AFRIKAANS-ENGLISH IN THE WESTERN CAPE:

A DESCRIPTIVE SOCIOLINGUISTIC INVESTIGATION

Susan Jean Watermeyer

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ABSTRACT

I have attempted to give a broad description of the variety of English used by first-language (White) Afrikaans-speakers in the Western Cape.

The first chapter outlines the aims of the thesis with respect to the study of English as a world phenomenon. Important work on other varieties of English, notably that of William Labov and that of Lesley Milroy, is discussed, with emphasis on variationist studies. The chapter also includes a description of the methods used for the collection of data. I did not use questionnaires but rather conducted 'participation interviews'. A brief outline of the areas that the informants were selected from is given.

Chapters 2 and 3 give the historical and sociolinguistic background of the Afrikaners. This is important as without an understanding of their history and social circumstances one cannot appreciate their present attitudes to language. The formative history of the Afrikaners includes a description of the policies of the British government at the Cape at the beginning of the nineteenth century and the subsequent emergence of national identity among the formerly Dutch community. The establishment of such organisations as the Afrikaner Bond, the Broederbond and the Ossewabrandwag all contributed to the identity of the Afrikaners today. The final section of chapter 3 deals with speech communities as well as the concept of social class, as applied to the White South African community. There is a brief outline of the differences between the White and Coloured Afrikaans-speaking communities of the Cape.

The third section of this thesis (chapter 4) concerns language acquisition, in particular theories of second language acquisition. I have outlined the development of (White) education in South Africa, with particular reference to medium of education, and have included a brief description of second language teaching in South Africa today. Bilingualism and communication strategies are discussed and I have grouped the informants according to their individual level of proficiency in English. The use of code-switching and code-mixing

techniques is also discussed in this chapter, with a brief look at the structural differences between English and Afrikaans.

The last, and major, part of the thesis, chapters 5 and 6, is a detailed description of the phonology, syntax, morphology and lexis of Afrikaans-English. The features of this variety are compared to those of standard South African English. The presence or absence of features in the speech of the informants is discussed and indicated in the tables given; the core features, i.e. those that are found even in the speech of the most fluent speakers, are noted. It is also shown that although all the features are possible, no single speaker will have the full set of variables in his/her speech. The presence of the features discussed in this section in Afrikaans-English, Coloured English and other, non-South African, varieties of English is shown; the presence of a feature in non-South African varieties of English appears to reinforce the use of that particular feature in Afrikaans-English. It is shown that Afrikaans-English overlaps phonologically with the continuum of first language South African English at either end of the spectrum: on the one hand the accent of Afrikaans-English has features in common with Extreme South African English and at the other, L1-fluency end, it is almost indistinguishable from Respectable South African English. Mention is also made of syntactic, morphological and lexical features that spill over into L1 varieties of South African English.

Finally I have appended a brief outline of each of the four competence groups and have given annotated extracts from the data for each. I have also included a collection of the comments regarding language made by the informants.

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CHAPTER 1

AIMS AND METHODOLOGY

1.1 AIMS

During the 1980's and the 1990's world-wide interest in extra-territorial (i.e. non-British) Englishes has expanded to such an extent that there are now two journals, *World Englishes* and *English World Wide*, devoted to the topic. The status of L2 studies, however, is sometimes problematic for linguists. Labov (1972), while concentrating on the vernacular, worked on L1 varieties. Kachru (1983) studied L2 English, but felt there was an unjust bias against L2 studies; L2 varieties of English have generated increasing interest as English has become a world language. The field of sociolinguistic studies is fairly new in South Africa and has in the past been largely pedagogically motivated. With both national and international attention being focussed on the future of the country as a whole, the New South Africa, and on language in general and language policies in particular, there is now a great deal of interest in sociolinguistics in South Africa. The best-known work on South African English (SAE) is undoubtedly that of Lanham and Macdonald (1985), but during the past ten to fifteen years a number of studies have been conducted on non-standard varieties of English in South Africa. Malan (1980), Scheffer (1983), Shirk (1985), Wood (1987) and McCormick (1983, 1986,1989) all focussed on the use of English among the Coloured community of the Cape Peninsula. Others such as Magura (1985) and Buthelezi (forthcoming) have done work on Black varieties of English in South Africa and a few, for example Mesthrie (1991), have studied South African Indian English.

Many of the L2 varieties of South African English are distinct and easily identified; for instance, District Six English is characterised by code-mixing (McCormick 1989) and has certain optional

features that appear to be unique to it in the South African context, e.g. use of the 'dummy' do in unmarked constructions (§6.1.1). Buthelezi (forthcoming) mentions the tendency to eliminate the difference between long and short vowels in Black varieties of South African English, so that sit and seat become homophones, and the syntactic feature of using the stative lexical have as an active verb as in 'the author is having evidence of learners' errors'. Other features discussed by Buthelezi include lexical variation and semantic shift peculiar to South African Black English. However, some features of this variety coincide with features of Afrikaans-English e.g. the use of the present progressive aspect instead of the simple present tense. South African Indian English, although originally a second or even a third language spoken by Indians in Natal, has become a first language with features of its own, with particular variation in the construction of relative clauses (Mesthrie 1991).

Few sociolinguistic studies in South Africa have focussed on L2 varieties of English, in particular Afrikaans-English. Despite the fact that aspects of the phonology of Afrikaans-English were described as early as 1928 by Hopwood and later by Lanham (1976), there is still often confusion between Extreme SAE (Lanham 1976) and Afrikaans-English among linguists and lay persons in South Africa. More recently Van Rensburg (1981), Ridge (1983), Thorpe (1983) and Kitching (1985) all studied methods of teaching, and the use of, English as a second language in education. L1 Afrikaans-speakers have been involved in L2-English teaching in all areas in South Africa, thus perpetuating Afrikaans-English tendencies and even providing Afrikaans-English input to Black English. It became clear to me that there did not appear to be any adequate syntactic analysis of Afrikaans-English. I had always felt that even if an individual spoke Respectable SAE, it was always possible to tell if he or she was L1 Afrikaans-speaking. Therefore should one say that that individual is speaking Respectable SAE, with some phonological differences, or is the person using another, non-standard variety? And if so, what

are the features, phonological and morphosyntactic, of that variety? And are the features of the variety optionally variable or focussed? Almost all White L1 Afrikaans-speakers have some knowledge of English, although levels of competence may vary, even in rural areas. With the rapid political changes taking place in South Africa at the moment, the use of English by L1 Afrikaans-speakers has increased greatly. It therefore seemed necessary to me that, if one was going to describe this variety of non-standard English, one would have to study speakers of all levels of ability.

Although it can be argued that Afrikaans-English, and other non-standard varieties of English in South Africa, are merely L2's or points on an inter-language continuum, the fact that at the L1-fluency or near-L1-fluency end of the scale certain features may still be found, seems to point to an argument in favour of regarding all these non-standard dialects as being definable varieties in their own right. A study of Afrikaans-English would therefore form a necessary complement to Extreme SAE on the one hand and to Coloured English on the other. It should be seen as an important sub-part of the broader study of English in South Africa and a counterpart to McCormick's study (1989).

Labov (1972: 3) realised that if one works in the field of sociolinguistics

> ... one cannot understand the development of a language change apart from the social life of the community in which it occurs. Or to put it another way, social pressures are continually operating upon language, not from some remote point in the past, but as an imminent social force acting in the living present.

With this in mind, I felt it would serve no purpose merely to study the phonology and syntax of Afrikaans-English in a vacuum. In order to create a complete picture of the language variety and its background, it would be necessary to study the linguistic and social history of the Afrikaners.

I will not actually go into the development of Afrikaans itself as the topic has been adequately covered (Raidt 1983 and Roberge 1990). However, I will look at the history of Whites in South Africa in so far as policies and attitudes towards language are concerned. If one were to study the language policies that have been applied to the Afrikaner people in the past, one would get a better understanding of their attitudes towards English and of the language policies they in turn applied in the country. It would also be necessary to describe the society in which the Afrikaners find themselves today, what motivates their choice of language and how they feel about language in general and English in particular.

Language policy in South Africa has always been dominated by Whites and there has been little or no recognition of African languages. For the past 45 years the Afrikaners (in the narrow sense of 'Afrikaans' in language and culture) have dictated language policy. Now the situation is changing and Afrikaans will in all probability not remain an official language under a future government. It is unlikely that the language will disappear, but it will merely be one of the languages (perhaps regional) of the country, on an equal footing with any of the indigenous languages. Afrikaans itself is changing, as are attitudes towards English, and even 'dyed-in-the-wool' Afrikaners realise the necessity of speaking English. It is even speculated that Pretoria University, long a bastion of Afrikaans and Afrikanerdom, is considering changing from Afrikaans to English as medium of instruction.

In order to complete the picture of Afrikaans-English, it is also necessary to study the way in which L1 Afrikaans-speakers acquire English, i.e. the system of second language education as well as the life-style and type of personal contacts that individuals have. A look at education policies, both present and past, is therefore necesssary. I restricted this study to the Western Cape for two reasons. Firstly, it was not possible, in a small study of this nature, to get material from

all regions of the country. Minor regional linguistic differences do exist in South Africa, for instance, between the Cape and the Transvaal, both as regards English and Afrikaans; however, the scope of this thesis is too limited te enable me to describe these differences in any way. Study of regional differences in English, Afrikaans and Afrikaans-English in South Africa is needed. Secondly, Coloured (Afrikaans-) English is also found mainly in the Western Cape and comparison between the two related, though distinct, varieties would add interest to the study.

White varieties of South African English (SAE) have often been regarded as syntactically uniform, differing only phonologically. It is time that more attention was paid to White Afrikaans-English; it should be recognised as being equal in status to any other L2 variety of English and not merely a phonological variation of SAE.

1.2 METHODOLOGY

> One needs to investigate directly the use of language in contexts of situation, so as to discern patterns proper to speech activity, patterns that escape separate studies of grammar, of personality, of social structure, religion and the like (Hymes 1977: 3).

1.2.1 Variationist studies

William Labov realised that language is not monolithic, but that it involves structural heterogeneity. In his studies in New York (carried out in 1966) and in Martha's Vineyard (1961), he developed an empirical approach to the study of vernacular dialects. He argued that in order to account for variational patterning and change in language, one needs to examine the social setting in which a particular dialect occurs. To achieve this, it is necessary to have a representative sample of the community as informants for study. In the earlier study in Martha's Vineyard, in order to establish the significance of social patterns in understanding language

variation, Labov studied the speech of 69 inhabitants, using four different techniques: (1) a formal interview, (2) a lexical questionnaire, (3) a reading passage and (4) informal questions concerning the value judgements of the informants; he did not make use of informal observation. Labov was the first to use the tape-recorded casual interview as his primary source of material. However, he was very aware of the 'observer's paradox' and that

> the responses in a tape-recorded interview [may be] a special product of the interaction between the interviewer and the subject. One way of controlling for this is to study the subject in his own natural social context - interacting with his family or peer group (Labov 1972: 43).

Labov's later studies involved large, urban populations and different ethnic groups. In New York he used proper sampling procedure to select informants, in order to ensure that he had a representative sample of the community. He used a ten point socio-economic scale based on the occupation of the breadwinner in the family, the level of education of the informant and the level of the family income. He divided the community into four socio-economic groups: lower class, working class, lower middle class and upper middle class. In his later work, Labov moved from random sampling of a large community to the use of judgement samples for more intensive study. However, Labov's concept of 'class' can sometimes be confused with 'status'; the class / status distinction is not always clear (§3.3.3).

In a pilot study conducted in New York, Labov used yet another technique for selecting informants, which he called 'rapid anonymous studies' (Labov 1972: 65); in this way he could study the speech of a large number of people in a short space of time. In this study, Labov wanted to characterise the relationship between /r/ in pre-consonantal and word-final positions, and social class. In order to do this, he selected three New York department stores where he used the salespeople as informants; each store represented a particular socio-economic class. 'The

interviewer approached the informant in the role of a customer asking for directions to a particular department. The department was one which was located on the fourth floor' (Labov 1972: 49). The presence of absence of /r/ in `fourth floor' was found to correlate with the level of social class of the informant.

Variable rules, which may include social factors such as [+female], [+middle class], are created by translating tendencies into formal statements. Such variable rules are optional and depend to a large extent on particular aspects of the linguistic context. For example, one context might favour the application of a particular rule 95% of the time, but another context might favour the use of the same rule only 20% of the time. However, the most important aspect of variationist studies is the collection and analysis of a corpus of data that adequately represents the speech of the community being studied.

1.2.2 Networks

Labov occasionally made use of an `insider' from a social group to collect primary data for linguistic research, e.g. in his Harlem study, thus recognising `the importance of the content of the network ties which link the fieldworker to the group he is studying' (Milroy 1980:45). Milroy further refined Labov's fieldwork methods in her research into linguistic differences in different areas of Belfast (carried out in 1975-6). She chose three separate communities in Belfast in order to study various linguistic styles. As she as interviewer wanted to elicit casual spontaneous speech, she did not want informants to regard her as an intruder. She therefore made use of a system of social networks to gain access to the different communities. A social network operates as a mechanism for exchanging goods and services, and for imposing obligations and conferring rights on its members (Milroy 1980). The position of the interviewer relative to the community concerned is therefore important. Milroy introduced herself to the various groups as a `friend

of a friend' as people usually talk willingly if the interviewer is sympathetic towards them or becomes a participant, rather than a formal observer, in the group.

Milroy (1980: 20) defined two types of social network. In a `closed' or `high density' network a given person's contacts will all know each other, as illustrated in Figure 1.

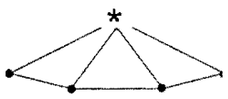

Figure 1: High density-network

In an `open' or `low density' network individuals move more freely outside their territorial boundaries and a given person's contacts will not know each other.

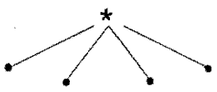

Figure 2: Low-Density Network

These terms are not absolute, however, and should rather be seen as ideal end points of a continuum. People who are linked directly to an individual are said to belong to that person's `first order' network zone; however, each of these contacts will have other contacts whom the first person does not know, but could come into contact with via his first order zone. These are known as the individual's `second order' network zone.

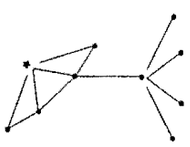

Figure 3: First and second order zones.

Labov and Milroy developed the field methods described above to study the use of L1, albeit the vernacular, in a given community. Kachru (1983) did not use their type of method for collecting data, although the work done on Singapore English (L2) by Platt an Weber (1980) did follow the

field methods of Labov and Milroy. In order to do this investigation, I conducted `interviews' with subjects selected on a `network' system, but unlike Milroy I taped friends and friends of friends. I did not simply knock on doors without prior introduction. In any event this would not have worked in this case where the `speech community' as such does not necessarily live in a confined area (see §3.3). Labov's method as used in New York is useful if one is studying a specific feature, but as the intention here was to acquire as general a view of Afrikaans-English as possible, the participation interview seemed preferable. Unlike Milroy, I did not use field workers which would undoubtedly have increased the number of informants that could have been included in the time available. If I were to expand the study at some future date, this would have to be done. Again unlike Milroy, I did not tape any informant more than once, although I do move in the same social circles, to a greater or lesser extent, as seven of the Cape Town informants and therefore have the opportunity of observing their speech on a casual basis quite often.

1.2.3 Interviews

Although `interview' is a convenient term, the sessions consisted of 45 minutes (total 18 hours, 23 informants) of taped casual[1] discussion with each informant, usually conducted in her (his) own home or work environment. Prior to switching on the recorder, I explained a little bit about the objects of the research, explaining that it could be seen as part of a greater study of South African English and English world wide. All the informants were very willing to speak English even though they were aware that their use of the language would be the focus of the project. Initially I tried to camouflage the real reasons for taping their conversation but ultimately found that they were not inhibited at all by the idea of speaking their second language, even with the

[1] According to Labov (1972: 86) `casual speech' in the narrow sense means the everyday speech used in informal situations, where no attention is directed to language. Thus `casual speech' is in some respects a contradiction in terms here, as Afrikaans-English is an L2 and therefore (some) speakers must pay attention to their speech.

knowledge that their use of the language would be the focus of study. Some of them were initially put off by the recorder itself, but as it is very small they soon forgot about it and relaxed completely, even to the extent of *skindering* ('gossiping') or telling family or community secrets. I did not use a questionnaire at all as I felt this would make the tone of the interview too formal and would put me at a distance from the informants. My object was to make the informants feel that I was a friend or a friend of a friend who had come for a friendly chat, even with the men.

As I did not make use of fieldworkers, the number of interviews conducted may appear small, 23, but they represent a good sample of a very specific social group. One interview was 'double', i.e. 90 minutes, and on two occasions I taped two people together (for 90 minutes). In one of the latter interviews the second informant was so nervous and overshadowed by her loquacious sister that she contributed very little to the conversation. However, the little that she did say produced some interesting data. There were also two interviews where a third person was present, but who herself was not counted as an informant. In one case the extra person was my L1 English-speaking contact friend in the Touws River district and in the other instance the person was a friend of the informant but although she would have qualified as an informant in that she grew up in a monolingual Afrikaans environment, she does not admit it and would like to be thought of as English-speaking. She kept very quiet under the circumstances in case she 'gave herself away'.

Although Milroy (1980) found that good 'vernacular' emerged when family or friends were present during an exchange with the fieldworker, I did not encourage this or conduct any group interviews as it would be unnatural for speakers of Afrikaans-English to speak English to one another. As speakers of Afrikaans-English are by definition L1 Afrikaans-speakers, they would normally speak Afrikaans among themselves. In a group situation where at least one member of

the group was L1 English- and the rest L1 Afrikaans-speaking there would be a great deal of code-switching and code-mixing (§ 4.3). Milroy (1980: 25) reports that Douglas-Cowie found in 1978 that the Ulster-Scots community of Northern Ireland also code-switched in group situations. McCormick's study of English and Afrikaans in District Six (McCormick 1989) deals specifically with code-switching and code-mixing among the Coloured community of the area.

Topics were chosen randomly. On the whole it was easy to get the informant to talk on a subject of interest to herself. For instance, it was interesting to get the older informants to talk about their early life - on a farm 1A, in an orphanage 7A and as a member of the Ossewabrandwag 5B (see § 1.2.5 below for an explanation of the numbering). However, I did not feel that the `danger of death' (Labov 1972: 93) trigger would be useful in eliciting rapid, uncensored speech. There are other ways of doing this in a casual interview as one has time to assess what might `upset' the interviewee and then introduce that specific topic. In South Africa the current political situation serves this purpose well as most people have strong views, one way or another, and most become quite eloquent about at least one politician, depending on which side of the political divide they see themselves. In order to elicit a specific response or feature, leading questions were introduced into the converstion. For example, in order to establish whether an informant has an epenthetic [h] in words such as `situation' [sɪtjʉheɪʃən] or `piano' [pɪhænoʊ],

Interviewer: Did you ever play any musical instruments?

Informant 1B: I did learn a bit of piano, but I preferred listening to music.

In order to establish whether a speaker automatically used L1 Afrikaans or L2 English pronunciation for certain proper nouns, I feigned forgetfulness of the name of the town Worcester so that the informant would say the word without first hearing the English pronunciation [wʊstə]. However, I am aware that data collected in a one-off interview will be limited both

grammatically and stylistically: for instance, there will be few interrogatives, and no third person form of address found in some varieties of Afrikaans and in certain levels of 'Coloured' English:

Did Pa have to throw down Pa's things? (Matthee 1987: 53)

Informants were also encouraged to give their opinions on the status of English and Afrikaans in South Africa and to discuss their attitudes towards the two languages. They were also asked to explain what motivated their choice of language at any given time or in any given situation (Appendix 3).

1.2.4 Informants

Informants were all White, not for any racist reason but because they belong to a single socio-linguistic group. The policies of apartheid resulted in not only the 'legal' separation of the various population groups, but also social separation; linguistic groupings have, therefore, remained circumscribed in South Africa. For instance, 'Coloured' Afrikaans-English differs from White Afrikaans-English, at least phonologically (although further study on this topic is needed) (see §5). Potential informants had to have grown up in monolingual Afrikaans homes, even if they now use more English than Afrikaans at home or at work (see § 3.2). Those in the country have less opportunity to speak English than their counterparts in the cities. Although most informants had their entire schooling in Afrikaans, one attended an English medium high school, five went to English medium universities and two to a dual-medium university. There were more informants over the age of 50 in the country study than there were in the city (this was purely forutitous).

Table 1: Age Distribution

Touwsriver	26. 30*. 40 50.50 65*.65*.65. 70
Cape Town	26. 28. 34. 37. 40*.40. 42.43.44. 48*.50* 80
Control	32. 37*.37 40. 41*.41*.41 46*

The ages of the Control group (§1.2.4) were known, but the ages of the informants in the main study were, with some exceptions, estimated. An {*} indicates a male informant.

Socially all the informants belong to the middle and upper-middle class. Social class among Whites in South Africa is perhaps not as diverse or as easily defined as in some other places in the world, although a certain amount of snobbery is evident. As a result of apartheid and the policy of job reservation whereby certain occupations were reserved for specific population groups, Whites reserved for themselves the `better' jobs and there are therefore few `labouring class' Whites. Two of the `lower class' occupations that were however reserved for Whites in the past were certain positions on the railways and the mines; Sparks (1991: 169) refers to `that haven of poor-whiteism, the railways'. For many years shunters and drivers on the railways were all White, and Afrikaans-speaking. Unfortunately, the number of men among the informants is smaller than I would have liked it to be and does not represent the proportion of males in society at large. Men were on the whole reluctant to be included in the survey, either from shyness or because they were unwilling to spare the time.

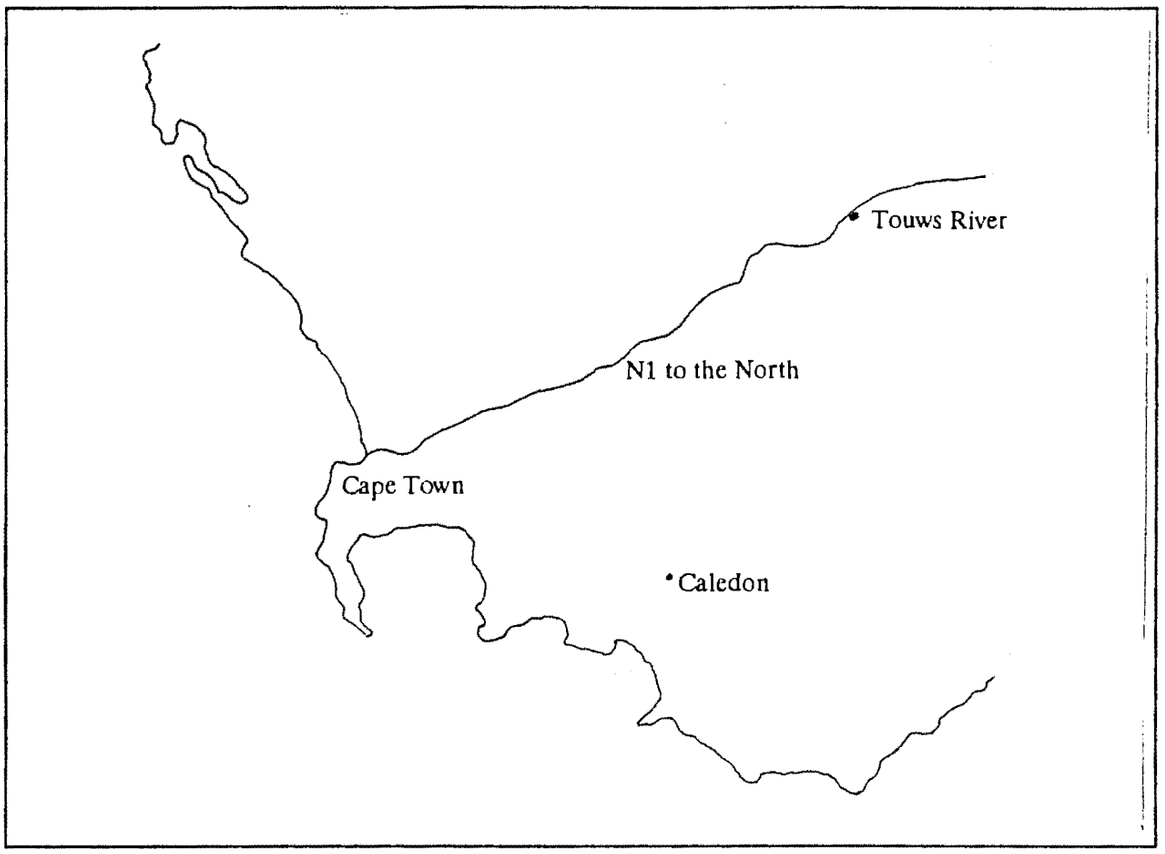

Figure 4: Map of the Western Cape

Touws River.

Approximately half the interviews were done in the small country town of Touws River, about 180 kilometers from Cape Town. For many years Touws River was an important railway junction and was the point where the electric locomotives were changed for steam engines on the route north, and vice versa on the trip south. As a result, a large section of the population of the town was employed by the South African Railways as drivers, shunters etc. With the extension of electrification to Beaufort West 280 kilometers further north, the population of the town decreased as many of those connected with the railways left. Now it is a small town, known to most South Africans merely as a filling station or petrol garage on the road through the Karoo. Unfortunately for Touws River, it is too close to the thriving town of Worcester 100 kilometers

to the south for there to be any development in the town. It still however serves as a centre for the local farming community.

Milroy's definition of a dense or first order network zone (Milroy 1980: 46) where each person in the group is linked to a central individual (the contact), and each person is further linked to each other one in the group, either as a friend or at least as an aquaintance, is best used to describe the network found in Touws River (Fig. 1. above). Such networks are characteristic of sociogeographic units or communities (Milroy 1980: 48). An L1 English friend, married to an L1 Afrikaans farmer, acted as contact in the area and organised introductions for me, although she only accompanied me to one interview. Prior to each interview she also provided a little background information on each informant. Touws River itself is very small and the area is not heavily populated; there are only 1250 Whites in the town in contrast with 6450 'Non-whites'[2]. All the informants know each other. Only one has lived in the area for her entire life (being the daughter of a train driver); the rest are 'immigrants' to the area but on the whole come from other Afrikaans rural areas. Thus, within the immediate area, all the inhabitants tend to have only Afrikaans-speaking contacts[3]; some of the informants, however, do have English-speaking contacts elsewhere. The district of Touws River is politically conservative (their present M.P. is a member of the Conservative Party) and 'very Afrikaans' in that there are only 3 families in the area that are regarded as English-speaking (1 in town and 2 on farms), and of the 3 only one couple are both L1 English-speaking, the other two being 'mixed'[4]. As a stranger in the town, I would normally expect to speak only Afrikaans; however for the purposes of this study I spoke

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[2]Figures provided by the Municipality of Touws River.

[3]Even those married to English-speaking partners have only Afrikaans-speaking contacts outside the home.

[4] The 1991 census gives a total of 21 614 Whites in the Worcester district, into which Touws river falls. 19 953 gave Afrikaans as their home language and 1 430 gave English and 78 English and Afrikaans equally. The remainder speak 'other' languages. The area of Worcester has 78 944 'Coloureds' of whom 78 518 are Afrikaans-speaking and 226 English-speaking.

only English and pretended that my Afrikaans is worse than it really is. Although I speak reasonably fluent Afrikaans, I would never be taken for an L1 Afrikaans-speaker.

The informants in Touws River were generally older than those in Cape Town, with seven of the ten being between 50 and 70 years old (see Table 1 above). Two informants are teachers (non-graduate) and the rest made no reference to any form of tertiary education.

Cape Town

Cape Town is a predominantly 'English' city compared to the rest of South Africa. In particular in the central business district and the Southern Suburbs (the suburbsof the eastern side of the mountain range) one would normally speak English in shops or places of business, with the result that most of the contacts of the informants are largely English-speaking. The 1991 census figures indicate the proportion of White L1 English-speakers:

Table 2: L1 English- and L1 Afrikaans-speakers in three Cape Town magisterial districts.

District	**Total**	**Afrikaans**	**English**
Cape	110 742	19 666	83 253
Wynberg	136 640	13 027	119 722
Simonstown	30 216	3 623	25 771

In Cape Town I also used the 'friend' network to select informants. This time, however, the people interviewed had no connection with one another. The pattern of the network was similar to that of Milroy's second order zone (Milroy 1980: 46) (Fig. 3. above). Only three actually grew up in Cape Town but a further three came from other large towns or cities (Paarl and Port Elizabeth). The remaining six all come from small Afrikaans-speaking country towns but have spent their adult life in the city. Although I did not deliberately choose informants from one professional group, eight of the Cape Town informants turned out to be graduate teachers. In Touws River only two of those interviewed were teachers. The ages of the Cape Town informants were far more concentrated than those of the country group; of the twelve people interviewed,

nine were between 35 and 50 with two in their mid-twenties and one of 80. The general level of education was also higher in Cape Town in that all bar two informants are graduates (the remaining two had no tertiary education at all).

Control Group

In 1987 I did some fieldwork for Roger Lass where my brief was to interview L1 English-speaking people of my own age group and socio-economic background. Furthermore, informants had to have lived in the Southern suburbs of Cape Town all their lives. I was only asked to do a small group of four women and four men. Their ages ranged from 32 to 46 and although they were not selected according to the school they had attended, between them they had attended four of the oldest single-sex (White) schools in the area. In his chapter on South African English, Lanham mentions seven state and five private schools and their 'girl school equivalents' which before World War II were

> the primary agents in disseminating the British tradition in the SAE community....Since then,... these schools have been much more South African in character and exercise their influence largely in conjunction with the variable 'associations with Britain'. (Lanham and Prinsloo 1978: 144)

All the members of the Control group would agree that there was very little, if any, direct British influence left in these schools by the 1960's. All the informants had had tertiary education, all the men and three of the women being graduates of UCT, the fourth woman being a kindergarten teacher.

As with the present study, conversations between myself and the informant were taped on a one to one basis. In the earlier study informants were slightly more intimidated by the tape recorder as I used a bigger and better machine, with an external microphone. The use of a very small, if

less efficient, recorder in the present study definitely reduced the level of tension in the informants.

All the members of the Control group regard themselves as wholly South African although three of them have at least one British parent. However, British influence is not noticable in their speech or their way of life, and their associations with Britain are no greater than those of the rest. All the informants are speakers of Respectable (Upper Respectable) SAE but in Britain would easily be recognised by their speech as South African. This group therefore form a stable basis against which to measure speakers of Afrikaans-English. In order to verify the data that emerged from the interviews conducted specifically for this thesis, I returned to the transcripts of the earlier survey. The results are discussed below (§ 6.).

Representative sample

Although the number of people interviewed for this study is small, in my judgement they do form a representative sample of the greater Afrikaans community of the Western Cape. The levels of education, occupations and ages of the informants are well spread. Education up to the age of 16 has been compulsory for Whites in South Africa since the mid-1950's; during the Second World War the minimum school-leaving age was 15 years. Most of the informants have therefore been affected by the rule. When compared to the greater South African community, the level of education of this group is high, but with regard to Whites only, it is representative: they range from university graduates down to a tradesman (tailor).

Table 3: Occupations of informants

	Touws River	Cape Town	Control
Trade (tailor)	7A		
Shopkeeper	3B. 4A. 5A		
Farmer	6AB		
Army	(6AB*)		
Housewife	4B.5B.6AB*.8A	1A.2AB.(10AB*)	C4A
Technician	3A		
Postmaster	7B		
Teacher	(5A).(5B)	1B.8B.9A.9B.10AB	C1AC1BC3A.
		10AB*.11A.12A	(C4A)
Nurse			C2A
Accountant			C2B.C3B
Lawyer			C4B
Doctor		11B	
Writer		12B	
Known background			
Working class / trade	4B.7A	2AB.9A.11A	
Farming	5B.6AB.6AB*	1A.12B	
Professional		9B.10AB.10AB*	All
		11B	

(Brackets indicate previous or part-time occupation.)
(* see Transcription below

1.2.5 Data analysis

Other observations

I constantly observed L1 Afrikaans speakers speaking English on TV, on the radio and in public generally. All the features noted in the chapters 5 and 6 were noted generally although the examples quoted are nearly all drawn from the taped data. Where necessary I have noted that examples are drawn from elsewhere.

