Code-switching: An appraisal resource in TRC testimonies*

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Abstract This article analyses the function that code-switching plays in selected testimonies given at South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission which followed the country's transition to democracy in 1994. In a number of testimonies, victims of human rights abuse under Apartheid code-switched into Afrikaans when recalling particularly offensive uses of language by the police. Within the code-switching literature, it is well recognised that a speaker's choice of code, particularly for quoted speech, is a strategy for performing different kinds of local identities which index a range of social meanings and relationships (Alvarez-Caccamo 1996, Koven 2001). Thus code-switching may serve a complex evaluative function although the meanings it generates are very context- dependent. In order to explore this role in the testimonies in this paper, I use the appraisal theory of Systemic Functional Linguistics (Martin & White 2005). I argue that on a number of occasions, code-switching into a particular variety of Afrikaans is used by testifiers as a strategy to invoke negative judgement: it has the effect of associating the police with a particular racist ideology and positioning them for our sanction. Further, it works together with other engagement resources to insert a recognisable historical voice into the text, thereby expanding the heteroglossic nature of the discourse while simultaneously allowing the speakers to signal their rejection of that voice and the ideologies it represents. In the current SFL literature, however, code-switching has not been noted as an appraisal resource. In the light of the examples from the TRC testimonies, I argue that, in multilingual contexts, code-switching has the potential to invoke complex evaluative meanings and should be included in the appraisal framework as an evaluative resource.

1. Introduction

In this paper, I analyse the function that code-switching plays in selected testimonies given at South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission. In a number of testimonies, testifiers code-switched into Afrikaans when recalling particularly offensive language used by the Apartheid police. I argue that this code-switching serves an evaluative function. In order to explore its evaluative role, I use appraisal theory as developed by Jim Martin, Peter White and others from the Systemic Functional Linguistics school (Martin & White 2005). I argue that in certain contexts switches in code may signal something of the speaker's own evaluation of the participants and their associated ideologies, thereby positioning them for judgment. Further, I will argue that it works together with other engagement resources to insert a particular voice into the text which indexes certain histories, positions and values.

In making this argument, I first present a brief background on the TRC and then offer a more detailed overview of the appraisal framework. I briefly refer to the code-switching theories of Auer (1999) and others and then describe the data collection processes and offer additional contextual material on Afrikaans and the linguistic practices of the testifiers from whose testimonies the data are drawn. The last two sections present the data and discuss these in relation to the appraisal framework.

2. Truth and Reconciliation Commission

The Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) emerged as part of the negotiated transition to democracy in South Africa in 1994. It was conceived of as a means of addressing South Africa's violent and repressive past and as a way of promoting national unity and reconciliation. It was founded on the belief that in order to promote national unity and reconciliation, it should establish as truthful a record as possible of the "nature, causes and extent of gross violations of human rights" committed under Apartheid between 1 March 1960 and 10 May 1994, the period covered by the TRC mandate (Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act, 1995). At the same time, it was hoped that the work of the TRC would enable victims of human rights abuse in South Africa to "become more visible and more valuable citizens through the public recognition and official acknowledgement of their experiences" and that "those responsible for violations of human rights could also be held responsible for their actions" (TRC Report 1 1998:110).

In carrying out its mandate, the TRC undertook a range of activities including: the holding of a number of public hearings at which both victims and perpetrators had the chance to tell their stories; the issuing of amnesty to perpetrators of human rights abuse in return for a full disclosure of their actions; and the designing of a reparations package and process for victims of human rights violations. The examples of code-switching in this paper are drawn from the hearings which focussed on victims, namely the Human Rights Violations (HRV) hearings.

The HRV hearings took place between April 1996 and June 1997. In total, seventy-six public hearings were held, each one lasting between two and five days, in towns throughout South Africa (Ross 2003). The testifiers at these hearings represented approximately 10% of the total of 21 297 testimonies that were submitted to the TRC by people who were or believed themselves to be victims of human rights abuse (TRC Report 1 1998:168).

The HRV hearings were formal public events and included ritualistic elements, such as an opening prayer and address by the chairperson (usually Archbishop Tutu) and the swearing of an oath by the testifiers. Although the testifiers were invited to 'tell their story in their own words' and were generally allowed to speak without interruption, the testimonies were clearly co-constructed: the commissioners had access to the testifiers' written statements before the hearing and helped them prepare for the public event (McCormick et al. 2006). They also introduced the testifiers — thus positioning them in particular ways — and were able to ask questions both during and after the telling of the main narrative. Blommaert et al. (2006) and Verdoolaege (2008) point to the ways in which these interjections shaped particular positions for the testifiers and promoted TRC dis-courses of suffering and reconciliation. In addition, there was a strong media presence, both national and international, as well as a public audience, further adding to the interactional nature of the event.

Despite the constraining influence of context, testifiers at the HRV hearings were given considerable freedom with respect to the medium of testimony and self-representation. Testifiers were invited to give their testimonies in the language of their choice and an interpreting service was provided to facilitate this. The majority of witnesses testified in their mother tongues (Du Plessis & Wiegand 1998). Each testimony was simultaneously

interpreted into English and from English into other languages. The English versions of the testimonies were transcribed and published on the TRC website as the official record (www.doj.gov.za/trc).

The HRV testimonies represent a particular kind of narrative — a public presentation of deeply personal and emotionally-laden content — produced within a very specific historical context. Taken together, they provide an overview of the kinds of human rights abuse that thousands of people suffered under Apartheid. Some of the testifiers were activists, some were family members of activists, and many were ordinary civilians whose lives were caught up in the violence that en- gulfed the nation for decades. All told stories of loss, pain, oppression and resis-tance. The focus of this paper, however, is not on the individual stories, but on how a number of testifiers used code-switching as an evaluative resource in their testimonies.

3. Theoretical framework

The theoretical framework for this paper draws on the Systemic Functional Linguistic (SFL) approach to evaluation, appraisal, and theories of code-switching. The analysis argues that code-switching should be included in the appraisal frame- work as an evaluative resource. In certain contexts, it functions both as an attitu- dinal token — it has the potentiality to invoke negative judgement — and as an engagement resource in that it is one of the strategies used by speakers to insert a particular ideological voice into the discourse.

3.1 Appraisal framework

Originally developed by Jim Martin, Peter White and others at the University of Sydney during the 1990s, the appraisal framework is a recent development in SFL and forms part of the larger system of discourse semantics (Martin & White 2005). It builds on Halliday's (2004) network of interpersonal meanings and is a resource for construing tenor: it is concerned with the way speakers or writers encode their attitudes and feelings and insert their subjectivities into texts. However, it goes beyond simply describing attitudes and feelings, and seeks to explore how texts negotiate relations of solidarity and power with their audiences and position them as either sympathetic to or dismissive of the opinions or experiences described (Martin 2003). In the words of Martin & Rose (2003:22):

Appraisal is concerned with evaluation — the kinds of attitudes that are negotiated in a text, the strength of the feelings involved and the ways in which values are sourced and readers aligned.

