:7) states that even though speakers engage in code-switching, not all of the members of the same community engage in the same code-switching practices. It has been said, however, that speakers do not make the same choices in their own code-switching practices because their views differ according to the rewards of one choice over another.

Most people with a high socio-economic status are likely to switch from one language to another. This is illustrated in the following example of a farmer and a worker in Nairobi (Ibid: 82).

SETTING: A rural bar in Western Kenya. The first speaker is a local farmer, who Speaks Lwidakho and a bit of Swahili. The second speaker is a local person, who is employed in an urban centre outside the area and has come home to visit his wife and children. The farmer is asking the worker for money.

FARMER: (Lwidakho): *Khu inzi khuli menyi hanu inzala.*

“As I live here, I have hunger.”

WORKER: (Swahili): *Njaa gani? ...*

“What kind of hunger?”

FARMER: (Lwidakho): *Vana veru- “Our children-”*

WORKER: (Swahili): *Nakuuliza, njaa gani?*

“I ask you, what kind of hunger?”

FARMER: (Swahili): *Inzala ya mapesa, kambuli.*

“Hunger for money; I don’t have any.”

WORKER: (English): ***You have got a land***

(Swahili): *Una shamba. “You have land/farm.”*

(Lwidakho): *Uli nu mulimi.*

“You have land/ farm.”

FARMER: (Lwidakho): *Mwana mweru “My brother”*

WORKER: (Lwidakho): *... mbula tsisendi.*

“I don’t have money.”

(English): ***Can’t you see how I am
heavily loaded?***

The above example shows how the worker switches between languages, which are associated with people of high socio-economic status in Kenya, that is, Swahili and English. His intention is to show the farmer his socio-economic status, and he really says it when he remarks in English, “Can’t you see how I am heavily loaded?” He is saying this in English because the farmer cannot understand him and knows that English may convey his socio-economic status.

2.6.8 Code-switching to show emphasis

Hoffman (1991:116) says that some speakers tend to switch because they

want to emphasise what is being said. She further says:

Switching typically occurs when the subject is being emphatic about something. This kind of switch often takes the form of an interjection or a repetition used for clarification, in addition, the speaker`s personal involvement and desire to be well understood.

To illustrate emphasis through the use of the interjection form, she gives the following example (Ibid: 112):

SETTING: A Spanish adult who is an American English speaker is giving his/her views about the event he/she has attended.

SPANISH ADULT: (American English):

Oh! Ay! It was embarrassing! It was very nice, though, but I was embarrassed!

The speaker emphasises what he experienced (the embarrassment), by using the interjections “ oh!” and “ay!” and also by repeating the word “embarrass.”

Myers-Scotton (1992:176) gives an example from (Scotton, 1988a) to illustrate emphasis by the use of repetition as follows:

SETTING: A Zimbabwean university student is refusing to give a fellow student money. He has already refused once in their shared mother tongue, the Ndau dialect of Shona. But the other student

persists. Finally the speaker switches to English.

STUDENT: *I said, Andidi. "I don't want!"*

The student repeats the word "Andidi" in English, "I don't want," to place emphasis on what he is saying, and in order for the other fellow student to understand him better.

2.6.9 Code-switching to show confidentiality

Appel and Muysken (1987:119) point out that some speakers code-switch because they do not want a certain hearer to understand what is being said. They state that:

Many parents try to speak a foreign language when they do not want their children to understand what is being said. If they do this too often, they find out that the children have learned the second language as well, or make up a language of their own to exclude their parents.

This function of code-switching sometimes occurs between the highly educated and the less educated speakers. The highly educated speakers will switch to a foreign language so that the less educated speakers do not understand what they are talking about.

2.6.10 Code-switching to show prestige

Speakers sometimes switch codes to impress the other participants in the

conversation with a show of linguistic skills (Ibid: 120). Speakers who engage in this kind of code-switching are normally those with a lower educational level. Myers-Scotton (1993:31) cites an example from (Scotton, 1979) in Nairobi, where one bus passenger gets himself into trouble by trying to speak English to impress his fellow ethnic group member.

SETTING: Two passengers are in a bus in Nairobi. They start their conversation in Kikuyu and all of a sudden the first speaker switches to English to impress his friend. As the conversation continues, the first speaker keeps quiet because he does not understand the English word “debts.” For the rest of the journey he remains silent.

SPEAKER 1: (Kikuyu): *Niata, Mwangi?*

“How are you, Mwangi?”

SPEAKER 2: (Kikuyu): *Nikwega. “Fine.”*

SPEAKER 1: (English): *Are you still working
in the same place?*

SPEAKER 2: (English): *Yes.*

SPEAKER 1: (English): *By the way, what sort of
work do you do there?*

SPEAKER 2: (English): *Dealing with debits.*

SPEAKER 1: (English): *What?*

SPEAKER 2: (English): *I usually deal with credits
and debits of the company.*

SPEAKER 1: (Kikuyu): *Ati? “What?”*

SPEAKER 2: (English): *Debits.*

SPEAKER 1: (keeps quiet).

In the above example, the first speaker tries to impress his colleague by switching to English a language in which he does not have sufficient linguistic skills. He does not have the adequate ability to use English and when his colleague responds in it, he does not know what to say and, consequently, falls silent.

2.6.11 Exploratory code-switching

This is one of the functions of code-switching which occurs in an uncertain situation. Myers-Scotton (1992:176), has observed that:

Such a case occurs either in a relatively non-conventional exchange or when speakers do not have sufficient information about the other participants, even though they know which situational factors are salient for such an exchange.

For the speaker to communicate with the other participant, he has to switch to other codes to determine the suitable code. To clarify this kind of code-switching, she gives an example of a young man and a young woman at a dance in a hotel (Ibid: 177).

SETTING: A young man is asking a young woman to dance with him at a dance held in a Nairobi hotel. He knows little about his potential partner and perhaps the entire situation is new to him. First he tries Swahili, but the young woman refuses him. It is only when he switches to English that she agrees to dance.

MAN: (Swahili): *Nisaidie na **dance**, tafadhali.*

"Please give me a dance."

WOMAN: (Swahili): *Nimechoka, pengine nyimbo ifuatayo*

"I'm tired, maybe the following song."

MAN: (Swahili): *Hii ndio nyimbo ninayopenda.*

"This is the song I like."

WOMAN: (Swahili): *Nimechoka. "I'm tired."*

MAN: (Swahili): *Tafadhali- "Please"*

WOMAN: (English): *Ah, stop bugging me.*

MAN: (English): *I'm sorry. I didn't mean*

to bug you, but I can't

help it if I like this song.

WOMAN: (English): *Ok, in that case, we can dance.*

In this case, the young man tries the first code, which is Swahili and the response from the woman is negative. The second trial is English, and the young man is successful. The young man in this example switched codes with the intention of getting an indication of the preferred code from the young woman. To the young woman, the use of English by the young man may have conveyed the young man's level of education or socio-economic status.

Myers-Scotton (1993:122) states that most speakers are often unaware that they are engaging in code-switching during their conversations. Appel and Muysken (1987:118), additionally states that, when these speakers are asked why they switch, they say that they are not aware of their switches. Others say that:

*It is because they do not know the word for it
in the other language, or because the language*

chosen is fit for talking about a given subject .

To some speakers, code-switching is just a normal day to day means of communication.

2.7 CONCLUSION

Etter-Lewis (1985:131) sees code-switching as a vital tool of communication for all those who can speak more than one language, because it forms a regular and often necessary part of social interaction among them. The individuals use it to express their personal feelings of meaning while following the rules on the use of the language, which are imposed by the society in which they live. Diop (1989:5) quotes Poplack (1979), who says code-switching is a verbal skill requiring a linguistic competence in more than one language rather than a defect arising from deficient knowledge of the other.

Myers-Scotton (1993:43) has observed in Nairobi and Harare that the urban African workers may speak foreign languages better than their first languages. Normally these foreign languages are European languages, and Masinge (1997:27) has observed that the opposite is rare. Furthermore, Kembo-Sure and Webb (2000:121) state that these European languages are used as a link by the educated elite, as a means of communication across international borders. These languages have become important instruments in the lives of Africans with regard to knowledge, privilege and trade on the continent. However, code-switching should also be seen as a strategy which speakers use to convey intentional messages of a social nature, and it is used to do social work.

For the speakers, alternating between two languages remains an important part of communicative interactions. Although speakers engage in code-switching, their intentions differ according to the messages that they want to convey.

CHAPTER THREE

DATA COLLECTION

3.1 INTRODUCTION

The data for this study was collected in Gaborone, the capital city of Botswana, which is located in the southeast of the country. The choice of the city was primarily based on its high population, which the 1991 *National Census Statistics* (1993:12) estimated at 139 536. The other reason was that the distance from Pretoria to Gaborone is short (approximately 320km) as compared to other places. Around the city there is adequate transport and the necessary materials, such as micro cassettes, and batteries for the tape recorder are easily available. Above all, the city was chosen because it is the area where people of different languages come into contact, which may result in code-switching.

The study was conducted in this city to determine who engages in code-switching, how it occurs, where it occurs in the utterances (linguistically) and why speakers engage in code-switching.

3.2 RESEARCH METHODS

This study follows the qualitative method of research. Guy et al (1987:256) quote Bogdan and Taylor (1975) who define qualitative research as:

*research procedures which produce
descriptive data, people`s own written*

or spoken words and observations. This approach directs itself at settings and the individuals within those settings holistically.

As indicated in the quotation, the study aims at visiting the settings of the researcher's choice and recording the conversations of the speakers within those settings. After the recordings, the conversations will be transcribed, and then data will be analysed, described and discussed. The study will cite the problems encountered during data collection and include the transcripts of the conversations.

3.2.1 Selection of respondents

With such a big population mentioned under section 3.1 (Introduction), it would not be easy for the researcher to record the speeches of all the people in the city, and the completion of the study would require many years of effort. The researcher employed neither quantitative nor representative methods in selecting the sample. The researcher's aim was to study the phenomenon of code-switching, and the respondents were selected on the basis of those situations that were expected to produce cases of code-switching. Speakers who seemed at ease, relaxed and engaged in spontaneous conversation were recorded.

3.2.2 Selection of settings

The study focused on natural settings. The researcher selected possible settings for the study, which were perceived as offering a reasonable population and which could provide a number of different speakers. The

settings were selected to determine whether speakers switch codes in formal settings as well as social gatherings (informal settings).

The researcher selected the formal settings since it is the norm for people to select appropriate words in these places and avoid vulgarity. The researcher thus wished to observe the speech behaviour of the speakers in order to see whether they switch codes or not.

Consequently, an institutional setting (like the church during a church service on a Sunday, where a Motswana pastor was giving a sermon) was visited. Another “formal” place visited was the furniture shop where a shop assistant was assisting a customer. Also included as “formal” in this study is the data the researcher recorded from Radio Botswana.

The reason for selecting informal settings was that generally, speakers meet with their friends in these places, become relaxed and free, and do not monitor their language. At this stage, it is the content of the communication, and not its structure, that is upper most in their minds.

The informal settings studied include the National Stadium during a league game between Township Rollers Football Club and Prison`s XI, a public bar, where friends were having a conversation about a friend`s marriage; and taxi rank, where two taxi drivers and an old man were having a conversation.

3.2.3 Collection of data

The data contained in this study was gathered from two sources. The primary source comprised the unstructured interviews and the recordings of

actual conversations. The secondary source of information was drawn from a review of available literature on the topic.

3.2.3.1 Primary sources

For primary sources, the study focused on the recordings of conversations and unstructured interviews. The questions that were asked are set out in Appendix III.