I also read a selection of South African fiction where characters are portrayed as speaking Afrikaans-English. I looked at Dalene Matthee's three novels, in particular *Fiela's child* (1987). All three novels are set in the Knysna forest area where the *boswerkers* (`woodcutters') were all very poor, Afrikaans-speaking Whites. Matthee wrote her books in Afrikaans and then translated

them into English herself. Naturally in the original text, and in reality, the woodcutters spoke Afrikaans, but in the English version of the books Matthee uses 'Afrikanerisms' or features of Afrikaans-English to preserve the feel of the language of her characters. Matthee acknowledges using the M.A. thesis of Dr.F.E.Calitz (University of Stellenbosch 1957) *Die Knysna-boswerkers: Hulle taalvorm en denkvorm, met spesiale verwysing na hulle bedryfsafrikaans* ('The Knysna forest workers: their language form and thought form, with special reference to their occupational Afrikaans'). However, not all authors use 'Afrikanerisms' when writing in English about Afrikaans-speakers. Herman Charles Bosman, for instance, uses standard English in his books set in the rural Afrikaans community of the Marico district of the Western Transvaal, and yet he manages to convey an 'Afrikaans' or 'Afrikaner' atmosphere.

Newspapers and magazines also provided examples of features of Afrikaans-English as well as comments on the language situation in South Africa. Although of interest, I have not placed great emphasis on this source of data; however, it should be used in an extended survey.

Transcription

The tapes were numbered 1 to 12 (1 to 4 in the Control) and side A or B for ease of reference. Each informant therefore has a number, e.g. 1A, which identifies her, her tape and the transcript of that tape. All examples from the data cited in the text are labelled with the speaker's number. The individual double-length interview is labelled 2AB and the two double interviews are 6AB and 10AB respectively, but in both the latter cases one of the informants is labelled 6AB*/10AB*. Tapes 3A to 8A inclusive are the informants from Touws River. Codes preceded by 'C' represent informants from the Control study of 1987 (see §1.2.4 above).

Each tape was initially transcribed orthographically by hand. The transcripts were then typed onto a PC for better storage[5]. This may seem very laborious but it was easier to write by hand initially when one hand had to be kept free for the tape-recorder. All pauses, repetition, and hesitation were marked. Thereafter the transcripts were examined for non-standard morphosyntactic features which were noted and categorised. At times, it became very difficult to distinguish between non-standard features, South African English features and mere errors of performance. Features which I, as a reasonably educated L1 English-speaker (Upper Respectable SAE), initially regarded as belonging to Afrikaans-English, were sometimes found to be features of general South African English. Where does one draw the line between South African English and Afrikaans-English? And what about `Coloured' English? (McCormick 1989). The extreme ends of the continuum are easy to identify but what differentiates the intermediate varieties? Why is it possible to identify a speaker as being L1 Afrikaans, no matter how close to L1 proficiency her/his English may be? Just what is it that `gives her away'?

I have used italics in this text in order to indicate Afrikaans lexical items and `chunks' as well as Afrikaans pronunciation of ambiguous words. Thus the word `man' will appear as *man* where it has the Afrikaans pronunciation [män]. Titles of books and articles cited in the text are also italicised. Although it is not good practice to use both italics and underlining in the same text, I have done so in order to avoid confusion. I have underlined English words cited in the text in order to distinguish them from Afrikaans terms. Where examples from the corpus have been used to illustrate a grammatical feature, I have not used punctuation; however, where quotations are used elsewhere I have added punctuation for clarity.

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[5] The tapes of this study and the discs are in my possession and are available to anyone interested.

Where phonetic transcription is required, I have not always been able to find the exact I.P.A. symbol. In these instances I have used characters as close to the I.P.A. as possible; for instance, although not perfect, I have used [ʃ] for the voiceless, palato-alveolar fricative and [δ] for the voiced dental fricative. However, in some instances the characters were impossible to reproduce and I have had to resort to filling them in by hand e.g. [ə] and [ɒ].

CHAPTER 2

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Although the wider history of South Africa has, until recently, been ignored, from a Eurocentric point of view the development of the country has been well documented. However, in order to understand the relationships between the different language groups in South Africa, in this case between the two White groups, it is necessary to give a resume of the history relevant to this study. The relevant history pertains only to White South Africa in that the Whites were instrumental in introducing English to the country.

2.1 FIRST WHITE SETTLERS

Although during the early years of European exploration and expansion there had been various groups of shipwrecked seamen living on the shores of the Cape from time to time, none of these had landed with the intention of settling for any length of time and indeed none had stayed for more than a year. In 1652 the Dutch East India Company (DEIC) sent a party under the command of Jan van Riebeeck to the Cape in order to establish a refreshment station to provision the passing ships on their way to the East. The language of the settlers was Dutch. City Nederlands of Amsterdam and The Hague was the norm among DEIC officials in Cape Town during the seventeenth century, although Jan van Riebeeck came from Culembourg in Suid-Holland (Raidt 1983). Most of the early settlers at the Cape spoke rural dialects, however, and came from a broad spectrum of social classes and geographic areas of the Netherlands, with settlers from Holland (north and south) being the most numerous, followed by people from Utrecht, Zeeland, Brabant and Flanders. There were also a number of German mercenaries who had joined the DEIC. By the time of the first British occupation of the Cape in 1795 (§2.2)

36,8% of the population were Dutch, 35% were German and only 0,3% were British (Raidt 1983:16). However, Colenbrander (1902) puts the ratio of Germans to Dutch as 3:2 and says that by 1806 more than half the White population were of German descent. Although the Germans were numerous, the influence of German on Afrikaans was limited. With the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685 a number of French Huguenots arrived and were settled in what later became known as Franschhoek. The DEIC discouraged the use of French and encouraged the Huguenots to intermarry with the Dutch.

> There is the expressed order of the Lords Seventeen that the French children should be taught at school to speak, read and write Dutch only.....There is the sternness with which Simon van der Stel in 1689 opposed the effort on the part of the Huguenots in the Drakenstein Mountains to establish their own church and elect their own vestry. At a Council meeting "after mature deliberation it was unanimously resolved, for the greater advantage of the Company, to restrain their French impertinences and all their plotting and check it in time" (Pettman 1913: 13).

Thus the influence of French on the development of Dutch into Afrikaans was negligible (Raidt 1991). However, as will be seen below, the Dutch would have the tables turned on them just over a century later when the British Anglicisation policy was introduced.

2.2 THE INTRODUCTION OF ENGLISH

English was initially introduced when the British first occupied the Cape in June 1795. The purpose was to take possession of the Cape of Good Hope in the name of the Prince of Orange, who was a refugee in England at the time, and to prevent the territory from falling into the hands of the French revolutionary forces. Britain undertook to restore the Cape to the Netherlands when peace was restored. This occupation lasted until 1803. However, in the intervening seven years English began to take hold. In 1806 the British once again occupied the Cape in order to prevent

it from falling into French hands during the Napoleonic Wars. At the time there were approximately 4000 English and 23 000 Dutch at the Cape (Raidt 1983: 23). On the whole, the Dutch inhabitants of the colony welcomed the advent of British rule, as prior to 1795 the colony had been badly mismanaged (Cory 1910: 56). The British promised the colonists that their existing rights and privileges would be protected although they (the British) had no intention of ever returning the Cape to the Dutch. In 1814 the Cape became a permanent British colony.

2.2.1 Anglicization policies

The systematic Anglicization of the Cape was instigated by the Governor Sir John Cradock in 1811. In a letter to the rector of the Latin School in Cape Town dated 8.12.1812 Cradock asks him

> to promote and establish the cultivation of the English language to the greatest extent among your pupils of the highest rank, as the foundation upon which they will in their future life best make their way (Kannemeyer 1974).

In 1813 Cradock demanded `a perfect knowledge of the English language as indispensable in the admission of offices' (Kannemeyer 1974) as a condition for entry into the civil service. However this was not strictly enforced (Picard 1974).

When the Cape became a permanent British Colony in 1814, at the Congress of Vienna, Cradock was replaced as Governor by Lord Charles Somerset. Despite Cradock's efforts, Somerset found on his arrival that Dutch was still predominantly used in the courts, in civil matters and on public occasions. The British Government instructed Somerset to continue the Anglicization policy, to promote the use of English and thus make it the sole official language as quickly as possible. The Anglicization policy not only affected the Cape but extended to the former DEIC possessions Mauritius and Ceylon (Sri Lanka) as well.

In 1814 Somerset established 25 free English schools at the Cape. Teachers were recruited from England and Scotland and English was the sole medium of instruction. Any study of Nederlands (Dutch) was excluded. Cradock had previously attempted the same idea with the establishment of 13 `koster' or boarding schools. Both Cradock and Somerset failed as Dutch-speaking parents prefered to send their children to private shcools where they could still be taught in Dutch. (See §2.2.5).

2.2.2 1820 Settlers

By 1820 the Cape Colony extended as far as the Fish river in the east and northwards to the central Karoo.

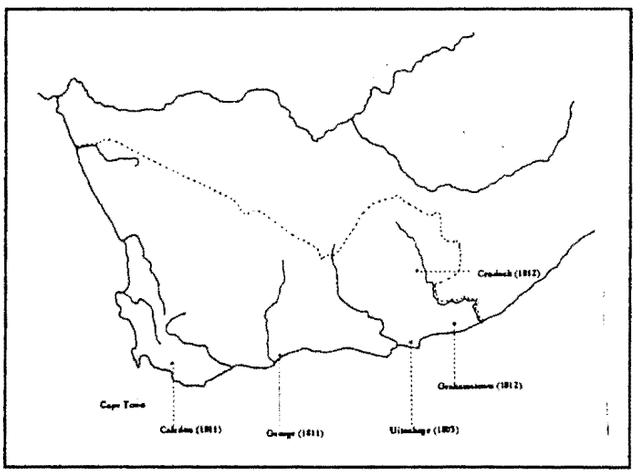

Figure 5: Map showing the extent of the Cape in 1820.

On the eastern frontier the colonists had come into conflict with the Xhosa. At this stage the White population of the Colony was still predominantly Dutch; the only British residents were senior civil servants and some merchants in Cape Town (Theal 1915: 346). As a result of (a) the conclusion of the Napoleonic Wars and (b) the Industrial Revolution there was severe economic depression and a high level of unemployment in Europe. The British Government therefore decided to recruit people to come to the Cape. They were offered farms and equipment and were to be settled on the Eastern frontier of the Colony to act as protection against the inroads of the neighbouring Xhosa tribes (Theal 1915: 346). Although about 19000 people applied to join the scheme, due to financial limitations only about 4000 were eventually sent. (Kannemeyer gives 5000 but according to Theal there were 2775 English, 349 Irish and 116 Welsh settlers, including women and children.) Although the Irish settlers were initially landed at Saldanha Bay and settled at Clanwilliam, the bulk of the settlers landed at Algoa Bay (Port Elizabeth) between 10 April and 25 June 1820. They were settled in the area around Bathurst and Grahamstown. The White population of the whole Colony at the time was 42 217 (of a total of 100 957) (Pearse 1956: 146) and this influx of English-speaking settlers had a great influence on the language question as the proportion of English to Dutch speakers in the area altered dramatically. Lord Charles Somerset had actually returned to England at the beginning of the year and was replaced by Sir Rufane Donkin as acting governor from 12 January 1820 until his return on 30 November 1821.

2.2.3 Medium of instruction in schools

In February 1821[1] Somerset decided to introduce English schoolmasters so that children in the *platteland* or country districts could learn English. He also planned the establishment of a grammar school in Cape Town upon 'liberal and enlightened footing' to attract the children of

[1] Although Somerset was in England at the time, all the sources quoted attribute such decisions to Somerset rather than Donkin.

members of the Indian army and to add to the prosperity of the colony. Teachers such as James Rose-Innes were recruited 'for the purpose of placing their acquaintance of the English language within the reach of every individual' (Millar 1965: 144). English teachers were sent to Uitenhage, Graaff-Reinet, Stellenbosch, George, Tulbagh and Caledon. In some areas the project was a success but in others there was hostility towards the English teachers as they were regarded as instruments for destroying the mother tongue of the Dutch community, and the parents therefore refused to allow their children to attend school.

In 1822 the Dutch still outnumbered the English in the Colony by 8 to 1 and there was a growing movement towards a principle of 'mother tongue instruction'. Many Dutch-speaking parents chose not to send their children to the English-medium schools established by the government and instead set up private Dutch-medium schools. However, despite this, in 1840 Dutch was prohibited as a medium of instruction (Sparks 1991: 116). (According to Behr 1988, English was made the sole medium of instruction in State schools in 1865). Only in 1892 was Dutch introduced as an alternative medium of instruction (Behr 1988). In Natal the situation was similar in that in 1878 the primary school curriculum offered instruction in English, history of South Africa and of England but there was no allowance made for the teaching of Dutch, either as a subject or as the medium of instruction.[2] (For a further discussion on the history of education in South Africa see §4.1.2).

There was also a shortage of ministers in the Dutch Reformed church and therefore ministers were recruited from the Presbyterian church in Scotland. On 8 February 1821 Somerset wrote to Earl Bathurst (Colonial Secretary) requesting permission to appoint the Rev. Andrew Murray as

[2] A parallel situation ocurred in the 1970s under the Nationalist government vis à vis Afrikaans as medium of instruction in Black schools, culminating in the 1976 Soweto riots.

'a minister at the Cape of Good Hope, as soon as he shall have qualified himself by having obtained a competent knowledge of the Dutch language and be ready to embark' (Millar 1965: 129). (The churches of both Holland and Scotland are members of the Calvinistic community.) The intention was to introduce English into the church in the colony but the Scottish ministers were familiar with Dutch as many of them had studied theology in Holland; therefore they used Dutch in the services and in fact Andrew Murray's first sermon in Graaff-Reinet was in Dutch.

2.2.4 English becomes the official language of the Cape

In February 1822 Colonial Secretary Earl Bathurst sent instructions to Somerset requesting him to make a proclamation regarding the use of English as the only official language in the courts and for official business. Somerset supported the idea enthusiastically and the proclamation was issued on 5 July 1822 (Theal 1915: 377) (according to Millar 2 July 1822) to the effect that

> after the 1st of January 1823 all documents issued from the office of the secretary to the government, after the 1st of January 1825 all documents issued from the other public offices except the courts of justice, and after the 1st of January 1827 all proceedings in the superior and inferior courts of law should be exclusively in the English language (Theal 1915: 377).

Two years later on 30 January 1824 another proclamation was issued

> announcing that the English language would be exclusively used in judicial acts and proceedings in the district of Albany after the 1st of March that year (Theal 1915: 377).

According to Theal, by this time there were only a few 'elderly' civil servants who were not familiar with English as the recently established schools (mentioned above) had made it possible for the sons of Dutch-speaking colonists to qualify for the civil service. The colonists were happy with British rule, as prior to 1795 there had been severe mismanagement of the Colony and the

DEIC had become top-heavy and disorganised (Cory 1910). They liked Somerset's handling of the 'native question' on the Eastern Frontier and there was no public reaction to the document of 1822 (Kannemeyer 1974). However, according to Theal, the government failed to realise how strongly the Dutch felt about their language.

2.2.5 The Press

Prior to 1824 there was no independent press in the Colony, but on 7 January 1824 *The South African Commercial Advertiser* appeared for the first time, published by George Greig, a printer from Portsmouth. Although the paper was 'intended chiefly for the use and accommodation of persons connected with Trade and Merchandise' it also 'made occasional extracts from English papers and other Literary productions'. In addition, the first edition carried notice to the effect that

> As doubts have been expressed, whether "The South African Commercial Advertiser" is open to Dutch as well as English correspondents; we beg to state, that we shall most thankfully insert any Communications in Dutch that are properly authenticated.

The paper printed many notices in both English and Dutch and must therefore have been read by members of both the Dutch and English communities. Later Greig was joined by Thomas Pringle and John Fairbairn as partners. In March the same year (1824) *The South African Journal* appeared under the editorship of Thomas Pringle. Initially there was also a Dutch version of this magazine edited by Pringle's partner, Abraham Faure, minister of the Groote Kerk in Cape Town. The two editions appeared alternately.

2.2.6 Influence of the Anglicization policy

Initially the influence of the Anglicization Policy was most marked in Cape Town and the surrounding district as it was the judicial, economic and cultural centre of the Colony. Parents

there encouraged their children to learn English as they saw it as a mark of civilization and culture, or *geleerdheid* (`learning') (Lanham 1976). Some Cape Afrikaners went on to universities in Europe (England and Holland), and returned to practice law, enter the (Dutch Reformed) church or become politicians (Sparks 1991:116). Many leading Cape families changed their home language to English and became fully `Anglicised' in all aspects of their lives, thus forming a class of polished `Anglo-Afrikaners' (Sparks 1991). In particular the younger generation began to identify with Britain. Some Colonists even ignored their Dutch (in some cases German) heritage completely. Henry and Sir Josias Cloete, sons of one of the oldest Cape families (the original Cloete ancestor arrived with Jan van Riebeeck) both became extremely influential members of the British governing body (see §2.4 and §3.2 for further discussion). Their family was still Dutch- (or fledgeling Afrikaans-) speaking at the time of their births, 17.6.1792 and 14.8.1794 respectively, recorded in the family Bible in Dutch. (The Bible is in my possession). However, this conversion was by no means universal and by 1850 there were still many inhabitants of the Cape who considered themselves Dutch but nevertheless did not feel separate from the rest of their compatriots (Kannemeyer 1974). In his book on John Fairbairn, H.C.Botha refers to the Cloetes (including younger brother Pieter Lourens born 1803), F.Watermeyer, J.G.Faure and M.Van Breda as *Afrikaners* (Botha 1984: 149, 183). It is impossible at this distance, 150 years, to say how people such as these regarded themselves. Did they really feel `British in everything but name' (Lanham 1976: 293) or were they still very much Afrikaners at heart but prepared to co-operate with the British for a common goal? Had they really made a psychological shift as can be seen in some people today, even in the small sample of informants used for this study? On the other hand, it can be argued that people who do make such shifts can never be totally monocultural and will always show influences from their cultural heritage.

At the same time (c.1840) as that described by Botha (1984) the Herschels were resident at the Cape. Lady Herschel wrote letters to her friends and family in England describing her life at the Cape. She complains a bit of being ignored by the

> people at Government House where every night is assembled a select party of Cloetes, Rynevelds, & Wyldes &c, & I believe I may add, we have the extreme honour of being cut by them (Letter to Dr D. Stewart dated June 23 1836 in Warner 1991: 112).

This shows the extent to which the Dutch inhabitants were involved with the British Government of the Colony, even to the exclusion of influential British visitors.

However, English never had as much influence on the *platteland* ('country districts'). Lady Anne Barnard, wife of Andrew Barnard, Secretary to the first civil governor of the Cape, Earl Macartney, arrived at the Cape in 1797. She was well-educated and wrote numerous observant and entertaining letters to her old friend and admirer, Henry Dundas, Secretary for War and the Colonies, and to her sisters in England. Despite her detailed observations of the scenery, the way of life and the people themselves at the Cape, Lady Anne Barnard makes very little comment on the language used. She mentions many of the prominent citizens of the time but does not say whether they could speak English fluently, if at all. She reports in her journal a visit to '*Mynheer Cloete*' of Constantia and says 'he forsaw he should lose his *slaap* after his dinner hour' (Anderson 1901: 156)[3]. At all times she refers to the Dutch inhabitants as '*mynheer*' or '*vrow*' (sic). On a visit to the Van Renens ('Rhenin') in the Swellendam district she reports '*Vrow van Rhenin*' as saying '*Mak - self - know best vat like*' (Lewin Robinson 1973: 129). There are only two words in this utterance that are specifically English: know and like. The other words could

[3]It is unclear whether he spoke English, with some code-mixing, or whether Lady Anne Barnard merely used one of her few Dutch words for effect.

be either English or Dutch/Afrikaans, depending on their pronunciation. The utterance can therefore be regarded as an example of an early interlanguage variety (§4.1.1). Later in the same extract Jacob van Renen gives a long account of an incident in his youth, in English. However, it is unclear whether he himself spoke English or whether Lady Anne Barnard had the account translated for her, as she herself admitted that she only had an extremely limited Dutch vocabulary. I suspect the latter. (At the time, many names were spelt according to the whim of the person concerned. Thus the name `Van Renen' is today spelt variously `Van Renen', `Van Rheenen', `Van Reenen', and `Van Rhenen'. All Van Renens, whatever spelling, are descended from a common ancestor. I prefer the simplest form, not least because it is the form used by my own branch of the family).

2.3 THE GREAT TREK AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE BOER REPUBLICS

There were a number of ideological factors that precipitated the start of the Great Trek in 1834. In one way it was an extension of the nomadic way of life adopted by stock farmers who seasonally trekked across the Orange River in search of better grazing. However, by 1834 many of the Dutch were becoming increasingly unhappy and `land shortage together with the shortage of labour which followed Khoikhoi (and possibly slave) emancipation, the insecurity of frontier life on account of stock thefts, and the fluctuations of the British policy after the frontier war of 1834-5' (Davenport 1969: 292) led to the start of the Trek.

The actual course of the Great Trek has been well documented, notably in Theal (1915) and Wilson and Thompson (1969). It is not necessary to detail the history of the Trek here except as regards the language and education policies of the two Boer Republics that emerged, the Orange Free State and the South African Republic. `The laws affecting the English-speaking minority were eminently fair' according to T.J.Haarhof's introduction to Malherbe (1943: 3). By

the time of Kruger's regime (1883 - 1902) provision had been made for English to be taught after Std 2 in government schools, and English private schools that taught Dutch and South African history were offered a subsidy. In the Free State English was also regarded as desirable and useful. The private secretary of Sir Bartle Frere, The Hon. W.Littleton, visited the Free State in 1879 and in a letter to the Governor of the Cape said:

> We learnt [at Boshof] that the English language is to a very great extent used as a medium of instruction in Government Schools. (There is a Government School in every electoral district.) The reason given was the superiority of the English textbooks; but as we travelled through the Free State we found .... the same desire of the older people that their children should learn English, not perhaps from the love of English but from the sense of its utility (Barlow 1972: 192).

A law promulgated in the Free State in 1891 allowed English and Dutch to be used as a medium of education up to Std 2 and thereafter at least half of the subjects had to be taught in Dutch. There appeared to be little or no real antagonism between the Dutch and English communities initially.

2.4 IMMIGRATION TO NATAL

In 1843 Britain annexed Natal and between 1848 and 1862 there was organised British emigration to Natal. There was however, a far greater proportion of upper class immigrants this time than there had been among the 1820 settlers of the Eastern Cape. An immigration scheme was set up between an adventurer, Joseph Byrne, and the British government whereby on payment of ten pounds sterling per immigrant each adult received transport to Natal and twenty acres of land on arrival. Byrne paid a refundable ten pound deposit per immigrant and received thirty acres of land himself for each ten pounds. However, there were many unforseen problems

with this scheme. Two million acres of the best land in Natal had already been given to the Afrikaners under arrangements made by Cloete (§2.2.5) and later modified by West and Smith (Wilson and Thompson 1969).

At the same time (beginning in 1848) there was an influx of German-speakers to Natal, as well as the Eastern Cape and the Southern Transvaal. The majority of these settlers were Lutheran missionaries. They formed a minority group within the White population of Natal (which was in any event a minority group within the greater population). For a number of reasons the German settlers continued to speak German (although it is not possible, at this stage, to judge whether a standard or vernacular variety) and there was no shift (§3.2) towards English for a number of generations. The reasons for the survival of German were the fact that they established their 'own' schools and churches, they took pride in their 'Germanness', they were conscientious, diligent, frugal and moral and believed in the absolute dominance of the church in their daily lives; home and family life were also of utmost importance (De Kadt: forthcoming).

Initially 5,000 immigrants came to Natal, two thirds of them with Byrne's aid. In 1851 the British government stopped further speculative emigration and therefore the White population of Natal increased only slowly from then on: in 1858 there were about 8,000 Whites in Natal and by 1870 there were 18,000. The Afrikaners only outnumbered the British in the far north. Later immigrants were absorbed by the nucleus that had immigrated between 1849 and 1851. The British origins and sentiments of the settlers distinguished Natal from other areas in South Africa for many years. Until Union in 1910 society in Natal wished 'to remain English and maintain what it could of the social symbols and system of Victorian England' (Lanham and Macdonald 1985: 74). Even today, Natal is jokingly referred to as 'the last outpost of the British Empire'.

It is not necessary to discuss further linguistic developments in Natal here as this thesis is restricted to Afrikaans-English in the Western Cape. The topic has been very adequately covered by Wilson and Thompson (1969) as well as Lanham and Macdonald (1979) and Mesthrie (1992).

2.5 DISCOVERY OF DIAMONDS AND GOLD

Until the late 1860's the South African economy was based on agriculture, but in 1867 the first diamond was discovered on the Orange River. This led to the first 'diamond rush' to the alluvial diamond fields on land north of the Vaal River, inhabited by the Griquas, which was claimed by the Transvaal. In 1870/71 dry diggings south of the Vaal River were opened. This land was also Griqua territory but was claimed by the Orange Free State. Thousands of people, British and European (licences to mine were restricted to Whites), flocked to the diamond fields and of necessity the lingua franca was English. As the Boer Republics had not formally annexed the land, in 1870 the British government appointed a magistrate to the area. In October 1871 the area, known as Griqualand West, was annexed as a crown colony. This high-handed action upset relations between the Afrikaners and the British. Relations between the Afrikaner republics and the British government were further weakened when Griqualand West became part of the Cape Colony in 1880, thus effectively preventing further expansion of the Republics. (Thompson 1971: 253ff.)

In 1886 gold was discovered on the Witwatersrand in the Transvaal and a gold-mining area was proclaimed. Once again this led to an influx of a large number of Whites, from the rest of South Africa, Britain and Europe. Once again, the lingua franca among this diverse group was English. These immigrants to the mines became known as *Uitlanders* ('foreigners'). The inhabitants of the Transvaal at the time were poor and, as elsewhere, had an economy based on agriculture. The *Uitlanders* brought wealth to the area but there were great cultural, linguistic and political gaps

between them and the rural local inhabitants. Furthermore, the *Uitlanders* were in danger of outnumbering the Transvalers and were seen as a threat to the newly won independence of the Republic. In order to control the *Uitlanders* the *Volksraad* ('council, parliament') of the Republic declared in 1890 that they could have a limited franchise: they had to be naturalised citizens and to have lived in the Republic for fourteen years. Although the lack of state support for English-medium education was an annoyance, the *Uitlanders* were neither oppressed nor discontented (Thompson 1971: 309 - 310).

However, by 1892 some *Uitlanders* wanted reform and therefore founded the Transvaal National Union. In 1895 Cecil Rhodes came to the financial assistance of the Union and in 1896 the South African League was formed by British South Africans to uphold British supremacy in the Cape, Natal and the Transvaal. The League urged the British government to intervene directly in the Transvaal on behalf of the *Uitlanders,* although the ulterior motive for interference was control of the goldfields. Rhodes hoped to effect a *coup* in the Transvaal in order to oust Kruger. In order to achieve this there had to be an *Uitlander* revolution as well as intervention from the British government. However, the *Uitlanders* lacked a leader and had no true revolutionary spirit, nor could they decide what sort of government should replace Kruger; 'only a few wanted to turn the Transvaal into a British Colony' (Thompson 1971: 315). However, Rhodes was not deterred and continued with his plans to promote an *Uitlander* revolt. He planned to launch a military attack on the Transvaal from neighbouring (British) Bechuanaland, to be led by Dr. Leander Starr Jameson. When, by December 1895, it became evident that there would be no revolt, Rhodes was threatened with the revocation of the Charter of the British South Africa company if the raid went ahead. Although Rhodes cabled Jameson to stop the raid, Jameson nonetheless went ahead. On 29 December 1895 Jameson led a small force of 500 BSA police into the Transvaal, but on 2 January 1896 he surrendered to republican commandos near Krugersdorp.

The Jameson Raid exacerbated relations between the White `races' of South Africa. In the Cape Colony the basis of Anglo-Afrikaner political co-operation was destroyed; `many British South Africans felt humiliated and Afrikaners recoiled in the conviction that no Englishman was to be trusted'[4] (Thompson 1971: 318). However, British aspirations of control over the whole of South Africa had not abated and eventually, on 11 October 1899, the last ultimatum from Kruger expired. `Thus Britain went to war to establish British supremacy throughout South Africa: The Republics, to preserve their independence' (Thompson 1971: 324).

2.6 THE SOUTH AFRICAN WAR (THE BOER WAR)

> My mother told me how they came back to the farm and everything was destroyed, everything burnt down, and you know, I was livid! I was absolutely livid! 5B

There was no part of South Africa that was left unaffected by the Boer War, but perhaps the worst scarring was that of people's minds. Although the war had been precipitated by greed, both financial and political,

> the clash of ideals brought out into sharp relief the sectional national feelings, round which the two races ranged themselves. On the one hand the cry was loudly and insistently uttered on the platform and in the press, and even from the pulpit, that now was the time to secure once and for all the ascendancy of the *British* element, to crush out of existence the Dutch language, to abolish the Bond, and to reduce its members to the position of political helots; while on the other side there was the inevitable reaction, ... men rallied round the banner of a purely *Dutch* nationalism, to make a last stand in the defence of their constitutional liberties (Hofmeyr 1913: 574).

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[4] An attitude that has taken generations to eradicate, and is still occasionally evident today.

The antagonism between the English and the Dutch (Afrikaners) engendered by the Boer War persisted, long after Union. Vestiges of mistrust may even be found today in some individuals.[5]

One of the reasons Sir Alfred Milner and Joseph Chamberlain encouraged Britain into war with South Africa was in order to establish British supremacy throughout the country. At the conclusion of the war, despite the military supremacy of the British, the problem still remained as to how to achieve national or cultural supremacy. The British were faced with the problem that the Whites were heavily outnumbered by Black Africans and furthermore, among the Whites, the British were outnumbered by the Afrikaners. Milner had his own ideas of how to solve the problem and 'he wished to control the formulation and administration of the post-war settlement himself' (Thompson 1971: 330).

2.7 MILNER'S ANGLICIZATION POLICY

In order to make the greater community loyal to the British Empire, Milner had to achieve two things. Firstly, the British element of the population had to be increased so as to outnumber the Afrikaners with a majority of 60%. He thought that this would happen naturally to some extent as he hoped there would be 'massive British immigration to the Witwatersrand goldfields' (Thompson 1971: 330). However, the census of 1904 of the Transvaal showed that there were in fact about equal numbers of British and Boer voters. Furthermore, the deep-level mines could not operate without a massive amount of cheap labour, therefore Milner agreed that indentured Chinese labour be imported to augment the labour force. This proved to be his undoing as the

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[5] At the time of the interviews the SABC were screening a television series called 'Meester', concerning the Boer War and Afrikaans / British antagonism and mistrust. One of the Touws River informants, who is married to an Englishman and is therefore totally in favour of good Afrikaans/English relations, felt that it was totally insensitive of the SABC to stir up old enmities when the country is trying to achieve peace.

> What I am very much against now is the media digging up the past. I mean it's history and we must, we can get away from it. But now tonight this 'Meester' is starting again and I don't think this is the right time to do it. ... It is our history and we must respect it. 5B

White miners were so hostile to the Chinese labourers that they no longer supported him. The bulk of the British *Uitlanders* turned their allegiance to the Afrikaner party (*Het Volk* - 'The People'), newly formed by Smuts and Botha (Packenham 1982: 575).

Secondly, and perhaps most importantly, Milner wanted to denationalise the Afrikaners. He erroneously thought that the isolation and general backwardness of the Afrikaners contributed to their fierce national pride, and that therefore by modernising them through liberal (English) education, good administration and better economy he could change the direction of their loyalties. Milner laid particular stress on the 'anglicisation' of the Boers through education. Schools under British English teachers were set up in the concentration camps before the end of the war. After the war he set up a network of government schools; English was the principal language in these schools and Dutch was only permitted for 5 hours a week. Milner decreed that 'Dutch should only be used to teach English, and English to teach everything else' (Oakes 1992: 269).

