LANGUAGE ATTITUDES AND IDENTITY - INFLUENCES ON LANGUAGE USE AMONG TWO COLOURED COMMUNITIES IN KENSINGTON-FACTRETON

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ABSTRACT

An attitude study which made use of a cross-sectional survey design, and which obtained the responses of 60 coloured respondents living in the Kensington-Factreton area, Western Cape, is reported on. The probability stratified random sample was equally representative in terms of class (working - and middle class), home language (Afrikaans and English), and gender. The study attempted to record recent language attitudes towards the varieties of Afrikaans and English, plus Xhosa, the influence of societal changes on language attitudes and how they, in turn, influence the use and role of these languages. In addition, the significance of identity formation, home language, class, and gender was investigated. The contextual and theoretical background to this study include: (a) the presentation of the language situation in South Africa in general; that of the English and Afrikaans languages in particular; and the language situation in the Western Cape; (b) a review of previous language attitude studies conducted in the Western Cape; (c) the presentation of a social psychological framework which allows for the evaluation of language attitudes along the two dimensions of social status and group solidarity; and (d) an explanation of the formation of a coloured political identity by means of a theoretical framework which was combined with historical facts. Responses were obtained by means of 60 questionnaires which allowed for closed and open responses. The questionnaires were administered by the author, and completed by the respondents during sessions lasting approximately 80 minutes each. The closed response possibilities included a rating scale consisting of five response categories ranging from `yes definitely' to `no definitely not', and a `yes/ no/ do not know' response scheme.

The data was analysed in a quantitative manner by making use of descriptive statistics (employing means and standard deviations) and inferential statistics (in the form of the analysis of variance and chi-square) which gave

an indication of the significance of the extralinguistic variables, or their interaction effects. The individual findings could be summarised in terms of 8 related topics. The investigation revealed a more favourable attitude towards English than Afrikaans for both the middle - and working classes, and especially so in the case of the working class. A holistic attitude towards bilingualism in English and Afrikaans also prevailed across both classes. In general, Xhosa was viewed as the second most important language next to English. A language shift away from Afrikaans seems to be an ongoing process, since English is increasingly becoming the preferred language in previously Afrikaans-dominated domains among the working class, and most of the English-speaking middle-class respondents previously had Afrikaans as home language. The respondents confirmed the widely held perception that English should remain as one of the major mediums of instruction in schools, especially for secondary education. English was perceived as language of personal career and socio-economic advancement, wider communication, and national unification. However, it is too early to state that a complete shift, involving changes in identity, has taken place. The two sociostructural dimensions along which society is structured, i.e. power/ status and group identity, were also reflected in the way the different languages and their varieties were appraised. It can thus be concluded that the attitudes expressed reflected the sociostructural changes taking place within society.

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INTRODUCTION

Research centring on contemporary language attitudes becomes relevant to our understanding of speech communities and their language use, since certain changes on the sociolinguistic front, which stem from the societal transformation that is taking place in South Africa, had an impact on the importance and functions of the varieties of English and Afrikaans, and the African[1] languages. Conflicting reports regarding the extent of certain linguistic processes, such as language maintenance and shift, also demand further investigation and clarification. Contrasting views have been expressed by researchers such as Scheffer (1983) (later supported by Wood 1987, Summerton 1989 and Stone 1995) who believed that a definite shift away from Afrikaans is taking place among the coloured[2] community in the Western Cape's urban areas, and others, such as Young (1991), who found no evidence of a shift.

In this dissertation the fact that an individual's political identity plays a significant role in forming his/her attitudes, beliefs and opinions, is reflected upon, and an applicable theoretical framework which might explain the development of a coloured political identity is discussed. The exact nature of the attitudes existing towards bilingualism, i.e. whether they can be established as distinct from attitudes towards a specific

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[1] In this thesis the term *African* will be used to refer to the category of people who, according to census data, are defined as black and speak an African language.

[2] This study rejects the term *coloured,* but it will nonetheless be used in a descriptive sense as a term of reference with no pejorative intentions. For the sake of consistency, the form *coloured* will be used.

language at both conceptual and operational levels, and their effect on language preference and evaluation, are also elucidated. The investigation was conducted by means of a cross-sectional survey design which entailed the collection of data by means of 60 questionnaires. The questionnaires consisted of 18 questions and 35 statements each, and allowed for either closed or open responses. The stratified random sample was drawn from the coloured community living in the Kensington-Factreton area, Western Cape, and was equally representative in terms of home language, gender and class.

The account of the theoretical basis of this study starts off with an overview of the general language situation in the country, and that of the Western Cape in particular. This is followed by a description of the Kensington-Factreton area from where the sample was drawn (see Chapter 1), and a review of previous language attitude studies conducted in the Western Cape (see Chapter 2). A description of methodological issues (which includes a discussion of the questionnaire employed, issues of validity and reliability, the test design, and the procedure used to obtain the responses), and the objectives of this study, can also be found in Chapter 2. An explanation of the theoretical frameworks and concepts relevant to this dissertation can be found in Chapters 3 & 4. Chapter 4 pays particular attention to the concept *language attitude*, and discusses an important variable which influences language use, i.e. coloured political identity. Chapter 5 presents the analysis of the results in terms of the statistical significance of three extralinguistic

variables (class, home language and gender), and their interaction effect, for each of the questions and statements. Chapter 6 provides an overview and discussion of the results and the insights gained from the study in relation to the study's general, theoretical and practical objectives, and considers the future importance of the various languages within the coloured communities.

CHAPTER 1 Contextual background and sample selection

1.0. Introduction

This chapter provides the contextual background for this study by focusing on the multilingual language situation in South Africa. Speaker numbers of the various languages are provided in *1.1.1.*, whereas power relations, status and use are discussed in *1.1.2.* In *1.1.3.* the competence levels in Afrikaans and English are touched upon, and the language related problems experienced in South Africa are addressed in *1.2.* The language situation in the Western Cape comes under the spotlight in *1.3.*, and in particular the varieties of English and Afrikaans prevalent in the coloured community. Special attention is paid to the Kensington-Factreton (henceforth K-F) area in *1.4.* This includes the criteria for choosing the K-F area, as well as brief geographical, historical and contemporary sketches of the area. Finally, the sample drawn from this area is described in *1.5.*

1.1. The multilingual situation in South Africa

As a result of the impact which numerous European and African cultures had on South African society, its multilingual sociolinguistic structure is fraught with complexities. Although South Africa's chief 11 languages have been afforded equal status as official languages[3], disparities exist among them on a sociopolitical level.

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[3] Cf. The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (1996:4).

Many of the estimated 38 million people[4] in the country are proficient in more than one language. The official languages are English, Afrikaans, and the African languages, which consist of the Nguni cluster (Xhosa, Zulu, Swazi, Ndebele), the Sotho cluster (North Sotho, South Sotho, Tswana), as well as Tsonga and Venda. South Africa's Indian languages include Tamil, Gujarati, Urdu, Bhojpuri (Hindi), Telugu and Konkani (Mesthrie 1994:4070). The country also has small numbers of speakers of the following languages: Portuguese, Polish, Dutch, German, Italian, French, Greek, Norwegian, Swedish, Yiddish, and the Chinese languages (Hakka, Mandarin and Cantonese). In addition, South Africa possesses languages belonging to the Khoesan family (Khoe = Khoi/ Hottentot; San = Bushman). Of the Khoekhoe linguistic tradition, only Richtersveld Nama will probably survive (Traill 1995:1)[5]. As for the Bushman languages, only |Auni, a southern Bushman language of the Kalahari Gemsbok Park, and the closest linguistic relative of |Xam (extinct), remains (less than 10 speakers left) (Traill 1995:9). The recent developments regarding the reclaiming of Kalahari-land by the Bushmen, might influence |Auni's existence positively. South Africa also has a number of urban lingua francas such as Tsotsitaal, Flaaitaal, Iscamtho, Pretoria-Sotho and the pidgin Fanakalo (Mesthrie 1995:xv).

[4] Exact numbers are difficult to determine due to the unattained number of people living in unofficial settlement areas around cities and towns.

[5] Although there is bilingualism amongst them, any significant shift to Afrikaans is absent (cf. Traill 1995:1).

1.1.1. Speaker numbers

Data based on censuses in South Africa can be questioned on various grounds. These include the political climate in which it was gathered; the focus on home languages only (while bilingualism and multilingualism are widespread, and instances exist where the difference between L1 and L2 becomes blurred); the labelling of ethnolinguistic groups which must be seen as an oversimplification (see *4.2.1.1.*); and the dynamic nature of population movements which renders language statistics in a state of flux (Mesthrie 1995:xvii).

Table 1 Speaker Numbers of the Official Languages in South Africa (as estimated by Schuring 1991)

SPEAKERS	*NUMBERS*	*% of population* (39 526 000)
Zulu	8 541 173	21,61
Xhosa	6 891 358	17,44
Ndebele	799 216	2,02
Swazi	926 094	2,34
North Sotho	3 437 971	8,70
Tswana	3 601 609	9,11
Tsonga	1 349 022	3,54
Venda	763 247	1,93
English	3 432 042	8,68
Afrikaans	6 188 981	15,66

Note. Speaker numbers include the populations of the national states and the former self-governing territories (Schuring 1991, quoted in Webb 1992:28).

Table 2 Prominent European and Indian languages in South Africa

European languages		Indian languages	
Portuguese	48 705	Hindi	5 848
Greek	12 859	Gujarati	8 730
Italian	8 949	Tamil	4 874
German	33 523	Urdu	4 356
Dutch	7 929	Telugu	762
French	4 975		

Note. Home language figures are based on the 1991 census, and exclude the TBVC states.

1.1.2. Language and political power

The language use and status of South Africa's languages will be discussed against the background of one of the structural forces of society, i.e. power (see *3.3.3.*).

According to McCormick (1989:5), Dutch slowly became the home language of a number of slaves after it was used as a *lingua franca* between them and their owners who were first language speakers of the language during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. However, the slaves, similarly to the Khoi and San who also adopted Dutch, never acquired the same status as the Dutch speakers of European origin (ibid).

Along with the British domination on the political front, during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, came the institution of English as dominant language in government and public spheres (cf. McCormick 1989:6, 8). This continued until 1948 when the Afrikaners, an ethnolinguistic minority, took over

the reigns of power and introduced Afrikaans as the dominant language at administrative and political level (cf. McCormick 1989:9). This status quo continued for 45 years during which the Afrikaners managed to hold onto their privileges by preventing all other collectivities from partaking in their political might. As a result, the disenfranchised masses retaliated and endeavoured to bring about a shift in power.

Due to apartheid (which was accompanied by the institution of Afrikaans as language of oppression), English took on a new role as the language of groups which fought against the apartheid system and the segregation laws. Consequently, English attained the status of language of liberation, and in a sense redeemed the white English-speakers (even though the nineteenth century British ruling class was more racist than what is generally believed to be the case) (cf. McCormick 1989:10).

The basis for political emancipation and the transformation of the South African society was first laid in 1990 when the then nationalist government recognised the need for change.

Up to 1992 the African National Congress (ANC) backed English as the most suitable language for future governmental purposes, since a multilingual approach was misused by the apartheid government and looked upon as unfavourable (cf. Smit 1994:163). However, in 1992 changes to the global political scene were also reflected in the beliefs of major South African political players[6]. Subsequently, the ANC's views regarding English were

[6] The National Party renounced apartheid, and the African National Congress abandoned communist ideology after the breakdown of the Soviet Union.

also altered, and the language is now viewed as being on par with the country's other languages. However, Heugh (1995:341) argued that the necessary implementation strategies, which would ensure the success of a multilingual approach, were never put in place.

1.1.2.1. English

Similarly to Afrikaans, English belongs to the Germanic branch of the Indo-European language family[7].

As mentioned earlier, English moved from being the language of the oppressor to language of liberation, unification, and social advancement, since its arrival in the country.

Today English enjoys the status of being the dominant language of commerce, industry, higher education and lately of government (Mesthrie 1995:xvii). Due to the world-wide development to use English as medium of wider communication, English is also seen as the link to the international community. The language is often used as a *lingua franca* among educated people who do not share the same home language, and serves as the language of commerce in big urban areas (Mesthrie 1994:4070-71).

Factors which may impinge on favourable attitude towards English in the future include its diminished language status as a result of a shift in power away from the whites, increased recognition of the fact that English is a foreign language which is mainly spoken by a white colonial minority, and the inroads the black consciousness movement has made in intensifying the pride of

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[7] Lanham & Macdonald (1979:9-19; 71-79) provide a broad overview of the English language and its historical development in South Africa.

Africans in their own African identities and languages (cf. Smit 1994:165).

1.1.2.2. Afrikaans

In the Cape colony Cape Dutch came to differ quite extensively from dialects of Dutch spoken in Europe, and as early as 1740 an extra-territorial variety of Dutch (which possessed relatively low prestige) could be distinguished, and by 1775 it could be described as `a separate but cognate Netherlandic language' (Roberge 1995:72). This variety was mainly used by the descendants of the European settlers, the indigenous Khoekhoe, and the slaves from African and Asia, who no longer formed distinct groupings[8]. Cape Dutch was only fully recognised as a language in its own right, and given the name `Afrikaans', in the early twentieth century (Raidt 1991). A complex account of the various positions regarding the formation of Afrikaans can be found in Roberge (1995) and Brown (1992:76-80)[9].

As seen from the results of a number of studies undertaken in the 1970s (see Chapter 2), informants generally expressed positive attitudes towards English and negative ones towards Afrikaans (except for those areas where very little Afrikaans is spoken). However, Afrikaans was still deemed necessary for instrumental reasons. Recent studies show that attitudes towards Afrikaans,

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[8] See Roberge (1995:68) for some of the processes which brought this about.

[9] Certain theories emphasise the 18th century language situation and point out features of creolisation and pidginisation in the Afrikaans of today, while others disagree strongly.

as held by Africans and coloureds, might have changed to be more favourable, while white English L1 speakers still reject the language (see Chapter 2).
Due to the policies of the Afrikaner government, Afrikaans has been dominant until recently in the government and civil service, the police, army and navy (Mesthrie 1995:xvii), and is best represented in the Free State and Western Cape, especially in coloured and white towns, smaller cities and rural areas (cf. Mesthrie 1994:4070; Schuring 1990).

1.1.2.3. The African languages

The African languages of South Africa (excluding the remnants of Khoesan) belong to the larger Niger-Kordofanian family (Bailey 1995:22)[10]. The sociolinguistic status of African languages is difficult to describe, since attitudes to African languages have not been investigated comprehensively, and very little reliable information is available (cf. Webb 1991a:42). Until 1993 the African languages never possessed official status in South Africa (except for the African languages used within the homelands). As was the case in many colonial countries, they were either strengthened to ensure that the white minority stay in power, or they were side-lined. In the past, legislation also disallowed the use of African languages in most public spheres of society. Consequently, African speakers perceived and internalised their languages as being inferior, and as having low status. The

[10] Wilkes (1978) provides an overview of the African languages, while Bailey (1995) describes their place within the larger Niger-Congo and Niger-Kordofanian language families.

apartheid policy of using the mother-tongue as medium of instruction (henceforth MOI) in schools, further resulted in Africans rejecting their own language for educational purposes. Ironically, apartheid philosophy encouraged the use of African languages in primary education in South Africa, more so than has been possible in many other African countries.

Africans in urban areas are usually multilingual, knowing one or more African language, as well as some English and/or Afrikaans, whereas in certain rural border areas of the former TBVC states knowledge of African languages is unaccompanied by fluency in English or Afrikaans (Mesthrie 1994:4071). Several of South Africa's African languages (e.g. Swazi, Tsonga and Venda), are also spoken more widely in neighbouring countries (Mesthrie 1994:4070).

1.1.3. Knowledge of Afrikaans and English

Schuring (1990:9-10) noted that knowledge of Afrikaans and English has increased with each census year since 1918. In 1946, 35% of the total population (including the former TBVC states) could speak Afrikaans, whereas in 1980, 44% could. This constitutes an increase of **9%** over 34 years. For the same period English has undergone a **12%** increase, from 28% to 40%. However, **71%** of Africans could not speak Afrikaans, and **74%** could not speak English.

When the second language speakers were included, 97% of Indians, 87% of whites, 54% of coloureds, and 25% of Africans, were able to communicate in English, yielding an average of 40,4% of all

South Africans (Schuring 1990, referring to the 1980 census). Whereas English serves approximately 9% of South Africans as L1, it is a L2 to about 40% of South Africans (Schuring 1991:16). The majority of English-speakers thus use English as second, third or forth language.

Overall, it seems that competence in Afrikaans is slightly higher than that in English, with an average of 43,6% of the population. Per group that gives 30% of Indians, 86% of whites, 96% of coloureds and 29% of blacks (ibid).

1.2. Language related problems in South Africa

Due to the failure on the part of the previous government to look after the interests of the large African rural population, very few of them are fluent in the languages of higher education, economics, politics, and social mobility. According to Kroes (1991), (quoted in Webb 1992:6), a minimum of 10 million people could be illiterate in South Africa.

Trends also indicate that English remains the most powerful language in South Africa, although eleven languages attained official status. As a result of the politicisation of the principle of mother tongue education, the problem of sufficient access and demand for English as MOI remains, and is not going to disappear overnight. The same situation exists in other African countries such as Namibia, Zambia, Kenya, Lesotho, Nigeria, Uganda and Zimbabwe, where anything from 3 to 400 languages are spoken in the country, but English is chosen as official language, and only 1% to 30% of the population knows

English as a second language (Kroes 1991, quoted in Webb 1992:5-6).

The stigmatisation of the language varieties other than the standard, is another problem to overcome. Numerous problems could have been avoided if language was not mainly used as a dividing factor along cultural and ethnic lines in the old South Africa. Therefore, the democratisation of knowledge and skills is one of the main objectives of the ANC's reconstruction and development programme.

1.3. The language situation in the Western Cape

Schuring (1991) (mentioned in Webb 1992:29) estimated, on the basis of census data prior to 1991, that the most important languages in the Western Cape were: Afrikaans spoken by 69,6%, English spoken by 19,4% and Xhosa spoken by 9,5% of the people. Landman (1991) (quoted in Webb 1992:29) commented on the skewed perception these figures could create if a distinction between rural and urban areas was not drawn. If this distinction was taken into account, the following percentages for Afrikaans and English as home language would be obtained for Cape Town and its immediate urban surroundings:

Afrikaans 53% English 22% (ibid)[11]

On the basis of the 1991 census, Van der Merwe, in *Rapport* (28/08/1994:2), mentioned that for every two English-speakers there are three Afrikaans-speakers in the Cape Peninsula, whereas one out of every five people speaks Xhosa. However, Xhosa is the

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[11] No statistic for Xhosa was provided.

fastest growing language. This is seen in its growth from 12% to 20% as home language, for the period 1980 - 1991, while English has only grown from 31% to 32%, and Afrikaans has decreased from 54% to 47% (ibid). The mainly working-class areas of the Western Cape where Afrikaans is the home language of most residents are Mitchell's Plain, Elsies River, Goodwood, Parow, Belville, Kraaifontein, Brackenfell, Bonteheuwel, Bishop Lavis and Blue Downs (ibid). English is the predominant language in the areas close to the city centre and in all the southern suburbs, whereas Xhosa, due to the effects of the now defunct Groups Areas Act, occurs mainly in the south-eastern region of the Western Cape (Van der Merwe in *Rapport* 1994:2).

1.3.1. Coloured South African English

The `original' mother tongue of the coloured English-speakers was Dutch/Afrikaans, since they were only introduced to English when Britain colonised the Cape (cf. Lanham 1982:326)[12]. Although bilingualism thrived in the coloured communities (ibid), Afrikaans had a fairly strong influence on the English spoken. Wood (1987:99-102) argued that, depending on the degree of Afrikaans influence, the different subvarieties of coloured South African English (SAE)[13] can be visualised as stretching along a continuum which mirrors the varieties' status hierarchy, ranging from `extreme' to `respectable'. Typical phonological features

[12] For a description of the development of English amongst the coloureds, see Lanham (1982:324-34).

[13] SAE stand for General South African English as described by Lanham, and renamed by R. Mesthrie (1991:10).

of coloured SAE can be identified (cf. Wood 1987:105-43; Lanham 1982:342-43)[14]. Wood (1987:31-69) maintained that the high degree of proficiency of the coloureds in both English and Afrikaans/ Dutch, accompanied by a distinct sense of group identity, lead to code-switching becoming a main characteristic of urban coloured communities.

According to Schuring (1990:24-28), 54,31% of coloured speakers who had Afrikaans as L1, were competent in speaking English. Researchers found that high covert, but low overt prestige, as well as negative attitudes in general, existed towards coloured SAE. It needs to be stated that research undertaken in the field of language attitudes mainly centred on urban residential areas in and around Cape Town (e.g. Klopper 1976; McCormick 1989; Wood 1987) (see Chapter 2). Consequently, the findings of these particular studies cannot be generalised to the broader coloured community[15].

1.3.2. Coloured Afrikaans

On demographic evidence Stone (1991:147) estimated that the size of the Western Cape's coloured community, dominant or bilingual in the working-class Afrikaans language variety, increased by 365% to about 863 000 speakers during the period 1963 - 1990, reflecting a process of natural growth and immigration from other areas to the Western Cape.

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[14] McCormick (1989) also described the characteristics of the lexicon and grammar of non-standard English in District Six.

[15] Detailed findings pertaining to coloured SAE will be mentioned in Chapter 6.

Although standard Afrikaans is used by the middle-class and some of the upper working-class, a variety which has its roots in the learning of Dutch by the slaves and the KhoeKhoe, is used the most. According to Stone (1995:277), ethnographic research conducted between 1963 - 1990 confirmed that the working-class, Afrikaans-speaking, Western Cape coloured community speaks a distinct dialect. This dialect is called *Kaapse* (=Cape) *Afrikaans* by its speakers, and can be divided into four lexico-grammatical codes with corresponding identities (ibid). McCormick (1989) referred to the dialect (as used in District Six) as the vernacular. It is difficult to provide exact geographical boundaries within which the dialect is used as there is a general progressive shift towards using more middle-class Afrikaans beyond greater Cape Town and Atlantis, although it is also spoken to varying degrees in larger Boland towns such as Stellenbosch, Paarl and even Worcester (Stone 1995:278). *Kaapse Afrikaans* has been historically downgraded and stigmatised along with the group of people who use it. The dialect is often described as being `common' and `informal', and labelled *kombuis* (=kitchen) Afrikaans to distinguish it from *suiwer* (=pure/ middle-class/ standard) Afrikaans (Stone 1995:280)[16].

McCormick (1989) and Stone (1995) reported that the dialect served as marker of community identity in the communities they studied, strengthened group feeling, and enabled co-operation and co-existence between community members. In addition, it also

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[16] See Esterhuyse (1986:10) for a more extensive discussion of discrimination towards the coloureds and `Kaapse Afrikaans'.

served as a symbol of oppositional culture for some members of the community who chose to distance themselves from *suiwer* Afrikaans due to its association with Afrikaner identity and apartheid.

1.4. The Kensington-Factreton area

1.4.1. The criteria for choosing the K-F area

Considering that changes in language attitudes are central to this study, well-established segments of the coloured community were judged capable of rendering more appropriate subjects than those established recently. Therefore the K-F area, which is historically older than most other contemporary coloured communities in the Western Cape, was chosen as research area. Respondents from the area were deemed particularly able to express language attitudes towards mainly Afrikaans and English (and their varieties), and reflect on the changes taking place with regard to language use. In addition, an area which was socially stratified, was required. Factreton and Kensington could be respectively categorised as working- and middle-class residential areas on the basis of a composite index which reflected the socio-economic status of the communities (the index was provided by the Technical Service Division of the Cape Town City Council) (see Appendix A, Table A-1.)[17].

In order to reduce the number of practical problems, the community had to be stable and relatively small in terms of

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[17] The composite index was statistically calculated from data on levels of income, housing, rents and rates.

population and geographical size. Thus it was impractical to consider working in large communities such as Mitchell's Plain, or volatile communities[18] such as Bonteheuwel and Elsies River. Access to the community was another factor to be considered, and this was ensured by a relative who is the minister of the Dutch Reformed Church in the K-F area. The existence of sufficient background information on the specific area was an additional requirement which was met[19].

1.4.2. A geographical description of the K-F area

Kensington lies between Voortrekker Road and the Ysterplaat-Kensington railway line (see Figure 2 on p. 20). Factreton is an adjacent, poorer, sub-area of Kensington, and lies approximately eight kilometres to the east of central Cape Town, between Maitland and Wingfield Aerodrome. The area is demarcated by Dapper Road in the South, 14th Avenue and Acre Road in the North, and Aerodrome Road in the East. In the past the K-F area was isolated from, and received minimum exposure to, the surrounding white and African residential areas[20].

1.4.3. A historical profile of the K-F area

A short description of certain historical events which had a decisive effect on the shape and nature of the community can be

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[18] Which is presently characterised by gangsterism and crime.

[19] Background information was obtained from census data, the Technical Management Services (CCC), a Report by urban & town planning students (1985), Da Costa (1983), Swart (1983) and Field (1990).

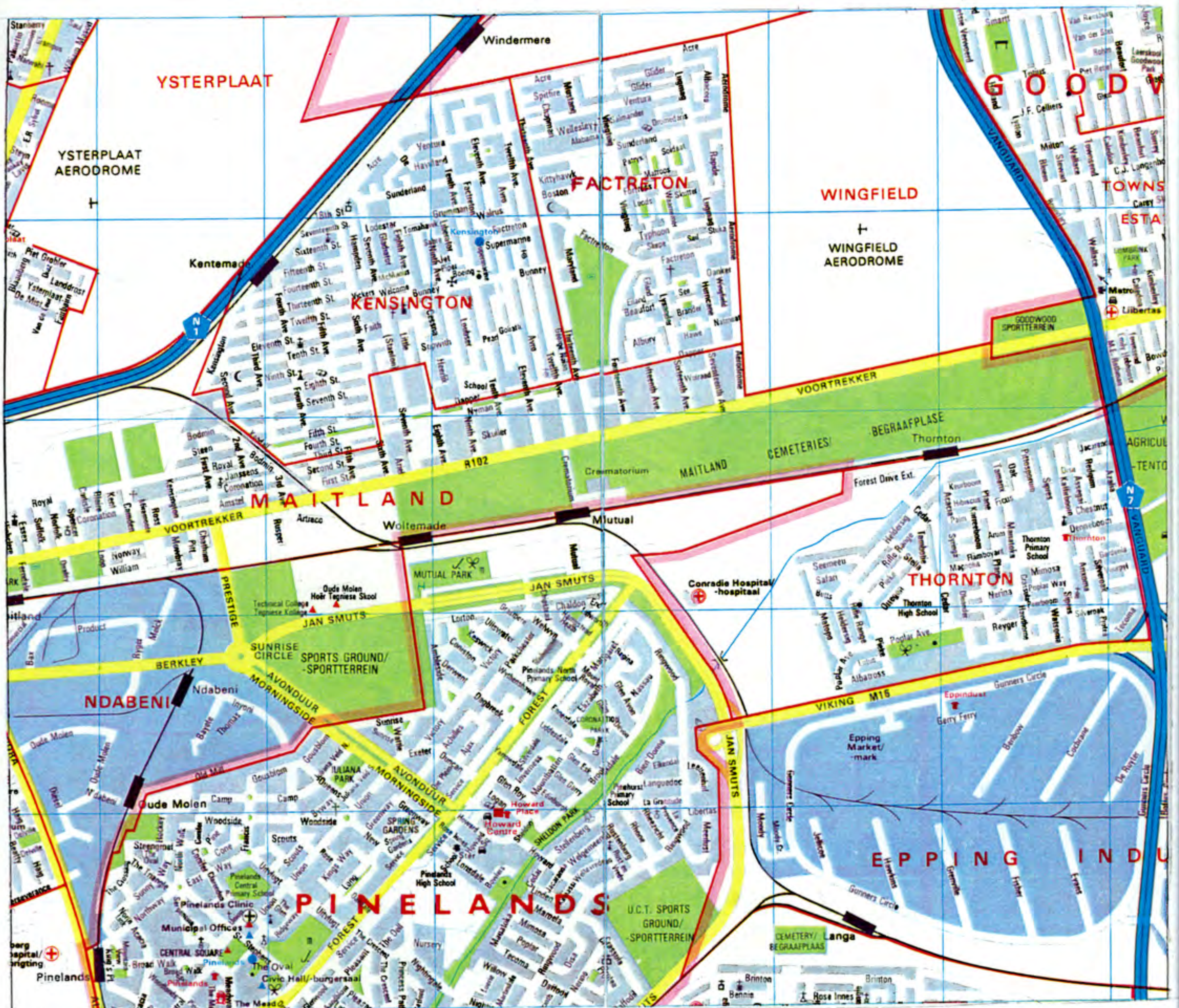
[20] These are Pinelands, Maitland, Goodwood and Ndabeni.

Figure 1. THE KENSINGTON-FACTRETON AREA IN RELATION TO CAPE TOWN

Note. Kensington-Factreton can be found between numbers 28 and 29 on the map.

Source: Urban Road Atlas (1982). Map Studio: Johannesburg

Figure 2. STREET PLAN OF KENSINGTON-FACTRETON AND ITS SURROUNDING AREAS



Note. The boundary line between Kensington and Factreton is generally regarded as 13th Avenue. Source: Urban Road Atlas (1982). Map Studio: Johannesburg

sketched with the help of archival and secondary sources[21]. Origins of the area as a squatter settlement can be traced through the period 1920 to 1950, until the early 1960s when the area was established as an urban community within the greater Cape Town municipality. The name *Factreton* derives from the two words *Factory* and *Town*, since the area was originally surveyed and zoned for industrial purposes by the Cape Town City Council (CCC) in 1930 (cf. Report by Urban & Town Planning Students 1985:5-6). The area which is today known as Kensington-Factreton was formally known as *Kensington Estate Reserve*, and commonly as *Windermere*, prior to 1943 (ibid). It was only in 1944, after major improvements were made to the area, that the CCC decided to use Factreton for the establishment of a housing scheme, instead of continuing with an industrial area (ibid). Prior to that Factreton was part of the squatter settlements which developed due to the process of industrialisation, and the rural to urban migration of coloured workers[22] during the post-war period (ibid). Settlements which were close to the industrial areas of Ndabeni, Epping, Maitland, and central Cape Town (e.g. Kensington and Factreton), soon became overpopulated and degenerated into slum conditions (cf. Report by Urban & Town Planning Students 1985:5). Although original squatters were mainly coloured, Africans were resident by 1928, and a number of Jews also lived in the area (Swart 1983:6).

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[21] The periodisation follows the work of Swart (1983) and Da Costa (1983).

[22] Over the period 1946 - 1970 the urban coloured population increased by approximately 450% (Goldin 1987:45).

