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UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN



Shifting Family Bilingualism: Two South African Case Studies

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A minor dissertation submitted in *partial fulfillment* of the requirements for the award of the degree of Master of Education in Applied Language and Literacy Studies

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COMPULSORY DECLARATION

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

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Abstract

This ethnographic, sociolinguistic study describes the home language practices of two Afrikaans/English bilingual families, living in two middle-class English-dominant neighbourhoods, with the youngest children attending an English-medium primary school. In this study, I investigate if these families maintain their existing Afrikaans-dominant bilingualism, or shift towards greater use of English. According to the sociolinguistic literature, there is an on-going relationship between the processes of language maintenance and shift. Factors that influence these processes include bilingualism, marriage patterns, socio-economic status, prestige of dominant languages, domains, educational environment, school peer group and attitudes as well as perceptions about languages and language use. The database consists of naturalistic observations, interviews and language diaries. Conversations between family members in their respective homes were audio-recorded (32 hours of observations in total) and open-ended interviews were conducted with family members about their language use and attitudes. The children completed language diaries where they self-reported their language use at home and at school.

The findings are as follows: both families speak English, Afrikaans as well as varieties of English and Afrikaans characterised by code-switching, code-mixing and borrowings in the home. The Petersen family presents with intergenerational transmission and maintenance of Afrikaans from the mother and brothers to the younger daughters. 'Teaching moments' in this family, characterised by an active interrelationship between English and Afrikaans, result in the transmission and use of Afrikaans and English between the family members. As a result of the domestic Afrikaans maintenance, the two daughters continue to speak Afrikaans and express a positive attitude toward the language in general and their bilingual identity in particular.

The use of Afrikaans in the Jacobs family is characterised by 'moments of maintenance', which are fleeting, interrupted moments of use of Afrikaans. This results in very limited intergenerational transmission of Afrikaans to the daughters. The parents also reflect negative attitudes towards the colloquial and mixed variety of Afrikaans they speak; their attitudes contribute to very limited intergenerational transmission of Afrikaans and result in English dominance among their daughters. The younger sister presents as an English monolingual. The children in both families experience school as an English-dominant domain; their school peer group is also English dominant.

For both families, domains outside the home are becoming more English dominant, but Afrikaans is not disappearing. Although the families might be experiencing the process of language shift – through language dominance changes in particular domains – this is a process characterised by gradual and complex bilingual practices with features of language mixing and alternation. The scope and findings of this study is restricted to a case study of bilingual Coloured families in Cape Town.

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Note on transcription and translation

All of the interviews are transcribed in full and available in Appendix 5. The interviews are transcribed using ‘standard’ English and Afrikaans orthography, but I did not change the syntax of the speaker. When I use extracts of conversations from audio-recorded naturalistic data, in the analysis chapters, the bilingual text is translated from Afrikaans into English. I utilized the convention of “italicizing and translating Afrikaans words for the benefit of the reader who is unfamiliar with the language” (McCormick 2002: 158), and concur with McCormick, that not all the italicized words ‘belong’ to Afrikaans, or that the non-italicized words ‘belong’ to English. When I have translated a portion of Afrikaans text which contains salient English code-switching, the English word is underlined in the translation. In order to ensure that readers can compare my translation/interpretation with the original, the Afrikaans text is always given alongside the translation. The length of this minor-dissertation is extended because the naturalistic Afrikaans data has been translated into English.

The following conventions were applied where necessary.

- . brief pause
- ... longer pause
- overlapping speech
- [] text in square brackets indicates non-verbal or contextual information
- R: Rose-Anne Reynolds (all interviews conducted by the author)

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Chapter 1: Introduction

The purpose of this ethnographic, sociolinguistic study is to describe and analyse the language use in two Afrikaans/English bilingual families in Cape Town, South Africa. The two families are the Petersen and the Jacobs family¹. Both families had lived in Afrikaans-dominant suburbs, before moving to English-dominant suburbs (Thornton, in the case of the Petersen family, and Pinelands, in the case of the Jacobs family). Since their respective daughters enrolled at an English-medium school in Pinelands, there has been significantly more exposure to English for both families, at school and in the home.

Fishman (1972: 82) argues: “In many studies of multilingual behaviour, the family domain has proved to be a very crucial one.” I have focused my research on the family as my primary domain as opposed to the school, because of the critical role parents play in language transmission. In this study, I investigate the language use of these bilingual families when they are at home. What is motivating and/or inhibiting specific language choices in the family domain? The role of the school, however, is significant and will be an integral part of the study.

Alexander (2005: 1) argues that English is the language of (socio-economic) power in South Africa, partially because of factors related to the colonial history of southern Africa. Many children in South Africa attend schools where the medium of instruction (hereafter MoI) differs from their home language. Parents choose to enrol their children at English-medium schools. This phenomenon has occurred more frequently since the 1990s as this coincided with government policy which allowed schools to open their doors to children of all races (Bosch and De Klerk 1998: 44). In the 21st century, English also further increased its status because of on-going processes of globalization. In some cases, as will be shown in the analysis, parents also enrolled children at English-medium schools because the English-medium school was closer to home or the school had better facilities. In this study, I seek to answer the question: Do these families maintain their existing bilingualism, even though their children now attend an English-medium school; or is there

¹ All names are pseudonyms.

a shift towards a greater use of English? I have considered two aspects – language use in the home (in great depth) and language use within the social network of peers at the English-medium school (on a smaller scale). Bosch and De Klerk (1998), as well as De Klerk (2000a), have argued that English-medium schooling has supported a ‘shift to English’. I want to unpack to what degree such a shift occurred, what was behind such a shift, from the perspective of these two bilingual families, and how it is that the shift unfolded.

The following questions formed the backbone of the research:

- Do these bilingual families maintain Afrikaans, the language they describe as their ‘home language’, i.e. the language traditionally spoken by family members for everyday interactions at home?
- Are there signs that English is replacing Afrikaans as the home language in these families?
- Are there inter-generational differences with regard to language choice and use?
- What attitudes are expressed towards Afrikaans and English by members of the two families?
- How does the peer social network at the English-medium school affect the children’s language use at school and at home?

Terminology is complex when it comes to describing what people believe to be their first language, mother tongue or home language. Winkler (1997: 29) highlights the difficulties with expecting people to answer questions about their language use in such seemingly neatly defined terms, rather, “their language experience seems grounded in a complex multilingual reality where different languages are used in a variety of situations in varying degrees of competence.” For consistency in this project, the term ‘home language’ will be used to denote the language first learnt or spoken in the home. The alternate terms of ‘mother tongue’ and ‘first language’ are used by other scholars and will be referred to in the Literature Review (Chapter 2). ‘Bilingualism’ for the purpose of this research is defined as the “regular use of two or more languages”, and ‘bilinguals’ as “people using two or more languages in their everyday lives” (Grosjean 2008: 10). The focus will thus not be on competence in the languages, but on use.

The thesis is structured as follows: Chapter 2 critically reviews the literature that relates to research on language maintenance and language shift. I begin by offering various definitions of bilingualism, specifically as these pertain to the two families who participated in my study. I review Fishman's (1972) definitions of language maintenance and language shift, which he originally applied to immigrant groups in the United States. In addition, this study draws centrally on Clyne's (2003) definition of language shift. Quantitative approaches, which identify social variables affecting language choices, are explored. Following this, Gal's (1978) and Kulick's (1992) ethnographic studies of language shift in Austria and Papua New Guinea are reviewed. Tuominen (1999), Rindstedt and Aronsson (2002) and Gafaranga's (2010) work on children as active agents of language maintenance and shift is discussed. The chapter concludes with a critical review of recent South African sociolinguistic studies on the processes of language shift and maintenance, with particular attention to the family domain and the school-based peer group.

In Chapter 3, the research design and methodology employed in this study are discussed, and the use of a qualitative, ethnographic case study approach is motivated. The data collection procedures and fieldwork practices are clarified. The selection criteria for the two families are explained, and the neighbourhood and school are described. Language biographies contextualise the family members' current language use and their past and current, linguistic preferences. The chapter further reviews the ethical considerations that arose because children were involved in the study.

Chapter 4 presents the family members' perceptions, and attitudes towards English and Afrikaans by the various family members. The data analysed comes from two main data sources: a) language diaries written by the four children and (b) interviews about the families' metalinguistic attitudes. I discuss the impact of the English-medium school on language use in each family. The chapter provides a detailed discussion around the differences and similarities between the attitudes and language use of the daughters in each family.

Chapter 5 analyzes selected portions of the naturalistic data, observations, field notes and interview data. In Chapter 5, I will introduce and develop a new concept, which I call

‘teaching moments’. These are spontaneous moments of informal language teaching and translating from English to Afrikaans, or Afrikaans to English, which are common bilingual behaviours.

Chapter 6 analyzes language choices and language use in the Jacobs family. Again, I will present a comprehensive analysis of selected portions of the naturalistic data, observations, field notes and interview data. Another new term, which I illustrate through the naturalistic data in Chapter 6, is the idea that in the flow of everyday family life there are ‘moments of maintenance’, which help to support some low degree of maintenance (sometimes just passive competence or restricted vocabulary acquisition) even in an overall context of shift. These ‘moments of maintenance’ are characterised by their fleeting, temporal nature.

Chapter 7 summarizes the findings, makes recommendations and suggests directions for future research. My findings reveal the complexity of the language choices available to bilinguals in families who have more than one language (and varieties of those languages) as a resource, with external factors like an English- medium school or peer group influencing language use.

Chapter 2: Literature review and theoretical framework

2.1 Introduction

This literature review focuses on the literature and theories around language maintenance and shift, reviewing research focused on bilingual communities, families and children conducted internationally and locally. The key terms used in this study will be defined and explained, specifically: bilingualism, language maintenance, language shift and domain.

I will then outline what I have termed the ‘demographic approach’: these are mainly quantitative studies, which identify the social variables that play a role in language maintenance and language shift. This is followed by a discussion of two seminal ethnographic studies: Gal (1978) and Kulick (1992), which take a closer look at gender and educational environment. I then discuss the role of children as active agents in the processes of language maintenance and shift. Finally, the South African section contextualizes the study locally and provides a review of relevant South African studies.

2.2 Defining bilingualism

Clyne (2003: 4) defines bilinguals as “people employing two languages, who recognize themselves and are recognized by others as using two languages and to be bilinguals.” Thus, self-identification, identification by others, as well as use, are necessary requirements in Clyne’s definition of bilingualism. The majority of family members I studied are both self-identified and other-identified as being bilingual. Their language choices are influenced by the person to whom they are talking and the situation in which they find themselves. Similar to Clyne, Grosjean (2008: 10) states that “bilingualism is the regular use of two or more languages (or dialects)”, and bilinguals are those people who use “two or more languages (or dialects) in their everyday lives.” He goes on to clarify that “the bilingual uses the two languages – separately or together – for different purposes in different domains of life, with different people” (Grosjean, 2008: 14). For the purpose of my study, the term bilingualism refers to the presence of two languages in

everyday life by people who see themselves as bilingual and are seen by others as bilingual.

Grosjean (1982: 170-176), furthermore, identified schooling as an important factor affecting childhood bilingualism. In other words, if children are taught in a language at school, which differs from the language they speak in the home, then this may help them to become bilingual. Such a scenario describes a situation of additive bilingualism, where “students add a second language to their intellectual tool-kit while continuing to develop conceptually and academically in their first language” (Cummins 1996: 62). This situation described by Grosjean could also lead to subtractive bilingualism. In this case, the language taught at school would gradually replace the home language (Cummins 1996: 63). Some bilingual communities may have practices in place to ensure that children become, or remain, bilingual, e.g. language classes attended by the children. Alternatively, they may be taught by elderly speakers of the (heritage) language. In communities where there is a dominant language that differs from the one used in the home, parents may put various strategies in place to facilitate their children becoming, or remaining, bilingual. They could speak more than one language to a child from birth, actively use two or more languages in the home, or use a strict one-parent-one-language approach, which ensures that the child learns two languages (Grosjean 1982: 175). Much of adult bilingualism is a consequence of childhood bilingualism. In other words, the foundations for becoming or remaining fully bilingual as an adult are often laid in childhood (Grosjean 1982: 170).

2.3 Central concepts: maintenance, shift and domain

Language maintenance as defined in the context of this research refers to a situation where a language continues, “to be used in spite of the presence of more powerful languages” (Fishman cited in Mesthrie et al. 2009: 245). The question of language maintenance comes to the fore when people find themselves in situations where their linguistic environment is changing. For example, additional languages are introduced into the home, through work, school or changing social networks. While statistics and quantitative analysis can give us a broad picture, the in-depth research provided in this thesis seeks to answer the ‘why’ and ‘how’ questions of language maintenance and language shift in two bilingual families. As noted above, the broader community is also

significant in terms of language maintenance, because it provides opportunities for the language to be used outside the home (Kravin, 1992; Saunders, 1980; Hayden, 1966 cited in Tuominen 1999: 62). Fishman (2000: 95) emphasizes the role of the home in language maintenance. He argues, “multilingualism often begins in the family and depends on it for encouragement if not protection.” This statement draws our attention to the importance of the bilingual family as a place where languages are maintained, or where they are displaced, temporarily or permanently, depending on language choices at specific times and with specific interlocutors. The family domain is also believed to be more resistant to language shift than the work domain (Fishman 2000: 100).

Language shift, as defined by Fishman, “denotes the replacement of one language by another as the primary means of communication and socialization within a community” (cited in Mesthrie et al. 2009: 253). Luykx (2005: 1412) examines the role of the school as a major factor in language shift and argues that children are instrumental in the language socialisation of adults. ‘Language shift is a complex term which can refer to various processes of language displacement. Following Fishman (1967) cited in Clyne (2003: 20-21) outlined various meanings of language shift as follows’:

- “i. It can refer to the language behaviour of a whole community, a sub-group within it or an individual.
- ii. It can mean a gradual process, a ‘shifting’...
- iii. It can designate a change in:
 - a. The main language;
 - b. The dominant language of an individual or a group;
 - c. The language of one or more domains – contextualized spheres of communication – such as home, work, school, church;
 - d. The exclusive language for between one and three of the four language skills (listening, speaking, reading, writing);

It can designate the completion of the process.”

For the purpose of my research, language shift is defined as referring to a change in the dominant language of an individual and/or a change in the language of one or more domains, specifically the home or school; that is, Clyne’s definition iii.b. Another aspect

of language shift is that it is invariably preceded by bilingualism (Weinreich cited in De Klerk 2001: 125). However, bilingualism does not *necessarily* lead to language shift: stable bilingualism is possible, if rare (Deumert 2010: 17).

The notion of ‘domain’ is an important sociolinguistic concept for understanding language shift. Dyers (2008a: 58), drawing on Fishman, defines domains as “constellations of factors such as location, topic and participants, and including the domains of work, family, school and other educational institutions, circles of friends and wider communication.” We can illustrate this definition with an example from Dyers’ fieldwork (2008b: 120): one female participant spoke to her brother and sister in Xhosa, but when one of her children came into the room, she switched to Afrikaans. Here we have one domain, the home, but different norms depending on the interlocutors involved.

Language choice within domains is thus related to societal norms. These norms can explain language choices made in specific domains. When a language that is usually used for a particular topic, in a particular domain and with particular individuals is no longer used, then it is possible that the process of language shift is underway. However, sometimes, when norms are shifting, a language can ‘lose’ a domain but then ‘acquires’ another.

Intergenerational transmission is integral to language maintenance, once intergenerational transmission is disrupted, then we are looking at shift, as the next generation will not be able to pass on the language to their children. The importance of intergenerational transmission was emphasized in Fishman’s (1991) seminal work on ‘reversing language shift’. While the family domain is central, and key to intergenerational transmission, societal and institutional choices are also important as they can influence “parental decisions regarding their language behaviour in regard to their children” (Lewis and Simons 2010: 105). These outside factors can therefore affect the language choices the parents make in the home.

2.4 The demographic approach: results from Australian census data

Following Fishman's pioneering statistical analysis of US census data, Clyne (2003: 20) worked with Australian census data, seeking to understand the social correlates of language shift from migrant languages to English. I will call this the demographic approach. The aim of this research paradigm is to identify those social factors that play a role in language maintenance and language shift based on correlational statistical analysis. The following factors have been identified by Clyne (2003: 22) as affecting language use in the home in Australia: "Entry into the workforce, marriage, birth of a new child, the child(ren)'s entry into different stages of schooling, the child(ren)'s departure from the parental home and the death of the spouse." I will discuss each of these factors briefly:

- a) The non-dominant or minority² language is often seen as limiting access to the formal job market. Language shift to the dominant language is thus facilitated by the need to learn the dominant language for success and use in the workplace.
- b) When marrying exogamously, i.e. outside of the group, the minority language is not usually supported, as it is spoken by only one partner. When the spouse dies, the living spouse might revert to the minority language they spoke before getting married (provided there is community support).
- c) When a child is born, it provides an opportunity for its parents to use the minority language(s) more extensively, that is, they might decide to bring up the child as a bilingual or even as a multilingual to ensure contact with the extended family. Alternatively, the opposite could occur, i.e. the parents might choose to bring the child up not speaking the home language, but rather the dominant language.
- d) If the child attends a school where the dominant language is the MoI, language shift is often facilitated by the peer group. This can also change language use within the home, and the child now prefers the majority language, and refuses to speak the minority language. When a child leaves the family home, parents sometimes shift back to the minority language.

² Australian and American scholars tend to use the terms dominant/minority languages, especially in migrant/migration contexts.

The dominant language in many South African work places is English and may not necessarily be the language spoken by the work force, as a home language. In addition, when exogamous marriages occur, negotiations around which languages will be spoken in the home or with the children happen, and sometimes these decisions are not made explicitly but occur spontaneously. Many schools in South Africa do not teach in the home language of the children who attend the school. Situations of additive or subtractive bilingualism then occur. These are briefly some of the ways Clyne's (2003) demographic approach links to the situation in South Africa.

2.5 The ethnographic approach

In this section, I discuss the role of marriage patterns and gender which is discussed in Gal's (1978) work on the community of Oberwart (Austria), and the importance of the educational environment as discussed in Kulick's (1992) study of the village of Gapun (Papua New Guinea). Both studies used an ethnographic approach in their investigation of language maintenance and shift.

Gal's work on language shift was conducted in Oberwart, Eastern Austria, in the late 1970s. Her year-long ethnographic study looked at the shift from German-Hungarian bilingualism to German monolingualism. She focused her research on the naturally occurring conversations she recorded – as opposed to the more formal sociolinguistic interviews she also conducted – because she found people “actually varied their speech more in the course of everyday interaction than they did during the interviews” (Gal 1978: 67). The three factors she found, that affected language choice most strongly were gender, age and what she called the ‘peasantness’ of the social network. ‘Peasantness’ represented a hard physical life as a Hungarian speaking ‘peasant’ (or farmer) and not an urban life as a German speaking worker. The ‘peasantness’ of the network would then suggest interactions mainly with other farmers, and not urban workers. Of these three factors, gender was most central, and interacted with the other two factors. In a nutshell: younger Oberwart women often rejected ‘peasant’ life and, because of their socio-economic aspirations and choices, married German wage earning men and not Hungarian-speaking farmers. The shift to German was thus led by young women who saw German as being

associated with upward mobility and the minority language (Hungarian) was not maintained in these exogamous marriages.

Gal's study is relevant to my work because of the focus on marriage patterns and in particular gender. The marriages in my study were not exogamous, but in one home, the parents grew up speaking different home languages, while understanding each other's language. The socio-economic aspirations of being bilingual and speaking English are seen as desirable by all four parents. Therefore, even though English is associated with upward mobility and socio-economic advancement, this has not led to the complete rejection of Afrikaans. Afrikaans is maintained by both sets of parents to various degrees. The mother in the one family however, has determined that transmission and maintenance of Afrikaans has occurred for her children, despite the presence of English in the home.

Kulick studied language shift in Gapun, a village in Papua New Guinea where two languages were used regularly: Taiap, the local language, and Tok Pisin, Papua New Guinea's lingua franca. For Kulick (1992: 9), language shift represents much more than just the loss of language A and the spread of language B. Using an ethnographic approach, he argues that linguists who are interested in language shift need to study "people's conceptions of themselves in relation to one another and their changing social world" (ibid.). In other words, language choices are always socio-culturally embedded.

Tok Pisin, learnt by the men, when working away from the village as migrant labourers, soon became associated with upward mobility, socio-economic development and education. This led to a change in language choices within the village: traditional male speech genres were increasingly performed in Tok Pisin. Traditional female genres, however, remained predominately Taiap. Unlike in Oberwart, it was thus the men who drove the language shift in Gapun by establishing Tok Pisin as a high status language within the local village context. This shows that although gender plays a role in language shift, the link between gender and shift is historically/culturally contingent: sometimes it is women driving the shift, sometimes men.

At the time, when Kulick conducted his fieldwork, children were no longer learning Taiap even though parents continued to express a wish that their children should learn the language. The main reasons for this shift are complex, but can be summarized as follows:

- a) Communicating in Taiap did not play an important role during the process of primary socialization, which – in Gapun – was dominated by adult talk, and required minimal responses from children;
- b) The language spoken in the school environment was exclusively Tok Pisin, and use of the vernacular was not allowed. Tok Pisin was also the main language of the peer group.

Kulick concluded that Taiap might not exist in the future (or that it might become an endangered language), based on distinct changes in language acquisition patterns: not only are children not learning Taiap, but they are speaking mostly Tok Pisin among themselves and their friends (Kulick 1992: 266).

Kulick's study is relevant to my work because it also looks at the role of the school system, and, in particular, the MoI. However, there are also important differences: in Papua New Guinea, the children of Gapun were being taught at an exclusively Tok Pisin-medium school, and strictly prohibited to speak Taiap on school grounds; in Cape Town, the children who participated in my study were allowed to speak languages other than English – the MoI – during break-times and with friends. However, both groups of children experienced the school environment as a space where Tok Pisin/English was privileged.

2.6 The role of children in language maintenance and shift

In this section, three different studies, which investigate the role of children in language maintenance and shift, are discussed. Tuominen (1999: 62) argues that children play a central role in determining how language shift happens in the family and the broader community. Her research, and the questions she posed, was influential in developing my own research. Tuominen interviewed twenty-five adult migrant participants in the United States. They had to be bilingual or multilingual and one of their languages had to be English. The study

explored “the process of language transmission and maintenance in families led by multilingual parents” (Tuominen 1999: 60). She conducted interviews with the parents about their language use, attitudes towards languages used in the home, specific strategies that encouraged particular language choices and language resources available to the family (Tuominen 1999: 66). Parents who were the most successful in transmitting the ‘heritage’ language had the financial resources to provide interventions for their children such as fees for language schools, visits to native countries, telephone calls to relatives and the purchasing of language materials (Tuominen 1999: 71). However, Tuominen also found that, despite all these efforts at maintenance of the home language, there was a definite shift towards an increased use of English among all children.

The context of being bilingual in Tuominen’s study is, however, different to that of the current study, which looks at Afrikaans/English bilingual families in Cape Town. In Tuominen’s study, the participants were all migrants to the US, coming from countries where English was not the dominant language. I, on the other hand, have worked with South African citizens where the parents have a long history of using English alongside their home language. Nonetheless, there are parallels with regard to the role of the family and the English-medium schools attended by the participants in my study.

Gafaranga (2010) worked with the Rwandan community in Belgium, where language shift from Kinyarwanda–French bilingualism to French monolingualism was taking place. The younger members of the community were found to frequently make a “medium request” for the adults not to speak Kinyarwanda-French (code-switching) but rather French-only. The adults consistently supported the children’s requests, and spoke mainly French to the children. However, they continued to speak Kinyarwanda-French to other adults. Gafaranga (2010: 242) argues thus that “language shift is talked into being” through children’s requests, and the detailed ethnographic research, which documents these face-to-face interactions, shows how precisely this was occurring. Gafaranga (2010: 245) consequently calls for studies, which view children as “interactional partners” in the process of language maintenance and shift. This thesis appreciates a view of children as active agents with regard to language choice in the family.

Rindstedt and Aronsson's (2002: 735) work explored the shift from Quechua-Spanish bilingualism to Spanish monolingualism in an Ecuadorian community, specifically between adults and young children. The children in the study attended a monolingual Spanish school. The aim was to understand the role of everyday communication practices in situations of on-going language shift. In this community, the adults commonly referred to Quecha as a variety or dialect, and not a legitimate language. Spanish is the only language of communication in the Catholic Church and the official language of teaching. The Spanish language plays a dominant role in public life and Quecha is marginalized (Rindstedt and Aronsson 2002: 728-729). For these reasons, the parents, even though they ideologically believed in the importance of Quechua and spoke Quechua to each other, chose to speak Spanish-only to their children. The parents say that if they were to speak both languages, "the children would get confused and go to school speaking 'mete mete' [half-half]" (Rindstedt and Aronsson 2002: 733). A parallel to my research is the focus on documented, microanalyses of language socialisation happening in these families (Rindstedt and Aronsson 2002: 723).

2.7 South African studies

This section on South African studies reflects on the local context for my research. The studies I have chosen to review provide some insight into existing research, issues and claims made about language shift and maintenance from the perspective of a country that has a linguistic history, which is different from the studies discussed so far. The studies discussed here provide a framework for explaining how the South African situation fits into the larger picture.

Post-apartheid, democratic South Africa has eleven official languages. However, these languages do not have the same status in daily life and English is clearly the dominant language (Alexander 2005: 12). This has led to widespread bilingualism in English as well as suggestions that we are currently seeing language shift towards English (see Deumert, 2010, for an overview of these discussions).

Barnes (1990) reviewed international studies on bilingualism and South African studies of Afrikaans/English bilingualism (among White South Africans) from the late 1970s to the late

1980s. He looked at English-Afrikaans language pairs. His analysis of the literature shows that when parents chose to bring up their children bilingually, this was usually not a spontaneous decision. He argued that a successful bilingual home requires parents to have a positive attitude towards the home language. His review concluded with practical bilingual language strategies for parents to use: children must be happy in their homes; parents must talk to their children about establishing a bilingual home; they should apply a consistent communication strategy; and bilingualism should be regarded as natural and normal (Barnes 1990: 147). He was also concerned about the lack of research on family bilingualism in countries like South Africa. The relevance of Barnes' paper for my research is that it provides a sense of what was occurring historically during apartheid in White families. This research was conducted mainly by using quantitative methods (questionnaires). In a subsequent study on family bilingualism, Barnes and Fedele (1997: 224) express concern about the limitations of questionnaires and recommend that "detailed case studies based on direct interviews with families and careful observation seem to be the route for future researchers to take." My qualitative, ethnographic study is taking this route.

Bosch and De Klerk (1998) conducted a qualitative case study in Grahamstown. They focused on one ten-year-old, monolingual Afrikaans boy's transition to an English-medium school from an Afrikaans medium-school. Jan (pseudonym) completed three years at an Afrikaans-medium school and had learnt English as a subject for 18 months. His parents decided to move him to an English-medium school because of the following two reasons: (i) perceived falling standards at the local Afrikaans school; and (ii) his own abilities and eagerness to learn English. The authors found that – for Jan – increased use of English was facilitated by:

- a) The English school environment;
- b) The perception of better job opportunities and upward social mobility; and
- c) The declining popularity of Afrikaans in the post-apartheid era.

The case of Jan, however, is not an example of completed language shift. Although he now spoke English with his peers at school, he continued to speak Afrikaans in the home with his parents. In other words, there has been shift in one domain (school), but not across domains. Bosch and De Klerk's study is similar to my research because of its

qualitative emphasis, as well as the role of English-medium schools. A difference between the two studies is that Jan faced opposition from his father's family about him attending an English-medium school, whereas my participants did not face opposition from their families. On the contrary, the parents of both families selected the English-medium school for their daughters.

In 2000b and 2001, De Klerk wrote two further papers based on quantitative and qualitative research conducted in Grahamstown. The focus of these papers is Xhosa-English bilingualism, which, according to her analysis, is leading to language shift within certain middle-class families. The 2000 piece is provocatively titled *To be Xhosa, or not to be Xhosa...*, thus reflecting a stance where speaking English and being Xhosa is seen as being mutually exclusive. She used information from seven English-medium schools in the area to identify middle class Xhosa-speaking parents. The parents were sent questionnaires, 194 completed them and 24 parents took part in in-depth interviews. Her conclusions were that subtractive bilingual environments were created at home because the children were attending English-medium schools. What this means is that where Xhosa is traditionally used, now English is used. However, this referred only to specific domains, e.g., during homework tasks or between siblings, not in the family as a whole. Language shift to English was supported by its aforementioned association with economic success and improved educational opportunities at better-resourced English schools (De Klerk 2000a). Parents also felt that English was an international language that would facilitate opportunities for their children.

Anthonissen (2009) focused on the situation in the historically Afrikaans-speaking, Coloured communities of Strand, Somerset West, Macassar and Paarl. As her participants can be classified as occupying middle class positions³ in their places of work, Anthonissen (2009: 67) argues that they “represent a group in the community who has in the past thirty to forty years experienced upward mobility in social and socio-economic terms.” Her study investigates the process of language shift in the home domain. Anthonissen (2009: 61) summarizes her main research question as follows: to understand “how a number of

³ Examples of these positions as provided by Anthonissen, include teachers and middle management in companies.

families made deliberate choices to change the family language from Afrikaans L1 to English L1". She employed an ethnographic methodology and collected data from bilingual Afrikaans-English families using in-depth interviews. The interviews were designed to provide "direct insight into the choices of parents regarding the first language of their children" (Anthonissen 2009: 62). The study found evidence for the process of language shift, due to the following factors (Anthonissen 2009: 71-72):

- a) The adults now explicitly chose to speak English in domains where they previously spoke Afrikaans;
- b) The birth of their first child often meant that parents spoke Afrikaans to each other and English to the child (see the discussion of Clyne's work in Section 2.4);
- c) Wanting the 'best' schools for their children, and these were English-medium schools;
- d) A belief that English provided their children with better employment opportunities and thus social mobility;
- e) Lack of proficiency in English was felt to be socially embarrassing for the adults and English held greater prestige;
- f) Adults believed that existing social networks would provide sufficient opportunities for children to learn Afrikaans; and
- g) English held greater prestige than other languages.

Anthonissen (2009: 61) argues that these reasons for choosing English for their children have led to language shift in the younger generation. The youngest generation presents "either a monolingual English identity where Afrikaans has a decidedly second language status or a strong English-dominant bilingual identity" (Anthonissen 2009: 61).

Dyers (2008a: 50) conducted a longitudinal, qualitative study with Afrikaans home language students at a high school in Wesbank, a large residential township, in Kuils River about 25km from Cape Town. Wesbank is a "peripheral township marked by poverty, unemployment and crime" (Dyers 2004 cited in Dyers 2008a: 53), and the demographic of her study is thus different from that discussed by Anthonissen. The data collection included questionnaires, written responses, and individual and focus group interviews. The aim of the study was to consider factors that might lead to language shift,

or maintenance, among these youth. Dyers (2008a: 67) concludes that – in this specific community – overall there is maintenance of the home language (Afrikaans) rather than shift to English. The reason for this is that there exists a sentimental attachment to Afrikaans even though it has less (overt) prestige than English does. Dyers (2008a: 58) also emphasizes the importance of the relationship between the interlocutors for language choice. In other words, the more intimate this relationship, the more likely it is that Afrikaans will be used, even in formal contexts such as in the workplace.

Deumert's (2010) study applied the demographic approach. She used 1996 and 2001 South African census data to track the demographics of language shift – from African languages and Afrikaans to English – in the metropolitan city of Cape Town. However, the question asked in the census with regard to the home language only allows us to see shifts in dominance. The home language question is (as acknowledged by Deumert) a somewhat 'crude' instrument, and the 1996/2001 census did not elicit information about bilingualism. However, shifts in dominance are important and can lay the foundation for lack of intergenerational transmission. Deumert's results were nuanced: she identified a possible shift to English among younger middle-class speakers and this shift was most prominent in formerly White middle-class neighbourhoods. Deumert (2010: 27) found that women were leading maintenance in some neighbourhoods. However, in other neighbourhoods, women were at the forefront of language shift. One of the limitations of looking at language maintenance and shift using language demography is that such information does not explain how and why shift or maintenance is occurring. Deumert (2010: 20) therefore asserts, "locally rooted ethnographic studies are necessary to understand the mechanisms which are at play in specific social spaces." I take my cue for this study from Deumert's suggestion for more ethnographic research on language maintenance and shift.

2.8 Conclusion

In this literature review, I looked at the broad issues that underpin this sociolinguistic study. I have discussed definitions of bilingualism. I considered the factors that support language maintenance and those that may lead to shift. I also discussed the importance of using demographics to establish broad trends in language maintenance and shift, and how

ethnographic research provides description that is more explicit and detailed about the underlying processes. In particular, I also considered the role of children in language shift, based on the work of Tuominen (1999), Gafaranga (2010) and Rindstedt and Aronsson (2002).

I contextualized my research with special reference to South Africa. Some of the major issues contributing to the complex processes of language maintenance and shift, in the South African context are a) upward mobility, b) socio-economic class, c) gender, d) the educational environment, e) English seen as the prestige language, and f) attitudes that give English status as a prestige language.

University of Cape Town

Chapter 3: Research methodology

3.1 Introduction

Between January and March 2010, I collected the data for this study. The requirements for potential participants were outlined in a letter that was sent to the parents of learners at Pinewood Primary School (pseudonym). My letter stated, “ I need families where the parents grew up speaking Afrikaans and speak Afrikaans and English to each other and their children, who attend an English-medium school.” Therefore it was made explicit that to be considered suitable participants, the families would be self-identified English/Afrikaans bilingual families; the parents had to have grown up speaking Afrikaans; the children had to attend an English-medium school; and they had to have siblings in the home, rather than being an only-child household. (See Appendix 1 for an example of the letter).

Wei (1994: 74) cautions that working with families as the unit of data collection, is not easy. He writes: “The decision to use the family as the starting point and basic unit for investigation requires careful choice of entry strategies, because the family is a ‘backstage’ of social life which is usually invisible and closed from the view of the general public.” I was aware that I would need to gain the families’ trust in order to become a participant observer. This required me to explain the nature of the research honestly and openly to the participants. I made it very clear that it did not matter what they were talking about; that I was solely interested in the languages they were speaking, and in whether and how they were switching between Afrikaans and English.

My main intention of becoming a participant observer in their homes was to understand the use and role of the two languages (and their varieties) in daily interactions within the home, and to “describe and analyse complexity, not to simplify complex social events” (Blommaert and Jie 2010: 25). My fieldwork yielded 32 hours of observation, 26 hours of naturalistic recordings, and approximately five hours of interview data, in addition to language diaries which were completed by the four daughters.

In this chapter, the methodology and data collection methods are clarified, ethical issues are identified, and details of the methods of analysis are provided. I also describe the neighbourhoods in which the participants reside, the profiles of these two families and the English-medium school attended by the daughters.

3.2 Ethical considerations

Before I could develop my participants' consent forms, the ethical requirements had to be thought through carefully, especially as I would be working with children. If a child disclosed abuse of any kind, for example, I would need to decide how to respond to the information they had disclosed and consider my ethical responsibility as a researcher. Both sets of parents willingly allowed me to work with their children. I appreciated their generosity and treated their children and families with the utmost respect.

I arranged an initial information session with each family to introduce myself, to explain the nature of my research, and to create an opportunity for them to ask questions or raise any concerns. I also allowed them some time to consider the logistics of having a researcher spend many hours in their home, doing audio recordings of their conversations and interactions with each other.

The participants all signed consent forms. The mothers in each family signed consent forms on behalf of their daughters, as they were under sixteen years of age. In both families, the daughters were my focus because they all attended the same English-medium school. In the consent form under 'payment', I wrote 'none' in terms of currency. However, I stated that I would be willing to look after the children while observing them. Both families took up my offer on two occasions.

To protect the identities of the participants as per the consent agreement, pseudonyms are used throughout. However, as this is an ethnographic study, the names were chosen carefully to reflect the socio-cultural meanings and associations of the original naming practices. As Zara and Zoë's pseudonyms begin with the same letter, I always use their full names in the transcripts in order to avoid confusion. For all other participants and organisations, the first letters of their pseudonyms are used in the transcriptions.

3.3 Data collection

My role was that of a participant observer, and I thus became a part of the family for the time I was in their homes. Together with the mothers in each family, I worked out a practical timetable for the observations/recordings. The timetables suited the mothers and their schedules and this may contribute to the voices of the mothers in both families being more dominant than the fathers. After I had completed the naturalistic recordings, I conducted in-depth interviews with all family members, focusing on their attitudes towards English and Afrikaans, and their self-reported language preferences and choices.

Given the ethnographic nature of this research, my own biographical background and use of language are important aspects to consider. Rampton et al. (2004: 2) argue that “[e]thnography recognizes the ineradicable role that the researcher’s personal subjectivity plays throughout the research process.” I currently live in Pinelands and have lived in Thornton, which are the two suburbs the Petersen and Jacobs families reside in. Moreover, I was not a stranger to them. In fact, I am known to the families as I teach at Pinewood Primary (see Section 3.6); although I do not teach any of the girls. I therefore had some insider information about the school and neighbourhoods through which I viewed my interactions with these families. My observations were recorded in a fieldwork journal. I quickly realized that “different situations ultimately require different roles for the researcher” (Babbie and Mouton 2001: 296). I played with the girls if they asked me to participate in a game they were playing. While they were doing homework, I would answer a question if they asked.

I was an audience member when the daughters performed plays, songs or musical items. I chatted and engaged with the adults in the home.

3.4 Naturalistic recordings

I recorded naturalistic data in the form of conversations between the family members. I used a Roland Edirol R09 digital audio recorder. In the two families, the daughters were my focus subjects because – as discussed above (Chapter 2) – language maintenance/shift is located in intergenerational transmission (Fishman 1991: 89; see Section 2.3). The daughters seemed to like the ‘celebrity’ aspect of being recorded and were always interested in the audio recorder. However, they also quickly forgot about it once they were engrossed in activities or conversations.

As soon as possible after each recording, I would download the digital files onto my computer. I would then listen carefully and reflectively to the recorded conversations and interactions. This allowed me to form initial hypotheses and to identify themes and patterns. It also allowed me to get a sense of the habitual language choices of particular family members. My method of analysis thus entailed listening closely to the recordings in order to get an “initial sense of issues rising from the data” (De Wet and Erasmus, 2005: 29). Given the sheer volume of naturalistic recordings (26 hours), it was not possible to transcribe all of them for a minor dissertation. I thus established the following work plan: first, I compiled detailed summaries after repeatedly listening to the recordings. Then, particular sections were transcribed in full. Of interest for understanding language maintenance and shift were interactions where the home language (Afrikaans) was used extensively, as well as sections where Afrikaans was almost, or entirely, absent.

The total number of hours of naturalistic recordings for the Petersen family is about 13.5 hours and for the Jacobs family is just over 12.5 hours. See Appendix 2 Tables 2 and 4 for a summary of the naturalistic recordings in both families.

3.4.1 Language diaries

The four girl participants each completed a language diary, which highlighted their language choices over a period of five days. The focus was on five to six of their best friends as well as their family members. They indicated what language(s) they believed that they had spoken to each person and what language(s) each person had spoken to them. They completed this activity quite enthusiastically. The purpose was to develop a sense of the children’s perceived language use at home and at school. The school environment is of particular importance, as language use in the peer group can influence children’s language choices and preferences in the home.

The children were thus involved in a self-reporting exercise. There are certainly limits to such self-reporting, but these language diaries provided an opportunity to understand the perceptions of the four children about the languages they speak and hear. The choices reported in the diaries can be compared with what I have observed and recorded happening in their homes. The children were given a choice of filling in an E for English, A for Afrikaans

and M if they felt that a mix of English and Afrikaans was being spoken. I left the choices to their discretion and the fact that they used all three categories; English, Afrikaans or Mix is an indication that they perceived a difference in the languages spoken, and that these broad categories were intuitively meaningful for them. See Appendix 4 for an example of a language diary.

3.4.2 Interviews

I conducted interviews with the family members after collecting the naturalistic data. By that stage, they knew me well and there was a high level of trust between us. I interviewed all four family members in the Jacobs family and five of the six members of the Petersen family. Appendix 3 contains the adults and children's interview guide and the interview schedules for the Petersen and Jacobs families. All interviews were transcribed in full. (See Appendix 5 for the original Petersen family interview transcriptions and Appendix 6 for the original Jacobs family interview transcriptions.)

We chatted in English, Afrikaans as well as a mixture of the two languages. For this reason, no two interviews were conducted in the same way. Each participant was asked whether he or she wanted to do the interview in English or Afrikaans. The daughters all chose to do their interviews in English and hardly used any Afrikaans. In all the other interviews, however, the use of code-switching, code-mixing and borrowings was extensive.

Blommaert and Jie (2010: 3) assert that "asking is indeed very often the worst possible way of trying to find out" what people do routinely in their lives. This is an important caveat in a study about people's language choices and language use. I kept this in mind during my interviews and treated the interviews as stepping-stones into an understanding of what I had been able to observe and record naturalistically. Although the interviews were guided by questions, they quickly became conversations, where the participants told anecdotes, stories and shared concerns about their lives.

I remain fully aware of the fact that when an interview (or a naturalistic interaction) is transcribed, it changes the discourse from oral to written. Staying true to the ethnographic nature of my research, I described as accurately as possible what and how things were

being said (Blommaert and Jie 2010: 68). Johnstone (2000: 84) argues, “ knowledge about the cultural world in which speech is embedded is almost inevitably part of the knowledge, which sociolinguists bring to the analysis of these data.” I am going to use the intimate knowledge I have gained from spending time with these families to contextualize the conversations and language choices taking place, coupled with the knowledge I had coming into this research situation. I analysed my interviews with the knowledge that they were co-constructed between the interviewee and myself (Mishler as cited in De Fina and Perrino, 2011: 6).

For ease of reference, I translated all cited Afrikaans extracts into English. Temple and Young (2004: 164) discuss whether the act of translation should be acknowledged and argue that if translators see that their participation in the social world influences the way they see things, then “translators *must* also form part of the process of knowledge production.” I agree and acknowledge that my act of translating changed in subtle ways, what was being said in the particular language or variety of the language that the participant had chosen.

3.5 The two families and their language biographies

The two families in my study would have been classified as Coloured by the apartheid government. These families self-identify as Coloured even though this is problematic and widely accepted as a contested term (Strauss 2009: 44). In South Africa, “in apartheid’s system of racial classification, one’s racial designation had overwhelming effects on almost all aspects of one’s life” (Beyers 2009: 80). During apartheid, racial classifications determined where people lived, who they associated with, their access to education and their employment opportunities. It continues to have an effect on people’s lives eighteen years into democracy, Adhikari (2009: xv) argues that Coloured people in South Africa remain burdened by their previous racial classification.

All adult members of the two families are bilinguals, as are most (adult) members of the broader Coloured community (McCormick 1995: 193). They were schooled through a system that demanded they be taught both Afrikaans and English. There is a general acceptance of bilingualism and an everyday co-existence of languages, that facilitates bilingualism in Cape

Town's Coloured community. Coloured speakers speak various versions of English and Afrikaans and I will draw on McCormick's work to provide an overview of their repertoire. One of my participants (Gail) has roots in District Six. McCormick (1995) describes District Six as an Afrikaans/English bilingual neighbourhood. Code-switching and code-mixing are common linguistic practices. The former is defined by McCormick as the "juxtaposition or alternation of material from two (or more) languages or dialects"; the latter as the "alternation of shorter elements, often just single words" (McCormick 1995: 194). The bilingualism she describes is characteristic of the larger Coloured community, and not only of people who grew up in District Six. McCormick's careful discussion of the varieties of English and Afrikaans spoken in District Six is useful when analysing the linguistic repertoires of Cape Town's Coloured population more generally.

3.5.1 The Petersen family

The Petersen family lives in Pinelands and consists of a father, mother, grandmother, two sons and twin daughters. The father, Ian (54), is a self-employed transport contractor. The mother, Yvonne (49), runs the household and helps her husband with various aspects of the business. The grandmother, Aunty Muriel (66), is retired. The oldest brother, Angelo (29), is a driver in his father's transport company and the younger brother, Lance (21), helps with the financial administration of the business and is a part-time musician. The twin daughters, Zara and Zoë (10), were in Grade 4 at Pinewood Primary School, when the research took place. The family lives in Pinelands, a suburb in Cape Town. See Appendix 2 (Table 1) for further details.

The father, Ian, spoke Afrikaans exclusively until the age of ten, when his family moved and he started attending an English-medium primary school and later an English-medium high school. He described himself as *tweetalig* ('bilingual') and stated in his interview that knowing two languages facilitated different work and economic opportunities for him:

It's good to be bilingual because if you can just speak Afrikaans, it becomes difficult when you go look for work.

(Interview data [27/03/2010])

The mother, Yvonne, also grew up speaking Afrikaans, and both the primary and high schools she attended were Afrikaans-medium. She said that she spoke very little English when she met Ian, as her exposure to the language had only been in the classroom as a second language. Her work environment was also always Afrikaans-dominant.

In their interviews, Ian and Yvonne explained that they conducted their courtship, marriage, and family life mainly in Afrikaans. Ian comments as follows:

Well, Afrikaans, that's mostly the house language, mostly Afrikaans 'cause I mean that's how she [Yvonne] grew up.

(Interview data [27/03/2010])

Since Ian was a competent bilingual, he was able to accommodate Yvonne's preference for Afrikaans. Afrikaans subsequently became the dominant home language. Their sons, Lance and Angelo both attended Afrikaans-medium primary and high schools. They speak mainly Afrikaans to their family members and friends. Both brothers learnt English at school as a subject and both use English and Afrikaans in their work situations. Zoë and Zara attended a dual-medium pre-school and spent one year at an Afrikaans-medium primary school before moving to Pinelands. According to their parents, they had only limited knowledge of English at the time, and mainly spoke Afrikaans at home. They had, however, learnt some English through various interactions when visiting English-speaking family members as well as from their English friends at their dual-medium pre-school.

Aunty Muriel, the maternal grandmother who lives with the family, grew up Afrikaans-speaking in Eureka Estate, Elsies River, a predominantly Afrikaans neighbourhood (about 12 km from Cape Town CBD). The neighbourhood was designated a Coloured area under apartheid and formed part of what is commonly referred to as the Cape Flats. She learnt English at Holy Trinity Roman Catholic Primary School, an English-medium school that she attended as a child. She reports speaking English at school, but speaking Afrikaans at home with her family and friends. In her interview she emphasized: 'we were Afrikaans-speaking people'. In order to improve her spoken English, she went to private English elocution lessons offered by the school. At age fourteen she started working in a factory, where Afrikaans was the dominant language. In her interview she explains that it was only later in her life when meeting other people that she started to speak more English. Aunty Muriel still listens to and reads Afrikaans media. In many ways, all five family members are bilingual linguistic models

for Zara and Zoë. They all use English and Afrikaans interchangeably in different domains and with different interlocutors.

3.5.2 The Jacobs family

The Jacobs family lives in Thornton and consists of a mother, father and two daughters. The mother, Gail (38), is a private school transport contractor in the Pinelands area. The father, David (43), is a fitter and turner. Shannon (11), the older daughter, was in Grade 6 and Erin (9), the younger daughter, in Grade 3 when I conducted the research. The family lives in Thornton, a suburb in Cape Town.

In the early 1970s, when Gail was three years old, the family was forced to move out of District Six to Heideveld on the Cape Flats. This was a consequence of the Group Areas Act. As McCormick (2002: 3) explains: “District Six was hit in the first wave of forced removals, (around 1901), again in the 1930s and between 1960 and 1980.” Heideveld was one of the suburbs to which Coloured District Six residents were relocated.

Gail and her three brothers went to an Afrikaans-medium primary and a dual-medium high school. At the latter, she always attended Afrikaans classes. She grew up mainly speaking Afrikaans and used only Afrikaans with her parents. Gail’s four older half-brothers were raised by their grandmother and aunt in Mitchells Plain, another suburb which was reserved for people classified Coloured under apartheid (about 18km from Cape Town CBD). Unlike Gail, her half-brothers grew up mainly speaking English and attended English-medium schools. When she saw her siblings or aunts (from Mitchells Plain) over the weekend, they would usually speak English to one another. Gail can thus be described as bilingual although she perceives Afrikaans as her stronger language.

David also grew up in an Afrikaans-speaking family in Heideveld. There was very little English spoken in David’s home while he was growing up. However, David knew that his father was proficient in English, because he wrote letters to his side of the family in English. He would also speak English with some members of his family.

As hy mos briewe skryf dan skryf hy net Engels, as hy praat met sy familie, net Engels.

(Interview data [10/03/2010])

(‘If he writes letters then he just writes in English, when he talks to his family, just English.’)

David attended Afrikaans-medium primary and high schools. He was taught Afrikaans as a first language and English as a second language. After completing Grade 12, he did a fitting and turning apprenticeship which was taught in English. When he started working as a fitter and turner, he spoke English and Afrikaans to his co-workers, depending on the preferred language of the person to whom he was speaking. When he and Gail met, they spoke only Afrikaans to each other.

Shannon and Erin were both born in Thornton. The pre-school Shannon and Erin attended in Thornton was English-medium, but their parents reported that because of the mix of children from different backgrounds at the school, English, Afrikaans and Xhosa were used in the classroom. Both daughters have been learning Afrikaans as a second language at school, Shannon for the past five years and Erin for the past three years. Thus, in addition to their exposure to Afrikaans at home, there has also been tutored acquisition via instruction at school, and their linguistic knowledge is likely to be a complex mix of formal and informal learning.

3.6 Comparison of suburbs

The different suburbs of Cape Town have distinct socio-economic and linguistic profiles. Annual household income varies considerably across the city, as does the predominance of the city’s main home languages, Afrikaans, English and Xhosa. For instance, on the basis of census⁴ data (2001) on home language and income, both Pinelands and Thornton can be characterized as English-dominant middle-class suburbs, whereas Belhar and Parow are Afrikaans-dominant lower middle class suburbs. The two families that participated in this study have, over the years, moved into wealthier suburbs. This is a sign of their upward social mobility. For both families these changes in neighbourhood coincided with changes in the linguistic environment, moving from Afrikaans-dominant to English-dominant suburbs. According to the 2001 census, about two-thirds of the population in Pinelands

⁴ The 2001 census is the most recent data we have on home language use. Census 2011 data will only be available in 2013.

were earning in the highest income bracket, compared to about 40% in Parow and 25% in Belhar (see Table 3.1).

Table 3.1 Petersen family - annual household income comparisons by suburb

Annual Household Income	Belhar	Parow	Pinelands
0- R19,200	26.78%	17.93%	9.28%
R19,201- R76,800	48.18%	43.27%	23.54%
>R76,801	25.05%	38.81%	67.19%

(Source: Census, 2001)

Gail and David Jacobs were both living in Heideveld, with their families, when they met. When they got married, in 1995, they moved to Lansdowne, and finally to Thornton in 1998. They rented in Lansdowne, but bought their house in Thornton. The socio-economic difference between Lansdowne and Thornton is marginal: 56% of Thornton residents compared to 53% of Lansdowne residents are in the upper income bracket. However, compared to only 21% of the residents in Heideveld in this bracket, this is a marked difference and indicates upward mobility (see Table 3.2).

Table 3.2: The Jacobs family - annual household income comparisons by suburb

Annual Household Income	Heideveld	Lansdowne	Thornton
0-R19,200	32.77%	15.66%	14.49%
R19,201-R76,800	46.81%	31.5%	29.82%
>R76,801-present	20.42%	52.84%	55.69%

(Source: Census, 2001)

There are also marked changes in the language profiles of the suburbs the Petersen and Jacobs families have lived in. As noted above, Belhar and Parow are Afrikaans-dominant: 71.10% and 75.74% of the population respectively speak Afrikaans as a home language. This contrasts sharply with Pinelands, where only 6.30% of the population speak Afrikaans as a home language, and 87.63% speak English (see Table 3.3).