> my mother told me how they had to stand in the corner there with the signboard *donkie* ('donkey') because if you spoke Afrikaans - *donkie* ears... you weren't allowed to speak a word of Afrikaans. 5B

There was much bitterness among the Dutch in response to the anglicisation policy with the result that, just as they had done in response to Somerset's policy (§2.2.1), the Dutch set up about 200 private schools under local committees of parents to promote their own culture. This was the foundation of 'Christian National Education' in South Africa (§4.1.2). Throughout the negotiations leading up to the Treaty of Vereeniging of May 1902, Milner laid the foundations for his denationalisation scheme. However, despite all his lobbying and hard work, such as resettlement of Afrikaner people on their land and provision of assistance for rebuilding their homes, Milner's plan to win the Afrikaners over to loyalty to Britain was not successful.

The Afrikaners of the Free State and the Transvaal remained convinced that they had fought for a just cause, 'consequently the Afrikaner people emerged from the war proud of the republics' resistance to overwhelming odds and more determined than ever to retain their corporate identity' (Thompson 1971: 333). As Thompson says, Milner and Chamberlain were the greatest recruiting agents the Afrikaners ever had.

2.8 *BROEDERTWIS* ('STRIFE BETWEEN BROTHERS)

At the end of the Boer War some of the Boer generals, such as De Wet, would not admit defeat and wanted to continue fighting. Anti-British feelings were so strong that Boer general Reitz would not even live in South Africa after the Boer War, however, he changed his mind, and even became a colonel in the British army, when he saw that the British treated the defeated Boers well. Others, such as Smuts, felt that to continue would 'sacrifice the Afrikaner nation itself upon the altar of independence' (Oakes 1992: 260). The early years of Union (1910) were marked by disunity and distrust among the Afrikaners. One faction, led by Louis Botha, wanted reconciliation and compromise with the British, and the other, led by Barry Herzog, attacked the British mine owners as 'fortune hunters' and lobbied for protection for Afrikaner rights and equality for Dutch and English[6]. After the declaration of Union on 31 May 1910, Louis Botha was invited by the British to form the first government. This was a clever move on the part of the British as it would help to win over the remaining Afrikaners. However, there was still a small, vocal group of militant Afrikaners who hoped for a Boer-dominated republic (in 1993 there is still such a faction in South Africa). Botha's supporters formed the South African Party (S.A.P.), the forerunner of the United , Progressive and Democratic parties of later years, which were largely English-dominated. Herzog, together with Tielman Roos, formed the National Party

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[6]English was declared the official language after Union in 1910, but Dutch was guaranteed protection in the law courts. In 1925 Afrikaans was recognised as an official language; it was deemed to be included in 'Nederlands'. In 1925, at the Republic Convention, the position was reversed and 'Afrikaans' was deemed to include 'Nederlands'. Only in 1983 was Nederlands repealed as an official language in South Africa (Cape Times 25 March 1993).

of South Africa (later the Nationalist Party). This faction had the support of the poor and unemployed Whites of the country. English-speakers regarded Herzog with suspicion as they felt that he wanted political control for the Boers.

Botha ignored the plight of the Poor Whites (§3.3.3) and thereby drove them into Herzog's camp. The bitterness of the disunity and distrust among the Afrikaners led to the outbreak of the *Rebellie* ('Rebellion') in 1914. When World War I broke out the same year, Botha decided that South Africa would fight on the side of Britain. This increased the bitterness and anti-British feelings among some of the Afrikaners. The remnants of the Boer army and the Poor Whites of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State, under the leadership of Boer general De la Rey, were, however, pro-German and tried to seize control of South Africa. Botha managed to quell the *Rebellie* but when World War II broke out in 1939 there was the same division of loyalties among the Afrikaners (§3.1.4).

Broedertwis was not only confined to the early years of this century. Throughout the years families have been split by conflicting loyalties to Afrikaner and British causes and even today there are brothers who adhere to radically different political persuasions (§3.1).

CHAPTER 3

SOCIOLINGUISTIC SETTING

3.1 LANGUAGE LOYALTY

Language loyalty among Afrikaners has perhaps always been more intense than the loyalty among English-speaking South Africans towards English, for a number of reasons. As discussed in the section dealing with the historical background of South Africa, Dutch and, later, Afrikaans were from time to time suppressed by the government for ideological reasons.

> It was quite a thing to teach them [English]. What they did, the pioneer work they did, to bring Afrikaans back, because it was absolutely down. It had no pride or anything, status. It was absolutely unrecognised as a language. My mother told me how they had to stand in the corner there with the signboard *donkie* ('donkey'), because if you spoke Afrikaans - *donkie* ears! 5B

Naturally the Afrikaner felt in danger of losing his cultural identity and therefore became more intensely loyal towards his language and culture. Language has been regarded as 'the traditional South African polariser': 'the primary social division in white SA society is unquestionably that of language loyalty (English vs Afrikaans as mother tongue)' (Lanham and McDonald 1979: 26). (See also §3.3.3). Language identity was (and is still in some communities, notably the Right Wing Afrikaners) equated with the ethnic identity of the Afrikaner. For the Afrikaner, his language was an integral part of his religion and politics and of his development.

> Give the young Afrikaner a written language which is easy and natural for him, and you will thereby have set up a bulwark against the anglicisation of our people ... Raise the Afrikaans language to a written language, make it the bearer of our culture, our history, our national ideals, and you will thereby raise the people who speak this

> language ... The Afrikaans Language Movement involves nothing less than the awakening among our people of a feeling of self-respect and to the calling of taking a worthier place in world civilisation (Malan n.d: 175).

This feeling was never really evident among the English population of South Africa.

> The English-speaking community ... lacks cohesion: it is an amorphous community with little sense of any collective identity. They do not even have a proper name: "English-speaking South Africans" is an appellation so vague as to make them almost anonymous (Sparks 1991: 47).
>
> The White English-speaking people of South Africa have only one thing in common and that is their language. ... We are a mixed bunch, and we don't have the bonds that bind so many Afrikaners together, we never had a Karoo, we never trekked, we never developed a new language, we never were defeated in war, we never had to pick ourselves out of the dust (Paton 1981:96).

Afrikaans played a major role in the emergence of Afrikaner nationalism towards the end of the nineteenth century; the language became a symbol of the Afrikaners' identity and of their struggle against British domination (Lanham and Macdonald 1979: 11). Antipathy between the Dutch, or Afrikaners, and the English, however, was mutual, especially after the Boer War (§2.6). 'For on the Dutch, as on the British side, there remained some, who could only be described by the term "irreconcilable", those to whom the horrors of the [Boer] war had come home so keenly, that they could not forget, and far less forgive' (Hofmeyr 1913: 590).

3.1.1 Attitudes and opinions

For the purposes of this discussion it is necessary to distinguish between attitudes and opinions. Attitudes are deep seated and sometimes cannot even be expressed by the person concerned. Attitudes are evident in a person's general behaviour and can be assessed more easily by an

observer than by the person himself. Opinions, on the other hand, are easily expressed and are influenced by belief. Prejudice, an antipathy based on faulty and inflexible generalisation (OED), plays an important role in the formation of attitudes and opinions.

According to Hauptfleisch (1978), four variables influence a person's attitude towards a second language. These are

(1) proficiency in the L2

(2) amount of contact with the L2

(3) socio-economic status

(4) general attitude to the value and status of the language and language group.

(1) Proficiency in an L2 varies greatly among the White poulation of South Africa. All children educated in South Africa are taught English or Afrikaans (depending on their L1) as L2 for twelve years (§4.1.3), therefore most of the White population can at least understand the other (White) language. There have been a number of definitions of bilingualism (§4.2) and bilinguality over the years, ranging from the ability to utter a few words in the L2 to full identity with both languages i.e. L1 competence in two languages. Hauptfleisch also presupposes degrees of bilingualism with his definition

> A person is deemed bilingual if he can understand, respond to and contribute to the conversation in L2 (Hauptfleisch 1978: vol2:6).

The proficiency of the informants in the present study varied tremendously, from very hesitant with much code switching (§4.3) and Afrikaans insertion to total L1 proficiency.

(2) Social milieu dictates the amount and type of contact between language groups in South Africa. Although the Whites, as a group, stand on one side of the great Apartheid Divide, there

is further, physical, division between the Afrikaans and English communities. By law, children are educated through the medium of their L1 and schools are segregated on language lines. As schools are zoned to take children from their immediate areas (more strictly applied in the Transvaal than in the Cape), areas tend to reflect the language bias of the schools. (Alternatively, the medium of a school is chosen according to the language of the majority of the community in the area). (See the discussion of the dispute on language policy in §4.1.2). As a result of this zoning and 'natural apartheid' many people, especially in the urban areas, have very little contact with the other language group. In country towns the English speaking person is at an advantage in that the small towns tend to be predominantly Afrikaans-speaking and therefore the English-speaker is forced to use Afrikaans. The country Afrikaner, on the other hand, is at a disadvantage in this regard in that there is very little need for him or her to speak English at all. Since the introduction of television to South Africa in 1975 there has been much more exposure to the L2 for both language groups. As a result more people have at least a passive knowledge of the other language.

> The greater the amount of L2 contact - in youth, in middle life, or at present - the more positive the attitudes to learning, improving and using L2. Conversely, no contact leads to a great deal of negative responses (Hauptfleisch 1978 vol 2: 55).

(3) During the last century and up to the Great Depression between the World Wars there were many 'Poor Whites' (§3.3.3) in South Africa. On the whole these people were Afrikaans-speaking. They lived as *bywoners* or 'squatters'[1] on farms and were truly poverty stricken. The poverty of the Afrikaner was, in part, caused by the destruction of farms during the Boer War

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[1] Although *bywoner* literally means 'squatter', the two are not synonymous in the South African context. Branford (1987) gives the following definitions:
Bywoner: A sub-farmer, authorised squatter or sharecropper working part of another man's land, giving either a share in his profits or labour or both in exchange: also a member of the most indigent white group often living ... on another man's land: poor white: also occ. figur. sig. second class citizen or dispossessed person.
Squatter: In S.A. used of a black person living in an urban area without ... rights, or in other unauthorised area.

(§2.6) and this impoverishment contributed in no small way to the bitterness of many Afrikaans speakers towards their English speaking countrymen. (See also §3.1.3)

For many years, since the end of World War II, socio-economic status in South Africa has depended on race as a result of the application of the policies of apartheid. It is therefore difficult to define the subtle socio-economic divisions in the White population today. As a result of the policy of job reservation whereby certain jobs were reserved for Whites only, most Whites have occupied so-called `white collar' or `blue collar' positions. Very few have been employed as uskilled labourers. With compulsory education for Whites up to the age of 16 years, most Whites now aspire to a higher level of occupation. (For a discussion on what constitutes class in modern SA, see §3.3.3.)

Act No. 32 of 1961, Section 108 declared that English and Afrikaans would henceforth `be treated on a footing of equality, and possess and enjoy equal freedom, rights and privileges', although both Afrikaans and English had been official languages from 1926. Although all school children are by law required to learn both official languages throughout their school careers, choice of medium of tuition is based on the pupil's home language (see §4.1.2).

(4) Despite the (sometimes intense) loyalty of the Afrikaner towards his language, the attitude of the Afrikaner towards English seems to be much more positive than that of the English-speaking South African towards Afrikaans. Hauptfleisch stresses this heavily, as can be seen in the three following extracts:

> The Afrikaner is markedly more prepared to use L2 when confronted (Vol 2:37),

> The Afrikaners are quite strongly in favour of an active proficiency in English, and a large number of Afrikaners ... are concerned about their language usage in L2 (Vol 2:53).
>
> The Afrikaner group with little contact (with English) is relatively keen on improving (Vol 2:55).

These statements were endorsed by the respondents from the country town of Touws River who all expressed a desire to speak more English and to improve their (sometimes limited) command of the language. The situation was neatly summed up by one of the city informants:

> Afrikaans-speaking people realise that in the workplace it's definitely an asset to be able to speak English well, while the English-speaking person doesn't have that much of a motivation. 11A

Although at least two of the Control group are fluent speakers of Afrikaans, L1 speakers of Respectable SAE are often embarrassed or even incapable of speaking Afrikaans. One of the members of the Control study expressed her feelings for Afrikaans and her inability to speak it:

> I don't really like speaking Afrikaans; I feel I'm an insult to good Afrikaners; I don't want to insult them. C1A

I have found too, that Afrikaans-speaking children are prepared to make an effort to speak English, no matter how difficult it is for them, whereas in a similar situation the English-speaking child would not.

3.1.2 The Afrikaner Bond

By 1840, under the Anglicization policy of the British government, English had been made a compulsory qualification for a job in the civil service, it was the sole language of parliament, and

the dominant commercial language (Sparks 1991). Initially, before 1850, Afrikaner[2] ethnicity was seldom invoked politically, and then only when there was conflict with the English government (Giliomee 1984). As a result of the Anglicization policies, by the 1870's the Afrikaners had begun to feel a sense of national pride and unity, despite the fact that they lived in different states of South Africa. They all had similar social situations and attitudes. A group of intellectuals in Paarl, north of Cape Town, under the leadership of S.J.du Toit, a local minister of the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk, founded *Die Genootskap van Regte Afrikaners* (the `Society of True Afrikaners') between 1875 and 1877. They also started the first Afrikaans newspaper, *Die Afrikaanse Patriot,* and published *Die Geskiedenis van ons Land in die Taal van ons Volk* (`The History of our Country in the Language of our People').

> Their central concept, ..., was that the Afrikaners were a distinct people or nation, occupying a distinct fatherland, South Africa, speaking a God-given language, Afrikaans, and endowed by God with the destiny to rule South Africa and civilize its heathen peoples (Wilson and Thompson 1969: 302).

Although the *Taalstryd* or `Language struggle' was a major issue in the history of the White Afrikaner group, they ignored the `non-white' i.e. the so-called `Coloured' community, from the very beginning, nor did they acknowledge their cultural contribution to the language. In particular, the influence of the Muslim (Malay) community on the development of Afrikaans is often denied or at least ignored by many authors (Davids 1990:1). The White Afrikaners regarded Afrikaans as `their own' language, and themselves as a `nation; until the Second World War, `race' in the South African context referred to English- or Afrikaans-speaking Whites.

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[2] Initially the term *Afrikaner* included anyone who considered himself to be `of Africa'. Only with the emergence of a feeling of cultural identity among the Afrikaans-speaking population did the term acquire its present restricted meaning. My own great-grandfather, a German missionary in Natal in the 1870s, referred to himself as an *Afrikaner* in his journal.

Die gekleurde komponent van die spraakgemeenskap het buite beide nasionalismes gestaan - soos die groepe vandag nog 'n kille onbetrokkenheid handhaaf. Op 'n vraag hoe gekleurdes Afrikaans sien, as die noue assosiasie met die Afrikaner in gedagte gehou word, sê Jakes Gerwel "dat die hele kwessie van taalstryd en taalgevoelens 'n 'witmens'-kwessie is" (Esterhuyse 1986: 8).

(The coloured component of the speech community stood outside both nationalisms, just as the groups still today maintain a cold indifference. On the question of how coloureds see Afrikaans, if the close association with the Afrikaner is borne in mind, Jakes Gerwel says "that the whole question of language struggle and language feeling is a 'white' question".)

In 1879 Du Toit also founded a political movement, *Die Afrikaner Bond*. It quickly became popular and by 1883 there were forty-three branches of the organisation between the Cape and the far northern Transvaal. Although the Paarl intellectuals set out to win official recognition for Afrikaans as opposed to Dutch and to create a united South Africa, there was no antipathy towards (White) South Africans of other language groups, provided that they put South Africa's interests first. The first articles of the constitution of the Afrikaner Bond state:

Art.I. - The Africander Bond recognizes no nationality of any kind, save that of the Africander, and looks upon all as belonging to it, of whatever descent, who aim at the welfare of South Africa.

Art.II. - The object of the Bond is: the formation of a South African nationality by the fostering of true patriotism, as preparation for its final destiny: A United South Africa. (Constitution of the Africander Bond in Hofmeyr 1913: 649)

Afrikaner nationalism was further strengthened by the British annexations of Basutoland, the diamond fields of Griqualand West (§2.5) and the Transvaal between 1866 and 1877, and by the political, economic and social situations of the time. The rise of Afrikaner nationalism was also seen as a response to uneven capitalist development (Giliomee 1984).

3.1.3 *Broederbond* (Brotherhood)

By the end of the First World War many Afrikaners had become unhappy with their position in South Africa, vis à vis the English. There was growing resentment among the Afrikaners as, according to David Welsh,

> many attributed their rural poverty to the financial power of the English and Jewish groups. ... The language of industry, commerce and officialdom of the towns was overwhelmingly English. Even the Trekker capitals of Pietermaritzburg, Pretoria and Bloemfontein, had been "captured by the language and way of life of the foreigners" (De Klerk 1976: 110).

In June 1918 an organisation called *Jong Suid-Afrika* (Young South Africa) was formed, but the name was soon changed to the *Afrikaner Broederbond* (Brotherhood). The aim of the society was to 'further the interests of the Afrikaner nation' (Cameron 1986: 243). The ideology of the Broederbond was far more aggressively nationalist and exclusive than that of the Afrikanerbond had been. It was 'ethnically exclusive, ... and stressed the distinctiveness of the Afrikaner "culture"' (Cameron 1986: 259). The Broederbond originated as a cultural organisation and had as objective not only the legal parity of Afrikaners and Afrikaans with the English, but also the social and material upliftment of the Afrikaner, at the cost of the rest of South Africa's people. (See also 'Poor White' §3.1.1, §3.3.3 and §6.3.2).

> An aspiring member had to believe in the destiny of the Afrikaner as a separate nation; promise to give preference to Afrikaners and Afrikaans firms in public,

> economic and professional life; speak Afrikaans in his home and outside; be a Protestant of "firm principles and strong character"; be financially secure and prepared to participate as an active and loyal member of the Broederbond (Ryan 1990: 32).

Membership of the Broederbond was (and still is) secret.

By the mid-1920's, despite the fact that Afrikaans had become an official language, legally equal to English, all public notices were still printed only in English. With the migration of the Afrikaners from the *platteland* ('country') to the cities during the late 1920's and early 1930's, the Broederbond became increasingly political and therefore in 1929 founded a public front organisation, *Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultuurverenigings (FAK)* ('Federation of Afrikaans Cultural Societies'). Economically, the Broederbond sought to dominate the English and strove to place Afrikaners in prominent positions at every possible opportunity. They sought the employment of displaced rural Afrikaners in the police, public service and the railways. With the increase and strengthening of the concept of Afrikaner Nationalism, organisations such as the *Afrikaanse Nasionale Studentebond* ('Afrikaans National Student Union') were formed. During the same period in the 1930's there was a resurgence of interest Afrikaans as a language of national identity. Rules regarding spelling and grammar were established or 're-invented' and a magazine called *Brandwag* ('Sentinel') which portrayed the Afrikaners as heroes, the British as devious and Black Africans as barbarous was produced. This period in the history of Afrikaans became known as the *Second Language Movement* and was led by Gustav Preller (Oakes 1992).[3]

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[3]Roberge (1990: 136) refers to 1903 - 1919 as the period of the Second Language Movement.

During the political crisis of 1933-1934 the Broederbond sided with D.F.Malan's *Purified National Party* against J.B.M.Herzog's *National Party*. The Broederbond operated in secret and controlled the Purified National Party in the north. Herzog denounced the Broederbond in a political speech in 1935, saying

> There is no doubt that the secret Broederbond is nothing more than the Purified National Party operating secretly underground, and that the Purified National Party is nothing more than the secret Broederbond operating in public (Cameron 1986: 259).

With the passage of time, the Broederbond strengthened to the extent that it controlled many spheres of life.

> It has been the nucleus of the Afrikaner Nationalist movement, exercising its influence over both church and state and establishing a wide network of social, cultural and economic institutions to help uplift the Afrikaner people, weld them together and mobilize them politically. ... Most striking of all was its drive to give the Afrikaners a foothold in South Africa's English dominated economy (Sparks 1991: 175).

Afrikaner banks were established, e.g.Volkskas, to provide funds for Afrikaner businesses, e.g. Sanlam and Santam, and Afrikaans schools. Separate sports leagues were created, even at primary school level. All aspects of life were affected by the Broederbond and there was virtually no social intercourse between the two language groups of the White population.[4]

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[4] Sparks (1991:217) relates that while giving a lecture to a group of 300 English-speaking high school pupils, he asked how many of them could say they knew an Afrikaans child as a friend. Only five students said they did.

The society still exists and in some areas still has great influence. At the time of writing, controversy was raging over the role of the Broederbond on the campuses of the Afrikaans universities, in particular the University of Stellenbosch where the 'activities of the society at the university had a divisive effect among staff and students' (*Argus* 8/9 May 1993). Resignations of top academics from the Broederbond were reported to have reached 'dramatic levels' at the University of Pretoria and the Rand Afrikaans University and it was strongly felt by many academics that those at the University of Stellenbosch should follow suit.

> As one Stellenbosch professor put it ...: "A Broederbond culture, as we find it here at the university, simply does not fit in with the concept of a university where people communicate openly, where dialogue is open, where people move about openly" (*ibid*).

On 15 May 1993 the Rector of Stellenbosch University finally resigned from the Broederbond. At the same time, the governing board of the SABC (South African Broadcasting Corporation), until 1993 under the control of the Broederbond, was being restructured. 'Two former Broederbonders said they welcomed the "transparent" process of selecting a new board for the SABC, stating they had rejected the secret nature of the Afrikaner organisation' (*Argus* 14 May 1993). It was hoped that the new board would be representative of the entire population of South Africa.

The policies of secrecy and absolute obedience to the organisation contributed to the *Broedertwis* ('Strife between brothers') (§2.8) in a number of instances. Individuals have occasionally felt the need to break away from the organisation and have thereby put themselves 'beyond the pale' of Afrikanerdom. A case in point is Beyers Naudé whose father was the first chairman of the Broederbond but who himself felt that there is no justification for apartheid and therefore resigned his membership of the society. Anger and bitterness towards him was so strong that he

was finally banned (Ryan 1990). The changing situation and a change in attitudes in South Africa must diminish the strength of the Broederbond. 'The Afrikaner Broederbond is fighting for its survival ... The main crisis facing the organisation was said to be a battle of survival as a secret closed society for selected white men only' (*Argus* 8/9 May 1993).

3.1.4 *Ossewabrandwag* ('Oxwagon sentinel')

One of the most significant events organised by the *Broederbond* and the *FAK* was the 1938 Great Trek Centenary. The object of the Trek was to promote Afrikaner unity and in order to perpetuate the spirit of the event, the *Ossewabrandwag* (OB) was formed. Although also supposedly a cultural society, the *Ossewabrandwag* soon developed into a paramilitary organisation.

Initially there was no conflict between the National Party and the *Ossewabrandwag* and many prominent party members joined the organisation. With the outbreak of World War II, however, the two groups could no longer keep their respective spheres of interest separate, and hostility grew. The OB grew rapidly until in 1941 it had a membership of between 300 000 and 400 000. Although a great many Afrikaners fought for the Allied forces alongside their English compatriots, for many others the War was regarded as England's war and their sympathy lay with Germany. The OB became very militaristic and openly pro-Nazi. It boasted an elite corps, the *Stormjaers* (shock troops, lit. 'storm hunters'[5]), who carried out acts of sabotage to embarrass the National Party. Many Afrikaners were interned at Koffiefontein in the Free State during the War,

[5] Cf. German *Sturmjäger*

on suspicion of being implicated in the sabotage activities or being pro-German/Nazi (German prisoners of war were later imprisoned at Koffiefontein)[6].

As a result of hostilities between the National Party and the OB, in 1942 party officials were forbidden to join the organisation. Shortly thereafter Malan extended the ban to all party members. The *Ossewabrandwag* began to decline and by the end of the War the organisation had lost its force.

3.1.5 Exclusivity

The history of Afrikaans and the Afrikaner illustrates the exclusive nature of this society. There was, and still is in some sections of the community, a strong feeling that Afrikaans was given by God to the Afrikaners, and that they were His chosen people. Furthermore, God had not allowed them to become Anglicised nor bastardised with the indigenous people. The Afrikaners not only set themselves apart from other White groups, but also from other Afrikaans-speaking people in South Africa who did not fit their requirements of racial purity i.e. the 'Coloureds'. To the Afrikaner, language and nationality or race are inseparable, thus creating 'a barrier to common cause during the language struggle with those who shared a common linguistic heritage' (Roberge 1990: 138).

3.2 SHIFT

3.2.1 Shift in attitude

Although the Afrikaners are numerically stronger, until relatively recently they were socially and economically dominated by the English in South Africa. Understandably the Afrikaner was afraid

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[6]... in Koffiefontein they first had the *Ossewabrandwag* there and then the *Ossewabrandwag* left and they had the Germans there ... from overseas. Italians, a lot of them stayed behind, because they also went to Koffiefontein for a while ... 5B

of Anglicisation and therefore took steps to ensure his own survival, for instance, the denial of choice of medium of instruction in education, and the creation of organisations such as the Broederbond. With the urbanisation and subsequent industrialisation of the 'Poor White' Afrikaners (§3.3.3) in the 1930's the position began to change. According to Jeffrey Butler,

> it seems that rapid economic growth, social convergence, a long exercise of power, and the creation of the republic in 1961 has diminished laager attitudes among many Afrikaners in relation to other Whites (Thompson and Butler 1975: 81).

An illustration of the way in which attitudes have changed over the past fifty years, in the Cape at least, was provided by one of the Touws River informants who had actually been a member of the OB in her youth and had lived at the time near Koffiefontein. Her liberal attitude towards English (and other South African languages) now is surprising when one considers what her background was like during the War.

> My mother was a commandant; I was a lieutenant. We were all Ossewabrandwag in those days. Now I think it's silly. 5B

The father-in-law of my (English-speaking) contact friend in Touws River was a high ranking officer in the OB and her own father fought for the Allies in North Africa. A similar change in attitude may not be evident in the Northern Transvaal.

Butler noted as early as 1975 that economically Anglo-Afrikaner conflict had largely disappeared. It has taken longer for social differences to be eliminated, however, although even then Butler could say that 'the frequent reference by Afrikaners to the English[7] as "strangers" is now a thing of the past (Thompson and Butler 1975: 82). I can only recall one incident where I personally

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[7] 'English' usually means 'English-speaking South African' and not English from England. Fasold (1984: 240) mentions the same use of the word among the Amish people of Pennsylvania, who are themselves German-speaking and refer to English-speakers as 'English'.

was condemned by an Afrikaner for being a *verdomde Engelse* ('damned English'). This occurred in 1968 on a train journey through the Karoo. The Afrikaner concerned was an old lady from the town of De Aar (the type of woman who wears only black to inidcate widowhood). I had not anticipated any really strong antagonism among the informants in Touws River towards me as an English South African. On the contrary, however, I was surprised to be met with enthusiasm and a willingness, even an eagerness, to speak English.

> Due to pressures on white South Africans in a changing, shrinking world, [there has] been a change in the state of English in Afrikaans-speaking society. A mollification in attitudes to English has taken place at least in Afrikaner society in the cities, who now have a degree of social and economic control in addition to the political power they have wielded for 30 years (Lanham and Macdonald 1985: 13).

From observations it seems that convergence more frequently involves the Afrikaner than the English South African. In other words, South Africans of Afrikaans cultural and language backgrounds become fully bilingual (see §4.2), or even Anglicised, more frequently than their English counterparts. I have noticed this particularly at Annual General Meetings of the Law Society of the Cape of Good Hope where the proceedings are conducted in both languages. Members from Afrikaans backgrounds are able to switch from one language to the other with ease but when socialising with English-speaking members they usually speak English, rather than vice versa.

3.2.2 Shift in language

Language shift is usually said to occur when a community, rather than isolated individuals, changes its language to another that is perceived to be more advantageous to the community. There are numerous causes of language shift such as migration, industrialisation, religion, urbanisation and prestige. Language shift only occurs when the community concerned wishes, or

needs, to change its identity. 'Language ... shift [is] the long-term, collective consequences of consistent patterns of language choice' (Fasold 1984: 239). Of necessity, for language shift to take place, the generation that instigates the change must be bilingual.

> A substantial portion of the individuals in a society seldom completely give up the use of one language and substitute another within their own lifetime. In a typical case, one generation is bilingual but only passes on one of the two languages to the next (Fasold 1984: 216).

In South Africa the Khoi and the Malay communities both underwent complete language shift to the extent that their original languages are no longer spoken here today.[8] In both cases the people concerned were in a subservient position and in order to survive had to acquire the language of the dominant section of the population i.e. the Whites.

McCormick (1989) discusses the trend towards a shift to English that is taking place among the Coloured community, in particular the community of District Six. An individual's perception of where he stands in the community and his desire to be associated with the values of one particular speech community rather than another will influence his choice of dominant language. Many of the people in District Six choose English as their dominant language, but they have not completely abandoned Afrikaans as yet. Although many individual White Afrikaners change their language of choice to English, and even bring up their children as monolingual English speakers, general language shift in the community does not appear to be happening. Language shift towards English also appears to be taking place among the South African Indian community although again the original languages have not been completely abandoned yet. Although the figures are not absolutely accurate, according to the 1991 census 95,1% of South African Asians speak

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[8]The Khoi language Nama is still spoken in the Northern Cape but only by a very small section of the community.

English as a home language, i.e. as L1; this of course does not necessarily imply that they have abandoned their original languages (South Africa Foundation 1993:11).

Of the informants of this study, only two of those from Touws River have begun to shift towards English, and then only because their husbands are both British and monolingual English-speaking. In all other aspects of their lives informants 5B and 8A are Afrikaans. The remainder of the Touws River informants, while positive in their attitude towards English, have not undergone any degree of shift away from Afrikaans. The informants from Cape Town, on the other hand, have all undergone some degree of shift in their choice of dominant language, towards English; they all use English in their daily lives, either at work or in the home. Some are fluent speakers of (Afrikaans-)English but still exhibit their 'Afrikaansness'. Informant 2AB, for instance, speaks only English to her husband and children (all monolingual English-speaking), and says that she now feels 'spiritually English'; however, she still speaks a lot of Afrikaans in other areas of her life, to her mother and sister and their families, and although she speaks English rapidly and fluently, she falls into Krashen's category of 'monitor under-users' (§4.2).

Communities are made up of families, and families comprise individuals, therefore I submit that language shift in a community must start at the level of the individual. Although bilingualism is a pre-requisite for language shift, complete language shift of the community, with total loss of the first language, is not really possible in a society where everyone is bilingual to some degree and where bilingualism in the two relevant languages is promoted by the education system. However, a change in choice of dominant language is quite possible but in South Africa the shift may occur in either direction, depending on the cultural values of the individuals or community

concerned. There are families with English surnames, e.g. Brown, who are Afrikaans-speaking, and others with traditionally Afrikaans surnames, e.g. Taljard[9], who are English-speaking.

> My father ... was more so Dutch [Afrikaans]. They grew up in a Dutch house. His surname was Sparks. And my mother, she was a Van der Westhuizen but her brother was married with a English [sic] lady. So they always ... it was the English Van der Westhuizens and the Afrikaans Sparks. 4A

Thus, although many individuals may shift from Afrikaans to English as dominant language, complete language shift where the whole community desires to change identity and which can be defined as 'the long-term, collective consequences of consistent patterns of language choice' (Fasold 1984: 239) does not occur at present in the White community of South Africa.

3.3 SPEECH COMMUNITY

There is considerable confusion as to what constitutes a speech community and the problem in respect of speakers of Afrikaans-English is aggravated by the unique linguistic situation in South Africa. South Africa differs greatly from the rest of the world both as regards any non-standard variety of English and as regards bilingualism. South Africa is a multilingual society and it is unusual to find anyone who is completely monolingual. Although only English and Afrikaans are at the moment official languages, the numbers of mother tongue speakers of the major languages are:

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[9]Both the spellings 'Taljard' and 'Taljaard' are found.

