Analysis of the linguistic repertoire of a migrant family

Analyse des linguistischen Repertoires einer Familie mit Migrationshintergrund

by

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A thesis

presented to the University of Waterloo

and the Universität Mannheim

in fulfilment of the

thesis requirement for the degree of

Master of Arts

in

Intercultural German Studies

Waterloo, Ontario, Canada/Mannheim, Germany, 2020

Author's Declaration

I hereby declare that I am the sole author of this thesis. This is a true copy of the thesis, including any required final revisions, as accepted by my examiners.

I understand that my thesis may be made electronically available to the public.

Abstract

The increase in mobilization that globalisation brings with it leads to an increasing amount of language contact. When groups or migrants come into contact with majority languages of a country, the minority language often undergoes changes. It is when these changes occur that we can analyse the language of these migrants to find out how they use language, mix language, and also analyse how their language changes due to language contact.

In this thesis, I analyse a family of South-African-Canadians that speak German at home in order to find out how their immigration trajectory (from their ancestors moving from Germany to South Africa, and this family's move to Canada) is showcased in their linguistic repertoire. Their linguistic repertoire is defined as "the set of varieties used in a speech community in various speech situations" (Finegan, 2004, p. 335). In order to carry out this study, I analyse the origins of some aspects of their repertoire and how these aspects set their repertoire apart from standard German. This analysis is based on participant observation, field notes, and recorded observation. I use discourse analysis to analyse the functions of two parts of speech, *sowie*, which, I argue, has some similar characteristics as *like* in English, as well as *so*, which is pronounced in a South African accent and has similar functions to the discourse marker *so* in English. In this family's repertoire, *sowie* is pronounced differently, namely that the emphasis is on the first syllable instead of the last, like it is in standard German ("Duden: Sowie," 2019). This sheds light onto how the convergence of languages is showcased in this family's repertoire. I have chosen these two lexical items because they occurred often in my recordings and seemed to be characteristic of this family's speech and I did not seem to exist in standard German. Furthermore, they seemed to stem from English, and this would provide insight into how the results of language contact can be observed in speech.

The results of this study show that discourse markers can be borrowed from languages in the same way as individual words can. What is also shown is that translations of discourse markers can also be made and adopted into a repertoire, and that even with the translation, the discourse marker can maintain its original function. This is showcased by the discourse marker *sowie* in this family's repertoire, which is a translation of *like* in English and has some of the same discourse marker functions as *like* does in English. By using aspects of different languages with which they have come into contact, this family displays their transportable identities (Zimmerman, 1998) through their repertoire.

Acknowledgements

I would firstly like to thank my advisor, Dr. Grit Liebscher. Her guidance and patience have been integral to the development of this thesis. Her door was always open, and she was always willing to talk with me about my research and to guide me in the right direction.

I would also like to thank the members on my committee members, Dr. Emma Betz and Dr. Barbara Schmenk for taking the time to pose insightful questions and provide valuable feedback.

Thank you to the staff of the Department of Germanic and Slavic studies. I appreciate the guidance and support that you all have provided over the past two years.

To the Mannheim and Waterloo students: I appreciate the time we've spent together, and I especially appreciate the help that you were willing to give whenever I felt stuck. I have learned a lot from all of you.

Thank you to my friends, who have always supported me during my studies, even when there didn't seem to be an end in sight.

Finally, I would like to thank my family. They were there every step of the way to provide words of encouragement and support.

Contents

1 Introduction

1.1 Purpose of this Thesis

"In a world where language diversity within nations and communities is rapidly increasing due to migration and globalization, inquiry into bilingualism as a life experience is more important than ever" (Surrain & Luk, 2019). When language diversity increases in society, language contact is bound to increase as well. In Canada in 2011, "11.5% of the population reported speaking both English and a language other than French at home. The corresponding figure in 2006 was 9.1%. This is an increase of 960,000 persons, compared with about 410,000 between 2001 and 2006" ("Linguistic Characteristics of Canadians," 2018). This goes to show that language diversity in Canada is increasing, and it is due to this fact that research into this field is gaining in importance. Through research in this field, we gain a better understanding of how language works and how multilinguals' repertoire changes when they speak a minority language at home. I take repertoire to mean "the set of varieties used in a speech community in various speech situations" (Finegan, 2004, p. 335)

As stated before, when people that speak different languages or codes come together, their languages or codes come into contact as well. This is especially true when members of one community move from one environment to another, where a different language is spoken than the one they speak within their community. When this happens, language contact is often the result, and this "contact between languages…almost inevitably leads to language change" (Liebscher & Schulze, 2012, p. 1). This language change is most notable within these communities, as they begin to have more outside contact with languages other than those spoken

within their community. In this thesis, I will be examining how a previously unstudied group of South-African-Canadians communicates in a complex linguascape (Liebscher & Dailey-O'Cain, 2013), where they speak a language other than the majority language of a country in the community and where they have little contact to countries where their language (German) is spoken. In order to do so, I will analyse certain aspects of their linguistic repertoire as used within family that is a part of this community and how parts of their linguistic repertoire differs from standard German, which I take to be the German that is generally taught in schools . In order to provide an example of how this group's repertoire is affected and different from 'standard German', I will analyse the usage of lexical items used in this family's repertoire, namely *sowie* and *so*. These parts of speech will provide insight into how their language showcases contact with English in South Africa and in Canada, specifically which aspects of these languages they have adopted. By knowing how this family's language differs from standard German, we can infer how language contact in general affects the language of speakers of a minority language.

Although research has been conducted in German communities in Canada (e.g. Liebscher and Dailey-O'Cain, 2009 as well as Kampen Robinson, 2017), there is a different, separate German-speaking community that has yet to be explored. This community is a relatively small one of German-speaking South African Canadians living in Ontario. The migration trajectory of this community is generally from northern Germany to South Africa and finally to Canada. German is still spoken in this community and because of this group's contact with various different languages, coupled with the fact that this group has not been researched before, analysing this group's language use is valuable in order to further understand language contact and language change in an ever-globalizing world. It is the goal of this thesis to explore what

characteristics this family's repertoire has that showcase their contact with languages, specifically focusing on evidence of contact with English (South African and Canadian) and Afrikaans. In order to guide my analysis of this family's repertoire, I ask the question: how is the migration trajectory of this family evident in their repertoire? I will explore characteristics of this family's repertoire that showcase this family's immigration trajectory, as well as analyse two parts of speech, *sowie* and *so*, which this family uses in their repertoire, to guide my analysis.

1.2 General Remarks

<u>Speech community, family and repertoire</u>

The term 'speech community' in this case is defined as "a group of people who share a set of norms and expectations regarding the use of language" (Yule, 2010). It is helpful to distinguish these communities in order to provide some overview about the patterns within the speech community and to understand who this generally applies to. In the case of this study, the speech community consists of South African migrants to Canada who speak German, and the family that I am going to be analysing is a part of this speech community. The family that I will be analysing can be separated into three different generations: generation 1, generation 1.5, and generation 2, which will be detailed in the data description chapter. This is based on where they were born and if/when they immigrated. Because other members within this community have a similar linguistic background to this family, this study provides insight into what languages have had influences on the repertoire of the speakers of this family (and community) and in which ways these influences can be observed. From this insight, we can find parts of speech that may be characteristic of this family, and, by extension speech community.

In order to discuss this family's repertoire, I will be making some comparisons to 'standard German'. By this I mean the German that is generally accepted as the standard. This is sometimes referred to as *Standarddeutsch*, *Hochdeutsch*, or in Switzerland as *Schriftdeutsch* and is the variety of German that is generally compared to when speaking about the differences in dialects.

The family that I will be talking about in this thesis is part of a larger group of German-South-Africans that moved from South Africa or Namibia to Canada. I was unable to find exact numbers of these immigrants, but through the family, I have gotten to know several of them with similar experiences with language to that of the family in this study, and it seems to me that there is a large enough group of them that they can be classified as a group. When I speak of 'the family', I mean the family that I am examining. Otherwise, if I am referring to the group of Germans that immigrated from South Africa or Namibia, I will speak of the group. From what I have heard from the family and their friends, they all have similar immigration trajectories. Most of their families moved, generally from Northern Germany, to South Africa and Namibia. Many of them stayed there, but some came to Canada. It seems they enjoy creating this kind of community and have somewhat of an understanding amongst one another because of this similar trajectory pattern.

1.3 Structure of this thesis

This thesis is structured in such a way as to first give readers a brief background of my data, to which the Data description chapter is dedicated. Additionally, I provide a background to the languages that are spoken in South Africa, which have had an impact on the repertoire of the family whose conversations I analyse.

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Following the Data description chapter, I outline the theory that is relevant to this thesis. During the exploratory phase of my research, I discovered aspects of this family's speech that seemed to be different from that of standard German and English. These characteristics could be better explained after gaining an understanding of what languages they have come into contact with. My theory chapter therefore includes theory on discourse analysis, discourse markers, code-switching, translanguaging, transportable identities, and finally previous theory on the functions of the markers *like* and *so*. The aim of this chapter is to provide a background on the theory that is relevant to understanding my analysis.

The fourth chapter, methodology, makes clear the methods that I used for my research. These include how and in which settings I recorded my interviews, namely in settings where spontaneous conversation took place. Furthermore, I describe the transcription conventions that I used, as well as provide a brief outline of the symbols that are relevant to understanding the transcripts found in this thesis.

The chapter after deals with the analysis of my data. In my analysis chapter, I provide an explanation of my findings, which begin with general observations of the generational differences of the language of this family. These observations are based on field notes that I made, in which I noted down the experiences that the family members have had with different languages. I then move on to describing the unconventional uses of phrases and expressions used in this family's repertoire (which I recorded in my field notes) and also provide an overview of where these 'non-standard German' phrases and expressions originate from. Finally, I provide an analysis of the markers *sowie* and *so* and compare them to previous analyses of *like* and *so* in English. I provide examples occurrences of these words in interaction and discuss their function.

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Finally, in my Discussion chapter, I summarize my findings, namely what functions *sowie* and *so* seem to have in this family's repertoire. Furthermore, I provide insight into the limitations of this study, including the recording apparatus used and the family's attitude toward being recorded.

2 Data description

In this chapter, I will provide a description of my data. I start off with providing a brief background of this family's immigration trajectory and how this is relevant to the study at hand. Following this, I provide an overview of the languages and varieties that are spoken in South Africa, which gives a background to the languages that this family has come into contact with. This serves to give a historical background of what languages the family's repertoire consist of and help us understand why they use certain words and expressions in their repertoire.

I have known this family for many years, which has given me some insight into their history and their experiences with the languages they speak. I have spent a lot of time with them over the years and have gotten to know small nuances in their language. I have noted certain aspects of their repertoire, especially those aspects that I found to be unique to this family. These include aspects that stem from older German language (expressions that are not in use anymore), expressions that stem from English (often one-to-one translations), as well as expressions that are either Afrikaans or come from Afrikaans. Because I have personally spent a lot of time in South Africa, and because I have studied linguistics for some time now, I was able to gain a unique insight into this family's language.

Due to the fact that German is not an official, or more specifically, because it is a minority language in both South Africa as well as Canada, challenges have arisen that stem from the difficulties of raising children to speak their heritage language (German). This has led to policies in this family of not only "one person, one language" (in the case of the parents speaking different languages with the children), but also the "heritage language at home" policy being adopted. Those family members, who were born and raised in South Africa, had access to a larger German-speaking community, since they attended church held in German and also had their extended family that they communicated with regularly. This, however, is not the case in Canada. The family does not have the same amount of contact to German speakers. This especially affects the children, who do not have any peers that they speak German with. Due to this, the influence that English has on their language has increased. When it becomes enforced that people in the family are to speak German at home and their lack of exposure to and experience with the German language increases, the family members adopt different strategies to be able to communicate in the language. This seems to be how a lot of expressions that differ from standard German use come from, for instance morpheme-for-morpheme transference of idioms (Clyne, 2003, p. 78).

2.1 The Interactants

The data used for this thesis comes from a corpus of everyday conversations in a family. This corpus included a total of eleven interactants. Four conversations out of the five were between of the core family, which consists of seven people (two parents, their three children, and their two grandchildren) and there was one recording that included some extended family, with six more people. The extended family included siblings of the first generation as well as their

children. The video and audio-recorded conversations ranged from 30 minutes to two hours in length. Four total conversations were recorded, which totaled 4 hours and two minutes of interaction. The conversations were recorded using a smartphone and for conversations around the dinner table when only the immediate family was present, this was sufficient to be able to understand and transcribe the conversations. This group was recruited orally, as they had taken part in a previous, related project in a graduate course. The people included in this group are all a part of a German-speaking South-African-Canadian family except for two spouses, one of whom does not speak German and the other who grew up in Germany and speaks standard German, along with a Swabian dialect. Conversations between these family members were recorded around mealtimes, and some of the conversations carried on past dinner. There was one instance where the family was not eating dinner, but also sitting around the dinner table, talking. The topics of conversation included the type of food they were eating, travel plans, previous places they had lived, and various other topics. The topics that were spoken about were not limited. An option was given to the interactants that they could have any part of the conversations deleted if they did not want and if anything would have come up during conversation, which any members of the family did not want included in this study, I gave them the option of deleting that portion of data. This, however, never came up.