Table 3.3: Petersen family - home language dominance comparisons by suburb

Home Language	Belhar	Parow	Pinelands
English	26.82%	21.58%	87.83%
Afrikaans	71.10%	75.74%	6.30%

(Source: Census, 2001)

The Jacobs family moved from Heideveld, an Afrikaans-dominant suburb, to Lansdowne and Thornton, both English-dominant suburbs (see Table 3.4).

Table 3.4: The Jacobs family - home language dominance comparisons by suburb

Home Language	Heideveld	Lansdowne	Thornton
English	38.55%	85.77%	75.33%
Afrikaans	60.27%	12.23%	15.34%

(Source: Census, 2001)

Because of Thornton's proximity to Pinelands, the suburb is often seen as an extension of Pinelands and Thornton residents use the medical facilities, schools, shopping centres, big companies and banks located in Pinelands.

3.7 The School

All four school-going participants in this study attend Pinewood Primary School (pseudonym), an English-medium school. It is a historically well-resourced, former Model-C⁵ government school, i.e. a public school which, under apartheid, was for white children only. Model-C schools are state-aided but also receive funds from parents through school fees. Popular opinion suggests that these parents made a deliberate choice about the medium of instruction and want their children to be educated in English, a language that – as argued in Chapter 2 – is tied to educational achievement and socio-economic mobility.

⁵ Model C schools were schools that were 'state aided' by the Department of Education and Culture Administration: House of Assembly prior to 1994. During Apartheid this was the department that provided education to White children. See also Chapter 2.

School fees at former Model-C schools are relatively high and are used by the Governing Body of the school to employ additional staff. Table 3.5 summarizes the school fees of six primary schools, which are within a 10km radius of each other in the Cape Town area. All the schools listed in Table 3.6. are government schools (3 of the 6 are former Model-C schools). The additional income that some schools are able to generate through school fees – which in turn depend on the affluence on the school’s catchment area – affects the services and level of education they are able to provide.

Table 3.5: Comparisons of school fees in a 10 km radius of Pinewood Primary in 2011

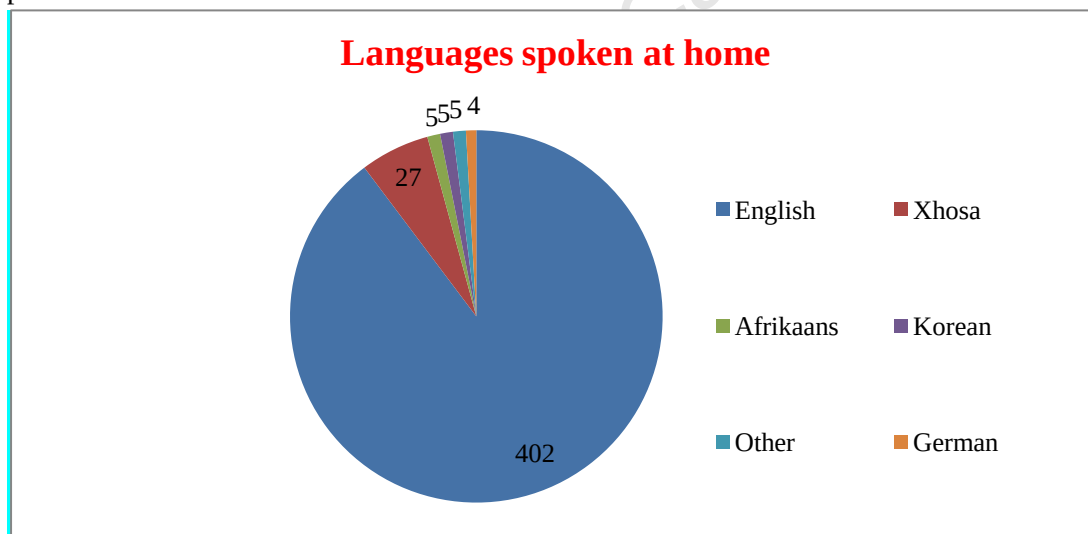
School	Siyabulela Primary School	St John’s Primary School	Garlandale Primary School	Parow Wes Laerskool	Pinewood Primary School	Rustenburg Girls Junior School
	-	-	-	Former Model-C	Former Model-C	Former Model -C
Grades	R – 8	R – 7	R – 7	R –7	1 – 7	R – 7
Suburb	Langa	Kensington	Athlone	Parow	Pinelands	Rondebosch
Students	855	524	480	982	443	592
Annual Fees	No fees	R950.00	R960.00	R3,600.00	R9,400.00	R17, 800.00
Medium of Instruction (MoI)	Xhosa/ English	English	English	Afrikaans/ English	English	English

(Source: <http://wcedemis.wcape.gov.za/wced/findaschool.html> 2011)

Approximately 20% of the children at Pinewood Primary come from the immediate suburb (Pinelands), and the rest of the students are from Thornton, Kensington, Athlone, Langa, and other suburbs of Cape Town. In addition to South African languages, students also speak languages such as Korean, Dutch and German at home. Parents indicate the child’s home language when they apply to the school. This information is then entered into the *Centralized Education Management Information System* (CEMIS) of the Western Cape Education Department and the school’s data management programme, *Edupak*. The data represents what parents view as the home language of their children. Although the school is linguistically diverse, English dominates as a home language, with 89% of pupils identified by their parents as speaking English at home.

Figure 3.1 shows the home languages of pupils at Pinewood Primary as indicated by their parents. Both families in this study self-identified as Afrikaans speaking in response to the recruitment letter which was sent out at the beginning of the research. However, while the Petersen's indicated Afrikaans as the home language for their daughters in the official school documentation, the Jacobs' registered their daughters with English as their home language. This suggests that the two families have different attitudes towards Afrikaans and English, attitudes which will be explored in the following chapter. The reporting behaviour of the two families also suggests that the data on which this graph is based needs to be looked at critically. There might be more than five Afrikaans-speaking children at the school, but only for five children, did their parents indicate Afrikaans as a home language. One of these reasons for this under reporting could be that children who are indicated as Afrikaans-speaking are sometimes required to attend remedial (language support) lessons. Parents might want to spare their children such additional classes and, therefore, report their home language as being English.

Fig. 3.1: Languages spoken at home (N= 439) for Pinewood Primary students, as indicated by parents



(Source: Edupak 2011)

Despite the range of languages spoken by the students, the language policy of the school supports a monolingual English model. Table 3.6 indicates how much of the average school week is allocated to instruction in English. A child in Grade 4 will spend twenty hours per week being taught in English, three hours in Afrikaans and one hour in Xhosa. As noted above, Afrikaans and Xhosa are taught as subjects only, i.e. as second and third languages.

Table 3.6: Instructional time allocation of subjects per week

Grade	English	%	Afrikaans	%	Xhosa	%
	First Language (MoI)		First Additional Language		Second Additional Language	
1	19 hours, 30 minutes	97%	30 minutes	3%	N/A	0%
2	18 hours, 30 minutes	93%	1 hour, 30 minutes	7%	N/A	0%
3	21 hours, 30 minutes	82%	3 hours	13%	30 minutes	2%
4 – 7	20 hours	82%	3 hours	13%	1 hour	5%

(Source: National Curriculum Statement, 2001)

The instructional time allocation, summarized in Table 3.6, is mandated by the National Department of Education. The children thus experience a very English environment at their school, which mirrors what is happening in other English-medium schools in the Western Cape. Throughout their primary school career they will spend more than 80% of the classroom time speaking and hearing English.

3.8 Conclusion

This chapter provides a description of the research design and methodology used. The participant selection process was explained, and ethical considerations were made explicit. The data collection procedures, including observations, naturalistic recordings, interviews, language diaries, and methods of analysis were discussed. The two families, their language biographies, the neighbourhoods and the English-medium school were introduced and contextualized. In the next chapter, the four daughters' language diaries with a specific focus on language choice in the English-medium school and the largely English-speaking peer group are discussed. In addition, the chapter provides an analysis of the perceptions and attitudes of the participants as reflected in the interview data.

Chapter 4: Self-reports, perceptions and attitudes – an emic perspective

4.1 Introduction

This chapter provides an emic perspective, that is, it prioritizes and provides insights into the perspectives of the adult and child participants. Davis (1995: 433) suggests that an emic perspective – in the context of an interpretive qualitative approach – “demands description that includes the actors' interpretations and other social and/or cultural information.”

The language diaries, which indicate self-reported, habitual language use with family members and friends at school, as well as the interview data, allow us to obtain a broad impression of what the children think about their language use with their families and their friends. Through the analysis of the interview data, we also gain insight into what the parents – and siblings – think about their children's language use and their own language use in their homes. The use of self-reported data – whether in language diaries or interviews – is often problematic as it is difficult for people, and even more so for children, to reflect accurately on the languages they speak. However, the methodology is useful as it allows the participants to describe, and reflect on, their subjective perceptions of language use. Language use and attitudes will first be discussed for the Petersen family and then in the Jacobs family.

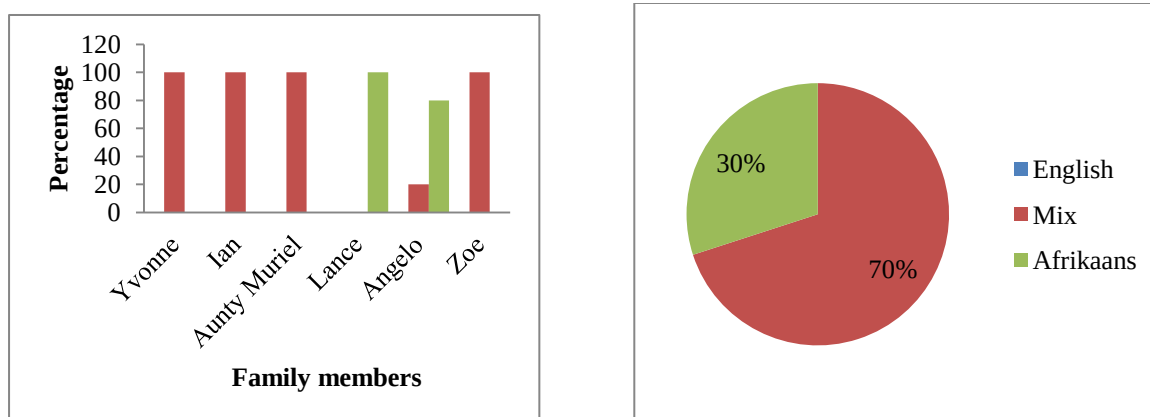
4.2 The Petersen family

4.2.1 Zara and Zoë at home

Zara portrays a bilingual home life in her diary. According to her language diary, only Afrikaans and a mixture of English and Afrikaans are being spoken in her home, never English-only. Her responses suggest that she sees herself as speaking a mix of English and Afrikaans with her mother, father, grandmother and sister, but mainly Afrikaans to her brothers. Figures 4.1 and 4.2 illustrate the data provided by Zara in her language diary. (The

unit of measurement for all figures in chapter are percentages, based on responses reported in the language diaries.)

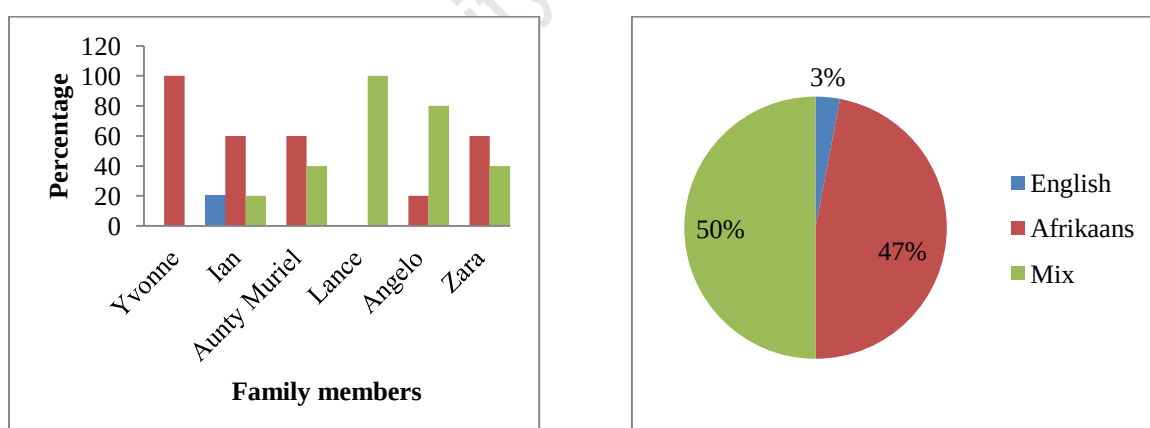
Figures 4.1 and 4.2: Languages spoken by/to Zara at home with various members of her family



(Source: Zara's language diary)

Zoë's reporting of language use in the home is more varied than that of Zara. She also represents her interactions with her brothers as Afrikaans-dominant. Zoë, however, indicates English-only as a possible choice with her father, which is what she also reported in her interviews and the naturalistic data. Figures 4.3 and 4.4 summarize the data from Zoë's language diary.

Figures 4.3 and 4.4: Languages spoken by/to Zoë at home with various members of her family



(Source: Zoë's language diary)

Zara and Zoë thus perceive their home lives slightly differently – but the overall view we obtain is that bilingualism plays a significant role in family interaction. In Extract 1, Zara expresses a positive attitude towards her parents speaking Afrikaans and indicates that she is aware that different family members have different language preferences.

Extract 1:

- R: ...when you listen to your parents talk, in what languages do you usually hear them talking?
- Zara: In Afrikaans.
- R: And do you sometimes, what do you think about that?
- Zara: How do you mean what do I think about it?
- R: Do you like it, or do you think you wish they could speak another language?
- Zara: No, I like it.
- R: And what do they speak, what do they speak to your brothers?
- Zara: Afrikaans.
- R: And any English?
- Zara: Hey?
- R: Do they speak any English to your brothers, and to you girls?
- Zara: Uhm, yes.
- R: Okay. And who speaks more Afrikaans or feels more strongly about it, Mommy or Daddy?
- Zara: Mommy.
- R: Why?
- Zara: 'Cause my Daddy always speaks English to us mostly and then my Mommy always come with Afrikaans.

(Interview data [12/02/2010])

In Extract 1, we can see that Zara is used to two languages being spoken, by the various members of her family. She does not make judgments about English or Afrikaans, but believes that her mother feels more strongly about it. She also indicates that her mother is central to the intergenerational transmission of Afrikaans in the family.

In Extract 2 below, I have asked Zoë to describe how she feels about English and Afrikaans, by providing a list of adjectives she could choose from.

Extract 2:

- R: How do you, like ja, if you were to say when you speaking English, how does it make you feel?
- Zoë: Sad.
- R: And what other, and any other ones? Slightly comfortable, unhappy, miserable, yourself, pleased when speaking English? Why would you say sad?
- Zoë: 'Cause it's not my language actually.
- R: Okay.
- Zoë: But also, I'll also go for happy.
- R: Okay, why?

- Zoë: 'Cause I enjoy learning English. But what does confident mean?
- R: Like when you're sure of yourself, you're confident and you can stand up and speak in front of a group.
- Zoë: Oh and miserable?
- R: You like don't feel so good, you like, mmm, like a bit upset. And now, which word would you choose to describe how you feel when speaking Afrikaans: Do you feel happy, joyful, cheerful, sad, lucky, comfortable, miserable, confident, yourself, or pleased? Which words would you use?
- Zoë: I go for happy, joyful and cheerful.
- R: Why?
- Zoë: Because it's my language! [Twirling around]

(Interview data [12/02/2010])

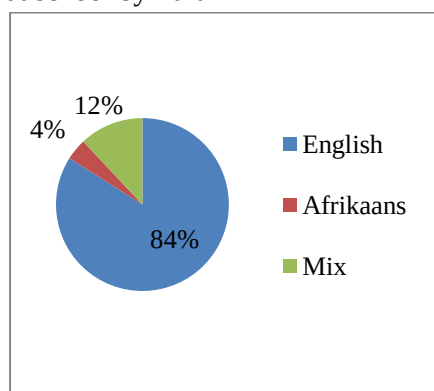
In response to my question about how she feels about her use of English, Zoë explains that she feels sad about English because she does not feel that it is her language; however, she also enjoys learning and speaking English. In contrast, she has a very positive attitude towards Afrikaans, which is evident from the fact that she does not use any negative adjectives to describe Afrikaans – she chooses 'happy', 'joyful' and 'cheerful'. There is no ambivalence in how she feels towards the language, but, instead, she confidently claims Afrikaans as her language. At this point it was the end of the interview and she was standing up. When I asked her why she felt that way about Afrikaans, she turned around with her arms outstretched and declared emphatically: 'because it's my language.'

Zara and Zoë's positive attitudes towards Afrikaans are largely a result of their parents' positive attitude towards bilingualism in general, and Afrikaans in particular. The two girls do not receive negative feedback from their parents that Afrikaans is a less prestigious language than English, or that they should try and speak English only. Afrikaans is seen as an important language in the family: a language that they use to communicate with one another and a language that co-exists alongside English in their home. English has particular domains, for example, more English is spoken around school-related topics, especially homework. This will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 5. They mainly watch American television shows, which is also a factor in their exposure to English. However, there is also daily transmission of Afrikaans, supported by spontaneous 'teaching moments' (see section 5.3.1 in Chapter 5), and the daughters continue to speak and engage with Afrikaans in addition to English.

4.2.2 Zara and Zoë at school

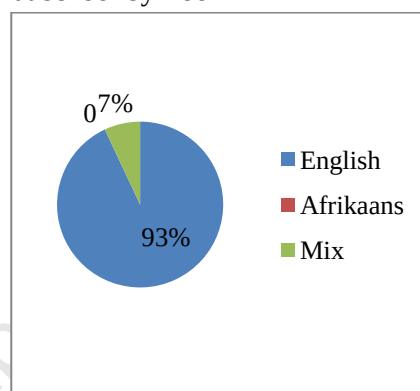
The school language diaries were recorded in the same week as the home ones. The differences between these two environments are marked. Figures 4.5 and 4.6 summarize the data. Zara reports speaking English 84% of the time at school, a mix of English for 12% of the time, and Afrikaans-only for 4% of the time recorded. Zoë reports speaking English 93% of the time, a mix of Afrikaans and English 7% of the time, and no Afrikaans-only.

Figure 4.5: Languages spoken at school by Zara



(Source: Zara's language diary)

Figure 4.6: Languages spoken at school by Zoë



(Source: Zoë's language diary)

The dominance of English at school is clear in both data sets. The following anecdote narrated by Yvonne illustrates Zara's ability to make a choice about which languages she speaks where and when; that is, her understanding of certain contexts demanding one language, other contexts demanding another language.

Y: *Ek lag so as ons op pad skool toe is, dan ons kom by die hek, dan sê Zara, en as ons nou Afrikaans gepraat het langs die pad dan sê Zara, "Trek jou Afrikaanse baadjie af, en trek jou Engelse baadjie aan."*

(Interview data [12/02 /2010])

(Y: I laugh when we are on our way to school, then when we get to the gate, then Zara says, and if we just spoke Afrikaans on the way then Zara says, "Take your Afrikaans jacket off and put your English jacket on.")

Zara's metaphor is evocative: she can 'wear' the languages she speaks like clothes, i.e. put one on and take one off like a jacket. At school, Afrikaans stays behind and English is spoken. Zara has been able to figure out what is acceptable where and when, and as she

has both languages at her disposal she knows where each one works for her and will be to her benefit.

In Extract 3, taken from Zoë's interview, we spoke about what it was like when she moved to Pinewood Primary, from her dual-medium primary school in Parow. Her perceptions about what she considers to be her home language are also discussed.

Extract 3:

- R : What did you speak to Mrs. D⁶ [when you first arrived]?
Zoë: English.
R: And to your friends?
Zoë: English.
R : And to your brothers?
Zoë: Afrikaans.
R: And to your sister?
Zoë: At the school?
R: Okay *ja*, your sister at school.
Zoë: Yes, English and at home Afrikaans.
R: Okay, why was that?
Zoë: 'Cause I was very weak, and I didn't feel like speaking English. English made me bored [In a more animated tone].
R: At school?
Zoë: Yes
R: Why?
Zoë: 'Cause it's not like my home language. So used to Afrikaans.

(Interview data [12/02/2010])

When I asked Zoë what language she spoke to her sister, she asked me to clarify the context. When I explained 'at the school', she answered, English at school, and Afrikaans at home. She easily made the domain-specific differentiation between what she spoke at school and what she spoke at home. Zoë refers to Afrikaans as her home language, without any prompting from me. She certainly had some knowledge of English before she moved to Pinelands, hearing it occasionally at home – mostly in the guise of a 'mixed' variety – and also with extended family members (see Chapter 3), but she is clear that Afrikaans is the language she is most comfortable with. Zara also indicates that she was not fully

⁶ Mrs. D was her Grade One teacher at Pinewood Primary.

proficient in English when she came to Pinelands. We know this is likely to be correct as Pinewood Primary recommended that the girls repeat Grade one so that they could improve their English. McKinney (2010: 196) makes an argument about assimilationist discourses in desegregated schools. I would concur and can see how this discourse applies to Zara and Zoë experience when they were asked to repeat the grade so their English would be up to 'standard' and they could blend in with the other (monolingual) children. In Extract 4 (below), Lance (Zara and Zoë's older brother) discusses why he and his parents now speak more English to Zara and Zoë.

Extract 4:

- R: *Okay, en uh, so met jou susters, dink jy praat meer Engels met hulle as jou ouers, of wat? Of, wat dink jy?*
- L: *Ja, ek dink ek praat meer Engels met hulle, ek praat nooit Engels saam met my ouers nie.*
- R: *Nooit, nog altyd net...?*
- L: *Nooit. Nie van wat ek kan onthou nie.*
- R: *Okay, en praat hulle ooit in Engels met jou, jou ouers?*
- L: *In Engels? My ouers, nee.*
- R: *Maar met jou susters?*
- L: *My susters, ja.*
- R: *Nou hoekom dink jy doen hulle dit?*
- L: *Ek weet nie, hulle's nou in 'n Engelse skool so hulle praat nou Engels en ons praat nou met hulle Engels so dat hulle nou ook kan gewoonde raak aan dit.*

(Interview data [27/03/2010])

- (R: *Okay, and uh, so with your sisters, do you think you speak more English with them than your parents, or what? Or, what do you think?*
- L: *Yes, I think I speak more English with them and I never speak English to my parents.*
- R: *Never, just always only...?*
- L: *Never, not than I can remember.*
- R: *Okay, and do they ever speak in English with you, your parents?*
- L: *In English? My parents, no.*
- R: *But with your sisters?*
- L: *My sisters, yes.*
- R: *Now how come do you think they do that?*
- L: *I don't know, they are now at an English school, so they now speak English and we now speak English to them so that they can also get used to it.)*

Lance reports that he speaks mainly Afrikaans with his parents, and never English. Although, he indicates that he speaks some English to his sisters, I observed very little English spoken between the sisters and their brothers. He also explains that the reason why he and his parents are speaking more English to the twins is because they are now at an English-medium school, and for this reason need to get used to speaking English. As a result, it seems that the domain (in this case, the school) has not only determined a particular language choice in that environment, but has also begun to influence language use in another domain – the home (De Klerk 2000, 2001; Luykx 2005). This will be further explored in Chapter 5.

4.3 Attitudes towards English and Afrikaans

All the members of the Petersen family express positive attitudes towards English and Afrikaans. During the interviews, both parents spoke about the socio-economic benefits of knowing the two languages, how it has helped them as adults and can help their children. Extract (5) gives Ian's response when asked about his linguistic aspirations for his daughters.

Extract 5:

I: Bilingual.

R: You'd like them to be bilingual?

I: Bilingual, that's it.

R: All of them even Angelo and Lance?

I: That's it, that's it I mean it, it is beneficial. I mean I can, I can see it for myself, to me it has been throughout the years, it has been.

(Interview data [27/03/2010])

Even though Yvonne continues to speak Afrikaans to her daughters, she understands the role English plays in their life too. This is her response when I asked if she could complete this sentence during her interview, "I would like my children to see themselves as something speaking..."

Extract 6:

R: Like if you could put word in there, *as Engels praat of Afrikaans, of both, wat wil jy hê?*

Y: *Ek sal hulle hou op al twee tale.*

R: *Hoekom?*

Y: *Omdat ek dink, dit gaan in hulle eie guns tel.*

(Interview data [12/02/2010])

(R: Like if you could put word in there, as English speaking or Afrikaans, or both, what would you want?

Y: I would want them to keep up with both languages.

R: Why?

Y: Because I think it will be to their benefit)

Angelo and Lance also express positive attitudes towards Afrikaans. Extract (7) comes from the interview with Lance. He expresses a strongly affective stance towards Afrikaans (similar to what has been described by Dyers, see Section 2.7), and sees English as a language more relevant for out-group communication. He is also aware that language shift can happen and that some people can forget their language due to lack of use.

Extract 7:

R: And your family, do you think in future years, what do you think you're going to do? Do you think you'll hold onto your Afrikaans, what do you think?

L: Think we'll hold on *ja*, I don't think it's like, it just grew into everyone, like everyone's used to speaking Afrikaans.

R: That's a good thing though, what do you think?

L: *Ja*

R: It's useful to have.

L: 'Cos I'm speaking Afrikaans here at home, and then speak English like outside of the house, just in case I forget the Afrikaans, I don't think I can, but there's some people that forget about their language like.

(Interview data [27/03/2010])

These positive attitudes towards English and Afrikaans support the use of both languages by family members, and encourage family bilingualism.

4.4 The Jacobs family

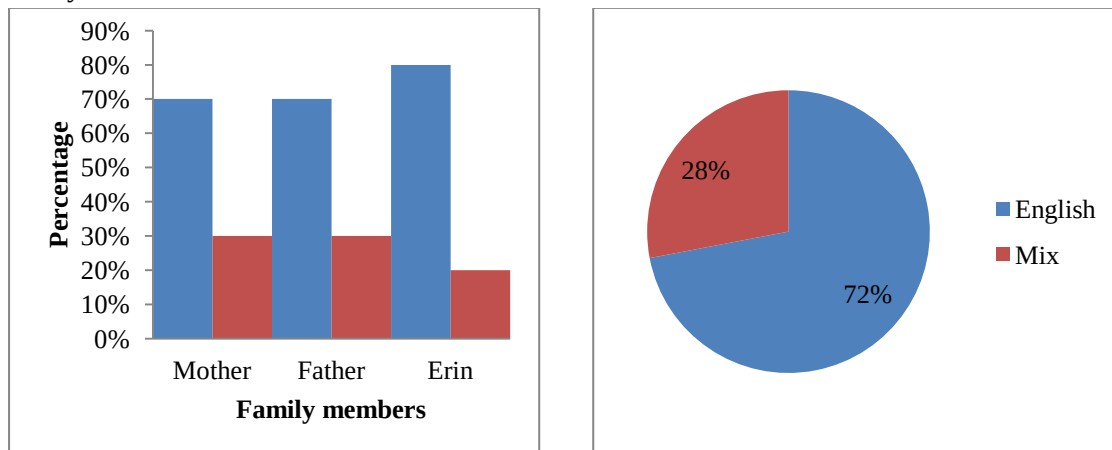
4.4.1 Shannon and Erin at home

The language diaries of Shannon and Erin differ significantly from those of Zara and Zoë. English emerges as a prominent language throughout (school as well as home), and Afrikaans plays only a minor role in their lives.

The overall impression of Shannon's reported language use at home is that her parents are bilingual, and that English is used more in the interactions she participates in than a mix of

English and Afrikaans. However, she reports less English use (72%) than her sister Erin (90%). Figures 4.9 and 4.10 summarize the language choices reported in Shannon's language diary. Shannon indicates that she sometimes speaks a mix of English and Afrikaans to Erin.

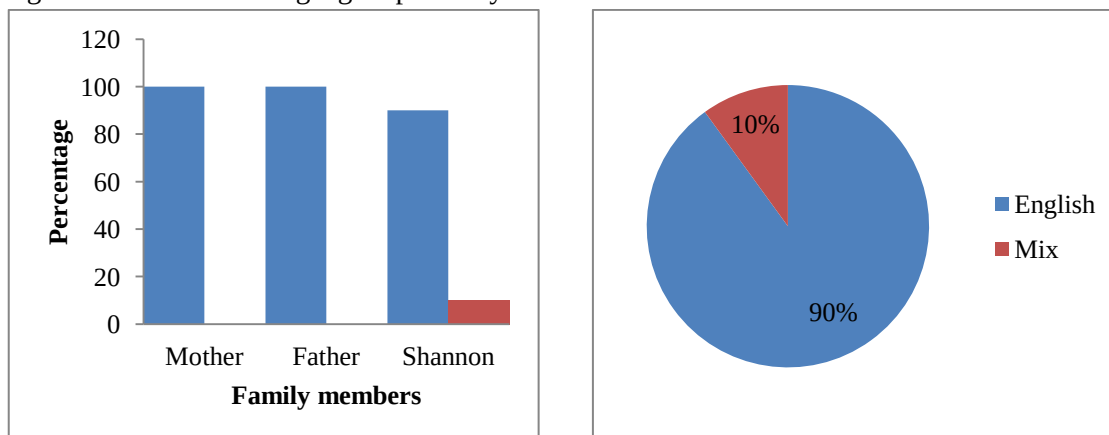
Figures 4.7 and 4.8: Languages spoken by/to Shannon at home with various members of her family



(Source: Shannon's language diary)

Erin has a slightly different perception of the languages used in her home and, as noted above, reports her home as being almost monolingual English. This perception is supported by what happens in the home (as recorded in my observations): she is usually addressed in English by family members and she always answers in English (see Chapter 6 for a more detailed discussion). At the same time, however, she is an overhearer to the mixing of Afrikaans and English which is reported in Shannon's diary. Unlike Shannon, Erin reports only English, and mentions only one occasion where she mixed English and Afrikaans when speaking to her sister.

Figures 4.9 and 4.10 Languages spoken by/ to Erin at home with various members of her family



(Source: Erin's language diary)

Both Shannon and Erin thus report an English-dominant home life. The analysis of the observations and naturalistic data in Chapter 6 will provide some insights into why the daughters self-report in this way.

Extract 8 is taken from Shannon's interview. I had asked her why her parents speak Afrikaans to each other.

Extract 8:

S: Because when they grew up, they mostly spoke Afrikaans, so I think if I grow up and go to France, I might just speak English, because that's my home language. That's why they speak Afrikaans to each other [said very softly].

(Interview data [5/03/2010])

Shannon is making a distinction between her home language, English, and that of her parents, viz. Afrikaans. She contrasts her parents 'when they grew up they mostly spoke Afrikaans' to her life now where she mostly speaks English. There is a clear sense of intergenerational shift in Shannon's perspective: she sees and reports very clearly that her parents have a different home language to hers. She also seems to see her home language as fixed, as something that remains attached to you wherever you go.

In Extract 9, I ask Shannon how she feels about her parents speaking Afrikaans to each other.

Extract 9:

R: ...Do you like it that they speak Afrikaans, or do you sometimes wish that they could speak other languages?

S: My sister doesn't like it when they speak Afrikaans 'cause she doesn't understand and then she's like "mommy English please", like that one day when you were here. But I don't really mind, I understand both languages.

(Interview data [5/03/2010])

In this extract, Shannon presents a neutral attitude towards Afrikaans and differentiates her attitude towards Afrikaans clearly from that of her sister. She is able to understand what her parents are conversing about and, therefore, does not 'mind' if they speak Afrikaans. Erin, on the other hand, does not understand (or does not try to understand) Afrikaans well, and is thus frustrated when her parents speak Afrikaans. In her interview, Erin maintains that she and Shannon are never addressed in Afrikaans.

Extract 10:

R: No, I mean do you like it when they speak Afrikaans?

E: I don't know.

R: And do you sometimes wish they would just speak English? Why?

E: Because I can't understand them most of the time.

R: That's a very good answer. And do they speak differently to you than they do to Shannon, do they speak more Afrikaans to her, or what?

E: No, they don't speak to us in Afrikaans.

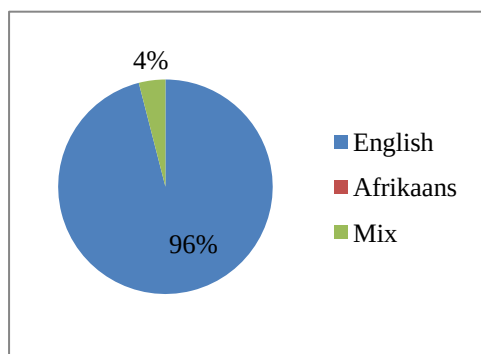
(Interview data [5/03/2010])

Erin perceives the Afrikaans spoken in the home as not directed at her or her sister, but just occurring between her parents. However, the naturalistic data shows that the parents frequently address their daughters in Afrikaans. They will however rephrase in English or use code-switching to clarify what they have just said. This will be discussed in detail in Chapter 6.

4.4.2 Shannon and Erin at school

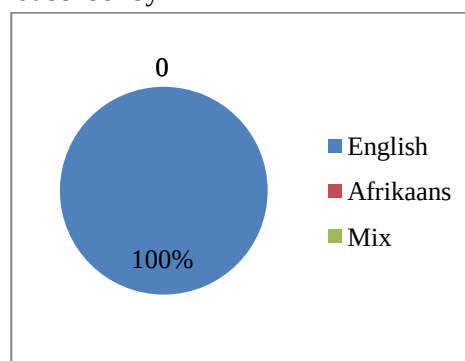
Shannon and Erin's dominant language use at school and with their peers is overwhelmingly English; with Erin portraying her school life as monolingual English.

Figure 4.11: Languages spoken at school by Shannon.



(Source: Shannon's language diary)

Figure 4.12: Languages spoken at school by Erin



(Source: Erin's language diary)

Erin, however, recognizes Afrikaans when it is spoken. In her interview (Extract 11) she states that she knows a girl who sometimes uses short Afrikaans phrases. And she is able to imitate her 'voice' in Afrikaans. She presents it as a form of reported speech, i.e. not as her own voice.

Extract 11:

- R: And what languages do you use at break times?
 E: English.
 R: No Afrikaans?
 E: No.
 R: You don't have any Afrikaans friends?
 E: No.
 R: And, are there any Afrikaans speaking people that you talk to on a regular basis?
 E: This one girl she's in grade two, and she speaks a little Afrikaans like '*waar gaan jy nou*' [where are you going now] and so, like that.

[Interview data (5/03/2010)]

Shannon reported in her interview (Extract 12) that she and the girl she sat next to made a decision only to speak Afrikaans to each other, during their Afrikaans lessons. This strategy enabled them to improve their ability in Afrikaans. Even though Shannon is able to speak Afrikaans, she chooses to interact with her friends at school mainly in English. Speaking Afrikaans is more like a game, something to do consciously and playfully, rather than naturally and habitually. It is as unfamiliar to her as Xhosa.

Extract 12:

- R: And then what languages do you speak at school, in your classroom?

- S: English, but last year I sat next to one of my friends, then we made a type of deal whenever we have Afrikaans then we can only speak Afrikaans to each other.
- R: Who was that?
- S: T
- R: T? And did you?
- S: Yes, but then I said now whenever we have Xhosa then we must speak Xhosa, she said no Shannon I'm not good at that.

(Interview data [5/03/2010])

4.5 Attitudes towards English and Afrikaans

One of the stark differences between the Petersen and Jacobs families are their attitudes towards the languages they speak. This section on attitudes in the Jacobs family is quite extensive, because of the variety of terms they use to talk about the languages they speak. The parents used 11 different terms to describe the different varieties of Afrikaans and English used in their home. They can be grouped in semantic clusters: negative and positive labels.

Table 4.1 Labels used for different varieties of English and Afrikaans spoken in the Jacobs home

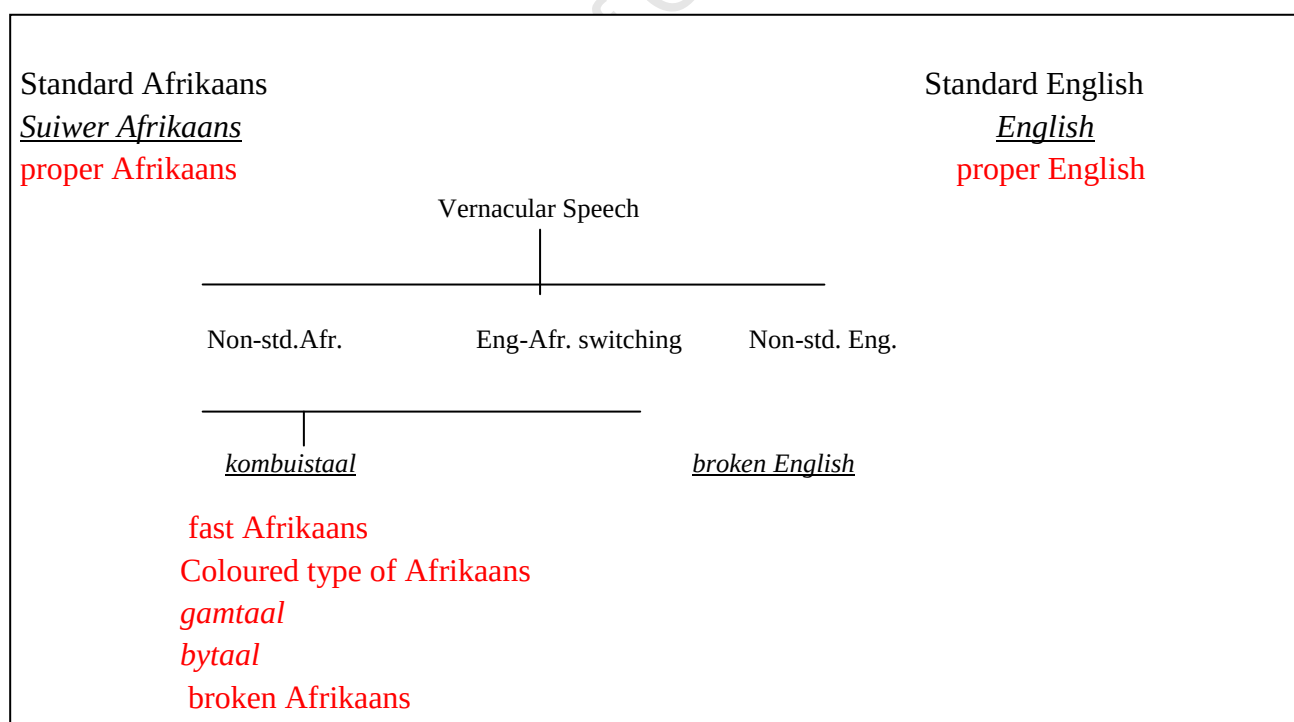
Stigmatized and non-standardized labels for Afrikaans and English		Prestigious labels for Afrikaans and English	
1	<i>Bytaal</i>	1	<i>Suiwer</i> Afrikaans
2	<i>Gamtaal</i>	2	Proper Afrikaans
3	<i>Kombuistaal</i>	3	Proper Afrikaans pronunciation
4	Coloured-type of Afrikaans	4	Proper English pronunciation
5	Broken Afrikaans	5	Proper English
6	Third language		
7	Fast Afrikaans		
8	Broken English		

In the first cluster only the last term refers to English, all the others to Afrikaans and varieties thereof. *Bytaal* was used by Gail to describe the kind of Afrikaans her parents spoke when she was growing up. Gail also used the term *gamtaal* in her interview to describe what she spoke when growing up in District Six. McCormick (2002: 72) describes that such stigmatized varieties can become “markers of group solidarity on the one hand, but, on the

other, produced negative self-images”. In Gail’s interview she says ‘we are *gamtaal*’ – not ‘we speak *gamtaal*’, the association being of a lower socio-economic class. According to Zegeye (2003: 106), “The word *gamtaal* appears to be an abbreviation of the expression *gammat taal*. *Gammat* is an Afrikaans term referring to young Malay or young Coloured.”

McCormick (2002: 90) described in her work a linguistic continuum stretching from standard English to standard Afrikaans. According to McCormick (2002: 91), this continuum includes the following varieties: “non-standard dialects of both languages as well as a mode of speaking characterised by frequent switching between them or, less frequently, between non-standard Afrikaans and standard English.” The terms used by Gail and David cluster mainly on the standard and non-standard sites respectively, on the continuum indicated in Figure 4.13. McCormick uses normal typeface for her category set and italics for terms used by the participants in her study. If the participants in my study also use the terms documented by McCormick, I have underlined the words. The colour red indicates terms used by the participants in my study but not mentioned by McCormick.

Fig 4.13: Linguistic repertoire of participants



(Adapted from Mc Cormick, 2002)

The following extract from Gail’s interview illustrates her feelings about the kind of Afrikaans she speaks, and the reasons and attitudes that informed the choice she and her

husband made to send Shannon and Erin to an English-medium school, and to speak English to them. The extract shows her using the unusual term 'bytaal' which has, so far, not been documented in the literature.

Extract 13:

G: Nee kyk, ons het opgegroeï met, waar Afrikaans dominant gewees het, maar nou dit is Engels ... baie mense, is nie net ons nie, baie mense sit hulle kinders in Engelse skole al was hulle Afrikaans eerste taal.

R: Hoekom doen hulle dit?

G: Jou kinders staan 'n beter kans, om beter om te kommunikeer in 'n sin, kyk ons is in Afrikaans opgebring ons ouers kon nie eers Afrikaans suiwer praat nie, was maar seker 'n bytaal, dit was nie Afrikaans so 'n blanke Afrikaner sal praat nie want dit is 'n mooi taal maar um... is nie so ons dit praat nie ons is mos gamtaal. Ek wil graag nie my kinders so praat nie ons probeer om vir hulle te sê die woord reg te sê nie so ons praat mos maar plat as hulle 'n woord gebruik sê... is nie [prat] is [pra:t] nie[mjetk] is [mɛtk], verstaan? So, is meer Engels 'n mens wil daai graag hê.

(Interview data [4/03/2010])

(G: No, look, we grew up with, where Afrikaans was dominant, but now it is English ... many people, it is not just us, many people put their children in English schools even though Afrikaans was their first language.

R: Why do they do that?

G: Your children stand a better chance, to better communicate in a sense, look we were brought up in Afrikaans, look our parents could not ever speak pure Afrikaans, it was probably a *bytaal*, it was not Afrikaans like a white Afrikaner would speak, because it is a beautiful language um... it's not how we speak we are gamtaal. I really do not want my children to speak like that we try to get them to say the word properly not like us, we speak flat but if they use a word it's not [prat] [non-standard form showing vowel shortening and vowel fronting (Odendal 1989: 61)]⁷ it's [pra:t], it isn't [mjetk] [non-standard vowel raising and an off-glide present (Coetzee 1985: 100)] it's [mɛtk], understand? So there is more English, a person really wants that.)

⁷ Personal communication with Yolandi Ribbens-Klein, MA, UCT.

Gail succinctly conveys her and David's aspirations for their daughters. She explains that people place their children in English schools because it provides them with better opportunities to communicate. Gail describes her Afrikaans as 'low' (*plat*), and thus an undesirable choice for her children. She does not make a low/high distinction with regard to English. Gail uses the term 'broken English' to describe the English her parents spoke as well as the type of English she and David speak to each other. She also uses it to explain how people in her old suburb of Heideveld speak if they have not moved out of the area into what she calls a 'better' area. I would suggest that 'broken English' in this context refers to a badly learned second language. Also, the reference that Gail makes to people using 'broken English' if they have not moved out of the 'poor' area she grew up, reflects a link between class and language. In other words, people who speak in this way belong to a 'lower' class. They are people who have been disenfranchised and maybe did not have the access to education which would have enabled them to speak 'proper English' not 'broken English.'

David uses the expression 'not proper Afrikaans, but a Coloured-type of Afrikaans' in his interview. He was talking about the kind of Afrikaans he spoke at home growing up. David also used the term 'broken Afrikaans' in his interview to describe the way he and his wife speak Afrikaans to each other. In other words, 'broken' versions of both English and Afrikaans are associated with a particular social location, that is, their history of growing up in the impoverished and marginalized neighbourhood of Heideveld where access to the high-status versions of either language was difficult.

The second cluster includes the following terms: '*suiwer* Afrikaans', 'proper Afrikaans', 'proper Afrikaans pronunciation', 'proper English pronunciation' and 'proper English'. These terms all represent prestigious labels for Afrikaans and English. Gail said that when she was growing up her parents did not speak '*suiwer* Afrikaans', and – as noted above, David reported that he and Gail do not use '*suiwer* Afrikaans' when speaking to each other. However, David is able to speak '*suiwer* Afrikaans' and I observed his use of standard Afrikaans in his interactions with his daughters when helping them with Afrikaans homework. David himself referred to this as 'proper Afrikaans'. Shannon also reported in her interview that her dad uses 'proper Afrikaans pronunciation' when helping her with Afrikaans homework and expects the same from her and Erin. However, this variety is always associated with Afrikaans homework in this home, not general speech and conversation.

According to Nekvapil (2008: 254), “[t]he needs of schools (as well as the general public) ... require the desirable form of the standard language to be codified.” Every day Shannon and Erin are engaging with this codified and standardized form of English at school, and this is the kind of English, Shannon and Erin’s parents are aspiring for them to speak, read and write. Milroy (1985: 22-23) suggests ‘a standard language ideology’ as an idea in the mind rather than in reality – a set of abstract norms to which actual usage may conform to a greater or lesser extent. Milroy (2001: 530) maintains that because speakers believe that languages exist in standardized form, this affects the way they think about the language. Milroy (2001: 533) explains that prestige is connected to a standard ideology not just the standardization of the language. I suggest that the parents ascribe to a linguistic ideology which maintains that the English and Afrikaans their daughters are learning at school are superior to the varieties of the languages they themselves speak habitually. The definition of bilingualism provided in section 2.2 of Chapter 2 emphasized two central factors when identifying bilinguals: “self-identification and identification by others of employing two languages” (Clyne 2003: 4). However, what I am adding to that definition is the importance of status: some types of bilingualism are valued in society, others are not. Whether or not bilingualism is valued usually depends on the languages involved. In the South African context, for example, speaking (standard) English and (standard) French is considered to be desirable and confers distinction on the speaker; speaking isiZulu and Sesotho, on the other hand, is not seen as an asset unless the bilingualism also includes fluency in (standard) English. Particular languages, as well as particular varieties of these languages, are thus evaluated in assessing bilingualism. One could describe Gail as a low-status bilingual as she speaks low-status versions of Afrikaans and English. David, on the other hand, is a high-status bilingual because he commands standard English and standard Afrikaans in addition to the colloquial varieties. Because of the negative attitudes David and Gail express towards the colloquial varieties they speak, they have sent their children to an English-medium school and have supported the use of standard English in their lives. In their view, high status (standard) English monolingualism is preferable to low status (non-standard) English/Afrikaans bilingualism.

4.6 Conclusion

The home domain is perceived as bilingual for Zoë and Zara, but English-dominant for Shannon and Erin. The school and school-based peer group are English dominant for all four children. The role of the English–medium school and its impact on greater use of English and therefore the process of language shift must be recognised.

The extracts from the interview data provided insights into what the daughters think about their language use, and how they view English and Afrikaans. The fact that all four girls chose to be interviewed in English is important. It indicates some degree of shift (change in dominance). This was especially salient in the Jacobs family where Erin especially, portrayed a strongly monolingual identity.

Positive attitudes can support the continued use of a language; negative attitudes contribute to the disruption of the transmission of the language. The parents in both families have very different attitudes towards the languages and the varieties they speak. The Petersen's are very positive about Afrikaans and this supports daily, sustained use of the language, and Afrikaans fulfils important affective functions in the family. The Jacobs' parents have rather negative attitudes towards the varieties of English and Afrikaans they speak, and strongly positive attitudes towards (standard) English which is seen as important for upward social mobility. Gail and David still engage with each other in Afrikaans, but use mostly English with their daughters (who in turn also demand it, especially Erin).

Chapter 5: The Petersen family

5.1 Introduction

The main research question which is investigated in this chapter is whether, and/or to what extent, the Petersen family maintains Afrikaans, the language they describe as their home language. Sub-questions include the following: has English begun to replace Afrikaans as the home language? Are there inter-generational differences in language use? Do attitudes play a role with regard to language choice and use in this family? Also, what effect does the peer social network at the English-medium school have on the children's language use at school and at home?

To answer these questions I provide descriptions of the various family members' language practices. I draw on extracts from the naturalistic conversational data, interview data, observations, as well as field notes which were compiled during the ethnographic research conducted with this family. The larger context of the family moving, and living in an English-dominant suburb and their daughters attending an English-medium school, frames the descriptions.

5.1.2 Moving to Pinelands and starting at Pinewood Primary: the change in the environment

In Extract 14 Yvonne talks about how Zara and Zoë started at Pinewood Primary school.

Extract 14:

[The complete extract can be found in Appendix 5, on pages 131-132].

Participants: Yvonne and Rose-Anne

- | | | |
|--------|--|---|
| Turn 1 | Y: ... <i>Want ons was nou by almal die skole en hier was nie Afrikaanse klasse nie.</i> | ...Because we were now at all the schools and here were no Afrikaans classes. |
| Turn 3 | Y: <i>Ons was geforseer om hulle nou hier intesit vir Engels.</i> | We were forced to enrol them here for English. |

- | | | |
|---------|--|--|
| Turn 6 | <p>R: You were forced to...ja ok.
 <i>Was daai 'n big umm decision, of wat?</i></p> | <p><u>You were forced to... yes ok.</u>
 Was that <u>a big umm decision</u>, or what?</p> |
| Turn 12 | <p>Y: <i>Toe sê almal vir my, kinders leer gou, hulle's nie soos ons nie. Ons is skaam want ons wil mekaar uitlag. Hulle praat net, jy kan maar lag. Toe sê ek, nee, dan moet ons maar, as daar nou nie anders is nie want waar sal ek hulle nou ingesit het. Hulle sou moet getravel het, en dit om Afrikaans te praat...</i></p> | <p>So then everyone said to me, children learn quickly, they are not like us. We are shy because we laugh at each other. They just talk, you can just laugh. Then I said no, then we must, if there isn't any other [school]. Because where would I have enrolled them? They would have had to <u>travel</u>, and all this to speak Afrikaans...</p> <p style="text-align: right;">(Interview data [12/02/2010])</p> |

Yvonne does not discuss the prestige of English or the better resources the girls will access at Pinewood Primary. Rather, the decision to move them to an English-medium school was a carefully considered decision based mainly on logistics and proximity to the school. The shift in the educational environment, however, affected the home environment, and English was now spoken more frequently. Overall, her attitude appears pragmatic: she reports in her interview that she is confident that her daughters can cope with an English-medium school and she would not make them travel long distances for the sole benefit of attending an Afrikaans-medium school.

In Extract (15) Yvonne explains in her interview how her own use of English has increased in order to support her daughters' scholastic efforts since they moved to Pinelands.

Extract 15:

Y: *Daar is 'n verskil in, maar soos nou by die tyd is ons nou al gewoond daar aan al Ek is nou al eintlik gewoond , toe hulle nou Graad 1 gewees het, Grade 1, toe was dit nou like quite a change, maar soos die jare nou aangegaan het, by my is dit nou al soos normal, ek sal nou Afrikaans praat, maar as hulle in kom switch ek sommer automatically oor English toe.*

(Interview data [12/02/2010])

(Y: There is a difference in, but now at this time, we are all used to it. I am now really used to it, when they were in Grade 1, Grade 1 then that was like quite a change, but as the years have passed, it is for me now so normal, I will now speak Afrikaans, but when they come in I will automatically switch over to English.)