Table 4: L1 Language distribution in South Africa

	Whites	**Coloureds**	**Asians**	**Blacks**[10]
Afrikaans	2 916 515	2 732 720	12 265	n.g.[11]
English	1 961 753	492 125	902 547	n.g.
Afr. & Eng equally	40 612	23 773	2 109	n.g.
Other	149 230[12]	37 100	31 699[13]	430 743[14]
Xhosa	n.g.	n.g.	n.g.	2 503 967
Zulu n.g.	n.g.	n.g.	n.g.	8 343 589
Swazi	n.g.	n.g.	n.g.	952 486
Ndebele (total)	n.g.	n.g.	n.g.	477 911
Sotho (total)	n.g.	n.g.	n.g.	5 951 644
Tswana	n.g.	n.g.	n.g.	1 431 573
Tsonga/ Shangaan	n.g.	n.g.	n.g.	1 439 816
Venda	n.g.	n.g.	n.g.	114 742

(Figures based on the 1991 Population census)

On the whole L1-speakers of African languages speak English or Afrikaans (sometimes both) as second languages, although very few Whites are able to use an African language. In fact, until relatively recently African languages were not taught in White schools, whereas Black children were taught through the medium of either English or Afrikaans. In 1976 Black students refused to be taught in Afrikaans and thus sparked off a nationwide uprising (Meerkotter 1987). At the present time (1992) Black children are taught in their mother tongue until standard 3 (5th year) when medium of instruction changes to English. However, most Whites are to a greater or lesser degree bilingual in English and Afrikaans (depending on one's definition of bilingualism (§ 4.2)).

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[10]The Population Registration Act was repealed on 28 June 1991 (Act 114 of 1991) and therefore reference to ethnic groups no longer applies.

[11]Not given.

[12]Mostly other European languages.

[13]Mostly Indian languages.

[14]Other Black languages.

3.3.1 Definitions of speech communities

In *Sociolinguistics* (1980) R.A.Hudson lists some of the more notable definitions of a speech community, but to facilitate discussion it seems sensible to quote some of the more pertinent definitions here. John Lyons' definition is the simplest:

> Speech community: all people who use a given language or dialect (Lyons 1970:326)

This definition is too broad for the purposes of defining the community studied here in that (1) many South Africans of all races use Afrikaans in their daily lives but do not regard themselves as being basically Afrikaans-speaking, and (2) many Coloured South Africans have Afrikaans as their L1 but are not regarded as `Afrikaners'; in order to belong to the `Afrikaner volk' it is necessary to be racially `pure', i.e. White. (This study is restricted to White South Africans for linguistic reasons. Superficially the two groups appear to have different varieties of Afrikaans but confirmation of this would require a separate study.) Lyons' definition does not allow for social or cultural unity. This is an important aspect in this instance as cultural identity is very important to the Afrikaner (though perhaps to a lesser degree in the Cape than further north).

Leonard Bloomfield's definition of a speech community is also unsatisfactory.

> A speech community is a group of people who interact by means of speech. (Bloomfield 1933: 42).

This definition is far too broad as it would include the entire population and does not make any allowance for bilinguals, monolinguals, code switching or separate sections of the multifaceted South African society.

Two of John Gumperz's definitions more accurately describe the community under discussion here. The earlier definition is:

> a social group which may be either monolingual or multilingual, held together by frequency of social interaction patterns and set off from the surrounding areas by weaknesses in the lines of communication (Gumperz 1971: 101).

His later definition requires that there should be specific linguistic differences between the community concerned and those outside the community:

> the speech community: any human aggregate characterised by regular and frequent interaction by means of a shared body of verbal signs and set off from similar aggregates by significant differences in language use (Gumperz 1971: 114).

Although there is a great deal of interaction between people of all language groups in South Africa, White Afrikaners do still, two hundred years after the first British Occupation of the Cape, regard themselves as a unified group. Milroy (1980: 14) says that a `community' needs a `strong territorial base'. Fanaroff (1972: 3) defines a speech community as `a group with a common set of normative values in regard to language'. However,

> For a group of people to be classified as a community, it is not sufficient that they live in a particular geographical area with access to the same facilities and institutions, they must also have an image of coherence about themselves as a group (McCormick 1989: 18).

Naturally all Afrikaners are not equally insistent on such identity: at one end of the spectrum there are the extreme right-wing Afrikaners who are prepared to fight (physically) for their language and a homeland and who still (nearly 100 years after the Anglo-Boer War) regard the English as the enemy; at the other end of the spectrum are those who are *verlig* (`enlightened' or `liberal') and who regard themselves as South Africans first and Afrikaners second. Throughout the whole spectrum one finds members of this `community' who are `extremely bilingual'. However, even the left-wing, liberal Afrikaners, despite their self-image as South Africans, can

still be identified as Afrikaners (or at least Afrikaans) in that their schooling, religious denomination and general cultural background will more than likely have been single-medium Afrikaans education and Nederduits Gereformeerde Kerk.

All L1 Afrikaans speakers are potential members of an Afrikaans-English speaker community, but this community is neither geographically nor socially limited. As a result of the education system mentioned below all Whites educated in South Africa are bilingual at least to the extent of being able to communicate in the other language. According to Peter Strevens (1982) people become as fluent as they need to be. For the purposes of this study I chose L1 Afrikaans speakers (i.e. whose homes had been monolingual Afrikaans in their chilhood, even if they now speak more English than Afrikaans) whose English is nearly as fluent as that of L1 English speakers. However, as will be shown below, I found that all of them showed in some way, either phonologically, lexically or syntactically, their Afrikaans background. However, people from bilingual backgrounds i.e. where one parent spoke only English and one spoke only Afrikaans in equal ratios, usually have complete L1 command of both languages.

Afrikaans-English differs from other L2 varieties of English in other parts of the world in that there is a `standard' variety of English readily available as a role model or target language. Radio and T.V programmes are produced in both English and Afrikaans on the main channels so that from their earliest days South Africans are exposed to both English and Afrikaans. Education in the other official language (in this case English) is compulsory from the first year of school and remains compulsory right through until `matric', the final year. There are however many short-comings in the methods of teaching L2's in South Africa (see § 4.1.3).

Recent political developments make it necessary for the largely Afrikaans members of the present Nationalist government to use more and more English. Where delegates to a congress or meeting come from all sections of the South African community there will be many who have little or no knowledge of Afrikaans. Among the Black community Afrikaans is often a third or even a fourth language, although some Blacks may still know Afrikaans better than English. L1 Afrikaans speakers are therefore forced to use the lingua franca, English. Some L1 speakers of Afrikaans become extremely fluent in English and, as mentioned above, a few even achieve L1 fluency. The majority however show signs of linguistic fossilisation, usually at the stage at which they feel they can communicate easily, i.e. where comprehension and expression are easy and where it is possible to express any concept. It has been said that according to studies done elsewhere it was found that the higher the level of education or employment, the closer the speaker will be to L1 competence. However this is not so in South Africa. The present State President, F.W.de Klerk, is a good example in that his speech is phonologically not SAE, neither Conservative SAE nor even Respectable SAE (Lanham 1978). I contend that this accent is not Extreme SAE either but that it is typically Afrikaans-English (see § 5.1).

The linguistic situation in South Africa differs from that in other parts of the world where English is used as a second language in that it is used as a first language by approximately 4 million people (South Africa Foundation 1993: 11). Although English is a minority language in the South African context, it has been socially and economically dominant at various times in the past and at present is becoming increasingly politically dominant (as it is the only fully common language at the negotiation table). Furthermore, English and Afrikaans are very closely related linguistically, both being members of the same West Germanic branch of the Indo-European family (although they are not mutually comprehensible and are structurally quite different. § 4.3.3, §5. and §6.). In other areas where English is used officially or semi-officially, such as India

and other parts of Africa, the situation is more complex in that there is little or no relation between the indigenous languages and English. (Although most of the languages of India belong to the Indo-European family they are nevertheless only distantly related). Even in Canada the difference between English and French is greater than that between English and Afrikaans in that English is a Germanic language and French is a Romance language, although English has a large number of French lexical items. The cultural backgrounds of English and Afrikaans are both Western European, they share linguistic background and even discounting recent mutual borrowing they share a great deal of vocabulary. Although, therefore, Afrikaans-English may be recognised as a separate variety of English (or sub-variety of SAE) it cannot be regarded as a New English as such as it does not conform with the definition of New Englishes in Platt Weber and Ho:

> it has developed in an area where a native variety of English was not the language spoken by most of the population (Platt Weber and Ho 1984 :2).

(See § 2. on the history of English in South Africa, and § 6. on Localised Forms of English.)

3.3.2 English in South Africa

The situation of English in South Africa today differs somewhat from that of nearly twenty years ago. At that time Lanham (1978) divided SAE into three types (or three points along the speech continuum):

> Conservative: upper class, over 45 in 1975, recent British descent, associations with Britain, female
>
> Respectable: middle or upper class (any class in Natal), European and/or Jewish descent
>
> Extreme: lower class (in English cities but not necessarily in the Cape), Afrikaans descent (quoted in § 5.1).

Although this does not form part of this study, I would speculate that today in 1992 the Conservative group is very small (in any case anyone over the age of 45 in 1975 would now be over 62). In some respects Respectable SAE seems to have coalesced with Conservative SAE. At the lower end of the scale Extreme SAE is still in evidence but there are other varieties, or points on the continuum, that Lanham did not mention. Admittedly he was only concerned with L1 speakers of SAE when he used the terms Conservative, Respectable and Extreme, but now any general study of English in South Africa would also have to include discussion of 'varieties' such as Afrikaans-English (L2), Black English (L2), Coloured English (L1 and L2) .

According to Lanham (1976) in his article *English as a Second Language in South Africa since 1820,* the 1960 census recorded approximately five million people over the age of seven with ability to speak English: 400 000 speakers of Indian English, 500 000 speakers of African English, 1 400 000 Afrikaans English speakers, no figures for Coloured English (largely L2) and 1 200 000 mother-tongue (L1) speakers. The figures I have available from the 1991 census only show 'home language' and not 'ability to speak English' (§3.3). Of the total Black population of 29 108 434, only 0,2% claimed English as their home language; 38,7% of the 5 487 018 Whites, 15,1% of the 3 307 776 Coloured and 95,1% of the 1 011 790 Asians had English as their home language (South Africa 1993: 10).

3.3.3 Social Class in South Africa

> The whole question of social class is in fact somewhat controversial, especially since sociologists are not agreed as to the exact nature, definition or existence of social classes. ... social classes are generally taken to be aggregates of individuals with similar social and/or economic characteristics (Trudgill 1983: 35).

Social class is a broad, large-scale category which is an extremely difficult notion to pin down, unless the criteria chosen are consistently used at a high level of abstraction (Milroy 1980: 13). Although 'class' is often used for 'status', one of the ways of determining social class 'objectively' is to rank subjects according to a pre-determined scale. Standard criteria such as income, occupation and educational level are used as indicators, or alternatively source of income, place of residence, type of house, residential area, occupational status and education may be used (Shepard 1984: 281).

Occupations of informants (or the spouse, according to Shepard's table of Occupational Prestige in America 1963 (Shepard 1984: 256 - 257))[15]:

Physician
Lawyer
(Civil engineeer)
Accountant
Teacher
Technician
Farm owner
Tenant farmer (farm manager)
Manager of small store

However, it should always be remembered that, particularly in Western cultures, individuals and groups are socially 'fluid' and social networks (§1.2.2) are open-ended subject to change. There is often a shift from one social level to another (usually up the scale) between one generation and the next, or even within one individual's lifetime; social mobility is primarily measured in terms of changes in occupational prestige. For instance, informant 4B's father was a train driver, her husband a clerk with the railways and now one son is a dentist and another a medical doctor.

There is an old saying, regarding class and wealth, that in the Transvaal it is how much you have, in Natal it is how you made it and in the Cape it is when you had it that dictate your social position. Social class among White South Africans is particularly difficult to define, especially

[15]Ranked according to Shepard's judgement of social desirability.

as money plays such a large role. There is no labouring class among Whites, manual labour having been the 'prerogative' of Coloured and Black South Africans (so-called 'Non-Whites') under the laws of apartheid. A further difficulty with defining class is the fact that Whites have had compulsory education to the age of fifteen for more than a generation (in the mid-1950's the age limit was raised to 16)[16]. Whites are socially mobile and mix easily in schools, churches and clubs. Children of lower-middle-class parents will go to the same schools as children whose parents are socially prominent. Class is to some extent based on the area in which one lives, i.e. regional identity, but once again the classes are mobile and successive generations will not necessarily continue to live in the same areas as their parents.

In order to separate an upper class, Lanham and Macdonald took the highest salary or university education of the breadwinner together with a professional or managerial occupation (Lanham and Macdonald 1985: 25). Lanham and Macdonald also found that English-speaking South Africans are more class-conscious than their Afrikaans-speaking compatriots. Watts (in De Villiers 1976) and Hauptfleisch (1977) observed that as one proceeds down the occupational hierarchy of English speakers, the number of Afrikaans relatives and ancestors increases, i.e. the lower an English-speaking South African is on the socio-economic scale, the more Afrikaans ties there will be (Lanham and Macdonald 1985). In his study of the HSRC Language Survey Hauptfleisch (1977) found that upper-class English-speaking South Africans show resistance to speaking Afrikaans whereas upper-class Afrikaans-speaking people have a positive attitude towards English (see §3.1). He also found that contact between the two language groups increased as one goes down the socio-economic scale.

[16] Verbal communication from Mr. Norton of the Cape Education Department.

Until the late 1930's the Afrikaners were on the whole a poor, rural community and the few city Afrikaners were of a low socio-economic status. The Afrikaners blamed the English for their rural poverty.

> Afrikaners were the main white group affected by the rural poverty, constituting some 90 per cent of the 300,000 persons found to be "very poor" by the Carnegie Commission in 1932 (Welsh 1971: 176).

This group was known as Poor Whites (§3.1.1 and §6.3.2). During the 1930's, in the face of (primarily Black) competition for labour, there was massive migration and urbanisation of the Afrikaners, together with rapid upward socio-economic movement. By the 1960s 51% of urban Whites in South Africa were Afrikaans-speaking (Welsh 1971) and a new class of entrepreneurial, technocratic and intellectually elite Afrikaners emerged (Sparks 1991: 316). Having previously had a majority of English speakers, Johannesburg became a predominantly Afrikaans-speaking city.

English-speaking South Africans, no matter how strongly they regard themselves as South African, are still part of the larger international English community. The Afrikaner, on the other hand, has no such ties with Europe any longer. 'Afrikaners view English-speaking South Africans as second-class citizens and lukewarm patriots ...' (Sparks 1991:48).

> The primary social division in White SA society is unquestionably that of language loyalty (English vs Afrikaans as mother tongue). This is usually an accurate predictor of variables such as political and religious affiliation and allegiance to systems of social values (Lanham and Macdonald 1985: 27).

Although this is still true for the majority of the White population of South Africa, I feel that the situation is changing. There are Afrikaners who belong to the African National Congress, others who do not belong to the Nederduits Gereformeerde Kerk.

3.3.4 The District Six community

The community of District Six was, during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, a very cosmopolitan one, consisting of Jews, Muslims and Christians, both White and 'non-white' or 'Coloured'. None of the inhabitants was wealthy and a strong spirit of co-operation prevailed among them. Houses, places of employment and shops were cheek-by-jowl in many streets and sanitary arrangements were inadequate, to the extent that there were outbreaks of smallpox (1882), bubonic plague (1901) and influenza (1918) (McCormick 1987: 64). Under the apartheid policies of the Nationalist government 'Coloured' people were removed from the voters' roll but the Group Areas Act[17] was to have the most devastating effect on the people of District Six; under this Act no area could have a 'mixed' population. Finally in the 1960s District Six was declared a slum area, the inhabitants were forcibly removed and most of the area was demolished. Only a small pocket was left undisturbed and it was in this area, the Chapel street area, that McCormick conducted her research.

> From the 1870s until its destruction a century later, the District's residents were primarily working-class (McCormick 1987: 66).

According to McCormick, it is still a working-class area, with houses interspersed with light industrial, commercial and institutional buildings. Many of the inhabitants are employed in the clothing factories nearby. As a result of the pressures of discrimination under apartheid, social mobility (between generations) is more difficult for this group than for Whites. McCormick (1987:48) reports that 'the topic of employment could have been a delicate matter for people who felt ashamed of being unemployed. ... there are a few families for whom illicit liquor dealing and traffic in drugs and stolen goods are important sources of income'. The level of education of many of the people of District Six was also lower than that of any of the informants for the present study. Although many, or most, of the younger generation complete at least secondary

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[17]Act No. 41 of 1950, applied in the Cape on 30 March 1951, subsequently replaced by Act No. 36 of 1966.

school, 'middle-aged people sometimes feel embarrassed by their own record of incomplete schooling, particularly if their children are better educated' (McCormick 1987:48).

Although close geographically and linguistically, there is no real contact between the subjects of McCormick's study and those of this one. The most important differences between the two Afrikaans-speaking communities discussed here are level of education, level of employment and moblility, both physical and social. The White community has never suffered under the restrictions of apartheid and individuals have always been free to move anywhere in the country. The education system for white children has, at the expense of other systems, been superior to that offered to other sections of the greater community for many generations; pupil-teacher ratios were better and more money was spent on schools, equipment and teachers' salaries. It was also easier in the past for whites to improve their economic and employment levels. Ideology thus divided people who should have belonged to a single, greater speech community.

CHAPTER 4

LEARNING AND USING A SECOND LANGUAGE

4.1 SECOND LANGUAGE ACQUISITION

The simultaneous acquisition of language in bilingual children (in the sense that their home languages are equal and both have L1 status) is not important for this study as these children tend to have L1 competence in both languages in adulthood. They may, in fact probably do, show a bias towards one or the other - the language of their education for instance - during their development, but the L1 input of the 'other' mother tongue will always influence their later use of that language. The subjects of this study are all L1 speakers of Afrikaans and all speak English (thus Afrikaans-English) as L2. Therefore, in order to understand the types of variation and fossilization (see below) found in Afrikaans-English, it is necessary to discuss briefly some of the theories that have been put forward on Second Language Acquisition and how they have been applied in education in South Africa. .

4.1.1 Theories of Second Language Acquisition

A great deal has been written on the subject of second language acquisition (Selinker 1974, Ellis 1985, Krashen 1981 and 1987 and others) and over the years various theories have been proposed. Both Crystal (1987) and Ellis (1985) regard second language (L2) acquisition as embracing foreign language learning (FLL). However the acquisition of English and Afrikaans in South Africa as second languages should not, in my view, be equated with FLL. The simplest argument is that neither language is foreign to South Africa; furthermore, the cultural differences between the two language groups are negligible - the common culture is 'South African', or more specifically in this study, 'White South African'. (Only the extreme right-wing Afrikaners

might still regard an English-speaking South African as `foreign', a *verdomde Engelsman* (`damned Englishman').

In the 1950s and 1960s the Behaviourist theory of language acquisition was popular. According to this theory, as applied to first language acquisition, learning was seen as a process of imitation and reinforcement. In the case of L2 acquisition input is obtained from controlled, formal instruction. This is then reinforced by imitation, either written or oral until the L2 habits are established. It was thought that the L1 influenced the acquisition of the L2; similarity between the two languages resulted in positive transfer and differences led to negative transfer (Ellis 1985). Behaviourist teaching methods aimed to instil new habits and linguistic patterns and to eliminate interference errors. Errors were regarded as non-learning. The problem with this method of teaching is that it becomes difficult for the student to create new utterances outside the classroom. (See discussion in §4.1.3 below.)

The Cognitive theory of language acquisition, popular in the 1970's, stresses exposure to authentic use of the target language in near-natural situations so that acquisition is unconscious. Learners make use of their cognitive abilities to work out the rules of the L2. This would lead to a transitional stage or stages (at which point fossilisation may take place) termed *interlanguage* by Selinker (1974).

> ... we focus our analytical attention upon *the only observable data to which we can relate theoretical predictions*: the utterances which are produced when the learner attempts to say sentences of a TL [Target Language]. This set of utterances for *most* learners of a second language is not identical to the hypothesised corresponding set of utterances which would have been produced by a native speaker of the TL had he attempted to express the same meaning as the learner. Since we can observe that

> these two sets of utterances are not identical, then in the making of constructs relevant to a theory of second language learning, one would be completely justified in hypothesizing, perhaps even *compelled* to hypothesize, the existence of a separate linguistic system based on the observable output which results from a learner's attempted production of a TL norm. This linguistic system we will call "interlanguage" (IL) (Selinker 1974: 35).

It is necessary to collect as data utterances of learners' NL (Native Language) /L1, IL and TL/L2 in order to describe the IL. Selinker suggested that there are five principal processes that operate in interlanguage. These are:

(1) language transfer - direct transfer of items or rules of the L1 or NL to the IL.
    e.g. double application of the past tense - `what did he intended to say?'

(2) overgeneralization of TL rules
    e.g. use of ride for all modes of transport - `ride a car'.

(3) transfer of training or instruction

(4) strategies of L2 learning
    e.g. reduction of TL to a simpler system.

(5) strategies of communication

An early example of an interlanguage utterance was provided by Lady Anne Barnard in her journal of 1797 (§2.2.6). `Vrow van Rhenin of Swellendam offered her refreshment and said *Mak - self - know best wat like*. Only two words in this phrase, know and like, are uniquely English; two belong to both codes, self, and best, and two could belong to either code, English or Dutch/Afrikaans, depending on their pronunciation, [meɪk] / [mɑ:k] and [wɒt] / [vät]. Another early example of interlanguage concerns a pedlar on the diamond fields at the end of the nineteenth century. When confronted with the problem of customers who would not open their doors to do business with him for fear of the *pokkies* (`smallpox'), he said *`Ach, mijn maag,*

have you no got de pokkies dar in dat huis? voor i am so bang voor de pokkies, dat I shust like first to trow de klip shust dat de people can come out and I can ask 'em if dey no got de pokkies nie, I's so bang' (Angove 1910: 159). Although most of the syntax is not standard English, there are only six or seven words that are specifically Afrikaans:

mijn maag - my stomach, *pokkies* - smallpox, *huis* - house, *klip* - stone, *nie* - not, *bang* - frightened.

Words such as *voor* ('for') could again be either English or Afrikaans, depending on their actual pronunciation. The use of the double negative, *no got de pokkies nie*, is an example of Afrikaans syntax (§6.1.4).

As a result of the processes mentioned above, learners may tend to keep items, rules and subsystems in their IL that may or may not be standard TL forms. Selinker referred to this as *fossilization* (Selinker 1974:36). According to Selinker, fossilization cannot be remedied, 'no matter what the age of the learner or the amount of explanation and instruction he receives in the TL'. However, when the learner is being careful he may succeed in producing the correct TL form but as soon as his attention is focussed on meaning or when the subject matter is difficult he will backslide towards the IL form. Although Selinker says that 'backsliding' by L2 learners is towards the IL and not towards their NL/L1 nor simply random, in this study learners or speakers of Afrikaans-English are quite likely to switch to their L1 under such circumstances as the majority of the population-group concerned understand the other language.

If a group or community show the same sort of fossilisation as the L1 Afrikaans-speakers do when speaking English, it would be reasonable to identify their interlanguage as a separate variety, Afrikaans-English.

> ...not only can entire IL competences be fossilized in individual learners performing in their own interlingual situation, but also in whole groups of individuals, resulting in the emergence of a new dialect, where fossilized IL competences may be the normal situation (Selinker 1974: 38).

L1 learning in children and L2 learning in adults are usually contrasted with each other. It is thought that although the learning errors that occur are similar, the actual learning processes are different. Adults have cognitive skills which children lack. Furthermore, adults have an ability to imitate, their memory is better trained and they can read and write. Naturally all adults have at least one language, therefore the motivation to learn a second language may be reduced to the extent of only learning enough to communicate simply. The linguistic needs of adults are different from those of children. L1 Afrikaans speakers seem to be better motivated to learn and use English than L1 English speakers are to use Afrikaans.

> The Afrikaner is markedly more prepared to use L2 when confronted, but the ESSA (English speaking South African) is more prepared to admit to a wish for more opportunities for speaking L2 (Hauptfleisch 1978: vol 2: 37).

According to Ellis (1985:4) 'there is no single way in which learners acquire a knowledge of a second language (L2)'. He contrasts 'untutored' or 'naturalistic' L2 acquisition with 'artificial' or 'tutored (classroom)' acquisition. Krashen (1987) refers to the same concepts as 'acquisition' and 'learning' respectively. In South Africa White children are exposed to both systems in that even children whose community never uses the other language for daily communication will be taught the other official language from their first year at school. Initially instruction is oral but by the third year written work is begun. Although oral and composition work are required, a great many drill exercises are given to the children in all standards. Despite the Behaviourist theory, most children do not emerge from the system fluent in their L2. Fortunately, however, in South Africa

there is a great deal of exposure of both languages on television, the radio, official notices etc. Thus despite a lack of fluency, most children have a good passive knowledge of the other language by the time they finish school. It is then not difficult for anyone to acquire a good, fluent working knowledge of the other language at any time in adulthood if the situation requires it and providing the necessary motivation is present.

4.1.2 Education in South Africa

As part of Lord Charles Somerset's Anglicization policy, English speaking teachers were imported in an effort to suppress the Dutch language (§2.2.3). The policy was not entirely successful as many Dutch-speaking parents chose to send their children to private Dutch-medium schools . Until the Boer War, and even up to 1914, Afrikaners had a `liberal' and tolerant attitude towards English. They realised the advantages of being able to speak English well. In the South African Republic (Transvaal) under Kruger there was provision for the teaching of English after standard 2 in government schools. In addition a subsidy was given to English-medium private schools if they taught Dutch and South African history. Later the Smuts law of 1907 stated that up to the third year, instruction could be given in either English or Dutch (according to the ability of the pupil). After the third year `Dutch could be used as a medium of instruction in subjects not exceeding two in number, and the time given to study of such subjects in the Dutch language shall be in addition to the time given to the study of such language' (Behr 1988: 100). However, this was optional as there were a large number of unassimilated English-speakers in the Transvaal.

In the Orange Free State, English or Dutch could be used up to standard 2 (according to the mother tongue of the pupil) and thereafter both languages could be used, although at least half the subjects had to be taught in Dutch. In 1872 the Government of the Orange Free State took

over the full responsibility for White education and the Rev. John Brebner was appointed Inspector-General of Education. Education expanded remarkably under Brebner's aegis; initially there were only 12 schools and 350 pupils but by his retirement in 1899 there were approximately 200 government schools, with 300 teachers and over 8,000 pupils. Brebner also established the one-teacher farm-school system, whereby the government appointed and paid the teacher and also provided his house, and the farmer provided and maintained the school. Itinerant teachers were also appointed; they worked for six months or a year on a farm, hiring a room from the farmer and teaching the local children. Thus the educational needs of the rural community were catered for (Wilson and Thompson 1971: 124). On a visit to the Free State in 1879 The Hon. W. Littleton, Governor Sir Bartle Frere's private secretary, reported that English seemed to be quite widely used as a medium of instruction as English textbooks were better than those available in Dutch. He also found that there was a school in almost every electoral district and that people had their children learn English, not for love of the language, but because they recognised its usefulness (Barlow 1972: 192). In Natal at that time primary schools taught English as a subject, the history of England and of South Africa but no Dutch was taught at all (§2.4).

Between 1806 and 1880 the number of children in Cape schools rose from 800 to 30,000 (Sparks 1991:116). There was a further dramatic increase in the number of children attending elementary school between 1870 and 1900, but attendance by children in rural areas was sporadic. In 1883 a system of one-teacher farm schools similar to those already established in the Orange Free State was instituted (Wilson 1971: 124). The medium of education in the Cape was largely English, although the dual-medium method as used in the Boer Republics was encouraged by the Cape Education department of the time. However, the examination system of the Cape placed the Dutch language low on the order of priority and as a result students and teachers tended to

choose subjects that would carry prestige. Dutch was neglected and threatened to disappear from the schools. In any event, by this time students were speaking a language closer to modern Afrikaans than to Dutch in their homes and Dutch itself was becoming more and more an academic exercise; it became far more difficult to learn and therefore, in comparison with English, far less popular. In 1892 Jan Hendrik Hofmeyr (Onze Jan) suggested that the elementary examination be changed. In order to prevent the whole system being re-organised, the medium of instruction would remain English but the two languages would have equal status. A student was free to take one or the other or both, but the student who took both would have preference over the student who took only one. The question whether the state had a right to dictate the matter of language in elementary education was debated in the Cape parliament and in his biography of his predecessor, Hofmeyr quotes his reply:

> The State *does* practically dictate in the Colony; it dictates, that a child shall be taught in English. The State ought to train a child in such knowledge that it will require in the country, in which it is born and bred; and at the same time the State, in formulating a system of elementary education, ought to do it, so as to give the least offence to the bulk of the people living in that State. My reasons are not merely or chiefly, nor even to a great extent, sentimental, but they are strictly material, utilitarian, practical. I find, according to the last census returns, very nearly two-thirds of the European inhabitants of the Colony are Dutch-speaking, and I believe, that the people have a right to be consulted as to the language, in which they wish their children to be examined. In 1806 they were guaranteed the enjoyment of the rights and privileges they were then enjoying, and the right of language is one which cannot be eliminated. Then I find Dutch is necessary in the Civil Service (Hofmeyr 1913: 438).

Hofmeyr's suggestions of compromise were adopted and, in his opinion, served 'to draw the two great European races in South Africa nearer and closer together'.

At the conclusion of the Boer War, under article 5 of the Treaty of Vereeniging of 31 May 1902, despite the Boers' request for official recognition of Dutch as an official language alongside English, it was decreed that

> 5. The Dutch language will be taught in public schools in the Transvaal and the Orange River Colony where the parents of the children desire it, and will be allowed in Courts of Law where necessary for the better and more effectual administration of justice. (Wilson and Thompson 1971: 330).

With the introduction of the Herzog law in the Free State in 1908 both languages were compulsory for all pupils after standard 2. Furthermore, from standard 4 to matric 'English and Dutch should as far as practicable be used as the medium of instruction to an equal extent' (Haarhoff in Malherbe 1943). In 1910 the Herzog law was revised so that there would be mother tongue instruction up to standard 4, and thereafter three subjects would be taught in one language and three in the other. Thus

> The Smuts Act made the teaching of English obligatory, but the teaching of Dutch optional. Every child had to learn English, but not necessarily Dutch if the parents did not wish it. The Hertzog Act made both languages as *subjects* compulsory from the beginning of schooling and *dual-medium* teaching compulsory beyond Std.4 (Behr 1988: 100).

After the Boer War the system of education was revised again by Lord Alfred Milner. Once again the basis for the system was English. This did not present a problem in the urban areas as the towns were predominantly English, but the rural areas were largely Dutch (or Afrikaans).

`Neither the language nor the interests of the rural population were given a place that corresponded to their importance or numbers' (De Kiewiet 1957:251). The rural areas had to rely on imported or even itinerant teachers, a system which was not suitable for the bulk of the population. Milner had hoped that the mines would attract British immigrants to turn the scales in favour of the British element in South Africa, but this did not happen. As time passed it became increasingly evident that the electorate in a self-governing South Africa would be predominantly Dutch (Afrikaans). Furthermore, the Dutch were determined that there should be a respected place for their language and culture and they therefore resisted Milner's efforts to model South African education on the British system. In the Transvaal and the Orange Free State (see article 5 of the Treaty of Vereninging, quoted above), the Boers countered Milner's education policy and established approximately 200 schools under the guidance of local committees of parents. This was the foundation of Christian National Education and it showed that the Boers were determined not to abandon their language or traditions (De Kiewiet 1957) (see also §2.2.3 and §3.1).

