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Code switching in letter writing

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The study sets out to investigate code switching in letter writing among a small group of Xhosa speaking people.

Code switching is found in informal speech and informal writing. It was established from the data that the closer people are, the more code switching there is.

Code switching seems to follow a pattern in that it was observed to occur:

(a) only with certain people
(b) when talking about certain topics
(c) when wanting to exclude another person
(d) when emphasising a point.

Code switching also appears to have a 'grammar' of its own. It is not in any way a pidgin.

It is clear from the data that code switching does not reflect denial of one's identity. English, being the medium of education for Blacks in South Africa, is therefore bound to be reflected not only in their speech but also in their writing.

Die studie het ten doel om registeroorskakeling in die skryf van briewe deur 'n klein groepie Xhosasprekendes te ondersoek.

Registeroorskakeling word gevind in informele spraak en informele skryfwerk. Daar is uit die data vasgestel dat hoe intiemer mense is hoe meer vind registeroorskakeling plaas. Volgens waarneming blyk dit dat registeroorskakeling 'n patroon volg, want dit het voorgekom:

(a) net by sekere mense
(b) wanneer oor sekere onderwerpe gepraat is
(c) wanneer 'n ander persoon uitgeskakel is
(d) wanneer 'n mening beklemtoon is.

Registeroorskakeling blyk 'n eie grammatika te hê. Dit is geensins "pidgin" nie.

Dit blyk uit data dat die skrywer se identiteit nie verlore raak tydens registeroorskakeling nie. Omdat Engels die medium van onderrig vir

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Swartes in Suid-Afrika is, sal dit noodwendig nie net in hulle spraak nie, maar ook in hul skryfwerk gereflekteer word.

1 INTRODUCTION AND AIM OF STUDY

1.1 Introduction

When two or more groups of people with different cultures meet, they are bound to affect each other in the sense that one group will borrow from the other. How far this will go is the concern of anthropologists.

It follows then that since language is an important aspect of culture and culture in turn is part of human nature, if two linguistically distinguishable populations come into contact, there are bound to be demonstrable consequences of this contact in the language use of groups. These consequences could take the form of bilingualism and associated factors such as language switching, mixing, interference and borrowing.

1.2 Aim of the Study

As a result of this language contact, many studies on bilingualism have been made. This study is an attempt to investigate code switching from Xhosa to English or English to Xhosa at the written level, and more particularly in letter writing.

Because of the interrelatedness of the terms, code switching and code mixing, the two will be taken to mean the same thing and the third, viz. borrowing will be treated separately.

Code switching and code mixing are found in both informal speech and informal writing whereas borrowing is found in both formal and informal speech and writing.

2 REVIEW OF LITERATURE AND DEFINITION OF TERMS

In every speech community there exists a variety of repertoires of alternative means of expression. Speakers by so doing indicate what might be called social meaning. Within monolingual speech communities this alteration would be referred to, for instance, as diglossia, dialect etc. In some cases it would be difficult to identify the differences. Within multilingual societies, however, the differences are easily identifiable because they involve more than one language and involve a shift from one code to another (Gumperz, 1977).

Hymes (1977) states that this alternation of code falls under what is known as Ethnography. Ethnographic studies include the following topics: patterns

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and functions of communication, nature and definition of speech community, means of communicating, components of communicative competence, relationship of language to world view, social organisation, linguistic and social universals and inequalities. It is also concerned with how communicative units are organised and how they pattern in a much broader sense of ways of speaking (and writing) as well as with how these patterns interrelate in a systematic way and derive meaning from other aspects of culture (Saville-Troike, 1982).

Many authors seem to be in agreement in defining code switching as a change from one language variety to another. Hymes (1977) defines it as a change from one language variety to another when the situation demands. Gumperz refers to it as a change in languages within a single speech event (Gumperz, 1976). McClure says it is the alternation of languages at the level of the major constituent boundaries e.g. NP, VP, S etc. (McClure, 1977).

Only Hymes seems to make the distinction between code alternation and code switching. Code alternation, he says, is a change that occurs according to domain. The others already quoted include domain in their definitions of code switching. Code alternation and code switching will therefore be taken to mean the same thing.

What is apparent is that code switching involves a shift from one language to another. What has not been clearly stated, however, is when this switch occurs. Hymes says "when the situation demands". Could this therefore occur at the lexical level when the speaker or writer cannot readily think of a word in his language and therefore uses a lexical item from another language? Gumperz says it is a change "within a single speech event" and McClure states that it happens at "the major constituent boundary". Hymes states that it occurs "when the situation demands".