Although, Yvonne reports that she finds herself automatically switching to English when talking to her daughters, the recordings and observations show that she regularly draws on Afrikaans as a common language (both as an expression of family solidarity and as a teaching aid⁸). Yvonne commonly uses English when Zara and Zoë are doing their homework. Yvonne however, maintains the use of Afrikaans in the home through her interactions with the other family members, and also commonly uses Afrikaans with her daughters in informal conversations.

5.2 Interactions in the Petersen family

Figure 5.1 below summarizes the broad language choices made by the various family members in their daily interactions. The graph is impressionistic, based largely on my observations during the fieldwork period. These were the most ‘usual’ patterns of language use that I observed during my time with the family.

Figure 5.1. Double entry graph of language use (main language) between members of the Petersen family

Speakers ↓	Listeners →						
	Yvonne	Ian	Aunty Muriel	Angelo	Lance	Zara	Zoë
Yvonne							
Ian							
Aunty Muriel							
Angelo							
Lance							
Zara							
Zoë							

Key :

	Mainly Afrikaans
	Mainly English

⁸ See section 5.31 (below) on ‘teaching moments.’

Yvonne, Ian, Aunty Muriel, Angelo and Lance all talk to each other mostly in Afrikaans. Their language use is characterised by code-switching, code-mixing and frequent borrowings from English. Zara, Zoë, Ian and Aunty Muriel speak to each other mainly in English. Yvonne speaks to Zoë and Zara mainly in Afrikaans, with frequent code-switching and heavy borrowings from English. According to the interview data, she also perceives herself as speaking a lot of English to them however, this occurs mainly during homework sessions. Zoë and Zara speak to their mother in English and Afrikaans. They speak Afrikaans only to their brothers. As discussed in the previous chapter, Zara and Zoë perceive their interactions with each other as a mix of English and Afrikaans – not just English. However, their actual language use reflects considerably more English than Afrikaans with each other. They sometimes speak phrases of Afrikaans to each other while in conversation with their mother or brothers. The most important feature about the graph is that language use is generally reciprocal, except for the interactions between Yvonne, Zara and Zoë. Even though the two daughters are involved in conversations in Afrikaans, their most usual way of speaking (mainly in English) does indicate incipient shift to English in the home domain. De Klerk (2000a: 92) argues that a “sign of incipient shift is increased usage of the second language in the domestic context.” I concur and would suggest that the incipience expresses that is it is at the early, beginning stages of the process of language shift, especially during homework time..

5.3 Analysis of conversation extracts

In this section, I analyse selected interactions between particular family members in order to illustrate the language patterns prevalent in the family.

5.3.1 ‘Teaching moments’

I use the term ‘teaching moments’ to refer to unplanned, spontaneous opportunities, where the English or Afrikaans that is being used between the mother and daughters, is explained or translated. In other words, language use is accompanied by meta-linguistic reflection. In these moments the bilingual nature of their conversations is foregrounded, and the search for, or explanation of, words contributes not only to a better understanding in either language, but also affirms and strengthens their bilingual identities

In this extract, during my interview with Zoë, she is discussing the friends with whom she speaks Afrikaans. Zoë does not know the word for ‘play-date’ in Afrikaans. She therefore calls to her mother for help with the translation. Although, in this instance, she does this after I prompt her to ask her mother, such examples of informal language teaching and translating from English to Afrikaans, or Afrikaans to English, occur regularly in the home.

Extract: 16

- | | | |
|--------|---|---|
| Turn 1 | Zoë: <i>Speel</i> , play-date, how do you say that? | Play, <u>play-date how do you say that?</u> |
| Turn 2 | R: A play date? Oooh <i>gits</i> I don’t know that... <i>speel</i> , not sure, we can ask your Mommy. | <u>A play date? Oooh gosh I don’t know that... play, not sure, we can ask your Mommy.</u> |
| Turn 3 | Zoë: Mommy, how do you say play-date in Afrikaans?
[Asking her mother who is in the kitchen.] | |
| Turn 4 | Y: <i>Is soos speel tyd</i> . | It is like play time. |

(Interview data [12/02/2010])

The girls interchange between asking their mother to help translate English words into Afrikaans (as in the case in extract 16) or Afrikaans words into English (in extract 18). During these ‘teaching moments’ sometimes their mother needs an Afrikaans word translated into English. In these particular moments, in the context of intergenerational language shift, between Yvonne and her daughters, here the children can become the teachers of adults. Consider the following statement from Yvonne during her interview about helping with homework.

Extract 17:

- Y: The most of the time English, because they busy with homework then I must speak English.
 R: Because you know mainly they do.
 Y: If I don’t know how to say the sentence or word, then I speak Afrikaans. Then they will understand me.

(Interview data [11/02/2011])

Yvonne explains that she helps her daughter's with their homework. Sometimes because of her lack of proficiency in English, when she is not sure of something, then she explains it to them in Afrikaans, 'then they will understand me.' Even when there is a change in the habitual language Yvonne uses with her daughters, the use of Afrikaans in this context is common bilingual behaviour. It is however more common for Yvonne to help them, especially with their Afrikaans homework where they need help. The rest of the time these 'teaching moments' were usually quite spontaneous, occurring during conversations between the girls and their mother.

During a homework session, Yvonne was talking to me while the girls were doing their tasks. She spoke about someone asking her if she was the girls' grandmother (she was already in her 40's when they were born). This is another example of collaborative language learning between Yvonne and her daughters.

Extract 18:

Turn 1	Y: <i>Ek sê daai is my</i> <i>⁹laatlammetjies.</i>	I say those are my little late lambs.
Turn 2	Zoë: <i>Mammie, wat is</i> <i>laatlammetjies?</i>	Mommy what are little late lambs?
Turn 3	R: ¹⁰ [I looked the word up in the dictionary and said, for children it means late arrivals, Yvonne then repeated that definition.]	
Turn 4	Y: <i>So julle twee is late arrivals</i> [laughing].	So you two are <u>late arrivals</u> . [laughing]
Turn 5	Zoë: Now what does it mean?	
Turn 6	Zara: <i>Laatlammetjies!</i>	Little late lambs!
Turn 7	Zoë: Now what does it mean?	
Turn 8	Y: <i>Julle was laat gebore --</i>	You were born late--

⁹ The term *laatlammetjie* is part of South African English; it would be unheard of to hear someone call children born many years after their siblings 'late arrivals' in English.

¹⁰ Because of the length of the extract, my exchange with Zoë and Zara has been summarized in turn 3.

Turn 9	Zara : [interrupting] We were born last.	
Turn 10	Y:... <i>julle is gebore elfjare na Lance, en nou lyk ek soos julle ouma.</i> [laughing]	...you were born eleven years after Lance, and now I look like your grandmother. [laughing]
Turn 11	R: <i>Nee, nie waar nie.</i>	No, no not true.
Turn 12	Zara: <i>Is waar.</i>	Is true.
Turn 13	Y: <i>Die mense dink mos, nou wat nog van julle papa, wat lyk soos julle oupa, daarom hoekom ons moet ons se hare dye ons moet ons colour.</i> [laughing]	The people think <i>mos</i> , now what about your daddy, who looks like your grandfather, that is why we must <u>dye</u> our hair, we must <u>colour</u> ourselves. [laughing]
Turn 14	Zara: <i>Daddy lyk nie soos onse oupa, hy lyk soos onse daddy.</i>	<u>Daddy</u> does not look like our grandfather, he looks like our <u>daddy</u> .
Turn 15	Zoë: <i>Hy lyk beter soos my uncle.</i>	He looks better as my <u>uncle</u> .
Turn 16	Zoë: I colour much faster with my right hand.[Referring to her homework]	
Turn 17	Y: <i>Moenie nou opmors nie, moenie nou net nie opmors nie, asseblief.</i>	Do not mess up now, do not mess up now, please.

(Audio recorded data [25/01/2010])

Zoë is quite persistent about asking what the word means. She wants clarification so that she can understand the word better in Afrikaans, as opposed to just wanting to be given an English translation equivalent. Yvonne does not provide a literal translation i.e. ‘late little lambs’ but offers a rephrasing in Afrikaans ‘*julle was laat gebore*’. In the remainder of the extract the meaning of the term is further clarified by referring to the broader context of having older parents, i.e. parents who might be taken for one’s grandparents.

Extract 18 also shows the generally positive attitudes towards Afrikaans in the family. Zoë asks in Afrikaans what the word means (in English), and after the Afrikaans explanations given by her mother, asks twice more in English. Zara then explains in English and Zoë then seems satisfied as she does not ask again, but accommodates her mother’s use of

Afrikaans in turn 15, when she carries on with the conversation. Both daughters want to know and understand more about the Afrikaans language. What this exchange tells us about the transmission of Afrikaans in this family, is that Afrikaans is still alive and in use and these ‘teaching moments’ can and do occur at any time, related to homework or everyday conversations between the daughters and their mother.

5.3.2 Bilingual behaviour in the Petersen family

Before discussing the following extract, let me briefly sketch the context in which the interaction occurred. On this particular day, Yvonne was busy baking milk tarts, and asked the girls to make their own snacks. The extract shows persistent use of Afrikaans by Yvonne (except for the last two turns), and non-accommodation by the daughters, who continue to reply in English. This is similar to the case described by Edwards and Dewaele (2007: 226-227) where the mother and daughter developed “their habitual mode of trilingual leapfrogging...the [code]switches occur intrasententially, intersententially and within and between turns.” Even though the mother and daughter in that study both spoke 3 languages, they each had different dominant or favoured languages. The use of different languages, however, never affects comprehension or leads to breakdown in their ability to communicate. Dewaele and Edwards (2007: 234) concluded their study by arguing that “codeswitching patterns are unique to every multilingual individual in any given situation.” In this family, and through the evidence provided in the extracts, the codeswitching patterns are also unique to this family and their linguistic choices at different times.

Extract 19:

Wednesday afternoon in the kitchen preparing to bake milk tarts.

Participants: Yvonne, Zoë, Zara and Rose-Anne

- | | | |
|--------|--|--|
| Turn 1 | Y: <i>Luister, kindertjies, as julle wil eet, moet julle jou kossies maak, maar julle ma gaan nou koekies bak.</i> [singing voice] | Listen children, if you want to eat, you must make your own food, because your mother is going to bake cakes.[singing voice] |
| Turn 2 | Zoë: Mommy, make me <i>melkie</i> | <u>Mommy, make me</u> milky eggs, <u>please</u> . |

- eiertjies*, please.
- Turn 3 Zara: Not in a million years.
- Turn 4 R: OOOOOOO *my jinne*. OOOOOOO my goodness.
- Turn 5 Zara: Mommy, make me French toast, please.
- Turn 6 Y: *Huhu nee man, nee man, nee man*. Huhu no, man no man, no man.
- Turn 7 R: Something just on bread and off.
- Turn 8 Zoë Come, I make for me milk ... (indistinct)
- Turn 9 Zara: Make me French toast, please.
- Turn 10 Y: *Wat maak julle? Wat gaan julle maak?* What are you doing? What are you going to make?
- Turn 11 Zara to Y: I am going to make French toast.
- Turn 12 Y: *Maak net gewone...* Just make regular...
- Turn 13 Zoë: *Mamma maak die big big koekies*, mommy makes the cookies. Mommy makes the big, big cookies, mommy makes the cookies.
- Turn 14 Y: *Maak net gewone* toast. Just make regular toast.
- Turn 15 R: Just keep it simple, Zara, because we are gonna bake.
- Turn 16 Y: We wanna bake *mos*. We wanna bake of course.
- Turn 17 Zara: Just quickly, mommy.
- Turn 18 Zara: French toast goes quick *mos*. French toast goes quick of course.
- Turn 19 Y: No, French toast don't go quick.

(Audio recorded data [19/01/2010])

This extract is typical of the informal, daily interactions between the two daughters and their mother. Only when doing homework with their mother, does English becomes the main language for all three participants.

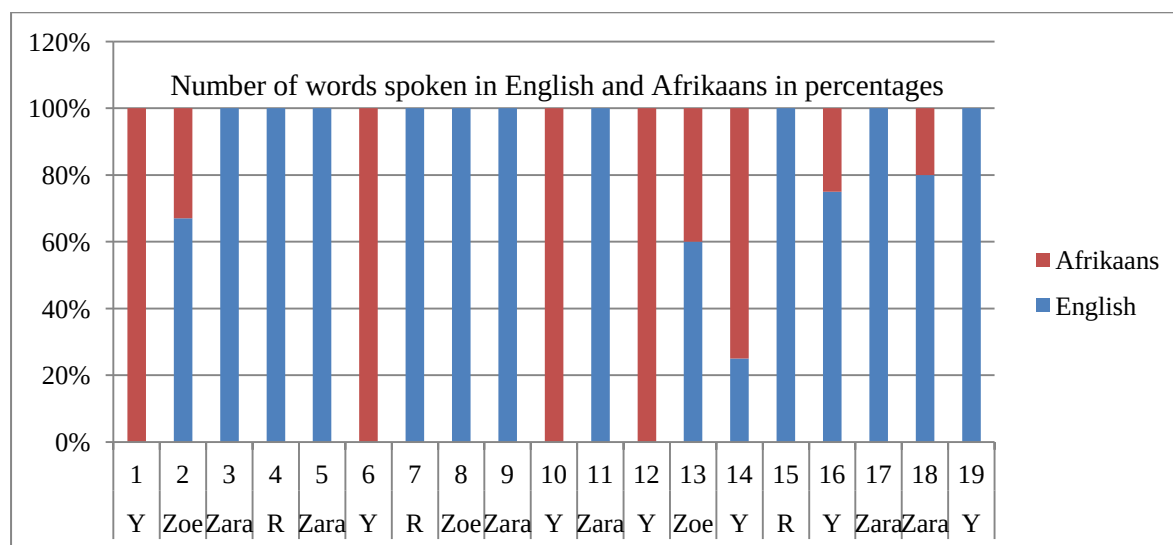
The daughters and their mother do not ask each other to explain what they want, nor do they hesitate; the conversation flows back and forth between the languages. There is

intimacy and familiarity in the conversation, and the use of, or preference for, specific languages is not questioned.

Zara and Zoë are using a non-standard variety of English during this interaction. According to McCormick (2002: 225-228), the following examples are all features of non-standard English:

- (a) In turn 18, when Zara says, 'French toast goes quick *mos*', the suffix *-ly* (*quick* → *quickly*) has been deleted from the adverb, giving it the same form as the related adjective.
- (b) Another example is the phrase used in turn 8: 'Come, I make for me milk'. This is an example of a so-called calque, which is a verbatim translation of a phrase from another language. In Afrikaans, the phrase would be, *Kom, ek maak vir my melk*.
- (c) Zoë's use of the phrase *melkie eiertjie* in turn 2 constitutes an example of intra-sentential code switching (i.e. switching from English to Afrikaans within the same sentence).
- (d) Zoë makes use of inter-sentential code-switching in turn 13, when she repeats in English what she has said in Afrikaans. McCormick (2002: 177) explains that "emphasis is achieved by repeating an idea in another language."
- (e) There is also the use of *mos*, which is a borrowing in this particular variety of English. The word *mos* was taken from Afrikaans and is now commonly used in certain varieties of English. It is considered a discourse marker – a "particle that contributes to the informal tone of the utterance" (McCormick 2004: 1001).

Figure 5.2 Summary of the use of English and Afrikaans (number of words) in extract 19



Key:

Y	Yvonne
R	Rose-Anne

Note: For practical reasons it was decided to use a word count rather than length of utterance. Since Afrikaans and English are closely related, most words are of a roughly similar length.

Figure 5.2 is an example of a specific micro-interaction which shows the most usual way that communication occurs between the mother and daughters. Yvonne speaks mainly Afrikaans to Zoë and Zara and they respond mainly in English. Zara and Zoë are continually exposed to Afrikaans in their home. In the conversations that are the most routine and family-orientated, they are learning that there is a space for different languages to live alongside each other in their home, to co-exist, not to compete. Even though Yvonne has been talking mainly in Afrikaans to Zara and Zoë, only in turn 13 does Zoë reply in Afrikaans. They are choosing to respond in English even though they have the ability to respond in Afrikaans. This mirrors what happens with their peers at school, as discussed in Chapter 4.

5.3.3 Intergenerational transmission of Afrikaans

In this extract Yvonne is telling a story in Afrikaans. Zara and Zoë are in the room, listening to this account – a story they have probably heard retold many times.

Extract 20:

The setting for this extract is the kitchen during snack time.

Participants: Yvonne, Aunty Muriel, Rose-Anne, Zara and Zoë

- Turn 1 Y: ...*en duif het getrek saam met ons Pinelands toe. Hy [Yvonne's uncle] sê nog vir duifie, "hey jy, oudtjie, jy's grand, jy gaan nogal in Pinelands bly en ek bly nog in die flêse..."* [laughing]. But any case *nou twee jaar terug, ja dit was nou September twee jaar...* ...and the dove moved with us to Pinelands. He said to the dove, "hey you, little man, you are grand, you are actually going to live in Pinelands and I still live in the flats..." But any case now two years ago, yes that was now September two years...
- Turn 2 AM [enters]: Hello!
- Turn 3 R: Hi Aunty Muriel, how're you?
- Turn 4 AM: I'm fine, thank you.
- Turn 5 Y: *Nou daai Duifie, Duifie was so oulik, Rose-Anne, as die deur klokkie gelui het, dan kom jy uitgeloop, soos hulle nou hier loop... dan kom jy uitgeloop net om te kom kyk wies dit* [draws breath deeply] *dit lyk vir my as die phone gelui het, dan lyk dit hy kan vir jou kon geroep het. Hy was so getrain in die huis, almal wat inkom vra eerste "waar's Duifie?" Is amper soos duifie deel is...* Now that Duifie, Duifie was so cute Rose-Anne, if the doorbell rang then it comes walking out, like they are walking here now ... then it comes walking out to see who it is [draws breath deeply] it seems to me as if the telephone rang, then it looks like he could come call you. He was so trained in the house, everyone who came here first asked "where's Duifie?" It was almost as if the little dove was part of...
- Turn 6 R: Mmmh, van die familie? Mmmh, of the family?
- Turn 7 Y: [draws breath deeply] *En die holiday 24 September, ek het handoeke op die lyn, ek sê vir Lance... hy en sy vriend was hier, "haal die handoeke af so four o' clock, dan sal hul droog wees," want dit was net so klein bietjie klam nog. Ons, ek en my ma, en hulle en Ian, ons gaan na sy... die vriend van hom se Ma hulle toe in Ravensmead... Hooooo... aai! Hulle het seker vergeet van die* And the holiday 24 September, I had dishcloths on the line I say to Lance ... he and his friend were here, "take the dishcloths off at about four o'clock, then they will be dry," because it was just a little bit damp. We, my mother and them and Ian we are going to his... the parents of a friend of his in Ravensmead... Hooooo ... aai! They probably forgot about the dishcloths, and were now

handoeke, en seker nou laat maak. Nie hulle weet, of hulle vir duifie laat uitkom het of Angelo vir duifie laat uitkom het die, en hy was ook hier. Ons trek die aand hier op, ek dink "wat is hy en Jason soek dan nou hier in die yard onder in die bome?" Ek dink wat gaat aan, maar my mind trek straight na daai duif toe. Die duif is nêrens te vind nie, hulle soek die duif. Hoooo... ons kry die duif hier agter in die yard, uitmekaar uit geskeur van die katte. Oooooohh!!!

running late. They don't know if they let Duifie out or if it was Angelo who let Duifie, as he was also here. We pulled up here that night and I thought "what are he and Jason looking for in the yard under the trees?" I am wondering what is going on and my mind went straight to the dove. The dove is nowhere to be found, they are looking for the dove. Hoooo... we found the dove outside in the yard torn apart by the cats. Oooooohh!!!

Turn 8 Zara: One, one part of his wing was damaged.

Turn 9 R: Oh, 'cause he can't fly.

Turn 10 Y: He can't fly. So maybe Lance them let, let him out and they didn't see... and he was outside and he couldn't get away from the...

Turn 11 R: And he can't get away from the cats.

Turn 12 Y: Ooooooh!

Turn 13 Zoë: He was behind the wall there and we did take him...

Turn 14 Y: *Ons, ons het mal geraak, ons het gehuil in die huis, Jy sal gedink het hier's 'n mens in dié huis dood.*

We, we went mad, we cried in this house. You would have thought a person was dead.

Turn 15 Zara: *En toe...*

And then...

Turn 16 Y: *Vir almal wat ons vertel, vir almal wat ons vra, dan huil hulle.*

Everyone we told, everyone that asked us, then they cried.

R: [Gasps]

Turn 17 Zara: *Mammie! Sê gou die paart vir daai ou man wat so hier nog ingekom het toe sê mammie "hier's 'n mens... hier's iemand in ons... in onse lewe wat dood is, wat by die..."* [indistinct]

Mommy, say quickly the part when that old man that came along here and then mommy says "Here is a person ... here is someone in our ... in our lives who is dead, who by the..."

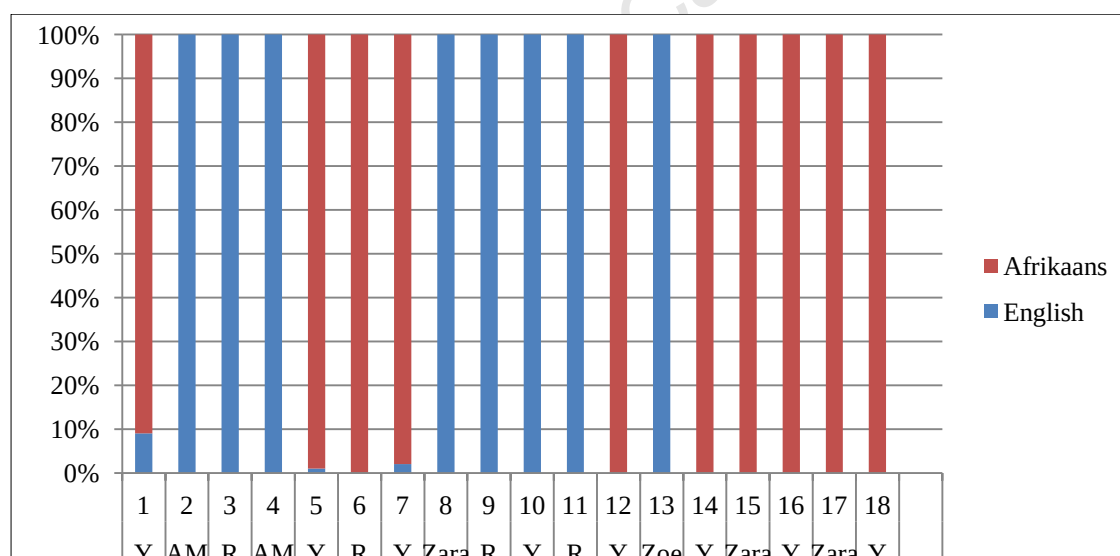
Turn 18 Y: *Ja ek wiet nie wat het die man gesê so sê ek "wag mister moenie nog baie praat nie, ons het klaar dood hier in onse familie..." [laughs] Die man dink seker waarvan praat...[laughs]. Vra vir hulle hoe ons gehuil oor daai duif, daai duif was so oulik.*

Yes, I don't know what the man said, so I say: "wait mister, you mustn't talk too much, we already have a death in our family..." The man probably thinks what is[she] talking about... Ask them how we cried over that dove, that dove was so cute.

(Audio recorded data [25/01/2010])

While Yvonne was telling this story, her daughters were enthralled; they loved the drama of the story and one could see the emotion written on their faces. The narrated event occurred just when they had moved to Pinelands, when there was possibly not as much English spoken in their home as there is now. Zara, Yvonne and Zoë use English for a part of the story. This represents their bilingualism and habitual use of two languages in the home.

Figure 5.3 Summary of the use of English and Afrikaans (number of words) in extract 20



Key:

Y	Yvonne
AM	Aunty Muriel
R	Rose-Anne

Note: For practical reasons it was decided to use a word count rather than length of utterance. Since Afrikaans and English are closely related, most words are of a roughly similar length.

The graph illustrates that Yvonne speaks many more words of Afrikaans than any other family member does during this conversation, which is her usual way of speaking. The grandmother only greets in this conversation and that happens in English. Zara speaks some English, but speaks three times as much Afrikaans as English. Zara does not accommodate her mother's Afrikaans in turn 8. Yvonne does not accommodate Zoë's use of English in turn 13, and from turn 14 to turn 18 the conversation is in Afrikaans, with Zara accommodating her mother's use of Afrikaans in turn 15.

The English loanwords Yvonne uses in this extract are 'but' 'holiday', 'September', 'four o'clock', 'straight', 'any case' and 'mind'. Her variety of Afrikaans differs from standard Afrikaans because of the common use of the English loanwords. She also tends to drop the *d* in *die* and says 'ie, and tends to drop the 'h' and says 'et rather than *het* ('have'). In turn 7, she says *gaat* and not *gaan* (which would be the required form in standard Afrikaans). *Daai*, the contracted form of *daardie*, is used quite commonly as a pronoun, a feature that is typical of Coloured varieties of Afrikaans (McCormick 2002: 224).

When Zara interrupts her mother, in turn 15 and asks her to tell the rest of the story, she does this in Afrikaans. This extract is only about two and a half minutes in length¹¹, but, again, it gives an indication of a family life lived in two languages, stories retold in Afrikaans. This is a legacy and history that Yvonne has been passing on to her children. It is also a reminder of Clyne's (2003: 22) assertion that in order for a language to survive a generation it must be transmitted in the home. In this extract, it is clear that Yvonne, by continuing to speak Afrikaans, is passing on Afrikaans to her daughters. She is carving out a definite space for Afrikaans in their home and in their lives, through sustained stories which contain interesting anecdotes about the people and animals that form part of the girls' lives. Yvonne plays a significant role in the ongoing transmission of Afrikaans to Zara and Zoë.

Yvonne is trying to lay the foundation for Zara and Zoë to become bilingual adults by ensuring that they are also exposed, regularly and intensely, to Afrikaans (Grosjean 1982: 170). There are many factors, which may make this process more difficult, more so as this is probably the process she followed with Lance and Angelo, who now function as

¹¹ The whole discussion about the dove and other pet birds, before and after this extract was about ten minutes long, mainly in Afrikaans.

bilingual adults. The intergenerational transmission of Afrikaans in the home domain is under enormous pressure from the factors that cause shift – English peer group, influence of the English-medium school and the use of mainly English with the daughters by the father and grandmother.

There is ongoing transmission of Afrikaans in this home, however, this does not mean that maintenance of Afrikaans is occurring. Language maintenance as defined in the context of this research refers to a situation where a language continues “to be used in spite of the presence of more powerful languages” (Fishman cited in Mesthrie et al. 2009: 245). Although the daughters have very positive attitudes towards Afrikaans, they continue to mainly use English when speaking to their mother while she continues to use Afrikaans in the presence of the more powerful English.

5.3.4 Older siblings transmitting Afrikaans

This extract provides an example of an interaction between Zara and her mother, where they speak almost exclusively Afrikaans. It is common for Zara to speak Afrikaans with her brothers.

Extract 21:

Participants: Zara, Angelo, Yvonne and Ian

Turn 1	A to Zara: <i>Vra mammie vir 'n nintag sents of 'n een rand.</i>	Ask mommy for a ninety cents or one rand.
Turn 2	Zara: <i>Mammie, Angelo vra vir 'n nintag sents of 'n een rand.</i>	Mommy, Angelo is asking for a ninety cents or a one rand.
Turn 3	[Ian walks into the kitchen] Y:[addresses Ian]: <i>Het jy nie a losse nintag sent in jou sakkie Ian? Vir Angelo, want ek lus nie om in my bag te gaan krap vir Angelo.</i>	Do you have a loose ninety cents in your pocket Ian? For Angelo, because I do not feel like scratching in my <u>bag</u> for Angelo.
Turn 4	I: <i>Wat?</i>	What?
Turn 5	Y: <i>'n Nintag sent.</i>	A ninety cent.
Turn 6	Zara: <i>Of 'n een rand</i>	Or a one rand.
Turn 7	Zara: He's inside. [Ian goes inside to Angelo who is reconciling the day's takings.]	

This conversation was initiated by Angelo and Zara repeats his request verbatim. Nearly the entire conversation is conducted in Afrikaans, even when Zara interrupts in turn 5. However, in turn 7, she changes to English when she says to her father that Angelo is in the dining room. English is the preferred language in the interactions between father and daughters. The Afrikaans she uses in turn 6 is directed at her mother and to contrast this, at the end of the exchange, she says to her father “he’s inside” because she is used to speaking to him in English. There was no hesitation on the part of any of the participants in this conversation.

In Tuominen’s (1999) study, which was discussed in Section 2.6 of the literature review (Chapter 2), she asks ‘who decides the home language?’ In her study, she concluded that it is ultimately the children who decide on the home language, viz. English, despite their parents’ efforts to maintain their original home language (Tuominen 1999: 73). In the current study, Extract 21 illustrates that the notion of ‘children’ can be complex in families where there are older and younger children with different language histories. In the Petersen family, the older brothers – with a history of Afrikaans-medium schooling – contribute to the continued use of Afrikaans in the home, and influence language choices even in contexts where they are merely over-heard speaking Afrikaans by their sisters. The brothers would very occasionally speak English to their sisters they do this around the topic of school and homework, like the mother. In this family, the mother and brothers thus are helping the sisters to maintain Afrikaans through their informal, but regular use of the language.

Overall, the daughters speak some Afrikaans but mainly English to their parents and each other. However, they speak mainly Afrikaans to their brothers. Like the mother, the brothers provide an active resource of Afrikaans for their sisters in the home domain.

Gafaranga (2010) and Tuominen (1999) argue that children are interactional partners in the process of language maintenance and shift. This is supported by the study reported here: Zara and Zoë are definitely interactional agents in the processes of language maintenance and shift in their home. They respond to and engage with the transmission of Afrikaans from Yvonne at other times, they do not. This variation is typical of a bilingual

identity, they are becoming English-dominant (because of the school context), but they are still bilingual. With their brothers they always engage with the Afrikaans and this certainly supports the transmission and maintenance of Afrikaans, especially in the home domain where there is enormous pressure from English.

5.3.5 Homework as an English domain

Extract 22 shows a change in the mother's habitual language choice in response to the topic of homework. The daughters spend approximately an hour every afternoon, doing homework. In this instance, prior to her mother's arrival, Zara had been talking to her grandmother and me in English (and talking to herself in English) as she did forward rolls on the floor in the living room.

Extract 22:

In the living room, Zara is doing forward rolls on the floor, as she has completed her homework. Zoë is doing her homework, Lance is reconciling the day's takings, and the grandmother is sitting on a chair watching Zara. Yvonne walks in.

Participants: Zara, Yvonne, Lance and Aunty Muriel

- | | | |
|--------|---|--|
| Turn 1 | Zara: I skipped two colours already... ¹² | |
| Turn 2 | Y: <i>Juffrou prys haar, die juffrou sê sy's kwaai, sê sy gaan twee</i> colours skip, straight <i>rooi toe</i> . [laughing] | Teacher praises her, the teacher says she is smart, says she is going to <u>skip two colours, straight</u> to red. |
| Turn 3 | L: Straight <i>hospitaal toe</i> , ja.[laughing] | <u>Straight</u> to hospital, yes. |
| Turn 4 | Y: <i>Hoekom? Wat het sy dan nou gemaak?</i> | Why? What did she do now? |
| Turn 5 | L: <i>Sien hoe gaan sy</i> .
[Zara walks over and gives Lance a 'sisterly' smack] | See what she is doing. |

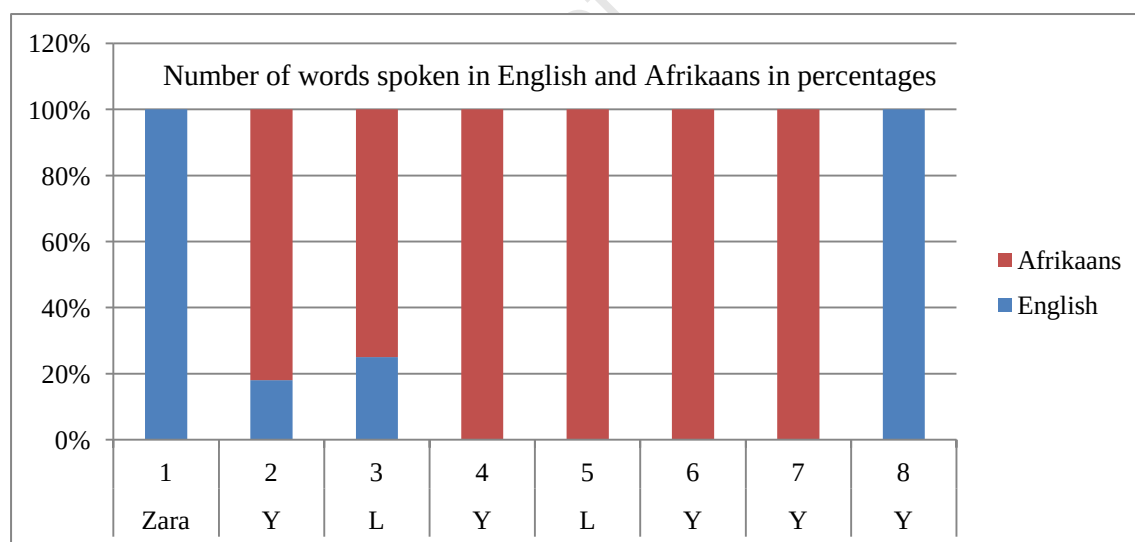
¹² Skipping two colours refers to a grading system like that used in Karate, where you move up to a more complex level of difficulty as identified by the colour of your belt.

Turn 6	Y: <i>Moenie, moenie.</i>	Don't, don't.
Turn 7	Y: <i>Ja, daar oefen julle op aparatuur, hier is dit op die furniture.</i>	Yes, there you practice on apparatus, here it is on the furniture.
Turn 8	Y: Zoë are you finished? ¹³	

(Audio recorded data [03/02/2010])

Zara begins this conversation by announcing to all in the room, in English, that she has skipped two colours in gymnastics. Her mother, in turn 2, takes this statement and restates it in Afrikaans – with the use of ‘straight’ as an English loanword and the use of ‘kwaai’, Afrikaans slang for ‘smart’ or ‘clever’. Lance then continues on the same topic and he repeats the loanword ‘straight’ to set up a joke about Zara’s gymnastics landing her up in hospital. While her mother and brother are talking, Zara is listening. She understands what they have said and gets up to smack her brother. Yvonne changes her habitual speech, in turn 9 as she addresses Zoë in English, asking if she has completed her homework. As noted above, homework in this family is an English domain because of the English school environment.

Figure 5.4 Summary of the use of English and Afrikaans (number of words) in extract 22



Key:

Y	Yvonne
L	Lance

Note: For practical reasons it was decided to use a word count rather than length of utterance. Since Afrikaans and English are closely related, most words are of a roughly similar length.

¹³ Referring to Zoë’s homework.

Figure 5.4. illustrates that Yvonne's choice of language is sometimes interlocutor or domain dependent. In turn 6 when Yvonne addresses Zara and chastises her about hitting Lance, she uses Afrikaans. When she talks to Lance in turn 7 she continues to speak in Afrikaans which is their usual way of interacting. When she asks Zoë a question in turn 8, she is referring to her homework and she speaks in English. This small observation supports the interpretation that homework is becoming an English domain. This situation reflects, to some extent, what Cummins (1996: 63) calls subtractive bilingualism, i.e. a situation where the language taught at school slowly takes the place of the home language. The example shows that such a process can be domain-dependent, i.e. although the daughters still use a lot of Afrikaans in other domains, homework has become an almost exclusively English domain. It can be interpreted as an early stage of language shift in this domain, as Zara and Zoë are not just engaged in English orally during homework time, but also writing and reading in English-only (except when doing Afrikaans homework). Clyne's (2003: 21) definition of language shift includes "a change in the exclusive language for between one and three of the four language skills (listening, speaking, reading, writing)." Zara and Zoë are becoming far more skilled in these language skills in English than in Afrikaans, because of the demands of their homework and their English-medium schooling.

5. 4 Conclusion

In the Petersen family, Yvonne, Lance and Angelo are involved in the transmission of Afrikaans to Zara and Zoë. Lance and Angelo achieve this through their linguistic behaviour as their conversations with their sisters are mainly in Afrikaans. There is intergenerational transmission from Yvonne, to her daughters because of choices she makes regularly in everyday interactions. This has enabled Zara and Zoë to achieve considerable proficiency in Afrikaans. The 'teaching moments' foreground the bilingual nature of their conversations and provide opportunities for the daughters to witness the interplay and interchanges between English and Afrikaans in their bilingual home. The 'teaching moments' also illustrate the varied roles that English and Afrikaans play in different domains and between particular interlocutors. This has helped facilitate Zara and Zoë's bilingualism.

What the naturalistic data has shown though, is that transmission does not necessarily lead to maintenance of Afrikaans. Transmission is the passing on of the language (Afrikaans) in everyday conversations. Maintenance of the language is the ability to withstand the pressure of the more powerful language (English) and use it in different domains in the home. When a language (Afrikaans) is being transmitted, this means that the process of language shift to English is being slowed down because Afrikaans is being used in a domain that English has the power to be used in.

Intergenerational transmission and language maintenance, continually facilitated by Ian and Yvonne among other factors, means that the older siblings, Lance and Angelo are Afrikaans-dominant bilinguals.

The changed educational environment challenges the presence of Afrikaans in the home as Yvonne – according to her own perception – finds herself speaking more English to her daughters than she did before they attended their current English-medium school. Ian and Aunty Muriel are supporting the English development of Zara and Zoë because of their linguistic backgrounds, positive attitudes towards bilingualism in the home and their belief about the economic benefits knowing English will have for the daughters.

In answer to the overall research questions outlined in Chapter 1, one could say that, certain members of the Petersen family maintain Afrikaans through their interactions with each other – Yvonne, Aunty Muriel, Lance and Angelo. However, there is more English being used between Ian, Aunty Muriel, Zara and Zoë. For Zara and Zoë there are still many Afrikaans spaces available for them in the home, especially in their interactions with their mother and brothers. However, the domain shift for English is in two areas: domain (homework) and interlocutor (father, Aunty Muriel). These domain shifts to English, plus the changed educational environment have contributed to Zara and Zoë becoming English-dominant bilinguals.

Chapter 6: The Jacobs family

6.1 Introduction

The main research questions investigated in this chapter are concerned with whether transmission of Afrikaans occurs in the Jacobs family, the language the Jacobs parents describe as their home language. Sub-questions include: has English replaced Afrikaans as the home language? Are there inter-generational differences in the use of the two languages? Do attitudes play a role with regard to language choice and use in this family? In addition, what effect does the peer social network at the English-medium school have on the children's language use at school and at home?

To answer these questions I will again provide descriptions of the various family members' language practices, through extracts that form part of the naturalistic data, interview data, observations and field notes compiled during the ethnographic research I conducted with this family. The larger context of the family living in an English-dominant suburb since their daughters were born, and their daughters attending an English-medium school, frames the descriptions of specific family interactions.

Unlike Zara and Zoë, Shannon and Erin were both born in Thornton, an English-dominant suburb and have always attended English-medium schools. This does contribute to them perceiving English as the dominant language spoken around them, in their home, at their school and with their peers.

6.2 Interactions in the Jacobs family

Figure 6.1 summarizes the broad language choices made by the Jacobs family members during their daily interactions. It is similar to the Petersen graph: impressionistic and based on my observations during fieldwork. These were the most 'usual' patterns of language use that I observed during my time with the family.

Figure 6.1 Double entry graph of language use (main language) between members of the Jacobs family

	Listeners →			
Speakers ↓	Gail	David	Shannon	Erin
Gail				
David				
Shannon				
Erin				

Key:

	Mainly Afrikaans
	Mainly English

David and Gail speak mainly Afrikaans to each other. Their language use is characterised by code-switching, code-mixing and frequent borrowings of English words. However, when speaking to Shannon and Erin, Gail and David speak mostly English. Fishman (1991: 89) contends that this would suggest limited transmission and maintenance of Afrikaans because the language is not actively passed on from the parents to the children. Shannon and Erin mainly speak English to each other. Figure 6.1., unlike the double entry graph for the Petersen family, shows reciprocal language use between all the members of the family. The parents speak mainly Afrikaans to each other, the sisters mainly English to each other, and the parents and daughters speak mainly English to each other.

6.3 Analysis of conversation extracts

The following section discusses examples of conversations between the various family members. This allows us to describe the language(s) used in these interactions. I also introduce a new term, ‘moments of maintenance’ to characterise a specific type of conversational interaction.

6.3.1 ‘Moments of maintenance’

The following micro-interaction occurred on the first day that I started my observations with the Jacobs family. Gail, David, Shannon and Erin were sitting outside in the braai area, relaxing. I have included this extract to illustrate the way in which Afrikaans is used by Gail and how this is different from how Yvonne uses Afrikaans in the Petersen family. Yvonne uses sustained, uninterrupted periods of Afrikaans, directed at all family members. Gail’s Afrikaans, on the other hand, is mainly directed at David. The Afrikaans spoken (even to David) is not sustained, but occurs only temporarily; in other words, it is interrupted and not constant. These ‘moments of maintenance’, which I introduced in Chapter 1, are characterised by their temporal nature. They are just short bursts of Afrikaans amidst much longer conversational stretches where English is spoken. These moments occur whenever Shannon and Erin are over-hearers, and at the rare occasions when Gail directs Afrikaans at them. The fleeting use of Afrikaans brings with it possibilities and opportunities for learning and thus maintenance (even if this possibility is not taken up by Shannon and Erin). The use of Afrikaans in subsequent extracts also reflects ‘moments of maintenance.’

Extract 23:

Participants: Gail, David, Shannon and Erin

- | | | |
|--------|--|---|
| Turn 1 | G: No but the thing is, <i>ek sal nie daai wil eet nie want dit was gister gemaak.</i> | <u>No, but the thing is</u> , I will not want to eat that, because it was made yesterday. |
| Turn 2 | D: And? | |
| Turn 3 | S: It tastes better. | |
| Turn 4 | G: <i>Nou is daai peer so dronk.</i> | Now the pear is so drunk. |
| Turn 5 | E: Daddy it looks so disgusting. | |
| Turn 6 | S: Don’t eat the pear, that’s what I’ve done, I just eat the chocolate. | |
| Turn 7 | G to R: You can get the recipe. | |
| Turn 8 | G to S: <i>Gaan haal die boekie, dan wys jy wat jy gemaak het, en dan kan jy sommer die wasgoed opneem, asseblief my meisie.</i> | Go and fetch the little book then show what you made, and then can you also just take the laundry upstairs, please my girl. |

- Turn 9 G to D and R: *Laat ek gou my break vat want this is normal dit is so embarrassing as mense jou onderklere en alles sien.* Let me just take my break¹⁴ because this is normal, it is so embarrassing if people see your underwear and everything.
- Turn 10 S: [Shouting from the kitchen]
Mommy, where is the book?
- Turn 11 G: *Ek weet nie girl, kyk in die laai.* I don't know girl, look in the drawer.

(Audio recorded data [08/02/2010])

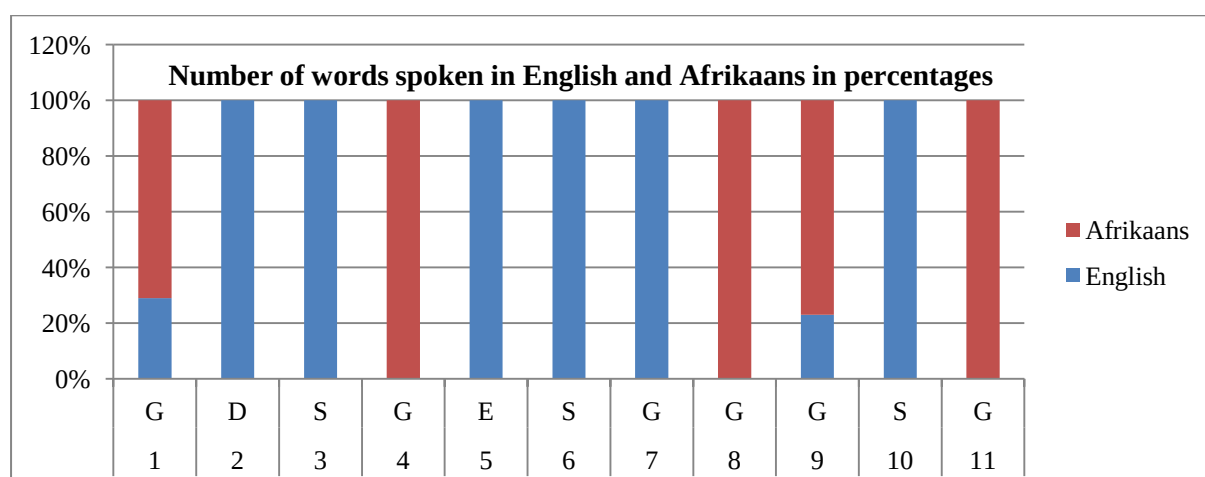
This particular extract is remarkable because in other family contexts Gail speaks mostly English to the girls (as discussed above). Gail initiates the conversation in Afrikaans and addresses her whole family, not just her husband. The switch to English¹⁵ for Gail occurs when she tells me that I can get the recipe, she then returns to Afrikaans and issues instructions to Shannon (turn 8). Shannon responds in English and does not accommodate her mother's use of Afrikaans; Gail continues in Afrikaans and does not accommodate Shannon's use of English. The Afrikaans vocabulary used in turn 8 is not of a particularly complex level, and Shannon has been exposed to Afrikaans at home and at school. Moreover, the Afrikaans Gail speaks, contains many English borrowings which facilitates comprehension by others (including her children). This is similar to the Petersen family where Yvonne also uses quite a lot of insertions.

What is important to note is that because Afrikaans is not used for sustained periods, exposure to the language is limited. This is unlike what we have seen in the Petersen family, where there are long periods of Afrikaans used by the mother especially, and even sometimes by Zara and Zoë in response to their mother. In the Jacobs home, these 'moments of maintenance', almost always carried out by Gail, are likely to enable limited intergenerational transmission of Afrikaans. At the same time they are keeping the language alive in some sense and provide learning opportunities for the daughters.

¹⁴ Gail was making a joke and 'the break' referred to having a rest on the chair outside.

¹⁵ The family often accommodated my use of English, but this changed over the course of the weeks I spent with the family. Gradually Gail and David spoke more Afrikaans to me. However, in this particular instance (which occurred right at the beginning of my data collection, see above), the switch was to accommodate me.

Figure 6.2 Summary of the use of English and Afrikaans (number of words) in extract 23



Key:

G	Gail
D	David
S	Shannon
E	Erin

Note: For practical reasons it was decided to use a word count rather than length of utterance. Since Afrikaans and English are closely related, most words are of a roughly similar length.

The graph illustrates the quantitative relationship between English and Afrikaans in Extract 23. English is used by everyone involved in the conversation and is sustained in turns 2, 3, 5 to 7 and 10. Turns 1, 4, 8, 9 and 11 are by Gail. Three are complete turns in Afrikaans and she mixes English and Afrikaans in two more turns. Gail sustains her use of Afrikaans well in this interaction. As noted above, use of Afrikaans is interlocutor-dependent. Gail speaks Afrikaans mainly to David and although he responds in English, she nevertheless continues in Afrikaans. However, when Gail asks Shannon to do a task, she speaks in Afrikaans first but then continues in English in the next turn.

In the Jacobs family, Gail is always the initiator of Afrikaans; whereas in the Petersen family, Yvonne is not the only initiator of Afrikaans. When Yvonne initiates with her daughters and if they do not accommodate her use of Afrikaans, she will not move into English. Also in the Petersen family, because of the Afrikaans spoken between Yvonne, Ian, Lance and Angelo, there are many more opportunities for Zara and Zoë to hear sustained periods of Afrikaans.

In the Jacobs home when Afrikaans is being used between Gail and David, it is not being received by the daughters to enable meaningful intergenerational transmission to occur and therefore maintenance, where they could then choose to use Afrikaans instead of English

during conversations. Erin always chooses English and Shannon mainly uses English. The opportunities for language maintenance to occur are therefore just ‘moments of maintenance’.

Thus, the term ‘moments of maintenance’ describes situations where brief opportunities for speaking and hearing Afrikaans occur. They provide restricted, but important, opportunities for learning.

6.3.2 The role of parents in language maintenance and shift

As illustrated in Figure 6.1., the Afrikaans spoken in the Jacobs family happens mainly between Gail and David. As was explained in Chapter 4 (section 4.5), the Jacobs parents speak a variety of Afrikaans that is characterised by many borrowings from English and heavy code-switching. They use this variety mainly with one another. This variety is not unlike the one spoken in the Petersen family. However, while members of the Petersen family do not express negative attitudes towards the type of Afrikaans they speak, Gail and David Jacobs evaluate their use of Afrikaans negatively because of its non-standardness.

Shannon and Erin are mainly over-hearers of Afrikaans in their home. They are seldom addressed in Afrikaans. There are however, times when Gail addresses their daughters in Afrikaans. Shannon responds when spoken to in Afrikaans, Erin does not. Shannon and Erin thus have some exposure to Afrikaans in the home. They also receive direct instruction at school where they are being taught Afrikaans as a second language.

When I asked Gail during her interview in what languages she and her husband speak at home, she replied:

Extract 24:

- G: If they're there then we speak English and if we want to say something that they mustn't hear *dan praat ons Afrikaans en in die third language*, so *ja* if they sitting there then I say "Daddy do you know what Erin did today?" And then so on and so on, but then as *ek kwaad is soos gister aand*, "Mommy tell Daddy what happened there by the cricket, the coach was so rude Daddy, but don't use that word!" *sê sy nou. Dan sê ek*, "No Uncle S was also sitting there, *ja die lightie*" *dan praat ek nou, dan sê sy*, "Mommy, Mommy, Mommy I don't understand, say it in English", *dan moet ek nou in*

English *verduidelik* terwyl hulle nou in die conversation is dan moet ek so wees anderste moet ek myself weer verduidelik. En as ek dit nou vir David wil sê soos dit gewees het, dan gaan ek hom later weer vertel. Kyk, ag man, ek weet nie, is wat werk vir mekaar.

(Interview data [4/03/2010])

(G: If they're there then we speak English and if we want to say something that they mustn't hear then we speak Afrikaans and in the third language, so yes if they sitting there then I say "Daddy do you know what Erin did today?" And then so on and so on, but then if I am cross like yesterday evening, "Mommy tell Daddy what happened there by the cricket, the coach was so rude Daddy, but don't use that word!" she says now. Then I say, "No Uncle S was also sitting there, yes the youngster" then I speak now, then she [Erin] says, "Mommy, Mommy, Mommy I don't understand, say it in English", then I must explain it in English while they are in the conversation, then I must be like that, otherwise I have to explain myself again. And if I now want to tell David like it really was, then I will tell him again later. Look, ah man, I don't know, it's what works for us.)

Gail's discussion illustrates how things work in this bilingual home. The parents speak mainly English to their children and this sometimes happens at their children's request. The children know that their parents speak Afrikaans. However, Erin, mentioned specifically in this extract, often asks her mother to translate Afrikaans into English, claiming that she does not understand. Gafaranga (2010: 242) would argue that Erin is making a 'medium request' of her mother. In Gafaranga's (2010) study, the children requested that their parents speak French only to them not Kinyarwanda-French even though the children understood Kinyarwanda. Like the parents in Gafaranga's study, who spoke Kinyarwanda to the other adults, the Jacobs parents also mainly speak Afrikaans to each other. Gail changes the way she speaks to accommodate Erin. The phrase 'it's what works for us' shows that the family members do whatever works for them in a particular context. Language use in this family is being reflected upon and thought about. I would argue that Gail is aware of the pressure of English on Afrikaans in the home and does not view this as negative, or as loss. She expresses a deeply pragmatic attitude.