After the establishment of the Union of South Africa in 1910, the various education laws of the Cape, the Transvaal and the Free State were examined by a `Select Committee on Public Education'. The particular focus of the committee was the medium of instruction. It was decided that in these three provinces the medium of instruction up to standard 4 would be the home language of the child and parents had the right to ask that the other language be gradually introduced. Where there was uncertainty as to the home language, the parent had the right to choose the medium of instruction in the junior standards. The medium of instruction in the senior standards in the Cape was English. In Natal there was no legislation concerning medium of instruction until 1916, when it was declared that ` the medium of instruction of every pupil in all forms or standards of any public school shall be the language selected by the parent' (Behr

1988: 101). From 1898 onwards it had been possible to pass the matriculation exam without Dutch. Although the 1910 legislation gave equal rights to English and Dutch, Dutch was by that stage only a written language for most pupils, thus a large percentage of students had to learn two foreign languages at school. Afrikaans had not yet been standardised. In 1914, following a proposal by C.J.Langenhoven, Afrikaans was acknowledged as a medium of instruction in Cape schools and given equal status with Dutch. Furthermore, Langenhoven 'felt that it was not too much to ask that all teachers be bilingual' (Borman 1989: 215). In 1919 further legislation led to a large-scale change-over from Dutch to Afrikaans, but there was no stipulation regarding standards i.e. year of education. This cleared the way for mother-tongue instruction after standard 4. Until 1921 it was not necessary to offer both languages as school subjects, but in that year it became compulsory to do so; however, the issue could still be evaded. In 1925 Afrikaans became an official language and mother-tongue instruction up to standard 6 was introduced. In addition, the first Afrikaans-medium high school, *Hoër Volksskool*, was established in Graaf-Reinet (Borman 1989).

In the early 1940's there was heated debate as to the most desirable system of education for (White) South Africa, with regard to the issue of language education specifically. The question was whether (secondary) schools should be (1) single-, (2) parallel- or (3) dual-medium. (1) In separate schools the second language is only used when it is taught as a subject (the situation in most schools today). (2) In parallel-medium schools the pupils are segregated into classes according to their home language but are free to mix outside the classroom. Unfortunately this system was perceived to emphasise the idea of separateness and the result was that the children tended to remain socially separate outside the classroom. This system is still found in country districts (in the *platteland*), but it is solely to the advantage of the English-speaking child who is usually in the minority in those areas. (3) In dual-medium schools both language groups would

be in one classroom and part of their work would be done in one language and part in the other. The advantage of this system would be that the students would use their second language as a medium and 'we have ample evidence that the present weakness of the second language is largely due to the fact that it is not used as an instrument' (Haaroff in Malherbe 1943).

The bilingual school (Malherbe 1943) makes a very good case for a dual-medium system of education. According to Malherbe, following a survey of over 18,000 children and 'hundreds of representative schools in South Africa' (Malherbe 1943: 126), the majority of students at high school and at teacher training colleges were in favour of some form of dual-medium school system. Malherbe's book is well researched and argued, but at the same time a counter-argument was published: *Die stryd om enkel- en parallelmediumskole* (Nel 1943) ('The struggle / argument over single- and parallel-medium schools'). This work appears to be based on emotion rather than on proper research. Objectors to dual-medium schools argued that dual-medium schools violated the mother-tongue principle and that 'the result of a bilingual system will be a mongrel' (Haarhof in Malherbe 1943). Nel argued that bilingual schools would (1) hinder the development of the mother-tongue, (2) have no proper control over the second language, (3) retard cognitive development in general, (4) have an adverse effect on personality development, and (5) have a negative influence on character development (Nel 1943:78). Nel also opposed the bilingual system on religious and political grounds; he also felt that by putting the two groups together there would be friction between them and that 'familiarity breeds contempt'. On the contrary, people fear the unknown, *onbekend maak onbemind* ('unknown makes unloved'), and the mixing of Afrikaans and English children would promote mutual understanding. Despite the strong arguments in favour of a dual-medium system and unfortunately for following generations, and for South Africa as a whole, the *stryd* ('struggle') was won by the proponents of single-medium schools.

> 'The Wilks Committee (1946) stated that when parents deliberately chose the second language as the medium of instruction, they invariably subjected their children "to the dangers of retardation and frustration", and recommended that "the law should be amended so that every child shall be educated up to and including Standard V through the medium of the official language which he understands the better"' (Behr 1988: 101).

New ordinances were passed by the provinces (in 1949 in the Transvaal) making it obligatory for children to be educated through the medium of their mother tongue up to standard eight. However, Natal did not follow suit and allowed parents to decide on the medium of instruction for their children until 1969, when Act 39 of 1967 was passed. Thus, from the mid-1940's, the pattern of education for the next fifty years was established. Although for the purposes of the debate, the issue of medium of education only related to the problems of English and Afrikaans, and the term `race' was only applied to English-speakers and Afrikaans-speakers, the principle of separate schools was applied to all sectors of the population.

Time has proved that the proponents of the dual-medium system were right after all and that by separating the two language groups misunderstanding and antagonism grew. Comments of the informants bear this out. One of the L1 English informants of the control group, C4B, talked about his family holidays as being `the Boer War all over again'. This informant's mother was brought up in a bilingual home but with a bias towards English. She had married an L1 English speaker but her two younger sisters had married Afrikaners. The next generation were brought up monolingual English and Afrikaans respectively with the result that there was no point of communication between the cousins at all.

Malherbe found that teachers who had grown up through the single medium school system were so weak in their knowledge of the other language and so lacking in understanding of the other language group that they were not capable of teaching in a school where both language groups were present. He also found that these unilingual teachers had on average standard 7 proficiency in the other language and said that `this lack of properly trained bilingual teachers is a most serious matter particularly for our rural children' (Malherbe 1943: 125). Furthermore he said that `actually the quality of teaching English in Afrikaans medium schools is poorer than that of Afrikaans in English-medium schools, especially in rural schools'.

Many of the informants in this study said that they had learned their English from L1 Afrikaans-speaking teachers:

> even the person who taught me English up to matric was Afrikaans-speaking; he taught English through Afrikaans medium. 5A

The situation is no better today and in many schools, particularly the country schools, English is taught by L1 Afrikaans-speakers.

> I actually think there are more Afrikaans-speaking people on the staff than English-speaking. A lot [of Afrikaans schools] won't employ anybody who's English. 8B

I attempted to find out how many L1 Afrikaans-speakers were either teaching English as a subject or teaching in English medium schools. Mr. Goosen of the Cape Education Department was most helpful but was unable to provide the information. He knew for certain that the teachers teaching English at certain schools in the Western and Northern Cape were Afrikaans-speaking (Velddrif, Uppington and Kimberley) and thought that in the Eastern Cape the reverse was more likely to apply (i.e. L1 English-speakers teaching Afrikaans). Unfortunately, these statistics are not available. (Mr Goosen initially thought he could judge a person's language affiliation by their surname, but it was pointed out to him that this is impossible as there are Browns who speak

little English and Van der Merwes who are L1 English-speaking). In her paper *Learner language - the interlanguage hypothesis* Susan Keogh (1985) illustrates the problem of teaching English as a second language in South Africa. She says 'that of the 175 000 teachers in this country [of the entire population], probably only 10 000 are native speakers of English, with another 10 000 who speak English at home as a first language. English as a second language is therefore more the rule than the exception' among teachers (Keogh 1985: 20). (I find this statement somewhat ambiguous as 'native speakers' and 'first language' speakers are surely synonymous? However, 20 000 L1 English speakers out of a total of 175 000 remains a small proportion.)

Although many small country schools remained dual medium through force of circumstances and one or two newly-established city schools have been allowed to have a dual-medium policy, officially all schools have been single medium for the past fifty years. With the emergence of a completely new dispensation in education in South Africa, it will be interesting to see to what extent attitudes and policies on language medium in education change. A recent article in a local newspaper reported that a realtively newly-established (1986), dual-medium school in the northern suburbs of Cape Town (with a large Afrikaans-speaking population) had decided to change to Afrikaans as the single medium of tuition, as the proportion of English-speaking pupils in the school had declined from 29% in 1987 to 13% in 1993. This angered the parents of the English-speaking pupils as it was maintained that 'primary schools in the area were filling up with English-speaking pupils as more English-speakers moved into the area' (*Argus* 6 May 1993). Another article, published the same day but in a different newspaper, indicated that one of the older Afrikaans-medium schools in the southern suburbs of Cape Town (a largely English-speaking residential area), Groote Schuur High School, is considering introducing dual-medium tuition (English and Afrikaans):

> ... the school's management has decided that Groote Schuur will consider extending its unparalleled academic excellence to its immediate English neighbours by becoming the first dual medium [school] (*Southern Suburbs Tatler* 6 May 1993:7).

It is ironic that the first move away from single medium education should come from a school whose 'privileged past [made it] the preferred school of Afrikaans Presidents, cabinet ministers, academics and business leaders' (*ibid*). It will be interesting to see how Groote Schuur implements dual-medium instruction, as such a system is not without problems, as Stellenberg High discovered.

> School policy dictated that lessons be half in English and half in Afrikaans. Because there were relatively few English-speaking pupils - in some cases only one in a class of 30 - school policy and classroom practice did not always agree. Whatever language was used, some pupils were being deprived of mother-tongue education. Some pupils were having difficulty adapting to the dual-medium instruction. The system also reduced teachers' efficiency, and explanations often had to be repeated in the other language. All examination papers, subject notes and circulars had to be translated. This meant extra work and extra costs (Argus 6 May 1993).

4.1.3 Method of L2 teaching in S.A.

The method of second language teaching used in South African schools during the past forty to fifty years and at present is far from ideal. 'Many of the exercises still consist of drills and manipulation of forms which appear to differ little from earlier behaviouristic-type exercises' (Dommisse 1985: 4). There is not enough emphasis placed on natural communication and too much is placed on correct exercises (see §4.1.1). Too many children emerge from school with, at best, a reasonable ability to write the second language but with little ability to speak naturally. Dommisse stresses the need for more meaningful communicative exercises so that

students can learn to communicate naturally. She quotes Krashen's Ideal Language Learning Programme (Krashen 1981: 100) which could be taken as a model for second language teaching in South Africa. Krashen stressed that the subconscious acquisition system does not disappear with age and that therefore natural acquisition and formal learning should be used in conjunction with one another.

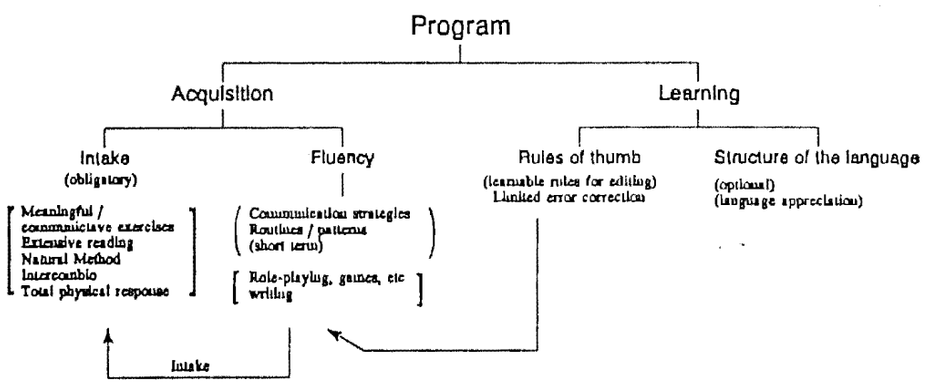

Figure 6: Krashen's Ideal Language Teaching Programme

Despite a growing awareness of the need to change the emphasis in language teaching in South Africa 'on the whole there seems to be little significant commitment, in terms of classroom practice, to methods consistent with the notion of the communicative function of language as advanced in the current linguistic research' (Domisse 1985: 8).

As part of an M Ed dissertation in 1984, C.J.Kitching established that in South Africa, as a result of the 'strongly entrenched (legal and political) system of monolingual education for Whites, it was impossible to produce adequately bilingual teachers as required by the educational statutes'. He conducted a survey of Afrikaans-speaking student teachers at Afrikaans medium teachers' training colleges to test their level of communicative competence. This had not been done since

Malherbe's survey. Kitching found that student teachers had English competence of the average standard 5 L1 English-speaker and at the most only one third of the students showed an acceptable degree of communicative competence to teach English as an L2.(cf. Keogh 1985). He felt that L1 Afrikaans teachers with only standard 5 or 6 level of English should not be allowed to teach English as a second language. He too questioned whether the marked deterioration in English ability among L1 Afrikaans students was a result of the establishment of single medium schools (Kitching 1985: 84).

One informant said that he had learnt English at a time of an experimental system of second language teaching and that he was not actually taught the English system of singular and plural concord. He did not say what type of experiment it was nor what the education authorities hoped to achieve by it. The question arises whether this experiment applied only to the school he attended or whether it was more universal. If the Behaviourist theory of language acquisition is accepted, this anecdote could provide an explanation for the subject-verb concord feature (§6.2.1) that exists in Afrikaans-English in general. However, it is generally felt that the Behaviourist theory does not adequately account for language acquisition and that therefore teaching the English system of singular and plural concord by exercise and drill work would not necessarily yield the expected results.

For centuries, at least since the mid-eighteenth century, Western urban culture has placed great emphasis and a very high value on the written language. 'Europeans and Americans may therefore feel that it is somehow "natural" that writing should be evaluated more highly than speech' (Milroy 1980 :98). It is therefore interesting to note that second language teaching in the Cape (Cape Education Department) now places more emphasis on oral communication than does the first language syllabus. The first language syllabus, on the other hand, emphasises written

work as it is felt that the student should have good writing skills in his L1. The marks allocated are:

	L1	L2
Language & comprehension	130	70
Oral	50	70
Setwork	120	60
Essay & letter	100	100
	400	300

4.2 BILINGUALISM

It is popularly believed that Afrikaans-speakers are more bilingual than English-speakers, or are at least more prepared to use their second language to accomodate the listener.

> Afrikaans-speaking people realise that in the workplace it's definitely an asset to speak English well, while the English-speaking person does not have that much motivation 8B.

It is extremely difficult, if not impossible, to measure bilingualism in an individual. Language tests can be used to test bilingualism to some extent, but they are normally targeted towards the standard or monolingual forms of the language, and 'measure discrete points of linguistic competence without really revealing to what extent the individual's functioning is adequate as a bilingual' (Beardsmore 1986: 7). In South Africa the *Taalbond* examination has been used for many years to test bilingualism among senior school children. As this is only a written exam it falls far short of an adequate test of communicative bilingualism. Van Wyk (1978: 40) also felt that it is futile to attempt to measure bilingualism, and that it would be better to measure or evaluate the different components of language separately, i.e. phonology, syntax and the lexicon. He found that some speakers are fluent in their L2 in that there are few or no pauses, repetitions or self-corrections but they may have a poor command of the phonology of the language

concerned (speak with an accent or have non-standard stress patterns). Others may have a good command of the syntax but be lexically limited.

Krashen (1987) proposed the Monitor hypothesis to explain how acquisition and learning are used by adults in second language performance.

> The Monitor hypothesis posits that acquisition and learning are used in very specific ways. Normally, acquisition "initiates" our utterances in a second language and is responsible for our fluency. Learning has only one function, and that is as a Monitor, or editor (Krashen 1987: 15).

According to Krashen, there are three types of performer in adult second language users:

> (i) `Monitor over-users' who attempt to monitor their speech all the time, with the result that they speak hesitantly, with noticeable self-corrections. They may do this because they have either not had enough exposure to the second language, or they may have a shy, hesitant personality and be unsure of their ability.
>
> (ii) `Monitor under-users' prefer not to use their conscious knowledge and do not pay attention to error correction. They have "feel" for the language and make more use of their `acquired' knowledge than of their `learned' skills.
>
> (iii) `Optimal Monitor users' who use their `learned' skills to supplement their `acquired' knowledge of their second language.

Although this study was based on a small sample of the population, Van Wyk's ideas were confirmed. Informant 2AB, for instance, phonologically has a marked Afrikaans- bordering Extreme SAE accent and in addition does not have a very good command of English syntax. However, she speaks rapidly without much repetition or self-correction although her lexical repetoire is limited. She therefore could be categorised as a `Monitor under-user' according to

Krashen's definition above. The same could be said of informant 6AB. Informant 4A on the other hand, speaks very hesitantly with many pauses and repetitions, has a 'heavy' Afrikaans accent but, with the exception of a few specific features, has a reasonable command of the syntax. She is therefore classed as a 'Monitor over-user'. If communicative competence is taken as a broad measure of bilingualism, then informants 2AB and 6AB are more bilingual than informant 4A. Towards the other end of the scale are people like informant 11B who has an extensive English vocabulary despite odd 'lexical gaps' (§6.3.3), a good command of English syntax, is communicatively fluent but has an Afrikaans accent. The most competent bilinguals in this study were informants 9B and 12B. Both appear to have L1 proficieny in English with only occasional lexical or syntactic variation to identify their L1 Afrikaans backgrounds. Syntactically, they make errors or show variation in ways that would be unlikely in L1 speakers of English i.e. there were variations that never appeared in the Control study. Beardsmore (1986: 7-10) refers to 'ambilingualism' where there is L1 proficiency or absolute equality in both languages. He feels this is rare as people seldom have the same experiences in both languages and therefore will lack vocabulary for certain domains of activity in each language. This was certainly true of informant 12B who says he writes politically motivated poetry in Afrikaans and emotional or romantic poetry in English.

I made two separate lists (with an interval of two weeks) ranking the informants of this study according to their communicative competence in English. The judgement was purely personal and therefore subjective. On the second occasion I made the list without consulting the first list. There was very little variation between the two lists so I finally created four 'proficiency' groups, Group 1 with L1-proficiency, Group 4 hesitant, poorly bilingual speakers and Groups 2 and 3 in between (Table 5). Informants' rating according to syntactic and phonological variation were then compared to the competence lists in order to establish whether there was any correlation between

them. It was found that certain variations are definitely more prevalent at the lower end of the competence scale than at the upper end (see §5.6 and §6.4).

Table 5: Conversational ability

List 1: 12B. 12A. 9B. 11B. 10AB/10AB*. 5B. 1B. 1A. 9A. 8A. 7B. 8B. 11A. 3A. 2AB. 4B. 7A. 6AB. 3B. 5A. 4A. 6AB*
List 2: 12B. 9B. 12A. 11B. 10AB/10AB*. 1B. 9A. 2AB. 8B. 11A. 3A. 8A. 1A. 7B. 5B. 6AB. 7A. 3B. 5A. 4B. 4A. 6AB*
Group 1: 9B. 12A. 12B
Group 2: 1A. 1B. 5B. 9A. 10AB. 10AB*. 11B
Group 3: 2AB. 3A. 4B. 6AB. 7A. 7B. 8A. 8B. 11A
Group 4: 3B. 4A. 5A. 6AB*

4.2.1 Communication strategies

Various strategies for overcoming lack of lexical knowledge in an L2 were quoted in Beardsmore (1986: 132). These strategies include over-generalisations, simplification and avoidance. Lee analysed eight types of strategy among students of English whose L1 was Dutch. Informants in this study, although no longer students, also resorted to these strategies to cover lack of lexical knowledge (the examples are from the current data).

1. Reformulation - restarting a sentence, using different vocabulary, or realisation of incorrect vocabulary:

(1) but I was so upset one day when I er, er, first, just, quite often I just have to look through their books 4A

(2) my wife gave me a big coffin, er, suitcase 7A (*koffer* 'suitcase')

(3) we used to drive, ride bikes 11B

2. Prime skipping - using semantically simpler words:

(4) he got the medicine [into medical school] 1A

(5) the dome will come along [follow] 3A

(6) we pull our TV in with those three antennae [receive ... from] 3A

(7) when I turned back to the office [returned] 7A

(8) my people come from under the mountain [the foot of] 12B

3. Analytic rebundling - redistribution of semantic information:

(9) she nearly went quite beyond herself [she was quite beside herself] 2AB

(10) he doesn't chat to Rudi non-stop [never chats] 2AB

4. Synonym seeking - use of synonyms when unsure of the distinction between two terms:

(11) because of the lots of people that went away [number] 4A

(12) they had a length there [minimum height] 6AB

(13) the set of people [group] 11A

5. Gap stopping - use of an item from L1:

(14) what they call *badshuise* (`beach-houses') 1A

(15) I *sit* my shoes in the basket (`put') 2AB

(16) she fears with all her heart these *kakkerlakke* (`cockroaches') 2AB

(17) we've got a letter that say Le Roux Out*nisters* (`outfitters') 3B

(18) we'll *slag 'n lekker skaap* for you (`slaughter a nice sheep') 6AB

(19) a real little *dogtertjie* (`little girl') 10AB*

6. Updating - use of a lexical item from the L1 followed immediately by the L2 term:

(20) her *van* was, surname was 4B

(21) we sit around the *tafel*, table 5A

7. Appeal to authority - the speaker admits she does not know the appropriate word and asks for help:

(22) ten feet from high level, water,... what do you call it? 1A

(23) what do you call it? *dis pêrels in die oë* (`cataracts', lit. `pearls in the eyes') 2AB

(24) what's these other things? asparagus 11A

8. Message abandonment.

There were no examples of message abandonment in the data. The general level of the interlanguage among the informants is high and they therefore have no problems of this nature. Furthermore, all the informants were aware that I can understand Afrikaans and therefore they could use other strategies in place of complete message abandonment.

I would like to include two more categories to this list.

9. Calque - the use of a direct loan translation of a word or phrase:

(25) there's something short (*kort*) in my soil (`missing') 2AB

(26) she's so old fashioned (*ouderwets*) (`cute') 4B

(27) there was no English-speaking (*Engelssprekende*) in the whole community 5A

(28) take a bread (*brood*) (`loaf') 5A

10. South Africanisms - non-standard items that are used by L1 speakers of English in South Africa and for which there are often no exact English translations:

(29) shame, this *arme* David (`poor') 2AB

(30) we must *maar* go on (`simply, but') 4A, 5A

(31) here was the police *bakkie* (`pick-up truck') 8A

(32) Cape Town is a *dorp* (`village') 10AB

(33) he was one of the first people who advocated using *rooibos* tea for kids 11B

Some lexical items have indeed become accepted into standard SAE e.g. *bakkie, dorp* and *rooibos tea* (see also §6.3.2 and Branford 1987).

4.3 CODE-SWITCHING AND CODE-MIXING

I had not originally planned to focus on code-switching and code-mixing as all the interviews would be conducted only in English. The whole purpose of the study was to examine the English of L1 Afrikaans-speakers. However, it would seem that code-switching and code-mixing occur, to a greater or lesser extent, between English- and Afrikaans-speaking South Africans, where each group is aware that the other group has at least a good passive knowledge of the other language. Furthermore, code-mixing has been recorded from the earliest days of Dutch/English contact (§ 2.2.5), several instances of which are cited by Mesthrie in an unpublished paper *Nineteenth-century attestations of Afrikaans-English code-mixing in the Cape.*

4.3.1 Similarities and differences between English and Afrikaans.

English and Afrikaans are both West Germanic languages[1] and the similarities between them far outweigh the differences. Typologically, English is an SVO language; Afrikaans is, however, more closely Germanic in that it retains the 'verb second' rule in main clauses, and subordinate clauses are SOV. Thus in terms of syntax, Afrikaans is more closely related to German than to English; all the Germanic languages, except English, have the V-final rule in subordinate clauses and the V-2 rule, which is only marginal in English e.g. never have I been so sick.

John kicks the ball / *Jan skop die bal*

On Mondays John kicks the ball / *Maandae skop Jan die bal*

John laughs when he kicks the ball / *Jan lag as hy die bal skop*

John laughed when he kicked the ball / *Jan het gelag toe hy die bal geskop het*

[1]There have been some counter-proposals to this classification of Afrikaans, particularly from those who favour the theory that Afrikaans is a creole language. However, these proposals have been adequately refuted by Raidt (1983).

Afrikaans is also more closely Germanic in the ordering of adverbial phrases. The order is invariably `time, manner, place'. L1 Afrikaans-speakers occasionally keep this order when speaking English.

Ek gaan môre per trein stad toe / `I (will) go tomorrow by train to town'.

Both languages are prepositional,

in the house, on the beach / *in die huis, op die strand*

although Afrikaans, like English, has a few postpositional expressions,

herewith, *stad toe* (`to town');

both have adjective-noun word-order,

a red house / *'n rooi huis*

and both have two ways of expressing possession,

John's father / *Jan se vader*

the father of John / *die vader van Jan.*

Afrikaans and English also share the plural morpheme -s, although Afrikaans does not have the /-s~z~ɪz/ allomorphy; in addition, Afrikaans also has the plural morpheme -e [ə]. But most importantly, with their common Germanic background, English and Afrikaans share a vast amount of lexical material.

On the other hand, the most striking grammatical difference between English and Afrikaans is in the verb. Afrikaans verbs are not inflected for person; even the verb `to be', *om te wees*, is not inflected.

ek is (`I am')	*ons is* (`we are')
jy is (`you are')	*julle is* (`you are')
hy is (`he is')	*hulle is* (`they are')

Furthermore, there is no morphological continuous aspect in Afrikaans; it can be expressed as a marked construction, but it is not obligatory.

ek skryf ('I write, I am writing')

ek is besig om te skryf (lit. 'I am busy to write' - 'I am writing')

In addition, and perhps most importantly, Afrikaans does not distinguish between past and perfect aspects:

ek het geskryf ('I wrote, I have written')

4.3.2 Code-switching and code-mixing

There does not appear to be consensus among socio-linguists as to the ideal terminology to describe this phenomenon. Weinreich discusses the effects languages in contact have on each other under the general concept of *linguistic interference* and says

> the ideal bilingual switches from one language to the other according to appropriate changes in the speech situation (interlocutors, topics, etc.), but not in an unchanged speech situation, and certainly not within a single sentence. If he does include expressions from another language, he may mark them off explicitly as "quotations" by quotation marks in writing and by special voice modifications (slight pause, changes in tempo, and the like) in speech (Weinreich 1953: 73).

However, Gumperz did not agree and said that

> conversational code switching can be defined as the juxtaposition within the same speech exchange of passages of speech belonging to two different grammatical systems or subsystems. ... Often code switching also takes place within a single sentence. ... Speakers communicate fluently, maintaining an even flow of talk. No hesitation, pauses, changes in sentence rhythm, pitch level or intonation contour mark the shift in code (Gumperz 1982: 60).

McCormick's (1989) work on the use of English and Afrikaans in District Six is the most significant work on this subject in South Africa to date[2]. She defines the incorporation of elements, words and phrases, of one code into another (intrasentential switches) as *code-mixing* and the alternation of two codes (intersentential switches) as *code-switching*. Beardsmore rejects the use of the term *interference* and furthermore, does not find any sharp distinction between mixing and switching and therefore prefers to use only the term *code-switching* (Beardsmore 1986: 49). He differentiates between code-switching that occurs where the speakers have two languages in common, and the type of code-switching he found in Belgium where `the speaker and the listener might not have two languages at all at their disposal but only one consisting of mixed elements' (Beardsmore 1986:49). This type of code-switching closely resembles that described by McCormick in her study on code-switching in District Six[3], whereas the type of code-switching used by the informants of this study involved the use of two complete codes or lanugages, English and Afrikaans. I will use the terms *code-switching* and *code-mixing* as they are defined by McCormick as it seems logical to me to differentiate (no matter how indistinctly) between the use of single or small elements of one code while using another, and a complete change of code.

In the course of her work in Northern Ireland, Milroy (1980) noted code-switching between standard and non-standard varieties of one language. In the situation under discussion here, the two codes involved are standard varieties of two languages, English and Afrikaans. In SAE it is sometimes difficult to distinguish between an established borrowing and an element of code-mixing. The amount of code-switching and code-mixing during the interviews conducted

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[2] But see the paper by Khati (1992) on Sesotho-English switching.

[3]Further evidence of this type of mixed code was provided by some of the first year students in the Linguistics department of the University of Cape Town in essays written on the topic of code-switching (June 1993). These particular students all belong to the so-called Coloured group. At least one student was perceptive enough to say that she thought there was only one code in use.

specifically for this study varied from complete code-switching for long stretches of discourse (in the presence of a third person), to occasional use of lexical items from Afrikaans. I feel that under normal circumstances where bilingual speakers of English and Afrikaans are present there would be far more code-switching as defined by McCormick. However, the informants for this study were all asked specifically to speak English and therefore most of them consciously tried to avoid Afrikaans. Despite their intentions, all the informants showed some degree of code-mixing (in the general sense), even if only by occasionally using English lexical items with Afrikaans syntax.

> Code-switching is perhaps most frequently found in the informal speech of those members of cohesive minority groups in modern urbanizing regions who speak the native tongue at home, while using the majority language at work and when dealing with members of groups other than their own. The individuals concerned live in situations of rapid [linguistic] transition (Gumperz 1982: 64).

This is not strictly true in the South African English/Afrikaans context. Although code-switching and code-mixing are more prevalent in informal speech in South Africa, they often occur in formal situations as well. This is perhaps truer of code-switching than of code-mixing. Interviews on television and on the radio, and speeches at formal occasions where members of both language groups are present are often characterised by code-switching. Material in one language is seldom, if ever, repeated in the other, the assumption being that the audience has at least a passive knowledge of both languages. Code-switching is not confined to 'urbanizing regions' but is found in all areas. Furthermore, I have found (on casual observation) that in informal speech English- and Afrikaans-speaking people code-switch among their own groups, i.e. in normally monolingual situations, although this is often done as a type of quotation, or for metaphorical reasons.

4.3.3 Functional and metaphorical switching

> Code switching does not necessarily indicate imperfect knowledge of the grammatical systems in question. ... Code switched material can often be equally well expressed in either language (Gumperz 1982: 64).

Why then does code-switching occur? In his paper on code-mixing, Mesthrie differentiates between functional and metaphorical switching (Mesthrie forthcoming). Functional switching ocurs when a speaker uses an item from the other code in order to accomodate his own lack of ability or lack of ability on the part of the listener i.e. where one of them does not know the term in the code being used at the time. The use of calqued lexical items and the use of lexical items from one code with the syntax of the other code (§4.3.4) fall into the category of functional switching. Metaphorical code-switching is used to create a mood or effect and may be intentional or unintentional on the part of the speaker. Metaphorical switching also presupposes an ability to identify code distinctions (Gumperz 1982: 98).

If one disregards the use of lexical items that have been incorporated into standard SAE, there was no code-mixing or code-switching in the Control study although one Control informant commented on code-switching:

> (34) even at Toastmasters ... the Afrikaans guys will give a speech in English but use Afrikaans words. C3B

The few words of Afrikaans origin used by the Control group can be regarded as having been accepted into informal (L1) SAE. The following words emerged from the data:

bakkie (`pick-up truck')	*padkos* (`food for a journey')	*drosdy*(`magisterial residence')
brak (`saline')	*likkewaan* (`leguaan')	*poort* (`defile')
trek (`travel, migrate')	*boep* (`paunch' - slang)	*braai* (`barbeque')[4]

[4]Most of these lexical items are not used in Natal SAE (Rajend Mesthrie p.c.)

Thus speakers of Respectable SAE do not appear to code-switch when speaking among themselves, although a certain amount of code-mixing does appear to take place. A separate study would be required to see to what extent they do so when speaking English in a mixed Afrikaans/English conversational group. Other lexical items that I have frequently observed in the speech of L1 English-speakers include fillers such as:

nogal (`even') *mos* (`simply, just') *darem* (`really') *maar* (`simply, but')

and nouns and verbs:

ouma (`grandma') *rooibos* tea (`herb tea') *vetkoek* (`unsweetened doughnut')

sukkel (`struggle')

There are many other lexical items that can also be regarded as standard SAE but which did not emerge from the Control data. It would require a full analysis of Branford's *A dictionary of South African English* (1987) to determine which items recorded in the dictionary are now standard SAE and which are not. I do not feel that every item included in the dictionary can be regarded as being acceptable standard SAE. The majority of the terms are known to speakers of SAE but would not be used in standard speech. Moreover, many of the terms have regional limitation.

McCormick (1989: 262) discusses the `dual' status of *ja* (see § 6.3.3) in her section on the grammatical constraints on code-switching. Although the term is `fuzzy', she uses `dual' to describe words that are phonologically and semantically identical in both codes and which would be impossible to define as belonging specifically to either code where they occur at the point of a switch. *Ja* is an Afrikaans word that has become fully accepted into standard SAE, to the extent that most L1 speakers of English are unaware that they are using a non-English word. All speakers of SAE use *ja* and yes equally and there does not appear to be any pragmatic difference between the terms. I found that the informants of both the Control and the main group used both

terms equally and thus confirmed McCormick's finding. (It should be noted that *ja* is used in other, non-South African varieties of L1 English.)