In 1945 the area became a slum area under the Slum Act of 1934, and the CCC started the construction of redevelopment housing schemes in Factreton (cf. Report by Urban & Town Planning Students 1985:6). As a result of the Group Areas Act of 1950 all African residents were moved to Langa and Guguletu if they could provide a work permit, and the rest were arrested and sent back to the reserves (ibid). From 1953 to 1958, 12 800 Africans were moved to Langa and Guguletu, and housed in `emergency prefabricated galvanised iron huts' (Da Costa 1983:98). In 1958, Kensington, including Factreton, was declared a *Coloured Group Area*.

By 1961, 40% of the area was taken over by the CCC which built 1 526 houses on land acquired under the Slum Act (Da Costa 1983:98). In addition, a home-ownership scheme was started in 1961. In 1962 the area between Voortrekker Road and the Ysterplaat/Kensington/Windermere railway line was renamed as *Kensington*, and subsequently developed into a more affluent area than Factreton (Da Costa 1983:95-98).

1.4.4. A Contemporary profile of the K-F area

1.4.4.1. Population features

According to the 1991 census the number of coloureds living in the K-F area were the following:

Kensington: 12 102 Factreton: 11 851

A small number of residents (1 to 2%) living in the K-F area was either white, Indian or African.

Table 3 The Male/Female Distribution for the K-F area

	Kensington	Factreton
Male	5 727 (47%)	5 598 (47%)
Female	6 375 (53%)	6 253 (53%)

Note. Data obtained from the 1991 census.

The bulk of the population was between the ages 15 to 44, with 5 956 (49%) of Kensington residents, and 5 853 (49%) of Factreton residents, falling into this category (1991 census)[23].

1.4.4.2. Employment

Table 4 Employment Numbers for the K-F area

	Kensington	Factreton
Economically active	5 351 (44%)	5 011 (43%)
Economically non-active	6 751 (56%)	6 840 (57%)

Note. Data obtained from the 1991 census.

Production or unskilled workers form the largest employment grouping in Factreton, and constitute 1 609 (32%) of the economically active residents. In contrast, this group constitutes only 1 084 (20%) of the economically active population in Kensington.

1.4.4.3. Education

All schools in the area were under the control of the Department

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[23] Kensington-Factreton is an old estate, hence the old population tendency.

of Education and Culture before 1994, and any child that was not coloured could only attend these schools by special permission. There are eleven primary schools, and three high schools in the area (Da Costa 1983:136). Only 17% (2 097) of residents living in Kensington, and 7% (852) living in Factreton, have matric or a higher education. Fifty-two percent (6 351) Kensington residents, and 70% (8 272) Factreton residents, have less than a standard seven education[24].

1.4.4.4. Housing

Kensington has a total of approximately 2 400 dwellings, whereas Factreton has a total of approximately 2 000 dwellings[25]. The Factreton housing units are mainly rented economic (usually detached houses) and sub-economic houses[26] which mostly belong to the CCC. However, since 1984 the CCC has been selling off its council houses to residents and encouraging private ownership. In Factreton the most densely populated areas have 100-200 (even up to 300) persons per hectare (Da Costa 1983:114) which results in overcrowding being a real problem. In comparison, the adjacent white areas of Pinelands and Maitland have densities of 0-40 per hectare, whilst Goodwood has a density of 0-99 persons per hectare (Da Costa 1983:114).

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[24] These education levels indicate that most of the working-class youth are probably destined for unskilled or semi-skilled work.

[25] For a summary of the recreational and commercial facilities present in the K-F area, cf. Report by the Urban & Town Planning Students (1985:20-21).

[26] The houses above Sunderland Street are all economic houses, whereas those below Sunderland Street are sub-economic houses.

1.4.4.5. Home language

Table 5 Distribution of Home Language for the K-F area

	Kensington	Factreton
Afrikaans	3 923	8 957
English	7 930	2 761
Bilingual	241	127
Other	8	6
Total	12 102	11 851

Note. Data obtained from 1991 census.

1.5. The sample

The 60 respondents constituted a probability stratified, random sample. This entailed the simple random sampling of 60 respondents on the basis of three predetermined extralinguistic variables, i.e. gender, home language, and residential area (which served as a preliminary indicator of class). A church register which contained the names and addresses of the members of the Dutch Reformed Church in the K-F area constituted the sampling frame, and provided the necessary information regarding gender and residential area. Information regarding home languages was provided by Reverend Faure. Every 5th name in the church register was selected until each of the eight subgroups had a total of either 5 or 10 respondents. The major advantage attached to using a stratified random sample, is its increased reliability

and representativeness.

The sampling blueprint looked as follows:

Table 6 The Sampling Blueprint

	Afrikaans	English	Total
Kensington:			
Males	5	10	15
Females	5	10	15
Factreton:			
Males	10	5	15
Females	10	5	15
Total	30	30	60

Note. The difference in home language as revealed by the 1991 census, is reflected in the sample.

The sample size was determined by the nature and practical considerations (such as the time required to complete the questionnaires) of the investigation. The appropriate number of subjects was based on what was felt to be a reasonable number which could allow for the development of a convincing argument independent of statistical inferences, if needed. The respondents were all over the age of 18 and able to express their attitudes towards the topics covered by the questionnaire. They have also been exposed to the structural influences on society, and could distinguish between their mother tongue and second language.

1.6. Summary

This chapter started off with a brief sketch of the multilingual situation which characterises South African society (see *1.1.)*. Estimates of the speaker numbers for the various languages were provided in *1.1.1.* (although figures based on census data are not to be trusted), and a description of the status and use of English, Afrikaans, and the African languages, in relation to the influence of political power over the years, can be found in *1.1.2.* The state of knowledge of particularly the Afrikaans and English languages was detailed in *1.1.3.*, whereas certain language related problems which South Africa still needs to solve were discussed in *1.2.* In *1.3.* the language situation in the Western Cape was presented, with special emphasis placed on the varieties of Afrikaans and English as used by the coloured community (see *1.3.1.* & *1.3.2.*). The population from which the sample was drawn was discussed in *1.4.* This discussion included the criteria for choosing the K-F area, as well as geographical, historical, and contemporary sketches of the area (see *1.4.1.* - *1.4.4.*). The sample itself was described in *1.5.*

CHAPTER 2 Review of language attitude studies, and the research methodology

2.0. Introduction

An overview of the methodologies and findings of scholars who conducted language attitude research, specifically among the coloured communities of the Western Cape, will be presented in this chapter[27] (see *2.1.*). However, this overview will not provide a systematic coverage of existing attitudes towards Afrikaans and English, nor will all the major findings be given. The objective is to combine and evaluate the methodologies and results of similar studies in order to arrive at an overall perspective which could, in turn, provide the necessary background for the integration and comparison of the results of this study[28]. In addition, a closer look is taken at the different methodologies employed in attitude studies (see *2.2.*) and the particular method and test design chosen for this study (see *2.3.*). Subsequently, the theoretical framework and the test objectives for the study will be outlined in *2.4.* and *2.5.*

2.1. Review of language attitude studies

2.1.1. Scheffer (1979)

The aim of Scheffer's study was to investigate the way English

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[27] Attitude research conducted among Africans and whites will be discussed to the degree of relevance, while research centring on other linguistic topics will be mentioned for the sake of completeness.

[28] As no clear-cut distinction was usually drawn between attitudes and beliefs in previous practical investigations findings will be described by using the term *attitude*, except for cases which were specified differently.

and Afrikaans were used in the coloured community, and to establish patterns of language preference. This HSRC study was part of a larger research project on the position of the main languages of the various population groups in South Africa. Data was obtained by way of 1507 questionnaires which were completed by adult informants, aged 18 to 64. The respondents came from all over the country, but only the 488 informants resident in the Cape Peninsula were considered in the report on the language issues (Scheffer 1983)[29].

Coloured fieldworkers were used to conduct interviews which consisted of a questionnaire containing 91 items, and the recording of the informant on tape.

Scheffer stated that a trend towards the adoption of English by communities in urban areas can be deduced from the statistics. English-speakers were shown to be generally better educated, and had a higher income than Afrikaans-speakers. Fifty-nine (32,6%) of the 181 English-speakers reported that they previously regarded Afrikaans as their home language, whereas 21 (35,6%) of the 59 English-speakers who were previously Afrikaans-speaking reported that one or both of their parents were exclusively Afrikaans-speaking, or spoke more Afrikaans than English. Ten per cent of 307 Afrikaans-speakers reported that their parents were English-speaking. Responses to other questions confirmed that English was received more positively (Scheffer 1983:31-63). English was seen as language of prestige, of the media and of education. For rural coloured people Afrikaans remained the

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[29] For a precise summary of the report cf. Prinsloo (1987:28-29).

dominant language.

2.1.2. Webb (1979)

Webb's report was based on data which he collected whilst acting as one of the 14 (white) regional leaders, during the above-mentioned HSRC language survey. The report discussed the attitudes of Afrikaans-speaking coloureds, living in the Port Elizabeth and Uitenhage area, towards English and Xhosa.
Webb analysed several questions contained in the HSRC survey. He expected to find a very definite pro-English orientation among the coloured people, and concluded that it was a reasonable assumption judging from the statistics and the surfacing of the same tendencies. Although there was support for Afrikaans, a more positive orientation toward English prevailed among males between the ages 35 - 44, and members of the upper class.

2.1.3. McCormick (1989)

The status of English and Afrikaans was investigated in an extensive field study by McCormick (1989, 1991). She used a combination of personal interviews, questionnaires and tape-recordings to collect data on the use of Afrikaans and English, and their local variants, in one particular speech community, i.e. District Six, Cape Town[30]. McCormick found that the forceful removal which the District Six community experienced had a considerable impact on the residents' feelings and attitudes

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[30] District Six was a traditional coloured residential area until most coloureds were evicted after the Group Areas Act of 1950, and its amendment in 1967.

towards Afrikaans and English. While the older generation did not express very strong attitudes, the young ones identified Afrikaans as language of the oppressors (McCormick 1991:6). At the same time they also recognised it as their language of identity and in-group communication, which in the end result in a crisis in group identity. Some community members found a way out by stressing the differences between *suiwer* (pure) Afrikaans (the standard white L1 language), and *kombuis* (kitchen) Afrikaans / *kombuistaal*. Attitudes towards *suiwer* Afrikaans varied from total rejection, supported by the claim that it was unintelligible to the attitude holder, to its proud acceptance as the true language of South Africa (McCormick 1989:101-05). *Kombuistaal* was characterised by heavy mixing, primarily with English, and seen as the community's in-group language. Interestingly, the informants described their code-switching as Afrikaans mixed with English, and not vice versa. *Kombuistaal* was evaluated as the language of identity (associated with the working class), while English was seen as the `better' language. English was identified as the language of urban sophistication, as medium of international communication, education, upward mobility, better employment, and as the anti-apartheid language rejected by the Afrikaners (McCormick 1989:107-10). A negative in-group attitude existed towards coloured SAE amongst the majority of informants, and they referred to their own language as `broken' (a deficient variety in contrast with the `better' English of L1 speakers) (McCormick 1989:107). Some informants also felt that English was strongly associated with the middle

class and `being white', and that the privileges linked to the language were unattainable by most (McCormick 1989:111).

2.1.4. Wood (1987)

Wood tried to determine the attitudes towards coloured South African English and its varieties among students from three coloured high schools in the Cape Town area, by means of a series of five experiments. His general approach was to proceed from a linguistic description to the study of perceptions and attitudes. Findings regarding language perceptions and attitudes were based on the responses obtained from the subjects who came from different class backgrounds (and three different schools). Respondents had to rate recorded speech, and complete direct questionnaires. The findings confirmed the high status of English and the trend in the coloured community towards using English, especially as medium of instruction (MOI), and as vehicle for upward socio-economic mobility (Wood 1987:215). In addition, the upper-class pupils were aware of the status of the subvarieties and evaluated them accordingly, whereas the lower class pupils did not seem to have internalised this differentiation (Wood 1987:221). Negative attitudes towards coloured SAE prevailed, and Wood attributed this to the coloureds being the only group who had the same L1 languages as the group who dominated them (Wood 1987:225). Wood concluded that the adoption of Standard Afrikaans would only occur in the case of a small minority, but that there were considerable forces at work which would halt the abandonment of Afrikaans either as mother-tongue, or as an important L2.

2.1.5. Louw-Potgieter & Louw (1991)

Louw-Potgieter & Louw used a questionnaire in the form of a simulation exercise (which substituted the names of languages such as English and Afrikaans with unfamiliar names) to investigate the preferences of a group of 389 University of the Western Cape (UWC) students regarding language planning. Afrikaans was indicated by 156 respondents as their mother-tongue, 118 indicated English, and 115 indicated Xhosa[31]. Respondents were presented with an imaginary intergroup situation (three ethnolinguistic groups in a country called *Peka*), assigned membership in one of these imaginary ethnolinguistic groups, and asked to rank certain policies, or to indicate their preference. The assigned linguistic group corresponded to each respondent's mother-tongue (Xhosa mother-tongue speakers were assigned to the *Peki* group; English-speakers to the *King* group, and Afrikaans-speakers to the *Spalang* group). The numbers in, and linguistic status of, each imaginary ethnolinguistic group roughly reflected the current ethnolinguistic situation in South Africa. in each instance. The mother-tongue (linguistic identity) of the respondents, turned out to be the most important independent variable. The majority of Afrikaans- and English-speakers preferred a language policy of diversity. Their second choice was a policy of *transitional trilingualism*, whereas bilingualism was their third choice. For Xhosa speakers bilingualism was the first option, followed by *unity* and *diversity*. In general, the

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[31] Although not stated anywhere in their report, the research group probably included Africans, besides the coloured respondents.

dominance of a single language (even *King*) emerged as an unpopular choice for the majority of respondents. Instead, choices which encompassed a tolerance of bi- or multi-lingualism were popular.

2.1.6. Young *et al.*(1991)

Young's research was conducted in schools in the Western and Southern Cape. The target group included coloureds, as well as Africans and whites. The aim was to investigate attitudes towards the role and status of languages (especially the prediction that English was most likely to be the national language in the new South Africa). Young's methodology included three pilot surveys, and a final broad survey which employed a lesson-based methodology of worksheets and group discussions. The first two pilot studies, among coloured and African pupils, tried to elicit mainly cognitive and conative (behaviour-intentional) responses by means of a questionnaire which allowed for multiple-choice and open-ended responses. In contrast, the third pilot study made use of an eclectic approach combining questionnaires, interviews and small group discussion in order to elicit affective attitudes. Bilingual English and Afrikaans, middle-class, coloured pupils in Mitchell's Plain took part in the third pilot study.

A good number of the informants confirmed the importance of Afrikaans in their lives. They still used Afrikaans as a means of everyday communication at home and at school, and they wished that Afrikaans would remain as medium of communication, together with English (Young *et al.* 1991:13-15). Strong beliefs that

Afrikaans would be important and widespread in its national distribution and use, prevailed: 62% affirmed the value and durability of Afrikaans in a new South Africa. Young *et al.* (1991:14) noted that it is an undocumented assertion that significant numbers of middle-class coloured, Afrikaans-speaking parents, insist on children speaking only English at home (either as political protest against white Afrikaners, or because of its instrumental value)[32]. He found no great preference on the parents' side to use English: 72% rejected such a notion, only 5,3% said that it was the case, while 22,6% acknowledged that such instructions were 'sometimes' given (Young *et al.* 1991:14). The three pilot studies led to the final questionnaire administered to 1141 pupils belonging to all four school systems in the Western Cape (29 schools in total, including both urban and rural areas), i.e. English, Afrikaans and Xhosa mother-tongue speakers. The questionnaire consisted of three parts, i.e. a *fact sheet, think sheet* and a *group worksheet*[33]. Those who agreed with the assertion that Afrikaans will not survive constituted 48,5%, whereas 47,5% felt that Afrikaans will survive in the new South Africa.

Research conducted in coloured communities outside the Western Cape include Tiflin's (1985) MA thesis which centred on spoken Afrikaans within Durban's coloured community, and Summerton's (1989) MA thesis which investigated the various sociolinguistic

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[32] The findings of the third pilot study cannot be read as conclusive in any sense. See Young *et al.* (1991:16).

[33] For a summary of the findings see Young *et al.* (1991:30-31).

patterns present in the coloured community of Port Elizabeth.

2.1.7. Studies centring on other topics

A number of studies which focused on linguistic topics other than language attitudes have been conducted among the Cape Peninsula's coloured people. Examples of these are the work by Stone (1991), Klopper (1976), and Van der Rheede (1983).

Stone (1991) was concerned with an ethnography and lexicography of the Cape Peninsula's working-class (WC), Afrikaans-speaking, coloured community. Since 1963 he conducted research mainly by means of ethnographic participant observation[34]. He investigated the distinctive, predominantly Afrikaans, lexis of adolescent and young adult, WC coloured, males in the Cape Peninsula and found that four WC intra-communal identities[35] (which formed a hierarchy based on socio-economic status[36]), and corresponding linguistic codes, consisting of a distinctive lexicons, can be distinguished within the WC dialect. Each code overlaps with adjacent codes to form a continuum, individual speakers switching from one code to another, depending on register and situation.

The studies by Klopper (1976) and Van der Rheede (1983) both had a phonological orientation. The aim of Klopper's (1976) study was

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[34] This involved the acquisition of naturalistic data through participation in social interaction with the researched individuals/ groups.

[35] I.e. *respectable, disreputable, delinquent* and *outcast*.

[36] Which could be described as religio-political, construed by intra-communal stratification, social status, peer-group association and identity development.

to determine to what extent the language usage of the coloureds in Cape Town was influenced by social factors such as status, religion and age. Klopper, utilising Labov's (1966) `variationist theory', investigated the use of standard and typical allophones of coloured Afrikaans by Cape coloured respondents coming from three different social backgrounds (upper, middle- and working-class). Seventy interviews were conducted during which recordings of six different styles of language usage were elicited. Klopper investigated four phonemes, i.e. /r; j; k; ɯi/, in terms of both their high status and stigmatised allophones. He found that the Afrikaans of the coloured community was socially stratified. For example, the stigmatised allophones of /j/ and /k/, i.e. [dʒ] and [tʃ], were used less often in each style of language use by the upper class, in comparison to the middle class who, in turn, use these allophones more sparingly than the working class. Klopper also noted that coloured SAE possessed low overt, but high covert prestige.

The most important objective of Van der Rheede's (1983) study was to analyse five phonological variables, /r; j; o; e; c/, and to determine whether variation in language structure reflected social structure (status groups = upper-, middle- and working-class). The study was mainly inspired by Klopper's (1976) work, and the research was also presented in the framework of variationist linguistics. Van der Rheede's study differs from that of Klopper in that the study was limited to Belville-South, and the sample also included adolescents and pre-adolescents besides the adult respondents. The question structure in the

interview elicited various registers, and the technique of `analysis of variation' was used to determine the relationship between linguistic and extra-linguistic variables. He found that language use was stratified in terms of social status, age and sex, e.g. the frequency of use of the standard variants of the phonemes /c/ and /j/ was exceptionally high for all registers in the case of the adult respondents in the upper class. For adult respondents in the middle- and working-class, the pattern for /c/ and /j/ were slightly different: the frequency of use of stigmatised variants was relatively high for informal registers, while there was a sharp decline for the formal registers. Both Klopper and Van der Rheede concluded that the language usage in Belville-South seems to be evolving in the direction of Standard Afrikaans.

Work done in the K-F area in fields other than linguistics include research done by Da Costa (1983), Swart (1983) and Field (1990). Da Costa's (1983) study projected a politico-geographical image of the K-F area, Swart (1983) sketched the transition of Windermere from a peri-urban area to suburb, while Field (1990) offered a contrasting view (to the one described in this thesis) regarding the development of a coloured political identity (see *4.2.2.2.*). These three studies served as valuable background sources for this study.

2.1.8. Attitude studies among whites and Africans

An overview of South African language attitude studies reveals that research was lop-sided in the past, dominated by

investigations which centred on the attitudes of whites and coloureds towards English and Afrikaans, whilst neglecting the African languages.

The proliferation of studies centring on whites includes the country-wide HSRC survey carried out in 1973-74[37]. The responses were analysed and interpreted in four volumes which covered topics such as bilingual policy, language use and improvement, motivation for language use, and language loyalty and shift[38] (cf. Hauptfleisch 1977-79; 1983).

Research completed among the African population includes a number of studies focusing on Afrikaans and English only (cf. Vorster & Proctor 1976; Schuring & Yzel 1983; Cahill & Kamper 1989)[39]. An interesting study which focused on English, but also included Africans in its sample, was the research conducted by Smit (1994). The aim of her investigation was to determine the attitudes of coloured, white, and African high school pupils (in Grahamstown) towards the various varieties of English (including various accents and dialects) by means of a speaker-evaluation test, and a set of open-ended questions. This study was partly based on research conducted by Young (1991) in Cape Town. Smit (1994) concluded that the possibility of South African English becoming Africanised was very strong, and further argued for a role for attitude studies as a basis for language planning and

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[37] Other studies include work done by Prinsloo (1972), and Jordaan, Van Rensburg & Webb (1992).

[38] See Prinsloo (1987) for a summary of the findings.

[39] See Prinsloo (1987) for a summary of the findings.

policy formulation in education.

Since little is known about multilingualism among urban Africans, and the language attitudes among speakers of Tsonga, Tswana, etc., Dube's (1992) study is an exception[40]. She conducted a language attitude survey among Africans living in the Soweto township with the hope of aiding language planning. On analysing 105 interviews, she found that all 11 official languages were spoken in the area, as well as a number of street languages (*Tsotsitaal, Sowetan mix, Flytaal, Iscamtho*). The languages which most respondents preferred to use were English, isiZulu, Sesotho (and the street languages). A high regard for the indigenous languages, which only attracted positive attitudes, was evident. English was embraced only out of necessity due to its high functional value. Although generally negative attitudes towards Afrikaans were noted, it was still seen as having its own constituency, and should therefore be treated like any other language. Multilingualism was embraced as a unifying, rather than divisive force.

2.1.9. Insights gained from the reviewed studies

2.1.9.1. The non-contextualisation of results

It becomes apparent that socio-economic and political circumstances quite often did not play any significant role when investigations were conducted in the past. Smit (1994:162) argued that close scrutiny of the methods and outcomes of these studies

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[40] De Klerk & Bosch (1993) were also exceptional in their trilingual Eastern Cape survey which included Xhosa, besides English and Afrikaans.

display certain similarities, and although this in itself cannot be regarded as something negative, it may allude to possible weaknesses[41]. These include the non-contextualisation of the investigations, and the use of standardised methodology without taking culture-specific disparities into consideration (ibid). Therefore, attitude studies which are not placed within their relevant socio-economic contexts might not be as valuable as may seem at first sight. It is thus important to contextualise language attitudes and to include cultural aspects, otherwise unfounded conclusions can be drawn. Subtle social factors such as individual ambition, language insecurity, as well as possible ideological agendas should also be taken into account. Attitude surveys should thus be read in the perspective of the questions asked, the language situation, the subtle social factors mentioned, the sociolinguistic backgrounds of the respondents, and the ever changing political situation in order to be meaningful.

2.1.9.2. The differences in groups surveyed

Using only certain groups, while ignoring the full spectrum of possible respondents, may result in the sample being unrepresentative. This, in turn, will create problems for the generalisation of results. Regarding the use of students[42] and

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[41] Given South Africa's history and language politics, it is not very believable that respondents from diverse racial and societal backgrounds would harbour the same attitudes regarding particular varieties over a substantial period of time (cf. Smit 1994:162).

[42] Pupils have repeatedly proven to be the most popular group of respondents in language attitude studies.

young people as a sample, it should be noted that they may not possess well-developed attitudes. Their attitudes are seldom fully crystallised, and may still develop and change with added life experiences. Furthermore, pupils are normally cornered in formal settings. This often renders generalisations impossible since the choice of informants was arbitrary. It has been argued that pupils have served as informants often enough, and that researchers should rather concentrate on less documented groups (cf. Carranza 1982:83).

In addition, it is also important to cover a broad spectrum of cultural and social groups when doing a nationwide survey, seeing that beliefs and norms (e.g. regarding acceptable public behaviour) might differ accordingly. With regard to the HSRC surveys, in specific, major features of the apartheid system were taken over unquestioned[43]. No hypothesis can claim to have any generality if it cannot be applied to diverse groupings in the case of nationwide surveys. Furthermore, the emphasis on individual languages, with little reference to multilingualism, bilingualism or the interests of speakers, seems to be a major shortcoming of the studies cited.

2.1.9.3. Differences between expressed and truly-felt attitudes

Generally, formal statements which reflect the cognitive component of attitudes are made during attitude measurement (see Chapter 3). Doubt has to be expressed whether deep-seated,

[43] Kotzé (1991:52) argued that the target groups (i.e. whites, blacks and coloureds) reflected apartheid legislation, and did not correlate with the natural language communities.

private feelings, especially when incongruent with preferred public statements, are truly elicited during attitude measurement. The cognitive and affective components of attitude may not always be in harmony. For example, a person may express favourable attitudes towards Afrikaans language education, but more covertly the same person may have doubts or negative feelings about such education. According to Baker (1992:13), defence mechanisms and social desirability response sets tend to interface between stated and more secret attitudes[44]. The opposing forces of overt and covert prestige attached to languages / dialects or varieties, may of course also play a role (cf. Labov 1966; and see *4.1.5.* for further discussion).

2.1.9.4. Methodological problems

The divergence that exists between the need for methodological simplicity, and the obvious multidimensionality of attitudes resulted in various problems. Processing problems in the case of interviews, scoring problems in the case of open-ended questions, and response bias in the case of certain closed questionnaires and attitude scales, were reported.

In the HSRC surveys some theoretical considerations were not clearly spelt out (especially the distinction between *attitude*, *belief* and *opinion*), as well as the differentiation between the types of attitudes (cf. Kotzé 1991:52). Giles & Ryan (1982) advocated that new methodologies, or combinations of existing

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[44] In order to appear more prestigious, people may respond by giving socially desirable answers.

ones, are needed in order to fulfil the requirements of theoretical and practically sound research.

2.2. A closer look at the methods used in attitude studies

Numerous measurement techniques[45] have been employed in order to elicit language attitudes in the past. These methods reflect the different theoretical perspectives which inspired the investigations[46]. Methods of attitude measurement came to include direct and indirect measures of all kinds. Content analysis, interviews, case studies, autobiographies, participant observation, direct questions, self-evaluation tests, subjective reaction tests, and the matched-guise technique are all well established alternatives.

When looking at the application of the various methods, surveys conducted by means of questionnaires seem to be used most often for investigating language choice and usage, interviews coupled with questionnaires for the study of language maintenance and planning (Agheyisi & Fishman 1970), and the matched-guise technique for studies regarding the social significance of languages and language varieties[47].

The methods most relevant to this thesis will be described and briefly discussed in the following section.

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[45] See Taylor (1984:59, *passim*) for measurement techniques developed within the mentalist approach.

[46] See Bradac (1990:390-91) for a discussion of the focus of language attitude research over the years.

[47] See Fasold (1984:149) for a description and critique of the matched-guise technique.

2.2.1. Content analysis of societal treatment

The content analysis of societal treatment is in itself not a measurement technique, but constitutes the preliminary groundwork which needs to be undertaken before the actual investigation takes place (see Ryan, Giles & Sebastian 1982:2, 7). Thus, regardless of the theoretical grounding, or practical objectives of an investigation, it is important to assess the applicable sociolinguistic circumstances. This involves researching historical developments within society, and the social treatment of the relevant language varieties (Ryan, Giles & Sebastian 1982:2). In addition, viewpoints can be gained from looking at language policies, documented professional and academic arguments, and the manner in which language is treated in education and by the church (Ryan, Giles & Sebastian 1982:7). Together, these opinions and facts are useful in determining the objectives and hypotheses of an investigation. However, few studies contain detailed content analyses, even though it formed part of the preliminary work. Ryan, Giles & Sebastian (1982) were the first researchers to explicitly include content analysis as part of their methodology. A comprehensive content analysis was necessary before this study could be undertaken, because the majority of attitude studies in the Western Cape were completed prior to when the changes at a sociopolitical level started to occur, (an exception is the study by Young *et al.* 1991).

2.2.2. The Interview

An interview constitutes an oral procedure of gathering

information, and can be administered in person to individuals or groups. Structured interviews, or open questionnaires (as Fasold 1984:152 describes them), incorporate a pre-determined list of questions, whereas unstructured interviews do not. The interview's format is more flexible than written tests, and enables the researcher to resolve misunderstandings, or investigate problematic areas even further, or allows for the verbal explanation of complex scales (cf. Agheyisi & Fishman 1970:149). The negative aspects related to the use of an interview pertains to its open, adaptable and personal character, because that translates into the need for ample time for data collection, particularly when dealing with representative samples (Fasold 1984:152). Interviews also result in an extensive amount of data which gives rise to problems at the categorisation and interpretation stages (Agheyisi & Fishman 1970:149).

2.2.3. The Questionnaire

The method most often used in attitude research seems to be the questionnaire (Agheyisi & Fishman 1970:144). It is thus important to look at the various kinds of questions, the rating scales used, general structural principles, and the disadvantages related to the use of questionnaires. Data can be obtained from individuals or groups, either in person or by post, and the questionnaires can be administered in a written or oral format. Questions can be phrased either in an indirect or direct manner. The latter ask respondents explicitly about their attitudes, beliefs, and opinions regarding a specific topic, and are more

likely to elicit conscious instead of subconscious responses (Smit 1994:76). They are therefore not very suitable for determining emotive responses. Direct questions are best for eliciting cognitive and behaviour intentional answers (ibid).

Indirect questions have often been used in attitude research in order to make the true objectives of the study less obvious, and may be accompanied by recordings of the language varieties (the matched-guise technique) or supplemented by a predetermined range of potential responses in the form of scales (Smit 1994:77). This allows the researcher to steer responses in the direction of the study's objectives, or to get rid of non-essential answers which will consequently restrict the amount of data to be dealt with (ibid). Normally, two types of questions are asked, i.e. closed questions (where lists of possible answers are provided) or open-ended questions (where the answers are left open) (Fasold 1984:152). Although open questions allow for greater freedom when answering, distortions creep in when the misunderstanding or misinterpretation of questions and answers occur. If answers are very diverse, they may become uninterpretable. However, when open questions are administered correctly, they usually provide an accurate representation of the status quo.

The kind of scales used in attitude research are often intricate in design, and time-consuming to construct. Scales can make use of different kinds of response schemes such as multiple-choice answers, rating schemes, semantic differential scales, or yes / no response schemes (Fasold 1984:150-51). Five central principles of measurement which should be taken into account when

constructing attitude scales, and which would ensure that measurement is scientifically objective, were provided by Oppenheim (1966:121-23). These included the principles of reliability, validity, reproducibility, linearity and unidimensionality. Thurstone, Likert & Guttman were the first researchers to construct attitude scales which adhered to some of these principles. Since these requirements tend to be more idealistic than realistic in the realm of attitude research, not all five principles can be adhered to by any one method.