The interaction in Extract 25 occurred during supper. The family was sitting around the table in the living room, having their meal. I was invited to join them at this meal. What is typical about this interaction, is the sustained use of English by Shannon and Erin, and the

consistent use of Afrikaans between Gail and David (unlike the previous Extract where David responded to Gail in English). This particular part of the conversation, initiated by Erin, is characterized by high levels of English usage.

Extract 25:

Participants: Erin, David, Gail and Shannon

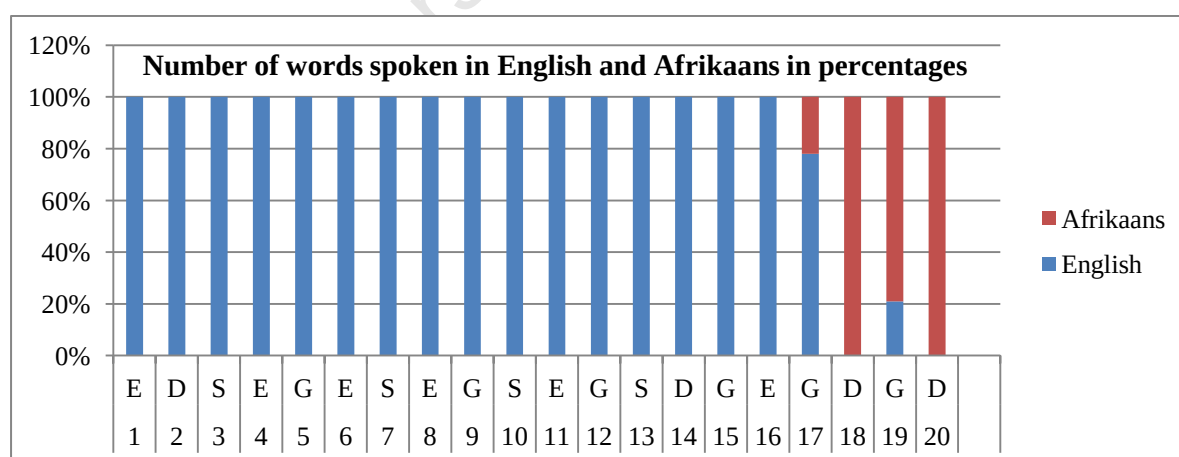
- Turn 1 E: Mommy, daddy and S..if you have...
umm... umm.
- Turn 2 D: What?
- Turn 3 S: Tummy ache... head ache.
- Turn 4 E: No! that.
- Turn 5 G: Huh man.
- Turn 6 E: That, it's so cute [pointing to a baby
corn on the cob].
- Turn 7 S: Oh.
- Turn 8 E: If you have one of those, can you
please give it to me?
- Turn 9 G: Oh, the corn, its corn.
- Turn 10 S: I already ate mine, sorry.
- Turn 11 E: Mommy, daddy?
- Turn 12 G: I only had one...sorry.
- Turn 13 S: Me too and I ate it.
- Turn 14 D: No, I got nothing.
- Turn 15 G [to Rose-Anne]: Last night we had
chicken livers, potato wedges and a
green salad.
- Turn 16 E: And that was just the starter. [In an
American accent]
- Turn 17 G: And erm... because I do not want to
let them eat too much potatoes, we don't
want to have potatoes every day and you
know David is so accommodating
because he is a grown man...but he ...the
portions that David is eating... *is 'n/a* is a women and it's
vrou en is kinders.... childrens...

Turn 18	D[Interrupting]:... <i>Ek moet nog gaan hardloop.</i>	...I must still go for a run.
Turn 19	G: Is seven o'clock, <i>jy moet nog Canal Walk toe gaan ook en gaan hardloop.</i>	It's seven o'clock, you must still go to <u>Canal Walk</u> and you must go and run.
Turn 20	D: <i>Nie hardloop as ek geëet het nie.</i>	I cannot run because I just ate.

(Audio recorded data [18/02/2010])

As discussed above, Gail and David are both first language speakers of Afrikaans, yet in this interaction, all family members speak English to each other for the first 16 turns. Only in turns 17-20 do David and Gail speak Afrikaans and they direct it at each other. They indicated in their interviews that they consider Afrikaans their home language, but it shares a space with English in their home. (See section 3.5.2 of Chapter 3 on the parents' language biographies). The parents have a positive attitude towards English because of its socio-economic benefits and its status as a prestige language in South Africa. The negative attitude toward the non-standard variety of Afrikaans they speak means that more English is spoken even in situations where Afrikaans would previously have been used. (See section 4.5 of Chapter 4 on attitudes towards English and Afrikaans). Figure 6.3 provides a visual representation of the languages spoken in the above cited extract.

Figure 6.3 Summary of the use of English and Afrikaans (number of words) in extract 25.



Key:

E	Erin
D	David
S	Shannon
G	Gail

Note: For practical reasons it was decided to use a word count rather than length of utterance. Since Afrikaans and English are closely related, most words are of a roughly similar length.

The results of Anthonissen's (2009) study show parallels with Gail and David's reasons for choosing English for their children. When Shannon was born, Gail and David started speaking English to her, but continued speaking Afrikaans to each other. As discussed in Chapter 2, Clyne (2003: 22) found that when a child is born, parents sometimes choose to bring up the child in the dominant language. In the case of the Jacobs family this was English and not the home language, Afrikaans. Gail and David chose Pinewood primary for their children, because they wanted them to attend an English-medium school. Gail and David hold a belief that English will provide their children with better employment opportunities and thus social mobility. Lack of proficiency in English was also felt to be socially embarrassing for the adults and English held greater prestige, which connects with the negative attitudes the parents have towards the stigmatised varieties of English and Afrikaans they speak. (See the detailed discussion on the status of languages and which types of bilingualism are more valued in society, in section 4.5 of Chapter 4.)

Anthonissen (2009: 61) argues that, among her study participants, such reasons for choosing English for their children have led to language shift in the younger generation. The youngest generation presents "either a monolingual English identity where Afrikaans has a decidedly second language status or a strong English-dominant bilingual identity" (Anthonissen 2009: 61; see section 2.7 of Chapter 2). Shannon and Erin view Afrikaans as having a second language status because as discussed in section 4.4.1 of Chapter 4, Afrikaans plays a minor role in their lives. They see their home as being English-dominant and both Shannon and Erin referred to their home language as English (in contrast to the Afrikaans home language of their parents).

6.3.3 English and Afrikaans in the Jacobs family

The following extract represents an interaction between Gail, David and their two daughters. David has just returned from shopping at Pick 'n Pay, when Gail walks into the room and asks Erin about her homework.

Extract 26:

The audio recorder was placed on the kitchen counter, the family members are in the kitchen and living room. The researcher was not present during this recording.

Participants: Gail, David, Erin and Shannon

- | | | |
|---------|--|--|
| Turn 1 | G: Erin, you done with your homework? | |
| Turn 2 | E: Yes, mommy. | |
| Turn 3 | G: Did you read? | |
| Turn 4 | E: No, mommy. | |
| Turn 5 | G: Now then don't say yes mommy that is lying to a person. | |
| Turn 6 | G: <i>Hoeveel was die goed</i> , David? | How much was the shopping, David? |
| Turn 7 | D: <i>Pak</i> prawns, sixty rand 'n kilo <i>as jy so</i> -- [inaudible] | <u>Packet</u> of prawns, <u>sixty rand</u> a <u>kilo</u> , if you so-- |
| Turn 8 | G: <i>Is jy dan mal?</i> | Are you then mad? |
| Turn 9 | D: Kilo... <i>twee</i> kilo <i>kyk hier</i> one kilo, <i>twee</i> kilo. | Kilo...two <u>kilo</u> look here, one <u>kilo</u> , two <u>kilo</u> |
| Turn 10 | G: <i>Is julle dan mal?</i> 'n kilo. | Are you guys mad? A <u>kilo</u> . |
| Turn 11 | D: [inaudible] Here is the change. | |
| Turn 12 | G: I want a slip. | |
| Turn 13 | D: Here is the change. | |
| Turn 14 | G: I want a slip, I want a slip, I want to see if the change is right, <i>moenie</i> try mister, <i>die maand</i> is <i>nog lank</i> . | <u>I want a slip, I want a slip. I want to see if the change is right</u> , don't <u>try mister</u> , the month is still long. |
| Turn 15 | D: <i>My ma nie geophone?</i> | My mom did not call? |
| Turn 16 | G: <i>Ja ek het haar geophone, ek gaan haar môre oggend gaan haal, sy gaan half past nine weg wees van die huis.</i> | Yes, I called her, I am going to fetch her tomorrow morning, she will leave her house by <u>half past nine</u> . |
| Turn 17 | G: Shannon, get me a jersey, I am getting cold. | |
| Turn 18 | S: <i>Hoekom gaan jy nie jou eie jas</i> | Why don't you go get your own |

	<i>kry nie?</i>	jacket?
Turn 19	G: <i>Jy's onbeskof as jy nou dit sê.</i>	You are rude, if you say that now.
Turn 20	G: I wish I could go bath now and go sleep.	
Turn 21	S: I wish I can go swim.	
Turn 22	G: David, <i>is daar niks om te watch nie, check gou daai Engeland en Bangladesh game, ek dink Bangladesh het two hundred odd gemaak en twenty odd.</i>	David, is there nothing to <u>watch</u> , quickly <u>check</u> that England and <u>Bangladesh game</u> , I think <u>Bangladesh</u> made <u>two hundred odd</u> and <u>twenty odd</u> .
(Audio-recorded data [2/03/2010])		

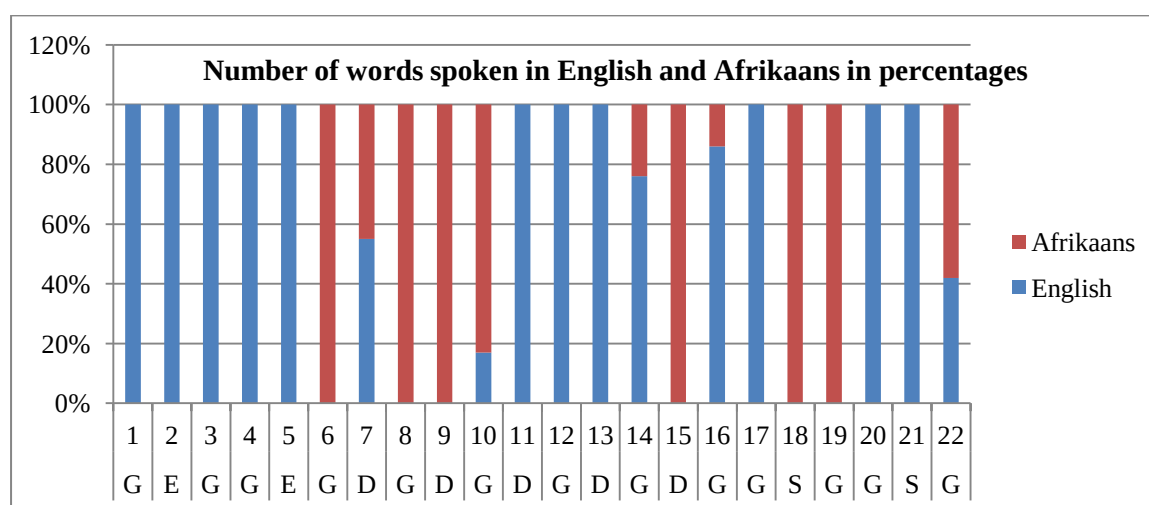
Gail's use of features of what McCormick (2002: 225-228) calls non-standard Afrikaans is evident in this extract. In turns, 10, 14, 16 and 22 Gail uses intra-sentential code-switching. When she speaks in turns 6 to 10, she and David speak mainly Afrikaans, but then David switches to English in turn 11. At turn 15, David changes the topic and asks about his mother in Afrikaans. He uses the borrowing *gephone* as opposed to standard Afrikaans *gebel*, with Gail also using *gephone* in her reply.

In turn 7 Gail says 'sixty rand' not *sestig rand*, and uses the numeral one in English and then says *twee* in Afrikaans (turn 9). In turn 16, Gail uses 'half past nine' to indicate the time, as opposed to *half tien*, which would be standard Afrikaans. She uses 'two hundred odd' and 'twenty odd', not *twee honderd ongeveer* and *twintig ongeveer* (turn 22).

The only exception to the regular pattern of language use is when Shannon responds in Afrikaans, in turn 18, and does not accommodate her mother's English. The reason for this non-accommodation by Shannon could be that she was attempting to tone down her rudeness by using her mother's preferred language (Edwards and Dewaele 2007: 229). Her mother accommodates her use of Afrikaans in turn 19. However, Shannon receives an admonishment in Afrikaans as Gail interpreted *what* she was saying as rude – not *how* she was saying it. In turns 20 and 21 both Gail and Shannon use English and Shannon accommodates her mother's use of English and almost mirrors her sentence. Finally, Gail switches back to Afrikaans when she continues talking to David. Gail and David show

switching between English and Afrikaans across turns and during turns and this is typical of their language use in general.

Figure 6.4 Summary of the use of English and Afrikaans (number of words) in extract 26



Key:

E	Erin
D	David
S	Shannon
G	Gail

Note: For practical reasons it was decided to use a word count rather than length of utterance. Since Afrikaans and English are closely related, most words are of a roughly similar length.

I do not have any audio-recorded data of Shannon and Erin speaking anything but English to each other (although they both know and use colloquial or slang words in Afrikaans). They conduct themselves as English monolinguals with each other. Shannon knows and understands more Afrikaans than Erin as she has had more formal exposure to Afrikaans as a subject at school. She also appears to be more open to learning languages, including Afrikaans as discussed in section 4.4.2 of Chapter 4.

6.3.4 Homework - a standard language domain

The following extract illustrates the use of standard English and Afrikaans when doing homework. The family is seated informally around a table in the backyard. David is helping Erin with her English phonics homework (lists of words beginning with the letter “q”). Erin prepares the page to write her answers down and David starts talking to her about how she is doing that.

Extract 27:

Participants: David, Shannon, Gail and Erin

- Turn 1 D: Why you skipping a line? Don't skip [in a firm tone].
- Turn 2 S: What if it goes up like an 'h', each of them have a 'q', each of them are gonna have a 'q'¹⁶.
- Turn 3 D: Alright then.
- Turn 4 E: Line, line, line [pointing at every line].
- Turn 5 G: *So leer hulle vir jou, onthou jy skryf klein meneer, hulle wil groot skryf.* They will teach you, remember you write small mister, they want to write big.
- Turn 6 S: I also write small.
- Turn 7 E: You skip a line and then write number two.
- Turn 8 D: It's fine, it's fine.

(Audio-recorded data [8/02/2010])

This extract is typical of how homework is completed in the Jacobs family. The children and parents are often in the same part of their house, David helps most with the homework but there is casual banter between all the family members. Although Gail usually uses more than one language, with David, her exchanges with Shannon and Erin are generally in English.

Shannon again shows in this extract that she is able to understand what her parents are talking about when they speak in Afrikaans. Her utterance 'I also write small' is in direct response to Gail's Afrikaans statement in turn 5. Erin, however, does not engage with the Afrikaans at all. Her behaviour reflects her self-projection as a monolingual English speaker.

¹⁶ Shannon is answering the question her dad has asked Erin and is referring to the letters overlapping each other

The standard language ideology, discussed in Chapter 4, comes to the fore during Afrikaans homework time: Afrikaans homework is done using the ‘correct’ grammar and pronunciation as required by the school. David works hard to help the girls pronounce the words correctly and to complete their homework: he uses ‘proper Afrikaans’ without code-switching, mixing and borrowings from English when he speaks with them. The emphasis is on ensuring that their Afrikaans sounds *suiwer*, and is not marked by either non-standard pronunciations or a non-native, English accent. This practice is confirmed in David’s response in his interview that he helps the girls with their Afrikaans homework because he was good at Afrikaans at school.

D: See because I, I’ll always correct them when they have homework in Afrikaans. They will obviously make mistakes so I will correct, give correct pronunciation.

(Interview data [10/03/2010])

Extract 28 is included to show how seriously David takes the opportunity to teach Erin how to pronounce the words correctly in standard Afrikaans. At the same time, he never demands that she speaks Afrikaans conversationally and accepts her self-identification as ‘English-speaking’.

Extract 28:

Participants: David, Shannon, Gail and Erin

Turn 1	D: Read it. [pointing at her book]	
Turn 2	E: <i>Daar is ‘n muis.</i>	There is a mouse
Turn 3	David: <i>Daar!</i> [Correcting her pronunciation to sound more like standard Afrikaans.]	There!
Turn 4	E: <i>Daar is ‘n muis. Daar is ‘n nek. Daar is ‘n bed. Daar is ‘n nes.</i>	There is a mouse. There is a neck. There is a bed. There is a nest.
Turn 5	D: Not <i>daar</i> , <i>daar!</i> [Correcting her pronunciation again].	Not there, there!
Turn 6	E: <i>Daar, daar is ‘n nes</i>	There, there is a nest.
Turn 7	E: <i>Daar is ‘n.</i> [Hesitating with the final word and David interrupts her.]	There is a.

Turn 8	D: <i>Daar is 'n bed.</i>	There is a bed.
Turn 9	E: <i>'n Bed.</i>	A bed.
Turn 10	E: <i>Daar is 'n pet.</i>	There is a cap.
Turn 11	D: <i>Daar.</i> [David interrupts her.]	There.
Turn 12	D: <i>Pet.</i>	Cap.
Turn 13	E: <i>Is.</i> [Erin continues after interruption, but David interrupts again.]	Is.
Turn 14	D: <i>Pet.</i>	Cap
Turn 15	E: <i>'n Pet</i>	A cap.
Turn 16	D: Yes.	
Turn 17	E: <i>Daar is 'n.</i>	There is a.
Turn 18	D: <i>Daar is 'n pen.</i>	There is a pen.
Turn 19	E: <i>Pen.</i>	Pen.
Turn 20	E: Aah you poked me with a pencil.	
Turn 21	D: Sorry	

(Audio-recorded data [10/02/2010])

At Pinewood Primary, the teachers use the phonics approach when teaching Afrikaans as a second language. The Grade 3 children learn a list of Afrikaans words related to a particular sound each week. When David helps Erin with her Afrikaans phonics homework, he places emphasis on the correct standard pronunciation she should use. Erin's first pronunciation of *daar* ('there'; turn 2) is [da]¹⁷ (short front low vowel). Note that she also omits the word-final /r/ (alveolar trill [r] in standard Afrikaans; /r/ - elision has been found to be stigmatised in Afrikaans, see Klopper (1983: 88-89).

David corrects her in turn 3 by lengthening the vowel and backing the vowel, and pronouncing the [r]: [dɑ:r]. The correction of non-standard [da] to standard [dɑ:r] is similar to extract 13, where [prat] versus [prɑ:t] was discussed. [a] is regarded as the non standard form of the vowel shortening and vowel fronting (Odendal 1989: 61).

¹⁷ Personal Communication with Yolandi Ribbens-Klein, MA, UCT.

In turn 4, Erin corrects her pronunciation, but seems to struggle with the vowel, alternating between [dɑ:r] and [dɔ:r]. David picks up on this, corrects her in turn 5: ‘not [dɔ:r] [dɑ:r].’ Odendal (1989: 161) states that raising and rounding of the long back vowel [ɑ:] to [ɔ:] is found especially among younger speakers of Afrikaans. In turn 6 Erin hyper-corrects towards the front to avoid the rounding; instead of [dɑ:r] she says [dar] which is similar to her pronunciation in turn 2, but now she places emphasis on the final [r] by lengthening the trill.

Finally, Erin switches to English in turn 20, where she steps out of the realm of ‘Afrikaans homework’ back into their present (English) reality. All the other utterances surrounding the homework activity are also in English, such as David’s instructions and corrections (turns 1, 5 and 16). In his interview, David stated that he knows the standard Afrikaans pronunciation. What this possibly does is reinforce the notion for Erin, that she does not speak Afrikaans properly – because her father tells her that.

Homework in the Jacobs family home is a place where the standard language ideology of the parents manifests itself. The English-medium school fulfils the desire of the parents for their children to ‘communicate better’, that is, to speak standard English (and to learn standard Afrikaans in a formal environment). David and Gail do not demand that Erin understands the spontaneous, non-standard Afrikaans speech that occurs daily in their home – but they have made a conscious decision that her schoolwork will be done as accurately as possible.

In the Jacobs home, it is most clear during homework time, that the language used should most closely reflect the standard norms that are expected at school. The parents also believe that the English the children are learning as a first language at school is of a higher status than the English they learnt as a second language at school and speak in their home (see section 4.5 of Chapter 4).

6.4 Conclusion

In the Jacobs home, there is transmission and maintenance of Afrikaans between the parents. Afrikaans has a long history of being the dominant language in this family. The

parents continue to speak mainly Afrikaans and varieties of English and Afrikaans to each other.

The daughters over-hear these bilingual conversations. Shannon reported the use of Afrikaans in her interview data and occasionally speaks it to her parents. Erin however, does not acknowledge the Afrikaans she hears her parents speaking to each other. Even though Gail and David know that Shannon can understand and speak Afrikaans, they still speak mainly English to her. Erin does not fulfil the definition of a bilingual for the purpose of this study (Grosjean 2008: 10) as she does not “make use of two languages in her everyday life.” Erin has, however, some passive competence in Afrikaans: she understands the language, but is unable or unwilling to use the language. She continues to demand translations of Afrikaans conversations into English and expects her parents to address her in English. Her demands are met by the other family members. Shannon, on the other hand, has an active, yet limited, competence in Afrikaans.

For the most part though the daughter’s exposure to Afrikaans is limited to ‘moments of maintenance’, characterised by over-hearing Afrikaans spoken between their parents, which cannot sustain a real presence against the very powerful presence of English in this home. These ‘moments of maintenance’ of Afrikaans, which occur only for brief periods of time, mean that, there are intermittent opportunities for them to hear Afrikaans and therefore learn from the exposure to the language. In the Jacobs family, Shannon and, more especially Erin, are not actually using Afrikaans, and therefore the domain shift to English in their home is not just around homework and school-related discussions, but is permeating every area of their home life. Parents play a critical role in language transmission and the Jacobs parents chose to focus on English. An unintended consequence however, is a lack of transmission of Afrikaans. This has caused a disruption of intergenerational transmission, which is an important step in the process of language maintenance (Fishman 1972).

The attitudes in the family, that support shifting to English include a positive attitude towards English and an acknowledgement that English is a resource and means for socio-economic mobility. The negative attitudes of the parents towards the stigmatised variety of Afrikaans that they speak, has supported an overall language shift to English, and a focus on the school-based prestige variety of Afrikaans.

Chapter 7: Conclusion

7.1 Introduction

The overall aim of this research was to contribute to a better understanding of language use in two Afrikaans-English bilingual families living in Cape Town, South Africa. The families live in English-dominant, middle-class residential areas, and their children attend an English-medium school. The ethnographic study provided insights into what happens during face-to-face interactions in these bilingual families, where more than one language is available as a communicative resource. Family members' attitudes towards Afrikaans and English (and varieties of English and Afrikaans) were analysed. Language use between family members and the subsequent transmission or interruption of the home language (Afrikaans) was interpreted and discussed. The effect of the peer network at the English-medium school on the children's use of English at school and at home was taken into account.

7.2 Main findings

Through the ethnographic methodology, face-to-face micro-interactions between family members could be documented and analysed. The following findings provide some insight into the complex processes of language maintenance and shift in these two bilingual families:

- (a) The attitudes of family members towards stigmatised and prestige varieties of languages have an effect on language maintenance.
- (b) Children are active agents of language maintenance and shift, who through their attitudes and choices determine which languages are used or discarded in the home.
- (c) English-medium schools create English-only domains and therefore support language shift within the peer-group.

Language attitudes are important in shaping the nature of linguistic interactions in the two families. Positive attitudes support the use of a language, whereas, negative attitudes

inhibit use. There are marked differences between the two families. In general, everyone in the Petersen family has a positive attitude towards both English and Afrikaans, as well as varieties of these languages. The parents' choice of sending their daughters to an English-medium school was based on ease of access and not linguistic considerations. The prestige of English was, in this case, not directly a motivating factor. The language interactions between the parents, brothers and grandmother are mainly bilingual. The mother and brothers have a positive attitude towards Afrikaans and they speak mainly Afrikaans to Zara and Zoë. Afrikaans is thus transmitted and the use of Afrikaans is maintained in the home. Although Zara and Zoë differ slightly in their perceptions, they express positive attitudes towards Afrikaans and English and consider Afrikaans their home language. Zara and Zoë are subsequently competent in Afrikaans, perceive, and show themselves to be bilingual. Their competence in Afrikaans is supported in their home environment. The father mainly speaks English to Zara and Zoë, yet he speaks Afrikaans to his wife, sons and the grandmother. He explained in his interview that he chooses to speak English to his daughters because he believes that Afrikaans/English bilingualism is socio-economically advantageous. As he and the grandmother grew up speaking English as a home language, and attended school in English, they are both able to provide support for English in the home. We are thus looking at a version of the one-parent-one-language approach which is recommended for bilingual homes: the mother and siblings are Afrikaans-dominant interlocutors; the father and Aunty Muriel, English-dominant interlocutors.

In order to make up for limited knowledge in the other language, Zara, Zoë and Yvonne regularly engage in 'teaching moments' which are moments where they translate and explain English and Afrikaans words and expressions for each other. These were often quite spontaneous and assisted intergenerational transmission of Afrikaans to the children. Additionally there are also moments when the children do the teaching and they provided English translations for their mother.

In the Jacobs family there has been greater exposure to English since moving to an English-dominant neighbourhood. The daughters only speak English to each other, and almost exclusively English to their mother and father. In both families English is used between the daughters; in the Jacobs family English is also used between the parents and the children,

whereas the Petersen family shows bilingual language use in intergenerational communication with all family members.

Although the Jacobs parents speak mainly Afrikaans to each other, they express negative attitudes towards the non-standard variety of Afrikaans they speak. They do, however, hold very positive attitudes towards English as a prestige language and to a lesser degree towards standard Afrikaans, which their children are learning as a second language at school. The Jacobs parents specifically chose an English-medium school for their daughters because they regard English as more prestigious and beneficial for upward mobility.

Shannon and Erin are mainly over-hearers of their parents' bilingual interactions and are rarely addressed directly in Afrikaans. They, therefore, have limited competence in Afrikaans, and their proficiency in Afrikaans is supported primarily by having to learn the language as a school subject. Shannon and Erin's linguistic preferences are clear. Erin does not have a positive attitude towards Afrikaans. She perceives herself not to be competent in the language and claims not to understand what her parents are saying when they speak Afrikaans. She chooses not to engage with any Afrikaans in her home and does not regard it as being directed at her. She does however, have a very positive attitude towards English. Both Shannon and Erin consider English their home language. Shannon, however, has a positive attitude towards Afrikaans. She engages with the language when she hears it being spoken in her home and enjoys learning the language at school.

The Jacobs parents also indicated that English is their daughters' home language. Rare, often interrupted, temporary 'moments of maintenance' characterise their interactions with their daughters and as a result, transmission of Afrikaans is limited and language choice with the daughters is mainly English. The concept of 'moments of maintenance', as described in Chapter 6, refers to short interactions where the daughters overhear their parents speaking Afrikaans, or the rare occasions when they are addressed in Afrikaans. These moments are about potential: they offer the daughters opportunities for learning and use. However, more often than not this opportunity is not taken up, and the dominant language prevails. It is likely that such situations are common in many families where language shift is under-way.

The data also showed that the daughters from both families move in English-dominant peer groups and find school to be a mainly English environment. This confirms Bosch and

de Klerk (1998), as well as de Klerk's (2000a), assertions that English-medium schooling has supported a shift to English when children attend a school in a language that differs from the dominant language spoken in the home. In South African schools, even when maintenance of the home language occurs within the home domain, the shift to English is a reality in the school domain and it frequently influences the use of English in the home.

Gafaranga (2010), Tuominen (1999) and Rindstedt and Aronsson (2002) discussed children as active agents in language maintenance and shift. Zara and Zoë Petersen are active agents of maintenance as they are engaged in the transmission and maintenance of Afrikaans. They enjoy speaking the language, use it daily and interact with other family members in Afrikaans. In the Jacobs family, Erin especially regularly makes a 'medium request' of her parents and demands that they speak to her in English (Gafaranga 2010: 242). Because of the parents' negative attitudes towards Afrikaans, they accommodate her request and speak to her in English.

7.3 Limitations

Extensive naturalistic data was recorded (16 hours in each family), but only selected extracts were transcribed and analysed due to time constraints. A full transcription and analysis of the naturalistic data, on the other hand, would allow us to determine the exact frequency with which each language is used in the home environment. We could then make more definite claims with regard to questions of exposure to Afrikaans in each of the two families.

Another limitation in terms of methodology includes the impact of the researcher on the interactions in the home. Audio-recording devices left in the home without the researcher present could rule out the effect of the researcher on the conversations and languages being used.

The study only focused on two middle-class families with female children attending an English-medium school. A study which includes male children, families from a different socio-economic backgrounds and different languages may deliver different results. McKinney (2007: 12), for example, drew attention to the multifaceted relationship between language and identity in the suburban South Africa schools she worked in.

McKinney's work and methodology could help me to expand this study; especially with its focus on the complexity of identity construction(s) of bilingual children around the areas of language and 'race'. More in-depth data could be elicited with explicit questions around issues of race, identity construction, language choices with the peer group and attitudes towards different varieties of English and Afrikaans.

7.4 Recommendations

English-medium schools create an environment, where the peer group mainly speaks one particular language. This presents a threat to the other languages spoken by the members of the community and can impact on language use in the home. English-medium schools should harness the linguistic resources their multilingual and bilingual students bring to school more effectively. Multilingual libraries, writing and reading groups could be established to provide opportunities for the spoken and written forms of other languages to be celebrated and explored. Existing language policies and their applications can be revisited, especially if they are too narrow in their focus. Bilingualism should be encouraged in the formal and informal spaces in the school so as to mirror what occurs in many bilingual homes – more than one language co-existing with another. National language policies would have to be addressed as currently primary school children can only learn one language as a first language at school. Using other languages (other than English) strategically during recreational activities at school would also help in raising the status of different languages and multilingualism more generally.

In view of the complexity of language use in a multilingual and multicultural country such as South Africa, there are clearly opportunities for future researchers to investigate the language choices of bilingual families where the children attend English-medium schools. The aim should be to arrive at a better understanding of the reasons why shift occurs and to help families to maintain their home language(s), if they wish to do so. This study has shown that the home language can and does remain viable, vibrant and prevalent in the home of the Petersen family. Lessons can also be learnt from the Jacobs family, which is much further on the path to language shift to English. This family draws our attention to the importance of attitudes in enabling or disabling language maintenance.

7.5 Directions for future research

The two families I have studied have much in common in terms of demographics. The ethnographic methodology provided the opportunity for a micro-level analysis of a specific phenomenon. I suggest that future research should consider longitudinal, ethnographic, case studies which would provide even more insight into the processes of language maintenance and shift that occur in bilingual families. Longitudinal studies would allow for the monitoring of changes over time, as the same participants will be tracked. Changes in the use of languages could be also analysed quantitatively (see above). Participant observations, interviews and a self-reporting system for children would form the data corpus. I would suggest that more time should be spent at the school observing interactions within the peer group.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Letter to parents

December 2009

Dear Parents

I am studying for my Master's in Education and am doing my research on family bilingualism: families that speak Afrikaans and English. I need to work with two families observing the language use in the home. I need families where the parents grew up speaking Afrikaans and speak Afrikaans and English to each other and their children, who attend an English-medium school. If this matches the description of your family and you would be interested in participating in this research, please give me a call on 082 XXXXXXXX or email me on XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX as soon as you can.

Many thanks

Rose-Anne Reynolds

*I have removed my contact details, but they were available to the parents in the original letter.

University of Cape Town

Appendix 2: Family biographies and summaries of naturalistic recordings

Table 1: The Petersen family

Family member	Age	Occupation/ Grade	Language at Primary School	Language at High School	Highest level Passed
Yvonne (mother)	49	Home maker and helps husband with aspects of his business	Afrikaans	Afrikaans	Standard 6 (Grade 8)
Ian (father)	54	Self-employed, transport contractor, he has five trucks	English	English	Standard 6 (Grade 8)
Aunty Muriel (grandmother)	66	Worked at a local factory and retired in 2001	English	N/A	Standard 4 (Grade 6)
Angelo	29	Driver in father's transport company	Afrikaans class at dual medium schools	Afrikaans	Grade 12
Lance	21	Does the book keeping for the family business, and accompanies drivers on deliveries. He is also a part time musician and DJ.	Afrikaans class at dual medium schools.	Afrikaans	Grade 12. Course in Sound Engineering at College.
Zara	10	Grade four	Pre-Primary to Grade 1 – Afrikaans Grade 1 to current grade – English.	N/A	N/A
Zoë	10	Grade four	Pre-Primary to Grade 1 – Afrikaans Grade 1 to current grade – English.	N/A	N/A

Table 2: The Petersen family – List of Naturalistic Recordings

Date	Time	Family Members Present	Duration	Speakers	Location and Activities
6/1/2010	10h00 – 12h00	Zoë, Zara Yvonne, Aunt Muriel and Ian.	1:42:37	Zoë, Zara and Yvonne.	Playing in parents' bedroom (school holidays).
7/1/2010	14h00 – 16h00	Zoë, Zara and Aunt Muriel, Yvonne and Ian arrived 25min later.	1:22:45	Zoë, Zara, Yvonne and Aunt Muriel.	Playing in parents' bedroom, followed by an impromptu concert in TV room (school holidays).
14/01/2010	14h00 – 16h00	Zoë, Zara, Yvonne and Aunt Muriel.	1:54:34	Zoë, Zara, Yvonne and Aunt Muriel.	After school, homework in lounge then playing in their room.
15/01/2010	13h30 – 15h00	Zoë, Zara, Aunt Muriel, Ian and Yvonne.	1:31:39	Zoë, Zara and Yvonne.	After school, homework in lounge then playing in their room.
19/01/2010	15h30 – 17h45	Zoë, Zara, Yvonne, Aunt Muriel and Ian.	2:08:43	Zoë, Zara, Yvonne and Aunt Muriel.	In the lounge first, then kitchen, finally playing in their room.
21/01/2010	15h00 – 17h00	Zoë, Zara, Aunt Muriel, Yvonne Ian, Lance and Angelo.	1:46:10	Zoë, Zara, Yvonne and Aunt Muriel.	In the lounge first, then cricket outside, finally upstairs listening to brother's music CDs.
25/01/2010	17h00 – 19h00	Zoë, Zara, Yvonne, Aunt Muriel and Ian.	1:25:44 (battery went flat)	Zoë, Zara, Yvonne and Aunt Muriel.	Homework in lounge, then playing in lounge and finally in TV room, watching <i>Sewende Laan</i> .
3/2/2010	16h00 – 18h00	Zoë, Zara, Yvonne and Aunt Muriel.	1:25:26	Zoë, Zara, Yvonne and Aunt Muriel.	Homework in lounge, then playing in bedroom.

Table 3: The Jacobs family

Name	Age	Occupation/ Grade	Primary School	High School	Highest level Passed
Gail	38	Private transport contractor, for school children.	Afrikaans class in a dual medium school.	Afrikaans	Grade 11 Passed most Grade 12 subjects.
David	43	Fitter and Turner at a laboratory.	Afrikaans	Afrikaans	Grade 12, then completed a diploma as a fitter and turner.
Shannon	12	Grade 7	Pre-primary and Primary, English.	N/A	N/A
Erin	9	Grade 4	Pre-primary and Primary, English.	N/A	N/A

Table 4: The Jacobs family - Naturalistic Recordings

Date	Time	Family Members Present	Duration	Speakers	Location and activities
8/02/2010	17:30 – 19:30	Shannon, Erin, Gail and David (Arrived at 17:50pm).	1:55:52	Shannon, Erin, Gail and David.	Initially outside in braai area doing homework, then inside in open plan kitchen/living room area.
10/02/2010	17:30 – 19:30	Shannon, Erin, Gail and David.	1:53:45	Shannon, Erin, Gail and David.	Outside in braai area, Dad playing guitar, outside doing homework, then inside in open plan kitchen/living room area, having supper.
13/02/2010	13h00 – 14h00	Gail, David, Shannon and Erin.	1:04:49	Shannon, Erin, Gail and David.	In the braai area, cutting up vegetables and fruit for a party.
18/02/2010	17h30 – 19h30	Gail, David, Shannon and Erin.	1:56:16	Shannon, Erin, Gail and David.	In the kitchen preparing supper and completing homework in the living room area.

19/02/2010	17h30 – 19h30	Gail, David, Shannon and Erin.	1:35:45	Shannon, Erin, Gail and David.	In the kitchen, having snacks, in living room area doing homework, David in study with the kids.
22/02/2010	18h00 – 19h00	Gail, David, Shannon and Erin.	1:02:26	Shannon, Erin, Gail and David.	In the kitchen/living room area doing homework and chatting. Shannon and dad working outside on a project.
23/02/2010	17h00 – 18h00	Gail, David, Shannon and Erin.	52:02	Shannon, Erin, Gail and David.	In the kitchen/living room area chatting and doing homework.
24/02/2010	16h15 – 18h15 with a break to fetch batteries	Shannon and Erin then Gail and David arrived home.	1:22:30	Shannon, Erin, Gail and David.	In the kitchen and living room area chatting, snacking and doing homework.
2/03/2010	17:15 – 18:57	Shannon and Erin then Gail and David arrived home later.	1:04:02	Shannon, Erin, Gail and David.	In the kitchen and living room area, Shannon and Erin doing homework, snacking and chatting.
2 /03/2010	19:10 – 20h20 Left the tape recorder with the family.	Gail, David, Shannon and Erin.	1:11:01	Shannon, Erin, Gail and David.	Preparing supper in the kitchen, sitting at table in the living room.

Appendix 3: Interview questions and interview schedules

Interview questions – adults

1. Can you tell me something about how you grew up? Where was that? What was life like at home? Do you remember what languages you spoke as a child – with your parents/grandparents/siblings/friends/at school?
2. Which schools did you attend? English, Afrikaans or dual medium schools? Tell me about your primary school and your high school. Your friends, the teacher, and – of course – the languages you used.
3. When you left school did you go and study, do a trade or find a job? What languages did you speak then, was this different to when you were growing up?
4. What was life like when you started working? Describe the people you worked with and the languages you spoke in the places you worked.
5. Dad - At the moment what languages do you most use when working? What languages do you use when getting calls for deliveries? What languages do you use to talk to your drivers about their routes and tasks for the day? What languages do you use when you do your banking and other issues related to your business?
6. Mom - What languages do you use to talk to the drivers about where they have been for the day? What languages do you use when you help your husband with the banking and other issues related to your business?
7. What language(s) do you use when talking to your spouse – does it change if you are talking about different things, like church, your business, the children, when you are happy, when you are angry?
8. What language(s) do you use when speaking to your children about (a) their homework, (b) just chatting casually and (c) when you are reprimanding them for not listening or following an instruction?
9. What language do you speak to your spouse most of the time? Do you ever speak English to each other – when? What language(s) do you speak to your older boys? What language(s) do you speak to your girls? If this is different why do you think it is different? What language does your spouse speak to the older boys and your daughters?
10. Describe what language(s) you hear your sons speak to each other, at home, at work ... Describe what language(s) your daughters speak to each other (a) at home when they are playing, (b) at school, (c) when they answer the phone, (d) when they want you to make them something to eat?
11. Do you have any specific rules about the languages the children speak? If yes, what are they? Are there different rules for home and outside of home?
12. How has the choice of an English medium of instruction at primary school impacted on the use of English and Afrikaans in your home?
13. In your view, who speaks more Afrikaans or feels more strongly about it – you or your spouse?
14. Are there Afrikaans speaking family/friends you talk to and see on a regular basis in your neighbourhood? Tell me about them? How often do you see them and what do you do when you get together? Do they have children?
15. Do you sometimes wish you lived in a more Afrikaans dominant suburb? If yes, why?
16. Are you aware of any Afrikaans language resources outside your home, like an Afrikaans tutor or extra Afrikaans lessons? If yes, do you use any of these resources?
17. Which other television programmes do you watch besides “Sewende Laan”? Why do you like watching “Sewende Laan”? What stations do you listen to on the radio? Which newspapers do you buy/read during the week and over the weekend?
18. If you could complete this sentence. I would like to my children to see themselves as.....speaking, tell me why?

Interview questions - children

1. Tell me about the first language you remember speaking, before you went to school.
2. Do you remember what languages you spoke when you went to preschool? What did you speak to your parents, your teachers and your friends.
3. When you went to your _____ school in Grade R what languages did you speak at home to your parents? And what languages to your brothers and your sister?
4. What languages did you speak to your teachers and your friends?
5. Did you enjoy school in Grade R, Why?
6. When you came to _____ school in Grade 1, what languages did you speak at home to your parents? And what languages to your brothers and, your sister?
7. What languages did you speak to your teachers and your friends?
8. Do you enjoy attending this school?
9. Okay , let's talk about your mommy... what languages do you speak to your mommy most of the time?
10. And your daddy, what languages do you speak to your daddy most of the time?
11. When your brother's tease you what do they say? What languages do you mainly speak to your brothers in?
12. Your ouma lives with you – now what do you speak to ouma most of the time?
13. When you listen to your parents talking, what languages do you usually hear them talking to each other in? Why do you think that is? Do you like it, or do you sometimes wish they would speak another language? Do they speak different languages to you, your sister and your brothers?
14. Who speaks more Afrikaans or feels more strongly about it – your mommy or your daddy?
15. When do your brothers speak English to you, when do they speak Afrikaans?
16. Why do you enjoy watching "Sewende Laan"? Which other television programmes do you watch – which ones are your favourite, why? Do you ever read newspapers or magazines, which ones?
17. Now that you are at an English medium school, has that changed the way you talk at home in any way? If yes, can you explain? Maybe can you give me an example?
18. What languages do you speak at school, in the classroom, with your friends and with your teachers?
19. What languages do you use at break times when you are playing with your friends?
20. And when you are doing your extra-murals like swimming and gymnastics, what languages do you talk to your friends and teachers?
21. Are there any Afrikaans speaking friends you talk to on a regular basis. Tell me about them. What do you like about them? What kind of things do you do together? What languages do you speak when you are together?
22. Which words would you choose to describe how you feel when speaking English? Do you feel happy, joyful, cheerful, sad, lucky, comfortable, unhappy, miserable, confident, yourself, pleased when speaking English?
23. Which words would you choose to describe how you feel when speaking Afrikaans? Do you feel happy, joyful, cheerful, sad, lucky, comfortable, miserable, confident, yourself, pleased when speaking Afrikaans?
24. Imagine a fairy would have waved a magic wand and made everyone at your school speak Afrikaans only how would that make you feel? Would you like that? Why?

Table 5: The Petersen family: Interviews

Date	Interviewee	Language of interview	Duration
11/02/2010	Aunty Muriel	English	18:34min
11/02/2010	Yvonne	Mainly Afrikaans (and some English).	1:00:03min
12/02/2010	Zoë	English	19min
12/02/2010	Zara	English	15min
07/03/2010	Ian	Mainly English	21:34min
27/03/2010	Lance	Mainly Afrikaans (and some English) .	17:12 min

Table 6: The Jacobs family: Interviews

Date	Interviewee	Language of interview	Duration
04/03/21010	Gail	Mainly Afrikaans (and some English).	1:00:28sec (up to question 17)
09/03/2010	Gail	Mainly Afrikaans (and some English).	10:14 sec (17 to end)
05/03/2010	Shannon	English	15:21sec
05/03/2010	Erin	English	11:44sec
10/03/2010	David	Mainly English (and some Afrikaans).	27:18sec

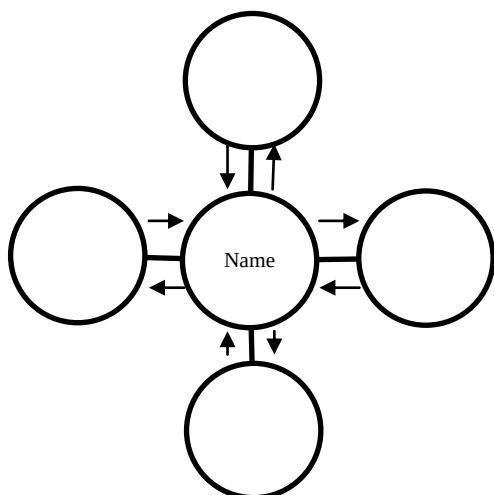
Appendix 4: Language diary

Use this diagram or draw a diagram of the people you spoke to today and the languages you spoke to them. Choose 4 or 6 of your closest friends. Put their names in the circles. The arrow going from you to them is the language you spoke to them and the arrow going from them to you is the language they spoke to you.

Key: E- Mostly English

A- Mostly Afrikaans

M-Mix



Now do these two tables about your family members – or do a similar drawing like the one you did with your friends, you choose. You will need to do this from Monday to Friday. Enjoy!

List the language(s) you spoke to these people.

Key:

E – Mostly English

A – Mostly Afrikaans

M – Mix of English and Afrikaans

E.g. for Erin

	Mommy	Daddy	Shannon
Monday			
Tuesday			
Wednesday			
Thursday			
Friday			

List the language(s) they spoke to you.

Key:

E – Mostly English

A – Mostly Afrikaans

M – Mix of English and Afrikaans

E.g. for Erin

	Mommy	Daddy	Shannon
Monday			
Tuesday			
Wednesday			
Thursday			
Friday			

Appendix 5: Petersen family interviews

Yvonne Petersen

(12/02/2010)

- R: Are you fine for me to tape this interview?
- Y: No, it's fine.
- R: I've taped half your life already. Just give me... you... Yvonne Petersen, do you have a second name?
- Y: Yvonne L Petersen
- R: So is that where Lance comes from? Cute, and Angelo, who was Angelo?
- Y: No my sister-in-law give his name, Angelo.
- R: Oh really?
- Y: She was looking after a little boy that time when he was born, so she told Ian, "no man give his name C-boy" Angelo.
- R: Sweet man, and so she said yes...and so you said yes?
- Y: And that Angelo, he's working on the planes now hey.
- R: That little one that she looked after?
- Y: That little one, yes.
- R: Okay Yvonne can you tell me something about how you grew up? Where did you grow up and what life was like at home, where did you...?
- Y: *Kan ek Afrikaans praat, van ek...*
- R: *Ja, ja, ja, daai's goeie.*
- Y: *..Dis verkieslik vir my. Ek was gebore in Elsies Rivier, en uhm ek het opgegroeï, ons het gewoon by my Ouma. Soos ek nou alles geleer ken it, ons het gewoon by my Ouma en agter na toe it het ek by my Ouma se suster gebly, van sy, sy't niks kinders gehet nie. Ja, en sy't gely aan suiker-siekte uit. Maar ek onthou dat ek by haar grootgeword. My suster en my broer het by my Ma-hulle en ek het nou by haar tot nou by die ouderdom van, hoe oud? Laas ek gou dink...ek het skool gegaan toe bly ek by hulle, seker so van ek dink omtrent agt jaar oud af, of iets soos dit, toe gan bly ek weer by my Ma-hulle.*
- R: Oh terug?
- Y: *Ja, van toe is dit nou dat ek nou by die kerk moet wees en moet ek nou my First Communion en almal daai, toe gaan bly ek nou by hulle. En daai tyd was my Auntie nou nie so gesond nie. Toe voel hulle nou, net sy, ek moet nie nog by haar wees nie. En want sy't niks kinders gehet nie en haar man het ook toe laater sy suiker-siekte.*
- R: Ag shame, al twee van hulle...
- Y: *...van suiker-siek gelei. Ma vir my, ek het lekker groot geword, ek was nog die oudste van ons se kinders.*
- R: Was jy die oudste van die broer en suster?
- Y: *Ja, ek was die oudste, ek het baie lekker groot geword.*
- R: Spoilt? Was jy spoilt?
- Y: *Ja, ek kan nie kla nie.*
- R: En jy het met jou broers en susters van jy agt was?
- Y: *Toe is ons nou saam-saam.*
- R: Met jou Ma en jou Ouma?
- Y: *En Ouma-hulle, ja. En nog my tantes en goed nog almal in die huis daai tyd.*
- R: Cool, so almal saam. En wat het julle gepraat, Engels, Afrikaans, wat?
- Y: Afrikaans
- R: Net Afrikaans?
- Y: *Ek het net, ek weet ek het net Afrikaans gepraat want ek dink nie ek was baie goed in Engels nie. In Std. 8 het ek Engels ge...twee kwartale gedruip, toe maak dit dat ek die kwartaal druip. En die laaste kwartaal, toe doen ek dit so goed dat ek nie kan glo dat ek nie die eerste kwartaal...*
- R: So wat het gebeur?

