Syntactic Variation in Afrikaans – An Empirical Study

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COMPULSORY DECLARATION

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

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Abstract

This dissertation presents a variationist analysis of syntactic variation and change in modern spoken Afrikaans. The Afrikaans language community is heterogeneous, and can be divided into different communication communities according to patterns of segregated residential settlement and limited social interaction (linked to South Africa's history of apartheid). The selection of a sample for the study is informed by these realities and the sample is kept deliberately homogenous (following Barbiers, Cornips and Van der Kleij, 2000): participants (N=34) are White middle-class speakers of Afrikaans who are under 36 years of age and have been residing in Cape Town for at least the past seven to ten years. In addition, all participants are bilingual in English (as established through an electronically administered language use survey).

In order to combine formal theory (generative linguistics) with empirical analysis (sociolinguistics), the methodology follows a bi-modal approach. Both performance and competence are considered, and arguments are based on two types of data: speech data (interviews, narrative picture descriptions) and grammaticality judgements (elicited by means of an oral questionnaire). Grosjean's (2001) language mode model assists in refining the methodology of the study, because it recognises the fact that a bilingual speaker is a unique speaker-hearer (Chomsky, 1965). The empirical data are elicited in near-monolingual Afrikaans language modes. The results are quantified according to token frequencies and analyzed in comparison to other studies; significance tests are carried out using Chi-square and Fisher's exact tests.

From the literature, the consensus seems to be that the word order in Afrikaans (XV structure) is changing to resemble an English frame (VX structure) because of language contact (cf., inter alia, Conradie, 2004; Donaldson, 1991). Two syntactic variables are studied to investigate variation in word order and verb placement: firstly, changes from XV to VX in subordinate clauses are explored by looking at the use of specific types of subordinate clauses, and the impact of matrix clause bridge verbs on complementizer omission and dependent/independent word order in the speech corpora. Secondly, the
study examines the use of direct linking verbs and the role that complex verb initials play in proliferating VX structures.

The findings are as follows: with embedded clause word order, the corpus data provides evidence of the frequent use of complementizer-less VX subordinate clauses that were not formally elicited in the questionnaire. These clauses have an important impact on variation in Afrikaans word order, leading to the proliferation of VX embedded clauses. Contributing factors are the weakening of the complementizer's semantic strength, and the role of the bridge verb as quotative marker in the matrix clause. Furthermore, the corpus data shows high frequencies of non-standard complementizer-led VX clauses, especially when compared to their low meta-linguistic acceptance in the questionnaires. The data thus shows significant variation in embedded clause word order and suggests that we are witnessing a change in progress for this variable. With respect to complex verb initials, the study finds a high acceptance rate in the questionnaires, as well as regular use in the spoken language corpus. By comparing the use of complex verb initials to a previous study (Ponelis, 1993) the study establishes a change in real time where an increase in the use of complex verb initials promotes the suspension of the main verb in clause-final position (V-final).

The study recommends that that the bi-modal approach of considering both performance and competence data should be applied to similar studies of other groups in the Afrikaans language community.
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I would like to dedicate this dissertation to the memory of Marié du Plessis (1979-2009) – a fellow Masters student (Drama) who participated with enthusiasm in my research, but never got to see the fruition of her own.
# Table of Contents

**COMPULSORY DECLARATION**........................................................................................................ - 1 -
**Abstract........................................................................................................................................ - 2 -
Acknowledgements......................................................................................................................... - 4 -
**Table of Contents........................................................................................................................ - 5 -
**List of Figures................................................................................................................................ - 7 -
**List of Tables.................................................................................................................................. - 7 -

**Chapter 1: Introduction**................................................................................................................ - 9 -

**Chapter 2: Theoretical Background and Terminology**.................................................................. - 12 -

2.1 Variation in word order.................................................................................................................. - 12 -
  2.1.1 Base-generated or derived XV/VX word order and verb-second ........................................... - 12 -
  2.1.2 Afrikaans word order and clause structure ............................................................................ - 14 -

2.2 Subordinate clauses, types of subordinators and types of verbs................................................ - 15 -
  2.2.1 Defining subordinating conjunctions and subordinate clauses ............................................. - 15 -
  2.2.2 Bridge verbs as a type of matrix verb ...................................................................................... - 17 -

2.3 Linking verbs and simplex/complex verb initials......................................................................... - 19 -
  2.3.1 Linking verbs .......................................................................................................................... - 19 -
  2.3.2 Complex and simplex initials ................................................................................................ - 20 -
  2.3.3 Verb cluster formation and verb clusters in Afrikaans ........................................................... - 22 -

2.4 Language contact and grammatical change .............................................................................. - 23 -
  2.4.1 Language contact, grammaticalization and lexicalization .................................................... - 23 -
  2.4.2 Language contact and structural changes in Afrikaans ......................................................... - 24 -
  2.4.3 Language contact and structural changes in other Germanic languages ............................ - 26 -
  2.4.4 Language contact and Afrikaans complex initials ............................................................... - 28 -

2.5 Conclusion................................................................................................................................... - 31 -

**Chapter 3: Afrikaans-speakers: Social and Linguistic Realities**................................................. - 32 -

3.1 Demographic profile of the Afrikaans language community...................................................... - 32 -
  3.1.1 Social profile of Afrikaans speakers in South Africa ............................................................... - 32 -
  3.1.2 Social profile of Afrikaans speakers in the Cape Town metropole ......................................... - 35 -

3.2 Bilingualism in the Afrikaans language community – a brief overview .................................... - 38 -

3.3 Modelling the Afrikaans language community ....................................................................... - 39 -

3.4 Bilinguals and language choices – a survey ............................................................................. - 42 -
  3.4.1 Macro- and micro-social factors and language use: domains and interlocutors .................... - 42 -
  3.4.2 Methodology ........................................................................................................................ - 42 -
  3.4.3 Results and discussion ........................................................................................................... - 43 -
  3.4.4 Comments and opinions of Afrikaans-English bilinguals regarding their language use ....... - 48 -

3.5 Being bilingual – consequences for linguistic analysis .............................................................. - 49 -

3.6 Conclusion................................................................................................................................... - 53 -

**Chapter 4: Research Design and Methodology**.......................................................................... - 55 -

4.1 Conceptualisations and theoretical frameworks ..................................................................... - 55 -
  4.1.1 Research questions ............................................................................................................... - 56 -
  4.1.2 Accountability and the syntactic variable .............................................................................. - 56 -
  4.1.3 The notion of Standard Afrikaans ........................................................................................ - 57 -

4.2 Data collection: elicited responses and spontaneous speech ................................................... - 59 -
  4.2.1 Grammaticality and acceptability: two sides of the same judgement coin? ......................... - 60 -
  4.2.2 Conducting the interviews and elicitation techniques .......................................................... - 62 -

4.3 Sample design and sampling methods ...................................................................................... - 65 -
4.4 Data procedures  ............................................................................................................. - 66 -
   4.4.1 Data capturing and data editing .............................................................. - 66 -
   4.4.2 Data analysis .......................................................................................... - 67 -

4.5 Conclusion ............................................................................................................. - 68 -

Chapter 5: Syntactic Variation in Afrikaans – Embedded Clause Structures - 69 -

5.1 Presentation of empirical results: subordinators and variation in the embedded word
order .......................................................................................................................... - 70 -
   5.1.1 Empirical data – results and discussion of the use of obligatory subordinators and word
order in the embedded clause ............................................................................. - 70 -
   5.1.2 Empirical data – results and discussion of the use of non-obligatory subordinators and word
order in the embedded clause ........................................................................... - 72 -
   5.1.3 Comparisons between corpora: V-final vs. VX in dat-initial clauses ............. - 74 -

5.2 Presentation of empirical results: bridge verbs, complementizers and variation in the
embedded word order .......................................................................................... - 76 -
   5.2.1 Empirical data – results and discussion of bridge verbs, complementizers and clauses .......... - 76 -
   5.2.2 Comparisons between corpora: [+COMP] vs. [-COMP] ..................................... - 78 -

5.3 Results from the grammaticality judgements .................................................. - 80 -

5.4 Language contact and typological change .................................................... - 82 -
   5.4.1 Motivations for typological approaches to language change ......................... - 82 -
   5.4.2 Diachronic processes and synchronic patterns – variation and change in word order  - 83 -

5.5 Conclusion ........................................................................................................... - 87 -

Chapter 6: Syntactic Variation in Afrikaans – Complex and Simplex Verb Initials - 89 -

6.1 Linking verbs and variation in the use of complex and simplex verb initials in
present-day Afrikaans ......................................................................................... - 89 -
   6.1.1 General use of linking verbs ......................................................................... - 89 -
   6.1.2 Previous studies on complex and simplex initials in Afrikaans .................. - 91 -

6.2 Presentation of empirical results: variation in the use of complex and simplex verb
initials in matrix clauses ..................................................................................... - 94 -
   6.2.1 Empirical data – results of linking verbs in simplex and complex initials .......... - 94 -
   6.2.2 Speech corpora comparisons and ensuing discussions ............................... - 95 -

6.3 Comparisons of the speech corpus and grammaticality judgements ............... - 105 -

6.4 Modelling grammaticalization, language variation and change ..................... - 108 -

6.5 Conclusion ......................................................................................................... - 110 -

Chapter 7: Conclusion and Directions for Future Research .............................. - 111 -

References ............................................................................................................. - 114 -

Appendices ............................................................................................................. - 123 -

Appendix 1: Language use survey ......................................................................... - 123 -

Appendix 2: Participants’ comments and opinions ............................................. - 124 -

Appendix 3: Elicitation questionnaire .................................................................. - 128 -

Appendix 4: Picture prompts ................................................................................ - 146 -

Appendix 5: Bridge verbs and subordinators ..................................................... - 148 -
   Appendix 5.a: Subordinators in the spoken corpus ........................................... - 148 -
   Appendix 5.b: Bridge verbs in the spoken corpus ............................................ - 157 -

Appendix 6: Linking verbs from the spoken corpus ............................................ - 167 -
List of Figures

Figure 2.1: The clause structure of Afrikaans
Figure 3.1: Distribution of languages as dominant L1s in South Africa (*Statistics South Africa, 2001 Digital Census Atlas*)
Figure 3.2: The Afrikaans language community: one monolingual and three bilingual groups
Figure 3.3: Visual representation of Grosjean’s language mode continuum
Figure 4.1: The complementary composition of the data basis
Figure 5.1: Distribution of bridge verbs and types of subordinate clauses (percentage in speech corpus)
Figure 5.2: Proposed diachronic pathway of changes in West Germanic word orders
Figure 6.1: Frequency distribution of specific linking verbs in SIs and CIs in two corpora
Figure 6.2: A model for contact-induced changes in Afrikaans linking verbs

List of Tables

Table 3.1: Provincial distribution of speakers with Afrikaans as home language (*Statistics South Africa, 2001 census*)
Table 3.2: Distribution of Afrikaans speakers by population group on a National, Provincial and Municipal level (*Statistics South Africa, 2001 census*)
Table 3.3: Highest level of education of Afrikaans speakers by population group in Cape Town (*Statistics South Africa, 2001 census*)
Table 3.4: Typology of Cape Town’s neighbourhoods, based on the 2001 Census (adapted from Deumert, 2009, table 2)
Table 3.5: Description and relative size of groups of Afrikaans speakers in the Afrikaans language community (all population groups; SAARF AMPS®, 2008)
Table 3.6: Summary of respondent demographics according to age, gender and place of residence
Table 3.7: Final selection of domains and interlocutors for implication scale
Table 3.8: Implication scale of respondents’ language choices
Table 3.9: Language use on implication scales according to location
Table 3.10: Language use on implication scales according to gender
Table 3.11: Language use on implication scales according to age
Table 4.1: Sample distribution (N = 34)

Table 5.1: Frequency distribution of obligatory subordinators with types of subordinate clauses in the interview corpus

Table 5.2: Frequency distribution of the complementizers dat and of with types of subordinate clauses in the interview corpus

Table 5.3: Occurrence of dat-initial V2 and V-final clauses in Afrikaans, results from the present study is in italics (adapted from Biberauer, 2002a: 39, table 8; totals in brackets)

Table 5.4: Frequency distribution of bridge verbs selecting types of subordinate clauses

Table 5.5: Complementizer alternation in Afrikaans, results from the present study is in italics (adapted from Biberauer, 2002a: 36, table 6; totals in brackets)

Table 5.6: Participants’ responses to the grammaticality questionnaire (N = 34)

Table 5.7: Position of complementizer in the complement clause of attested languages (adapted from Dryer, 1992: 54, table 2)

Table 6.1: Variation between complex and simplex initials with direct linking verbs (adapted from Ponelis, 1993: 328)

Table 6.2: Distribution of linking verbs in matrix clauses from the interview corpus

Table 6.3: Comparison of percentage distribution of linking verbs in the two corpora

Table 6.4: Results of participants’ responses to questionnaire, Section 2, Q10
Chapter 1: Introduction

Why move from one extreme of only natural data to another of only artificial data? Both have known weaknesses. Why not use a combination of both, and rely on the strengths of each to the exclusion of their weaknesses? (McEnery and Wilson, 1996: 16)

Finding a balance between formal theory and empirical analysis was one of the chief motivations for this dissertation. Formal approaches proceed with one language at a time to support arguments for a universal underlying structure, and knowledge about formal structures is believed to supply clues about Language as a neurological reality. However, although the human brain is the enabler of Language, it is most probably the social character of human nature that necessitated the existence and development of such ability in the first place, and it is language use in social context that continues to shape the process of language change. This is where a combination of formal and empirical approaches is pertinent: it allows one to consider formal hypotheses in the light of language-in-use.

By combining formal theory with empirical analysis, this study aims to transcend the methodological chasm between sociolinguistics (empirical) and generative linguistics (formal). It considers both performance and competence, and bases its arguments on two types of data: speech data (interviews, narrative picture descriptions) and grammaticality judgements (elicited by means of a questionnaire). This combination of performance and competence is important as it allows one to locate syntactic variation and change in Afrikaans not only in the area of cognition (competence) but also in actual usage (performance).

The specific syntactic changes investigated in this study have been subjected to extensive theoretical examinations and explications in the fields of generative linguistics. From the literature, the consensus seems to be that the word order in Afrikaans (XV structure) is
changing to resemble an English frame (VX structure) because of language contact (cf., *inter alia*, Conradie, 2004; Donaldson, 1991). Unfortunately, past studies have often paid insufficient attention to sample group selection and reporting of sample demographics. As a result, unanimous conclusions have not been reached concerning the degree and frequency of word order variation and change.

The study follows the methodological recommendations made by researchers concerned with investigating syntactic variation, such as Barbiers, Cornips and Van der Kleij (2000). They recommend that the sample group should be fairly homogenous in order to ensure that the variations observed are not caused by external social variables. Therefore, the participants in this study are all under thirty-six years of age, White*1* middle-class people who have been residing in Cape Town for at least the past seven to ten years, and who are bilingual in English.

The investigation into variation in word order and verb placement is operationalised by research questions concerned with establishing empirical and quantitative evidence for changes in the word order of modern Afrikaans. McEnery and Wilson (1996; also see Hoffmann, 2006) propose a combination of interviews (performance) and grammaticality judgements (competence) in order to attain a more detailed account of the linguistic phenomenon under investigation. This bi-modal approach raises the question whether participants’ acceptance or rejection of non-standard constructions in the questionnaire, and their actual use of such constructions in the recorded interviews might be indicative of an early change in progress (i.e. a change that is visible in actual language use, but not yet be reflected in meta-linguistic commentary).

The contribution that this study makes to research on syntactic variation and change in Afrikaans is to discuss the question of verb placement based on comprehensive empirical data obtained from a well-defined sample group. The sociolinguistic background of the sample group is therefore described in full in Chapter 3. Inductive generalisation from the sample to the target population is thus possible. This study proceeds from the

---

1 The terms ‘Black’, ‘Coloured’, ‘Indian’ and ‘White’ will be used in this study, following their use in official statistics to refer to groups ‘with common characteristics (in terms of descent and history), particularly in relation to how they were (or would have been) classified before the 1994 elections’ (*Statistics South Africa*, cited in Christopher, 2005: 2307).
premise that descriptions of the language use of a specific sub-group illuminate but one piece of the Afrikaans-language puzzle, and proposes that a similar approach should be followed when describing other contemporary spoken Afrikaans varieties (e.g. Coloured Afrikaans, Johannesburg Afrikaans, etc.).

The thesis is structured as follows: Chapter 2 provides the necessary theoretical background and terminology for the variationist analysis of Afrikaans linear clause structure. The discussion in this chapter draws on generative theory as well as insights from language contact study. The two variables considered in the analyses are described in this chapter with reference to the literature.

Chapter 3 describes the social and linguistic background of L1 Afrikaans speakers in general, and of White Afrikaans-speaking Capetonians in particular. In order to illuminate the language use patterns of Afrikaans-English bilinguals, the results of a survey are discussed that give an indication of their linguistic choices in different communicative contexts. The bilingual nature of the sample group is relevant to research design and methodology, and Chapter 3 concludes with a consideration of the methodological implications of working with bilingual subjects.

Chapter 4 discusses the methodology employed in this work, and argues for methodological rigour, especially with regard to sample selection. The chapter also includes a detailed description of the various types of data obtained, as well as information on the transcription and computer-assisted analyses of the data.

Chapters 5 and 6 discuss the variation patterns found in the empirical data with respect to two syntactic variables. Chapter 5 presents the results on embedded word order, and Chapter 6 the results on verb clusters. Both chapters also draw on typological theory to situate and explain the findings by presenting possible diachronic directions of the synchronic patterns of variation and change. Included in these chapters are both the results from the interview data as well as the sample group’s grammaticality judgements regarding the variables in question.

The thesis concludes with a summary of the findings and reflections for further research.
Chapter 2: Theoretical Background and Terminology

This study considers claims about possible changes in Afrikaans word order by focussing on two syntactic variables, viz. embedded clause constructions (Chapter 5) and simplex/complex verb initials (Chapter 6). Conradie (2004: 153) expresses the position that Afrikaans is undergoing word order changes:

In sum, though Afrikaans has undergone and is undergoing changes in the direction of the [VX] pattern of English, a strong verb final tendency, with elements of grammaticalization, has remained.

This chapter defines the relevant terminology and theoretical concepts applicable to the presentation and discussion of the results from the empirical Afrikaans data in Chapters 5 and 6. References are also made to previous research on these variables, with exemplification from other Germanic languages. Theories regarding variation in word order are presented in Section 2.1. In Section 2.2 the focus is on subordinators, types of embedded clauses and bridge verbs. Linking verbs and verbal initials are defined in Section 2.3. The chapter concludes with Section 2.4 where the concepts of language contact and grammatical change are considered, with the focal point being on verb placement.

2.1 Variation in word order

2.1.1 Base-generated or derived XV/VX word order and verb-second

Some languages follow the requirement that the second constituent of a declarative matrix clause must be a verbal constituent. This phenomenon is referred to as 'verb second' (V2), and if a language has V2 as a characteristic property it is called a V2 language. As stated by Santorini (1992: 595), the V2 rule is a conspicuous feature in Germanic languages. English is the only Germanic language that does not follow the V2 rule (McWhorter, 2002: 242), and is classified as a VX language. The V2 requirement should not be confused with the basic underlying word order of a language. Following
Koster (1975) and Oosthuizen (1985), the underlying word order of Afrikaans is taken to be SOV (i.e. XV^2, with the V2 rule operative in declarative clauses. The VX surface order of matrix declarative clauses is therefore derived from a series of verb movements.

Afrikaans displays ‘matrix-embedded asymmetry’ (cf. Koster, 1975) where the simple declarative matrix clause is derived from an underlying XV structure by applying the V2 rule and the embedded clause retains the V-final order. Languages that exhibit V2 only in the matrix clause but not in the complementizer-led embedded clause are said to have an asymmetrical distribution (e.g. Afrikaans, standard Dutch, German; Santorini, 1992: 596-597). In Afrikaans matrix clauses, a finite pivot verb (V) precedes the dependent elements (X). The pivot verb is the verbal element that is raised to V2 in matrix clauses, and which undergoes interrogative inversion (Ponelis, 1979: 495). Embedded clauses have a XV linear pattern (see (1): verbal elements are in bold and the embedded clause is in square brackets).

Zwart (1994; 1997), however, argues against the claim for a derived VX word order. By basing his arguments on evidence from Dutch, he proposes that all traditional XV languages are in fact base-generated VX, where the object undergoes movement to result in a XV surface order. The object moves in order to satisfy morphological requirements. Zwart’s reclassification of Dutch as a VX language was influenced by the insights of Kayne’s (1994) Universal Base hypothesis, which states that all languages have the same underlying base structure where the head of a projection precedes its complement; i.e. all languages are ‘head-initial’ VX (where V is the lexical head of the verb phrase projection VP, and X is the complement^3). De Vos (2005: 13) states that Dutch and Afrikaans share important structural/typological features, and argues that Zwart’s (1994; 1997) proposal

\[ \text{S V O X} \]

\[ \text{she read the book secretly that she stole yesterday} \]

\[^2\text{A clause (or proposition) consists of a subject (S) and a predicate (VX/XV).}\]

\[^3\text{The complement can contain a clausal complement projecting as a Complementizer Phrase (CP) or Inflectional Phrase (IP) (in simplified terms).}\]
can be applied to Afrikaans: namely that it has an underlying VX order (cf. *inter alia* Biberauer, 2002a; and Oosthuizen, 1996).

The Universal Base hypothesis is not unanimously accepted, and alternative theories continue to be proposed in favour of base-generated XV structures (cf. Svenonius, 2000; Haider, 2000). Barbiers (2000) argues that all languages in fact have an XV base structure. He states ‘that the different surface position of V in English and Dutch is the result of short V-movement applying overtly in English’ (*op. cit.*: 182). Barbiers’ hypothesis rests on the idea that all derivations are initiated by the verb, since ‘it is mostly V that determines which other constituents must or can occur in the sentence’ (*ibid.*). Further discussion of these debates will not be made here. For the purposes of this study Barbiers’ proposal is adopted.

### 2.1.2 Afrikaans word order and clause structure

Following generative theory, a complementizer (C) is taken to be the head (i.e. carrier of grammatical and lexical information) of a complementizer phrase (CP). A CP is generated in the pre-subject position of clauses (Radford, 1997: 256). Figure 2.1 illustrates the embedded clause structure in Afrikaans based on the subordinate clause provided in (2). The ‘t’ (trace) indicates the original position of the head constituent in its base-generated position before movement, but after merge. Figure 2.1 also follows De Vos’ (2005: 161) assumption that AgrOP (Object-agreement Phrase) dominates vP (light verb Phrase) in Afrikaans/Dutch, even though it has been placed within the vP-shell in languages such as English.

(2)  

dat sy hom skop  
that she him kick  
‘that she kicks him’

---

4 ‘Short V-movement is understood to mean V-movement to little v’ in a successively cyclical manner from V (Mohr, 2005: 87).
2.2 **Subordinate clauses, types of subordinators and types of verbs**

2.2.1 **Defining subordinating conjunctions and subordinate clauses**

Ponelis (1979: 437) has argued that the presence of conjunctions signals the dependent or subordinate nature of embedded clauses. However, conjunctions do not only serve a
formal or grammatical purpose: they also fulfil a strong semantic function by indicating
the meaning of the embedded clause and the nature of the semantic relation between the
embedded and matrix clause. This relation is generally of a causal or conditional nature.
When a conjunction has a strong semantic function, the possibility of omitting it from the
construction is excluded (Gouws, 1998: 92). Examples of Afrikaans conjunctions that
cannot be omitted are: *omdat*, *sodat*, *nadat*, *tensy*, *asof*, etc. *Dat* and *of*, on the other
hand, are conjunctions that can be omitted in certain contexts.

As a conjunction *dat* mostly serves to indicate a quotation or statement made in the
embedded clause (Ponelis, 1979: 439). *Dat* can be readily omitted as it does not
contribute much to the semantic reading of the embedded clauses (Feinauer, 1990: 116).
Malherbe (1966: 145) states that the meaning of *dat* has weakened to such an extent that
it can be used now to indicate almost any kind of relation between clauses. However, the
omission of *dat* is prohibited in structures where it links a statement with an explication
or a cause with effect, for example in (3):

(3) *hy soen my dat my tone krul* (Male, 33 years)
    ‘he kiss me so that my toes curl’

Another subordinating conjunction that can be omitted is *of* – especially when the matrix
clause has an expletive subject, as shown in (4.a/b).

(4) a. *dit lyk my of jy die spyker op die kop slaan*  
    b. *dit lyk my jy slaan die spyker op die kop*
    ‘It seems to me (as if) you hit the nail on the head’ (Ponelis, 1979: 440)

Rosenbaum (1967) introduced the term *complementizer*, which is used to refer to a
syntactic category that is generally equivalent to the term ‘subordinating conjunction’ in
traditional grammar. Complementizers are distinguished from other subordinating
conjunctions in that they introduce *complement clauses*. A complement clause is a
specific type of embedded clause, which must be attached to a matrix or independent
clause in order for both clauses to be grammatically complete (Noonan, 1985: 42).
Example (4.a) above, ‘*of jy die spyker op die kop slaan*’ is an example of a complement
clause with ‘dit lyk my’ as matrix clause. Other types of dependent embedded clauses include adverbal clauses and relative clauses (Diessel, 2001: 435). The focus of the analyses and discussions in Chapter 5 is on complement and subordinate embedded clauses, and not on adverbal or relative clauses. The whole class consisting of both complementizers and subordinate conjunctions (i.e. that do not introduce a complement clause) will be referred to as ‘subordinators’.

The following types of complement and subordinate embedded clauses are possible in Afrikaans (following Feinauer, 1990: 116, with some adaptations – verbs are in **bold** and complementizers are **underlined**, and clauses are in square brackets):

1. **Type A** – clean dependent embedded clauses (occur without subordinator, and have VX order – StAfr, typical of informal speech),
   
   e.g. *ek besef [ek maak hierdie kort klein onnodige oproepe]* (Female, 25 years)
   
   ‘I realise I make these short, unnecessary calls’

2. **Type B** – dependent embedded clauses (introduced by a subordinator, with XV order – more formal StAfr),

   e.g. *ek weet nie [of dit is omdat ons ’n kleiner groep is of wat nie]* (Female, 20 years)
   
   ‘I do not know if it is because we are smaller group or what’

3. **Type C** – independent embedded clauses (also introduced by a subordinator, but with an independent, VX order – non-standard Afrikaans),

   e.g. *veral nou [omdat ek fokus op een teoloog]* (Male, 29 years)
   
   ‘especially now because I focus on one theologian’

The use of these types of embedded clauses will be investigated in Chapter 5.

### 2.2.2 Bridge verbs as a type of matrix verb

*Verba sentiendi et dicendi* (shortened to *verba sentiendi*) are a semantically defined class of verbs that denote processes of sensual perception, belief, opinion, thought, feeling, etc. (e.g. ‘feel’, ‘believe’, ‘see’, ‘know’, etc.; Bussmann, Trauth and Kazzazi, 1996: 513).

---

5 ‘Clean dependent embedded clauses’ is a translation of Feinauer (1990) terminology (*skoon afhanklike bysinne*), where ‘clean’ simply means ‘without subordinator’.
These verbs are also called *bridge verbs* when they select clausal complements. Biberauer (2002a: 43) finds in the modern spoken Afrikaans corpus she examined that VX in complementizer-led embedded clauses (i.e. Type C, cf. 2.2.1) occurred predominantly after bridge verbs. More than 90% of the matrix clause verbs found by Biberauer in these contexts were either *dink* ‘think’, *sien* ‘see’, *sê* ‘say’, *weet* ‘know’, *glo* ‘believe’ or *voel* ‘feel’. Biberauer (ibid.) argues that the nature of the matrix verb can play a deciding role in the acceptability of embedded VX order (also see Vikner, 1994).

This study similarly argues (following Diessel, 2001: footnote 3) that the matrix verb can affect complementizer omission by defining the semantic relationship between the matrix and embedded clause, with the semantically weak complementizer as a redundant constituent. Complementizer omission will henceforth be referred to as *COMP-drop* (‘complementizer-dropping’), based on analogy with ‘pro-drop’ (‘pronoun-dropping’). In a pro-drop language certain classes of pronouns may be omitted in some constructions, whereas in a COMP-drop language, certain types of complementizers may be omitted. In contemporary Afrikaans, the range of bridge verbs that also occur with COMP-drop clauses (Type A) is wide. Example (5) shows the bridge verb *dink*, which can select the bare (i.e. complementizer-less Type A) complement clause ‘*dit was ‘n leeu*’.

(5)  
*sy dink dit was ‘n leeu*  
’she thinks (that) it was a lion’  
(Ponelis, 1993: 309)


Featherston (2005: 1279) states with respect to German that ‘the presence or absence of the complementizer usually seems to be in fairly free variation in the embedding of clausal complements, provided that the matrix verb is a member of the bridge verb class.’ Featherston (2000) also finds that bridge verbs permit VX in complementizer-led complement clauses more regularly than others. This finding supports the notion that the type of matrix verb is a causal factor in motivating occurrence of VX in embedded clauses. Following Featherston, the claim can be made that with bridge verbs, COMP-
drop and VX subordinate clauses may become the norm. The presence of an overt complementizer with bridge verbs might therefore be the exception, rather than the VX word order. This behaviour of bridge verbs can be regarded as innovative: the semantic change of the bridge verb as a quotative or presupposition marker makes the presence of an overt complementizer redundant.

2.3 Linking verbs and simplex/complex verb initials

2.3.1 Linking verbs

Afrikaans has a class of grammatical verbs that consists of auxiliary and linking verbs, which indicate temporal or aspectual meaning in an utterance. Auxiliary verbs consist of modals, such as *kan*, *sal*, *mag*, *moet*, *wil*, *durf*, *hoef*, *behoort*, *gaan*, and the auxiliary past tense verb *het* (Carstens, 2003: 73). There are two categories of linking verbs: direct and indirect linking verbs. Indirect linking verbs form a small and closed group that consists of four posture verbs, viz.: *sit* ‘sit’, *staan* ‘stand’, *le* ‘lie’, and *loop* ‘walk’. These can indicate progressive aspect when used as linking verbs. Indirect linking verbs are always followed by a linking marker *en* (‘and’; Robbers, 1997: 55-56). In example (6), the indirect linking verb is underlined and the main verb is in bold.

(6) sy staan en skop die bal  
*she stand and kick the ball*  
‘she proceeds with kicking the ball’

Direct linking verbs, on the other hand, ‘directly select a verbal complement without the need of a ‘subordinative’ marker like *te* ‘to’ or *en* ‘and’’ (De Vos, 2005: 118, footnote 4). Examples of direct linking verbs are *begin, bly, ophou, aanhou, help, probeer, leer, kom, gaan, loop, laat and beter* (Carstens, 2003: 73). This study will only focus on direct linking verbs.

Linking verbs in Afrikaans are lexical verbs that underwent semantic shifts (Ponelis, 1979: 241). One of the main semantic adaptations is the modal and aspectual functions
that linking verbs take on (cf. Heine, 1993: 14-16). This is illustrated in example (7), the linking verb is underlined and the main verb is in bold.

(7) hy bly na die tuin kyk
he keeps at the garden look
‘he keeps on looking at the garden’

In example (7), the semantic features of bly are no longer those of its main verb alternative (i.e. [x BLY y]) – hy bly tuis ‘he stays home’). Rather, bly scopes over the proposition in an aspectual manner: BLY_{durative} [x KYK NA y]. As a linking verb, bly now no longer refers to an activity, but denotes the duration of the activity described by the main verb (in this case, an ongoing activity), and can no longer assign semantic/thematic roles to the arguments in the proposition. The claim can be made that the linking verb ‘describes’ the state of the main verb.

2.3.2 Complex and simplex initials

In Afrikaans, a direct linking verb can occur with the finite verb in V2 in declaratives, thereby forming a complex initial (henceforth CI; De Vos, 2005: 197). The combination of a linking and main verb in a CI is also referred to as a verb cluster. When a single verb occurs in V2, it constitutes a simplex initial (henceforth SI). The sentences in (8) and (9) exemplify the possible distributions of the modal, te-complement, linking and main verbs. With (8.a) the future modal sal is in V2 (SI). In (8.b), begin (‘starts’) is a te-complement verb in a SI, with the infinitive main verb lees (‘read’) in the infinitive clause (V-final). When the infinite verb is raised to the V2 position in the matrix clause, the presence of te is prohibited in Afrikaans (8.c).

---

6 X and y stand for the main arguments of the verb (i.e. the arguments that take the form of the grammatical subject and object of the verb).

7 Te-complement verbs are a type of restructuring verb in Afrikaans that obligatorily co-occurs with the infinitive marker te. These verbs usually do not select a CP complement that has the infinitival complementizer om in C (De Vos, 2001: 24).
The examples in (9) do not contain an infinitive clause, and in (9.a) the linking verb *begin* occurs in a SI. In (9.b), the linking verb and main verb form a CI or verb cluster.

Schematically, (8.b) and (9.b) can be depicted as follows to illustrate the grammatical differences between a *te*-complement and linking verb:

(8.b) \( \text{begin} \ [\text{om} \ldots \text{te } V] = \text{starts} \ [\text{to } V \ldots] \) \hspace{1cm} (te-complement verb), and

(9.b) \( \text{begin } V = \text{starts } Ving \) \hspace{1cm} (linking verb)

*Begin* fulfils different grammatical roles in (8.b) and (9.b). The difference is indicated by the fact that *begin* is a *te*-complement verb in (8.b) that selects the whole infinitival clause as a complement, but in (9.b) it functions as a linking verb by modifying the main verb *lees*. Only linking verbs can therefore form CIs with a main verb. Another verb that presents with similar grammatical diversity is *probeer*. The occurrence and grammatical features of *begin* and *probeer* in the empirical data will be discussed in detail in Chapter 6.2.2.
According to Ponelis (1993: 315) the occurrence of CIs is held to be an indicator of a change in Afrikaans linear clause structure, where previously final main verbs (XV structure) are moved to the front of the clause and thus positioned adjacent to the linking verb. Therefore, the focus of Chapter 6 is on the variation in the frequency occurrence of SIs and CIs with specific direct linking verbs.

2.3.3 Verb cluster formation and verb clusters in Afrikaans

As previously stated, a linking and main verb in a CI can be also referred to as a verb cluster. Kiss and Van Riemsdijk (2004: 2) warn that the notion of verb clusters can have two distinct interpretations. It can either 'refer to a string of more or less adjacent verbs, or it refers to a string of verbs that form a constituent together at some level of analysis.' The former describes the adjacency of modals, auxiliaries and verbs, as found in English (verbal string is underlined):

(10) he must have been looking at the garden

The latter description will be adopted in this study, where a CI forms a verbal constituent when both the linking and main verb are in the V2 slot; syntactically, CIs are verb clusters that are located in the same functional head or structural site. A string of adjacent verbs does not form a constituent in Standard English. There are, however, some fixed verbal expressions in English such as: come stand and go fetch. These English verb clusters appear in imperative constructions, as shown in example (11), but the construction becomes ungrammatical in most varieties of English as soon as a subject is in place (12). By separating the verbs with a conjunction, grammaticality is restored in (13).

(11) a. go fetch the newspaper
    b. come stand here next to me
(12) a. *you go fetch the newspaper
    b. *you come stand here next to me
(13) a. you go and fetch the newspaper
    b. you come and stand here next to me

8 From personal communication with Rajend Mesthrie: some varieties of English allow such constructions.
These constructions are similar to Afrikaans CIs that consist of indirect linking and main verbs. De Vos (2005) investigates the use of these constructions in English. He states that the coordinator and is commonly reduced to a syllabic [n]. Constructions that present with a deleted coordinator are referred to as bare-aspectuals. De Vos (op. cit.: 202) points out that and-deletion might be a general rule rather than an exception in some varieties of English.

Ponelis (1993: 325) argues that Afrikaans differs from other West Germanic languages by freely permitting CI variants in the V2 slot (also cf. Du Plessis, 1990: 74). Furthermore, Afrikaans has a complex system of grammatical verbs. One reason proposed for this complexity is because the Afrikaans verbal system represents a process of morpho-syntactic simplification with the loss of grammatical inflections (vis-à-vis Dutch), compensation for these losses is made by developing a system of verbs that has an extensive grammatical sphere of use (Du Plessis, ibid.). Direct linking verbs (as discussed above) are an example of such a functional expansion or grammaticalization of main verbs, and are employed to indicate modal or aspectual meaning (cf. Heine, 1993: 48; De Vos, 2001). This process of grammaticalization has been linked to language contact, in particular influence from Khoesan (to be discussed in detail in Section 2.4.4).

2.4 Language contact and grammatical change

2.4.1 Language contact, grammaticalization and lexicalization

Language contact is a linguistic phenomenon dependent on social circumstances that foster the use of two or more languages ‘in the same place at the same time’ by the same group of speakers (Thomason, 2001b: 1). Contact-induced language change ‘is a regionally confined process resulting from specific historical events’ (Heine and Kuteva, 2005: 14), where a change in language A results from the contact of its speakers with speakers of language B. Often this is a consequence of individual and societal bilingualism. However, language contact can also result in shift-induced interference, which ‘occurs when imperfect learning plays a role in the interference process’ (Thomason, 2001b: 276). The term interference refers to contact-induced change where lexical items and/or structures are transferred from language A to language B (Thomason, op. cit.: 267). The development of Afrikaans was characterised to a significant degree by
shift-induced interference, attributed to L1 Khoesan-speakers who shifted to Cape Dutch under conditions of imperfect learning (creolization; cf. Den Besten, 2002). When Khoesan-speakers shifted to Cape Dutch, some Khoesan features were transferred that contributed to the formation of Afrikaans as a distinct variety.

Grammaticalization is a process that is traditionally considered to fall within the realm of independent, language-internal changes (i.e. not contact-induced), and 'is based on universal strategies of conceptual transfer' (Heine and Kuteva, 2003: 529). Hopper and Traugott (1993: i) define grammaticalization as

[...] the process whereby lexical items and constructions come in certain linguistic contexts to serve grammatical functions, and, once grammaticalized, continue to develop new grammatical functions. Thus nouns and verbs may change over time into grammatical elements such as case markers, sentence connectives, and auxiliaries.

Heine and Kuteva (op. cit.), however, suggest that grammaticalization is not only an outcome of language-internal change, but can also be the result of language contact. For this study, the process of grammaticalization of linking verbs is relevant, and will be discussed in Chapter 6.