4.3.4 Code-mixing and code-switching in Afrikaans-English

Code-mixing among speakers of Afrikaans-English includes the use of purely metaphorical switches involving single lexical items, functional switches to accomodate a lack of competence in the speaker or listener, calquing of single lexical items for functional purposes, the use of English lexemes with Afrikaans syntax and complete code-switching involving `chunks' of dialogue. In a normal conversational situation where L1 English- and L1 Afrikaans-speakers are present there could be (and often is) a change of code with each conversational turn. This did not happen during the interviews conducted for this study as the informants had specifically been asked to speak English. Despite this request, all the informants produced some degree of code-mixing.

Functional switches:

(35) what they [Afrikaans-speakers] call *badshuise* (lit. `bathhouses', i.e. beach shacks) 1A

(36) in the end there'll be fourteen *spilpunte* (`pivot points' - irrigation machines) 6AB*

(37) a *gat* toilet (`hole' - an earth closet) 9B

(38) we live in what we [Afrikaans-speakers] call the *spoorwegwyk* (`railway district') 11A

Calques:

(39) you can know it's very *still* here (`quiet') 2AB

(40) she's so *old-fashioned* (`cute'= *ouderwets*) 4B

(41) take a *bread* (`loaf'= *brood* =`bread/loaf') 5A

English lexemes with (a tendency towards) Afrikaans syntax:

(42) that was all just about he owned 1A
(*dit was al, min of meer, wat hy besit het*)

(43) I probably away from school tend to speak a bit more English 1B
(*ek is weg van die skool af miskien geneig om 'n bietjie meer Engels te praat*)

(44) she went and dropped my mom off some fruit from the farm[5] 2AB
(*sy het my ma 'n bietjie vrugte van die plaas afgelaai*)

(45) there were still coming some place people in 3B
(*daar het nog iewers mense ingekom*)

(46) you must rather take it completely away 11A
(*jy moet dit liewer heeltemal wegneem*)

Metaphorical switches:

(47) he speaks *krom en skeef* ('bent and skew' i.e. badly) 7B

(48) I'd sort of like you know / pick up words here and there and so then I started ...*/ praat die taal soos hulle sê* ('speak the language (Afr.) as they say') 6AB

(49) this article in the Huisgenoot the other day / ... the Owl House ... ooh it's scary */ jissa* oh oh */ ek is bang vir daai storie / nee poppa ... man* ('I am scared of that story') 6AB

(50) a real little *dogtertjie* ('little girl') 10AB*

Complete chunk code-switching:

(51) M: what are you doing in the shop now?
S: *ek wil non toeshit ek het nog* ... so I walked / out that way because Marie locked up everything already / I / haven't even told her I'm going away tomorrow because I only decided this afternoon // ... *dis twee fabrieke die een is iets anders hierdie is* / Taggies // Taggies isn't it sweet / ... forty-four for this / *dis eintlik duur* ('I want to lock up now I have still ...it's two factories this one is something else this is Taggies ...it's actully expensive') 3B (see also Appendix 2.)

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[5]This example could also indicate uncertainty as to which particle-verbs can be split and which can not.

Retention of Afrikaans pronunciation of proper nouns:

The tendency to retain L1 pronunciation of proper nouns (§5.4.5) appears to be very strong and in most speakers who have this feature it is invariable i.e. they will have only one pronunciation for a given proper noun.

L1 Afrikaans: Oudtshoorn [œʊtshʊərən] English [œʊtshʊən]

Langebaan [läŋəbä:n] English [lɒŋəbɑ:n]

L1 English: Uitenhage [jʉtənhelg] Afrikaans [œitənhɑ:χə]

It is however doubtful whether this feature can really be regarded as an example of code-switching.

Table 6: Code-switching and code-mixing

	CODE-MIXING: FUNCTIONAL	METAPHORICAL	CALQUE	AFR.SYNTAX	CODE-SWITCHING: 'CHUNK'
GROUP 4					
3B					(Constantly)
4A	5	4	1	2	1
5A	8	6	5	4	2
6AB*					(Constantly)
GROUP 3					
2AB	8	16	7	13	
3A			3	2	
4B	1	2			1
6AB	2	18	1	1	10
7A	3		3		3
7B		1		1	
8A			3	7	9
8B					
11A	4	3		17	
GROUP 2					
1A	1	2		1	
1B	1	2		1	
5B	3	4		1	
9A	1	4		13	1
10AB	1	3	3	5	5
10AB*	4	3		6	6
11B	2	3	1	9	
GROUP 1					
9B		2	1	3	
12A				10	
12B		6		3	1

Technical terms can be a thorn in the flesh for Afrikaans purists. Although Afrikaans equivalents exist, many L1 Afrikaans-speakers only know the English word for a specific technical item, and are often not aware that they are not using a correct Afrikaans word. One of the informants commented on this problem:

(52) they are used to speaking Afrikaans but when they refer [to] a specific technical item it's always in English, like, *jy weet* (`you know'), *bring my die* `sparkplugs' (bring me the sparkplugs). 10AB

David Biggs of the Argus also illustrated the *verengelsisation* (sic) (`anglicisation') of Afrikaans, particularly with motoring terms:

(53) a guy [came] in to a *platteland* (`country') garage and asked for a *binneband* (`inner tube').

Skuus (`pardon') says the salesman.

Kan ek asseblief 'n binneband kry (`can I please have an inner tube') says the customer.

Huh?

Man, ek soek 'n tube (man, I'm looking for a tube').

O, nou verstaan ek. Hoekom het jy nie Afrikaans innie first place *gepraat nie*? (`oh, now I understand. Why didn't you speak Afrikaans in the first place?')

and

(54) I just can't think what this thing I want is called in English, but in Afrikaans it's a `carburettor' (*Argus* 1992).

In another article David Biggs gave an (extreme) illustration of `how they speak in the Karoo':

(55) one chap told me how he *gooied* a stone into a *kriebos* and a *vlakhaas* jumped out. His *brakkie holled* after it and caught it by the *bond*, but it *skopped* the *brak* in

the face till it *tjanked*, and the *hasie* disappeared down an *aardvark gat* (*Argus* 1992)[6].

(... threw ... Rhus lancea / bastard willow ... Cape hare ... little mongrol charged ... rump ...kicked ... mongrel ... howled ... little hare ... aardvark hole)

In this case the language used is English with mixed elements of Afrikaans added. This is comparable to the mixed code of the `Coloureds' of District Six (McCormick 1989) and the Cape Flats, where the language is basically Afrikaans.

Some people are so accustomed to mixing or switching codes that they are no longer aware of the changes.

(56) My grandmother could not stick to one language. She swopped all the time and I wish I'd kept her letters. She wrote her letters to me like that. In the middle of a sentence she even [switched]. My dad said to her "but what is your language?" and I don't think ouma knew. 10AB*

[6]Precise dates for either article not available.

CHAPTER 5

PHONOLOGY

5.1 PHONOLOGY OF ENGLISH IN SOUTH AFRICA

To the layman, accent is the most striking feature of Afrikaans-English. L1 Afrikaans-speakers are heard more and more frequently as announcers on English programmes on the radio and on TV, to the consternation of many L1 English speakers.

> But the English is shocking. Some of the announcers and their pronunciation! C3B

Even L1 Afrikaans speakers are sometimes disparaging of the accent of Afrikaans-English:

> in South Africa, funnily enough, [if] an Englishman speaks Afrikaans with an English accent; that's sort of regarded [as] cute. But to speak English with an Afrikaans accent is regarded [as] common. 10AB

But just what is it that makes an Afrikaans accent noticeable? As early as 1928 David Hopwood wrote *South African English Pronunciation* in which he described the pronunciation of Afrikaans-English. He claimed that the pronunciation of bilingual speakers and particularly speakers of Afrikaans-English was influenced by the Scottish teachers brought to South Africa under the auspices of Somerset's anglicisation policy (§2.2.1). I find this hard to credit as many of the descendants of the Scottish teachers and ministers, notably the Murrays, were absorbed into the Afrikaans community. In any event, Hopwood was writing a hundred years after Lord Charles Somerset had introduced Scottish teachers and clergy to the country. It is interesting however, that Hopwood noted that even in 1928 'in many schools of South Africa the English of the Primary Area [primary school] is now taught by bilingual speakers whose mother tongue is Afrikaans, ... and that such teachers of English "perpetuate an inaccurate pronunciation, an

inaccurate inflexion of the voice, and an inaccurate idiom"' (Hopwood 1928). (See also § 4.1.2 and § 6.).

In the late 1960's L.W.Lanham wrote *The pronunciation of South African English* (1967) in which he defined and categorised L1 South African English. He realised that there was only a little regional variation in South Africa but he divided South African English into three socially significant accent groups, Conservative, Respectable and Extreme SAE, each associated with specific social variables. (The three groups represent distinct points on the accent continuum and are not rigid classes).

> *Cons SAE* is strongly associated with the conjoint set: upper class, associations with Britain, older than 45, female. Cons SAE varies inversely with the major variables correlating with Ext SAE: lower class, Afrikaner descent.
>
> *Ext SAE* has strongest associations with lower class, Afrikaner descent, male. In the presence of `East Cape', social class and male are less obviously determinants (i.e. in the Eastern Cape more speakers of Ext SAE are found among females and in the higher socio-economic groups).
>
> *Resp SAE* is least apparent as a differential between social groups; the strongest association is with a small group identified by the conjoint set: European Jewish, female, younger than 45, without associations with Britain (Lanham and Macdonald 1979: 30).

Lanham attempted to explain the origins of some of the more distinct SAE phonological variables but `current research [has made Lass and Wright] rather sceptical of some of Lanham's now classical assertions about the origin and nature of certain SAE phonological variables' (Lass and Wright 1986: 313 note). I, too, find many of Lanham's explanations improbable.

Lanham defined Afrikaans-English as being `distinguished by a heavy "Afrikaans accent" which has features such as the substitution of voiceless /p t k/ for voiced /b d g/ in word final margins so that, for example, sends is heard as sents' (Lanham 1967: 103). In his later book, he said that

> Afr SAE represents penetration by what is basically Afrikaans phonology in the form of a small number of variables affecting mainly, but not exclusively, speech patterns which are nearest to Ext SAE (Lanham 1978: 146).
>
> The SAE community generally, and even the Afrikaner community, do not distinguish Afr E from typical Ext SAE (Lanham 1978: 150).

However, he maintained that Afrikaans-English is not the speech of many upper class, competent bilinguals, but that most speak SAE. I do not agree with Lanham and will show that only in certain areas can Afrikaans-English be said to overlap with Ext SAE (§5.6). Furthermore, I feel that it is not correct to define Afrikaans-English on phonological grounds only. Afrikaans-English encompasses phonological, morphological, syntactic and even lexical variation and differs from standard SAE at all levels. As early as 1934 C.P.Swart referred to the differences between SAE and Afrikaans-English (Fanaroff 1972: 27). Only, perhaps, perfect bilinguals who have absolute or nearly absolute L1 proficiency in both languages can be said to speak SAE rather than Afrikaans-English.[1] Confirmation of this would require a separate study. One could also then ascertain whether such people really do speak standard SAE rather than Afrikaans-English.

[1] Although a person may be syntactically and phonologically completely bilingual, it is questionable whether there really is such a thing as a perfect bilingual as that person will often have the vocabulary of only one of his/her languages for a specific lexical field.

5.2. VOWELS

Figure 7: Phonological differences and similarities between RP, SAE and Afrikaans vowels

R.P.

i: /beet								u: /boot
	ɪ/bit/hit						ʊ/foot	
		ɛ/bet		3:/hurt ə/the		ɔ:/ port		
			æ/bat		ʌ/but	ɒ/pot		
						ɑ:/fast		

SAE

i:/beet					ʉ:/boot			
	ɪ/hit	ɪ̈/bit					ʊ/foot	
	ɛ/bet œ/hurt						o:/port	
				ə/the				
			æ/bat			ɒ/pot		
				ä/but		ɑ:/fast		

AFR

i/die y/nuut								
		ɪ̈/sit					ʊ/koek	
	ɛ/bed	œ̈/lug					o/pot	
		ɛ/perd		ə/sing				
				ä/kat		ɑ:/pa		

Table 7: DIPHTHONGS

	RP	SAE	AFR
eɪ	mate	mate	
ɛɪ			byt
ɶ̈i			uit
ɑɪ	bite	bite	baie
ɑ:i			blaai
ɒɪ	boy		
oɪ		boy	
oi			nooit
ʉi			moeite
eø			neus
i:ʊ			leeu
əʊ	oat		
œʊ		oat	
ɶ̈ʊ			oud
aʊ	out		
ɑʊ		out	
iə	ear		
eə		ear	wees
ɛə	fair		
ɛ^{ə}		fair	
oə			boom
ʊə	poor	poor	

(Source: Lass 1987 and 1992, Coetzee 1982 and De Villiers 1987).

5.2.1 Variation in vowel quality

Vowel quality varies across social and regional (§5.5.1) boundaries in South Africa, both in English and Afrikaans. The vowels given for SAE above are those of Resp SAE. As one goes towards the Ext SAE end of the continuum, certain vowels, both monophthongs and diphthongs, may change. For instance, the [e] in bet varies with [ë], [æ] in bat may be realised as [ɛ], [ʉ] in boot may be fronted towards [y:] (see below).

It has been said that SAE can be characterised as the variety of English in which hit and bit do not rhyme. In Respectable SAE the vowel in hit is higher and more front than that in bit: [ɪ] and [ɪ̈] respectively. As one goes down the speech continuum towards Ext SAE, the vowels become centralised but still remain distinct. The vowel in hit is centralised to [ɪ̈] and that in bit may become completely centralised to [ə]. In Afrikaans-English, on the other hand, the two vowels move further apart. The vowel in bit either remains [ɪ̈] or centralises to [ə] but the vowel in hit is very often raised and lengthened to [i:]. This high front (almost cardinal vowel) quality of /i/ in initial position or after initial /h/ has become a recognised feature of Afrikaans-English, and is sometimes even parodied. Twelve of the informants had definite evidence of this feature in their speech and a further four used [i:] on at least one occasion. Of the twelve who used this feature regularly, seven were from Touws River.

In Resp SAE the high back vowel /u/ is realised as centralised (or fronted) [ʉ], but there are still two distinct vowels, [ʉ] in boot and [ʊ] in foot. In Afrikaans-English, however, the vowel in boot is often fronted to such a degree that it becomes [y:]. In some cases the vowel in book is raised and fronted so that the distinction between the two vowels is minimised or lost completely.

(1) books [by:ks] / [bʉks] 6AB too [ty:] 3B

Resp SAE [œ:] in hurt may be raised to [ø:] in more Ext SAE varieties.

Lanham and McDonald (1985: 34ff.) discuss the lectal varieties of SAE, with particular reference to Cape English and Natal English. In some instances they discuss the differences between L1-English variables, particularly Ext SAE, and those of Afrikaans-English. For example,

> /aɪ/ undergoes backing, raising and glide-weakening in Ext SAE to [ɑ:], fronting, tensing and glide-weakening in Resp SAE, and may have an abnormally long tense off-glide in Afrikaans-English;

/æ/ becomes raised to [ɛ] in Ext SAE, but not necessarily in Afrikaans-English.

/ɑ:/ may be backed, raised, rounded and shortened to [ɔ:] or even [o:] in Ext SAE, but it may be hypercorrected to [ä:] in Afrikaans-English;

(2) Marie [mä:ri] 10AB

High off-glides[2] are often reduced or even completely lost in all the varieties of SAE, even Resp SAE. The diphthong /aɪ/ may be [aᴵ] or reduced to a monophthong [a:] in Rsep SAE, but in Afrikaans-English. /aɪ/ loses the off-glide and is even backed to [ɑ:] in some speakers' idiolects. This tendency overlaps with the same feature in Ext SAE.

(3) side [sɑ:d], 3A

(4) mind [mɑ:nd] 8A

In Lower Resp and Ext SAE the off-glide in the diphthong in fair is often lost completely, resulting in a mid-front monophthong [ɛ:]. In some speakers there is a split in this category in that fair and hair are realised as [fɛ:] and [hɛ:], or even [fe:] / [he:], but year is realised as [jœ:]. this realisation of /ɛə/ is lexically restricted to year. However, the difference in diphthongs between Resp. SAE and Ext. SAE is in fact a distinction in onset, not in glide reduction. Ext. SAE retracts the onset in certain diphthongs, e.g. mate may be realised as [mɐ̈ɪt] or even [məɪt]. Resp. SAE does not do so to the same extent. Speakers of Afrikaans-English do not necessarily follow the Ext SAE pattern of onset. In Afrikaans, the height of the onset of certain diphthongs also varies. The [ʉɪ] *moeite* varies with [øɪ] and [oi] in *nooit* may be centralised to [ɵi] or even [øɪ] (§5.5.1), thus resulting in a merge of the two lexical categories. [eʊ] varies with [ɪø] in *neus*, and [eə] and [iə] alternate in *wees*. In *byt*, *uit* and *oud* the onset may be retracted as far as [ə].

---

[2]Lanham uses the non-I.P.A. term 'tense' when referring to high, front vowels; many linguists do not use the term.

It is argued that Afrikaans distinguishes long and short monophthongs phonemically except in the high vowels. Afrikaans and Dutch are the only Germanic languages that permit short high vowels in stressed syllables, as in *die* [di]. Where English has the long high front vowel [i:] before a plosive as in Pete [pi:t], Afrikaans has a short vowel, *Piet* [pit]. However, the three short vowels, /i, y, ʊ/, are lengthened before /r/:

Piet [pit] / *hier* [hi:r] *nuut* [nyt] / *duur* [dy:r] *koek* [kʊk] / *koer* [kʊ:r]

However, the issue of length is problematic in that /e/ and /o/ appear to lengthen only before /r/ *môre* [mo:rə], *bêre* [be:rə], before nasals, *ons* [õ:s], and in open syllables, *sê* [se:]. Only /a/ can truly be said to distinguish length phonemically, although in most speakers there is a difference in vowel quality as well as length: *kap* [kap] and *kaap* [kɑ:p]. All other instances of 'long vowels' given in Coetzee (1982: 14) are more truly diphthongs.

5.3. CONSONANTS

Phonemically, the consonants of English and Afrikaans are very similar. However, Afrikaans lacks the dental fricatives [ð, θ], the alveolar fricative [z] and the palato-alvoelar fricatives [ʃ, ʒ], except in loanwords and loan-pronunciations e.g. the pronunciation of the Afrikaans word *nasionaal* [näsɪʊnɑ:l] is often heard as [näʃɪʊnɑ:l], which is closer to the English cognate. The phoneme /r/ is usually realised as a trill [r] or a tap in Afrikaans. The approximant [w] occurs in onset clusters after [k, s, t, d], but as a single consonant is only found in borrowed words in Afrikaans, as are the affricates [tʃ, dʒ]. [g] is only found in onset position in loanwords, which are spelt <gh>, *gholf*. It does, however, occur medially in words such as *berge* [bergə] and can therefore be considered to be a full member of the Afrikaans phonemic inventory. Afrikaans has the uvular fricative [χ], with allophone [x], *gaan* [χɑ:n] and *geel* [xiəl], and the palatal nasal [ɲ] in diminutives such as *hondjie* [hoiɲki], which do not normally occur in English. The amount of

palatalization of /χ/ varies; some speakers may have velar and palatal fricatives, [x] and [ç] for this phoneme (De Villiers 1987 uses these symbols).

Figure 8: Consonants of English and Afrikaans

English consonants

	Bilabial	Labio-dental	Dental	Alveolar	Palato-alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Glottal
Plosive	p b			t d			k g		ʔ
Fricative		f v	θ ð	s z	ʃ ʒ				h
Affricate					tʃ dʒ				
Nasal	m			n			ŋ		
Approxi mant	w			l . ɹ		j			
Trill									

Afrikaans consonants

	Bilabial	Labio-dental	Dental	Alveolar	Palato-alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Glottal
Plosive	p b			t d			k g		ʔ
Fricative		f v		s				χ	h
Affricate									
Nasal	m			n		ɲ	ŋ		
Approxi mant				l		j			
Trill				r					

5.3.1 Trilled or tapped /r/

The phoneme /r/ in Afrikaans is realised as an alveolar trill or tap rather than as an alveolar approximant as in English. Some speakers of Afrikaans-English retain the trill or tap, even when they have near L1 English proficiency in all other respects. Such a person may not even use the

trill or tap on every occasion but the mere presence of the feature at all identifies the speaker as being L1 Afrikaans. However, some speakers with a low rating of the proficiency scale do not exhibit this feature. The presence or absence of this feature does not therefore seem to be related to the overall proficiency of the speaker, as does the devoicing of word-final obstruents. Informant 2AB (low proficiency) does not use [r] but informant 11B (high proficiency) has [r] in all positions. Trilled [r] can occur syllable-initially as a single consonant, red reaction, or as part of a cluster, Griquastad; it can also appear in a cluster in final position, De Villiers, but it does not appear as a single consonant in word-final postion as in car corner. It should be noted that some L1 speakers of Resp SAE use [r] expressively in marked constructions.

Linking /r/ occurs more frequently in this variety than in standard SAE. Again there does not seem to be a pattern in the use of the feature in that it is found in the speech of even highly fluent speakers. Linking /r/ is usually realised as a tap.

(5) far away, there is 1A

(6) for it, for a long time 1B

However, one informant who has linking /r/ in her speech did not have it in the word interact; in this case she had a glottal stop.

5.3.2 Voiceless plosives

Although lack of aspiration in word-initial voiceless plosives is a recognised feature of Afikaans-English, it is sometimes difficult to detect. It is certainly not a feature that would be noticeable to the untrained ear. Some speakers, such as 1B, do have aspiration of voiceless plosives in word-initial position, but in this case it almost classes as hypercorrection, in that the speaker appears to be making a conscious effort at aspiration. A further complication arises in that some speakers have dental rather than alveolar /t/, together with a tendency towards ejection; /t/ is often

articulated further forward in Afrikaans than in English. Acoustically aspirated [tʰ] and ejected [t'] are not easy to distinguish. Twelve of the informants of this study showed a definite tendency not to aspirate word-initial voiceless plosives.

5.3.3 [f] for [θ]

An interesting feature that ocurred in the speech of only one informant in this study, but which I have noted in other speakers of Afrikaans-English, is the substitution of [f] for [θ]; acoustically the two sounds 'match', which would explain the substitution. The informant comes from the Eastern Cape (Port Elizabeth) as does at least one of the casual contacts who also had the feature. It would be interesting to see if this feature is area-related in South Africa; it is institutionalised in some British English vernaculars. Platt et al (1984: 38) dsicuss this feature and suggest that

> if someone acquires a new language which has a different sound system from his own, then he will be inclined to use sounds from his own system.

Afrikaans does not have [θ, ð] and it is therefore understandable that some speakers might use other non-strident fricatives in their place.

5.4 PHONOLOGICAL PROCESSES

5.4.1 Obstruent devoicing

All West Germanic languages, except English and Yiddish, have a morphophonemic obstruent devoicing rule,

$$\begin{bmatrix} +\text{obs} \\ +\text{voice} \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow [\text{-voice}] \; / \; \underline{\quad} \; \#$$

Figure 9: Obstruent devoicing rule

with the result that words that have a word-final voiced plosive, *perd* /pɛrd/, are realised as [pɛrt], but the plural is [pɛrdɔ] *perde*. Obstruent devoicing is consequently often present in L2

English spoken by L1 speakers of Germanic languages. I found that devoicing of obstruents in word-final position appeared to be more prevalent at the lower end than at the near-L1 English end of the proficiency continuum. Nevertheless, there are speakers with good syntactic competence who still have this feature in their speech to a marked degree.

Low (7) plug [plʌ̈k], raised [ɹeɪst], news [njʉ:s], years [je:s], his [hi:s] 6AB

(Groups 3, 4) (8) big [bɪk], is [i:s] 3A

(9) believe [bəli:f], stockings [stɒkɪŋs], his [hi:s], Ceres [siərəs], days [deɪs], premises [preməsəs] 8A

However, even speakers at the upper end of the fluency of proficiency continuum may exhibit this feature, although in this case not all members of the group do so.

Upper: (10) houses [haʊsəs], was [wɒs] 1A

(Group 2) (11) rid [rɪt], loved [lʌ̈ft], did [dɪt] 10AB*

(12) Westerford [westəfət], performed [pəfo:mt], was[wɒs], places [pleɪsəs] 10AB

(13) had [hæt], compiled [kompaɪlt], Bahamas [bəhɑməs] 11B

(14) fundamentals [fʌ̈ndəmentəls] Mr. Liebenberg, Chairman of the Perm, TV 27 June 1991

None of the informants from Group 1 (L1 competence) had this feature.

5.4.2 Epenthetic [h]

This feature is one of those that is sometimes parodied as being typical of the speech of L1 Afrikaans-speakers. As I did not make much use of word lists in this study, but relied on free, natural conversation, not every informant used words that could possibly involve the use of an epenthetic /h/. From those examples that were produced it would seem that presence of this feature may be an indication of the level of competence of the speaker. Informants who did use

it are all at the lower to middle end of the proficiency continuum. However, there were also informants from the same group who did not have this feature. No members of the Control study group had this feature. Examples:

(15) initiated [ɪnɪʃihetəd], situation [sɪtjuhelʃən] 2AB

(16) geologist [dʒ ihɒlədʒ ɪst] 8A

(17) realities [rihælɪti:z] Dr C.Mulder TV 1 18 March 1992

(18) creation [krihelʃən] Justice Pierre Olivier TV 3 November 1991

Some speakers insert a glottal stop instead of /h/ as a hiatus-breaker within a morpheme, but there were no examples in the data. However, L1 English-speakers may have a glottal stop at a morpheme boundary, particularly when the word concerned is used oppositionally. One informant had a definite glottal stop as a hiatus-breaker in words of this nature:

(19) reaction [ri?ækʃən] 8B

Informants from the upper end of the proficiency continuum had neither epenthetic /h/ nor a glottal stop within a single morpheme:

(20) piano [pɪænoʊ] 1B, 9B

However, the exception proves the rule. On one occasion, 31 August 1991, I observed a young woman of ±22 who was giving a talk to a group of attorneys. If she had been one of the informants for this study, she would have been classed in Group 1 (L1 proficiency); she switched from English to Afrikaans and back with ease and it was almost impossible to detect her linguistic background until she said <u>created</u> [kɹihettəd]. After the talk, I asked her what her L1 was and she admitted that it was Afrikaans (and not both). Perhaps a measure of the extent to which the use of epenthetic /h/ has become part of Afrikaans-English was provided by an article in the <u>You</u> magazine. The article concerned a woman whose name was <u>Arihette</u>! (*You Magazine* 15 October 1992),

The inverse of the use of epenthetic /h/ also occurs. Some speakers tend to replace word-initial [h] or [ç] with a palatal approximant [j], or the /h/ is dropped completely. However, this occurs in the speech of both L1 Afrikaans- and L1 English-speakers and is therefore not strictly a feature of Afrikaans-English but of certain levels of SAE in general.

(21) huge [jʉ:ʤ] 2AB

(22) Paarl Boys' High [pɑ:lbɔɪzɑɪ] 11B

In the light of the loss of /h/ in certain environments, the use of epenthetic /h/ can be regarded as hypercorrection. Alternatively, the use of [j] in place of [h] in word-initial environments can also be seen as hypercorrection, based on the normally correct English pronunciation of words such as <u>create</u> [kɻijeɪt]. A further argument in favour of hypercorrection is the fact that speakers of Afrikaans-English do not have a hiatus-breaker in similar words in Afrikaans; during a speech in parliament broadcast on television on 26 May 1993, President F.W.de Klerk used both 'situation' [sɪtjʉheɪʃən] and *situasie* [sɪtjʉɑ:si]. It would seem that epenthetic [h] appears in environments in Afrikaans-English where there could be a (potential) glottal stop in the cognate Afrikaans word; i.e. epenthetic [h] is always intervocalic and foot-initial.

5.4.3 Epenthesis, 'spelling' pronunciation

There are many words in standard varieties of English which, in casual speech at least, are no longer pronounced as they are spelt. In an L2 speaker there can be confusion as to when to contract a word and when not to. Many speakers of Afrikaans-English pronounce words as they are spelt, contrary to standard SAE usage, although the same words may be 'fully' pronounced in other varieties elsewhere.

(23) comfortable [kämfɔtəbəl],] happening [hæpənɪŋ], crocheted [kɻœʊʃɪtəd] 2AB

(24) camera [kæməɻə] 3A, 5B

(25) literally [lɪtəɻəli]], general [ʤenəɻəl], family [fæməli]] 10AB

Insertion of [ə] between an approximant and a following nasal gives rise to `Afrikaans' pronunciation (as described above). Epenthesis of this nature, particularly the word film, is often parodied.

(26) De Doorns [dədʊərəns] 6AB

(27) Oudtshoorn [œʊtshʊərən] 10AB

Epenthetic [ə] between approximant and nasal is also found in Ext SAE.

The use of a palatal onglide before the diphthong /aʊ/ is very common. Two informants inserted a palatal approximant before this diiphthong and another did so before a back vowel:

(28) now [njaʊ], down [djaʊn] 8A

(29) pergola [pɜgjʉlə] 9B (She regularly mispronounces this word and always has a back vowel here.)

The inverse of `spelling pronunciation' sometimes occurs in written Afrikaans-English, where, as result of acoustic similarity, the aspectual have is written as of:

(30) we'd of gone to town , but it rained

5.4.4 Assimilation and cluster reduction

Although cluster reduction and assimilation are often regarded as being typical of Afrikaans-English, they are found in all varieties of English, particularly in rapid speech, and in New Englishes. `In consonant clusters at the end of words, there is a tendency in many of the New Englishes not to pronounce the final consonant in a group of two ... or the middle or final consonant in a group of three' (Platt et al 1984: 43). However, it would seem that in one variety a particular combination of phones may be more likely to be reduced than in another. The examples that emerged from the data can all be found in other varieties of SAE although perhaps to a lesser extent. Further study would be necessary to determine this.

Final consonant of two deleted:	(31) don't [dœʊ̯n], must [mäs] 11A
	(32) most [mœʊ̯s] 12B
	(33) just [ʤäs],
Middle consonant of three:	(34) glands [glæ̃nz] 10AB*
Other:	(35) actually [ækʃli] 2AB
	(36) pictures [pɪkʃz̩], this is a... [ðɪs:...], much [mäʃ], Tuesday [tʃʉ:zdeɪ] 3A

Afrikaans itself reduced word-final clusters in its development from Dutch, in particular words that ended in a voiceless fricative followed by a voiceless alveolar plosive, lost the plosive. Thus words such as Dutch *lugt, borst* became Afrikaans *lug, bors*. However, in the plural the /t/ is present in Afrikaans as the cluster is no longer word-final. This 'formation of the plural' with -te has always been problematic for L1 English-speakers learning Afrikaans.

5.4.5 Afrikaans pronunciation of proper nouns

Proper nouns very often seem to be pronounced as they were first learnt in the L1. I know that I use the (incorrect) [jütŋheɪg] Uitenhage even when I am speaking Afrikaans. I found that most informants used the Afrikaans versions of proper nouns, given below, no matter what their level of syntactic proficiency was.