I realised in one conversation that when there were many more participants (namely when all 13 members of the extended family and spouses were around) that this recording device made it difficult to hear all aspects of conversation, particularly when there were several people talking at once or when there were several conversations taking place simultaneously. It is due to this that some transcripts include some sections of inaudible speech The examples used in this

thesis were transcribed with as much detail as was possible to decipher the information needed for the analysis.

As previously mentioned, the family whose repertoire is being analysed in this paper is a South African-Canadian family that has lived in Canada for the past twenty years. The ancestors of this family immigrated from northern Germany to South Africa between the late 19th and early 20th centuries. The generations leading up to and including the first-generation immigrants of this family were born in South Africa.

The core family is comprised of three generations: two grandparents (Nora and Quinn, in their mid 50's), their daughter Helena and her two children Maya and Braxton (preteens), and a brother of the mother of the children (in his early 30's). On some occasions the family gets together with relatives (Nora's sister, Celine, and her two children). Celine is in her early 50's and her two children are aged 6 and 14. Celine's children, however, did not participate in any of the recorded conversations.[1]

Celine lives in the United States with her mother, Paula and her two children. Her children are learning Spanish and English in school while also speaking English and French at home. This core family predominantly speaks German at home and English outside of the home, as they do not live in a German community, but rather in an English-speaking Canada. This family does have friends that they speak German with, but most of these friends are ones that are also immigrants from South Africa and not ones who grew up in Germany. They therefore have very little contact to anyone who has formal education in German, although the oldest generation did attend German schools in South Africa. The oldest generation learned Afrikaans in school in

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[1] All names listed here are pseudonyms to protect the anonymity of the participants.

South Africa, although they rarely speak it amongst each other and also rarely speak it with friends. The youngest generation (the two children of Helena) attend a French immersion public school and are learning French there. They speak French minimally at home and these occasions are usually limited. One child for instance told others in one conversation, in French, that he speaks French. This was oriented to as a joke and did not otherwise come up in the conversations. The two members of the second generation learned the mandatory amount of French that is required by the Canadian school system, but have very little knowledge of the French language.

Below is a family tree that shows the relationships that each of the participants have to each other. This is to provide an overview of the family. I have shaded the different generations to differentiate their "immigrant generations":
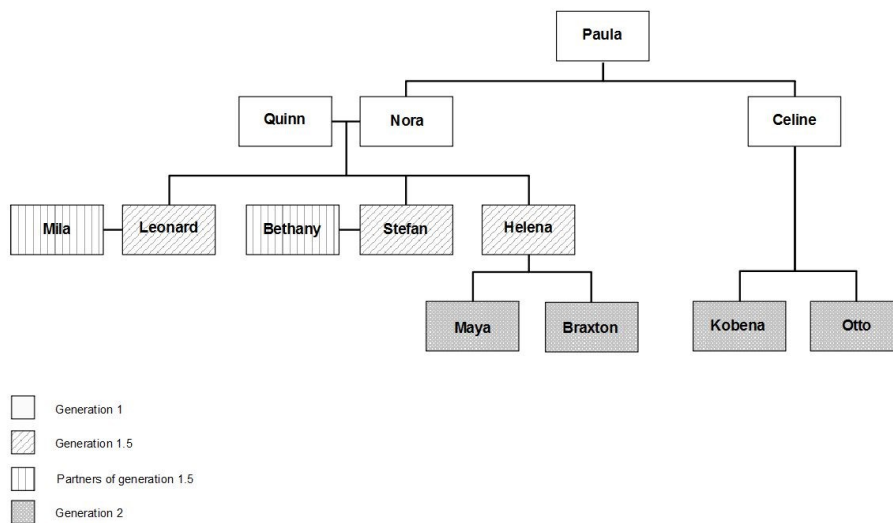
The above table shows the members of this family, separated into immigrational generations. Generation 1.5 is a term that was first used by Rumbaut, (2004) to describe "youth who had immigrated to the United States before age 12" (p. 1162), but it is easy to see how this term can also be used for immigrants of other countries. Generation 1.5 is therefore the generation that immigrated with their parents, all of whom immigrated before the age of 12. One should exercise caution when viewing this family based on their immigrational generation, as they are not the same as immigrational generations that moved directly from a country in which their minority language was an official national language. It would make little sense, therefore, to compare this generation 1.5 and their repertoire to generation 1.5 immigrants directly from Germany. This is made more evident by the naming of the dialect they speak, which is detailed later in this chapter.

The first-generation immigrants immigrated to Canada in the late nineties. This is Paula, Nora, and Quinn. Celine immigrated to the United States of America around the same time. Paula, Nora and Quinn are considered to be first generation immigrants, whilst the children of Nora and Quinn, who immigrated with them, are considered to be generation 1.5 immigrants, since they immigrated before their teens. The generation that comes after this, of which Maya and Braxton are a part of, are second generation immigrants, since they were born in Canada. Kobena and Otto are also second generation immigrants, as they were born in the United States.

The repertoire of this family is mostly German, but it is not quite the same as 'standard German'. This is because it has had and still has very strong influences from the languages spoken in South Africa (the biggest influencers of which are English and Afrikaans), as well as English and minimally French in Canada. The variety then, is one that is very close to that of "Springbokdeutsch", mentioned in Harr's (2018) chapter in Plewnia and Riehl's (2018) book

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Handbuch der deutschen Sprachminderheiten in Übersee. The dialect is called Springbokdeutsch because the Springbok (a type of antelope) is the national animal of South Africa (*National animal*, 2019). This is a dialect that has been under strong influence from the languages spoken in South Africa, specifically Afrikaans and English. In South Africa, Springbokdeutsch also is affected by other autochthonous languages (especially Zulu) (Plewnia, 2018, p. 91) and other languages of immigrants, but this is very much dependant on region and it is beyond the scope of this project to go into much further detail to analyse Springbokdeutsch. This means that grammatical structures of speech in this dialect are sometimes closer to that of Afrikaans or English, or sometimes the speakers of this dialect use idioms from English or Afrikaans and translate them directly into German. Some examples of these kinds of expressions that are common in Springbokdeutsch are "Ich bin busy" (Harr, 2018, p. 93) for "I am busy" or "Du bist mal" (ibid.) for "You are crazy".

2.2   Varieties of South Africa

In order to understand the languages that affect the repertoire of this family, we need to establish which languages have likely had the largest impact on their repertoire. Since this family has spent such a long time in South Africa (the first and 1.5th generations were the first to move from South Africa since their ancestors arrived in the late 1800's and early 1900's), we need to establish which languages are spoken there. In this section I will provide a brief background of the languages spoken in South Africa and therefore the varieties that have potentially come to influence the family's repertoire.

Having eleven official national languages (and even more non-national) in such a small country, South Africa is a country with a very diverse linguascape. The linguascape here means

the languages that inhabitants come into contact with. Due to a complex linguascape, most people have contact with several different languages and often speak more than one language.

South Africa was first occupied by the Dutch in 1652 and was later ruled by the British (seizing it in 1795) and was subsequently ruled by the apartheid regime from 1948 until 1994. The Dutch that was spoken in South Africa later evolved to Afrikaans and was declared a national language in 1925 (Britannica, 2019). Due to South Africa's history, English and Afrikaans have been the most dominant languages in the past (*National Language Policy Framework*, 2003) as they continue to be to this day. It is because of this past that Afrikaans and English have had such an impact on the linguascape of South Africa.

2.2.1 Afrikaans

The Afrikaans language is a language that developed from 17th-century Dutch by the descendants of Europeans that colonised South Africa, indigenous peoples of South Africa, as well as the slaves in the Dutch colony (Britannica, 2019). Afrikaans is a Germanic language, and because of its close relation to German, it has similar phonology to German. It is due to this that some Afrikaans words may sound German or may even be shared between the two languages (niemand, for instance has the same meaning and phonology in both languages).

2.2.2 South African English (SAE)

South African English (SAE) is a complicated term, as one can imagine, because, due to South Africa's rich linguascape, there are a few different types of SAE, and Mesthrie (2002) outlines three main types; white SAE as the standard (p. 104), Indian South African English (ISAE) (ibid. p. 339), and Black South African English (BSAE) (ibid. p. 356). Because the family has no black or Indian ancestors and has spent little to no time within these communities

where BSAE and ISAE would be spoken, I focus on SAEs effects on this family's repertoire. SAE is closely related to Southern British English (Mesthrie, 2002), and most of this effect is seen in the pronunciation of English words, most notably in my corpus the pronunciation of 'so' as the UK standard of /səʊ/ instead of the US standard of /soʊ/.

Some expressions that are common in SAE, were also important to my study, as they came up in conversations with this family and showcased the family's contact with SAE. These characteristics were made note of in my field notes. These included expressions like 'is it?', which is also a part of the repertoire of this family (*ist es?*). Furthermore, an expression like 'now', for example in the expression 'I'm coming now', with future meaning is also a part of this family's repertoire (e.g. *ich komme jetzt* to mean *ich komme sofort*), as well as the non-obligatory use of the verb *müssen* (e.g. *du musst dieses Essen schmecken*), which is similar to *must* in SAE (*you must try this food*). For a detailed description of SAE, see Lass (2002).

2.2.3 Springbokdeutsch and South African German (SAG)

Springbokdeutsch, a term used by De Kadt (2002), is a variety of German that is spoken in South Africa, which is influenced largely by other languages in South Africa. The terms South African German and Springbokdeutsch are used interchangeably. Because of the geographical location, the language has been largely cut off from Germany. De Kadt (2004) describes "that present day pronunciation tends to approximate to colloquial High German, although most of the immigrants originally spoke Low German dialects…" (p. 155). De Kadt goes on to say that "it is, however, the lexicon that most noticeably characterises SAG, although morphology, especially case structure, and syntax also contribute" (ibid.). Many different words of this dialect originate from other languages, mostly from English, but some from Afrikaans. Furthermore, some new German words are formed "according to English and Afrikaans patterns: *Armstuhl* 'armchair',

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Dornbaum 'thorntree', etc. (de Kadt, 2002, p. 156). Some German words have also had their meaning changed, for example "*Hochschule* from 'university' to 'high school'. *Garage* has come to include the English 'garage', which sells petrol and repairs cars (HG *Autowerkstatt*)" (ibid.)

Morphology and syntax also show changes (or at least differences from standard High German), for instance in that the genders of non-personal nouns change, and the case links between prepositions and cases seem to change (ibid.). This means that the connections that some verbs, such as *geben*, have to the dative case are lost. As a result of this, standard German might prescribe the dative in an utterance such as 'ich gebe es dir', whereas in Springbokdeutsch the utterance would lack the dative, as in 'ich gebe es dich'.

De Kadt (2002) details this dialect more thoroughly, but the main points listed here also were showcased in my conversations with this family. This brief overview of the German that is spoken in South Africa should provide some insight into the dialect that this family learned in South Africa, and this provides us with a basis for understanding and approximating where their language started in order to better understand where it is now.

2.2.4 Other Varieties

Zulu (or isiZulu) and Xhosa (or isiXhosa) are indigenous languages of South Africa and the languages with the most number of native speakers in South Africa (*Languages of South Africa*, 2019). Although these languages have the greatest number of native speakers in South Africa, the family that participated in my study had comparatively very little experience with them. This is also true for the other official and unofficial languages of South Africa; the contact with these languages was very minimal for most members of this family and it therefore did not have a large impact on their German. There are, for instance no expressions, to my knowledge,

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that the family uses that have origins outside of SAE, Springbokdeutsch, standard German or Afrikaans.

3   Theory

In this chapter, I will outline the theory the previous research that has been conducted in this field in order to give an overview of what concepts and approaches I used in order to complete my research. This introduction to the theory will lay the groundwork of what I will base my thesis on. I begin by describing language contact. I then describe discourse analysis and the assumptions made by discourse analysis. Next, I describe discourse markers and what they are in order to provide an overview of the types of words that I am analysing. I then move on to Zimmerman's identity theory, which will be shown to be tied to the discourse markers in my data. Finally, I outline previous analyses of *like* and *so* as discourse markers.

3.1   Language contact

As stated previously, contact between languages brings with it a potential change in the language. This change in language can be manifested in different ways, for example convergence or language attrition. Clyne (2003) states the following about attrition: "De Bot (2001) defines 'attrition' as language knowledge loss over time'..." (p. 5). This is important for a family like the one in this study, as it could be what this family is experiencing. Clyne also writes "the term 'language attrition is sometimes employed for those changes in usage resulting from language contact situations, which are described as 'L1 attrition in an L2 environment (van Els 1985)" (p. 5). The family in this study is one that speaks an L1 in an L2 environment, as their L1 is German and they live in an English-speaking area of Canada. Also discussed by Clyne is the term

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'convergence', which he uses "as a general term to denote making languages more similar to each other" (p. 79). He also goes on to say that "this does not mean *both* languages converging" (ibid.), which means that one language, for instance the L1, becoming more similar to another, the L2 in this example, without the L2 converging towards the L1. Important here is that the influences of other languages that a group comes into contact with can be seen in someone's repertoire as the languages that they speak may begin to show signs of convergence or transference.

3.2 Code-switching

Code-switching is closely related to and often a direct result of language contact. Code-switching (abbreviated CS) is a term that has been used for quite some time in the study of linguistics, and it refers to a speaker's "alternating use of two or more 'codes' within one conversational episode" (Auer, 1998, p. 1). 'Codes' that are able to be switched between can at the surface level be seen as languages but can also be more specific to include switching between dialects or even registers. This can even be done without the speaker being aware of it, as it includes : "systems that are 'objectively speaking' very distinct but nevertheless seen as non-distinct by the users" (Auer, 1998, p. 13).