2.4.2 Language contact and structural changes in Afrikaans

Type C clauses are of interest in terms of syntactic changes because of the word order change in the subordinator-led embedded clause (from XV to VX). Cross-linguistic evidence about diachronic change in word order 'reveals that subordinate clauses tend to be more conservative [i.e. both conserving of older forms, and resisting change] of older ordering patterns' (Whaley, 1997: 103). From these arguments Whaley concludes that languages displaying VX-matrix/XV-embedded asymmetry historically had XV word order in all clauses (see Section 2.1.1). Therefore, one might expect a subsequent state where all clauses have VX word order. In terms of the possible role played by language contact in this regard, the word order rule in English is relatively symmetrical SVO (with variation in wh-clauses, e.g. 'I wonder where the key is' vs. 'I wonder where is the key'), and arguably the bilingual's language faculty might pick up on this (also cf. Silva-Corvalán, 1994 for a discussion of other instances where bilinguals favour 'simpler' structures). This statement also relates to Seliger's (1996) Redundancy Reduction
Principle of bilingual language use: ‘the bilingual creates a new rule for L1 in those areas of grammar where the L2 rule is simpler or less marked in some way’ (p. 617-618).

Ponelis (1993: 307) states that complementizer-less subordinate clauses (i.e. Type A, cf. Section 2.2.1) might ‘represent a swing towards VX structure’ since subordinate XV structure is suspended when the complementizer is omitted. English has been the usual suspect in discussions about changes in Afrikaans. Steyn (1978: 89) suggests the possibility of English ‘dulling’ the language-specific sensitivity for subordinate word order in Afrikaans. This is especially significant when considering the bilingual status of the Afrikaans L1-speaking participants (see Chapter 3) and the high frequency of COMP-drop in English in the presence of quotative verbs like say (cf. Ferreira, 2003; Roland, Dick and Elman, 2007: 365-366).

Biberauer (2002a) states that the Type A clause with COMP-drop is a point of interest since, according to her analysis, this construction is generally barred in Standard Dutch. In German, it is a ‘highly restricted option which tends to occur when the embedded verb is clearly marked as such, bearing subjunctive morphology’ (op. cit.: 32). An example from Dutch is shown in (14), and a German example is given in (15).

(14) *ik weet de jongens lezen de krant
     ‘I know the boys read the newspaper’
(15) er meint Johan habe Maria geküsst
     ‘he thinks Johan have-SUBJ Maria kissed’ (Biberauer, 2002a: 32)

Because these constructions are believed to be rare in Dutch and German, Ponelis (1979: 442) assumes that the extensive omission of complementizers in Afrikaans must be related to the influence of English in a South African language contact situation. He states that ‘the first decades of the nineteenth century see a marked increase in dat-deletion’ – a form of syntactic transfer that has ‘taken such a firm hold so soon after the start of contact with English’ (Ponelis, 1993: 308-309). This leads him to conclude10:

9 From personal communication with Ana Deumert, *er meint Johan hat Maria geküsst* (indicative) is neither rare nor unusual in informal, spoken German.
10 Unfortunately this conclusion is made without any reference to actual quantitative data.
The contemporary position of wide ranging *dat*-deletion seems to have been attained quite early in the previous century. The close parallelism with English *that*-deletion indicates that English influence has at least contributed to Afrikaans complementizer deletion, if it is not the major factor in its emergence. (Ponelis, *op. cit.*: 309)

However, Feinauer (1990: 118) presents examples of Type A clauses with suspended V-final in both Dutch and German, which contradict Ponelis’ and Biberauer’s statements. She cites the follow examples from Dutch (16) and German (17).

(16) *het spijt me [ik kan niets voor u doen]*

‘I regret I cannot do anything for you’

(17) *Ich weiß [er ist unschuldig]*

‘I know he is innocent’ (Feinauer, 1990: 118)

Feinauer (*op. cit.*) also cites examples of COMP-drop in eighteenth-century Afrikaans-Dutch and nineteenth-century Afrikaans. The evidence of COMP-drop in early Afrikaans, as well as in Dutch and German, leads Feinauer to conclude that this type of clause construction in Afrikaans did not originate due to English influences only. However, English might have played a role in the proliferation of such structures (*op. cit.*: 118). It should be noted that Feinauer and Ponelis (as well as Biberauer) focus primarily on the complementizer *dat*, since this complementizer undergoes COMP-drop more frequently than the others.

### 2.4.3 Language contact and structural changes in other Germanic languages

Changes in XV word order has been attested in extra-territorial varieties of Dutch and German in North America where English is the main contact language. For instance, Ostyn (1972: 69) reports a change towards VX word order in American Flemish due to influence from English. He attributes the occurrence of *dat*-omission to changes in the Flemish XV syntactic frame where the construction becomes identical to the English VX frame.
Fuller (1996) investigates Pennsylvania German (henceforth PG) to determine whether the observable syntactic changes reflect (a) convergence to English or (b) independently motivated language changes. Fuller finds that English-type VX word order is used with increased frequency in subordinate clauses in PG. In English the clause structure helps to establish the distinction between subject and object Noun Phrases (NPs). This favouring of one word order, along with the deterioration of case-marking morphology on NPs, might suggest that PG is in a process of developing a syntactic case-marking system (like English), and is shifting away from using morphology with freer word order (like early PG; cf. Hawkins, 1986).

When considering structural changes in Germanic languages in general, Kiparsky (1996) states that there seems to be a noticeable asymmetry in syntactic change in terms of XV to VX, with the latter predominantly replacing the former. He (op.cit: 1) lists four main triggers of change in word order:

1. *Language contact*: VX replaced XV as result of bilingual use of a VX and XV language.
2. *Grammaticalization of word order*: VX word order helps to mark the distinction between subject and object, therefore a loss of inflectional morphology gives rise to VX.
4. *Harmonization of the direction of complementation*: The subordinate clause evidence for the XV base becomes opaque because of the rise of embedded finite verb fronting in embedded clauses, and VX arises as a generalization of rightward complementation, already in force in the other functional and lexical categories in Germanic.

Changes in word order are therefore not only due to external forces such as language contact. The English language itself is a case in point: the language underwent a structural change from XV to VX, which has been attributed alternatively to two of the factors listed above, i.e. (1) language contact (cf. Kroch, 2001; McWorther, 2002), and
(2) grammaticalization of word order (cf. Van der Wurff, 1997; Kroch and Taylor, 2000; inter alia). Multiple causation is also a possibility.

2.4.4 Language contact and Afrikaans complex initials

De Vos (2005: 130-134) discusses various explanations for the CI phenomenon in Afrikaans, drawing on Ponelis (1993), Roberge (1994) and Den Besten (2002: citing Den Besten and Rutten, 1989). One possible account, according to Den Besten (1988: 2002), is the influence from Khoesan languages, some of which have verbal compounding rules. For instance, verbal compounds in +Hoan\textsuperscript{11} are characterized by the following formulation: ‘In verbal compounds involving \(V_1\) and \(V_2\), \(V_1\) and \(V_2\) are adjacent and share one tense/aspect/voice marker’ (Gruber, 1975: 2). This formula is illustrated in the following +Hoan examples:

\begin{align*}
(18) & \\
& a. \text{ma a-} q/hu /'o djo ki kx'u na \\
& \quad \text{1SG PROG pour put.in water PART pot in} \\
& \quad \text{‘I am pouring water into the pot’} \\
& b. *\text{ma a-} q/hu djo /'o ki kx'u na \\
& \quad \text{1SG PROG pour water put.in PART pot in} \\
& c. *\text{ma a-} q/hu a- /'o djo ki kx'u na \\
& \quad \text{1SG PROG pour PROG put.in water PART pot in} \\
& \quad \text{(Collins, 2002: 2)}
\end{align*}

The ungrammatical examples in (18.b/c) indicate that the verb cluster functions as a semantic whole, and forms a syntactic constituent that does not allow the intrusion of other lexical items.

CIs in Afrikaans superficially resemble Khoesan verbal compounds, but only lexicalized verb compounds block intrusion of other lexical items. The process of lexicalization in Afrikaans is visible with a verb clusters such as "gaan haal", which is an incipient

\textsuperscript{11} +Hoan is a moribund Khoesan language spoken in Botswana.
lexicalized verb compound. The progress of lexicalization can be seen in (19) where the verb cluster acts as a semantic whole (the verb cluster is in bold).

(19)  
\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
hy & gaan & haal & die \\
he & go & fetch & the \\
'He fetches the children' & \end{array}
\]

(Ponelis, op. cit.: 329)

In the case of *gaan haal* we see syntactic fusion that shows minimal variation with a SI (Ponelis, 1993: 329). Afrikaans lexicalised verbal complexes form a closed group. Another example of a lexicalised verb complex is *laat spaander*, where *spaander* as an intransitive verb rarely occurs without *laat* (Ponelis, *ibid.*). Other examples of lexicalization are: *laat weet, laat staan, laat wiel* (Conradie, 2004: 162). The fact that Afrikaans CIs are still predominantly in variation with their respective SI variant indicates that contact with Khoesan languages may have introduced a new structural possibility without making it the general rule. The possibility of a Khoesan origin might also explain why CIs are non-existent in other Germanic languages.

Ponelis (1993: 330) suggests that both Khoesan as well as Dutch might have played a role in use of CIs in Afrikaans. He cites examples of utterances from early and dialectal Dutch where ‘a clause-initial combination of two verbs in imperatives is widely attested’ (1993: 330). Example (20) is from early New Dutch (the CI is in bold):

(20)  
\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
loopt & haelt & dan & ... \\
go & get & then & ... \\
'go then and get the food' & \end{array}
\]

(Ponelis, 1993: 330)

---

12 Ponelis does not give further specifics, but lists a number of literary sources at the end of his discussion (1993: 331).
Ponelis argues that this imperative-type of CIs (which also occurs in English, see Section 2.3.3) must have occurred in early Afrikaans. The presence of such constructions then triggered (in conjunction with influence from Khoesan) the acceptability of non-imperative CIs. As noted above, CIs consisting of linking and main verbs are rare cross-linguistically, and, according to some linguists, they are ‘absent in Dutch’ (Robbers, 1997: 58). The rarity of CIs is mainly because infinitive main verbs are prohibited from raising to V2 (since they lack subject-agreement inflection). No morphological distinction, however, is made between finite and infinitive verbs in Afrikaans. This arguably nullifies the restriction of raising the infinitive verb. According to Ponelis (1993), when a finite verb is marked by concord inflection\(^\text{13}\) it is directly linked with the subject, ‘and the lack of this marking in nonfinite verbs just as clearly indicates their lack of a direct link with the subject’ (p. 329). Nonfinite verbs thus usually remain in situ, and do not raise to form a cluster with a direct linking verb in the finite (V2) position, as shown in the following example from Standard Dutch. In (21.a) laat is a finite verb and blijken an infinitive; (21.b) shows the ungrammatical construction. In (21.c) the same construction deemed ungrammatical in Standard Dutch is allowed in Afrikaans.

\[
\begin{align*}
(21) \quad \text{a.} & \quad \text{laat} & \text{hij} & \text{niets} & \text{blijken?} \\
& \quad \text{let} & \text{he} & \text{nothing} & \text{reveal?} \\
& \quad \text{‘does he not reveal anything?’} \\
& \quad \text{b.} & *\text{laat blijken hij niets?} \\
& \quad \text{c.} & \text{laat blyk hy niks nie?} \\
\end{align*}
\]

(Ponelis, op. cit.: 329)

As noted above, the distinctiveness of CIs in Afrikaans indicates that replication of these structures from Khoesan to Afrikaans is a strong possibility.

\(^{13}\) ‘Concord inflection’ refers to morphology on the verb that agrees with the specifications of the subject in the construction.
2.5 Conclusion

In this chapter, the theoretical aspects of linear clause structures were discussed, with specific reference to types of verbs (i.e. linking and bridge verbs), subordinators and clauses. Word order changes in other Germanic languages were also presented in order to consider arguments for externally motivated language changes (triggered by language contact and bilingualism). The argument was made that the occurrence of CIs in Afrikaans was related at least in part to shift-induced interference from Khoesan. The theoretical concepts introduced in this chapter will be applied in Chapters 5 and 6, where possible evidence for the belief that Afrikaans is currently undergoing syntactic change will be investigated based on a well-defined sociolinguistic corpus. The next chapter will therefore be an in-depth description of the sociallinguistic background of this study’s sample group.
Chapter 3: Afrikaans-speakers: Social and Linguistic Realities

This chapter provides the sociolinguistic background for the research conducted in this study. In Section 3.1 the demographic characteristics of Afrikaans speakers in South Africa and Cape Town are sketched in order to supply details about the social profile of this study's sample group (White Afrikaans L1 speakers in Cape Town). Bilingualism\textsuperscript{14} as a societal phenomenon in the South African context is discussed in Section 3.2, and an Afrikaans language community model is proposed in Section 3.3. Section 3.4 reports on the present-day language behaviour of bilingual White Afrikaans L1 speakers by means of a survey conducted on factors influencing language choices in different conversational contexts. Since a community consists of individual members, Section 3.5 discusses the psycholinguistic implications of individual bilingualism. The importance of bilingualism as a variable that needs to be accounted for is considered with reference to Grosjean’s (2001) language mode model.

3.1 Demographic profile of the Afrikaans language community

3.1.1 Social profile of Afrikaans speakers in South Africa

Afrikaans is one of the eleven official languages of South Africa. According to the 2001 Census (\textit{Statistics South Africa}), 5,984,000 South Africans indicated that they use Afrikaans as their dominant home language (L1). L1 speakers of Afrikaans comprise 13.3\% of the total South African population. As illustrated in Figure 3.1, the majority of Afrikaans L1 speakers lived in the Northern and Western Cape in 2001 (51.2\% of Afrikaans L1 South Africans). The provincial distribution of Afrikaans L1 speakers is summarised in Table 3.1.

\textsuperscript{14} In this study 'bilingualism' is taken to refer to the societal or individual use of two languages. The term 'bilingual' will be used in this study to include 'multilingual'.

- 32 -
**Figure 3.1**: Distribution of languages as dominant L1\(^{15}\) in South Africa (*Statistics South Africa, 2001 Digital Census Atlas\(^{16}\)*)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Percentage of total provincial population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Northern Cape</td>
<td>561,009</td>
<td>56.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western Cape</td>
<td>2,508,748</td>
<td>55.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gauteng</td>
<td>1,249,933</td>
<td>13.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Free State</td>
<td>323,081</td>
<td>11.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eastern Cape</td>
<td>681,666</td>
<td>9.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North West</td>
<td>292,210</td>
<td>9.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mpumalanga</td>
<td>18,6118</td>
<td>5.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Limpopo</td>
<td>128,441</td>
<td>2.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KwaZulu-Natal</td>
<td>139,223</td>
<td>1.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>South Africa</strong></td>
<td>5,983,420</td>
<td>13.3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 3.1**: Provincial distribution of speakers with Afrikaans as home language (*Statistics South Africa, 2001 census*)

\(^{15}\) StatsSA defines language dominance as: 'one home language having more than 50% of the total home language of the municipality, or between 33% to 50% of one home language and no other home language having more than 25%' [http://www.statsza.gov.za/census2001/digiAtlas/index.html](http://www.statsza.gov.za/census2001/digiAtlas/index.html).

According to Van der Merwe and Van der Merwe (2006: 17), ‘most Afrikaans speakers live in the urban metropoles – Cape Town and Gauteng being the main centres, while Port Elizabeth, Bloemfontein and Kimberly are second foci.’ 85.4% of all Afrikaans-speaking South Africans lived in urban areas according to the 2001 Census, compared to 56.8% for the national population. Finally, concerning the average age of Afrikaans speakers in South Africa, a comparison between the 1980 and 2001 Census data is instructive. In 1980, the average age of Afrikaans speakers was 26.1 years; in 2001, it had risen to 30.4 years. This suggests that the Afrikaans language community is progressively losing young L1 speakers (the South African average age in 2001 was 26.8; Van der Merwe and Van der Merwe, *ibid.*).

The population group composition of the Afrikaans language community is illustrated in Table 3.2, where the distribution of Afrikaans speakers is compared on a national, provincial and municipal level.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Percentage of Population Group per Region</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>South Africa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black African</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indian/Asian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.2: Distribution of Afrikaans speakers by population group on a National, Provincial and Municipal level (*Statistics South Africa*, 2001 census)

In 2001, the vast majority of Afrikaans speakers in the Western Cape were Coloured (roughly 80%); just under 20% were White. Similar figures are also found in Cape Town, but on a national level the distribution evens out, which indicates that White Afrikaans speakers reside in large numbers in other provinces.

---

17 Language shift might not be the strongest factor involved in the decrease of young Afrikaans speakers; lower birth rates might also play a role.
3.1.2 Social profile of Afrikaans speakers in the Cape Town metropole

In the 2001 census, 41.4% of Cape Town’s population spoke Afrikaans, 27.9% spoke English, and 28.7% indicated that isiXhosa was their home language. Given that over two-thirds of Afrikaans speakers in Cape Town are Coloured, these absolute numbers say little about the 20% White community that is at the centre of this study. By cross-tabulating the 2001 census data\(^{18}\) for population group, language, and level of education, Table 3.3 summarizes salient social differences between White and Coloured Afrikaans-speaking Capetonians.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Highest educational level</th>
<th>Population group</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Coloured</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No schooling</td>
<td>31.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grade 12/standard 10/form 5/matric/NTC III</td>
<td>60.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Certificate with grade 12</td>
<td>2.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diploma with grade 12</td>
<td>4.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bachelor’s degree and diploma</td>
<td>0.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Honour’s degree</td>
<td>0.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Higher degree (master’s or doctorate)</td>
<td>0.3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.3: Highest level of education of Afrikaans speakers by population group in Cape Town (Statistics South Africa, 2001 census)

Level of education can be regarded as a proxy for occupational class: a higher level of education generally entails a higher occupational class. From Table 3.3 it is apparent that not only did more White Afrikaans Capetonians have access to some form of tertiary education, but also more Coloured Capetonians had no formal schooling. According to Seekings (2007: 7), there is a visible relationship between population group and occupational class in Cape Town. White people predominantly hold professional (middle/upper class) occupations. Coloured people are largely found in ‘the range of occupations categorized as semi-professional, intermediate class or core working class’ (Seekings, op. cit.: 10).

In post-apartheid Cape Town there remains an intricate interlinking of class, population group and language that is reflected by residential demographics. Deumert (2009) uses

\(^{18}\) By employing StatsSA’s online interactive website, see: [http://interactive.statssa.gov.za/](http://interactive.statssa.gov.za/).
the 2001 Census data to distinguish eight different suburb types in Cape Town according to the social and linguistic profile of their residents (Table 3.4).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Suburb description (group averages)</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td><strong>Upper Middle Class, English-dominant, White</strong>&lt;br&gt;Very low unemployment (&lt;5%), medium-high to high income, high educational achievement, more than 75% English, 15-20% Afrikaans, close to 90% White.</td>
<td>Newlands, Table View, Claremont, Camps Bay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td><strong>Upper Middle Class, Afrikaans-dominant, White</strong>&lt;br&gt;Very low unemployment (&lt;5%), medium-high income, high educational achievement, more than two-thirds Afrikaans, English around 30%, close to 90% White.</td>
<td>Bellville, Durbanville</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td><strong>Middle Class, English-dominant, Ethnically mixed</strong>&lt;br&gt;Low unemployment (&lt;10%), medium income, good educational achievement; close to 90% English, around two-thirds Coloured, 10-20% Indian/Asian, c. 15% White, less than 5% Black.</td>
<td>Rondebosch East, Rylands</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td><strong>Middle Class, Trilingual, Ethnically mixed</strong>&lt;br&gt;Low unemployment (&lt;10%), medium to medium-low income, good educational achievement, around 40% English, 30% Afrikaans, c. 15% isiXhosa, roughly equal percentage of White, Coloured and Black.</td>
<td>Summer Greens, Parklands, Goodwood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td><strong>Working class, English-Afrikaans bilingual, Coloured</strong>&lt;br&gt;Medium unemployment (around 10%), medium-low income, average educational achievement, around 60% English, 40% Afrikaans, over 90% Coloured.</td>
<td>Grassy Park, Salt River, Retreat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI</td>
<td><strong>Working Class, Afrikaans-dominant, Coloured</strong>&lt;br&gt;Medium-high unemployment (15-20%), low income, low educational achievement, over 80% Afrikaans, over 90% Coloured.</td>
<td>Bishop Lavis, Lavender Hill, Bonteheuwel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII</td>
<td><strong>Working class, Afrikaans-isiXhosa Bilingual, ethnically mixed</strong>&lt;br&gt;Medium-high unemployment (15-20%), low income, low educational achievement, Afrikaans and isiXhosa as the strongest languages (often Afrikaans dominant), Coloured and Black residents (often Coloured dominant).</td>
<td>Delft South, Wesbank, Fisantkraal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIII</td>
<td><strong>Working class/underclass, isiXhosa enclaves, Black</strong>&lt;br&gt;Very high unemployment (around 40%), low to very low income, low educational achievement, over 90% isiXhosa, over 90% Black.</td>
<td>Guguletu, Khayelitsha</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.4: Typology of Cape Town's neighbourhoods, based on the 2001 Census (adapted from Deumert, 2009, table 2)

The interesting aspect of these residential demographics is that one can observe a definite division of White middle-class/upper-middle class people in terms of their home language: the majority of people living in type I suburbs use English as a L1, where White Afrikaans-speaking people are found to reside predominately in type II suburbs. This distribution was also the case for the participants in this study: the majority grew up and/or is currently living in White, as well as Afrikaans-dominant, middle to upper middle class areas (type II). However, they are in fairly regular contact with White L1 speakers of English since approximately one-third of the residents in Afrikaans-dominant type II suburbs are White English speakers. In addition, there is a residential division
between White and Coloured Afrikaans-speakers: the latter reside predominately in the former urban townships (Cape Flats, type V, VI) where they constitute over 90% of the population. White Afrikaans-speakers therefore have little contact with non-White Afrikaans L1 speakers in their residential areas. A possible place of contact might be at the workplace.

The Afrikaans language community is heterogeneous, not only in terms of ethnicity, but also in terms of class and geographical location. Yet, at the same time there seems to be extensive overlapping between these three factors; in Cape Town, working class speakers of Afrikaans are also generally Coloured. This is reflected by the data in Table 3.3, where 31.5% of Coloured Afrikaans-speaking Capetonians had no formal schooling (compared to 4.5% Whites). Therefore, even though Afrikaans itself is a majority language in Cape Town, a hypothesis can be formulated on the basis of the demographic data and geographical distribution, viz. that there are at least two different ethnic varieties of Afrikaans in use. These varieties are not only a consequence of the limited social interaction – a long-term consequence of apartheid – between White and Coloured Afrikaans speakers, but are also reflective of group identities related to different heritages.

Careful consideration and delineation of the sample group is thus vital when investigating variation in Afrikaans. By isolating one specific subgroup – in this case young White Afrikaans speakers in Cape Town – for in-depth sociolinguistic analysis, one can establish a point of reference for future comparison with other groups of Afrikaans speakers. If White Afrikaans speakers constitute a subgroup of the total group of Afrikaans speakers, then the sample group of this study is a subgroup within this subgroup. This sub-subgroup is defined not only by the members’ population group, but also by their age (under 36), class (middle to upper-middle) and geographical location (urban, Cape Town). In addition, all members of this group are bilingual in English.
3.2 Bilingualism in the Afrikaans language community – a brief overview

Mackey (1972: 554, his italics) states: 'bilingualism is not a phenomenon of language; it is a characteristic of its use.' In other words, bilingualism is not an abstract concept, but is brought about by language users who have proficiency in two or more languages, and who make use of these languages in their day-to-day interactions. The term 'bilingual' can refer to an individual speaker who uses two or more languages (individual bilingualism), or to a community in which two or more languages (societal bilingualism) are used. The participants involved in this study are all bilingual in Afrikaans and English, thus the notion of individual bilingualism is relevant here. In addition, since South Africa is a nation with eleven official languages where two or more languages are regularly used in different interactional contexts, all participants experience societal bilingualism in their daily lives.

Already in the nineteenth-century, the language contact situation between English speakers and Cape Dutch/early Afrikaans speakers resulted in growing bilingualism among the latter. For example, the Corpus of Cape Dutch Correspondence provides ample evidence of code-switching and mixing between English and Cape Dutch in nineteenth- and early twentieth-century correspondences (Deumert, 2004: 266). In the Cape Colony, English was the language of administration and public education, and many teachers were imported in a deliberate effort to Anglicize the Dutch (Watermeyer, 1996: 102). Being bilingual in English and Afrikaans thus has a long history in South Africa, and has since become an unremarkable social norm for the majority of Afrikaans-speaking South Africans, especially in the urban centres.

Research since the 1970s has documented the widespread bilingualism in the White Afrikaans community (Hauptfleisch, 1978, 1979; cf. Lass, 1987: 303). Currently, English is used as a second language (L2) by a great number of Afrikaans-speaking South Africans (White as well as Coloured). Based on survey data (AMPS 2008), Deumert (2009) has estimated that about 50% of urban Afrikaans-speakers use English as an additional language within the home environment. The global status of English – as well as its availability as a national lingua franca for a multilingual nation like South Africa – has important implications for bilingual South Africans: with English increasingly becoming the norm in public contexts, L2 speakers of English make more use of English...
in their daily lives than before (cf. Kamwangamalu, 2003). This may result in the first language (L1) becoming strictly a language of the home, i.e. a language that is only used in the speaker’s private life, whereas the L2 dominates in all other spheres of public life. This pattern can continue in the form of stable bilingualism, or can lead to gradual language shift, where the L2 replaces the L1 (cf. Louw, 2004 for a discussion of language shift from Afrikaans to English). One should therefore be able to model the Afrikaans language community into different groups, based on speakers’ dominant language use. A dominant language is ‘the language with which the speaker has greater proficiency and/or uses more often’ (Schafer et al., 1997).

### 3.3 Modelling the Afrikaans language community

Language is an important indicator of group membership. Du Plessis (1989: 468) defines the Afrikaans language community broadly as including anyone who can speak Afrikaans. Thus, monolingual Afrikaans speakers as well as speakers with a rudimentary L2 proficiency in the language form part of Du Plessis’ Afrikaans language community. The inclusion of speakers with rudimentary L2 knowledge into a language community is, however, controversial: linguistic proficiency is a key determinant for participation in the communication networks that define the language community. In an attempt to address this problem, Du Plessis (op. cit.: 472) makes a distinction between a primary and secondary language community, where L1 speakers of Afrikaans are the primary group, and L2 speakers form the secondary group.

If the language is also closely tied to ethnic or racial divisions within a society, communication networks will usually mirror this divide and there will be limited interaction between ethnic/racial groups. This is applicable to Afrikaans: during apartheid Coloured speakers of Afrikaans were de facto excluded from the regular communication networks that linked White Afrikaans speakers to one another. As a result one might argue that the Afrikaans language community was divided into two separate communication communities during colonialism and apartheid, a division which still prevails in the continuing patterns of segregated residential settlement and interaction (as discussed in Section 3.1.2).
The following discussion of the Afrikaans language community elaborates on Du Plessis' proposal. A graphic representation (Figure 3.2) is proposed that makes provision for rudimentary L2 speakers (secondary language community), as well as fully bilingual and monolingual speakers (primary language community). The graphic representation includes all the members of the Afrikaans language community, regardless of population group, and distinguishes four different groups within the larger language community by considering factors such as home language use, language dominance and patterns of use in everyday life. This language community representation does not conceptualize the ethnic divisions discussed in the previous paragraph; i.e. within the language community there are different communication communities, which can be related to different degrees of social contact.

![Figure 3.2: Graphic representation of the Afrikaans language community: one monolingual and three bilingual groups](image)

Table 3.5 gives a rough indication of the relative size of each group. These demographics were estimated using the South African Advertising Research Foundation All Media and Products Survey (which collects data on primary and secondary language use).
1. Monolingual Afrikaans speakers: Afrikaans only; low to zero proficiency in any other language. Afrikaans is used in all contexts.

2. Bilingual Afrikaans speakers: Afrikaans is the dominant language; English (or another language) is regularly used, although in restricted contexts.

3. Bilingual Afrikaans speakers: balanced bilingualism. Regular use of both Afrikaans and English (or another language) in a wide range of contexts. Afrikaans, however, is dominant in the home domain.

4. Bilingual (high proficiency) Afrikaans-L2 speakers: English (or another language) is the dominant language; Afrikaans is regularly used, although in restricted contexts.

Table 3.5: Description and relative size of groups of Afrikaans speakers in the Afrikaans language community (all population groups; SAARF AMPS®, 2008)\(^9\)

The overall structure of the Afrikaans language community can be visualized as a bilingual continuum that ranges from monolingual Afrikaans L1, through various stages of bilingualism, until the switch is made from Afrikaans L1 to Afrikaans L2. The participants in this study are predominantly from group 2, or on a continuum from group 2 to group 3. In other words, they all make frequent use of both English and Afrikaans in their daily interactions, but Afrikaans is either the dominant language (group 2), or no language dominates (group 3). One can therefore expect that these speakers will display relatively similar behaviour in terms of language choices, which the following survey aims to establish.

3.4 Bilinguals and language choices – a survey

3.4.1 Macro- and micro-social factors and language use: domains and interlocutors

Fishman (1972: 441) defines *domains* as ‘institutional contexts and their congruent behavioural co-occurrences.’ In these institutional contexts one language variety is often more appropriate than another. Such linguistic preferences are influenced by a ‘constellation of factors such as location, topic and participants’ (Fasold, 1984: 183). Domains are therefore abstracted concepts that are identified according to these factors. Intrinsic to the notion of a domain is the attempt to identify an area or sphere of interaction where the language behaviour of interlocutors are determined and controlled not by the individual, but by the norms associated with the domain.

3.4.2 Methodology

A questionnaire (see Appendix 1) was developed to elicit information on language choice testing for twenty-three interlocutors and conversational contexts. The questionnaire was sent out via electronic mail (email) to all participants interviewed for this study, as well as to other White Afrikaans-speaking acquaintances and friends. The data collection period for this survey was the last two weeks of October 2008, during which approximately fifty questionnaires were emailed. Seventy people responded in total, due to a snowball effect where people forwarded the questionnaire to other White Afrikaans speakers on their mailing lists. Table 3.6 is a summary of the respondents’ demographics. All the respondents are White, and based on their occupations they can be classified as middle to upper middle class.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Cape Town</th>
<th>Johannesburg</th>
<th>Pretoria</th>
<th>George</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;25</td>
<td>6 (5)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26-35</td>
<td>4 (4)</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 (5)</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&gt;36</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N=70</td>
<td>12 (9)</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 (8)</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>31</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.6: Summary of respondent demographics according to age, gender and place of residence\(^{20}\)

3.4.3 Results and discussion

Each respondent’s responses were captured on a spreadsheet. The data were scaled (following Deumert, 2004) using a three-place scale with the following thresholds:

- **A**, i.e. using only Afrikaans
- **V**, i.e. variable usage (both English and Afrikaans)\(^{21}\)
- **E**, i.e. using only English

Since one cannot expect perfect scales based on real-life data, a coefficient of reproducibility (CR) is calculated to measure the degree of deviation from a perfect scale (CR = 1 - Σ errors / Σ possible errors).\(^{22}\)

Redundant and repetitive categories were not included in the final implication scale. These categories simply tested for different expressions of the same concept. Thus, ‘language use with strangers in restaurants’ and ‘language use with strangers in shopping centres’ were omitted, because the category ‘language use with strangers’ already captured the full gist. The categories ‘imaginary friend’, ‘children’ and ‘partner’ were

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\(^{20}\) The figures in brackets indicate the number of respondents who also form part of this study’s main sample group, see Chapter 3.

\(^{21}\) This category combines the following questionnaire responses: equal use of Afrikaans and English; both but Afrikaans more than English; and both but English more than Afrikaans.

\(^{22}\) According to Guttman (1944: 140), scales with CR > 0.85 can be considered as approximations to a perfect scale, and a CR ≥ 0.93 approaches the 0.05 level of significance.
also excluded, since these were not applicable to many of the respondents. Table 3.7 lists the final set of categories for the implication scale.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interlocutors and Domains</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. With parents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. With siblings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. With grandparents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. At home</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. With family members</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. When answering own cellular phone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. With friends</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. With acquaintances</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. At work or during work hours</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. With strangers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. With parking attendants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. With traffic officers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. At home affairs</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.7: Final selection of domains and interlocutors for implication scale

Table 3.8 illustrates the patterns of language choices for all the respondents in the format of an implicational scale.
Table 3.8: Implication scale of respondents’ language choices.\(^{25}\)

3% [% V or E]; 67% [% A; V or E]; 24% [% V or A]; and 6% [% A only].

\(^{25}\) Deviations indicated by * (98 in total). Coefficient of reproducibility (CR) - 0.89. Entries in **bold** also form part of the second sample group.
The general pattern can be described as follows – Afrikaans is dominant in categories 1-6 (private and personal contexts); categories 7-9 (friends and work) present with variable usage; and English is dominant in categories 10-13 (public and strangers). Most of the respondents (86%) use both Afrikaans and English (variable usage) from the 7th category (‘language use with friends’) onwards, which suggests that the respondents either choose to portray a bilingual identity when communicating with friends, or that they have friends that do not speak Afrikaans. However, most of them indicated in the questionnaire that they use Afrikaans more often than English in interactions with friends. Friendship networks thus tend to be bilingual, yet Afrikaans-dominant.

The role of English in the workplace (category 9) was not as dominant as expected; the dominant pattern in this domain is variable/bilingual usage. This may be due to the lack of specific detail about the situation and type of relationship with an interlocutor at work. One might hypothesize, for example, that speakers will use a different language with colleagues in less formal situations than they would with superiors or clients in formal contexts. Also, some of the respondents might be working in an Afrikaans dominant workplace.

The relationship between the place of residence of the respondents and their reported language use according to domain or interlocutor is of interest since this thesis focuses on one particular city (Cape Town). Table 3.9 summarises the results of the implicational scale according to reported language use and the place of residence. The distribution of language choice and location is statistically significant (p < 0.05).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>A Afrikaans</th>
<th>V Both</th>
<th>E English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Johannesburg</strong></td>
<td>48%</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Cape Town</strong></td>
<td>42%</td>
<td>37%</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Tshwane</strong></td>
<td>53%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>21%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>47%</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.9: Language use on implication scales according to location ($\chi^2 = 9.793$, d.f. = 4, p = 0.044; Preacher, 2001)

The respondents from Tshwane, where White Afrikaans speakers are dominant according to the 2001 Census (they constitute 90% of the total Afrikaans-speaking population in the
municipality), reported using Afrikaans more frequently than the others, and respondents from Cape Town reported used Afrikaans least often. In terms of reported use of English, the respondents from all three locations indicated an average of 20% use of English in interactions. However, the results show that White Capetonians, in particular, make high use of both English and Afrikaans (bilingual language use) in a wide range of communicative contexts. This means that language contact can occur in various degrees, depending on where you reside, which can subsequently contribute to different patterns of variation and change in the language use of different communication communities.

Unlike place of residence, the distribution of language choice and gender as well as age is not statistically significant (p > 0.05). These results are summarised in Tables 3.10 and 3.11.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>A Afrikaans</th>
<th>V Both</th>
<th>E English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>43%</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>51%</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>47%</strong></td>
<td><strong>33%</strong></td>
<td><strong>20%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.10: Language use on implication scales according to gender
($\chi^2 = 4.977$, d.f. = 2, p = 0.083; Preacher, 2001)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>A Afrikaans</th>
<th>V Both</th>
<th>E English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&lt;25</td>
<td>43%</td>
<td>37%</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26-35</td>
<td>49%</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>21%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&gt;36</td>
<td>48%</td>
<td>37%</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>47%</strong></td>
<td><strong>33%</strong></td>
<td><strong>20%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.11: Language use on implication scales according to age
($\chi^2 = 5.935$, d.f. = 4, p = 0.204; Preacher, 2001)

Other factors, such as the speaker's identity, attitude, and types of social networks might also be influential in the reported language choices; these factors were not elicited in the questionnaire. However, during the interviews conducted for the latter part of this study, several of the participants commented on the prominent role that English plays in their daily lives.
3.4.4 Comments and opinions of Afrikaans-English bilinguals regarding their language use

Eleven of the interviewed Capetonian participants (seven males and four females; see Appendix 2) stated that English plays an important role in their daily interactions, especially for work purposes. One participant reports the following:

*My werk is als Engels, en ek spandeer meeste van my tyd daar, so ek sou sê ek spandeer sekere, hmm, [...] sewentig persent [van my dag] in Engels.* (Male, 35 years)

Another participant commented on the dominance of English in her daily life as a student at the University of Cape Town, and finds that it sometimes detracts from her ability to use Afrikaans fluently, and she ends up switching frequently to English:

*Uhm, ek vind partykeer nogal, as ek nou by UCT is, as ek nou, 'n lang tyd, ek het nou net met, met Engelse goed gewerk het, as ek dan, in die situasie kom waar ek Afrikaans praat, [...] dan vat dit my partykeer 'n rukkie, net om weer in dit te kom, dan is ek geneig nog om taamlik baie Engelse goed in te gooi.* (Female, 20 years)

One participant indicated that he predominantly uses Afrikaans, but English has become the default language for interactions with strangers:

*Ek sou sé die beste terme om daarvoor te gebruik is nou en dan, en dit is maar in my, jy weet, omgang met mense, in die daaglikse lewe, jy weet, veral by winkelsentrums as jy inkopies doen, sulke goed, as jy oproepe maak na maatskappye toe, daai tipe ding, wat ek vind is dat, ek self is geneig om eerder Engels te praat, onmiddellik, as om nog te probeer om nou 'n gesprek in Afrikaans aan te knoop met die persoon, want my voorveronderstelling wanneer ek byvoorbeeld, kom ons sé, die navraelyn van 'n besigheid bel, is dat ek gaan seker maar iemand kry wat Engels praat, so.* (Male, 30 years)

For one participant, English has even become the default language in interactions with friends, and states that his ability to speak Afrikaans now merely contributes to creative language use:

*Ek praat net by die huis Afrikaans, verder praat ek net Engels, ja almal praat Engels deesdae, meeste van my vriende het omgeskakel, ja, die mense wat nou saam met my in*
Another participant expressed his loyalty towards Afrikaans as a language with which people can be more emotionally expressive. He feels that Afrikaans is a language under threat (‘n bedreigde taal’), especially because Afrikaans speakers are more willing to accommodate towards English speakers than vice versa. As he states:

...en dis einlik hartseer, en dis juis die ding, ek dink dis juis van ons Afrikaanse taal, van ons herkoms, van ons, wie ons is, wat verlore gaan, en dit maak vir my sin dat Afrikaans 'n bedreigde taal is, dit maak absoluut sin en wat vir my baie, baie erg ook is, maar baie oplettend, is die feit dat, as jy nou in 'n geselskap is met Engelse mense, of selfs net al is een Engelse mens in jou geselskap, is die geselskap is baie geneig om oor te skakel Engels toe, om die persoon te akkommodeer ...