Blom & Gumperz further divide code switching into metaphorical code switching and situational code switching. By metaphorical code switching they mean switching that occurs within a single situation but adds meaning to such components as the role relationships which are being expressed. Bilinguals have an option of choosing which group to identify within a particular situation.

Situational code switching occurs when the language change accompanies a change of topics or participants or any time the communicative situation is redefined (Blom & Gumperz, 1972).

It is, however, important to note that the line of demarcation between the two will not be as clear as we are led to think.

McClure also makes a distinction between code switching and code mixing. For code switching she gives this example:

I put the forks en las mesas.
I put the forks on the table.

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The switch has occurred at the major constituent boundary - at the beginning of an adverbial phrase.

Code mixing, she says, like code switching, involves the use of another language but the switch in this instance occurs when a person momentarily has no access to a word in his first language but has it only in his second language. What he says expresses exactly what he wanted to say in his first language. It tak
es No van a aceptar a una mujer que can't talk business.
pla They are not going to accept a woman who can't talk business.
ce
within a constituent and the term or terms used are not considered borrowed by the community. She offers this example:

"Who" has occurred within a phrase and therefore within a constituent (McClure, 1977).

Saville-Troike distinguishes between code switching and borrowing. Borrowing means that lexical items from one language are adapted phonologically to the sound system of another language and are subject to their morphological inflections (Saville-Troike, 1982). These are therefore accepted by the community as part of their language. This should not be confused with interference which refers to those instances of deviation from the norms of either language.

Theoretically it is possible to distinguish between code switching, code mixing, borrowing and interference but practically it is difficult to distinguish between code switching and code mixing. The two will be taken to mean the same thing.

For many years linguists had been considering certain patterns as irregular as they differed from the norm.

Linguistics has now taken another direction and has become descriptive - language as it is. This descriptive nature of ethnography - as it became known in the field - goes far beyond mere cataloguing of facts about communicative behaviour. Its nature is to be holistic. What was seen to be irregular with no pattern was seen later to show a regular and predictable statistical pattern.

Such an attitude led, amongst other things, to the study of bilingualism and such topics as code switching. There have been debates as to whether code switching has a pattern or not. Many writers claim it does not have a pattern and others state that although it may appear to be haphazard, it has a pattern.

Saville-Troike and Sankoff maintain that it is unconscious. There are those who state that it is a conscious and deliberate tactic of ethnic dissociation and psychological distinctiveness (Saville-Troike, 1982).

Saville-Troike reports that much work has been done in this field by anthropologists. It has, however, been on conversations and not on writing.

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Many studies have also been done by people like Rubin (1962), Ervin Tripp (1964), Gumperz (1964), Blom & Gumperz (1972), Gumperz & Hernandez Cherez (1972) and Hymes (1972). They, however, looked at the choice of language as having been determined by topic, setting and participants - and ignored the grammatical parameters.

A study done by Lance on code switching revealed that there were no syntactic restrictions on where the switching occurred. Following this study, Blom & Gumperz (1972), Gumperz & Hernandez Cherez (1972), McClure & Wentz (1975) and Wentz (1976) showed intra-sentence code switching. They were therefore interested in the grammatical parameters of code switching.

It is however important to note again that it would be difficult to treat the two, i.e. the sociological factors and the linguistic factors as separate, as suggested.

3 DIFFERENCES BETWEEN SPEECH AND WRITING

Speech and writing are both communicative activities but they are not identical. They make different demands on their producers. Speech, for example, uses paralinguistic features such as intonation, stress, gesture and facial expression. Writing uses typographical features such as underlining, capitalisation, italics and so on. A writer has the advantage over a speaker in that he can revise what he has written. On the other hand a speaker knows who his audience is; the writer is usually addressing an unknown group.

Although letter writing is classified as writing, it is closer to speech in one respect - the audience is known. The writer and the addressee share a social proximity.

Letters may be formal or informal. In informal letters the writer and the receiver are people who share feelings of closeness: affection, sorrow, trust, sympathy, love, generosity (Bauman, 1972). They focus on personal matters and deal with topics which may sound trivial to anyone else except the sender and the receiver. The style is informal, assuming the form of a "chat".