2.2.4. Improving measurement techniques

Since numerous language attitude investigative methods exist, the choice of methodology should be a careful decision. In order to improve measurement techniques, researchers have to design more inclusive models which would allow for both theoretical and practical concerns, and the verification of internal reliability by means of statistical testing (cf. Smit 1994:84). Baker's (1992:76-96) model, for instance, incorporated theoretical improvements and a systems model which managed to elicit a range of attitudes, and further possessed the feature of replicability. Another way of improving the methodology entails the integration of a number of different methods to elicit language attitudes in contrasting domains (cf. Smit 1994:85). This, in turn, would allow for the cross-correlation of the results of the various tests, and contribute to improved test reliability and validity (ibid). Few researchers have given detailed advice regarding the

combination of methods[48]. However, according to researchers such as Carranza (1982:82) and Giles & Ryan (1982:208-10, 221), most empirical studies, notwithstanding the methods employed, tend to elicit language attitudes appropriate in status-stressing situations. This is evident in the use of formal speech samples, and the emphasis placed on the respondent's group membership which normally results from the neglect of researchers to take informal, ordinary situations into account (ibid).

Giles & Ryan (1982:210-23) also addressed and summarised four other theoretical shortcomings pertaining to traditional speaker evaluation studies, and suggested the inclusion of social psychological information in order to improve them. The problem areas that were highlighted included independent paralinguistic speech variables which are often discarded, differences in the cognitive processes on the part of the listeners and judges, the contexts of the tests which are often kept socially and subjectively sterile, and the dependent variables whose implications are generally ignored (cf. Giles & Ryan 1982:210-22).

These deficiencies reveal that language attitude studies were perceived as dealing with single issues, whereas these issues in fact resort under different non-comparable categories. Giles & Ryan (1982:219-21) offered a co-ordinate system within which a study can be placed according to its design, when the dependent

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[48] Carranza (1982:81-83), for e.g., proposed the use of triangulation, i.e. `the process by which a social phenomenon is observed and measured by various techniques'.

variables are taken into account. The two dimensions along which the studies can be distinguished, are the status-solidarity stressing dimension, which covers the domain of language use, and the person-group centred dimension, which covers the situational setting of the investigation.

The impact of the two major structural forces of every group, i.e. identity and power/ status, can be seen in each of the four kinds of attitude studies distinguished within this system (see *3.3.3.*). Each kind would reflect a different degree of group identity and power-dependence. Giles & Ryan (1982) therefore proposed that future research should pay special attention to the correctness of the study-design in terms of internal factors (e.g. the methods used), and external factors (e.g. the social setup of the target group). They hoped that this would lead to a wide ranging theory of language attitudes in the long term (cf. Giles & Ryan 1982:223).

2.3. The design of the test

2.3.1. The questionnaire

The testing method employed in this study was a questionnaire which allowed for closed, and a few open-ended, responses[49]. The general format, functions, and the positive and negative aspects of the questionnaire have already been discussed in *2.2.3.*

Regarding the arrangement of the different parts of the test, it was thought best to present the sections dealing with the various

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[49] See Appendix B for the final questionnaire.

topics first, and to place the section which asks the respondents for personal details at the end, since respondents seem to answer questions more honestly and sincerely if they have not been asked to reveal anything about themselves beforehand (cf. Rudestam & Newton 1995:78).

In order to accommodate Afrikaans-speaking respondents, the questionnaire was translated into Afrikaans by the researcher who is a L1 speaker of the language. The wording of the statements and questions for section A of the questionnaire was done whilst keeping the theoretical framework of Ryan, Giles & Sebastian (1982), and Giles & Ryan (1982) in mind, and by relying on the previous experience and insights of other researchers, as well as reports in sociolinguistic texts. For section B of the questionnaire (which deals with bilingualism) the list of questions used by Baker (1992) in his research on attitudes towards bilingualism in English and Welsh among teenagers was adapted to suit the adult sample (see Appendix B). Baker (1992) developed an original 25 item attitude scale over a period of time which served as the initial pool of items to be refined by a latent variable analysis.

After a pilot study was done among three friends and three family members, the wording and the order of certain statements and questions were changed. In addition, statements and questions which were difficult to answer were omitted from the final questionnaire[50]. The statements were presented as facts rather

[50] A basic problem to guard against is the leading question, i.e. a question `which, by its content, structure or wording, leads the respondent in the direction of a certain answer' (Moser 1958:225).

than personal opinions, and formulated in the declarative. Certain questions (e.g. those reflecting on language policy) allowed for individual responses which provided more information, and thus increased the value and utility of the responses. The questionnaire's closed response possibilities included a choice between five response categories, and a `yes / no / do not know' response scheme.

Since the field of language attitudes is extremely wide, and comprises attitudes towards different referents, it is important to specify the topics or domains under investigation. The final version of the questionnaire consisted of 35 statements and 18 questions which centred on 8 related topics. The distribution of the statements and questions were as follows for the 8 topics:

1) Attitudes towards proficiency in Afrikaans, English and Xhosa
- Section A: Statements 1-4, 6.

2) The motivation behind language use
- Section A: Statements 5, 7-8, 14, 19, 21.

3) Attitudes towards the second language
- Section A: Questions 26-30.

4) Attitudes towards the current language policies
- Section A: Statements 16-18; Questions 20, 25.

5) Stereotypes regarding Afrikaans, English and Xhosa
- Section A: Statements 9-13, 15.

6) Attitudes towards bilingualism in Afrikaans and English
- Section B: Statements 1-18.

7) Code-switching, language maintenance and shift
- Section A: Question 23.

8) The influence of politics on language attitudes

- Section A: Questions 22, 24, 31-35.

The last page of the questionnaire contained a number of questions meant to obtain information on the respondents' personal backgrounds (see Appendix B). This section contained questions covering typical sociolinguistic variables, such as gender, age, the linguistic background of respondents, and their language use. The personal data obtained sketched an interesting picture of the respondents' backgrounds and habits, and verified the extralinguistic variables used in determining the sample.

A common problem which accompanies sociolinguistic testing needs to be discussed before the rating scale is explained, i.e. the validity and reliability of the test in determining language attitudes, and the way in which it could be verified. The reliability of a test refers to how consistently it measures the construct it is measuring (Huysamen 1983:43), or the `reproducibility or stability of data or observations' (Litwin (1995:84). Reliability forms part of the validity of a test which depends on whether `a survey or index measures what it is intended to measure' (Litwin 1995:85); and whether `the concept is being measured accurately' (Bailey 1987:66).

In relation to this dissertation the test could be regarded as valid if it was able to obtain all of the respondents' attitudes within the scope of the study as elucidated by the test's objectives (see *2.5.*). If validity was achieved in that manner, then its reliability should be secured, i.e. each rerun of the

test procedure would achieve identical or similar results. Consequently, it must be proved that the questionnaire adheres to both validity criteria mentioned. As backing of the first criterion it can be stated that the use of questionnaires is well documented, and has been successfully developed and tested by numerous researchers. Regarding the second criterion for validity, internal study means (eg asking the same questions differently) were employed to establish the validity of the questionnaire. As seen above, most of the topics under investigation were covered by more than one statement or question. The outcome indicates that this was worthwhile, and strengthens the assertion that the questionnaire elicited the applicable language attitudes in a reliable and valid way. Baker (1992:84-88) also demonstrated the integrity and validity of the test he used to establish attitudes towards bilingualism by means of an overall latent variable analysis. In addition, the appropriateness and feasibility of the scale was proved by the small number of `missing responses', and the fact that the `Do not know' response category was not prominently used.

2.3.2. The rating scale

Respondents were instructed to make use of either a scale which possessed five response categories, or a `yes /no/ do not know' response scheme, in section A of the questionnaire[51].
Only five response categories were used in order to limit any confusion regarding their difference in meaning. The response

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[51] Only the last response scheme applied to Section B (see Appendix B).

categories, and the way in which they were depicted on the response sheet, were explained before, and during the administration of the questionnaire. The verbalisation of the options for each statement and question made the response categories more concrete, and lessened the possibility of automatic responses. The five response categories provided, were as follows[52]: 1 = Yes, definitely; 2 = Yes, it could be; 3 = No, not really; 4 = No, definitely not; DNK = Do not know. The description of the response categories reflected an equal grading. The `Do not know' category was indicated by the letters `DNK' to illustrate its different standing, and it was also used to label cases where respondents did not report attitudes. After analysing the pilot questionnaires, the decision was taken that the few statements and questions which revealed high frequencies of DNK-responses would be excluded from the final questionnaire, since they could be considered as inappropriate (e.g. statements implying that people who speak a certain language can be regarded as having certain attributes e.g. being hard working, reliable, etc.). The fact that an overall low number of DNK-responses transpired, also indicates that the category was used correctly, and not to avoid giving answers. The use of suitable rating scales contributed to the validity of the test design.

2.3.3. The testing procedure

The field study was undertaken during the period January to March

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[52] These were based on Bailey's (1987:127) widely used response scale which consisted of the possibilities `strongly agree/ agree/ neutral/ disagree/ strongly disagree/ unable to answer'.

1994. All the respondents were obtained with the help of a relative who served as the minister of the Dutch Reformed Church in the Kensington-Factreton area. He provided me with a church register which contained the names, residential addresses and phone numbers of the members of the congregation, besides indicating the predominantly Afrikaans- and English-speaking households to me. Although more than half of the K-F residents were Christians (15% of the residents were Moslem, while 45 residents in the K-F area were non-Christians) (cf. Census 1991), it should be noted that generalisations which are made from the sample to the broader K-F area might not hold true for members of other congregations or people of other faiths living in the area. Initial contact was made using the home language of the respondents. However, none of the Afrikaans-speakers objected to completing the questionnaire in English, since all of them were bilingual in Afrikaans and English. Only on a few occasions did it become necessary to refer to the Afrikaans questionnaire. The test was administered to 60 respondents who belonged to different age groups. The questionnaires were completed at the homes of the respondents after a meeting was arranged in person, or telephonically. The researcher administered all the questionnaires in the same way in order not to alter any conditions of research. After the researcher introduced herself, the research was described as being concerned with English, Afrikaans and Xhosa. The respondents were assured that the questionnaire would not ask for any knowledge, but for their own personal ideas, i.e. there were no `wrong answers'. This was done

to make respondents feel at ease about participating in the study. As a start, the respondents were drawn into a discussion regarding the language situation in the country[53]. Each respondent received a copy of the questionnaire, and was asked to fill in his/ her response after the researcher read and explained the statement or question in the language preferred by the respondent. Quite often a short discussion ensued, and several times statements and questions which turned out to be unclear to some respondents had to be rephrased. The explanation and discussion of the instructions, the statements, and the questions ensured full comprehension, and minimised the tendency to agree or disagree, irrespective of the content of the statements and questions. Lastly, the respondents were asked to complete the personal details, and were assured that it will remain confidential. Most respondents preferred to complete the response sheets themselves, and only a few elderly respondents required assistance. The completion of one questionnaire took approximately 80 minutes, and could be completed during one visit. The fact that the questionnaires were personally administered proved to be a major advantage in the form of increased adaptability whilst staying within the boundaries of format and content comparability.

2.4. The theoretical framework for the attitude study

As seen above, research methods which were favourably employed

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[53] Background information regarding the language situation was provided in the form of a summary of section *1.1.*

in previous sociolinguistic studies were adjusted to suit this study, and allowed this investigation to be infused by past experience. The same can be said about the theoretical framework chosen for this study. Social psychology has always provided the most dependable framework for language attitude theory and research. This can be seen in the manner in which this approach is formulated by Ryan, Giles & Sebastian (1982) and Giles & Ryan (1982). Consequently, their approach serves as the theoretical frame of reference for this study, and its key elements are as follows[54]:

- Language attitudes are described as

  > any affective, cognitive or behavioural index of evaluative reactions toward different language varieties or their speakers (Ryan, Giles & Sebastian 1982:7).

  Further detail pertaining to the domains under investigation can be added to increase the definition's functional value (cf. Giles & Ryan 1982:223) (see *2.3.1.*).
- Two important socio-structural factors along which language varieties can be evaluated are standardisation[55] and vitality[56].
- Two dimensions along which language attitudes can be described are social status and group solidarity. Ryan, Giles & Sebastian (1982:8) state that such evaluative dimensions

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[54] See Chapter 4 for a detailed discussion.

[55] This implies that `a set of norms defining `correct' usage has been codified and accepted within a speech community' (Ryan, Giles & Sebastian 1982:3).

[56] The vitality of a variety is dependent on `interaction networks that actually employ it natively for one or more essential functions' (Ryan, Giles & Sebastian 1982:4).

> ... relate to the sociostructural determinants in that the distinction of standard/ nonstandard primarily reflects the relative social status or power of the groups of speakers, and the factors contributing to the solidarity/ [group identity] value of a variety are precisely those forces responsible for its vitality.

The above-mentioned theoretical basis provided the frame of reference for the attitude study.

2.5. The research objectives

By outlining the objectives which the method of investigation hopes to achieve, the aims and scope of the investigation become clear. The research objectives can be summarised as follows:

a) Theoretical objectives:

- establish whether the use of the questionnaire was successful;
- determine which extralinguistic variables were significant for the test population.
- determine the suitability of Ryan, Giles & Sebastian's (1982), and Giles & Ryan's (1982) sociopsychological theory as theoretical frame of reference for this study; and whether Ross' (1979) framework for identity formation can be applied to the formation of a coloured political identity in the South African context.

b) Practical and broad objectives:

- determine whether the criteria used in choosing the K-F area as research unit were appropriate;
- document the respondents' attitudes, beliefs and opinions towards the varieties of Afrikaans, English, and Xhosa in the areas of interest specified in *2.3.1.*;
- establish if, and to what extent, the attitudes towards the

languages mirror contemporary political and social changes.

2.6. Summary

A review of previous research conducted on language attitudes in the Western Cape was presented in *2.1.* This gave an indication of the status and roles of the languages under investigation, and provided a feel for the methodologies used. The use, adaptation and development of three particular methods employed in practical sociolinguistic investigations were discussed in *2.2.* These were the content analysis of the societal treatment of the language varieties in question, the interview, and the questionnaire. Interviews are better suited for small, in-depth studies, while questionnaires are best for large-scale studies which are limited in time, finances and personpower. An explicit and comprehensive description of the precise steps taken in conducting the research, followed in *2.3.* Since the sample has already been discussed in *1.5.*, the choice of research instrument, i.e. the questionnaire, was detailed (see *2.3.*). It was described in terms of its design, reliability and validity, the scaling technique employed, and its administration (see *2.3.1. - 2.3.3.*). The chapter ended with an account of the theoretical framework, and the research objectives of this study (see *2.4.* and *2.5.*).

CHAPTER 3 Key concepts in language attitude research

3.0. Introduction

In *3.1.* and *3.2.* the two components of language attitudes, i.e. *language* and *attitude*, will be discussed. This will provide insight into the process whereby language attitudes are established, and since language attitudes are also inseparable from an individual's place within society, and his/her language use, an overview of societal and related issues follows in *3.3.*

3.1. Language: related concepts and functions

The term *language* can be used to describe `a group of related [linguistic] norms' (Wardhaugh 1992:25) which, although they are different, are recognised as a unit on the basis of extralinguistic factors. First language (L1) speakers, or second language (L2) speakers, view these associated norms as part of one overarching norm. Sapir, cited in Chambers (1995:1), further argued that *language* can be regarded as essentially a cultural or social product.

Two terms which are related to *language* are *variety* and *dialect*[57]. The term *variety* can be used as a `neutral term to apply to any particular kind of language which we wish, for some purpose, to consider as a single entity' (Chambers & Trudgill 1980:5); or as `any single linguistic norm' (Wardhaugh 1992:25). The term *variety* can thus refer to a linguistic unit equivalent

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[57] For a concise summary of the different uses of these terms, cf. Wardhaugh (1992:22-53).

to *language*, or to a sub-unit thereof. A *Dialect* can be viewed as a variety which is grammatically, phonologically (and maybe lexically), different from other varieties (Chambers & Trudgill 1980:5). The term can be used to describe a sub-unit of a language associated with a particular geographical area (Wardhaugh 1993:133), and/ or with a particular social class or status group. For the latter, *sociolect* would be the most appropriate term (Wardhaugh 1992:25). According to Dirven (1990), cited in Smit (1994:8), language performs three main functions, i.e. *cognitive categorisation*, *interactional communication*, and *social stratification*. The latter function is the most important one for this study, because it implies that language acts as `a social, expressive system mirroring essential aspects of a community's or society's structural patterns' (Dirven 1990:20, quoted in Smit 1994:8). Language thus serves as the carrier of an individual's social identity, i.e. it functions as a *symbol*[58] of social or group identity (see *3.3.*). All symbols, including language, receive their value and meaning via the ideological currents within a society.

The second basic concept contributing towards *language attitudes*, i.e. *attitude*, will be elucidated in the following section.

3.2. Attitudes

3.2.1. Background

The COBUILD dictionary described *attitude* as the way a person

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[58] Any object, person or occurrence can function as a symbol once it has a commonly accepted shared meaning and individuals accept it as representative of something other than the object itself (Watson & Hill in Webb 1992:145).

thinks and feels about something. Ostrom (1968), quoted in Taylor 1984:24), stated that

> [p]hilosophers at diverse times and places have arrived at the same conclusion - there are basically three existential positions that man can take with respect to the human condition: knowing, feeling and acting. The Gita of the Hindus recognises three corresponding paths to salvation: *jñana*, *bhakti*, and *karma*. Throughout the classical tradition, from Plato and Aristotle on, theorists repeatedly proposed the same three components of attitude under their Latinized names of cognitive, affective, and conative.

A description of the historical evolution of the concept *attitude* can be found in Taylor (1984). The field of social psychology embraced *attitude* as key concept in the 1920s[59]. In the 1940s and 1950s the attitude construct briefly lost its appeal due to too much emphasis placed on theoretical expansions, and only reclaimed its standing as an acclaimed area of research in the 1960s (McGuire 1969:137). Since then, social psychology became more inclusive by reflecting the impact of societal structures on an individual's social behaviour (Giles 1979:3).

The attitude concept managed to retain its status in social psychology, because it presented a way in which to summarise experiences and simplify behavioural choices. Attitudes can thus be regarded as evaluative reactions to social experiences, i.e. they are socially derived and modified, and will guide future behaviour since attitude formation is a fundamental, continuously

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[59] See Allport's early description of social psychology as:
an attempt to understand how the thoughts, feelings and behaviours of individuals are influenced by the actual, imagined, or implicit presence of others'(Giles 1979:2-3).

active, human process (cf. Baker 1992:134; Schmied 1991:164; Weber 1992:117-18). The various ways in which the attitude construct has been defined, reflect the different theoretical and research interests of scholars[60].

The social sciences normally make use of two primary approaches with regard to the theoretical and methodological investigation of attitudes. The one approach adheres to the *behaviourist* view which advocates that attitudes are seated in the responses of individuals towards societal conditions. Skinner, quoted in Oller (1979:106), therefore viewed attitudes as `dispensable intervening variables between behaviour and the consequences of behaviour'. The alternative approach adheres to the *mentalist* view which regards attitudes as internal mental states which are aroused by some stimulus, and which influence the person's reaction (cf. Fasold 1984:147; Allport 1935:810). Sociolinguists who follow the mentalist approach see society as playing a norm-enforcing role in the formation of attitudes. According to Agheyisi & Fishman (1970:138), unlike the behaviourist approach, the mentalist approach can account for the intricacies of the attitude construct, and allows for instance-independent interpretations. However, the downside related to defining the concept in intricate and indirect mentalist terms lies in the complications it holds for practical research. This shortcoming eventually led most researchers to establishing basic working definitions which emphasised the features of the attitude

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[60] These vary from the mathematical, operational and stipulative, to the metatheoretical (cf. Taylor 1984:13-55).

construct best suited to their own investigations (cf. McGuire 1969:149; Weber 1992:117).

Regarding the formation of attitudes, Smit (1994:41) argued that the distinction between *behaviourist* and *mentalist* attitude formation theories were too clumsy, since most theories contained elements of both approaches, and that these approaches could alternatively be categorised into three main types, i.e. the *learning*, the *cognitive consistency*, and the *motivational* approaches (cf. Weber 1992:123-28).

3.2.2. The building blocks of attitudes

Ideas pertaining to the internal structure of *attitude* adhere to either a one-dimensional or multi-dimensional approach. Advocates of one-dimensional models equate *attitude* with *emotion / affect* (cf. Agheyisi & Fishman 1970:140; McGuire 1969:153). Researchers have also been able to show that the components of the concept *emotion* can be conceptualised in the same manner as that of the attitude construct (cf. Hazo 1967, Shibles 1978:7, and Shafer *et al.* 1987, all cited in Webb 1992:119). They regarded emotions as psychological states and do not reduce the content of the concepts associated with emotive words to only physical experiences (or knowledge of these physical experiences), but approached them as complex constructs consisting of thoughts, somatic experiences (feelings) and actions. They also viewed them as culture-specific constructs of a high conventional nature. In contrast, the multi-dimensional model of *attitude* is based on the mentalist view of the attitude construct. O' Sullivan *et al.*

(1994:18) subdivided *attitude* into the following constituents: the *cognitive* (the information that is at hand about the target); the *emotional/ affective* (the `gut reaction' to such information); and the *behavioural* (the degree to which we act out that which we know and feel).

Deprez in Webb (1992:133), and Baker (1992:12-13) explained the three components of *attitude* along the same lines. McGuire (1969:157) challenged the purpose of the above differentiation on the basis of the interrelatedness and the complexity of the three constituents. However, since attitudes are not solid structures, a differentiation between their constituents provides a more realistic picture of their internal structure. Smit (1994:44) argued that the indistinct internal structure of the attitude construct asks for the acceptance of the fact that the three components of attitude have recognisable centre-areas, but overlapping border-areas. If these overlapping areas were to be accommodated in a single design, then the three components would occupy the same hierarchical plane, but would not automatically possess the same amount of influence (cf. Baker 1992:12-13; McGuire 1969:155-56; Smit 1994:44).

3.2.3. Concepts associated with *attitude*

Constructs, such as *belief*, *opinion*, *perception* and *behavioural intention*, which are related to the components of attitude, can be categorised on the basis of the particular attitude element to which they are similar in nature (Smit 1994:46). Therefore, the first three concepts can be categorised in terms of the cognitive element since these concepts are dependent upon the individuals' understanding of the attitude object (ibid).

Although researchers agree that these constructs share certain characteristics, they are not similar in meaning. Two of these concepts, i.e. *opinion* and *belief*, will be used in this study. Whereas attitudes are to a certain degree unconscious, individualistic, and refer to more general referents, the more observable, group-orientated and conscious verbalisations, which are normally aimed at particular objects, are termed opinions (McGuire 1969:152). Constructs which are regarded as sub-components of opinion, but which are less group- and context dependent, and normally motivated by arguments, are termed beliefs (cf. Schmied 1991:168). The use of the term *belief* varies, as seen in the case of researchers such as Fishbein (1966) who used it as an overarching term to describe both the cognitive and conative (behaviour intentional) elements of attitude, whilst equating only affect with attitude (Agheyisi & Fishman 1970:139). Although the cognitive (i.e. belief/ opinion) and the affective (i.e. feeling) components are equally important as constituents of attitude, only the first two will be used separately from attitude[61].

Stereotype and *prejudice*[62] are two concepts which describe attitudes of a particular type. A *stereotype* can be viewed as `a socially shared belief that describes an attitude object in a

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[61] Reasons for not using feeling independently, include the similarity in structure of attitude and feeling; and the fact that the questionnaire will elicit mainly cognitive-orientated responses, thus making purely emotive reactions extremely difficult.

[62] For a description of the more straightforward concepts such as *motives, values* and *personality traits,* see Baker (1992:14-15) and McGuire (1969:151).

oversimplified or undifferentiated manner' (Rokeach, 1969:125, cited in Hauptfleisch 1977:7). They are normally rigid in nature, and constructed by group members about other groups (Weber 1992:70). Accordingly, Hauptfleisch (1977:7) stated that they reflect the general and popular opinion prevalent in society, in contrast to the opinion of every person who belongs to that society. Another kind of attitude, which is based on stereotypes, but not orientated towards the entire group (as is the case with stereotypes), can be described as *prejudice*. Prejudices are addressed `towards an individual, because he/she is a member of [a particular] ... group' (Allport 1954, quoted in Hauptfleisch 1977:7). Conventional stereotypes and prejudices are thus more rigid than attitudes, and more readily formed in intergroup situations (Kramarae 1982:85).

Consensus regarding the respective definitions of the mentioned terms still has to be reached. Smit (1994:46) argued that the degree to which these concepts are integrated with, correspond to, or are distinguished from the concept *attitude*, will depend upon the researcher's frame of reference, and the study's practical research objectives.

3.2.4. Attitudes and behaviour

It is now an accepted fact that the foretelling power which attitudes were thought to possess with regard to pre-determining future behaviour, is not as stable as researchers have hoped for. Agreement has been reached that an individual's intentions proclaimed by means of speech and his/her actual behaviour will

not automatically correspond with one another. No `typical' correlation between *attitude* and behaviour could be established. Correlations as high as 0,80 have been reported, and even slightly negative ones (Taylor, 1984). However, language attitude studies have not fared too badly (cf. Edwards 1982:20).

Noticeable discontent with the attitude-behaviour relationship was first expressed in 1934 by La Piere who exposed the conflicting actual behaviour and expressed attitudes of restaurant owners regarding a Chinese couple (cf. Baker (1992:15).

The two contrasting viewpoints which exist regarding the attitude-behaviour relationship, were described by Weber (1992:129). The assertion that attitudes have a direct impact on, and determine, behaviour, constitutes the one view. The alternate view is that attitudes on their own are not adequate forecasters of behaviour, but do have some impact (ibid).

The hurdle both approaches must overcome is the fact that each situation involves numerous extralinguistic variables which can have either a collective or individual influence:

> Every particular instance of human action is ... determined by a unique set of factors. Any change in circumstances, be it ever so slight, might produce a different reaction (Ajzen 1988:45, quoted in Baker 1992:16).

Weber (1992:130) further drew attention to the fact that the attitude-behaviour relationship is not uni-directional, but functions in both directions, i.e. every variable influences the other. In addition, Herbert (1992:29) provided a further perspective on the mentioned relationship when he stated that:

> the problem might not be one of the distinction between professed attitudes and actual behaviour, seeing that Goode & Hatt (1952) have noted that `verbal behaviour is one kind of

> actual behaviour which expresses certain dimensions of social reality which are as real as any other kind'.

Thus the fact that each setting contains a unique set of variables which are interconnected and influence one another, prohibits any generalisations about the attitude-behaviour relationship[63]. Throughout this study the view that attitudes may influence, but not determine behaviour, will be adhered to. Therefore, a strong attitude-behaviour relationship cannot be expected on a very high level, since this would fail to recognise the complexities of the *attitude* concept (Smit 1994:49).

In the following section the social functions which attitudes perform for the individual will come to light[64].

3.3. Society

The use of the term `social stratification' in linguistics (see *3.1.*) emphasises the fact that language reflects and aids the establishment of societal structures, and the individual's place therein. Thus it becomes necessary to look at individuals as members of a group, and at the functional and structural aspects of groups and society.

3.3.1. Individuals as members of various groups

A fundamental social concept relevant to this thesis is the concept *group*. According to the Collins English Dictionary

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[63] See Baker (1992:16-17) for methodological improvements which will produce results which are capable of underpinning the reliability of a particular attitude-behaviour relationship.

[64] For a description of four basic psychological functions which attitudes perform, see Katz (1960:163-70).

(1992:685), a group can be viewed as `a number of persons ... considered as a collective unit; or a number of persons bound together by common social standards, interests, etc.' Social psychologists describe it as `a minimum of two or more people who interact, communicate with, and influence each other for a period of time' (Weber 1992:176)[65]. Two terms related to the concept `group' describe an individual's relationships with the members of his/ her community. These are the notions *in-group* (which refers to the group an individual feels he/ she belongs to), and the notion *out-group* (which denotes the group an individual feels he/ she does not belong to) (Louw-Potgieter 1988:5).

The formation of a person's social identity can be explained by means of a socio-psychological theoretical framework called Social Identity Theory (henceforth SIT). Mentioning the basic points of SIT will be adequate for the purposes of this thesis[66]. The gist of SIT, as explained by Tajfel (1974), (1981); Giles, Bourhis & Taylor (1977), and Turner (1982), can be summarised as follows: Each person's identity is made up of two subsystems, i.e. the personal and the social identities. The personal identity is comprised by individual cognitive factors such as individual characteristics or personality traits. Social identity, in turn, emerges as a result of everyone being placed by him- or herself, and others, within society on the basis of

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[65] In sociolinguistics the term *community* can be used as a synonym for *group*.

[66] For a thorough discussion of SIT see Tajfel (1981:255) and Turner (1982).

social categorisation processes which involve the separation of the world into different categories (cf. Giles, Bourhis & Taylor 1977:319). Every individual singles out a number of social categories which become internalised as his/ her social identity. It would thus be possible for an individual to identify with a number of groups, depending on the individual's adherence to the criteria set for belonging to each group. The criteria for group membership will thus be responsible for the degree to which groups overlap, since groups do not demarcate each other clearly. An individual is able to search for certain positive (or negative) characteristics or qualities of their own group (which produces a sense of distinctiveness) through the process of social comparison (Tajfel 1974:77). This will allow the individual to evaluate his/her social identity and differentiate him- or herself favourably from the out-group (ibid). Le Page & Tabouret-Keller (1985:14) stated that people search for social roles through speech, besides revealing their personal identities. Situational factors will contribute to either the social or personal identity becoming more salient which, in turn, will influence the individual's behaviour or reactions at the cost of the other (Tajfel 1974:69). In addition to social categorisation and social identity which explain the formation of groups, social comparison and psychological group distinctiveness result in the flexibility of intergroup relations (Giles, Bourhis & Taylor 1977:319). The extent of the individual's happiness with his or her status will determine the extent to which he or she will endeavour to change his or her

social identity, or the in-group's character (Giles, Bourhis & Taylor 1977:319). The degree to which this is possible will be determined by the situation. Individual mobility might be successful in some instances, whereas social change would be the only way to bring about a change in intergroup structure in other instances (Giles, Bourhis & Taylor 1977:320). Tajfel (1981) and Turner (1982) describe how the above elements are responsible for creating three interdependent continua.

In its most simplistic form, SIT proposes that social identity will come about through the social categorisation of an individual's social environment into membership and non-membership groups. Accordingly, Tajfel (1974:69) describes social identity as

> that part of an individual's self concept which derives from his knowledge of his membership of a social group(s), together with the emotional significance attached to that membership.

In Chapter 4 certain aspects of social identity theory, which explains intergroup behaviour, will be employed to explain the formation of a coloured political identity.

3.3.2. Ethnolinguistic groups

A particular kind of social group[67] which is of significance to this thesis is an *ethnic group*, and it may be defined as a `politically mobilised collectivity whose members share a perceived distinctive self-identity' (Ross 1979:9). Moreover,

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[67] A *social group* can be described as
two or more individuals who share a common social identification of themselves or ... perceive themselves to be members of the same social category (Turner 1982:16).