(Male, 26 years)

It is clear that societal norms exert a strong influence on the language choices of these Afrikaans-English bilinguals. They tend to regard English as the required language in public domains, and the de facto lingua franca in South Africa. These speakers’ highly adaptive behaviour in terms of language use/choice is a compelling indication that one cannot treat these speakers as monolinguals when investigating their language use. They are bilingual speakers who use both Afrikaans and English regularly and frequently in their daily lives.

3.5 Being bilingual – consequences for linguistic analysis

Bilinguals are people that make regular use of two (or more) languages (or dialects) in their daily lives – in spoken, signed or written form. Traditionally, researchers have regarded monolinguals to be the models for the ‘ideal’ speaker-hearer (cf. Chomsky, 1965: 3). Grosjean (1989) laments the fact that linguists have habitually ignored the bilingual’s language competence, because they associate competence with a monolingual mental grammar that remains fixed after language acquisition. It is also not generally accepted that ‘the bilingual’s two grammars can differ from the corresponding
monolingual grammars or that language competence (and especially first language competence) can actually change when another language is acquired and begins to dominate' \( \text{op. cit.}: 5 \). As an alternative, Grosjean advocates what he calls the bilingual (or 'wholistic' \( \text{sic} \)) view, where a bilingual speaker should not be treated as 'the sum of two complete or incomplete monolinguals; rather, he or she has a unique and specific linguistic configuration' \( \text{op. cit.}: 6; \) also see Grosjean, 2008: 13). In other words, Grosjean stresses that the bilingual speaker is a unique speaker-hearer that functions as an integrated whole.

Grosjean’s assessment is supported by extensive psycholinguistic research, dating back to the 1960s. For instance, a bilingual version of the Stroop test\(^ {24} \) (Preston and Lambert, 1969) and a lexical decision task (Altenberg and Cairns, 1983) found that even if one language is used by normal bilinguals (i.e. no mental disabilities or injuries), the other is nonetheless activated – especially when both languages are in regular or daily use. One documented consequence of such a dual-activation system is that in naming experiments bilinguals usually take longer to name any single object \( \text{cf. Mägiste, 1979} \).

Grosjean’s (1985) proposal that the bilingual is a uniquely competent speaker-hearer has important methodological implications. For instance, the use of grammaticality judgements with bilingual participants – where the aim is to elicit the competence of an ideal (monolingual) speaker-hearer – should be critically reflected upon. Bilinguals’ knowledge of two language systems accounts for their linguistic uniqueness. The researcher must be aware of this, and it should be acknowledged that the grammaticality judgements supplied by a bilingual can be different to that of a monolingual. The specifics of the possible differences are still unclear, but one might, for example, expect more tolerance for variation. Thus, researchers such as Cook (1997) have found inconsistency in the responses from bilingual participants: this fact necessitates a careful consideration of the applicability of grammaticality judgements in one’s methodology when dealing with bilingual speakers.

\(^ {24} \) In the original Stroop test, participants were shown colour words, such as ‘red’, which are printed in a different colour (e.g. in blue). They were then asked to name the ink colour. For bilinguals, the colour word is printed in the L2, and the participant is asked to name the ink colour using the L1 (Green, 1986).
Grosjean (2004: 39) further argues that researchers need to pay detailed attention to the following factors and ensure that this information is supplied in all publications to ensure transparency:

(i) **Biographical data** (age groups, number of males and females, education levels must be specified for the sample);
(ii) **Language history** (age at which participants started acquiring each language, manner of acquiring the languages, etc. must be given);
(iii) the **Functionality of the languages** (which languages are used and in what context by members of the sample group);
(iv) the **Language mode** that the bilinguals were interacting in when data were collected.

Grosjean developed the notion of *language modes* specifically for research on bilingualism. He argues that consideration of the language mode is indispensable, as ‘it gives a truer reflection of how bilinguals process their two languages, separately or together’ (2001: 3). Grosjean (*op. cit.*: 2; also see Grosjean, 2008: 39) defines a language mode as ‘the state of activation of the bilingual’s languages and language processing mechanisms, at a given point in time.’ According to Grosjean, the status of a speaker’s language mode can be influenced by the language proficiency of the interlocutors they interact with, and the languages they use in these interactions. The language mode operates within a monolingual-bilingual continuum, where the specific state is controlled by variables such as interlocutor/s, situation, topic, and the purpose of the interaction (Grosjean, 2004: 40). This continuum is illustrated in Figure 3.3.
In Figure 3.3, the base language (language A) is the dominant language at all points on the continuum. Language A governs the language processing and is more active than language B. The activation of the base language depends on the contextual situation of the interaction. According to Grosjean (2001: 4), when a French-English bilingual interacts with a monolingual French speaker, the bilingual would be in monolingual French mode (at point (1) on the continuum), with English minimally activated (i.e. French is language A and English language B). If this bilingual interacts with a monolingual English speaker, the bilingual will remain at point (1) on the continuum, and English will be the base language A. However, if the same speaker interacts with another French-English bilingual and both use French as base language but switch occasionally to English, then the bilingual would be in bilingual French mode, i.e. towards point (3) on the continuum. Language B will therefore be highly active as well. When a bilingual speaker is interacting in French with an interlocutor who knows English (language B), but who is either not very proficient in it or does not like to mix languages, then the bilingual will be in an intermediate position (such as point (2)). In this case, the speaker’s other language (language B) will only be partly activated (Grosjean, 2001: 3-4).

The bilingual’s positions on the continuum are represented by the broken vertical lines and the level of language activation by the degree of darkness of the squares (black is active and white is inactive; Grosjean, 2004: 41).
Arguably, the most important reason for determining a bilingual subject’s language mode is that it is an important independent, control or confounding variable that needs to be accounted for (op. cit.: 3). The language mode has important implications for observing and recording the language behaviour of the bilingual, since the context in which data collection takes place can influence the quality of the data acquired.

Grosjean (2004: 42) states that it is important to mention both variables represented in Figure 3.3 (i.e. the base language on the vertical axis and the language mode on the horizontal axis) when eliciting and collecting linguistic data from bilinguals. The interviewer’s own language behaviour can be a deciding factor, as the participant will interact differently with an interlocutor that he/she believes to be either a mono- or bilingual. Different topics and interview locations can also play a role: some topics might be associated with a specific language; and in some situations (e.g. in public areas such as restaurants) participants might consider one language to be more appropriate than the other, regardless of the language used by the interviewer. On a syntactical level the bilingual speech mode can involve transfer of structural parameters (such as word order) from one language to another; a switch which the language user is arguably less aware of making, but which can have significant consequences for data collection. These factors were taken into consideration in this study’s methodology (see Chapter 4).

3.6 Conclusion

This chapter investigated the diversity of the Afrikaans language community, the bilingual nature of its members, and the importance of both these factors for the study of Afrikaans. The section on the demographics of Afrikaans L1 speakers showed that although Afrikaans speakers are the majority in Cape Town, less than 20% of them are White. They typically reside in neighbourhoods where Afrikaans is the dominant language. This allows for high degrees of maintenance (as local communication networks are intact). At the same time, however, English is present in these neighbourhoods (around one-third of residents use English as a home language), which supports bilingual practices.
Although the majority of Afrikaans-speakers are bilingual in English, they use English to varying degrees in their daily lives. In Section 3.3 a proposal was therefore made that within the Afrikaans language community, four groups can be distinguished based on their members' language behaviour (dominance) and linguistic repertoires. A survey was conducted to establish patterns of language choice in different domains and with different interlocutors. The results of this survey (discussed in Section 3.4) showed that Capetonians made more variable (bilingual) use of Afrikaans and English in interactions taking place at work and with friends, where the reported language of choice for interactions in public domains with unfamiliar interlocutors was predominantly English. Overall, the survey showed strong maintenance of Afrikaans in the majority of interactional contexts.

Finally, this chapter considered psycholinguistic aspects of bilingualism, especially with regards to the simultaneous activation of languages in the bilingual brain. Grosjean's language mode model was discussed as an instructive framework for analysing bilingual language use. The conclusion was made that this model can have a significant impact on the methodology for research on bilinguals, especially in terms of conducting interviews and using other data elicitation techniques in mono- or bilingual modes.
Chapter 4: Research Design and Methodology

This chapter introduces the conceptual and theoretical underpinnings as well as the methodological approaches of this thesis. The research questions are presented and discussed in Section 4.1, where issues concerned with studying syntactic variables are considered. In Section 4.2, the data collection procedures are summarized, accompanied by a discussion of the use of grammaticality judgement questionnaires. The sample group and sampling methods are described in Section 4.3. Finally, the chapter concludes with an account of the procedures taken in the data capturing and analyses (Section 4.4).

4.1 Conceptualisations and theoretical frameworks

This study is informed by the variationist model 'that assumes that the human language faculty accommodates and generates language variation, and that the workings of grammar may have a quantitative and non-categorical component' (Cornips, 2005: 330). In order to describe patterns of language variation, Labov (1966) proposed the use of a theoretical construct called a linguistic variable. A linguistic variable is a phonological, morphological or even syntactic feature that has two or more identifiable linguistic forms or realisations (termed variants). The variants exhibit different forms, but express the same linguistic meaning. For example, Labov (1972: 264, table 7) discusses syntactic variation in the use of inverted complementizers in the embedded clause. In (1.a) the Standard American English variant is given, and (1.b) is an example of a non-standard variant in use. The standard form requires the complementizer if when the auxiliary is not inverted, but the absence of the complementizer does not change the semantic reading of the utterance (as argued by Labov).

(1) a. he asked me if I could go there
    b. he asked me could I go there

Analyses of the distribution of variants have 'provided evidence of systematic social variation and stylistic variation within speech communities' (Swann et al., 2004: 190-191).
4.1.1 Research questions

The following research questions are considered: Firstly, is there evidence for change in the word order of modern Afrikaans? Secondly, are there any discrepancies between the participants' acceptance or rejection of non-standard constructions in the questionnaire, and their actual use of such constructions in the recorded interviews (that is, what is the relationship between competence and performance)? The syntactic variables under investigation are: verb initials (simplex or complex); and verb-placement variation (VX or XV) in subordinate clauses.

4.1.2 Accountability and the syntactic variable

The principle of accountability (cf. G. Sankoff, 1990: 296), employed by those working with the variationist model, holds that:

variants belonging to the same syntactic variable must be specified by the total number of occurrences and the potential occurrences or non-occurrences, in the variable environment, i.e. it ranges between 0% and 100%. (Cornips, 2005: 330)

Accompanying the principle of accountability is the synonymy principle, which requires that the variants assigned to a linguistic variable must have the same underlying semantic reference. The principles of accountability and synonymy are relatively basic when it concerns phonetic variants, but the assignment of unequivocal meaning to syntactic variants has been considered to be problematic by some linguists (cf. Lavandera, 1978; Hudson, 1980).

Lavandera (1978) emphasized that satisfactory analyses of syntactic variation are not possible without defining all the relevant environments in which specific kinds of variation are allowed or expected. In terms of practicality, ensuring that all relevant environments are defined might not be possible if logistic factors such the required sample size, time spent on data collection and analyses, etc. become unmanageable due to their magnitude. These difficulties can, to some extent, be countered by implementing a thorough methodology, especially with regards to sample selection and data collection. Thus variationists have responded by adapting the instruments used for data collection to ensure that the data set contains sufficient tokens of the variants. One of these
instruments is the sociolinguistic-style interview, where the researcher converses with the participant about a range of topics for at least forty minutes to an hour. However, interview data do not always contain sufficient numbers of specific syntactic variants. Therefore, other elicitation techniques should also be employed, such as translation tasks with bilingual speakers, and picture descriptions.

This study recognises these issues, and the methodology has been constructed to ensure optimum collection of the variables, as will be discussed below. The data analyses will be based on the argument that the variations in use of simplex or complex verbal initials do indeed represent variants of the same syntactic variable (see Chapter 6). A similar case is made for the variation in subordinate clause word order and complementizer omission (see Chapter 5).

4.1.3 The notion of Standard Afrikaans

According Webb and De Villiers (1985: 197), Standard Afrikaans (StAfr) is a variety of Afrikaans that is used by a certain group of speakers in the Afrikaans language community — specifically ‘gegradueerde moedertaalsprekers van Afrikaans’ (ibid). Webb and De Villiers regard level of education to be an indication of social class. Therefore, StAfr is understood to be a variety of Afrikaans that is spoken as an L1 by middle to upper-middle class speakers.

The main argument made by Webb and De Villiers is that StAfr is not an idealised variety without any actual speakers, but that it is an objective reality that can be studied empirically. However, their delineation of StAfr is problematic because it does not allow for regional, ethnic and/or stylistic variations within such a standard: groups of Afrikaans-speaking graduates or middle-class people are not homogenous, but internally stratified. Ethnicity is an obvious locus of possible variation in the South African context due to its history of apartheid, which led to racial segregation and restricted interactions (as discussed in Chapter 3.3). Gender and age can also contribute to variation.

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26 'Translation: 'graduate mother language speakers of Afrikaans'. Webb and De Villiers do not make reference to other social characteristics of these speakers. One can assume that this definition of StAfr stretches across racial classifications.
addition, we may see variation between rural and urban varieties, as well as between 
varieties spoken in different urban centres.

The main problem lies with labelling one specific variety as ‘the standard’. Standard 
languages ‘can be said to exist in canonical forms that are legitimised’ (J. Milroy, 1999: 
17, his emphasis). Following L. Milroy’s (1999: 178-183) discussion on race, class, 
language ideologies and notions of standard English, StAfr as an ideological construct 
can be related to racial ideologies. Fundamentally, the concept of StAfr has been usurped 
to serve as a White identity marker, whereas the language use of non-White speakers is 
generally considered to be non-standard (i.e. ethnic or regional dialects, cf. Webb and De 
Villiers, 1985: 203). In these terms, StAfr is therefore White Afrikaans,27 and is thus not 
only defined in terms of linguistic features (such as pronunciation, lexical items and 
grammar), but by who its supposed speakers are.

The question remains about the existence and nature of a post-apartheid StAfr. The 
proposal can be made that instead of making attempts at upholding an idealised (and 
usually written) variety as the authoritative norm, one should focus on the informal, 
spoken language usage of the different Afrikaans speech communities (as Webb and De 
Villiers, 1985, to an extent indeed suggest). A standard variety is resistant to change and 
does not reflect the presence of variation, which is conspicuous in informal, spoken 
language. This study looks at informal spoken Afrikaans, as used by White Capetonians 
under the age of thirty-six. Because of their social and educational profile, this study 
proceeds with the assumption that the participants have access to StAfr as defined here. 
Their informal and conversational language use is therefore compared to the grammatical 
norms stipulated for White StAfr in prescriptive texts such as Carstens’ (1994) *Norme vir 
Afrikaans*.

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27 Arguably, Standard South African English is by extension a White South Africa English, deducible from 
the recognition of Black South Africa English, Coloured South Africa English and Indian South Africa 
English varieties (cf. Mesthrie, 2002). To assume that White South Africa English is the prestige norm for 
these different speech communities is erroneous.
4.2 Data collection: elicited responses and spontaneous speech

As discussed in Section 4.1.2, spontaneous speech data often needs to be supplemented in order to achieve greater observational and explanatory adequacy of syntactic variation. In addition to the elicitation techniques already mentioned, written or oral grammaticality judgement questionnaires can be employed (Cornips, 2000: 2). Therefore, a bi-modal approach was taken with the data collection for this study: interviews were conducted to obtain samples of conversational speech, and direct elicitation techniques were employed to supplement the data basis in order to comply with the accountability principle stated above. Cornips and Poletto (2005: 941) state that oral and/or written questionnaires that test grammaticality judgements are necessary supplements to empirical data corpora, because they enable one

(i) to examine sentence types that rarely occur in spontaneous speech or (written and recorded) corpora, and

(ii) to examine negative data that an observational study cannot provide.

However, questions have been raised about the reliability of grammaticality judgements as elicited through questionnaires. Schütze (1996) undertook a thorough investigation into the use of grammaticality judgements in studies concerned with formulating and testing syntactic theories. One of the main points made by Schütze is that linguists who focus on formal theory tend to disregard the use of an empirical methodology. The lack of a clearly defined empirical and representative methodology often leads to the use of a limited (i.e. non-representative) number of elicited grammaticality judgements (usually with the linguist's own intuitions as a yardstick). Minimal reference is also made to actual observations of the studied structures in speech. The argument for linguistic competence is employed here as a justification; it is argued that performance factors distort or obscure an ideal speaker-hearer's linguistic knowledge in conversational data. Performance data are subjected to external causes of variation (regarded as performance errors caused by emotions or personality, such as nervousness or aggression), and will therefore detract from the main objective of generative theory – i.e. studying abstract structures of human linguistic cognition.
To the contrary, Tremblay (2005: 141) argues that grammatical competence can only be inferred from grammaticality judgements, as the act of making such judgements is linguistic performance in itself. In order for grammaticality judgements to be effectively elicited, Tremblay (op. cit.: 138-139) suggests procedures that will enhance the efficacy of grammaticality judgement tasks. For instance, the sample group should consist of randomly selected native speakers of the language under investigation, and these speakers should not have had prior linguistic training. The participants should also be sufficient in number in order to control for participant non-compliances, and 'the sample should be as homogeneous as possible in terms of age, literacy, education, and idiolect, unless one wishes to examine the effect of these variables on [grammaticality judgements]' (Tremblay, op. cit.: 138).28

The sample group selection of this study broadly follows these recommendations. It should be noted, however, that the preceding discussions of the applicability of grammaticality judgements presume that the participants are monolinguals. Since a bilingual speaker has access to two linguistic systems (see Chapter 3.5), the language mode that they are operating in when their grammaticality judgements are tested needs to be taken into account: participants may make different judgements in a bilingual mode than they would in a monolingual mode. This aspect will be discussed further in Section 4.2.2.

4.2.1 Grammaticality and acceptability: two sides of the same judgement coin?

Chomsky (1965) regards the distinction between acceptability and grammaticality to be analogous to the distinction between performance and competence. In other words, '[a]cceptability is a concept that belongs to the study of performance, whereas grammaticalness belongs to the study of competence' (Chomsky, op. cit.: 11). However, as mentioned above, Tremblay (2005: 141) has argued convincingly that the act of

28 Tremblay (op. cit.: 139, footnote 8) admits that 'this seems to contradict the idea of random sampling. One problem in the use of [grammaticality judgement] tasks with native speakers is that researchers tend to assume homogeneity and often limit their observations to group results. If individual results are not going to be considered, it is necessary to have a fairly homogeneous group in order to be able to make any theoretical claims, since [grammaticality judgements] are likely to be influenced by age, literacy, education, and idiolect.'
making grammaticality judgements is linguistic performance in itself. Thus, elicitation techniques test for acceptability, rather than grammaticality. Tremblay continues: ‘although the speaker-hearer has an intuitive sense of grammaticality, his or her judgements can only be about the acceptability of linguistic structures’ (*op. cit.*: 133).

These debates notwithstanding, grammaticality judgements serve to illustrate participants’ meta-linguistic knowledge, and can provide the researcher with an opportunity to test the participant’s acceptance of different variants of a linguistic variable in constructions that do not frequently occur in spontaneous speech (Cornips and Poletto, 2005: 941). The term ‘grammaticality judgements’ will be used instead of ‘acceptability judgements’, following Tremblay’s (2005: 133, footnote 4) arguments for ‘familiarity, and to ensure that acceptability would not be mistakenly interpreted as appropriateness.’ In this study, grammaticality judgements complement the data collected from spontaneous speech (sociolinguistic interviews), and both constitute a data basis that confirms the speakers’ acceptance and usage of structures containing the variants under investigation. Figure 4.1 illustrates the composition of the data basis.

![Figure 4.1: The complementary composition of the data basis](image-url)
4.2.2 Conducting the interviews and elicitation techniques

A questionnaire was used to elicit grammaticality judgements from participants (see Appendix 3). The general format and test sentences were adapted for use in this study from a more expansive questionnaire, developed by De Vos, et al. (2007) for a project that investigates syntactic variation in non-standard varieties of Afrikaans spoken in the Western and Northern Cape. A possibility of data sharing and comparison therefore exists (their study is concerned with syntactic variation in the speech of older people from rural areas.)

The approach taken in the administration of the questionnaires follows the recommendations made by Cornips and Poletto (2005: 944-945). They argue that elicitation questionnaires run a high risk of interference from prescriptive notions held by the speakers. In other words, the participants may be under the impression that they are required to supply the most 'correct' answers, similar to what they might have experienced in school. Therefore, they might reject constructions not because they do not use them, but rather because they deem them to be 'incorrect' in comparison with what they consider to be the 'standard'. Cornips and Poletto suggest that 'one way to diminish this effect is to ask for indirect acceptability judgments' (ibid.), where the participants are not required to make absolute judgements, but are rather asked to give a relative judgment based on frequency of use by themselves and others. This approach was followed in the present study.

The administration of the questionnaire formed part of a tripartite interviewing session that was recorded on a digital voice recording device. After the participant's consent was requested and obtained, and following a brief demographic background elicitation, a stretch of informal conversation between the researcher and the participant took place. These conversations ranged from twenty minutes to two hours, depending on the amount of time the participant was willing to spare. The interviews did not follow a formal structure, and the approach taken by the interviewer was to steer the interaction towards topics that the interviewees found personally relevant. The main aim was to create a

29 Twenty minutes are usually too short for a sociolinguistic interview, but one participant was interviewed during work hours, and she did not have more time to spare. The average length of the interviews was forty-two minutes.
relaxed and informal atmosphere, where the interviewees can talk about themselves, their ideas, activities and interests.

As already discussed, the investigation of syntactic variables can be more difficult than the study of phonetic variables, simply because certain constructions will be used more often in discussions on certain topics due to the social and stylistic functionalities of language use. By selectively directing the conversation during the interview the researcher can seek out contexts in which certain constructs will be employed more frequently. For example, when Coveney (1986) studied variable ways of expressing future tense in the French verb, he simply asked the participants about their plans for the future. This approach was taken in this study, where the participants were asked about their thoughts, opinions and ideas about various subjects, as relevant to their own personal interest. This was done in order to elicit the use of constructions containing bridge verbs such as *dink, weet* and *voel*, since these verbs generally take embedded clauses as complements (see discussion in Chapter 2.2.2).

In terms of Grosjean's language mode, it was argued in Chapter 3.5 that several factors can influence a speaker's language mode, such as: the language proficiency of the interlocutors; the topics discussed; and the context in which the conversation takes place. The objective of this study was to elicit speech in an Afrikaans near-monolingual mode. All the interviews and conversations took place with Afrikaans as activated base language A. However, all the participants, well as the interviewer, are fully bilingual in Afrikaans and English, and 'at any given point in time and based on numerous psychosocial and linguistic factors, the bilingual has to decide, usually quite unconsciously, which language to use and how much of the other language is needed – from not at all to a lot' (Grosjean, 2001: 2; cf. 2008). The fact that the interviewees were aware that they participated in a project concerned with Afrikaans perhaps heightened their linguistic awareness and influenced their language use. They were thus arguably conscious of the fact that they did not need English. Seven of the interviews were conducted at the University of Cape Town (an English-medium institution) where one can expect that language B was activated to a greater extent than for the participants who were interviewed at the researcher's home or at a gathering of Afrikaans L1-speaking friends. By only speaking Afrikaans from the outset and by discussing topics of a
personal nature in an informal, relaxed environment, the researcher tried to ensure that
the base language A remains Afrikaans.\footnote{The frequency and type of code-switching can also be indicative of the speaker's language mode, i.e. high frequency of switching might be indicative of a bilingual language mode.}

In the second part of the interview, the participants were shown sixteen clip art pictures
(see Appendix 4). They were asked to describe what they see in each picture in as much
detail as they felt necessary (but without using a bullet-point style). The purpose of this
exercise was to elicit more complex sentence constructions in an informal style from the
participants in order to enrich the spontaneous speech data. This data is included in the
spoken language corpus.

Also forming part of the performance corpus are two recordings made of informal group
conversations. The one session consists of friends socialising at a friend’s house, and a
recording of approximately four hours was made. Eight of the participants formed part of
this group. The other session took place during an informal gathering at a church in
Parow, and the participants were all members of the youth group.\footnote{Please note that ‘youth group’ refers here to people from late teens to late twenties, who are usually unmarried.} Nine of the
participants formed part of this group, and the recording lasted approximately an hour
and a half. The data collected from these sessions also form part of the spoken language
corpus.

Lastly the formal questionnaire was administered. Before commencing, the researcher
informed the participant of the procedure by stating that she will be reading them a
sentence, and that they should then indicate by means of a ‘yes’ or ‘no’ response if this
sentence sounds like a sentence likely to be used by themselves and the people they
interact with on a daily basis, in terms of the way it is said, and without paying too much
attention to the specific content. They were also told that they can indicate whether the
type of sentence will be used often, less frequently or only sometimes. The researcher
also informed them that they will occasionally be asked to rephrase a given sentence
according to their preferences. Finally, they were told that they should not regard the
activity as a form of a test, where it is expected of them to give a right or wrong answer,
but that they should respond instinctively.
The structure of the questionnaire is as follows: Section 1 tested the distribution of verbs and contains 34 sentences. Section 2 focuses on verb clusters and has 62 sentences in total. The sentences are combined into pairs or sets that test the same type of construction, where some sentences follow the grammatical norms of StAfr, and others deviating from it. Thirty-four questionnaires were completed.

The total data collection period for this study ranged from June to October 2008.

4.3 Sample design and sampling methods

The fact that the subject matter concerns the variation of syntactic elements in one specific variety of Afrikaans has a number on consequences for sample design. Specifically, it is crucial to rule out cases of syntactic variation that may be caused by the heterogeneous nature of the sample of language users. In order to avoid this, Barbiers and Cornips (2000) firstly suggest that one should 'homogenize the sample with respect to social variables of the speakers such as autochthony, geographic mobility, language background (monolingual or bilingual speaker), socio-economic background, and gender' (ibid.: 8).

In this study, I will look at the language use of a fairly homogenous sample group that constitutes a subgroup in the Afrikaans language community: the sample group consists of White L1 Afrikaans-speaking Capetonians under the age of thirty-six. It should be noted that this study's sample group is not totally homogenous, as age and gender could be possible extralinguistic variables. Eleven of the participants were people that the researcher already knew as friends or acquaintances. Nine other participants were suggested to the researcher by other participants. With the help of Professor Joan Hambidge, five students in her second year Afrikaans poetry class at the University of Cape Town agreed to participate. Another seven participants were directly approached by the researcher and asked to participate. The researcher also made contact with a pastor at a church in Parow (Northern Suburbs) whose members fall into the required demographics of the study, and nine members of a youth group agreed to participate. The questionnaire has a third on verb projection raising, but the results of this will not be covered by the present study.
sampling method is thus non-proportional and contains elements of snowball sampling. A total of thirty-four people constitute the sample group.33

All participants have been living in Cape Town for at least 7 years and the majority of them live in a suburban area of Cape Town collectively called the Northern Suburbs (see Chapter 3.1.1). Table 4.1 summarises the sample distribution. Twelve of the participants were university students or high school scholars (in **bold**) at the time of data collection. Nineteen of the participants also took part in the language use survey discussed in Chapter 3 (as indicated by an asterisk). The age of the participants ranges from eighteen to thirty-six. In Table 4.1 the participants were grouped into two age groups merely to facilitate the presentation of the table. Age group and gender are not used as extralinguistic variables in this study.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Male</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>18-25</td>
<td>18-25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26-36</td>
<td>26-36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A1*</td>
<td>PP1*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A2*</td>
<td>AA1*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C1*</td>
<td>CC1*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L1*</td>
<td>CC2*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N1*</td>
<td>JJ1*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J1</td>
<td>TT1*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>DD2*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Male</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>18-25</td>
<td>18-25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26-36</td>
<td>26-36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A1*</td>
<td>MM1*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A2*</td>
<td>GG1*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C1*</td>
<td>NN1*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L1*</td>
<td>JJ2*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N1*</td>
<td>JJ3*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J1</td>
<td>OO1*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>LL1*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>n</th>
<th>n</th>
<th>n</th>
<th>n</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 4.1:** Sample distribution (N = 34)

### 4.4 Data procedures

#### 4.4.1 Data capturing and data editing

The recordings made of the informal interviews, picture descriptions, and questionnaire sessions were transcribed using *Express Scribe*. The results from the questionnaires were captured in Microsoft® Excel spreadsheets to aid the data analysis procedures. Although the main data source is in the form of interviews, the approach taken towards the data is

33 The size of the sample group compares well to other sociolinguistic studies.
largely quantitative, i.e. the linguistic data were converted into tokens in order to perform statistical calculations.

4.4.2 Data analysis

Full transcriptions were made of the recorded spontaneous speech and picture descriptions. These were then combined into one text document with annotations of the relevant speaker (labelled ‘spoken corpus’, total = 64,840 words). For further data analyses and comparisons, two additional corpora were compiled from written sources. The first corpus is based on the written work of two participants in this study: one is a church sermon written by one participant, and the other is a collection of web logs (blogs) posted by another participant online. Both of these writings were done in an informal, conversational style (labelled ‘written corpus’, just under 5,000 words). The other corpus is drawn from electronic mail (emails) received from eighteen participants in this study (labelled ‘email corpus’, approximately 30,000 words).

Reed’s (1997-2003) concordance program was used to locate the key variants in context. The context consists of eighty bytes of characters. For example, a selection of fifteen bridge verbs was made to ensure the detection of all possible environments where one would expect to find a complementizer (as stipulated by norms of StAfr). The selected verbs must appear in the relevant structural context, i.e. matrix clause + embedded clause. The token occurrence of each verb was scored according to the type of subordinate clause it takes as complement (see Chapter 2.2.1). Subordinators and linking verbs were also extracted from the corpora with the Reed’s (1997-2003) concordance program. *Microsoft® Excel* and *StatSoft STATISTICA*\(^{34}\) were used for the statistical analyses of the tokens in terms of frequency and percentage distributions in the corpora. These programmes were chosen in order to give a thorough statistical description of the results, as well as to perform exploratory data analyses where applicable. Preacher’s (2001) online chi-square calculator and Preacher and Briggs’ (2001) online Fisher’s exact test were also used.

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\(^{34}\) Preacher’s (2001) online chi-square calculator, *Excel* and *STATISTICA* were also employed for the data analyses of the language use survey in Chapter 2.
4.5 Conclusion

This chapter documented the research design and methodology followed during this project's fieldwork, and identified the key research questions. The identification and application of syntactic variables in variationist research was discussed, and the principles of accountability and synonymy were recognised as guidelines. The notion of StAfr was briefly reviewed, and the proposal was made that StAfr remains an ideological construct. Yet, despite its ideological nature it is used as a point of reference, because the participants of this study all had access to StAfr via the education system. The instruments used in the collection and measurement of the key variables were described; a mixed methodology was proposed, which considers both speech/performance and questionnaires/competence. This chapter also explained the rationale for using a socially relative homogenous sample. Finally, full details of the procedures used in capturing and editing the data were provided, and the rationale behind the data analysis procedures was outlined. The structure of the next two chapters is as follows: firstly, the results from the usage data is discussed in detail, followed by comparisons to previous studies, and finally the results from the questionnaire data is considered.
Chapter 5: Syntactic Variation in Afrikaans – Embedded Clause Structures

This chapter considers variation in the use of subordinators and VX/XV word order in Afrikaans embedded clauses. The general use of subordinators in this study's interview corpus is presented and discussed in Section 5.1.1, where the focus is on word order (i.e. XV or VX) in subordinate clauses where the presence of a subordinator is obligatory. Section 5.1.2 investigates the use of two non-obligatory complementizers (dat and of), which introduce both subordinate as well as complement clauses. In Section 5.2, the use of complementizers with complement clauses is considered, and the role played by the matrix bridge verb is discussed. This section ends off with a discussion of the impact of complementizer omission (COMP-drop) on the word order of the complement clause.

This chapter concludes with a typological discussion, where diachronic paths for word order variation and change are proposed in order to explain the synchronic empirical evidence from a cross-linguistic perspective. As stated by Hawkins (1990: 96), 'where there is variation, languages may, in principle, change from one type to another.' Hawkins argues that language typology can contribute to our understanding of language variation and change, where synchronic facts can project diachronic directions. It will be argued that since variation in the word order of embedded clauses often co-occurs with variation in the use of complementizers, the process of complementizer omission can promote a typological change in Afrikaans XV word order. The general objective of this chapter is to investigate the possibility of a typological change in Afrikaans from an XV to VX linear clause structure – as claimed by Conradie, (2004; also cf. Biberauer, 2002a) – observable with the proliferation of VX embedded clauses. The possibility of English influence is considered.
5.1 Presentation of empirical results: subordinators and variation in the embedded word order

5.1.1 Empirical data – results and discussion of the use of obligatory subordinators and word order in the embedded clause

Subordinators generally designate the type of clausal relationship between the matrix and embedded clause. The aim of this section is to establish the frequency occurrence of obligatory subordinators with non-standard Type C clauses (i.e. subordinator-led embedded clauses with non-standard VX word order; see Chapter 2.2). Donaldson (1993: 305-319) lists and discusses common Afrikaans subordinators, and fourteen of these occurred in the interview data.

For the purposes of the analysis in this section, Type A (complementizer-less VX) clauses are excluded, since the focus is on clauses where the subordinator is indeed present and required. Type B clauses follow the norms of StAfr where the clause has dependent XV word order in the presence of a subordinator. Type C clauses are regarded as non-standard, because of the independent VX word order. The grammaticality of Type C clauses in Afrikaans, Dutch and German is also contested by certain syntactic theorists who argue that subordinators and finite verbs compete for the same structural slot, i.e. C (head of the Complementizer Phrase; cf. Biberauer, 2002a: 22). However, this claim is not accepted here: the subordinator is base-generated in C, whereas it is inconclusive that the finite verb should necessarily move to C in all types of clauses (cf. Hulk and Van Kemenade, 1993).

Table 5.1 summarises the results from the interview data.
Table 5.1: Frequency distribution of obligatory subordinators with types of subordinate clauses in the interview corpus.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Complementizers</th>
<th>Tokens (n)</th>
<th>Type B (StAfr)</th>
<th>Type C (non-standard VX)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>as</td>
<td>132</td>
<td>122 (92%)</td>
<td>10 (8%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>omdat</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>52 (88%)</td>
<td>7 (12%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>asof</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>42 (98%)</td>
<td>1 (2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>as wat</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>16 (100%)</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>terwyl</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>16 (100%)</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sodat</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>12 (92%)</td>
<td>1 (8%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>soos wat</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>13 (100%)</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(al)hoewel</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>9 (69%)</td>
<td>4 (31%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nadat</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>of as</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tensy</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sodra</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aangesien</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>afhangingende (van)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N 322 297 (92%) 25 (8%)

Three subordinators were used more frequently than the others, viz. as ('if'), omdat ('because') and asof ('as if'). The following examples are extracted from the corpus.35

Type B

(1) *dis vir my lekkerder as mense my SMS* (Female, 25 years)
    'it is nicer for me if people SMS me'

(2) *hy's vies vir die uil, omdat hy geraas maak* (Female, 22 years)
    'he's angry with the owl, because he makes noise'

(3) *lyk dit vir my asof hulle nou-net 'n deal gestrike het* (Female, 35 years)
    'it looks to me as if they have just struck a deal'

---

35 See Appendix 5.a for a concordance of the actual utterances.
Type C

(4) die funksionaliteit van dit is anders as ons sit in 'n chat room (Female, 30 years)
   'the functionality of it is different if we sit in a chat room'

(5) ek sal bietjie wil werk, omdat ek dink nie jy kan gaan met 'n sekere hoeveelheid geld nie (Female, 20 years)
   'I will want to work a bit, because I don’t think you can go with a certain amount of money'

(6) dit lyk vir my asof daar is 'n huis in die agtergrond (Female, 20 years)
   'it looks to me as if there is a house in the background'

The two subordinators used most frequently in this corpus are also found with a relatively high frequency of non-standard Type C clauses, namely as and omdat. It can therefore be argued that these two subordinators can be used as focus points when investigating changes in subordinate word order: because they are used frequently, one can find ample tokens, which will strengthen the findings made. If there are changes in the Afrikaans subordinate word order, then one should see an increase in the use of Type C clauses with these subordinators. It is not surprising that the participants mainly use Type B clauses – Type B being StAfr clauses – but the results for as and omdat indicate the presence of variation in subordinate word order where the non-standard sequence is also used. The total 8% use of Type C clauses with the obligatory subordinators in the spoken data might be indicative of change in progress.

5.1.2 Empirical data – results and discussion of the use of non-obligatory subordinators and word order in the embedded clause

As discussed in Chapter 2.2.1, some subordinators are non-obligatory when they introduce complement clauses. The two subordinators most commonly found in these constructions are dat and of. Table 5.2 shows their use with complement as well as subordinate clauses in the spoken corpus, and the focus is on word order.

---

36 Alhoewel and sodat have a higher percentage of Type C clauses, but the small token numbers prevent a definite conclusion.
Both *dat* and *of* predominantly introduce Type B clauses. The use of Type C clauses with *of* shows levels of variation similar to that reported in the previous section for obligatory subordinators. There is a high occurrence of Type C clauses with *dat*: one quarter of subordinate sentences show non-standard VX order. These frequency distributions are supported by earlier studies. Ponelis (1993: 341) reports that VX order occurs most frequently with *dat*-clauses, and Webb (1988) found frequencies of 33% (106/322) for VX order (the data basis for this figure is undeclared). *Dat* and *of* show a high token frequency, and can therefore act as important markers for investigations into word order changes (together with *omdat* and *as*).

Malherbe (1966: 145; see Chapter 2.2.1) claims that a complementizer such as *dat* is semantically neutral. As a result, its presence in an utterance no longer signals the semantic subordination of the embedded clause. Yet, its presence still clearly signals the grammatical subordination of the clause, and hence requires dependent XV word order. Because *dat* does no longer explicitly affect semantic subordination of the embedded clause, the requirement for dependent (subordinate XV) word order is less obvious. Grammatically, the presence of the subordinator therefore does not necessarily have an effect on, nor determine the embedded clause word order. One can thus argue that it is the semantic strength of the subordinator that determines subordination of the clause, and not the word order. This is supported by the fact that there are no instances of dependent XV embedded clauses without a subordinator in Afrikaans. The XV word order merely reflects the subordination or dependency of the clause, as established by the presence of the subordinator. Therefore, since *dat* has lost the strong subordinating role, the use of subordinate XV word order in its presence becomes redundant – hence an increase in Type C clauses. The comparatively lower incidence of Type C clauses with *of* is an indication that this subordinator retains its subordinating semantic force.
Finally, because of its semantic neutrality, Feinauer (1990) notes that the complementizer most frequently omitted is *dat*. This has consequences for the discussion of bridge verbs and complement clauses discussed below (Section 5.2). The following are examples of constructions with *of* and *dat* from the interview corpus.