3.2.3.1.1 Recordings

The primary data for the study was obtained through audio tape recordings. The researcher visited the various areas mentioned in section 3.2.2 to record conversations of different people. The recording sessions were not prearranged and the researcher was able to record spontaneous speech from the respondents, due to a certain relaxation time allowance so that the subjects could chat naturally. A small Sanyo micro cassette tape recorder was used mainly due to its portability and easy storage. The tape recorder was hidden so that the target groups would not be intimidated by it. The other reason for hiding the tape recorder was to record natural conversations.

Although no permission was obtained from anyone, and speakers were not aware that their conversations had been recorded, it is impossible to trace these people because the recordings were made some months ago, and the researcher does not know their names and addresses. There is no way the researcher can use this information to incriminate any of the people, whose conversations have been recorded. The researcher is not going to use this material to the detriment of any citizen of Botswana, as the information will

only be used to determine the nature and function of code-switching in Setswana in Botswana and not for any other purposes.

3.2.3.1.2 Interview

After the recordings, the researcher conducted exploratory interviews with the people whose speeches had been recorded. These were informal and unstructured interviews, and they centered mainly on personal issues like age, level of education, occupation, and ethnicity.

3.2.3.2 Secondary sources

The data in Chapter Two, (the theoretical framework of the study), was gathered from various studies dealing with code-switching, published by different researchers.

3.2.4 Analysis, description and discussion of data

The data (transcribed conversations) will be analysed as examples of code-switching in Setswana in Botswana. The examples of the sentences with switches from Setswana to English will be analysed as follows: The examples will be written down as they appear in the data, followed by the literal translation. The examples will then be analysed morphologically and syntactically. The English translation will also be given.

After the analysis of the data, the researcher will describe how and where switches occur in the sentences. Subsequent to the description process, data will then be organised and presented systematically. The researcher will

then analyse, describe and discuss the data so that valid and accurate conclusions can be drawn from them.

The researcher will interpret the data by explaining what the data that have been collected, arranged, analysed and described actually mean. The findings of the study will then be used to generate ideas and suggestions that are based on facts set out by other researchers.

3.3 PROBLEMS ENCOUNTERED DURING DATA COLLECTION

Data collection was a demanding and stressful exercise, because the researcher did not always get all the necessary information from the speakers. The researcher needed to observe and record conversations that switched between Setswana and English, in order to be able to determine the nature and functions of code-switching in Setswana. Sometimes, however, the speakers would not switch codes during their conversations, and would only use Setswana with no transition to English. When this happened, the researcher would look for another group and observe their conversation. If they made switches, their conversation was recorded. Sometimes the researcher had to wait for hours for the target group to start their conversation. At the public bar, the researcher wanted to observe how the patrons behave regarding the use of the language. The first visit occurred during the day, and the researcher found only the workers, in whom she had little interest. She thus had to return in the evening to observe and make some recordings of the bar clients. Eventually, she managed to obtain the data that she needed.

3.4 THE RECORDED CONVERSATIONS

The recorded conversations are transcribed according to the settings visited and the one obtained from media (Radio Botswana).

The transcripts include the educational level of the speakers, which are given according to the Botswana educational system. The Botswana educational equivalence to that of South Africa is as follows:

BOTSWANA	SOUTH AFRICA
Form five	Grade twelve
Form three	Grade ten
Standard seven	Grade seven

The old standard six refers to the current form three in Botswana and grade ten in South Africa.

3.4.1 *At the church*

SETTING: An elderly Motswana pastor, with a level education of an old Standard six education, conducted a church service for the Batswana congregation at the church on the 07/05/2000. The pastor was in his sixties. During the sermon, he switched from Setswana to English.

Priest: Palo ya rona e tswa mo lokwalong lwa
Bafilipi Kgaolo ya Bone, Temana ya Bosupa.

“Philippians Chapter Four, Verse Seven.”

(Our reading is from the book of

Philippians Chapter Four, Verse Seven).

Reading: Mme kagiso ya Modimo e e fetang
tlhaloganyo yotlhe, e tla dibela dipelo
tsa lona le megopolo ya lona mo go
Keresete Jeso.

*(And God`s peace, which is far beyond
human understanding, will keep your
hearts and minds safe in union with
Christ Jesus).*

Sermon: Kagiso! Le ke lefoko le le tlwaelesegileng
thata, bangwe ba le dirisa go dumedisana.
Lefoko le kagiso le raya eng? ***What does
peace mean my friends?*** Lefoko le ga le sa
tlhola le tlhaloganyesega sentle. Kana
mafoko ke one didirisiwa tse ditona tsa
botlhokwa go isa molaetsa. Fa lefoko le
felelwa ke se le se rayang, le sa
tlhaloganyesege sentle, molaetsa le fa e
ka ne e le ofe, o a latlhega.

*(Peace! This is a commonly used word, some
use it for greetings. What does the word
peace mean? What does peace mean my
friends? Words are the most important tools
used to convey messages. If a word loses
its meaning, and is not well understood,
the message conveyed will not be understood).*

Re le batho re latlhegetswe ke boleng jwa lefoko kagiso/*peace*. Moaposetolo Paulo mo palong e re e badileng a re, “kagiso ya Modimo e e fetang tlhaloganyo yotlhe.” Paulo o re naya pharologanyo fa gare ga *peace* ya Modimo le *peace* ya batho. Fa re re re mo lefatsheng la kagiso, *what do we mean?* Re raya gore ga go ope yo o tshwereng tlhobolo a hula yo mongwe, ga go na ope yo o lootsang segai go gaba yo mongwe, ga go na ope yo o tsholeditseng thipa go sogotlha wa ga gabo, ga go na dikomano tsa semorafe, dikilano tsa batho, ga go na borai jo bo supiwang mo pepeneneng. Dilo tse boseyong jwa tsone mo mothong ke kagiso. Re lebile kagiso mabapi le dintwa, kilano le dikomano, dilo tse di bonwang ka matlho, le tse di utlwiwang ka ditsebe. Tsala ya me, boseyong jwa dilo tse ke yone Kagiso ya Modimo, *God`s peace*.

(Most people have lost the meaning of the word peace. From the reading that we have just read, Apostle Paul says, “God`s peace, which is far beyond human understanding.” He gives the difference between God`s peace and a human`s peace. If we say we are in a peaceful world, what do we mean? We mean that there is no one holding a gun to shoot another one, no one

is sharpening his assegai to stab the other, no one is holding a knife to stab his colleague, no tribalist conflicts, no hatred, and there is no danger that is set out in public. Without all these things within a human being, there is peace. We view peace as without fights/wars, hatred and scoldings, things that we can see and hear. My friend, in the absence of all these things, there is God's peace).

3.4.2 *At the furniture shop*

SETTING: In a Furniture shop, a male shop assistant with a form five education, and a lady customer with a standard seven education, are discussing the terms of purchasing a bedroom suite. The shop assistant is in his thirties while the lady is in her forties. The discussion starts in Setswana, but most of the time the shop assistant switches to English.

S-ass: Dumela mma! (*Good morning madam!*)

Custo: Dumela rra! (*Good morning sir!*)

S-ass: Nna ke dira mo lebenkeleng le, ***I am a sales advisor.*** Ke ka go thusa ka eng mma?
(*I am working in this shop as a sales advisor. How can I help you madam?*)

Custo: Ke batla ***bedroomu suite.***
(*I want a bedroom suite.*)

S-ass: Re na le e nngwe ke ele, mme yone ke

P3 999,00. O ka ntsha *depositi* tsa *six hundred Pula and monthly instalment* ya **P301,00**.

(We have got that one over there, it costs P3 999,00. You can pay a deposit of six hundred Pula and a monthly instalment of P301,00).

Custo: Ee, rra. *(Yes, sir).*

S-ass: Wa reng jaanong? *(What do you say)?*

Custo: Yone ke a e rata, *depositi* ke bokae?
(I like it, how much is the deposit)?

S-ass: ***Deposit*** ke **P600,00**, and ***instalment*** ke **P301,00** kgwedi le kgwedi.
(The deposit is P600,00, and monthly instalment of P301,00).

Custo: Ke tla ntsha tsone *depositi* tseo, gape ***instalment*** ga e bad.
(I will pay the said deposit, and instalment isn't so bad).

S-ass: Jaanong mma, go na le madi a ***insurance***, ***finance charges***, and ***instalment extension***.
Fa re e rekisa ***for 9, 12, 18, or 24 months to pay***, madi a teng a ***insurance*** le ***finance charges*** ga a lekane. ***Twenty-four months*** e ***sharp*** ka gore o kgona go duelela ***bedroom-sutu*** ya gago ka lobaka lo lo leele, le fa o na le ***problem***o ya madi, o itse gore o sa ntse o na le ***long theme***. Jaanong o ka e reka mo lobakeng lo lo kae?

(now madam, there are charges for insurance, finance and instalment extension. But if we sell it for nine, twelve, eighteen or twenty-four months to pay, the charges for insurance and finance differ. Paying over twenty-four months is good, because you can pay for a longer period, even if you have some financial problems, you know that you have a longer term payment period).

Custo: Kana mathata ke gore le tsietsa batho lona batho ba lo rekisang. Ditšhatšhe tsa lona di ya go oketsega. Le gale ke tla tsaya **twenty-four months to pay**.

(The problem with you is that you cheat people, and your charges are going to increase. Anyway, I prefer to pay for twenty-four months).

S-ass: O a itse mma, ga se gore re ja batho, re leka go go thusa ka dilwana, fa wena o re thusa ka madi. **Without you, there is no how we could survive. Difinance charge**, o a bo o duedisetswa gore o dirisa dilwana tsa rona o sa fetsa go di duelela. **Insurance** yone e **covera** gore fa dilwana di ka utswiwa, o tla bo o itse gore *you are on the safe side*.

(You know what madam, its not that we cheat people, we provide you with our goods, and you in turn give us your money. Without you there is no how this shop could survive.

The finance charges are paid because you use our goods without full payment. Insurance charges cover the theft of the goods. If your goods could be stolen, you will be on the safe side).

Custo: Ee, rra, ke a utlwa, mme ke tla e tsaya.

Le ya go e tliša leng?

(I understand sir, and I will take it.

When are you going to deliver it)?

S-ass: Fa ke fetsa le wena go tliša dipampiri

tse, ke ya go di neela batho ba ba

dilivarang. Expect it any time from today.

(When I finish filling in these papers, I am

going to hand them over to the people who

deliver goods. Expect it any time from today.)

3.4.3 Media (Radio Botswana)

SETTING: On the International Day of Telecommunications, Radio

Botswana invited three panellists to the studio to explain to the

nation how cellular phones work. The panellists were from

Vista Cellular Network, Mascom Wireless Network and

Botswana Telecommunication Corporation respectively. The

talk was in Setswana as the main language, with switches to

English.

Presenter: Ke tla simolola ka baeng gore ba le

ipolelele, le gore ke eng ba bone go

le botlhokwa go kopana fano.

(I would start by requesting our guests to introduce themselves, and tell us the purpose of the meeting here today).

Panellist 1: Dumelang bagaetsho, nna ke direla kwa Vista Cellular Network. Re bone go le bothokwa go tla go buisana le bangwe ka rona mo Letsatsing le la Mafatshefatshe la Ditlhaeletsano. Ke solofela fa re tla abelana megopolo ka mananeo a mašwa a tsa tlhaeletsano mo lefatsheng le la rona.

(I greet you all. I am from Vista Cellular Network. We have seen that it is important to meet with our colleagues and talk about the International Day of Telecommunications. I hope we are going to share new ideas on communication in our country).