Giles & Johnson (1981:206) mentioned that

> [language] is frequently a critical attribute of ethnic group membership, a cue for inter-ethnic categorisation, and can readily become a primary symbol of ethnicity as well as cohesion (Also see Ross 1979:4-11).

Accordingly, ethnic groups who employ particular languages or their varieties as in-group markers, can be termed *ethnolinguistic groups* (cf. Louw-Potgieter 1988:11; Giles, Bourhis & Taylor 1977:328-29). The concept of *ethnicity* proves to be helpful when looking at the South African society in terms of groups. However, ethnic labelling possesses racist connotations for some people, whereas others use it as a basis of self-recognition. Throughout this thesis reference will be made to particular ethnic groups, i.e. coloureds, whites and Africans, and ethnolinguistic groups, i.e. Xhosas and Afrikaners (See *4.2.1.1.* for further discussion regarding the use of these terms).

The notion that ethnicity can be treated as a function of self-categorisation, and/or other-categorisation (e.g. another person might be regarded as a member of an in-group on the basis of that person's nationality, sex, social class, or ethnicity) is consistent with SIT (cf. Turner 1987:44)[68]. For the purposes of this study `ethnicity' constitutes an internal attitude which is responsible for a person's ethnic identity (constituting a particular form of collective identity which, in turn, forms part

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[68] Also see Fishman (1977:17) for three dimensions of ethnicity, i.e. *paternity, patrimony,* and *phenomenology*.

of a person's broader social identity)[69].

Fishman (1977:44) warns that *ethnicity* does not only pertain to minority groups, and should therefore not always be considered in connection with issues of discrimination and intergroup relations. Instead, it should be seen as an aspect of all large-scale, self-identifying behaviour (ibid)[70].

3.3.3. Compositional features of society

The Collins English Dictionary (1992:1466) described a *society* as

> a system of human organisations generating distinctive cultural patterns and institutions, and usually providing protection, security, continuity, and a national identity for its members.

It follows that society will possess a complex internal structure as a result of its magnitude and the considerable number of groups which it incorporates. The two primary sociostructural determinants of society are *social identity* and *power/ status* (Ryan, Giles & Sebastian 1982:8).

As seen in *3.3.1.*, a person's social identity stems from his/ her awareness of his/ her group membership which, in turn, is responsible for the non-hierarchical structure of society, i.e. the groups or entities to which one belongs (Tajfel 1974:69). In addition, an individual would often express his/her feelings of solidarity with a particular group by employing that group's

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[69] This correlates with Giles' contemporary view of ethnicity as constituting a psychological state, in contrast to the old way of thinking about ethnicity as a property of groups (cf. Giles & Robinson 1990:311).

[70] Mercer (1976) concurs that an ethnic self-identity is available to any socialised human individual, but stresses that only under certain social and psychological conditions will ethnicity be aroused or established in a meaningful way.

preferred language variety.

Power, which is present in every group, constitutes the second societal structuring force, and shapes the hierarchical group structure (Ryan, Giles & Sebastian 1982:8). According to Ehlers (1993) one way of elucidating the concept of power is as follows:

to possess power or to be powerful is, then, to have a generalised potential for getting one's own way, or for bringing about changes (at least some of which are intended) in other people's actions or conditions (Labuschagne et al. 1997:51),

whereas Khandwalla (1977:52-53), cited in Ehlers (1993), describes it as the `ability to secure one's goals through the explicit or implicit use of force' (Labuschagne et al. 1997:51). These descriptions imply, among others, that power embodies all forms of economic, military and political power whereby goals can be achieved. The interaction which takes place between these types of power will ultimately determine the power configuration of society (cf. Smit 1994:14-16). The groups who hold the most power will entrench themselves, and their language varieties, as the norm. As a result, out-group members will endeavour to be proficient in those particular varieties in the hope of attaining some of the power (Ryan, Giles & Sebastian 1982:1).

The concept of *hegemony* can be used to describe how a certain power hierarchy becomes entrenched in society. *Hegemony* featured as a central term in the Marxist Antonio Gramsci's 1930s writings on Western society, and is described by O' Sullivan (1994:133-34)

as: the predominance of one social class by means of economic and political power, and the projection of its own specific way of seeing the world, human and social relationships, so that it becomes accepted as `common sense', and part of the natural order by those who are in fact subordinated to it.

Accordingly, Leonard (1984:134-35) sees the key elements of a dominant ideological discourse as follows:

> [It] starts with the promotion of the idea that existing class, gender and ethnic relations are *natural* ... that these relations are right, just and desirable and that they are the only possible ones ... In part, this means creating an acceptance and consent amongst the broader layer of people within the subordinate classes.

The two structural determinants of society (i.e. social identity and power) illuminate the intimate relationship between language and society, since language acts as carrier of these two factors, i.e. language varieties may function as intra-group (reflecting power) and in-group (reflecting social identity) markers. Language therefore serves as a yardstick of social identity and the power within, and between, particular groups (Hudson 1980:122). These relations will ultimately be reflected in language attitudes[71].

3.3.4. Basic concepts relevant to the use of language in society

A number of basic constructs pertaining to language use require some explanation.

When investigating language attitudes it is important to note that communication normally varies according to the participants, situation, and the topic involved. The concept *domain* is used to describe a normal communication encounter which is determined by the mentioned factors. Pastoors (in Webb 1991a) provided a description of eleven domains (broadly described as secondary and primary ones), which the Languages in Contact and Conflict in

[71] See *1.1.2.* where the impact of political power on the language situation and the societal structure of South Africa was discussed.

Africa (LICCA) research group proposed for research purposes in South Africa[72]. However, since language use normally forms a continuum, it is very idealistic to envisage categorising each situation of language use as belonging to one specific domain. In order to describe the use of language varieties in various domains, the terms *function* and *role* are used to refer to the part a variety plays in society (Young, Ratcliffe, Boreham, Khiba & Fitzgerald 1991:6). For the manner in which language varieties are received in these domains, the concepts *prestige* and *status* are used. *Prestige* implies the high standing a variety has in society, whereas *status* refers to the institutionalised place and value of the variety in society (Young *et al.* 1991:6).

A particular status a language variety may hold in a community is that of the *standard*. This means that a language has been codified in some way, i.e. it underwent a process which involved the development of e.g. a grammar, spelling books, literature and dictionaries (Wardhaugh 1992:30). Linguists normally distinguish between a context-related and class-related standard on the basis of the kind of context, and the varieties' distribution of use (Ryan 1980:183). Ryan, Giles & Sebastian (1982:1, 3) argued that standardisation is therefore `... not a property of the language variant itself', but reflects the way the variety is treated socially and provides a means of effecting power relations[73].

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[72] In addition, Pastoors added the `[d]istribution of language use in the various socio-economic classes and sections of classes' as a twelfth domain.

[73] For a description of some of the other functions which standard languages fulfil, e.g. acting as symbol of social, ethnic or regional identity, see Wardhaugh (1992:31).

3.3.5. Bilingualism

Bilingualism can be defined in terms of the `individual's capacity to use two languages', or as the `collective acquisition and maintenance of two languages in a community' (Giles & Robinson 1990:504). Hauptfleisch (1978:6) argued that a person can be regarded as bilingual if he/she is able to `understand, respond to, and contribute to the conversation in the L2'. When it comes to `individual bilingualism' people rarely make a conscious decision to become bilingual, and it happens because their interaction with the world around them requires the use of two languages (Grosjean 1982:36).

Origins of bilingualism include the movement of people, intermarriage, and the education a person received (Grosjean 1982:36). Regarding the learning of a second language, Lambert (1974) proposed a distinction between two different types of bilingualism linked to ethnic group membership, i.e. additive and subtractive bilingualism (cf. Gardner 1982:142-43). However, Gardner (1982:143) stated that

> [t]he dynamics [of the types of bilingualism can] ... be equally appropriate to any individual regardless of his/her ethnicity ... [t]he major variable [being] ... the individual's affective reaction to the acquisition of the language[74].

In this study the emphasis will be on the distribution of particularly Afrikaans and English over certain domains within the K-F area where bilingual families are the norm. *Family bilingualism* can be viewed as a dynamic concept since families become bilingual over a period of time, and fluctuations in the

[74] See *4.1.4.* for a major differentiation that needs to made when investigating bilingualism.

levels of bilingualism are possible (Barnes 1990:143).

3.3.6. Language shift and maintenance

The term *language shift* has been used to describe various language situations which arise due to languages being in contact[75]. Language shift in a narrow sense

> is the shift towards the extended use of a new language which results in the replacement of a former primary language with a new primary language (Brenzinger 1992:287).

In its widest application a completed language shift

> denotes the shift of an entire speech community[76] from an old [abandoned] language to a new one [target language] (Brenzinger 1992:287).

If the shifting group consists of the last (or only) people in the world who speak that language, a shift in language leads to *language death*[77]. *Language maintenance* would denote the continuing use of a language in the face of competition from a regionally more powerful or numerically stronger language (cf. Fasold 1984). Brenzinger (1992:288) noted that the prime prerequisite for language shift is an intervening period of bilingualism, and he emphasised the fact that language shift

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[75] See Herbert (1992:12) for a discussion of South African examples of language shift.

[76] A *speech community* is

> a group of people who share the same rules and patterns for what to say, and when and how to say it ... Saville-Troike (1982) ... proposes that speech communities should be understood as overlapping. That is, each individual speaker can ... belong simultaneously to several speech communities; some smaller ones included in larger ones, and some separate from the others (Fasold 1990:62).

[77] *Language death* can also describe a situation in which a language is lost without a new one replacing it, or even `the *process* leading to the extinction of the original language' (Brenzinger 1992:288).

depends more on language use than on language structure[78]. Fasold (1984:216) also mentioned that only a few individuals in a society will totally give up the use of one language, and substitute it with another language within their own lifetime. A typical scenario would be one where one generation is bilingual, but only passes one of the two languages to the next generation (ibid).

It is also possible that code-switching strategies, which communities use the most often, may indicate the patterns of language use which will eventually prevail in a community. Language shift will in some instances occur only to the extent that a community desires to give up its identity as an identifiable socio-cultural group in favour of an identity as part of some other community or group (cf. Fasold 1984:239). Predicting when a community will be likely to want this change in identity (accompanied by a change in language loyalty) remains impossible. This is mainly due to the complexity and interrelatedness of the factors affecting the whole process of language shift. However, it is probably safe to say that the earliest signs of shift would be the movement of one language into domains normally reserved for another. A shift in language can take place over several generations (where the process is seen as involuntary, unconscious and ongoing), or it can happen rather quickly, i.e. within one generation (e.g. immigrant groups) (Appel & Muysken 1987:41). It is also an accepted notion

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[78] `[language shift] manifests itself in an increasing use of the new language in more and more domains, both by the individual and by the community'(Brenzinger 1992:288).

that language shift often takes place later in life, and is triggered by factors in the respondent's adult life. However, significant influences in the person's childhood most probably prepared him/her for such a change.

A general theory or model of language shift still needs to be developed. The main problem is the specification of all the relevant factors at different levels, their interdependence, relevance, importance and frequency of occurrence. As the basis for a framework, Brenzinger (1992:289) suggested using a compilation of factors which influence language maintenance and behaviour as first proposed by Giles *et al.* (1977), and extended by Appel & Muysken (1987:32-42). These include status factors (e.g. economic and social status), demographic factors (e.g. the number of speakers), institutional support factors (e.g. mass media), cultural dis-/similarity, and the influence of intervening variables[79].

In addition, the language attitudes of individuals and the speech community are just as important as the language use of the speakers, and the above-mentioned factors. All these aspects should be looked at in relation to one another, and in relation to the overall shift situation in order to determine the eventual outcome (cf. Brenzinger 1992:291-92).

3.4. Summary

Since language attitudes are directed towards language and

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[79] See Brenzinger (1992:291) for three additional steps to be taken in order to determine patterns of language shift.

language-related topics, and held by individuals as group members, some necessary linguistic and social psychological considerations were outlined in Chapter 3.

The chapter started off by distinguishing between three related linguistic concepts, i.e. *language, variety* and *dialect* in *3.1.* This was followed by the elucidation of the *attitude* concept in terms of its pivotal position within the realm of social psychology (see *3.2.1.),* and the most important definitions and theoretical models which exist pertaining to the attitude structure in (see *3.2.2.*). In addition, it also became imperative to distinguish *attitude* from associated constructs, specifically those denoting particular components of the attitude construct, such as *belief* or *opinion* (see *3.2.3.*).

The focus also fell on the social identity of individuals, and their membership of various types of groups which adheres to the sociostructural determinants of society, i.e. power and social/ group identity (see *3.3.*). Since this study also centres on two language processes important to multilingual countries, i.e. *bilingualism* and *language shift,* they were briefly touched upon in *3.3.5.* and *3.3.6.*

CHAPTER 4 Language attitudes and coloured identity

4.0. Introduction

After a discussion of three primary concepts (*language, attitude* and *society*) in Chapter 3, the central concept of this dissertation, i.e. *language attitude*, will be introduced in this chapter. Attention will be paid to the origin and structure of language attitudes, their significance, and the different types of language attitudes. Thereafter, the chief theoretical points of departure for the study of language attitudes will be explained, along with their influence on language attitude research (see *4.1.5.*). In *4.1.5.* special attention will also be paid to the social psychological approach which offers the most important and all-encompassing framework for the study of language attitudes. Another relevant theoretical framework which will be presented and discussed in this chapter, tries to explain the development of a coloured political identity in the Western Cape. This also provides further important insight into the development of racial identity in the wider South African context. The description of two successive forms of collective identity, i.e. *minority identity* and *ethnic mobilisation* (as proposed by Ross 1979), will be fused with the manifestation of a coloured political identity as described by Goldin (1987). In addition, by incorporating language as identity marker within the sphere of the political mobilisation of coloured identity, we move one step closer to fully understanding coloured identity. As an introduction to that particular discussion, the way in which the South African society was characterised along

ethnolinguistic lines, as well as the concepts *ethnicity* and *ethnolinguistic group interaction*, will be elucidated.

4.1. Language attitudes

4.1.1. Background

Before looking at the construct *language attitude*, it will be helpful to recall that attitudes are flexible, mental constructs which are influenced by an individual's experience, and directed towards an object or referent. It has also been shown that the attitude construct is comprised of three main elements, i.e. cognitive, emotive and conative elements (which translates into *beliefs/opinions*, *feelings* and *intentions*).

4.1.2. Compositional features

A description of the language attitude construct is bound to be as intricate and multifaceted as its individual components. In addition, society, which is also complex, comes into play, since attitudes cannot be divorced from societal behaviour because language functions as a social marker (cf. Hauptfleisch 1977:4). Language attitudes thus need to be understood in terms of the complexity and interrelatedness of their three main contributing concepts, i.e. *language*, *attitude* and *society*.

Validation of the fact that language attitudes do exist can be found in the negative or positive beliefs, feelings, and opinions which individuals express towards different languages or their varieties. The origin of language attitudes can be traced to the different social standards and preferences which are associated

with particular language varieties in reaction to the configuration of a society in terms of power and social identity (Ryan, Giles & Sebastian 1982:8) which, in turn, gives an indication of the external and internal strength of groups (cf. Smit 1994:59). Attitudes towards language therefore exist, because language also fulfils a social function. As seen in *3.3.*, language attitudes provide a link between the individual and the social structures by serving as a symbol and transmitter of in-group identity, and out-group demarcation.

The particular language variety used for in-group identification will achieve high in-group status, and will become standardised, depending on the particular group's status (cf. Ryan, Giles & Sebastian 1982:3). If individuals belonging to low status groups are unable to stay members of their original group, whilst improving their social standing, they will end up choosing between the language of the high status group (which serves as an indicator of societal achievement), and the language which functions as in-group and solidarity marker (Ryan, Giles & Sebastian 1982:1). In situations where social advancement does not imply losing one's original identity, people tend to maintain their language[80], or employ the different languages or varieties according to domain. This phenomenon has been described as *situational code-switching*, i.e. a switch `occurs when there is a change of topic, or participants, or situation' (Gumperz, cited

[80] See Ryan (1979:145-54) for further discussion on why low-prestige varieties prevail.

by McCormick 1983:15)[81].

To summarise, the formation of language attitudes can be traced to the process whereby an individual has to establish and defend his/ her membership of a number of social groups. In turn, these social identities give rise to emotions and language attitudes which are formed on the basis of past experience, and the knowledge of the perceived status and roles of the language varieties involved. St. Clair (1982:164) offered a similar view in terms of the sociology of deviance whereby social history and political movements are related to how people feel about the forms of language they associate with members of different social and economic groups.

4.1.3. Relevance

From the discussion of identity, the value of research on language attitudes becomes evident. Such research can be used to gather information on social relations since it tries to describe how the crucial societal roles of language are recognised and internalised by all members of a specific society (Fasold 1984:158). Language attitudes can further be used as a valuable source of information on the linguistic situation in a country in general, the status and functions of some languages, and may mediate and determine intergroup relations in multilingual settings (Giles, Hewstone & Ball 1983:95).

The rate of certain sound changes can also be affected by the

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[81] See Wardhaugh (1992:99-108) for an overview of code-switching, and McCormick (1989) for information regarding South Africa.

language attitudes of speakers towards the speech variables involved, and attitudes may contribute to the way a person perceives the cues in another's speech (cf. Smit 1994:60). Baker (1992:29-30) provided an overview of the different areas where language attitude research might be able to play a significant role. These areas included language groups, the use of specific languages, language preference, learning, and education. Baker also highlighted the role of language attitudes in psychological theory, research and practice. Consequently, language attitude studies can provide the context for future sociolinguistic research projects.

4.1.4. The different kinds of language attitudes

Various types of language attitudes can be distinguished on the basis of the referent involved, and the kind of attitude. In addition, the target group, as a variable related to the setting, should be taken into account (Smit 1994:63).

Schmied's (1991:164) categorisation of language attitude studies in terms of three primary, somewhat overlapping, areas of language attitude research, on the basis of the further qualification of the referent 'language', seems to be the most appropriate for this dissertation. Schmied distinguished between attitudes towards certain languages, attitudes towards dialects, and attitudes towards the use of these languages / varieties. Attitudes towards languages tend to be consistent and are normally termed social attitudes or stereotypes, since the languages are assessed as symbols of the corresponding ethnic

or social groups (see *3.2.3.*). According to Schmied (1991:164), the distinction between attitudes towards languages and dialects lies in the fact that attitudes towards dialects are more complex, because they include aspects of social marking and comparison to a norm, whereas standard languages are viewed as entities on their own. Attitudes towards the application of languages/ varieties pertain to research that aims to study attitudes towards domain-specific language use. In these instances the respondents, and their responses, are influenced by their knowledge and perception of the setting, since they are asked to reflect on their own linguistic behaviour. Consequently, Schmied (1991:168) argued that language attitudes which are supported by communicative, national, personal, educational, and cognitive arguments can be described as language beliefs or opinions. (see *3.2.3.*).

As seen above, three fields of language attitude research can be distinguished when the referent *language* is further qualified. If an analysis of language attitudes is based on the different forms which *attitude* can take, two approaches emerge. The structure of the *attitude* concept provides the first premise on which a distinction can be drawn, i.e. is the difference between *language attitude* (partly subconscious and based on emotion), and *language belief* (conscious and based on cognition) (Smit 1994:66; also see *3.2.3.*). This difference also needs some consideration when methodological decisions are taken. Since language attitudes elicited by means of questionnaires are by definition more cognitively laden in the sense that the respondents have to rely

on their knowledge regarding the language and its use, it will primarily depend on the wording and the formulation of the questions whether the responses represent beliefs or deep-felt attitudes (Smit 1994:64).

The motivation for using a particular language provides the second premise on which a differentiation can be based. The two central types of motivation identified in this regard adhere to either an *instrumental* or *integrative* orientation. Gardner & Lambert (1972:14) stated that an instrumental orientation `is characterised by a desire to gain social recognition or economic advantages' (and by minimal emotional, but maximal functional concern - cf. Hauptfleisch 1979:47), whereas an integrative orientation is described as `a desire to be like representative members [i.e. L1 speakers] of the other language community' (Gardner & Lambert 1972:14). This implies that the respondent desires to associate him-/herself with the culture of the other group, and does so via that group's language (cf. Hauptfleisch 1979:23).

Lastly, an important methodological distinction that needs to be drawn between monolingualism and bi-/multilingualism has been identified and explained by Baker (1992:76-96). In the past, the view prevailed that language attitude investigations should be based on the assumption that languages are in competition with one another, i.e. that positive consequences for one language imply negative consequences for the other language. No thought was given to the idea that the decision to use both (or more) varieties might be an independent one, and that it constituted

a holistic view of bilingualism[82] (ibid) (See *3.3.5.* for a discussion on bilingualism.)

Although a number of other ways whereby language attitude studies can be categorised have been suggested, most of them possess certain limitations. These include the work by Cooper & Fishman (1974:6) who tried to include all the different kinds of referents into their definition of language attitude[83], Gardner (1985:40-41) who distinguished three ways of classification, based on the significance of attitudes with regard to language learning; and Agheyisi & Fishman (1970:141) who proposed classification in terms of three mutually non-exclusive classes[84].

4.1.5. The theory behind language attitude research

A multitude of approaches which could be followed with regard to the study of language attitudes exist. This is due to the broad area of research covered, and the experience, interests and perspectives of the various researchers.

Fields of study which contribute to, and which express interest in, language attitudes include linguistics, sociology, anthropology and social psychology (cf. Ryan, Giles & Sebastian 1982:viii; Wardhaugh 1992). The first three fields' shared

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[82] Baker (1992) was the first researcher to include bilingualism as a key area of investigation in his attitude research in Wales.

[83] This broad definition did not allow for the further distinction of the different subtypes of language attitudes.

[84] See Smit (1994:67-70) for a discussion of these alternative approaches.

interest in language attitudes stems from the social function which language fulfils. Sociolinguistics contributed to the field of language attitude research by establishing the use of sociological methods, such as questionnaires and interviews, accompanied by further statistical assessment (Ryan, Giles & Sebastian 1982:2). Sociolinguistics further contributed to the theory behind language attitude research by introducing the sociolinguistic variable[85], and the distinction between covert and overt prestige. According to Labov (1972:249), high-status variants or dialects normally possess overt prestige since these high-status varieties are associated with the social power of upper-class speakers, i.e. the high-status group, and is consequently required for higher-status jobs and upward social mobility. This results in most members of a society aspiring towards this variety. In contrast, many working-class or lower-middle-class speakers associate their non-standard linguistic varieties with their own group. These varieties attain social significance, and a form of subconscious covert prestige, since a person who uses them would be considered a member of the in-group. The covert and overt prestige the individual attaches to language varieties may result in differences between attitudes uttered in public, private and during interviews. In Chapter 6 it will be shown that the two types of prestige stem from the two sociostructural determinants of society, i.e. overt prestige stems from the power dimension, whilst covert prestige results

[85] I.e. a linguistic item which has identifiable linguistic variants (Wardhaugh 1992:139); or correlates with some non-linguistic variable of the social context (Labov 1972:237).

from the dimension of group identity.

Anthropology influenced language attitude research via the ethnography of speaking[86] which broadened its theoretical field of reference[87], and contributed long-term methods of data-gathering, such as introspection and participant observation (Fasold 1990:47-50).

Since `attitude' always occupied a central position in social psychology, this field is responsible for the most solid theoretical basis for the study of language attitudes. A social psychological perspective emphasises `the individual and his/her ... attitudes towards in- and out-group members as elicited by language, and as reflected in its use' (Ryan, Giles & Sebastian 1982:2), and is therefore able to incorporate individuals as members of society, the complex nature of attitude, plus a reliable and valid methodology[88]. The social psychological framework as formulated by Ryan, Giles & Sebastian (1982:1-19), and Giles & Ryan (1982:208-23), provides the most applicable and integrative frame of reference of the subject. It also offers the most acceptable and overarching definition of the `language attitude' concept which was often defined in either practically or theoretically unsuitable terms in the past (Ryan, Giles & Sebastian 1982:6-7). According to this approach `language

[86] According to Fasold (1990:39), sociolinguistics also partly includes the ethnography of speaking.

[87] By searching for a global understanding of the viewpoints and values of a community as a way of explaining the attitudes and behaviour of its members (Fasold 1990:47-50).

[88] See Fasold (1990:39, 62) for further discussion.

attitude' stands for `any affective, cognitive or behavioural index of evaluative reactions toward different language varieties or their speakers' (Ryan, Giles & Sebastian 1982:7).
This definition is less complex than previous ones such as that of Allport (1935)[89], but is able to incorporate all three attitude components, i.e. cognition, emotion, and behaviour.

Variables which normally influence a person's language attitudes and usage can be subdivided into three categories, i.e. personal, psychological and societal variables (Smit 1994:70-73). When combined, all these variables are responsible for a person's identity which consists of the self and various social identities (see *3.3.1.*). Personal and psychological variables (e.g. individual characteristics and anxiety) provide insight into the personalities of individuals, whilst societal variables (e.g. class and ethnicity) determine an individual's social identity (ibid). Societal variables can thus provide insight into the group and power structure of a society, and the social meaning attached to language varieties. The development of language attitudes will be guided by the perceived status of the language varieties which, in turn, is dependent upon the way in which they are used by the group(s) in power to protect in-groups and marginalise out-groups (see *3.3.1.2.*).
Fishman (1971:228-33) tried to explain the impact of societal variables on language varieties via four factors which can be

[89] Allport (1935) defined `attitude' in traditional complex terms as `the mental and neural state of readiness'.

summarised in terms of the two dimensions: standardisation[90] (of which autonomy and historicity are two aspects) and vitality (Ryan, Giles & Sebastian 1982:3). Vitality is defined as `interaction networks that actually employ [the varieties in question] ... natively for one or more ... functions' (Fishman 1971:230). This implies that as the functions of a particular variety increases, so does its vitality.

The status of a language variety can be altered in terms of both dimensions mentioned, but it would be more prone to vary in terms of vitality (Ryan, Giles & Sebastian 1982:5). The two determinants also interact, since a standard communicates a particular degree of vitality, and as a variety's vitality increases, its chances of becoming a standard also increase (Ryan, Giles & Sebastian 1982:5). Varieties can thus be organised in terms of a grid consisting of vitality on the horizontal axis, and standardisation on the vertical axis (Ryan, Giles & Sebastian 1982:6). In terms of the sociostructural determinants of society, vitality correspond with social identity, and standardisation with power/ status. In addition, two interrelated dimensions, i.e. group solidarity and social status, can further be used to describe the way in which varieties are perceived and judged in society (cf. Fishman 1971:150; Ryan, Giles & Sebastian 1982:8). Group solidarity in this context would refer to `the value of a speech variety for identification with a group', and social status to `the value of a speech variety for social advancement'

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[90] See *3.3.4.1.* for an explanation of the terms *standardisation* and *standard*.

(Ryan 1979:155). As will be seen in Chapter 6, the use of these two dimensions can be justified, since the two determinants of society, i.e. group identity and power, are reflected in the appraisal of the different language varieties.

4.2. The formation of a coloured political identity

4.2.1. Background

4.2.1.1. Language, ethnicity, and political identity

It has been established that any societal change will have an impact on the way individuals assess languages. Transformation at a political level will thus have an affect on, and help determine, an individual's attitudes, beliefs, and opinions.
Spencer (1974), cited in Smit (1994:98), argued that the previous Protestant practice of missioning and providing education in the mother tongue of particular groups, lead to the development of a written code of the local language varieties which enabled the missionaries to translate and explain the Bible in the mother tongue of the local inhabitants. However, the African languages did not exist as separate entities at that stage and could be described as dialects on a continuum, analogous to the European languages before 1600 (ibid). Consequently, the languages chosen were not natural standards. Sometimes they were picked by sheer chance / accident (Dirven 1991:1), or sometimes due to placement near local bases of power (e.g. chieftains). This culminated in the establishment of separate languages which, in linguistic terms, are dialects of one language.
Herbert (1992:2) mentioned that the random identification of

eleven linguistic entities resulted in separate linguistically-defined ethnic units which further sustained misconstrued ideas regarding linguistic and ethnic homogeneity[91]. Since the ascribed ethnic labels were often internalised by the respective groups, they can be regarded as partly responsible for mediating a group's private sense of identity (cf. Makoni 1995:4; Herbert 1992:2).

According to Tajfel's social identity theory, members of subordinate groups who feel that their social identities are inadequate, will attempt to transform them in a positive sense by employing various group strategies such as *assimilation*, *social creativity*, and *group competition* (Tajfel 1974:12).

A further strategy entails the redefinement of previously negatively-valued characteristics of the group (e.g. skin colour/ language dialect or variety) in a more positive and favourable way (ibid). In the case of the Africans and coloureds, the practice of semantic resistance, which entails the rehabilitation of derogatory terms such as *Kaffir*, *Gam* and *Hotnot*, can be viewed as part of such a strategy (cf. Makoni 1995:5).

The rehabilitation of these terms is usually started by members of the out-group, and the rehabilitated terms quite often end up being an embarrassment for the more powerful group (cf. Lukens 1979:145; Makoni 1995:5).

Attempts to divide Africans on the basis of ethnicity and the language spoken also folded due to the emergence of new

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[91] Besides language, religion was also used as an ethnic marker, e.g. in the case of the Jews.

ethnicities (Makoni 1995:2). New ethnicities acknowledge the existence of diversity, but impose a superordinate identity over that diversity (Hall 1992:252-59)[92]. The perception existed that contrary to the apartheid classification of ethnic groups many, if not most, of the dis- and unenfranchised South Africans regarded themselves as members of the black majority (i.e. all persons not categorised as white) (Goldin 1987:xxv). This, however, does not hold true for all members of these groups. In 1981 an opinion poll showed that 75% of the Indian and coloured informants did not want to be called blacks, contrary to what most African informants believed (Herbert 1992:5).

4.2.1.2. Ethnolinguistic group interaction

Social identity theory, as formulated by Tajfel (1974), can be linked with the taxonomy of ethnolinguistic vitality, and the theory of speech accommodation (as proposed by Giles), to provide a theoretical framework which may be helpful in describing ethnolinguistic group interaction (Smit 1994:17-20).

Regarding the relationship between *language* and *ethnicity*, the conceptual framework used for this study will be that of Ross (1979:4-11)[93]. Ross attempted to bridge the gap between two competing methodological stances regarding *language* and *ethnicity*, i.e. the *objectivist approach* which focuses on

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[92] In certain regions of South Africa the use of a *lingua franca* such as Tsotsitaal can be seen as part of an attempt to build an urban African identity which accommodates both ethnic and cultural contrasts (Makoni 1995:7).

[93] See Ross (1979:11) for the analytical advantages of this framework.

concrete cultural institutions and patterns (and views the relation between ethnicity and language as accidental), and the *subjectivist approach*, which is based on a `shared-us-feeling' (which may exist despite differences in clothing, religion and language) (Ross 1979:3).