Appraisal theory is still in the process of evolving and different authors work with slightly different terms and frameworks. A number of publications between 1997 and the present chart the development of the framework (e.g. Coffin 1997, Eggins & Slade 1997, Martin 1997,2000,2003,2004, Martin & Rose 2003, Martin & White 2005, Rothery & Stenglin 2000, White 2005). Martin & White (2005) consolidates work in this area and provides a comprehensive exposition of the theory to date.

The appraisal framework consists of three major sub-systems, namely 'attitude', 'graduation' and engagement', which are differentiated on the basis of semantic cri- teria rather than grammatical features (Martin & White 2005). In terms of this theory, any instance of appraisal in discourse simultaneously expresses three kinds of meaning: different kinds of

attitudes (attitude); how intensely these attitudes are felt (graduation); and where these attitudes come from (engagement). Each of the above categories can be further subdivided into sub-categories, as described below. The summary below is based on Martin and White (2005) unless otherwise indicated.

3.1.1 Attitude

The system of attitude has stabilised around three sub-divisions, or kinds of attitude: 'affect', 'judgement' and 'appreciation'. Affect refers to the resources for expressing feelings or emotions whereas judgement and appreciation, suggest Martin & White (2005), refer to the institutionalisation of feelings as proposals or norms about how people should or should not behave (judgement), or about how products and performances are valued (appreciation). Each of these can be further differentiated into finer sub-divisions.

The affect sub-system is organised into three major sets: un/happiness (e.g. sadness, hate, happiness, love), in/security (e.g. anxiety, fear, confidence, trust) and dissatisfaction (e.g. ennui, displeasure, curiosity, respect).

Judgements may be of two main types: personal judgements of social esteem (normality, capacity, tenacity) and moral judgements of social sanction (veracity, propriety). Judgements of social esteem refer to personal judgements of normality (how unusual, special, lucky, predictable someone is), capacity (how able, capable, clever, productive) and tenacity (how willing, resolute, dependable, brave, adaptable). Judgements of social sanction include veracity (how truthful, honest, credible, probable) and propriety (how ethical, good, kind, responsible, obliged).

The appreciation sub-system can also be divided into finer sub-categories: reaction (how appealing, pleasing), composition (how balanced, complex) and value (how innovative, authentic, timely, etc.). The attitude subsystem is summarised in Figure 1 (from Jordens 2002:70).

Figure 1. Summary of attitude subsystem categories
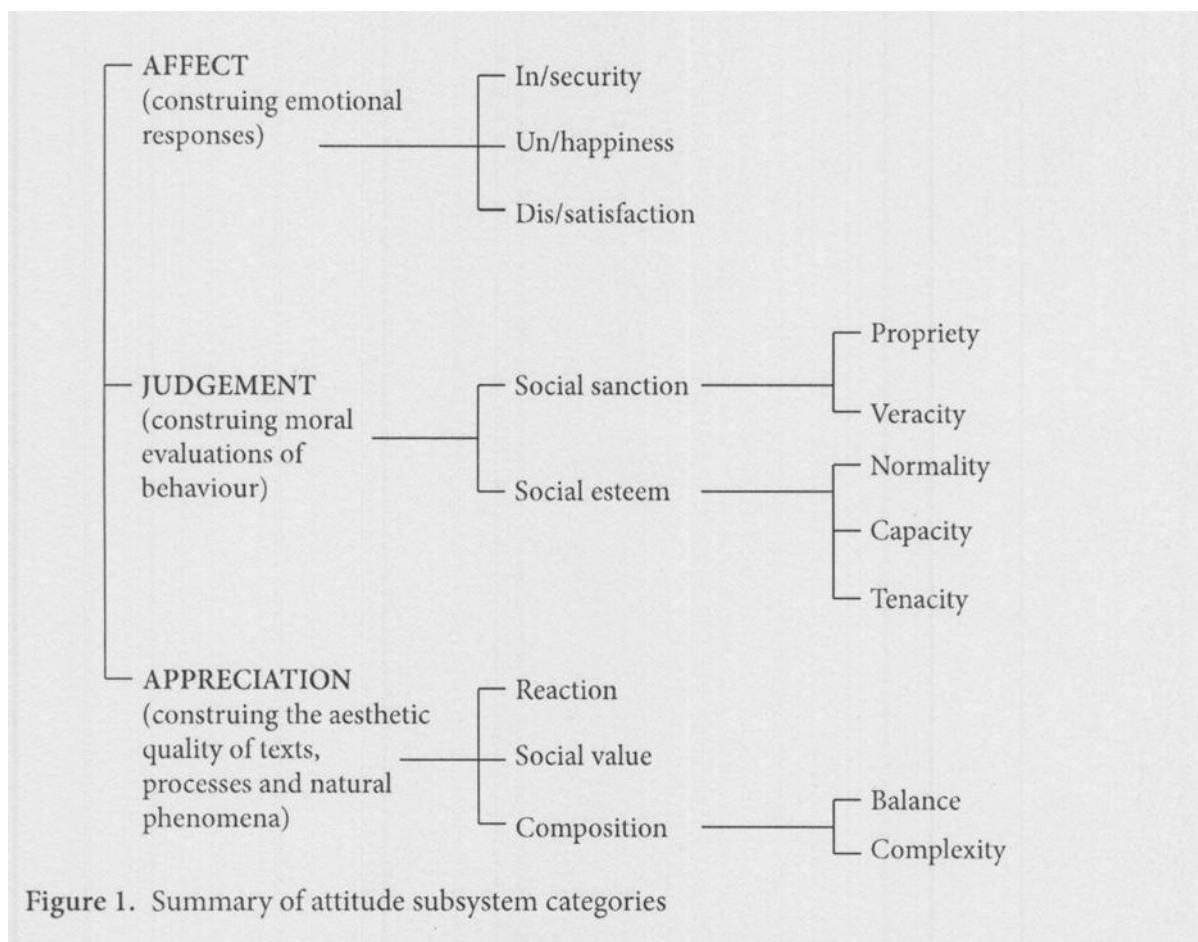
Appraisal meanings may be realised lexically as single words or phrases, although, according to White (2005), they are better seen as carried by complete propositions. Generally, they express either positive or negative dimensions (Martin 1997). They may also be explicitly 'inscribed' in the text by means of specific lexical items (e.g. I was very upset; He is stupid) or implicitly 'invoked' by 'tokens' (e.g. I couldn't even cry; He is a mule). In this instance, the speaker or writer depends on the listener or reader being able to interpret the metaphorical or symbolic meanings. This is dependent on audiences' knowledge of the context, as well as their own reader positions. Therefore, caution Martin & White (2005), analysts should declare their reading positions as the evaluations one makes are shaped by one's social-cultural context.1

Appraisal meanings do not act in isolation; rather they "tend to spread out and colour a phase of discourse as speakers and writers take up a stance" in relation to the topic of communication (Martin & White 2005:43). When identifying different attitudinal items, therefore, it is necessary to look at the item in its textual context, as well as to consider the 'prosody' of meanings which have accumulated throughout the text.

In this paper, I shall argue that testifiers at the HRV hearings use switches into a particularly obscene variety of Afrikaans as a strategy for invoking negative judgements of propriety: they have the effect of associating the police with a particular racist ideology and positioning them for our sanction.