Panellist 2: Nna ke tswa kwa Botswana Telecommunication Corporation. Re tsile go bua le lona ka dicellular mo Letsatsing le la Mafatshefatshe. Jaanong re le ba Telecomms, re tshwanetse go itse seabe sa rona mo ditlhaeletsanong tse.

(I am from the Botswana Telecommunications Corporation. We are going to talk about the cellular phones on this International Day of Telecommunications and let you know which part we play as Telecomms in these new phones).

Panellist 3: Nna ke tswa kwa Mascom Wireless, ke dira mo lephateng la *Neteweke Planning*. Jaaka bangwe ka nna ba setse ba buile, letsatsi le le tla re neela sebaka sa gore re itse gore setšhaba kwa ntle sa reng ka ditlhaeletsano tsa rona.

(I am from Mascom Wireless, working under the department of Network Planning. As my colleagues have already said, this day will give us an opportunity to listen to the different views from the nation about our communications).

Presenter: A le ka tshalosetsa setšhaba ka fa ditlhaeletsano tsa lona di dirang ka teng?

(Can you explain to the nation how your communications work)?

Panellist 3: Mo go gokaganyeng **diselula**, re dirisa **ditawara** tse di setseng di le teng di na le **diphaephe** tse di rileng. Fa gongwe o fitlhela di le **forty metres or so**, go bo go raya gore ga di a atumela **destinatione** ya rona. Mme ke ka go raya ke re **ditawara** ka bontsi, di **five metres around destination** ya rona. *(To connect the cellular phones, we use the towers with special pipes which are already there. Sometimes they are forty metres or so, which means that they are*

far from our destination. But what I can say is, most towers are five metres away from our destination).

Panellist 1: O kgona go bona **sikinale** mo **mobaele seteng** ya gago mme o sa kgone go letsa ka gore, **mobaele sete** e ya gago ke yone e tshwanetseng wa kgona go bua le **destinatione** kwa e teng. **Now if the destination is more than five metres**, go tsaya nako gore **sikinale** ya gago e tle kwa **destinationeng**. **If the destination doesn't receive the message in the stipulated time, it cuts the call.**

(You can view the signal in your mobile set but not be able to make a call, because it is the mobile set which enables you to reach the destination. Now, if the distance is more than five metres, the signal takes time to reach the destination. But if the destination doesn't receive the message in the stipulated time, it cuts the call).

Presenter: A le ka tlhalosetsa setšhaba gore ke eng ditlhaeletsano tsa lona di sa kgone go tshwara mo mafelong a mangwe. Sekai; Mascom e tshwara ka fa bokone jwa lefatshe, fa Vista yone e tshwara mo borwa fela) *(Can you explain to the nation why your communications don't*

reach other places? For example; Mascom reaches most of the places in the northern part of the country while Vista is basically in the southern part only).

Panellist 3: Ke boammaruri mma, Mascom e ntsi thata

ka fa **north**, fa Vista e tshwara thata mo **south**. Re na le dingwaga tse pedi re ntse re le mo kgwebong ya **dicellula**. Ngwaga le ngwaga re leka go **increasa capacity by increasing the number of places that we want to cover**. Se sengwe se o fitlhelang re na le mathata ke gore re dirisana le ba **landeboarde**, mme go tsaya sebaka go bona **poloto** e re ya bong re e kopile. Tota re na le keletso ya go **covera** mafelo a le mantsi, e bile ngwaga le ngwaga **we are trying to increase our coverage in the whole country**.

(It is true madam, Mascom covers most places in the northern part while Vista covers most places in the southern part of the country. We have only two years in this business. Every year we try to increase the capacity by increasing the number of places that we want to cover. The other problem is that we are working with the Land board,

and it takes time to be allocated a plot that we have applied for. Really, we wish to cover most places, and every year we try to increase our coverage in the whole country).

Panellist 2: Lephata la ditlhaeletsano le filwe sebaka sa go tlhabolola lefatshe leno. Mme le fa re phadisana, moonono o motona ke go tshwaragana go tlhabolola lefatshe la rona mabapi le tsa ditlhaeletsano.
(The department of Telecommunications have been given an opportunity to develop this country. Even though we are competing with others, the main crux of the matter is to come together and develop our country in communications).

Panellist 1: *As my colleague from Mascom has stated,* re ikaelela go oketsa *coverage* ya rona mo mafelong otlhe a lefatshe leno.
(As my colleague from Mascom has stated, our aim is to increase our coverage in all the places in our country).

Presenter: Bagaetsho, ke lebogetse tlhaloso ya lona ya tiriso ya ditlhaeletsano tse dišwa mo lefatsheng la rona. Ka re tswelolang go oketsa *coverage* mo mafelong a mangwe a lefatshe leno. Ke a leboga bagaetsho.

(Gentlemen, I am so pleased with the explanation you gave on the use of the new communications in our country. Continue to increase the coverage in Some places in this country. Thank you all).

3.4.4 At the National Stadium

SETTING: Four university of Botswana students, two gentlemen and two ladies are watching a football game between Township Rollers and Prison`s Xi. One of them is a teenager, and the rest are in their early twenties. The conversation about the game is in Setswana with regular switches to English.

Gentleman A: Rollers gompieno e lebega e se **prepared**,
but why?
(Rollers seems not prepared today, but why)?

Gentleman B: Ke eng fa o rialo, o bona eng?
(Why are you saying that, what have you noticed)?

Gentleman A: Bona! Bona mosimane yole o tlogela bolo
fela **as if he is not playing in a league
game.**
*(Look! Look at that boy missing the ball
as if he is not playing in a league game).*

Lady A: Lona le rata go bua, **why can`t you sit
and watch the game?**
*(You like talking, why can`t you sit and watch
the game)?*

Gentleman A: *We have paid*, ka moo ga re batle go
lebelela matlakala.

*(We have paid, therefore we
don't want to watch nonsense).*

Lady B: Tsala ya me, *just leave them and
concentrate on the game.*

*(My friend, just leave them and concentrate
on the game).*

Gentleman B: Lo ithaya lo re lo botlhale. Lona basadi
kana ga le itse sepe ka *fotobolo*, le bona
batho ba siana fela mo lebaleng. Ga le
tlhaloganye sepe.

*(You think you are smart. You ladies know
nothing about football, you just see people
running in the pitch. You don't understand
anything).*

Gentleman A: Nna kana fa Rollers e jewa ke utlwa
botlhoko thata, le fa ke tsena kwa
lwapeng ga ke je.

*(You know what! When Rollers loses,
I feel much pain, and don't even
take food when I get home).*

Lady B: Tota o bua ka ga eng? Kana *we are all
supporters of Rollers.*

*(What are you really talking about?
We are all supporters of Rollers).*

Gentleman B: Re a itse, mme ra re a basimane ba
tsenye moko mo nameng mo tshamekong
ya bone.

(We know that, but we are saying that the boys should put more effort into the play).

Lady B: Fa o batla ba tsenya moko, **let's cheer them up to give them courage.**

(If you want them to put in more effort, let's cheer them up to give them courage).

Lady A: O bua sentle tsala, **we should give them moral support.**

(You are right my friend, we should give them moral support).

Gentleman A: **Goal! Goal! Referee** e banna ya re go rileng? Ke a mo itse ene yo, o tlhoile

Rollers. **Now we are leading by one goal.**

(Goal! Goal! What is the referee up to? I know him, he hates Rollers. Now we are leading by one goal).

3.4.5 At the public bar

SETTING: An evening of the 25/05/2000 at the public bar, two gentlemen and a lady, both in their thirties, are having drinks and chatting about their colleague's marriage. They both have degrees and hold high positions in the Hyundai Motor Company. The conversation is in Setswana and/or English.

Gentleman 1: **Hey monna!** Re neele **didrinki** foo.

(Hey man! Give us some drinks please).

Barman: Le nwa eng bagaetsho?

(What do you take)?

Gentleman 1: Re neele **two** St Louis le **one** Crown.

(Give us two St Louis and one Crown).

Gentleman 2: O a itse motho yo gore re nwa

eng. **We come here daily, it`s**

**only that he is not in a good
mood.**

(He knows what we take/drink, we

*come here daily, it`s only that he
is not in a good mood).*

Lady: Mo tlogeleng, **he is not in a good mood today.**

Re tla mmona kgantele.

*(Leave him alone, he is not in a good mood
today. We shall see him later).*

Barman: Ke tse rra. *(Here you are sir).*

Lady: **Next time** o seka wa re botsa gore re nwa

eng. O a itse gore re nwa eng malatsi otlhe.

(Next time don`t ask us what we drink.

You know what we drink every day.

Gentleman 2: Mo tlogele, a re nweng.

(Leave him alone, let`s drink.

Gentleman 1: Heela monna, naare wa re o nyala leng?

(Hey man, when are you getting married)?

Lady: **Why do you want him to marry?** A o tla mo

duelela bogadi? *(Will you pay lobola for him)?*

Gentleman 1: Balekane ba gagwe ba nyetse botlhe, go

setse ene fela.

*(All members of his age group are
married, he is the only one left).*

Lady: Kgaitradiaka, rraago o batla o nyala.

(My brother, your father wants you to get married).

Gentleman 2: Nneele ngwaga fela tsala ya me,
kana ke batla lenyalo la ngwaga,
you know that I am earning a lot.

(Just give me a year my friend, I want the wedding of the year, you know that I am earning a lot).

Gentleman 1: Ke solofela gore re tsile go bona
lenyalo tota. ***Reception*** e tla bo
e tshwaretswe kae?

(I hope we are going to witness a real wedding. Where will the reception be held)?

Lady: A le setse le dira dipreparatione?

(Have you started with the preparations)?

Gentleman 1: Ee, monna yo ke tsala ya rona, ***we should give him some advice.*** Nna e
bile ke tsile go nna ***besete mene*** ya
gagwe.

(Yes, this man is our friend, we should give him some advice. And I am going to be his best man).

Lady: O rata go ijesa dijo tsa ditoro.

(You like dreaming).

Gentleman 2: A re tsamaeng, tsa manyalo re tla
bua ka tsone kwa gae e seng fa.

(Let's go, we shall talk about

marriages at home, not here).

3.4.6 *At the taxi rank*

SETTING: At Gaborone West Taxi Rank, an old man asks one of the taxi drivers to take him to Block Nine. Another taxi driver argues with the taxi driver who was being asked by the old man to take him to Block Nine. The drivers are in their late twenties with standard seven education. The old man is in his seventies with the old standard six education. The conversation starts in Setswana and later switches to English.

Old man: Ngwanaka, ke bokae go ya Block Nine?

(My son, how much is the taxi fare to Block Nine)?

T-driver 1: Ke *ten* pula fela monnamogolo.

(It's Only P10.00 old man).

Old man: A re ye o nkise. *(Okay take me there).*

T-driver 2: Ga go pege wena *bra, it's my turn.*

(You are not supposed to load, my brother it's my turn).

T-driver 1: Monnamogolo o batla gore ke mo ise,

jaanong wena mathata a gago ke eng?

(The old man wants me to take him to Block nine, and you, what's your problem)?

T-driver 2: Ga ke na mathata, ka re ke *turne* ya me.

(I don't have any problem, I am just saying it's my turn).

T-driver 1: Tsamaela koo ka **turne** ya gago, nna ke
isa monnamogolo.

*(Go to hell with your turn, I am taking
the old man to Block Nine).*

T-driver 2: **You won`t!** O re tsietsa tsatsi le
letsatsi.

(You won`t! You cheat us every day).