According to the new approach, group members consciously choose to associate *language* and *ethnicity*. However, the framework permits a non-static relationship between *language* and *ethnicity*, and allows for considerable alteration as the environment changes. *Ethnicity* is seen as only one particular form of collective identity, originating from an internal attitude. An `ethnic group' is defined as a `politically mobilised collectivity whose members share a perceived distinctive self-identity' (Ross 1979:9), which also forms part of the person's broader social identity. Different forms of collective identity are likely to emerge at different stages of societal development and intergroup relations (Ross 1979:4). Each different mode of collective identity carries with it a very different role for language. Collectivities can be placed within a progression of identity modes consisting of *communal*, *minority*, *ethnic* and *national* stages (Ross 1979:4). Each stage manifests a different combination of values of certain variables (such as political power) which will predict the nature of the collective identity. Two forms of collective identity, i.e. *minority identity* and the *mobilisation of ethnic identity* will be discussed in *4.2.*, in

in accordance with the formation of a coloured identity[94].

4.2.2. Coloured identity

4.2.2.1. Political contextualisation of the coloured community

Although historians find it difficult to define the coloured people (cf. Lewis 1987), most of them tend to describe coloureds as a heterogeneous collection of individuals who have been grouped together for administrative purposes by the apartheid state. Based on recent estimates by Schuring (1990:23), the coloured population constitutes 3,42 million of the total population of 38 million people.

Adhikari (1992:95) stated that the coloured people `descended largely from Cape slaves, indigenous Khoesan people ... other blacks assimilated into Cape colonial society ... [and] European settlers'. The coloureds were acculturated by the European settler society and became an impoverished rural proletariat. Many worked on the white-owned farms as slaves, and had no independent access to land or capital in the colony (cf. Lewis 1987). According to Adhikari (1992:96), the role which slavery played in the formation of a coloured identity is often minimised by `liberal' and `radical' writings (as opposed to traditional thinking on the origin of coloureds). Three ways in which slavery historically influenced and contributed to the formation of coloured identity, are described by Adhikari (1992:97):

> [Firstly] ... by subjecting ... [forced immigrants] ... to

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[94] Also see Taylor (1980:136-37) who lists four stages of the relationship between ethnicity and language, i.e. stable hierarchically organised intergroup relations; social mobility; consciousness raising & competitive intergroup relations.

> a common socialising experience, slavery lay the foundation for a future common identity ... Secondly ... [slavery] ... helped to create a social environment that promoted closer identification between the different sectors of the black labouring poor on the grounds of their common oppression ... Thirdly, the legacy of slavery persisted into the late nineteenth century and contributed to the negative stereotyping of coloureds by colonists.

Since the majority of the coloured population belongs to the working class, and since class divisions represent a primary feature of each and every capitalist society (Goldin 1987: xxii), a closer look at the notion `class' is required. Controversy exists among sociologists regarding the character, definition and existence of social classes (Watermeyer 1993:68). According to Trudgill (1983), quoted in Watermeyer (1993:68), `social classes are generally taken to be aggregates of individuals with similar social and/ or economic characteristics'. In Marxist terms, class relations stem from the possession of the means of production by the capitalist class[95], and the subsequent development of a working class/ proletariat[96] (Goldin 1987:xxi). A further differentiation to be made is that between the `bourgeoisie' and `petty bourgeoisie'. The bourgeoisie comprises the middle and upper layers of the capitalist class, and embraces all employers of wage labour (Goldin 1987:xxii). However, the petty bourgeoisie, despite controlling the means of production, are not involved in appropriating `surplus value' from wage labourers, and can thus be viewed as a separate class (ibid). A further

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[95] I.e. the owners and controllers of the means of production who appropriate `surplus value' from wage labourers (by paying them less than their `use value') (Goldin 1987: xxii).

[96] I.e. all those who lack ownership or control of the means of production, and who are dependent on wage labour for their subsistence (Goldin 1987:xxii).

distinction can also be drawn between the `traditional petty bourgeoisie' (e.g. self-employed traders, craftsmen, etc.), and the `new petty bourgeoisie', i.e. those involved in the management and preservation of capitalist society, but not in the production of `surplus value' (e.g. nurses and teachers) (ibid). The coloured working class is the oldest working class in South Africa, with its historical origins in the transition from slavery to farm labour, and ultimately proletarianisation (cf. Van der Ross 1986). Included in this transition was the rural to urban migration of coloured workers in the post-war period, and the institution of the Coloured Labour Preference Policy by the State (Field 1990:31).

During the 1894 census, the term *coloured* was still used to refer to all non-European people (Goldin 1987:26). However, a consciousness of racial differences existed prior to the 1890s, and a distinct coloured political identity began to emerge when African men started to be increasingly excluded from the electorate (Goldin 1987:235-36). During the 1904 census, the term *coloured* was used for the first time to officially refer to a distinct intermediate grouping between whites and Africans (Goldin 1987:237). This move was clearly politically motivated, and tried to legally designate coloureds as being separate from Africans. Understandably, the term *coloured* has pejorative connotations for many people within and outside the coloured population group. In order to signify their opposition to the apartheid-inspired label, authors started using quotation marks, did away with the capitalisation of the term, and used the

epithet *so-called.* In addition, the Afrikaans word *bruin* (=brown) replaced the word *Kleurling* (=coloured) in Afrikaner nationalist newspapers in the mid-1970s after long-standing objections (Stone 1995).

In 1948 the National Party (NP) came into political power, and continued the tradition (already in existence for over a century) of creating preference policies for coloureds (Goldin 1987:237). Besides the preference policies, discriminatory legislation was also introduced in order to isolate the coloureds even further (Goldin 1987:3-26). The *Population Registration Act* of 1950 made legislative definitions a matter of opinion, rather than fact, by classifying people as *coloured* on the basis of physical appearance (skin colour, hair type, and other physical features) (cf. Lewis 1987), while the *Group Areas Act* of the same year created *coloured residential areas.* The state effectively delimited these areas as working-class areas through the low standard of housing, streets, lighting, and the social services provided (Da Costa 1983). Further legislative policies such as the withdrawal of voting rights, the *Mixed Marriages Act,* Section 16 of the *Immorality Act,* as well as the introduction of the Coloured Labour Preference Policy (CLPP) and other preference policies, formed part of a careful and deliberate plan of social engineering on the part of the Afrikaner nationalists who tried to develop a distinct coloured political identity (cf. Goldin 1987). The legislation restricted the coloureds upward mobility, and further raised the barriers between Africans, coloureds, and whites. Ironically, the tensions and resistance which this

created, contributed to the formation of the coloured people's own affirmation of their identity, and consequently gave rise to various political organisations which were opposed to the imposed coloured preference policies and discriminatory legislation (ibid).

4.2.2.2. The formation of a coloured identity

Goldin (1987:xiii) stated that the Western Cape region, which is home to over 60% of the total coloured population, is regarded as the area where coloured identity developed (cf. Adhikari 1992:96). Furthermore, between 1963 and 1990 the size of the coloured community in the Western Cape increased by about 317 per cent (Stone 1991:146).

The adaptation of Ross' (1979) general framework of successive forms of collective identity (in specific the progression of a minority identity to ethnic mobilisation) (see *4.2.1.2.*), together with the explication of coloured political identity by Goldin (1987), can contribute to our understanding of the formation of a coloured identity.

Within Ross' framework the existence of a minority identity constitutes the first step towards ethnic mobilisation. This develops when a communal group (regardless of its linguistic acculturation) is prohibited from assimilating into the dominant group (Ross 1979:6). The Afrikaner nationalists treated the coloured community as a minority group, even though most of them shared the same religion, culture, and language. Since a minority cannot determine the nature of its own relationship to the

majority, it cannot determine the nature of its own identity, and tends to internalise an inherently inferior self-image (Ross 1979:6). The coloured community was placed in such a position, and was subjected to extreme stigmatisation by themselves and others (see Stone 1995:279). In the case of minority groups mobility is centred on ascription, not achievement (Ross 1979:6-7). The coloured people experienced this when they were given a well-defined place in the social system, and exploited as a source of cheap labour. The state also ensured that legislation was in place to ensure their compliance and hinder their mobility (see *4.2.2.1.*).

If different collectivities use the same language, variation in vocabulary, syntax, etc., may occur, and an `ethnic division of labour will be complemented by an ethnic division of dialect' (Ross 1979:7). The coloured working class, in particular, adopted *Kaapse* (=Cape) *Afrikaans* (as opposed to *suiwer* (=standard) *Afrikaans*) as symbol of their own community and identity (see *1.3.2.*). Since minority roles and identities are usually highly stigmatised, upwardly mobile minority members will attempt to remove this stigma by assimilating into the majority (Ross 1979:8). The majority will normally deny the opportunity of full assimilation to them, as was the case for the coloured élite, and an alternative is sought through collective behaviour (Ross 1979:8). When a minority group reaches this stage, a number of potential group identities and political strategies are available (ibid). Possibilities include redefinition in terms of objective characteristics such as class, region, religion, or ethnicity,

which provide an `inter-subjective shared sense of peoplehood around which a group may be mobilised' (Ross 1979:8).

For the coloured élite, ethnicity came to fulfil important psychological and emotional needs, instilling a sense of self-worth and belonging (cf. Van der Ross 1986; Stone 1991). The assertion of an ethnic identity also provides the chance to mobilise resources in order to pressurise the political system to advance the material interests of the ethnic group within the wider society (Ross 1979:9). In similar fashion, the coloured élite used coloured identity in the early 1900s to mobilise others, and advance their interests as a group (Goldin 1987:25-26). Coloured political mobilisation was thus responsible for the rise of a sense of coloured identity.

Goldin (1987) focused specifically on the political manifestations of coloured identity from the late nineteenth century onwards. He concentrated on the role of the successive white governments, the coloured preference policies, and the development of coloured political identity in terms of the major coloured political organisations, institutions, and trade unions during the period 1904 - 1984.

The history of coloured politics seems to be permeated by two major traditions, i.e. the tradition of `compromise' and of `boycott' (Field 1990). The African Peoples Organisation (APO) (founded in Cape Town in 1902) was the first successful coloured political movement, and also marked the start of coloured political mobilisation on a national scale (cf. Goldin 1987:31; Lewis 1987:10). The APO campaigned for the protection of coloured

people at the expense of the rest of the non-European population, and so doing became a willing partner to policies of preference for coloureds. However, at the same time, large scale discrimination had been effected on a physical, political, cultural, economical and psychological basis through discriminatory legislation (see *4.2.2.1.*). Radical coloureds who were opposed to the rapid deterioration of the political and economic position of coloureds, and the policies which advanced coloureds at the expense of Africans, felt alienated by the ANC's pre-occupation with African identity, and eventually found a home in the Non-European Unity Movement (NEUM), and the South African Coloured Peoples' Organisation (SACPO) (Goldin 1987:241). However, both organisations failed to bridge the gap between coloured and African people. In later years, coloured politics centred on participation in the Coloured Persons Representative Council by means of the Labour Party (which later withdrew), and the coloured House of Representative as part of the tricameral system (whose election was boycotted by the majority of eligible voters) (Goldin 1987:242-43). Subsequently, the coloured radicals in the Western Cape found a new home in the United Democratic Front (UDF) which associated strongly with the ANC's Freedom Charter (ibid).

With the advent of democracy and the establishment of new political structures and alliances, another process of re-identification has begun. This involves the re-establishment of political, personal, cultural and social identities, although certain sectors of the marginalised communities still think of

themselves as part of a minority group, allowing others to treat them as such.

According to Ross (1979:11), the final step for an ethnic group whose demands are not met, is to make maximal demands and request autonomy or separation. At the moment, both the `Kleurling Weerstandsbeweging' (Coloured Resistance Movement), as well as the `Vryheidsfront' (Freedom Front) are calling for their own homelands within the borders of South Africa.

In order to explain the process of the reaffirmation of the importance of the coloureds' varieties of Afrikaans and English which accompanies the process of a more positive re-identification, elements of Chick's (1995:230-41) model of interactional sociolinguistics can be used[97]. Chick's (1995:239) original model described a process of misinterpretation of motive and misevaluation of abilities due to communication failure which lead to cultural stereotypes and discrimination. This model was later revised to include a positive system which results in a counter-culture of egalitarianism since members of subordinate groups (such as the coloureds) find a way to challenge the hegemony of dominant groups by contesting the positionings implicit in the discourse conventions which the dominant group in the past sought to have accepted as natural and appropriate in a wide range of public domains (e.g. the use of Standard Afrikaans). However, Chick (1995) recognised the fact that even a two-way model would be partial and that many cycles driven by

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[97] Interactional sociolinguistics tries to explain the interaction effects of everyday conversational exchanges and the processes and institutions of wider society.

a wide range of ideologies come into play.
Other perspectives regarding the formation of coloured identity include Field (1990) and Stone (1995). Field (1990) discussed the development of a coloured identity of exclusion, characterised by apathy towards politics, especially amongst the working-class. This state of affairs he attributed to a social consciousness which was shaped by a particular set of historical and current factors which resulted in the tendency to perceive and deal with political and non-political realities as separate and unconnected. Stone (1995:281), on the other hand, described the enaction of coloured identity in anthropological terms - e.g. in the antinomy of *Nature* and *Culture* as proposed by Levi-Strauss (1964).

4.3. Summary

Since language attitudes are central to this thesis, certain aspects regarding the concept had to be elucidated. This included a discussion regarding the need for a workable definition of 'language attitude' which was study-specific, theoretically founded, and practically viable. It was shown that this could be achieved when the structure of, and the relations between, the components of language attitudes were taken into account. In *4.1.2.* the development of language attitudes were traced back to the emotional and cognitive elements attached to language, since language performs a social function (i.e. it functions as a marker of in-group - and out-group identity). The different types of language attitudes which can result from the further

qualification of either the two main components of language attitudes, i.e. *language* and *attitude*, were also discussed (see *4.1.4.*). In *4.1.5.* the contribution which a number of scientific fields (e.g. anthropology, sociology and linguistics) have made towards the study of language attitudes came under the spotlight. In addition, the social psychological framework as proposed by Ryan, Giles & Sebastian (1982), and Giles & Ryan (1982) was shown to be the best suited for language attitude research.

Since coloured identity also stands central to this thesis, it has been afforded close scrutiny. Thus, *4.2.* dealt mainly with aspects related to coloured identity. The thorny issue of the interrelationship between language, identity and ethnicity in South Africa, was tackled in *4.2.1.1.* & *4.2.1.2.*, and an attempt was made to contextualise the notion of `coloured people' in *4.2.2.1.* Subsequently, an effort was made to describe the process whereby coloured identity developed among the coloured people of the Western Cape by combining a description of the progression of one form of collective identity (i.e. minority identity) to the next successive mode of collective identity (i.e. mobilisation of ethnic identity), as described by Ross (1979), with Goldin's (1987) description of the political organisation of the coloured people (see *4.2.2.2.*).

CHAPTER 5 Analysis of results

5.0. Introductory remarks regarding the analysis of data

The 60 questionnaires were coded in order to facilitate the transfer of responses onto summary sheets. The coding was done according to the respondents' class, sex and home language, e.g. 2/WC/F/A stands for questionnaire number 2, completed by a working-class (WC) female (F) who is Afrikaans-speaking (A).

The closed responses were best analysed in a quantitative manner (making use of statistical techniques), whereas qualitative measures were employed in the case of individual responses towards open-ended questions.

Apart from the two basic mathematical quantities percentage and absolute frequencies[98], the statistical methods employed to undertake the quantitative analysis included the Pearson chi-square test, *t* tests, *F* tests, and the analysis of variance (Anova)[99]. In section *5.1.* the sample will be described in terms of the extralinguistic variables employed in this study. This is followed by a description of the statistical analysis and the presentation of the results in *5.2.*

5.1. The extralinguistic variables

It is important that sufficient background regarding the

98 Absolute frequencies of rates of occurrence will be indicated as *f*, and/ or as percentages (%).

99 Further explanation regarding the meaning and applicability of the statistical methods employed in this investigation can be found in *5.2.* All statistical tests were conducted with the assistance of Dr Derek Charlton, Chairperson of the Department of Statistics, University of the Western Cape.

respondents are obtained in order to achieve a comprehensive and in-depth analysis of the results. Extralinguistic variables which are relevant to attitude formation are listed by Giles, Ryan & Sebastian (1982:2) as

> an individual's personal characteristics (e.g. age, sex, intelligence), social group memberships (e.g. by region, ethnicity, class, occupation), and psychological states (e.g. need for social approval, interest in continuing an interaction, anxiety, depression).

Personal characteristic and group membership variables are those usually covered in research, since psychological states are often too personal and difficult to determine. Practical stumbling blocks with regard to the choice of variables included the need to know which variables are most relevant before undertaking the field study, and the fact that not all information thought to be relevant can be elicited (due to being too personal, etc.). The selection of variables was made less accidental by relying on existing theory, the insights of researchers, previous findings, pilot research, and available information pertaining to the social background of the community and their treatment of the languages involved.

Section C of the questionnaire was used to obtain information regarding the respondents' individual circumstances (see Appendix B), and made the investigation of the following extralinguistic variables possible.

5.1.1. Gender

Gender is often perceived as an important extralinguistic variable, because it is a primary feature used to describe people, and contributes to the way in which people try to make

sense of their own identities. Consequently, sociolinguistics and social psychological research has to take it into consideration. As seen in *1.5.*, the female/male distribution was predetermined by the sampling blueprint. Thirty males and 30 females were chosen on the basis of their home language and social class. The two social classes, i.e. working class (WC) and middle class (MC), each contained 15 males and 15 females. As far as marital status was concerned, 27 respondents (13 WC and 14 MC) were single, 25 (12 WC and 13 MC) were married, and 8 (5 WC and 3 MC) were widowed.

5.1.2. Age

The informants' age ranged from 18 to 65+. A difference between the attitudes of respondents who were fairly young (i.e. in their late teens and twenties), and those who were relatively older, could be anticipated, since added life experience and development normally influence a person's attitudes. (See Appendix C, Table C-1. for the frequency distribution over six age categories.)

5.1.3. Home language

Since this study centres on language attitudes and identity formation, the choice of home language as a variable should be self-evident. As seen in *1.5.*, the difference between the majority home language for Factreton and Kensington has been reflected in the sample, that is for Factreton, a WC residential area, the majority (two-thirds) were Afrikaans-speaking, and in the case of Kensington, a MC residential area, two-thirds were

English-speaking. The language use of the respondents in various domains, as well as their degree of contact with Afrikaans-and English-speakers, are summarised in Appendix C (Table C-2. and C-3.), and will be referred to in later discussions.

5.1.4. Class

For this thesis it was important to establish whether language attitudes were the same or different for respondents from different classes[100]. It was possible to draw a basic distinction between the working - and middle class on the basis of available information[101]. In order to verify the respondents' class a formula,which produced a combined score in terms of the respondents' occupation, education, and socioeconomic status,was used (see *5.1.4.2.*).

5.1.4.1. Occupation

The question which tried to determine the respondents' occupation was open-ended so that they would not be pressed into choosing an answer that might not apply (see Appendix B). However, the large variety of occupation labels obtained made it difficult to classify them into a handful of categories that could be arranged in a scale representative of the social status of the people

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[100] See *4.2.2.1.* for a description of the notion `class' and for the distinction between the working - and capitalist class in Marxist terms, i.e. the *proletariat* vs the *bourgeoisie*.

[101] As a result of the small number of respondents it would have been practically impossible to secure an equal distribution over the predetermined extralinguistic variables (see *1.5.*) if a finer distinction between upper and lower MC and WC was sought.

concerned. Not too much attention was paid to educational background. Instead, the focus fell on the grouping of occupations according to duties, rights and the degree of responsibility linked to them.

In determining the categories and their occupational prestige, the socio-economic index for occupations as used by the American census, and constructed by Reiss (1961), as well as the *Hall-Jones Scale of Occupational Prestige*, were consulted (see Oppenheim 1966:263-64).

The following ranking of ten categories does not claim to be objectively correct, or truly representative of differences in social standing in South Africa:

Category 1: Unskilled manual work - e.g. domestic worker (including housewives), bag sewer, labourer, factory worker.

Category 2: Semi-skilled manual work - e.g. attendant, milkman.

Category 3: Skilled manual work - e.g. bus driver.

Category 4: Routine non-manual work - e.g. cashier, storekeeper.

Category 5: Small employee (including self-employed in the informal sector of the economy) - e.g. craftsman, policeman.

Category 6: Inspectorial, supervisory and other non-manual work - e.g. advertising agent, church worker, radiographer.

Category 7: Managerial work, nurses, physiotherapists, teachers, lecturers, technicians.

Category 8: Middle management, engineers, lawyers.

Category 9: Higher management and high administrative - e.g. clerical minister, doctor, attorney, university professor.

Category 10: Self-employed in formal sector - e.g. businessman.

Groups 1 to 10 represented the occupations in a somewhat ascending scale of duties, rights, tasks and degree of responsibility. In the case of students, pensioners and the unemployed, their father's occupation was taken into account since that would give an indication of the family's and the respondent's social standing. The distribution of the occupations over the above categories was as follows:

Table 7 Distribution of Occupations over Categories 1 to 10

	C 1	C 2	C 3	C 4	C 5	C 6	C 7	C 8	TOTAL
WC	12	3	5	6	4				30
MC					5	8	15	2	30

Note. C = Category; WC = Working class; MC = Middle class.

5.1.4.2. Formula for determining class

The respondents' social class was verified by means of a formula which achieved a combined score for the respondents' occupation, education and living area. The numerical values which indicated the different occupational categories (see *5.1.4.1.*), were used to allocate an occupational score between 1 and 8 to each respondent. In addition, respondents who received an education up to standard 6 earned 8 points; those who completed standard 7 to 8 earned 10 points; those who completed standard 9 to 10 earned 12 points; while standard 10 and any further study earned 15 points (for the sample's distribution according to educational qualification, see Appendix C, Table C-4). In terms of living area Factreton residents were allocated a score of 10, and

Kensington residents a score of 15. This was done on the basis of the composite index which revealed the socioeconomic status of the communities (see Appendix A, Table A-1.)[102]. Finally, a combined score was achieved by adding up the points for the three components. A score below or equal to 27 categorised the respondent as belonging to the working class, whereas any score above 27 indicated a middle-class score.

Example: Respondent, code number 9/WC/F

Education level: Standard eight	= 10 points
Occupation: Category 1 (badge painter)	= 1 point
Socio-economic status: Factreton	= 10 points
Total	21 points = WC

5.1.5. The significance of variables

In order to determine the significance of the extralinguistic variables the Statistical Analysis System (SAS)[103] was used to conduct a number of statistical tests. These included the analyses of variance (Anova), *t* tests, *F* tests and the Pearsons Chi-square (see further *5.2.0.*).

5.1.5.1. Gender

The distribution of the informants according to gender was even for the two classes. The responses given by males in relation to females did not reveal statistically significant differences for

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[102] For a summary of the respondents' housing and years lived in the K-F area see Appendix C, Tables C-5 and C-6.

[103] The SAS = a package/series of computer programmes for data treatment developed by Barr, Goodnight, Sall and Helwig at the SAS Institute, Inc.

most statements and questions. This means that male and female respondents displayed the same types of attitudes. When considering earlier language attitude studies, this result reconfirmed the fact that attitudes are not dependent on gender when questionnaires are administered individually. However, it might be that a group situation would reveal a different pattern[104]. In certain instances gender proved to be a significant extralinguistic variable, and these cases will be noted accordingly.

5.1.5.2. Age

As expected, the responses obtained from younger versus older informants were different for certain questions. It was impossible to obtain an equal representation of all six age groups, mainly as a result of the small sample. Therefore it was decided not to include age as one of the variables during the statistical analysis.

5.1.5.3. Home language

All respondents were bilingual in Afrikaans and English, with one language being dominant. The sampling method ensured that the sample was representative of the communities in terms of home language, i.e. the language with which the respondent identified. Home language proved to be a significant factor in some instances. In addition, the psychological dimension of language

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[104] Cf. the results of the study by Young, *et al.* (1991) in Western Cape schools which showed that group attitudes differ significantly from individual attitudes.

identity as a contributing factor to the formation of the coloured people's ethnic identity cannot be denied (see *4.2.*). The extensive mixing of Afrikaans and English (code-switching) was noticeable, and underscored the findings of research done in other coloured communities.

5.1.5.4. Class

Unlike the findings of other researchers (e.g. McCormick 1983 who researched language choice, attitudes and use in District Six), the results of this study do not indicate class as the most important variable correlating with attitudes. Class was only significant in a few instances, or when combined with another variable.

The analysis of the data showed that no extralinguistic variable was decisive or significant for all, or most, statements and questions. This alludes to the fact that the respondents' language attitudes are determined by a number of factors and their interrelationships. The relevant variables and their interaction effects will be mentioned in cases of statistical significance.

5.2. Analysis of section A and B of the Questionnaire

5.2.0. Introductory remarks

The statistics employed in this research need to be explained before the results can be presented.

A numerical response scale which facilitated the computation and statistical analysis of responses was provided for most of the

closed responses. The ratings obtained for the response scale had to be described in some way or another. The frequency, i.e. `the number of cases observed in a particular category' (Huysamen 1985:13), or the `rate of recurrence' (Collins English Dictionary (1992:616); and the mean, which is ` the sum of ... a collection of scores .... divided by the number of scores' (Huysamen 1985:39), are the quantities most often used in statistics.

The five rating possibilities which were provided for most statements were: 1 (= No, definitely not), 2 (= No, not really), 3 (= Yes, it could be), 4 (= Yes, definitely), and DNK (= Do not know). Ratings 1 - 4 allocated scores to attitudes which were immediately computable. Since DNK-responses could be regarded as non-attitudes, no numerical value could be attributed to them. Any value assigned to the DNK-responses would have misrepresented the real state of affairs (the mean value would be affected). Therefore, DNK-responses were excluded from the analysis, and only the means of response values 1 to 4 were calculated. It becomes clear when the rating possibilities are considered that values below 2,5 would imply disagreement, whereas values equal to and higher than 2,5 would imply agreement.

The various means also had to be compared with each other, but the mean on its own lends itself to very little statistical applicability. The mean does not incorporate a way of measuring dispersion which is `the degree to which values of a frequency distribution are scattered around some central point (usually the arithmetic mean or median)' (Collins English Dictionary

1992:452). Two concepts which are more useful than the mean are the variance, which is `the mean of the squared deviations from the mean' (Huysamen 1985:47), and the standard deviation, which is `the positive square root of the variance' (Huysamen 1985:51). The variance will be used especially in terms of the *F* tests and Anovas.

Another issue which requires consideration in statistical testing is the fact that we attempt to draw conclusions about a specific population on the basis of only a sample from that particular population. Therefore, the risk exists that the right conclusions are not always drawn. This gives rise to the concept of `significance' which is `a measure of the confidence that can be placed in a result, especially a substantive causal hypothesis, as not being merely a matter of chance' (Collins English Dictionary 1992:1438). Statistical significance normally implies that a particular result will occur by chance less than once in 20 times, with a p value[105] less than, or equal to 0.05 (Nachmias & Nachmias 1976:288)[106].

We should interpret `significance' as representing a stronger than chance relationship between the variables, although this does not imply any causal connection or cause-effect relationship between them.

When dealing with frequencies the Pearson chi-square test was

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[105] A p value is the probability of obtaining the results of a statistical test by chance.

[106] The normal convention is to take either 95% or 99% as confidence intervals for drawing conclusions on the basis of the means, which translates into a significance level, i.e. the risk of reaching the wrong conclusions, of either 5% or 1%.

used. This is a general test which determines whether the difference between observed frequencies and expected frequencies under the H_0 (null hypothesis) can be ascribed to sampling fluctuations, or to nonchance factors (Nachmias & Nachmias 1976:288), i.e. the test determines whether the disparities between univariate distributions are large enough to warrant the conclusion that the H_0 is false, and that it can be rejected in favour of an alternative hypothesis H_a. This, in turn, implies that a relationship exist between the two evaluated variables (ibid).

Besides the chi-square test, the Fisher's Exact Test was used to determine significance levels in instances where the minimum permissible expected frequencies were not reached. The Statistical Analysis System was also used to conduct *t* tests in order to compare two sample means, and analysis of variances (Anovas) which employed the *F* test in order to determine statistical significance.

The type of Anova employed in this study can be described as a 2 X 2 Anova, since it presents the simplest format where only two levels of each of the two factors being manipulated, are compared[107]. When two-way Anovas are carried out, three *F* ratios are obtained. The first is F_A, which tells us whether the differences among the *a* levels of factor *A*, collapsed or summed over the levels of factor *B*, are significant. The second is F_B, which tells us whether the differences among the *b* levels of

[107] The two factors will be denoted here as *A* and *B*, and the number of levels of each of the factors will be denoted as *a* and *b*.

factor *B*, collapsed over factor *A*, are significant. The third is F_{AXB}, which tells us whether the interaction between factor *A* and factor *B* is significant (Roscoe 1969:243-53).

The way in which significant Anova results will be indicated is as follows: F (df) = val, p.

I.e.: `F' indicates the symbol of the test used; `df' refers to the degree of freedom, which is defined as the number of independent differences of deviation from the mean necessary for estimating the variance; `val' indicates the value obtained from the computation; and `p' is the probability level which indicates the significance level.

Even though the above account of the statistical tests employed is not exhaustive, it can be regarded as adequate in the light of this study's context[108].

5.2.1. The presentation of responses

5.2.1.0. Introductory remarks

Since it was impossible to present all the results and information generated by the statistical analysis, the responses to the questions and statements will be presented according to the most significant extralinguistic variables for each of the eight topics under investigation.

The quantitative analysis of data did not present any problems, because the closed response scales (ratings 1 to 4) were already discrete units. It was decided not to employ any further

[108] The statistics mentioned are described more succinctly in numerous introductory books on statistics.

statistical analysis in terms of the few open-ended questions in order to ensure closeness to the basic data, and to avoid the possibility of changing or altering the responses - this becomes more likely the further abstractions are carried out by means of statistical tests.

5.2.1.1. Attitudes regarding the need for proficiency in Afrikaans, English and Xhosa

Statement 1 reflected on the importance of speaking a) Afrikaans, b) English and c) Xhosa well.

The respondents were asked to rate each language individually. The overall mean scores reflected the belief that it was important to speak all three languages well (the means were all positive, i.e. above 2,5). English had the highest mean score (3,8), followed by Afrikaans (3,2) and then Xhosa (2,9). Only 1 respondent (a MC, Afrikaans-speaking male) disagreed about the importance of speaking English well. In the case of Xhosa, 19 respondents felt no need to speak the language well, whereas 17 felt the same about Afrikaans. With regard to English (1b), the mean score for English-speakers (3,9) was higher than the mean score for Afrikaans-speakers (3,7).

Table 8 Analysis of Variance of 1b by Language and Class

SOURCE	*SS*	*DF*	*MS*	*F*
LANGUAGE	1,01	1	1,01	5,09*
CLASS	0,01	1	0,01	0,04

* $p < .05$.