**Type B**

(7)  *dit lyk nie of die perd dit soveel genie nie* (Male, 24 years)
    ‘it does not seem if the horse enjoys it as much’

(8)  *dit was vir my weird dat hulle daar was* (Female, 35 years)
    ‘it was weird for me that they were there’

**Type C**

(9)  *ons het gekyk of ons kon inkom by die biblioteek* (Male, 29 years)
    ‘we checked to see if we could get in at the library’

(10) *dit maak net dat jy kan nuwe tegnieke aanleer* (Female, 20 years)
    ‘it simply causes that you can acquire new techniques’

As stated above, the presence of word order variation with *omdat* and *as* might indicate a change in progress. However, this change is most salient with *dat*-initial clauses, because *dat* has a weaker subordinating impact than *omdat*, *et al.*

### 5.1.3 Comparisons between corpora: V-final vs. VX in *dat*-initial clauses

Comparisons can be made to Biberauer’s (2002a) study of change in embedded word order in Afrikaans. Biberauer bases her findings on two types of data, namely: native-speaker grammaticality judgements and actual language use. The three Afrikaans language use corpora included in her analysis represent different registers of Afrikaans (written and spoken):

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37 It seems, *prima facie*, that Prepositional Phrases (such as *by die biblioteek*) predominantly remain in clause final position, i.e. in V-comp: PP does not move to spec-ArgO, since it does not have accusative case or object features that need to be checked. The StAfr *of ons by die biblioteek kon inkom* might be a case of hypercorrection of V-final embedded clauses, and the PP is moved leftwards.
1. The first corpus is drawn from letters, diaries, newspaper columns and novel extracts dating from 1887-1923. According to Biberauer, this data set represents Afrikaans before the institutionalisation of a standardised variety.

2. The second corpus stems from the current popular press (newspapers and magazines) and serves as 'an indication of the state of the standard as modern-day users perceive it' (op. cit.: 27).

3. The third corpus is said to be representative of modern spoken Afrikaans, and Biberauer uses this corpus to indicate the extent that spoken Afrikaans deviates from StAfr norms. This corpus is based on data drawn from the radio, television, as well as interviews.

It is unfortunate that Biberauer does not indicate the social demographics of the speakers in the third corpus. She simply states that they ‘did not speak strongly regional varieties of Afrikaans’ (2002a: 27). She also does not indicate the type of radio and television programmes sourced, i.e. news bulletins, talk shows, soap operas, dramas, etc. The type of programme will influence the style of language used (e.g. formal news bulletin versus informal soap opera dialogue). Grosjean’s (2001) notion of the specific language mode of the speakers (see Chapter 3.5) is also a relevant variable that is not considered by her.

In order to allow for a full comparison with Biberauer’s data, the spoken language data are complemented with written corpora (cf. Chapter 4.4.2 for a full description of the written corpora). Table 5.3 summarises the results of the comparison, and include all the embedded clauses introduced by the complementizer dat.\(^\text{38}\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>V-final (Type B)</th>
<th>VX (Type C)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Early Afrikaans (N = 80,000)</td>
<td>97%</td>
<td>&lt;3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Biberauer, 2002a</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Modern Written Afrikaans (N = 80,000)</td>
<td>98%</td>
<td>&lt;2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Modern Spoken Afrikaans (N = 80,000)</td>
<td>59%</td>
<td>41%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Klein, 2009</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Written corpus (N = 5,000)</td>
<td>90% (28)</td>
<td>10% (3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Email corpus (N = 30,000)</td>
<td>97% (140)</td>
<td>3% (4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spoken corpus (N = 65,000)</td>
<td>75% (127)</td>
<td>25% (43)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.3: Occurrence of dat-initial V2 and V-final clauses in Afrikaans, results from the present study is in italics (adapted from Biberauer, 2002a: 39, table 8; totals in brackets)

\(^{38}\) Biberauer (2002a) only considers dat-initial clauses here.
According to a Pearson's chi-square test (Preacher, 2001) of this study's data, there is a significant relation between the mode of language use (spoken vs. written) and the type of subordinate clause used ($\chi^2=31.724$, d.f. = 2, $p < 0.0001$). The most salient finding across the three corpora is therefore the effect of modality on the occurrence of Type B or C clauses: Type C (VX) clauses are more frequent in spoken utterances.

All the written corpora generally indicate a high percentage of Type B clauses. An exception is the written corpus of this study, which presents with a comparatively high occurrence of Type C clauses. This might be related to the fact that this corpus has two sources, and one of them have an unexpected idiolect; all three Type C clauses where found in one source, viz. the written sermon.

The results also indicate that spoken utterances made by the participants in this study exhibit a lower use of the non-standard VX embedded clauses than was found by Biberauer. The 16% difference between the findings of these two corpora can be precipitated by other extralinguistic variables present with Biberauer's sample group, indicating that the use of non-standard Type C clauses might be socially or stylistically stratified: i.e. they are used more frequently by one social group than by another, or more frequently in different contexts. This study has isolated one specific social group's general use of Type C clauses, and the results suggest that variation in dat-initial embedded clause word order is most conspicuous in spoken utterances.

5.2 Presentation of empirical results: bridge verbs, complementizers and variation in the embedded word order

5.2.1 Empirical data – results and discussion of bridge verbs, complementizers and clauses

This section focuses on constructions where the complementizer can be omitted (COMP-drop; see Chapter 2.2.2). Two of the three types of embedded clauses (described in Chapter 2.2.1) were discussed in Section 5.1; in this section Type A clauses are the focal point. Type A clauses are embedded clauses that occur without an overt complementizer,
and have VX order. As previously mentioned, Type A clauses occur typically as complement clauses when the matrix clause is a bridge verb (discussed in Chapter 2.2.3), but complement clauses can also be Type B or C clauses. Matrix clauses containing bridge verbs were therefore extracted from the corpora, and scored according to the type of the complement clause they selected. The results from the speech corpus are summarized in Table 5.4.\textsuperscript{40} Figure 5.1 illustrates the results listed in Table 5.4.

\begin{table}[h]
\centering
\begin{tabular}{|l|c|c|c|c|}
\hline
Verbs & Tokens (n) & Type A & Type B & Type C \\
\hline
dink ‘think’ & 224 & 212 (95\%) & 10 (5\%) & 2 \\
se ‘say’ & 167 & 161 (96\%) & 2 & 4 \\
weet ‘know’ & 130 & 101 (78\%) & 26 (20\%) & 3 \\
sien ‘see’ & 44 & 39 (86\%) & 4 & 1 \\
voel ‘feel’ & 27 & 23 (85\%) & 4 & 0 \\
besef ‘realise’ & 16 & 12 (75\%) & 2 & 2 \\
verstaan ‘understand’ & 7 & 4 & 2 & 1 \\
wil hé ‘wants’ & 6 & 5 & 1 & 0 \\
glo ‘believe’ & 4 & 4 & 0 & 0 \\
wens ‘wish’ & 2 & 1 & 1 & 0 \\
wonder ‘wonder’ & 2 & 0 & 2 & 0 \\
is seker ‘be sure’ & 2 & 2 & 0 & 0 \\
neem aan ‘assume’ & 2 & 2 & 0 & 0 \\
hoor ‘hear’ & 1 & 1 & 0 & 0 \\
by sé ‘add’ & 1 & 1 & 0 & 0 \\
aflei ‘deduce’ & 1 & 1 & 0 & 0 \\
\hline
N & 636 & 569 (89.5\%) & 54 (8.5\%) & 13 (2.0\%) \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\caption{Frequency distribution of bridge verbs selecting types of subordinate clauses}
\end{table}

\textsuperscript{40}See Appendix 5.b for a concordance of the actual utterances.
In Table 5.4, the verbs are listed in decreasing order of frequency used or token count. The semantic change of the bridge verb to a quotative or presupposition marker (see Chapter 2.2.3) can cause that matrix clause bridge verbs predominantly select Type A clauses. It was already noted that the semantic value of dat as a subordinate marker is weak; the presence of bridge verbs does therefore not simply permit, but rather induce COMP-drop. In turn, COMP-drop always triggers a VX embedded clause. The semantic change of bridge verbs causes a change in the semantic status of the matrix clause: 'complementizer-deletion tendency to occur where the matrix clause (MC) verb - and, consequently, the MC as a whole - does not constitute the informational focus of the compound sentence' (Biberauer, 2002b: 30). COMP-drop can therefore be licensed when the complement clause attains independent status; the concomitant effect will then be a matrix clause-like (independent) VX word order.

5.2.2 Comparisons between corpora: [+COMP] vs. [-COMP]

Biberauer also compares complementizer use/omission (COMP-drop) in her three corpora. Her results can again be compared to findings made in the present study. Table

---

Footnote: Bridge verbs with n < 10 are omitted in this graph.
5.5 shows Biberauer’s findings as well as the findings from this study (Type B plus C = [+Comp]\(^{42}\) and Type A = [-Comp]).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>[+COMP]</th>
<th>[-COMP]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Early Afrikaans (N = 80,000)</td>
<td>65%</td>
<td>35%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Biberauer, 2002a</td>
<td>Modern Written Afrikaans (N = 80,000)</td>
<td>63%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Modern Spoken Afrikaans (N = 80,000)</td>
<td>54%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Written corpus (N = 5,000)</td>
<td>38% (16)</td>
<td>62% (26)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Klein, 2009</td>
<td>Email corpus (N = 30,000)</td>
<td>27% (57)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Spoken corpus (N = 65,000)</td>
<td>10.5% (66)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.5: Complementizer alternation in Afrikaans, results from the present study is in *italics* (adapted from Biberauer, 2002a: 36, table 6; totals in brackets)

Biberauer proposes in her analysis that there might be ‘some kind of modality effect as there is in English’ (2002a: 36), i.e. COMP-drop occurs more frequently in informal speech than in writing. A similar decreasing trend can be observed for the three corpora of this study, where COMP-drop is the dominant tendency in this study’s speech corpus, followed by the email corpus, and employed least frequently in the written corpus. According to a Pearson’s Chi-square test (Preacher, 2001), the mode of language use (spoken vs. written) had a significant effect on COMP-drop ($\chi^2=59.3441$, d.f. = 2, p-value = 1.299e-13).\(^{43}\) The same modality constraint found with VX *dat*-initial above seems to be operative here – COMP-drop and VX clauses occur more frequently in spoken utterances.

However, there is at the same time a marked quantitative discrepancy between Biberauer’s results and that of the present study in terms of COMP-drop. Whereas COMP-drop occurs in slightly less than half of the cases in Biberauer’s modern spoken Afrikaans corpus (46%), it was found in almost 90% of this study’s spoken corpus. Even the more formal written corpus of this study shows a significantly higher percentage of COMP-drop than Biberauer’s modern spoken corpus (62% vs. 37%). This might be an

\(^{42}\) Biberauer only considered the presence or absence of a complementizer; the word order of the subordinate clause is therefore not relevant here.

\(^{43}\) Calculated from the results of this study – Biberauer only supplies percentages.
indication of change in modern spoken Afrikaans towards the generalisation of [-COMP] following bridge verbs.

As stated in Section 5.1.3, a possible reason why Biberauer's findings differ to such a great extent from this study's analyses could be related to the fact that the sample group for this study has a different social profile than Biberauer's: one of the objectives of this study was to work with a rather homogenised and well-defined sample.

At the beginning of Chapter 2 the statement was made that Afrikaans is generally believed to exhibit a progressive shift towards VX in all clauses. Considering the empirical results in this study, the argument can be made that the change in embedded clauses from a XV to a VX order is conspicuously evident with the proliferation of clauses where the complementizers can be omitted.

5.3 Results from the grammaticality judgements

The participants' acceptance of Type B and C clauses was tested in the grammaticality judgement questionnaire (see Appendix 3\textsuperscript{44}). The questionnaire did not test for Type A clauses, since the focus was on the acceptance or rejection of StAfr versus non-standard forms where a complementizer is used. However, all the participants were subsequently asked by the researcher whether they would prefer the Type A variants of the tested constructions. Variation in embedded word order in the presence of other subordinators (such as \textit{omdat}) was also not tested. The sentences in (11) represent the Type B clause according to the norms of StAfr. (11.c-g) were posed to the participants as \textit{dat}-less alternatives to (11.a-c). Type C clauses are listed in (12). In (12.d) the verb is raised to V1, and the embedded sentence has the word order of a direct yes/no question, which is also non-standard for embedded interrogatives.

\begin{quote}
StAfr Type B

(11) a. \textit{Ek weet dat hy die boek gelees het}
    
    b. \textit{Ek weet dat hy die boek lees}
    
    c. \textit{Ek weet dat hy genooi is}
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{44} The constructions are arranged differently in the questionnaire; see Appendix 3, section 1.
d. Ek wonder of hy die boek gelees het  
c. Ek weet hy het die boek gelees  
f. Ek weet hy lees die boek  
g. Ek weet hy is genooi

Non-standard Type C

(12) a. Ek weet dat hy lees die boek  
b. Ek weet dat hy die boek het gelees  
c. Ek wonder of hy het die boek gelees  
d. Ek wonder of hy die boek gelees  
e. Ek weet dat hy is genooi

Table 5.6 presents all the responses to the sentences listed above.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Type of Response (N=34)</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Sometimes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.a</td>
<td>29 (85%)</td>
<td>4 (12%)</td>
<td>1 (3%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.b</td>
<td>31 (91%)</td>
<td>2 (6%)</td>
<td>1 (3%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.c</td>
<td>33 (97%)</td>
<td>1 (3%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.d</td>
<td>34 (100%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.e</td>
<td>34 (100%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.f</td>
<td>34 (100%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.g</td>
<td>34 (100%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.a</td>
<td>3 (9%)</td>
<td>31 (91%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.b</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>34 (100%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.c</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>33 (97%)</td>
<td>1 (3%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.d</td>
<td>2 (6%)</td>
<td>31 (91%)</td>
<td>1 (3%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.e</td>
<td>4 (12%)</td>
<td>25 (73%)</td>
<td>5 (15%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.6: Participants' responses to the grammaticality questionnaire (N = 34)

Variation in judgements can be observed in some of the participants' rejection of (11.a/b) and acceptance of (12.a). It should be noted, however, that these participants did not necessarily rejected the Type B constructions in favour of Type C, but might instead
prefer a Type A (or some other) construction. The majority (N=30) reported that they would prefer the constructions in (11.a-c) without dat, and all indicated that they would use (11.e-g).

Generally, most of the participants rejected the non-standard (Type C) sentences, and indicated that they would not make use of these constructions. The participants’ judgement of (12.e) is also varied, which might indicate that subordinate clauses without a direct object could be more difficult to judge. The results of the grammaticality judgements indicate that the participants have clear notions about what is acceptable according to the norms of StAfr, but the results also indicate that the participants might tolerate variation in certain structures. The argument can be made that the questionnaire results are less suitable for picking up language change with variables where the one variant is relegated to the confines of non-standardness; i.e. the speakers are aware of the fact that they should not admit to accepting the non-standard variant, even though they might be using it in their actual speech.

5.4 Language contact and typological change

5.4.1 Motivations for typological approaches to language change

Taking departure from the empirical results, this section considers possible typological explanations for syntactic change in Afrikaans. Thomason (2001a: 1640) stipulates the conditions under which one can expect contact-induced typological change, and states that the level of bilingualism plays a deciding role in promoting such changes. However, since it is only actual language users that can affect language changes, Thomason warns that even though the structure of social settings might indicate ideal circumstances for typological change resulting from contact, ‘speakers' attitudes are unpredictable, and attitudinal factors can and do play a major role in this domain’ (Thomason, op. cit.: 1641). Also, not all contact-induced changes result in an immediate typological change in contact languages: some contact-induced changes may initially be typologically insignificant, but such changes can ‘trigger a sequence of internal changes that ultimately results in significant typological change’ (Thomason, op. cit.: 1643). In this section, hypotheses are formulated concerning diachronic processes involved in the development
of the current synchronic pattern of COMP-drop and typologically innovative VX word order in Afrikaans.

5.4.2 Diachronic processes and synchronic patterns – variation and change in word order

Cross-linguistic studies have found that VX languages are exceptionally complementizer-initial (COMP-S), e.g. English (I believe [that the boy knows the answer]). Evidence from cross-linguistic studies have also found that current XV languages still vary between presenting with sentence initial or final complementizers. An example of a complementizer-initial XV language is Persian, and Japanese is a complementizer-final (S-COMP) XV language (Hawkins, 2004: 209). One study (Dryer, 1992) has shown that two-thirds of XV languages have clause-final complementizers – Table 5.7 shows the attested languages in the world that present with VX/XV word order and S-COMP/COMP-S.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>VX</th>
<th>XV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Final complementizer (S-COMP)</td>
<td>1.5%</td>
<td>69%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Initial complementizer (COMP-S)</td>
<td>98.5%</td>
<td>31%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.7: Position of complementizer in the complement clause of attested languages (adapted from Dryer, 1992: 54, table 2)

Afrikaans is therefore one of the one-third XV languages with clause-initial complementizers (COMP-S). Khoekhoe, on the other hand, is an XV language where the complement clause follows the matrix verb (like Afrikaans), but the complementizer is in a clause-final position (Dryer 2009: 200). In terms of Proto-Germanic, Lehmann (2005-2007) states that

in early Proto-Germanic there was no subordination. Later, particles like Gothic ei were added to indicate relationships between clauses; such particles were then combined with adverbs and prepositions that made the relationship more specific. Later yet, the appended particle was omitted and the conjunction consisted entirely of the element that

45 The terminology here is based on Hawkins (2004: 209), where ‘COMP’ refers to the complementizer and ‘S’ refers to the complement or subordinate clause.
indicated the specific relationship of the subordinate clause to the principal clause, which might be further specified by use of the subjunctive mood.

Since it is the case that 'another OV pattern in the early texts is the use of postpositions rather than prepositions' (Lehmann, op.cit.), we can propose that in proto-Germanic the subordinate-like particle also occurred as a postposition, i.e. clause-final. In (13) the structure of the hypothetical proto-form is shown by using an Afrikaans lexis.

(13) ek [VP weet [CP sy hom skop dat_C]]

Therefore, we can hypothesise that in the case of Germanic the proto-form subsequently underwent a change in the CP, where the head C moved from a clause-final to a clause-initial position.

The reason why the discussion of the distribution of complementizers and word orders is relevant to the present study is that it allows one to construe an implicational universal that formulates a possible diachronic direction of word order changes in Afrikaans. The implicational universal is as follows:

(14) With overwhelming greater than chance frequency, if a language has VX word order, then it has clause-initial complementizers.

This universal is based on VX languages, and if Afrikaans is indeed undergoing a typological change towards VX, then it should present with clause-initial complementizers, since VX & S-COMP languages are rare (1.5% of attested languages, cf. Table 6.7). This requirement is therefore already met.

The implicational universal works on the following premise: If P (condition), then Q (result). Therefore, for the implicational universal construed in (14), P = VX word order and Q = clause-initial complementizers. From the logic of the synchronic-diachronic relationship proposed by Hawkins (1990: 97), a language 'has neither of these properties at some early stage in its history' (i.e. ~VX & ~COMP-S)\(^{46}\), but can subsequently

\(^{46}\) The symbol ~ is used here in the formal logic sense of 'not' or 'false'.

- 84 -
undergo changes and present with both (i.e. VX & COMP-S). Of importance here is the transition from (~VX & ~COMP-S) to (VX & COMP-S). Hawkins (ibid.) proposes the following three diachronic possibilities, where a language would have acquired P (i.e. VX) first, Q (i.e. COMP-S) first, or both together, as shown by (15.a) to (15.c) respectively:

\[
(15) \begin{align*}
\text{a. } & \sim\text{VX} & \& & \sim\text{COMP-S} & \to & \star \text{VX} & \& & \sim\text{COMP-S} & \to & \text{VX} & \& & \text{COMP-S} \\
\text{b. } & \sim\text{VX} & \& & \sim\text{COMP-S} & \to & \sim\text{VX} & \& & \text{COMP-S} & \to & \text{VX} & \& & \text{COMP-S} \\
\text{c. } & \sim\text{VX} & \& & \sim\text{COMP-S} & \to & \sim\text{VX} & \& & \text{COMP-S} & \to & \text{VX} & \& & \text{COMP-S}
\end{align*}
\]

The uniformitarianist principle\footnote{The uniformitarianist principle states that the laws of the present are also those of the past (cf. Lass, 1980: 53-57; Croft, 2003: 233).} does not permit (15.a), since the sequence proposed by it ‘goes against all the current synchronic evidence’ – i.e. ‘the acquisition of P can either occur after Q, or simultaneously with it, but not before it’ (Hawkins, 1990: 98). Therefore, the Q = COMP-S must be attested in a language before the P = VX can be found.

The implicational universal can now be compared to the types of embedded clauses found in the empirical data. We can assume that Q (initial complementizer, COMP-S) is fully present in Afrikaans. The main point that the implicational universal brings across is the possibility of variation between Type B (~VX & COMP-S) and Type C (VX & COMP-S) clauses, which has already been confirmed by the empirical results. However, the empirical results found that Type C clauses were less frequently employed in this study’s corpora than Type B. From the empirical evidence, there is a remarkably strong increase in another type of clause, namely Type A, where certain complementizers seem to be altogether omitted in favour of a VX word order with certain matrix verbs. From a typological perspective, the implicational universal employed here simply indicates the possible and impossible pathways of change.

A proposition can therefore be made in terms of a possible typological change in the word order of Afrikaans – where the language is becoming a full VX language – by accepting the diachronic pathway introduced in this section. Hypothetically, the processes can be reconstructed as follows:
1. The proto-language starts out with (~VX & ~COMP-S), i.e. VX with clause-final complementizers;
2. The language subsequently presents with (~VX & COMP-S), i.e. VX with clause-initial complementizers;
3.a Variation in use of VX/VX in all clauses, with clause-initial complementizers (~VX/VX & COMP-S) – process might stop here;
OR
3.b VX is accepted in the matrix clauses (MCs), but VX remains in subordinate clauses (SCs) – process might stop here;
4. The change is completed with (VX & COMP-S) in all clauses;
5. COMP-drop (intervening at point 3.b) can trigger a change to 4.

This hypothetical diachronic pathway is illustrated in Figure 5.2.

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**Figure 5.2:** Proposed diachronic pathway of changes in West Germanic word orders

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At (5) an unpredicted additional factor intervenes in the form of COMP-drop with certain subordinate clauses. The usage data shows that one of the strategies employed by the participants in this study is the omission of complementizers with bridge verb matrix

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48 Cf. Pintzuk (1996) for a discussion of the changes in English from OV to VO, and Haspelmath (2001: 1706-1707) for a discussion of West Germanic word orders.
clauses, as indicated by the frequent use of Type A clauses. Therefore, instead on varying between (VX & COMP-S) and (~VX & COMP-S), one more option is available to speakers, i.e. (VX & COMP-drop) when the matrix verb is a bridge verb. This allows speakers the use of a VX word order without violation of the still statistically dominant StAfr XV subordinate clause. I would thus argue that high frequency occurrence of Type A clauses is a significant phenomenon in especially spoken Afrikaans, which can contribute to the possible typological change in Afrikaans to a full VX language. The high frequency use of Type A clauses contributes to the ‘harmonization of the direction of complementation’ (Kiparsky, 1996: 1; see Chapter 2.4.3) – evidence for the XV base becomes opaque in the subordinate clause, because of embedded finite verb V2-fronting (facilitated by COMP-drop). The evidence of a XV base is already opaque in matrix clauses (due to the V2 rule), and a change to VX arises as a generalization of across all clauses. The fact that the Afrikaans-English bilingual speaker already makes use of a language such as English, which fully employs clauses resembling both Type A and Type C, may accelerate the process. Therefore, a change in the word order of Afrikaans clauses might be underway, and, following the empirical results, Type A clauses are leading the change. An increase in Type C clauses is secondary (but visible), and a dominance of Type C clauses will arguably be the most conclusive evidence in terms of typological change.

5.5 Conclusion

In this chapter the question was raised whether Afrikaans word order is changing from XV to VX, as observed through changes in the last vestige of XV word order: the embedded clause. In order to accomplish this task, this study proceeded by firstly looking at the occurrence of Type C clauses with obligatory subordinators – theoretically significant if one accepts the argument that VX embedded clauses represent a change towards an English syntactic frame. Variation in the use of TypeB/Type C clauses was found with omdat and as. Secondly, the occurrence of Type C clauses with non-obligatory subordinators (mainly dat and of) was considered, and a significant increase of VX word order was found in clauses introduced by dat. Finally, the presence of complementizers in constructions where the matrix verb is a bridge verb was investigated, and an increase in VX word order was found in the guise of an increase in
Type A clauses. This suggests that there seems to be a change in progress in Afrikaans word order through the proliferation of VX embedded clauses, as triggered by changes in the semantic strength of the subordinator and matrix clause, respectively.

The results of this study were compared to findings made by Biberauer, and differences and similarities in the quantitative results were discussed. The differences observed might strengthen the call for theoretical studies to be more attentive to their methodology in terms of sample selection and description (cf. Schütze, 1996, who makes the plea for the empirical base of linguistics). In other words, Biberauer's corpus might have drawn on speakers who differ significantly from the participants in this study with respect to their demographic profile (age, ethnicity, social class). It is also possible that this syntactic structure is used more frequently in contexts where speakers operate in a bilingual language mode (since Biberauer did not control for language mode).

Finally, variation in word order and complementizer position were discussed from the perspective of language typology in order to demonstrate how synchronic facts can project diachronic directions. Afrikaans was placed in a cross-linguistic context, and the changes observed in Afrikaans in terms of the position and presence of the complementizer and word order were found to be on par with the implicational universal construed. The typological arguments also explained the observed variation in Afrikaans embedded word order (varying between VX and XV). The conclusion can be made that if Afrikaans is indeed changing towards VX in all clauses, then the process is supported by COMP-drop.
Chapter 6: Syntactic Variation in Afrikaans – Complex and Simplex Verb Initials

This chapter investigates variation in the use of complex (CIs) and simplex (SIs) verb initials in Afrikaans. The main research question is concerned with whether CIs have an impact on possible changes in Afrikaans word order. Section 6.1 considers the general use of linking verbs in simplex and complex initials with examples from different types of clauses. The results from Ponelis’ (1993) study on the use of SIs and CIs with a range of linking verbs are also presented. In Section 6.2 the empirical results of the present study are introduced, and specific linking verbs are isolated for discussion. The results from this study are subsequently compared to Ponelis’ results. The grammaticality judgements supplied by participants in this study is considered in Section 6.3. The chapter concludes with Section 6.4 where the linguistic processes of (internal and contact-induced) grammaticalization of the linking verb and lexicalization of the CI as a unit are considered.

6.1 Linking verbs and variation in the use of complex and simplex verb initials in present-day Afrikaans

6.1.1 General use of linking verbs

Although the main focus of this chapter is on declarative clauses, this section presents the general use of linking verbs in embedded clauses and in constructions with an auxiliary/modal verb in the V2 slot where linking verbs remain in V-final with the main verb. These examples show all possible structural sites where linking verbs are used (cf. Chapter 2.3.2). In the embedded clauses, the linking verbs can either raise to V2 independently (i.e. SI), or form a CI with the main verb. The following are examples of constructions used by the participants where the linking and main verbs form a cluster in V-final, i.e. (1.a/b) are examples of StAfr Type B clauses (see Chapter 5.1).

49 In all the examples the verbs are in bold, and the linking verbs are underlined.
(1) a. … dat ek volgende jaar by 'n NGO kan begin werk (Female, 25 years)
   ‘that I can start working at an NGO next year’

b. ek het vir jou 'n rotariër glas as dit jou gemakliker sallaat voel (Female, 29 years)
   ‘I have a rotary glass for you if it will make you feel more comfortable’

There are also instances where CIs occurred in the V2 position in an embedded clause, with the presence of an overt complementizer. The constructions in (2.a/b) are non-standard Type C clauses, and can be of interest for research on embedded word order changes in Afrikaans (as discussed in Chapter 5.1).

(2) a. asjy gaan kyk na jou bedrag is dit maar bel, (Female, 25 years)
   ‘if you go and look at your amount it usually is calls’

b. sodat hulle kan gaan speel pouse (Female, 25 years)
   ‘so that they can go and play at break-time’

In other instances of embedded clauses (with or without an overt complementizer), the linking verb occurred as a SI and the main verb remained at the end of the clause. (3.a) is a non-standard Type C clause, and (3.b) is a Type A clause.

(3) a. ek het nie geweet of ons gaan met ander mense oor die internet kommunikeer nie
   (Female, 25 years)
   ‘I did not know if we are going to communicate with other people over the internet’

b. ek dink hy probeer haar impress
   (Female, 29 years)
   ‘I think he tries to impress her’

The clause-final verb cluster is also found in constructions where modals or auxiliaries fill the V2 slot, in both the main and embedded clause. (4.a/b) are examples of verb clusters in the final position with an auxiliary in V2:
(4) a. hy kon my mos nou net laat weet het\textsuperscript{50} (Female, 30 years)
   ‘he could have informed me’

b. en ek het bergfiets begin ry (Female, 30 years)
   ‘and I have started riding mountain bike’

The following are examples of SIs (5) and CIs (6) in main declarative clauses. The remainder of the chapter will focus on these types of constructions.

(5) a. sy laat my dink aan 'n Chinese tannie (Female, 30 years)
   ‘she makes me think of a old Chinese aunty’

b. jy leer nogals die persoon ken (Female, 25 years)
   ‘you rather get to know the person’

(6) a. ek gaan maak die present oop (Female, 23 years)
   ‘I go and open the present’

b. ek gaan stap gereeld in die aande (Male, 33 years)
   ‘I regularly go walk in the evenings’

6.1.2 Previous studies on complex and simplex initials in Afrikaans

Ponelis (1993: 328) investigated the use of main declarative clause SIs and CIs in Afrikaans to determine their frequency, and to establish whether certain linking verbs were more prone to occur in CIs than others. The results from Ponelis’ analysis are summarized in Table 6.1. Unfortunately, Ponelis does not indicate the social composition and methodological details of this corpus. However, he mentions that it consists of spoken language, and that it is derived from a concordance based on a ‘relatively restricted corpus of 300,000 words’ \textit{(ibid.)}.

\textsuperscript{50}\textit{Laat weet} might also be an incipient lexicalized verb cluster (see Chapter 4.4.4).
From Table 6.1 it is apparent that SIs are considerably more common (76%) than CIs (24%) in the corpus. Some of the verbs have a very low token count, which makes it difficult to draw any conclusions about their linguistic behaviour. Only *laat*, *gaan*, *kom* and *bly* occurred in CIs. The use of *laat*, *kom* and *gaan* will be briefly discussed here (see Chapter 2.3.1 for a discussion of *bly*, and 2.3.2 for a discussion of *probeer* and *begin* – also see below).

(a) *Laat*

When *laat* is used as a linking verb, it designates CAUSATIVE, PERMISSIVE or VOLITION aspect. According to De Vos (2005: 200), ‘*laat* is ambiguous between causative and permissive’. For example:

\[(7)\]

- a. *hy laat die muis rustig drink* (Male, 24 years)
  
  he PERM the mouse calmly drink
  
  ‘he allows the mouse to drink in peace’

- b. *dit laat my dink aan ’n stadsbeplanner* (Female, 29 years)
  
  it CAUS me think of a town planner
  
  ‘it makes me think of a town planner’

Table 6.1: Variation between complex and simplex initials with direct linking verbs (adapted from Ponelis, 1993: 328)
(b) *Gaan and kom*

According to De Stadler (1989: 399-401), *gaan* and *kom* fulfil a deictic function when used as a linking verb: they serve to contextualise the utterance by referring to movement towards or away from the deictic centre. The deictic centre can be the position of the speaker, or another specific location referred to in the utterance (De Stadler, 1989: 399-401). Both *kom* and *gaan* are goal-orientated: with *kom*, movement is made towards the location where the goal is enacted (see example (8)), and *gaan* indicates movement away from a location in order to enact the goal (see example (9)).

(8) **hy kom sit by ons**

he come sit with us

'he comes and sits with us'

(9) **hy gaan sit by hulle**

he go sit with them

'he goes and sits with them'

De Vos (ibid.) states that both *kom* and *gaan* can function as temporal markers in some contexts, where they should be regarded as future modals and not as linking verbs. The following examples illustrate the use of these verbs as future modals. 51

(10) **dit kom môre reën**

it FUT tomorrow rain

'it will rain tomorrow'

(11) **dit gaan môre reën**

it FUT tomorrow rain

'it will rain tomorrow' (Du Plessis, 1990: 72)

---

51 The use of *kom* as a future modal shows some dialectal variation (cf. De Vos, 2001).
In Ponelis’ corpus, *kom* (as linking verb) occurred in a CI in more than two-thirds of the constructions. A general observation made by Bybee (1985) can lead one to deduce that there is a possible semantic motivation behind CIs:

> It has often been observed that the proximity of elements in a clause follows some natural (iconic) principle whose result is that elements that go together semantically tend to occur close together in the clause. Bybee (1985: 11)

This might indicate that the linking verb *kom* presents salient information about the state of the main verb that is emphasised when they occur adjacently (i.e. as a CI).

### 6.2 Presentation of empirical results: variation in the use of complex and simplex verb initials in matrix clauses

#### 6.2.1 Empirical data – results of linking verbs in simplex and complex initials

Adhering to Ponelis’ analysis, this study focuses mainly on the use of direct linking verbs in matrix clauses. Table 6.2 shows the occurrence of linking verbs as SIs or CIs in this study’s interview data.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Complex Initial</th>
<th>Simplex Initial</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>gaan</em> ‘go’</td>
<td>20 (80%)</td>
<td>5 (20%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>probeer</em> ‘try’</td>
<td>3 (12%)</td>
<td>22 (88%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>begin</em> ‘begin’</td>
<td>3 (23%)</td>
<td>10 (77%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>laat</em> ‘let’</td>
<td>1 (8%)</td>
<td>12 (92%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kom</em> ‘come’</td>
<td>5 (63%)</td>
<td>3 (37%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>leer</em> ‘leer’</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>bly</em> ‘remain’</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>help</em> ‘help’</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>32 (37%)</strong></td>
<td><strong>54 (63%)</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6.2: Distribution of linking verbs in matrix clauses from the interview corpus

In the spoken language corpus collected, linking verbs occurred more frequently as SIs (63%) in main declarative clauses. This is in line with Ponelis’ results (1993: 328). 37%
of the linking verbs occurred as a CIs in main, declarative sentences. These results will now be compared in more detail to findings made by Ponelis.

### 6.2.2 Speech corpora comparisons and ensuing discussions

Ponelis’ corpus was compiled at least fifteen years before this study’s corpus (i.e. before 1993). This allows one to study language change in *real time*, which is a variationist approach that ‘compares linguistic data gathered at a certain point in time (T1) with data gathered at a later point in time (T2)’ (Swann *et al.*, 2004: 258). Change in real time contrasts with change in *apparent time*, where the latter approach makes use of ‘generational differences in language use as an indicator of a linguistic change in progress’ (Swann *et al.*, *op. cit.*: 11). In other words, the language use of younger speakers is compared to that of older speakers. This approach is based on the idea that younger speakers tend to be the innovators of linguistic change by making use of new linguistic forms.

Ponelis’ study is at T1, and can therefore serve as an interesting beacon for comparing variation in verbal initials observed in the present study at T2. Table 6.3 shows this study’s results next to the results from Ponelis’ corpus. Percentages are used rather than absolute numbers (unless n < 10) to facilitate comparison.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Klein CIs</th>
<th>Ponelis CIs</th>
<th>Klein SIs</th>
<th>Ponelis SIs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gaan ‘go’</td>
<td>81%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>75%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kom ‘come’</td>
<td>63%</td>
<td>63%</td>
<td>37%</td>
<td>37%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>begin ‘begin’</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>77%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>probeer ‘try’</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>88%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>laat ‘let’</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>92%</td>
<td>62%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>leer ‘leer’</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bly ‘remain’</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>help ‘help’</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total %</td>
<td>37%</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>63%</td>
<td>76%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6.3: Comparison of percentage distribution of linking verbs in the two corpora
When comparing the overall occurrence of linking verbs the two corpora show similar results: for both corpora the linking verbs occurring most frequently are *gaan*, *kom*, *begin*, *probeer* and *laat*. However, there appears to be a noticeable increase in the relative occurrence of CIs in this study's corpus. This increase is especially noticeable with the linking verbs *gaan*, *begin* and *probeer* (the relative frequency of *kom* is the same in both corpora). A relative decrease in CIs in this study's corpus is observed for *laat*. The percentage differences between Ponelis (1993) and Klein (2009) suggest that it is possible that we are witnessing a change in progress; i.e. there might be a general increase of CIs in modern, spoken Afrikaans, possibly focused on specific linking verbs (*gaan*, *probeer* and *begin*). The probabilities of change in progress with these linking verbs will be discussed in detail below. Figure 6.1 illustrates these results.

![Frequency Distribution of SIs and CIs](image)

**Figure 6.1:** Frequency distribution of specific linking verbs in SIs and CIs in two corpora (percentages: *laat* and linking verbs with *n* < 7 are excluded)

Let us now take a closer look at the verbs that show a marked increase in the interview data collected for this study.

(a) *Begin* and *probeer*

With respect to *probeer* and *begin*, both of these linking verbs occurred only as SIs in Ponelis' corpus. According to Fisher's exact probability test (Preacher and Briggs,
2001), there is a significant difference between the distribution of *begin* in Ponelis' and this study's corpus (p = 0.015, two-tailed). The difference between Ponelis' and this study's corpus is not significant for *probeer* (p = 0.083, two-tailed).

De Vos (2005: 200) states that several linking verbs are ambiguous between different verb classes (i.e. modal, *te*-complement or main), based on the fact that they can fulfil several different grammatical functions (also see the discussion in Chapter 2.3.2). The grammatical versatility of *probeer* and *begin* might be the reason for the observed increase of their occurrence in CIs. One can argue that a decrease in the use of infinitive complements with these verbs can trigger the increase in verb cluster formations. De Vos (2001: 63) confirms that some direct linking verbs might be related to *te*-complement verbs: 'historical linguistic evidence seems to indicate that [direct linking verbs] may be related to Type-A *te*-complements.' De Vos (ibid.) refers to a statement made by De Villiers (1951: 13) that linking verbs such as *probeer, help, leer, begin, aanhou, ophou* and *durf* all selected an infinitive complement in older texts. De Vos argues that this finding suggests that linking verbs such as *probeer* and *begin* 'have developed from *te*-complements with an overt infinitival marker into functional heads' (ibid.). The infinitival marker is either deleted, or has zero (Ø) form. De Vos concludes that this change might provide an explanation for why these verbs form a distinct subclass in the group of direct linking verbs. He further ascribes the ambiguity in the classification of linking verbs like *probeer* and *begin* to the fact that 'in some dialects and speaker grammars, the reanalysis/grammaticalisation process is more or less progressed than in others' (De Vos, ibid.).