3.1.2 Engagement

The engagement system is concerned with the linguistic resources speakers and writers use to adopt a particular stance towards the propositions or values they advance as well as towards their audience. It is informed by Bakhtin and Voloshi- nov's notion of heteroglossia in terms of which all verbal communication is viewed as dialogic and shaped by prior utterances, alternative viewpoints and anticipated responses. This system is interested in how and to what extent speakers and writers acknowledge these prior voices and engage with them. It is also interested in the ways in which speakers or writers signal how they expect their audiences to respond to the propositions they express.

Important concepts for an exploration of engagement include 'alignment', 'solidarity' and the construed reader'. Engagement analysts are interested in the way texts align their readers or listeners in relations of agreement or disagreement. When writers or speakers explicitly state their own viewpoint and attitudes, they simultaneously invite the audience to share these and to align themselves with a community of shared values and beliefs. This negotiation has the effect of construing an imagined or ideal reader (or listener) since it is with this ideal reader that the writer is presented as more or less aligned. In this way, the writer seeks to establish solidarity with his or her audience (Martin & White 2005, White 2005).

Engagement analysts are interested in exploring the ways in which a text either expands or contracts the dialogic space, thereby creating possibilities for the reader to comply with or resist the position constructed by the text. As Martin (2000:166) argues, "(j)ust as it is impossible to include without also excluding, so it is impossible to appraise without running the gauntlet of empathy and alienation". In other words, engagement resources play an important role in negotiating solidarity with the reader. The effect of this, argues Martin (2000:172), is either to align or 'disalign' the reader with the writer's position: "(w)here interlocutors are prepared to share your feeling, a kind of bonding occurs; where they are not so prepared, the effect is alienating".

It should be noted that the engagement framework is primarily concerned with texts which are in some way argumentative or persuasive (Peter White, personal communication). Thus, Engagement sub-categories such as the attributive' one of 'distancing' cannot be applied to the data in this paper as they do not focus on the truthfulness or plausibility of an argument, but rather on the development of personal narratives and their attitudinal meanings. I should therefore like to signal that I shall not use the term 'distancing' in this paper in the 'specialist' appraisal sense. I shall use it with its 'lay' meaning of 'dissociating' to describe how certain linguistic practices indicate the testifier's rejection of a person and their associated ideological positions.

In terms of the appraisal framework, I will focus my attention on the argument that code-switching works together with attribution to expand the dialogic space by inserting a particular ideological voice into the narrative which indexes certain histories, positions and values.

3.1.3 Graduation

The third and final dimension of the appraisal framework is 'graduation'. This re- fers to the extent to which any evaluation is graded along a sliding scale of force or intensity from low to high (e.g. like — love — adore; troubled — afraid — terrified). Grading refers to the resources

in the language for, in Martin and Rose's terms (2003:38), "turning the volume up or down". The framework includes two major categories of graduation: 'focus' and 'force'. Focus refers to the grading of meanings as more or less precise or categorical (i.e. how prototypical something is) and force refers to the grading of meanings from low to high intensity (e.g. very hurt). In the appraisal literature, graduation is an effect which operates within propositions on, for example, inscribed attitude — thus enabling the 'force' of par- ticular evaluations to be 'upscaled' or 'downscaled'. Given that the code-switching in this data operates at a discourse level (as opposed to within propositions), I have not used this aspect of the framework for my analysis.

The complete framework is represented in Figure 2, adapted from Martin and White (2005:38, 134).

Figure 2. Overview of appraisal resources
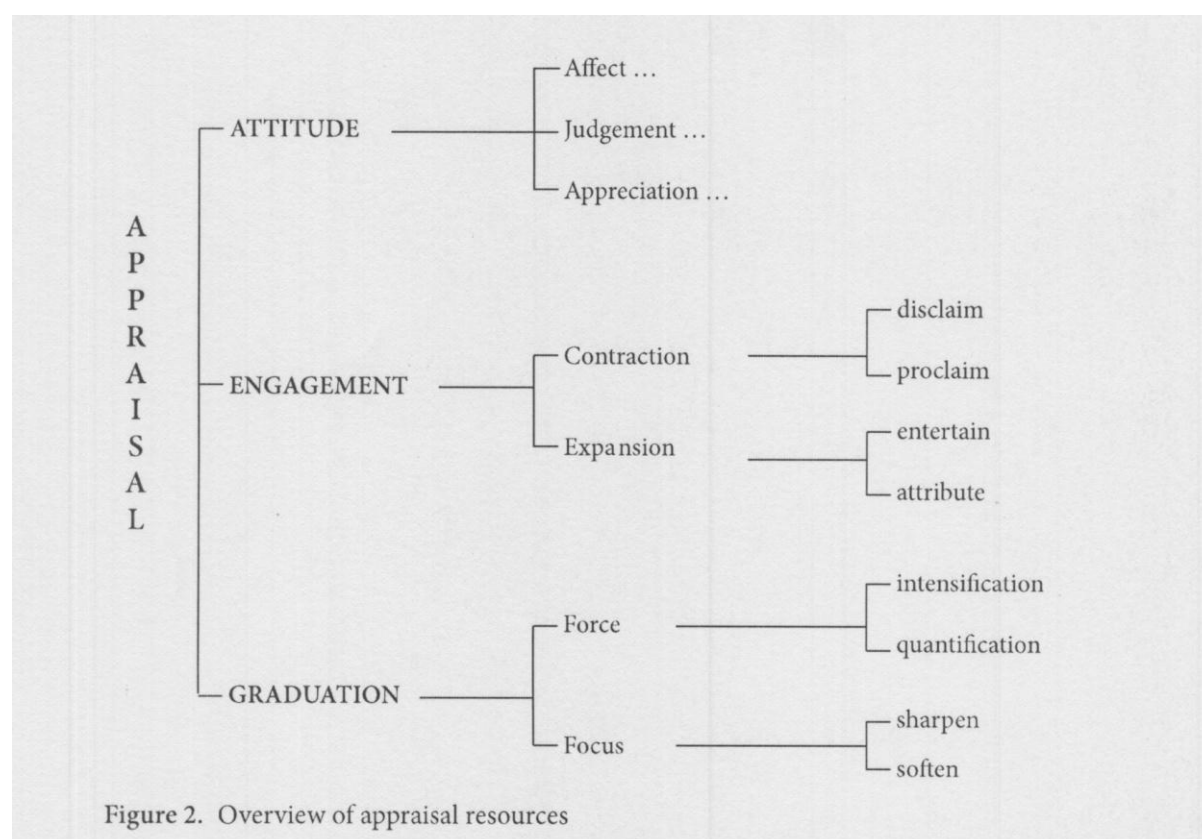
Martin & White (2005) explore how particular configurations of the three appraisal sub-systems construct different interpersonal positions and construe particular registers or 'keys'. In these analyses, they draw attention to how the same linguistic wordings may, for example, simultaneously express attitudinal and graduation meanings; often these elements may themselves be dialogically significant — for example, they may be attributed to external sources, and hence also be functioning as engagement resources. However, they do not explore the ways in which code-switching can function as an appraisal resource, probably because work to date has focused on the analysis of monolingual English texts or texts in translation (see, for example, Page 2003, Menard-Warwick 2005, Martin & White 2005). This paper, therefore, makes a contribution to the appraisal literature by using the framework to explore how, in certain contexts, code-switching can be used as an attitudinal resource which works together with engagement resources to insert a particular ideological

voice into the discourse and to index the speaker's attitude and stance in relation to this 'voice' and the ideologies and values it represents.