Table 8 presents an analysis of variance of mean scores obtained for English (1b) by language and class. Only the home language main effect was statistically significant, $F(1) = 5,09$, $p < .05$. (i.e. this result can be generalised to the broader K-F area). Statement 4 reflected on the importance of learning how to speak a) Xhosa, b) Afrikaans and c) English. The respondents were again asked to rate the three languages individually. The averages (means) reflected the belief that it was important to learn all three languages (all three mean scores were above 2,5). The response towards English was the most positive (mean score = 3,9), followed by Xhosa (mean score = 3,4), and then Afrikaans (mean score = 3,3). In the case of Afrikaans (4b), the mean score for females (3,6) was significantly higher than the mean score for males (3,0), $F(1) = 6,59$, $p < .05$. (see explanatory notes in *5.2.0.*)

Table 9 Mean Belief Scores for 4c by Gender and Language

	Gender	
	Male	Female
Language		
Afrikaans	3,95 (15)	3,85 (15)
English	3,65 (15)	4,00 (15)

Note. *N*s in parentheses.

Table 9 presents the mean scores by gender and language for English (4c). The Afrikaans-speaking males had a higher mean than their female and English male counterparts. An Anova of these results will be presented in Table 10.

Table 10 Analysis of Variance of 4c by Gender and Language

SOURCE	*SS*	*DF*	*MS*	*F*
GENDER	0,21	1	0,21	1,62
LANGUAGE	0,08	1	0,08	0,58
GENDER X LANGUAGE	0,68	1	0,68	5,24*

* $p < .05$.

Table 10 presents the Anova of the results contained in Table 9. Only the interaction effect between gender and language was statistically significant[109], $F(1) = 5,24$, $p < .05$ (see explanatory notes in *5.2.0.*).

Statements 2, 3 and 6 concentrated on Afrikaans and English only. Statement 2 considered the importance of speaking a) better (i.e. having greater proficiency in) English than Afrikaans, or b) vice versa. The overall mean score for 2a was positive (3,2). A total of 40 out of the 60 respondents (66%) agreed that it was important to speak better English than Afrikaans, while 20 (33%) disagreed. For 2b a negative mean score (2,0) indicated an overall negative belief. Only 6 out of the 60 respondents agreed that it was important to speak better Afrikaans than English, whereas 54 disagreed. None of the extralinguistic variables were significant for 2b.

Statement 3 reflected on whether it was better (i.e. more beneficial) to speak a) Afrikaans instead of English, or b) vice

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[109] This implies that the two levels of gender had opposite and equal effects on the two levels of language, or vice versa.

versa. A negative mean score (2,2) was achieved for 3a, whereas 3b achieved a positive mean score (3,0).

Table 11 Mean Scores for 3a by Class and Gender

	Class	
	WC	MC
Gender		
Male	1,85 (15)	2,30 (15)
Female	2,55 (15)	1,90 (15)

Note. Ns in parentheses.

Table 11 presents the mean belief scores for 3a by class and gender. The WC males and the MC females were the most negative towards Afrikaans. The mean scores for 3a reflected a positive belief on the part of Afrikaans-speakers (2,6), and a negative belief on the part of English-speakers (1,8).

Table 12 Analysis of Variance of 3a by Class, Gender and Language

SOURCE	*SS*	*DF*	*MS*	*F*
CLASS	0,13	1	0,13	0,18
GENDER	0,30	1	0,30	0,40
CLASS X GENDER	4,03	1	4,03	5,38*
LANGUAGE	8,53	1	8,53	11,38**
CLASS X LANGUAGE	0,00	1	0,00	0,00
GENDER X LANGUAGE	0,30	1	0,30	0,40

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$.

Table 12 presents an Anova of the results detailed in Table 11.

The language main effect, and the interaction effect (see *5.2.0.*) between class and gender were statistically significant. For language $F(1) = 11,38$, $p < .01$, and for class x gender $F(1) = 5,38$, $p < .05$.

In the case of 3b the mean score for the WC (3,4) was significantly higher than that of the MC (2,7), $F(1) = 6,74$, $p < .05$. Twenty-four of the WC respondents, compared to 14 MC respondents, agreed that it was better to speak English.

The beliefs expressed in relation to statement 3 were further supported by the answers in response to statement 6 which asked the respondents whether it is better (i.e. more beneficial) to be known as an a) Afrikaans-speaker or as an b) English-speaker. A positive mean score (3,1) was achieved for English (6b), while a negative mean score (2,1) was achieved for Afrikaans (6a). Similar results to those obtained for 3a were obtained for 6a, i.e. the mean score in the case of Afrikaans-speakers (2,5) was significantly higher than the mean score for English-speakers (1,8), $F(1) = 9.60$, $p < 0.01$. The interaction effect between class and gender was also significant, $F(1) = 4.75$, $p < .05$. (See Appendix D for printouts.)

Table 13 Mean Belief Scores for 6b by Class and Language

	Class	
	WC	MC
Language		
Afrikaans	3,10 (20)	3,10 (10)
English	3,90 (10)	2,75 (20)

Note. Ns in parentheses.

Table 14 Analysis of Variance of 6b by Class and Language

SOURCE	*SS*	*DF*	*MS*	*F*
CLASS	4,41	1	4,41	5,22*
LANGUAGE	0,68	1	0,68	0,80
CLASS X LANGUAGE	4,41	1	4,41	5,22*

* $p < .05$.

Table 13 presents the mean scores for statement 6b by class and language. It is evident that the WC felt more strongly that it is better to be known as English-speakers than the MC did (see Chapter 6 for further discussion). An analysis of variance of these results is presented in Table 14. This shows that the mean score for the WC (3,5) was significantly higher than the mean score for the MC (2,9), $F(1) = 5{,}22$, $p < .05$. The interaction effect between class and language was also statistically significant, $F(1) = 5{,}22$, $p < .05$ (see *5.2.0.*).

5.2.1.2. The motivation behind language use

Statement 5 reflected on whether it was important to know and speak a) Afrikaans, b) English or c) Xhosa, in order to get a good job. The respondents were asked to rate the three languages individually. The overall mean scores indicated that respondents held the most positive beliefs with regard to English (3,8), followed by Xhosa (3,1) and then Afrikaans (3,0). For English (5b), the mean score for the WC (3,9) was higher than that of the MC (3,5). In addition, both the Afrikaans-speaking WC (3,95) and English-speaking WC (3,90) had higher means than the Afrikaans-

speaking MC (3,20) and English-speaking MC (3,80).

Table 15 Analysis of Variance of 5b by Class and Language

SOURCE	*SS*	*DF*	*MS*	*F*
CLASS	2,41	1	2,41	7,41**
LANGUAGE	1,01	1	2,01	3,10
CLASS X LANGUAGE	1,41	1	1,41	4,33*

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$.

Table 15 presents an analysis of variance of English (5b). Both the class main effect (i.e. the WC had a higher mean than the MC), and the interaction effect between class and language was statistically significant. For class, $F(1) = 7,41$, $p < .01$, and for the interaction effect between class and language, $F(1) = 4,33$, $p < .05$.

Statement 7 considered the usefulness of a) Afrikaans, b) English and c) Xhosa. The respondents were asked to rate the three languages individually. English was believed to be the most useful language with 59 respondents (mean score = 3,9) agreeing with 7b, followed by Afrikaans with 46 respondents (mean score = 3,2) agreeing with 7a, and then Xhosa with 43 respondents (mean score = 3,0) agreeing with 7c. No variable or combination of variables were significant for statement 7.

Statement 8 reflected on whether a) Afrikaans or b) English was the best language to use with family and friends. Again, the two languages were individually rated. A more positive belief was expressed with regard to English (mean = 3,9) than was the case

for Afrikaans (mean = 2,9). In the case of Afrikaans (8a), the mean score for Afrikaans-speakers (3,3) was significantly higher than the mean score for English-speakers (2,5), $F(1) = 5,26$, $p < .05$. The opposite was true for English, the mean score for English-speakers (3,7) being significantly higher than the mean score for Afrikaans-speakers (2,9), $F(1) = 13,76$, $p < .001$. Statement 14 reflected on the belief that by speaking English, the lifestyle of the traditionally white English-speaking South African community could be enjoyed. The mean score (2,5) indicated an overall positive belief.

Table 16 Analysis of Variance of 14 by Class and Gender

SOURCE	*SS*	*DF*	*MS*	*F*
CLASS	5,21	1	5,21	5,12*
GENDER	16,88	1	16,88	16,59**
CLASS X GENDER	0,08	1	0,08	0,07

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .001$.

Table 16 presents an analysis of variance of statement 14 by class and gender. The mean score of the WC (2,8) was significantly higher than that of the MC (2,2), $F(1) = 5,12$, $p < .05$. In addition, the mean score for females (3,1) was significantly greater than the mean score for males (2,0), $F(1) = 16,59$, $p < .001$. The interaction effect between class and gender was not statistically significant.

Statement 19 reflected on the best language in which to express emotions. The respondents who preferred English totalled 35

(58,3%), whereas 22 (36,7%) preferred Afrikaans and 3 (5%) preferred both Afrikaans and English. Statement 21 considered the language which the respondents believed to be the language of opportunity. The respondents were asked to rate the languages individually. The most positive belief was expressed regarding English, with 53 of the 60 respondents agreeing with 21a (mean score = 3,6), followed by Xhosa with 38 respondents agreeing with 21c (mean score = 2,8), and then Afrikaans with 25 respondents agreeing with 21b (mean score = 2,4).

Table 17 Analysis of Variance of 21b by Class and Gender

SOURCE	*SS*	*DF*	*MS*	*F*
CLASS	3,01	1	3,01	4,19*
GENDER	12,68	1	12,68	17,67**
CLASS X GENDER	0,21	1	0,21	0,94

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .001$.

Table 17 presents an analysis of variance of the means scores for Afrikaans (21b). The mean score for the WC (2,6) was significantly higher than the mean score for the MC (2,1), $F(1) = 4,19$, $p < .05$. In addition, the mean score for females (2,9) was significant higher than the mean score for males (1,9), $F(1) = 17,67$, $p < .001$. The interaction effect between class and gender was not statistically significant.

5.2.1.3. Attitudes towards the second language

Question 26 enquired whether respondents at times want others to believe that their less dominant language (L2) is their L1. A

yes/no response format was provided for question 26. Six English and 10 Afrikaans speakers (total = 16 (26,7%)) answered yes, whereas 24 English and 20 Afrikaans speakers (total = 44 (73,3%)) answered no. Question 27 asked whether respondents at times used their L2 to make a good impression. Twenty-seven (45%) respondents answered yes, and 33 (55%) answered no. Question 28 enquired after the circumstances in which the respondents found it easier to use their L2. This question allowed for the individual rating of three sets of circumstances.

Table 18 Frequency of Second Language Usage

	f	%
AT WORK	39	67,24
WHEN ANGRY	19	31,67
WHEN RELAXING	30	50,00

Table 18 presents the frequencies and percentages for three circumstances in which the second language was used. An overlap in use is noticeable since 39 (67,3%) respondents used their L2 at work, 30 (50%) made use of it in relaxed circumstances, and 19 (31,7%) used it when angry. Of the 19 respondents who said that they used their L2 when angry, 14 were English-speaking. Question 29 tried to determine whether respondents answered in their L2 when addressed in it. Fifty-two (86,7%) said yes, while 8 (13,3%) said no. Question 30 asked whether the respondents would like to use their L2 more often. Forty-one (68,3%) said yes, and 19 (31,7%) said no.

5.2.1.4. Attitudes towards the current language policies

Statement 16 considered whether the South Africa policy of having 11 official languages was a good one. The overall mean score (2,5) indicated a positive belief although 27 (45%) out of 60 agreed with the statement, while 33 (55%) disagreed.

Statement 17 asked respondents whether Afrikaans and English should be the only official languages. The overall mean score (1,5) indicated a negative belief. Only 7 (12%) respondents agreed with the statement, while 53 (88%) disagreed.

Statement 18 probed whether Xhosa, English or Afrikaans should be a common language used by everyone in the Western Cape. Respondents were asked to rate the three languages individually. The mean scores indicated that respondents held the most positive beliefs towards English (3,7), followed by Afrikaans (3,3), and then Xhosa (2,7). In the case of English (18b) the mean score for males (3,9) was significantly higher than the mean score for females (3,5), $F(1) = 7,20$, $p < .01$. For Afrikaans (18c) the mean score for Afrikaans-speakers (3,5) was significantly higher than the mean score for English-speakers (3,0), $F(1) = 5,93$, $p < .05$. With regard to Xhosa (18a), the mean score for males (3,0) was significantly higher than the mean score for females (2,4), $F(1) = 5,26$, $p < .05$. In addition, the interaction effect between gender and language was statistically significant, $F(1) = 7,14$, $p < .05$. (See Appendix D for computer printouts).

Question 20 was open-ended and asked which language(s) should be used as medium of instruction (MOI) in Western Cape schools.

Table 19 Choice of MOI in Western Cape Schools

	f	%
Combination of Afrikaans, English and Xhosa	32	54,2
English, and Xhosa as subject	9	15,3
Combination of Afrikaans and English	7	11,9
Only English	6	10,2
Afrikaans and English, and Xhosa as subject	5	8,5
Total	59[a]	100,0

a. 1 Afrikaans-speaking WC respondent did not know.

Table 19 presents the frequency distribution of the language(s) preferred as MOI in Western Cape schools. More than half of the respondents (54,2%) preferred a combination of Afrikaans, English and Xhosa.

Question 25 which was open-ended, asked which language(s) was/were important for nation building. The highest scores were obtained for English (23 respondents = 38%) and for the combination of Afrikaans, English and Xhosa (18 respondents = 30%). Five respondents said that all languages were important.

5.2.1.5. Stereotypes regarding Afrikaans, English and Xhosa

The respondents expressed the belief that Standard Afrikaans could be regarded as the language of the Afrikaners, i.e. 33 (55%) respondents agreed, and 27 (45%) disagreed with statement 9a (overall mean score = 2,8). The number of respondents who agreed with statement 9b that Standard Afrikaans was difficult to learn totalled 15 (25%), while 45 (75%) disagreed (overall

mean score = 1,9). Most respondents believed that `coloured Afrikaans' was easier to speak than `Standard Afrikaans', i.e. 54 (90%) respondents agreed, and 6 (10%) disagreed with statement 11a (overall mean score = 3,7). In addition, `Coloured Afrikaans' was believed to be a friendlier language than `Standard Afrikaans', i.e. 47 (78%) respondents agreed, and 13 (22%) disagreed with statement 11b (overall mean score = 3,5). Respondents also believed that discrimination existed towards `Cape Afrikaans', i.e. 42 (70%) respondents agreed, and 17 (28%) disagreed with statement 12a (overall mean = 3,2) (1 WC English-speaker did not know). The belief that the `Cape Afrikaans' dialect could be associated with the coloured WC also prevailed, i.e. 48 (80%) respondents agreed, and 12 (20%) disagreed with statement 15 (overall mean score = 3,3).

Respondents believed that Standard English could be viewed as the language of the British, i.e. 34 (56%) respondents agreed, and 26 (43%) disagreed with statement 10a (overall mean score = 3,1). The number of respondents who agreed with statement 10b that Standard English was difficult to learn, totalled 24 (40%), while 36 (60%) disagreed (overall mean score = 2,1). For 10b the interaction effects between class and gender, $F(1) = 5,81$, $p < .05$, and that between class and language, $F(1) = 5,81$, $p < .05$ were statistically significant (See Appendix D for mean scores). Respondents also believed that discrimination existed towards `Cape English', i.e. 34 (57%) respondents agreed, and 26 (43%) disagreed with statement 12b (overall mean score = 2,8).

The interaction effect between class and gender proved statistically significant for 12b, $F(1) = 5,24$, $p < .05$. `Coloured English' was looked upon as a friendlier language than `Standard English', i.e. 41 (68%) respondents agreed and 19 (32%) disagreed with statement 13 (overall mean score = 3,1).

5.2.1.6. Attitudes towards bilingualism in Afrikaans and English

As seen in *2.3.1.*, it was decided to adapt and use the attitude questionnaire used by Baker (1992) in his research on bilingualism in Wales. The adapted questionnaire contained 15 statements and 3 questions, covering 3 topics related to bilingualism. Ten statements and 2 questions advocated a holistic approach, whereas 5 statements and 1 question underscored a competitive approach[110].

5.2.1.6.1. The importance of speaking both languages

All responses related to the importance of speaking both English and Afrikaans were positive: 54 (90%) respondents agreed with statement 1 that it was important to be able to speak both Afrikaans and English; 40 (67%) agreed with statement 17 that all people in South Africa should speak both English and Afrikaans - of the 20 who disagreed, 14 were English-speaking; 51 (85%) agreed with statement 12 that both languages should be important in South Africa - of the 9 respondents who disagreed, 8 were English-speaking; 50 (83%) said that they would like to be

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[110] See Appendix B for the original Baker questionnaire, and its adaptation.

considered a speaker of both languages (statement 16); and 58 (97%) agreed with statement 15 that Afrikaans and English can live together in South Africa.

In order to test the above belief even further, 2 statements which underscored a competitive approach towards the two languages, were included. As a result, 56 (93%) respondents disagreed with statement 2 that we only need to speak one language in South Africa, and 54 (90%) disagreed with statement 18 that people only need to know one language.

5.2.1.6.2. The learning of both languages

All responses related to the learning of both languages were positive: 58 (97%) respondents said in response to question 14 that they would want their own children to speak both languages; 46 (77%) respondents agreed with statement 11 that young children learn to speak both languages with ease, while 14 (23%) did not. The respondents who agreed with statement 3 that children get confused when learning English and Afrikaans totalled 12 (20%), while 48 (80%) disagreed. Of the 12 who agreed with the statement, 3 were from the WC, while 9 were from the MC. In addition, 58 (97%) respondents disagreed with statements 7 that the knowledge of both languages would create problems, and the same number disagreed with statement 10 that speaking both languages are more for older than younger people.

With regard to proficiency and schooling in both languages, 56 (93%) respondents agreed with statement 5 that it was important to be able to write in both languages, and 55 (92%) respondents

agreed with statement 6 that all schools in South Africa should teach pupils how to speak and read both languages.

In response to question 13, 19 (32%) said that they want Afrikaans to be replaced by English eventually, whereas 41 (68%) said that they do not want that to happen. Of the 19 who were in favour of the replacement, 3 were Afrikaans-speaking, whereas 16 were English-speaking.

5.2.1.6.3. The value attached to knowing both languages

In response to statements 4a-c, 58 (97%) respondents agreed that speaking both languages helps to get a job; 37 (62%) agreed that speaking both languages helps to get promoted (Of the 23 who disagreed, 15 belonged to the MC,and 8 belonged to the WC.); and 32 (53%) agreed that speaking both languages helps to earn more money (Of the 28 who disagreed, 18 were from the MC and 10 from the WC). The respondents who agreed with statement 8 that people know more if they speak both languages totalled 42 (70%), while 18 (30%) disagreed. In response to statement 9 that people who speak both languages have more friends, 27 (45%) respondents agreed, and 33 (55%) disagreed.

5.2.1.7. Code-switching, language maintenance and shift

Notwithstanding the positive beliefs expressed with regard to bilingualism, questions were asked to determine the extent of code-switching, as well as language maintenance and shift in the community. Question 23 enquired whether code-switching was a frequent occurrence, and by further making use of the information

contained in Section C of the questionnaire, language shift and maintenance tendencies could be investigated. The following table (Table 20) presents the frequency distribution of the responses to question 23. A total of 55 (92%) respondents affirmed that code-switching took place within their communities.

Table 20 Frequency of Code-Switching

	f	%
From Afrikaans to English	27	46,6
From English to Afrikaans	24	41,4
Both ways	4	6,9
No Code-switching	3	5,2
Total	58[a]	100,0

a. 1 MC and 1 WC respondent did not know.

Table 21 Changes in the Mother Tongue amongst the Working Class

N	*Grandparents*[a]	*Parents*[b]	*Respondent*	*Spouse*	*Children*
1	2A	A	A[c]	A	A[d]
2	2A	A	A[c]	A	A[d]
3	4A	A	A	A	A
4	1A/2E	A/E	A[d]	A	E
5	4A	A	A	-	E
6	2A/1E	A/E	E	-	E
7	2A	A	A	A	A[d]
8	3A	A	E	A	E
9	2A/2E	A/E	A[d]	E	E
10	1A	A	A	-	E
11	3A	A	E	A[d]	E
12	1A	A/E	E	-	-
13	2A	A/E	A[d]	-	-

Note. A = Afrikaans as L1; E = English as L1.
[a] Knowledge regarding the language use of grandparents was limited. The numerals indicate the number of grandparents who use/d that particular language as L1;
[b] `A' indicates that both parents use/d Afrikaans as L1, whereas `A/E' indicate

that one parent use/d Afrikaans and the other use/d English as L1;
[c] Respondents' grandchildren speak mainly English;
[d] Afrikaans was used as L1, but a very high degree of proficiency in English was evident.

Table 21 presents the 13 cases among the WC sample where a change in mother tongue was noticeable over two generations, when the information regarding the respondents and their families (obtained by means of the questionnaire - See Appendix B) was analysed. In terms of gender, 7 female and 6 male respondents were involved. In the 8 instances where parents retained Afrikaans as L1, 6 respondents also retained Afrikaans as L1, while 2 shifted to English. In the 3 instances where the grandparents and parents used either of the two languages as L1, 1 respondent shifted to English, while 2 chose to speak mainly Afrikaans. With regard to the children of the 7 respondents who retained Afrikaans as L1, 4 respondents' children shifted to English, and in 3 instances the children shifted to a combination of Afrikaans and English, with Afrikaans as the dominant language.

The following table (Table 22) will, in contrast to Table 21, present the 15 cases among the MC sample where a change in mother tongue was noticeable. It was noted that in the case of the MC, four respondents' parents changed their language to either English only (where Afrikaans or English was used by grandparents), or to a combination of Afrikaans and English (where only Afrikaans was used by grandparents), whereas no such changes involving the parents of respondents took place among the WC (see Table 21). This might be an indication that the language shift process started earlier in the case of the MC.

Table 22 Changes in the Mother Tongue among the Middle Class

N	*Grandparents*[a]	*Parents*[b]	*Respondent*	*Spouse*	*Children*
1	2A/2E	A/E	E	A	E
2	2A	A	E	E	E
3	3A	A	A	A	A[c]
4	3A	A	E	A	E
5	4A	A	E	-	-
6	2A	A	E	-	-
7	3A	A/E	E	-	E
8	4A	A	E	E	E
9	2A	A/E	E	-	-
10	3A	A	E	-	E
11	1A/2E	E	E	-	-
12	2A	A	E	-	-
13	1A/2E	E	E	-	E
14	2A/2E	A/E	E	E	-
15	1A/3E	A/E	E	-	-

Note. A = Afrikaans as L1; E = English as L1.
[a] Knowledge regarding the language use of grandparents was limited. The numerals indicate the number of grandparents who use/d that particular language as L1;
[b] \`A' or \`E' indicate that both parents use/d either Afrikaans or English as L1, whereas A/E indicate that one parent use/d Afrikaans and the other use/d English as L1;
[c] Afrikaans was used as L1, but a very high degree of proficiency in English was evident.

In terms of gender, 7 MC female and 8 MC male respondents changed their mother tongue. In the 8 cases where the parents retained Afrikaans as L1, 1 respondent retained Afrikaans, while 7 shifted to English. In the 3 instance where the grandparents and parents had either of the languages as L1, all 3 respondents shifted to English. Of the 8 respondents with children, 7 English L1-speakers taught their children only English, while 1 Afrikaans-speaker introduced English in addition to Afrikaans.

Compared to the WC, the shift to English among the MC seem to have started at an earlier stage (i.e. a change in language preference was also noted among the parents of MC respondents).

The following forms of language shift were present in the sample:

1) Direct language shift

These were instances where respondents from unilingual families who used L^{*}[111], became (or identified themselves as) L^{**}[112]-speakers. The number of direct shift cases present in the sample totalled 9, i.e. 7 MC: 4 females, and 3 males; and 2 WC males.

2) Language preference

Other instances of change in the L1 represent cases of language preference, rather than shift. In these instances one parent used L^{*}, and the other L^{**}. Respondents then had to select either English or Afrikaans as language of identification. The number of language preference cases in the sample totalled 10, i.e. 5 MC: 2 females and 3 males; and 5 WC: 2 females and 3 males.

5.2.1.8. The influence of politics on language attitudes

The responses to questions 22a-c revealed that 56 respondents (93%) believed that English was the most dominant language in economic spheres, 48 (80%) believed the same with regard to education, and 37 (63%) believed it to be the dominant language in social spheres. The number of respondents who believed that both Afrikaans and English were dominant in social spheres totalled 12 (20%), while 10 (17%) believed this to be true for Afrikaans.

Question 24a-c tried to gauge the overall feeling towards Xhosa, Afrikaans and English. The majority of respondents felt positive

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[111] L^{*} = one of either Afrikaans or English as L1.

[112] L^{**} = the alternative to L^{*} as L1.

towards all three language. The number of respondents who felt positive towards Xhosa totalled 41 (73%), whereas 15 (27%) felt negative (4 respondents did not know). In the case of Afrikaans, 51 (90%) respondents felt positive and 6 (10%) felt negative towards the language (3 did not know). Most respondents (58 = 98%) felt positive towards English (1 respondent felt negative, and 1 did not know). The highest number of DNK-responses were obtained for question 24. This might be an indication that questions which are asked to achieve purely emotional responses are the most difficult to answer.

Question 31 asked whether the respondent's home language played a role in choosing a political party. Those who answered no totalled 47 (78%), while 13 (22%) answered yes. Of the 13 respondents who answered yes, 4 were MC and 9 were WC.

Question 32a tried to determine whether respondents felt politically alienated from Africans and whites. The respondents who felt alienated totalled 29 (50%), and the same number expressed the opposite view (1 MC and 1 WC respondent did not respond). Question 32b tried to establish whether the respondents experienced some form of social distance from Africans and whites. Those respondents who answered yes totalled 29 (51%), and 28 (49%) answered no (3 did not respond). In terms of language the Afrikaans-speakers felt more alienated than the English-speakers. Respondents generally felt that politics was responsible for problems experienced with regard to housing, health care, etc, i.e. 51 (85%) respondents responded to question 33 in the affirmative, while 9 (15%) disagreed. However, most

respondents did not respond or were not involved with political issues as seen in the 50 (83%) respondents who responded negatively to question 34, and the 10 (17%) who responded positively. In terms of question 35, 18 respondents (30%) (5 MC and 13 WC) accepted the term `coloured', whereas 42 (70%) rejected it. Of those who rejected the term, 25 (42%) were from the MC, and 17 (28%) were from the WC. The results of the Chi-square test revealed that the distribution according to class was statistically significant for question 35, X^2 (1,$\underline{N}$ = 60) = 5,08, $\underline{p} < .05$. (See Appendix D for printout).

CHAPTER 6 Findings

6.0. Introduction

According to its new constitution (1996:4), South Africa has 11 official languages. Nevertheless, certain legislative authorities and institutions are still in the process of formulating new language policies or refining old policies. The analysis of language attitudes can aid this process since it provides a window onto people's beliefs and expectations. Consequently, the main objective of the research detailed in the previous chapters was to document the attitudes of the K-F area's coloured community towards English, Afrikaans, and Xhosa (to a limited extent). This broad aim can be outlined in terms of a number of theoretical, practical and general research objectives. In the following section the investigation's findings will be discussed according to these objectives.

6.1. Findings

6.1.1. Theoretical objectives

The assessment of the effectiveness of the questionnaire was the first of the theoretical objectives. This effectiveness was proven via the analysis of the results which showed that the questionnaire was successful in eliciting a range of beliefs and attitudes regarding the topics under investigation.

Establishing whether the extralinguistic variables were significant, constituted the second theoretical objective. Three extralinguistic variables, about which information could be

easily obtained, were chosen for tests of statistical significance[113]. No specific variable was found to be significant overall, but different variables or their interaction effects proved significant in some instances. It is important to note that statistical tests only provide information regarding variables which correlate with certain findings. These variables can therefore not be taken as the only or true causes of attitudes[114].

The third theoretical objective centred on the suitability of the theoretical frameworks used in this study. This entailed assessing the adaptability of Ross' (1979) theory of identity formation in terms of the development of a coloured political identity; and Ryan, Giles & Sebastians' (1982) and Giles & Ryan's (1982) sociopsychological framework in relation to language attitudes. It was shown in Chapter 4 that the application of Ross' theoretical framework to the formation of a coloured identity was well suited to this study. On analysing the results of the statements and questions pertaining to the influence of politics on attitudes, the scenario sketched in Chapter 4 regarding the development of an ethnic coloured political identity was not disproved. It may be concluded that coloured political identity can be viewed in terms of a mobilised ethnic identity. Such an ethnic group would constitute a politically

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[113] In addition, two possible sociopsychological factors which might play a role in attitude formation received attention, i.e. the respondents' degree of group membership and the formation of a coloured political identity.

[114] See Baker's (1992) attitude research for the intricate procedure he used to test various variables for their interrelatedness and mutual dependence.

mobilised collectivity whose members share a perceived distinctive self-identity.

With regard to the sociopsychological framework used to describe the structure of society, it can be said that this study has shown, similarly to other studies, that varieties are chiefly evaluated along the lines of two sociostructural factors, i.e. standardisation and vitality. The most standardised varieties, i.e. Standard English and Standard Afrikaans, have generally been positively evaluated, and enjoyed high overt prestige. However, since these varieties are used by a minority of speakers for a particular set of functions in especially the secondary domain, they are not the most vital varieties. This fact was reflected in the positive evaluations of the L2 varieties as a result of the group solidarity among their speakers[115].

6.1.2. Practical and general objectives

One general objective entailed the verification of the suitability of the target group. The K-F community had to adhere to a special set of criteria (see *1.4.1.*), and the respondents had to represent a stratified random sample (see *1.5.*), in order to constitute an appropriate target group. The test results revealed that the respondents possessed a good understanding of the issues under investigation. The evaluation of the languages and their varieties resulted in attitudes which varied in a consistent manner in relation to the extralinguistic

[115] Further discussions which incorporate the role of power/status and solidarity can be found in *6.1.2.1.* and *6.1.2.5.*

variables employed in this study. Thus it can be stated that appropriate responses were obtained which, in turn, confirms the suitability of the target group.

A further general objective, i.e. the documentation of attitudes towards the three languages in various domains as held by the K-F coloured community, harboured the following implications: Firstly, the beliefs and attitudes expressed regarding the languages in the domains under investigation can only be assessed and understood in that context, i.e. it is not feasible to make generalisations to English and Afrikaans in general, or to extend the results to other domains. Secondly, the social structure and language use in the K-F area were reflected in the responses obtained. This further strengthens the fact that the results can only be generalised to other urban coloured communities which share the same characteristics and sociopolitical background. An indication of this link to the area of study can be found in the status of Cape Afrikaans and coloured SAE. Compared to rural coloured areas, as described by Scheffer (1983), the K-F urban area provides more opportunities for interaction with English-speakers. People are also less conservative, and more comfortable in asserting their own identities in urban areas. Consequently, Cape Afrikaans and coloured SAE seem to be viewed more favourably in the urban areas.