A historical trajectory for *probeer* and *begin* can be reconstructed as follows: in the past they predominantly selected infinitive complements. An innovation arose where the infinitival markers *om-te* were either deleted, or attained zero (Ø) form (cf. De Vos, 2001: 63). In the second stage, *probeer* and *begin* were mainly used in SIs where the main infinitive verb remained *in situ* in the zero-infinitive complement clauses. This stage is already well established by the time Ponelis' corpus was collected. A third stage is indicated in the present study's corpus in the form of variation between the occurrence of these verbs in SIs or CIs. This change in progress can either remain at a point of stable
variation between SIs and CIs, or it can attain a final stage where the infinitive main verb predominantly occurs as CI in V2 with *probeer* and *begin* (also see discussion in Section 6.4).

Formal notations can be employed to illustrate these stages. Let us first consider *probeer*. In Stage I, *probeer* is (or was) a te-complement verb (the infinitive marker *om* is optional), as shown by (12.a). The infinitive clause is indicated with square brackets. PRO designates a covert null-case pronoun, and it represents the understood subject of the infinitive complement clause. In this case *Jan* is the antecedent linked to the covert pronoun. The construction in (12.b) is ungrammatical: the infinitive verb cannot be raised to the matrix clause with an overt infinitive marker *te*.

**Stage I**

(12)  
\[ \text{a. Jan } \textit{probeer} \ [\text{om} \ PRO \ \textit{die bal te skop}] \]
\[ \text{b. } \ast \text{Jan } \textit{probeer} \ \textit{te skop} \ [\text{PRO} \ \textit{die bal t_{skop}}] \]

‘Jan tries to kick the ball’

In Stage II, the infinitive markers have attained zero (Ø) form. In (13.a), *probeer* can still be classified as a te-complement verb, because of the presence of the infinitival complement clause. However, the infinitive verb *skop* can be raised from the infinitive clause to form a CI with *probeer*, because raising is facilitated by the lack of overt infinitive marking.

**Stage II**

(13)  
\[ \text{a. Jan } \textit{probeer} \ [\text{Ø} \ PRO \ \textit{die bal Ø skop}] \]
\[ \text{b. Jan } \textit{probeer} \textit{ skop} \ [\text{Ø} \ PRO \ \textit{die bal t_{skop}}] \]

‘Jan tries to kick the ball’

---

52 In this English translation the verb ‘tries’ is a control verb, and ‘to PRO kick the ball’ is an infinitive clause.
With stage III, (13.a) seems to be similar to (14.a); however, probeer is a direct linking verb in (14.a). This change in grammatical status of the verb is made evident by the aspectual function performed by probeer in the construction. The presence of an aspectual linking verb contributes additional information about the state of the main verb.

Stage III

(14)  
   a. Jan probeer die bal skop  
   b. Jan probeer skop die bal  
   ‘Jan tries kicking the ball’

The notation for (12) and (13) are the same: PROBEER (j, (SKOP (pro, b))). The infinitive clause and the agent (i.e. Jan) are the arguments of the predicate PROBEER. The notation for (14) is as follows: PROBEER_{aspect} [SKOP (j, b)]. The proposal is made that in (14) probeer contributes an aspective reading. The presupposition can be made that an action (‘kick’) was initiated, but it is not conclusive whether the agent was successful in accomplishing it.

A similar argument can be made for begin, which is a te-complement verb in (15). In (16.a/b), begin functions as a linking verb, attributing inceptive aspect to the main verb.

(15)  
   a. Jan begin [(om) PRO die bal te skop]  
   b. Jan begin skop [(ev PRO die bal ꞏt skop)]  
   ‘Jan starts to kick the ball’

(16)  
   a. Jan begin die bal skop  
   b. Jan begin skop die bal  
   ‘Jan starts kicking the ball’

The notations constructed for begin is similar as for probeer: BEGIN (j, (SKOP (pro, b))) and BEGIN_{inceptive} [SKOP (j, b)].

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53 Following De Vos (2001), te-complement verbs are taken to be functional heads, i.e. not lexical. However, ‘these verbs are unusual in that they select objects, and by implication assign [semantic] theta roles’ (De Vos, op. cit.: 102).
These notations show that *probeer* and *begin* play a different grammatical role when used as linking verbs than when they are used as te-complement verbs. When selecting an infinitive complement, *probeer* and *begin* do not take on an aspective reading, and are therefore grammatically related to main verbs. As a linking verb they scope over the whole proposition, and as a te-complement verb they select arguments for which they assign semantic roles. Te-complement verbs obligatory occur as SIs when overt infinitive markers are present. The loss of overt infinitival marking and the change of te-complement verbs to direct linking verbs allows for variation in SIs and CIs.

The increase in CIs with these linking verbs is supported by Bybee’s (1985: 11) statement cited earlier: ‘elements that go together semantically tend to occur close together in the clause.’ Thus an increase in CIs can contribute to a general word order change from XV to VX through the suspension of V-final and the proliferation of VX clauses. Linking verbs are of specific interest, because they are at present the only grammatical verbs that form CIs with main verbs in matrix declarative clauses: constructions such as (17) are highly marked as non-standard Afrikaans, and the modals are not located in the same functional head or structural site as the main verb (i.e. a case of verb adjacency, not a CI; see Chapter 2.3.3). In (17.a) the future modal *sal* is adjacent to the main verb, and in (17.b) the obligatory modal *moet* is adjacent to the main verb.

(17)  

a. *Jan sal skop die bal*  
‘Jan will kick the ball’

b. *Jan moet skop die bal*  
‘Jan must kick the ball’

No instances of (17) were found in this study’s corpus, and the argument can be made that an increase in the fronting of main verbs with other modal and auxiliary verbs will support the case of word order change in Afrikaans more strongly.
(b) *Gaan* and *kom*

In this study’s corpus, *gaan* is another linking verb with a significantly higher frequency occurrence in CIs. Pearson’s chi-square test (Preacher, 2001) shows that there is a significant difference between the distribution of *gaan* in Ponelis’ and this study’s corpus ($\chi^2 = 32.473$, d.f. = 1, $p = 1e^{-8}$). *Kom* is included in this discussion, since it is the deictic counterpart of *gaan* (see Section 6.1) and shows high frequency of use as CI in both corpora. The difference between Ponelis’ and this study’s corpus is not significant for *kom* (Fisher’s exact test; $p = 0.68$, two-tailed).

The variation in SI and CI use of *gaan* may be influenced by the ambiguity that can arise because of the two possible grammatical functions of this verb (i.e. future modal or deictic linking verb). De Vos (2001: 55) states that when *gaan* undergoes V2 movement, it appears to lose its aspectual reading:

> In these cases, *gaan* is always interpreted as having future reference instead of its more usual deictic reading’ *(ibid.)*.

However, the argument can be made that *gaan* retains its deictic reading when occurring as a CI in V2, because future modals obligatory occur in SIs (see discussion above). Distinction between the two meanings can be made by rephrasing the construction as an interrogative: *gaan*$_{\text{future}}$ occurs in a SI in (18.a); in (18.b) only the future modal can undergo interrogative inversion; and in (18.c) the linking verb is inverted as a CI. When *gaan* occurs in a CI (18.d), deictic aspect is the most apparent. (18.e) illustrates that the two separate grammatical meanings of *gaan* can be used in the same construction.
Negation can also be employed to illustrate the different grammatical roles of *gaan* as a linking verb versus a future modal. In (19), *gaan* is a future modal. In (20.a) the use of *gaan* as a linking verb is strengthened by the presence of the past tense auxiliary *het*: the incompatibility in tense ensures that the future modal reading is impossible. In (20.b), *gaan* is a linking verb in a CI, and the future modal reading is excluded.

(19)  *Jan gaan nie die bal skop nie*  
‘Jan will not kick the ball’

(20)  a. *Jan het nie die bal gaan skop nie*  
‘Jan did not go and kick the ball’

b. *Jan gaan skop nie die bal nie, hy gaan skop die skeidsregter*  
‘Jan does not go and kick the ball, he goes and kicks the referee’

As stated by Du Plessis (1990: 72; also see Section 6.1.2), in some cases *kom* and *gaan* can be interchangeable, and (21) illustrates the change of deictic centre that is brought about by using *kom* instead of *gaan*.

(21)  *Jan kom skop nie die bal nie, hy kom skop die skeidsregter*  
‘Jan does not come and kick the ball, he comes and kicks the referee’
The use of *gaan* in a CI serves to disambiguate the grammatical ambiguity of *gaan*. The increase in the use of *gaan* in CIs in this study might indicate that speakers employ CIs to disambiguate the specific grammatical function of *gaan*: when *gaan* is used as a linking verb, it predominantly occurs in a CI, whereas the SI mainly contains the future modal. The results from the interview corpus confirm this hypothesis. The total token count of *gaan*future in the interview corpus is 78: 72 tokens (92%) of *gaan*future occurred in SIs and 6 (8%) in CIs. This treatment of *gaan* as a SI future modal is similar to the other general future modal operative in Afrikaans, viz. *sal*. *Sal* is obligatory used in a SI. The use of *kom* seems to be following a similar principle (cf. De Vos, 2005: 123).

With *probeer* and *begin* it was established that these verbs have a different semantic reading and grammatical function when they select infinitive complements. The same argument can be made for *gaan* and *kom*. De Stadler (1992: 96) makes the following statement in this regard:

Die feit dat *kom* en *gaan* as skakelwerkwoorde op die grens tussen hoof- en medewerkwoorde lê, word duidelik weerspieël in die feit dat konstruksies wat hulle bevat geïnterpreteer kan word as ’n hoofwerkwoord + infinitiewe konstruksie, met *kom* of *gaan* as hoofwerkwoord.54

Therefore, the three stages proposed for the development of *probeer* and *begin* that show the increasing grammaticalization of these verbs (from main te-complement to linking verbs) are also applicable to *kom* and *gaan*. However, unlike *begin* and *probeer*, *gaan* and *kom* have attained an additional grammatical option of future modal. The following constructions in (22)-(24) illustrate the three stages (*gaan* can be substituted by *kom* in these examples).

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54 Translation: 'The fact that the linking verbs *kom* and *gaan* lie on the border between main and auxiliary verbs, is clearly reflected by the fact that constructions containing these linking verbs can be paraphrased by a lexical verb and an infinitive construction, with *kom* and *gaan* as main verbs.'
Stage I

(22) a. \(\text{Jan gaan [om PRO die bal te skop]}\)^55
    b. \(\text{*Jan gaan te skop [om PRO die bal tskop]}\)

    ‘Jan goes to kick the ball’

Stage II

(23) a. \(\text{Jan gaan [(Ø) PRO die bal Ø skop]}\)
    b. \(\text{Jan gaan skop [(Ø) PRO die bal Ø tskop]}\)

    ‘Jan goes to kick the ball’

Stage III

(24) a. \(\text{Jan gaan encuent die bal skop}\)
    ‘Jan will kick the ball’
    b. \(\text{Jan gaan deictic skop die bal}\)
    ‘Jan goes and kicks the ball’

These analyses show that the increase in CIs with these four linking verbs might be related to two reciprocal factors: the loss of overt infinitival marking, which leads to the raising of the infinitival verb to V2; and the grammaticalization of the lexical main verb, which contributes to grammatical expansion as linking verb or modal. When linking verbs are used in CI, their aspectual/deictic influence on the main verb is expressed more strongly.

The proposal made earlier stated that linking verb CIs can represent a change in Afrikaans word order through the suspension of V-final. Linking verbs in CIs can provide a model for verbal adjacency in Afrikaans that is not currently observed with other grammatical verbs. As discussed in Chapter 2.4.2, the use of CIs in Afrikaans is regarded as an innovation that occurred in the 17th century via contact with Khoesan. The

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^55 Om is obligatory in this context.
increase of CIs (1993 vs. 2008) with linking verbs can therefore be regarded as an ongoing spread of this phenomenon.

6.3 Comparisons of the speech corpus and grammaticality judgements

The questionnaire used in this study tested the acceptability of several CI constructions. The results are summarized in Table 6.4. The linking verbs tested for in this question set are: laat (24.a), maak (24.b), bly (24.c), probeer (24.f), en begin (24.g) (see Section 2 in questionnaire, Appendix 3).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section 2</th>
<th>Type of Response (N = 34)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>24.a Jan laat val toe die bal</td>
<td>Yes: 34 (100%) No: 0 Sometimes: 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24.b Jan maak staan toe die pale in die grond</td>
<td>Yes: 8 (24%) No: 25 (73%) Sometimes: 1 (3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24.c Jan bly kyk toe na die voëls</td>
<td>Yes: 30 (88%) No: 4 (12%) Sometimes: 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24.f Jan probeer werk toe in die tuin</td>
<td>Yes: 9 (26%) No: 25 (74%) Sometimes: 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24.g Jan begin kyk toe na die stukkende kar</td>
<td>Yes: 27 (79%) No: 7 (21%) Sometimes: 0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6.4: Results of participants’ responses to questionnaire, Section 2, Q24

As argued above, linking verbs have undergone a semantic shift away from their lexical main verb meaning towards the grammatical domains of aspect, causality and modality (cf. Heine, 1993: 14-16). In the questionnaire, 24.b, 24.c, 24.f, and 24.g are simple declarative clauses. In these structures the linking verbs can be removed without loss of core meaning, since the meaning is determined by the main verbs. In examples (25)-(28), the linking verbs are omitted:
By omitting the linking verbs, one is able to attain a clearer sense of their semantic contribution. It can be argued that it is their semantic force that has an influence on the syntactic structure: the fact that they describe the state of the main verb triggers the formation of CIs.

Now consider a construction where the linking verb cannot be omitted, such as in (24.a) from the questionnaire, as adapted in (29):

(29) *Jan val toe die bal

‘Jan then falls the ball’

If laat fulfils a linking verb function, it should be possible to omit it from the construction. The fact that it cannot be omitted indicates its lexicalized status in this specific construction (see Chapter 2.4.2). Its lexicalization in some constructions notwithstanding, laat still occurs frequently in SIs (see Section 6.2.1), because it can introduce an argument (which other linking verbs do not do).58 This indicates that laat is

56 Arguably, this construction sounds a bit odd.
57 val is an intransitive verb, which can select a PP complement. It can be used as an ergative, where the notation for Die bal val will be as follows: VAL (b).
58 The notation for Jan laat val die bal can therefore either be: (1) LAAT (j, (VAL (b))); or (2) LAAT VAL (j, b). In (2), laat val is a lexicalised compound, and do not introduce an argument as in (1).
still used productively as a linking verb, where it plays a causative role, similar to that of *maak*: ‘Jan causes/allows/makes the ball to fall’, or ‘Jan causes the poles to stand up in the soil by implanting them’. *Laat* occurred most frequently in SIs (92%) in the interview data. However, the results of the questionnaire show that all participants accepted the verb cluster construction in the elicitation task – most probably because *laat* val is a lexicalized construction.

No instances of the use of *maak* and *bly* as a linking verb were found in the interview data. *Maak* as a linking verb was only accepted in the CI construction by 24% of the participants in this study. The reasons here, however, may not have so much to do with the verb cluster construction *per se*: most of the respondents rejected the sentence because they found it strange, i.e. the semantics of the proposition baffled most of them, and some suggested that this might be more of a ‘platteland’ or rural way of speaking. One respondent (Male, 30 years old) said: ‘ek sal nooit ’maak staan’ gebruik in ’n sin self nie’. Possible reasons for the rejection of *maak* might be the notion of animacy linked to a verb such as *staan* ‘stand’, where you can not cause an inanimate thing to stand up, or to stand in the earth.

With *probeer* the results of the questionnaire show that two-thirds of the responses rejected the use of this linking verb in a CI construction. This reflects positively with the interview data, where fewer occurrences of this verb were found in CIs. Most of the participants indicated a preference for ‘*Jan probeer toe in die tuin werk*’. However, from the comparison between the two speech corpora (as discussed in 6.2.1), there seems to be some increase in the use of *probeer* in CIs, which is supported by the fact that 26% of the participants indicated that they will use a construction like (24.f).

In the interview data the linking verb *begin* was found more often in SIs. However, when compared to Ponelis’ study, an increase in the occurrence of *begin* in CIs was found (see 6.2.1). The results from the questionnaire support this pattern, where 79% of the participants accepted the CI construction.

From these results it seems that when asked to judge verb cluster constructions, participants generally accepted three linking verbs (*laat*, *bly* and *begin*) in CIs more readily than the other two (*maak* and *probeer*). However, when their judgements are
compared to their patterns of actual use of such constructions, one can observe that *laat* (8% CIs) and *probeer* (12% CIs) are relatively infrequent in matrix clause CIs in the interview data (see Table 6.3; there are no instances of *bly* in the speech corpus). The observation can be made: in the case of CIs, usage is lower than judgements, and this suggests that a change can confirm its presence in speakers' judgements, prior to its extensive usage by these speakers. Possible arguments and propositions with regards to the results from the speech data and elicited judgements will now be considered, with the focus on the impact of language contact on the semantic characteristics and syntactic functions of CIs.

### 6.4 Modelling grammaticalization, language variation and change

The results of this study suggest that there is a diachronic increase in the use of CI constructions with specific grammaticalized linking verbs. When these linking verbs are used in SIs, they fulfil different grammatical functions than in CI constructions – for instance, *gaan* can either be a linking verb or future modal in a SI, but can only be a linking verb in a CI.

In Chapter 2, the discussion of the literature showed that the initial language contact situation possibly triggered the use of CIs by the transfer of these structures from Khoesan languages in a situation of shift-induced interference. This study argues for the existence of present-day language contact situation, as experienced by Afrikaans-English bilinguals. The grammaticalization of lexical verbs into linking verbs in Afrikaans might have been further strengthened (post 1820) by the presence of a continuous or habitual aspect in English (expressed by auxiliaries and modals). In other words, English introduced grammatical specifications that were lacking in Afrikaans. The role of linking verbs as aspectual and deictic markers in Afrikaans thus received additional enforcement from contact with English. Even though English does not strictly have CIs, contact with English might have indirect influence on Afrikaans word order by presenting a model for the adjacency of modals, aspectual markers and main verbs in VX linear structures (Subject-Modal-Aspect-Verb, e.g. 'he must have been looking at the garden', see Chapter 2.3.3).
Figure 6.2 presents possible stages in the grammaticalization processes of Afrikaans linking verbs and variation in SIs or CIs, as influenced by two different language contact situations.

The main suggestion made by this model is that if Afrikaans is indeed undergoing typological changes towards a VX structure, then one would be able to observe this through changes in the variation of SIs and CIs. The obligatory occurrence of linking verbs (as well as other auxiliaries and modals) in CIs will be the hypothetical end stage of this change in progress.
6.5 Conclusion

This chapter investigated the occurrence of SIs and CIs in the speech of the bilingual participants, and the grammatical functions that linking verbs fulfil were discussed. The main reason why CIs are of interest to the present study is related to the overall objective, which aims to investigate possible changes in the linear clause structure of Afrikaans. The comparisons made with PoneEs' (1993) findings suggest that there is an increase in the use of CIs with some of the linking verbs for the participants in this study. It was further established that the specific aspectual or deictic reading of the linking verb appears to be more strongly enforced in a CI than a SI.

The results from the grammaticality judgements indicate that the participants generally accept CI constructions for most of the linking verbs tested. Participants' judgements can therefore be regarded as indicative of developmental patterns in the use of linking verbs as aspectual or deictic markers.

Finally, a model was proposed that illustrated the stages in the grammaticalization of specific linking verbs and their variable occurrence in SIs or CIs. This model recognises the role played by shift-induced interference from Khoesan languages in early Afrikaans. The model also incorporates the current use of Afrikaans linking verbs, and suggests a possible link between further contact-induced changes (from bilingualism with English) and the obligatory use of CIs in prospective Afrikaans.
Chapter 7: Conclusion and Directions for Future Research

The diversity of the Afrikaans language community and the bilingual existence of its members are important factors in the study of Afrikaans language use. The language use survey in Chapter 3 confirmed the fact that daily bilingualism is a reality for many Afrikaans speakers. The survey also indicated that the place of residence can have an influence on the language choices made by Afrikaans speakers, which supported the methodological choices made in terms of focussing on a homogenous sample group. Grosjean’s (2001) language mode model assisted in refining the methodology of this study. It was argued that one should pay particular attention to the language mode in which the interviewer and interviewees are operating when the data collection is made, because a bilingual language mode can contain more variation caused by interference from the other activated language. The empirical data were elicited in near-monolingual Afrikaans language modes to minimize contact-induced variation.

The syntactic variables under investigation exhibited patterns of variation in the speech of the participants, which were compared to the result from the grammaticality judgements elicited in the questionnaire. It was concluded that corpus data and formally elicited data do not have to be regarded as mutually exclusive; a combination of both of these methods can strengthen the findings made with regards to language use and linguistic variation. Comparing the results from these methods shows that performance and competence data can interact in different ways. With respect to CIs, these constructions showed a high acceptance rate as well as regular use in the spoken language corpus. This suggests that the change is well underway; that is, these forms are established in actual language use, and also accepted by speakers when probed for meta-linguistic assessments.

With embedded clause word order, the corpus data provided evidence of the frequent use of a construction that was not formally elicited in the questionnaire (Type A clauses), but which has an important impact on changes in embedded clause word order. Furthermore, the spoken language data showed a higher frequency of use of non-standard Type C (VX) clauses compared to their reported acceptance in the questionnaires. This finding might indicate that the change is in progress (evident in regular patterns of variation in the spoken language), yet the variant remains under-reported in elicited, meta-linguistic
judgements, probably because speakers remain sensitive to prescriptive norms that deem such a variant to be non-standard (which is indeed the case for Type C clauses). Thus, one might hypothesize that a new variant will be observed first in actual language use, before speakers will consider it acceptable — a vice versa scenario is unlikely.

An alternate scenario is also possible, i.e. there could be cases where the interview data does not supply enough tokens of the variant, and the status of the variant can thus only be assessed through acceptability judgements in questionnaire data. An important advantage of the bi-modal approach is thus that rarely-used constructions might be accounted for in the questionnaire (as were the case for some of the less-frequently used linking verbs).

Chapter 5 focussed on changes in Afrikaans embedded clause word order. The results indicated that the occurrence of Type C clauses with subordinators — specifically omdat, as, dat and of — is not uncommon. The occurrence of Type C clauses with dat-initial clauses was also relatively high, but still lagged behind the findings made in Biberauer’s study (2002). In addition, the presence of complementizers in constructions where the matrix verb is a bridge verb was investigated, and an increase in VX word order was found in the guise of an increase in Type A clauses. Drawing on typological theory, it was argued that there seems to be a change in progress in Afrikaans word order through the proliferation of VX embedded clauses, with the particular importance of Type A clauses.

Chapter 6 investigated the occurrence of SIs and CIs in the speech of the bilingual participants, and the grammatical functions that linking verbs fulfil were discussed. A comparison with Ponelis’ (1993) findings suggested that there is an increase in the use of CIs with some of the linking verbs for the participants. It was further established that the specific aspectual or deictic reading of the linking verb appeared to be more strongly enforced in a CI than a SI. The model illustrating the stages in the grammaticalization of specific linking verbs and their variable occurrence in SIs or CIs served to demonstrate the role played by shift-induced interference from Khoesan languages in early Afrikaans. The model also incorporated the current use of Afrikaans linking verbs, and suggested the diachronic possibility for further contact-induced changes (from bilingualism with English) and the increased use of CIs in prospective Afrikaans.
The homogenisation of the sample group was an important methodological aspect of the study. The approach taken here can be applied to similar studies of other groups in the Afrikaans language community. Of specific interest will be comparing the results obtained from investigating groups of speakers from different social backgrounds to the results of this study. This dissertation can therefore be a stepping stone towards a doctorate thesis, where the methodology can be applied to sample groups with different social profiles. Further research can lead to possible explanations as to where in the social matrix the higher use of Type C clauses are located. For example, an undergraduate essay at the University of Cape Town found (using a grammaticality questionnaire) that a change towards VX is more evident with working class Coloured speakers, than with middle class White speakers (Louw, 2006). This small research project, however, was very limited in scope, focusing only on the rural community of Bonnievale. The fact that the Afrikaans language community is so diverse serves as a strong incentive for further research, especially if we want to understand the patterns of language variation and change.
References


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- 115 -


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**Appendices**

**Appendix 1: Language use survey**

Questionnaire used for electronic dissemination in language behaviour survey.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>What language do you use...</th>
<th>Afrikaans</th>
<th>Engels</th>
<th>Both, more Afrikaans</th>
<th>Both, more Engels</th>
<th>Both, very much</th>
<th>Other (what?)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. In your home</td>
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<td>2. With your parents</td>
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<td>3. With your brothers/sisters</td>
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<td>4. With your grandparents</td>
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<td>5. With your family</td>
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<td>6. With your partner/man/woman/wife/boyfriend</td>
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<td>7. With your children</td>
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<td>8. With friends</td>
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<td>9. With your parents' friends</td>
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<td>10. With acquaintances</td>
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<td>11. At social venues (clubs, etc.) (with friends)</td>
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<td>12. In shopping/restaurants (with friends)</td>
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<td>13. At church</td>
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<td>14. At work or during work hours</td>
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<td>15. At social venues (clubs, etc.) (with strangers)</td>
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<td>16. In shopping/restaurants (with strangers)</td>
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<td>17. As you answer the phone</td>
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<td>18. With someone you don't know</td>
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<td>19. With parking attendant</td>
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<td>20. With colleagues</td>
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<td>21. Met playmates</td>
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<td>22. With internal matters</td>
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<td>23. With imaginary friend</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

How old are you?  
Where were you in school? (in English or Afrikaans)  
Where do you live now?  
What job do you do?
Appendix 2: Participants’ comments and opinions

Comments made by participants regarding their daily use of English, as well as some of their language attitudes.

OO1 – Male, 29 years old

‘En Engels, ek het ’n vieslike gewoonte om Engelse aanhalings te maak, maar dis meestal Afrikaans, omdat, dis nie, daar is Afrikaanse maniere om die goed ook te sé mar ek sal omdat, ek het, toe ek klein was het ek vreeslik baie TV gekyk, en baie goed opgetel daar so, dan val die Engels vreeslik in die huis in.’

[...]

‘Ek praat in my werk baie Engels, ek is ’n IT ou, en IT is ’n Engelse industrie, toe ek geswot het, het in my eerste jaar het van een van ons dosente probeer om met ons Afrikaans te praat, en als te vertaal van Engels na Afrikaans, en dit was belaglik gewees, dit het geklink of sy stik aan kots, ag aan brokkoli, ekskuus, dis net nie prakties nie, ek, in my werk praat ek baie Engels.’

M2 – Female, 29 years old

‘En ek’s tans besig met my Meesters in Drama, ek het alles, al my undergrad en my honours by UCT gedoen en nou’s dit by Stellenbosch, maar ek doen dit nogsteeds in Engels, want, my akademiese taal is nou Engels, moeilik om nou Afrikaans te dink, dis ongelooflik moeilik om daai skuif te maak.’

L1 – Female, 20 year old

‘Meeste van my, universiteit’s vriende is Engels, so ek praat met hulle Engels, uh, met my Afrikaanse vriende sal ek gewoonlik Afrikaans praat, behalwe, as ons in ‘n situasie is waar al die ander mense Engels is, dan praat ons met mekaar Engels, ook.’

[...]

‘Uhm, ek het/ek weet ek het taamlik baie Engelse woorde, of, of partykeer Engelse frases en so gebruik, uhm, ek vind partykeer nogal, as ek nou by UCT is, as ek nou, ’n lang tyd, ek het nou net met, met Engelse, goed gewerk het, as ek dan, in die situasie kom waar ek Afrikaans praat, Afrikaans praat weer, dan, vat dit my partykeer ’n rukkie, net om weer in dit te kom, dan is ek geneig nog om taamlik baie Engelse, goed in te gooi.’
K1 – Female, 25 years old

'Ek het nie, rering gesit en vertaal nie, ek dink ek sou my/ my notas was in Afrikaans, maar ek het nie dit, gesit en vertaal nie, net soos in, my notas in my dagboek nou in Engels is, want ek's by die werk [laughs] dis net hoe ek dan dink, so dat ek dink maar, as ek din/ as ek besig is om in Engels te werk dan dink ek sommer in Engels en as ek dan in Engels of Afrikaans neerskryf, dan gaan dit nie vir my saak maak nie.'

[...]

'Wel, as dit vir werk is is dit meestal Engels, en dan vriende en familie is, soos altyd Afrikaans, tensy dit 'n Engelse vriendin is, wat ek nie baie van het nie.'

CC1 – Male, 25 years old

'Predictive texting, ja, my ou telefoon het 'n Afrikaanse woordeboek gehad, toe sal ek Afrikaans gebruik het, maar, die een 't net 'n Engelse een, so ek tik net Engels.

[...]

'Ek praat net by die huis Afrikaans, verder praat ek net Engels, ja, almal praat Engels deesdae, meeste van my vriende het omgeskakel, ja, die mense wat nou saam met my in die stad bly, selfs die saam met wie ek skool toe gegaan het, en so [unclear] praat grootendeels Engels veral onder mekaar, maar Afrikaans kom nog oor vir intonasie en snaaks wees.'

A1 – Female, 20 years old

'En ek werk deeltyd in 'n winkel in Kalkbaai, so daar met die ander meisies wat daar werk en met die kliente sal dit ook my eerste instink wees om Engels te praat met hulle ek sal nie sê dis 'n totaal en al Engelse area nie, maar daar is beslis meer Engelse mense as Afrikaanse mense.'

[...]

'Dit het al een of twee keer gebeur, en dan reageer ek weer terug in Afrikaans omdat ek dan besef hulle is Afrikaans, maar oor die algemeen, al is hulle Afrikaans, sal hulle in Engels reageer.'

[...]

'Soms doen ek dit, as ek hoor, as 'n vrou byvoorbeeld inkom en met ha man praat, en ek hoor sy praat met hom in Afrikaans, en sy't dan hulp nodig met iets, dan sal ek met haar Afrikaans praat net omdat ek gehoor het sy praat so met haar man maar andersins as ek nie weet nie, dan praat ek altyd Engels.'
AA1 – Male, 20 years old

‘Met my pa praat ek Engels, en met my ma praat ek Afrikaans.’

[...]

‘Wel, dit hang af, met my Afrikaanse vriende praat ek Afrikaans en met my Engelse vriende praat ek Engels, so dit hang net af met wie ek praat’

[...]

‘Dis hoekom meeste van my vriende seker ma Engels sal wees maar ek het baie Afr/ dis snaaks, daar is baie Afrikaanse mense hierso [Southern Suburbs] wat jy nogsteed ken, so.’

JJ4 – Male, 26 years old

‘Iemand ironies het eenkeer genoem hoe baie keer ’n persoon kan se ‘nice’, maar ’n Engelse persoon se ‘lekker’ jy’s maklik om te gooì ‘nice’ in, in plaas van ‘lekker’, maar ’n Engelse persoon gooì weer maklik ‘lekker’ in, en dis baie waar.’

[...]

‘En ag ek dink ’n mens het net verskriklik laks geraak in elk geval, oor die algemeen, wat ’n mens se taal betre, want daar is soveel woorde, en ek voel tot vandag toe nog dieselfde, Afrikaans is ’n meer beskrywende taal as Engels, baie meer beskrywend, maar daar’s ongelukkig ook te veel woorde wat mens nie eers ken nie.’

[...]

‘Ek bedoel, ons Engelse onderwyseres, ag Afrikaanse onderwyseres moet ’n punt daarvan maak dat ons ’n paar idiome moet leer, ek dink nie eers ons het die tippie van die ysberg geraak nie, eerlikwaar, en dis eenlik hartseer, en dis eis die ding, ek dink dis eis van ons Afrikaanse taal, van ons herkoms, van ons, wie ons is, verlore gaan, en dit maak vir my sin dat Afrikaans ’n bedreigde taal is, dit maak absoluut sin, en wat vir my baie, baie erg ook is, maar baie oplettend, is die feit dat, as jy nou in ’n geselskap is met Engelse mense, of selfs net al is een Engelse mens in jou geselskap, is die geselskap is baie geneig om oor te skakel Engels toe, om die persoon te akkommodeer, en ek vat dit, wat vir my nou weer ongelooflik is, ek het ’n Engelse vriendin, en ek dink dit is waar my Engelse, vaardigheid baie ok te doen aan het, is die feit dat ek baie by haar gaan kuier het toe ek is baie meer vlot in my Engels ook al, maar, dat haar ma met my sal Afrikaans praat, maar ek praat met haar hele gesin Engels, maar haar ma sal met my Afrikaans praat, maar ek dink dis ook die Afrikaner wat betref die, die, ons kultuur, ons, wie ons is, die Afrikaner is te
konserwatief, en te ordentelik, so ons staan eerder terug, ons is te geneig om terug te staan.'

DD2 – Male, 23 years old
'Party woorde is makliker om in Engels te sê as in Afrikaans, Afrikaans het 'n paar moeilike woorde.' 

[...]
'My Engels was swak toe ek hier begin [werk] het, dit het al baie verbeter veral omdat hulle altwee Engels is, en, okay, ek praat Afrikaans met hom, maar met die ander praat ek almal Engels.'

JJ3 – Male, 35 years old
'My werk, is als Engels, en ek spandeer meeste van my tyd daar, so ek sou sê ek spandeer seker, hmm, sewentig persent, of sestig persent of sewentig persent [van my dag] in Engels.'

MM1 – Male, 30 years old
'Ek sou sê die beste terme om daarvoor te gebruik is nou en dan, en dit is maar in my, jy weet, omgang met mense, in die daaglikse lewe, jy weet, veral by winkelsentrums as jy inkopies doen, sulke goed, as jy oproepe maak na maatskappye toe, daat tipe ding, wat ek vind is dat, ek self is geneig om eerder Engels te praat, onmiddellik, as om nog te probeer om nou 'n gesprek in Afrikaans aan te knoop met die persoon, want my voorveronderstelling wanneer ek byvoorbeeld, kom ons sê, die navraelyn van 'n besigheid bel, is dat ek gaan seker maar iemand kry wat Engels praat, so.'

[...]
'Ek meen, se/fs, ek dink in jou ervaring by UCT, jy sal meer geneig wees om met iemand Engels te praat onmiddellik as Afrikaans, want mens aanvaar net dat die ander persoon nie einlik Afrikaans kan praat nie, wat ook nie noodwendig waar is nie.'
Appendix 3: Elicitation questionnaire

University of Cape Town
Faculty of Humanities
Consent Form

Title of Research Project:
Morpho-syntactic variation in Afrikaans varieties spoken by Capetonians

Name of Principal Researcher:
Yolandi Klein
Department address: Linguistics Department, Arts Block, University of Cape Town
Telephone: 021 650 2836
Email: klnyl002@gmail.com

Name of Participant: ________________________

Participant’s Involvement:
What is involved: _____________________________
Risks: _______________________________________
Benefits: _______________________________________
Costs: _______________________________________
Payment: _______________________________________

• I agree to participate in this research project
• I have read this consent form and the information it contains and had the opportunity to ask questions about them
• I agree to my responses being used for education and research on condition my privacy is respected, subject to the following:
  o I understand that my personal details will be used in aggregate form only, so that I will not be personally identifiable
• I understand that I am under no obligation to take part in this project
• I understand I have the right to withdraw from this project at any stage

Signature of Participant: ________________________

Signature of person who sought consent: __________ Date: ________________
Afrikaans Morpho-Syntactic Variation Questionnaire

Abstract
This questionnaire aims to elicit grammatical judgements from participants, with the focus on the following three main aspects: distribution of finite verbs in the clause; verb clusters; and verb projection raising. These domains are chosen based on known variation as attested by existing literature (see bibliography).

The data gathered will be used to investigate morpho-syntactic variation in Afrikaans varieties as spoken by people who grew up in the Cape Town area, and never lived elsewhere for more than 7 years.

This questionnaire can be used to determine if the specific variables are sensitive or responsive to specific social variations, such as age, population group, and class.

Standard Afrikaans will be used as control.

The general format and example sentences are taken from De Vos et al. (2007).

Notas vir die invul van vraelys
Sal jy ‘n sin soos hierdie in jou alledaagse gesprekke hoor/gebruik?
Dui aan JA/NEE.

Vir die JA antwoorde:
a) kan jy op ‘n skaal van 1 tot 5 aandui hoe jy voel oor hierdie sin, byvoorbeeld, (1) jy gebruik/hoor dit baie so, dis ordiner, tot (5) jy gebruik/hoor dit nie sommer nie, dis skaars.
b) Kan jy vir jouself indink dat dit meer deur jonger, of meer deur ouer mense gebruik word?
c) Kan jy aan ‘n soortgelyke sin dink?
d) Wat beteken hierdie sin? (depends on the nature of the question)

Vir die NEE antwoorde:
a) Hoe sal jy hierdie sin eerder sê?

Vul in:
a. Datum __________________________
b. Plek __________________________
c. Volle name __________________________
d. Geslag __________________________
e. Subjektiewe ras identifikasie/sosiale groep __________________________
Algemene Inligting/General Information

(1) Naam ____________________________

(2) Het ons jou toestemming om hierdie data verder te gebruik? Jou naam sal nie gebruik word nie, en alles in die vraelys sal hanteer word as privaat. Data sal gebruik word vir navorsingsdoeleindes, soos byvoorbeeld vir:
  • Die skep van 'n publieke database dat op die Internet
  • Algemene navorsing: akademiese artikels, publikasies ens.
  • Media en publieke bewustheid van Afrikaans en taalgemeenskappe

Ja/Nee ____________________________

(3) Geboorteplek ____________________________

(4) Hoe lank bly jy nou al in Kaapstad? ____________________________

(5) Waar elders het jy gewoon en vir hoe lank? ____________________________

(6) Ouderdom of ID nommer ____________________________

(7) Watter taal praat jy by die huis? ____________________________

(8) Praat jy meer as een taal tuis? ____________________________

(9) Indien wel, wat? ____________________________

(10) Hoe gereeld gebruik jy Engels, en met wie (i.e. werk/familie/vriende)?

(11) Waar het jy skool gegaan? ____________________________

(12) Watter standerd of graad het jy voltooi? ____________________________

(13) Het jy enige ander kwalifikasies? ____________________________

(14) Selfoon nommer ____________________________
**Die Vraelys**

Section 1 – verb distribution

1. **a. Ek weet dat hy lees die boek**

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Hoe sal jy dit sê?

**b. Ek weet dat hy die boek lees**

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Hoe sal jy dit sê?

2. **a. Ek weet dat hy die boek het gelees**

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Hoe sal jy dit sê?

**b. Ek weet dat hy die boek gelees het**

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Hoe sal jy dit sê?

3. **a. Ek wonder of het hy die boek gelees**

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Hoe sal jy dit sê?