4 THE DATA

The data consist of letters from relatives or friends of the writer, who was overseas at the time of the study. All the writers of the letters were Xhosa speakers, as was the recipient of the letters.

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4.1 First category

The first category of letters were those received from the writer's mother, sister and close friends, all women. In this category there was a 40% instance of code-switching. Furthermore the participants had "everyday" news to tell the writer, with a consequent lack of paragraphing, topic sentence and theme.

The writers of the letters move from one point to another and then sometimes go back to finish a point previously mentioned. There is no going over what was written to check mistakes. This is clearly illustrated by one writer of the letters who wrote a PS "Errors left to your care!".

The second category consists of letters from the writer's husband who was studying in America.

The third category consists of letters from the writer's friends whom she met while studying at university. The friendship with these people continued because they happened to work together afterwards. What needs to be stressed is that it is not a type of friendship that started in childhood, and not much of each other's background is known.

5 ANALYSIS OF DATA

An analysis of the data provided by letters in the first category written by female relatives and close friends reveals a switch from Xhosa to English especially with adverbials of time, for example "today" "day and night", "yesterday", "Thursday", "every night".

In the first letter from the writer's mother, there were fifteen examples of adverbials expressed in English, in the second letter nine examples and in the third letter also nine examples.

The writer of these letters had been a nurse. In her dealings with her patients she would have used the Xhosa (vernacular) equivalents of such expressions of time **at the oral level**. Writing of reports would have been done in English; the use of adverbials of time in written medical reports is important as the writer has to be specific and precise in such matters as time, dates and frequency. It can therefore be suggested that the reason for a switch from Xhosa to English, even in a letter to her own daughter, was influenced by her former professional practice (she had just recently retired after many years of nursing).

This is supported by code switching to English when she writes about hospitals and childbirth. She uses words like **epidural**

epidural in:	Wazicelela ukuba insiwe i epidural. (She asked that to be done epidural.) She asked that an epidural be done.

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oxygen in:	... ebiza zi-oxygen. (... she calling oxygens.) ... asking for oxygen.
normal in:	... athi uphilili unormal? (... and he alive, he normal ...?) ... is he alive and normal?
strain in:	... ndaqonda ukuba unestrain. (... and realised that she has strain.) ... and realised that she was under strain.

There are two possible reasons for the use of these words; as stated already, the topic influences her and secondly the language is not developed enough to handle the vocabulary. If developed, it is never used in hospital settings as the language used is English.

The same thing happens again when she talks about education. There are no equivalents in Xhosa for the words, or the topic itself requires a formality which demands English. The words are:

theory:	... abakho interested kwi theory. (... they are not interested in theory.)
exams:	... uyokubhala i exams. (... he's gone to write exams.)
assignments:	... kuba i assignments ... (... because assignments ...) ... because the assignments ...

There is a third set of words. These are the words that are "borrowed" from English. These are what Hasselmo calls "loanwords". There are indeed Xhosa equivalents, but they are rarely used in speech. These are:

i letter to replace **incwadi**:	used in this context it could easily be confused with: incwadi = book
i correspondence =	imbalelwano
ezibasini =	kodula-dula would not give the exact meaning the writer wanted to convey, hence again she writes in brackets (bus depot) even when she has written ezibasini

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kwafonelwa uKeast = kwabethelwa icingo Keast.
they phoned Keast.
This could be confused with sending a telegram.

When the subject wants to emphasise a point she switches as in:

> I wish to come down to you nokuba utatakho akafuni kodwa write to him.
> (I wish to come down to you even if father your not want but write to him.)
> I wish to come down to you even if your father doesn't want to come please write to him.

5.2 Second category

There is evidence of switching when the subject talks about a topic involving certain participants. In this case the subject is the writer's husband. When he asks the writer to pass on a message to his children, he uses Xhosa. This could be explained by the fact that it is the language that he uses when addressing his children. What is striking about this is that even the choice of words is that which he would normally use with the children:

> Please tell Rams, nam ndiyamkhumbula kakhulu.
> (and me I am her missing very much.)

> hgoku, ndizakumphathela izinto ezimnandi.
> (now I will her bring things beautiful.)
> Please tell Rams that I am missing her very much now, I will bring her beautiful things.

This is not the only example because in another letter he writes:

> ... please babuise kakhulu wethu.
> (...please them greet a lot.)
> please give them my love.