3.2 Code-switching

The term 'code-switching' is much contested and variously defined by researchers working within different paradigms (cf. Auer 1998, Heller 2007, Myers-Scotton 2006). In this paper, I use code-switching as a general term to refer to the "alternating use of two or more codes' within one conversational episode" (Auer 1998a: 1) and view code-switching as a form of social practice (Heller 2007). This paradigm views the meanings that code-switching may index as arising out of the particular interactional contexts: code-switching not only reflects context, but is part of creating it. Auer (1998, after Gumperz 1982), for example, argues that code-switching can be analysed as a 'contextualisation cue' in that it helps construe the local and global contexts which are necessary for the interpretation of an utterance. Alvarez-Caccamo (1996) and Koven (2001) argue that a speaker's choice of code, particularly for quoted speech, is a strategy for performing different kinds of local identities which index a range of social meanings and relationships of "camerade- rie, distance, dominance, or resistance" (Alvarez-Caccamo 1996:34), but that the retrieval of these meanings by the audience depends upon the existence of shared linguistic ideologies.

Bailey (2007, after Bakhtin 1981), argues for a view of code-switching as a form of 'heteroglossia because the meanings code-switching may generate frequently reflect political and socio-historical associations that the code or variety has acquired over the years. Koven (2001:528) makes the same argument in relation to code switches for reported dialogue when she states that quoted speech is "a site for displaying and evaluating special, local kinds of social voices". Both she and Alvarez-Caccamo (1996) argue that reported speech rarely faithfully resembles the utterance it reports on, but rather constructs a possible world where characters behave discursively in a recognisable and believable manner. In this sense, in the literature, reported dialogue is generally viewed as 'constructed' (Tannen 2007).

For the purposes of this paper, I shall briefly review Auer's code-switching framework (1990, 1998, 1999, 2007) as I shall refer to this in the analysis of my data. Auer (1999) proposes a continuum of language alternation phenomena ranging from 'code-switching', on the one end, via 'language mixing', to 'fused lects' on the other. In this typology, the term 'code-switching' has a narrower definition than its usual 'catch-all' sense of 'alternation between two or more languages': it refers only to instances where code alternation is interactionally functional and meaningful. According to Auer (1990), speakers may switch for either discourse- or participant-oriented reasons. Discourse-oriented code-switches may serve local discourse management functions (such as initiating a repair sequence, or re-starting an interaction) or they may serve to set up a contrast between two contiguous stretches of talk and so 'set off' what has been said in one language against the other. They may also function to change the 'footing' of the conversation by indexing particular socio-cultural and historical meanings associated with the use of that code (Auer 1998a). Participant-oriented switches are oriented towards the participation of the conversational partners and the negotiation of their identities and social relations. They usually take into account the participants' linguistic competences.

However, argues Auer (1998), when the alternation between the two languages is frequent but no longer meaningful for the bilingual participants, then we may speak of a 'mixed code'. In these cases, the use of the mixed code in itself may be meaningful and significant to the participants, who may in fact code-switch between it and another code. In some contexts, the elements of a mixed code may become so blended that it becomes a new system impossible to disentangle, a code in its own right, or what Auer refers to a 'fused lect' (1999).

Code-switching in the TRC testimonies depends, therefore, on a range of sociolinguistic factors such as the performed identities of the speakers and their audiences as well as the testifiers' proficiencies in the languages in use. Thus any interpretation of the meanings of code-switching must take into account the linguistic and social-cultural contexts of the testimonies.

4. Data

The data for this paper was obtained from the TRC's official website (www.doj.gov. za/trc) on which all transcribed testimonies are published, and from the South African Broadcasting Corporation's (SABC) audiovisual records of the testimonies which are now available at the National Archives in Pretoria. The transcripts of the testimonies were downloaded and checked against the audiovisual records for accuracy as well as to observe and note paralinguistic features.

The checking of the transcripts against the audio-visual records was particularly important as the interpreters and transcribers varied with respect to their handling of code-switching. If the code-switching contained obscene language, the interpreters generally 'toned down' the interpretation (Bock et al. 2006, Bock & Mpolweni-Zantsi 2006). The transcribers frequently only recorded the 'sanitised' English interpretation; thus from the official transcripts, the instances of code-switching are not always discernible.

The extracts for analysis in this paper are mostly drawn from the Helderberg-Tygerberg HRV hearings which were held at the University of the Western Cape from the 5-7 August 1996. A further example is also taken from the East London hearings on the 16 April 1996. Some background detail on each of the testifiers follows.

The Helderberg-Tygerberg testifiers referred to in this paper are all Afrikaans- English bilinguals who gave their testimonies in English, although they code- switched at points into Afrikaans.2 It is important to note that the variety of Afrikaans they speak is generally not the standard (white) variety which would have been spoken by the police at the time but rather the vernacular variety spoken by people who were generally racially classified as 'coloured' under Apartheid.3 (See Section Five below for a fuller discussion of their sociolinguistic profile and the roles that the different varieties of Afrikaans played in their lives.) These testifiers are all activists or family members of activists associated with the Bonteheuwel Military Wing (BMW), a militant youth organisation which was active in the anti- Apartheid struggle in the Western Cape in the mid-1980s and whose members were harassed, interrogated, tortured and imprisoned by the Apartheid police. The testifiers include Mr Colin de Souza and Mr Muhammad Ferhelst, both members of the BMW, and Mrs Dorothy de Souza, who tells of the effects of her son's activism on the family.

The East London testifier, Mrs Nomonde Calata, testified in Xhosa about the murder of her husband, Mr Fort Calata, at the hands of the Apartheid police in June 1985. However, she switches into Afrikaans at one point in her testimony. This example is included to illustrate how the patterns discussed in the Western Cape testimonies recur across contexts and testifiers with different sociolinguistic profiles.

5. Different varieties of Afrikaans

In this paper, code-switching into Afrikaans by testifiers at the TRC is the focus of analysis and this section therefore gives some background on the language. Afrikaans emerged as a lingua franca between early Dutch settlers, indigenous inhabitants and slaves in what is today known as Cape Town after 1652, the date of the arrival of the Dutch on the southern tip of Africa. By 1795, Afrikaans had evolved as a "colloquial variety of Dutch, with admixture from other languages" (Mesthrie 2002:15). As white Afrikaans-speakers gradually gained economic and social power in the twentieth century, so the status of Afrikaans grew. When the Afrikaans-dominated National Party came to power in 1948 and began to institutionalise the system of Apartheid, Afrikaans became associated with this racist ideology and the oppression of the black majority (Mesthrie 2002).