- Y: *Ma dit was ook so want die meneer wat vir ons Engels gegee het, hy was onderhoof. Hy was nooit daar om vir ons klas te gee nie. Jy moes, ek en my een vriendin toe dit by die laaste kwartaal kom toe sê ek nou "Kathy, ons sal nou nie so kan sit nie, ons moet begin..." Kyk ons sit nou daai tyd gedink ...(not sure of word used) is a joke, dis maar net drie punte wat ek met gedruip het of so. Toe sê ek nou moet ons begin onse vriende se boeke kry. En toe begin ons so na begin werk en ons ander vriend wat nou nie in ons klas is nie, en toe sal ons nou al die werk sien wat ons uitgemis het en dan slag ons (met) flying colours.*
- R: *Oh cute! And so met jou ouma, en jou Ma, en jou vriendinne en vriende, almal Afrikaans?*
- Y: *Almal Afrikaans ja, ek het, om so te sê, net Afrikaans gepraat. Ek kan nie onthou van Engels daai tyd nie.*
- R: *En watter skool het jy daarna toe gegaan?*
- Y: *Ek het begin skool te gaan by die L skool in Euricorn, daar was mos die kerk, die L se kerk en toe het ek daar skool toe gegaan, Sub A, Sub B...*
- R: *Was it the L?*
- Y: *Ja, the L. Toe het ek Sub A, Sub B, Std. 1 een daar, en, want dit was net tot Std. 1. En dan toe gaan ek na Euricorn.*
- R: *Nie die selfde een as jou Ma nie?*
- Y: *Nee, my Ma-hulle was by die Katolieke skool.*
- R: *She was Holy Trinity sorry, you were Unicorn?*
- Y: *Euricorn*
- R: *Euricorn, okay.*
- Y: *Daar was ek Std. 3 en 4, en toe trek ons uit die Elsies uit na Matroosfontein toe, toe gaan ek alwee na 'n ander skool toe. Std.4, 5 en 6 by E, E Primêr. En er daar vandaan af het ek 7 en 8 gedoen by B High.*
- R: *Okay, en het jy, na 8 wat het jy gedoen?*
- Y: *Niks veder studeer nie, straight gaan werk.*
- R: *Was dit 'n option met, vir jou, of wat het jou Ma gesê?*
- Y: *Nee, daai tyd toe is my Ma die enigste een wat werk in die huis in, kyk my Ma en Pa is mos nou, my Pa het vir ons gelos toe is ek nog 6, ek dink Carmi was 2 en my broer 4, toe is hy nou weg. Toe het my Ma nou so gesukkel alleen om ons nou by my Ouma en toe sê my Ouma nêe, ek moet nou uit die skool uit gaan om my Ma te gaan help werk. Daai tyd toe is ek sestig, toe begin ek werk. Dis was my eerste werk en my laaste werk, 26 jare.*
- R: *Really, by uhm...*
- Y: *By OF Shoes, toe ek begin, toe is dit net F shoes in Elsies River.*
- R: *Okay net F*
- Y: *En toe het hulle later mos nou, sy's nou bankrot gehardloop en toe vat O hulle oor, maar toe staan hulle nog op OF, maar hulle staan nou nog. Hulle kom ook so elke keur as ek...*
- R: *Het jy nou jou job gelos, did you stay there?*
- Y: *Ek het al die tyd, ek het nêrens, ek het net, ek het getrou uit hulle uit, ek het my babas gekry, terug gegaan.*
- R: *En maternity leave, wat het jy gekry?*
- Y: *Ses, ses maande, dis mos ses maande maternity leave, dan gat ek net weer trug. Met die tweeling toe wil ek nie trug gegaan het nie, toe phone hulle en toe gaan ek maar weer terug. En toe het hulle elke jaar retrench, hulle het so retrench tot hulle nou net gedecide het om maar die hele plek toe te maak, want ons was altyd van die gelukkeges wat altyd gebly het, toe maak hulle net die hele plek toe.*
- R: *Nou sê vir my, al twee skole wat jy toe gegaan het is dit Engels of Afrikaans of dual?*
- Y: *Afrikaans, dit was net Afrikaans*
- R: *Almal was Afrikaans, was dit net Afrikaans daar?*
- Y: *Net Afrikaans.*
- R: *Hulle het net Afrikaans gepraat?*
- Y: *Net Afrikaans.*
- R: *En dan het jy, English was 'n subject, net 'n vak?*

- Y: Second language.
- R: *Ja, you did English as a second language, okay. En wat het jy met jou vriende en jou onderwysers gepraat?*
- Y: *Afrikaans, ook Afrikaans.*
- R: *Net Afrikaans, okay.*
- Y: *Die hele skool was so te sê Afrikaans, da was nie soos een Engelse klassie, want toe move ons skool van in Parow, dan is die skool, dan is daar miskien een Afrikaanse klas of een Engelse klas, en so.*
- R: *But jy't net Afrikaans? Okay*
- Y: *Ek het net Afrikaanse skool gegaan.*
- R: *And then when you found a job, it was net, was F just Afrikaans?*
- Y: *Er, it lyk my ons het net meeste, daar was so, ons het gesê die Engelse mense is hoër mense, dan meng ons nie met hulle nie. Daai was mos nou...*
- R: *...that's the way it was? Ja. And then when you started working did you enjoy it? What was it like compared to being at school? Het jy geniet of wat?*
- Y: *Ek het nogal geniet maar ek was baie jonk gewees...vir my was dit...ja ek was 16, er soos as ons lunch break kry, nou roep die aunty vir my, daai aunty vir my, nou skryf hulle, hulle goed net dan en moet ek nou Grand Bazaars toe gaan. Daai tyd toe is Grand Bazaars mos nou daar op die hoek in Elsies. Nou is amper soos 'n moet, ek moet nou dit gedoen it, ek moet gaan want ek's mos nou 'n kind, nou so het hulle vir my...*
- R: *Maar jy werk hard soos hulle?*
- Y: *Net so hard soos hulle, maar dit was vir my nogal lekker gewees want ek het altyd tussen groot mense gesit, nie tussen jongspanne wat vir jou ombeskok wees en so. Ek het altyd as ek die kant gesit het soos ek kan nou nog my een vriend, Aunty Myra, ek kan nou nog na haar huis toe gaan en vir haar gaan hello sê, van sy het langs my gesit het. Daar is baie vriende wat so langs my gesit het wat ek nou nog...*
- R: *En hoe lank was jou lunch tyd? Was it 'n hour?*
- Y: *Dit was net 'n half-uur altyd, tea-time op en af, vinnig ...(inaudible) dan moet ek altyd vir Aunty Myra kaas koop, sy het elke dag 'n stukkie kaas gekoop, dan eet sy, dan sny sy af vir my ook. Dan lag hulle en sê jy hardloop winkel toe vir 'n stukkie kaas.*
- R: *En elke dag het sy dit gekoop? I suppose you didn't have fridges.*
- Y: *Elke dag het sy kaas geëet. Sy het elke dag kaas, nee sy eet dit by die werk, elke dag.*
- R: *En brood?*
- Y: *Sy koop vir haar net so 'n stukkie, sy was so 'n skraal, 'n lank, skraal vrou. Sy's nou nog so, en haar kinders is al net so lank en skraal.*
- R: *Jislak! ek moet daai...(indistinct)*
- Y: *Daai vrou het nooit amper brood geëet nie, maar sy het elke...*
- R: *So sy eet net die kaas?*
- Y: *Sy het nou ander, somtyds ander goed geëet, maar dis amper soos 'n moet, sy moet elke dag daai stukkie kaas geëet het.*
- R: *En hoeveel was daai?*
- Y: *En dan eet ek net saam. Net so daai soos ons nou sal koop, net so sê miskien 'n R10 stuk kaas. So 'n stukkie want daai tyd was dit mos R1 odd en R2.*
- R: *En sy finish daai whole thing in that time?*
- Y: *Sy sny dit so op in strips, dan sien jy soos sy werk hoe gaan haar mond.*
- R: *So julle kan toe eet toe jy werk?*
- Y: *Ja, daai tyd het ons, jinne, ons het onse sakke by ons gehet, dis net toe iewe skielik toe die anders nou begin oorvat toe die sakke nou is in die lockers in, ons het nooit lockers gehet nie. Ons het mos gewerk, skoene is mos glue en daai, ek sal nooit daai vergeet nie as ek nou daar aan dink, hoe gevaarlik was dit, dan rook hulle net hier by die tafel, dan staan die glue pot net hier, dan hang die sigaret net hier.*
- R: *And then who brought in the regulations, the fire...?*
- Y: *Ma daar is groot signs, "No Smoking" signs is nou maar ...(inaudible) almal stap net so dan trap hulle die enjtie.*

R: And the supervisor is also smoking?

Y: *Ja, hulle staan net so saam en rook. En agterna, ons uhm, toe begin hulle net so om by die toilets, buite by die toilets te staan en rook. En agterna toe maak hulle dit heeltemal...*

R: ...geen?

Y: *Die signs, hulle maak so oulik, die signs is daar maar die mense rook nog altyd. En hoeveel keur het dit nie gebrand nie?*

R: Really?

Y: *Ja, die een keer 'n man, hy't skoene skoon gemaak of iets met thinners, sy wit skoene en toe het hy angetrek en toe het hy iemand hoekal gerook aan die metjie, angesteek en neergegooi, toe val die metjie op sy skoene to hardloop daai man, ons sien net twee brandende voetjies. Toe bring hulle hom vang en bring hom aan die stop... (both speak simultaneously, what is said is unclear). Toe is daai man se voete gebrand. Ma gelukkig het dit nou nie in diep gebrand nie van toe dinges hulle dat...*

R: ...they helped him, they realised take it off.

Y: *Sy, hy hardloop, en hy hardloop uit by die fabriek, gelukkig kom hy by die buite kant.*

R: But it was nice, I'm sure you can tell so many stories...so many stories.

Y: *Hmm jinne, maar by daai werk het almal die dinge gebeur.*

R: And you called the people "aunty" and...because you were younger?

Y: Aunty M, Aunty C, Aunty...

R: Did you want to stay at school or what? Would you have liked to, I mean I know you had to work for helping the family, but did you...would you have liked to stay at school?

Y: *Ek kan nie eers nou onthou nie, van daai tyd kan ons gegaan het vir ondewys, gegaan het...*

R: *Ja at sixteen...*

Y: *..en vir nursing, baie van my vriende het, is onderwyseresse, van Std. 8 kan jy mos gegaan het na die College toe, ja.*

R: So it was quite common for you to leave at sixteen?

Y: *Vir ons was dit amper as jy Std. 8 gekom het is mos matriek, ja van nou kan ons study vir wat ons wil en so an.*

R: *Het som van jou vriende gebly by die skool?*

Y: *Nogal ek kan nie eens onthou nie, party, meeste van my close friends het almal uitgegaan nogal.*

R: And did you stay in-touch with them? 'Cos did you still stay in the same neighbourhood?

Y: *In the same neighbourhood, ja.*

R: So you stayed in Eurika 'til...?

Y: *Ja, toe ons van standard vier af toe bly ons in Matroosfontein.*

R: *Ja sorry, then you moved, okay. And then that's for your Dad. Why did you move to Matroosfontein, hoekom het jy ge...?*

Y: *Uhm, daai tyd het hulle mos nou amper soos die council het die plekke ingevat daar waar my ouma-hulle gebly het, toe betaal hulle my ouma uit en toe gee hulle nou hulle kan nou koop in Matroosfontein, Nooitgedacht, Uitsig.*

R: Now where's Matroosfontein? *Ek weet waar, is it near Ravensmead or not?*

Y: *Ja, is nie te ver van Ravensmead af nie. As jy nou van Ravensmead terug af kom, as jy nou oor gaan hier by Epping, by Epping oor gaan dan gaan jy nou verby Ruiterswacht, en dan is daar mos 'n polies stasietjie daar op die end, nou as jy by die polies stasie regs draai soos jy Bonteheuvel se kant toe gaan, by die brug, daai brug wat oor gaan, Matroosfontein is net so aan die linker kant. Ma jy kan hom nou van baie kante af kom, is die airport se kant af, dan kom jy...*

R: ...you can come up like, yes, yes I know what you're talking about, exactly.

Y: *Daar is ons nou al die jare.*

R: Cool man, and now uhm, so it was basically just Afrikaans? But you learnt English at school and so did you speak it with anyone?

Y: *Nie wat ek kan dink nie, ek het nooit...*

R: But jy het dit geweet?

Y: *Ja, ons het net geleer as 'n vak maar ons het...*

R: ...from grade 1, from Sub A, of wat?

Y: *Nee, vandat ons, ek kan nie eers onthou nie, Sub A, Sub B of Std. 1 het ons Engels gedoen het.*

R: I wonder if...I must find out then.

Y: *Ek kan maar hier van Std. 2 af, hoe ek kan nie eens onthou nie, ek weet dit was net Afrikaans.*

R: *En is dit die selfde Afrikaans wat jy praat nou?*

Y: *Is maar dieselfde.*

R: Okay, cool. Now, uhm, now to come to your, I suppose I jumped a whole thing here I didn't want to ask you, when you met Ian did both of you speak Afrikaans?

Y: *Ian was meer Engels, ek sal sê Ian was meer Engels van sy hele familie...*

R: *Hoekom is daai?*

Y: *Ian se hele familie is Engels, maar hy, hy het altyd Afrikaans met my gepraat, maar ek weet as ons by sy familie gegaan het, sy susters en aba-hulle het almal van hulle was Engels dan sal ons nou Engels gepraat het. Ma hy het nou geweet dat ek Afrikaans is, toe het hy nou. En ek en hy het nou saam gewerk, ons het mekaar by die werk ontmoet.*

R: Really, where at F?

Y: By F Shoes.

R: Okay. Cool. And that's why you really enjoyed, you met your husband there! And now Y what languages do you talk to the drivers, that come here?

Y: *Ek sal nou soos saam met er, die Africans: Boeta G-hulle, praat ek Engels.*

R: Okay, want hulle verstaan nie Afrikaans nie?

Y: *Ja, en dan C is ook Engels, en M is Afrikaans, M en M is Afrikaans.*

R: There's a mixture?

Y: *Ja, ek is eintlik mix.*

R: *So jy wiet, jy luister net vir wat hulle praat.*

Y: *So Martin sal ook so met G Engels praat, maar as hy met my praat dan sal hy Afrikaans praat, so. Hulle weet nou net wie.*

R: *En met jou, met jou man, as julle nou die banking doen of other stuff to do with your business, wat praat jy en Ian nou?*

Y: *Ek praat meeste Afrikaans.*

R: *En hom, wat praat hy met jou?*

Y: *Afrikaans, hy praat Afrikaans terug of somtyds hulle praat Engels, ek sal sê die meeste Afrikaans.*

R: And then, uhm, when you're talking to Ian does it change what you're, do you change sometimes when you're talking about church or if you go to, if you're talking about the children, or if you're happy or angry, do you speak English or do you...?

Y: Mix them, I speak like, change to English.

R: When do you change to English?

Y: When he sometime answer me, or whatever in English then I will answer him back.

R: Interesting hey, cool. And then, now with your kids what homework, ag no, what language do you speak when they doing their homework?

Y: The most of the time English, because they busy with homework then I must speak English.

R: Because you know mainly they do.

Y: If I don't know how to say the sentence or the word, then I speak Afrikaans. Then they will understand me.

R: Cool. And when they, when you just chatting to them casually about something, if you just like in the kitchen?

Y: *Ek praat nogal meeste van hulle Afri...Engels nou. Ek praat nogal meeste Engels, eerste was ek bietjie-bietjie, maar meeste praat ek nou Engels.*

R: *En hoekom, since waneer is daai, dat jy meeste Engels praat?*

Y: *Wat ek nou weet hulle moet nou met Engels nou by die skool doen, so het ek decide nou net ons moet maar Engels meeste met hulle praat.*

R: *En waneer het jy daai choice gemaak, daai?*

- Y: *Nee hulle hele, is dit nou Grade 1 of Grade 2 af begin, toe het ons nou net so. Van eers was dit net Afrikaans dan sê almal vir my jy moet probeer om net Engels te praat met jou kinders en dan sal hulle meer aanleer. Toe het ek nou daai begin doen.*
- R: *Cool, en as hulle nie vir jou luister nie, as jy nou kwaad, wat praat jy?*
- Y: *Hoe, dan praat ek Afrikaans.*
- R: *En dan verstaan hulle wat jy bedoel? En wat, ja, ek het nou met jou gepraat, uhm what you speak to Ian. And then, and do you ever speak English to each other, just English?*
- Y: *Me and Ian?*
- R: *Ja*
- Y: *We speak English, yes.*
- R: *Like you said yes, sometimes he speaks to...*
- Y: *And when we go out also, we in a crew then we will speak English most of the time because J, F, they speak English most of the time.*
- R: *Okay, so when you go out in your, with your family? Is that his family though? Who's J?*
- Y: *His brother, Ian's brother.*
- R: *'Cos his family's...*
- Y: *uhm no, F is Ian's brother.*
- R: *Okay.*
- Y: *And the people think me and J's sisters.*
- R: *That's cool. And then, uhm, what languages do you speak to Lance and Ian, watter taal praat...?*
- Y: *Lance en Angelo?*
- R: *Er, en Angelo?*
- Y: *Afrikaans*
- R: *Want hulle het opgegroeï, skool toe gegaan Afrikaans en daai? Okay, ja en ek sien daai, ek sien...and then so, and then I suppose you do speak a bit of English with them, or not? Mainly Afrikaans?*
- Y: *Not actually, mainly Afrikaans.*
- R: *It's interesting ja. And then with the girls, it's English and Afrikaans?*
- Y: *English and Afrikaans yes.*
- R: *And why do you think that's different, why do you think you speak only Afrikaans to them and just, and a mixture to the girls?*
- Y: *Dit is seker maar omdat ek weet die girls doen Engels by die skool. En Lance het net Afrikaans gedoen by die skool.*
- R: *En Angelo?*
- Y: *Angelo het ook Afrikaans gedoen.*
- R: *Was hulle al twee net in 'n Afrikaans klasse, of dual-medium?*
- Y: *Ja, hulle was in Afrikaans, hulle was in Afrikaans klasse. Daar was Engelse klasse ook by die skole, maar Afrikaanse klasse.*
- R: *Okay, en watter taal praat Ian met sy seuns?*
- Y: *Afrikaans*
- R: *En Ian met sy dogters?*
- Y: *Engels*
- R: *Engels, praat hy nie Afrikaans met hulle nie?*
- Y: *Baie min*
- R: *Rerig, hoekom?*
- Y: *Baie min.*
- R: *Hoekom?*
- Y: *Ek weet nie, dit is soos ek was, is omdat ons weet hulle moet nou Engels opgebring word. Want as daar 'n Afrikaanse klas gewees het by hierdie skool dan sal my kinders nou nog Afrikaans. Want ons was nou nog by al die skole en hier was nie Afrikaanse klasse nie.*
- R: *Afrikaans, eh... het julle gevra.*
- Y: *Ons was geforseer om hulle nou hier intesit vir Engels.*

- R: What does *forseer* mean?
- Yand R: Forced to...
- R: You were forced to...ja ok. *Was daai 'n big umm decision, of wat?*
- Y: *Nnie eintlik nie, want almal het gesê, kyk hulle's nog jonk. Kyk hulle het Afrikaans gedoen graad 1.*
- R: *Ja, by...*
- Y.: *Maar toe is hulle nog jonk, toe is hulle eintlik 'n jaar vroeg skool toe.*
- R: *Toe sê almal vir my, kinders leer gou, hulle's nie soos ons nie. Ons is skaam want ons will mekaar uitlag. Hulle praat net, jy kan maar lag. Toe sê ek,,nee, dan moet ons maar, as daar nie anders is nie waar sal ek hulle nou ingesit het. Hulle sou moet getravel het en dit om Afrikaans te praat. So dit was nie eintlik 'n big issue gewees om nou vir hulle nou in Engels te sit nie. Ek was nie spyt nie, van hulle praat nou, hulle leer dan nou vir my.*
- R: Exactly. *En hulle praat nog altyd Afrikaans, which is baie goed.*
- Y: *Maar hulle sê dan nou vir my, hulle sukkel nou as hulle by Afrikaans kom van hulle praat dan nou meeste Engels. Zoë sê dan somtyds, "Ek kan dan nou amper nie meer Afrikaans praat nie."*
- R: *Ag shame man, en so, wat dink jy? Wil sy meer Afrikaans praat?*
- Y: *Zoë was mos eintlik kwaad oor die Engelse storie.*
- R: Really?
- Y: *As ons hier dan verbyloop, dan praat nie een mos nou Engels, dan sê sy, "Ek wil nie in die Pinelands bly nie, want dit is net Engels, Engels, Engels en ek is nou dik van al die Engels."*
- R: *En Zara, wat het sy gesê?*
- Y: *Zara het nou nog nie much geworry nie, Zoë was die ene.*
- R: Interesting thing hey?
- Y: *Ja, "Ek wil nie hier skool toe gaan nie, Papa moet weer die huis vekoop dat ons weer in Parow gaan."*
- R: *En hoekom het julle hier ge-uhm, koop, hier in Pinelands?*
- Y: *Deur die, die besigheid eintlik. Ons grond was te klein in Parow, so die rygoed moet almal buitekant staan. En ons het net 'n single driveway gehad vir Ian se kar, Angelo se kar en die meisie wat agter bly se kar. En dan staan die een van net so 'n klein stukkie in die yard in, buitekant. En die neighbours het ook begin en complain van, is nou nie in hulle driveway nie maar hulle kan nou nie eens reg staan nie as hulle uittrek want hier staan 'n van en daar staan 'n van. Nie vir ons self kom sê nie maar ons it nou gesien het en toe hy mos die plek kom sien het, en die sien, en hy sal eintlik 'n plek gehuur het vir die goed.*
- [Doorbell rings, Y goes to answer]
- R: *Jinne mister, so laat in die dag kom werk soek. It's good that you can answer from the window, you must be careful.*
- Y: *Is, is, ek gaan nie uit nie, die ding moet Ian laat regmaak, die een outjie het opconnect, hier is mos 'n camera dingetjie hier in wat jy moet op sien en praat maar dit kom nie deur nie van hy het gekrap in daai boxie nou gaan die sound nie deur nie. Ian moet laat regmaak die intercom. Dit staan hier in die kitchen, dan hoef ek nie so om te, dan praat ek mos dan met hulle.*
- R: Exactly.
- Y: *Maar daai ding is stukkend.*
- R: *So watter jaar het julle hier in getrek 2006?*
- Y: *So 2006, was it November, 2007-8-9, ja 2006 November.*
- R: *And the girls still went to, hulle het nog altyd Parow-Noord toe, vir daai last month?*
- Y: *Daai laste it was nog, ons het einde, ons moet eintlik ingetrek het December, maar toe het hulle kla gmove het, want Ian het toe nog sy, hulle goed gery Bellville toe, ons het mos nou 'n groot trok, daai agt-ton trok, toe ry Ian hulle furniture, toe hulle trek.*
- R: Oh he helped them?
- Y: *Hulle het eers al die klein goetjies ingepak en toe die furniture, en toe ry Ian, en toe sê hy vir Ian nee, Ian kan die sleutel kry dan kan Ian nou stuk-stuk intrek. Toe kom, toe het ons nou nog nie ingemove nie, toe kom bring ek eerste soos almal die breekgoed. Toe was ek alles, ook by die huis en ons het als*

- skoon in. Ek het almal my bedding oor opgewas en weer hulle hier kom inpak, hoe ons het tyd gevat, elke week doen ons iets.
- R: Oh lekker, so it wasn't...
- Y: *Sondags, Sondags dan kom ons hier toe en net tee drink. Ons sit 'n ketel aan, en dan kom ons net lekker tee drink hier dan gaan ons maar net wee. En toe die, by die heel laste, so net so voor die skole sluit, toe dan is die twins saam met my Ma hier een weekend en ek dink ons het een keer hier van dan, toe is daar nog partie by die skool ja, die laste toe hulle hier vandan af toe dingese. Maar ons is toe nog nie reg hier nie, toe bly my Ma en Angelo en die twins al hier. Toe is ons nog daai kant want ons wag nou vir die mense wat nou moet in-move.*
- R: *En waneer het hulle ingemove, jou tenants?*
- Y: *Ek dink dit was die eeste week van December se kant.*
- R: Okay, okay good.
- Y: *Mens kannie 'n plek alleen lat staan nie, daai is die ding. En in daai Parow lyk dit nie nou meer soos dit daai tyd gelyk nie, baie mense verkoop. Daar is baie Nigerians en goed, nou nie meeste daar bo waar ons bly, dit is meeste daar onder by die stasie. Kyk ons is XX, is ver van die pad, maar by die stasie se kant, en ook nie dit nie hulle loop deur van Hyper af, deur die strate, na die...*
- R: *Nou waar in Parow is julle?*
- Y: *Parow X*
- Y: *Daar was soos 'n paadjie, dan maak die mense toe vanaand, more oggend is die draad weer af.*
- R: Rolled back, sorry just...I'm sure that, that's cool. Uhm, shame, now let, and then back to your children, wat praat Lance en Angelo met mekaar?
- Y: Afrikaans.
- R: Ja, en jou dogters, wat praat, okay nou as hulle nou speel, Zoë en Zara, wat praat hulle as hulle net speel?
- Y: Meeste Engels.
- R: En by die skool, wat praat hulle?
- Y: Engels.
- R: Engels, en as hulle die...
- Y: *Ek lag so as ons op pad skool toe is dan ons kom by die hek dan sê Zara en as ons nou Afrikaans gepraat het langs die pad dan sê Zara, "Trek jou Afrikaanse baadjie af, en trek jou Engelse baadjie aan".*
- R: *Sê sy daai? Het sy dit opgedink?*
- Y: *Trek jou Afrikaanse baadjie af en trek jou Engelse baadjie aan.*
- R: Cool man, uhm, and when they answer the phone, wat sal...?
- Y: Engels.
- R: En as jy hulle iets maak om te eet?
- Y: *Hulle sal Afrikaans ook praat, maar soos ek sê, "melkie", "eiertjie" of so. Zoë sal sommer Engels praat maar dan sê sy nog altyd melkie eiértjie. "Mummy I want melkie, eiértjie"*
- R: Exactly, and then...
- Y: *...so van met die French toast, want ek het die koolkos gemaak en niemand eet koolkos nie, net ek, my Ma en Ian, ag ek en my Ma en suster. Ek moet vir almal French toast gemaak het, ek was so benoud hier in die kombuis, toe sê ek eintlik ek's 'n bietjie spyt want ek het vir die twins gemaak, en toe kom Angelo en toe kom Lance...*
- R: *Hulle eet nie die, die, en was daar vleis in die koolkos? En hulle eet dit nie?*
- Y: *Lam vleis, lam vleis, Angelo het van die vleis uitgehaal en op die toast gesit en tamatie sous en toe sê ek "ja, so wil julle eet". Dan staan nog net so 'n bak koolkos, wonder of daar nog vleis in is.*
- R: Now listen, you did say earlier but now uhm, are there specific rules about the languages? I know you said, jy het nou ge-, gedink jy wil nou hê hulle Afrikaans moet, ek mean Engels moet praat, but het jy ander rules gemaak oor wat hulle kan praat?

- Y: *Ek het nie eintlik rules gemaak nie, maar ek voel ook as hulle 'n bietjie Afrikaans praat dan is dit hulle, want as ons nou heeltemal Afrikaans gaan uitskakel in die huis, dan weet ek dan gaan hulle sukkel in die skool, want Afrikaans is swaarder as Engels.*
- R: *Exactly, en it is belangrik.*
- Y: *Dit is belangrik ook.*
- R: *Ja, en dit is belangrik, dis nie ook belangrik vir jou nie? Van jy het Afrikaans opgegroeï.*
- Y: *Ja, maar dit is vir hulle, dit is vir hulle belangrik so, so ek voel ons moet nog altyd vir hulle so 'n bietjie Afrikaans nou en dan met hulle praat. Want ek kan sien as hulle so oefen as hulle nou iets by die skool moet doen...*
- R: *Die mondeling?*
- Y: *Dan doen hulle dit baie mooier in Engels, dan wat hulle dit in Afrikaans doen. Want Zara sê sy het opgemors by Afrikaanse mondeling, want haar juffrou was ombeskof gewees.*
- R: *Hoekom?*
- Y: *Sy het haar rubric vergeet by die huis, wat sy moet ingesit, to sê Ms Y "where's your rubric?" "I forgot it at home." "Well get one of your friends' rubrics and go make a copy!" Sy praat nou so met hulle, dan huil sy.*
- R: *So dis altyd die case...*
- Y: *Ek sê "Zara dis van jy jou blaai vergeet het. Maar sy, ek het opgelet sy het daai way van praat, maar sy is baie streng, maar as sy ook nie daai change gaan maak nie dan kan die kinnars dan oorvat. Toe sê sy dan vergeet sy om te sê van haar troeteldiere.*
- R: *Ag nee sy het nie so lekker gepraat nie.*
- Y: *Kyk hier toe is sy mos nou...*
- R: *Stressed out, ja.*
- Y: *Ja, en ek meen hulle is goed in Afrikaans.*
- R: *Hulle het dit baie mooi gedoen.*
- Y: *Sy sê, toe het sy heeltemal gedingese, want hier het haar papier nog gelê, van haar van die Engelse een wat sy 63% gekry it. Almal op nommer drie gemerk, maar Zoë het nou nie haar, nog nie haar gekry nie.*
- R: *Hoe het sy nou met die Afrikaans gedoen? Het sy 'n punt gekry?*
- Y: *Sy het nog nie daai punt gewys nie.*
- R: *Ag sy het seker beter gedoen, sy moet nie worry man, she mustn't worry. But did she, het sy vergeet, het sy vergeet wat sy wil sê?*
- Y: *Sy sê sy het skoon vergeet nou om te sê van die troeteldier want sy is te deurmekaar want daai juffrou was te kwaai.*
- R: *Aai, no, sy kan lekker wees, dan somtyds is sy, en dan moet sy relax, ek dink dis 'n mood you know like...*
- R: *Uhm, nearly done, and then, we did mention this earlier: how has the choice of an English medium instruction impacted on the use of English and Afrikaans? Jy het nou gepraat, hulle gaan nou na die Engelse skool toe praat julle nou 'n bietjie meer Engels, is daai nou, daai is...uhm, of wat dink jy?*
- Y: *Of ons fine is, ek mean, of wat?*
- R: *Ja, of just...*
- Y: *Of dit 'n probleem is of...?*
- R: *Nee, hoe...*
- Y: *Hoe het onsangepas?*
- R: *Hoe different, is dit nou different, wat julle nou praat compared to wanneer in Grade R en een was?*
- Y: *Daar is 'n verskil in, maar soos nou by die tyd is ons nou al gewoond daar aan al. Ek is nou al eintlik gewoond, toe hulle nou Graad 1 gewees het, Grade 1, toe was dit nou like quite 'n change, maar soos die jare nou angegaan het, by my is dit nou al soos normal, ek sal nou Afrikaans praat, maar as hulle in kom switch ek sommer automatically oor English toe.*
- R: *En nou het hulle toe huiswerk in Graad 1? With Mrs X, was that interesting for you to do all the English words and er, did they pick it up quickly hey?*

- Y: *Dit was baie different, excited gewees want dis nou different boeke en dis, en hulle het gou geleer van hulle het 'n baie goeie system wat hulle leer...*
- Y: *Soos wat ek sê hulle het 'n mooi system, van, van die kartjies, hoe, daai kartjies het my plek heel vol gelê dan pak hulle, dan maak hulle woorde, daai maak vir hulle slim.*
- R: *My seun sê vir my, "I want to count as we put it in" and then he says "you say it" and I say "I'm the teacher, you say it." And then making up the sentence, ja, it's a very good, it's brilliant.*
- Y: *Ja in die middag het ons hier gesit.*
- R: *It's a very good system because they're learning without knowing that they're learning to read. It's like you think the week before they didn't know the word "look" now you show the word "look", "see", "Socks" I mean they don't even know...*
- Y: *Ja, they just see it and they know it.*
- R: *Ja it's amazing, so I think that is a nice, uhm, so at least they've had a very good foundation in English.*
- Y: *En hulle, hulle was, hulle het goed gedoen in er, in Graad 1 want kyk hulle kan klaar geskryf het, hulle kan hulle name gedoen het. Hulle het plus en minus geken, hulle het, hulle was goed.*
- R: *Ja, en die Maths was goed?*
- Y: *Toe Mrs. X weg gaan en oorgee nou vir, is it nou Ms H na?*
- R: *Oe ja, dit was, en was hulle in H se klas in Graad 2?*
- Y: *Zara, Graad 1.*
- R: *Graad 1? Oh ja.*
- Y: *Toe sê X vir Ms H, Zara was Afrikaans en sy is Afri...was Afrikaans nou, net so vligtig voor my sê sy "Maar die kind skryf verskriklik mooi." Die feit dat hulle mos nou 'n hele jaar geskryf het.*
- R: *En was die ander een in Mevrouw K se klas?*
- Y: *Mevrou K se klas, Zoë.*
- R: *Oh okay.*
- Y: *En sy het ook mooi gegaan in K se klas.*
- R: *And how did other one like Ms H?*
- Y: *No, sy het dit gelike, sy was...*
- R: *..nice?*
- Y: *Ek het altyd vir haar gelike, vir Ms H.*
- R: *Cool man. Uhm, and then in your view, who speaks more Afrikaans, wie praat meer Afrikaans, jy of Ian?*
- Y: *Ekke.*
- R: *Okay want jy het nou opge...in jou lewe jy was nog altyd Afrikaans. Is daar Afrikaanse mense in, familie en vriende wat hier bly rondom julle? Of kom besoek of...?*
- Y: *Ons kry mense, ons kry van ons se aunties wat kom besoek wat Afrikaans praat, ja maar hulle wat nou nie hier is nie, soos my uncle wat uit Belhar uit, hulle kom gereeld hier, hulle praat...hulle sal nou met ons Afrikaans praat, maar hulle kinders, hulle kleinkinders het Engels grootgeword is my Ma se broer. Maar as ons nou praat dan sal ons Afrikaans praat, maar met kinders praat hulle net Engels. Want hulle het nou ook kleinkinders wat nou drie jaar oud is.*
- R: *En dan Q en R?*
- Y: *Soos ek en Q praat Afrikaans met mekaar, ma Q het ook Engels groot geword. Hulle sê mos ek het vir Q Afrikaans geleer.*
- R: *Since julle nou getroud is? That's cool.*
- Y: *Maar R het ook Afrikaans, R het ook Afrikaans skool gegaan.*
- R: *Oe, okay, so...now that's cool. And then uhm, het hulle kinders?*
- Y: *Twee, twee.*
- R: *Waar's hulle nou? Ouer?*
- Y: *C werk en M, sy is, dink sy's jaar oud en M word nou, net 'n dogter en 'n seun.*
- R: *Okay. En wens jy somtyds dat daar was meer Afrikaans, like soos julle nog altyd in Parow gebly, of Pinelands meer Afrikaans was?*

- Y: *Nee, ek wens nie daai nie want...kyk hier is nie van die mense wat ek kan sê dat as die mense hier kom dan kan ek nie vir hulle handle nie. Ek kan, as ek nie kan by hou met die Engels dan praat ek net Afrikaans. Dit traak nie vir my as mense gaan nou sê "die stupid kan nie eers..." baie het mos daai idee. Ek praat Afrikaans as ek vir myself kan sien in die Engelse lyn of whatever nie, dan praat ek Afrikaans.*
- R: *Good, uhm, and then are you aware of any Afrikaans resources outside your home? Is daar, sal jy enige, like a Afrikaans tutor, of 'n Afrikaans extra lessons, weet jy van any of, enige mense wat daai offer?*
- Y: *Nee.*
- R: *Okay, is daai iets jy wil later met jou kids wil doen, like dink jy hulle sal dit nodig hê of nie?*
- Y: *Ek sal vir hulle self.*
- R: *Ja, exactly. En, now, nearly finished, wat kyk julle besides 7de Laan? Wat kyk jy op die televisie?*
- Y: *Ek is baie lief om die nuus te kyk.*
- R: *Okay, en in watter channel 2 of 1 of...?*
- Y: *Na 7de Laan, is 2, enige eene en ek like vir Special Assignment ook kyk. Somtyds vergeet ek, ek is nie baie lief vir 'n tv nie, somtyds dan gaan sit ek daar binne maar dan is my mind nie op daai tv nie. Ek sal miskien 'n boek vat, want ek sit baie min stil.*
- R: *Ja, ek sien daai ja.*
- Y: *Ek gaan net so, gister het ek toe-5 by die huis gekom van die gymnastics af, van daai tyd wat ek hulle gaan haal het.*
- R: *Really, hoekom?*
- Y: *Toe het ek mos nou...kyk dis mos nou van al 4 tot al 5, toe lus ek nie vir loop nie, toe phone ek, kom haal ons asseblief by die skool. Toe kom Angelo ons haal.*
- R: *Dit was baie warem gister aand.*
- Y: *Ja want ek dink hulle het elkeen twee sakke en die dinges, en hulle is moeg.*
- R: *Hulle is moeg nou want hulle swem en, wie swem, Zoë?*
- Y: *Zoë, hulle is moeg dan kom hulle hier, dan smyt hulle net neer en straight na hulle boeke, hulle eet en drink niks. Hulle sit elke middag, ek moet sê "Mrs J moet julle die tyd van die aand skool kleure aan." Okay hulle is nie buite nie, en ek trek elke dag vir hulle skoon tops aan en ek druk elke dag hulle broekies tot so.*
- R: *So you...jy hou daarvan om te lees? Wat lees jy Afrikaans of Engelse boeke?*
- Y: *Enige boeke.*
- R: *Het jy nou na die biblioteek toe gegaan?*
- Y: *Ek was nog nooit by die biblioteek nie, ek moet nog gaan van hulle moet daar uit kom.*
- R: *Nou waar kry jy jou boeke wat jy lees?*
- Y: *Soos, er, J se Ma stuur so elke week die koerant en dan sal haar broer 'n boek, so miskien 'n Huisgenoot stuur, of as daar nie nou 'n Huisgenoot is nie, en dan 'n YOU, dan sal ek daardie lees. En al die koerantjies wat Pinelands gee, dan sal ek gaan lê als met daai en lees nou.*
- R: *En dan recyle jy die girls by die skool?*
- Y: *Ek het lank laas, ek het vergeet om bokse en bottles van cooldrinks, joe, twee sakke ek wil dit Vrydag inneem.*
- R: *But then you get a lift there, how do you carry all that?*
- Y: *No, hulle drop my die oggend, Ian is al weg dan Lance of enige driver wat daai tyd hier is, dan vat hulle ons gou met die. Kyk hulle is mos soggens hier, Ian gaan al 7:30 hier weg en gaan inbetaal en dan neem een van hulle vir my af, as ek lui is dan sê ek, wag net gou hier ek kom. As ons laat is en ek weet die klok gaan lui nou enige tyd in twee minute lui, dan sê ek nie bly, wag vir my dan neem ek hulle in dan sê ek "sien julle bye."*
- R: *Do you walk them in, or do they just jump out?*
- Y: *Ja, sometimes I just drop them there by that gate then I tell them they must go. But most of the time I will stay there, I will wait till the bell, till the teachers come out and then I will walk.*

- Y: *Ek lees daai newsletter from A to Z. Zoë kom gister met haar'ne en ek sê toe, "Zoë ek het dit al klaar gelees al, Zara sin gister."*
- R: Ai shame man, hers only came out yesterday, it supposed to be on a Tuesday?
- Y: *Sy het dit vergeet om dit vir my te gee. Maar ek vra elke keer, is daar enige briewe, is daar enige, dan kom hulle so een vir een.*
- R: And then, what do you listen to on the radio? Do you listen to the radio?
- Y: Not actually.
- R: Not really, mainly the tv. Cool. And then if you could, this is the last one, if you could complete this sentence, "I would like my children to see themselves as something speaking." Like if you could put a word in there, as *Engels praat of Afrikaans, of both, wat wil jy hê?*
- Y: *Ek sal hulle hou op al twee tale.*
- R: *Hoekom?*
- Y: *Omdat ek dink is, dit gaan in hulle eie guns tel.*
- R: It's gonna benefit them both for what they need to, need to speak, cool. Well thank you very much, we had a nice chat. Do you think your husband would like to, is he available to have an interview? I can always make another time.
- Y: *Is jy baie besig?*
- R: You are busy, shame but we can make a...
- Ian: I'm running again.
- R: I'll make a time...what's he saying?
- Y: At 11.
- R: It's fine.
- Y: *Miskien een aand, want hy's besig in die...*
- R: Is it better in the evening, because he's working now, ja no that's fine. Then at least I, what I'm gonna do now then is tomorrow, you fine with the girls. I want to talk to them separately because I don't want the one to, bye, don't want the one to hear. So I'm gonna come at about 2, they are home by then, they don't have sport tomorrow?
- Y: Yes school is... no, no nothing tomorrow.
- R: Then I'll do 2 o'clock, then maybe I can just choose one.
- Y: No any one first.
- R: Ja, one can come first, we'll take a straw out of a...
- Y: You just take anyone, otherwise, who's "gonna come first?" "me, me, me!"
- R: And then I didn't bring it with me now, maybe I did let me just show you. Remember I spoke about a language diary, but it's, this is going to be, no I didn't bring it with me...oh ja I did. This is something I want to ask them to do, thy going, but it's going to be like it's, I just have an example of Zoë's name and then she must have 4 or 6 of her friends and then just the arrows what she speaks to her friend and what her friend speaks to her. But I just thought it would be nice an then they're gonna do, they can do either, I'm gonna give them an option, so they can only, they only have to start this next week, because they must tell me which on they want. Or they're gonna do with the family like that, so Zoë's one will be: on Monday I spoke to Mommy in English and Afrikaans. Or like here's a little key, so I think they like doing things like that, so I'm going to go and buy.
- Y: No they'll do it on their own.
- R: That's what I said ja, I said to my husband they'll actually probably want to draw because they'll have to draw one of these for every day, but I'm gonna get them a little book and then I'm gonna say to them do they want to do it in the book or let me do it for them. So tomorrow, we'll chat and then on Monday they can start. I'm sure they'll do colours and...
- Y: They will love that.
- R: Just to give an example of what they'll be doing, okay. But listen Y, thank so much
- Y: Pleasure

R: Can I ask you in English and you can answer in Afrikaans, you decide. Can you tell me about where you grew up and like what you spoke at home to your parents, what languages you spoke to your sisters and brothers and that kind of thing?

I: Well I was born in Salt River, and that's actually, and I was born Moslim, obvious, and uhm, I actually grew up in Maitland with my grandparents and my mother and grew up without a father, but not, uhm, we, when I first started my uhm, first school, or first schooling or what, it was at a Moslem school, it was Afrikaans.

R: Was that like Grade 1, or like Sub A?

I: Ja, Sub A, Sub B, I did in Afrikaans at er, K Street.

R: Okay, and what did you speak to your grandparents and your Mom?

I: Well then because that was when we were at school that was Afrikaans, K Street. And then my grandparents, they were Catholic.

R: Oh okay.

I: And then my, my grandpa got a, his sister's place, when his sister died in Maitland, and then we all, then he took us all in. That's how we became Catholic, because uhm...

R: Oh, okay, you went to live with him?

I: Ja

R: And how old were you when you did that?

I: I was about like ten, ten, ten.

R: Oh okay, and then where were you at school then?

I: Then we went to school at St. F Catholic School in Salt River also.

R: And what languages you spoke at school?

I: English, then we changed to English.

R: Okay, and then what were you speaking then to your family and friends?

I: Well we were still communicating in both languages.

R: Oh okay, so you mixed. And what did your Mother speak?

I: My Mother, Afrikaans.

R: Okay, and your grandparents, mainly...?

I: Now and then English and Afrikaans, we were like tweetalig.

R: Just mixed it, I mean ja, it was that 1960's 70's...And then high school?

I: High school was also English.

R: Okay, which high school did you go to?

I: Wesley

R: Oh okay.

I: Uhm okay that was English and then uhm okay, then I went to go work my first job because I was, because of financial difficulties in the home.

R: Oh ja

I: I walked, I can still remember, I walked from Maitland, to, that time it was still Dunes Bakery in Woodstock, then I'll walk that, I would stand up at about three and then I would walk, say about 3:30 I would walk from the house to Woodstock.

R: Wow

I: And then from there, that was the first, first step I'd go there and from there on my way back I'll walk start looking until I came in at Koeberg, here at P Shoes, and then I started my first job.

R: Oh, and how old were you?

I: I was, I was just, when I got my first pay package I was 15.

R: Amazing

I: On, my Birthday.

R: Wow, on your birthday and you were at P?

I: P Shoes, I started my trade there.

R: Gee whizz, cool. And how long did you work there for?

I: Jho, first I was in the shoe trade for let's say, left the shoe trade when I was about 28/29....

R: Wow, so that was about fourteen years?

I: ...years, so I went into canvassing clothing and that, sales, I went into sales.

R: Cool, and uhm languages spoken at Panther, what kind of languages did you speak with your friends?

I: I would say both languages...

R: Was there always a mix? And at canvas, doing the clothing thing?

I: ...bosses was all white there.

R: Ja, and then you didn't, so it was all English to them?

I: Ja

R: Okay, and the clothes?

I: The clothing was a Coloured chappie, okay, but he was also English and obviously canvassing in Afrikaans was then in English cos then you get different type of customers, clients ja.

R: So you used the fact that you were bilingual to your advantage?

I: That's it, that's it.

R: That's good, and then after the P, I mean after the clothes, what did you do?

I: After the clothes, uhm then I became a driver, then my brother-in-law got me a job at a ceiling place park, which was called uhm PSS Systems (?) they did the ceiling and partitioning and that, and he, they were looking for a driver, or a Code 8 licence and er I started there. So I did the small deliveries and that.

R: Cool, and languages again, what were the languages?

I: Uhm always, also bilingual, because why also customers they (...) because I'm the delivery guy.

R: And after that, where were you?

I: After that, I went for my Code 10 and which I did get and then I drove the big truck for them.

R: Cool, so that set you on your path for today.

I: And then from there I went into the airport, which I drove staff with, which they had combi's and busses. So I got a job before I went to them, I first did C Catering.

R: Oh

I: But, but not doing the catering myself, I...

R: The food?

I: Ja, I was...

R: The driving, sorry.

I: ...the driving, I was, and I was uhm like putting the food onto the uhm the aircraft and thing like that and...

R: Oh, that's cool.

I: And, uhm, then after that, this uhm company that I worked for, which was F, they got me a contract with SX, doing their catering for them and uhm, and then I became the catering supervisor there.

R: Wow

I: And er, then one of the guys from Johannesburg, one of the, not actually supervisor, the catering manager, but then what happened one of the MD's from Johannesburg, okay one of his er, his son actually, he, cos I don't know what his son was doing in Johannesburg, so he transferred him here to Cape Town and then they put him in charge of me.

R: And how did that go?

I: Uhm, okay I didn't feel so good about it, because why I mean I was doing everything...

R: And you were quite capable?

R: That's his job, ja.

I: I you on contact, you know the people and all that.

R: He wasn't a good a manager?

I: Ja, and this and that, and even we would have gotten the contract with uhm C that time it was still C.

R: Ja, the B.

I: Ja, the B, doing the catering, because then he introduced me to this guy and it came down from Johannesburg, also Cis, the guy, and this guy just wanted to talk to me and everything was just happening with me and I suppose when I left the whole thing fell down. So they lost that contract also

R: oh my word.

I: And I mean it was just about six months when I was there, so they lost that contract also, just six months after I was gone.

R: Shame, and the job you took, how'd that go?

I: No, that was, that was, I started off there as a driver, and I became assistant uhm er, I was assistant, the transport assistant supervisor.

R: cool

I: Until I became a communication officer.

R: Wow, and how many, years did it take?

I: Ten years

R: That's excellent, with what, what was that for? What were they called?

I: AP Services, but then another company took us over, when I became a communications officer, EA and they became like er independent from SAA...

R: So how long did you stay with them then after that, from the first of April, like did you sign another contract?

I: No I was finish that, I was finish, then I started off this business, that's when I started this business.

R: And when you signed the page, you signed the contract?

I: Yes, I signed it, CCMA...

R: What did they say?

I: CCMA told me that it's out of their jurisdiction.

R: Why?

I: I must go to the Labour Court.

R: Did you go there?

I: No, I just got, I just got, because then I went to other attorneys and I just got, I went to the er here in Claremont, er, uhm, because that guy at that er, uhm, Commissioner at the CCMA sent me, he told me I must go there and uhm, 'cos they higher authorities and that and that people also told me they sorry they can't help me. Uhm, this is out of their...

R: And that Human Resources guy, what did he say?

I: Well that guy was then the guy behind it, that was the guy behind it, he...

R: So what was he trying to do?

I: ...no he was influenced by other guys that's, I'm not feeling good about it, but they're all, they all down.

R: You see, 'cos people are now not...

I: They all down, they phone me for jobs, so...

R: Terrible man.

I: Because everybody's talking and I mean there's a lot of people that know me and tell them how successful I am and that and...

R: Exactly, look at you now...

I: Now they looking for jobs by me.

R: Shjo, no but it's great, and then just all those years was it always English and Afrikaans? Or you just continued to speak ?

I: Well I was English and Afrikaans mixed even in, in our business also, you know wherever I go if it's white people Afrikaans, if it's *Boere*, I mean if it's *Boere* it's Afrikaans, English people, I mean now I, I mix with everybody. So whether you a worker there, I mean I got a contract of three years, so I mean now I've got to be able to be with everybody, ja. Buyers and my workers self, and er...

R: And when you met Yvonne, what did you, what did she speak, or what did you speak?

I: Oh she would speak more Afrikaans.

R: Er, and then you thought that would be a good plan to speak some Afrikaans that day? Cool, and then what do you speak mostly now to Yvonne? What do you guys...

I: Well Afrikaans, that's mostly the house language, mostly Afrikaans, 'cos I mean that's how she grew up.

R: Cool, and then uhm when you, when you talking to Yvonne does it change when you speak about like church or your business, do you change the way you speak English or Afrikaans, or is it mainly Afrikaans?

I: No it's mainly Afrikaans, I'll put it that way.

R: Cool, and then with your children, I know you got a lovely situation 'cos your older boys and your younger daughters, so like with Angelo and Lance what do you speak?

I: They, they, they speak Afrikaans, so...

R: 'Cos you grew, they grew up Afrikaans with you? And then Zara and Zoë?

I: Zara and Zoë, they sometimes English, sometimes Afrikaans.

R: They get to mix everything?

I: *Ja*, oh *ja*.

R: And then with, say you just chatting casually to Zoë and Zara, what do you speak?

I: Well just the way they feel, if they wanna speak Afrikaans with me fine, if they wanna speak English we speak English, that's all *ja*, we communicate.

R: And if you cross with them or you want them to do their homework or they must clean up, what do you speak?

I: Ag, that's Mommy's problem.

R: You don't get to, you don't get to be the bad cop?

I: No

R: Cool, and then uhm, do you ever speak English to Yvonne?

I: It's very seldom, I would say no.

R: And when you go to church, I know your church is English.

I: *Ja*, we English at church.

R: Sing English songs, okay. Then, what languages do you hear your sons talking to each other?

I: Afrikaans, they always Afrikaans.

R: Okay, and your girls?

I: Well I sometimes I hear them if they play it's English.

R: Cool, and when they on the phone, or if they answer the phone?

I: English or it depends on who's calling, so *ja*.

R: Oh, if it was their aunty they would be speaking in Afrikaans?

I: That's it

R: And then do you have any rules about the languages that they speak?

I: No

R: You don't say that they must speak English?

I: No, no, no

R: Okay, but why do they speak English? Why do Zara and Zoë speak more English?

I: Because they at a English school I suppose and that may be the major reason and I suppose they developing in an English, in their own way I can say, *ja*.

R: *Ja*, and how did you feel about them going to the English school?

I: No, I haven't got a problem, because I grew up in an English school.

R: *Ja*, exactly, you were, you were there...and you don't have uhm, *ja* you don't have any rules about how they speak outside the home or anything like outside, they can decide?

I: No it's not er...

R: So you answered the next question, this is: how did the choice of an English medium of instruction in primary school impact the use of English at home, English or Afrikaans? Is there more English in your home now then when Angelo and Lance were growing up?

I: *Ja*, no that's definite, that's definite.

R: Because when they were growing up there was more Afrikaans?

I: *Ja*, more Afrikaans because they went to a Afrikaans school. And we were in a Afrikaans environment also.

R: True, *ja*, you were in Parow and Belhar previously *ja*. And in your view who speaks more Afrikaans or feels more strongly about it, you or, or Yvonne?

I: Yvonne

R: Why is that?

I: Uhm well she, she, she grew up Afrikaans, as I said.

R: *Ja*, so she's...and then are there Afrikaans speaking friends or family you talk to on a regular basis, in your neighbourhood, or...?

I: No, I...

R: In this neighbourhood here?

I: No well the only people here that I, it's only my brother, his wife and in like, like, like it's only us, the two neighbours that are who's houses is opposite each other, 'cos it's family.

R: *Ja*, which is nice for you.

I: *Ja*

R: And uhm do you sometimes wish that you lived, you still lived in a more Afrikaans dominant suburb?

I: No

R: Why not?

I: Because why I mean I grew up, as I said English and I mean to me both languages it doesn't matter, because why I mean er it's good to be bilingual because if you can just speak Afrikaans it becomes difficult when you go look for work, or English, it become also. So being bilingual I mean even for Zoë and Zara I see there'd a bright future for them with...

R: Absolutely, absolutely for both the languages. Uhm, and then would you ever let, do you think your kids would ever need to do any extra Afrikaans lessons and that kind of stuff, I they would ever need to do that, do you know of any extra Afrikaans or extra English that you would do or, what do you...?

I: Well if they should do any extra English then they should do it.

R: If they needed it, they could if they wanted to? Cool, and then just in terms of any other languages that you get in your house, what do you, what television programmes do you watch or what do you like, sport or soaps?

I: Well, for me it's sport because that's where I want to sit and...

R: Is it the rugby? *Ja*, I know, I know is coming on.

I: it's soccer.

R: Oh soccer, who's playing, who do you watch?

I: Uhm, Amazulu and, and, and Supersport they are playing now because it's Telkom Knockout.

R: Oh no sorry, what time are they starting?

I: They started at 3:30

R: I'm sorry I, I could of, we nearly done. And on the radio, what do you listen to on the radio?

I: Ag, I hardly get time to listen to a radio.