**b. Ek wonder of hy het die boek gelees**

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Hoe sal jy dit sê?

**c. Ek wonder of hy die boek gelees het**

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Hoe sal jy dit sê?
4. **a. Ek wonder watter boek hy het gelees**

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**b. Ek wonder watter boek het hy gelees**

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**c. Ek wonder watter boek hy gelees het**

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5. **a. Ek weet dat hy is genooi**

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**b. Ek weet dat hy genooi is**

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6. **a. Ek weet dat daar word geskinder**

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**b. Ek weet dat daar geskinder word**

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7. **a. Ek wonder of daar geskinder word**

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b. Ek wonder of daar word geskinder

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c. Ek weet of daar word geskinder

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d. Ek weet of daar geskinder word

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8. a. Wat dink jy dat hy lees

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9. a. Wat dink jy dat het hy gelees

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10. a. Wat het hy gevra of jy gelees het

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b. Wat het hy gevra of jy het gelees

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11. a. Wie dink jy dat is genooi

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b. Wie dink jy genooi is

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12. a. Oor wie dink jy dat daar geskinder word

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b. Oor wie dink jy dat daar word geskinder

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c. Oor wie dink jy dat word daar geskinder

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Section 2 – verb clusters

13. a. Oupa sê dat die werkers al die werk gedoen kan hê/het

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b. Die ma sê vir haar kinders: Jy moet ’n beter toekoms as ek het/hê

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c. Die ou man sê: Ek is baie bly om nog al my hare/tande te hê/hê

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14. a. Die kinders weet dat hy by my kom kuier het

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b. Die kinders weet dat hy by my kuier het kom

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c. Die kinders weet dat hy by my kuier kom het

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15. a. Die kinders weet dat hy by my kom kuier had

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16. a. Die kinders weet dat Jan die huis gebou het

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b. Die kinders weet dat Jan die huis laat bou het

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c. Ek weet dat Jan die huis gelaat bou het

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d. Ek weet dat Jan die huis laasjaar laat gebou het

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e. Ek weet dat Jan die huis gelaat gebou het

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17. a. Ek weet dat Jan die huis help bou het

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b. Ek weet dat Jan die huis gehelp bou het

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c. Ek weet dat Jan die huis help gebou het

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d. Ek weet dat Jan die huis gehelp gebou het

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18. a. Ek weet dat Jan die beeste gestaan en aanjaag het

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b. Ek weet dat Jan die beeste gestaan en geaanjaag het

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c. Ek weet dat Jan die beeste gestaan en aangejaag het

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d. Ek weet dat Jan die beeste staan en aanjaag het

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19. a. Ek het toe geopstaan

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b. Freddie het toe gewegloop

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c. Freddie het die beeste geaanjaag

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d. Julle het toe al die boeke/papiere geaanstuur

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20. a. Hy het die dooie hond gebegrawe

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b. Ek het nie jou brief verstaan nie

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c. Ek het nie jou brief geveerstaan nie

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d. Ek het die present ontvang

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e. Ek het die present geontvang

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f. Ek het die man geontmoet

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g. Ek het die man ontmoet

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21. a. Ek weet dat Oupa ’n groter huis wil bou

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b. Ek weet dat Oupa ’n meer groter huis bou wil

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22. a. Jan hoop dat hy die rugbyspan sien speel

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b. Jan hoop dat hy die rugbyspan speel sien

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23. a. Die vrou weet dat Oupa die kos begin eet

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b. Die vrou weet dat Oupa die kos eet begin

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c. Die vrou sien dat die speler die bal laat val

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d. Die vrou sien dat die speler die bal val laat

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e. Die vrou weet dat Oupa die kleinkinders bly bederf

| JA | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| NEE |

Hoe sal jy dit sé?

f. Die vrou weet dat Oupa die kleinkinders bederf bly

| JA | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| NEE |

Hoe sal jy dit sé?

24. a. Jan laat val toe die bal

| JA | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| NEE |

Hoe sal jy dit sé?

b. Jan maak staan toe die pale in die grond

| JA | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| NEE |

Hoe sal jy dit sé?

c. Jan bly kyk toe na die voëls

| JA | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| NEE |

Hoe sal jy dit sé?

d. Jan sien speel toe die rugbyspan

| JA | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| NEE |

Hoe sal jy dit sé?

e. Marie hoor snork haar man in die kamer

| JA | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| NEE |

Hoe sal jy dit sé?

f. Jan probeer werk toe in die tuin

| JA | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| NEE |

Hoe sal jy dit sé?
25. a. My boetie dink dat almal vinnig moet kan hardloop

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b. My boetie dink dat almal vinnig moet hardloop kan

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c. My boetie dink dat almal vinnig kan hardloop moet

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d. My boetie boetie dink dat almal vinnig hardloop moet kan

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e. My boetie dink dat almal vinnig hardloop kan moet

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26. a. Vertel my of sy hom kon geroep het

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27. a. Jan weet dat daar gewerk moet word

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b. Jan weet dat daar moet word gewerk

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c. Jan weet dat daar moet gewerk word

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</table>
Section 3 – verb projection raising

1. Jan is kwaad vir die hond wat die kinders gebyt het. (Daarom…)

a. Ek weet dat Jan dit sal moet wegjaag

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</table>

Hoe sal jy dit sê?

b. Ek weet dat Jan dit moet wegjaag

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Hoe sal jy dit sê?

c. Ek weet dat Jan sal moet dit wegjaag

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Hoe sal jy dit sê?
d. Ek weet dat Jan dit weg sal moet jaag

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2. a. Ek weet dat Jan moet hard kan skree

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b. Ek dink dat jy baie papiere weg sou moet gooi

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c. Ek dink dat jy baie papiere sou weg moet gooi

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d. Ek dink dat jy baie papiere sou moet weggooi

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3. a. Ek dink dat jy meer gereeld sou (die) televisie moet kyk

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b. Ek dink dat jy meer gereeld sou moet (die) televisie kyk

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4. a. Ek dink dat jy meer gereeld sou 'n vakansie moet neem

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b. Ek dink dat jy meer gereeld sou moet 'n vakansie neem

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5. a. Ek dink dat jy liewers sou twee bokke moet koop

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6. a. Ek dink dat jy liewers sou liedere moet sing

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7. a. Ek dink dat jy liewers met hom sou mee moet gaan

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b. Ek dink dat jy liewers met hom sou moet mee gaan

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Appendix 4: Picture prompts
Appendix 5: Bridge verbs and subordinators

Appendix 5.a: Subordinators in the spoken corpus

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nummer</th>
<th>Phrase</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Jy moenie dink dat as jy eendag oud is dat jy gan vergeet nie.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Nee ek lag vir dat ek nie eers kan onthou hou</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Nat. Jy moet self help as jy eendag oud is dat jy kan vergeet.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Of om blaar so baas te hark dat dit lyk of dit 'n bloem.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Was nie vir my so interessant dat ek belanggestel het om die</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Soos landboukunde nie/ mar dat sy, sy sal mense kan leer/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>So hulle wil dit seker toets, dat as jy nou in 'n eksamen is</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Nat. Jy moet self help as jy eendag oud is dat jy kan vergeet.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>En die feit dat die stadium nogsteeds omtrent vol was, dink ek, sé nogals iets</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Handboeke wat Engels was, nie dat ek moes baie uit handboeke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>Dis net hoe ek dan dink, so dat ek dink waar, as ek dit/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>/en as ek bel/dis baie min dat sy haar foorn antwoord, so</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>//Ja//dit het nou weer geleidelat die mense baie min</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>Maar ek het ook gebese/dat dit is meer met mekaar,/so</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td>Glad nie eers op/besef het dat iemand dit gesê het nie,/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.</td>
<td>Oorweiding/wat gemaak het dat almal anders se chats</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17.</td>
<td>//Ja./Daar moet, die teorie is/dat daar moet tog 'n//daar is</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18.</td>
<td>En een, ek kan nie dink dat ek voor dit 'n sefsoon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19.</td>
<td>Dis duur, ek kan nie verstaan dat dit so duur is nie./En dis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20.</td>
<td>/alhoewel dit irriterend dat ek moet, /maar ek moet met</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21.</td>
<td>Wat lyk asof hy skuldig is,/dat hy gevang om die vis te</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22.</td>
<td>Wat, dis nat iets onderwys/dat hulle dit nie reg nie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23.</td>
<td>Myself nogals ríërg oortref/dat ek daar kon sit vir 'n uur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24.</td>
<td>Ja ek tik so vinnig/dat ek baie meer spelfoute nie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25.</td>
<td>Jy dan korregeer/as jy weet dat mense sal... verstaan wat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26.</td>
<td>En/vir my was die weierste/dat ons vir so lank daar gesit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27.</td>
<td>An//so dis so 'n issue/dat hulle eerder net dan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28.</td>
<td>Sof so iets, /Ek verwag nie dat iemand moet terug bel nie.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29.</td>
<td>Keuse nie,/maar dit maak half/dat mens ook nie so contract</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30.</td>
<td>Met kuns, /dit maak net dat jy dinge beter verstaan/en</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31.</td>
<td>Jy dinge beter verstaan/en dat jy jouself, dat jy kan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32.</td>
<td>Verstaan/en dat jy jouself, dat jy kan nuwe tegnieke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33.</td>
<td>/ma dis meer ouer mense,/nie dat dit 'n probleem is nie,/ek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34.</td>
<td>Ou en oefening oox, /dis so dat jy nie agterkom nie,/dis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35.</td>
<td>In Durban/dis half so weird dat mens so meeste van hierdie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36.</td>
<td>Dit dit nou bietjie verander/dat jy nou aansoek doen per</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37.</td>
<td>/'t nou (uiteintlik) gemaak/dat (hulle)/jy doen aansoek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38.</td>
<td>/ek meen, daar's nie 'n kans dat 'n disetkundige sal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39.</td>
<td>Ma daal mense het geen manier dat hulle andersins dit sal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40.</td>
<td>Ek ríërg wil doen, /dis nie dat ek nie meer so dink nie,/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41.</td>
<td>/Daar's misken 'n opsie/dat ek volgende jaar by 'n NGO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42.</td>
<td>Ma ek weet, voor my siel, dat hulle dit nie kan volg nie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43.</td>
<td>Pouses/ek het gesê ek weier dat julle my inhou vir pouse/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44.</td>
<td>My eerste jaar/in die feit dat ek verander het, /ek het,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45.</td>
<td>Wat soos,/jy weet nie einlik dat dit goed vir jou sal wees</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46.</td>
<td>Ek het laasjaar, soos ek gesê dat ek het BSC gedoen,/toe wou</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47.</td>
<td>Jy nie,/jy sien nie einlik dat dit iets gaan wees wat gan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48.</td>
<td>Irriterend/in die feit dat dit nie miskien altyd so</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49.</td>
<td>/Daal tipe goed,/ek wil hé dat enige mens wat die gedig</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50.</td>
<td>Bietjie oorboor [oorboor?]/dat die twee van ons hom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51.</td>
<td>Was reg in die gat/en dis die dat die wind so deur gefunnel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52.</td>
<td>Nie lus om te swot nie,/die dat sy potloop in sy mond is,/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53.</td>
<td>Want ons wil nie die kans wat/dat die dingetjie in die</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54.</td>
<td>Een manier om,/okyk, met die dat ek HIV positief is,/jy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55.</td>
<td>Niks te make met die feit dat jy is einlik dood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56.</td>
<td>In die grond in/en hy soen my dat my tone krul, jy weet,/dan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57.</td>
<td>Daal klop wat/hulle's bang dat jy hulle, dat jy hulle gan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58.</td>
<td>Hulle's bang dat jy hulle, dat jy hulle gan wil beetkry,/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>59.</td>
<td>Gan wil beetkry, /never mind dat ek die een is wat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60.</td>
<td>Ek in my verbeelding geleef/dat ek nie 'n klok hoor lui of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61.</td>
<td>Stellenbosch was nog altyd dat dit, nou nie aards</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>62.</td>
<td>Nog't die afwyking is nie/mar, dat hulle redelik behoudend is</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63.</td>
<td>Wat ek daarby moet sé,/is dat, so tien jaar ge/tien, so</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>64.</td>
<td>/en hulle't bevind dat, Afrikaners is die etniese</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 65. | Weet jy wat?/jy weet dat die Jode, die Jodinne,
66. in die opstel neerskryf/is dat every person, even though
67. nou 'n huwelik,/beteken nie dat ek, dat ons hom gan
68. huwelik,/beteken nie dat ek, dat ons hom kan intrepreteer,/ nahuwelik, nu nie dat ek, dat ons hom kan intrepreteer,
69. west nie, hulle verstaan nie, dat as ek hier is, dat ek een
70. nie, dat as ek hier is, dat ek een keer 'n maand/
71. dis ok sad/tog my beste ding dat ek ooit sou kon Afrikaans
72. in die klas was die feit dat jy Afrikaans behoorlik kon
73. doen,/hulle verstaan nie, dat wat hier is die groot moontlik
74. voor/jou neersit,/dat jy nie die vrae sal kan
75. daal nie kan nie dink dat dit dieselfde kan wees nie
76. dit is, nie ongewoon wat die persoon glad nie 'n
77. by hulle/mar rërig ek besef dat my Engels eerste taal op
78. dis die eerste keer dat ek so iets deur is,/mar ek
79. uit die mense uit te kry dat hulle Afrikaans het, is
80. an die begin van die klas as, dat hulle dit moet gee, om met
81. /vir die eenvoudige rede/dat hy's iemand wat daarvan
82. net sy sienswysie/en hy voel dat dis, jy weet, as jy in 'n
83. is ek geneig om te dink dat, of dit nou in teologie is
84. wat ek mar raaksien is dat, ek dink ons het ons, jy
85. jy weet, mens dink soms dat filosofie bly in die
86. gan kyk dan sal jy sien dat baie van die probleme wat
87. ek kyk in die kerkonteks,/is dat jou jongmense vandag is
88. een is reg nie,/kry jy dat jou jongmense word einlik
89. tipe ding,/wat ek vind is dat, ek self is geneig om
90. /van 'n besigheid bel,/is dat ek kan sêek mar iemand
91. want mens aanvaar net dat jou persoon nie
92. huis daar agter sou suggereer dat hulle spas 'n
93. dit is dat, die man met die dokument in die hand, wat heel moontlik die akte van die
94. huis is, is nou die tevrede, gelukkige nuwe eienaar van 'n pragtige huis
95. vir my is die nadele daarvan dat ek dink jy loop die gevaar
96. ek dink jy loop die gevaar, dat, Facebook kan 'n nuwe
97. ek kyk in my eie geval ook, dat, daar is 'n sekere beeld
98. natuurlik by jou skep is dat jy ken nou die/persoon,
99. waar die waarheid is dat baie van die mense wat mens add ken jy nie werklik nie,
100. daar is werklik 'n gevaar, dat, 'n mens onbewustelik jou
101. want hy besef dat, hierdie vis se dae is getel,
102. huis daar as jou bedenking beteken dat hulle hy's spas 'n
103. betaal haar terug,/so dis nie dat ek die kar verniet gekry
104. probeer slaap,/of hy's bang dat dieuil wil hom doodsonnier
105. dan sê/C kan ek vi julle sê dat, wat genooi was, /ek was so
106. die most empressing,/lat ek, dat ek eers na 'n maand
107. vi my die most empressing, dat jy nie kan onthou wat jy
108. onthou wat jy gedoen het/nie,/dat jy nie weet wie jy almal
109. sou hard to get gespeel dat hy drankies vi my koop of
110. one anther/moet julle rërig, dat Leon 'n siekundige gan
111. Leon 'n siekundige gan sien,/dat hy kan uitkom uit die kas
112. so ink of wat ever in sit dat hulle kan sien hoe die/
113. sy hele span en die spelers/dat hulle yteindelik, kon bewys dat hulle weI energie,
114. hulle yteindelik, kon bewys dat hulle weI 'n antwoord het
115. dat hulle weI energie,/of dat hulle wel 'n antwoord het
33. en omdat die post-moderne manier van dink is om alles langs mekaar neer te sit
34. omdat ek erg op my spelling is,
35. en omdat ek al van rërigwaar kind af lees, kleintyd,
36. ag mar dis mar bloot om feit seker mar omdat dit Afrikaans is,
37. en omdat jy geld het, jy wil 'n groter duurder kar hé
38. terwyl omdat hulle alwee Engels is,
39. ek dink dis omdat hulle nie weet presies wat, wat dit is nie,
40. omdat dit die polisie is, hulle reël alles klaar vir my oom-hulle
41. want, omdat ek groot geword het met die Capies
42. omdat ek 'n sleg witman is,
43. toe se 'n kind mar is dit nie miskien omdat hy jou nie verstaan nie?'
44. omdat hulle nie die oppressor of wat ook al wil ondersteun nie
45. omdat dit baie Afrikaans is
46. en omdat ons so stjerk teen mekaar geloop het,
47. my na sy teorie is sokker violence word veroorsaak omdat daar, mense so frustreer is
48. na omdat daar die heeltyd niks gebeur
49. so miskien dink ek mar dit omdat ek simpel is,
50. en ek was klaar 'n sleg wiekele daal omdat ek nie sport gedoen het nie en musiek gedoen het, so
51. omdat daar verskriklik baie geld van Middel-Ooste af is, en van Korea en daal plekke
52. plus twee jaar na hy jou graad klaargemaak het betaal die staat jou 'n salaris omdat jy geswot het
53. omdat hulle die kleinste land in die wêreld is en dus die minste se het van almal,
54. omdat, Ierland lyk my is op die oomblik een van die grootste rekenaarontwikkelaars in
55. en omdat hulle so baie geld het, is hulle bang die Europese Unie gaan hulle misbruik,
56. ek dink omdat ek eers laat begin het met die beroep wat ek nou is,
57. omdat hy die oudste organisme is, is die parasiete,
58. hy sal nie omdat hy bang is vir voels
59. en hulle lek my gan dood omdat daar baie parasiete is,

nadat
1. so rukkie nadat ek terug gekom het
2. en ek is 'n jaar nadat hulle daar aangekom het, gebore
3. en nadat ek die BA voltooi het
4. nadat jy jy grootgemaak is deur hulle nie,

sodat
1. sodat ons hom met vakansies kan gan help
2. sodat hulle kan sien en hoor hoe hy 'n conduct,
3. nie so sodat ek sou gedink het 'o ek is so verlief op hom nie',
4. sodat hy dit kan drink,
5. sodat ek die persoon maklik in die hande kan kry.
6. sodat sy my stem kan hoor
7. sodat hulle kan gan speel pause
8. en nou doen ek hierie om sodat ek in Regte kan swot,
9. ek probeer 'n graad kry in iets sodat, jy kan doen sonner om 'n plaas te hé, so
10. sodat die kleem val dink ek op die, op die tweede deel in plaas van die eerste deel
11. sodat jy hom eerder,
12. dit lyk soos 'n man wat, uhm, ek ken die prent, sodat ek dink dit het gelyk soos 'n
13. sodat ek dan indien 'n mens dan moet oorsee gaan in die toekoms,

terwyl
1. terwyl Stellenbosch nog bietjie sukkel mar,
2. terwyl ek daar is
3. terwyl seuntjie kyk
4. terwyl die seuntjie kyk
5. terwyl dit soos storm en reën nie
6. omdat hy geraas maak terwyl hy probeer slaap.
7. terwyl ek weer baie bly is ek nie in Afrikaans leer nie
8. terwyl hy sy voet in die bak gesit het
9. 'n kat wat toekyk terwyl 'n mys heel moontlik uit sy waterbak uit drink,
10. 'n vis wat betrap word terwyl hy in die visbak krap,
11. C jy kan dit organiseer vir haar daar terwyl sy die interviews doen
12. hy goed, ons het mos nou eers, mos nou nou, terwyl ek einlik besig is
13. en hy kyk op die skerm terwyl sy een vinger op die papier druk na 'n posisie toe,
14. terwyl ek nog probeer, conversation hou
15. so hy's besig om 'n antwoord op te maak terwyl hy eksamen skryf
16. as hy 'n Finse burger is, dan kry hy 'n salaris terwyl hy studeer,
aangesien
1. aangesien jy hulle nie ken nie,
of
1. ek wonder of hy die huis nou gekoop het sopas,
2. ek weet nou net nie of hulle met motorfietse,
3. en dit lyk of sy stik an kots, ag an brokkoli, ekskus,
4. en dit lyk of sy 'n huis gekoop het, shame,
5. dit lyk so half asof sy, of hier instruksie an die gang is
6. dit lyk of die man haar op-chat ook,
7. en sy's besig om blare so saam te hark dat dit lyk of dit 'n blom word
8. dit lyk of hulle 'n gesprek het,
9. mar dit lyk of sy hom gen natgooi,
10. dit lyk nie of daar verskriklik motion angaan by die voete nie,
11. so dit lyk of hy amper net sit,
12. dit lyk nie of hy rërig beweeg nie
13. 'n skooler wat sit en dink of hy werklik die regte antwoord het,
14. en dit lyk of hy loer vir 'n dametjie dalk
15. die een lyk amper of hy 'n posman of iets dergliks kan wees,
16. en sy lyk of sy dit geniet
17. want by lyk of hy vir iemand verduidelik
18. ek kan nie onthou of ons internet gehad het by ons huis nie,
19. ek is nie seker of ek gan angan met Linguistiek nie,
20. mar ek weet nie of ek dit so gespesialiseer onn dieselfde kan doen nie,
21. ek weet nie of dit vir hulle presies,
22. ek weet nie of presies dieselfde is vir die Spaanse eksamens nie,
23. ek weet nie of dit is omdat ons 'n kleiner groep is of wat nie
24. dis 'n man, lyk vir my of dit dalk 'n argitek kan wees,
25. hy lyk of hy dit geniet,
26. en te gaan kyk of sy in die kantoor is,
27. ek weet nie of jy dit wil/
28. nee nie of dit 'n vraag is nie/
29. ek weet nie of ek dit in matriek en of Standard nege gekry het nie.
30. uhm, so, ek weet nie of mens dit nou saam moet tel, met die geld wat ek spandeer nie,
31. 'n dude wat, ek weet nie of dit 'n droom is nie,
32. ja ek weet nie of dit 'n masker is nie
33. dis eintlik of hulle, ja, terug by die huis is
34. En kyk of jy miljoene vriende kan maak.
35. So dit hang af of jy die persoon ken of nie, ook.
36. dit het vir my gevoel of ek die heeltyd gepraat het,
37. so ek weet nie eers of my idee van dit eintlik die werklikheid is nie
38. is dit ma beter om heeltyd te kyk of hy nog an is
39. dit lyk of die vrouitjie bietjie blare bymekaar hark, buite
40. ma ja, dit lyk of hy bietjie da oefen, bietjie trap
41. dit lyk of die voitjie 'n druppeltjie probeer vang het
42. om te weet of hy dood is
43. ook ma, kyk of ek dit 'n bietjie beter kan doen en so
44. ek wonder of sy in Suid-Afrika is
45. of hy dit dan onthou,
46. om te kyk of hulle oraait is,
47. ek weet nie of dit so moet wees nie,
48. dit lyk of sy in die tyn werk
49. dit lyk of hy besig is om huiswerk te doen
50. hy lyk of hy stout was
51. wat lyk of hy uit die slaap gehou word
52. o ja, of daar 'n hoërskool is in Houtbaai.
53. ek weet nie of jy al gehoor het daarvan nie
54. dit lyk of sy blare vee met die sonneblom.
55. ek weet nie of jy ooit daal ding gekyk het,
56. en hulle/ lyk of hy met haar probeer, flirt,
57. en die uil, lyk of hy redelik groot geraas maak,
58. dit lyk of hy al sy mag in daal,
59. lyk of die uil begin vlieg ook, miskien.
60. en sy gesig lyk of hy sê
61. shame en die oom lyk of hy in sy onderbroek ry,
62. hulle het gemask of hulle katte is
63. ek weet nie of katte swanger, draagtend whatever,
64. jy moet besluit of hulle dokter toe gan of moet hospitaal toe gan
65. ek weet nie of die kar gegly het of wat ookal nie,
66. ons sal mar sien of dit gan werk
67. en dit lyk of hy dit geniet,
68. dit lyk nie of die verlig dit soveel geniet nie,
69. dit is nie watter het hy moet se of dit is hoe hy dit sal se
70. 'n volk of 'n stormwook my teen kry,
71. twee mans, dit lyk amper of dit heet werk is an die een
72. my tannie*t nog nie gehoor of sy goedkeur is nie
73. ek weet nie of jy dit al gekyk het nie,
74. dit lyk of hy, musch het op sy bord
75. en dit lyk of hy haa vrae vra
76. dit lyk of dit by 'n partytjie afspeel,
77. dit lyk of sy pereis en dit vir juwele en oorbelle,
78. en die rest is, lyk of hulle in die proses van beweeg is,
79. daai klink of daar 'n besluit geneem vir my is,
80. hy't saam met my Engels, so ek kan vir hom vra of hy kan,
81. dis hoe ek gewonner het of ek jou nergens help,
82. teen die einde deur elke bottel gegan om te kyf of daa iets is
83. en dit lyk of hy dit korrigeer met wat op die computer staan
84. wat jy my basies vra is of ek kan sy groot werk maak en dit,
85. my pa is besig om te kyf of hy my wed teen inkry by Sea Harvest,
86. of by sy bywerk moet doen of hy moet van speel nie
87. en sy gelukkig is,
88. dis 'n man, wat nie lyk of hy enige emosie het nie,
89. mar ek weet nie of hy nie sal nie,
90. ek probeer uitfigure of dit so dan die woordorde van meer embedded bysinne beïnvloed word deur
91. of dat hulle dit nie van 'n Afrikaanss perspektiewe in gesien het nie,
92. kyf of daar nie iets is om te steek nie,
93. en kyf of ek dit nie korrigeer met wat op die computer staan,
94. en kyf of dit werk op Auto-Cad op die rekenaar,
95. enige vliegtuin wat van Afrika af kom kan sy in en kan snoop rond om te kyf of hulle diere smokkel,
96. mar ek weet nie of ek kan oorleef daar nie,
97. ons het gekyk of ons kon inkrom by die biblioteek

as (a subordinating conjunction, see Donaldson 1993: 305)
1. as jy, vyf keer vir hulle gesê het
2. maar ek sal as ek op kampus is,
3. as ek byvoorbeeld as ek met my, met my,
4. as ek met hulle kommunikeer,
5. en as mens comments, wou los,
6. so ek dink hulle, deletie dit as daar 'n ruk lank niks activiteit was, nie
7. so ek as ek goed moet kommunikeer daar, dan sal ek e-pos,
8. maar dis gewoonlik, as ons vir mekaar, cute forwards [laughing] stuur of so,
9. want, weet dan as jy, nou klaar gegaan het,
10. as ek nou by UCT is,
11. ek het wel as ek nou dink, umm aan fies wat ek gekyk het,
12. gewoonlik, byvoorbeeld, as ek met my ma wil praat,
13. as jy, net, gow vinnig iets wil reel of so
14. maar as jou nou, wil gesels met die persoon [not final]
15. uh, weet as jy, kwaad is vir iemand of so,
16. Uhm, so, jy, dit gesê jy sal, as jy met iemand wil praat,
17. of as ek byvoorbeeld 'n, weet afspraak ook moet maak en so,
18. gewoonlik as ons, as ons goed moet reel
19. weet partykeer as jy nou, net vinnig iets wil se,
20. of veral as dit in die oggend is
21. ek sou se as ek nou my, my totale account vir 'n maand vat,
22. as ek nou Afrikaansse perspektiewe in wil stuur
23. mar ek dink, weet, as ek so gesukkel om vier tweede jaar vakke hierdie jaar te doen
24. en dis net, ek dink nogal as ek gaan sit met daal drie vakke, [not final]
25. mar ek dink, dit sal vir my lekkerder wees as ek rērig waar kan konsentreer op my vakke
26. as jy dit deurkom,
27. ja gelukkig, altyd as ek saam met my pa gan is wanneer hy genoog word deur mense wat 'n
28. dit was vir my maklik om, om as ek in Engels (besig) is,
29. weet, mos as die notes in Engels was
30. as ek besig is om in Engels te werk
31. en as ek dan in Engels of Afrikaans neerskryf,
32. as ek klaar 'n klient gesien het
33. en dan net as jy iets belangrik het om te sê,
34. as hulle, aanhou amok maak,
35. dan as jy weer sien is die topic waarop jy wou iets gesê het
36. so as daar iemand is
37. as ek nie lus is om met die persoon te praat nie,
38. as ek half nie, lus is vir die, kontak nie,
39. as ek/as dit nou nie 'n belangrike vraag is of iets nie
40. as ek tyd het om te kan sms,
41. maar as ek riger net vinnig iets wil uitvind
42. so as die antwoord nie dringend nodig is nie,
43. dis eintlik maar as ek die antwoord nú nodig het,
44. en dis vir my baie irriteterend as ek sien iemand het gebel
45. so dis eintlik vir my partykeer lekkerder as iemand my sms
46. as hulle vir my 'n vraag wil vra,
47. as dit iemand se verjaarsdag is, dan/
48. dieselfde is met sé nou maar as jy vir iemand 'n e-mail tik,
49. as ek partykeer maar net as ek op Facebook is
50. want hierdie foons irriterer my as ek moet sms.
51. as ek dieselfde letter wil tik,
52. bedoel, as jy die heeltyd hoor hoe mense praat,
53. as ek praat, baie keer met mense wat met ons werk
54. want jy is, wel as jy hoor hoe meeste van die mense by die werk,
55. As jy romantisies genoeg voel, vir die occasie.
56. as jy, 'n music career wil launch of iets
57. as jy enige iets wat met professioneel te doen het,
58. Dink jy dit sou anders gewees het as jy hulle geken het?
59. as ek met hulle moes 'n uur en 'n half gesit en gesels het,
60. ons sit in 'n chat room
61. as jy in 'n M-TV chat room in gaan
62. as ek haar weer sien.
63. Hulle irriter my as ek met hulle op die telefoon praat,
64. as jy, die woordeboek-ding gebruik.
65. en dan veral as ander mense dit lees
66. is dit ook bietjie van 'n verligting as jy sien iemand het gebel
67. as 'n vrou byvoorbeeld inkom en met ha man praat,
68. as hy swart o is het 'ie
69. ek kan daramee ophou as ek nou oorsee kan
70. en dan, as jy nie vinnig kan weg beweeg nie, dan/
71. as jy net bietjie vorentoe gan
72. as ek nou Nederland toe gan,
73. as ek nou kan vir 'n meeting probeer ek langer bly,
74. dis nou net, as ek nou Nederland toe gan, dit begin nou weer winter raak da,
75. want as dit nie genoeg is 'ie,
76. as met 'n ding wat vir my se 'eeh, kannie verder nie'
77. as ek tyd het, ja
78. As jy kry 'n intree salaris wat so, wat jy sou kry as jy begin werk by die regering
79. wa as jy van die begin af, net se 'stuff die Wes-Kaap'
80. en as die geld inkom
81. as jy kryk na wat verkoop was hieros,
82. ma ek is/ dis einlik, as jy wou einlik se, is dit my eerste jaar
83. so ek bedoel, daar's niks anders om te doen as om sport te speel nie, so,
84. ma, as ek Landbou en, en jy hetie 'n plaas nie,
85. ek gebruik my selfoon as ek iets, as ek iemand wil bel of iemand wil sms,
86. as jy my dringend, as iemand vir my dringend iets wil se
87. soos as ek dit wil doen,
88. as jy soos, soos ek, sit daar en dit lees
89. soos as die persoon dit lees,
90. en hulle kan volk hoe dit voel as hulle in daai situasie is,
91. as die kinders ouer word
92. ek gaan nie in 'n tent slaap as dit reën nie
93. jy weet dit maklik as mens gaan kamp
94. want ek is maar 'n softie as dit kom by alkohol, in elk geval
95. as daar lys sous en aartappels op daai bord is
96. ek voel net dit help verskriklik baie as ek nie hoef op te bou hier binne,
97. as jy met mense gaan/interaksie met mense gaan hê,
98. as ek nou 'n vrou was, 'n gay vrou was,
99. ma as hulle my sien
100. en as ek daai bal vasvat, o jene,
101. as ek meen, weet, as jy dan wil uitpak,
102. veral as jy die heeltyd in die losieshys bly, so,
103. as ek hom van intrepretreer soos wat jy hom van intrepretreer nie,
104. sê nou as iemand dooggan,
105. as jy dit by UWC doen, by die universiteit
106. Dis ek kan bestuur ma, dis nie vir my 'n rede om te bestuur as ek die shuttle kan vat nie,
107. hulle verstaan nie wat, dat hier is die groot moontlik is as hul jou
eksamenvraestel voor

108. veral by winkelcentrums as jy inkopies doen, sulke goed,
109. as jy oproepe maak na maatskappye toe, daal tipe ding,
110. ek's onmiddellik gesteld as ek op as ek die, as ek 'n e-pos,
111. as ek 'n spelfout maak enigsins,
112. mar hoe groei 'n mens as jy nie op tone trap nie,
113. en partykeer nalat as 'n mens wel so iets anpak.
114. want as jy hom afskeep,
115. ek kry 'n orgasme as ek dit hoor
116. jy mag, verstaan, sy mag niks met die quote doen behalwe as ek dit doen nie,
117. as ons eksee gehad het,
118. ek kry 'n orgasme as jy klaa werk het, ja,
119. as jy dit op die skip sit,
120. as jy kan lê op die aarbol, daar's so vulkaan ridge wat daa loop,
121. want ek sou 'liewers' gebruik as daar nie 'n keuse is nie, daar klink of
122. jy het 'n goeie punt beet wat betref dat dit sal natuurlig boring wees as dit die
heeltyd net
123. as jy 'n hectic hoofpyn gehad het,
124. as hy al twee jaar by die span was,
125. jy kan sien hoe's die ma as die baba rustig is kan jy sien dis 'n rustige ma
126. mar as ek ken inkom by Sea Harvest, of I&J,
127. veral as mens lief is vir iemand,
128. soos as jy nou so 'n sportstudie sal doen,
129. maar die ding is ek pass elke keer uit as ek bloed sien,
130. jy sal sien ok as jy daar kom
131. die mense self, as jy hulle op straat sien, lyk baie streng, maar die oomblik wat
132. maand. As ons die kos koop vir hulle.

of as
1. of selfs net as een Engelse mens in jou geselskap is
2. Of as jy, jou ouers of iets, upgrade.
3. of as ek byvoorbeeld 'n, weet afspraak ook moet maak en so,
4. of as ek vi ha geskrewe toe stemming gee dat sy iets daarmee mag doen nie, fine,

asof
1. dit lyk asof hy 'n toets skryf, bietjie wonder nie om te skryf
2. dit lyk asof hulle nou-net daal huisie verkoop het,
3. dit lyk so half asof sy, of hier instruksie an die gang is
4. hulle lyk nie asof hulle man en vrou is nie
5. en baie ongelukkig asof hy nou-net uit sy slaap wakker gemaak is
6. asof hy, die kat, lyk nie eintlik asof dit hom pla, of asof hy nou-net uit sy slaap wakker gemaak is
7. asof hy, die kat, lyk nie eintlik asof dit hom pla, of asof hy nou-net uit sy slaap wakker gemaak is
8. en sy lyk asof sy nou-net betrap is
9. dit lyk vir my asof, daar's 'n hy in die agtergrond,
10. so dis eintlik asof jy, chat, jy weet/
11. Ja dis amper asof dit
12. 'n kat wat lyk asof hy skuldig is,
13. sy lyk asof sy moontlik iets probeer vee
14. sy lyk asof sy tipe van 'n werk doen
15. en dit lyk asof sy hulle in ha mandjie gan sit
16. hier lyk asof dit, dit volk jy nie eintlik asof dit hom pla, of ass asof jy in 'n rivier ry
17. en sy lyk asof sy nou-net betrap is
18. en hy lyk asof sy gedagtes nie by sy werk is nie
19. en dit lyk asof hy nou-net uitgevang is
20. met, dit lyk asof hulle oppad is om weg te trek
21. dan, dis nie asof ek nou ekstra, geld het wat rondle of,
22. dis nie asof ek dit net so/
23. dan voel dit asof soos hulle in daai situasie is,
24. lyk asof sy 'n verpleegster is of iets
25. asof jy poortjie lyk asof hy sy naaitjies uitdruk,
26. en ek meen, dit, dit, dis asof hulle nie vir julle in julle eie reg as persoon
27. die oom lyk asof hy die seuntjie se kos gesteel het
28. en daal kind lyk asof hy net, net-net op gil staan,
29. dis vir my asof hulle Engels makliker is,
30. dit lyk asof hy uitgevang is
31. mar nogtans lyk dit asof hy gan voortgan
32. en dit lyk asof hy redelik haastig is
en die kat, maak asof hy nie die muis sien nie,

34. en die kat maak asof hy hom nie sien,

35. goud goud geel met die oe asof sy bril op gehad het

36. y ek weet 'ie ek sê ok vi iemand dit is asof hy vi hulle vra 'gee my 'n rib asseblief'

37. dis asof hy nou wag, hy wil hê ek moet wag

38. en hy doen maasjien-goeters wat lyk asof dit baie exciting en, en, mannekrag is,

39. 'n heteroseksuele man, wat maak asof sy werk verskriklik belangrik is,

40. lyk dit vir, my asof hulle nou-net 'n deal gestrike het,

41. dis 'n seuntjie op 'n baie kwaai donkie wat lyk asof die donkie hom nou enige oomblik

42. sry ak lyk asof sy dit genlet,

43. en die eefeniets lyk asof dit soos uit die stone age kom,

As wat (Ponelis (1979: 439) 'verder is wat die enigste onderskikker wat met die vergelykingswoorde 'soos' en 'as' kan kombineer. Hier vervul 'wat' die suiwer onderskikkende funksie wat 'dat' elders vervul."

1. is dit anders, as wat jy verwag het dit sou gewees het?

2. ek kan baie meer sms as wat ek, of ek kan mander bel as wat ek doen,

3. as wat hulle sou doen as hulle in die persoon in die oe moes kyk

4. dat hulle eerder net sal betaal en stil bly en aanhou met kl as wat hulle actually iets daarna doen.

5. So sal jy sê jy stuur meer as wat jy ontvang, of jy ontvang meer as wat jy stuur?

6. Ek dink, ontvang meer as wat ek stuur.

7. 'n paar, mar, meer wat hienatoe gekom het as wat sooontoe gegan het

8. ek't verder gegaan met my basketball as wat ek gegaan het met swem, so

9. simler as wat mens dink hé?

10. daai mense het, meer bedmaats gehad as wat ek van kan droom!

11. want dis nie dieselfde hier as wat dit daar is nie;

12. mar ek't nie meer gedrink as wat ek normaalweg drink nie,

13. dat jy eerder nou mar saal terug staan en jou bek hou, en nou mar tweede plek wat, as wat jy nou jou opinie lig.