Again he seems to be talking to his young daughter through the writer:

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Help Vuyi in her studies angashiyeki atyhafe ...
(she not left behind she discouraged.)
she should not be behind and be discouraged.

When quoting the children he switches to the vernacular:

My mind wanders to Cape Town emaSwazini and Alice Swaziland.

He again switches code when he quotes one of his children:

Tyhini yitretali.
(Oh it tractor.)
Oh it's a tractor.

There is also a switch to the vernacular when he says:

... they (children) are close to both mother and Bill - abelungu.

Written in full it would have been: ... they have their own way of doing things - whites!

This is an exclamation but the switch reveals more than that. He is talking about his friends and has been having some reservations about what was happening. Knowing the story, he never had the opportunity of discussing the situation with his friend and in fact there was no need. He is then only able to remark about it to somebody close to him who happens to share the same native language as his and in fact both share a language that his friends do not understand.

There are several exclamations in English. The rest are in Xhosa and an Afrikaans one commonly used in Xhosa and found several times in the letters.

Man, I miss my car!
(Man, I miss my car.)
Yaz' the thought of staying here!
You know ...!
Ye wethu! I nearly forgot, I saw ...
(Hey ours I nearly forgot, I saw ...)
Hey my dear! I nearly forgot, I saw ...

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Some switching like with the other participants is triggered off by the code used:

> You know **ke i** Charter flights ...
> (You know them Charter flights ...)
> Uthini ke, nceda uphendule.
> (You say then, please you reply.)
> What do you say then, please reply.

Another striking thing is the repetitive use of words like:

> Yazi
> (Know)
> You know
>
> Ke
> Then
>
> Wethu
> (Ours)

The equivalent for "Wethu" could be something like "my dear".

5.3 Third category

The subject is one whom the writer befriended at university. She has been abroad for more than a year. The introduction of her letters might even reveal signs of homesickness. Two of her letters start in this way:

> Yintoniulunya olungaka kunini ndijonge eposini ndisithi mhlawumbi
> (Why conceit to much have long I looking at the mail saying
> uyakude ubhale.
> maybe you will write.)
> Why are you "conceited"? I've long been waiting for your letter.

Another example is:

> Jonga lahla lo address ithi Tillingborne
> (Look throw away that address that says Tillingborne)
> Look, don't ever use that Tillingborne address.

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In both instances the real message of the letter is conveyed in the native language. Everything else is secondary to what I believe to be the main message.

After starting off with an apology for delaying the reply, she goes on in the native language in the second paragraph:

> Andizange ndikwazi ukuya eLondon...
> (Not I able I know to go to London)
> I was not able to go to London...

Again this is the real message of her letter.

The next example of code switching is when she uses pronouns. One possible reason for this is emphasis:

> At least **wena you** have your kids with you.
> At least (you) you have your kids with you.

> **thina we** have to phone home.
> (we) we have to phone home.

The switch happens again when she compares her position to that of the writer:

> ... (English) because**wena** kaloku unentsapho a.
> you for instance you have family.
> you have your family.

There is a change of code when she uses plural:

> ... and of course ooMkumatela ...
> (Mkumatelas)
> Mkumatela and the other members of the family.

There is no way of using a Xhosa equivalent for the word because it is her family name. The word therefore triggers the use of the Xhosa plural. This happens more than once because again when referring to Ralph and his family she writes:

> ... she's a friend to**oo**Ralph
> (Ralphs)

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Ralph and his family.
the Ralphs.

The influence of Sotho is evident in the formation of this plural. This is not difficult to explain as she had been working and staying in a Sotho-speaking area.

When she asks about my family she switches to Xhosa:

Bayaphila eMonti?
(They are well in East London?)
Are they well in East London?

It is difficult to explain this as she immediately switches to English when talking about her family:

I guess they're fine in Umtata.

The only reason could be this is the beginning of another sentence and the letter is written in English.

The only exclamation she uses is in Xhosa:

Hayi sis' Pinkie ...
(No sis' Pinkie ...)
Oh no! Pinkie ...

6 DISCUSSION

6.1 Introduction

There does seem to be a pattern emerging from the three categories. What is common to all is that when the subjects talk about a certain topic, there is a switch to either English or Xhosa depending on the nature of the topic and the participants.