Various different types of descriptions of code-switching have been made. On page 10 of her book on code-switching, Gardner-Chloros (2009) highlights these description approaches as follows: a *"sociolinguistic/ethnographic descriptions of CS situations"* (ibid.), which include relating code-switches to different ethnographic groups. This type of description describes how different groups make use of code-switching. These, for instance can be analysing how code switches are used in different immigrant generations or speakers of different languages.

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"Pragmatic/conversation analytic approaches" (ibid.) analyse the conversation and the "meaning brought on by code-switches". These meanings can include communicating a speaker's inclusion of a certain group, if they use a code in order to show that they are part of a group that makes use of such a code. The final approach to code switching, namely "grammatical analyses of samples of CS and the search for underlying rules, models and explanations to explain the patterns found" (ibid.). This grammatical analysis can showcase the rules that code-switches follow, for instance at what point of an utterance it is appropriate to switch and not. This broad summary of the approaches to code-switching research are provided as they are relevant to my data and further my discussion.

Although there are other terms that describe similar linguistic phenomena to code-switching, such as borrowing and style shifting (Hall & Nilep, 2015, p. 597), code-mixing is an alternative that is used in many papers. Although there are subtle differences between the different terms, I will not focus on their specific definitions and the differences between them, as the "most widely used term" (Benson, 2001, p. 25), code-switching, can generally be used fairly broadly. The reason for this is because up until this point, code-switching has been used as a fairly broad term, and it would be outside of the scope of this project to more precisely define the term. I generally use code-switching as a switch between 'codes', such as the switch from this family's pronunciation to standard German, if it is clearly marked as a switch away from their repertoire (see the "Apple Watch" transcript in the analysis of *sowie*). Otherwise, a switch from the family speaking German to English would also be defined as a code-switch, as the difference between English and German (whether it is their dialect or standard German) is a clear switch between codes.

3.3 Translanguaging

In recent years, several new terms have arisen, which describe the relatively similar practice as 'code-switching', but do away with the assumption of a "fundamentally mistaken idea of separate 'languages'"(Auer, 2019, p. 2). This seems to be a new step forward, as it is sometimes unclear what 'language' or 'code' speakers are speaking. In my data, for instance, it would be difficult to differentiate between standard German and the German that this family speaks, in the same way as it would be difficult to differentiate between English and their dialect, since their dialect has come to include many English terms. Auer (2019) argues, however, that "'languages' are social constructs" and that they are real objects that are constructed by speakers as well as "language authorities" (ibid. p. 3) This means that speakers have an idea in their head of what language they are speaking, and to some it may contain 'code-switches', but to them it may all be a part of that speaker's repertoire. What this means for my data is that, although it is difficult to precisely define this family's dialect and which words it does and does not include, I have an idea, from my time spent with this family, which words are a part of their 'code' (words that they use very frequently), and which words could be defined as a code-switch. As Auer (2019) puts it, "the codes of codeswitching may be what linguists and participants call 'Spanish' or 'Russian'", but they need not have a name" (p. 6). This, again, means that speakers can speak German, for instance, but the variety of German may be different and may include aspects of other languages (much like Springbokdeutsch includes aspects of Afrikaans and English). This 'German', however would still be able to be defined as a code, even if it does include aspects of other languages. Springbokdeutsch, for instance, can be defined as just that and does not need to be understood or described as 'German'. Furthermore, this family's code does not need to be precisely defined down to each word in order to understand what is a switch between different

codes repertoire or code. This becomes important because it is useful to talk about a specific code, even if it is very difficult to accurately define and distinguish. It is because of the description of certain codes that Auer (2019) renounces the term 'translanguaging' and instead focuses on the term 'code-switching'. The usage of multiple languages in one repertoire can be indicative of the languages the family members come into contact with and therefore a part of their identity. It is therefore advantageous to talk about identity theory that incorporates such displays of identity.

3.4   Zimmermann's identity theory

Code-switching can serve many different purposes, as briefly mentioned before, such as signalling the inclusion of a speaker in a specific group. This inherently ties code-switching and multilinguals' language use in general to the identity. That is to say that language and the usage of it may construct the identities of the speaker. In his chapter *Discourse Identities and Social Identities*, Zimmerman (1998) identifies three types of identities in discourse that are relevant to social interaction. The first of these are *discourse identities*, which are "integral to the moment-by-moment organization of the interaction" (Zimmerman, 1998) and examples of these include current speaker, listener, story-teller, story recipient, questioner, etc. These identities are relevant when describing interaction, as it is important to know which role each interactant is assuming. These identities do not carry over between conversations but are rather assumed by each interactant at any given time in the conversation. *Situated identities* are ones that play a role in and are dependant on specific situations and these depend on the context of the interaction. Examples of these identities can be call-taker, call-answerer, complainant, etc. The last type of identity that is relevant is that of the *transportable identities*. These *transportable identities* are

ones that "travel with individuals across situations and are potentially relevant in and for any situation and in and for any spate of interaction." (ibid.) Sometimes these identities can be visible, such as being a visible minority, but aren't always. These identities play a role in peoples' daily routines, as they travel with people. In the case of my study, the transportable identity (or identities) are that the interactants in my study are a part of the German-speaking South-African-Canadians community in Canada. The identities are recognisable by their repertoire, sometimes including accents different from Canadians or also other German speakers. In this case, the transportable identities were not visibly recognizable.

During the interactions that I analyse, each interactant can assume any number of different *discourse* identities and *situational identities*, (see examples above). The main type of identity that was interesting to me was that of the *transportable identities*. The family whose interactions I am analysing in this thesis are all German speaking South-African-Canadians, and this is one aspect of their respective transportable identities. In fact, this is the most important aspect of their transportable identities, as I am analysing how their identity is shown through their language.

This family uses a particular set of words that are otherwise not found in standard German. Particular words, such as *sowie* and the English *so*, that come up very often in the family's speech, are words that showcase aspects of their *transportable identities*, namely that they are South African (due to their pronunciation of so, as well as its use in German), as well as their lack of exposure to German (which is showcased by their direct translation of phrases from English to German).

3.5 Discourse analysis

In order to talk about discourse analysis, we need to first understand what discourse is. The term 'discourse' is approached differently, depending on the field in which the research is being conducted. As (Schiffrin, Tannen, & Hamilton, 2015) wrote, "given this disciplinary diversity, it is no surprise that the terms 'discourse' and discourse analysis have different meanings in different fields. " (p. 1). The terms, however, all fit into three different categories: "(1) anything beyond the sentence, (2) language use, and (3) a broader range of social practice that includes non-linguistic and non-specific instances of language" (p. 1). In this thesis, I will be focusing on 'language use'. Furthermore, in this thesis, it is not fruitful to define the term 'discourse analysis' more narrowly than that, as it is my goal to analyse discourse markers and how these are used. Schifrin (1987) also defined the assumptions made in discourse analysis, namely that:

1. Language always occurs in a context.
2. Language is context sensitive.
3. Language is always communicative.
4. Language is designed for communication (p. 3).

The above assumptions are important because it is due to these assumptions that we can make sense of the discourse being analysed. We know, for instance, that interactants are not merely saying words to fill the void that is silence, but rather to communicate. We also know that this communication is context sensitive, which leads us to understand that the interactants need to be able to read the context of a conversation in order to provide meaningful contributions to it. In my analysis, the discourse marker *sowie* and *so* are analysed and because of these assumptions

of discourse analysis, we can infer that these discourse markers are context sensitive and appear in context (points 1 & 2). They also communicate information to the other interactants, and they are designed for this communication (points 3 & 4). Due to these points, we can assume that we, for instance, would not have a word completely out of place and without context and we would therefore, for instance, generally not have an utterance consisting of just the part of speech *so*, unless it were to fulfill a specific function (we will see later on, however, that this would not fit the role of the discourse marker).

3.6 Discourse markers

I choose the term discourse markers in this analysis instead of any of the other multitude of words to describe a particular kind of unit of language that at first glance do not seem to have much meaning and could be left out. In order to identify discourse markers, we must first understand what a discourse marker is. In this section, I will provide a brief overview of literature in which it has been discussed what discourse markers are and what counts as a discourse marker.

There is much debate on discourse markers, both with what to call them as well as how to define them. Schourup (1983) used the term 'discourse particles' to refer to words that were widely regarded as 'filler words' up until that point. As Schourup stated, these parts of speech "differ from each other in distribution and use so cannot be simply regarded as 'fillers'" (p. 2). This goes to show that discourse markers are not just words that interactants use to fill pauses or to buy time to think of what they are going to say next, but that they have a specific function. The word 'like' for instance cannot be seen as merely filler, when it is used at a different rate

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than that of a word like 'so'. Furthermore, these two words cannot be interchanged for one another, which is another reason that shows that these words have different functions.

Jucker and Ziv (1998) provide a list of some of the other labels that have been ascribed to, including "discourse marker (e.g. Schiffrin 1987), pragmatic marker (e.g. Fraser 1996, Brinton 1996), discourse particle (e.g. Schourup 1985; Abraham 1991; Kroon 1995), pragmatic particle (e.g. Östman 1981), pragmatic expression (e.g. Erman 1987) or connective (Blakemore 1987, 1988)." (Jucker & Ziv, 1998, p. 1). The terminology is so varied due to the different approaches to studying these markers as well as the different functions that these markers fulfill. Although there are different terms for these markers, I choose to refer to them as 'discourse markers' because, as Buysse (2012) stated, it "probably has the widest currency in the field" (p. 1). Those that do not use this term often do so in order to describe these parts of speech in a different way or to include parts of speech that are otherwise not accepted as discourse markers. Jucker and Ziv (1998) outline some of these examples: "because, and then are included by Schiffrin (1987) but not by Schourup (1985) while hey and aha are included by Schourup but not by Schiffrin" (p. 2). It must, therefore, be clearly stated what defines a part of speech as a discourse marker in order to decisively conclude if particular parts of speech in speech are discourse markers or if they fulfill some other function. Helmer and Deppermann (2017) provide an overview of the characteristics and features of discourse markers. Included in the overview are the pragmatic, syntactical, morphological, prosodic, semantic, positional, time-referential, and sequential functions of discourse markers. I will give a brief overview of these functions in order to introduce what the functions of discourse markers are, so that it can later be determined whether the words that I am analysing could be classified as discourse markers.

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<u>Functions of discourse markers</u>

The function of discourse markers is on one hand an organizational one; they relate and connect units of discourse (Helmer & Deppermann, 2017). This means, for instance, that one interactant can use a discourse marker to communicate that they want to continue their turn instead of potential participant change (see, for instance, Schiffrin's (1987) of *so*). On the other hand, discourse markers can serve to contextualize what is said, for instance, when information contained in one utterance is the cause of what is contained in the following utterance (Helmer & Deppermann, 2017) (e.g. Schiffrin's (1987) analysis of *so* and *because*). Another example of contextualization is the evincive function that Schourup (1983) found with some interjections, such as *well*. In this analysis, Schourup used the word evincive to mean "a linguistic item that indicates that at the moment it is said the speaker is engaged in, or has just then been engaged in, thinking" (Schourup, 1983).

The following characteristics of discourse markers are described by Helmer and Deppermann (2017). These sections summarise how discourse markers are generally perceived. Some of these points are still discussed as to whether or not these characteristics are obligatory characteristics of discourse markers (Helmer & Deppermann, 2017). These characteristics, however, give a background of how discourse markers generally function and are not to be taken as determinate rules.

<u>Syntax of discourse markers</u>

Syntactically, Helmer and Deppermann (2017) explain that discourse markers are generally not a part of the following turn of an interactant. They go to quote Blühdorn, Foolen and Loureda (2017), saying that discourse markers are "not or barely integrated into the

syntactical expressions that they introduce"[2] This, as one can see, would generally be more so

the case for discourse markers that are found at the beginning of turns and would not necessarily

apply to other discourse markers that are integrated into utterances (for example how the

discourse marker 'like' is sometimes found in the middle of utterances, e.g. I'm *like* really

hungry). If this definition is compared to Schourup's evincives, for example, we can see that

these are generally found at the beginning of an utterance, but other discourse markers are found

in many different positions.

Morphology

Often, discourse markers are single words (like *oh*, *so*, *like*, etc.), but they can also

consist of multiple words (like *you know*, or *I mean* in English and *weißt du* in German), but this

is a not always agreed upon. Two different opinions exist on discourse markers: on the one hand,

it is believed that the term 'discourse marker' should only be used to describe single words and

not multi-word phrases used in the same way, and on the other hand are those that also use the

term 'discourse marker' to describe multi-word expressions that function the same way as their

single-word counterpart. Generally speaking, however, discourse markers are very short.

(Helmer & Deppermann, 2017).

Prosody

Helmer and Deppermann (2017) discuss two different positions on prosody regarding

discourse markers: one side contends (including Brinto (1996) and Jucker and Ziv (1998) that

discourse markers are always prosodically separate from utterances, and the other side that

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[2] Author's translation of "Sie 'sind also nicht oder nur schwach in die syntaktischen Ausdrücke, die sie einleiten, integriert' (Blühdorn/Foolen/Loureda 2017)" as found in (Helmer & Deppermann, 2017)

claims that this is not a requirement (for example Fischer (2014) and Westpfahl (2017). Going by this definition, then, it is not necessary for discourse markers to be prosodically marked, although this sometimes seems to be the case.