Old man: **Hey, look here!** Lo ntiela nako, **should I
call the policemen?** Le bakgweetsi ba ba
ntseng jang? **Don`t you know that you
are here because of us? Hey you! Take me
to Block Nine, it`s getting late.**

*(Hey, look here! You are wasting my time.
Should I call the policemen? What kind of
drivers are you? Don`t you know that you
are here because of us? Hey, You! Take me
to Block Nine. It is getting late).*

T-driver 2: Ke tla go bona fa o boa koo Sonny.

*(I shall see you when you come back
Sonny).*

3.5 CONCLUSION

In this chapter, the researcher has presented the information about where the study was conducted. She has also described the way in which the material was collected and how it will be analysed and described. The settings where the material was collected were also stated. Additionally, the chapter contains the transcripts of the

recorded conversations. The next chapter will deal with the analysis, description and discussion of the data.

CHAPTER FOUR

ANALYSIS, DESCRIPTION AND DISCUSSION OF THE DATA

4.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter discusses the analysis and description of the data from recorded conversations between different Setswana speakers in various settings. The transcripts of the recorded conversations in the previous chapter will be examined and used in the data analysis. The analysis of the data attempts to reveal the nature and functions of code-switching amongst some of the Batswana in Gaborone City. However, the analysis will consider only the English switches made by Batswana around Gaborone because the study is only focussing on code-switching between Setswana and English.

The researcher will examine the collected data and analyse, describe and discuss the findings arising from the data with regard to the following questions:

- ◆ *Is code-switching linguistically determined?*
- ◆ *Is code-switching random and meaningless?*
- ◆ *Why do speakers tend to engage in code-switching?*

4.2 ANALYSIS, DESCRIPTION AND DISCUSSION OF THE DATA

In analysing, describing and discussing the data, the study will attempt to answer and clarify the questions listed above. It will also look at the issues

arising from the previous chapters and attempt to link them with the findings.

4.3 RESEARCH QUESTION ONE: “*Is code-switching linguistically determined?*”

To answer this question, three types of code-switching discussed in Chapter Two will be considered. These are tag-like switches or emblematic code-switching, intra-sentential code-switching and inter-sentential code-switching. For every type, a number of examples will be analysed, described and discussed. Other examples will be attached in appendices I and II.

4.3.1 *Tag-like switches or emblematic switching*

As mentioned earlier, Poplack (1980), quoted in Khati (1992:183), describes tag-like switches as the use of tags, single words and idiomatic expressions from one language into another. She observed that speakers who are not conversant with the foreign language like to use this type in their conversations, whereas it is least favoured among those, who are conversant in the foreign language. Those who are not conversant in the foreign language use it because tags may be inserted anywhere in the sentence without violating any grammatical rules.

Tags are often observed in the conversations of some speakers but, when examining the transcripts contained in this study, no examples of tags were found. The speakers did not use this type of code-switching in their conversations. Even though this type does not appear in the data, it does occur in Setswana.

4.3.2 *Intra-sentential code-switching*

Intra-sentential code switching occurs within one sentence (Myers-Scotton, 1993:4). Poplack (1979a), quoted in Nontolwane (1992:11), points out that speakers who use this type need greater linguistic skills in both languages because the speaker needs to switch within phrases. The switches in intra-sentential code-switching may occur as single morphemes, which to some researchers (like Poplack and Wheeler, 1987) may either be borrowing or nonce borrowing (Khati, 1992:184).

4.3.2.1 *Code-switching at clause level*

The analysis will determine, whether the tables that appear in the data occur in the main or subordinate clause. The sentences will be presented in five ways. The first row presents the sentence as it appears in the data. The second is the literal translation, while the third is the grammatical description of the sentence. The English translation is also given. To be more explicit in representing the constituent structure of the sentences, the syntactic category that each constituent belongs to will be indicated.

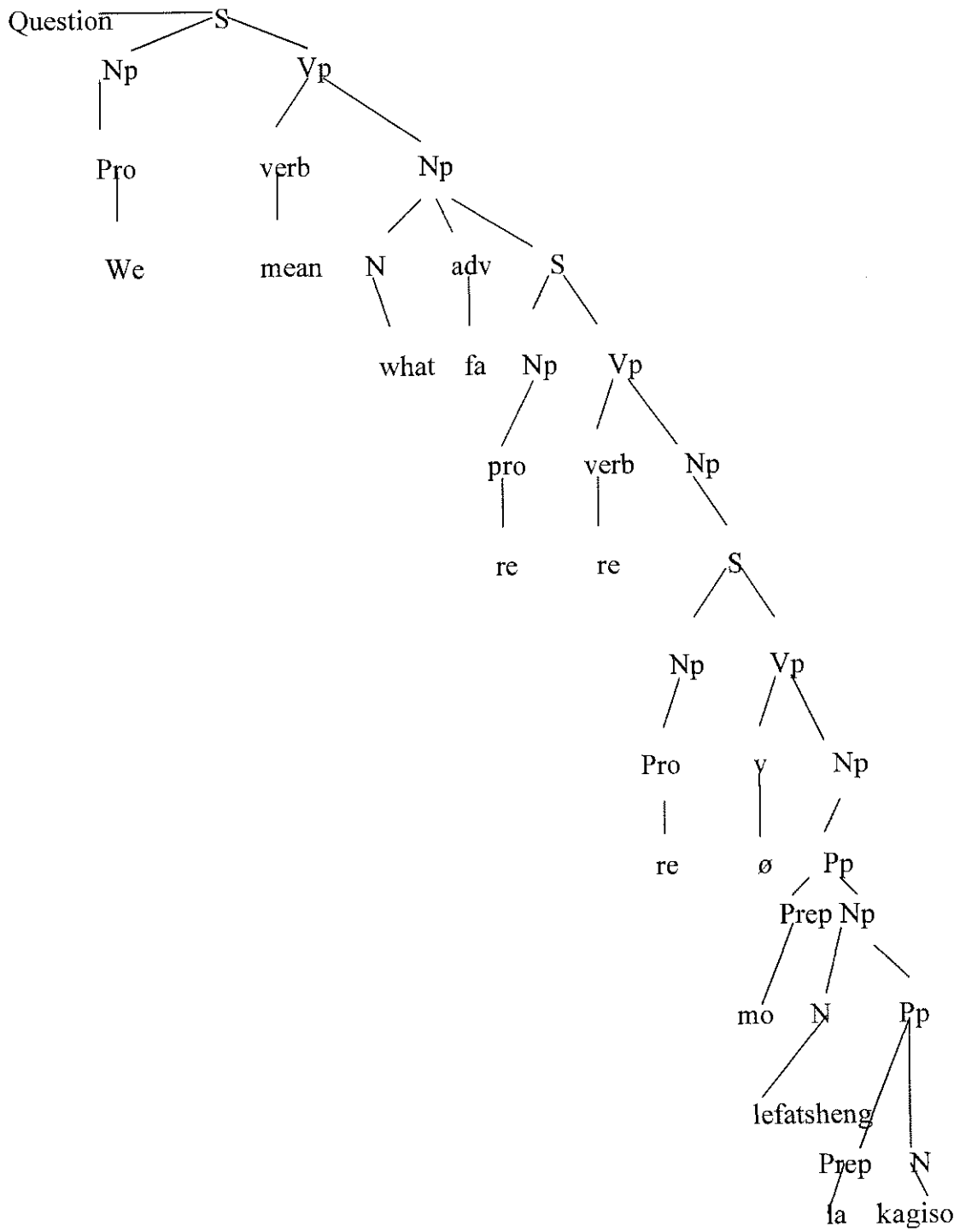
The following examples show switches occurring at clause level.

Table 4.1

<i>Fa</i>	<i>re</i>	<i>re</i>	<i>re</i>	<i>mo</i>	<i>lefatsheng</i>	<i>la</i>	<i>kagiso</i>	<i>what</i>	<i>do</i>	<i>we</i>	<i>mean</i>
<i>When</i>	<i>we</i>	<i>say</i>	<i>we</i>	<i>in</i>	<i>world</i>	<i>of</i>	<i>peace</i>	<i>what</i>	<i>do</i>	<i>we</i>	<i>mean</i>
adv.	pron.	v.	pron.	prep.	n.	prep.	n.	interrog.	v.	pron.	v.

English translation: "When we say we are in a peaceful world, what do we mean?"

Syntactic analysis:



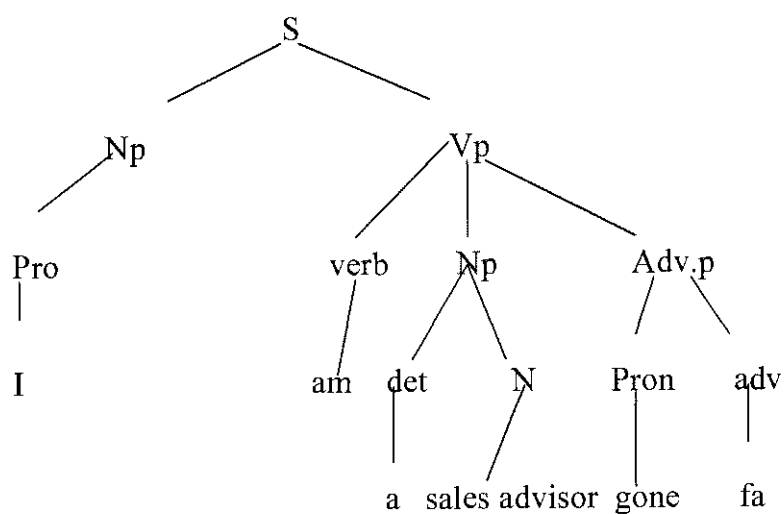
The above example is a complex sentence, which consists of the main and subordinated clauses. The main clause is “we mean what?” and the subordinated clause is, “fa re re re mo lefatsheng la kagiso.” The switch occurs in the main clause, which consists of two noun phrases and a verb phrase. The switched clause does not violate the syntactic structure of the sentence. Even in Setswana, the clause would take the form of a main clause with the same structure. The first and third {re} in the sentences are subjectival markers, which, when translated into English, are pronouns.

Table 4.2

I	am	a	sales advisor	<i>gone</i>	<i>fa</i>
I	am	a	sales advisor	it	here
Pron.	v.	det.	n.	pron.	adv.

English translation: “*I am a sales advisor here.*”

Syntactic analysis:



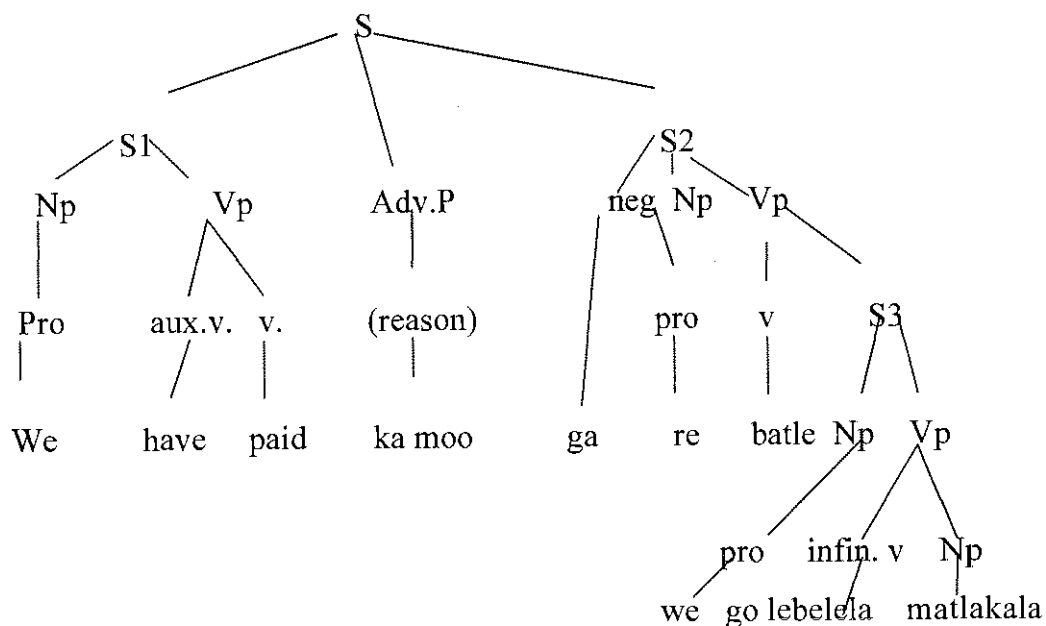
This is a simple sentence, which consists of only one clause. “I am a sales advisor gone fa.” The switch occurs between the noun phrase and the verb phrase. The adverb phrase “gone fa,” is the adverb of place. The switched part does not violate the grammatical structure of Setswana, and the meaning of the sentence is still maintained. The sentence is judged as an English sentence with the adverb switched to Setswana.