R: And if you driving, what do you listen to?

I: No my radio stays off because I *mos* got the two-way radio in my car.

R: Oh, so you keep in touch with you...oh that's cool

I: That's it, that's it, so that's why I can't still listen to the radio because I got to listen to the phone and to that radio.

R: And the newspaper, do you read newspaper?

I: Not really seldom, because I mean, it just if you read the news then it makes you...

R: Stressed out actually.

I: *Ja*

R: And then Ian, the last one, if you could complete the sentence, and I know you've got your children are different, but I would like my, to my uhm, I would like for my children to see themselves as

something speaking? Would you like them to be, as you, or bilingual, or English speaking, or Afrikaans speaking?

I: Bilingual

R: You'd like them to be bilingual?

I: Bilingual that's it.

R: All of them, I mean even Angelo and Lance?

I: That's it, that's it because I mean it, it, it is beneficial. I mean I can, I can see it for myself, to me it has been throughout the years, it has been.

R: Cool, well listen thank you very much and thanks for having me in your home.

I: No problem, you did well man.

R: Shame, *ja* you can call all...now I'm gonna get moving, enjoy your sporting afternoon. Bye, bye.

I: Okay, see you.

R: Thank you.

University of Cape Town

Aunty Muriel Petersen

(11/02/2010)

R: We filled out that other little form, you have to give your permission for us to film this. AM, can you tell me something about how you grew up, where was that, where did you grow up?

AM: I grew up in Elsies River in Eureka.

R: Is Eureka the name of the...

AM: The place, yes. I still remember my address in, everything.

R: Oh wow, and how long did you live there?

AM: Very long

R: Where you born there, or...?

AM: Yes, yes I was born there, yes, yes.

R: And what was life like at your home?

AM: Fine, fine, we had our family staying all around because we had a very big plot.

R: And how many brothers and sisters did you have?

AM: I had, those who passed away also?

R: Ja, all of you.

AM: We were 8.

R: Wow, nice. And what, do you remember what languages you spoke as a child?

AM: We spoke Afrikaans.

R: And to your parents, what did you speak to your parents?

AM: Afrikaans

R: And your grandparents?

AM: Afrikaans

R: Also Afrikaans, and you sisters and brothers?

AM: Yes Afrikaans, we were Afrikaans speaking people.

R: And when you went to school?

AM: I went to a English school.

R: You go to an English school, from Grade 1, sub A?

AM: Yes, I been in H School. We Catholics and I went to H.

R: Oh okay, so that was your, and what was your primary school like, what was H like?

AM: Fine

R: Was it just English, or was there English and Afrikaans?

AM: English, it was a English school.

R: Okay, just English.

AM: We did English, but that I can't remember, I can't because we, I only remember the English.

R: So when you were at school did you speak English and at home you spoke Afrikaans to your friends?

AM: Yes, yes

R: And when you left school, what age did you leave school?

AM: I had to go and leave school at the age of, I went up to standard 6, because then I had to go and help my mommy.

R: Those years that what people did hey?

AM: I think I left school at the age of 14.

R: And how did you feel about leaving?

AM: Not so well because you wanted to go further, but those times it wasn't easy.

R: And how did it work, did your mommy just say: "At the end of this year, you must come help now"?

AM: Yes, yes, yes

R: And did they find you a job or how did you get a job?

AM: No I went to look for my job.

R: Really? And where did you find a job?

AM: My first job I think was a factory where we make the tablets.

R: So you were working at 14 in a factory?

AM: Yes

R: But those years it was very home?

AM: Yes, those years it was common yes.

R: Amazing, and then you got paid? And when you worked in the factory, what did you speak there? Did they speak...?

AM: Afrikaans

R: Also Afrikaans, and where was that?

AM: Man that was still those years in Parow, Parow, yes.

R: So you were close to where you lived? How did you get to work?

AM: By bus, those days it wasn't taxi's.

R: Ja, they only had the busses. And so you carried on speaking Afrikaans, okay. And the people you worked with, all Afrikaans?

AM: Afrikaans

R: And the bus driver, those people?

AM: All Afrikaans, those years we were Afrikaans speaking people. WE came to speak English now as we grew older and met other friend and that.

R: Ja, but mainly Afrikaans as a young person?

AM: But I was quite good in my English because I was in a English private class also. We had a private elocution class, and I still remember my teacher also.

R: Okay, so you were in a, that's also interesting, at Holy Cross?

AM: At H.

R: H? Where was H?

AM: In Eureka, in Eureka it's still there, it's still there.

R: Really?

AM: Yes, it's still there, still there and it's still a school everything.

R: That's nice, do you remember, does it remind you when you go back there?

AM: Of course, it does.

R: Of your years when you were young? Nice

AM: All the priests, like I been to a funeral now a time back, and there I met all my friends again. Ooh I was so glad to see, we were so glad to see each other. And with the one I went on a, to East London on a tour. We went to Ezwini, that holiday resort up there. Yes, and I still said to her, I still got all our photos. She said to me I must just try to get it to her.

R: Send it to her, she'd love that. And now, what language, do you ever work with the drivers that come here, do you ever need to speak to them?

AM: Here, yes I speak to them.

R: What do you speak to them?

AM: Afrikaans

R: Also Afrikaans?

AM: Because they are mostly Afrikaans. They are mostly Afrikaans, it's only with the Africans now, they don't mos now understand Afrikaans lekker. Now I must speak to them, in English yes to them.

R: And now, what language do you speak to your daughter?

AM: E? We speak Afrikaans, I speak Afrikaans.

R: And to I?

AM: Also Afrikaans.

R: And then your grandchildren, what do you speak to them?

AM: Both, English or Afrikaans

R: Why is that?

AM: Because they are now both, both languages and they mostly speak English or that, I speak with them English.

R: And then if you want them to do something, if they don't listen to you the what do you speak to them in?

AM: Both, both.

R: What language do you hear your grandsons talking to each other?

AM: Afrikaans

R: Do they speak Afrikaans? And your granddaughters what do they speak to each other, what do you hear?

AM: I haven't got granddaughters.

R: I mean Zara and Zoë

AM: Zara and Zoë, oh

R: What do they, like L, I'm talking about this is like Lance and Angelo.

AM: About what language they speak to Zara and Zoë, they speak Afrikaans to them.

R: And what to Zara and Zoë speak to each other?

AM: Both

R: Interesting

AM: Both, English and Afrikaans. A little English, and the they spoke also a little Afrikaans.

R: That's cute. And then you don't have any different rules about what they must speak to you? You don't say they must speak to you in English or Afrikaans, you just let them speak?

AM: No, no, no, yes, I let them speak.

R: You noticed, you obviously were with them, or knew them when they were at the Afrikaans school? Now how has it been with them coming to Pinewood Primary School, has that changed the way they speak? What do you think?

AM: Yes, I think they've adapted quite nicely here, the new school because why they mos always just spoke Afrikaans and that. I don't think it was actually also very hard for them to learn the English.

R: To just learn the English, exactly, they adapted well hey? Good.

AM: It happened quite well yes.

R: And then are there any Afrikaans family and friends you see on a regular basis?

AM: English and Afrikaans? Okay like J and them

R: Are they mixed?

AM: English, yes, mostly English

R: And any Afrikaans friends?

AM: Yes, my family

R: Okay, and when do you see them?

AM: Yes, then we speak Afrikaans yes.

R: Family, you speak Afrikaans when you see each other.

AM: There are some that speak English, but we very seldom see each other, you know?

R: And do you sometimes wish you lived in a more Afrikaans suburb?

AM: Not me actually, because I can speak both.

R: So it's fine for you?

AM: So it's fine for me, I can speak

R: The birds won't peck my toes?

AM: I don't think so, birdie, behave yourself!

R: And tell me, what do you watch on TV like "7de Laan", what else do you watch?

AM: I watch, I only watch on TV "Bold and the Beautiful", "7de Laan", "Generations" and "Mhuvango"

R: Cool, and how do you like that? That's got that Mara, is Mara Louw still on there? She was the idols judge that, Mara Louw she was in Mhuvango, do you remember? I don't know what her character is. And why do you only watch these ones, do you like, which one's your favourite?

AM: I don't like the shooting, the evil films. I call it the evil films, I can't take that, Rose I can't take that films.

R: It's a problem and everybody wants to be, it's very violent. So in the afternoon you first watch "Bold..."

AM: And then if I sit in front of the TV now with A and them and they watching now other films then I sit there.

R: You'll watch a movie, sometimes there's nice movies on. And all the languages in "Generations", you understand what they saying?

AM: They write the English so I can see

R: That's nice and your eyes are fine?

AM: Not actually all the write down, but most then I understand yes.

R: And how long have you been watching "Bold and the Beautiful"?

AM: Very long, especially "Generations", was my favourite show.

R: Really is it your favourite, so every night, what time is that, 8 o'clock?

AM: 8 o'clock

R: Then you sit quietly and...

AM: And when the soccer boycott my film then I'm even cross. But then sometimes I missed it, they had the episode before at so 7:30 then I miss it, I forgot, I must check.

R: Is it not on during the day as well, don't they repeat it?

AM: In early in the morning, yes.

R: Oh nice, so if you miss it then....

AM: It used to be on in the afternoon, but lately I don't see it on.

R: So you watched it? And do you read the newspaper? I'm sure I've seen you with the newspaper, what do you read?

AM: Yes the Rapport, it's only the *Rapport* I lees because I get that *Rapport*.

R: Who gives that to you?

AM: A friend of mine brings his *Rapport* to me.

R: Oh nice, that's very nice. And magazines what do you, do you read magazines?

AM: Oh yes I did, I read *Huisgenoot* and then...

R: And then on the radio?

AM: I don't listen to the radio.

R: You don't like the radio?

AM: No I don't listen to the radio, and if I put on the radio I put it on the Radio Sonder...?

R: Grense?

AM: You know where they pray and things like that.

R: Oh the Christian...

AM: No, not that one, na?

R: The one that's the Christian music? Nice, is that in Afrikaans hey?

AM: Yes it's in Afrikaans, but like I said very seldom, I don't worry with the wireless, we now use to the TV now.

R: And shame, look that's the end because most of them are mostly for the mommy and daddy of the kids, but now this last sentence; If you could complete this sentence, and now you think of Zara and Zoë, or maybe Lance and Angelo, I would like my children to see themselves as what speaking? English speaking or Afrikaans speaking, or both, what do you think?

AM: I think both.

R: Why?

AM: Because it's quite nice to speak both languages, sometimes you meet a friend then maybe that friend can't speak Afrikaans, then you there then you can understand the language. Sometimes you get Afrikaanse friends that don't understand Afrikaans again, then you can translate everything for them.

R: Nice

AM: So it's nice if you can speak both languages.

R: Your grandchildren are growing up like that?

AM: Yes, yes I would like then to grow up like that, so that they don't come stand in front of somebody, now someone ask you question now you can't even...

R: Answer, you just stand there.

AM: Like the African people, we had a African doctor now the clinic there by us, we couldn't, nobody could understand the doctor you know and it was quite awkward because many people were afraid to go them, because they might now write down the wrong tablet for them or the wrong stuff.

R: So what did you say?

AM: Now he left again, when I was there now this month the people say they left because they spoke to the sisters in charge and they explained to the sisters...

R: ...that it's not working?

AM: It's not, because like we said he also went to learn for his medical, he also went, but it's just he's a, I don't know what nationality he is.

R: Maybe he was from another African country or something.

AM: Yes, yes he was, he was you could have heard he was like maybe perhaps he was Angolan or a, you know Kenyan or so, and you know.

R: Maybe it was a French or something else he was speaking, so you couldn't understand. So who's there now, who's the doctor now?

AM: Now my doctor is back, now after with the baby, she's baby ja. Dr. B, she's back. She had a, she left when she was pregnant with the baby and she had a boy and she told me she was having another boy.

R: And how long was she off for? How long was she on maternity leave?

AM: I think they said 4 months.

R: Nice, okay. So you glad she's back?

AM: Yes, I'm glad she's back.

R: And what do they say about your health, how are you doing?

AM: I'm doing fine, yes I'm doing fine. You must just do the rules the doctors tell you.

R: Ja, follow what they say.

AM: Follow what they say, if you take your tablet doctor said, then it keeps you stable. But you cannot expect if you don't take your tablets.

R: Exactly, that your things...

AM: Be checked nicely, things will go wrong.

R: If you don't, if you run out, you make sure you never run out?

AM: I never run out of tablets, I was running out now that is why I had, because I didn't go I had to go on the 5th of January but usually they give us 2 months supplies, but this year we didn't get. So I had a early date and I said no, I'm going to spoil my holidays for the clinic now, I won't be able to go now. So I had to go because I ran out of tablets, so I got the latest date.

R: And remember you, what was your niece that was here the last time, A's daughter gave you some, did you get called to her now?

AM: That was because I use the same tablets as she, but I have, still have to give her's back, yes because if I take her's then I'm shorting her tablets. I'm waiting for her because I have got mine now and I have to give her, she gave me 6. We lend like that, we lend each other some tablets, only if it's the right tablet we use together.

R: Not if it's not what you're need?

AM: I will never take no, no, no never take a other people, person's tablet.

R: Because the doctor doesn't say they for you, it may be okay for them but not for you.

AM: No, no

R: No, good. Well AM thanks very much, that was...

AM: Are we finished?

R: Ja, it wasn't so bad.

AM: No, no, no, no

R: It wasn't like a job interview.

Lance Petersen

(27/03/2010)

- R: It's just about your life and listen, you do give permission for me to interview you?
- L: *Ja*
- R: Cool, okay. Basically, what I wanna, sorry I just wanna, you not as young as your sisters so I just wanna ask you some of that. Well I'll work between the two sets. But basically, I just wanna know, uhm, where you grew up, like what did you, this is all about languages and you can answer in Afrikaans if you prefer to speak in Afrikaans, if I ask you in English you can answer in Afrikaans. *Uhm waar het jy opgegroeï, watter taal het jy gepraat, primêre skool jy na toe gegaan, al daai soorte goed.* Okay, so you can tell me, where did you grow up?
- L: *Waar het ek opgegroeï?*
- R: *Ja*
- L: *Eintlik in Belhar want ek is gebore in Matroosfontein.*
- R: Okay.
- L: *Ja, ek kan nie eens als onthou nie, maar dit is...*
- R: *Ma jy's nie so oud nie.*
- L: *Ek kan net onthou ek het in Belhar opgegroeï soos was 'n klein kind, en toe trek ons Parow toe, en ek was so twaalf jaar oud.*
- R: Okay
- L: *To groei ek verder op daar, tot nou toe.*
- R: That's not so far away. *En nou Graad 1, waar het jy na skool toe gegaan?*
- L: *Graad 1, het ek in, ons het gebly in Belhar maar ek het skool gegaan in Parow, PX, want...*
- R: *Hoekom?*
- L: *Ek weet nie, want dit was 'n beter skool, want Belhar se skole is mos nou 'n bietjie, dis nou nie so goed soos Parow se skole nie.*
- R: I know. *Ek het opgegroeï in Belhar eintlik, jaar gelede in 19...ek het na Erika Primary toe gegaan.*
- L: *Oo, okay, weet van Erika ja.*
- R: *Weet jy van it, ja?* But that was like in the '80s, feels like a long time, but it was a good school then, *ja*, but I know what you mean. *En wat was die naam van jou skool?*
- L: *Parow, PX, dit was vir...*
- R: *X, vir wat?*
- L: *Dit was net tot standaard een toe, daai skool het net na standaard een toe, en dan na daai was it PO, en dit was tot standard vyf.*
- R: Okay, en dan?
- L: *En toe's it Hoërskool T, dit was tot Matrik.*
- R: *Hoo, en dan die tale, wat het jy gepraat in die PX?*
- L: *Dit was alles Afrikaans, as die eerste taal, en dan dit was voorbereiding en dan, jho okay, was dit Engels dan...Ek is van, van uhm, PO, het ons Engels tweede taal gedoen.*
- R: Okay, but jy het Afrikaans eerste language...
- L: *Ja, dit was eerste taal gewees.*
- R: *En jy het Engels, en het jy enige ander tale geleer het? Xhosa of iets soos daar?*
- L: *Xhosa het ek in hoërskool gedoen.*
- R: Oh, okay.
- L: *But dit was net vir een jaar because...*
- R: *Net vir een jaar? En at T...*
- L: *T Hoërskool.*
- R: *Was alles in Afrikaans?*
- L: *Afrikaans, Engels en Xhosa. Xhosa was 'n....*
- R: *En Wiskunde, was dit in Engels of Afrikaans?*
- L: *Wiskunde was alles was in Afrikaans.*
- R: Wow.

L: *Dis net Engels wat in Engels was.*

R: *Engels wat in Engels was, okay, alles...okay. En na jou vriende van PV en PO, wat het jy met hulle gepraat?*

L: *Afrikaans, alles was Afrikaans gewees, op skool.*

R: *En by die huis?*

L: *Daar was Engelse mense met wie ek Engels gepraat het.*

R: *En jou ouers?*

L: *Afrikaans.*

R: *En jou Granny, Aunty Muriel?*

L: *Aunty Muriel's Afrikaans alles.*

R: *En wat van die twins gebore is?*

L: *Ook Afrikaans.*

R: *En nou?*

L: *Nou praat ek alles.*

R: *En hoekom?*

L: *Met die vriende wat ek nou het, vriend wat ek nou weer net...klomp Engelse vriende different, soos wat kan ek nou sê? Different, R, soo, soos...*

R: *Like a new South Africa time in mind?*

L: *Ja, dis soos 'n rainbow, jy praat sommer enige iets, praat somer Xhosa ook, moet jy maar net, met die vriende wat ek nou...*

R: *Is jy goed, is jy goed in Xhosa?.*

L: *Nee*

R: *But jy kan verstaan?*

L: *Ek kan verstaan bietjie ja.*

R: *Hoekom is...*

L: *Dis soos basics, nie.*

R: *Oh like kunjani, like that?*

L: *Ja*

R: *Okay, en uh, so met jou susters, dink jy jy praat meer Engels met hulle as jou ouers, of wat? Of, wat dink jy?*

L: *Ja, ek dink ek praat meer Engels met hulle, ek praat nooit Engels saam met my ouers nie.*

R: *Nooit, nog altyd net...?*

L: *Nooit. Nie van wat ek kan onthou nie.*

R: *Okay, en praat hulle ooit in Engels met jou, jou ouers?*

L: *In Engels? My ouers? nee.*

R: *Maar met jou susters?*

L: *My susters, ja.*

R: *Nou hoekom dink jy doen hulle dit?*

L: *Ek weet nie, hulle's nou in 'n Engelse skool, so hulle praat nou Engels en ons praat nou met hulle Engels so dat hulle nou ook kan gewoonnd raak aan dit.*

R: *Ja*

L: *Want hulle kom van Afrikaanse skole van die heel begin af.*

R: *Ja, van hulle baie klein was. En uh, as jy skool, wanneer jy skool gelos, agter matriek, wat het jy gedoen?*

L: *Toe gaan study ek Sound Engineering.*

R: *In Engels of Afrikaans?*

L: *In Engels, en dit was alles Engels. Toe's daar niks meer Afrikaans nie.*

R: *How was that?*

L: *It was nie so, was nie so bad nie, dis net som van die woorde wat nou, soos alles wat ek moes lees, as ek nou iets kry soos 'n vraestel is dit heel different soos soms van die woorde was moeilik vir my, but gewoonnd geraak aand it.*

R: *Baie goed, en dan, uhm, en nou waar jy werk?*

L: *Nou, nou ons praat met al die mense wat ek nou besig is, is meeste, ek praat Afrikaans, is net 25%...*

R: *25% what?*

L: *Afrikaans, 75% is Engels.*

R: *Oh, okay.*

L: *Meeste van die mense wat ek ontmoet en so is almal Engels.*

R: *En wat doen jy, jy werk vir jou Pa?*

L: *Ek werk vir my Pa en ek doen my eie ding saam met die music, ja.*

R: *Ja the Dj's thing, so that's your...en wat praat jy, met die dj mense, wat praat jy met hulle?*

L: *Ek praat meeste met hulle Engels.*

R: *Engels, okay.*

L: *En met my Pa se werk is dit meeste mense maar net Engels en som van hulle, okay sê maar net 50/50, my Pa se werk nou.*

R: *Okay, en jou musiek, is dit Engels of Afrikaans?*

L: *Engels.*

R: *There's nie like a Kurt Darren nie?*

L: *No way.*

R: *Okay, that's cool though. Uhm, en het jy 'n girlfriend, wat is girlfriend in Afrikaans?*

L: *Girlfriend? Meisie, mos.*

R: *Mesie.*

L: *Nie op die oomblik nie.*

R: *As jy het...nie op die oomblik nie, oh okay.*

L: *Nie op die oomblik nie.*

R: *But as jy met jou vriende, jy praat...het jy baie Afrikaans vriende of jy, dis hoekom jy sê.*

L: *Jho, soos, die vriende wat ek nou het is meeste Engels, maar my ou vriende was meer Afrikaans gewees en as ek hulle nou en dan sien, en dan sal ek Afrikaans met hulle praat.*

R: *Oh, okay. Dis nou die mense van hoërskool?*

L: *Ja, hoërskool en laerskool ook.*

R: *Okay, cool. And I asked about your sisters, okay, so your parents, ouers meeste Afrikaans, jou susters bietjie, en jou familie, like your aunties and en hier langsam aunty Q en...?*

L: *Som, ja, okay hulle is Engels maar ek praat weer met hulle Afrikaans, maar soos een familie soos my een nephew wat in New Zealand is, ek praat saam met hom Engels.*

R: *Hoekom? Oh hey...*

L: *Is net hoe hy opgegroeï, hy was mos in Engels, nou en dan sal ons dan Afrikaans en dan baie wynig.*

R: *Oh, okay.*

L: *Maar ek praat altyd saam met hom Engels.*

R: *Okay, cool. En dan, uhm, as jy dan, gaan jy na kerk of na die, like...*

L: *Hmmm, ons...*

R: *Gaan jy kerk toe of wat is it like Engels, of...*

L: *Dit is Enge..s*

R: *Okay.*

L: *En like my confirmation en goed gedoen het, dis was als in Engels, niks Afrikaans nie.*

R: *En vir jou's dit easy, jy het net Engels gepraat, as it met Afrikaans?*

L: *Ja, ek et net.*

R: *Switch?*

L: *Ja switch.*

R: *That's cool, very cool. En jy het 'n little seun, wat is jou seun se naam?*

L: *A*

R: *En wat praat jy met hom?*

L: *Ek praat met hom alles, ek sal sê 50/50 Engels en Afrikaans.*

R: *Hoekom, is sy Ma Engels of Afrikaans?*

- L: *Sy Ma's Afrikaans, maar sy praat ook saam met hom Engels en Afrikaans, maar dis mos nou en dan, ons moet mos nou...Engels is baie belangrik, en so.*
- R: *Hoekom dink jy so?*
- L: *Sommer wan, die Afrikaans is so, hoe kan ek sê, old school. Ek meen alles wat jy kry deesdae is in Engels, die technology se goeters en tegnologie, alles is nou Engels. Jy sal nou nie Afrikaans, okay jy kry seker Afrikaanse phone of iets, ek weet nou nie, maar dis, dis, dink dit sal, soos menu, wat sal menu wees?*
- R: *En as jy sms, wat sal jy sms, in Engels of Afrikaans?*
- L: *Albei.*
- R: *Can you mixit?*
- L: *Ja, ek mixit, ja ek, weet als.*
- R: *That's good.*
- L: *Emails, alles Afrikaans of Engels.*
- R: *Okay, for you, well that's interesting. And then, okay so you not married, and then ja, no that's about your sister. And then, who do you think, when you hear your parents talking to each other, wat praat hulle met mekaar?*
- L: *Afrikaans, altyd.*
- R: *Okay, altyd. And is dit altyd so?*
- L: *Ek het nog nooit Engels gehoor van hulle twee.*
- R: *Okay cool, and uhm, en wie voel, wie voel, okay as, as al twee van hulle, I'll have to ask you in English. Who speaks more Afrikaans or feels more strongly about it, your father or your mother?*
- L: *Father*
- R: *Why do you think?*
- L: *Because I think he have a English family, the family, he's side of the family is more English.*
- R: *So what do you think he...*
- L: *And then, hmmm?*
- R: *Oh no carry on.*
- L: *And then my mother s side again is Afrikaans, ja that's why I think it's a mixture of...*
- R: *English and Afrikaans, but now when he speaks to her it's always Afrikaans?*
- L: *Always Afrikaans, ja.*
- R: *So you think, so why do you say he feels more strongly about it? What do you think?*
- L: *Because I think he grew up like with English all around him, you can see.*
- R: *...English, cool. And then uhm, what television programmes do you like? Do you watch T.V?*
- L: *Jho, T.V. 7de Laan.*
- R: *Hoekom kyk jy 7de Laan?*
- L: *7de Laan is baie interresant, daar's altyd drama en goeters.*
- R: *En ander goeters, wat soos movies, en...?*
- L: *Soos Days, Days sal ek kyk, movies, jho ek kyk nie baie movies nie.*
- R: *Hoekom?*
- L: *Want ek's te veel besig met die musiek. 24/7.*
- R: *En newspapers or magazines?*
- L: *Al wat ek sal lees is goeters op die internet of so.*
- R: *In Engels of in Afrikaans?*
- L: *In Engels.*
- R: *Okay.*
- L: *Alles Engels.*
- R: *Oh, okay. And then I asked you that about school, about school, blah, blah, blah, blah, and, one or two more, uhm, I'm mixing you up with the adult and the children questions. So you were saying earlier that it has made a difference in your family having your sisters go to an English school, because I mean with you and Angelo, oh ja, forgot about your brother. Wat praat jy met Angelo?*
- L: *Ek praat met hom in Afrikaans, altyd.*

R: Altyd, nooit Engels?

L: *Nooit Engels nie.*

R: Okay, also, so wasn't it different for you to then have the sisters and then be speaking English to them? Even though I know you say it's important, is it interesting to you, or it's like a normal, it's part of your family now?

L: Yes, it's part of the family now, that's what I think. I mean English, I use it a lot, so it's...

R: Cool, and are, uhm, are there other family friends that you see on often who speak Afrikaans around in this neighbourhood?

L: This, in this neighbourhood? Jho. Ja, like my cousin all, I speak English to him like all the rest, cos he's English.

R: Like all your friends from all over? Do you sometimes wish you lived in a more Afrikaans suburb, like in Tygervally or something?

L: No, not anymore.

R: Why not? Was it different for you?

L: 'Cos I grew up in like an Afrikaans area and I got used to it, it got little boring, always want something new.

R: So when you moved here you didn't miss the Afrikaans? What was it like?

L: Okay I missed the friends, the friends that...

R: How old were you when you moved here?

L: Jho, when was that, three years ago? Seventeen.

R: Were you still in...

L: Still in high school *ja*, my last year in high school *ja*.

R: Oh shame.

L: But then I lived that side, by people that side.

R: Oh okay, in matric?

L: *Ja*, and I finish there and then came here. College was this side.

R: So how was that?

L: So I just, nah it was an experience like meeting new people I don't know like anyone this side.

R: Have you met people now besides your neighbours?

L: Over here, in the neighbourhood? Nah, not that I know, cos like no one here is like, everyone's just inside the house.

R: Cool, and then, uhm, if you could complete the sentence, no okay, how would you describe yourself as, what would you say "I am" what kind of...?

L: As in emotional or emotional what...?

R: Oh no, no, no I just mean like, oh no like are you first, are you bilingual or you're English speaking, I'm English/Afrikaans speaking, how would you end that sentence: I'm English speaking, Afrikaans speaking...?

L: I'm bilingual, it's like...

R: You're bilingual? Ja, cos you are. And then just give me, I'm just gonna give you two more questions. Which words would you use to describe how you feel when speaking English, okay: do you feel happy, joyful, cheerful, sad, lucky, comfortable, unhappy, miserable, confident, yourself or pleased when speaking English?

L: I'll say, uhm, shjoe there's a lot of words, I'll say happy.

R: Why?

L: "Cos I don't know like I like the language, like just it's, for me it's better than Afrikaans, I dunno why because, okay it sounds better for me.

R: Do you think English sounds better? Why?

L: Ja because it just sounds better.

R: The words, the actual language?

L: 'Cos I listen to music and I like the English music more than I like the Afrikaans music, that's why I think I feel happy when I speak English.

- R: And then which wor...sorry, which words would you choose to describe how you feel when you speaking Afrikaans? Same words, do you feel happy, joyful, cheerful, sad, lucky, comfortable, unhappy, miserable, confident, yourself, pleased when speaking
- L: I'll say comfortable because I grew up with Afrikaans and when I speak it it's I don't have to worry about anything that I'll say wrongly or anything.
- R: And your family, do you think in future years, what do you think you're going to do? Do you think you'll hold onto your Afrikaans, what do you think?
- L: Think we'll hold on *ja*, I don't think it's like, it just grew into everyone, like everyone used to speaking Afrikaans.
- R: That's a good thing though, what do you think?
- L: *Ja*
- R: It's useful to have.
- L: 'Cos I'm speaking Afrikaans here at home, and then speak English like outside of the house, just in case I forget the Afrikaans, I don't think I can, but there's some people that forget about their language like.
- R: Exactly, and if you hadn't gotten into something like Dj'ing, which is actually very English, that's quite an English industry, do you think you would have moved so much into English or not? Do you think the way that your life has moved, that's also gotten you doing more English?
- L: Doing more English *ja*, exactly *ja*.
- R: Now who are the Afrikaans people you would listen to?
- L: Listen to in music?
- R: Are there, are there any Afrikaans bands that you like?
- L: Probably like Kurt Darren, or I don't know, there's no like bands that I like in Afrikaans music.
- R: The Parlotones, are there any...?
- L: I wouldn't go buy their album.
- R: Okay, but who do you listen to?
- L: But I would listen, if it's on the radio I will listen to it.
- R: *Ja*
- L: The Kurt Darren songs that's playing
- R: *Ja*, what do you, what do you listen to?
- L: *Ja*, that's it. I listen mostly like, jho anything that's good music like, okay mostly hip hop.
- R: Okay, is that your...
- L: Ja that's like my, but I'm actually different like, even like uhm techno sounds these days are, everything's mixed like with hip hop and techno, it sounds like they fusing it together it's making this whole new sound. And then, *ja* think...
- R: So then how would you describe your music, your sound?
- L: Different, okay hip hop but then it's different hip hop, like sometimes sad if it's, it depends on the vibe, it can be sad, it can be soulful, it can be hip hop hip hop, it can be rap, it can be hardcore. There's no limit to it like really.
- R: And are you gonna study more sound engineering stuff, or just...
- L: Nah, I don't think so, not at the moment, like I'm just trying business strategies to uhm.
- R: Getting it done?
- L: It's stable.
- R: and which radio stations do you listen to?
- L: Good Hope FM, P4, Bush Radio, Metro FM.
- R: Okay, and that's all mainly English radio stations?
- L: *Ja*.
- R: You don't listen to *Radio Sonder Grense*?
- L: No way
- R: Isn't there something interesting there? Cool, and your son, can I ask you a question about your son then? So what do you think he's gonna grow up speaking? How would you describe him?

- L: I think like same like me, like Afrikaans and English *ja*.
R: Exactly, and have the balance?
L: *Ja*, I think you need the balance.
R: Cool, *ja*. Now this is, there you go.
L: Is that it?
R: It, *ja*, it's basically just to ask you, I mean it's like stuff you know, but I, I just can't assume this, so I'm ask you and just check what you saying. Thanks very much, I hope that wasn't too much of your time.

University of Cape Town

Zoë Petersen

(12/02/2010)

- R: Is it okay for me to record your answers?
- Zoë: (speaks very softly)
- R: Okay, but now you need to speak up, so I can hear you. Okay tell me, tell me about the first language you remember speaking before you went to school. What was the first language you...
- Zoë: Afrikaans.
- R: How come you remember that?
- Zoë: Because I speak Afrikaans.
- R: And what was, do you know what your first word was?
- Zoë: No.
- R: But you remember speaking before you went to school, when you were small you used to speak Afrikaans to your friends?
- Zoë: When I was in Grade R?
- R: Like before that.
- Zoë: hmmmmmm, in crèche? Yes, Afrikaans and English
- R: Okay, did you speak a bit of English in crèche too? (to someone else) thank you miss. Ja, so that was the next one, what languages you spoke when you went to pre-school was Afrikaans and English, okay. What did you speak to your parents?
- Zoë: uhm, Afrikaans.
- R: And your teachers?
- Zoë: Afrikaans, mix English.
- R: And your friends?
- Zoë: Afrikaans and English
- R: It's all mix, okay. When you went to your, what was the name of that school in Grade R that you went to? V what?
- Zoë: V Valley
- R: V Valley, okay.
- Zoë: I think so.
- R: What language did you speak to your parents when you were in Grade R at V Valley?
- Zoë: I don't know.
- R: What do you think?
- Zoë: I think mostly Afrikaans
- R: And your teacher?
- Zoë: It was a Afrikaans school, but they had mix English also.
- R: Okay. But your teachers spoke Afrikaans. What did you say, Mevrou Somebody? What did you call her, Miss or Mevrou?
- Zoë: I don't know, so long ago.
- R: It was a long time, hey? And your brothers and sister, what do you speak to them?
- Zoë: Afrikaans, with English. Everything's gonna be mostly English and Afrikaans.
- R: Cool, and when you came to grade, Pinewood Primary, oh wait. Did you enjoy Grade R?
- Zoë: hmmm, at my old school? No.
- R: Why?
- Zoë: They were swearing.
- R: All the time?
- Zoë: Yes, and they were rude.
- R: Who was swearing?
- Zoë: The children, some children.
- R: Really?
- Zoë: Yes
- R: You didn't like it?

Zoë: And the teachers also.

R: Swearing?

Zoë: Not swearing at the children, but they would take sellotape and close the children's mouth and let them sit outside.

R: Okay, and then what language...but so you didn't like it, no. And then when you came to Pinewood Primary, what when you were in Mrs D's class, or were you in Ms P's class?

Zoë: Mrs. D?

R: What did you speak to Mrs. D?

Zoë: English

R: And to your friends?

Zoë: English

R: And to your brothers?

Zoë: Afrikaans

R: And to your sister?

Zoë: At the school?

R: Okay *ja*, your sister at school.

Zoë: Yes English and at home Afrikaans

R: Okay, why was that?

Zoë: 'Cos I was very weak and i didn't feel like speaking English. English made me bored.

R: At school?

Zoë: Yes

R: Why?

Zoë: 'Cause it's not like, my home language. So used to Afrikaans.

R: Okay, so, so what languages do you speak to your teachers and your friends at school?

Zoë: At what school?

R: Pinewood

Zoë: English

R: English. Do you enjoy attending Pinewood Primary?

Zoë: Yes

R: Why?

Zoë: 'Cause they, the teachers are nice, they don't swear, it's not a school that's dirty it's a nice school. 'Cause that school they just throw papers on the floor.

R: Really?

Zoë: But it was clean, but I mean like it was lots of toilets never get flushed.

R: Eew! Okay, now let's talk about your Mommy. What languages do you speak to your Mommy most of the time?

Zoë: Afrikaans.

R: And your Daddy?

Zoë: Afrikaans

R: Do you ever speak English to them?

Zoë: Yes

R: But mainly Afrikaans? Cool, and then when your brothers tease you, does L ever tease you? What does he tease you, what does he say?

Zoë: Like, can I say it in Afrikaans? He teases me by calling me a *naat kop*.

R: What is that?

Zoë: I don't know. And also, uhm, *ja* that's all, he calls me '*naat kop*' and he...

R: And he what?

Zoë: And he picks up me up by my face, and he lifts me high, then he, to pretends he's gonna make me fall then he doesn't.

R: And Angelo, what does he call you, or does he tease you?

Zoë: He doesn't tease me.

R: Doesn't he?

Zoë: No

R: Does he talk to you?

Zoë: Not really, I don't even see him sometimes.

R: Really?

Zoë: He's a very naughty child.

R: Why?

Zoë: I can't tell you this.

R: Okay, don't tell me, but what language do you speak to him in, English or Afrikaans?

Zoë: Afrikaans

R: And L?

Zoë: Afrikaans

R: Cool, do you ever speak to them in English?

Zoë: mmm

R: When? But you mainly speak to them in Afrikaans? And your *ouma*, she lives with you, what do you speak to your *ouma*?

Zoë: Afrikaans

R: And when you listen to your parents talking, what languages do you hear them talking in?

Zoë: Afrikaans

R: Why do you think?

Zoë: 'Cause my Mommy can't talk properly English, she always talk to the drivers in the morning in Afrikaans.

R: And do you like it, that they speak Afrikaans? You don't wish they would speak another language?

Zoë: No, never.

R: Do they speak different languages to you and your brothers, or the same?

Zoë: The same, sometimes they speak English, sometimes they speak Afrikaans, but mostly Afrikaans.

R: But don't they speak more Afrikaans to your brothers or to you?

Zoë: To all four of us.

R: They speak what?

Zoë: Afrikaans

R: Cool, and who speaks more Afrikaans or feels more strongly about it, Mommy or Daddy?

Zoë: My Mommy and my Daddy was born English.

R: How do you know that?

Zoë: 'Cause he told me.

R: And when your brothers speak English to...When do your brothers speak English to you and when do they speak Afrikaans?

Zoë: I don't have clue.

R: Good answer. Okay, but do they ever speak English to you, your brothers?

Zoë: Yes

R: Sometimes?

Zoë: But mostly Afrikaans

R: Ja, cool. Why do you enjoy watching *7de Laan*?

Zoë: 'Cos they speak my language and I can understand it. And it's nice, and it's funny.

R: Why do you call it my language?

Zoë: Excuse me?

R: Why do you call it my language?

Zoë: 'Cause I speak Afrikaans.

R: And you call that your language?

Zoë: Yes

R: Cool. And which other television programmes do you watch?

Zoë: Bold.

R: What?

Zoë: Bold.

R: Bones?

Zoë: Bold, The Bold and the Beautiful.

R: Oh, Bold! Oh okay, and what else?

Zoë: Generations, can I tell cartoons now? Oh yes and Ugly Betty. And some other movies that I can't name. And the cartoons is, Winx, Sclap, Spongebob, Ed, Edd, Eddy.

R: What?

Zoë: Ed, Edd, Eddy.

R: Oh Airhead Eddy?

Zoë: No, with a "E", Ed, Edd, Eddy, all three of them has "E". It's a boy, a boy and a boy; Ed, Edd, Eddy.

R: Oh, I thought you said Airhead Eddy. Ed who?

Zoë: Ed, Edd...

R: Another Ed?

Zoë: No, Ed, Edd...Ed, Edd...

R: Ed, Eden and Eddy?

Zoë: Wait, and Eddy, yes.

R: And why, why, what's your favourite one?

Zoë: Ed, Edd & Eddy

R: Why?

Zoë: 'Cos they tell lots of jokes, and they funny.

R: Cool. And do you ever read the newspaper?

Zoë: No, I hate the newspaper.

R: And magazines?

Zoë: I like, I don't really read it, I like cut out pictures and I fill in the grids.

R: From what?

Zoë: From the magazines.

R: Okay

Zoë: The *Huisgenoot* and the *YOU*, but I mostly like the *Huisgenoot*.

R: Oh okay, you do? Just a couple more.

Zoë: Then I'm, then finished?

R: *Ja*, these more, five more, seven more...one, two, three, four, five, six...eight more. Now that you are at an English medium school, that's English, that's Pinewood Primary, has that, has that changed the way that you talk at home in any way?

Zoë: mmmmm, not really.

R: Why not?

Zoë: Because my Mommy mostly speaks Afrikaans, she don't actually speak English. Are you going straight home after this?

Zara: Are you finished?

R: Nearly love, just give us five more minutes.

Zoë: Zara!

R: What languages do you speak at school?

Zoë: English

R: In the classroom?

Zoë: Yes

R: And in, with your friends?

Zoë: English

R: And with your teachers?

Zoë: English

R: You don't speak any Afrikaans at school?

Zoë: Only when we have an Afrikaans period.

R: Oh, okay. So there no friends in your class that you speak Afrikaans to?

Zoë: Yes

R: Who?

Zoë: Ch

R: So why did you say no? Do you speak Afrikaans to Ch?

Zoë: mmmmm, not always, not in the school, only, only outside the school.

R: Oh. Like where?

Zoë: Like, at break times sometimes, but not really.

R: Who's Ch?

Zoë: It's a friend at school.

R: Hi C. Okay, and when you're doing your extra murals like swimming, what do you speak?

Zoë: English

R: Gymnastics?

Zoë: English

R: And, are you sure, even to your gymnastics teacher and your swimming teacher all English?

Zoë: Yes, why are C here?

R: Okay wait, (R to her cousin: she's having an interview C, maybe you making her nervous). And when, uhm, are there any Afrikaans friends you talk to on a regular basis?

Zoë: What's a regular basis?

R: Like often? Do you have any Afrikaans friends?

Zoë: Yes

R: Who?

Zoë: Ch

R: Okay, what's her surname?

Zoë: O.

R: Okay, and where do you see her?

Zoë: I see her, she's in my class, so I see her in class.

R: So when, what would you, tell me what you say to Ch in Afrikaans.

Zoë: Like, stuff about a party.

R: Like about, "Ooh ons gan a partyjtjie hê" or what?

Zoë: *Ja, en miskien van wanneer is haar verjaarsdag. En van*, what is a play in Afrikaans?

R: uhm, what? *Speel*.

Zoë: *Speel*, play-date, how do you say that?

R: A play date? Oooh gits I don't know that...speel, not sure, we can ask your Mommy.

Zoë: Mommy, how do you say play-date in Afrikaans?

Y: *Is soos speel tyd*.

R: And now tell me about Ch, what's she like?

Zoë: She likes playing, she likes swimming and she like doing multi sport and stuff like that.

R: Is she a good friend of yours?

Zoë: Yes

R: Cool. And then do you speak English and Afrikaans when you're together?

Zoë: Yes

R: Not just Afrikaans?

Zoë: But mostly English.

R: Okay, but you also speak a bit of Afrikaans?

Zoë: That's when I never knew the school properly and I couldn't speak English.

R: So how did you find out she could speak Afrikaans?

Zoë: Uhm, because I could, she's in class like when we were doing stuff, that she read very nice in Afrikaans and then I asked her if she can speak Afrikaans that one day, then she said yes.

R: Oh, that's a cool story.

Zoë: How much still more to go?

R: Three more.

Zoë: Three more? One, two, three, you on twenty-one?

R: Ja.

Zoë: but you were now just on nine. Where's twenty?

R: I didn't write the answer down, oh 'cos it's all English. Okay, which words would you use to choo...would you choose to describe how you feel when speaking English: do you feel happy, joyful, cheerful, sad, lucky, comfortable, unhappy, miserable, confident, yourself or pleased when speaking English? Choose some for me, which ones would choose?

Zoë: But when I like, what do you mean?

R: How do you, like *ja*, if you were to say when you speaking English, how does it make you feel?

Zoë: Sad

R: And what other, and any other ones? Slightly comfortable, unhappy, miserable, yourself, pleased when speaking English? Why would you say sad?

Zoë: 'Cause it's not my language actually.

R: Okay.

Zoë: But also, I'll also go for happy.

R: Okay, why?

Zoë: 'Cause I enjoy learning English. But what does confident mean?

R: Like when you're sure of yourself, you're confident and you can stand up and speak in front of a group.

Zoë: Oh and miserable?

R: You like don't feel so good, you like, mmmmm, like a bit upset. And now, which word would you choose to describe how you feel when speaking Afrikaans: do you feel happy, joyful, cheerful, sad, lucky, comfortable, miserable, confident, yourself, or pleased? Which words would you use?

Zoë: I go for happy, joyful and cheerful.

R: Why?

Zoë: Because it's my language! (Twirling around)

R: Okay, are you ready for the last one? Imagine a fairy would have waved a magic wand and made everyone at Pinewood Primary speak Afrikaans only, how would that make you feel? Would you like it, why?

Zoë: I'd love it!

R: Why?

Zoë: Because it's my language, and I get to speak Afrikaans, no more English, lovely. (emphasis on lovely)

R: Cool, right. Thank you very much.

Zoë: Now what is this?

R: That we gonna do later on, I'm going to have to call you and Zoë...Zara

Zoë: Zara

R: I'm going to explain that to you, that's a little task I have for you.

Zoë: Can't we do it now?

R: No, you're going to do it, it's for a whole week. Go call your sister. Thank you Miss Muffet for doing your interview.

Zara Petersen

(12/02/2010)

- R: Okay, are you...tell your Mommy you're gonna do your interview now.
- Zara: Mommy I'm doing my interview now.
- R: Okay, then you must sit down, I think it's probably gonna pick up your voice better if you sit down. Okay, say your name please.
- Zara: My name is Zara.
- R: Good, and do you give me permission to interview...to record the interview?
- Zara: Yip.
- R: Good. Okay, number one, Zara, tell me about the first language you remember speaking before you went to school.
- Zara: Afrikaans
- R: Why do you remember that?
- Zara: Because I still remember that my Mommy still taught us a few words in Afrikaans before we went to school.
- R: oh, did she, like what?
- Zara: Like uhm, say like, like "my naam is Zara en my van is Petersen, ek is so veel ja en so veel ja oud", and so on.
- R: Oh, okay. And do you remember what languages you spoke when you went to pre-school, like when you were four or five years old?
- Zara: Uhm, I spoke English and Afrikaans.
- R: Why?
- Zara: How do you mean why?
- R: I mean how do you know you spoke English and Afrikaans?
- Zara: Because I have a very good memory.
- R: But why did you speak English, were there...was it English and Afrikaans?
- Zara: Only sometimes we speak English because uhm that's actually where we learnt some English, where...at pre-school.
- R: Okay, when you went to V Valley in Grade R, what language did you speak at home to your parents?
- Zara: Afrikaans
- R: Okay, and your brothers and sister?
- Zara: Hey?
- R: And your brothers?
- Zara: Uhm, Afrikaans
- R: And your sister?
- Zara: Afrikaans
- R: And what languages did you speak to your teachers and your friends at V Valley?
- Zara: Uhm, to my friends I spoke some English and some Afrikaans, and to my teacher I spoke Afrikaans.
- R: Okay, and how come you spoke Afri...English to some of your friends?
- Zara: Because they didn't all understand what I was saying when I was saying some difficult Afrikaans, not difficult like Afrikaans, like normal Afrikaans words, they didn't understand that good.
- R: So you had to tell it to them in English?
- Zara: Yes
- R: Cool, and how did you know that they didn't understand you?
- Zara: Because they told me like what are you saying, what are you telling me now and that.
- R: Okay, cool. Did you enjoy school in Grade R?
- Zara: Uhm, yes.
- R: Okay, good. And when you came to Pinewood Primary, here, what languages did you speak at home to your parents?
- Zara: Afrikaans
- R: Okay. And to your brothers and sister?

Zara: Afrikaans

R: Okay. And then what language did you speak to Miss D, no, no, oh ja Miss D was your teacher, what language did you speak to her?

Zara: English

R: Did you ever speak Afrikaans to her? And your brothers and sister...oh no, no, no sorry, your friends at school?

Zara: English

R: Okay, you didn't find anyone who spoke Afrikaans?

Zara: No

R: And, uhm, do you attend...do you enjoy attending Pinewood Primary?

Zara: Yes

R: Why?

Zara: Because, there's, you can, there's like charity tuckshop, and there's you can, there's lots of fun things you can do. There's like gymnastics, swimming, and P.E. and all that stuff and you, every year *I make* new friends with everyone else.

R: Cool, great, okay, let's talk about your Mommy. What languages do you speak to your Mommy most of the time?

Zara: Afrikaans

R: Why is that?

Zara: Uhm, because we usually talk Afrikaans.

R: Cool, and you Daddy?

Zara: Afrikaans

R: Why?

Zara: Because we usually talk Afrikaans.

R: Okay, and do your brothers ever tease you?

Zara: Oh yes, L.

R: What does he do?

Zara: He's, he's like to tickle you and chase after you and then he say "hoo loo", then cos he sometimes he makes a mess with the sugar or something and then he say I'm now gonna go tell Mommy you went to go, you were playing with the sugar and eating up all the sugar. Then he doesn't go tell my Mommy and then he say "hoo loo loo loo loo"

R: And does he call you names?

Zara: Uhm no.

R: And what does he, but what does he, when he talks to you what does he tease you in English or Afrikaans?

Zara: Afrikaans, sometimes he, he call my sister *lang nek* and for me *dik kop*, that's our nick names for him.

R: *Dik nek*?

Zara: Ja

R: *Dik* what?

Zara: *Dik kop en dik nek*, oh no...

R: And *lang nek*...

Zara: *Lang nek ja*.

R: And what do you say?

Zara: Then we say, then me and my sister say *moenie vir ons daai roep nie jho!*

R: And Angelo, doesn't he? Do you talk to him? What language do you talk to him?

Zara: Afrikaans

R: And your *ouma*, what language do you talk to your *Ouma* in?

Zara: Afrikaans, sometimes English.

R: Why English?

Zara: Sometimes she talks to us English and then we talk to her back.

R: Cool, when you listen to your parents talk, in what languages do you usually hear them talking in?

Zara: In Afrikaans

R: And do you sometimes, what do you think about that?

Zara: How do mean what do I think about it?

R: Do you like it, or do you think you wish they could speak another language?

Zara: No, I like it.

R: And what do they speak, what do they speak to your brothers?

Zara: Afrikaans

R: And any English?

Zara: Hey?

R: Do they speak any English to your brothers, and to you girls?

Zara: Uhm, yes.

R: Okay. And who speaks more Afrikaans or feels more strongly about it, Mommy or Daddy?

Zara: Mommy

R: Why?

Zara: 'Cause my Daddy always speaks English to us mostly and then my Mommy always come with Afrikaans.

R: And number fifteen, just ten to go. When do your brothers speak English to you?

Zara: Sometimes when they tease us, and then they just most of the times, the rest of the time speak Afrikaans.

R: Okay, cool. And then, why do you enjoy watching *7de Laan*?

Zara: Uhm, because it's Afrikaans and we understand everything and it gets exciting and it's nice to watch.

R: And which other television programmes do you watch?

Zara: We watch like, uhm, Gerald McBoing Boing, Spongebob, and Power Puff Girls, Winx Club, all that.

R: Why do you like those?

Zara: Because, it's not actually me that like all the cartoons, it's my sister. When I always want to watch some other things, then she will say lets watch cartoons, not that things, then we just watch cartoons.

R: Do you ever read the newspaper?

Zara: Uhm, no.

R: And magazines?

Zara: Yip

R: What?

Zara: Like the Huisgenoot I read, and the YOU.

R: Cool, and now that you at Pinewood Primary, has that changed the way you talk at home?

Zara: Uh, yes.

R: Why, give me an example.

Zara: Because, uhm, most...we speak Afrikaans, but this school is English and they teach us, they teach us more English like now we know another language, and that's English.

R: So how does that affect you speaking at home?

Zara: Doesn't really affect us.

R: But do you think you speak more English than when you were at V ?

Zara: Uhm, yes.

R: Why?

Zara: Uhm, because at V Valley we only speak Afrikaans most of the times and then the teacher explains the other children that doesn't know, of the, most of the words, then she explains in English and then we go do our work while she's explaining in English. And at this school it's just English.

R: And your homework is it mainly in English?

Zara: Yes, and sometimes in Afrikaans.

R: When you have Afrikaans to do? What languages do you speak at school, like in your class?

Zara: English

R: Do you ever speak Afrikaans?

Zara: Only sometimes to, to, uhm, J and...

R: J who?

Zara: J.K

R: Okay.

Zara: And Zoë's class to Sh or R.

R: What do you say to them?

Zara: We mostly say like, uhm, kom ons gan speel daar, moenie daar speel nie, and then that stuff.