<u>Semantics</u>

According to Helmer and Deppermann (2017), the semantic meaning of discourse markers is, more often than not, bleached, which means that the meaning of the original word that a discourse marker has derived from, is not existent in the discourse marker anymore. If we take a discourse marker, such as *like* in English, and we compare it to its original word, it does not carry the same semantic meaning. If we take an utterance where *like* is used as a discourse marker, for instance in "I'm *like* so bored" and we compare it to its dictionary definitions, we would find that this form of like neither matches any definition in the dictionary, nor does it take on a new one. If we removed it from the utterance, the utterance would still semantically mean the same thing. In this case, the discourse marker *like* has been bleached of its original meaning.

<u>Position</u>

The position of the typical discourse marker seems to be at the beginning of a utterance, in the "Vor-Vorfeld" in German utterances, but this definition excludes discourse markers that are found at the end of utterance (Helmer & Deppermann, 2017). This definition would include Schourup's evincives, but would exclude a lot of other discourse markers, such as 'focuser like' (Dailey-O'Cain, 2000), which often occurs within a utterance. Helmer and Deppermann go on to say that "es erscheint uns sinvoller, das Kriterium der Position so zu fassen, dass Diskursmarker eine syntaktisch periphere Stellung zu ihrem Skopus haben müssen" (p. 135), which includes discourse markers found at the beginning as well as the ending of utterances, but again, these

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exclude discourse markers that are found in the middle of utterances. Dailey-O'Cain (2000) lists six different syntactic positions of focuser *like* in her article on the discourse marker *like*. It seems, then, that the position of discourse markers cannot be generalised to be at the beginnings and endings of utterances.

<u>Temporal function</u>

Helmer and Deppermann (2017) state that „während initiale Diskursmarker auf jeden Fall einen prospektiven Bezug auf ein Folgesyntagma nehmen, weisen Diskursmarker in turnmedialen oft und in finalen Positionen immer einen retrospektiven Zeitbezug auf die vorhergehende (Teil-)Äußerung auf" (p. 135). This means that discourse markers at the beginning of utterances generally mark the utterance that comes after the discourse markers, whereas those found at the end of utterances usually have a retrospective function.

<u>Sequence</u>

Discourse markers contextualise the precontext and the following statements (Helmer & Deppermann, 2017). This means that, as their name implies, they serve to mark important expressions and relate them to previous segments of conversation. They therefore act as a sort of pointer that points any listeners to the relevant information required to understand the expressed statement as the speaker means it. In their examples, Helmer and Deppermann analyse the discourse marker *ich weiß nicht* and explain that this discourse marker connects to the question being asked and mark the answer as unsure. This shows how the discourse marker has a "Scharnierfunktion" that connects precontext and the statement that follows the discourse marker.

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retrospektive
Orientierung

turnmediale
und turnfinale
Position

Mehrwort-
einheiten,
geringerer Grad an
syntaktischer Fixierung

prospek-
tive Orien-
tierung

kurz,
formel-
haft,
synt.
fixiert

kleinere Einheiten
im Skopus (TCUs,
Konstituenten)

initiale
Position

Skopus-
auswei-
tung

Operieren
auf Diskurs-
ebene

synt. desin-
tegriert

prosod.
desinte-
griert

semanti-
sche Aus-
geblichenheit

prosod.
morph.
Reduzie-
rung

prosodisch
integriert

geringerer Grad der
Ausgeblichenheit bzw.
lediglich verschiedene
Lesarten

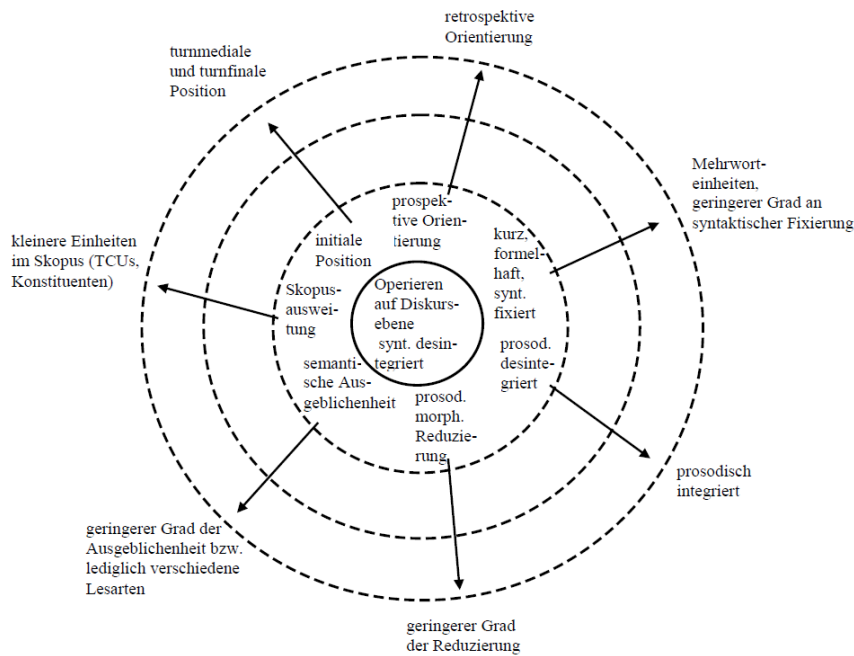geringerer Grad
der Reduzierung

Figure 1 Characteristics of Discourse Markers (taken from Helmer and Deppermann, 2017, p. 150)

Above is a diagram from Helmer and Deppermann (2017), which showcases the

"definitorische, prototypische und periphere Eigenschaften von Diskursmarkern" (p. 150). This

diagram showcases the characteristics of discourse markers. Discourse markers need not

necessarily have all of the characteristics mentioned in the diagram, but this diagram showcases

that the further a discourse marker is from the center of the diagram, the less likely it is to be a

discourse marker. If a word has characteristics that are all on the periphery of the circle, it is not

very likely to be a discourse marker, whereas ifs characteristics all lie close to the center of the

circle, it is more likely to be a discourse marker.

While the characteristics of discourse markers seem to have been summarized quite well by Helmer and Deppermann (2017), many of these characteristics are not unanimously agreed upon. Furthermore, not all discourse markers have all of these characteristics, so even if the characteristics were to be agreed upon, not all discourse markers would showcase all of these characteristics. I will therefore use these characteristics of discourse markers merely as guidelines in my study of two parts of speech *so* and *sowie*.

4   Methodology

In this section I clarify the methodology that I used in order to complete this research. I start out by describing my method of data collection, namely recording spontaneous conversations. In this chapter it will become evident why I chose to record spontaneous conversations and how I carried out the exploratory phase of my research. Later, I explain the methods I used to transcribe the data (the GAT2 transcription method) and provide a brief overview of the symbols used in the transcripts, which will serve as the background needed to understand the transcripts.

In order to analyse this family's speech with a discourse analysis type approach, I firstly needed to record their conversations. I recorded spontaneous conversations and did not aim to record any particular aspect of their speech. This begun as an exploratory method, and I opted to continue with this method of recording spontaneous interactions, in order to keep the conversation of the interactants as unconstrained as possible. I wanted the data to speak for itself, in that I listened to the conversations and then looked for features of their repertoire that showed characteristics of language contact, as opposed to recording interviews, for instance. While it is not incorrect to perform interviews when analysing the discourse of interactants, I wanted the

interactants to be as unconstrained in their conversation as possible, which I found spontaneous, unprompted conversation to be the most appropriate form of conversation for.

My method of data collection was informed by Milroy (1997), who described independently collecting data, then describing that data and using this to inform their conclusions. My data was not independently collected, rather I was sometimes a participant in the conversations that I recorded. I did not, however influence the recordings in ways as to sway them in a certain way. I sometimes talked to participants, but I did not try to guide the conversation in any way.

I have furthermore made use of some field notes in order to provide more insight into the language of the family but have used this sparingly, as field notes are generally regarded to be "subject to memory limitations, situated selectivity and locally occasioned interpretation and intuition" (Sidnell & Stivers, 2013, p. 33). However, I have made notes on utterances I have heard that were noteworthy and showcased language contact and therefore did not need to rely on interpretation or intuition. These field notes generally comprised parts of speech that I had not heard outside of this family. I also made field notes on conversations when family members talked about their ancestors and their migration trajectory. These notes were made immediately following conversations in which these parts of speech occurred. I later researched the origins of the words and expressions in order to determine their origin. The field notes on migration trajectory were used in order to provide a background of where the family had lived and which languages they had come into contact with.

After having recorded a few of the family's conversations, I listened to them in order to find characteristic linguistic features of this family that showed language contact. After transcribing selected passages, I searched the transcript and wrote down any feature of their

speech that seemed to be indicative of language contact. While doing this, I came across some Afrikaans words, some non-standard German words and some English words. Furthermore, I came across two particular markers that, to the best of my knowledge, do not have the same function in standard German, *sowie* and *so*.

The selected conversations with the functions I identified for this thesis were then transcribed using oTranscribe, an online tool that allows the simultaneous viewing of video and transcription. The conventions of the Gesprächsanalytisches Transkriptionssystem (GAT 2) were used to transcribe relevant portions of the interactions. The choice to use GAT2 was because this is the convention that is usually used when transcribing German conversations.

5 Analysis

In this chapter, I provide an analysis of my data. I begin this by stating my findings on the differences that the respective generations have had with language and why it is useful to describe the respective generations. I will then provide an explanation of my findings on non-standard German terminology that I have noted in this family's repertoire. This provides examples of how the languages that they have come into contact with have had an impact on their repertoire. Furthermore, I analyse the family's use of the German marker *sowie*, which as will be shown, has a similar function to the English marker *like*. I also provide an analysis of the English part of speech *so* used in this family's repertoire, which has some of the same functions of the English discourse marker *so*, but indicates language contact by its pronunciation (SAE). By the end of this chapter, I hope it will become evident how the family's immigration trajectory is made evident by their language use.

Through getting to know this family, I have, by way of conversations with them, gotten to know their experiences with different languages. I have gotten to know several aspects of this family's repertoire that makes it unique, as well as the family's experience with different languages. In this chapter, I will discuss these findings.

5.1   The family's experience with language and the languages that they speak

During my research for this project, I have gotten to know this family very well and have spoken to them about their experiences with the different languages that they have been in contact with. Each of these family members has told me what languages they learned in a formal, classroom setting, as well as what other language contact that they have. I have provided an overview of this information below. There are patterns to the experiences with languages within the generations, which is why I have chosen to describe each generation's experience with different languages. In some cases, these experiences differ among family members of the same generation, and these have also been outlined in the following section.

The family's experience with Springbokdeutsch and the influence that English has on their language is noticeable in that there are often new words formed or even modifications to words, much like de Kadt (2002) described for Springbokdeutsch. Some examples of these kinds of words are *ausessen* (to go out to eat), which does not carry the same meaning in standard German. The Duden Dictionary defines *ausessen* as 'leer essen' ("Duden: Ausessen," 2019), which has nothing to do with going out to eat, but rather to finish the food that is on a plate or in a yoghurt cup. The family also uses some of the words mentioned by de Kadt (2002), such as *Hochschule* as 'high school', which in standard German is used to mean 'university'.

The different members of the family have different experiences with languages, which is to be expected, as they spent varying amounts of time in Canada and South Africa. Generation 1 and 1.5 spent some time in South Africa and were therefore exposed to more of the languages that were part of South Africa's linguascape. Generation 2 grew up in North America, where they had no contact with languages like Afrikaans outside of the home. These differences in exposure to the various languages have a generational affect on the family's dialect and the generations are therefore, at least to some extent, distinguishable from each other based on their linguistic repertoires.

5.2   Generation 1

I will sometimes refer to the participants as a part of a certain generation. These generations are "immigrant generations", generation 1 being the first generation that immigrated. The first-generation immigrants (Paula, Nora, Quinn and Celine) all grew up in and went to school in South Africa, where they learned English and Afrikaans. Afrikaans is a language that the members of this generation learned as a subject, so they were not in a school in which the instructional language was Afrikaans. Paula, Nora and Quinn had lived in South Africa longer than Celine, as Celine moved to Asia for two to three years after she finished university. After this time, she moved to the United States. During her time in Asia, Paula, Nora and Quinn all lived in South Africa, where they had much more contact with Afrikaans. They had Afrikaans friends that they regularly had contact with, whereas Celine did not. Furthermore, Nora also had contact with a friend in Canada, who also spoke Afrikaans, which means she spoke Afrikaans regularly for a much longer time than the rest. When asked, Nora also said that her Afrikaans

was better than that of the others, although she did mention that Quinn had done better in Afrikaans classes in school, so he was merely out of practice.

All of the people of generation 1 learned German as their first language, as their respective families spoke German at home. Quinn also attended a German school, where he learned standard German in a school setting, which included the grammar of the language as well as expressions that would be used in Germany. In this German school, Quinn also read German novels This gave Quinn a lot more exposure to standard German, and this knowledge of standard German is evident in his repertoire. He uses words and expressions that are not standard in the repertoire of the others. This is made evident by others sometimes not knowing what he is saying because they don't understand a certain word or phrase.