Table 4.3

We	have	paid	ka moo	ga	re	batle	go	lebelela	matlakala
We	have	paid	therefore	not	we	want	to	watch	nonsense
Pron.	aux. v.	v.	adv.	neg.	pron.	v.	infin. marker.	v.	n.

English translation: “We have paid, therefore we do not want to watch nonsense.”

Syntactic analysis:



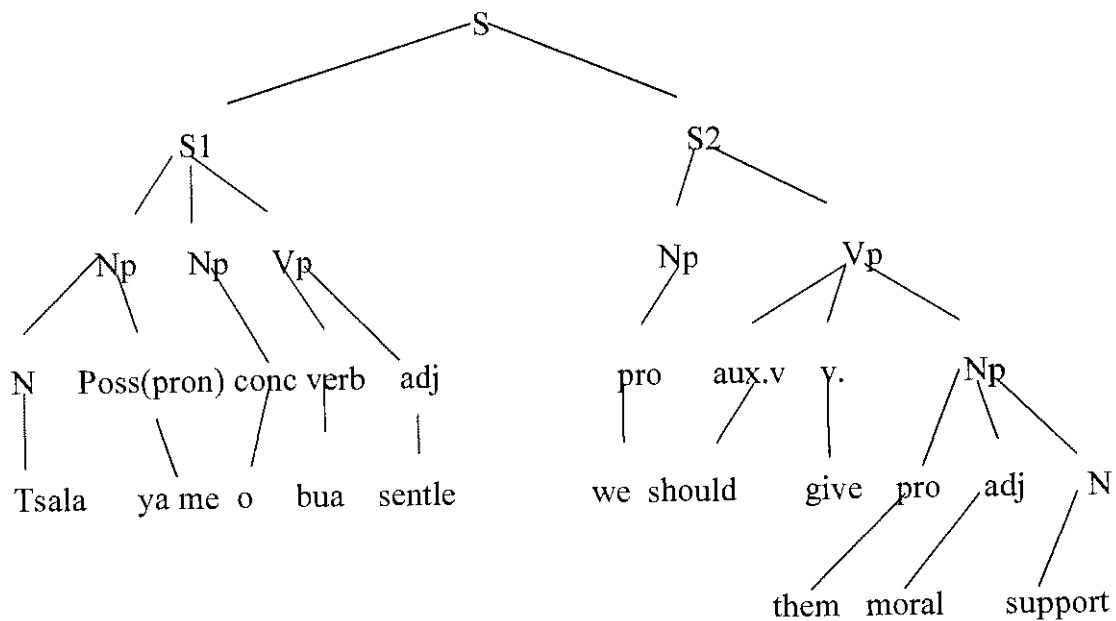
The above example consists of three clauses. The first and switched clause is “we have paid,” and it consists of a noun phrase and a verb phrase. The second, which is the main clause, is in the negative form, “ga re batle,” The third clause, which is the subordinate of the main clause is “go lebelela matlakala.” The first clause has been joined to the main clause with the adverb “therefore.”

Table 4.4

<i>O</i>	<i>bua</i>	<i>sentle</i>	<i>tsala</i>	<i>ya me</i>	<i>we</i>	<i>should</i>	<i>give</i>	<i>them</i>	<i>moral</i>	<i>support</i>
<i>You</i>	<i>talk</i>	<i>right</i>	<i>friend</i>	<i>my</i>	<i>we</i>	<i>should</i>	<i>give</i>	<i>them</i>	<i>moral</i>	<i>support</i>
conc.	v.	adj.	n.	possess. pron	pron.	mod. v.	v.	pron.	adj.	n.

English translation: “You are right my friend, we should give them moral support.”

Syntactic analysis:

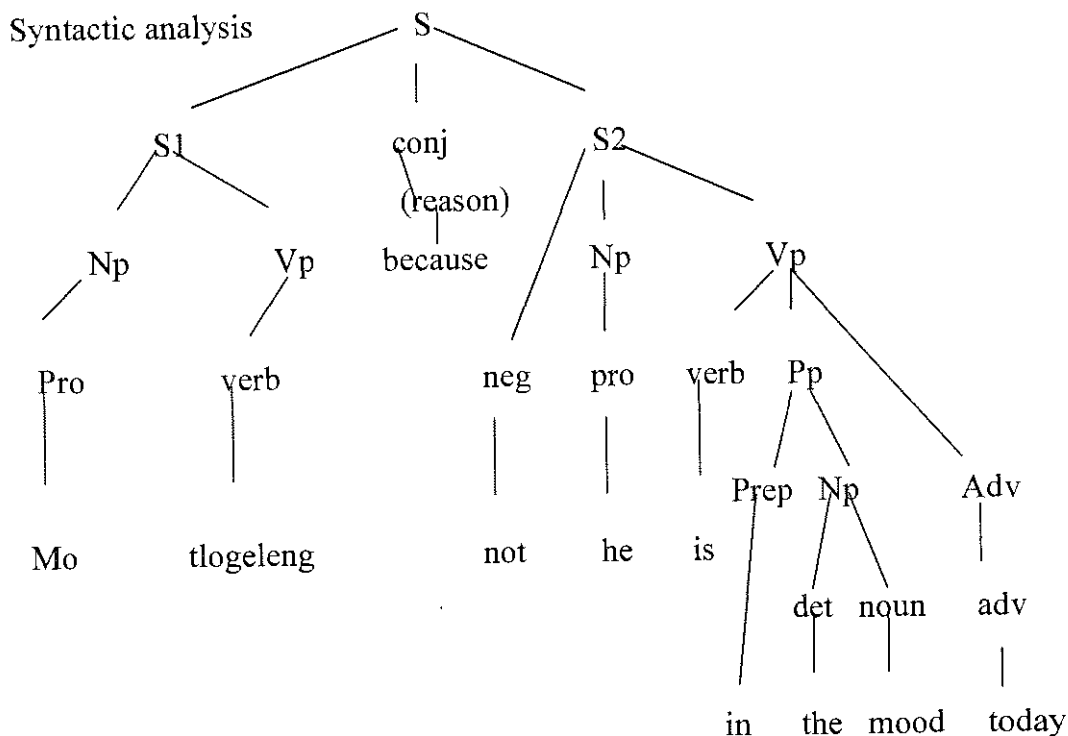


The example above is a conjoined sentence made up of two clauses, “we should give them moral support,” and “o bua sentle tsala ya me.” The switch occurs between the clauses and consists of two noun phrases and a verb phrase. In the first sentence, “*ya me*,” which is a possessive pronoun appears after the noun. This is the correct Setswana structure. In the English structure, however, the possessive pronoun should appear before the noun.

Table 4.5

<i>Mo</i>	<i>tlogeleng</i>	<i>because</i>	<i>he</i>	<i>is</i>	<i>not</i>	<i>in</i>	<i>the</i>	<i>mood</i>	<i>today</i>
<i>Him</i>	<i>leave</i>	<i>because</i>	<i>he</i>	<i>is</i>	<i>not</i>	<i>in</i>	<i>the</i>	<i>mood</i>	<i>today</i>
pron.	v.	conj.	pron.	v.	neg.	prep.	det.	n.	adv.

English translation: “Leave him, because he is not in the mood today.”



The main clause is “mo tlogeleng,” and it is followed by the subordinate clause, “he is not in the mood today.” The main clause is the first sentence, which contains a noun and a verb. The example is joined by the causal conjunction “because” to indicate a reason. The switch in this example occurs in the subordinate clause, which is structured in the negative and consists of a noun phrase, verb phrase, prepositional phrase and an adverbial phrase.

In code-switching at clause level, the analysis shows the switches occurring at both the main and subordinate clause levels. In most cases, the switches occur between the noun and verb phrases respectively in either the main or subordinate clauses. The speaker tends to start a sentence in Setswana and end it in an English switch or vice versa. The grammatical structures of the English switches do not violate the Setswana grammatical structures in any way. There are no discrepancies or inconsistencies in either the English or the Setswana grammatical structures. One thing to bear in mind is that the Setswana noun phrases generally do not have determiners. In cases where determiners are present, they appear after the nouns, while the English structure always places them before nouns.

4.3.3 Inter-sentential code-switching

As has already been stated in Chapter Two, Myers-Scotton (1993:4) describes inter-sentential code-switching as an alternation between sentences of the first language and the second language. In the collected data, this type of switching is mostly used by speakers, who are fluent in both the languages and, therefore, have the required linguistic skills. In this type of code-switching, the Setswana sentences will be analysed separately, as will be the English sentences; only four examples will be given. The examples

will be given as they appear in the data, followed by the literal translation. The examples will also be described grammatically and translated into English. They will not be analysed syntactically as these are two separate sentences. The following are examples of inter-sentential code-switching:

Table 4:6 Goal! Goal! referee e ya re go rileng? *We are now leading by one goal.*

Setswana sentence: Goal! Goal! referee e ya re go rileng?

Goal!	Goal!	referee	e	ya	re	go rileng
Goal!	Goal!	referee	this	is	saying	what
interj.	interj.	n.	det.	aux. v.	v.	interrog. pron.

English translation: "Goal! Goal! What is this referee up to?"

English sentence: We are now leading by one goal.

We	are	now	leading	by	one	goal
pron.	aux.v.	adv.	v.	prep.	adj.	n.

Table 4:7 Motho yo o a itse gore re nwa eng. *We come here daily, it is only that he is not in the mood.*

Setswana sentence: Motho yo o a itse gore re nwa eng.

Motho	yo	o	a itse	gore	re	nwa	eng
person	this	he	knows	that	we	drink	what
n.	dem	conc.	v.	conj.	pron.	v.	interrog. pron.

English translation: "This person knows what we drink."

English sentence: *We come here daily, it is only that he is not in the mood.*

We	come	here	daily	it	is	only	that	he	is	not	in	the	mood
Pro.	v.	adv.	adj.	pro.	aux.v.	adj.	conj.	pro.	aux.v.	neg.	prep.	det.	n.

Table 4:8 Ke eng o batla a nyala? Will you pay lobola for him?

Setswana sentence: Ke eng o batla a nyala?

Ke eng	o	batla	a	nyala
<i>Why</i>	<i>you</i>	<i>want</i>	<i>him</i>	<i>marry</i>
Interrog.adv.	conc.	v.	pron.	v.

English translation: “Why do you want him to marry?”

English sentence: Will you pay lobola for him?

Will	You	pay	lobola	for	him
aux. v.	pron.	v.	n.	prep.	pron.