R: And they understand?

Zara: Yes

R: Cool, and to your teachers?

Zara: I speak English.

R: And what languages do you use at break times when you playing with your friends?

Zara: English

R: But you just said now, kom ons gaan play, speel.

Zara: But only to J, Sh and R I speak Afrikaans sometimes with them at break time, but with the rest of my friends i speak English.

R: Okay, okay and you, when you doing extra murals like swimming and gymnastics, what do you speak?

Zara: English

R: No Afrikaans there?

Zara: Only to my Mommy if she's sitting there.

R: And are there any Afrikaans speaking friends you talk to on a regular basis, like here at home?

Zara: C inside.

R: You speak Afrikaans to him?

Zara: Only sometimes and then we help him like talk Afrikaans. Uhm, and that's all.(indistinct)

R: And then your other friends, like whose you J, or who would be your best friend out of this lot, J, Sh or R?

Zara: J

R: What do you say to her?

Zara: Hmmm, we like just normally like, like I just talk to my other friends like I talk to my other friends, but in Afrikaans, like *"kom ons gaan speel daar, moenie op daar gaan speel nie, and then kom ons gan roep vir daai meisie daar, kom ons gaan sê vir hulle om saam met ons te kom speel"*, or something like that.

R: Okay, then she'll come, cool. Uhm, which words would you choose to describe how you feel when speaking English: do you feel happy, joyful, cheerful, sad, lucky, comfortable?

Zara: Uhm, uhm, uhm, joyful.

R: Why?

Zara: Because it's actually now nice speaking English since I know the language now.

R: And how would you answer that for Afrikaans?

Zara: Hmm?

R: How would you answer that for Afrikaans?

Zara: How do you mean how would I...

R: Oh yes, sorry. Which words would you use to describe how you feel about when you speaking Afrikaans: do you feel happy, joyful, cheerful, sad, lucky, comfortable, unhappy, miserable, confident, yourself or pleased?

Zara: My...yourself.

R: You feel like yourself, why?

Zara: Because I normally speak Afrikaans to my parents.

R: Cool, imagine a fairy would have waved a magic wand and made everyone at your school speak Afrikaans, at Pinewood Primary only, Afrikaans only, how would that make you feel? Would you like that, and why?

Zara: Uhm, I'd like it because I know more Afrikaans than English and it's nice speaking Afrikaans.

R: Cool, done. Now, can you call your sister please, i just wanna explain this to you. Can you do that? Can I do that?

Zara: How come my sister took so long?

R: I know, I dunno, no wait it was, yours took...she took nineteen minutes and you took fifteen minutes. It's only four minutes, felt long longer.

Appendix 6: Jacobs family interviews

Gail Jacobs

(4/03/2010 and 10/03/2010)

- R: G just remind me, do you give me permission to do this interview?
- G: Yes...yes
- R: If it doesn't come up then we have to go out again, tell your husband "Sorry, we have to go out again because ..." *Ja*, put that there, good idea. Put your wallet here, 'cos I don't need my answers.
- G: Are you, must I pay you to do this, are you paying me? Because you said, put your wallet there, okay.
- R: *Nou, ek het nou die vra geverhaal, wat's die woord in Afrikaans?*
- G: Memorise?
- R: *Ons kan nie, ons kan dit in Afrikaans doen.*
- G: *Maar as ek nie in Afrikaans kan praat nie, kan ek maar oorskakel?*
- R: *Ja*, I mean, no, no whatever you comfortable with, do you wanna do it in English or Afrikaans?
- G: *Nee, nee, nee, nie English nie, want dan gaan my Engels nie uit kom nie, praat net.*
- R: Oh *ja*, I forgot. G, sorry, *kan jy my, ek sal moet lees want hier is my English questions en Afrikaans. Kan jy my vertel van jou kinder jare, of hoe jy groot gemaak was? Waar was dit, hoe was dit, jou huis lewe, onthou jy watter tale jy gepraat het as 'n kind met jou ouers, jou broers, susters, vriende en by die skool? Want daar is baie in daai question, maar basically how you grew up.*
- G: *Opgegroei, opgegroe...gebore in die, in District Six, en as ek vir mense sê hoe oud ek is, dan sê hulle "jy lieg ne?"*
- R: Exactly!
- G: *Ek was gebore in District Six in 'n huis, en ek het mos 'n huis nurse gehad. En ek was about drie/vier jaar oud toe ons trek na Heideveld. Uhm, ek is een van ag kinders, maar my Ma het vier voor kinders gehad. So van my Pa was onse vier kinders, uhm, drie broers en my self, ma ek is die tweede laste kind.*
- R: *En jou ma het vier voor jou?*
- G: *Vier voor kinders gehad, so dit was, my oudste broer is A, en dan B, en dan C en D, dis die vier voor kinders. En dan is dit E, wat oorlede is, err, baie jaar lank, en dan's it F, dan ek, en dan G.*
- R: *Nou hoekom sê jy 'voor kinders'?*
- G: *Want dit was nie van my Pa nie, dit was voor sy my Pa ontmoet het ne. So uhm, ons is nou, ma ons het nooit geweet nie, ons het altyd opgegroeï as 'n groot gesin. Ons het nooit saam gewoon nie want my Ma se vier voor het gewoon saam met haar susters en haar Ma. En, uhm, toe ons nou na Heideveld toe trek, toe is dit net myself en G, en my Ma en my Pa want my broers en susters was by 'n Engelse skool gewees, hulle was almal by Zonnebloem, hulle's almal gedoop en aangeneem by St. Phillips, behalwe E en F. Want to my Ouma en Oupa en Aunties nou wou ook Mitchell's Plain toe move uit die District Six uit, toe is E nog say laaste jaar, dink ek, by Zonnebloem, of sy tweede laaste jaar en F was ook nog by Zonnebloem. En toe het hulle in Mitchell's Plain skool toe gegaan, Engelse skool. Toe is ek en G en my Ma en my Pa in die Heideveld, en omdat hulle groot geword het saam met my Aunties, het hulle besluit om by hulle te bly. En hulle het mos skool gegaan in die Mitchell's Plain. Hulle kon nie reg kom om saam met my Pa te woon nie, want my Pa het gedrink. En ek het nie a keuse gehad nie ma ek was mos my Pa se meisie, enigste meisie kind, so dis was mos baie life vir my Pa en my Pa was, ek was my Pa se "apple of the eye", ja. En, G...ek het skool gegaan by W Primêr in Heideveld.*
- R: *En watter taal het jy gepraat...?*
- G: *Ek het Afrikaans gepraat. Ons was...*
- R: *Was dit 'n 'dual- medium' of watter soorte skool was dit, Engels, of...?*
- G: *Afrikaans, is was net Afrikaans, da was niks Engels nie.*
- R: Okay, en G, waar was hy?
- G: *G was nog by die huis, ma hy het ook, hy het ook by W skool gegaan. So dis net ek en G wat Afrikaans skool toe gegaan het it.*
- R: *En die ander ses het almal Engelse skole toe gegaan?*
- G: *Hulle het almal Engelse skool toe gegaan. Maar okay helpde van hulle het nie skool klaar gemaak nie.*
- R: *Ja*, but I mean they started off...
- G: They all started off at Zonnebloem, and uhm, from there obviously to Mitchell's Plain F and E, but E also didn't finish school, F matriculated in Mitchell's Plain and uhm, *it was nie, was nie 'n uhm...kyk ek*

- 'n G het meer Afrikaans gepraat, ons het baie wynig Engels gepraat, want onse ouers het Afrikaans gepraat.*
- R: *Wat is 'wynig'?*
- G: *Wynig was as ons net vir Ouma gan kuier en aunties gan kuier in die Mitchell's Plain, then they would speak English to us, dan kan ons nie reg Engels praat nie, verstaan? So Engels is 'n, is nie, is was regtig 'n tweede taal, ma is was net toe ons vir familie gan kuier, het ons English gepraat want onse, uhm, surroundings, waar ons gebly het was Afrikaans. Al die kinders wat ons meer gespeel het, onse skool, onse onderwysers is Afrikaans, niemand het Engels gepraat soos vandag waar 'n mens Engels en Afrikaans praat by die skool nie. Of jy het kinders wat Engels en Afrikaans praat in jou surroundings nie, ons het net Afrikaans gepraat. En uhm, kan jy by hou?*
- R: *Ja, ja, ek skryf...ek gan jou weer vra...dankie, uhm thanks. Jou Ma en jou Pa julle het met hulle Afrikaans gepraat?*
- G: *Ja.*
- R: *Jou broers, G is Afrikaans en die ander broers en susters, is mix?*
- G: *Was mix ja, maar hulle, hulle, hulle eerste taal was Engels en hulle tweede taal was Afrikaans. So seker maar as hulle by ons gekom het dan het my Ma Afrikaans met hulle gepraat, maar my Ma het Engels ook met hulle gepraat, maar dis wynig gewees, soos ons onse broers in susters net weekends gesien. Ons het opgegroeï soos a gesin van vier, nee dit was so gewees. En F het toe...*
- R: *Nou wat van dië ander twee, F en E?*
- G: *Hulle was mos groot, hulle was op high school gewees. E het toe nie meer skool toe gegaan nie.*
- R: *Nou hoekom het hulle nie met julle Heideveld toe getrek nie?*
- G: *Want hulle het al gewoon met ons Aunties, en hulle's by Zonnebloem skool gegaan. Kyk ons is nou drie jaar uit mekaar uit nê, as ek drie...ek was vier jaar oud, so was G seker 'n jaar oud gewees, of twee, ek kan nie onthou nie, ek dink ons is vyf jaar, of ses...iets soos dit was net 'n jaar voor ek moet skool toe gaan, of twee jaar voor ek moet skool toe gaan dat ons getrek het, as ek nou terug dink. So F het al van daai tyd al by Zonnebloem van as hy, as ek vyf gewees het dan was F al ag, en hy was al by Zonnebloem. Ma nou, daar was 'n tyd toe hulle ook by ons kom bly het in die Heideveld, dan moes hulle nou travel. En dan was dit mos nie dinges gewees nie, en uhm, ek dink F het seker, hulle nog a tydjie in Zonnebloem gegaan tot my Auntie hulle gemove it...Mitchell's Plain toe en toe gan hulle mos na die Engelse skole in die, indie, in Mitchell's Plain. Ma E het nie lang skool toe gegaan nie, hy was mos nou 'n stoude kind, en erm, met my Ouma gebly. Kyk my Oupa het gebly in die onder kant van District Six, en dan my Ouma't gebly in nie bo kandt waar baie van die wit mense nou bly wat die huise nogsteeds...geredingsit, so sy het nog langer gebly daar. So ons nou baie stad toe gegang, terwyl ons in Mitchell's Plain gebly het...ek sal sê ons het nou Heideveld toe getrek nê? Is was nie 'n normal, so ek sê my Ma het vier voorkinders gehad, ma hulle het opgegroeï met die Aunties, so die ander twee het ook opgegroeï met die Aunties. En hulle probeer al om by ons te kom bly, but soos ek gesê ons het in een slaapkamer flat gebly in Heideveld, derde verdieping. En die huis is nogsteeds in die Heideveld, die flat staan nog. Daar's mos nou 48 huise in daai flats, so ons het een slaapkamer gehad, dit was nou nie geskik vir so groot 'n gesin nie, van ses. En uhm, ja daar het die lewe angegaan het, F het toe klaar gemaak met skool. F het , toe F nog op high school gewees het , toe het F weekends deur gekom, hy't gecasual by 'L B' en dan bring hy vir Mama nou pies of my Oupa het getravel om vir ons te kom visit uit die Kaap nie, my Aunties het almal gewerk, so my Oupa was regtig daar vi hulle gewies, ook Woensdae kom kuier het, en my Pa het al...my Ma het nooit gewerk nie. My Ma het gewerk voor sy vir ons gehad het, maar van, to sy vir my en vir G gehad het toe sy opgehou werk en toe het ons nou Heideveld toe gemove, toe het sy glad nie gewerk nie, sy het gewerk by F en my Pa was 'n Welder gewees.*
- R: *Do you want to eat and stop and carry on, or what?*
- G: *I don't know.*
- R: *Because you're gonna be talking.*
- G: *Ja, ek kan mos gesels en praat.*
- R: *What do you mean gesels en praat?*
- G: *Ek bedoel gesels en eet.*
- R: *Kan jy dit doen of nie?*
- G: *Ek kan dit doen.*
- R: *Okay good.*
- G: *Lag agterna vir daai stukkie ne? Ek, ek, ek belowe jou, dan gat ek jou kry.*
- R: *En dan sê vir my, wat was F?*
- G: *Sy bid nie voor sy eet nie!*
- R: *Ag sorry man, jinne!*

- G: *Kom jy moet nou bid, Afrikaans somer.*
- R: Oh my word, God can understand English.
- G: Yeah He does.
- R: Okay, dear Lord thank you for this opportunity to share together, to eat the food that's been prepared and just to get to know each other a little differently, even though it is an interview. Thank you for this opportunity and we think of our families at this time. Amen.
- G: Amen.
- R: *Jy's soos my husband, Tabasco op alles, oh jinne!*
- G: Is it? I love it! And that is why...
- R: I like it now, but not...
- G: No but Tabasco's good for you, but not too much. It, it, it helps, it's good for the blood, *alles*. *Ek het gelees* about it.
- R: Okay look, I never really used to eat chilli's till I met him. When I met him he ate Tabasco on his eggs, I was like oh my goodness, well chilli on anything, but *ja*, it's interesting.
- G: Sorry *M* dat jy nou inkom in die interview.
- R: *Ja*, shame. *Sê vir my jou skool...jy het vir my gesê. Nou vertel my van jou vriende en onderwysers by Woodlands Primêr.*
- G: *Jis like it julle van 'n mens terug hoor!*
- R: I know.
- G: *Ek, my Sub A teacher was juffrou, ek ken hulle almal ne! Juffrou, Sub B was Juffrou, en Std Een was, en Std Twee was juffrou.*
- R: Now hold on, waar was W Primary?
- G: *In Heideveld, agter Sunnybrook High School. Ek onthou al my onderwysers, ek't gooie, gooie relationships gehad met hulle. Die dag toe ek trou was my Sub A teacher en my Std One teacher by my wedding.*
- R: Oh, that's nice.
- G: I'm still in contact with them, because *hulle was al 60 al, van hule 70, so bel ek hulle nou en dan, try vir hulle sien. Uhm, met my, sal ek sê, my Ma se stief Pa se begrafnis toe's, toe is ek 'n groot meisie al, klaar met skool, of was ek op high school, en toe kry ek my Std One juffrou daar, toe is sy, sy was 'n nurse, in haar spare time het sy die dinge gedoen, toe kry ek vir haar ook daar. But ek het 'n goeie relationship met hulle, so, ek is, B en J, uhm, was by my wedding gewees ja. So, die onderwysers het vir ons, kyk as ons nou gepraat het, vir on swat nou Engels weekends gepraat en met som van ons met ons families gepraat het, nou kom jy by die skool en dan praat jy, en dan maak jy 'n mistake en dan sal jou juffrou vir jou, obviously vandag kry jy dit nog, wa juffrouens kinders reg leer om hoe te praat soos "gehad" nie "geheddie". En sulke dinge, ek kan altyd dit onthou. So uhm, ek dink as 'n mens dink daar aan, 'n mens moet maar stick neh, met jou eerste language in 'n sense, is confusing as jy dink aan al die languages die kinders moet leer, want ek was nooit goed in my tale nie.*
- R: Was jy nie?
- G: As ek dink daar aan, ek leer nogsteeds...
- R: Was jy nie goed in Afrikaans nie, by skool?
- G: Nee
- R: But al jou vakke was in Afrikaans, Maths, Geskiedenis, al daai...
- G: Geskiedenis was in Afrikaans gewees. *Ek was nie, was nie goed in my tale nie. Ek sal maar nou sê, ek was nie 'n persoon wat akademis gestrewe het nie. Ek was 'n atleet.*
- R: Okay, en nou, en jy het net Afrikaans...?
- G : *Dis hoekom in my lewe, in my daglikse lewe as ek met my kinders praat dan sê ek altyd 'some of us excel in certain things.' Because I believe but there's always time to improve in the things that you not good at. So dat ek, ek sê vir my kinders ek het nie ouers gehad wat, wat sulke dinge kon gesê het nie. Want my Ma was by die huis, en as, ek weet nie as jy weet nie maar ouers wat by die huis is sit net en tee drink by een se huis en by die ander een se huis, want dit was hoe ons opgegroeï het. En, uhm vakansies is nie soos ons nou vandag wat ons kinders weg vat vir vakansie en ons vat onse kinders uit vir vakansie, daar was nooit a kar in die familie nie, en uhm ons het maar bus gevat en trein en weekends gegaan na my pa se broer toe en dan drink hulle en dan moet ons net daar gespeel het.*
- R: Okay now listen, na skool, sorry uhm ja, high school was W?
- G: Nee, nee, nee, primêre skool ...
- R: Wat was jou hoër skool was Sunnybrook High School? You went to Sunnybrook High School?
- G: Yes
- R: Oh okay
- G: You know Sunnybrook High School?

- R: Ja.
- G: Sunnybrook High School, but the person I am today I think I was always talkative. My nickname was, *hoe sê ons 'nickname' in Afrikaans?*
- R: *Nou vra jy my 'n question, nicknaam?*
- G: Okay *ja*, but anyway, was *"Bubblekous"* van *Sub A. Juffrou* het dit vir my gename, Bubble kous. En as sy my nou nog sien dan groet sy my *"hello Bubble kous"*, dan sê ek vir haar ek is nogsteeds die selfde.
- R: Sweet man.
- G: Sy sê dankie *Here* vir die persoon wat ek is, want ek is nog altydie selfde en uhm, mense wat in my lewe gewees het daai tyd kan nog altyd praat van my, en sê jy het nog niks gechange nie, dan lag ons. En uhm die selfde het gegaan vir my high school, as ek nou, ek was nou by my een van my teachers se funeral, juffrou, was my PT onderwyser, en sy was 46 toe sy afgesterwe, ek was by haar funeral gewees hierdie jaar, July.
- R: What was wrong with her?
- G: *Sy't kanker gehad op die brein, en dan toe kry ek my ander onderwysers Juffrou en Juffrou en almal van hulle daar, toe kan ons hug en ons kan kiss want ek is nou a groot vrou, ek is 'n ma ek is getroud en ons het gesels en you know, ek het goeie relationships gehad met, met my onderwysers. Soos ek gesê het ek was nie akademis nie so hulle onthou my nie vir akademis nie, hulle onthou my vir die persoon wat ek was en vir die athlete wat ek was. Ek was die captain van die high school team, want ek was nie die vinnigste sprinter. I was the fastest sprinter in my group obviously when I was...yes, but as the years, oh my gosh, as the years went on, I uhm was always the fastest in my age group. And when I finished matric, my last year I became the captain of the open, girls' open.*
- R: Cool
- G: And uhm, I carried the flag for the school.
- R: And did you go to uhm...
- G: Sunnybrook High School?
- R: Oh no, Champs of champs?
- G: Yes, champs of champs and champs. And that was it because *ek het nogsteeds gebly in nie Heideveld. Die kinders het begin om te hardloop met spikes en ek het nie spikes gehad nie, so ek moet ma met daai swaar soortes opgegroeï, so ek het mos nie dit gehad nie, van nie kinders wat ook atletiek gedoen het het clubs gejoin en ek het nie club gejoin nie want ons het nooit 'n motor gehad nie om my te vat nie. En uhm...*
- R: *En by Sunnybrook High School, wat het jy gepraat?*
- G: *Afrikaans.*
- R: *Is it net 'n Afrikaans skool?*
- G: *Nee dit was mos Engels gewees, hulle was Afrikaans en Engels, so dis al twee.*
- R: *'n Dual- medium?*
- G: Ja.
- R: Okay, but did you go, was jy in 'n Afrikaans klas of wat?
- G: Ja.
- R: *Afrikaanse klasse en Engelse klasse?*
- G: *Daar was Afrikaans, sê nou daar was 5 Std 7, neh? Graad, watter graad is daai?*
- R: Graad 9?
- G: Ja, dan...
- R: *Of graad agt?*
- G: *Of sê maar Graad agt nou...*
- R: Ja, when you started high school.
- es: *Nee but, ons het, ons het, ons het mos Std 7 begin by high school.*
- R: Ja, Std, Std...
- G: Grade is grade 9, daai, da was altyd mos Std 6 by die skool, primary school was nog till Std 6 gewees.
- R: Nee man.
- G: *Is ja, vir ons was dit, is ja.*
- R: So you were at W till Std 6?
- G: *Ja, en Std 7, 8, 9 en 10, vier jaar op hoër skool. Dan was dit weer, drie van, twee van daai klasse was Engels en vier, die laaste vier was Afrikaans.*
- R: Wow, okay en jy was in 'n Afrikaanse klas?
- G: Ja.
- R: *Nou wat het jy met jou kinders gespeel...ek meen jou vriende gepraat? Watter taal?*
- G: Afrikaans.
- R: Net Afrikaans?

- G: *Ja, jy bly mos met jou dinges, jy dink mos die Engels is 'n sterwie.*
- R: *Het jy nou vir die Engelse gepraat? En as jy gehardloop?*
- G: *Kyk ek was, ek was vrinde met almal, nie ek het gepraat Engels saam met een of twee van hulle, but ons het nooit ge...dit was net wanneer it athletic gewees dank oh jy nou met hulle in. Maar is nie soos ons het klasse saam gedoen nie, ons het Aadrukskunde gedoen, dan doen hulle Geography en so.*
- R: *En na skool?*
- G: *Na skool.*
- R: *Het jy verder geleer?*
- G: *Nee.*
- R: *Of het jy 'n trade, of wat het jy gedoen?*
- G: *Laat ek het jou vertel van my lewe, ek kom tot matriek neh, maar ek was Std 6 gewees to my Pa oorlede is, ek het uhm, ons was alleen in die huis my Pa ook, en uhm die dag tot my Pa gesê vir my Ma was die 9, op my broer se verjaarsdag. Die 9 Februarie en dit was sport day gewees by W, ons was nog by W. Onse sports dag, my Pa sê vir my Ma "As ek opstaan vandag gaan ek dood want ek kan nie". En uhm, my Pa was nie 'n lui man gewees nie, my Pa het baie gewerk, maar so ek sê hy het welding gedoen. So daai is die dag wat my Ma gesê het, ok toe gan ons nou nog altyd sport toe maar my Ma het decide toe sy gaan by die huis bly en my Pa dokter toe vat. Toe gaan my Ma dokter toe steur hy my Pa onmidelik vir toetse. Paar dae later toe sê hulle hy het kanker hy moet terug kom hy het net ses mande om te lewe, Februarie, March, April, May, June, July, August, ja. Ses maande om te lewe en hy het exactly net ses maande gelewe want hy's die 5de August oorlede neh. En uhm dis was baie difficult because hy het gegaan vir 'n, uhm, kyk hy was forty-four, hy het gegaan vir 'n, hulle het sy long uitgehaal, een, en twee ribbes. Hulle het hom te vroeg huis toe gesteur en toe het hy nou 'n infection opgedoen. En toe moet hy weer terug gan en daai was toe hy amper dood, en uhm, kyk jy moet nou vinnig opgroei nou, verstaan? Ek is nou nie die baby nie, G'se baby en uhm, as my Pa, toe my Pa huis toe kom is it maar net ons en my Ma was moeg van my Ma moet bus gevat Groote Schuur toe en my Pa, en daar was nooit 'n motor nie. So 'is was bus Groote Schuur toe en daai pad oploop en almal die dinge, was very taxing. En uhm, daar was a tyd gewees wat my auntie gekom het en kom help hulle my Ma met my Pa, want toe's my Pa soos 'n baby. En dan kom hospice na die huis toe. So jy moet verstaan dat toe my Pa oorlede is was dit alreeds 'n groot iets uit my lewe uit, ne? Soos skool gegaan en my Ma moet briewe geskryf het vir ons om geld te kry van my Pa mos 'n lump sum gelos en my Ma widows pension gelos neh, so die enigste geld wat ons gekry het was elke maand het my Ma interest gekry van die lump sum en 'n widows pension. En dan...*
- R: *Van die, van die government?*
- G: *Nee my Pa se geld, van die pension fund en so aan. Obviously die geld gaan dan uitruin van elke jaar moet my Ma nou vir hulle vra om vir ons, gaan nie die brood eet nie. Dan moet my Ma vir hulle geld vra en my Ma moet skrywe hoeveel skool klere en skoene mekeer ons, en Krimis klere dan moet sy die brief skryf dan moet die brief gepos wees, dan's F al groot al, dan steur F die brief vir haar, en uhm...*
- G: *As hulle gekom het weekends, dan sê hulle "Uncle, het Uncle nie vir my geld nie?" dan gee Uncle. So uhm, hulle het wel Uncle gesê, ma ons het nooit opgelet nie, net latter in die jaar, ek was seker in Std 6 gewees toe leer ons nou dat that's my, is onse eie broer, ons het nooit gesien dit nie, ons het net geglo dat hulle bly by Auntie en by die Kaap nie en so an. Nou in any case, wil ek sê van die matriek thing, en uhm, ek en my Ma en my broer veloor. En ons het vir jare so angegaan, en tough times gewees en so, maar ek het my hard vir die Here gegee wat ek in Std 9 gewees it.*
- R: *Watter kerk het julle toe gegaan?*
- G: *Ons was by...kerk, in die Heideveld, maar jy weet net hoe ignorant die mense is, daar's niemand wat vir jou soos...ek glo mos as jy 'n Christian word dan is jy weer 'n baba dan moet jy gevoed word en so an. So niemand het my dit gegee nie, so my understanding was always that I'm a child of God and God is gonna help me. So when I, when matric, so I probably never grew up because I was still a child, because while being a child I was, I had to grow up fast to help my Mother and also for my brother and I had to be there because the broers het nie gebly in die huisie. So jy wees mos soos 'n groot mens, almal praat net om jou, soos ek nou gesê van 'n kind wat net adult conversation het om haar, so 'n kind was ek. En dan uhm matriek dink ek die Here gaan my help, ek studeer toe nie. Dis ignorant as jy vandag daarvan praat, en ek fail toe matriek, en ek sê vir jou ek kom nog huis toe en almal is verbaas en uhm ek huil, en ek staan op ek gaan was my gesig en ek sê vir my Ma dis my skuld. En my Ma sê is ek okay, en ek sê ja ek's fine, want toe weet jy op daai ouderdom van eighteen realise ek dit is niemand anders se skuld ma myne nie en ek het vir God getrust but God help die wat hulle self help, en ek was fine met dit. En almal sê vir my gaan skryf oor, en ek dink ek het oor gaan skryf een of whatever, maar ek weet wat dan nooit wat met die results gebeer het nie, en stuff like dit nie. Maar vandag sê ek vir*

- mense ek sal nooit enige iets terug draai nie, ek sal nooit, as ek 'n kans sal het om my lewe terug te draai tot by matriek om dit weer oor te doen, of om baie dinge terug te draai sal ek nie.*
- R: Okay, so wat het jy nou sups (supplementaries) geskryf of nie?
- G: *Ek dink ek het een geskryf, ek weet nie of ek, of ek ooit die tweede een geskryf nie, ek onthou nou, nou nie, maar is was nie meer belangrik nou vir my nie. Is was nie meer belangrik nou vir my nie, want ons het nie by, ons kon dit nie doen by Sunnybrook High School nie, ons moet it gan doen by 'n nog 'n skool.*
- R: *En jy het nie die results gekry nie? You never checked?*
- G: *Ek weet nie, ek kan nie onthou nie want ek weet nie hoe (both speak at the same time, not sure what G says)*
- R: *Net twee subjects?*
- G: *Net twee gedoen het, ek het Aardrykskunde gedoen en History weer gedoen het.*
- R: *Wat is Aardrykskunde?*
- G: *Geography en History. Maar anyway, uhm ek het dit net accept, 'n mense accept nie net dinge nie, but ek it dit accept en ek sê altyd ek sal it nooit terug draai nie van ek sê, van ek, toe ek vir David ontmoet neh, okay ek gan nou 'n bietjie verder nou, maar soos ek vir David onthmoet het...*
- R: *Nee daai's, daai's 'n nog 'n question. Watter taal, wanneer jy vir David geontmoed, dis net 'n question van die language, wat het julle gepraat met mekaar?*
- G: *Afrikaans.*
- R: *Was hy Afrikaans praatend?*
- G: *Hy was Afrikaans.*
- R: *En jy was Afrikaans, en waar het julle geontmoed?*
- G: *Sokker veld, nee, nee as jy moet wiet hoe ek geblyit, ek was op die derde virdieping gebly dan staan ek by die venster dan watch ek mos nou. En so mense gesê ek was deer die hele sokker team gewees, wat nie waar gewies het nie want ek was 'n tomboy gewees, ek het na skool dag gaan speel ek golf saam met die boys, ek speel soccer saam met die boys, dus hoekom ek kan soccer speel. Ek het soccer ook gespeel.*
- R: *En wat het jy actually na matriek gedoen?*
- G: *Na matriek is ek by die huis, en het ek 'n computer course gan doen, ek het gewerk saam met kinders, dis hoekom ek so lief is vir kinders van ek het gewerk by 'n educare centre. En ek was mos nie so lank gewerk nie toe trou ek mos.*
- R: *Oh okay, toe ontmoet jy vir David en julle...*
- G: *Ek het ontmoet vir David net na, die volgende jaar neh, in nie jaar van ek 19 jaar oud is, toe ontmoet ek vir David, toe drie jaar later toe trou ons.*
- R: *Net soos M en ek, ek het ook hom ontmoet toe ek 19, I got married at 23, no four or five years later, anyway whatever.*
- G: *Ja but I got married when I was 21, turning 22.*
- R: *En David?*
- G: *David was 5 jaar ouer as my, David het matriek gepass, David het gewerk, en because David was 'n baie uhm, agtermekaar kêrel en ek kon nie glo hoekom wil, wat sien jy in my dat jy somer my wil hê? Is was 'n, is was 'n helsa question cos ek was baie tomboyish, en ek het elke match gaan watch. As it 'n dag is ek watch ek elke soccer match, elke cricket match ek was so gewees. As die guys gespeel, want David is ook gespeel vir die premier team, dan het ek vir David hulle gewatch. Is ek daar vir practice time, ek het my eie team uitgelê vir die manager, ek het my team opgeskryf vir die manager. So intense was ek 'n, krakerag, en uhm...*
- R: *En jou trouery, was dit in Engels of Afrikaans?*
- G: *Nee.*
- R: *Hoekom nie?*
- G: *Want ons is by Engelse kerk, ons is by die Anglican kerk, nee, man ons het by die Anglican kerk al twee van ons. Kyk ek was mos nou by die uhm...*
- R: *Jy was nie by die selfde kerk nie?*
- G: *Nee.*
- R: *But you met uhm playing, watching him play soccer?*
- G: *Yes, I was always on the soccer field, if they played away I used to get a lift with David.*
- R: *Did you like him immediately?*
- G: *Uhm we were three girls and they had girlfriends, they had boyfriends in the team and I didn't have a boyfriend 'cos ek was mos nog jonk en die ander kêrel, David se beste buddy was agter my gewies. Ma hy's 'yells' tall gewees en ek was altyd bang gewees, en ek was altyd bang gewees ek het altyd gesê hy gaan my seer maak. But any rate, hy was agter my gewees, maar toe likes ek vir David en uhm ons it so*

soccer gan kyk en so an, en dan was daar altyd 'n meisie wat so an somtyds met David gery het. Die aand, ek was mos 'n Christian nou, en toe, it was in June gewies, 1992. Toe vra ek vir David of hy saam met my en my skoonsuster, en my broer en my ander broer wil gaan St. James toe, want daar's 'n concert en uhm, David sê toe ja maar hy wil nou vir die meisie ook vra as sy saam wil gaan. En David vra toe vir ha en sy kan toe nie gaan nie want sy was mos 'n teacher gewies nê. Nou moet jy vestaan, sy was 'n teacher gewees en David was interested in haar, en ek is 'n nobody wat werk met 'n, wat werk met babas, by 'n crèche, maak kinders se strond skoon, en ek vra toe vir hom as hy saam gaan, en ek kry toe vri hom buite kant by die flat van hulle oefen mos op die veld daar buite die flat. En hy sê vir my nee, toe sê ek maar jy gaan en toe ons nou vir hom bel die Vrydag, die 5de June 1992, toe bel ons vir hom en toe, toe gan ons nog nie uit nie hoor? Toe's hy's net 'n vriend, en toe vra ek vir hom as hy wil saam gaan, en toe gaan die girl mos nie saam nie, die meisie. En toe gaan ons na sy huis toe, toe sê hy, hy wil nie meer saam gaan nie, toe sê ek vir hom, maar jy kan nie mos so sê nie, toe sê ek vir hom want jy het gesê dat jy saam en toe gaan ons eventually. En daai's die aand wat David sy hart vit die Here gee en then, because I didn't get a feeding when I became a Christian, I used to give David scripture readings, I used to give David gospel music, and that is how our friendship started. And then he would come pick me up weekends, and we'd go to A in town en ons gaan koop vir ons Amy Grant en almal die kassets en ons koop bookies en sulke goede, lag jy want is die selfde as julle. En so, so het ons 'n relationship gebou en 27 July vra David vir my Ma of hy kan uitgan met my, toe's ek nou 19. En uhm toe gaan on suit ja, maar nou kom Mark nog altyd daar, die kêrel wat agter my geweesit. Toe sê David vir my, na 'n pa jaar sê David vir my dat Mark het altyd na hom toe gekom en gepraat van die meisie wat hy velief is, op is, ma hy wiet nie hoe nie en almal die, en ek is nie interested nie en daai nie. Toe sê David jy was daai meisie gewees, toe dink ek whoa jy het nou daai berg se hand in die as geslat. So ons was almal vriende agter na, maar dit was nie die selfde gewees nie, maar ek was nooit...

R: Waar is hy nou?

G: Hy bly in nie Pinelands, ons was gooie buddies gewies, ma hy's ook getroud 'n jaar na my getrou.

R: Hy kinders by ons skool?

G: Nee, hy het nie kinders nie.

R: Okay, volgende question, nou die's nou die werk nou right: Watter taal...

G: Die werk, office werk?

R: Jou werk. Watter taal praat jy met die kinders terwyl jy skool toe ry?

G: English en Afrikaans, but it's predom...mostly English.

R: Okay, why?

G: Because they English speaking children.

R: Do they understand you if they...

G: If I speak Afrikaans they laugh because they understand what I'm saying and I only speak Afrikaans if I'm angry or I need to say something, want like this morning uhm, D took out her Turkish apricots from Woolworths, a punnet and it's mos very expensive. Do you want, do you want, do you want?

R: A whole punnet for school?

G: Ja, very expensive, any rate, two of them say no and now obviously I have a two year old and her sister in the car, uhm S en S, en ek 'n, ek 'n ry mos nou en A en M sit voor en dan Shannon sit al agter my met die kindertjies en dan sit hulle nou almal in die kar, nou ry ons daar by Ou Mutual se kante af, voor ons by Ou Mutual kom. Okay, sê ek oh, that's nice I want one, now they say S stop spitting it out, eat! 'Cos S's biting it, now they say chew S, chew. Toe sê ek, julle gaan lekker S se stert skoon maak, want die goed laat jou popo. Toe lag hulle, want wiet hulle wat ek sê, oh no sê hulle, toe sê A I'll do it, I'll do it. So ja, dus die van 'n heele geselskappie, but there is days where we say today is only Afrikaans in the car. I try to do that ja, I try to have maybe on a Wednesday morning only Afrikaans, dan praat ons net Afrikaans: Hoe gan dit met jou, goeie môre, ons groet in Afrikaans. As die kinders in klim, goeie môre.

R: So which day is that?

G: No, we decide, sometimes, it's not like it's every week, but I used to have it on a Wednesday every week, but is nou hectic. Is nou die begin van die jaar, verstaan jy, is nuwe kinders wat jy moet optel, so ek moet not hulle in 'n routine kry.

R: En watter, ek dink ek weet hiervan, watter taal praat jy wanneer jy met jou man gesels?

G: Afrikaans.

R: En?

G: En, uhm broken-English, broken up, uhm, dis mix. You know as jy sekere dinge will express, dang jy terug na jou moeder taal toe, jy sê dit beter. Uhm as ek vir my man met hom so romantic wil praat dan kom die Engels dee, so nou pieces wat ons almal sny...

R: Hoekom?

- G: My darling, darling...
- R: *Wat bedoel jy pieces wat jy moet sny?*
- G: *Pieces wat jy so sny, jou hoe kan ek sê, my Engels, so ons praat ons Afrikaans soos dit, jy sal nou sê my angel, my darling, I love you and stuff like that, that pieces. Because that is now like making conversation when you're not in the mood of conversation. But ons sê altyd my bokkie en my engel en koosie en so an, ons noem mekaar sulke funny name.*
- R: *En as jy oor besig praat, like besigheid, of your like bank, of Vodacom of jou...*
- G: *Nee dis English.*
- R: *Hoekom?*
- G: *I change over I don't, obviously you weren't there when we had the marketing people that interviewed us.*
- R: *And what did you speak?*
- G: *I spoke mostly English, but uhm they could understand Afrikaans, but soos ek met jou praat soos jy sal nou luister, nou kan ek sien nou sy slaan oor.*
- R: *But nou ek praat van as jy met jou man praat oor...*
- G: *...Besigheid? Dan praat ons in Afrikaans, then ons mixit en soos, as ek vir hom sê David Vodacom het geophone of so, but dan is die 'phone', ek sal nie sê "David Vodacom het gebel en hulle't gesê dat jy moet", ek praat nie so nie ek sal sê "David Vodacom het geophone, so jy moet, jy moet..." So dit is daai soorte Afrikaans wat ons praat, so daar's always broken, is broken, is'n third language I would say. So ons praat third language.*
- R: *En as julle oor julle kinders praat?*
- G: *If they there then we speak English and if we want to say something that they musn't hear dan praat ons Afrikaans en in die third language, so ja if they sitting there then I say "Daddy do you know what Erin did today?" And then so on and so on, but then as ek kwaad is soos gister aand, "Mommy tell Daddy what happened there by the cricket, the coach was so rude Daddy, but don't use that word!" sê sy nou. Dan sê ek, "No Uncle S was also sitting there, ja die lightie" dan praat ek nou, dan sê sy, "Mommy, Mommy, Mommy I don't understand say it in English", dan moet ek nou in English verdedelik terwyl hulle nou in die conversation is dan moet ek so wees anderste dan moet ek myself weer verdedelik. En as ek it nou vir David wil sê soos it gewees it, dan gaan ek hom later weer vertel. Kyk ag man ek weet nie, is wat werk vir mekaar.*
- R: *Exactly, nee daar's nie judgement, ek vra net hoe werk dit al. Now listen, met jou kinders which I mean, watter taal praat jy met jou kinders as jy vir, oor die huiswerk wil sien, of praat?*
- G: *Ek sal meestal Engels praat met hulle, uhm I try to explain but also I make sure my children know I said to them if sometimes but they correct me, and I grew up like that where my Mother also couldn't say certain things in English, then she would say it in Afrikaans and then my brothers would correct her or children would correct her, we would correct her. En nou vandag kry ek dit myself dan appreciate ek dit nie, want ek dink ek is nie maar, my Ma het altyd gesê ek is nie Ma en julle se kinders en dan likes ek dit nie so ek probeer, so soos ek vir jou gesê het ek was nie goed in my tale nie, want ek het nie eintlik goed gelees het nie. Vandag lees ek 'n bietjie en ek sê vir my kinders "Because I am reading I can communicate to you better and uhm, you guys can help me because I can appreciate it because you in a better place than I were at that age." En dan explain ek vir hulle hoekom ek vir hulle so push is because ek het nie parents gehad wat vir my gepush, ek sal nie sê dat my ma en my pa was nie interesseerd in ons skool werk nie maar hulle was nie geleerd genoeg nie om te weet nie om te kan help nie. En vandag ons kan selfs nie, vandag kan ons ook nie by hou nie because die kinders is so in advance, but luckily David kan nou by hou by sy kinders en nie dat ek glad nie belangstel nie net dat die is nie my forte nie. Ek praat meer oor die daglikse lewe as ek oor die skool werk sal praat.*
- R: *En emotional? But doen hy, doen hy al die huiswerk?*
- G: *90%*
- R: *Is dit iets julle gedink oor of is just happens just like that?*
- G: *Nee ek, kyk daar's baie wat van 'n ma af kom en uhm as ek het nie gan sê nie, soos my skoonsuster sê vir my nou die dag sy spoil haar kinders want sy maak vir hulle breakfast in die oggende en sy maak verseker hulle, ek maak ook verseker dat my kinders se homework is klaar as 'n ma, maar as hulle moet dit doen soos sit en doen dan sal ek help. But daar's tye wat ek refuse want ek voel ek doen te veel. Mentally is ek drained, physically I'm tired and then I would tell my husband and, and people would say because I'm so talkative en ek raak nou sommer kwaad daar oor, is it omdat ek so talkative is dink mense ek dra die broek in die huis. Because dit is net nie hoe dit is nie.*
- R: *Ek verstaan daai.*
- G: *Ek wietie as jy nou in my huis geweesit, uhm ja ek sê sekere goed maar as my man praat dan luister ek, ek is baie onderdanig as my man praat because ek wiet wie moet die head van die huis wees. Because*

- as dit nie reg is nie dan God nie die head wies in, oor elke een van ons nie, so it klink miskien soos ek die broek dra, but is nie dit nie, ek is nie van daai tieppe wat wil die selfde mistake maak wat ander vrouens maak nie, wat alles wil doen en dan dinges, die bubble gaan burst en dan wil sy huil en sê “ ek doen en ek...” *Ons share it. En nie altyd equally nie, because ek wil nie so sê nie want nou marriage is nie 'n 50/50 nie, is 'n 100%, 100% en soos research en daai goede man, dan sal David van voor af want ek stel mos nie belang in computers en goede nie.*
- R: *En met die disciplineer, is dit Engels of Afrikaans as jy die kinders...?*
- G: *Hulle maar, hulle maar raak uit die hand uit as hulle ma moet Afrikaans met hulle disciplineer, want dan raak sy lelik en dan, het ek jou gesê Sondag oggend het ons so 'n moment gehad. Ons het kerk toe gegaan, huis toe gekom, ek sê vir die girls, girls asseblief gaan pak julle kleure weg en I'm gonna take you...*
- R: *Oh, oh, oh jou skoonsuster het die kleure uitgepak vir hulle? Oh no, no not that story.*
- G: *Nee man, that's my suster. Nee ek sê toe vir hulle “pack your clothes away when we get home because it's not fun if you go to other people's homes and you come back and you still gotta come clean your own house.” I said, “No, I don't want that, so go upstairs,” ‘cos they camped out in Shannon's bedroom so Erin...*
- R: *Oh no jy het vir my gesê en hulle het nie die kleure weg gepak nie, Sandra was there there Friday?*
- G: *Ja, something like that.*
- R: *She ironed the stuff for them or packed away.*
- G: *Then Erin didn't when I went upstairs toe lyk as sy alles uit die kas uitgegooi, toe het sy nou...*
- R: *Hoekom?*
- G: *Nee want hulle, ek sê vir hulle, “julle het rakkies, julle Pa het specially die goede gekry, pak julle kleure daar in.” Nee die girls vat hulle eie tyd, toe strip ek net, toe use ek gou 'n foul word, toe ons nou by Uncle Stan se huis is Sondag middag toe sê sy vir ha Pa, “Daddy, Mommy was rude and she used the mmm and mmm.” So I said, “oh jy's voel om uit te praat” sê ek vir haar, “jy voel om nou uit te praat uit die huis uit?”*
- R: *Het jy nou in Afrikaans of Engels gesê?*
- G: *Ek het in Afrikaans gesê, “Oh jy wil nou uit praat, maar as ek die mense vat na ons huis toe dan jy nie lag nie want dan is it mos embarrassing.” Toe kyk sy my so aan, toe sê ek, “No, it's okay, it's okay.” Toe sê die Pa, “Mommy you lucky we here, because otherwise I would sort you out right now,” maar nie so met die face nie, toe lag hulle almal mos nou en toe sê ek vir toe sê David en Uncle Stan, “Mommy you must control yourself.” Nou sulke dinge kan kwaad raak because die moment, but dan wil ek nederig wees, en toe die aand toe ons huis toe kom toe roep ek vir haar toe sê ek vir haar, “I'm sorry, I was rude uhm I hope it's not gonna happen again.” And I don't wanna say because you did this that's why I did it, “I shouldn't be speaking like that and I shouldn't be saying stuff like that and Mommy is sorry.” Want is een van daai tiepe nie, want enige iets kan gebeur en dan vra jy nie verskooning nie, dan maak ek dinge reg nou. En dit is ook hoe David en ek praat oor dinge nou en nie kwaad slaap nie en oor vyf dae dan boiling point en dan kom jy alles uit blaasie. Ons hele relationship is nie so gebou nie en ek wil nie hê my kinders en my moet so wies nie, but uhm discipline ek roep vir David in. Want ek dink as 'n ma hulle vat jou nie kop toe nie man!*
- R: *I know, it's funny how we do that hey? As ek net sê, “M”*
- G: *We say that, but the way we say it...*
- R: *...we ask and we ask and we check and we wonder how they feel, I also say sometimes to them like don't tell them like don't tell N not to cry, let's first see why she's crying. I mean I also get upset, but I think maybe it's a, I also have a shorter temper, I mean that's what people also don't understand as a teacher you must be patient, it's hard to be a teacher because you have to be patient. I'm far more patient at school than I am at home because I'm always thinking about being patient. But he's more patient than I am because he's more measured, then I'm like, “M...voor ek...” then I'm like, I wouldn't, I just like get upset.*
- G: *Ah if we could have a video camera here!*
- R: *Then he comes, okay. But then, mainly it's in, that's interesting. And then, ja, ja that's in julle praat net julle...*
- G: *Is it 25 questions?*
- R: *Ja, ja, nêe daar's 17 we'll get there, no 18 sorry.*
- G: *Is there any need?*
- R: *Beskryf, ons, we must just get the bill from this ou soon I don't know where he is. Beskryf die tale of taal jou dogters met mekaar praat by die huis, wanneer hulle saam speel, by die skool, en wanneer hulle op die telefoon antwoord, of as julle hulle vra om iets te doen, oh no as hulle jou vra om iets te maak om te eet.*

- G: *Dan praat hulle Engels, en is net so as hulle maar in 'n funny mood is, it's amazing I don't like it because our friend, you must first check his mood before you can make certain jokes or you can make certain things.*
- R: *Wie's die nou?*
- G: *En wat nou die dag daar gewees het. Nou ek sê vir my kinders, Erin for example, "That is the worst thing, is to first have to check out somebody's mood before you can be, I don't want you to do that."*
- R: *You must always be yourself.*
- G: *Yes. Hulle praat Engels met mekaar maar as hulle grappe maak of met my 'n grap maak dan sal hulle, of as ek met hulle Afrikaans praat dan wil hulle trug Afrikaans praat maar in 'n funny way. But mostly is it English. En hulle uncle sal miskien vra, "hoe gaan dit?" dan antwoord hulle...*
- R: *Nou wie's E, David se broer?*
- G: *E, nee hy's nie familie nie hy's net 'n neighbour, hy's 'n baie, hy was 'n neighbour. Hy het uitgetrek maar Shannon het basically groot geword by hom, so hy vat vir Shannon uit. Hy's divorced nou en hy dink aan die kinders nou, hy het vir hulle kom sê persoonlik, en hy en sy vrou nie saam is nie hy, nie spoil my kinders nie but hy gee vir hulle R200 elk een vir hulle birthdays en R200 elk een vir hulle, vir Krimis. En, uhm, hy sal so kom en dan sê hy, "We gonna braai, come we go eat out," stuff like that. And he don't have a car he walks, but uhm hy's baie close, my kinders is mal oor hom. But ek sal nooit my kinders alleen stuur nie, verstaan? So uhm...*
- R: *Wat sê David?*
- G: *Nee David is fine, but ons al twee ek en David agree on al twee daai. Ek stuur nie eers my kinders na hulle eie uncles en aunties toe alleen nie, ek hou net nie daar van nie. Ek dink dinge gebeur wanneer ons te slap is, ek sal baie seer gemaak wies as enige iets vir my dogters gebeur. Want ek is so, ek is jammer man ek wil nie hê dit moet gebeur met hulle nie, nie dat dit gebeur het met my nie maar ek wil nie hê dit moet gebeur met hulle nie. Ek is jammer want dis my werk, sê ek nou, "I'm your mother I must be there for you till you..."*
- R: *...can look after yourself.*
- G: *Ek wil hê julle moet wiet hoekom ek wil nie hê julle moet uit slap nie.*
- R: *My kind slaap net by my ma, ag by my suster. Hulle slaap daar en hulle twee kindertjies kom by ons, but ons trust vir mekaar, my suster.*
- R: *Het julle enige spesifieke reelings, nou dink hier oor, oor die tale wat julle met julle kinders praat? Is daar rules in jou huis, of nie op watter tale hulle praat of wanneer dit gebeur?*
- G: *Nee, daar's niks rules nie ek sal nie verkies hulle moet Engels praat nie, hulle, ek wil baie graag hê hulle moet nog nie taal praat maar moet nie go there nie, moet nie gaan daar nie. Ek wil graag hê Shannon moet...*
- R: *...like French? Italian?*
- G: *Like French of Spanish want I love that Spanish language, love it, something like that. Because I want them to go...*
- R: *...to travel?*
- G: *Yes I want them to travel, I want them to have opportunities because their uncle, my brother comes...*
- R: *Hello?*
- G: *Is de day, come back.*
- R: *Where's this, where's this man?*
- G: *Jy kan hom nie sien nie nê?*
- R: *Ja, the glass.*
- G: *Ja maar any way, ons gaan dan nou.*
- R: *Nee ek moet die bill kry, hold on. Okay en nou ek is in jou huis en nou sien ek met die huiswerk, but it is in English so then they do tend to speak a lot more English because their homework is English, is daai nou wat dink jy?*
- G: *Yes hulle is meer English, hulle praat nie baie Afrikaans nie, is net wanneer ek Afrikaans praat. Ek en David praat Afrikaans en hulle tel dit op, but hulle verstaan dit goed maar hulle sal vir ons vra, "What did you mean by that Mommy, what did you means that?" En that is nice because so leer hulle want ek voorsee it nie dat hulle Afrikaans praat, ek het dit nou en dan gesê dat ons praat net Afrikaans vanaand but is like really in 'n way forcing them, but you say in a way that you trying to tell them we have to do it. But it's not like a have to thing...*
- R: *What do you mean, what's not a have to thing?*
- G: *It's just you don't have to speak Afrikaans if you don't want to, but we are trying to because Mommy and Daddy speak Afrikaans so when you want to be able to understand and you want to be able to speak back and if people around you speak it then you can. And today it's good to have different languages that's what we would say.*

- R: So do you think, how do you think they've learnt it though, just from listening to you speaking?
- G: At school, they do very well. Shannon's do very well in Afrikaans at school, it's her second language but she, her percentage was higher than her first language, which is good. But Erin is enjoying reading Afrikaans.
- R: So your children when they were born you started speaking English to them?
- G: Yes
- R: Both of them?
- G: Yes
- R: And why did you do that?
- G: Look the family's English, not David's family my family's English speaking but everybody, cousins before them spoke English, though they all Afrikaans in their house as parents. *Ons praat Afrikaans as die ouers* but when we speak to the cousins like myself if I speak to their cousins, I speak English and I will say something Afrikaans and they will laugh because they all big now. But mostly if I, like J is 23 years old, I have to speak English to J because *J kan nie Afrikaans praat nie, ma sy ma en pa het Afrikaans gepraat.*
- R: Interesting.
- G: Do you know, *hy kan nie Afrikaans praat nie but sy pa gesels nog altyd Afrikaans met hulle, met Engels met hulle.*
- R: Hold on a second, I'mna find this man. You never ever came back to fetch our plates I don't know what's going on, just give them to the birds.
- G: *Sê my net hoe is die mense hierso, is hulle altyd so? Die vrou is nou onrustig hierso.*
- R: It's only the first time I've been, second time. Uhm okay and how do you think, *hoe het die keuse van 'n Engelse primêre skool impak gemaak om 'n Engelse en Afrikaans in julle huis?* Why did they go to Pinewood primary answer is very simple, there was only one school in Thornton and I took Shannon to B Primary because I believe I don't want to force my child to go somewhere she don't want to. Children today tend to say I don't wanna go after the first few weeks, I don't wanna go, so I said to her Mommy' taking you and you gonna decide which school you like.
- R: You mean before school started?
- G: Before school started hey she was at pre-school and then uhm at pre-school they had different type of children obviously they had African children, they had White children and Coloured children and they embraced the different cultures and all that stuff like that and they teach them about those type of things which is nice and about different types of religions and all that. So I took her to A Primary, I said to her come we gonna go look at this school and I took her to the Pinewood primary school and showed her the B school and the C school and she loved Pinewood primary. And so when I had an interview, I had an interview with the principal who said well because we not a first come in Pinelands and because we not in Pinelands we gonna have to, yes and siblings but she's the first child, so I said to her listen here I don't care but the fact of the matter is that my child chose this school and how do I explain to a 6 year old that she can't come to this school? So that is how Shannon decided on the school because I took her round the schools. We've got four minutes to make it a hour.
- R: Okay, you must go *ja* shame, *jinne* now I must go type a whole new thing. So the principal said to you, you said to her my daughter...
- G: No so when we had an interview, I had an interview with the principal and I said listen I took my child round to different schools because I want her to choose the school she is, she like because I know she's six years old but she loved the school. Because A primary is so, die passages is too, she didn't like it. The passages was like closed, there's no windows and she didn't like it, she was actually scared she didn't want to be there. So I said okay...
- R: So why did she love Pinewood primary?
- G: I don't know, but she just loved the school.
- R: It's like nice and open, I like it too.
- G: And she just liked the school and that's how she chose the school and I said that to her 'cos I asked her, "And so which school do you like?" and, "I like this school." Shannon is very advanced because Shannon was the only child also and grew up with adult conversation and then she was very helpful when Erin came, Shannon was two years old when I was pregnant with Erin and then I was sick for 9 months with Erin, 'cos I couldn't believe I was pregnant .
- R: Why, oh *ja* you said.
- G: And uhm I was sick and then Shannon looked after herself, Daddy put nuggets in the microwave, Shannon used to warm her stuff, Shannon used to put the T.V. on, Shannon used to say Mommy you watch Hansie and I watch Barney and then put her own Barney cassettes in. And she was very good man.