14. en toe trap ek op 'n toon, mar ek dink baie harder as wat nodig was,

15. meer as wat ek Afrikaans praat

16. is dit anders, as wat jy verwag het dit sou gewees het?

Soos wat (see as wat)

1. mar jy kan so lank vat soos wat jy wil,

2. so, mar jy kan régiq so lank wat soos wat jy wil,

3. Dieselfde, soos wat jy gesien het al érens anders?

4. Okay, en ontvang jy soveel soos wat jy stuur, deur 'n dag?

5. ma met ons salaris soos wat dit is,

6. ja dit is nogal irriterend, soos wat jy nou sê oor die skool

7. niks te make met die feit dat jy is eintlik dood gemaklik en dood gelukkig net soos wat jy is,

8. my aanvaar soos wat hulle my gekry het,

9. en dis mense wat my aanvaar soos wat ek is,

10. beteken nie dat ek, dat ons hom kan intrepreteer, as ek hom kan intrepreteer soos wat jy hom kan intrepreteer nie,

11. hy bedui met sy hande soos wat hy met die vrou praat

12. sy oe's eintlik toe soos wat hy sy mond oopmaak,

13. veral as mens lief is vir iemand, soos wat ek vir haar lief is, verstaan?

So dra

1. ma so dra hulle met hulle buddies praat

2. en so dra jy nie, dit doen nie,

3. ma so dra jy begin praat van dranks, ag, drugs,

Aangesien

1. aangesien jy hulle nie ken nie,

Afhangende (see Donaldson 306 Anglicism)

1. so afhangende van hoeveel dit gan wees
NB. Donaldson footnote 2, p309: ‘Many puritsts object to what they see as this superfluous insertion of *wat* after several subordinating conjunctions.’

(al)hoewel
1. hoewel ek/ persoonlik dink ek verkies ek dit
2. hoewel mens, tog nou uitgeface/ 3. hoewel ek vind as mens so klop daarvan gelees het,
4. hoewel, ek nie gedink het die/hulle ‘t die fiek baie goed gedoen nie,
5. alhoewel, ek het ’n paar vriende wat gap jaars gevat het, en so an,
6. hoewel ek dan Stellenbosch vriende sal sien
7. hoewel my ma ook gedink het sy sal miskien soontoew wou gan,
8. hoewel ek ook gevoel het nader an sy einde hy begin al stadiger praat,
9. uhm, alhoewel mens baie meer sms as bel,
10. alhoewel dis irritend dat ek moet,
11. ma alhoewel met jou fietsrygoed
12. alhoewel, dit is nie die primare, dis nie die pri/
13. alhoewel, daar is regtig baie frustrerende tye ook

**tensy**
1. tensy dit ’n Engelse vriendin is,
2. meer met ’n brief, tensy jy gaan photocopy.
3. ek moet sê ek sal ok ‘ie da, tensy dit ’n groot groep is
4. tensy die meisies se ouens of mens kan dalk ok

Appendix 5.b: Bridge verbs in the spoken corpus

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>weet</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. voeltjie wat kos kry, of water kry daar,/weet nie of dit ’n plantjie is was daa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. jy het al die informasie,/ma jy moet weet wat dit is ma ons het nou, toe ons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. /daar is suke trips wat hulle doen/ek weet nou net nie of hulle met</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. in Tygerberg/daa is een vrou wat, ek weet nie presies hoe oud sy is nie,/mar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. ’n mini-reeks/’n Picture Analysis/as ek geweet het wat dit is, is dit ’n hark?/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. s jassie en ’n seuntjie by ’n tafel,/ek weet nie wat sy, hy iets wat soos ’n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. boodskappe op Facebook stuur,/want ek weet, byvoorbeeld/nie almal wat ek ken,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. nou, chat en so aan,/so ek het nie, gebied, uhm, weet/gaan dit wees net ons,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. gekyk,/en dit, dit gebeur so vinnig,/ek weet amper half nie wanneer om in te kom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. dieselfde taal gepraat/uhm, ek het ek weet dit hy bang baie Engelse woorde,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. lauks] vir ’n tyd/Uhm, ag dit hang ek hang/daar’s, daar’svreugtig baie, uhm,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. my nie/Ek weet nie/dit is ja./ek eintlik wat daar aangegaan het nie.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. /of veral as dit in die oggend is/en sy ek eentjes op kampus,/dan sal sy my sms,/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. oggend/en die Sondags aan het ek geweet wat ek gaan UCT toe gaan,/so dit was</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. en transformasie en so an/want ek weet UCT is al fine daarmee/terwyl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. is baie gespecialiseerd./sy doen, ek weet nou nie presies wat hulle dit noem,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. /mar meer soortvyt “n mense,/ek weet wat sy gesê het op ’n keer,/wat sy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. nuttig in met my Letterkunde,/mar ek weet nie of ek dit so gespecialiseer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. of annner rede as ek moet gan sit/en ek weet ek moet dit nou skryf,/dan, my</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. af/wel, ek wil bale graag angan,/ek weet nog nie presies waar ek dit gan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21. ,/dan kan jy gaan studeer in Spanje,/ek weet nie of dit vir hulle presies,/ek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22. weet nie of dit vir hulle presies,/ek weet vir die Franse eksamen kan jy dan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23. kan jy dan graat gaan studeer,/ek weet nie of dit presies dieselfde is vi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24. t uit,/ek weet nie hoe dit gebeur,/et nie,/en ek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25. sy gemak met ons in die tweede jaar,/ek weet nie of dit is omdat ons ’n klein groep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26. of wat nie/mar by het soortvyt, jy weet, grappies gemaak,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27. wel ek was nie lus nie/want ek het die nie geweet hoe om die terme om te ruil nie./</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28. op Skype./Ja, ek ken dit glad nie,/ek weet nie hoe dit werk nie./Dis bale soos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29. vraag./[laughter]/Nee, ek wil maar met net weet wat hy jy daarvan gedink,/wat het</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30. gaan kyk ook,/dit is hectic, jy,/ek weet nie hoe mense dit regkry om/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31. gevoel,/ek weet nie of jy dit wil/weet nie of dit ’n vraag is nie/3a ja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32. het teen matriek ’n selfloop gehad,/ek weet nie of ek dit in matriek en of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33. teen helfte van die maand, uhm, so, ek weet nie of mens dit nou saam moet tel,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34. ’n boodskap gelos eintlik ook,/want nou weet ek nie dat hulle my gesoek het nie,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35. sy mond,/dalk is dit ’n dokter,/ja ek weet nie of dit ’n masker is nie/ ’n ou</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36. skryf eksamen/en hy dink/’n outjie wat weet hy’s innie moeilikheid,/en hy gan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37. , of ’n bloemen byt/’n dude wat, ek weet nie of dit ’n droom is nie,is dit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38. sy mond/dalk is dit ’n dokter,/ja ek weet nie of dit ’n masker is nie/ ’n ou</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
40. al gejudge/een week is ek gekies,/ek weet nie eintlik hoekom hulle vir my
41. /want jy weet nie wie watse taal praat nie/so jy
42. in 'n M-TV chat room in gaan/sal jy nie weet wie dit is nie/,so dit maak dit
43. /so jy worry nie oor spelfoute nie,/jy weet mense sal dit sien./Maar jy
44. /Hoekom sal jy dan korrigeer/as jy weet dat mense sal.. verstaan wat jy
45. /en ek ook nie vir jouself nie,/want jy weet hoe die spelling is,/so hoekom sal
46. /of ek gaan net soos, (uns certain)./Ja ek weet nie hoe om dit te doen nie,/ek wil/
47. /ek sien mense bel verskriklik balie,/ek weet nie hoe hulle dit kan regkry nie./
48. klas/en dit raak bietjie erg/later an weet jy jy nie meer wat het in watter
49. en dit raak bietjie erg/later an weet jy jy nie meer wat het in watter
50. was nog nooit in so 'n area nie,/so ek weet nie eers of my idee van dit eintlik
51. goed/met toutjies en strikkies,/en dan weet mense soms nie hoe om dit an te
52. ek ken nie 'n vis goed genoeg/om te weet of hy dood is/as hy swart oe het
53. să sy val heel waarskynlik hier/ma ek weet 'ie half hoe oud sy is 'ie/sy werk
54. hierdie moves,/en jy oefen dit/en jy weet dis hoe dit werk/maak nie saak/
55. /of ek gaan net soos, (uns certain)./Ja ek weet nie hoe om dit te doen nie,/ek wil/
56. )./Hoekom sal jy dan korrigeer/as jy weet dat mense sal .. verstaan wat jy
57. in die aande en sulke goeters/en ek het geweet ek gaan waarskynlik nie in die
58. dan//julle's welkom om te kom kuier/ek weet nog nie waar ons gaan bly nie, ma/
59. wees 'ie/dit moet sy wees/ja want ek weet van vriende van vriende van my/wat
60. ou einde, het 'n lekker jaar gehad,/ek weet nie of jy al gehoor het daarvan nie
61. vyf-en-twintig keer die dag/na 'n ruk weet jy jou hoe om dit te sê,/en dan lat
62. /ma die, selfs die mense self, weet jy nie reg het w 'n diedekkige is
63. die twee, een van die dokters het,/ek weet nie hoe hulle dit reggekry het nie,
64. verstaan hoekom hulle een wil hê,/ma ek weet, voor my siel, dat hulle dit nie
65. en ek het gekom op 'n punt wat ek voel,/ek weet nie of dit of so moet wees nie,ek wil
66. /ek een van daal goeters wat soos,/jy weet nie eintlik dat dit goed vir jou sal
67. /en dan dink jy,/jy weet jy nie hoe dit is,/en die my jy het van dan
dit en dan dink jy, /ok okay cool/hulle waarvan hulle praat/ja nee ek sal
68. met baie mense/ons braai gewoonlik/ek weet dis makliker as mens gaan kamp/op
69. dis al/en ek was verlore,/ek het nie weet wat die antwoord is/jy's in die kak
70. 'circle of death' of 'fuck the bus'/ek weet nie of jy al gehoor het daaran nie
71. sy blije vee met die sonheblom/en ek weet nie hoekom sy dit doen nie/sy
72. /en dan moet hulle so opkruil/hulle weet nie om te sprei nie,/om te vlieg
73. /en dan dink jy,/jy weet jy nie hoe dit is,/en dan
74. 'ja, want ek weet hy's sexy soos hel, is hy nie',/jy
75. 'die seuntjie skryf eksamen,/en nugter weet wat die antwoord is/jy's in die kak
76. ongelooflik/ek gan vi Tannie ytvind/ek weet my oupa toe hy baie siek geword het
77. en jy weet jy en die /ma die, selfs die mense self, weet jy nie reg het w 'n diedekkige is
78. /okaak cool/hulle waarvan hulle praat/ja nee ek sal
79. 'ja, want ek weet hy's sexy soos hel, is hy nie',/jy
80. 'die seuntjie skryf eksamen,/en nugter weet wat die antwoord is/jy's in die kak
81. /en dan dink jy,/jy weet jy nie hoe dit is,/en dan
82. /wen die veiligheid/ma jy kan net soos daal ding soos jy weet jy nie hoe dit is,/en dan
dit en dan dink jy, /ok okay cool/hulle waarvan hulle praat/ja nee ek sal
83. 'ja, want ek weet hy's sexy soos hel, is hy nie',/jy
84. /en dan moet hulle so opkruil/hulle weet nie om te sprei nie,/om te vlieg
85. 'ie
86. /en dan dink jy,/jy weet jy nie hoe dit is,/en dan
87. /en dan dink jy,/jy weet jy nie hoe dit is,/en dan
88. ,/or ek gaan net soos, (uns certain)./Ja ek weet nie hoe om dit te doen nie,/ek wil/
89. /ek sien mense bel verskriklik balie,/ek weet nie hoe hulle dit kan regkry nie./
110. musiek as 'n hobby doen, ek meen, mens voel wat word van stokperdjies, en veral
111. , soos daai, shooting for Columbine, ek weet nie of jy dit al gekyk het nie, /mar
112. eers, die show geword van die dog/voel jy wie was die meeste mense? mar
113. ons praat nie /ek dink sy wou, kyk sy weet nie wat ons verhouding is
114. /sy wou dalk raad gee en goeters, sy weet nie dat jy my anner helfte is nie,
115. my anner helfte is nie, so sy kan nie weet dat /sy dog sy bore jou dalk nou
116. Gina, wat verasklik stoot was, en weet sy gan nou pakslae kry by die hoof,
117. , twee-en-twintig jaar, en ek weet nie hoe hulle survive nie, rérig
118. ry_/ja, as daar nou een nasie is, wat, weet hoe dit is om swaar te kry is dit
119. of hulle teek nie agter die nuie, voel wat ek kan mal van hulle nie
120. om 'n vis te vang uit 'n bak, /mar ek weet nie of hy sal nie, /want ek dink nie
121. vir hom 'n huis gekoop het, en ek weet nie die huis gekoop het en wie
122. saam met hom/ry wil sê, sê ek deeg peuter nie wat ons verhouding is
123. mar anyway nou nie jy dink en myself, ek weet nie rérig wat ingenieurs doen nie,
124. nie ek's rérig bored by my werk nee ek weet my tyd het klaa so baie verby gegan
125. plek bly waar ek orais kan fiets ry/ek weet ok nie rerig of ek in so koue land
126. wil gaan net oor die kursus, mar ek weet nie of ek kan oorleef daar nie,
127. persent van Amerika wat paspoorte besit, weet jy hoeveel keer moes ek vir mense
128. /wat Oubaas nou die dag nou gese, wag, weet jy hoe baie ouens doen dit? Oom wat
129. Christo vanaand? wie se skoene is dit? /weet jy wat kan julle twee vir my doen?/
130. jy eers dink wat dit is, /'stripper' weet mens dadelik wat dit is, en ek het

voel
1. mens so klomp daarvan gelees het, dan voel jy, nee so bietjie/okay dis nou
2. was net Afrikaans gewes, en ek het gevoel, oké ek kort net bietjie van 'n
3. die semantics, ek het so bietjie gevoel ek is nie seker wat die punt
4. het was vir my baie nice, dit het vir my gevoel hy's meer op sy gemak met ons in
5. sy is 'n goede doentjie, ek het myself gevoel sy's bietjie school teacherish?
6. hy's taamlik droog, hoewel ek ook gevoel het na die einde hy begin
7. nie /Ja ja nie seker, ek het gevoel nie, dat as ek hier is, dat ek
8. wat Engels op Stellenbosch doen, hulle verstaan nie, dat hier is die groot V2
9. in die tyd gekry het, en ek weet dit. en ek het andere mense terug
10. dan, ek meen mense doen dit, dan ek voel dis verkeerd, mens sal baie keer
11. /wat ook al, so dis partykeer en ek voel mense kan baie keer meer onbeskoff
12. nie, maar dit was, dit het vir my gevoel of ek die heeltyd gepraat het, en
13. nie by daai plekke nie, dis hulle nuie ek voel mens kan nu nie hoorie gelaatheid
14. baie na my hart, en wat ek nog altyd gevoel het ek wil doen met my werk, en
15. /ek is gelukkig, ek dink net, party dae ek voel, jy weet, ek werk vyftig
16. en ek's gekom om 'n punt wat ek voel, en ek weet nie of dit so moet wees
17. ons het dit oorgeneem, want ons het net gevoel, jy weet, as jy kyk na wat
18. dit kom nou ma met die storie saam, ek voel dit help verasklik bietjie as ek
19. verleen is nie, ek geniet myself, en ek voel glad nie seker nie skuldig daaroor nie/
20. wyer te kyk/as net sy sienswyse/en hy voel dat dis, jy weet, as jy in 'n
21. /en, ek het toe letterlik die, ek het gevoel of 'n stormwyk my beetkry, en ek
22. het nooit gewer nie /Jan toe Liesl nooit gevoel hy het moet nou luister na iemand
23. van hulle media af, /dat jy laterhand voel jy wil nie rérig gaa nie, so mens
24. in vis, ek meen my ma voel hulle eet te veel voel, ek kan nie
25. uit die (ersgte)/sport, en daarom voel hulle nie dat hulle dit moet uikry
26. laat dit nie vir my toe nie, en ek voel ek kan nogsteeds my werk doen en
27. dit is glad nie wat ek wil doen nie en ek voel net ek moet dit doen die een wat

dink
1. is iemand wat sit by sy lessenar/en ek dink hy is of besig om te studeer of
2. onthou nie, actually, ek dink amper, ek dink amper dit was soos net, net voor
3. hulle kan Afrikaans praat, maar jy, ek dink hulle verkies dit om Engels te
4. dis vir my verstand, ek my ma, ek dink nie ek ken 'n kant wat dit sal
5. die Baxter wat hy moes gerecord het, ek dink dit was 'n DVD as ek
6. gehad, laan terug, nie so sodat ek sou gedink het 'oek is so verlie on hom
7. gesond, wat gras sny/'n dogtertjie, ek dink dit is, en dis seker 'n mandjie, wat
11. nie/dalk gebeur dit net elke dag,/ek dink dit gebeur elke dag/en nou dink net

12. unclear)./Ja ja, nee ek het dit nog/ek dink dit het dit sederdien een of twee

toe, kon ek nie daarby inkom nie,/so ek dink hulle, delete dit as daar 'n ruk

13. toe, kon ek nie daarby inkom nie,/so ek dink hulle, delete dit as daar 'n ruk

14. weI, interessant,/hoewel ek/ persoonlik dink ek verkies ek dit/om, om met lem/

15. laaste keer toe ek dit gedaan het/ek dink ek was in die laerskool gewees/Oh

16. weird gewees,/maar toe't dit,/so ek dink dit het so bietjie begin raak

17. /oor wat jy sé nie/want jy/ me dink die mense was seker nogsteeds 'n

18. hulle gebruik?/Ook Afrikaans./En wat dink jy van hulle taalgedrag,/hulle

19. .. /ek het nie rerig spesifiek daaroor gedink nie,/ek het, uhrn, daar was 'n/

20. Golden Compass gaan kyk,/hoewel, ek nie gedink het die/hulle't die fliek baie

21. terugvoering en so nie,/en ek dink net,/met 'n sms, dis, dis baie

22. ,len ag ek meen ek het dit mar altyd gedink ek sal Stellenbosch toe gan/want

23. dit nie dadelik agtergekom nie/nar ek dink dit het so half my lewensuitsyk

24. van my/uitrui program,/dit was, ek dink dit was in Rondebosch of Nuweland

25. , so/ek is baie happy by UCT,/ek dink dit was vir my nice ook gewees om

26. majors te doen volgende jaar,/nar ek dink, weet, as ek so gesukkel om vier

27. ekstra geld te verdien/en dis net, ek dink nogal as ek gan dit met daal drie

28. ek weet nie, ek sal kyk nog nou/mar ek dink dit sal vir my lekkerder wees as

29. vi 'n vakansie gegan,/hoewel my rna ook gedink het sy sal missen soontoewou

30. soos Oxford graag naaigraad wil doen,/ek dink, op die oombliek dink ek ek wil in

31. wil doen,/ek dink, op die oombliek dink ek ek wil in Engelse letterkunde/

32. kwalifikasie, so, want ek het so half gedink ek sal my hones en dalk my

33. nogal interessant gevind, en hy het, ek dink, sy is 'n goeie dosent,/ek het

34. Historical linguistics doen/want ek het gedink '0 jislaaik, ek hoop nie hy gan

35. bietjie frustrerend gewees,/nar ek dink hy ken sy werk/ons hou van daai

36. wat an tafel sit,/en hulle eet iets,/ek dink hulle eet ontbyt,/en die seuntjie

37. elke dag wat water opvang van 'n tak,/ek dink daar drup seker water van die tak

38. as jy huwe gekyk/het jy dit sou/out vir ons, ek het, jy dink so dis die hulks/daai

39. ding,/en sy kyk na 'n mys of 'n rot,/ek dink dis 'n rot/want dis baie groot,/wat

40. okay, onthou ons enigste een was, ek dink, 'n sielkun/een wat vir ons 'n

41. het nie, rigor geal en vertaal nie,/nar ek dink, ek sou my/maar ek het nie

42. Historical linguistics doen/want ek het gedink '0 jislaaik, ek hoop nie hy gan

43. bietjie frustrerend gewees,/nar ek dink hy ken sy werk/ons hou van daai

44. dit nie dadelik agtergekom nie/nar ek dink dit het so half my lewensuitsyk

45. van my/uitrui program,/dit was, ek dink dit was in Rondebosch of Nuweland

46. , so/ek is baie happy by UCT,/ek dink dit was vir my nice ook gewees om

47. majors te doen volgende jaar,/nar ek dink, weet, as ek so gesukkel om vier

48. ekstra geld te verdien/en dis net, ek dink nogal as ek gan dit met daal drie

49. en ek meen ek het mar altyd gedink ek sal Stellenbosch toe gan/want

50. Golden Compass gaan kyk,/hoewel, ek nie gedink het die/hulle't die fliek baie

51. terugvoering en so nie,/en ek dink net,/met 'n sms, dis, dis baie

52. ,len ag ek meen ek het dit mar altyd gedink ek sal Stellenbosch toe gan/want

53. dit nie dadelik agtergekom nie/nar ek dink dit het so half my lewensuitsyk

54. van my/uitrui program,/dit was, ek dink dit was in Rondebosch of Nuweland

55. , so/ek is baie happy by UCT,/ek dink dit was vir my nice ook gewees om

56. majors te doen volgende jaar,/nar ek dink, weet, as ek so gesukkel om vier

57. ekstra geld te verdien/en dis net, ek dink nogal as ek gan dit met daal drie

58. en ek meen ek het mar altyd gedink ek sal Stellenbosch toe gan/want

59. Golden Compass gaan kyk,/hoewel, ek nie gedink het die/hulle't die fliek baie

60. terugvoering en so nie,/en ek dink net,/met 'n sms, dis, dis baie

61. ,len ag ek meen ek het dit mar altyd gedink ek sal Stellenbosch toe gan/want

62. dit nie dadelik agtergekom nie/nar ek dink dit het so half my lewensuitsyk

63. van my/uitrui program,/dit was, ek dink dit was in Rondebosch of Nuweland

64. , so/ek is baie happy by UCT,/ek dink dit was vir my nice ook gewees om

65. majors te doen volgende jaar,/nar ek dink, weet, as ek so gesukkel om vier

66. ekstra geld te verdien/en dis net, ek dink nogal as ek gan dit met daal drie

67. en ek meen ek het mar altyd gedink ek sal Stellenbosch toe gan/want

68. Golden Compass gaan kyk,/hoewel, ek nie gedink het die/hulle't die fliek baie

69. terugvoering en so nie,/en ek dink net,/met 'n sms, dis, dis baie

70. 80. /Dan sou ek baie seer geval het/so ek dink met padfieets is dit nog fine/want

71. dit lees/ja dis 'n goeie punt/ja ek dink dit is eers in die derde jaar, die

72. kreatiewe skryfwerk te doen nie/ja ek dink dit/dis 'n baie persoonlike ding

73. afhang van die dosent wat dit aanbied/ek dink dit maak ok nogals 'n groot verskil

74. wat se taal het jy gechat?/Afrikaans, ek dink daar was definitief Engelse woorde

75. persoon maklik in die hande kan kry./Dink jy dit ongeskik om partykeer te sms

76. thereof te swot/ek het op In stadium gedink,/rna nou dink ek ok, moet ek

77. bont gepatroonde bloese en goed, so/ek dink ok Kalkbaai is die regte plek

78. bietjie moer/so ek rnoet

79. /Ja dit was lekker,/in die begin het ek gedink dit gaan nooit verby gaan nie/en

80. ,/so dan e-mail ek net vir haar,/ek dink dis ook pop-up dail-up by haar, sy

81. dit beantwoord,/dit is min of meer soos jy gedink dit het dit sou wees./Ja, ek het, ek

82. dit het dit sou wees./Ja, ek het, ek dink dit misken gaan jy seker vrae vra,/

83. beantwoord,/dit is min of meer soos jy gedink dit het dit sou wees./Ja, ek het, ek

84. dit het dit sou wees./Ja, ek het, ek dink dit misken gaan jy seker vrae vra,/

85. beantwoord,/dit is min of meer soos jy gedink dit het dit sou wees./Ja, ek het, ek

86. dit het dit sou wees./Ja, ek het, ek dink dit misken gaan jy seker vrae vra,/

87. beantwoord,/dit is min of meer soos jy gedink dit het dit sou wees./Ja, ek het, ek

88. dit het dit sou wees./Ja, ek het, ek dink dit misken gaan jy seker vrae vra,/

89. beantwoord,/dit is min of meer soos jy gedink dit het dit sou wees./Ja, ek het, ek

90. dit het dit sou wees./Ja, ek het, ek dink dit misken gaan jy seker vrae vra,/

91. beantwoord,/dit is min of meer soos jy gedink dit het dit sou wees./Ja, ek het, ek

92. het dit dit sou wees./Ja, ek het, ek dink dit misken gaan jy seker vrae vra,/

93. beantwoord,/dit is min of meer soos jy gedink dit het dit sou wees./Ja, ek het, ek

94. het dit dit sou wees./Ja, ek het, ek dink dit misken gaan jy seker vrae vra,/

95. beantwoord,/dit is min of meer soos jy gedink dit het dit sou wees./Ja, ek het, ek

96. het dit dit sou wees./Ja, ek het, ek dink dit misken gaan jy seker vrae vra,/

97. beantwoord,/dit is min of meer soos jy gedink dit het dit sou wees./Ja, ek het, ek

98. het dit dit sou wees./Ja, ek het, ek dink dit misken gaan jy seker vrae vra,/

99. beantwoord,/dit is min of meer soos jy gedink dit het dit sou wees./Ja, ek het, ek

100. het dit dit sou wees./Ja, ek het, ek dink dit misken gaan jy seker vrae vra,/

101. beantwoord,/dit is min of meer soos jy gedink dit het dit sou wees./Ja, ek het, ek

102. het dit dit sou wees./Ja, ek het, ek dink dit misken gaan jy seker vrae vra,/

103. beantwoord,/dit is min of meer soos jy gedink dit het dit sou wees./Ja, ek het, ek

104. het dit dit sou wees./Ja, ek het, ek dink dit misken gaan jy seker vrae vra,/

105. beantwoord,/dit is min of meer soos jy gedink dit het dit sou wees./Ja, ek het, ek
81. "en dan's die mense soos in 'wow'/dan dink jy 'ja, ek by hie'/nee dit was rē
82. hoe gan dit" en wat, ja, want ek het gedink, ek weet nie wie dit is nie,/ma
83. mos daai outydse fietses/ek het eintlik gedink ek sal nou ma kyk wat ek da, op
84. dan ek dink byvoorbeeld/never/te dink ek daar's net, daar kan nie nog n
85. is/dit volt aamper vir my, ek dink sy's lewers anders/val, daai is dit
86. /ma sy was mea ennee, sy se nooit/ek dink nie st' al eintlik met my gepraat
87. in die begin probeer kontak hou,/ma/ek dink sy'st ok nou kinners,/en nou's dit
88. , sy's ok getroud in PE of whatever,/ek dink hulle's alm al over, in Australi
89. pa gan 'n kongres in Athene bywoon/toe dink ek okay hulle kan nie gan nie/hy's
90. by Departement Bedryfseikunde nou/toe dink ek ma ek het so baie Voyager Miles
91. van 'n probleem/so ek het klaar al gedink okay ek kan nou ma voort met dit/
92. vyf van ons kantoor vannie Kaap/ek dink seker so tien vannie kantoor in
93. triple, dan weer etjie/ma/ek dink ek kan in Utrecht/ma/daai dis ook
94. Zulu op 'n stadium gepraat/ma dink ek nie dit tel nie/ma, daar was ekstra
95. nie in die Kaap bly nie/so ek het gedink ek gaan waarskynlik Zulu nodig hē
96. /of 'n ander, swart taal,/so ek het net gedink dis bietjie van 'n waste/nee dit
97. ok nie al die plekke se name nie,/ma ek dink hulle's dit nou bietjie verander/
98. ./wel, dit hang af van elke mens,/ek dink my plek, waar my eerste keuse was/
99. vir party mense horribl,/mar uhm, ek dink as jy lewers is, waar naar niks
100. 'n slegte ondervinding gehad het,/ek dink as jy baie noord gan/dan sukkel jy
101. daal areas, ma noord noord/ja, ek dink dan gan jy sukkel mit/mit net
102. is nie die primare, dis nie die pri/ek dink nie dis rē die primēre doel nie,
103. sal sodwana toe gan/no, sy dink wat op die ou end gebeer/hulle sit
104. dit verwys na 'n hoer hospitaal,/ek dink dit kan hanteer word op daai vlak,
105. /ok hoekom ek sodwana was/toe dink ek gan baie meer gemeenskapswerk
106. baie meer gemeenskapswerk doen,/ek het gedink dit is wat ek rē die wil doen,
107. /...mens weet tog ma nooit tot jy/ek het gedink ek van nie hiervan hou nie/en ek
108. gehou,/so mens weet nie/toe dink dink dit is baie meer wat ek wil doen,
109. ek dink egter/ek dink dink dit is nie baai meer volg dit/ek dink ek het twē mensene volg dit
110. ek net so/weet ek sien party mense/dan dink ek, 'jy' t nie nou 'n maaltydplan
111. dag/en di dieselde tye,/en toe dink ek 'ag nee, ek gaan 'swem'/want ek't
112. so/toe's dit een van daai goeters,/toe dink ek 'okay cool korn ek doen dit'/en
113. so as general BA doen,/en ek het toe gedink, vir my BA watter vakke kan ek
114. so/toe's dit een van daai goeters/toe dink ek 'okay cool kom ek kom dit'en
115. ok van daai goed,/jy's in, jy dink nie eintlik dit deur nie/en dan
116. dink nie eintlik dit deur nie/en dan dink jy soos, 'o okay cool' dis soos,/en
117. , jy weet,/en dan slaat dit jou/en dan dink jy terug an soos skooldaa en goed/
118. /uit omtrent in 'n maand,/en ek dink twee mensene volg dit/ek dink dit is nie baai meer volg dit
119. ek net so/weet ek sien party mense/dan dink ek, 'jy' t nie nou 'n maaltydplan
120. dag/en di dieselde tye,/en toe dink ek 'ag nee, ek gaan 'swem'/want ek't
121. so general BA doen,/en ek het toe gedink, vir my BA watter vakke kan ek
122. so/toe's dit een van daai goeters/toe dink ek 'okay cool kom ek kom dit'en
123. so as general BA doen,/en ek het toe gedink, vir my BA watter vakke kan ek
124. so/toe's dit een van daai goeters/toe dink ek 'okay cool kom ek kom dit'en
125. klink ok goed, /dit hang af, jy weet,/ek dink alle gedigte moet rē goed klink ok/
126. se gedigte wat
127. van iets anders/Ek dink daar is./Ek dink die ding se naam is Kronendal./O ja
128. /ns die akademie, is ek geneig om te dink dat, of dit nou in teologie
129. ons kom baai goed oor die weg/ja ag ek dink buiten dit, selfs al sou ek miskien
130. 'n slegte ondervinding gehad het,/ek dink as jy baie noord gan,/dan sukkel jy
131. ma-hulle dink natuurlik dis baai//hulle dink UCT is swart, soos
132. geen punt om hul te baklei nie,/en dan dink ek, okay, mar ons is besig om die
133. ons kom baai goed oor die weg/ja ag ek dink buiten dit, selfs al sou ek miskien
134. Afrikaans is baai meer kreatief,/ek dink ek het baie goed, ek het laas
135. so/hulle dink natuurlik dis baai//hulle dink UCT is swart, soos
136. Stellenbosch af kom, /dis net
137. ons, wat ek net kan nie, die prēnis teer/deur nie,/en dan dink ek is ons geneig om meer dogmatiese
138. ons kom baai goed oor die weg/ja ag ek dink buiten dit, selfs al sou ek miskien
139. ons kom baai goed oor die weg/ja ag ek dink buiten dit, selfs al sou ek miskien
140. voorheen, jy weet, in terme van die
141. /vir my is die nadele daarvan dat ek dink jy loop die gevaar, dat, Facebook
142. personlikeheid wat jy ontwikkel/ten, en ek dink ons is almal mar skuldig daaran,/ an
143. an dering is natuurlik privaatheid,/ek dink, daar is werklik 'n gevaar, dat, 'n
144. laas op skool gesien/mense in die Kaap dink hul is die kat se snor/hulle dink
145. Kaap dink hul is die kat se snor/hulle dink as hulle geld het hulle's beter as
146. wat ek met die tannie,/en hy sny die gras,/ek dink hy sny die gras,/dit lyk soos een
147. is almal mar skuldig daaran,/en dan dink ek, okay, mar ons is besig om die
148. wat ek mar raaksien is dat, ek dink ons het
149. /wat ek mar raaksien is dat, ek dink ons het
150. Iso dis vir my einlik erg hoe,/en ek dink dit
151. moet doen na die tyd is ok lank,/ek dink dis een of twee jaar wat hulle nou
152. 'lekker' in,/en toe dink ek daar's net, daar kan nie nog 'n
153. ma-hulle dink natuurlik dis baai//hulle dink UCT
154. ma-hulle dink natuurlik dis baai//hulle dink UCT
155. /ek dink die ding se naam is Kronendal./O ja
156. met die tannie,/en hy sny die gras,/ek dink hy sny die gras,/dit lyk soos een
157. /vir my is die nadele daarvan dat ek dink jy loop die gevaar, dat, Facebook
158. persoonlikeheid wat jy ontwikkel/ten, en ek dink ons is almal mar skuldig daaran,/ an
159. an dering is natuurlik privaatheid,/ek dink, daar is werklik 'n gevaar, dat, 'n
160. laas op skool gesien/mense in die Kaap dink hul is die kat se snor/hulle dink
161. kaap dink hul is die kat se snor/hulle dink
162. /vir my is die nadele daarvan dat ek dink jy loop die gevaar, dat, Facebook
163. persoonlikeheid wat jy ontwikkel/ten, en ek dink ons is almal mar skuldig daaran,/ an
164. an dering is natuurlik privaatheid,/ek dink, daar is werklik 'n gevaar, dat, 'n
165. kaap dink hul is die kat se snor/hulle dink
166. /vir my is die nadele daarvan dat ek dink jy loop die gevaar, dat, Facebook
167. persoonlikeheid wat jy ontwikkel/ten, en ek dink ons is almal mar skuldig daaran,/ an
168. an dering is natuurlik privaatheid,/ek dink, daar is werklik 'n gevaar, dat, 'n
169. kaap dink hul is die kat se snor/hulle dink
170. /vir my is die nadele daarvan dat ek dink jy loop die gevaar, dat, Facebook
171. persoonlikeheid wat jy ontwikkel/ten, en ek dink ons is almal mar skuldig daaran,/ an
161
163. eerder as hulle te bevoordeel en ek dink dis hoekom ek se dit te maklik maar
160. van alles, want, ek het actually, ek dink dis die boek wat ek nou huidiglik
161. dit toeg, maar nie in oomaat nie, en ek dink jonger mense veral verval te maklik
162. gan geswors word en dit is hoekom ek dink 'verderf' daai naby so daaran le/
163. /eerder as hulle te bevoordeel en ek dink dis hoekom ek se dit te maklik mar
164. van alles, want, ek het actually, ek dink dis die boek wat ek nou huidiglik
165. dit toeg, maar nie in oomaat nie, en ek dink jonger mense veral verval te maklik
166. sy ma-hulle bly in Gansbaai, en toe dink ek weI ek gan nie Gansbaai toe ry
167. kan nie baie onthou nie, mar toe daarna dink ek 'ek's dertig nog nie eers dertig
168. om regtig in prinses te kan wees, ek dink dit gan baie mooi wees, Maria Isabella
169. is nou al klaar 'n prinses, nou kan jy dink sy dink? jy moet die dakt hê om regtig 'n
170. boek moet te kan wees, ek dink dit gan baie mooi wees, Maria Isabella
171. s net nie gewoond daaraan nie, ek het gedink ek sal, was jy daa? ek het gedink
172. /voor dit so klein landjie is/ ek dink ons kan maar ry/ en ek dink nie dis om die
173. magiet die Sin Fein en
174. is nie/hu1le gan definitief soontoe/ek dink as jy klaa werk het, ja, omdat dit
175. het, /van die bobbejaan wat dood is, ek dink ek het waarskynlik voor Tannie se
176. /voor dit so klein landjie is/ ek dink ons kan maar ry/ en ek dink nie dis om die
177. mees toe jy trek daa, ek dink ons gan op ons, alles, beland/ag ons, alles, beland/ag
dit was, ee daa's nie manier wat
178. dan sê ek
179. kan sê, want, mar ek kan myself indink dat mens partykeer goed sal/ sê so
180. van die Oosblok lande af gewees/ ek dink eerlik dis die klimate/want wat ek
181. was van die Oosblok lande af gewees/ ek dink eerlik dis die klimate/want wat ek
182. in elk geval die Super Veertien wen'/en ek dink in daai stadium het die mense net
183. deur die enkele mense wat die dienst stillie/ wat kan man die bek van die
184. bekkevorder/ik dink dit is so net die herinnering van ons kindertijd/ en ek dink
185. wat neuk/ek dink net die persoon wat ek is, jy weet,
186. of hy sal nie,/want ek dink hy sal, kyk sy weet miskien nie wat
187. /voor dit so klein landjie is/ ek dink ons kan maar ry/ en ek dink nie dis om die
188. met hulle, /en hulle't nie gedink dit gan skade doen nie, en hy't
dit was, ee daa's nie manier wat
189. kan sê, want, mar ek kan myself indink dat mens partykeer goed sal/ sê so
190. van die Oosblok lande af gewees/ ek dink eerlik dis die klimate/want wat ek
191. het, /van die bobbejaan wat dood is, ek dink ek het waarskynlik voor Tannie se
192. /voor dit so klein landjie is/ ek dink ons kan maar ry/ en ek dink nie dis om die
193. deur die enkele mense wat die dienst stillie/ wat kan man die bek van die
194. bekkevorder/ik dink dit is so net die herinnering van ons kindertijd/ en ek dink

**wonder**

1. ek wonder of hy die huis nou gekoop het sopas,
2. ek wonder of sy in Suid-Afrika is

**Wil hé**

1. so as jy wil hé ek moet oplet, dan wil ek nou gan. (no complementizer)
2. en hy wil hé die uit moet stilbly (no complementizer)
3. ek wil hé jy moet sê of dit is hoe jy dit sal sê (no complementizer)
4. jy wil hé dit moet raakgesien word, (no complementizer)
5. dis asof hy nou wag, hy wil hé ek moet wag (no complementizer)
6. ek wil hé dat enige mens wat die gedig lees, kan relate, jy weet,

**is seker**

1. ek is seker dis 'n baie nice land, (no complementizer)
2. mar ek is seker hulle sal nie, ontsteld te wees om 'n onderhoud te doen nie,

**Besef**

1. omdat ek dan besef hulle is Afrikaans,
2. toe dink ek, besef, baie van hierdie goed vind ek einlik nogal interessant,
3. maar ek het ook gebesef
4. besef het dat iemand dit gesê het nie,
5. want ek't besef op 'n stadium tik almal net woorde...
6. ek besef ek maak hierdie kort klein onnodige oproepe
7. ek't net later aan besef wat aangaan
8. omdat ek dan besef hulle is Afrikaans,
9. en toe besef hulle ma, hulle't nou hierdie helse studie aangevat
10. mar rërig ek besef dat my Engels eerste taal op skool my nie voorberei het vir wat hier is,
11. mar jy besef nie altyd die impak daarvan op jou lewe nie,
12. want hy besef dat, hierdie vis se dae is getel,
13. jy besef wat jy het, so jy moet na kyk,
14. ma Okay, ek meen, mens kan besef waar hy vandaan kom
15. en ek het ook besef ek wil nie in Amerika bly nie
16. en toe't ek besef dit is glad nie wat ek wil doen nie

**hoor**

1. net omdat ek gehoor het sy praat so met ha man

**Neem aan**

1. ek neem aan jy’t horn geleen vir die naweek, of hoe?
2. ek neem an hy’s by die werk

**By sé**

1. okay dan moet ek bysé iemand soos ek is seker meer as 'n normale persoon gestel

**Aflei**

1. so mens kan aflei hy’s 'n argitek of iets in daai lyn,

**Sé**

1. ek sou sé daarom ten minste nog séker 'n twee of drie maande (no complementizer)
2. Jy sé Ponting die declare? (no complementizer)
3. Y ek weer 'ie ek sé ok vii iemand dit is asof jy vi hulle vra 'gee my 'n rib asseblief' (no complementizer)
4. ek wil net gou vi hom sê ek kan nie nou nie
5. Okay, en jy’t gesê, dis Afrikaanse klasse wat jy gee?
6. Hoeveel sms sal jy sê stuur jy per dag?
7. ek sou sé as ek nou my, my totale account vir 'n maand vat,
8. toe my pa dit sien toe sê hy 'aah, dis 'n WP try'.
9. Okay, so, jy't nou-nou gesê jy kommunikeer met, familie, vriende en mense wat jy meemerk met jou selfoon.