Rabie [rɑ:bi]	Calvinia [kälfɪniə]	Transvaal [trɑnsfɑ:l]
Orpah [o:rpə]	Potch [potʃ]	Langenhoven [läŋənhoəfən]
Reyneke [reɪnəkə]	K.P. [kɑ:piə]	Sieberhagen [sibərhɑχən]
De Villiers [dəvɪlji:]	De Doorns [dədʊ̯ərəns]	Oudtshoorn [œʊ̯tshʊ̯ərən]
Griquastad [xrikwəstät]	Sonia [sonjə]	Namaqualand [nämäkwälänt]
Goldblatt [gœʊ̯ldblät]	Visagie [fəsɑ:si]	

Occasionally pronunciation was mixed, with both English and Afrikaans elements present in the same word, Port Elizabeth [po:tilɪsbəθ], Riversdal [rəvərsdäl], where [θ] and [v] are normal for the English versions of these words. During the interviews I deliberately elicited the word Worcester as I had often heard it pronounced in English with initial labio-dental fricative [v], as in Afrikaans. I found that in 75% of the cases the word was pronounced with initial [v]. I also recorded TV announcer Freek Robinson saying Beaufort *Wes* [bœʊfətvɛs] on an English programme (TV 1 18 March 1992). (Although his mother tongue is obviously Afrikaans, Mr Robinson speaks near-L1 English.). Sometimes, however, speakers adapt their pronunciation of proper nouns to suit the language spoken at the moment (I say [vɑ:təmeɪjə] in Afrikaans and [wo:təmeɪjə] in English). One such speaker was informant 10AB who changes the way she says her name according to the language in question:

(37) Marie Jordaan [mɑɹiʤ odɑ:n] (Eng.), [märijodɑ:n] (Afr.).

She discussed this change but did not realise that at another point in the conversation she used both the English and Afrikaans versions of Magdalene, [mægdəli:n] (Eng.) and [mäχdəleən] (Afr.), although the language being used was English. She also only has *Oudtshoorn* [œʊtshʊərən] and *Saldanha* [säldänə] as opposed to the English pronunciations [œʊtshʊən] and [səldɑ:nə].

It is arguable that the use of Afrikaans pronunciation for proper nouns as described here is in fact a form of code-switching (§4.3). The question arises as to whether a speaker has two 'codes' for one item at her disposal in her ideolect, e.g. two pronunciations for Marie Jordaan, or only one e.g. *Oudtshoorn* [œʊtshʊərən]. Some informants also used Afrikaans stress patterns when speaking English, or simply misplaced stress in unfamiliar words:

(38) weékend 3A Stellenbósch 3B ás well 10AB Pulítzer 11B

(The altered stress in as well is often evident in the speech of L1 English-speakers of the younger (under 20) generation in the Cape.)

5.5 VARIATION

5.5.1 Regional variation

Although I do not intend to discuss regional variations in L1 Afrikaans, it is worth mentioning that such variations do exist and that L1 Afrikaans-speakers are often aware of them.

> I know the Afrikaans is very different [in the Transvaal]. I'm not talking about the slummy area but I find the Afrikaans is much more noticeable from the Cape as from the Transvaal. And [in] the Transvaal you talk about [rɔɪ] and [mɔɪ] and [hi:kl]. 8A

In the Cape *rooi* and *mooi* would have much closer and fronter onsets, [røɪ], [møɪ], and *hekel* would have a diphthong [hɪəkl]. An L1 Afrikaans-speaker from the Transvaal says she has three allophones for the phoneme /e/:

/e/ ----> [æ] / --- [k, x]
[ɛ] / --- [l,r]
[e] / elsewhere

Coetzee (1982) says that lowering of /e/ to [æ] occurs before [k,x,l,r]. Although she indicates [e] and [ɛ], she does not define their distribution. Lowering of /e/ does not appear to occur to the same extent in the Cape. There may be further regional variation, such as dental rather than alveolar /t/ and presence or lack of aspiration, but proof of this would require separate study, as would confirmation of regional variation in Afrikaans-English.

5.5.2 Word list

Although I compiled a word list, I did not use it for every informant and therefore cannot say with certainty how many informants have a particular phone in a particular word. The list of words, with English pronunciation given first, Afrikaans second, is:

Land Bank [lændbæŋk, lântbâŋk]	Van Renen [fän↓i:nən, fânriənən]	
kloof [klu:f, kluəf]	lekker [lɛkə, lɛkər]	poort [p^{h}uət, pu:rt]
woer-woer [wʊəwʊə, vʊrvʊr]	links [lɪŋks, ləŋks]	rand [ɻænd, rânt]
pan [p^{h}æ̃n, pân]	pens [p^{h}ẽnz, pens]	pont [p^{h}ɒnt, pont]
kind [k^{h}ɑɪnd, kɪnt]	man [mæ̃n, mân]	film[fɪlm,fɪləm]

samoosa [səmʉsə, səmoəsə]	kreef [k i:f, kreəf]	Welkom [welkəm, velkom]
stoep [stʉ:p, stʊ̈p]	bed [bed, bet]	Schalk [skälk]
bang [bæ̃ŋ, bäŋ]	lap [læp, läp]	beet [bi:t, beət]
steen [sti:n, steən]	Bosman [bɒzmən, bosmän]	
Steenberg [sti:nbø:g, steənbɛrx]	Vereniging [vəɹeənɪxɪŋ, vɛreənəxəŋ]	
Groote Schuur [xʉ:tskeə, xroətəsky:r]		

The first section of the list consists of words that are spelt identically in both English and Afrikaans, but which are phonologically different. They were included to see whether, in an English interview, the speaker used an English or an Afrikaans pronunciation i.e. to discover his/her dominant thought process. The results showed that an informant would use predominantly either English or Afrikaans pronunciation when reading the word-list, but would seldom mix the two systems. Although some consonants have different realisations in English and Afrikaans, such as <w> as [w] in English and [v] in Afrikaans, the letter <g> in Afrikaans words is retained as Afrikaans [x] in SAE. `/x/ can be said to be a full member of the SAE consonant system in all varieties' (Lass 1987: 308). The second part of the list was used to elicit vowel quality, non-standard /r/, raised front vowels and epenthetic /h/. These words are commonly regarded as indicators of Ext SAE. I have ony given the Ext SAE pronunciation. I realise that the second list is not comprehensive enough, but in any event I did not really make much use of it. It seemed more desirable to get as much free, relaxed conversation as possible and not to make the informant feel pressurised by making her read a list beforehand. Those informants who were asked to read the list were asked to do so at a random moment during the conversation.

apple [epəl]	granny [greni]	piano [pihænoʊ̈]	creation [krihelʃən]	train [traɪn]
poor [pɔ:]	paw [pɔ:]	comma [komə]	pup [päp]	services [sœvəsəs]
hit [hi:t]	bit [bət]	his [hi:s]	skulk [skälk]	

5.6 CONCLUSION

Most of the phonological features of Afrikaans-English dealt with in this chapter have been identified as such in the past by people such as Hopwood (1928), Lanham (1979) and Lass (1987). Many of the features are more prevalent at the lower end of the proficiency continuum although in some instances even speakers with near L1 English proficiency exhibit a particular feature (either regularly or occasionally). Although unrelated to proficiency, at one end of the continuum Afrikaans-English overlaps phonologically with Ext SAE (e.g. informants 8B, 11A), with features such as [o:] for [ɑ:] and [ɛ] instead of [æ]; at the other end the accent merges with that of Resp SAE (informants 9B, 12A and 12B) where there is aspiration of initial, voiceless plosives, no word-final obstruent devoicing and no tapped or trilled /r/.. `The form of English has changed in that the completely bilingual high-status, well-educated Afrikaner often has few traces of Afrikaans-English and may even have an accent profile close to Conservative South African English' (Lanham 1983). Between the two extremes, Afrikaans-English has has certain phonological variables that are not found in any L1 variety of SAE.

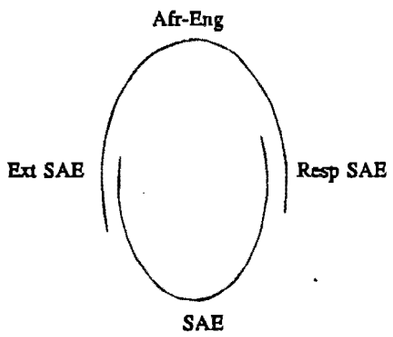

Figure 10: The overlap of the SAE and Afrikaans-English continua

Accent is not subject to deliberate control in the same way as lexical choice, idiom and syntax can be (Fanaroff 1972: 2). The features described in this section as belonging to Afrikaans-

English are subject to 'variable use' (Platt et al 1984: 45) and may not all be present in any one informant's speech (see Table 8 below), nor may an informant necessarily use a particular feature on every possible occasion. As can be seen from the table below, the most common features of Afrikaans-English are obstruent devoicing, trilled or tapped /r/ and raised /i/ in word initial position of after [h]. Some features, such as the use of epenthetic /h/ as a hiatus breaker, are more difficult to establish as suitable examples may not occur in casual speech. It would appear that a general Afrikaans-English (or Afrikaans) accent is more acceptable to L1 speakers of Respectable SAE than an Extreme SAE accent. This is purely a social judgement.

Table 8: Distribution of Phonological Features

	Obs.dev	[r]	Ins /h/	Loss /h/	[hl:z]	No asp.	Afr PN	Afr stress	[ɑ:>ii]	[ɑ:>ɒ]	Spell.pron	Assim
Group 4												
3B	x	x			x	x	x	x				
4A	x	x	x		x	x	x	x				x
5A	x	x			x	x						
6AB*	x				x	x	x				x	
Group 3												
2AB	x		x	x	x	x	x				x	x
3A	x	x		x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x
4B	x	x			x							
6AB	x				x		x				x	
7A	x	x			x	x						
7B		x					x					
8A	x		x		x							
8B	x	x	x [?]		x		x					x
11A							x			x		x
Group 2												
1A	x	x			x	x			x			
1B	x	x					x					
5B	x	x			x	x	x				x	x
9A		x										
10AB	x	x			x	x	x	x	x		x	
10AB*	x	x			x	x	x				x	x
11B	x	x		x	x	x	x	x			x	x
Group 1												
9B												
12A				x								
12B							x					x

No asp. = No aspiration after initial voicelss plosives

Afr.PN = Proper nouns with Afrikaans pronunciation

Afr stress = Afrikaans stress patterns

Some of the phonological features discussed above occur in other varieties of English as well; these are indicative of general trends in English as their existence in Afrikaans-English cannot necessarily be ascribed to `foreign' influence. The merge of the phonemes /ʉ/ and /ʊ/ to front [y] is also found in Scotland. According to Roger Lass (p.c.) the presence of this feature in Afrikaans-English may therefore be a residual Scotticism as there is no foot / food contrast in Scots. Some L1 varieties of English, e.g. certain American varieites, have the pronunciations for comfortable, literally, general given above, which are not found in standard varieties of SAE. The use of [f] instead of [θ] is also found in some British English vernaculars.

The accents of `Coloured' L1 English and `Coloured' Afrikaans-English differ from those other varieties of SAE, but they require separate study. Although McCormick deals with the lexical and morphosyntactic features of the language spoken by the (`Coloured') people of District Six, she does not discuss the phonology of the variety. Further study on the similarities and differences between the two varieites of Afrikaans-English may prove fruitful.

CHAPTER 6.

SYNTAX, MORPHOLOGY AND LEXIS

> The dialects of a language may differ from each other in terms of the phonological (pronunciation) characteristics, and they may be distinguished from one another by distinctive words or grammatical constructions (Fanaroff 1972: 2).

Afrikaans-English is an identifiable phenomenon, even to the layman, but what constitutes Afrikaans-English? What sort of features indicate whether a White South African speaking English is L1 English- or L1 Afrikaans-speaking? There has been a limited amount written on Afrikaans-English in general and on bilingualism and bilinguality in South Africa, in particular Lanham (1976), Lanham and Prinsloo (1978). A number of dictionaries or word lists of South African English vocabulary have also been published. The first of these was by Pettman (1913), followed much later by Beeton and Dorner (1975) and various editions of Jean Branford's *A dictionary of South African English*, most recently Branford (1992). There have also been studies such as T.Hauptfleisch's *Language Loyalty in South Africa* (1979), which deal with attitudes towards language and levels of ability among speakers from various linguistic backgrounds. Attempts have been made to measure levels of bilingualism or to quantify bilinguality among Whites (Malherbe (1943) and Kitching in Young (1985)), but these studies have usually been based on questionnaires and not on free conversation. I am not at all sure that one can really measure bilingualism accurately. `Bilingualism as a concept has open-ended semantics. Definitions are numerous and are continually being proffered without any real sense of progress being felt as the list extends' (Beardsmore 1986: 1). (See §4.2; also Beardsmore (1986) and

Hamers and Blanc (1990)). One can say that one person speaks an L2 more fluently than the next, but that person may in fact have more syntactic and phonological deviation from the target standard than the person who speaks hesitantly. I do not intend to grade the informants of this study on a scale of individual bilinguality, but I have grouped the informants according to their conversational ability (§4.2). I will show that certain syntactic, morphological and phonological features are more prevelant at lower levels of ability than others, but that at the target end of the spectrum certain features still appear (see Tables in §5 and §6.)

In the past, many of the features of Afrikaans-English, and of L2 speech in general, have been attributed to transfer from the L1, in this case Afrikaans.

> I have in mind that the mother tongue is bound to interfere to a greater or lesser degree with the patterns of pronunciation and grammar and in the patterning of vocabulary in various contexts (Lanham 1976: 287).

Although it is important, it will be seen that L1-transfer is not the only factor influencing the shape of Afrikaans-English and that in several instances other interpretations of reasons for variation from the target language in L2 can be accepted. 'The learner's L1 is an important determinant of SLA. It is not the only determinant, however, and may not be the most important (Ellis 1985: 40). (See §4.1.1.)

How does one define Afrikaans-English? The Afrikaans-speaking community of South Africa is scattered throughout the country (§3.3). There are no real physical boundaries between the different language groups of South Africa (except those imposed by the apartheid policies). Most importantly, Afrikaans-English is not usually used between members of the Afrikaans community, but only between L1 Afrikaans-speakers and non-Afrikaans speakers (see also §3.3). Afrikaans-English is an L2 for all L1 Afrikaans speakers but English is not a foreign language in South

Africa so it does not have the same L2 status as French has for an L1 English speaker from Britain. English is also one of the two official languages of South Africa at present and therefore speakers of Afrikaans-English always have access to a standard variety of English 'on their doorstep' so to speak. Jessica Williams used the term 'Non-native institutionalised varieties of English' (NIVE) to describe this type of L2, where

> 'in virtually none of the nations is English a mother tongue which is brought to the classroom by a substantial portion of the population. It may be the most used or dominant language for many of the children in later life, ... but they do not come to school speaking English as their primary language' (Williams 1987: 162).

Platt et al use the term 'New English' , which is defined as a variety that

> 1.has developed through the education system of the country, is taught as a subject and may be used as a medium of education;
>
> 2. has developed in an area where a native variety of English was not the language spoken by most of the population;
>
> 3. is used for a range of functions e.g. literature, parliament, media etc.;
>
> 4. has become 'localised' or 'nativised' by adopting some language features of its own.

Afrikaans-English does not really fit into this definition of 'New English', as there has been continuity in the use of English in South Africa ever since the arrival of the first English settlers (§2.2). English is not a foreign language in South Africa. However, Afrikaans-English can be compared to the situation of English in Hong Kong.

> It is an official language and the native language of a small group of 'outsiders'. It is a second language for an elite group of bilingual local Chinese who speak it fluently, but rarely among themselves (Platt et al 1984: 24).

Peter Strevens coined the term 'Localised Form of English' (LFE) which seems to fit Afrikaans-English best.

> As a working definition, we may say that an LFE (localised forms of English) is an identifiable version of English associated with a given community of English users. Its identifiable characteristics may lie in any combination of lexical, syntactic, phonological, discoursal, or semantic features (Strevens 1982: 24).

As with all LFE's or L2 varieties of English, there is a range of ablility among speakers of Afrikaans-English. Certain areas of English provide more confusion for the L2 learner than others: 'in many English-as-a-second-language teaching situations, three such typical areas are: articles, prepositions and the tense system' (Jain 1974: 205) (see below). It would seem that in most cases fossilization (Selinker 1974) takes place; even speakers who appear to have L1-command of English exhibit some evidence of fossilization (informants 9B and 12B). Peter Strevens says that most people learn as much, or as little, of a foreign language as they need and that in the case of the LFE's, the limited performance of individuals can often be ascribed to tacit fossilization, i.e. an unspoken decision that what the speaker has is sufficient for his or her needs (Strevens 1982: 28). As a result of second language education in White schools in South Africa, there are few if any basilectal speakers of Afrikaans-English, which one would usually expect to find in many L2 varieties of English. The speaker with the lowest level of communicative competence in Afrikaans-English still has a relatively good command of his or her L2. This is

certainly true in the Western Cape, the focus of this study, although the situation may be different in other areas of South Africa, particularly the rural areas of the Orange Free State and the Northern Transvaal, where there may be less contact with a standard variety of English.

I had not expected to find much syntactic deviation from standard English in this survey, but only 'classic' phonological Afrikanerisms such as the epenthetic [h] in words such as piano and situation (§5.4.2), and devoicing of word-final obstruents. Confusion of subject-verb concord is regarded as the most common syntactic feature of Afrikaans-English. The generally perceived notion of Afrikaans-English, among lay persons, appears to be based for the most part on accent. But, according to John Colman of The Argus,

> accent is one thing: few get it right in the second language. But it should be easy for public speakers to learn, for instance, that in English, unlike Afrikaans, the verbs change for plural and singular nouns. Even the State President has been culpable. As for the various officials prominent on our air waves, grammar are not good and errors is frequent [sic] (*Argus* 25-5-1992).

These 'classic' features are also parodied in literature and on the stage, as in Langenhoven's sketch, *Die kys aban die forro* ('The case about the furrow'), which concerns '*Aalryt, 'n "Progressief" wat sy eie taal verag en altyd Engels praat*' ('Allright, a "Progressive" who scorns his own language and always speaks English') (Langenhoven 1934:124).[1]

This study revealed far more than the few well-known features mentioned above, as will be seen. Furthermore, it gives some indication of the likelihood of deviation ocurring, depending on the

[1] With thanks to Prof. Roy Pheiffer of the Afrikaans-Nederlands department of the University of Cape Town.

speaker's level of competence. Each speaker or individual exhibits his or her own set of features, which together complete the overall picture of Afrikaans-English. No speaker has the complete set of features particular to the variety, although there does appear to be a core set of features (see §6.4). Furthermore, a speaker may not necessarily produce a particular feature in each and every situation where it could occur. `The nature of his idiolectal performance will be determined by (1) his personal history, and (2) his own personal set of shortfall variations' (Strevens 1982: 28). Many of the features discussed are found in other L2 varieties of English, including varieties of English elsewhere in Africa (Schmied 1991) as well as in some L1 English vernaculars. Despite the presence of non-standard noun-verb concord, Afrikaans-English remains close to Standard English, or at least Standard South African English. In some instances it was very difficult to establish whether a particular feature was truly Afrikaans-English or part of L1 South African English. L1 English-speakers in South Africa do use features of Afrikaans from time to time, e.g. for metaphorical reasons. Is the feature then Standard South African English or borrowed? It was also necessary to distinguish between genuine, non-standard features in an informant's speech and errors of performance. L1 English speakers (as were those of the Control study) also produce errors of performance, e.g.

we have boxes of medicines that are expired years ago C2A

In this case the errors cannot be classified as features of their language variety.

'Error' is not a felicitous term and nor are `deviation' and `irregularity'. However, in the absence of alternative suitable terms they will be used to describe the variations found in Afrikaans-English, but they should all be read with caution. Reference will also be made to McCormick's work on English and Afrikaans among the Coloured community of District Six in Cape Town (McCormick 1989). White Afrikaans-English has some features in common with Coloured Afrikaans-English, which will be noted and commented upon (Table 13), but the two varieties

appear to be distinct, at least phonologically. McCormick gives a list of the syntactic and morphological variations found in non-standard English in her survey; where relevant, I will note which features are also found in 'White' Afrikaans-English and which are not.

6.1 SYNTACTIC FEATURES AND TENDENCIES

6.1.1 Tense, Aspect and Modals

Four of the main syntactic tendencies of New Englishes noted by Platt et al (1984: 85) concern verbs. These tendencies are:

1. not to mark the verb in the 3rd person singular present tense (see §6.2.1 below),
2. not to mark the verb for past tense (for non-punctual verbs),
3. the use of aspect instead of tense or both together,
4. be + verb + -ing extended to stative verbs.

Although it is perhaps inaccurate to class Afrikaans-English strictly as a New English, many of the tendencies noted by Platt et al are present in this variety. All the informants, bar 12B, produced some of the tendencies mentioned above relating to tense and aspect. The number of irregular utterances appears to be directly related to the level of competence of the speaker.

(1) and all the sand blow against my legs (blew) 1A

(2) she was supposed to look after R until C fetches him 2AB

(3) if people don't mind I would have spoken English 8B

(4) there was an old lady whom I know since I was young 9A

Afrikaans does not have strong verbs[2], therefore (1) could be regarded as a morphological error. Examples (2), (3) and (4) show difficulty with sequence of tenses; the combination of past tense and (historic) present in (2) would be acceptable in Afrikaans.:

(2a) *sy moes vir R gesorg het totdat C hom kom haal.*

There was only one utterance in the Control study (§1.2.4) where there was slight confusion, and this could be interpreted as a performance error.

(5) we have boxes of medicines that are expired years ago C2A (referred to above)

In Afrikaans the **continuous aspect** cannot be expressed morphologically. It can only be expressed periphrastically, and is marked.

(6) *ek lees* (`I read' - habitual)

(7) *ek is besig om te lees* (`I am reading', literally `busy to read - continuous)

In English both the habitual and the continuous aspects are unmarked. It would appear that the extension of be + verb + -ing to stative verbs, as mentioned above, in Afrikaans-English is a result of hypercorrection.

(8) Wattle Park is suiting our need so well 1B

(9) my mother was having her suspicions 2AB

(10) they shining a light from a special lamp 3A

(11) what time are you getting up? 3B

(12) he's taking over 5A

---

[2]There are, however, strong past participles (*sterk verlede deelwoorde*), inherited from Dutch, which are usually used attributively e.g. *breek - 'n gebroke hart* (`a broken heart'), *bederf - bedorwe kinders* (`spoilt children'). In most cases the strong past participle is used figuratively and the weak participle literally e.g. *breek - 'n gebreekte koppie* (`a broken cup').

It would not be acceptable to use the *besig* construction in the Afrikaans versions of examples (8), (9) and (11). In all these instances the habitual was intended. It would seem that *besig* can only be used with [+human] agents. However, sometimes the habitual is used when the continuous tense is intended:

(13) just check whether this comes out (`will you just check if this is coming out')

11B

Although Afrikaans has the **modals**, *kan, wil, sal, moet,* which can all be used either in the present or the past tense, there is often confusion of the modals in Afrikaans-English, particularly in complex sentences. Difficulties with English modals for L1 Afrikaans-speakers is aggravated by semantic differences between some of the Afrikaans words and their English equivalents (see §6.3.3 below).

(14) I couldn't think you'll do it (`I wouldn't think you'd do it') 1A

(15) you can know if it's still there (`you would know...') 2AB

Afrikaans *sal* covers the semantic fields of both shall and will. (see §6.3.3 below). The Afrikaans version of these sentences would contain the past tense form of sal:

(14a) *ek sou nie dink jy sou dit doen nie*

(15a) *jy sou weet as dit nog daar was*

The Afrikaans *wil* is not used to indicate future tense but means `want to, wish to'. It is easily confused with English will. Examples (14) and (15) above appear to be showing avoidance of a rule in the L2 that does not exist in the speaker's L1. I surmise, however, that (16) below is an example of hypercorrection in that the speaker would use *wil* in the Afrikaans equivalent of this sentence. Informant 1B belongs to the upper interlanguage group, if not the near-L1 proficient group.

(16) if I have a parking ticket and I would try and get out of it I'd certainly use Afrikaans 1B (`if I had a parking ticket and I wanted to get out of it ...')

Two informants applied **Tense** twice when using **do**. Again this is most likely a case of hypercorrection. Both speakers are classed on the lower interlanguage level.

(17) if she doesn't disciplines Rudi 2AB

(18) now did you started already with somebody 3B

Example (17) also indicates number on both do and discipline. In example (18) the speaker could have intended either `have you started' or `did you start'. McCormick found that the use of a dummy do in unemphatic utterances was fairly common in the non-standard variety of English spoken in District Six e.g. he did sing (he sang). Although this feature is found in other varieties of English, I did not find any examples in my data and conclude therefore that dummy verb do is not a feature of Afrikaans-English.

The informants themselves were aware that they were not always correct in their use of tense in English.

(19) our tenses is all... you know I think that is why we don't want to speak because we muddle our tenses 3B

Even members of the L1 Respectable SAE Control group commented on the problems tense presents to L1 Afrikaans-speakers:

(20) even at Toastmasers ... the Afrikaans guys will give a speech in English but use Afrikaans words and get their tenses all mixed up C3B

According to Labov (1972), where standard English contracts **Aux**, non-standard varieties of English often delete it. I found examples of this in both the main study and the Control group.

(21) we busy building it 3A (see Lass and Wright 1986 on busy)

(22) she also got a computer 4A (got = has)

(23) if someone going to Bloemfontein 6AB

(24) you going to get yourself to point where you dangling C1B

The past tense morpheme also seems to be able to be deleted.

(25) I ask her where is the thing (past tense) 3B

I agree with McCormick that both deletions appear to be phonologically motivated, especially given the fact that L1 speakers of a standard variety also delete Aux. However, the deletion appears to be gaining ground and is sometimes seen in the press or in notices, as in the one observed in Claremont in December 1992:

(26) we now at 74 Main Road, Claremont - Saambou Building Society (an Afrikaans organisation).

The question here is whether Aux has been deleted or whether a telegraphic style was truly intended. I suspect the former as we're can be (and is, more often than not in casual speech) monophthongised to [wi:] rather than [wi:ɔ]. Example (26) is therefore an orthographic representation of a homophony.

6.1.2 Word Order

The placing of **adverbs** or **adverbial phrases** in Afrikaans is strictly in the order time, manner, place. This differs from the unmarked order in English, place, manner, time, although adverbs of manner can precede adverbs of place without producing a marked expression as in I lived happily in Rondebosch for a year; either way, in unmarked English expressions, adverbs of place precede adverbs of time. The Afrikaans adverbial order can be used for emphasis, or marking,

in English. Speakers of Afrikaans-English often use the unmarked Afrikaans order of adverbs in unmarked constructions in English, thus inadvertantly producing a marked sentence.

(27) there's a bus going every morning to town 1A

(28) I'm going with my bicycle to work every morning 9A

(29) somebody yesterday at the meeting asked me 2AB

(30) we want to try to go for a week on holiday now during the school holidays 5A

McCormick also reported this variation in her data.

Adverbials can be placed in the penultimate position in main clauses where this would not be possible in Standard English. McCormick (1989) also found this feature in her study of English in District Six.

(31) my husband used to bring him sometimes for tea 1A

(32) I want so much to do that 2AB

(33) I played once golf 4A

(34) they also demand now their rights 5B

Both the placing of adverbials in penultimate position and the placing of adverbs of time before adverbs of place are features found in other varieties of English, although it seems to be more striking in 'Germanic' English. Movement of adverbs is also a feature of New Englishes (Platt et al 1980: 122).

Now: Non-standard use of now appears to be a feature of Afrikaans-English, and of SAE in general. Lass (1987: 308) discusses briefly the range of time-related contexts in which now can be used in South African varieties of English. In non-South African English now signifies the immediate present, I am typing now, and to the present-relevant past, he's just arrived now. In

SAE, on the other hand, in addition now can indicate some time in the near future, I'll phone her now, and it can be used as an intensifier or filler, he's now really stupid. SAE also uses the reduplication now-now to indicate more immediate present and just now to indicate future time or supposition.

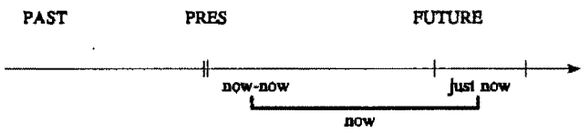

Figure 11: Now / time relationship in SAE (Lass 1987: 309)

Williams (1987:183) discusses the use of already to mark completion in Singapore English and in Malaysian English. In these varieties already has more freedom of movement than in NS [Native Speaker] English. Now appears to have greater freedom of movement in Afikaans-English than in more standard varieties of SAE.

(35) that was now a character 1A (filler / intensifier)

(36) there are six bedrooms and now two complete bathrooms 4A (filler / intesifier)

(37) they demand now their rights 5B (historical present - i.e. narrative)

(38) Koffiefontein is now to the south of Bloemfontein 5B (filler)

(39) and now we were eight on the staff then 9A

(40) I said now can you do it now? 9A

(41) now I can't look up because if I see now my brother's eyes [I'll laugh] 9A

(42) because just now something happens 11B (supposition)

Placing now immediately after the verb violates the **Strict Adjacency principle**. According to the Strict Adjacency principle `an NP complement of a Verb must be positioned strictly adjacent to (i.e. right next to) its Verb' (Radford 1988: 102).

(43) she fears with all her heart these *kakkerlakke* (`cockroaches') 2AB

(44) for women there is not actually in South Africa a real career 4A

The Strict Adjacency principle is often violated in Afrikaans-English, as examples (33), (34), (35), (37), (38), (41), (43) and (44) show. The principle does not apply in Afrikaans as it has a Verb-final rule which obviates the necessity for strict adjaceny.

Many of the informants used **interrogative word order** after WH- conjunctions in subordinate clauses.

(45) how can I tell you how was it? 1A

(46) I must just find out when is he coming 2AB

(47) I will immediately see when is something wrong 4A

(48) I don't know how far is Hertfordshire from London 7A

(49) when they want to know what is the difference 10AB

There was one instance where the informant corrected herself.

(50) I don't know what will we, what we will do 5A

This feature appears to be common to New Englishes (Platt et al 1984) and is also found at certain stages of L1 acquisition. Another explanation of this feature is the fact that in many L2 varieties of English `maintainence of a constant word order can be seen in both WH and Yes/No questions' (Williams 1987: 173) This use of interrogative word order in subordinate clauses would appear to be fossilisation of the interlanguage rather than transfer from Afrikaans. There is also support for the **Transfer to Somewhere principle** (Andersen 1983) as speakers appear to be transferring the English main clause rule to subordinate clauses. However, the Afrikaans word order in similar subordinate clauses puts the Verb in final postion, which argues against regarding transfer from Afrikaans as being justification for the word-order in (137) - (141).

(45a) *hoe kan ek jou vertel hoe dit was?*

(46a) *ek moet uitvind wanneer hy kom*

(47a) *ek sal onmiddelik sien as iets verkeerd is*

(48a) *ek weet nie hoe ver Hertfordshire van Londen is nie*

(49a) *as hulle wil weet wat die verskil is*

Some L2 varieties of English do not have Aux inversion in main clause interrogatives e.g. what it was? and maintain this word order in subordinate clauses. This does not occur in Afrikaans-Enlgish.

English speakers (L1) are taught from an early age never to `put themselves first'; one should always say `John and I', not `I and John'. The reverse applies in Afrikaans and in such situations the speaker pronoun is always placed first. Occasionally the Afrikaans order intrudes into Afrikaans-English, particularly in the speech of less fluent informants.

(51) I and Roelf 3B

(52) myself and a chap from Worcester 7A

There were no examples of `me and Roelf' in the data although this is not conclusive evidence that it is not used in Afrikaans-English. Many varieties of L1 English typically have the 1st person first if the oblique case me is used.

6.1.3 Relative Clauses

On the whole, relative clauses follow the pattern of Standard English although the relative marker that is perhaps used more frequently with personal antecedents than would normally be the case. Afrikaans uses only the relative marker *wat*, for both animate and inanimate antecedents, unless there is a preposition present. In that case *wie* preceded by the preposition is used for human referents and the preposition combines with *wat* as in *waarin* for non-human referents. There were a few instances where which was used as a relative marker for human subjects.

(53) we had old characters which you don't find a character today 1A

(54) two children which are Yanks 8A

(55) my sister which I haven't seen for six years 8A

(56) in my class I had five [children] which I know only three of them were going to last until the end of the year 11A

(57) a retired gynaecologist which I worked with 11B

In this case which is confused with *wat* as *wat* is translated as 'which' with non-human referents and as 'who' with human referents. Both characters in (53) and gynaecologist in (57) can be regarded as neutral, which would make the use of which acceptable.