The results of the study fall under the practical objectives of this study, i.e. the documentation of beliefs, opinions and

attitudes towards English, Afrikaans and Xhosa, and the establishment of the extent to which attitudes towards the languages reflect recent political and social developments.

The following represents the findings according to the topics mentioned in *2.3.1.* It should be noted that in some instances single questions regarding complex issues, such as the future official languages, cannot suffice to elicit the respondents' beliefs in its fullest. However, the variation in the obtained results does reflect the complexity of the beliefs held regarding the relevant issues. It should be further noted that for this study the distinction between attitudes towards a language and those towards its speakers will not be drawn, since attitudes displayed towards a language embody the attitudes towards its users.

Since the statements and questions asked for a certain amount of reflection, the obtained responses could be classified as mainly cognitive. Furthermore, although the statistical tests are not capable of describing the origin of attitudes in terms of the extralinguistic variables which were investigated, they do allow for the description of relationships which do exist between these variables and certain findings, and thus support and confirm original hypotheses and observable tendencies.

6.1.2.1. Attitudes regarding the need for proficiency in Afrikaans, English and Xhosa (see *5.2.1.1.*)

The respondents believed that it was important to speak all three

languages well (English receiving the most support, followed by Afrikaans). Regarding the learning of the three languages, English was viewed as the most important language to be learnt (with the Afrikaans-speaking males expressing the strongest belief in this regard), whereas Xhosa was placed ahead of Afrikaans[116]. Most respondents believed that it was important to speak better (i.e. be more proficient in) English than Afrikaans, and agreed that it was better (i.e. more beneficial) to speak English instead of Afrikaans (WC males and the MC females were the most negative towards Afrikaans). Most respondents also agreed with the statement that it is better (i.e. more beneficial) to be known as English-speakers than Afrikaans-speakers (more Afrikaans-speakers than English-speakers agreed with this statement)[117]. The negativity expressed towards Afrikaans may, besides indicating the respondents beliefs, also reflect the influence of the current economic structure which favours English, or merely indicate the acceptance or acknowledgement of the economic realities, and consequently, the overt prestige which English enjoys in the community[118]. However, *Kaapse Afrikaans* still possessed a high degree of covert prestige as a result of its status as in-group marker which, in turn, reflects the influence of one of the sociostructural

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[116] This is consistent with Scheffer's (1983) finding that the majority of English-speakers among the Western Cape's coloureds viewed English as the most important language to be learnt.

[117] Scheffer (1983) found similar results.

[118] Besides the questions dealing with the motivation for using certain languages, the questionnaire did not contain questions which further probed the arguments/ reasons for each of the expressed beliefs.

determinants of society, i.e. group identity (see *1.3.2.*). In terms of the social psychological framework of societal structures, overt prestige results from the power dimension, whereas covert prestige results from the dimension of group integrity/ solidarity (see *3.3.3.*).

6.1.2.2. The motivation behind language use (see *5.2.1.2.*)

All three languages were regarded as being important for getting a good job and for aiding career advancement. English was believed to be the most important[119] in this regard, especially among the WC, while Xhosa was preferred above Afrikaans. Overall, English and Xhosa were regarded as languages of opportunity, but not Afrikaans.

All languages were believed to be useful, with English believed to be the most useful. English was regarded as a means of national communication, seen as a tool for personal and economic empowerment[120], and believed to be important for educational purposes and for accomplishing national unification[121].

English was preferred above Afrikaans when speaking to family and friends, and most respondents preferred to express their emotions

[119] This correlates with Young's (1991) findings amongst coloured schoolchildren.

[120] Schuring and Yzel (1983) also detected the tendency of increased use of English among a cross-section of Africans from urban and rural areas in relation to the improvement of their socio-economic status.

[121] In contrast, Young (1991) found no clear tendency across three race groups to support either English or Afrikaans as national unifying languages. Instead, strong language loyalty to the mother tongue was evident. However, English was viewed as the only anti-apartheid language (cf. Young 1991:20-25).

in English rather than Afrikaans (although a number of English-speakers preferred to express their emotions in Afrikaans).

The personal improvement and wider communication arguments reflect on what could be achieved with the help of English, and are thus of an *instrumental* orientation. Socially, this form of motivation is the most common and most accepted since it does not imply any conscious disloyalty to one's first language. This finding concurs with Young's (1991:9-12) finding that the motivation for learning English was mainly instrumental.

The above findings also correlate with Schmied's (1991:168) argument that most language beliefs are supported by, among others, communicative, national and personal arguments.

Respondents believed that by speaking English the lifestyle of the traditionally white English-speaking community could be achieved[122]. This belief correlates with the fact that it is a very common perception, especially in anglophone African countries, that English is an important language for improving one's social standing (see Schmied 1991:169). Lambert (cited in Hauptfleisch 1979:23) used the term `integrative motivation' to describe such a situation where `the respondent values the other culture as highly as, or most probably higher than, his own, and desire to associate himself with that culture via the other language'.

[122] Unlike Young (1991) who found low integrative motivation to identify with the culture, speakers, values or lifestyle of the English.

6.1.2.3. Attitudes towards the second language (see *5.2.1.3.*)

Most respondents did not want to be known as mother-tongue speakers of their second language (L2), irrespective of whether their L2 was Afrikaans or English. The work environment provided respondents with the greatest opportunity to use their L2.

It was also found that most of the respondents who preferred using their L2 when angry, were English-speaking. In addition, English-speakers felt more secure using their L2 with family members than with outsiders. The majority of respondents confirmed that they would respond in their L2 when addressed in it. This reflected their willingness to communicate with people who have other first languages, and is consistent with Young's (1991) finding among schoolchildren across three race groups, and that of Hauptfleisch (1979) among whites. However, when asked directly whether they find it necessary to use their L2 in order to make a good impression upon strangers and friends, the majority of respondents said no. This might be an indication that they are trying to come across as if they were not too concerned with the social prestige accorded to an ability to speak either language as L2. A few English-speakers said that they would respond in their L2 only if the Afrikaans spoken was Cape Afrikaans. If addressed in Standard Afrikaans, they would respond in English, since they respected Standard Afrikaans as the `correct' language in which they were not proficient. The majority of respondents would like to use their L2s more often. Cahill & Kamper (1989) found that African students (falling under the previous Department of Education and Training) showed an

increase in terms of the choice of English and Afrikaans as L2, even at the cost of another African language.

The more exposure respondents had to their L2, the more positive their attitudes were towards using the L2[123]. Afrikaans-speakers were more exposed to their L2 than English-speakers, and expressed a more favourable attitude towards their L2 than English-speakers did (cf. Kotzé 1986:182[124]). The above findings correlate with the four variables which Gardner & Clement (cited in Giles & Robinson 1990:495-517) believe influence attitudes toward the L2 and the desire to speak, to learn and to improve L2 usage. These include proficiency in L2, exposure to the L2, socio-economic status, i.e. the higher the status the more prone the respondent is to speak the L2, and the overall attitude towards the L2, i.e. the value and status of the language and language group concerned. The K-F area's coloured community displayed a proven need for English and Afrikaans as a second language on various levels. It must also be kept in mind that highly favourable attitudes towards using the L2 may also be a step in the direction of language shift.

6.1.2.4. Attitudes towards the current language policies

Past and current language policies partly reflect, but also create and contribute to the sociolinguistic situation in the

[123] This is consistent with Hauptfleisch's (1978) finding that the more whites came into contact with their L2, the more positive their attitude towards its use became.

[124] African students who were following an Afrikaans course were found to have extremely negative perceptions of the language and its speakers which was attributed to a lack of exposure to mother-tongue speakers of Afrikaans.

country. The current policy of 11 official languages received a rather lukewarm reception from language practitioners (e.g. teachers and translators). This is understandable if the amount of work and effort that have been put into formulating new language policies is taken into account. However, the policy regarding official languages might indicate the start of a complete change in language use in the country, or it may simply reflect a compromise between political parties (cf. Smit 1994:160). Most respondents disagreed with the statement that the policy of having 11 official languages was a good one. Nonetheless, respondents were also not in favour of Afrikaans and English being the only two official languages and expressed pluralistic, though varied, ideas regarding the most suitable language policy. These included adding Xhosa and/or Zulu, another African, or regional language(s) to Afrikaans and English. This is consistent with Scheffer's (1983) finding that most respondents in the Western Cape preferred a combination of English, Afrikaans and an African language as official languages. Very few believed that English should be the only official language. This finding is contrary to that of Young (1991) who found that the majority of coloureds expressed a preference for English as the only official language for South Africa[125]. With regard to the future language situation, most respondents believed that English, followed by Afrikaans, and then Xhosa, should be a common language used by everyone in the Western Cape.

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[125] Dube (1992) found that the majority of Africans living in Soweto also preferred English as the only national language, with regional alternatives chosen from Afrikaans and the other indigenous languages.

This concurs with Young's (1991) finding that English was preferred as national communicative language by respondents from three different race groups[126].

In the past, South Africa's education administration consisted of 15 educational authorities which promoted separate educational training for the various race groups, accompanied by noticeable resource imbalances (NEPI 1993:13). Consequently, taking decisions regarding the most suitable MOI in schools was always going to be problematic[127]. More than half of the respondents preferred a combination of Afrikaans, English and Xhosa. This stands in contrast to Young's (1991) finding that most coloureds living in Mitchell's Plain wanted to retain the bilingual policy (of English and Afrikaans), while only a small number preferred the trilingualism policy opted for in this study. The above also contrasts with the findings of Young (1990) who found that the majority of urban Africans preferred English as sole MOI from the first year of schooling onwards. The most recent language proposals in education envisage the possibility of being able to do an African language as L2 on higher grade, with only one university language of instruction required on a L1 higher grade level (either English or Afrikaans) for matric exemption purposes (cf. Sunday Times, 10/08/97:4).

The National Education Policy Implementation study group (NEPI) (1992:89) emphasised the use of the L1 as MOI in schools, and was

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[126] Dube (1992) found that no definite need for a *lingua franca* existed among Soweto residents. However, most would prefer English as *lingua franca* for southern Africa and Africa.

[127] See NEPI (1992:24-33) for an overview of past education policies.

sceptical about the use of English as MOI, because they could foresee problems regarding the countrywide and equitable implementation of such policies. However, the NEPI team did realise that a MOI policy which would result in a final stage characterised by monolingualism in English for educational purposes, was the most popular one (and the one suggested by the World Bank in 1988).

Although great support for English exists, it is evident from the figures provided by Macdonald (1990) that competence in English is severely lacking for a majority of people in South Africa (with the communicative needs for English as L1 only reaching 9%). In the light of a considerable shortage of resources, such as teachers and teaching material, a country-wide communicative proficiency in English seems to remain an unattainable objective (cf. Smit 1994:159). The number of speakers of English must rise, and the accepted level of proficiency must be increased significantly for English-centred policies to succeed (ibid). However, as long as the knowledge of English remains a pre-condition for socio-economic advancement, the demand to learn English and to use it as main MOI will prevail. In addition, NEPI (1992:1) argued that the MOI has an important role to play with regard to the `development of an individuals' and groups' sense of identity and relative worth, and ... [in] ... the shaping of socio-economic and political power relationships' in domains outside the school. This, in turn, correlates with Schmied's (1991:99) sentiment that future educational policies will play an important role in shaping the sociolinguistic situation, and

will in the end contribute to either language maintenance or shift.

6.1.2.5. Stereotypes regarding Afrikaans, English and Xhosa (see *5.2.1.5.*)

The manner in which language varieties are normally evaluated along the two dimensions of standardisation and vitality, which, in turn, correspond to the two sociostructural determinants of society, i.e. power and group identity, provide the appropriate background for the following discussion. Most respondents regarded Standard Afrikaans as the language of Afrikaners. This belief might explain why the use of Standard Afrikaans was perceived as indicating the acceptance of the apartheid system in some quarters. Therefore a number of respondents also preferred English, simply because it was not Afrikaans. However, even though Standard Afrikaans possessed low overt prestige as a result of its association with apartheid, a few respondents viewed and respected it as the `correct' form of Afrikaans (see *6.1.2.3.*). Standard Afrikaans was not believed to be difficult to learn, although this might not necessarily be the case in practice. `Cape Afrikaans' was believed to be easier to speak[128], and `friendlier' than Standard Afrikaans. This is probably due to the role `Cape Afrikaans' plays in promoting community identity (i.e. in-group solidarity), since it provides a vehicle for reinforcing covert values (Lanham 1985:247). This,

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[128] Although no major linguistic differences exists between Cape Afrikaans and Standard Afrikaans (cf. Webb 1991b).

in turn, gives the variety a high degree of vitality. This is consistent with findings in the Cape coloured communities studied up to now (see Chapter 2). Nonetheless, respondents believed that discrimination existed towards `Cape Afrikaans', and that the dialect could be associated with the coloured working class. De Villiers (1992:285-316) also noted that discrimination prevailed against coloured students who used `Cape Afrikaans'. A few respondents felt that `Cape Afrikaans' can be closely associated with the Muslim (= Malay) sector in the coloured communities. Stone (1995:280) argued that the stigma attached to Cape Afrikaans seems to be waning, although it can still be regarded as marker of static communal identity. In addition, Young (1991) found a strong belief among the coloureds that Afrikaans would be important and widespread in its national distribution and use in the future.

The majority of respondents believed that Standard English could be viewed as the language of the British, but did not believe that it was difficult to learn. Since the Afrikaners were blamed for the apartheid system, the English-speaking South Africans were perceived as politically liberal (or, at least, not responsible for apartheid) and economically successful, and thus taken as examples to look up to (see *1.1.2.*). English thus became the symbol of an improved lifestyle, possessing high overt prestige/ status. Standard English was perceived as the language of higher education, social advancement, prestige and the media - a fact well documented in studies by Scheffer (1983), McCormick (1989) and Young (1991). English thus possessed a high degree of

overt prestige as a result of its status. The belief was expressed that discrimination existed towards `Cape English', although it was viewed as a `friendlier language' than the standard. Similar to non-standard Afrikaans, non-standard English also served as an important community identifier, although it has been stigmatised by whites in terms of overt values.

To sum up, English was received more positively than Afrikaans, and was generally seen as language of prestige, of the media, and of education. While English and Afrikaans were equally accepted as MOI for primary schooling, English was the definite choice for secondary schooling. The treatment of the different varieties of English and Afrikaans mirrors the degree to which language functions as intra- and in-group marker (see *3.3.3.*), and ultimately reflects the way in which society is structured along the lines of power and solidarity, since L1 varieties, which became standardised in the past, enjoyed high status/ power, whereas varieties which were used by communities as in-group markers possessed high vitality and covert prestige, and thus contributed to group identity.

6.1.2.6. Attitudes towards bilingualism in Afrikaans and English (see *5.2.1.6.*)

Bi- and/or multilingualism is a standard characteristic of communication in South Africa. Although most residents in the K-F area were bilingual to a certain degree, English was the dominant language among the MC and Afrikaans the dominant language among the WC (cf. census 1991). The results indicate that English was

prevalent among the educationally higher qualified[129].

The results have shown that Afrikaans-speakers are more willing and open to use English than *vice versa*. Hence English-speakers use less Afrikaans, compared to the use of English by Afrikaans-speakers. The majority of respondents agreed that it was important to be able to speak both languages. Most respondents who disagreed with the statement that both languages should be important in South Africa, were English-speaking. In contrast, Hauptfleisch (1983) found that especially the socio-economically higher status groups of his white sample favoured bilingualism. Most respondents would like to be considered as speakers of both languages. Very few believed that we only need to speak one language in South Africa, and that people only need to know one language. Most believed that English and Afrikaans can co-exist in South Africa.

A greater number of respondents believed that young children would not get confused, and would learn to speak both languages with ease. The majority also wanted their own children to speak both languages. Most disagreed that the knowledge of both languages would create problems, and that speaking both languages are more for older than younger people. With regard to proficiency and schooling in both languages, most said that it was important to be able to write, read and speak both languages. Respondents agreed that speaking both languages helps to get a job, get promoted and earn more money. Most also believed that people know more if they speak both languages, but did not

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[129] This finding is consistent with that of Scheffer (1983).

believe that people have more friends if they speak both. The respondents' home language had no real influence in so far as a wish for bilingualism, or a personal need for the second language, was concerned. Since both the WC and MC reacted positively towards bilingualism, the awareness and need for the L2 did not necessarily correlate with higher socio-economic status. In fact, the WC was more positively orientated towards using and being proficient in the L2 than the MC. This is unlike the finding by Hauptfleisch (1983) that greater awareness of the functional value and the roles played by the L2 existed among the white MC, in comparison to the WC. Cases of additive bilingualism (where English L1 speakers learnt Afrikaans as L2, without it having any impact on the use or importance of the L1), and subtractive bilingualism (which entailed a weakening of Afrikaans as L1, and a decrease in its importance as a result of English continuously gaining ground), prevailed in the community (see Lambert 1974, cited in Gardner 1982:142-43, for a description of additive and subtractive bilingualism). The overall favourable support for bilingualism on its own speaks of a general holistic view of bilingualism. This bodes well for the future, since NEPI (1992:89) stated that any MOI policy which is decided upon should facilitate additive rather than subtractive bilingualism. In other words, bilingualism should not imply that the L1 is employed only as a kind of bridging mechanism to help the pupil acquire one or more L2s, but that `the person's first language [should be] maintained while adding competence in another language' (NEPI 1992:x).

In cases where both parents were Afrikaans-speaking, their children managed to pick up English very quickly (by means of friends, the playground, TV, etc.). These children will eventually be even more exposed to English when they start going to school.

To sum up, it can be said that attitudes towards bilingualism can be viewed as distinct from attitudes towards a specific language at a conceptual and operational level. In the end, language attitudes will always be one of the major factors in accounting for the vigour with which languages are learned and used in bilingual communities.

6.1.2.7. Code-switching, language maintenance and shift (see *5.2.1.7.*)

The majority of respondents confirmed that code-switching (the alternation of elements longer than one word, involving Afrikaans and English)[131] took place within their community. This is consistent with evidence that code-switching occurs in bilingual speech communities all over the world (see McCormick 1995:195 for examples).

The code-switching strategies employed most frequently by the community may give an indication of the patterns of language use which will prevail. Since situational switching in favour of English seem to be on the increase across a wider range of settings and situations (formally occupied by Afrikaans) in the

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[131] Mainly situational code-switching, i.e. the choice and changing of codes would depend upon the topic, the participants or the situation (McCormick 1983:15).

private and formal domain, it seems as if English is becoming the preferred language in comparison to Afrikaans. Alternatively, code-switching may well be a stable phenomenon and serve as a means to maintain a beleagured language, albeit in a `weakened' (i.e. code-mixed) form. Although Standard Afrikaans and Standard English were used by some WC and especially MC respondents, the use of `Cape Afrikaans' and `Cape English' was also prevalent, with situational switching between these two local dialects occurring frequently.

As mentioned earlier, the selection of either one of two languages by a bilingual can be taken as a tendency towards preferred identity (cf. McCormick 1989). Code-switching may thus be viewed as partly dependent upon the personae respondents wish to project (identifying themselves as members of certain groups and negotiating their position in interpersonal relations). A great degree of code-switching to Standard English and Afrikaans possibly indicates the respondents' aspirations to upward mobility. One reason why people shift between languages, which is voluntary and generally unaffected by external circumstances, is to reduce social distance (Hauptfleisch 1979:49). Consequently, this is unlikely to lead to any serious language shift or attempts to learn the L2, but it does to a large extent govern language choice in a contact situation.

Certain domains seemed to be more prone to shift, for example, the occupational domain. However, maintenance-prone domains also existed, as seen in, for example, the high number of previously Afrikaans-speaking English respondents who preferred to express

their emotions and anger in Afrikaans. Vernacular contexts thus seemed to be the most resistant to shift. Most respondents who did not shift away from Afrikaans themselves ended up introducing English to their children, even when they continued to use Afrikaans with each other and in conversation with older relatives[131]. The main motivation for this was to give their children an early start in a language which would be important in their educational, social and economic advancement. This further allows the shift process to continue into the next generation.

In terms of motivation it seems as if an integrative motivation for speaking English as L2 was strong among mother-tongue speakers of Afrikaans who wished to associate with both the coloured and the traditional (white) L1 speakers. Most respondents who changed to English seem to have had their greatest exposure to the language relatively late in life. However, the foundation for a preference for English may have been laid much earlier through primary schooling, or through significant contact with English in daily life.

Unlike Hauptfleisch (1983) and Scheffer (1983), in this study it was found that marriage to an L2 speaker was not the most common factor in the cases of language shift. However, it was evident from the information obtained that most respondents (including the majority of Afrikaans-speakers) attended English-medium schools. Although English is set to become the dominant language for some, Afrikaans has not been completely abandoned since this

[131] This is consistent with McCormick's (1983) findings in District Six.

is not really possible in a society where everyone is bilingual to some degree, and even children brought up as English-speaking still possess good comprehension of Afrikaans. Bilingualism in English and Afrikaans is also promoted by the education system. In addition, `Cape Afrikaans' serves as ethnolinguistic group marker, and carrier of in-group identity for many.

To sum up: it seems as if a change in the choice of dominant language from Afrikaans to English, which is an established fact among the MC, is also taking root among the WC. There is thus a movement away from Afrikaans as language of identity. A number of factors seem to have contributed towards this process, one chief factor being the political and related socio-economic changes which resulted in an increased awareness of the diminishing status, rights and uses of Afrikaans, in contrast to the growing value attached to English. Previous studies also reveal the steady increase in the tendency to adopt English as L1 (which can be traced back to earlier times[132]) within the Western Cape's urban coloured communities. As seen in Chapter 2, a study conducted by Scheffer (1983) in the Cape Province revealed that one third of those with English as home language (60 out of a total of 181) had previously used Afrikaans at home (cf. *2.1.1.*; Scheffer 1983:31)[133]. McCormick's study confirmed this trend, since only 20% of all English-speaking families in

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[132] See Lanham (1982:326) who in his historical description of the coloured community mentions that `there is early evidence of socio-economic advancement coinciding with a switch in home language to English'.

[133] It is important to note that Scheffer's sample was skewed in terms of an overrepresented MC.

her (District Six) sample had used English for two generations or longer. Those older than 30 were still fully bilingual, while informants under 20 could express themselves more efficiently in English than Afrikaans (McCormick 1989:114-15). Scheffer's findings were further reinforced by those of Wood (1987), Stone (1991) (see Chapter 2), and Summerton (1989) for the Eastern Cape. However, contrasting evidence by Young (1991) has emerged in recent research conducted among coloured schoolchildren in Mitchell's Plain (see *2.1.6.*)[134].

An example of such a near-complete language shift that has taken place in the last century is the shift from a variety of Indian languages to English. Evidently, this change in home language has been accompanied by a change in language attitudes. For example, in the case of Bhojpuri, younger informants revealed total acceptance of English as their home language and voiced negative attitudes towards Bhojpuri (Mesthrie 1985:166-71)[135]. Mesthrie suggests that these attitudes are not in themselves causal, and rather reflect the defensiveness of a younger generation unable to speak the ancestral languages. This inability he traces to a number of factors which are an amalgam of the dominance of English and Afrikaans, and the internal dynamics within the multi-language Indian community.

In view of the above discussion it is still too early to state

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[134] Young (1991) cautioned that no generalisations could be made, since his work in Mitchell's Plain was regarded as pilot research.

[135] However, Louw et al. (1990:162) concluded that the `Indian vernaculars are still salient factors in in-group identity', and that this may stem the decline of the Indian languages in South Africa.

that a complete language shift, where the entire community wishes to change identity, is taking place. Afrikaans will remain the dominant language for many (especially in the rural areas), partly as a result of past education policies, and its dominance in social spheres. Nonetheless, in terms of the narrower sense of language shift (as described by Brenzinger) (see *3.3.6.*), a shift in language preference is taking place.

6.1.2.8. The influence of politics on language attitudes (see *5.2.1.8.*)

Political and social changes would ultimately filter through to the level where they will impact on the way languages are perceived (cf. Appel & Muysken 1987, and McCormick 1989). Therefore, the second practical aim of this study was to establish whether attitudes towards the existing varieties of the languages reflected the sociopolitical changes that have recently taken place in the country. The results show that this aim has been achieved since the respondents expressed attitudes which mirrored the new social and political dispensation which took effect in 1990. The fact that language status and attitudes are directly linked to the two sociostructural determinants of society, i.e. power/status and group identity/ solidarity, was clearly mirrored by the people's attitudes towards the varieties of English and Afrikaans, and the African languages.

The coloureds, who form part of the formerly disadvantaged population groups, seem to have a more favourable attitude towards their own L2 varieties of English and Afrikaans in

relation to the standard L1 varieties. This may be due to the high value placed on the L2 varieties as in-group markers.
As seen in *4.2.2.2.*, language can take on different roles for different forms of collective identity, and can act as a dynamic force in promoting group interaction and identity formation. When linked to colour prejudice, or class privilege, it becomes a highly emotional and political issue which can be mobilised into a powerful social instrument (Hartshorne 1995:306). For a certain sector of the coloured community (the politically conscious, liberal or leftwing MC type), language came to fulfil that role, but for the majority home language did not play a role in decisions regarding support for political parties[137]. The stigma attached to Standard Afrikaans is also becoming less since it no longer poses a realistic threat as language of the oppressor, and a few individuals who are both politically conservative and status-seeking, took pride in speaking Standard Afrikaans[138].
Greater awareness existed about the importance of the African languages. However, English is still regarded as a highly prestigious and instrumentally useful language, since the mindset and development with regard to the use of English has followed a different path compared to other countries where English was viewed as symbol of colonialism and imperialism. This further

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[137] Results from surveys conducted by the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (IDASA) support this finding, and further suggest that church denomination (thought to be an important factor), does not play a role in voting preference (cf. the Cape Times, 22/09/97:8).

[138] See *4.2.2.2.* for a description of Chick's (1995:230-41) framework within which the position of Cape Afrikaans and English among the coloured community can be interpreted.

increases the possibility of a future shift towards English. Half of the coloured respondents felt alienated from Africans and whites and felt that a degree of social distance existed between them and the other race groups. This was further fostered by increased competition in the work environment (these feelings were strongest for the Afrikaans-speaking respondents). Respondents generally felt that `politics' was responsible for problems experienced with regard to housing, health care, etc. However, most did not respond to, or were not involved in, politics[139], but do believe in voting during general elections. The fact that the National Party enjoyed strong support among the Western Cape's coloured population could possibly serve as an indication of how successful the Afrikaner propaganda machine functioned via the SABC and the *Nasionale Pers* group of publications, and the misplaced trust the National Party enjoyed due to the created impression that they looked after the coloureds in terms of the labour preference policy and the tricameral system. The majority of respondents rejected the term `coloured' (more MC than WC doing so) and preferred to be called South Africans, whereas some were ambivalent.

6.2. Summary of the insights gained from this study, and reflections on what the future holds for Afrikaans, English and the African languages, within the coloured communities

Taking into account the broader societal treatment of the

[139] This is consistent with Field's (1990) finding that coloured workers in Factreton have a tendency to be unresponsive to political issues and activities (see *2.1.7.*).

languages under investigation, and the attitudes expressed in this study, it is possible to state the following.

In future, both Afrikaans and English will probably undergo further changes with regard to their status, functions, and maybe also their standard form.

In spite of the down-scaling of Afrikaans in all public spheres of life, it will always remain a strong community language, and its actual re-acceptance would in future depend on the degree to which it can become a language of reconciliation. It thus seems likely that Afrikaans would survive within the coloured communities (and therefore the broader South African society).

English attracted more favourable attitudes among both the middle - and working class, in comparison to Afrikaans (See *6.1.2.1.* for discussion). Organisations which confirmed that English will continue to be viewed as language of wider communication include the National Language Project (NLP), and the National Education Policy Investigation study group (NEPI). Their viewpoint stems from the recognition which English enjoys as the language of economic empowerment, social advancement, science, international communication, and political change among the majority of all population groups in South Africa (see *6.1.2.1. -6.1.2.8.*), and even though government policies shifted away from promoting English as the key language in education, it continues to be acknowledged and respected as an important language in post-primary education (see *6.1.2.4.*).

According to Herbert (1992:14), a metropolitan middle-class which is `ethnically heterogeneous and linguistically homogeneous'

(English-speaking) may develop when English entrenches its status as language of social mobility and inter-ethnic communication. English may thus become established as the language of international and intra-elite communication, whereas Afrikaans and the other languages may be able to consolidate their positions in various regions (Hartshorne 1987, cited in Herbert 1992:103-104). In addition, the parallel existence of the current standard form of English and a future, more Africanised, variety is envisaged by Young *et al.* (1991), since the future majority of English speakers will use it as either second or even third language. It should also be noted that the levelling of the playing field with regard to the status and roles of language varieties in South Africa requires the transformation of class relations, since the MC enjoyed greater access to the kind of metropolitan, private and secondary education through which the middle-class codes (i.e. SAE and standard Afrikaans) were promoted in the past (McLean 1992:151-61).

Since African languages were often overlooked in previous research, attitudes towards Xhosa came under investigation in this thesis. Although knowledge of the language was limited among the K-F community, positive attitudes were expressed towards the language, and its future importance and usefulness were rated higher than that of Afrikaans. The need to advance the standing and use of the African languages is likely to receive more attention in future, since greater emphasis is starting to be placed on the need for multilingualism. However, financial practicalities may hamper the development process.

An assessment of the K-F area's language shift and maintenance situation revealed that a shift in language preference is taking place, since English is increasingly becoming the preferred language in previous Afrikaans-dominated domains, and most of the English-speaking respondents in this study previously had Afrikaans as home language. Both the middle- and working class were involved in the shift process, with the MC showing earlier signs of shift in comparison to the WC. However, it is too early to talk of a complete language shift where the entire community wishes to change identity[139]. In addition, a holistic view regarding bilingualism in Afrikaans and English prevailed across both classes, and attitudes towards bilingualism were proved to be distinct from attitudes towards a specific language at both a conceptual and methodological level.
New insight into the formation of a coloured political identity was also achieved by the fusion of an adaptation of Ross' theory of successive forms of collective identity with Goldin's explication of the political organisation of the coloured people. It was also shown that language attitudes are dependent upon the way in which society is structured in terms of power and group solidarity, since the different varieties of English and Afrikaans were evaluated along the two dimensions of standardisation and vitality (see *3.3.3.*).

Although the recorded language attitudes apparently constitute

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[139] For a critique of other studies which investigated language shift and maintenance in coloured communities in the past, see *2.1.*

an amalgamation of different views, it may in the end reflect the transformation which is taking place within the South-African society. The functions and standing of English, Afrikaans, and the African languages will in future be guided by the same social, political and religious elements, policies and transformation which played a role in this regard in the past.