The other members of generation 1 have had less exposure to German in a school setting, and their repertoire is not very different from standard German, albeit with characteristics indicative of Springbokdeutsch. They, for instance, present themselves in the data as knowing the rules of standard German regarding cases, such as the dative cases associated with some German verbs (geben, for instance). This is showcased in conversation when they sometimes correct the children of generation 2 when they say something like 'gib das mich' (give/hand me that) or 'gib das zu mich' (give/hand that to me). This is likely because even though they did not receive instruction in German in a school setting, they did live in communities where German was spoken regularly, and in which there were a lot of people that had experience with German instruction in a school setting within these communities. There also exists a certain level of pride toward being able to speak German well in South Africa (de Kadt, 2004, p. 153), which leads speakers to want to improve and maintain their German, as it is seen as 'incorrect' to stray from standard German. This plays a role in what is accepted as a 'correct' usage of the language

(although these ideas of what is correct may differ between different people). Some members of this group seem to prefer standard German expressions and seem to use standard German more than others. Others stick to expressions that are more characteristic of Springbokdeutsch and seem to want to differentiate themselves from German speakers from Germany.

Other than the aforementioned languages, Celine also learned French for approximately two years. She spoke French with her partner and his family, who almost exclusively spoke French. She is fluent in French and still speaks French regularly, as she has some friends that speak French, whom she speaks with on a regular basis. Although she describes herself as fluent in French, she does not use French in her repertoire when speaking with the family. This is likely because nobody else in the family speaks French and is evident of a tendency to try to keep languages separate.

Lastly, I want to touch on other languages that generation 1 has had significant experience with. Paula spent a lot of time in a school where she learned and spoke a lot of Zulu. Here, she received instruction in Zulu and she also lived in a community in which Zulu was spoken regularly. Nora, Quinn and Celine's knowledge of Zulu is limited to that which they would have heard from Paula in their childhood or around South Africa. They did not have friends or family that regularly spoke Zulu around them, so although they have some knowledge of the vocabulary of the languages, their knowledge is limited.

In sum, the first-generation immigrants in this family all have a lot of experience with English and German (having regularly spoken both of these languages), varying degrees of knowledge of Afrikaans and little knowledge of Zulu (except for Paula). Celine is the only one that fluently speaks French. There are, of course, other languages that they would have had

contact with that are not mentioned here, but the contact with other languages is limited and does not play a role for my analysis.

5.3   Generation 1.5

Generation 1.5 is the generation that immigrated to North America at a young age. Generation 1.5 of this family went to school in South Africa where they received instruction in English. They did not receive formal instruction in any other aforementioned language in South Africa, but they would have had experience with children in South Africa speaking many of the other official national languages of South Africa (especially Afrikaans, Zulu and Xhosa). Generally speaking, the members of this generation can understand some Afrikaans (some better than others) from having heard it spoken in South Africa, but they cannot speak much of it themselves. They also heard it from their parents, since their parents would sometimes speak Afrikaans amongst each other if they did not want their children to understand, and it is due to this, as well as the similarity to German, that they are able to understand some Afrikaans.

Additionally, because part of the family, namely Quinn, Nora, and their children (Helena, Stefan, and Leonard), moved to Canada when generation 1.5 was still in school, they were required to take French in Canada. They had instruction in French from the fourth grade up until around the ninth grade, although they all described their knowledge of French as very limited, although Helena is learning some with her children. This generation also attended German Saturday school for one year and Helena and Stefan have not received any German language instruction past this point. Leonard had taken German while studying at the University and had spent two years in Germany, where he also took some German classes. Leonard, therefore, has had the most experience with standard German.

Out of the languages that this generation has been exposed to, this generation has the most experience with English (SAE and Canadian English), since they grew up in South Africa and Canada and had no instruction in any of the South African languages. Their schooling has been in English since they first started attending school in South Africa. English is therefore their dominant language (Montrul, 2013), since they have had most experience with this language and have lived in countries in which it is not a minority language.

5.4 Generation 2

Generation 2 is the first generation to be born in the country that the family immigrated to, in this case Canada. The second-generation immigrants (Maya, Braxton, Kobena and Otto) were all born in North America. Maya and Braxton attend a French-immersion school, where they receive instruction in English for half of the day and in French the other half. Maya and Braxton do not speak any French outside of school, as they do not have any friends who speak French and with whom they spend a lot of time outside of school. Furthermore, they do not converse with any family members in French (outside of doing their homework, when Helena might occasionally try to help them with their French). Maya and Braxton also attend German Saturday school. Kobena and Otto, who live in the US, learn Spanish and English in school that they attend now, but they do not attend any German school. That is to say that the German that Kobena and Otto know is learned from the family.

The German that this family speaks is not standard German and it is through this variety that the language contact with other languages is made evident. Due to this family living in an area where they have little contact with other speakers of German, it could be argued that German is not the family's primary language, since a "primary language is the language that is

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used most often and may be psycholinguistically dominant, whereas the secondary language is the language that is used less or is used in more restrictive contexts" (Montrul, 2013, p. 169). In this case, German would be their secondary language and English would be their primary language.

5.5   Non-standard German

Throughout my interaction with this family, I came across many different expressions and words that deviated from standard German use. In some cases, I have searched for these expressions in databases such as the DWDS ("Digitales Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache," 2019). These words and expressions are a part of the family's repertoire and in this section I will describe, by way of some examples, where some of these expressions originate from, how they are used and what they mean.

5.5.1 Regional and/or older German words and expressions

Due to the family's ancestral history, some utterances or terms used in this family are regional German words, which generally stem from northern German dialects. Based on my experience, some of the words in this family's repertoire are either not used very much in Standard German because they are either antiquated or regional. Some examples that I observed were:

- **Brägen/Bregen** (used in the family's repertoire as 'brain'): "The simple noun is chiefly restricted to the technical language of butchers, farmers, huntsmen; but Bregenwurst is a common term for a traditional sausage in northern Germany." (*Wiktionary*, 2019)

DWDS (Digitales Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache) defines ‚der Bregen' as „Gehirn (vom Schlachttier)" ("Digitales Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache—Bregen," 2019) and cites it as „vornehmlich norddeutsch" (ibid.), and shows the words usage has died down significantly (it was used 0.39 times per million tokens in 1600 in comparison to 0.09 times per million in 2000) ("Digitales Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache—Bregen," 2019).

- **Plagen** (used in the family's repertoire as 'to tease'): one definition of this word, which seems to be the closest definition to the one that is used by this family, is defined by the Duden dictionary as "jemandem lästig warden" . Much like Brägen/Bregen, this word saw much more use earlier on than currently (45.06 per million tokens in 1600 vs. 5.88 per million tokens in 2018) ("Digitales Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache—Plagen," 2019)

- **Bört/Bücherbört** (used as shelf/bookshelf): This is a common word that did not come up in my recordings, but came up several times in conversations with the family. The closest definition that I could find was that of *Bücherbord* which has synonyms like *Bücherbrett* and *Wandbrett*, which is a shelf attached to the wall for books ("Digitales Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache—Bücherbord," 2019). The pronunciation is not the same as *Bücherbord*, and it is also spelled in this way when writing, but this was the closest standard German word I could find.

- **Vordem** (used as the antonym to *nachdem*): This word, to the best of my knowledge, is not used in everyday German, but was used more so prior to the 21st century ("vordem," 2019)

These words are just some examples of words that seem to stem from either a northern variety of German or are antiquated words. The reason for the northern influence is presumably due to the fact that most of the ancestors of this family come from northern Germany.

5.5.2 English and its presence in the family's repertoire

English, like the other languages that this family has had contact with, has its influences on this family's repertoire. It was especially noticeable to me that expressions that the family uses in German are at least sometimes directly translated from English into German. An example of such expressions is the case of idioms. The family often uses German translations of English idioms, such as *tu dein Fuß runter* as 'to put one's foot down'. In English, this means to "adopt a firm policy when faced with opposition or disobedience" ("Foot," 2019), but this idiom is not used in the same way in standard German. In the case where I observed this in interaction, Leonard and Mila were having a playful argument and Mila refused to do something that Leonard had requested. After her refusal, Quinn used this expression in an utterance to the effect of "ja, genau, Mila, tu dein Fuß runter!" This is an example of morpheme-for-morpheme transference of an idiom as Clyne et al. (2003, p. 78) illustrates. Another similar example of this is the translation of the expression of *I'm just joking* to *ich joke nur*, where 'joking' has been transformed into a 'German' word and is conjugated like most German verbs (endings: -e, -st, -t, -en, -t, -en). The pronunciation of this word, however, is a mixture of English and German; the first part of the word is pronounced like in British English, /dʒəʊk/ ("Joke," 2019), but the e at the end of the conjugation for first person singular, *ich*, is pronounced like in German, so it becomes /dʒəʊkə/. In this family's repertoire, there are few verbs that stem from English and are conjugated in this way, but they do occasionally come up in conversation.

One other expression that came up quite a few times was the word 'flipping', used as an intensifier ("Flipping," 2019), such as in the expression *dieses ist so flipping spicy* to mean something to the degree of 'dieses ist extrem scharf'. This is a word that is very prevalent in SAE and is also a part of the family's repertoire.

Finally, an aspect of the family's repertoire that showcases their contact with the English language is that of the grammatical structure of their speech. Much like Louden (2005) found in Pennsylvania German, English grammatical structure is often used when speaking German. An example of this is the use of the verb 'gehen' to mean 'to go'. The verb 'gehen' can often be translated to mean 'to go' but in this family's repertoire it is used differently. Forms such as 'ich geh sowie dies' to mean 'I go like this' showcase this English grammatical structure of their speech and the morpheme-for-morpheme translation of idiomatic expressions, much like Clyne et al. (2003) found. Another example of similar translations is the utterance uttered by Braxton, "ich wollte nur haben dass sie in trouble kriegt weil sie ist ein big meanie". This showcases not only a code switch to English with "trouble" in the middle of the sentence as well as "big meanie" at the end of the utterance, but also how Braxton uses other transferences of idioms, such as 'to get' from English to 'kriegen' in German. In some cases, these words would be translations of one another, but in this case, 'to get' has a different, idiomatic meaning, which is not found in standard German. Therefore 'in trouble kriegen' is not only a case of switching or mixing codes, but also displays transference of idiomatic expressions from English in Braxton's German repertoire.

5.5.3 Expressions derived from Afrikaans

Due to the time that this family has spent in South Africa, they had a lot of contact with Afrikaans. Those first generation immigrants in the family also learned Afrikaans in South

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Africa. Due to this extensive contact with Afrikaans, some Afrikaans words are a part of their repertoire and some of these words have been learned by the younger generations. Generation 1.5 would have had a fair amount of experience with these expressions, but not to the extent that the first generation had with them.

Voetsek: similar to 'get lost, an exclamation of dismissal or rejection (*Wiktionary*, 2019). This expression is generally used with animals and is viewed as rude if one were to say it to a person. That does not mean, however, that it is not used in conversation, but it is does not come up very often in such a context. It is possible that this fulfills the same function as an expression such as *hau ab!* (go away!) would in standard German. However, because it is generally used with animals, it is my intuition that this word is slightly harsher than *hau ab*.

Happie: this is a term used for a *bite*, such as in the utterance "willst du ein happie?" (do you want a bite?)

Drickie: this is the term that the family uses for *hug*. It seems to have the same meaning as *hug* and *Umarmung*, its English and German counterparts.

gats: a term that translates roughly to the exclamation *goodness* and is used as such. This term comes up later in my transcripts and seems to be exclusively used by generation 1.

Unterste oben: this is a term that is used to mean 'upside down' and literally translates to 'downside up'. This is very similar to the Afrikaans term 'onderstebo'.

Gemors: a word for mess. This word is the only word in this family's repertoire that they use for 'mess' and they do not use any German equivalent.

Tekkies: this is a word for running shoes or sneakers. No alternative is used, unless someone is referring generally to shoes, in which case they would use the German word for shoes, *schuhe*.

Plakkies: this is the Afrikaans word for sandals. As an alternative to this word, this family sometimes uses the English word 'flip-flops'.

The terms listed above are a few examples of expressions and terms from conversations and my field notes that stem from Afrikaans. There are, however, still some features of the family's language that I have not yet discussed and that I could not trace back to specific languages. Those examples are in the following section.

5.5.4 Other features

Other features of the language that differentiate this family's repertoire from standard German have come up in conversation as well. Some of these seem to be due to the influence of English on their repertoire, but I cannot be sure, since I do not have data of their language prior to the contact with English.

A prominent feature that I have noticed is the dropping of the dative in some cases. Louden (2005) noticed a similar pattern in the speech of Pennsylvania Dutch and attributed this to the influence of English. Louden states that the loss of the dative case is nothing new in German dialects, but that the contact with English was a catalyst for the change. He cites examples such as "*Kannsch (du) mich (<mer) helfe?"* (translated: 'Kannst du mir helfen?') and "*Wettscht (du) sie (<ihne) zehe Dollar lehne?* (translated: ‚Wolltest du ihnen zehn Dollar leihen?') (p. 256). The attribution of the loss of the dative to the contact with English can be

made, according to Louden, because the dative was not lost by the anabaptist communities and because he can date the loss of the dative to 1930 (ibid.).