- R: Organised?
- G: Ja, she could use the toilet, she was off the kimbie when she was 11 months.
- R: How did you do that?
- G: Shannon and Erin was finished when they were a year they were off.
- R: How?
- G: *Van ek was by die huis, ek het my werk gedoen. Ek is nie sekere mense nie*, I used to take them to toilets. *Ja* so it's...
- R: At 12months, *jinne* I should have done that.
- G: I've got it on video, Shannon was...
- R: No I don't wanna hear anymore, I'm very upset.
- G: December she was 11 months and then January, no, no,no,no January, actually she wasn't a year yet so I went to work and then David took leave for that first few weeks that she's gonna be alone at home.
- R: Now listen I'll do the rest of this when I come back to see David.
- G: *Ja* no okay, *laat ek sien wat is daai* question *wat nog prepared*.

[INTERVIEW CONTINUED ON 10 MARCH 2010]

- R: Okay. *In jou ouderhoud...onderhoud* (giggles) *wie praat meer Afrikaans of voel sterker daar oor, jy of jou man?*
- G: *Ons het klaar daai vers...vat maar...* (does not complete sentence properly and laughs loudly)
- R: Ok, question thirteen. Oh *ja*, this is a, this will actually...*is daar Afrikaans sprekende families of familie, of vriende wat julle meer gesels op a gerelde basis sien in julle buurt? Het julle Afrikaanse vriende hier?*
- G: (interrupts with correct pronunciation) *Dis 'n buurt*.
- R: *Buurt*, sorry.
- G: *Familie ja, uhm my skoonsuster en David se broer, ons praat Afrikaans met mekaar. En hulle praat Engels met ons se kinders, en ons praat Engels met hulle kinders*.
- R: Oh, okay that's interesting.
- G: *Maar as ons met mekaar praat dan praat ons Afrikaans*.
- R: *En hier in jou...*
- G: *In die buurt, ons praat altyd Afrikaans met mekaar. Want baie van my...*
- R: (whilst G is saying "want...") *En met B en B?*
- G: *B hulle, Afrikaans en dan sal sy oor slat in Engels. En praat ek nogsteeds Afrikaans, en dan ons, ons, ons change over, Engels en Afrikaans*.
- R: *En met haar kinders? Like C en...*
- G: *Engels, want haar kinders kan nie Afrikaans praat nie*.
- R: Ah, the adults is Afrikaans?
- D: (in the background) *En sy praat met S Engels*.
- G: *Ek kom nog by haar. S is Engels. Nee, nee, nee, S my neighbour. Sy's, sy's, sy's blanke. Sy's 'n blanke vrou*.
- R: *En met uhm...*
- G: *Met V, Afrikaans en Engels, maar meestels Engels. Want sy verstaan nie alles in Afrikaans nie. Maar ek prober om Afrikaans te praat, want my ander buurvrou langsam is ook van uhm, hoe se 'n mens South African in Afrikaans?*
- D: (answers in background) *Hoekom sit jy aan?*
- G: *Ek sit nie aan nie*.
- D: (in background) *Se neighbour, of buurvrou*.
- G: *My neighbour...sy praat mos Afrikaans met my man. Moet nie...(inaudible). Sy will eintlik Afrikaans leer praat, hier langsam, maar sy's van Lesotho, na David? T? T's mos van Lesotho? (pause) Yes. Sy's English speaking, maar sy het opgegroeï in Italy. Sy praat baie mooi*.
- R: Oh, lekker.
- G: *My neighbour, ander neighbour. E en P hulle, hulle praat Afrikaans, ons praat Afrikaans met mekaar. Uhm B praat Afrikaans, want hulle's Afrikaans*.
- R: *Maar daai ander vrou wat hier ge complain het...*
- G: *Sy's nie, sy's nie my buur nie, sy's 'n, sy rent maar net hier*.
- R: *Sy bly net hier naby?*
- G: *Want ek's die mayoress, ek moet almal ken*.
- R: Cool. And okay, wens jy somtyds dat julle meer Afrikaans dominante gemeenskap woon? Of nie?

- G: *Nee, kyk ons het opgegroeï met, waar Afrikaans dominant gewees het, maar nou dit is Engels..baie mense, is nie net ons nie, baie mense sit hulle kinders in Engelse skole, al was hulle Afrikaans eerste taal.*
- R: *Hoekom doen hulle dit?*
- G: *Jou kinders staan 'n beter kans, om beter om te communicate in a sense, kyk ons is in Afrikaans opgebring ons ouers kon nie eers Afrikaans suiwer praat nie, was maar seker a bytaal, dit was nie Afrikaans so 'n blanke Afrikaner sal praat nie want dit is 'n mooi taal maar um... is nie so ons dit praat nie ons is mos gamtaal. Ek wil graag nie my kinders so praat nie ons probeer om vir hulle te sê die word reg te sê nie so ons praat mos maar plat as hulle 'n word gebruik dan prober ons om vir hulle te sê...is nie [prat] nie is [pra:t], is nie [m]etk is [mɛtk] is verstaan? So is meer Engels 'n mens wil daai graag hê.*
- G: *Die ding is daar is kleurling mense wat nie wil weet waar vandaan hulle kom nie, to be quite honest.*
- R: *Ja ek het, ja, ja.*
- G: *En 'n mens wil nie ignorant wees in nie sense wat ek sê ek sal nie wys waar van daan ek kom nie, 'n mens groei, 'n mens raak, verbeter jou, jou, jou onstandig...*
- R: *Jouself, ja.*
- G: *Ja, so jy gaan nie jou kinders daar deur sit nie. Daar is mense wat in daai neighbourhoods bly waar ek vandaan kom wat nog altyd daai mentality het. Hulle is net so en hulle gat nie so vir niemand change nie. Nou as hulle vir my sien en ek praat met hulle, maar dan praat ek nie soos ons daai tyd, van "ja jy", dan praat mooier met hulle, maar in Afrikaans, of in Engels dan lyk it vir my it, jy wil vir jou uit gee. En dis mense se mentality.*
- R: *That's a good point. Interesting. Uhm, oh ja, is jy bewys van eenige Afrikaanse hulp rondte buite jou huis, soos 'n Afrikaanse tutor, of ekstra Afrikaanse lesse? En maak jy gebruik van daai vir jou kinders, of wat?*
- G: *Ek weet nie help rondte nie, dis like seker deur die skool miskien.*
- R: *Of English even, like do they go for extra English lessons or extra Afrikaans lessons?*
- G: *No, not at this time.*
- R: *'Cos they're fine, actually they're fine with both of them?*
- G: *They're actually fine with both of them, they actually doing very well, in Shannon's case sy doen baie goed in Afrikaans. Afrikaans is hoër as haar Engels, maar Engels is ookie sleg nie.*
- R: *Ja, is goed. Uhm, en watter T.V. programme of, behalwe sport, kyk jy?*
- G: *Ek kyk nie 7de Laan nie, ek kyk nie Isidingo nie, ek kyk...*
- R: *Generations?*
- G: *Daar is nie tyd vir it. Ek kyk nie baie, want ek hou van som Suid Afrikanse programme wat nou weer op is. Uhm, "Onder Engele".*
- R: *Do you watch that?*
- G: *Ja, wat ek jonger gewees het toe was daai op gewees het, en...*
- R: *As daar anders op CD's of een, of...*
- G: *Dis op die "Kyknet" op of something like that ja.*
- R: *Oh, okay.*
- G: *In "Onder Engele" die selfde kind wat daar in is, hys klein, hys nege jaar oud, het jy vir my gesê?(question to David) hy is nou eintlik "Xander", Xander-hulle wat nou in...*
- R: *Oh ja.*
- G: *Wat is die ander een sê naam wat op, wat op hoërskool is in "7de Laan"?*
- R: *Nee, sorry.*
- G: *Maar hy is daai, is daai klein kind in "Onder Engele".*
- R: *Ah cute man, and you watch that?*
- G: *But ek het vir Onder Engele, en nou kom it op en "Agter Elke Man", en almal daai, almal daai het ek ook gewatch.*
- Erin: *(in background)...Ugly Betty Mommy?*
- G: *Erin I'm busy, I see yes Ugly Betty, that's her.*
- R: *En watter radio stasie luister jy of julle in jou kar?*
- G: *Kfm, so dit is Afrikaans en Engels. Kfm, en dan miskien 'n bietjie Heart 104.9, but meerest is dit Kfm.*
- R: *Okay, en koerante, wat lees jy, of magazines?*
- G: *Tydskrifte is, ek hou nie much van tydskrifte, ek koop maar obviously YOU, but ek koop dit nie, uhm...*
- R: *What do you mean jy koop dit nie?*
- G: *Ek betaal nie vir 'n magazines nie.*
- R: *Jy kry dit van...*

- G: *My broer, my broer koop YOU. Hy koop YOU en hy koop, hy koop die T.V. Plus, but ek hou van Woman en Home.*
- R: *Oh okay.*
- G: *If that is a magazine, en die home magazines, ek hou van deco books, decore...decorations uhm tydskrifte, maar meestal Women en Home want daars lekker recipes in.*
- R: *I must say, I...(can't hear properly) thing. Uhm.*
- G: *So as jy my wil kry vir 'n geskenk kry vir Junie, dank kan jy 'n preskip...subscription gee.*
- R: *Ek het net gedink net een, of wil jy nog twalf hê? (laughs)*
- G: *Sy wil my net een magazine koop, is there any need? Jy kan mos 'n subscription for R98 betaal vir...*
- R: *That's not bad actually.*
- G: *That's not bad, ja.*
- R: *As jy die sin kan voltooi...kon voltooi hoe sal dit wees? Hoe sou dit wees, sorry (inaudible): Ek sal graag my kinders wil laat sien dat hulle wat sprekend is, Engel of Afrikaans sprekend is, of al twee?*
- G: *Hoe sê, wat is al twee?*
- R: *Bilingual.*
- G: *Wat is bilingual in Afrikaans? Tweetalig. Dankie, David, ek wil graag my kinders wil laat sien dat hulle tweetalig sprekend is.*
- R: *Hoekom?*
- G: *Rede, uhm, ek kan nou vandag sê date ek kan praat, as ek vir my in 'n situasie vi...kry wa jy bank toe moet gan en, en iemand help jou, en jy kan sien dat die person meskien, hulle vra vir jou altyd want kyk as hulle in 'n werk wil stap eendag dank an hulle praat. Uhm, dit het met my oorgekom dat ek gestap het in Parow, en ek kon nie reg Afrikaans gepraat het nie, dis nie suiwer nie. En die vrou is 'n blanke vrou wat die winkel, sy het vir my gesê ek moet uitstap want ek kan nie reg met haar praat nie dan moet ek nie met haar praat nie.*
- R: *Sy het vir jou gesê?*
- G: *Ja.*
- R: *Were you the customer?*
- G: *Ek was die person wat nou in gekom in haar winkel in, en vir haar gevra of ek iets wou koop by my en so an, en so sê sy as ek nie kan reg Afrikaans kan praat met haar nie, dan moet ek uit haar winkel uit stap. (David says something in the background). Ja, maar dit is mos die regte Afrikaans, suiwer Afrikaans. Now, kyk as jou kind Afrikaans kan praat en jy kan vir hulle help om vir hulle reg te leer, nie soos ons nie, ons se ouers het ook nie reg Afrikaans gepraat nie. Dit was, was difficult vir ons om ook reg te praat. Maar nou omdat ons dit weet, kan ons onse kinders verbeter, hulle het Afrikaans, so die selfde met Engels. Nou sit jy jou kind in 'n Engelse skool en hulle eintlik help vir ons as ouers, want hulle leer vir ons. So vir my is it daai's van lewe, wat lewe van, lewe omgaan, om mekaar te leer. Maar...*
- R: *Wat, om mekaar te leer?*
- G: *Om mekaar te leer, hulle kan hulle ouers leer om reg Engels te praat, van hulle gat na 'n Engelse skool en die ouers kan vir hulle help om reg Afrikaans te praat, want hulle ouers leer nogsteeds. En dan, so uhm, hoe sê hulle, enrich ons mekaar se lewe, want dit is wat die lewe vandaan is.*
- R: *Ag please, that...*
- G: *It is...*
- R: *We should have finished this the other day, jinne. We could have finished in ten minutes! But anyway.*

David Jacobs

(10/03/2010)

- R: Okay, *D ek sal dit in Engels en Afrikaans praat.* And I do have permission to do this interview...
- D: Oh no, it's fine, fine.
- R: You did sign it the last time. Okay, D can you tell me, *kan jy my vertel van jou kinder jare of hoe jy groot gemaak is? But ek praat van lang...die tale wat jy gepraat het, met jou ma en pa en broers en susters?*
- D: *Afrikaans.*
- R: *Net Afrikaans?*
- D: Ja, but obviously not proper, because uhm, more coloured taal/type
- Gail: (in background) *Praat Afrikaans.*
- R: *En jou, jou, what is grandparents? Jou, wat het jy met hulle gepraat?*
- D: *Uhm, kan nie eintlik onthou nie, ek weet my een, een grandparent is, is Engels gewees an my pa se kant.*
- R: *Rerig? Nou, wie die ma of pa, sy ma of pa? Pa was Engels? That's interesting hey.*
- D: *My pa, ja.*
- R: *Jou pa se pa was Engels?*
- D: *Nee, my pa was ook eintlik Engels.*
- R: *En jou ma?*
- D: *Afrikaans.*
- R: *Okay. En hulle het, wat het hulle met, hulle het met jou ma en pa gepraat?*
- D: *Afrikaans.*
- R: *Hoekom, van jou ma Afrikaans was?*
- D: *mmm, dink so.*
- R: *En met jou, net Afrikaans?*
- D: *Ja Afrikaans.*
- R: *Maar was jy Engels in jou huis?*
- D: *Nee, net Afrikaans.*
- R: *So hoekom weet jy of jou pa Engels is?*
- D: *As hy mos, uh, briewe skryf dan skryf hy altyd Engels. As hy gepraat het met sy familie, Engels.*
- R: *En waar was sy, where did he grow up, opgegroeï?*
- D: *Uhm, In town.*
- R: *That's also District Six. Interesting,nê?*
- D: *Ja.*
- R: *En hy het skool toe gegaan, so maybe he learnt it at school as well.*
- D: *Ja, I think that he came out of a English family.*
- R: *Interesting. Uhm, en skole, watter skole het jy dan toe gegaan?*
- D: *Uhm, Afrikaanse skool.*
- R: *Waar was jou skool, wat was jou skool se naam?*
- D: *Oh, in Heideveld, dan Dagbreek, Willows.*
- R: *Was dit die primere?*
- D: *High school was Sunnybrook High School*
- R: *Oh, is that where you, did you meet Gail at Sunnybrook High School?*
- D: *Ja, we both come from Heideveld.*
- R: *Ja, that's what I was thinking, she didn't tell me she met you at Sunnybrook High School. I know she was at Sunnybrook High School...*
- D: *No, no, no I was before her.*
- R: *Oh ja, you're older than her, sorry I know that. Okay, so jy het net Afrikaans graad een tot grad twalf?*
- D: *Ja.*
- R: *Baie goed. N jou vriende en onderwyseresse, wat het jy ge-... onderwysers, wat het met hulle ge...?*
- D: *Almal Afrikaans.*

R: *Net Afrikaans?*

D: *Dis/eks Afrikaans spreekend ja.*

R: *Oh, okay. Daar was niemand wat jy Engels met gepraat?*

D: *(long pause) Uhm, toe ek nog 'n kind was, of?*

R: *Ja, 'n kind like...*

D: *Ja net Afrikaans.*

R: *Afrikaans, cool. En as jy, uhm, waneer jy na skool, wat het jy gedoen? Om 'n fitter en (...) te kom, te studeer of whatever, waar het jy dit gedoen?*

D: *Uhm, na matrik het ek mos nou net die apprenticeship gedoen, ja.*

R: *Okay.*

D: *So from there, English. Teaching.*

R: *Oh, was it in English? And how did you find that?*

D: *It was fine.*

R: *'Cos you did it at school?*

D: *Ja.*

R: *An you already had matric English, so you were...*

D: *No, no, no Afrikaans.*

R: *Oh, but I mean, you did English as a subject in matric?*

D: *Yes*

R: *Cool. Okay, and how did you find that, doing it in Afrikaans? You didn't mind?*

D: *Exams?*

R: *No, I mean the apprenticeship, ja how did you find it?*

D: *No, I did it in English.*

R: *Okay, I mean the English, how was that?*

D: *It was fine.*

R: *Cool. And when you started working? Waneer jy gewerk het, wat het jy gepraat, jou eerste...?*

D: *Uhm, obviously with the apprentices we spoke Afrikaans, because they were also. But like if you had to speak to the other people, maybe the artisans, if they were white then you had to speak English, and those who're Afrikaans you speak to in Afrikaans.*

R: *Okay, so you just moved around like that? Cool. And then, uhm, and what languages do you use now at work? Wat praat jy nou by jou werk?*

D: *Uhm, tweetalig. As ek nou, as ek miskien met 'n persoon praat wat, wat uhm, wil nou net nie sê wat wit is nie, ma hy's nou Afrikaans spreekend, dan sal ek Afrikaans praat met hom. If it's a, someone that's white and speaks English, then I'll speak in his language ja. I also try to accommodate them.*

R: *And are they accommodating to you?*

D: *... Ja.*

R: *It just happens like that? You know, you've worked out, I mean it's kind of how things work, you know whose English and whose...*

D: *...and whose Afrikaans.*

R: *But is your work quite bilingual, are there lots of people who speak both languages?*

D: *Ja very, very much so.*

R: *Cool. And then uhm, and now when you met Gail, watter taal het julle met mekaar gepraat?*

D: *Afrikaans.*

R: *Net Afrikaans, okay.*

D: *Ma nie suiwer Afrikaans nie, when I say Afrikaans it is like, like we normally talk. Ja, ma nie suiwer Afrikaans nie, soos ek en sy praat dit nou. Oor die algemeen.*

R: *And then, uhm, does it change when you're talking about different things like when you're talking about church or like if you talking about insurances or your cell phone or when you happy or angry? Does your Afrikaans or the language you're talking to her change?*

D: *To Gail?*

R: *Ja.*

D: Uhm, very seldom.

R: What is it, what do you do, you just speak?

D: *Afrikaans*.

R: *Afrikaans*, and English? Do you speak English to her?

D: Say now and then if we in a conversation with the children, then I'll continue in English.

R: English, *ja*.

D: Or I can just change to *Afrikaans* again.

R: Okay, cool.

D: But we, when we met it was only *Afrikaans*.

R: Ja, cool. And then, you must ask you about the kids(mumbled). And when you're talking to your children, what do you talk to them? Like when you're talking to them just normally, like casually how was your day and that?

D: English

R: English, and homework?

D: English, unless it is *Afrikaans* homework, then I go proper in *Afrikaans*.

R: And when they not listening to you and you need them to follow the instruction?

D: Dan praat jy hard (laughs). Na only kidding, English.

R: English too. Why's that? *Hoekom praat jy net Engels met hulle?*

D: (long pause) probably because, uhm, they at a English school, so everything is, I dunno. We probably chose to...

R: Do you remember you and Gail making a decision to, when they were born, or do you...like when Shannon was born, what did you speak to her?

D: English, English.

R: And why did you do that?

D: Because we wanted her to be better at English than what we were, I think *ja*. And English is more the universal language than *Afrikaans*.

R: So you knew, I mean...and was that a decision you guys...do you remember when you were lying there, what should we call her, do you remember talking about that? What should we talk to her, or did it just happen?

D: No, it's probably just, uhm a decision that came by itself.

R: Oh, okay cool. And then, uhm, okay I asked you that, cool. And what language does Gail speak to your girls? What languages?

D: Ja, probably both, but more English as well.

R: Now how would you describe, do you speak differently to Gail, your *Afrikaans*? *Is jou...*or what?

D: What do you mean?

R: Do you think, do you sound or speak differently than she does, or do you speak or sound the same?

D: No, the same to each other.

R: Cool. And then, uhm, what do hear your daughters speaking to each other? When they are playing, like when they just hang out around here?

D: English.

R: And at school, what do you think you would hear if you were to go to school, whatdo you think they would be saying?

D: No, English.

R: And answering the phone here?

D: English.

R: She's helping you. And then when they want you to make them do...make them something to eat or if they want something from you, what do they speak?

D: English.

R: Do they ever speak *Afrikaans* to you?

D: Yes.

R: When's that?

- D: If, if they have lessons in Afrikaans, then we will do the lesson in Afrikaans and then even afterwards we would continue in Afrikaans because I think we have come to a point where we actually want them, to teach them Afrikaans as well.
- R: Oh and I've seen that with her, she certainly understands a lot if Afrikaans.
- D: But when we do speak Afrikaans we, we keep it to actually proper Afrikaans, not the way we speak.
- R: Okay, so you make a decision about that? I mean that's a decision you've made about them, you want them to speak? But now what are you saying about the way that you speak? Are you talking about like, how would you describe the way you speak? Is that...
- D: *Dis soos wat ek en Gail met mekaar praat, nou nie so nie ons gat nou meer suiwer praat met...*
- R: *...met hulle.* And then, *uhm, is daar any, is daar enige spesifieke relings oor die tale wat julle kinders praat?* Do you have any rules about that?
- D: *Uhm, nee.*
- R: Julle is nie van, you must speak English or you must speak Afrikaans?
- D: I actually thought of setting a part a day for Afrikaans, but we'll probably do that now after this.
- R: *Ja*, and that'll be cool, and as the little one's getting older she's also, will need it more.
- D: Especially now for, for Erin, that she also...
- R: 'Cos you can see she...
- D: ...struggles a bit with Afrikaans.
- R: and the other one's fine, uhm.
- D: And our church is also English.
- R: Oh *ja*, that's interesting too. How has the choice of an English-medium school, uhm, impacted on the use of English and Afrikaans in your home? How has that changed things here, and the languages you speak?
- D: I think that's probably one of the reasons also why we speak English because it a...as it was English, so we just continue.
- R: ...continue, exactly. Uhm, *in jou onderhoud, wie praat meer Afrikaans of voel sterker daar oor, jy of Gail?*
- D: Speaking to the children?
- R: No, just who feels more strongly about Afrikaans between the two of you, just in general?
- D: No, I think I do.
- R: Why?
- D: Because uhm...
- Gail: (in the background)...speak it better than me, your wife.
- D: Yes, because I, I was...
- Gail: (in background)...understand it more.
- D: Because I was quite good at Afrikaans at school.
- R: So like when they're doing their homework, you making sure that they getting it right and doing it properly?
- D: Ja.
- Erin: (interrupts) When must we do this?
- R: (softly) I'll tell you in a minute, just give me two minutes...it's for next week.
- D: See because I, I'll always correct them when they have homework in Afrikaans. They will obviously make mistakes so I will correct, give correct pronunciation.
- R: And they ask you. Uhm, and then are there Afrikaans, and then I asked Gail, Afrikaans speaking friends and family that you see and talk to on a regular basis in your neighbourhood, *in jou buurt? Wie is jou vriende en...*
- D: Uhm, ja, but L, L is English only.
- R: En die ander mense, is there anybody else?
- D: Uhm, B – English, P is Afrikaans, and I, neighbour on that side is English, ja most of the people in the neighbourhood is English.
- R: But then you would speak Afrikaans to some of them, if they are Afrikaans?

D: Ja, Patrick them, ja mainly to P I'll speak Afrikaans because he's also from Heideveld.

R: Ja, en jou familie, your brothers and sisters?

D: To my brothers Afrikaans, but to the eldest one's children English and to the second eldest one, ja all three brothers, their children English.

R: So if you in a conversation, they come to visit you, you'll speak Afrikaans to the parents, your brothers and sister, and then English to their children? Why's that, the same as yours, yours have grown up...and are their kids more grown up, older than yours?

D: Uhm, ja, a few.

R: A few of them. Why, why did they do that, do they also speak English to their kids?

D: I think probably the same reason that, they want to feel that English is more the universal language than Afrikaans.

R: Do you sometimes wish that you lived in a more Afrikaans-dominant suburb or not? Why not?

D: Because Afrikaans is, I think English is more universal you know, for, for everything if its school, schoolwork. But I wouldn't want them to lose the ability to speak Afrikaans, you know it's always good to have two or three, even three languages.

R: ...languages, exactly. Uhm, and then are you aware of any extra Afrikaans resources outside your home, like say you wanted to get your kids to do better, do more Afrikaans, or...

D: No, no.

R: You are the resource at the moment, you busy teaching you can help them? Uhm, and then *watter TV progame, behalwe sport, kyk jy?* Or actually *as jy sports kyk, wat kyk jy?*

D: Discovery

R: Discovery Channel, that's English though. *Is daar enige...*

D: Ja it's all English.

R: Okay.

G: But *het jy opgegroeï met Willie Walie en Liewe Heksie?*

R: Actually that's a good question, I should have added that.

G: *Ek het vegeet van Willie Wallie en Liewe Heksie.*

D: No, we watched that.

G: Because *dit was altyd op die Afrikaans TV programme, nou die TV is universal nou.*

D: No but mostly TV is English.

G: No, but back in the day it wasn't just English, it was, we had Afrikaans.

R: ...it was, we had Afrikaans, ja. We watched just like the (...) what was, everything was subtitled remember, like what was, *Man van Staal?*

G: *Man van Staal en Derek was Afrikaans gesubtitle, was Afrikaans.*

R: Everything, like what was that boy who said "Hi hello how you?" They wasted all that time changing everything.

G: *Ja, Derek was mos Duits gewees en dan Man van Staal was mos American maar dit was Afrikaans*

R: *En Kit? Kat? Wat was that?*

G: *Nee. Nee. Nee daai was Engels.*

D: *Ja.*

R: What was that?

G: *Dit was, uhm, Knight Rider.*

D: ...Knight Rider

R: *Ja that and A Team, that was on when I was there.*

G: A Team was also in English, and Air Wolf was also in English. But I mean Gummy Bears was English, but that was only certain days, but most for Afrikaans channels it wasn't just SABC 1, 2 and 3...

R: But that's because of the government then, it was all Afrikaans.

G: Of which, which you can understand now why they had to, because now they give us all options. *Afrikaanse mense kyk Kyknet, nou van is 'n channel wat net Afrikaans praat.*

R: Do you watch anything that's just Afrikaans?

G: *Behalwe op, ons kyk Pasella.*

R: Do you?
G: *Ja, ons kyk Pasella*
D: mmm.
R: And the news? *As julle na die news/nuus kyk, is dit Engels, 1, 2, 3 of 4?*
D: Ja meestal Engels, ma ek sal Afrikaans ook kyk, dit maakkie saakkie
R: Is it, okay. You completely bilingual? *En koerante, wat, lees jy koerant?*
D: *Ja, English*
R: And the station, radio station, like radio station in the car?
D: Radio 2000
R: What is that? *Sonder Grense?*
G: No.
D: *English.*
R: Oh, okay 2000.
[Speaker in background]: Xhosa
D: What? No, it's Xhosa.
R: *En tydskryfte* like magazines, like cars?
D: No.
G: No, no didn't take a man that's into cars.
R: Bicycles? And then, if you could complete the sentence, *as jy die sin kon voltooi, hoe sou dit wees? Ek sal krag, ag sal...*(G and D laugh) I didn't do very well at Afrikaans. ek sal, be nice! *Ek sal graag my kinders, you see why I don't want to speak Afrikaans? Want sy lag vir my?* How will anyone learn in this house? *Ek sal graag my kinders wil laat sien dat hulle...sprekend is. Bilingual, of, oh tweetalig sorry in Engels of Afrikaans, en hoekom? Al twee van hulle?*
D: *Eintlik drietlig*, want Xhosa sal...
R: Oh *ja* that's good, exactly.
G: *Jy's mal D ek sal French in sit man.*
D: No, French?
R: *Ja, isiXhosa.*
G: *Ons weet nie eens selfs wat hulle sê nie.*
D: Preferably for me *ja*, three.
R: Three, *ja* that's good. And why?
D: Uhm, it'll be good for when they're older.
R: Opportunities, *ja*. And because we in South Africa where people speak lots of different languages, exactly. Oh *ja*, and there was one more here, jinne I wrote here children. One more question I wanted to ask you, about your children which I didn't have on here. Oh no, no we did ask, I did ask you about it like what are all the choices you made with them. Uhm, but *ja*, thanks very much, that wasn't too long or...
D: Is that it?
R: *Ja*, I'm very upset actually, I must find...
G: How come she gets an hour with me?
R: An hour and ten minutes with your wife and sixteen minutes with you, but oh no we spoke longer about you when you were growing up, he just said Afrikaans and Afrikaans, ok.
G: *Hoekom is jy soe? Jy kan mos sê julle het Durban toe gegaan met die Beach Boys se songs met julle Beetle. Jy moet almal praat.*
R: Is there anything else you'd like to tell me about your Afrikaans.
D: *My pa was Afrikaans sprekend nê?*
R: That's very interesting
G: *Jou pa het jou ma op die plaas gekry.*
D: *Ja.*
R: It's interesting that your family was English and then Afrikaans and then...
D: Ja, my granny was...

- G: English...(D says the same in the background) Grew up in District Six.
- D: My uncle en aunt, that was here now on Saturday they are English.
- R: So where did you grow up in District Six, which...no, no, no you didn't grow up, okay...
- G: His granny, they were in the Bloemof Flats.
- R: And then you moved to Heideveld and then your...how many brothers and sisters have you, oh now you don't live in Heideveld.
- G: He lived in Heideveld, but *D-hulle het nooit van die Kaap geken nie.*

University of Cape Town

Shannon Jacobs

(5/03/2010)

- R: Okay, okay Shannon, so your mom and dad gave permission for this interview, remember? So, tell about the first language you remember speaking before you went to school? What language did you speak then?
- S: Uhm, baby talk.
- R: And what language was it?
- S: It was English, but normally you couldn't pronounce the words properly and go goo-goo gaa-gaa and all that stuff, but it was mostly English.
- R: Okay, mostly English. And what language did you speak at pre-school?
- S: English, 'cos the one I went to was English.
- R: Which one did you go to?
- S: SOS Kindergarten.
- R: And, uhm, nobody spoke Afrikaans there?
- S: No, only some people spoke Afrikaans and Xhosa, but I never knew Xhosa then.
- R: Oh, so you didn't speak it then? When you went to...which school were you in Grade R?
- S: SOS
- R: Also SOS, oh okay. So did you carry on speaking English there?
- S: Yes.
- R: Good, okay so that was grade R.
- S: But we learnt some Afrikaans at the time like "kat", but didn't speak Afrikaans.
- R: Oh okay, you learnt...good. Cool. And then, what languages did you speak to your teachers and your friends at pre-school?
- S: English
- R: All English, okay. There wasn't a teacher that you spoke Afrikaans to?
- S: No.
- R: (coughs)Excuse me. Did you enjoy school in grade R?
- S: Yes.
- R: Why?
- S: Because it was really nice, we learnt loads of things. Sometimes we had visitors from the fire, fire department sort of thing. We used to have shopping days where we learn how to shop, and then the teachers all have their own stores and then we just have to pay a ticket and then we can buy whatever we want and then they had like tooth paste and all those things.
- R: So you liked it?
- S: Yes.
- R: It was fun, good. When you came to Pinewood Primary in grade one, what language did you speak to your sister and to your mom and dad?
- S: My sister was still young so we still spoke English, and English, but we still carried on learning little words.
- R: Oh okay.
- S: In grade one.
- R: What do you mean little words?
- S: Like "kat" en "mat" en...
- R: Little Afrikaans words? Okay. And your teachers and your friends, what languages did you speak to them?
- S: English.
- R: Also English, okay. And did you enjoy attending school?
- S: Yes
- R: Why?
- S: Uhm, to be with your friends and I like doing work.
- R: Oh, you like actually doing work?
- S: I don't like school if we don't do work.
- R: Really?
- S: Yes, I don't like sitting there and (...) whatever.
- R: You like actually doing stuff?

S: Yes

R: Nice, that's interesting. Now let's talk about your mommy. What languages do you speak to mommy most of the time?

S: Mostly speak English, but sometimes when we play around, we speak Afrikaans to each other.

R: And why do you do that?

S: For fun, so that I get...

R: Better?

S: In Afrikaans, yes.

R: Cool, and then your daddy, what languages do you speak to your daddy most of the time?

S: English, I never even knew my dad could speak Afrikaans, I never speak to him in Afrikaans.

R: When did you find out? This week?

S: Last year, the end of last year. And then he told me, but I'm, I was born, I grew up in a Afrikaans area obviously I have to speak Afrikaans. Like true.

R: But why did you think he didn't uh...

S: Because he never spoke Afrikaans to me much, he just speaks to my mommy. But then again I was silly because he normally helps me with my Afrikaans work, so...

R: Wait, but didn't you know this when he was speaking to your mommy, what was he speaking to her?

S: (laughs) I don't know what was on my mind, I just never...

R: You, it didn't actually occur to you.

S: Yes

R: Ja, that's very interesting though.

S: He never spoke it to me (emphasis on "me"), so I don't say that he speaks Afrikaans.

R: And then when your sister teases you, what does she say? What does she call you?

S: Uhm, I don't know. Normally she doesn't tease me, I don't, I don't tease her back tease her.

R: Okay, and then what language do you talk to her in?

S: English, but sometimes like we talk in a different type of English. Like we talk England English and then with France accent, I don't know.

R: When do you do that?

S: Whenever we feel like fooling around.

R: Cool, England English or French English. And what language do you mainly speak to your sister?

S: English, 'cos she's still learning Afrikaans, she only learnt Afrikaans last year.

R: Okay. And when you listen to your parents talking, what languages do you usually hear them talking in?

S: Afrikaans

R: And do you understand what they're saying?

S: Yes, but sometimes when I don't understand then I ask them what does that mean or...

R: Okay.

S: Or I just look in the dictionary.

R: Do you?

S: Only at school.

R: Do you remember the word that you're busy looking for?

S: Sometimes

R: And why do you think they speak Afrikaans to each other?

S: Because when they grew up they mostly spoke Afrikaans, so I think if I grow up and go to France I might just speak English, because that's my home language. That's why they speak Afrikaans to each other. (said rather softly)

R: Cool. Do you like it that they speak Afrikaans, or do you sometimes wish that they could speak other languages?

S: My sister doesn't like it when they speak Afrikaans 'cos she doesn't understand and then she's like "mommy English please", like that one day when you were here. But I don't really mind, I understand both languages.

R: Cool. And do they speak different languages to you and to your sister? Do they tend to speak more Afrikaans to you because you understand it?

S: Uhm yes, in a way.

R: Okay, who speaks more Afrikaans or feels more strongly about it, your mommy or your daddy?

S: My mommy speaks fast Afrikaans, but my daddy says the correct words and then...my mommy just says "hys" and my daddy says "huis", he pronounces them properly, but my mom knows them. I'd say fifty/fifty.

R: Okay. And which television programmes do you watch? Which ones are your favourites?

S: I watch Hannah Montana and Jonas and sometimes I watch baby channels like Kawizz Kids, it's fun.

R: Cool Whizz Kids, what's that?

S: Kawizz Kidz (correcting R) Uhm, it's this thing they, there's three teams and they all animation and they each have their own little animal. And there's a yellow, a blue and a pink, and then you have to answer the questions like there's a cool cat and the cool cat plays music, then you have to remember that sound and then they ask you is it this one, this one and this one? Then you get points, then the one with the highest points gets uhm, special surprise, and then they go on this game thing and they have to collect points, and then they can use their special prize to get things.

R: Cool.

S: And you see who wins.

R: Okay, this is like a kiddies gaming show. And do you ever watch like *7de Laan* or *Generations*, or...?

S: Uhm, I don't watch *7de Laan* because my mommy doesn't like watching it, 'cos she doesn't watch soapies and all of that things. But when my uncle's here he normally used to watch it, so I used to watch it with him. But I don't like *7de Laan* because I understand what they're saying, but I like reading the words, but not listening. And then they change it so fast and then I don't know what they saying. But, uhm, my uncle hasn't been in South Africa for a long time and they don't play *7de Laan* overseas, so he doesn't watch it anymore, so I only watch it when I go to my cousin.

R: Cool. And what magazines or books do you read?

S: Uhm, I like adventure books, they mostly English, but in grade five we had to read an Afrikaans book, but I don't normally read Afrikaans books.

R: What was the Afrikaans book you read?

S: I don't know, it was one of those children's books because in our library they don't have that thick, like *Harry Potter*-thick book, and the only book that's Afrikaans there, that I tool out already, is a fairy book.

R: Fairytale, how was that?

S: It was like, it's about a *veetjie*, or something like that. A fairy.

R: Cute. So you don't have Afrikaans books here at home that you read?

S: No, but when we go to my aunty's house, she's a hairdresser, she has her own little salon at the back of house, she has, she only has Huisgenoot so...

R: So you read that?

S: Yes.

R: Cool. And newspapers?

S: I don't read the newspaper, I only read the uhm, comic uh...

R: Strip?

S: Strips.

R: And then what languages do you speak at school, in your classroom?

S: English, but last year I sat next to one of my friends, then we made a type of deal whenever we have Afrikaans then we can only speak Afrikaans to each other.

R: Who was that?

S: T

R: T? And did you?

S: Yes, but then I said now whenever we have Xhosa then we must speak Xhosa, she said no S I'm not good at that.

R: Shame, and your teachers?

S: Uhm, we speak English, but sometimes Miss Z makes jokes in Afrikaans.

R: And does she make you speak Afrikaans in Afrikaans lessons?

S: Only if you have to answer questions, but we haven't had a Afrikaans thing so far, but we had a *Opstel* test today, so I have to read a paragraph, but not to the whole class, just in my head.

R: Oh okay. And what languages do you use at break time when you playing with your friends?

S: English

R: Cool. And then, and when you're doing extra murals like swimming or cricket or gymnastics?

S: English

R: It's all English, okay. And are there any Afrikaans speaking people at our school that you speak to on a regular basis?

S: Uhm, T, you were gonna go to her house, I think, she speaks Afrikaans but she doesn't, we never knew that she spoke Afrikaans because she doesn't speak it, she just speaks English most of the time. But I think maybe at home she speaks Afrikaans, so I don't know, there isn't really anybody.

R: And which words, I'm gonna give you some words and then you describe how you feel when you use them: which words would you choose to describe, sorry, which words would you choose to describe

how you feel when you speak English? Do you feel happy, joyful, cheerful, sad, lucky, comfortable, unhappy, miserable, confident, yourself, or pleased when speaking English?

S: (laughs) I can't remember...

R: Okay, you don't have to remember ja, which one would you choose, uhm happy?

S: Uhm, can I choose more than one?

R: Yes

S: I feel lucky that I can have a language that I'm good at, uhm I'll feel happy. Maybe sometimes I'll feel miserable because when you wanna talk, like the Xhosa people, not a lot of people know how to speak Xhosa, so if they talk something then nobody else will understand what they're saying and then there's like a secret language, but everybody knows how to speak English and then you don't know...

R: So like you don't have like a secret language?

S: Yes, so you have to like make up a secret code, like mix the numbers up, mix the words around. Uhm, and I feel...

R: And why do you feel happy?

S: Uhm I feel happy because I can, I don't know why I feel happy I just feel happy.

R: That's good. And now it's a similar question, for which, which words would you choose to describe how you feel when speaking Afrikaans? Do you feel hap...sorry, happy, joyful, cheerful, sad, lucky, comfortable, miserable, yourself, or pleased when speaking Afrikaans?

S: I feel pleased when speaking Afrikaans, to know that I've gotten, that I know how to speak a different language.

R: Oh, okay.

S: Uhm, and I feel, uhm, (sighs) oh, what do I feel? And I feel lucky that I know how to speak another language.

R: Okay, cool.

S: Or lucky that I have the privilege to speak another language.

R: Okay, cool. And now the last one, and thank you for your patience, imagine a fairy would have waved its magic wand and made everyone at your school speak Afrikaans only, how would that make you feel? Would you like that, and why, or why not?

S: Uhm, I'd, and like now, when I already know English?

R: Yes.

S: (somewhat dramatic sigh) I'd feel in between, I'd feel happy because I know the language, so I know I'll understand it, but I'll also feel sad because maybe some people don't know how to speak Afrikaans and then you don't know how to communicate with them.

R: Okay

S: Like my sister, or E

R: But what if the magic wand made everyone speak it?

S: Oh!

R: So that everyone could speak it? So you went to school tomorrow morning and Mrs X said to you "*Goeie môre Shannon*" and everyone else was Afrikaans?

S: Oh, everybody knew how to speak Afrikaans? I wouldn't feel anything, I would just go with the flow.

R: Would you?

S: Yes

R: Cool. Okay, I was just thinking now, we should have asked...thank you very much, well done, fifteen minutes. See I told you it wasn't too long.

Erin Jacobs

(5/03/2010)

- R: Hello Shannon, ag I mean E. Have I got your permission to do this interview?
- E: Yes
- R: Okay, good. (to Shannon) You'll get your one later, you've also got one. Okay, oh now you can't do yours next week either 'cos your sister's on the camp, okay, uhm, you'll do yours the week when you get back. You'll both do it on the week of the seventeenth, okay? I think that's a good plan. So okay, little Miss E I'm gonna ask you a couple of questions, but they not difficult and you can just answer them as honestly as you can? And don't be nervous. Tell me about the first language you remember speaking when you were small before you went to school. What do you remember when you were a baby, like Ella, what did you speak?
- E: English
- R: Just English, not anything else?
- E: English
- R: Cool. And what language did you speak when you went to pre-school?
- E: English
- R: Told you it's gonna be easy. And did you speak English to your parents, your teachers and your friends?
- E: Yes
- R: And when you went to, where were you in grade R?
- E: SOS
- R: And what did you speak then to your parents, your brothers and, ag brother...your parents and your sister?
- E: English
- R: Also English, okay, your interview may not take too long. And then, and your teachers and your friends?
- E: English
- R: You didn't have any little Afrikaans friends, or Xhosa friends or...? And did you enjoy school in grade R?
- E: Yes
- R: Why?
- E: You can do all sorts of things in it, it's so fun.
- R: Cool, it is fun. And when you came to grade, Pinewood Primary primary School in grade one, what languages did you speak to your parents, brother and sister?
- E: English
- R: Not brother and sister, I keep saying brother, good. No Afrikaans?
- E: No
- R: And your teachers and your friends?
- E: English
- R: And do you enjoy attending Pinewood Primary?
- E: Yes
- R: Why?
- E: Because all the teachers don't shout at you and they're so kind.
- R: They nice and kind, good. Now let's talk about your mommy. What language do you speak to your mommy most of the time?
- E: Sometimes Afrikaans, but mostly English.
- R: And when is it, when do you speak Afrikaans?
- E: Like when I want something, then I speak Afrikaans.
- R: Like what?
- E: *Ek wil daai hê.*

R: Does she give it to you then?

E: No

R: Cool, and your daddy? What languages do you speak to your daddy in most of the time?

E: English, but a little Afrikaans

R: What?

E: A little Afrikaans

R: A little, and when do you speak Afrikaans to him?

E: When I want something.

R: Cool. And your sister does she ever tease you, and what languages does she use to tease you?

E: English

R: Does she not ever say anything in Afrikaans?

E: No

R: Cool. And do you mainly, what language do you mainly speak to her in?

E: Go away (to Shannon).

R: Shannon, go, don't listen to her...

E: English.

R: Shame

E: Shannon, go away.

R: Oh she's gonna go past us. You're not dressed yet. Oh no. When you listen to your parents talking, what languages do you usually hear them talking to each other in?

E: Afrikaans

R: Do you understand what they're saying?

E: Yes

R: How come?

E: 'Cos my mommy sometimes teaches me Afrikaans.

R: When does she do?

E: She just talks a lot then I have to learn from her.

R: I like that.

E: Go away Shannon.

R: Shannon do you wanna, is there clothes here?

E: No, she's just listening.

R: OH, uhm, why do you think your parents talk Afrikaans to each other?

E: Maybe they don't want us to hear what they saying, maybe they fighting and...

R: And do you like it, or not?

E: When they fight? No I don't like it.

R: No, I mean do you like it when they speak Afrikaans?

E: I don't know.

R: And do you sometimes wish they would just speak English? Why?

E: Because I can't understand them most of the time.

R: That's a very good answer. And do they speak differently to you than they do to Shannon, do they speak more Afrikaans to her, or what?

E: No they don't speak to us in Afrikaans.

R: Just English, so they speak to you both equally in English?

E: Yes.

R: Good. And who speaks more Afrikaans or speaks more strongly, feels more strongly about it, your daddy or your mommy?

E: Mommy

R: Why, does she speak more Afrikaans?

E: Yes.

R: Why?

E: She went to Afrikaans school and her first language is Afrikaans, so I think she's just, she speaks Afrikaans the most.

R: True. And, and daddy?

E: He also speaks Afrikaans a lot.

R: And what television programmes do you watch? Or which ones are your favourites?

E: Like movies? Hannah Montana: The Movie, and Wizards of Waverly Place: The Movie.

R: What?

E: Wizards of Waverly Place: The Movie.

R: And do you watch things like soapies or?

E: No

R: You not allowed?

E: What soapies?

R: Like *7de Laan*, or Generations?

E: No, hate it.

R: And what do you watch in the afternoons?

E: I Carly.

R: What?

E: I Carly.

R: What's that?

E: It's two girls and a boy, and the boy records them and they have a web show on TV.

R: Cool. And do you ever read newspaper or magazines?

E: I look at the pictures in magazines, but only appropriate pictures.

R: And books? Do you have, do you like reading books?

E: A little, yes.

R: Like what do you read, Afrikaans books or mainly English?

E: No, just *Horrid Henry* and...

R: From, books from school?

E: Yes.

R: Cool. And what languages do you speak at school in your with your friends and your teachers?

E: English.

R: All English, good.

E: Did I say a lot of English?

R: Ja, but it's fine 'cos like my answers would also be like yours, 'cos I also speak a lot of English.

E: Please don't stand here by the steps.

R: You have five minutes to get dressed.

E: One...two...

R: And then you, do you know what you're gonna wear?

E: Yes, three...

R: And what languages do you use at break times?

E: English.

R: No Afrikaans?

E: No.

R: You don't have any Afrikaans friends?

E: No.

R: And when you're doing your extra murals like swimming or cricket, what do you talk to your teachers and your friends?

E: English.

R: And, are there any Afrikaans speaking people that you talk to on a regular basis?

E: This one girl she's in grade two, and she speaks a little Afrikaans like "*waar gaan jy nou*" and so, like that.

R: What's her name?

E: S.

R: Oh *ja*, do you speak to her?

E: *Ja*, she's funny.

R: Why?

E: She always makes jokes and say if you didn't want to share anything with her, then the next day and the next day and the next day she's like "no don't hug me go away", but she's just joking.

R: Cute. Uhm, what other things do you do with S, do you just play or...?

E: No, break time I just see her.

R: Who do you play with normally?

E: J, C, M, that's all.

R: And, now I'm gonna give you a list: which word would you choose to describe how you feel when speaking English; happy, joyful, cheerful, sad, lucky comfortable, miserable, confident, yourself, or pleased when speaking English? Which word would you use to describe how you feel about how you feel?

E: Sometimes I unkind, sometimes...

R: Sometimes?

E: Unkind, Shannon away!

R: Shannon, just give us another two minutes please.

S: I'm going to mommy's room.

R: Why do you feel like that?

E: Close the door please (to Shannon).

R: Why do you feel like that?

E: Sometimes I feel unkind and sometimes I feel at ease.

R: Why is that?

E: 'Cos maybe my sister makes me angry and then I feel unkind, then, then something happens to me, good things, I feel happy.

R: And do you feel that way when you're speaking English?

E: Yes

R: And Afrikaans, would you, if I also gave you this list, if I give you the list...do you feel happy, joyful, cheerful, sad, lucky, comfortable, miserable, confident, yourself, or pleased when speaking Afrikaans? Do any of those, I mean when you have to speak Afrikaans for like your *mondelinge* or when your daddy asks you, how do you feel?

E: I feel happy.

R: Why?

E: Because I get good marks and I like getting good marks. Twenty-one questions?

R: Yip, we on the last one.

E: Yay

R: Imagine a fairy would wave a, would have waved a magic wand and made everyone at your school, at our school speak Afrikaans only, so everyone, so tomorrow you go to school and Miss E says "*Goeie môre graad drie*" and you all say "*Goeie morê Mevrou E*" how would that make you feel? Would you like that?

E: No

R: Why not?

E: If I don't know Afrikaans then I wouldn't like it, if I did know then I'll be okay.

R: Like you would know, everyone would know it as well, so would you...

E: I'll be okay.

R: You'd be okay with tomorrow just learning Afrikaans?

E: Yes

R: And only speaking that?

E: No

R: Why not?

E: I actually like English the most.
R: Why do you like English?
E: Because, I don't know, I don't have a question for that.
R: Okay, can you believe it that took you eleven minutes, but we done.