Table 4.9 Lo ntiela nako. Should I call the police? Le bakgweetsi ba ba ntseng jang? Don't you know that you are here because of us?

Setswana sentence 1: Lo ntiela nako?

Lo	diela	nna	nako
<i>you</i>	<i>wasting</i>	<i>me (my)</i>	<i>time</i>
pron.	v.	possess. det.	n.

English translation: “You are wasting my time.”

English sentence 1: Should I call the police?

Should	I	call	the	police
aux. v.	pron.	v.	det.	n.

Setswana sentence 2: *Le bakgweetsi ba ba ntseng jang?*

Le	bakgweetsi	ba	ba	ntseng	jang
<i>you</i>	<i>drivers</i>	<i>are</i>	<i>of</i>	<i>kind</i>	<i>how</i>
pron.	n.	pron.	prep.	n.	interrog. adv.

English translation: “*What kind of drivers are you?*”

English sentence 2: *Don`t you know that you are here because of us?*

Don`t	you	know	that	you	are	here	because	of	us
(neg) aux. v.	pron.	v.	conj.	pron.	aux.v.	adv.	conj.	prep.	pron.

The examples above illustrate the alternation between Setswana and English sentences. In the conversations, the speakers insert the English sentences within the Setswana sentences. Sometimes they start their conversations with a Setswana sentence and insert an English sentence at the end of the conversation or vice versa.

It has been observed that those who are regarded as learned use this type of code-switching. We see one of the university students uttering an English sentence after starting his conversation in Setswana. He says, “*Referee e banna ya re go rileng? Now we are leading by one goal.*” The Hyundai employees who are university graduates, also utter English sentences in between Setswana sentences. One of them says, “*Motho yo o a itse gore re nwa eng. We come here daily, it is only that he is not in the mood.*” The old man at the taxi rank, who has a standard six education, may not be very learned, but is fairly fluent in English and alternates repeatedly between

Setswana and English. He says, “*Lo ntiela nako. Should I call the police? Le bakgweetsi ba ba ntseng jang?*” The shop assistant (with a form five certificate) demonstrated this type of code switching in his utterance by saying, “*Fa ke fetsa le wena go tlatsa dipampiri tse, ke ya go di neela batho ba ba deliverang. Expect it any time from today.*”

The examples show the proficiency of the speakers in the use of both Setswana and English in their conversations. The grammatical structures are also applied correctly in both Setswana and English sentences. The way speakers use Setswana and English in the same conversation shows that they understand both languages. The correct word order is followed in both languages. The morphology and syntax of Setswana are not violated in any way, and all the sentences convey meanings.

It has been observed that in general the speakers use two types of code-switching, namely, the intra-sentential and inter-sentential. It should also be kept in mind that the system of grammatical analysis, which is applicable to English, would not always be suitable or adequate in analysing Setswana since the two languages differ greatly in structure (Cole, 1955:xxixx). This, however, has not affected any example in the data.

4.4 RESEARCH QUESTION TWO: “*Is code-switching random and meaningless?*”

The formation of a word or a sentence in every language is controlled or governed by rules. Words or sentences are not placed randomly or haphazardly without meaning. There are certain rules, which are followed to build up words and sentences with meaning (Fromkin and Rodman, 1983:204). Similarly to the formation of words and sentences, code-

switching is also rule governed. The rules that govern code-switching are the free morpheme constraint, the equivalence constraint and the switch-alpha constraint.

4.4.1 *The free morpheme constraint*

The free morpheme constraint stipulates that no switch may occur between bound morphemes, unless the latter is phonologically integrated into the language of the bound morpheme. This constraint concerns itself with code-switching at word level (Kamwangamalu 1994:72).

It has been observed in the data that the Setswana noun class prefix 10 {di-} is attached to the English stems to form plurals. This prefix can occur with the English stems of the examples provided, because these English stems have been morphologically, phonologically and syntactically integrated into Setswana. In this case, the occurrence of these words would perhaps appropriately be labelled borrowing and not code-switching. In this case, the constraint applies only to the borrowed words. The researcher will now look at examples from the data to determine whether this constraint applies to them or not.

Examples:

“di-charge”	<i>charges</i>
“di-finance charge”	<i>finance charges</i>
“di-cellular	<i>cellulars</i>
“di-tower”	<i>towers</i>
“di-pipe”	<i>pipes</i>
“di-drink”	<i>drinks</i>

“*di-preparation*” *preparations*

The above examples are not inflected with the English plural morpheme {-s}, because the plural is already expressed by the Setswana plural morpheme {di-}. The two cannot be used simultaneously, as the rule of both languages will be violated. The plural {-s} is not necessary when the Setswana plural {di-} is used. The constraint applies to the examples, because the words are fully integrated grammatically into Setswana.

The other examples show Setswana endings attached to English verbs. All words in Setswana end with vowels except for adverbs of place, which end by suffixing {-ng} or {-eng} to the nouns (Moyane, 1995:70).

“*deposit-e*” *deposit*
“*cover-a*” *cover*
“*deliver-ang*” *deliver*
“*destination-eng*” *destination*

The above words have been integrated morphologically, phonologically and syntactically into Setswana thus the suffix insertion does not violate the rule of ending Setswana words with vowels.

4.4.2 *The equivalence constraint*

In this constraint, code-switching occurs at points where the surface forms of the first language and the second language match each other, thus avoiding a violation of the syntactic rules of either language. While the equivalence constraint deals with code-switching at the phrasal level such as the noun phrase, verb phrase, adverbial phrase and adjectival phrase, the free

morpheme constraint deals with code-switching at word level (Kamwangamalu, 1994:72).

The examples of the equivalence constraint from the data will be utilised in this section. The examples will show both the Setswana and English structures.

Example 1:

Setswana: Mobile set ya gago...

English: Your Mobile set...

In the example above, code-switching occurs within the noun phrase, that is “mobile set”. The switch occurs at a point where no violation of the syntactic rules of either language occurs.

Example 2:

Setswana: Tsala ya me, leave them...

English: My friend, leave them...

In English, the determiner is placed before the noun, while in Setswana it is positioned after the noun. In Setswana, the subject or object concord should agree with the noun prefix. The switch occurs within the verb phrase.

Example 3:

Setswana: Le gale ke tla tsaya twenty four months to pay.

English: Anyway, I will take twenty four months to pay .

In this example, the switch occurs within the adjectival phrase and the verb phrase. “Twenty four months to pay” is a number phrasal insertion, which is frequently used by Batswana. The phrase is syntactically integrated into Setswana. It is not considered as a switch, but as a borrowed item.

Example 4:

Setswana: Ke dira mo lephateng la Network planning.

English: I work in the department of Network planning.

The switch occurs within the adverbial phrase. The speaker switches at the point that matches the structures of both languages, and the switch is syntactically integrated into Setswana.

Example 5:

Setswana: Madi a insurance, and finance charges...

English: The money for insurance, and finance charges...

The switch occurs in the prepositional phrase. The Setswana preposition is {a}. Even though the preposition is in Setswana, it causes the whole switch to occur in the prepositional phrase.

The equivalence constraint can apply to the languages involved in code-switching only when each language has corresponding grammatical categories. In the event of the absence of these categories, the equivalence constraint will fail to explain code-switching data drawn from two types of different languages (Kamwangamalu, 1994:72). As can be seen from the

analysis, the equivalence constraint shows that it can predict code-switching in both Setswana and English sentences. The sentences analysed show code-switching occurring at points, where the structural integrity of both languages is not violated. This is so, because Setswana and English follow a very similar word order in a sentence, that is: Subject - verb - object. (Cole, 1955:xxxii and Aarts and Aarts, 1988:127).

4.4.3 *Switch-Alpha constraint*

The switch-alpha constraint relates to switching any element in any position (Kamwangamalu, 1994:73). We have seen that this constraint has been mentioned in the literature, but is it relevant or adequate in our situation in Botswana? This constraint does not appear in the data, and it is not relevant or adequate in Setswana, which adheres to a specific way of arranging words to form sentences. For example, a verb follows a subject and an object follows a verb.

This data contains only two constraints: free morpheme constraint, which is applicable in borrowing, and the equivalence constraint, which is applicable to switching at phrasal level. The use of both constraints show that code-switching is not random.

4.5 RESEARCH QUESTION THREE: “*Why do speakers tend to engage in code switching?*”

To answer this question, the functions of code-switching need to be considered.

Different scholars like Appel (1987), Hoffman (1991), Myers-Scotton (1993), Kamwangamalu (1999) and Kembo-Sure and Webb (2000) state that code-switching serves as a social instrument, for instance to emphasise a point or a reason, to impress the listener and to indicate anger and authority. They also argue that it is a social vehicle to signal some aspects such as educational or cultural identities, power, topic or subject and socio-economic status.

In analysing the social functions of code-switching amongst the Batswana speakers around Gaborone City, the aspects mentioned above will be used to determine the intention of the switches made by the speakers, as compared to that discussed in the theoretical framework.

4.5.1 Code-switching as an index of educational level

A speaker may switch from one language to another to signal his educational identity. This is observed in Kenya (Nairobi), where speakers switch to English in order to be regarded as learned (Myers-Scotton, 1993:39).

This is also applicable in Setswana, as shown in the collected data. For example, the shop assistant with a form five education talks to a standard seven certificate holder, and switches to English throughout the conversation. He wants to show the lady customer that he is educated and wants to be regarded as a learned person with a high level of education. The university students at the football game are also observed making switches to English to draw the attention of the spectators and to show them that they have attended a higher institution of learning. This is also noticed in the conversation between the Hyundai employees, who are university graduates,

in an informal interaction. They are in a public bar with other customers and switch to English to show that they are educated, and to indicate the group they belong to (the learned group).

In my opinion, switching to English is commonly used with the intent of drawing attention to the people's level of education. As observed, those who are regarded as learned make larger switches, that is, they switch within the same sentence and between sentences. For example, one university student switches within the same sentence as illustrated below:

*Fa o batla ba tsenya moko, let's cheer
them up to give them courage.*

The other speaker, who is one of the Hyundai employees, switches to English to indicate that he has achieved a much higher education. Like the university student, he switches between sentences, as indicated in the following example:

*O a itse motho yo gore re nwa eng. We come
here daily, it's only that he is not in the mood.*

From the above examples, it is clear that the university student and the Hyundai employee's use of English signal the fact that they have achieved a much higher level of education. Besides switching to English, they also use Setswana grammatically.

4.5.2 *Code-switching as a signal of authority and annoyance*

Sometimes speakers switch to show authority and to express anger and annoyance. Speakers who express anger and annoyance are sometimes associated with positions of authority (Myers-Scotton, 1993:132).

In the data, an old man switches to English to express his anger and annoyance because the taxi drivers start arguing when they are supposed to take him to his destination (Block Nine). He shows his anger and annoyance by posing several Setswana questions with switches to English questions to the drivers such as:

*Hey look here! Lo ntiela nako. Should I call
the police? Le bakgweetsi ba ba ntseng jang?
Don't you know that you are here because of us?*

The old man poses question after question, not waiting for the drivers to respond. The drivers realise that the old man is annoyed by their behaviour and they stop arguing. One of them subsequently takes him to Block Nine. Even though we do not know the type of job he has, switching to English shows him to be an elderly person with authority.

4.5.3 *Code-switching to show language power*

In countries like Kenya, Nigeria, South Africa and Uganda, languages are embedded in power relations. Normally the powerful language, which is the guest language, is embedded in the matrix language (Kembo-Sure and Webb, 2000:127).