Louden's two examples that showcase the missing dative are both examples in which the dative would normally be used in the utterance, because the verbs used require the dative in standard German. In standard German, certain verbs require the dative, such as *helfen* and *leihen* (from Louden's examples). Another example of these verbs are *sagen* (specifically when meant as 'to tell') and *geben* (to give). These are some of the verbs that I heard used with the accusative instead of the dative case in conversation. On several occasions I heard utterances such as:

```
(1)              kannst du mich sagen, wie das zu machen?
    Std. German: kannst du mir sagen, wie das zu machen?
      English    can you tell me how to do that?
```

```
(2)              sag mich, wie es zu tun
    Std. German: sag mir, wie es zu tun
                 tell me how to do it
```

This, then, shows the possible influence that the English language could have had on this family's repertoire, as the English language does not have the dative case. The reason this influence can be determined to be from English is because English is the family's dominant language and it seems that as this group spent more time in English communities (both in South Africa as well as in Canada), the influence of English might have grown.

These characteristics of this family's repertoire are indicative of 'convergence' of languages, defined by Clyne et al. (2003) to be "how bilinguals and trilinguals make their languages more similar" (p. 103). Convergence seems to play a large role in this family, as there are numerous examples of utterances that seemed to indicate convergence, especially in the

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younger generations. On several occasions, I heard utterances that seemed to be a mixture of German and English, both in terms of vocabulary and grammar. One particular example was uttered by one of the generation 2 children, where they said "ich joke nur ich wollte nur haben dass sie in trouble kriegt weil sie ist ein big meanie". Here, we can see that there are some English words used, such as "joke" (albeit conjugated and pronounced like a German verb – the e was pronounced), trouble, and 'big meanie'. Furthermore, the expression 'to get in trouble' is more commonly expressed as 'Ärger bekommen' (or a variation thereof), so here we can also see a mixture of German and English expressions.

There are other similar expressions that this family uses in their repertoire. I've mentioned these examples to show instances of convergence and to shed light on the type of convergence that is occurring in this family's repertoire. Further study could be done to provide a more comprehensive list of expressions that showcase convergence.

It is also worth mentioning that it seems that this type of convergence is at least in some part due to the family's attempt to stick to speaking German as much as possible. It seems that sometimes, when the children of the younger generations are not sure how to express themselves, they use words or grammatical structures from English to supplement their lack of knowledge of their standard German counterparts.

5.6 Functions of *sowie*

During the exploratory phase of this study, I noticed the occurrence of *sowie*. This part of speech was interesting because it seemed that this family used this part of speech differently than I had heard in German before. As I am a member of this group, I also use *sowie* in the same way. I had considered where this stems from and it seemed to have a similar function to *like* in

English, which is why I looked into functions of like in English. In the following section I will outline some previously found functions of like and then compare these functions to those of *sowie* in my data.

5.6.1 Previous functions of *like*

Schourup's 1983 dissertation on discourse particles includes an analysis of the word 'like', and similarly to Schourup had found then, Merriam-Webster's dictionary lists many different functions of the word *like*, but there is one that is relevant, as it could be considered a discourse marker, and this function is "as an adverb", for instance in "It affected like all of the companies" ("Like," 2019).

Although there are many different functions of the word *like*, Merriam-Webster does not list all of them. The functions listed in the Merriam-Webster dictionary that I have not listed here are not relevant, since they have a clear definition, role and function. Examples of these are *like* as a preposition (one definition being "typical of" e.g. It "was *like* him to do that" ("Like," 2019)) and as a conjunction (for instance meaning "as if" e.g. "middle-aged men who looked *like* they might be out for their one night of the year" ("Like," 2019)). Furthermore, Schourup found many different uses of the word 'like' that expanded upon Merriam-Webster's definition of *like*. Miller & Weinert (1995), for instance, claim that "*like* appears to be a discourse marker giving salience to what follows" (p. 368).

Additional functions of *like* have been analysed and there are functions that will not be analysed in this thesis, such as the focuser *like* and quotative *like*. For a summary of the functions and differences of these two functions of *like*, see Dailey-O'Cain (2000). It is possible that these functions are also carried over to the repertoire used in this family, but this was outside of the

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scope of this thesis to analyse more functions of *like* and *sowie* than those that were identified in the data.

In the conversations that I had recorded, I came across an interesting word that came up quite often in the conversations with this family, namely 'sowie'. My first intuition was that this word was a direct translation of the word 'like' and that it had adopted the functions of the discourse marker 'like'. In this section I will analyse more specifically how this word is used in this family's speech and how it compares to its proposed English counterpart, 'like'.

'Sowie' is a word that, according to the Duden Dictionary has two meanings:

1. Dient der Verknüpfung von Gliedern einer Aufzählung; und [außerdem], und auch, wie auch

    Example: er sowie seine Frau war/waren da

2. drückt aus, dass sich ein Geschehen unmittelbar nach oder fast gleichzeitig mit einem anderen vollzieht; gleich, wenn; in dem Augenblick, da …; sobald

    Example: er wird es dir geben, sowie er damit fertig ist

    sowie sie uns sahen, liefen sie weg ("Duden: Sowie," 2019)

In my corpus I found that this family uses the word 'sowie' in other ways than those that are described in the Duden, a few examples of which are provided below:

1. da sind leute die sowie scrapbooks machen

2. und dann machen sie sowie fotos genau da wo sie waren

3. weil du bist im vibe es ist sowie: weißt du was ich meine?

It is clear from the examples above that these uses of *sowie* differ from the definitions provided by the Duden Dictionary. Below I have shown how the functions of *sowie* differ from the dictionary definitions.

5.6.2 *Sowie* as *ungefähr*

The first conversation used for my analysis is a spontaneous conversation that was recorded at the dinner table during a family visit to Celine. The recording of the conversation had started during dinner and after the group was finished eating dinner, the conversation continued. This excerpt takes place around 51 minutes after the recording had started, which is the reason for the timestamp at the beginning. The interactants involved in the conversation are Nora (N), Celine (C), Leonard (L) and Mila (Mi). Nora and Celine are siblings, Leonard is Nora's son and Mila is Leonard's partner. This conversation is interesting because of the use of 'sowie' and it is the use of the first occurrence of this marker that I will be analysing in this example. On the particular day that this recording was taken, it had been raining and because of this rain, Leonard thought he had gotten his Apple Watch wet and he was in the process of using the speaker to expel the water, which is why his watch made a noise. The conversation starts with the group laughing about the noise that the watch had made.

```
        50:59
001     (laughter)
002 C:  bist das du?
003 L:  ja (0.5) es hat nicht [funktioniert]
004 N:                        [wieso beepst du?]
005 L:  wenn da wasser in uh lautsprecher is dann uh kann
006     man es so raus machen
007     (2.0)
008 N:  wieso hast du wasser [im lautsprecher]
009 C:                       [magst du dein] iWatch
010     [gerne?]
011 L:  [ich hab nich aber] es
012     ja: ja ziemlich
013 N:  sein Eppel Watch
014 C:  weißt du wie viel m market shares sie von allen
015     uhren genommen haben hey?
016 L:  wer?
017 C:  ap apple watch
018 L:  wer hat (.) davon
019 C:  sie haben sowie all die luxury brands sowie: [(xx)]
020 L:                                                [mmm]
021 C:  weißt du wie viel market share sie von den
022     [leuten weggenommen haben] hä
023 L:  [ja ja ja]
024 C:   ja
025     (2.0)
026 C:  so man denkt dies is so n kleines ding so kleiner
027     accessory von apple
028 L:  [ja]
029 C:  [aber:] meanwhile
030     (0.5)
031 Mi: ja ich mein eigentlich wenn du die hast brauchst du
032     keine andere mehr
```

The conversation starts off with laughter, followed by Celine asking Leonard if he was

the source of the sound in line 002. Leonard explains that he is trying to expel water from the

speaker of his watch, which we know because he gestures to the watch in the video. After a pause of two seconds, Nora asks why there is water in the speaker (line 008), and shortly after Nora begins her questions, Celine asks Leonard if he likes his "iWatch" (lines 009-010). Leonard begins to answer the first question posed by Nora and then switches to answering Celine's question in lines 011 and 012. Nora corrects the statement of "iWatch" in line 013 to "Eppel Watch". Here, she is pronouncing 'Apple' as it is written, which is why I have chosen to use this spelling. The brief pauses and clear pronunciation of the term 'Apple Watch' also marks her pronunciation as different. Celine then begins asking a rhetorical question about if Leonard (or possibly also others in the conversation), "weißt du wie viel m market shares sie von allen uhren genommen haben hey?" in line 014-015. Leonard asks "wer?" and Celine responds with "ap apple watch". Leonard then asks "wer hat (.) davon" and Celine responds with "sie haben sowie all die luxury brands sowie [(xx)]", and Leonard responds with "mmm". Due to this overlap, it is difficult to understand what she is saying. Here she could be listing an example of one of these luxury brands. It also seems unclear what information Leonard is asking about, since Celine has seemingly answered the question of "wer?", which at first seems to be asking about her previous statement, namely 'wer hat market shares von allen uhren genommen?' After this, Celine repeats the question "weißt du wie viel market share sie von den leuten weggenommen haben hä?" This reiterates her previous question and refocuses on her point in the conversation. This is followed by agreeance by Leonard (line 023) and Celine drives home her point with "so man denkt dies so n kleines ding so n kleiner accessory von apple".

The first occurrence of 'sowie' in "sie haben sowie all die luxury brands sowie" comes before an amount, namely "all die luxury brands". Celine is making a point of how impactful the Apple Watch has been in the watch market and illustrates this by asking the question "weißt du

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wie viel market share sie von allen Uhren genommen haben, hey?" Since she does not finish the
next utterance "sie haben sowie all die luxury brands sowie: [(xx)]", we cannot quite be sure
about how she was going to finish her utterance, but we can see by the next utterance in line 022,
"weißt du wie viel market share sie von den leuten" that she is communicating that Apple took a
lot of market share from other watch brands with the release of the Apple Watch, which she
begins to elaborate on in line 028 when she says, "so man denkt dies is so n kleines ding so n
kleiner accessory von Apple".

The first use of 'sowie'is used with an elongated pronunciation of the ie at the end, which
could indicate a word search. Leonard responding in the affirmative in line 020 indicates that
Celine has given an answer to Leonard's question from line 018 "we hat (.) davon". This
'question' seems to be asking about the 'allen' in line 014 and the "mmm" in line 020 seems to
indicate that Leonard is satisfied with the answer given. We can therefore reasonably assume that
Celine has given examples of companies that have had market shares taken from them.

In Schourup's (1983) analysis of 'like', one function of like that is discussed is that
"like…can be described as indicating a possible discrepancy between what the speaker is about
[to] say and what the speaker feels ideally might or should be said" (p. 31). Another function of
like is "an adverb meaning 'approximately'"(p. 30). In this case, it seems that 'sowie' fulfills
approximately the same function as these two functions of like. Celine could mean "sie haben
ungefähr all die luxury brands sowie: [(xx)]" or she might be using 'sowie' in this case to
mitigate discrepancy between what she says and what she feels she ideally should say. This
could be because the Apple Watch may not have taken market shares from literally all "luxury
brands" or that she may feel that she is exaggerating the effect of the Apple Watch on luxury
watch brands in general.

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5.6.3 *Sowie* as *wie zum Beispiel*

      The following excerpt of conversation, entitled "Scrapbooks", is from the same late-night conversation as the Apple Watch example. In this conversation there are three interactants, Nora (N), Celine (C), and Helena (H). They are discussing trivia that they had learned about the area they are in through an app on their phone. They are busy reading about a diner that was used in the show Seinfeld, which is how the conversation starts. In this conversation, we see another example of 'sowie' being used. Helena begins a story-telling sequence in which she explains to Nora and Celine about how people make scrapbooks about "iconic places" that have been featured in television shows. In this example there are several instances where Helena uses the word 'sowie' during her story telling. After this excerpt, there is a longer pause, after which Celine reverts back to talking about 'The Soup Nazi', who is an iconic character in the television series Seinfeld. This marks the topic that Helena talks about as finished and it is because of this pause and the change of topic that I have chosen to end the excerpt at this point.