6.2 Topic

The first subject, as already mentioned, when talking about hospital uses many English words pertaining to hospital life. On the other hand, when talking about children, she switches to Xhosa, which is the language associated more

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strongly with children. The same happens with the other two subjects. When the second subject talks about his children, he changes to the language they understand. The third subject also changes when she talks about family life.

6.3 Quotations

Another common feature is that when subjects are quoting, they again switch. The exact words of the speaker in that particular language will be used.

6.4 Emphasis

Also what becomes apparent in all the letters is that when the subjects want to emphasise a point, they switch to Xhosa. One word that was mostly used by the subjects is "n eda" (please), to emphasise a point.

6.5 Exclamations

Exclamations also appear to be in Xhosa. The examples of this from the first subject were not used as it could not be decided whether they were in Xhosa or English because both languages use the same words, e.g.**Wow ntombi** ndingumdlezana ...
Wow girl ...

Moreover the whole sentence carries on in Xhosa with switching towards the end. The other subjects as quoted use

"Ye wethu!"
(? ours)
my dear!

Yaz'
(know)
You know!

Maan
Man!

Tyhini
Oh!

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Hayi sis Pinkie
Oh no Pinkie!

"Hayi" does not mean "no". It is used as an exclamation. It should also be stated that not all the exclamations are in Xhosa.

6.6 Loanwords

a) That have no equivalents

Loanwords with no equivalents in Xhosa have been used by all subjects,

e.g.	"... iCharter flights ..." "... Charter flights ..." (from second subject)
	"... ndingxamele iSpring term." (... I hurry Spring term.) I'm looking forward to the Spring term. (from third subject)
	"... imntu enziwe i-operation ..." (... person made operation ...) ... a person operated on ... (from first subject)
	"andizange ndikwazi ukuya eLondon ..." (not able I could to go to London ...) I could not go to London ... (from third subject)

Even if they had wanted to express themselves in Xhosa they would not have been able to do so as there are no Xhosa equivalents.

b) Those which have equivalents

The use of loanwords (that have Xhosa equivalents) is also apparent. The word does exist in Xhosa and is appropriate to use in that culture but it does not fit in the "second culture". For instance there is a word for "bed" in Xhosa. It is "umandlalo" which could mean both "bed" and "bedding". There is no equivalent for "double bed" (first category), hence the use of the word "double bed". This goes for addresses too that are written in English.

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6.7 Intimacy

In cases where English is a second language it is often said that the first language marks intimacy and that English may be used for certain less intimate topics. This was not borne out in this study.

As stated, English is the language mostly used in the letters; however, there are instances when intimacy is expressed in Xhosa. In the second category, the participant writes:

> "... ndiyakukhumbula, ndiyanikhumbula"
> (I am you miss, I am you (plural) miss.)
> I miss you and the children.

6.8 Triggering

That the switch triggers the use of a particular language has been found to be true too in all the subjects. They write stretches in one language and then switch to another and again another stretch follows.

> "What I did was to take the baby home ndingulomdlezana ke
> Ukeast uthe makakhe ahlale for observation. It's Monday now...

6.9 Grammatical parameters

Besides looking at when the switch occurs, it is also interesting to look at how it occurs - its grammatical parameters. As already stated, no differentiation has been made between code switching and code mixing and the two have thus been taken to mean the same thing. Whole sentence switches are common, eg.:

"...you'll be able to get your card.	Yintoni ulunya olungake..."
(sentence in English)	(sentence in Xhosa)

The switch occurs within sentences and clauses, e.g.
"UPisi is here almost every night to see his son."

The sentence was started in Xhosa - "UPisi..."
"They got the card bathi bazakubhala"
(They got the card they say they are going to write)
They got the card and are promising to reply.

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Switching seems to respect verb phrases, e.g.:
Azange ndikwazi ukuya eLondon that weekend.
(Not can I able to go to London that weekend.)
I could not go to London that weekend.

The verb phrase "could not go" cannot be mixed.

It is impossible to say which structure is used as whatever structure is used preserves the syntactic integrity of each language. The sentences are acceptable bilingual sentences. It would not be acceptable therefore to say:

"I couldn't kuya eLondon that weekend".
(I couldn't to go London that weekend.)

and yet it is correct to say:

"I couldn't go to London kula mpelaveki."
(I couldn't go to London that weekend.)