The variety of Afrikaans which was standardised as the official language of South Africa in 1925 and further elaborated and codified throughout the twentieth century, was the variety spoken predominantly by the white speakers of the language (Roberge 2002). This is the variety intimately associated with Apartheid and its ideology of white supremacy. However, other varieties of Afrikaans were (and still are) spoken by a number of people, many of whom were descendants of former slaves or interracial unions — people who under Apartheid were generally classified 'coloured'. The variety spoken by 'coloured' people in Cape region today is often referred to as 'Kaapse Afrikaans' (Roberge 2002) and has a number of distinctive phonological, lexical and syntactic features. In particular, it displays a high incidence of code-switching between English and Afrikaans, or local varieties of these languages (McCormick 2002). This non-standard variety is still generally considered inferior to the standard variety and does not carry the associations of dominance and power that the standard does. In fact, it carries, for its speakers, associations of solidarity and 'coloured' identity.

Code-switching and mixing between Afrikaans and English, and, in particular, local varieties of these languages, would have been a normal linguistic practice for the testifiers from Bonteheuwel in the Helderberg-Tygerberg HRV hearings. In the absence of any sociolinguistic study of Bonteheuwel, its profile in the 1980s and 1990s can be understood by referring to McCormick's (2002) study of linguistic choices among residents of District Six in Cape Town during that same period. Bonteheuwel and District Six are demographically similar and have a shared cultural and linguistic history as Bonteheuwel was one of the settlements created for coloured people who were forcibly removed from Cape Town, including District Six, under the Apartheid legislation, the Group Areas Act, in the 1960s (TRC Re- port Vol. 4, 1998:278).

According to McCormick (2002), switching and mixing between the local varieties of English and Afrikaans in District Six was considered "the only proper way of speaking to one's neighbour" (2002:89) — so much so that this practice could be considered the "unmarked choice" (2002:123). This local vernacular incorporated a range of varieties of non-standard

Afrikaans, non-standard English and conscious or unconscious mixing between the two. Because language mixing was so frequent and common, argues McCormick, it could, on occasions, be regarded as a mixed code, in Auer's sense of the word. This linguistic repertoire is represented in Figure 3 (based on McCormick 2002:90).

While the local mixed vernacular was valued as 'warm' and 'intimate' and a marker of solidarity, English was the language of choice for formal public events (McCormick 2002). Public occasions typically began in English, on occasions standard English, but sometimes switched into the local variety of Afrikaans when the discussion became heated or emotional. In the 1980s, the local variety of Afrikaans was viewed by many speakers as a rejection of white standard Afrikaans, which was viewed as the language of the oppressor and a symbol of the Apartheid state (McCormick 2002). This can be understood as a classic example of what Gumperz (1982, quoted in Sebba & Wootton 1998) refers to as a 'we-code' and a 'they-code' where the local varieties of Afrikaans represented the 'we-code' and standard (white) Afrikaans represented the 'they-code'. However, by the late 1990s, post-Apartheid, this distinction seemed to be falling away (McCormick 2002).
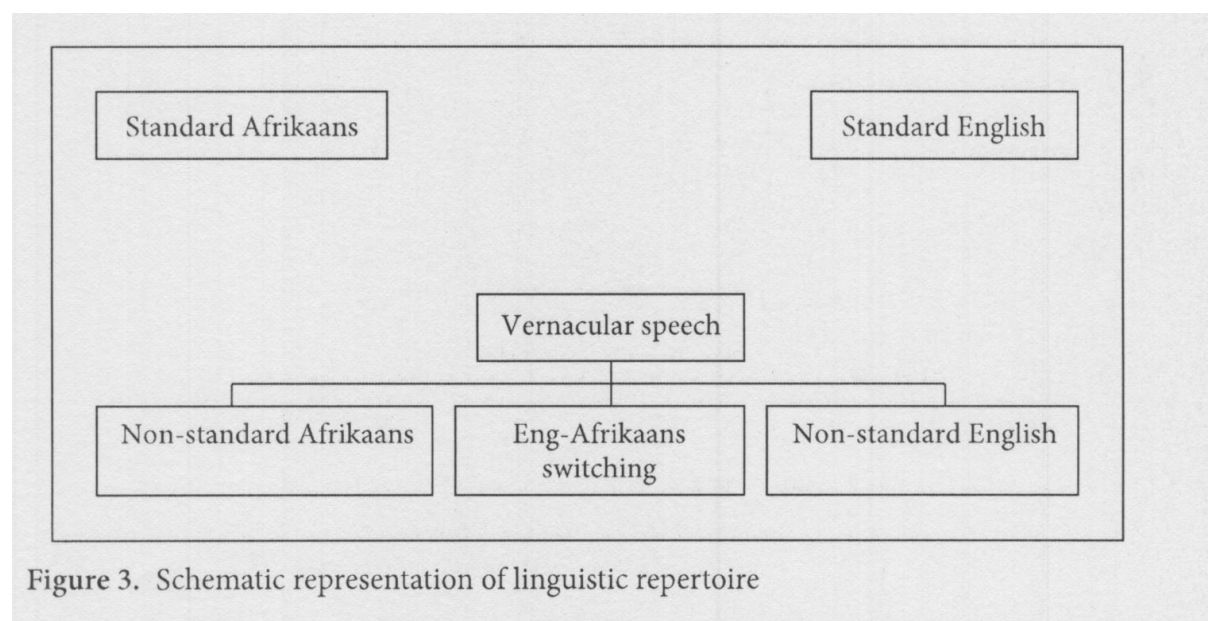

Figure 3. Schematic representation of linguistic repertoire

The different varieties of Afrikaans therefore carry very different histories and ideologies and are markers of very different kinds of identities. They are also employed in different contexts and index different social meanings and values. These distinctions are important for the argument I shall be making and I shall therefore refer to the two different varieties of Afrikaans in this paper as 'standard Afrikaans' and 'vernacular Afrikaans'. It is also worth noting that verbatim quotes attributed to the police in this paper contain a number of obscenities, which can hardly be termed 'standard Afrikaans'. However, it is a register associated with the Apartheid police, many of whom would have been speakers of the standard Afrikaans variety.

6. Analysis

In this section, I present extracts from the testimonies and analyse the ways in which the testifiers use code-switching as an evaluative resource. I discuss extracts from the following testimonies in this order: Colin de Souza, Dorothy de Souza, Muhammad Ferhelst and Nomonde Calata. The extracts are presented clause by clause and the code-switching is marked in bold italics.

6.1 Colin de Souza

In Extract (1), Colin de Souza recalls the first time he was arrested in October 1987 together with a number of other young comrades (activists) of Bonteheuwel and taken to the police station for interrogation:

(1) And — but four o'clock the afternoon, this one security bloke he called me
and he said to — asked
okay now what is your name
I said Mark Bresick
your address
I gave the false address again
and he called me into a room
and he called this one cop in with the name of Todd
and this guy was like an artist you know
he drawed sketches about people you know and descriptions
and he said to me
like open your *bek*
maak oop jou bek [open your mouth]
and I had this *byl* [buck] teeth you know
and they said
now we know
you are Porky [his nickname].