Excerpt 2: Late Night Conversation – Scrapbooks

```
001  N:  dann ist das der diner da
002      und er wurde für (2.0) hier
003      the diner
004  C:  filming location in kosiak an american express
005      commercial:s (xx)
006      (3.0)
007  C:  what (.) diner at the bizarre o:h
008      aber nur eine episode von [Seinfeld]
009  N:                            [ja]
010  C:  nich (.) weil die andere mit the coffee shop
```

```
011  N: ja
012  C: is is auf: [u:m]
013               [ja]       [das is (.) ja]
014  C:                      [broadway un:d] uh:
015     da ist ein -aber sie haben [nie dadrin gefilmt]
016  N:                            [der soup nazi]
017  C: nee der soup nazi ist etwas [anderes -aber]
018  N:                             [oh ok]
019  C: der soup nazi existiert in new york
020  N: ja aber er wurde auch -er hat es nur einmal gesagt und
021     alle behalten das
022  C: ((laughing) ja)
023  N: ((laughing)ist crazy)
024  C: ist crazy
025  H: da sind leute die sowie scrapbooks machen über: über diese:
026     plätze: wo die-sowie iconic plätze von: (.)
027  N: wo [cheers gefilmt wurde oder friends oder so ja]
028  H:    [sowie frie:nds oder frie:nds oder whatever]
029     dann gehen sie dahin zu die plätze und dann machen sie
030     sowie fotos genau da wo (.)
031  N: [das foto (x)]
032  H: [sie wa:ren] und ((silently) ja)
```

In this conversation, 'sowie' comes up several times, all of which are from Helena. The focus of this analysis is the *sowie* in line 028. Helena explains that, "da sind leute die sowie scrapbooks machen über über diese plätze wo die sowie iconic plätze von sowie friends oder friends oder whatever." During this exchange we see that Helena repeats herself when she says, "sowie friends oder friends oder whatever", but this is likely because Nora is speaking at the same time, and is providing examples for these 'iconic places' that Helena is talking about. Helena goes on to explain "dann gehen sie dahin zu die plätze und dann machen sie sowie fotos genau da wo sie waren und ja." Here, Helena assumes the role of story-teller and is providing information that the others don't know. She is elaborating on the information, which was introduced by the app that Celine and Nora were using. Helena, with the help of Nora's

interjection of "cheers gefilmt wurde" in line 027, also gives a list of 'iconic places', which she is referring to. Nora seems to be interjecting as a reaction to the pause in line 026, thereby helping Helena with her list. Here, the list of places that fit her description are filming locations of the television series, Friends (lines 027 and 028), Cheers (line 027), "or whatever". Since we do not see any sign of disagreement from Helena towards Nora's contribution to her list, we can assume that her contribution indeed adds to her list. Furthermore, since this "oder whatever" (line 028) is at the end of Helena's list, which seems to function as an 'etcetera', as it concludes her list.

As previously mentioned, 'sowie' comes up a few times in this storytelling of Helena, but it is the 'sowie' at the beginning of her list in line 028 that seems to have the same function as 'zum Beispiel'. It is not quite clear what she means by "iconic plätze", and while none of the other interactants ask about these iconic places, we see that they also don't respond with affirmative responses, which would indicate their understanding. Based on the previous conversation, one of the topics of which was the filming locations of iconic television shows, gives the information that is the basis of Helena's storytelling. Because of this knowledge, Nora is able to infer what Helena is intending to say with her story, which is why she is able to suggest "wo cheers gefilmt wurde oder friends oder so ja". Because of Nora's interjection with alternate television shows, she is able to assume that she has provided enough information to the group and can move on. So, although Helena's list is short (two items, including the one mentioned by Nora), she concludes her list and continues on with her story, where she explains, "dann gehen sie dahin zu die plätze und dann machen sie sowie fotos genau da wo sie waren und ja".

5.6.4 **Evincive or Hedging** *sowie*

Below, I have reprinted an excerpt from the 'Scrapbooks' conversation, used in the previous analysis of *sowie* (*sowie* as *wie zum Beispiel*). In this excerpt Helena describes people making scrapbooks of iconic places where television shows were filmed, for easy reference for my upcoming analysis of the evincive or hedging *sowie*.

Excerpt 3: Late night conversation – scrapbooks

```
025  H:  da sind leute die sowie scrapbooks machen über: über diese:
026      plätze: wo die-sowie iconic plätze von: (.)
027  N:  wo  [cheers gefilmt wurde oder friends oder so ja]
028  H:      [sowie frie:nds oder frie:nds oder whatever]
029      dann gehen sie dahin zu die plätze und dann machen sie
030      sowie fotos genau da wo (.)
031  N:  [das foto (x)]
032  H:  [sie wa:ren] und ((silently) ja)
```

The first utterance of *sowie* in Helena's story telling (line 025), where she says "da sind leute die sowie scrapbooks machen…" could be similarly interpreted as the 'for example' meaning that Schourup (1983) suggests. We can see this because Helena might be providing an example of what these 'people' do. In this case, they may be making more than just scrapbooks, for example other types of souvenirs. She could be providing a an approximation of what these people make and this could be an indicator that the listeners should not take her examples too literally. On this type of approximation, Beltrama and Hanink (2019) stated that:

It has been suggested that like 'is used to express a possible unspecified minor nonequivalence of what is said and what is meant' (Schourup 1985: 42), 'indicates that the closeness of fit between the utterance and the thought it represents is looser than the hearer may otherwise have expected' (Jucker & Smith 1998: 185), and signals 'that the phrase it is attached to is detached slightly from commitment to a literal reading' (Dinkin 2016: 238). As suggested by such paraphrases, the proposed weakening of commitment varies depending on the particular nature of the content. (p. 4)

This supports the idea that *like* can function as a hedging part of speech, which is a word used "to make things fuzzier or less fuzzy" (Lakoff, 1973, p. 471). This means that Helena, in this case, indicates that she is unsure of what she is saying and might want to communicate to the other interactants "that the phrase it is attached to is detached slightly from commitment to a literal reading (Dinkin 2016: 238)" (Beltrama and Hanink, 2019), making her claim slightly more fuzzy. Helena could mean that she is not completely committed to her statement, or at least not to a literal reading of her statement. Maybe the people that she is talking about make something that is like a scrapbook, but not quite, or maybe they make more than just scrapbooks. In this case she would be using 'sowie' as indexing approximation.

The other interpretation could be that Helena is unsure of what she has said and that this *sowie* is a kind of evincive. Evincives are "lexical items the primary function of which is to exhibit the existence of unexpressed thinking at a particular moment of utterance without displaying this thinking in detail" (Schourup, 1983, p. 10). This means that Helena, "at the moment at which it is said the speaker is engaged in, or has just then been engaged in, thinking…", uses *sowie* as a pausal interjection (Schourup, 1983). Schourup, however, found that when *like* is used as a pausal interjection, "it is frequently followed by filled and unfilled

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pauses" (p. 40). It could be the case that this occurrence of *sowie* uses a mixture of both functions, namely that Helena is using the marker as an evincive as well as to index approximation.

5.7 Functions of *so*

Schiffrin (1987) wrote one of the earlier summaries of *so* in her chapter on *So and because*: Markers of cause and result. Here, as one can gather from the title, Schiffrin grouped *so* and *because* into one chapter and described *so* as a "grammatical signal of…subordinate clauses" and that it "is a complementary marker of main idea units" (p. 191) and that so conveys meanings of 'cause' (ibid. p. 227). She also found that "*so* and *and* share a pragmatic effect of speaker continuation" and that "*so* marks speaker-continuation as an alternative to participant change", while *and* "is used when continuing is the preferred option" (ibid. p. 225).

Buysse (2012) expanded upon the functions of so and propose the following table:

Table 1
Discourse marker functions of *so*.

Type of relation	Discourse marker function
Ideational	Indicate a result
Interpersonal	Draw a conclusion Prompt Hold the floor
Textual	Introduce a summary Introduce a section of the discourse Indicate a shift back to a higher unit of the discourse Introduce a new sequence Introduce elaboration Mark self-correction

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In this table, we can see some similarities to Schiffrin's (1987) work on the discourse marker *so*, namely that it indicates a result (conveying meaning of cause), and that it holds the floor (similar to Schiffrin's description of *so* marking a continuation). Further studies of *so* have used quantitative analyses (for a summary of these, see Weirong, 2017) and have shown that speakers that have different native languages than English use so at different rates of frequencies than their native English speaker counterparts.

5.7.1 English *so* and German 'so'

Reading transcripts from my corpus may seem confusing, as it does not include the phonological information for the spoken interactions. A particular case where this may seem confusing is when examining the English marker *so* in German conversation, since there is a German word that is spelled the same way but is not pronounced the same way and does not have the same function. This becomes particularly confusing when both words occur in the same utterance, such as in one interaction, in which the utterance "**so** ich denke wir sollten **so** um sechs essen." When analysing the English marker *so*, I will make it clear as to which word is the English part of speech *so* and which is the German word 'so', and the explanation of its functions is covered in my theory chapter.

In the following is a later part of the conversation of the same evening the family is sitting around the dinner table, conversing. The only member of the group that does not speak German, Bethany, is just leaving the table and therefore the group is free to speak German without having to switch to English for the non-German speaker to understand. It is likely because of this change in interactants that the conversation starts off in English, as they were speaking English beforehand. They are speaking about when the rain is going to stop and when they would like to eat the next day.

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```
001  N:  u:m til 3pm
002  C:  three pm? ich hatte es auf meins bis: zwölf oder
003      so
004  P:  mm bei meins wars auch drei
005  N:  (silently) drei
006      und dann wirds kälter nachdem der regen gefallen
007      is
008  C:  oh gats wie spat?
009      was [fürn weather app] gebrauchst du?
010  N:      [drei uhr         ]
011      unser (.) um the weather network
012  C:  oh ( ) elf und dann was?
013  N:  zehn neun acht [acht acht]
014  C:                 [ja aber vor elf]
015  N:  ahm achtzehn
016  C:  so ich denke (0.5) wir sollten (.) ( ) wir
017      sollten so um sechs essen
018      (2.5)
019  N:  draußen
020  C:  draußen
021      vordem es zu kalt wird
```

What is interesting to note in this example is that, when reading the transcript, one could be led to believe that *so* occurs more than once in this conversation, but this example is one where the English marker *so* and the German word 'so' come up in the same utterance. The 'so' in this example is not the German 'so', but rather the English 'so' and this can be recognized by the voiceless pronunciation of the 's' and the diphthong /əʊ/ (pronounced this way because Celine pronounces it with a South Africa accent and not a North American one). This diphthong is not present in the German /zoː/, and this is a topic that will be discussed in a later part of this thesis.

The topic of this conversation initially is the rain that is forecasted for the next day. Nora and Celine are discussing at what time the rain is forecasted to fall (lines 001-005) and that the temperature will drop after the rain has fallen (lines 006-007). Having planned a dinner for the next day, it seems Celine realises the connection between the forecasted rain and her plans for dinner (line 008) and asks, „oh gats wie spät?" The word ‚gats' is one of Afrikaans origin and can be roughly translated to 'goodness'. The two then discuss the temperature change after the rain and near the end of the conversation, Celine says, "so ich denke (0.5) wir sollten (.) ( ) wir sollten so um sechs essen" (lines 016-017). Nora then says, "draußen" which sounds a lot like an inquiry asking for confirmation, after which Celine confirms with "draußen" (line 020) and "vordem es zu kalt wird" (line 021).

The *so* in line 016 of this interaction ties back to the forecasted rain and the following temperature change. Celine wants to plan the next day's meal around the rain and also around the temperature change, if possible. She gathers the information that her plans depend on, namely when the temperature changes and rain take place, after which she draws her conclusion ("ich denke wir sollten so um sechs essen", line 016). In this case, we can see that *so* in line 016 "conveys meaning of..'result'", much like its use in Schiffrin's (1987) data, as in 'based on and because of the information you have provided me,' "ich denke wir sollten so um sechs essen" (the *so* in "so um sechs" being the German adverb meaning approximately.

Not all of the occurrences of *so* in my data, had this function, however. The following conversation features a different function of *so*. This excerpt comes shortly after the 'Rain' excerpt and features Celine, Nora, Leonard, and Mila. Mila and Leonard do not speak in this conversation, but they are sitting at the table as well. The transcript is started at this time because there is a new topic introduced, namely the Seinfeld Trivia.

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```
001  C:      so in Buffalo haben sie diese Abende wo man äm
002          Trivia gewinnen kann mit seinfeld dinge
003  N:      [oh okay]
004  C:      [so meine] ((laughing) kollegin is hingegangen und
005          sie hat gewonnen)
006  N:      (laughs)
007  N:      [wo:w]
008  C:      (xxx) sie is so flipping komisch
009          so sie sind hingegangen und diesen competition
010          mitgemacht über d-über seinfeld trivia
011          und (.) sie haben gewonnen
012  N:      wo:w
013  N:      nee so gut kenn ich seinfeld nich
```

In this conversation, Celine introduces the topic of the Seinfeld trivia with the word *so* (line 001). She then tells the story of how her colleague won this Seinfeld trivia, which she apparently finds quite funny, as she laughs as she is telling the story. There is no indicator in this conversation, nor before or after this excerpt, as to why she finds this funny. While telling the story, Nora comments on her telling of the story, initially responding with "oh okay" (line 003), then laughing in line 006, exclaiming "wow" in line 007, responding with another "wow" in line 012 and finally commenting "nee so gut kenn ich Seinfeld nich" (line 013). The first instance of *so* in this conversation starts off the interaction and begins her story telling. This seems to make use of the "Textual: Introduce a section of the discourse" function of *so* as described by Buysse (2012, p. 1771). Celine does, after all, introduce the new topic of the Seinfeld trivia.

The second and third occurrences of *so* in this conversation (lines 004 and 009) do not seem to share the same function as the first occurring *so* (line 001). Celine introduces the topic

with the first *so* but then seems to continue her story with the second and third *so*'s. Perhaps Celine was anticipating Nora saying something and wanted to hold the floor with the so, similar to Buysse's (2012) "Interpersonal: Hold the floor" (p. 1770) function, but it is not accompanied by any sort of pause, like in the aforementioned data. There is also not a rise in intonation in this so, which also does not speak to this *so* being used to hold the floor.