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APPENDIX A (The Kensington-Factreton area)

Table A-1. Socio-economic Status for Selected Communities in the Western Cape (based on the 1991 census)

SUBURB	COMPOSITE INDEX
NEWLANDS	4.7963
FACTRETON	36.239
KENSINGTON	17.9763
KHAYELITSA	49.6545
GRASSY PARK	17.0734
OCEAN VIEW	34.733
FISH HOEK	6.1646

Note. Data obtained from the Urban studies, Surveys and Land Information Branch (City Planner's Department, CCC).

The composite index was statistically calculated by using the index scores of five indicators, i.e. income, education, unemployment, welfare & overcrowding. The highest scoring suburbs are the most poor.

The validity of this index can be debated, but it nevertheless provides an overall picture of socio-economic inequality in Cape Town's suburbs.

Questionnaire code number:

<u>Instructions:</u> Respond by

1) choosing one of five alternatives below and writing down the corresponding **number**;

2) circling one of three options provided;

3) answering the questions.

<u>Alternatives:</u>

1. No, definitely not. 2. No, not really.

3. Yes, it could be. 4. Yes, definitely. **DNK**. Do not know.

<u>Abbreviations used:</u>

Afrikaans = Afr.; English = Eng.; lgs = languages

L2 = Second language.

Section A: Statements and Questions:

1. It is important to speak the following languages well.

Afrikaans ______	English ______	Xhosa ______

2. It is important to speak better (i.e. be more proficient in)

English than Afrikaans ______	Afrikaans than English ______

3. It is better (i.e. more beneficial) to speak

Afr. instead of English ____	English instead of Afr. _____

4. It is important to learn how to speak

Xhosa ______	Afrikaans ______	English ______

5. It is necessary to know and speak the following languages if you want a good job.

Afrikaans ______	English _______	Xhosa _______

6. It is better (i.e. more beneficial) to be known as an

Afrikaans speaker _______	English speaker _______

7. The following language is a very useful language.

Afrikaans ______	English _______	Xhosa _______

8. The following is the best language to use when speaking to family and friends.

Afrikaans ______	English _______	Xhosa _______

9. `Standard Afrikaans' is

the lg of white Afrikaners _____	difficult to learn _____

10. `Standard English' is

the lg of the British _____	difficult to learn _______

11. Compared to `Standard Afrikaans', `Coloured Afrikaans' is

easier to speak ________	`friendlier' ________

12. Discrimination exists against

\`Cape Afrikaans' ________	\`Cape English' ________

13. Compared to \`Standard English', \`Coloured English' is a \`friendlier' language. _______

14. Choosing to speak English provides the chance to enjoy the lifestyle of the traditionally white English-speaking community. ______________

15. The \`Cape Afrikaans' dialect can be associated with the coloured working class. ________________________________

16. South Africa's policy of eleven languages is a good one. _

17. Afr. and Eng. should be the only official languages. _____

18. The following language should be a common language used by everyone in the Western Cape.

Xhosa ________	English ________	Afrikaans _______

19. The following language(s) is the best language in which to express emotions.

English. YES / NO / DNK	Afrikaans. YES / NO / DNK

20. Which language(s) should be the medium of instruction in Western Cape schools? ______________________________

21. The following language is a language of opportunity.

English ________	Afrikaans _________	Xhosa _________

22. Which language(s) possess the most power?

Economically _____	In education ______	Socially ________

23. Does switching from one language to another (code-switching) occurs frequently in the community?

YES, from _____ -> ______	NO / DNK

24. Do you feel positive (P) or negative (N) towards the following languages?

Xhosa. ________	Afrikaans. _______	English. ________

25. Which language(s) are important for building a nation?

____

26. Do you at times want others to believe that your second language (L2) is your mother tongue? YES / NO / DNK.

27. Do you at times use your L2 to make a good impression on strangers and friends?

YES / NO / DNK.

28. When do you find it easier to use your L2?

At work	When angry	When relaxing

29. Do you answer in your L2 when spoken to in your L2?

YES / NO / DNK.

30. Would you like to use your L2 more often?

YES / NO / DNK.

31. Does your home language play a role in choosing a political party?

YES / NO / DNK.

32. Do you feel excluded from Africans and whites?

Politically. Y / N / DNK	Socially. Y / N / DNK

33. Do you feel that `politics' is responsible for problems such as housing and health care within the community?

YES / NO / DNK

34. Are you involved/ responding to political issues?

YES / NO / DNK

35. Do you accept/reject the term `coloured'?

ACCEPT / REJECT / DNK

Section B: Bilingualism (Afrikaans and English)

Instructions: respond by

1) circling or

2) filling in one of the following three alternatives:

YES / (Y); NO / (N); (DNK) Do not know

1. It is important to be able to speak both languages.________

2. To speak one language in South Africa, is all that is needed. YES / NO / DNK.

3. Children get confused when learning English and Afrikaans. YES / NO / DNK.

4. Speaking both languages helps to

Get a job. ______	Get promoted. _____	Earn more. ______

5. Being able to write in both languages is important.________

6. All schools in South Africa should teach pupils to

Speak both languages. ______	Read both languages. ______

7. Knowing both languages creates problems. YES / NO / DNK.

8. People know more if they speak both languages. Y / N / DNK.

9. People who speak both languages have more friends.________

10. Speaking both languages is more for older than younger people. YES / NO / DNK.

11. Young children learn to speak both lgs with ease.________

12. Both languages should be important in South Africa.________

13. Do you want English to replace Afrikaans eventually? YES / NO / DNK.

14. Would you like your own children to speak both lgs.________

15. Both Afrikaans and English can live together in South Africa. YES / NO / DNK.

16. Would you like to be considered a speaker of Afrikaans and English. YES / NO / DNK.

17. All people in South Africa should speak both English and Afrikaans. YES / NO / DNK.

18. People only need to know one language. YES / NO / DNK.

Section C: Biographical data:

Instructions: respond by 1) marking the relevant block with an x, or 2) giving complete answers.

1. Age in years:

18 to 24	25 to 34	35 to 44	45 to 54	55 to 64	65+

2. Are you currently

Never married	Married	Divorced	Widowed

3. Highest educational qualification: ____________________

4. What is the name of your job? Please describe as carefully as possible the work that you do.

____
____

5. Number of years lived in the Kensington-Factreton area ____

Own home or rented? ____________________

Language background:

1. What is your

Mother tongue ____________	Language used the most ______

2a. What is/was the mother tongue of your grandparents

Maternal: Male	Paternal: Male
Maternal: Female	Paternal: Female

2b. What is/was the mother tongue of your

Father ______	Mother ______	Spouse _____	Children ____

3. Degree of contact with Afrikaans speakers

Frequently	Occasionally

4. Degree of contact with English speakers

Frequently	Occasionally

5. Highest qualification in Afrikaans

Std 6/7	Std 8/9	College/University

6. Language use

School __________	Univ./Coll. _______	Work ____________
Parents _________	Spouse ___________	Children ________
Relatives _______	Friends __________	Strangers ________
In shops ________	Watching TV _______	Radio ___________
Reading Newsp.____	Magazines _________	Books ___________

Here are some statements about the English and Welsh language. Please say whether you **agree** or **disagree** with these statements. There are no right or wrong answers. Please be as honest as possible. Answer with ONE of the following:

SA = Strongly Agree	(circle SA)
A = Agree	(circle A)
NAND = Neither Agree Nor Disagree	(circle NAND)
D = Disagree	(circle D)
SD = Strongly Disagree	(circle SD)

	(5)	(4)	(3)	(2)	(1)
1. It is important to be able to speak English and Welsh	SA	A	NAND	D	SD
2. To speak one language in Wales is all that is needed	SA	A	NAND	D	SD
3. Knowing Welsh and English makes people cleverer	SA	A	NAND	D	SD
4. Children get confused when learning English and Welsh	SA	A	NAND	D	SD
5. Speaking both Welsh and English helps to get a job	SA	A	NAND	D	SD
6. Being able to write in English and Welsh is important	SA	A	NAND	D	SD
7. All schools in Wales should teach pupils to speak in Welsh and English	SA	A	NAND	D	SD
8. Road signs should be in English and Welsh	SA	A	NAND	D	SD
9. Speaking two languages is not difficult	SA	A	NAND	D	SD
10. Knowing both Welsh and English gives people problems	SA	A	NAND	D	SD
11. I feel sorry for people who cannot speak both English and Welsh	SA	A	NAND	D	SD
12. Children in Wales should learn to read in both Welsh and English	SA	A	NAND	D	SD
13. People know more if they speak English and Welsh	SA	A	NAND	D	SD
14. People who speak Welsh and English can have more friends than those who speak one language	SA	A	NAND	D	SD
15. Speaking both English and Welsh is more for older than younger people	SA	A	NAND	D	SD

SA = Strongly Agree	(circle SA)
A = Agree	(circle A)
NAND = Neither Agree Nor Disagree	(circle NAND)
D = Disagree	(circle D)
SD = Strongly Disagree	(circle SD)

	(5)	(4)	(3)	(2)	(1)
16. Speaking both Welsh and English helps people get promotion in their job	SA	A	NAND	D	SD
17. Young children learn to speak Welsh and English at the same time with ease	SA	A	NAND	D	SD
18. Both English and Welsh should be important in Wales	SA	A	NAND	D	SD
19. People can earn more money if they speak both Welsh and English	SA	A	NAND	D	SD
20. I should not like English to take over from the Welsh language	SA	A	NAND	D	SD
21. When I become an adult, I would like to be considered as a speaker of English and Welsh	SA	A	NAND	D	SD
22. All people in Wales should speak Welsh and English	SA	A	NAND	D	SD
23. If I have children, I would want them to speak both English and Welsh	SA	A	NAND	D	SD
24. Both the Welsh and English languages can live together in Wales	SA	A	NAND	D	SD
25. People only need to know one language	SA	A	NAND	D	SD

ORIGINAL BILINGUALISM QUESTIONNAIRE AS USED BY BAKER (1992)

APPENDIX B

APPENDIX C

Table C-1. The frequency distribution for the six age categories

	WC	WC	MC	MC
	MALES	FEMALES	MALES	FEMALES
18 - 24	4	5	4	4
25 - 34	2	3	4	3
35 - 44	2	-	3	4
45 - 54	5	3	2	2
55 - 64	1	3	2	1
65+	1	1	-	1
TOTAL	15	15	15	15

Note. WC = Working class; MC = Middle class

Table C-2. Language use

	ENG.	ENG.	AFR.	AFR.	BOTH	BOTH
	MC	WC	MC	WC	MC	WC
PARENTS	10	7	15	18	5	5
RELATIVES	10	8	8	13	12	9
FRIENDS	5	5	9	8	16	17
STRANGERS	18	12	2	8	10	10
SHOPS	21	21	2	3	7	6
SCHOOL	16	7	10	19	4	4
WORK	9	6	2	8	16	12
SPOUSE	4	2	10	11	2	3
CHILDREN	11	10	4	6	2	4
NEWSPAPER	24	26	1	-	5	4
MAGS	21	15	2	1	7	14
BOOKS	24	19	2	3	4	8
TV	17	13	-	-	13	17
RADIO	18	21	-	1	12	7

Note. ENG. = English; AFR. = Afrikaans; BOTH = Afrikaans and English; MC = Middle class; WC = Working class; MAGS = Magazines

Table C-3. Degree of contact with

	MC	WC	MC	WC
	FREQ	FREQ	OCC	OCC
AFR. SPEAKERS	27	26	3	4
ENG. SPEAKERS	26	23	4	7

Note. MC = Middle class; WC = Working class; AFR. = Afrikaans; ENG. = English; FREQ = Frequently; OCC = Occasionally.

Table C-4. Educational qualifications

EDUCATION	WC	MC
STANDARD 6	4	
STANDARD 7	9	
STANDARD 8	9	
STANDARD 9	3	
STANDARD 10	3	3
STANDARD 10 + 2 YEARS	2	
STANDARD 10 + 3 OR MORE YEARS		27

Note. WC = Working class; MC = Middle class

Table C-5. Housing

HOME	WC	MC
BOUGHT FROM CCC	15	-
RENTED HOUSE	6	4
OWN HOUSE	-	17
LIVE WITH PARENTS/FRIENDS	9	9

Note. WC = Working class; MC = Middle class; CCC = Cape Town City Council

Table C-6. Years lived in K-F area

YEARS	WC	MC
1 - 20	14	11
21 - 40	11	15
41 - 60	5	3
60+		1

Note. WC = Working class; MC = Middle class

eral Linear Models Procedure

ndent Variable: Q6A

rce	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square	F Value	Pr > F
el	7	20.03333333	2.86190476	4.52	0.0005
or	52	32.90000000	0.63269231		
ected Total	59	52.93333333			

	R-Square	C.V.	Root MSE	Q6A Mean
	0.378463	37.28529	0.79541958	2.13333333

rce	DF	Type I SS	Mean Square	F Value	Pr > F
SS	1	0.60000000	0.60000000	0.95	0.3347
DER	1	4.26666667	4.26666667	6.74	0.0122
SS*GENDER	1	5.40000000	5.40000000	8.53	0.0051
GUAGE	1	6.07500000	6.07500000	9.60	0.0031
SS*LANGUAGE	1	0.40833333	0.40833333	0.65	0.4254
DER*LANGUAGE	1	1.87500000	1.87500000	2.96	0.0911
SS*GENDER*LANGUAG	1	1.40833333	1.40833333	2.23	0.1418

rce	DF	Type III SS	Mean Square	F Value	Pr > F
SS	1	0.00833333	0.00833333	0.01	0.9091
DER	1	2.40833333	2.40833333	3.81	0.0565
SS*GENDER	1	3.00833333	3.00833333	4.75	0.0338
GUAGE	1	6.07500000	6.07500000	9.60	0.0031
SS*LANGUAGE	1	0.40833333	0.40833333	0.65	0.4254
DER*LANGUAGE	1	1.87500000	1.87500000	2.96	0.0911
SS*GENDER*LANGUAG	1	1.40833333	1.40833333	2.23	0.1418

General Linear Models Procedure
Least Squares Means

CLASS	GENDER	Q4C LSMEAN	Std Err LSMEAN	Pr > |T| H0:LSMEAN=0	Pr > |T| H0: LSMEAN(i)=LSMEAN(j) i/j	1	2	3	4
MC	F	3.90000000	0.09830291	0.0001	1	.	0.7206	0.7206	0.0779
MC	M	3.95000000	0.09830291	0.0001	2	0.7206	.	1.0000	0.0356
WC	F	3.95000000	0.09830291	0.0001	3	0.7206	1.0000	.	0.0356
WC	M	3.65000000	0.09830291	0.0001	4	0.0779	0.0356	0.0356	.

CLASS	GENDER	Q5A LSMEAN	Std Err LSMEAN	Pr > |T| H0:LSMEAN=0	Pr > |T| H0: LSMEAN(i)=LSMEAN(j) i/j	1	2	3	4
MC	F	3.40000000	0.27438743	0.0001	1	.	0.0092	0.6085	0.5222
MC	M	2.35000000	0.27438743	0.0001	2	0.0092	.	0.0330	0.0443
WC	F	3.20000000	0.27438743	0.0001	3	0.6085	0.0330	.	0.8980
WC	M	3.15000000	0.27438743	0.0001	4	0.5222	0.0443	0.8980	.

CLASS	GENDER	Q5B LSMEAN	Std Err LSMEAN	Pr > |T| H0:LSMEAN=0	Pr > |T| H0: LSMEAN(i)=LSMEAN(j) i/j	1	2	3	4
MC	F	3.70000000	0.15612495	0.0001	1	.	0.0758	0.2627	0.3692
MC	M	3.30000000	0.15612495	0.0001	2	0.0758	.	0.0048	0.0089
WC	F	3.95000000	0.15612495	0.0001	3	0.2627	0.0048	.	0.8217
WC	M	3.90000000	0.15612495	0.0001	4	0.3692	0.0089	0.8217	.

CLASS	GENDER	Q6A LSMEAN	Std Err LSMEAN	Pr > |T| H0:LSMEAN=0	Pr > |T| H0: LSMEAN(i)=LSMEAN(j) i/j	1	2	3	4
MC	F	2.15000000	0.21783462	0.0001	1	.	0.8717	0.1501	0.1501
MC	M	2.20000000	0.21783462	0.0001	2	0.8717	.	0.1999	0.1106
WC	F	2.60000000	0.21783462	0.0001	3	0.1501	0.1999	.	0.0051
WC	M	1.70000000	0.21783462	0.0001	4	0.1501	0.1106	0.0051	.

CLASS	GENDER	Q6B LSMEAN	Std Err LSMEAN	Pr > |T| H0:LSMEAN=0	Pr > |T| H0: LSMEAN(i)=LSMEAN(j) i/j	1	2	3	4
MC	F	2.65000000	0.25162931	0.0001	1	.	0.1283	0.0545	0.0070
MC	M	3.20000000	0.25162931	0.0001	2	0.1283	.	0.6751	0.2117
WC	F	3.35000000	0.25162931	0.0001	3	0.0545	0.6751	.	0.4031
WC	M	3.65000000	0.25162931	0.0001	4	0.0070	0.2117	0.4031	.

neral Linear Models Procedure

pendent Variable: Q18A

urce	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square	F Value	Pr > F
del	7	19.14613936	2.73516277	2.97	0.010
ror	51	46.95555556	0.92069717		
orrected Total	58	66.10169492			

R-Square	C.V.	Root MSE	Q18A Mean
0.289647	35.38266	0.95952966	2.711864

ource	DF	Type I SS	Mean Square	F Value	Pr >
LASS	1	0.76376388	0.76376388	0.83	0.366
ENDER	1	7.60225852	7.60225852	8.26	0.005
LASS*GENDER	1	1.54519632	1.54519632	1.68	0.201
ANGUAGE	1	0.27456027	0.27456027	0.30	0.587
LASS*LANGUAGE	1	0.27955228	0.27955228	0.30	0.584
ENDER*LANGUAGE	1	6.50792327	6.50792327	7.07	0.010
LASS*GENDER*LANGUAG	1	2.17288481	2.17288481	2.36	0.130

Source	DF	Type III SS	Mean Square	F Value	Pr >
CLASS	1	0.78939857	0.78939857	0.86	0.358
GENDER	1	4.84444444	4.84444444	5.26	0.026
CLASS*GENDER	1	0.14719674	0.14719674	0.16	0.690
LANGUAGE	1	0.31967380	0.31967380	0.35	0.558
CLASS*LANGUAGE	1	0.31967380	0.31967380	0.35	0.558
GENDER*LANGUAGE	1	6.57655454	6.57655454	7.14	0.010
CLASS*GENDER*LANGUAG	1	2.17288481	2.17288481	2.36	0.130

General Linear Models Procedure
Least Squares Means

CLASS	Q18A LSMEAN	Std Err LSMEAN	Pr > |T| H0:LSMEAN=0	Pr > |T| H0: LSMEAN1=LSMEAN2
MC	2.60000000	0.18581212	0.0001	0.3588
WC	2.84444444	0.18752471	0.0001	

CLASS	Q18B LSMEAN	Std Err LSMEAN	Pr > |T| H0:LSMEAN=0	Pr > |T| H0: LSMEAN1=LSMEAN2
MC	3.60000000	0.11511574	0.0001	0.2026
WC	3.81111111	0.11617674	0.0001	

CLASS	Q18C LSMEAN	Std Err LSMEAN	Pr > |T| H0:LSMEAN=0	Pr > |T| H0: LSMEAN1=LSMEAN2
MC	3.10000000	0.16461978	0.0001	0.2547
WC	3.36944444	0.16613705	0.0001	

GENDER	Q18A LSMEAN	Std Err LSMEAN	Pr > |T| H0:LSMEAN=0	Pr > |T| H0: LSMEAN1=LSMEAN2
F	2.41944444	0.18752471	0.0001	0.0260
M	3.02500000	0.18581212	0.0001	

GENDER	Q18B LSMEAN	Std Err LSMEAN	Pr > |T| H0:LSMEAN=0	Pr > |T| H0: LSMEAN1=LSMEAN2
F	3.48611111	0.11617674	0.0001	0.0098
M	3.92500000	0.11511574	0.0001	

GENDER	Q18C LSMEAN	Std Err LSMEAN	Pr > |T| H0:LSMEAN=0	Pr > |T| H0: LSMEAN1=LSMEAN2
F	3.24444444	0.16613705	0.0001	0.9341
M	3.22500000	0.16461978	0.0001	

General Linear Models Procedure
Least Squares Means

GENDER	LANGUAGE	Q18A LSMEAN	Std Err LSMEAN	Pr > |T| H0:LSMEAN=0	Pr > |T| H0: LSMEAN(i)=LSMEAN(j) i/j	1	2	3	4
F	A	1.98888889	0.26760004	0.0001	1	.	0.0258	0.0010	0.0477
F	E	2.85000000	0.26277802	0.0001	2	0.0258	.	0.2315	0.7889
M	A	3.30000000	0.26277802	0.0001	3	0.0010	0.2315	.	0.1450
M	E	2.75000000	0.26277802	0.0001	4	0.0477	0.7889	0.1450	.

GENDER	LANGUAGE	Q18B LSMEAN	Std Err LSMEAN	Pr > |T| H0:LSMEAN=0	Pr > |T| H0: LSMEAN(i)=LSMEAN(j) i/j	1	2	3	4
F	A	3.32222222	0.16578562	0.0001	1	.	0.1644	0.0162	0.0093
F	E	3.65000000	0.16279824	0.0001	2	0.1644	.	0.2826	0.1984
M	A	3.90000000	0.16279824	0.0001	3	0.0162	0.2826	.	0.8289
M	E	3.95000000	0.16279824	0.0001	4	0.0093	0.1984	0.8289	.

GENDER	LANGUAGE	Q18C LSMEAN	Std Err LSMEAN	Pr > |T| H0:LSMEAN=0	Pr > |T| H0: LSMEAN(i)=LSMEAN(j) i/j	1	2	3	4
F	A	3.38888889	0.23707958	0.0001	1	.	0.3887	0.4356	0.0823
F	E	3.10000000	0.23280753	0.0001	2	0.3887	.	0.1009	0.3665
M	A	3.65000000	0.23280753	0.0001	3	0.4356	0.1009	.	0.0127
M	E	2.80000000	0.23280753	0.0001	4	0.0823	0.3665	0.0127	.

NOTE: To ensure overall protection level, only probabilities associated with pre-planned comparisons should be used.

-neral Linear Models Procedure

-pendent Variable: Q10B

-urce	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square	F Value	Pr > F
-del	7	13.33333333	1.90476190	1.97	0.0778
-or	52	50.40000000	0.96923077		
-rected Total	59	63.73333333			

R-Square	C.V.	Root MSE	Q10B Mean
0.209205	47.63686	0.98449518	2.06666667

-urce	DF	Type I SS	Mean Square	F Value	Pr > F
-ASS	1	0.06666667	0.06666667	0.07	0.7942
-NDER	1	0.06666667	0.06666667	0.07	0.7942
-ASS*GENDER	1	4.26666667	4.26666667	4.40	0.0408
-NGUAGE	1	1.63333333	1.63333333	1.69	0.2000
ASS*LANGUAGE	1	5.63333333	5.63333333	5.81	0.0195
NDER*LANGUAGE	1	1.63333333	1.63333333	1.69	0.2000
ASS*GENDER*LANGUAG	1	0.03333333	0.03333333	0.03	0.8536

-urce	DF	Type III SS	Mean Square	F Value	Pr > F
.ASS	1	0.03333333	0.03333333	0.03	0.8536
:NDER	1	0.03333333	0.03333333	0.03	0.8536
.ASS*GENDER	1	5.63333333	5.63333333	5.81	0.0195
-NGUAGE	1	1.63333333	1.63333333	1.69	0.2000
_ASS*LANGUAGE	1	5.63333333	5.63333333	5.81	0.0195
:NDER*LANGUAGE	1	1.63333333	1.63333333	1.69	0.2000
_ASS*GENDER*LANGUAG	1	0.03333333	0.03333333	0.03	0.8536

General Linear Models Procedure
Least Squares Means

CLASS	GENDER	Q9B LSMEAN	Std Err LSMEAN	Pr > |T| H0:LSMEAN=0	Pr > |T| H0: LSMEAN(i)=LSMEAN(j) i/j	1	2	3	4
MC	F	1.55000000	0.27333412	0.0001	1	.	0.2497	0.0759	0.1608
MC	M	2.00000000	0.27333412	0.0001	2	0.2497	.	0.5206	0.7969
WC	F	2.25000000	0.27333412	0.0001	3	0.0759	0.5206	.	0.6996
WC	M	2.10000000	0.27333412	0.0001	4	0.1608	0.7969	0.6996	.

CLASS	GENDER	Q10A LSMEAN	Std Err LSMEAN	Pr > |T| H0:LSMEAN=0	Pr > |T| H0: LSMEAN(i)=LSMEAN(j) i/j	1	2	3	4
MC	F	2.75000000	0.32514790	0.0001	1	.	0.3323	0.0702	0.4500
MC	M	3.20000000	0.32514790	0.0001	2	0.3323	.	0.3884	0.8287
WC	F	3.60000000	0.32514790	0.0001	3	0.0702	0.3884	.	0.2819
WC	M	3.10000000	0.32514790	0.0001	4	0.4500	0.8287	0.2819	.

CLASS	GENDER	Q10B LSMEAN	Std Err LSMEAN	Pr > |T| H0:LSMEAN=0	Pr > |T| H0: LSMEAN(i)=LSMEAN(j) i/j	1	2	3	4
MC	F	1.90000000	0.26961511	0.0001	1	.	0.1216	0.1216	0.7942
MC	M	2.50000000	0.26961511	0.0001	2	0.1216	.	1.0000	0.0721
WC	F	2.50000000	0.26961511	0.0001	3	0.1216	1.0000	.	0.0721
WC	M	1.80000000	0.26961511	0.0001	4	0.7942	0.0721	0.0721	.

CLASS	GENDER	Q11A LSMEAN	Std Err LSMEAN	Pr > |T| H0:LSMEAN=0	Pr > |T| H0: LSMEAN(i)=LSMEAN(j) i/j	1	2	3	4
MC	F	3.65000000	0.20416340	0.0001	1	.	0.6056	0.2309	0.3905
MC	M	3.50000000	0.20416340	0.0001	2	0.6056	.	0.0893	0.1719
WC	F	4.00000000	0.20416340	0.0001	3	0.2309	0.0893	.	0.7305
WC	M	3.90000000	0.20416340	0.0001	4	0.3905	0.1719	0.7305	.

CLASS	GENDER	Q11B LSMEAN	Std Err LSMEAN	Pr > |T| H0:LSMEAN=0	Pr > |T| H0: LSMEAN(i)=LSMEAN(j) i/j	1	2	3	4
MC	F	3.30000000	0.28571772	0.0001	1	.	0.7120	0.5388	0.2215
MC	M	3.15000000	0.28571772	0.0001	2	0.7120	.	0.3268	0.1137
WC	F	3.55000000	0.28571772	0.0001	3	0.5388	0.3268	.	0.5388
WC	M	3.80000000	0.28571772	0.0001	4	0.2215	0.1137	0.5388	.

eneral Linear Models Procedure
east Squares Means

LASS	LANGUAGE	Q8B LSMEAN	Std Err LSMEAN	Pr > |T| H0:LSMEAN=0	Pr > |T| H0: LSMEAN(i)=LSMEAN(j) i/j	1	2	3	4
MC	A	2.50000000	0.26457513	0.0001	1	.	0.0076	0.0354	0.0002
MC	E	3.40000000	0.18708287	0.0001	2	0.0076	.	0.4531	0.0698
WC	A	3.20000000	0.18708287	0.0001	3	0.0354	0.4531	.	0.0169
WC	E	4.00000000	0.26457513	0.0001	4	0.0002	0.0698	0.0169	.

LASS	LANGUAGE	Q9A LSMEAN	Std Err LSMEAN	Pr > |T| H0:LSMEAN=0	Pr > |T| H0: LSMEAN(i)=LSMEAN(j) i/j	1	2	3	4
MC	A	2.30000000	0.40430377	0.0001	1	.	0.7632	0.0920	0.2264
MC	E	2.45000000	0.28588594	0.0001	2	0.7632	.	0.0893	0.2718
WC	A	3.15000000	0.28588594	0.0001	3	0.0920	0.0893	.	0.7632
WC	E	3.00000000	0.40430377	0.0001	4	0.2264	0.2718	0.7632	.

CLASS	LANGUAGE	Q9B LSMEAN	Std Err LSMEAN	Pr > |T| H0:LSMEAN=0	Pr > |T| H0: LSMEAN(i)=LSMEAN(j) i/j	1	2	3	4
MC	A	1.90000000	0.31561905	0.0001	1	.	0.5206	0.6996	0.3743
MC	E	1.65000000	0.22317637	0.0001	2	0.5206	.	0.2107	0.0987
WC	A	2.05000000	0.22317637	0.0001	3	0.6996	0.2107	.	0.5206
WC	E	2.30000000	0.31561905	0.0001	4	0.3743	0.0987	0.5206	.

CLASS	LANGUAGE	Q10A LSMEAN	Std Err LSMEAN	Pr > |T| H0:LSMEAN=0	Pr > |T| H0: LSMEAN(i)=LSMEAN(j) i/j	1	2	3	4
MC	A	3.10000000	0.37544845	0.0001	1	.	0.5890	1.0000	0.3507
MC	E	2.85000000	0.26548214	0.0001	2	0.5890	.	0.5084	0.1089
WC	A	3.10000000	0.26548214	0.0001	3	1.0000	0.5084	.	0.2819
WC	E	3.60000000	0.37544845	0.0001	4	0.3507	0.1089	0.2819	.

CLASS	LANGUAGE	Q10B LSMEAN	Std Err LSMEAN	Pr > |T| H0:LSMEAN=0	Pr > |T| H0: LSMEAN(i)=LSMEAN(j) i/j	1	2	3	4
MC	A	2.70000000	0.31132471	0.0001	1	.	0.0114	0.0721	0.3678
MC	E	1.70000000	0.22013982	0.0001	2	0.0114	.	0.3397	0.1216
WC	A	2.00000000	0.22013982	0.0001	3	0.0721	0.3397	.	0.4350
WC	E	2.30000000	0.31132471	0.0001	4	0.3678	0.1216	0.4350	.

APPENDIX D

TABLE OF CLASS BY Q35

CLASS / Q35 (Frequency, Percent, Row Pct, Col Pct)	1	2	Total
MC	5 8.33 16.67 27.78	25 41.67 83.33 59.52	30 50.00
WC	13 21.67 43.33 72.22	17 28.33 56.67 40.48	30 50.00
Total	18 30.00	42 70.00	60 100.00

STATISTICS FOR TABLE OF CLASS BY Q35

Statistic	DF	Value	Prob
Chi-Square	1	5.079	0.024
Likelihood Ratio Chi-Square	1	5.216	0.022
Continuity Adj. Chi-Square	1	3.889	0.049
Mantel-Haenszel Chi-Square	1	4.995	0.025
Fisher's Exact Test (Left)			0.024
(Right)			0.995
(2-Tail)			0.047
Phi Coefficient		-0.291	
Contingency Coefficient		0.279	
Cramer's V		-0.291	

Sample Size = 60