The verbatim quote of the police (*maak oop jou bek*) in the above extract can be described as a discourse-oriented code-switch which serves a number of discursive and interactional functions. Firstly, it is a strategy used by De Souza to characterise the Apartheid police, who were predominantly speakers of the standard (white) Afrikaans variety, thereby giving them an authentic voice in his testimony. It functions as an intertextual echo instantly recognisable to the participants in the current context for whom the code has historical associations with Apartheid.

The use of code-switching to mark words as quoted is well recognised in the code-switching literature (e.g. Alvarez-Caccamo 1996, Auer 1998a, Koven 2001, McCormick 2002) and this switch works together with the formulation, "and he said to me", to mark the text as

belonging to an external source, namely the police. In this sense, the code-switching operates as a dialogically expansive engagement resource (attributive).

Secondly, it marks the quotation as salient, offsetting it from its surrounding talk and indexing an ideology associated with that code (Sebba & Wootton 1998, Koven 2001). This sets up a contrast between De Souza and the police and constructs the latter as 'the other'. In this way, De Souza distances himself from the police and their ideology of racial superiority.5 In terms of the Appraisal framework, the code-switching functions here as a token, with the potential to provoke attitudinal meanings, namely negative judgements of propriety. The audience is positioned to take a negative view of the police because of the historical associations of Apartheid invoked by the choice of code.

The negative attitudinal meanings are further carried by the lexical choices themselves: the attribution of the word *bek* to the police further negatively evaluates them, as *bek* is the standard Afrikaans word for the 'mouth' of an animal and its use in relation to humans is offensive. The use of this word also indexes for the audience the dehumanising effects of the Apartheid system which refers to people as though they are animals. These offensive words act as further tokens of judgement (negative propriety) thereby further positioning the policeman for moral condemnation.

It should be noted that code-switching is not always an evaluative strategy in these testimonies. For example, in Extract (1), De Souza describes his teeth as "*byl*", which has a literal Afrikaans meaning of 'axe' but a local meaning of 'buck'. This is probably simply because the local vernacular word came more quickly and would be an example of what Auer (2007) refers to as ad-hoc lexical borrowing.

In this testimony, code-switching for the words of the police also plays an important narrative function. As Schiffrin (1981), Johnstone (1987), Tannen (2007) and others have noted, direct quotes have the effect of shifting the context of narration from, in this case, the TRC hearings, to the narrative context, the afternoon of the interrogation ten years before, thereby 're-enacting' the event, positioning the audience as witnesses and allowing for greater emotional involvement. This is one of the ways in which De Souza, as a skilled narrator, engages his audience and 'carries them along' (Bock 2009).

6.2 Dorothy de Souza

In Extract (2), Mrs de Souza recalls the night when a group of comrades came to their house to shoot her son. The comrades were acting on disinformation circulated by the police that De Souza was an informer. This spreading of disinformation was a tactic used by the police at that time to sow suspicion and mistrust in communities, thereby undermining their opposition and resistance to Apartheid. During this extract, Mrs de Souza recalls the conversation between Captain van Brakel of the Security Branch, and a policeman, a member of the ordinary South African Police Services (SAPS), who arrived on the scene in response to her neighbour's calls for assistance and who, unlike the security police, wanted to help her.

My analysis of this extract includes an attitudinal analysis to explore how the attitudinal resources, including the code-switching, form a 'prosody of attitude' which constructs a particular 'stance' or ideological position for Mrs de Souza (Martin & Rose 2003). In Extract (2) below, code-switching is marked in bold italics and other instances of appraisal are marked in bold.

(2) a. And as Colin said

b. the same night that he was — these comrades came to shoot him,

c. I know

d. I don't blame them today   [pos jud: propriety]

e. because I know

f. it was the way the — the police worked to make us look as if we were
    informers   [neg jud: propriety]

g. and that night they also treated us very badly   [neg jud: propriety]

h. because we couldn't turn to the police,

i. but the neighbours in the street –

j. because of we knew

k. it was comrades,

l. and we didn't want to be drag them to court

m. as my son and them were involved –

n. and so other people called the police

o. and I was very hurt   [neg affect: happiness]

p. because of what the Captain said, Captain van Brakel over the phone to
    this policeman,

q. he said to him

r. I can't remember his name

s. but I can picture him well

t. He said to him

u. *Moenie notice neem nie van daai mense nie -*

v. *hulle is mal,*

w. *en, daar was nie geskietery nie*

x. *daar was nie geskietery nie.*

y. *En hy sê*

z. *Meneer, die bewaarstuk is hierso*

aa. *die bewaarstuk is hierso*

bb. *en — en — daar was geskiet*

cc. *en die bullets is daar*

dd. *en die neighbours onderaan…*

ee. And it **hurt** me to think   [neg affect: happiness]

ff. that this policeman stood there,

gg. **he wanted to help me,**   [pos jud: tenacity;
                                                                token, pos propriety]

hh. **but he couldn't**   [neg jud: capacity]

ii. because this captain

jj. he was of Murder and Robbery, Captain van Brakel,

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kk. he was one of the **perpetrators** as well	[neg jud: propriety]
ll. he said to him,	
mm. **he must leave us**	[token, neg jud: propriety]
nn. and we were **destitute**.	[neg apprec: composition]
oo. We had to find our own way out of that **mess**.	[neg apprec: composition]

The interpreter on the day interpreted the Afrikaans dialogue as follows:

Simultaneous Interpretation:

He said to him, don't pay any notice to them, they're crazy. There wasn't any shooting, there was no shooting incident. And he said but sir, the evidence is here, the exhibits are here and there was a shooting incident and the bullets are there and the neighbours have confirmed it.

The appraisal analysis of Extract (2) above indicates that Mrs de Souza's stance towards the comrades who attacked them vacillates between acceptance ("I don't blame them today") and anger ("they also treated us very badly") as she shifts from judgements of positive to negative propriety. Her willingness to suspend her negative judgement of the comrades is based on her understanding of the *modus operandi* of the police.

The ordinary SAPS policeman who wanted to help her is positively appraised as 'willing' (therefore, judgement: positive tenacity) in clause (gg), which, in this context, also acts as a positive judgement of propriety — he was behaving as a policeman should by wanting to protect the country's citizens from danger. However, in clause (hh), she appraises him with a judgement of negative capacity as being unable to help her. This amounts to a milder judgement than the judgements of social sanction reserved for Captain van Brakel, the "perpetrator" who ordered the policeman not to help her: he is harshly appraised with judgements of social sanction (negative propriety) in clauses (kk) and (mm).

Mrs de Souza explicitly describes her own feelings and the quality of her family's life at the time in terms of statements of negative affect and appreciation, where the statements of negative appreciation serve as tokens of negative affect by implying that she felt very unhappy:

and I was **very hurt** [neg affect: happiness]
and it **hurt** me to think [neg affect: happiness]
and we were **destitute.** [neg apprec: composition]
We had to find our own way out of that **mess**. [neg apprec: composition]

From the foregoing analyses, it can be seen that Mrs de Souza uses negative judgements of social sanction (propriety) to colour her descriptions of the actions of the security police, thereby construing them as immoral and positioning them for our moral judgement. The ordinary SAPS policeman who wanted to help her is more gently appraised with judgements

of social esteem (capacity and tenacity) and serves as a contrast to Van Brakel and an example of the kind of behaviour that citizens should expect from the police. She generally appraises her own feelings with statements of negative affect (unhappiness) and appreciation (composition), where the statements of negative appreciation serve as tokens to invoke negative feelings of affect. An analysis of her full testimony indicates that these patterns are typical of her testimony as a whole (Bock 2007, 2008).