The elaboration function of *so* in this case seems to be the most fitting of Buysse's (2012) functions of the discourse marker, but it does not quite fit the function of elaboration, which is "when 'one clause elaborates on the meaning of another by further specifying or describing it'(Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004: 396)" (Buysse, 2012, p. 1774). Celine is not further specifying or describing anything about the Seinfeld trivia in line 004, but rather just continuing her story. Perhaps, then, this instance of *so* is used as a sort of introduction to a new section of discourse, but these sections of discourse all seem to be related. It seems as though this function of *so* seems to have the function of a continuer, which means it is a marker of her continuing her story. Further analysis of similar instances of so would need to be done in order to determine its function.

The marker *so* in this family's repertoire conveys meaning of result as was shown in Celine's utterance "**so** ich denke wir sollten so um sechs essen". Another function of this marker is a continuer, which marks that the speaker is continuing a story or adding to their previous utterance. This marker also displays the contact that this family has had with SAE through the pronunciation.

Commented [GL3]: Could you provide a reference here? It's not clear where you got this information.

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6 Conclusion

6.1 Discussion

In my final chapter, I provide a summary of my findings, namely what functions the discourse markers *sowie* and *so* have in this family's repertoire. I then move on to discuss the limitations of my study, which generally relate to the recording device used and the family's attitude towards being recorded. Finally, I discuss the implications of this study and what this means for the fields of linguistics and sociolinguistics.

It has been shown in the data that the experience that the individual family members have with language is shown by their linguistic repertoire. Generation 1 has the most experience with Afrikaans and uses the most Afrikaans in their repertoire, Generation 1.5 less than Generation 1 and generation 2 almost not at all. This has a large impact on how they communicate, as all three different generations seem to be using different mixtures of codes in their repertoires. Additionally, the family's immigration trajectory is also shown by their use of regional and or older German words, such as *Brägen* and *Bücherbört*. Much like Louden's (2005) findings with the loss of the dative case, the family in my data also seems to be undergoing the same type of shift. These are examples in their speech from which one can recognise their immigration trajectory, as they have aspects from the unique languages they have come into contact with (specifically SAE and Afrikaans).

There are, however, also examples of discourse markers that are used in this family's speech that also showcase their trajectory. Two of these markers that have been found through this study are *sowie* and *so*, both of which differ from standard German. *Sowie* is a marker that

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has very similar functions to the part of speech *like* in English, and its use in the family's repertoire showcases their contact with the English language. Similarly, the marker *so* is also demonstrative of the family's contact with South African English (due to its pronunciation).

6.2   Implications

By examining this family, we gain insight into the larger group of German-speaking South-African-Canadians. By gaining a better understanding of the repertoire of this group, we can see what languages the group has come into contact with and what and how these languages influence their repertoire and in what way these influences are manifested. We also gain a better understanding of how multilinguals use their complex repertoire in conversation, as well as how multilingual interactants understand it. It was shown that the interactants in this study make use of discourse markers from different languages and that this group understands them because of their knowledge of English and German. Some functions of the discourse marker *like* are similar to that of *like* in English. The discourse marker *so* in this family's repertoire also has similar functions to that of *so* in English and is distinctly pronounced with an SAE accent (/səʊ/).

The repertoire of this family showcases characteristics of language convergence, in which speakers make their multiple languages more similar to one another. By studying the repertoire of this family, we gain more insight into how language convergence is manifested in speech, as well as how multilinguals use the tools they have available to them to communicate in a manner that they deem appropriate for the setting they are in, for instance mixing codes when listeners can understand them and when to speak monolingually. As we have seen by the example of one of the generation 2 children, interactants do not always have access to some words that they need in order to speak in one language, and when they find themselves in a situation where they see it

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as necessary to speak one language, they do so in the best way that they can. They do this for example by borrowing some words and grammatical structures from their dominant language (in this case English) in order to construct the utterance that they want ('ich joke nur ich wollte nur dass sie in trouble kriegt weil sie ist ein big meanie'). This sheds light onto bilingual children growing up in a community that speaks a minority language and how they go about communicating when they have much less contact with their minority language than with their majority language.

We also see how code-switching is a regular part of this family's repertoire, particularly with words that have been replaced by words from other languages (like tekkies from Afrikaans, or *joken* from English), or by the younger generations' code-switching within sentences. This showcases the languages this family has been in contact with and which aspects of different languages are a part of their repertoire. These features, which are characteristic to this family's repertoire, are therefore indicators of their transportable identities, which in part consist of the migration pattern of this family. Some of these adoptions of words into their repertoire serve other functions in discourse than their semantic meaning. These are discourse markers, of which this family has some in their repertoire which are also indicative of their transportable identities.

6.2.1 Discourse markers

We also gained insight into how some aspects of language, for instance discourse markers, are adopted into a repertoire and how these discourse markers can also showcase the transportable identities of interactants. Here, we saw how *sowie* was adopted to replace some functions of *like* in English and how (SAE-pronounced) *so* is used in the same way as the discourse marker *so* in English. It is interesting to note that, although there is an attitude of wanting to keep German as the only language that is spoken in this family, one of the discourse

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markers that the family uses in their repertoire is an English word, 'so'. This goes to show that, even when an attempt is made to stick to one language, it is often very difficult, or even impossible to not have some sort of influence from other languages.

The findings on these discourse markers also showcase that discourse markers from different languages, as well as their functions, can be used in multilingual interactions. It is also interesting to see that a translation of a discourse marker can be adopted into a group's repertoire (much like how *sowie* functions like *like* in English). In the recent past there seems to be a shift away from the notion that languages can be clearly defined and that there are clear boundaries between languages. This goes to show that not just the vocabulary of languages can be borrowed, but that discourse markers can be borrowed as well.

6.2.2 Multilingual language use

Even today, there is a notion that children growing up in a multilingual household or in a multilingual environment would become confused (see for instance Bilingual Blogspot (2017)). It may be the case that many parents still think this way, as there are numerous articles that can be found online that denounce this notion (ibid.). The data from this study showcases that the linguistic repertoire of individuals as well as groups living in a multilingual environment incorporates elements from multiple languages. The children in this study can communicate perfectly well with other members of this group and it is their ability to communicate effectively that denounces this notion that children raised in a multilingual household will get confused.

What the data also showcases is how difficult it is to stick to keep from mixing languages in a setting where one does not have very much exposure to that language and may not have the linguistic resources required to stick to one language. The idea of not being able to mix

languages is problematic because not everyone in the group has the same notion of what this language should be. In the case of the group I have analysed, a part of their 'German' incorporates words from other languages, for instance the discourse marker *so* as well as several words and expressions from Afrikaans and English. The incorporations of these words and expressions may be accepted by some members of the group as a part of their 'German', but not by others.

The use of these expressions and words from different languages also showcases the resources that multilinguals have at their disposal. The members of this group can draw from several different languages in order to communicate their point. As long as members have a fairly good understanding of what aspects of the different languages will be understood, they can draw from Afrikaans, English, and German in their repertoire. If they do not have a tool from one language (for instance 'German') in order to communicate the information that a discourse marker, for instance *like* in English, could accomplish, they can simply 'borrow' that discourse marker from English. If this is viewed as not acceptable 'German', they can find an approximate translation and incorporate their translation in their repertoire, just as this group has done.

6.3   Limitations

In this section, I discuss the limitations of my study, one of the most notable of which is the family's attitude towards being recorded. Knowing that the recording was taking place and generally what the study was about (analysing their language) may have hindered this study. The other more notable limitation of this study is the recording device. I will also discuss how the use of such a recording device placed limitations on my study and how it could be improved.

6.3.1 Attitudes toward being recorded

The family that I recorded had been in one of my studies before, specifically for a term paper for a graduate course. While doing the recordings for this paper, I realised that the family acted differently when the camera was recording. It wasn't a vast difference, but I could tell that they were not one hundred percent comfortable with being recorded. I tried recording numerous times, thinking that they would get used to the camera, but they did not. While I am not saying that these recordings are not valuable, in the future I would consider gathering much more data and exposing them more to the camera in order to give them more opportunities to get used to being recorded.

The group that I recorded remained fairly consistent (except for one recording, where the extended family was present). In order to enrich these data, it may be beneficial to expand the situations in which the recordings take place to other social situations. Being part of a larger German-South-African-Canadian community, it could be possible to gather conversational data during times where there are other people present. This may help to alleviate the uncomfortableness with the camera and could also bring up different language phenomena that were not captured in this study.

My data could also have included more interactions that included the second generation, which could have provided the information needed for a deeper analysis into the differences in the repertoires of each generation. This way we could see how the people in the different generations use the linguistic tools that they have at hand, and a multigenerational study could have provided more insight into multigenerational language attrition and/or convergence in this group (Montrul, 2013).

One of the group members of this family, Mila, was born and raised in Germany and has been living with this family only since recently. The changes in her language show the influence that the family and their repertoire have on her repertoire, as she is beginning to adopt some of these aspects of Springbokdeutsch into her repertoire. The most notable change that I had noticed during my time communicating with her was her inclusion of Afrikaans words in her repertoire. It would be interesting to include her language in analysis in order to observe the aspects of this family's repertoire that make their way into a native speaker's repertoire.

6.3.2 Recording devices

When recording these conversations, I used a modern smartphone, which has a good camera and a good microphone. What I did not account for, however, is that a good microphone on a smartphone is not quite adequate for recordings of this nature, specifically because the microphone is not very accurate when numerous people are talking at once. Furthermore, the microphone did not perform very well when people sat farther away from the recording device and this problem was amplified when the group was sitting outside. These problems did not render any of my data unusable, but some utterances were very difficult (or sometimes impossible) to understand. In the future, I would use more than one microphone and would opt for using a microphone of better quality. This would improve the quality of my recordings and would make them more easily transcribable.

The camera on the smartphone that I used was also not the best for the this task. I often had to prop the camera against other objects and set it onto the table, close to the subjects in order to have the best chance of the microphone to pick up voices clearly. The problem with this setup, in terms of the camera, was that I could not always see all of the interactants. For the most part this

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was not a problem, but it would have aided me in some of the interactions in extracting more information from the interactions, like for instance gaze and gesture.

6.3.3 Labeling of generations

During this thesis, I have labeled the different generations: generation 1 being the generation that migrated to Canada in adulthood, generation 1.5 having migrated with their parents in late childhood, and generation 2 having been born in Canada. This method of describing the migrant generations is usually used to describe different generations of speakers of a certain language. This is usually, however, the case when migrants leave one country in which the language that the migrants speak is the majority language. In the case of my study, however, the numbering of generations is slightly more complicated than this because the migrants of this family never did live in Germany, where German is spoken. The family and their ancestors have been living in South Africa for many generations. There is, however, a relatively large German community in South Africa and Namibia, and this family would have had a lot of contact with German speakers there, but German is still considered a heritage language in South Africa. This family's contact with the German language would therefore still be different from others that, for instance, migrate from Germany to Canada and be prescribed similar generation numbers. Therefore, one cannot compare the generations of this family to the generations of German speakers with a different migration trajectory. However, for my thesis, this labeling has helped me to differentiate between the generations in a meaningful way by being able to speak about generations based on the stage of life that they immigrated to Canada.

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6.4 Possibilities for further study

The language of this family is quite interesting, and I believe to have only scratched the surface with what is possible to study in their language. From having spent a lot of time with this family, I realise that their language is influenced by the languages that affect the Springbokdeutsch dialect (Harr, 2018), most notably South African English and Afrikaans. The repertoire also seems to be very much influenced by English in Canada, as this family has lived in Canada for over twenty years. The observations of the influence of these two languages were made based on the expressions and words that the family commonly used. One notable expression used by this family, which showcase an influence from SAE is the expression 'ist es?' (derived from 'is it?'). Further study could be done in order to find out more examples, such as the 'ist es?' expression, which showcase the contact that this family displays by their repertoire.

Further research could also be done to look into what kind of words are in such families' repertoires. While doing this research, I had noticed that this family makes an attempt to use standard German vocabulary, but there are problems that arise from this. For instance, often times a sort of direct translation of words are used, such as 'ausessen' as a translation to go out to eat. In this case, the 'aus' seems to be used as a synonym for 'out' in to 'go out to eat', but it is not a word used in standard German. Although I have provided some examples of these types of approximations, more research could be done to look into similar 'approximations' that occur in the repertoire of such families. It would also be interesting to what proportions of the repertoire come from which languages. A larger corpus as well as a quantitative approach would be required for such an analysis.

Attitudes towards language use is one aspect of this family's speech that could be investigated. There was often a notion that German should be spoken at home and with family members during my conversations with this family, but it was outside of the scope of this thesis to analyse this. This attitude towards speaking German is particularly interesting because the repertoire of this family includes aspects of a wide variety of languages, but there is still a notion that they speak German at home. On some occasions, when one of the family members supplemented English terms into their utterances, it was corrected, stating that they should speak German, other times, however, there seemed to be no orientation displayed towards 'language choice' and speech was not corrected. It would be fruitful to investigate what constitutes 'non-German' in this family's repertoire by analysing when utterances are corrected or negatively oriented towards, and which utterances are not corrected or negatively oriented towards. Although I have provided one example of such an orientation, it would be interesting to investigate this further.

Furthermore, it would be interesting to investigate how the language attitudes of the second generation change over time, since at the time of this study they were still in their preteens and have been attending German Saturday School for only a few years. I suspect that as they get older, they will either condemn German and will slowly transition towards speaking more English, or they will find an appreciation for the language as they get older. It is often the case that the second generation of heritage language speakers do not fully acquire their heritage language and seek to relearn it later on in life (Montrul, 2013), and it would be interesting to see if this generation does the same.

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