This is also observed in Botswana, where English is embedded in Setswana. In the data, an old man switches to English, which is the powerful and influential language in Botswana. One can assume that English is a powerful and influential language because the old man's request is only met after he starts using it. The old man switches to English, which is recognised country wide as a symbol of power, and it gives him dignity and respect.

4.5.4 Code-switching due to the topic/subject

Talking about a certain topic or subject may cause speakers to switch codes (Hoffman, 1991:115). Some topics or subjects especially those in the new technology (like computer) are more appropriately discussed in English, because most languages do not have terms for concepts in these areas. Thus, when discussing these concepts in Setswana, some speakers find themselves using borrowed words or switching from Setswana to English. It has been observed that this kind of switching appears in the conversation between the shop assistant and the customer. The two are talking about the terms for purchasing a bedroom suite. During the conversation, the shop assistant switches to English. For example, he says:

*Fa ke fetsa le wena go tlatsa dipampiri tse,
ke ya go di neela batho ba ba deliverang .
Expect it any time from today.*

He also uses borrowed items such as “deposit,” “instalmente” and “insuranse.” The use of borrowed items in such a conversation may be caused by lack of business vocabulary in Setswana, which leads to the rest of the utterance being in English as well, although the last phrase could still be said in Setswana.

Other speakers, who switch because of the topic or subject in the conversations are the panellists in the Media (Radio Botswana). They are talking about telecommunications, specifically the cellular phones. The cellular phones are new in the country, thus the panellists find themselves switching to English. For example one panellist says:

*O kgona go bona **signale** mo **mobile seteng** ya gago mme o sa kgone go letsa ka gore, **mobile sete** e ya gago ke yone e tshwanetseng wa kgona go bua le **destinatione** kwa e teng. **Now if the destination is more than five metres**, go tsaya nako gore **signale** ya gago e tle kwa **destinationeng**. **If the destination does not receive the message in the stipulated time, it cuts the call.***

The panellist switches to English, because it could have been more appropriate to discuss the topic in English. He also uses many of borrowed words, as Setswana does not have equivalent words.

4.5.5 Code-switching to signal socio-economic status

Some speakers engage in code-switching with the intention of signaling their socio-economic status and high positions at work (Myers-Scotton, 1993:35).

The Hyundai employees, whose conversation was recorded have high positions in the company and one of them confirms his socio-economic status by saying:

Nneele ngwaga fela tsala ya me, kana ke batla lenyalo la ngwaga, you know that I am earning a lot. "Just give me a year my friend, I want the wedding of the year...."

This statement refers to their earnings, which shows that they have a high socio-economic status. According to the findings of this study, what Myers-Scotton has observed about the speakers who have high socio-economic status is true. She observes that successful people in life have a tendency to engage in code-switching especially with friends and people who share the same economic background. Hubbard (2000:248) states that setting may affect the language used. In this study, we see in a public bar, employees from the same company and colleagues who share the same economic background (like holding high positions and earning a lot of money) engaged in code-switching.

4.5.6 Code-switching to signal emphasis

Some speakers switch codes because they want to emphasise what is being said, sometimes even repeating what they have already said to place emphasis (Hoffman 1991:116). In the collected data this is observed where a pastor repeats statements in English to underline his point.

Examples:

1. *Palo ya rona e tswa mo lekwalong la Bafilipo kgaolo ya bone, temana ya bosupa.*
Philippians chapter four, verse seven. "Our reading is from the book of...."

2. *Lefoko le kagiso le raya eng? What does the word peace mean?*
3. *Re le batho re latlhegetswe ke boleng jwa lefoko kagiso, peace.*
“Most people have lost the meaning of the word peace.”

The pastor first uses Setswana words and sentences, then repeats them in English. The intention of the pastor is not to add something new, but to stress the importance of the message or what is being said for the congregants' understanding.

4.5.7 Code-switching to show prestige

Sometimes in the conversation, speakers switch languages to impress other participants. Some speakers have a tendency to demonstrate language skills, which they sometimes do not possess. This is occasionally observed with speakers who have little education (Appel and Muysken, 1987:120).

This kind of code-switching is observed in the case of the second taxi driver, who switches to English when talking to his counterpart. He may have realised that the first taxi driver is not fluent in English and wants to impress him by uttering English words. The two taxi drivers are both standard seven certificate holders. Besides the second taxi driver's level of education being indicated, the way he speaks to the other taxi driver reveals the said level. He only utters phrasal insertions and borrowed words such as: “it's my turn,” “you won't” and “turn.” But when the old man intervenes in English, the second taxi driver uses Setswana only, realising that the old man is more fluent in English than he is.

4.6 SINGLE MORPHEMES

Although the use of single morphemes is not considered to be code-switching in this study, it has been decided to list them at the end of this chapter, as the study is not focussing on them. These morphemes involve single words as borrowing and nonce borrowing, which the speakers use in their conversations. In the literature review, the distinction between borrowing and nonce borrowing has been made, but in this case the researcher will only concentrate on borrowing, as it is the type appearing in the data. As has been said earlier, the words have been morphologically, phonologically and syntactically integrated into Setswana.

Although borrowing is not part of the study, the researcher finds it interesting to mention. Many linguists like Khati (1992:181) discuss certain cases of borrowing as examples of code-switching, for example: *mobile set* and *dicellular*. It is clear that these are not examples of code-switching, because Setswana does not possess the equivalent vocabulary, and they are integrated linguistically into Setswana.

As cited earlier, in Setswana, all words end with vowels except the adverbs of location, which end with the suffixes {-eng} or {-ng}. This can be observed in the examples that follow. In some cases, the noun class 10 prefix {di-} is attached to borrowed words to form plurals. The English suffix {-s} is not used with the Setswana prefix {di-} in order to avoid redundancy.

In the transcripts the words are written in English to be recognised and read easily by non-Setswana speakers. Synman et al (1991:10) point out that foreign words are not adopted into a new language without change. The

changes are usually changes of the sounds and the structural elements in order to fit into the sound and structural laws governing Setswana. Because the words have been integrated into Setswana, they should be Tswanalised and look like the words on the left. The borrowed words have been written in Setswana so that they sound and look like the items of the host language. The list below shows the examples of English words for which Setswana does not have equivalent words.

Dipeipi	pipes
Diselula	cellulars
Ditorio	towers
Mobale sete	mobile set
Neteweke polening	network planning

The borrowed words featuring in the above examples are integrated into the Setswana grammar. The words have been integrated, because there are no indigenous words for them, as they are technical and business terms for new concepts.

Sometimes words are borrowed not because Setswana does not have the equivalent words, but because the speakers are familiar with them, and in the long run they become part of Setswana terminology. Sometimes the words are not popular or known so the speakers are bound to use the English words. Other speakers are too negligent to use the equivalent Setswana words and take the easier option of uttering the English concepts, which are then integrated into Setswana. The speakers sometimes feel that the message will not be clear if it is not expressed in English. In addition, the speakers may have no knowledge of the standardised or new coined words. The examples of such words are:

Kaboditsha	landboard
Kagiso	peace
Kamogelo/risepošhene	reception
Kgwele ya dinao/fotobolo	football
Ditatofatso tsa tšhelete/difaenense tšhaje	finance charges
Dino/ditirinki	drinks
Dipaakanyetso	preparations
Peeletso/dipositi	deposit
Ditatofatso/ditšhaje	charges
Karolotuelo/insetolomente	instalment
Putlelelo/inšoreense	insurance
Maswe	bad
Mathata/porobolemo	problem
Sebaka se se leele	long term
Setsha/poloto	plot
Temosi/sikinale	signale

Most of the borrowed English words that appear in the list are nouns only some are verbs.

4.7 PHRASAL INSERTIONS

The final observation in this chapter is that some speakers use common phrasal insertions in their conversations. Marawa (1997:29) points out that phrasal insertions include discourse markers, adverbial time and place phrases, question forms, exclamation, set expressions, and terms of address. The phrasal insertions have thus been included in this study, but not in the analysis or the description, as they are not regarded as code-switching. The speakers have simply adopted them in their daily speech behaviour. The frequency of the

phrasal insertions in some of the Batswana conversations can make it hard to detect whether the insertions are part of Setswana or not. The following are examples of the phrasal insertions that appear in the data.

1. *Next time* o se ka wa re botsa gore re nwa eng. “Next time, do not ask us what we drink.”
2. Re neele *two St Louis* le *one Crown*. “Give us two St Louis and one Crown.”
3. Ke *ten Pula* fela monnamogolo. “It is only ten Pula, old man.”
4. Fa re e rekisa *for nine, twelve, eighteen or twenty-four months to pay*,...
“If we sell it for you at....”
5. *Twenty four months e sharp* ka gore o kgona go e duelela ka lobaka lo lo leele.... “... is good because you can pay for a longer period.”
6. Fa gongwe o fitlhela di le *forty kilometres or so*.... “Sometimes they are forty kilometres or so....”
7. Ka bontsi di *five kilometres around destination* ya rona. “Most of them are five metres around our destination.”
8. *You won't!* o re tsietsa tsatsi le letsatsi. “...You cheat us every day.”
9. *Hey look here!* Lo ntiela nako “...You are wasting my time.”

These phrasal insertions are commonly used by the speakers and are regarded as belonging to colloquial Setswana. *Sharp* is a Tsotsi word meaning fine. Tsotsi language is not part of this study.

4.8 CONCLUSION

This chapter reported on code-switching by some Batswana around Gaborone City in their informal interactions. It focussed on the main findings arising from the research data and also looked at the functions of the switches, noting that they are used for various social purposes.

The results that we get by analysing the data indicate that some Batswana in Gaborone use code-switching as a communicative strategy and use it extensively in their conversations whenever they interact. In this study, code-switching is used in both formal and informal settings.

The speakers of various levels of education use it for purposes that suit them in any setting. Concerning education, the findings show that the speakers with little education engage in borrowing more than switching in their conversations. Those with high levels of education make larger switches in their interactions. Some speakers often use English, which is regarded as a symbol of power and prestige. In other cases, speakers use code-switching to stress their points or what is being said, while some use it to indicate their socio economic status. Some speakers switch because of the topic they are discussing, and others switch to express their anger and annoyance.

The types of code-switching that are commonly used are intra and inter-sentential switching. None of the speakers used the tag-like or emblematic

type of code-switching. In intra-sentential code-switching, the speakers switch at clause level and some use the single morphemes. Some speakers were engaged in inter-sentential code-switching, that is switching between Setswana and English sentences.

The speakers switched according to discourse rules in their conversations. They did not make their switches randomly; instead, they followed the free morpheme constraint, which applies to borrowed words, and the equivalence constraint, which applies within phrases. What has been observed is that the examples from the data do not differ from the findings of established researchers like Kamwangamalu and Myers-Scotton.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, RESTRICTIONS, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents a summary of the results obtained in the previous chapter, as well as the issues arising from the entire thesis. It will look at the issues in the thesis and attempt to draw them together. In addition to the summary, the chapter provides the restrictions of the study, a conclusion as well as the recommendations for future research on the topic of code-switching.

In the preceding chapters, the researcher examined the nature and functions of code-switching in Setswana in relation to the three research questions, which were used to analyse the data. Views from different researchers about code-switching and the data collected for this study were discussed.

5.2 SUMMARY

The main aim of this study was to investigate code-switching in Setswana in Botswana. What sparked the need for such an investigation was the fact that Setswana in Botswana is considered by some Batswana to have a low status as compared to English. Some people fear that some of the Batswana are losing their cultural identities, as well as the idiomatic character of their language. They believe that these problems were caused by English domination created by the colonial administrators, who were in power

before the country gained its independence in 1966. Some say the Batswana have developed a lower self-esteem for Setswana because the language was not officially used in education, the media and in government documents in general.