It is significant that Mrs de Souza switches into vernacular Afrikaans to recall the dialogue between the two policemen. The vernacular is identifiable by the use of the non-standard noun, *geskietery* (shooting) in clauses (w-x) and the insertion of English words (*notice, bullets, neighbours*) into the Afrikaans syntactic structures in clauses (u), (cc) and (dd):

> u. Moenie notice neem nie van daai mense nie
> w. en, daar was nie **geskieter**y nie
> x. daar was nie **geskietery** nie.
> cc. en die **bullets** is daar
> dd. en die **neighbours** onderaan...

There are two possible motivations for the switch to a vernacular variety of Afrikaans. Firstly, the speaker would almost certainly have used either a vernacular or standard variety of Afrikaans for all her own interactions with the police and she may have been trying to deliver as faithful a rendering of the conversation as possible — given the TRC's focus on truth — and therefore switched to the language of the original conversation. It is likely that she did not overhear the conversation herself but only as reported to her by the ordinary policeman, and he may well have used vernacular Afrikaans when communicating with her, especially if he was also 'coloured'. In this sense, then, the switch is a strategy used by Mrs de Souza to introduce another voice into her narrative and works together with the engagement formulations (*He said to him/ En hy se*) to signal attribution.

Secondly, I would argue that her switch could also be understood in terms of her normal code-switching practices. At the beginning of her testimony, considering the formal public nature of the TRC hearings, she would have been careful to use English; indeed, earlier in her testimony, her interactions with the police were reported in English. But at this point in her testimony, when she is caught up with reliving her experiences, she code-switches into vernacular Afrikaans. This switch at an emotional high point in the narrative (conscious or unconscious) is typical of speakers with her sociolinguistic profile and would have been a normal linguistic practice for her. (See references to McCormick (2002) in Section 5 of this paper.). It is a reflection of her own increased emotional involvement in what she is narrating.

While one might want to argue that the repetitions (*daar was nie geskietery nie and die bewaarstuk is hierso*) further serve to emphasise what she is saying and to increase listener involvement, it appears, from the viewing of the audiovisual tape, that she is adjusting to hearing, through her earphones, the interpretation which would have started up when she switched into Afrikaans and that switch is therefore not to be seen as an indicator of any evaluation.

6.3 Muhammad Ferhelst

The testimony of Muhammad Ferhelst, a former commander of the BMW and a comrade of De Souza, exhibits similar patterns. It contains very little inscribed appraisal of his own feelings. Ferhelst also passes very little overt judgement on the police and Van Brakel. However, he positions them for negative judgement both through his accounts of their actions and through the inclusion of obscene quotes which function as a distancing mechanism.

In Extract (3), Ferhelst recalls the moment when the Security Branch (SB), in particular, the notorious Captain van Brakel, arrive to arrest him:

> (3) This captain burst into the room
> where I was laying
> I was still in a shorts
> he pulled me up
> he said –
> can I use the exact words
> because like it's hard for me to forget
> what that man said today
> and like I tried to forget
> but it's always there
> this captain — his name is Van Brakel
> he came into that room he and about four or five other SB's
> he said to me
> *jou slym etter gemors ons het jou*
> *ons gaan jou nou vrek maak.*

The interpreter on the day of the TRC hearing interpreted this as "you piece of trash, we have you now, now we are going to kill you". A more literal translation of the Afrikaans, however, would be: "you slimy pus-oozing rubbish, we have you, now we are going to kill you", an altogether more crude and offensive statement than the interpreted one. The use of the word vrek [meaning dead'] further points to the dehumanising effect of these words, as this term is reserved for animals, dood being the equivalent for humans. The code-shift therefore enables Ferhelst to construct a stronger token of negative judgement than would have been possible in English. However, in the interpreted version, the evaluative meanings are 'toned down, probably because the interpreters were unwilling to use such obscenities in the formal context of the TRC hearing (Bock et al. 2006).

Ferhelst uses verbatim quotations in this way on three other occasions in his testimony to recall the way the police (and on one occasion, the state doctor) spoke to him, while in prison:

(4) i. *Ag hou jou bek donner.*
[Ag, shut up, bastard.]
   ii. *Ons maak jou nog vrek voor jy uit die tronk uit.*
[We are going to kill you, before you leave prison.]
   iii. *Die donner makeer fok all vat hom hier weg.*
[There's fuck all wrong with the bastard, take him away.]

As with De Souza, these quotations function as tokens capable of provoking strong judgements of negative propriety. Both the choice of the code and the obscene lexis function to signal the narrator's attitude and position the quoted speakers (and by extension, the entire Apartheid system) for strong condemnation. In this sense, Ferhelst dissociates himself from these people and their ideology and invites the audience to align themselves with him and share his revulsion and rejection of them.

However, like De Souza, Ferhelst also code-switches for non-evaluative reasons. Towards the end of his testimony, he code-switches into a local variety of Afrikaans for an extended turn when he speaks to a TRC commissioner who, like himself, is 'coloured' and equally comfortable in both languages. The commissioner in turn switches to Afrikaans for the remainder of their interaction. This would be an example of Auer's participant-oriented code-switching which has more to do with the shared sociolinguistic identity of the participants than with any evaluative use of language.

6.4 Nomonde Calata

The final example comes from a different set of hearings, the East London hearings held in April 1996, and from a testimony which was given in Xhosa. Mrs Nomonde Calata testified about the murder of her husband, Fort Calata, and three colleagues (collectively known as the Cradock Four) at the hands of the security police in 1985. In Extract (5), she recalls how she was harassed by security police one night prior to their murder, when the police came to her home and threatened her, in Afrikaans, about her husband who was away at the time:

> (5) uMr Venter wabuza
> uphi umyeni wakho
> ndathi eRhawutini
> ubuza in Afrikaans
> wathi kum
> jy kan vir jou man sê
> hy kan maar wegkruip
> en jy kan hom maar wegsteek
> die dag dat ons hom kry
> dan sal hy kak.

In the official transcript, based on the simultaneous interpretation into English on the day of the hearing, this incident is recorded as follows:

> Mr Venter asked me where my husband was. I told them that he was in Gauteng. He asked me this in Afrikaans and he said, *the day we find him he's going to be in very big trouble*.

A literal translation of this policeman's words (highlighted in bold italics above) would be: "you can tell your husband, he can hide himself and you can hide him away — the day that we catch him, then he will shit". Once again, the verbatim quote functions as an intertextual link to a specific historical context (Apartheid) and indexes a particular set of associated racist values and ideologies, thereby serving an important narrative and discourse function. Similarly, it also functions as a token of negative judgment in that it construes the police — and by extension, the Apartheid system — as cruel and brutal and positions both for our condemnation.

7. Discussion

The analysis in Section (6) has explored different instances of code-switching — or what Heller (2007) and others refer to as 'bilingual talk' — in a number of TRC testimonies and how these function as evaluative resources.