The pattern is, however, more apparent in the "Xhosalisation" of the English verb. The "a" which is the Xhosa verb ending is inserted into the English verb, e.g.:

'wamsedata
(he her sedated)
he sedated her

layita
light

drawa
to withdraw (money from the bank)
(first category)

There is also the use of the "sha" inflection in:

ndifilisha
I feel (first category)

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Other examples of this (not taken from the data) are:

crayoni**sha**
crayoning
makisha
maki**sha** incwadi
marking books

The inflections change according to the structure of the sentence, e.g.

abafi**we**
having been bathed (first category)
ebafi**le**
having bathed

Graphically there have been some changes just as much as they would have been observed phonologically, e.g.

"... ndifilisha numb"
I feel numb (first category)

The "i" of "fi" in "filisha" has been influenced by the/i/ in "fi:l". There is one form of /i/ in Xhosa.

More interesting examples are the following:

"... kwafonelwa ukeast."
(... it was phoned Keast.)
... they phoned Dr Keast

The "f" has been influenced by the /f/. There is only one way of writing the "f" sound in Xhosa and yet in English there are:

"gh" as in rough
"f" as in fish
"ph" as in Phillip
"ff" as in off.

One subject writes:

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"... kubampa ..."
... to bump ...

The "a" in "ba" of "bampa" has been influenced by the /^/ sound in "bump". Again in Xhosa there is only one representation of "a" whereas in English there are several.

At the level of the noun some Xhosa plural inflections have been used in English sentences and also with Xhosa words: e.g.

She is a friend to booRalph.
She is friend to Ralphs.
She is a friend to the Ralphs.

The Sotho plural inflection has been used. It agrees with the noun and is therefore in the first person plural. Again in:

"... wabize zioxygen"
(... calling oxygens) (first category)
... asking for among other things oxygen.

The plural inflection for a word in the fifth class plural has been used. This is an English word (loanword) and given a class noun in Xhosa. The word used in Xhosa would be "umongomoya" which has a completely different class, viz. 1(a).

Another example is:

"... uyazi ke iCharter flights ..."
(... you know then Charter flights ...)
... you know how Charter flights are ...

"Charter flights" has been put in class 5 plural.

Another example is with adverbials, e.g.:

ebankini
(to bank)
to the bank

The English word has been given attributes of adverbials of place.

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e + noun + ni
ilitye = elityeni
stone = (to stone)
(to the stone)

eLondon
to London

There is no "ni" ending with names of towns

e-Monti
to East London

It should, however, be stated that when these rules are broken, sentences have a humorous effect.

7 CONCLUSION

It has been established that when Xhosa/English bilinguals communicate in writing they use both codes. It has also been established that there are both social and linguistic aspects for switching the code. When two languages come into contact, there are bound to be changes in both languages. The two official languages in South Africa for instance have traces of other African languages especially at the lexical level. But because they are completely different from Xhosa and the other African languages in their syntax and phonology, there is no likelihood of African languages becoming obsolete.

A contact dialect will develop and has already developed in the form of Fanakalo. This, however, did not spread widely as it is only intelligible to the people in the mining industry who have been formally taught it.

Does this then not make Africans and in the case of this study Xhosas marginal people? Are they trying to reject their culture by writing mainly in English and switch on only a few occasions? As stated initially, there are bound to be changes because of contact. It should also be remembered that English is the language of education in South Africa. The fact that in spite of so many years of having to write in English the participants still write in Xhosa shows that they are still identifying themselves with their people through the use of their language. There is a trend with African writers writing in English to switch to an African language. Writing in one of the African languages would deprive many other Africans who do not share the same language as the writer. Makiwane quoted by Barnett said that once he met two Sotho-speaking University of Fort Hare graduates who were interested in writing. He expressed the

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wish that if they ever thought of writing, they should do so in English so that he, a Xhosa man, would benefit from their writings. (Barnett, 1983).

English is as such a lingua franca to Africans in South Africa.

Also to support the argument that the Xhosas are not deserting their culture, I wish to quote the following instances from the letters: The subject in category three still refers to the writers as Sis'Pinkie (older sister) and But' Jola (older brother).

Also the subject in the first category when talking about her relatives writes:

... but' Momfu

older brother Momfu

and ... but' Ayliff

older brother Ayliff.

It is unthinkable that she could address them directly by their names even when writing in English.

As stated by McClure, such contact varieties do not develop into a Pidgin. These are only demonstrable consequences of what happens when two cultures and therefore two languages come into contact.

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