It has been pointed out that code-switching is involved with language use, and is a product of those people, who can speak more than one language. It is a strategy of communication commonly used by bilingual and multilingual speakers. The study set out to investigate code-switching in Setswana in Botswana, which is predominantly a Setswana-speaking community, so as to verify the fears that some people have concerning Setswana. The researcher thus sought to understand how some people in Botswana around Gaborone City use code-switching in their conversations.

Even though some problems mentioned in Chapter Three were encountered during data collection, the researcher managed to achieve the objective of the study, and all the sub questions stated in Chapter One have been dealt with. The findings show the nature and the functions of code-switching amongst some Batswana only around Gaborone City.

While Setswana is expected to be the dominant language among the Batswana when conversing, this is not necessary the case, as code-switching is found in the conversations of some speakers. Sometimes, English is found to be the dominating language in the conversations of various speakers. The data reveals that most speakers, whose conversations have been recorded, engage in code-switching regardless of their fluency in the second language (English). Even if some speakers do engage in extensive code-switching, the argument developed predicts that Setswana remains their primary language (on the basis of their heritage and culture).

From the analysis, it is established that not only fluent speakers of Setswana and English use code-switching, even the non-fluent speakers of English tend to use both Setswana and English in their conversations.

In the analysis, it is evident that the Setswana grammatical structure is not affected by code-switching. The findings show that code-switching is not a threat to conversational rules and patterns of Setswana. This is observed in the sentences, which are analysed in the previous chapter. When the sentences with switches are analysed, the grammatical structures of both languages do not change.

Some Batswana around Gaborone City appear to have specific purposes in mind when using code-switching in their conversations. From the analysis of the data, the following underlying social functions of code-switching emerged: code-switching to show anger and authority, code-switching as a strategy to emphasise and elaborate a point, code-switching to impress the listener or to indicate prestige. The larger stretches of code-switching patterns from Setswana to English are seen to be accompanied by various signals, which can be easily stated depending on the nature of the topic, the socio-economic status of the speakers, the level of education, as well as to signal the language power.

The findings show that English in Botswana is not the language of education and official matters only, but also a language with power and prestige. It has been noticed that some people use it because of its status in Botswana, which gives it more power than Setswana. Some use it to show others how competent they are in the language. Among the educated elite, code-switching is spontaneous, it is almost like speaking a mother tongue. This can be observed in the case of the university students and the university

graduates during their conversations with their counterparts in the transcripts presented in Chapter Three.

The analysis reveals the frequency of code-switching among the speakers in Gaborone City, who do not only use their own first language in their conversations, but also use English. The analysis shows speakers communicating with their colleagues in both Setswana and English and even with people that they do not know. It has been discovered that code-switching is used in various settings, whether formal or informal. Although the Batswana around Gaborone City use code-switching, they are often unaware of the fact that they are switching. It has been observed that it is a widespread phenomenon amongst them, and that it is used spontaneously.

In this study, it has been observed that Setswana still maintains its position as the most widely spoken language in the country and as the national language. All those who have fears for Setswana losing its position to English should bear in mind that code-switching is an everyday phenomenon, and its usage is expanding. As a result, code-switching should be seen in a positive way, since it is a communicative strategy.

Additionally, the researcher noted that the work done by other researchers in this field does not differ with the observations of this study. It has been realised that code-switching brings about an understandable communication in Setswana with regards to the morphology, phonology and syntax of Setswana, and no problems were identified in either language. Code-switching is also a functionally restricted phenomenon used only in specific social contexts, so there is no threat to the integrity of Setswana. The observation in this investigation that code-switching is a threat towards

Setswana has been dismissed, and the relationship between Setswana and English reflects a comprehensible association.

5.3 RESTRICTIONS OF THE STUDY

This study has the following restrictions:

The study focused on code-switching, but mentioned borrowing in passing. The research was not done systematically. Furthermore, it focused only on the conversations recorded at five settings and one recorded from Radio Botswana. The study did not focus on pragmatics. The data was collected only around Gaborone City. Although the population recorded was small, this shed some light on the extent of code-switching around Gaborone City.

The researcher did not have control of the speakers' conversations during the recordings, that is, she did not intervene even if some interruptions existed, because she wanted to record the natural speeches.

The results were based on the transcribed conversations, as the researcher did not have any other alternative source of data available.

5.4 CONCLUSION

In conclusion, it is clear that the interaction between Setswana and English results in code-switching. Additionally, according to the findings, the phenomenon poses no threat to Setswana as a national language.

Concerning the problems stated in Chapter One, the study shows that code-switching should not be viewed as a threat towards Setswana. It should be

regarded as a bilingual strategy to assist and enrich social interaction. The speakers also use it in order to meet the communicative demands of a given situation.

Some researchers like Kembo-Sure and Webb (2000:127) have observed that when two languages come into contact, one language, which is powerful, will influence the less powerful one. The less powerful language will experience some changes in grammar and syntax. In language, change is something, which is seen as natural and normal. When situations change, everything changes. Languages also change, because they influence each other. The Batswana could still identify themselves as Batswana without speaking Setswana. Using a foreign language together with the mother tongue cannot lead to the loss of culture and heritage. By using code-switching, Batswana need not give away their cultural identities and embrace the English cultural identities. They may adopt code-switching, and still retain their identity and heritage. Batswana should not necessarily see code-switching as a threat to their cultural identities, but as a strategy to reinforce their culture by giving expression to the cultural beliefs, norms and yearnings. Language is dynamic, that is, any language changes. Language change leads to cultural change, as the two are inseparable (Brown 1994:187). In addition, Alvarez (1987:17) points out that the change of language should not be viewed as a threat to the cultural identities of people.

Batswana should realise that the technological changes have brought about the addition of new terms and words, for example, when computers became a feature of modern societies (Kembo-Sure and Webb, 2000:123). In that way, code-switching does not weaken the language or culture of the dominant language; instead, it may enhance language and culture through economic changes such as modernisation, industrialisation, urbanisation and

education (Appel and Muysken, 1987:33). Because of these changes in Botswana, code-switching has become part and parcel of the lives of some Batswana around Gaborone City and is indeed a strategy to be nurtured and developed by allowing those, who feel comfortable in using it, to do so. People in Botswana should view code-switching as an asset that they can benefit from.

From the publications consulted, as well as this study, it can be concluded that code-switching is used to enhance first languages with a new vocabulary, especially those languages that are thought to be weak. The study shows that in code-switching the dominant language does not lose its features; instead, it is enriched by the substitutes from the embedded language.

It is evident that the use of Setswana and English in Botswana leads to code-switching, which according to the results of this study is more helpful in Setswana. Code-switching can no longer be avoided in the country because of the high penetration of English. It is suggested that code-switching be accepted, because people will still retain the appropriate language use, their traditional culture, lives, government and even education. Code-switching may be used as it carries some social functions mentioned earlier.

The general conclusion to be drawn from this study and other discussions of various scholars shows that code-switching is part of a broader and more comprehensive strategy of communication, and should be viewed as a common feature of bilinguals. Thus code-switching does not threaten the essence, character, integrity nor the uniqueness of Setswana; instead it has an important role to play in the lives of Batswana and in the language of Setswana on the whole. The researcher has noticed that code-switching is in

fact a linguistic tool that could be used by speakers in their conversational situations. It is also a useful social skill that could be used amongst people of different backgrounds like education and socio-economic status. Code-switching is a social fact of life in bilingual and multilingual communities around the world and provides those communities with an additional communicative strategy not available to monolinguals.

5.5 RECOMMENDATIONS

This study has provided information on a number of aspects concerning the use of code-switching in general and in Botswana around Gaborone City in particular. From the observations made in this study, the researcher recommends the following:

1. People who feel comfortable in using code-switching in their conversations should not be restricted in doing so by social censure.
2. The Botswana National Language Council should occasionally organise seminars, workshops and conferences to make Botswana aware of the changes in the Setswana terminology.
3. All the borrowed English words should be Tswanaised, so as to stick to the standard Setswana orthography.
4. The Botswana National Language Council together with the Ministry of Education should allow the use of code-switching in schools and elsewhere.
5. If there is need, teachers and learners should be given guidance on code-switching, in order to use it effectively in the classroom situation. The

difference between code-switching and tag-like switching should especially be emphasised.

6. Further research should be conducted to investigate code-switching in the classroom situation in some of the Botswana schools.

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APPENDIX I

INTRA-SENTENTIAL CODE-SWITCHING AT CLAUSE LEVEL

1. Jaanong mma, re na le madi a **insurance, finance charges and instalment extension.**
“Now madam, there are charges for insurance, finance and instalment extension.”
2. O tla bo o itse gore **you are on the safe side.**
“You will know that you are on the safe side.”
3. **Now if the destination is more than five kilometres,** go tsaya nako gore signale ya gago e tle kwa destinationeng.
“...the signal takes time to reach the destination.”
4. Ngwaga le ngwaga re leka go **increasa capacity by increasing the number of places that we intend to cover.**
“Every year we try to increase...”
5. Ngwaga le ngwaga **we are trying to increase our coverage in the whole country.**
“Every year...”
6. **As my colleague from Mascom has stated,** re ikaelela go oketsa coverage ya rona mo mafelong otlhe a lefatshe leno.
“... we intend to increase our coverage in all the places in this country.”
7. Rollers gompieno e lebega e se **prepared, but why?**

“Rollers seems not prepared today, but why?”

8. Bona! Bona mosimane yole o tlogela bolo fela **as if he is not in a league game?**

“Look! Look at that boy missing the ball as if he is not in a league game.”

9. Lona le rata go bua, **Why can` t you sit and watch the game?**

“You like talking, why can` t you sit and watch the game?”

10. Tsala ya me, **just leave them and concentrate on the game.**

“My friend, just leave them and concentrate on the game.”

11. **We are all supporters of rollers.**

“By the way, we are all supporters of Rollers.”

12. Fa o batla ba tsenya moko, **let us cheer them up to give them courage.**

“If you want them to put more effort, ... ”

13. Ke batla lenyalo la ngwaga, **you know that I am earning a lot.**

“I want the wedding of the year, ... ”

14. Ee, monna yo ke tsala ya rona, **we should give him some advice.**

“Yes, this man is our friend, ... ”

APPENDIX II

INTER-SENTENTIAL CODE-SWITCHING

1. Palo ya rona e tswa mo lekwalong la Bafilipi Kgaolo ya bone,
Temana ya Bosupa. **Philippians Chapter Four, Verse Seven.**
“Our reading is from the book of Philippians Chapter Four Verse Seven.”
2. Lefoko le kagiso le raya eng? **What does the word peace mean?**
3. O a itse mma, ga se gore re ja batho, re leka go go thusa ka dilwana fa
wena o re thusa ka madi. **Without you, there is no how we could survive.**
*“You know what madam, it is not that we are cheating people, we provide
you with our goods, and you in return give us your money.”*
4. Fa ke fetsa le wena go tlatsa dipampiri tse, ke ya go di neela batho ba
ba deliverang. **Expect it any time from today.**
*“After filling these papers, I am going to hand them over to the people who
deliver goods.”*
5. O kgona go bona... **If the destination does not receive the message
in the stipulated time, it cuts the call.**
“You can view...”



APPENDIX III

QUESTIONS FOR THE UNSTRUCTURED INTERVIEW

1. O dingwaga di kae? *“How old are you?”*
2. Mo sekolong, o dirile mophato wa bokae? *“Up to which grade did you go?”*
3. Tiro ya gago ke eng? *“What is your occupation?”*
4. O mo kae? *“What is your nationality?”*