The use of code-switching for quotations in conversational discourse is well recognised within the literature (e.g. Auer 1998a). Many researchers argue that the language of quotation may not in fact be the language used in the original utterance (Alvarez-Caccamo 1996, Auer 1998a, Koven 2001, Sebba & Wootton 1998), just as the actual wording is unlikely to be verbatim due to the distortions of memory (Johnstone 1987). However, in the case of the TRC testifiers, I would argue that the verbatim quotes of the police may well be faithful reflections of the original utterances, given that two of the testifiers indicate that the police spoke to them in Afrikaans (Calata, Ferhelst) and one of them specifically mentions that he wishes to use 'the exact words' as he cannot forget them. These incidents may be what one might term "flashbulb memories" or "very vivid, precise, long-lasting memories" of shocking

or traumatic events of great significance.6 It is possible that in situations which involve such intense emotions as those described above, the recipients of these words remember them verbatim. Either way, the testifiers code-switch in order to insert an authentic historical voice into their stories and, simultaneously, to distance themselves from this voice and its ideology of racial superiority. In Auer's terms, the use of this particular code (standard Afrikaans with obscenities) functions as a contextualisation cue which indexes particular political and socio-historical meanings for the participants, namely the ugliness and immorality of the Apartheid state. It also marks the utterance as quoted, as an act of 'double voicing' (Bailey 2007, Woolard 1999), thereby giving the testifiers a 'licence' to use such obscene language in the formal institutional setting of the TRC.

In the current SFL literature on appraisal, code-switching has not been noted as an appraisal resource. However, I would argue that it should be, given the above extracts. In this data, the code-switched utterances function as tokens which construe the police and the Apartheid system as morally corrupt and brutal and position them for strong negative judgement. Both the choices of code (Standard Afrikaans with its associations of racist ideologies) and the obscene lexis work together to provoke strong tokens of negative judgement. By inserting these quotes into their testimonies, testifiers are able to index their stance (outrage, rejection) in relation to the police and build solidarity with their audiences (we align ourselves with the testifiers as we too reject these people who speak and behave in this way). Thus testifiers do not need to explicitly evaluate or even condemn the utterances or behaviour of the police. Rather the verbatim quotes serve this function for them — they provoke our negative judgement. The retrieval of these meanings by the audience, however, depends on the existence of shared linguistic ideologies.

The code-switching is a strategy which works with other engagement resources (such as the attributing formulations, 'he said') to mark the utterances as quoted. It is one of the ways in which testifiers are able to insert a particular ideologically aligned voice into their narratives, thereby expanding the heteroglossic nature of the discourse, while simultaneously allowing the speaker to signal their rejection of that voice and the ideologies it represents.

This paper has also argued that the code-switching for the words of the police fulfills a number of discourse level functions: it serves to increase the level of listener involvement (Tannen 2007) by making the narrative more immediate and vivid (Schiffrin 1981). In addition, within this multilingual context, for many of these speakers, code-switching into a local variety of Afrikaans during a verbal interaction may signal a point of high emotional involvement for the speaker (McCormick 2002). It appears that in this context, it is not only single words or phrases which are evaluative, but the choice of the code itself.

In the light of the above, I would argue that in multilingual contexts code- switching may serve complex evaluative functions and should therefore be included in the current SFL literature as a potential appraisal resource. However, the way it works and the ability of the audience to interpret these meanings is highly context-dependent.

Notes

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1. My own reading position can be described as that of white middle-class female South African academic (in no particular order). I would thus, in Martin & White's (2005) terms, be reading 'tactically'. Although I do not speak local varieties of English and Afrikaans, I am proficient in standard varieties of both and have heard the local varieties spoken around me all my life. I have worked for over ten years at a university which has historically served the needs of 'coloured' and 'black' students (to use the Apartheid labels). My analysis is informed by my engagement with a range of people, both academics who have published on English/Afrikaans code-switching in Cape Town (such as Kay McCormick) and colleagues and students who have an intimate (first language) knowledge of these local varieties and their associated social practices.

2.The prevalence of code-switching in the testimonies varies depending on a range of socio-linguistic factors such as the performed identities of the speakers and audiences as well as their proficiencies in the languages in use. The testimonies considered in this article ranged from 09:00 minutes (D de Souza) to 49:30 minutes (C de Souza). Code-switching for the words of the police varied from once (D de Souza and N Calata) to three (C de Souza) and four (M Ferhelst) times. In a further five testimonies by Bonteheuwel Military Wing activists and family members (not covered in this article), one testified in Afrikaans, and the remainder testified in English; of these three code-switched into Afrikaans for the words of the police. In other words, out of the nine testimonies given by this group of bilingual speakers, eight chose to testify in English, and seven of these code-switched into Standard Afrikaans for the words of the police.

3.During the Apartheid era, South Africans were classified into the following racial categories: Black, Indian, Coloured and White. During the 1980s, these labels were rejected by the anti-Apartheid movement, which chose to refer to all oppressed people in South Africa (Black, Indian and Coloured) as 'black'. Although the term 'coloured' is now much more acceptable, notions of coloured identity are still contested.

4.Afrikaans emerged as a lingua franca between the ethnically, culturally and linguistically diverse population of the early Dutch colony between 1652 and 1795 centred around what is today Cape Town. The polyglot society included the Dutch colonisers, the indigenous populations, in particular the Khoe, and the thousands of slaves who were imported from a range of countries, in particular, Indonesia, Madagascar, Angola and Mozambique (Wilson 2009). By 1795, Afrikaans had evolved as a "colloquial variety of Dutch, with admixture from other languages" (Mesthrie 2002:15). However, with the two successive periods of British colonisation in 1795-1803 and then again in 1806-1910, a policy of Anglicisation began, with Dutch replaced by English as the language of government, law and education. This and other factors triggered what is referred to as the Great Trek, when a number of Dutch farmers in defiance of British expanded eastwards and northwards taking their colloquial varieties of Dutch with them. As a result of the South African war in 1899 (also known as the Anglo-Boer War) in which the British atrocities included the death in concentration camps of 28,000 'Boers' or 'Afrikaners', most of whom were women and children, the status of Afrikaans as a bearer of local Afrikaner identity and cultural values began to take root (Mesthrie 2002). In

1910, when colonial rule ceased and the Union of South Africa was established, white Afrikaans-speakers gradually gained economic and social power. In 1948, when the Afrikaans-dominated Nationalist party took power and began the formal institution of the system of Apartheid, Afrikaans became associated with this ideology of racial supremacy and the oppression of the black majority, culminating in the 1976 Soweto uprisings in which black children protested in their thousands against the imposition of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction in black schools.

5.I use the term 'distancing' in its non-technical sense. In terms of the appraisal framework, 'distancing' is a sub-category of the engagement framework, a dialogic manoeuvre which acts to position the speaker or writer with respect to the truthfulness or validity of a proposition (Peter White, personal communication).

6.Flashbulb memories are very vivid, precise, long-lasting memories of a personally significant shocking event often of national or international significance, such as the Holocaust (http:// en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Flashbulb_memory).

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