10. En hoeveel sms's sal jy sê, stuur jy 'n dag?

11. Jy' sê gesê jy't 'n blog.

12. En jy sê jy chat met daai Facebook chat ding?

13. Ja, en, sou jy sê die funksionaliteit van dit is anders,

14. en dan of, jou bel en sê jy't vir my 'n please-call-me gestuur

15. en dan sê ek maar ek het nie, nee jy het.

16. Okay hoeveel sms sal jy sê stuur jy 'n dag?

17. So sal jy sê jy stuur meer AS WAT jy ontvang,

18. ek sal nie sê dis 'n totaal en al Engelse area nie,

19. ek sou sê sy val heel waarskynlik hier

20. ma ek moet sê, ek dink, ek is nou te lui om enige iets verder te swot

21. nie ek moet sê, dis vir my baie lekker

22. ma ek moet sê, ek sal pick om anyway van dié begin da te wees

23. ek moet sê ek sal ok 'ie da, tensy dit 'n groot groep is

24. nie ek moet sê ek's baie sleg met Facebook,

25. en toe sê hy ja ma ek moet ma die anner mense ok bel

26. en hulle sê maak 'ie saak van wat, ten spyte van dié, dis nog steeds, hulle've 'n beter lewe hier

27. ek moet sê as ek nou sê

28. ek moet sê ek kan nou nogals doen met 'n bietjie son

29. ma niemand het nog vir ons gesê hoeveel dit kan wees 'ie,

30. as met 'n ding wat vir my sê 'eet, kannie verder nie'

31. kan ok nie vir my sê hoekom hy nie wil verder nie

32. want hulle sal nou sê naby wat,

33. wa an jy van dié begin af, net sê 'stuff die Wes-Kaap'

34. dan sê sy 'nee, mens kan nog glad nie verstaan wat jy sê nie!

35. meen, as ek nou moet sê hoe ek nou voel,

36. en die dokter sê gesê 'gen kry 'n maaltydplan by 'n diëtkundige', so

37. want mense sal vir my sê 'ma ek't dit dan hier onder gekoop'

38. ek het gesê ek weier dat julle my inhou vir pouse

39. weet, jy wil eintlik op 'n punt kom wat jy vir iemand sê 'weet jy, ek stem nie saam met wat jy wy doen nie'

40. toe sê ek 'nee ek ga dan gaan basketbal speel'

41. ek het laasjaar, soos ek gesê dat ek het BSc gedoen, [comp present, plus V2]

42. Mense se dis so secluded
daan sal ons hom vat'

43. maar toe op die ou end toe sê my 'nee wat, dis bietjie, 'n bietjie oorboord ons het net een karavaan nodig,' so

44. en ek sê vir Byron 'uh-uh ek slaap vannaand in die kar'

45. ek sê vir Byron 'moenie drink nie want jy hoef nie te drink nie!'

46. ons sit, dan sê ons 'okay kom ons speel 'circle of death'!

47. toe sê ek 'ja ek sal speel ma ek weier, ek drink nie daal ding in dié middel nie'

48. toe sê ons 'nee vannaand moet ons kom tot by hondeerd'

49. en nou sê hy "ek's jammer"

50. en sy gesig lyk of hy sê "dis nie, ek het niks verkeerd gedoen nie,"

51. as dit nou s'n foto was sou ek gesê het 'beweeg hierdie ding se stert,'

52. en hy sê my "ja, daar's vir jou 'n persentjie in my aktetas" sê, 'n bietjie meer van dié, en

53. ek sê vir my ouers 'wil julle nie weer 'n kitty kry nie?'

54. toe sê hulle 'nee wat?'

55. dan sê ek vir sy meisie, kyk, 'your man', jy weet, 'jou ou, doen dinge an my',

56. en dan sê 'ja, ek weet, hy's sexy soos hel, is hy nie',

57. totdat hulle vir my in Standard Aft gesê het 'kyk, genoeg is nou genoeg, jy gan rugby speel!'

58. wat ek daarby moet sê, is dat, so tien jaar ge/tien, so sewe jaar gelede, het dié universiteit van California, Berkeley, 'n studie uitgevoer, [comp present, V2]

59. weet ek spot altyd, ek sê altyd ek's ten minste nog die willis's of die moore's wat julle ooit op hierdie kampus sal teekom,

60. toe hy klar is dan sms hy my, en sê, 'nou kan jy ma bys toe kom'

61. hulle't vir my gesê die politise van dié moet arresteer

62. wat die mense vir my gesê het,

63. is hulle moet, ek kan onthou, hulle moes woordelys en spelreels geleer het

64. hulle sal nie sê hulle's Afrikaans nie, so

65. wat die hoekom wat hy gesê is die onderwerp van jou tesis?

66. ek sê jy moet sê die beste terme om daarvoor te gebruik is nou en dan,

67. sou Facebook vir jou sê, dat hulle 'n networking site is, [comp present]

68. ja ek moet vir jou eerlikwaar sê, Facebook, in my opinie, het vir my meer, het vir my, betekenis vir my, het vir my meer voordele as nadele, dink ek, so.
74. want ek wil nou net sê, dit moet seker interessant wees
75. toe ek wil hê, dit moet sê of: [comp. present, of, plus V2]
76. en sy sê toe ook vir ons die probleem, daar's 'n begroting per boek.
77. iemand ironies het enkele keer genoem hoe baie keer 'n persoon kan sê 'niese',
78. mar 'n Engelse persoon sê 'lekker'
79. moet ek eerlikwaar sê, ek het enkeur eenlik, daai, daai, jammer leap of faith gevat,
80. en my een vriend actualy vir my gesê, 'mar trap op tone, dis al hoe mens groei,'
81. hoe gereeld sou jy sê en Engels?
82. so ek sou sê ek spendeer seke, hmm, sewentig persent, of festig persent of sewentig persent in Engels
83. toe sê sy net hoe cold is die kind is,
84. en ek sê 'was dit baie erg'
85. toe sê sy, 'ek wou'
86. Franette sê vi my 'ek was te klein, hulle moes vi my any'
87. mar my ma sê mens vergeet dit baie gou weer
88. sy moet nou luister na iemand wat sê mens kan geld uit iemand kennis, maar
89. kan ek vi julle sê dat, wie genoel was, [comp present]
90. toe kom een van my, vriende, een van my kollegas eenlik, en sê 'oe, you've been working out'
91. toe sê hy nee by Bronx,
92. toe sê ek mar ek het 'n hemp angehad,
93. en toe sê die ou dis 'n ingroei naei,
94. toe sê iemand vi hom, is dit nie mar net bloedtoevoer nie,
95. toe sê iemand wel wag dit lyk soos bloedtoevoer,
96. toe sê die ou sê nee wag,
97. mar toe sê hy vi die dokter 'onthou nou net hierie linkerbeen is nou nie, kan nou nie eenlik daar wat nie,
98. mar toe sê Karin dit gan nie mooi klink oppie SMS nie,
99. ek moet vi jou sê ek het van dit nogal self ytgedink
100. en toe't vi my gesê 'okay so so so, miskien eerder dit',
101. toe sê hy o okay
102. so sê sy ja nee, sy aanvaar dit
103. toe sê ek okay onthou net dargaas 'n gesplekte datum
104. ek sê, okay, wat gaa an,
105. ek sê hy 'n plan,
106. toe sê sy 'my husband says that you're harassing me,'
107. ek sê vi haas okay, ek's jammer mar gy gan nou moet betaal vir die kwotasie
108. sê ek gee nie om nie,
109. sy sê ja, 'n redelike karakter
110. hulle sê dit is goed
111. hulle sê dit is baie goed, ja
112. mar sy sê sy sal more kyk
113. toe sê vi dwaas wat het my ma gesê, mar hoe gan gy 'n lewe daarvan Maak,
114. en my pa gesê 'los die kind, lat sy daren net iets doen, wat haa gelukkig maak'
115. en sy sê 'boss' doen iets wat, wat vi jou gan geld maak,
116. toe sê sy sê nee nie kom nie
117. ek moet sê, hulle media speel 'n groot rol
118. en hulle sê dit tel nie, die regte kliek ding doen, is om te kan sê ons was nou in Dubai gewees en shopping gedoen,
119. Des sy sê soos 'n tannie
120. ja, ek sê vi haa gesê, ek kan sien, jy kan sien an 'n, an 'n baba,
121. want sy sê toe op 'n stadium iets gesê van, ja sy het vir so en so gesê 'jy's te onrustig, dit is hoekom hy skree'
122. daai Charl het gesê, sy dogtertjie is soos een van hulle susters,
123. okay, sê vi my hoe's jy gevoel oor die partytjie
124. en ek sê 'my hoe's jy gevoel oor die partytjie
125. en ek het net vir haar gesê 'nee, tot hier toe en nie verder nie'
126. en ek sê vi jou sê, neentig persent van die mense wat op straat is, is nie so gelukkig soos ek nie,
127. dan sê hy 'no I'm addicted to tik' you know, or heroin
128. en ek sê vi jou sê, netisat persent van die mense wat op straat is, is nie so gelukkig soos ek nie,
129. dan sê hy 'nee, nie, ek het nie hulle hulp nodig nie',
130. dan sê hy vi my hoe desperaat is ek vi geld,
131. dan sê ek vi my 'neen persoon moet ek nie ma die ambulans bel nie',
132. dan sê hy 'nee, nie, ek het nie hulle hulp nodig nie',
133. dan sê hy vi my hoe desperaat is ek vi geld,
134. dan sê ek vi my, 'well get in and do me a sexual deed,
135. dan sê ek vi hom 'you're not that desperate',
136. hulle kan sê 'well die water is rof, '
137. die kaptein het een dag vi my gesê hy wil my eendag op die dek sit,
138. toe sê ek vi hom 'nee jy's heeltemal van jou sinne beroof, '
139. en sy sê ma hy soek my nommer,
140. op pad soontoe toe sê sy vir my 'ja nee dis fine',
141. toe se sy 'drank probleem? Ek?'
142. toe se ek haa 'jis, jy's totaal en al in denial',
143. toe se ek vir die ou, 'ja, mens kan sien dis mense soos jy wat nog nie in my skoene was nie, jy'f tog nie swaar gekry nie'
144. toe se hulle vir hoe try',
145. toe bel ek een aang my pa, se ek vi hom kan ek 'n vriend huis toe bring,
146. ek het een dag my pa gesê 'hoekom haat jy hulle?'
147. toe se ek vir hom 'mar is dit nie miskien omdat hy jou nie verstaan nie?'
148. ek sal sê dis 'n oupa en sy kleinseun wat brekvis
149. so hy se 'nee ek mis my ma, my ma sonder die wyn'
150. toe se hy nee hy gan nie huis toe nie,
151. toe se ek oh well, lea ma by my, dis orraait,
152. se hy vir hom, 'weet jy, ek gee nie om watter span jy onnersteun nie,'
153. dan se hy ja, vandag gan hier akseies wees.
154. ek het 'n verantwoordelikhedeis in wat vir my sê dat ek kan nie sommer net, een ding los nie
155. ek moet sê dit was lekker
156. in Junie het hulle vi my gesê hulle kan net die helfte van die geld aan my uitbetaal,
157. sy sê sy wil dit gee
158. nee man, ek ken nie sulke suiker Afrikaanse woorde nie, sê dit is 'stripper'!
159. Hoor hieros, my ma'f gesê jy, jy economise nooit met kos nie,
160. Hendrik het vir my gesê ons gaan nie die helfte nie,
161. Ek moet sê julle albei albei lyk baie goed.
162. ek wil jou sê, ek het nou die dag by Spar maalvleis gekyk.
163. as iemand 'n video van my neem, sal sê die ou mal vrou.
164. Want nou sê my ma, ja, al hierdie arme dom mense wat van een gewig-, jy weet, diert, gaan na die volgende, hulle glo in dit.
165. En hy se hulle voer hulle diere presies dieselfde as Woolies.
166. Wat ek wou gesê het, jammer om weer oor kos te praat, ek sal jou wed ek en Yolandi kan uitkom met,
167. of dis 'n baie vriendelike posman wat sê 'goeiemorg, hier's vir jou in stukkie pos'

wens
1. ek wens ek het nader gebleb
2. mar ek wens partykeer dat ons glad nie kinners gehad het nie, verstaan jy?

glo
1. om mense te kry om te glo dit is eintlik 'n siekte
2. mar ek glo nie ek het dit al vir enige iemand gegee nie
3. ek glo nie enige iemand,
4. ek glo wat jy ytgee kry jy terug

sien
1. om te sien hoe dit is
2. ek wou gesien het hoe dit is,
3. sodat hulle kan sien en hoor hoe hy conduct,
4. om te sien, hoe dit/hoe dit so, so half, vloei.
5. mar ek sal graag wil deurgaan of een of anner tyd, bietjie sien hoe dit lyk,
6. mar ons het so gesien die reen het letterlik so voor ons verby, so gegaan,
7. en dis vir my baie irriterend as ek sien iemand het gewerf
8. ek sien mense bel verskriklik buite,
9. want ek het die gesien hoe gelukkig hulle hier is
10. want ek kan sien hoe ek anner begin werk het
11. om eers sien wat da nog beskikbaar is
12. toe sien ek rērig ek geniet dit eintlik baie, so
13. jy sien nie eintlik dat dit iets gan wees wat gan doen nie,
14. en jy sien daai wolke trek oor
15. Sjoe ek kan nie eintlik sien wat daar aangaan nie
16. nee, ek kan nie eintlik mooi sien hy is daar nie
17. en as jy soos weer sien hoe hy daar sit
18. jy sien dis voor die ding
19. ong gelukkig, ek het al gesien daar's geen punt om hul te baklei nie,
20. ons sal mar sien of dit toter werk
21. mar as jy tog daarna gaan kyk dan sal jy sien dat baie van die probleme wat ons het
22. ek kan nie sien wat daai is nie
23. want ag ek't menigmaal al gesien die ouers werk hulleself in die lewe op.
24. M ek wil sien hoe skryf jou ma
25. moet julle rērig, dat Leon 'n siekundige gan sien,
26. toe gan hy vi daai ding wat hulle so ink of wat ever in sit dat hulle kan sien hoe die
27. julie gan sien hoe vinnig is ek hier yt'
28. ek sien Nico is ok 'n Afrikaans-sprekende een,
29. ek kon sien sy was ongemaklik,
30. jy kan sien hoe's die ma as die baba rustig is kan jy sien dis 'n rustige ma
31. jy kan sommer sien dis net so kwaal
32. ek het al gesien 'n paar van my vriende wat ek saam mee op skoel was,
33. dan sien ek die ou ry verby met sy vrou en sy kinders,
34. ek het al gesien hoe dik kabels,
35. en ek het al gesien hoe daai kabel afruk,
36. toe sê ek vir die ou, 'ja, mens kan sien dis mense soos jy wat nog nie in my skoene
37. was
38. en toe leer hy by sy tent yt om te sien wat dit is,
39. en toe hy nou begin sien die Highlanders gan nou begin nou verloor,
40. toe hy nou sien huile gan begin verloor,
41. ek kan nie mooi sien daarso wat daai is nie
42. jy sal sien ook as jy daar kom
43. want ek sien jy kyk hom mooi yt vir waa's hierie knoppie
44. Wil jy sien hoe't sy gelyk

Appendix 6: Linking verbs from the spoken corpus

Afrikaans verbal classes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Auxiliaries</th>
<th>Modals</th>
<th>Direct Linking Verbs</th>
<th>Indirect Linking Verbs</th>
<th>te selectors</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'have.AUX'</td>
<td>kan 'be able'</td>
<td>loop 'walk'</td>
<td>loop 'walk'</td>
<td>behoort 'ought'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'be.AUX.PASS'</td>
<td>moet 'must'</td>
<td>kom 'come'</td>
<td>sit 'sit'</td>
<td>durf 'to dare'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mag 'may'</td>
<td>begin 'begin'</td>
<td>laat 'CAUS'</td>
<td>lê 'lie down'</td>
<td>begin 'begin'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sal 'will'</td>
<td>bly 'stay'</td>
<td>gaan 'go'</td>
<td>staan 'stand'</td>
<td>blyk 'appear'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wil 'want'</td>
<td>help 'help'</td>
<td>leer 'learn'</td>
<td>skyn 'seem'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gaan 'will'</td>
<td>probeer 'try'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3. Afrikaans verbal classes (adapted from De Vos, 2005: 117)

Notes on abbreviations for verb cluster analysis

When the verb cluster is in a subordinate clause, the verb cluster is either spilt by other constituents, or it is verb final. The focus is here on the occurrence of complex initials, i.e. verb clusters in the V2 slot. Therefore, if the verb cluster occurs in co-ordinate clauses, it is regarded as an otherwise declarative sentence. Also, the past tense modal of time 'het' appears in V2, so verb cluster is sentence final (other modals like sal also in V2). KEYS: CLAUSE – simplex in clause; SIMP – simplex in main clause; CLAUSE COMP – verb cluster in clause; HET – V2 slot filled by modal, complex cluster in verb final position.
Begin

1. ma dan ag uur begin ons leer CLAUSE
2. en dan, so sestien ure later begin als pas CLAUSE
3. so ek dink dit het so bietjie dodgy begin raak, CLAUSE COMP
4. hy begin al stadiger praat, SIMP
5. mar toe ek begin sy hiernatoe, COMP
6. toe begin dit souw, CLAUSE
7. ja dan moet ek seker mar begin gan CLAUSE
8. begin krapperig raak. SIMP
9. want ek kan sien hoe ek anners begin werk het CLAUSE COMP
10. vandat ek die geskiedenis begin leer het as voor die tyd CLAUSE COMP
11. want hulle begin almal dieselfde lyk SIMP
12. vandat ek eintlik begin werk het by Quintiles, CLAUSE COMP
13. begin ek 'n paar goedjies doen, HET
14. en ek het bergfiets begin ry, HET
15. en as ek het eintlik deur vriende van my by die werk begin ry HET
16. net, net toe ek begin ry het, CLAUSE COMP
17. ma vyf minute van die begin af, begin dit reën CLAUSE
18. dit begin nou weer winter raak da, SIMP
19. jy kry 'n intree salaris wat so, wat jy sou kry as jy begin werk by die regering CLAUSE COMP
20. en dis wa ek begin Zulu lekker optel het, CLAUSE
21. ma hulle 'n heupvervangings begin doen, HET
22. dat ek volgende jaar by 'n NGO kan begin werk, CLAUSE COMP
23. ek begin al hoe minder saamstem met baie dinge wat status quo is, SIMP
24. en toe ek begin doen, CLAUSE COMP
25. 'n bietjie, dis nou wat ons nou eers hierdie kwartaal begin doen het, CLAUSE COMP
26. dan begin jy drink CLAUSE
27. toe ons nou dit begin speel CLAUSE COMP
28. en hoe nader ons kom an 'n honderd hoe harder begin ons praat CLAUSE
29. ons begin skreu al hoe harder COMP
30. lyk of die uit begin vlieg ook, miskien. CLAUSE COMP
31. hier's die stertjie begin so beweeg SIMP
32. die oomblik as hulle begin preuts raak met my, CLAUSE
33. lank al begin ekseminanteer, CLAUSE COMP
34. en jou hare begin by die ore uit te groei, CLAUSE COMP
35. nee dis orraait, dan gan ek begin verneuk CLAUSE COMP
36. ek begin dink, ag ja wat, nee dit was fine, COMP
37. want hy't probleme met sy een groottoon begin kry, HET
38. want toe't hy begin probleme met sy kuit kry, CLAUSE
39. want hy kan 'n bietjie loop dan begin dit verskriklik seer raak, CLAUSE
40. jy begin soos hulle praat, SIMP
41. en dan begin jy vriende van die teenoorgestelde kry CLAUSE
42. sy't wee begin drink, HET
43. ma sodra jy begin praat van drankes, ag, drugs, CLAUSE COMP
44. toe begin ek somme hie by die mense se hyse klop, CLAUSE
45. wel ek en my vrou het ma basies altwee werk begin soek, HET
46. en toe't ons altwee op straat begin leef, CLAUSE COMP
47. en toe hy nou begin sien die Highlanders gan nou begin nou verloor, CLAUSE COMP X2
48. toe hy nou sien hulle gan begin verloor, CLAUSE COMP
49. as ek nie die groen card kry nie, dan dan ek in elk geval, iets begin swot so CLAUSE COMP
50. ek begin al hoe meer dink my ma was reg, SIMP
51. tot ek begin in die orkes speel het toe ek in Standard agt was SIMP
52. maar die oomblik wat jy met hulle begin praat, is dit net die niceste mense CLAUSE COMP
53. het jy direk na skool begin swot? HET
54. Wat hulle nou ook begin se CLAUSE COMP
55. Toe begin sy net lag, hysteries, en toe't sy nooit daarby uitgekom om sy naam vir my te sê SIMP

Bly

1. ek sal ma bly die ligte afzit HET
2. en dan gan ek die anner tale bly leer CLAUSE COMP
3. Daar's 'n paar goedjies wat hy bly sê. CLAUSE COMP

Gaan/gan

1. ek sal gan boer HET
2. ek sal soos 'n movie gan kyk HET
3. of gaan ons met ander mense oor die internet kommunikeer, CLAUSE
4. uhm, en ek het, The Golden Compass gaan kyk, HET
dat ek belanggestel het om die boeke, te gaan lees nie, ja.

en ek het toe sommer Statistiek in Engels gaan skryf ook.

en te gaan kyk of sy in die kantoor is,

wat jy moet gaan beantwoord/

ek het al na chat rooms gaan kyk ook,

as jy gaan kyk na jou bedreg is dit maar bel,

maar met 'n brief, tensy jy dit gaan photocopy.

Al no! Nee, gaan koop dan maar vir jou.

moet jy dit nou al op die rekenaar gaan ontleed?

hy't nodig om met sy baas te gaan praat,

toe dink ek 'ag nie, ek gaan swem'

ons gaan kamp in tente

mens moet gaan kamp met baie mense

ky weet dié maklikker as mens gaan kamp

toe gaan sit ons in die garage dump

toe's almal soos 'okay kom ons gaan slaap' [laughs]

die outjie het gaan kamp

'n basie boring-looking man, wat gaan staan en gras sny

Ouma wil nou eers gaan loer oor Isabella.

sodat ons hom met vakansies kan help

dan moet ons gaan help met, die boot uitvat en so an

soos na annees samegaan dan gaan kyk hy

die man het gaan kamp,

jy gaan en jy kies 'n essay topic,

om van een of ander rede as ek moet gaan sit

ek weet vir die Franse eksamens kan jy dan gratis gaan studeer,

ek onthou toe ons gaan kyk het, die Stormers Warratahs game,

hy't gaan articles doen da,

so het hy nogals gedink om bietjie te gaan rondkyk by verskillende
ekoeante en tydskrifte

net om te gaan kyk hoe dit is

so half jy gaan en gaan oefen

toe't, ek het by hulle gaan aflaai

want ons het toe nou nie 'n plek om te gaan stort

toe't ons da gaan stort

die rustig en da's 'n cute plekkie wa ons da gaan eet het

doel kloof al gedink okay en gaan nou ma voort met dit

so die verwarmer sit ek net so bietjie en ja, en dan hoeer jy gem Volg nie

ma ek weer, voor my siel, dat hulle dit nie gaan volg nie

ma die dokter't nou gesê 'gaan kry 'n maaltydplan by 'n dieetkundige

sodat hulle kan gaan speel pouse

toe sit ek 'nee okie ek gaan ma gaan basketball speel'

weet nie, ek wil gaan boer, so

gaan seker gaan boer

al gaan boer

dan hoeek dit jy gaan swot?

gaan nie nou gaan sit 'n uur en 'n half, en dan hoeek dit jy gaan swot?

eerter na, dan gaan kyk by die Vrije universiteit gaan doen

eerter na, dan gaan kyk by die Vrije universiteit gaan doen

jy weet, ek meen ek het nou net 'n, nou net my opstel wat ek nou-net

dan hoeek het jy gaan swot?

eerter na, dan gaan kyk by die Vrije universiteit gaan doen

elke nou en dan so 'n twaalf- of dertien-jarige seuntjie gaan opset, wat ek nou-net

dan hoeek het jy gaan swot?

eerter na, dan gaan kyk by die Vrije universiteit gaan doen

al gaan leef daar,

dan gaan werk daar,

dan gaan speel daar,

dan gaan werk daar,

dan gaan speel daar,

dan gaan werk daar,

dan gaan speel daar,

dan gaan speel daar,

dan gaan speel daar,

dan gaan speel daar,

dan gaan speel daar,

dan gaan speel daar,

dan gaan speel daar,

dan gaan speel daar,

dan gaan speel daar,

dan gaan speel daar,

dan gaan speel daar,

dan gaan speel daar,

dan gaan speel daar,

dan gaan speel daar,

dan gaan speel daar,
74. of een van die anner mense aansé wat hulle moet *gan* doen met die mense
75. want ek het twee toelatingstoetse *gan* skryf,
76. toe *gan* ek net huis toe, en *gan* slap,
77. het nie opgeklim om dit te *gan* kry nie
78. mar as jy tog daarna *gan* kyk dan sal jy sien dat baie van die probleme wat ons het
79. want as jy selfs wat, *gan* kyk nou byvoorbeeld, die foto wat jy gekies het, om op
80. dit is 'n klein steuntjie wat nou die hoof moet *gan* sien,
81. is die feit dat ek baie by haar *gan* kuier het toe
82. Karin *gan* parkeer die kar
83. mar weet jy wie*é* te hallo *gan* se?
84. en ek wou soos graag dit toe nou *gan* kyk, okay
85. K nee Leon moet 'n sieklundige *gan* sien,
86. moet julle rërig, dat Leon 'n sieklundige *gan* sien,
87. nee nee luister, sy's Stellenbosch toe om met al die groot professors te *gan* uiteen
88. *tone* *gan* hy die heestyd en kyk na allerhande goed,
89. so *tone* moes hy nou eers die hartomlyning *gan* kry,
90. en *tone* ek net vi hom so *gan* verduidelik,
91. ek het vi hulle *gan* inloer daar, ja
92. en ek moet nog *gan* antrek
93. *tone* ek dit wou *gan* swot het my ma gesê, mar hoe *gan* jy 'n lewe daarvan maak,
94. *kyk, deesdae* is dit die meerderheid wat *gan* swot,
95. en almal*é* mar *gan* werk
96. *ja, ek meen, dan* *gan* werk die mense,
97. mens kan nie eintlik *gan* kuier nie,
98. *sy moes výf uur* *gan* werk,
99. *as jy* *gan* kyk op die aarbol, daar* só vulkasen ridge wat daar loop,
100. ons het nou die Springbokke *gan* kyk,
101. *sy wou, nie dadelik* met die kinners *gan* speel nie,
102. *ek dink party* aande *gan* hy dood,
103. *want ek wil nie* (unclear) by hulle *gan* bly nie,
104. *ek meen, ek het vanoggend* we d *gan* kyk wa sy is,
105. of *hy sy wyswerk* moet doen of *hy moet* *gan* speel nie
106. *'n man het* *gan* kamp,
107. ons *gan* kyk die Highlanders teen die Stormers,
108. mar nou die Highlanders *gan* moes nou nooit wie teen die Stormers nie,
109. en *dan, jy weet, mense wat* betaal om 'n wedstryd te *gan* kyk,
110. *ek moes mar ingeneurswese* *gan* doen het, mar anyway
111. *mar, dan dink jy wees, ek wil* *ok nie, as ek nod* *gan* *swot* *wil* ek iets doen wat ek
112. *ek weet ok nie rërig of ek in so koue land* kan *gan* bly nie
113. *mens kan altyd, jy weet, jy kan altyd* *gan* swot daar
114. *want ek het oorspronklik* het ek medies *gan* swot
115. *enige vliegtuig wat van Afrika af kom* *gan* sy in en *gan* snoop rond om te kyk of hulle
116. *en* *gan* werk met sjimpansees daar
117. *en* *ek wil daar* *gan* swot, vreeslik graag,
118. *die anner ses maande* moet *gan* swot of *arm mense* *gan* swot
119. *mar* *as jy* *gan* swot, jy kan nie studeer in Finland met geld nie,
120. *en dit weerhou* die feit dat, dit weerhou dat net ryk mense kan *gan* swot, of arm mense nie
121. *hulle kan bekostig om by die* top universiteite in die wereld te *gan* studeer want hulle*é* die
122. *en hulle kyk my* *gan* dood omdat daar baie parasiete is,
123. *jy moet rërig waar nou in die bed* *gan* klim
124. *Ek sal weer* *gan* kyk
125. *gan* sit my pa toe so met my,
6. een wat vir ons 'n bietjie iets oor sielkunde kom doen het,
   CLAUSE COMP
7. wat daar kom besoek het by die hys,
   CLAUSE COMP
8. en nou kom groet hy da,
   COMP
9. julle's welkom om te kom kuier
   CLAUSE COMP
10. want hulle's my nou kom sien vir 'n maaltydplan
    HET
11. ons sit, en dan 'n ons 'okkom ons speel 'cirkel of death'
    CLAUSE
12. en toe's almal soos 'okkom ons gaan slaap' [laughs]
    CLAUSE
13. waar professors van daai en dan van Amsterdam en van Ghent vir ons
    kom klasgee,
    CLAUSE COMP
14. jy is so bang jy kom iemand te na,
    CLAUSE
15. dan, gani jou kunnings na kom eintlik,
    CLAUSE
16. kom ons sit goweeellie muthi op,
    SIMP
17. en dan kan ons kry hulle Suid-Afrikaanse mense
    COMP
18. toe ek getrou het, en hierso kom by het in Nynberg,
    CLAUSE COMP
19. jy kan met ons Capies kom praat?
    HET
20. hulle kom brag oor wie hulle is en wat hulle doen
    COMP
21. by gan by my kom slaap
    HET
22. okay, kom ons aan met die res van die interview
    SIMP
23. om werk te kom soek,
    CLAUSE COMP
24. mense't al by my kom slaap, mans,
    HET
25. why't een aan by my kom slaap,
    HET
26. want hulle betaal verskriklik goed vir mense van oorsie af om te kom
    werk daar as
    CLAUSE COMP
27. daar is so baie, kom ons begin by die vis
    SIMP
28. want môre moet lëse kom stofsuig
    HET
29. ek en Yolandi wou by Tannie kom kuier, uhm, Sondag
    HET
30. Pleks ons marnet gesê het kom ons gaa huiss toe, mar toe's ons nou
    HET
31. JulIe kan hier kom slaap
    HET
32. me sy het soos, die heeltyd so haaltjy kom bekendstel an ons,
    HET
33. ek kom kry net goweeellie 'n mes
    COMP

Laat/Lat
1. Good, laat ek dink is daar nog iets anders...
   SIMP
2. Wat laat jou besluit, wat om te kies?
   SIMP
3. en toe moes ons haar laat uitsit,
   CLAUSE COMP
4. laat weet my hoe dit ga
   COMP
5. dit het my finaal laat besluit om dit te doen
   HET
6. en ek dink die miskien what hoeners so laat make
   CLAUSE COMP
7. Ja ek laat my mar ook boelie [ek laat toe dat hulle my boelie]
   SIMP
8. sy lat my dink an 'n Chinese tannie,
   SIMP
9. arbeie pluk, dit lat my nou dink an Stellenbosch,
   SIMP
10. eksamen, lat my dink an eksamen,
    SIMP
11. dit lat my dink an 'n stadsbeplanner,
    SIMP
12. en dan laten weet hulle jou net van al die races
    CLAUSE COMP
13. en hy kom my marnet lat laten weet het
    HET
14. en dan lat sy jou dit oefen,
    CLAUSE
15. om mense te laten verduidelik, 'drie keer eet per dag'
    CLAUSE COMP
16. haai eere, hoe kry mens dit reg om die goed so te laten lyk?
    CLAUSE COMP
17. dit het my nogals laten groot word, tipe van
    HET
18. hy laten die muis rustig drinken
    SIMP
19. want dit die een het 'n kommentaar gekry op sy taak van 'lat iemand jou
    werk probeeflees',
    SIMP
20. daar word 'n hormoon afgeskei wat mense later vergeet
    CLAUSE COMP
21. en toe't hulle dit laat uitrek
    CLAUSE COMP
22. hulle haar, kwart voor vyf laat weer hulle haar,
    CLAUSE COMP
23. ag toemaar, lat ons nou nie daarin gaan nie,
    SIMP
24. dit laten my selfsugtig voel
    SIMP
25. Ek het vir jou 'n rotariër glas as dit jou gemakliker sal laten voel
    CLAUSE COMP
26. Ek laat my nie boelie nie!
    SIMP
27. Nee jy moet mar met laten weer, ons sal inval
    HET

Leer
1. hoe sou jy sê hoe't jy die persoon leer ken?
   CLAUSE COMP
2. so... hoe om mekaar half te leer ken
   CLAUSE COMP
3. so sy skryf dan nou half oor hulle te leer ken
   CLAUSE COMP
4. so dan probeer jy, hulle half leer ken
   HET
5. mense te probeer leer ken?
   CLAUSE COMP
6. jy leer nogals die persoon ken?
   SIMP
7. want dis gemaklik, en jy leer die mense ken,
Probeer

1. 'n kat wat 'n vis probeer vang uit die bak uit
2. toe ek geswot het, het in my eerste jaar het van een van ons dosente
3. dit lyk vir my na 'n gay man wat probeer grassny,
4. en ek dink hy probeer hoër impres,
5. hy probeer slaap in sy tent,
6. ek het dit probeer access 'n paar maande later
7. wat emosionele goed en so probeer sê het oor sms
8. Uhm ek dink hulle probeer meer van hul klasse in Engels aanbied
9. jy probeer met iemand praat,
10. so bel, ek probeer baie minder bel,
11. dat hy gevang om die vis te probeer vang
12. The panic room? Ek het probeer kyk, sal weer kyk, interessant/
13. so dan probeer jy, hulle half leer ken
14. as jy weet dat mense sal.. verstaan wat jy eintlik probeer sê?
15. so bel, ek probeer baie minder bel,
16. na sy 't ok, so half, in die begin probeer kontak hou,
17. sy lyk asof sy moontlik iets probeer vee
18. of iets probeer indruk in iets anders in
19. dit lyk of die voëltjie 'n druppeltjie probeer vang het
20. die kat probeer 'n spookvis uit haal,
21. so ek probeer nou half, nuwe goed doen, bietjie afwissel,
22. so ek probeer nou half, nuwe goed doen, bietjie afwissel,
23. ma sy't ok, so half, in die begin probeer kontak hou,
24. ma sy't ok, so half, in die begin probeer kontak hou,
25. want ek sou probeer om my werk so te reël
26. en ek probeer nou by my hys nou nie onnodig ligte ansit
27. want ek probeer nie onnodig krag gebruik nie,
28. as ek nou gen vir 'n meeting probeer ek langer bly,
29. wat ek probeer 'n graad kry in iets sodat, jy kan doen sonner om 'n plaas
te hê, so
30. 'n kat wat besig is om vis te probeer uithaal
31. en hulle/ lyk of hy met haar probeer, flirt,
32. shame, hy probeer swot,
33. dis 'n voëltjie wat 'n druppel water wat van 'n tak af drup, probeer drink
34. omdat hy geraas maak terwyl hy probeer slaap.
35. en lyk my hy't probeer om die vissie te vang
36. hulle probeer om in 'n boksie in pas
37. en toe, toe ek die kar weer probeer start,
38. jy sit, dan probeer jy die essy skryf, oh my god,
39. 'n kind wat leer of dink, heel moontlik iets probeer uitfigure
40. 'n hoop wat op eerste opslag 'n waterdruppel van 'n blaar probeer afvang,
41. 'n kat wat 'n vis probeer vang uit die bak uit
42. en jy probeer die vakgebied verbreed
43. 'n voel wat op eerste opslag 'n waterdruppel van 'n blaar probeer afvang,
44. of probeer 'n druppel vang van 'n plant af
45. hy probeer slaap,
46. K ek probeer net die kleintjies bietjie da bo kry
47. M ek probeer altyd baie hard om die regte ding te doen
48. as jy weet met jou ma praat, probeer ytkind
49. want Chari se vrou het probeer met my bietjie gesels,
50. so half, in die begin probeer kontak hou,
51. so half, in die begin probeer kontak hou,
52. so half, in die begin probeer kontak hou,
53. want Chari se vrou het probeer met my bietjie gesels,
54. so half, in die begin probeer kontak hou,
55. so half, in die begin probeer kontak hou,
56. so half, in die begin probeer kontak hou,