There were a few examples of the formal to whom, but one informant made the mistake of saying to who. I feel that to whom sounds a bit pedantic in casual speech, even for a speaker of a standard variety of English.

(58) some English-speaking people to who she must talk 5A

There were a few instances of a pronoun strategy, where pronouns were used in place of relative markers to introduce relative clauses..

(59) there was one old chap here he used to do the church 1A

(60) luckily for two people they sat fishing there 2AB

(61) his wife was a person she just want everything must be bigger than everybody (else's) 4A

The pronoun strategy is usually found in the earlier stages of relative clause acquisition, therefore it is not surprising that informant 4A is in the lowest group rated according to conversational ability (Group 4) and informant 2AB is in Group 3 (see Table 9 below).

There were also a few sentences in which an NP was relativised without the use of an overt relative pronoun. Such contact relatives leave the NP in a `Janus-like' position, i.e. the NP appears to be at once part of the main clause and of the relative clause (Mesthrie 1991).

(62) it's my potplant is in there upstairs 2AB

(63) I knew [something] on Tuesday is a quite a busy, hectic day for me 2AB

(64) I have this great friend says the sooner you realise life is not fair 10AB

(65) now that I've read `Soul of the Ape' I've read years ago 11B

There were only three examples of resumptive NP or pronoun within the relative clause:

(66) we had old characters which you don't find a character today 1A

(67) you accumulate expertise that you don't even think about it 12B

(56) can also be counted as an example of a resumptive pronoun of them; the preposition of before the relative marker has been omitted.

Although I have set out examples of deviant or non-standard relative clauses above, in contrast to Mesthrie's (1991) findings in SAIE, they actually represent a very small percentage of the total number of relative clauses in the corpus (only 19 non-standard constructions out of a total of 440 which equals 4,3%). Furthermore, there was no pattern in the informants' use of relative markers, as can be seen from Table 9 below. It can therefore be concluded that non-standard relative clauses do not really form a focussed feature of Afrikaans-English.

Table 9: Relative clauses - percentage frequency of relative markers used.

Informant	WHO	WH-	THAT	0	N/S
Group 4					
3B	33,3 (2)	-	50,0 (3)	-	16,7 (1)
4A	35,4 (4)	18,2 (2)	18,2 (2)	18,2 (2)	9,1 (1)
5A	18,2 (2)	9,1 (1)	36,4 (4)	36,4 (4)	-
Group 3					
2AB	-	11,4 (4)	65,7 (23)	14,3 (5)	8,6 (3)
3A	3,4 (1)	6,9 (2)	65,5 (19)	20,7 (6)	3,4(1)
4B	-	15,0 (3)	85,0 (17)	-	-
6AB	11,1 (1)	-	66,7 (6)	11,1 (1)	11,1 (1)
7A	30,0 (3)	20,0 (2)	40 0 (4)	10,0 (1)	-
7B	-	-	100,0 (3)	-	-
8A	18,8 (3)	18,8 (3)	31,2 (5)	6,3 (1)	25,0 (4)
8B	27,8 (5)	22,2 (4)	50,0 (9)	-	-
11A	9,1 (2)	22,7 (5)	59,1 (13)	9,1 (2)	-
Group 2					
1A	-	23,1 (6)	69,2 (18)	3,8 (1)	3,8 (1)
1B	55,0 (11)	10,0 (2)	25,0 (5)	5,0 (1)	5,0 (1)
5B	10,0 (1)	-	40,0 (4)	40,0 (4)	10,0 (1)
9A	50,0 (11)	22,7 (5)	22,7 (5)	4,5 (1)	-
10AB	37,5 (9)	16,7 (4)	41,7 (10)	-	4,2 (1)
10AB*	19,0 (8)	26,2 (11)	38,1 (16)	14,3 (6)	2,4 (1)
11B	52,0 (13)	24,0 (6)	16,0 (4)	-	8,0 (2)
Group 1					
9B	10,0 (1)	40,0 (4)	50,0 (5)	-	-
12A	31,6 (6)	57,9 (11)	10,5 (2)	-	-
12B	19,6 (10)	13,7 (7)	58,8 (30)	7,8 (4)	1,9 (1)
Total	21,1 (93)	18,6 (82)	47,1 (207)	8,9 (39)	4,3 (19)

Summary

	Who	Which	That	0	N/S	Which	Pron	Contact	Resum
%	21,1	18,6	47,0	8,9	4,3	0,9	1,1	1,6	0,7
Total	93	82	207	39	19	4	5	7	3

(Figures given in main table are %. Figures in brackets are number of examples in the data.)

6.1.4 Double negative

McCormick (1989:295) found that double marking of the negative occurs in 'Coloured' Afrikaans-English, particularly when the sentence has a slot for any, anything or anyone. There was only one example of this feature in the data for this research:

(68) None of the other farmers don't worry 6AB

It can be concluded therefore that double marking of the negative does not form a feature of this variety of English.

6.1.5 Incorrect use of the infinitive

I was asked to make special note of incorrect use of the infinitive but there were no examples in my data. However the use of an infinitive with 'to' instead of a prepositional phrase or an infinitive without 'to' appears to be becoming more common in some varieties of SAE, particularly Afrikaans-English and Ext SAE. The following examples were taken from the letter page of the Argus newspaper, in a letter from a reader signing him/herself *Afrikaans-speaking emigrant.*

(69) although Mr. Pienaar made insulted emigrants [immigrants?] to smile in this matter, ...

(70) in this case the importance to master the Afrikaans language in the hospitality sector is very low. (*Argus* 5 May 1993)

The infinitive is also sometimes used in non-standard constructions after an adjective. Branford (1987:3) claims that this is analogous with Afrikaans and gives the following example:

(71) The leaves ... soon drop to the ground leaving the tree rather stark and bare but quite capable to withstand even the severest frost. *Farmers' Weekly* 30.5.73.

6.2 MORPHOLOGICAL FEATURES AND TENDENCIES

6.2.1 Concord

As mentioned above, one of the features of Afrikaans-English which is often parodied in the press and in literature, by authors such as Langenhoven, is the confusion of subject-verb concord. Problems with subject-verb concord, or non-standard concord, appear to be a feature of Afrikaans-English, even at the acrolectal or target end of the continuum, in that even speakers with near L1 competence showed a very slight tendency in this regard whereas the Control group never produce such errors. Platt et al (1984:67) found that `in a number of New Englishes, this -s marker on the verb form is not used regularly, particularly not in colloquial speech'. Afrikaans verbs are not marked for person, so that verb marking in English presents problems for L1 Afrikaans speakers. One informant stated that he had been at school at a time of experimental L2 teaching and that he was never taught the English system of singular and plural concord. It is unclear whether this experiment was general or confined to the informant's school only (see §4.1.3). According to Williams (1987:174), the loss of -s in verb paradigms is common in a number of learner varieties of English. She feels that the two most likely explanations are regularization of the verb paradigm and phonological deletion. However, this would not account for the fact that in Afrikaans-English the verb paradigm often does not become `regular', with -0 marking throughout, but has -0 endings in the singular and -s in the plural. McCormick (1989: 292) thought it `likely' that members of the District Six speech community `overgeneralise the plural marking rule for nouns and put the word-final -s on to verbs with plural subjects'. By analogy, the word-final -s in constructions with a third person singular subject is omitted. Examples of **subject-verb concord** errors:

(72) Monday mornings when the school start 1A

(73) his temper flare up 2AB

(74) wherever the telescope look 3A

(75) [redacted] just picks out the eyes 6AB

[redacted] ibia as well 8A

[redacted] cross with me 11A

It w[redacted]efore, that in both Coloured English and Afrikaans English the concord `rule' for lexical verbs follows the pattern:

singular noun -0 # + singular verb -0 #

plural noun -s # + plural verb -s #

McCormick (1989) found in her survey of District Six English that there was often reversal of plural and singular verbs in her data: plural subject followed by a singular verb and a singular subject followed by a plural verb. She found this occurred with all verbs including the verb to have, but that there were no instances of singular subject and plural verb to be, although there were many examples of plural subject followed by the singular of the verb to be. She concluded that this was because speakers modelled their utterances on the Afrikaans verb *is, was* (`is, was') (McCormick 1989). However, in the data collected for this thesis there were several examples of the verb to be used in the plural after a singular subject:

(78) he were so pleased 1A

(79) I admire a person ... that are calm 2AB

(80) she are stuck 4A

(81) the farmer are in Barrydale too [definitely a single farmer] 4A

(82) their family are normal 9A

(83) as far as the Labour Relations Act are concerned - Mr. Leon Wessels, Minister of Manpower, Radio Today, 10 November 1992.

These examples can probably be regarded as examples of hypercorrection. If family in (82) is regarded as a collective or `team' noun, then the example is acceptable.

The difference between was and were is also one of number, but the use of singular was in place of were in interrogative sentences (84), and with plural subjects as in (85) and (86), is not confined to Afrikaans-English.

(84) Mary, was you in town Saturday night? 3B

(85) the terrorists was there 9B

(86) her letters was like that 10AB

Evidence of plural subjects followed by singular was is found in Jeremiah Goldswain's[3] Chronicle of 1820

(87) I heard that Mr.S.H. & R.Bradshaw and Isaac Wigle [Wiggall] was going to build a water Mill (Long 1946: 41)

(88) many of the goods that I had sent was not sold to the Duch farmers (Long 1946: 41)

(89) sum of the Houses was bult with turf others was built with postes and watled and daubed with mud (Long 1946: 50)

(90) the huney Combs was more then three feet Long (Long 1946: 61)

Goldswain's use of was in place of were is also discussed by L.F.Casson in his inaugural lecture (Casson 1955: 34). The same use of was is also found in some regional dialects of British English.

There were also many examples of lack of concord between **demonstratives and nouns**. In Afrikaans there is only one demonstrative for singular and plural nouns, *hierdie* 'this', and *daardie*

[3]Jeremiah Goldswain was one of the original 1820 settlers who arrived in the Eastern Cape under the auspices of Somerset's Anglicisation policy (§2.2.1). Goldswain, a sawyer by trade, kept a journal of his life in the Cape. Linguistically, Goldswain's *Chronicle* is of great interest as it contains numerous 'misspellings' on every page, which give modern readers a guide to the pronunciations that he must have used (Casson 1955).

`that', hence the loss of the plural demonstratives in English. The singular that and this appear to be preferred in both singular and plural constructions.

(91) you can control that steps 3A

(92) where do you get that contacts 3B

(93) my neighbour, she's also got this knees 4B

There was one utterance, from a near L1 competent speaker, where a plural demonstrative was followed by a singular noun; confusion as to the number of the verb, after an intervening relative clause, resulted.

(94) all these thing that Afrikaans, that the taal is carrying with it, needs to be left behind 1B

I feel that this utterance reflects an error of performance rather than of competence. However, if one translates thing as *goed* (`things') then one can see how the error arose. McCormick (1989:295) found that the singular demonstrative followed by a plural noun was also a feature of non-standard English among the community of District Six.

Further non-standard constructions occurred with **numerically plural determiners** which were followed by singular instead of plural nouns.

(95) the sides of it is just eight inch 3A

(96) six month 5A

(97) they only three English-speaking family round here 6AB

(98) two pair of socks 7A

(99) they should actually have two separate course 8B

Only (95) and (98) would have a singular noun in the equivalent Afrikaans construction. This feature was also recorded by Platt et al in their work on New Englishes.

> In many of the New Englishes, speakers do not always mark nouns for plurality by adding plural endings. They use the singular form of the nouns, even if it follows a number or some other expression which means more than one. `...and they all know four dialect (Jamaica)' (Platt et al 1984:47)

There were no examples of the extension of plurals to non-count nouns in the place of singulars, such as rices and funs.

All the informants produced non-standard concord constructions, even informant 12B, who has L1 competence in English, had one `error'. However, this was not an example of lack of concord between subject and verb, but between **pronoun and referent**:

(100) talking about crabs and eating it 12B

There were no examples of non-standard concord constructions among seven of the eight members of the control group. The only marginally non-standard construction, if it can be classed as an error at all, was a lack of agreement between pronoun and referent as in example (100) above:

(101) my travelling days, I enjoyed it C1A

In both cases it could be argued that semantically the referent is conceived as a unit, crab meat and time spent travelling, i.e. they are both NP's and that therefore there is no error here as it refers to the full NP. Similar examples of the pleonastic use of a singular pronoun it with a plural referent, but a singular verb, were produced by all the informants of the main study.

(102) it was funny things happening 1A

(103) it was lawns as far as you can see 2AB

(104) it's four, five people in the house 5A

(105) the Jordaans, it's from P.E. 10AB

There were 24 examples of this variation.

Other pleonastic constructions, there is and there are, are also of interest as the plural form seems to be largely ignored in favour of there is when followed by a plural noun.

(106) you wouldn't say there's kids there 2AB

(107) there is some other instruments 3A

As with it and demonstratives, it would appear that the plural form is becoming redundant in Afrikaans-English and that one dummy form is being substituted for another. Afrikaans has only *daar is* ('there is, there are'), therefore it could be argued that this feature of Afrikaans-English is influenced by Afrikaans. (Some early interlanguages even have ∅ pronoun in this type of construction.)

Finally, with regard to errors of concord, some languages express **possession** where the subject NP (possessor) is plural, with a plural object:

(108) all the women had hats on.

Other languages use a singular object despite having a plural subject. Afrikaans appears to use a plural subject and a singular object although a plural object is permitted. English not only has a plural object where the subject is plural, but a plural possessive adjective their is followed by a plural noun. Confusion arises as one can express the same semantic concept as (108) in the singular:

(109) every woman had a hat on

Examples from the corpus of this feature (plural subject/possessor followed by singular object and plural possessive adjective their followed by a singular noun), which appears to be used to avoid redundancy:

(110) all the domes has got wind-speed indicator 3A

(111) they started talking about their opinion of the book 1B

(112) a lot of overseas people bring their own instrument 3A

(113) every morning I just wiped their nose 9A

(114) they eat with their mouth open, mouths open 12B

It is of interest to note that speaker 12B, who has almost perfect L1 competence in English, should have this 'confusion', and be aware of it.

> I find that the one place where I do have trouble sometimes with English, where I have to analyse, is singulars and plurals [generally], because you can [think], now where's the singular there? or where's the plural there? and you actually have to backtrack and go and think about it. 12B

Table 10: Concord 'errors'

Spkr.	sub/vb	pl.be+sg.	sg.dem+pl	there is+pl	it+pl	pl.adj+sg	pl.poss+sg
Group 4							
3B	7		1			1	
4A	10	4			2		
5A	7		1		1	1	
6AB*	2		1				
Group 3							
2AB	8	1	1	3	3		
3A	9		4	10	5	1	2
4B	13		3	1	1		
6AB	3		1		2	1	
7A	3		3	1	1	3	
7B?							
8A	8		4		1		
8B	1				1	1	
11A	5					1	
Group 2							
1A	1	1	2	1	1		
1B					1		1
5B	2			1			
9A	4	1	1	1	1	2	
10AB						1	
10AB*	3		3		2		
11B	1						
Group 1							
9B	1						
12A	1				1		
12B					1		

6.2.2 Prepositions

All the informants in the main study, including L1 English competent 12B, showed deviation from standard English in their use of prepositions.

(115) we used to get to Cape Town half past six 1A

(116) I wanted it Thursday night already 3B

(117) I moved in there December 6AB

(118) two o' clock I will start working 12B

Afrikaans does not necessarily use a preposition in the equivalent sentences; the choice is optional in expressions involving time.

(115a) *ons het half-vyf in Kaapstad aangekom / ons het om half-vyf in Kaapstad aangekom*

(116a) *ek wou dit al Donderdagaand gehad het*

(117a) *ek het Desember daar ingetrek*

(118a) *twee-uur sal ek begin werk / ek sal om twee-uur begin werk*

Equivalent utterances in the Control study all contained prepositions.

(119) I went over in March C2B

(120) I matriculated in nineteen sixty-three C3A

(121) if you caught a train at a quarter to four, you only got home at about quarter to five C4B

It appears that the non-use, or loss, of the preposition in expressions involving time could be attributed to influence from Afrikaans although the feature is found in other varieties of English. However, one should be cautious in attributing the presence of this feature in SAE to the influence of Afrikaans as unstressed words or particles tend to be deleted in rapid speech in English. Deletion of unstressed words and particles is also a particular feature of L2's generally.

In other examples, informants used the English equivalent of the correct Afrikaans preposition, i.e. there was direct transfer from Afrikaans.

(122) in the beginning of the year 1B, 8A

(123) once in a week 6AB

(124) her brother was married with a English lady 4A

(125) I'm going with my bicycle to work every morning 9A

(126) they are good for him 9A

(127) then you continue with that road 12A

Although example (126) appears acceptable, it was incorrect in the context in which it was used. The informant meant it in the sense of <u>good to him</u>. Afrikaans uses *vir* in both senses.

(122a) *in die begin van die jaar*

(123a) *een keer in 'n week*

(124a) *haar broer is met 'n englese dame getroud*

(125a) *ek gaan elke oggend met my fiets werk toe*

(126a) *hulle is goed vir hom*

(127a) *dan gaan jy met daardie pad verder*

Further examples of the incorrect use of prepositions cannot neccessarily be attributed to Afrikaans influence but do indicate confusion on the part of the speaker.

(128) maybe you have to move towards Transvaal (to the) 11A

(129) her husband taught at the English faculty (in) 12A

A variation that appeared in the speech of several informants was the use of the preposition <u>in</u> instead of <u>at</u> in the following examples:

(130) his children were in the same school as I was, in Nassau 1B

(131) ouma was in La Rochelle 3B

(132) got music in school, at school (self-correction) 5A

(133) in the end of the day (Dr.C.Mulder on T.V. 18.3.1992)

Prepositions were also omitted altogether on occasion, even when the equivalent Afrikaans expression would include the same preposition as the standard English sentence.

(134) she's standard three now (in) 7A

(135) it tells you a bit Louis Leipoldt's story (of) 11B

(136) they buy Stellenridge (in) 12A, 11A

The first two examples could be accounted for by loss of an unstressed item, the final example would normally stress the preposition. Both speakers 11A and 12A produced almost identical examples.

There was one specific case where a preposition was inserted where there would be none in Standard English.

(137) two times in a week 5A

(138) once in a week there's a train going past there 6AB, 4A, 5A

This appears to be a direct transfer from Afrikaans although the expression once in a while suggests that the Transfer to Somewhere principle (§6.1.2) may be operating here, at least with the latter example. Afrikaans does not have a single word for twice.

Use of the preposition by has become something of a thorny issue in SAE. By is misused so frequently in expressions such as `by the house' instead of `in the house' or `at home' that L1 English-speakers in South Africa are even critical of the perfectly correct `by the bus-stop'. McCormick (1989: 295) only comments briefly on the use of by in place of at as in `he works by the shops' and with the in place of by as in `he went with the car'. Branford (1987:60) ascribes

the substandard use of by to transference of Afrikaans *by* `beside, with, at'. Mesthrie (1992:192) discusses the use of by in SAIE as a cover preposition for `near', `at', `in', `from', `along', `via', and `to' and gives the following examples:

(139) we stayed by the Fynn Barracks (by = in)

(140) suddenly by the eyes it start poking (by = near)

(141) I ordered shampoo by Leela, she didn't get it yet (by = from)

(142) I went and took an oath by police station (by = at)

By in some of these constructions is also used by L1 New York Jewish speakers of English; this si due to the influence of Yiddish baj which has virtually the same distribution as Afrikaans *by* (Roger Lass p.c.). Although I thought I would find plenty of examples of non-standard use of by in my data, this was not the case. There was only one example of the use of with in place of by:

(143) I'm going with my bicycle to work every morning 9A

One would need a far greater corpus of data to establish whether the non-standard use of by really is a feature of Afrikaans-English or whether it is largely avoided. I feel that it is a feature of Extreme SAE, and that one would find similar examples to those quoted above from Mesthrie, but this would also need verification.

6.2.3 Articles

In both the study group and the control group there were examples of omission of both definite and indefinite articles. This could be seen merely as performance error. In the Control group there were only seven instances of omission of the article, from four different speakers.

(144) a welfare officer, girl from Bloemfontein C3A

(145) guys, they've been at army 2AB

(146) then you tell them you want to be electrician 7A

(147) wanting description of everything 11B

Omissions of the (144)-type are acceptable in L1 varieties of English; however, in certain cases, as in (146) the omission could be attributed to Afrikaans influence as in the equivalent Afrikaans sentence there would be no article. Afrikaans influence can also be seen in expressions involving the playing of musical instruments as in such expressions in Afrikaans there is no article.

(148) I did learn a bit of piano 1B

(149) I didn't play organ while we were in Pretoria 5A

(In both these examples did was stressed; they are not examples of `dummy' do).

(148a) *ek het wel 'n bietjie klavier geleer*

(149a) *ek het glad nie orrel gespeel terwyl ons in Pretoria was nie*

More interestingly, it appeared that for speakers of Afrikaans-English there is often no distinction between a and an, whereas L1 English speakers seldom use a where the following word starts with a vowel, in which case it can be regarded as a performance error. Afrikaans has only one indefinite article 'n, phonologically indistinguishable from English a [ə] (see §6.3.3.).

(150) a energetic class 1B

(151) a absolute miracle 2AB

(152) a Afrikaans ... 2AB, 4A, 4B

(153) a instrument 3A

(154) a avid reader 11B

The only informants who never had any a/an confusion have both largely undergone language shift in their daily lives and belong to the near-L1 proficient group (Table 11). As with the control group, all nouns with initial vowel were preceded by an.

(155) an accident C3A

(156) an impression 12B

Krashen (1987: 95) discusses an experiment conducted by Seliger (1979) in which the same inability to use the a/an distinction was noted in some users of English as a second language. There were no examples of hypercorrection i.e. no use of an before consonant-initial nouns. Informant 11B's wife reported that their L1 English children often use a before vowel-initial words, a habit they appear to have learnt from their father (the home language is English).

Table 11: A / AN

Spkr	**A - AN**	**Spkr**	**A-AN**	**Spkr**	**A - AN**	**Spkr**	**A-AN**
Group 4		**Group 3**		**Group 2**		**Group 1**	
3B	1 1	2AB	12 0	1A	n.s.	9B	n.s.
4A	5 0	3A	6 0	1B	2 1	12A	n.s.
5A	1 0	4B	3 0	5B	2 1	12B	0 3
6AB*	n.s.	6AB	2 0	9A	0 1		
		7A	n.s.	10AB	n.s.		
		7B	3 1	10AB*	1 0		
		8A	n.s.	11B	3 0		
		8B	1 0				
		11A	3 0				

Non-standard use of the one for specific marking ocurs in Afrikaans-English, although it is not limited to this variety of South African English. Platt et all (1984: 56) found that

> if the item is a particular one but unknown to the listener, speakers of some New Englishes are inclined to use one in front of singular nouns. This is particularly frequent in colloquial speech. In the more established varieties of English, one is usually only used when it is contrasted with another or many.

One or the one may be used to mark the specific in colloquial speech in South Africa, including Afrikaans-English,

(157) the one night it rained the one dinghy fell over C1A

(158) you turn up the one road that go[es] to Oudtshoorn 4A

(159) the one is seven [years old] 9A

(The) one or my one may also occur before singular nouns where standard varieties would have one of the, one of my or one of them.

(160) the one was in standard nine and the one was in standard two 7A

(161) and one ask for chips and one ask for whatever 9A

(162) the one just bumps into the other one 6AB

Although not recorded in the data, the `classic' non-standard use of one is often heard, even in the colloquial speech of some L1 speakers of SAE:

(163) my one leg / my one eye is sore

6.2.4 Deletion of `-ly' from adverbs

McCormick (1989:294) reported that -ly is optionally deleted from adverbs in the variety of English used in District Six. I found that the same thing applies in Afrikaans-English in the White community, although it is not a common or focussed feature of the variety. I have quite often heard similar examples in the casual speech of L1 speakers of English.

(164) funny enough 2AB (x3). 8A

(165) it fitted perfect 8A

(166) and then this total expressionless face 10AB*

6.3 LEXIS AND IDIOM

6.3.1 Idiomatic Transfer

Although the influence of Afrikaans can be seen in many of the features of Afrikaans-English, such as in the order of adverbial phrases (§6.1.2), there are also many instances of direct idiomatic transfer or translation. Sometimes a whole phrase is involved and sometimes just a word.

(167) you know how a paraffin tin looked like 1A
(167a) *jy weet hoe 'n parafien blik gelyk het*

(168) how do you call it? 1A
(168a) *hoe sê jy dit?*

The Afrikaans *hoe* ('how') is often used in expressions which in English would be introduced by what, as in *Hoe laat is dit?* - 'What is the time?'. Furthermore, English has synonymous expressions introduced by how:

(169) how do you say it?
(169a) *hoe sê jy dit?*

Confusion of how and what in English therefore arises, resulting in overgeneralisation of how, thus providing opportunity for the Transfer to Somewhere principle (§6.1.2) to be applied.

Afrikaans has the **associative plural** *X-hulle* (where X = a proper noun) signifying 'X and friends/family'. The lack of an associative plural in English is compensated for by the addition of and them to the proper noun, thus providing a solution half way between direct transfer of the Afrikaans expression and standard English usage. This feature can now be regarded as belonging to SAE in general although it still appears to be more prevalent in Afrikaans-English and Extreme SAE than in Respectable SAE.

(170) Elsabé and them 2AB

(171) Ruby and them 9B

There are innumerable lexical items that have been transfered to South African English (Branford 1987) but there are some that would be less likely to be found in the vocabulary of speakers of Respectable SAE, as were the members of the Control study. Although not Afrikaans words, two that were used by many of the informants were place in the sense of 'house' and stay meaning 'to live for a long time'.

(172) one of these houses we are going to stay in 4A

(173) but now she's also looking out for a place 4B

(174) we stayed in Cape Town 7A

These definitions of place and stay appear to have been accepted into general Cape English and most levels of SAE, although they are least frequent in Upper Respectable SAE; they are used extensively in Afrikaans-English. Stay 'to live permanently' is listed in *A note on Cape English idiom* (Herman 1952). (See also §6.3.2)

Possessives involving **inflectional genitives** in English are regarded as tautological by speakers of Afrikaans-English and the Afrikaans construction may be used.

(175) Roelf's mother brought a friend of her with 3B

(176) those two little boys of Neil 4B

Afrikaans can express possession in two ways. When a pronoun is involved, the pronoun changes when it is used predicatively, as in English:

(177) *dit is haar boek / die boek is hare* ('it is her book / the book is hers')

The situation is similar when a noun is the possessor:

(178) *dit is Jan se boek / die boek is Jan s'n*

However, in constructions of the order of (175) and (176) Afrikaans only uses one genitive, i.e. the NP is not inflected:

(175a) *Roelf se ma het 'n vriend van haar saamgebring*

(176a) *daardie twee seuntjies van Neil*

This construction can be regarded as an example of avoiding redundancy. According to Williams (1987: 175)

> ... NS [Native Speaker] English often marks certain functions in more than one way, or in more than one location. This reduction of redundant marking has frequently been reported in the second-language acquisition literature.

Serialised verbs: Verbs can be serialised as in Afrikaans.

(179) and then they can go play tennis 4B
(179a) *en dan kan hulle gaan tennis tennis speel*

(180) I can't go buy a house 7B
(180a) *ek kan nie 'n huis gaan koop nie*

(181) they can't go play and run around 9A
(181a) *hulle kan nie gaan speel en rondhardloop nie*

McCormick (1989:294) reported this feature and found that most of the examples she found had go as part of the serial. The examples found in this study also have go as part of the construction. Serial verbs with come are found in this variety of English although they are less common than those with go. It was initially thought that come would only be used in imperative utterances but this is not necessarily the case. There were no examples of serial verbs with come in the data but I have heard it used quite frequently, both as imperative and as statement, particularly by informant 2AB.

(182) come sit by me 2AB
(182a) *kom sit langs my*

Examples of non-imperative come serial verbs can be found in literature such as that by Dalene Matthee (1987) (see §1.2.9).

(183) you didn't come stir when it was your turn (Matthee 1987: 57)
(183a) *jy het nie kom roer toe dit jou beurt was nie*

Although Afrikaans can use other verbs as the first element of a serial verb as in *loop lê* ('go and lie down'), it would appear that only go and come are used in English.

Expressions such as once a week are transfered directly from the Afrikaans *een keer in die week*.

(184) two times in a week 5A

(185) once in a week there's a train going past there 6AB

Afrikaans does not have a single word for twice. (See also §6.2.2)

Some expressions sound very odd when transferred directly from Afrikaans into English.

(186) my family come from under the mountain 12B

(187) I'm sitting between two fires 11A

The speaker in (186) meant that his family came from the foot of the mountain; *onder* in Afrikaans can mean `under, below, beneath'. In this case the English expression is marked and therefore problematic; it is understandable that transfer from Afrikaans should take place. Example (187) is a direct translation of *ek sit tussen twee vure* which has the same meaning as between the devil and the deep blue sea in English.

6.3.2 Lexical items

Standard varieties of SAE contain many lexical items that are not found in other varieties of English, such as robot (`traffic light') and traffic circle (`traffic roundabout'). It is extremely difficult in most instances to draw a line between lexical items that have become accepted into the standard varieties of English and those that are used regularly for metaphorical effect. Even Branford (1987) does not differentiate between different categories. However, L1 Afrikaans-speakers often use loan translations or words from their L1 vocabulary when speaking English, which would not be used by an L1 English-speaker in South Africa. In the English translations of her books, Dalene Matthee uses loan translations to create an `Afrikaans' atmosphere:

(188) Benjamin had always known that he was his parents' handchild, like the handlamb (*hanslam* -`hand-reared lamb') (2: 18)

(189) God had had nothing left but stones and dust and wagon-trees and rhinoceros-bush and aloes (*waboom* - Protea arborea, a tree-protea up to 5m. in height, *renosterbos* - Elytropappus rhinocerotis, a greyish blue-green shrub[4]) (2:20)

(190) On Tuesday at half-day (*halfdag* `midday') (5:48) (Matthee 1987)

L1 Afrikaans-speakers unconsciously use many English technical words when speaking their own language; conversely many Afrikaans (and indigenous African) words for flora, fauna, topography and social customs have been accepted into SAE.

platteland(er) (`country(man)'), *handlanger* (`manual assistant'), *bywoner* (`squatter'), *rooibos tee* (`indigenous herb tea'),

There are also a number of Afrikaans words that are used as fillers in all varieties of SAE; I have listed below the more frequently used items (including slang expressions) that emerged from the data:

mos (`just'), *haai* (`no' Xhosa), *arme* (`poor'), *nogal* (`as well'), *lekker* (`nice'), *man* (`man'), *woelig, woes* (`wild'), *soutie* (`an Englishman' - vulgar), finished and *klaar* (`finished'), *jess* (abbreviation for `Jesus'), *jene, jere* (corruptions of *Here* `Lord')

As early as 1913 The Rev. Charles Pettman recorded the following expressions in South African English in the `Cape Midlands' (presumably the Karoo):

he threw me over the hedge with a stone. (`he threw a stone at me')

are you going with? - are you going saam?

two oxen tramped by the train. (`hit by the train')

coming home full of mud. (`covered in mud')

by the house (`at home')

---

[4]An L1 SAE-speaker would only use *waboom* and *renosterbos*, never the loan-translation.

the use of the third person as a form of address (Pettman 1913:16).

Pettman notes that the use of the third person form of address also occurred in Suffolk (see also §1.2.4.)

These expressions are fairly direct translations from Afrikaans and would today generally place the speaker as either Afrikaans-English or Extreme SAE. According to Pettman, the third person as a form of address was used by `Poor Whites' (§3.3.3) at the time. The Afrikaans equivalents are:

hy het my met `n klip oor die heining gegooi.

gaan jy saam?

twee osse deur die trein gestamp.

vol modder

by die huis.

6.3.3 Confusion of lexical items

There are a number of pairs of English words that are easily confused by L1 Afrikaans-speakers. This ocurs when English has two words for one Afrikaans word, or where in English there is a split in the semantic field. This elimination of one of a pair of lexical items is not limited to Afrikaans-English but is creeping into general South African English, albeit towards the Extreme end of the continuum. Speakers of Respectable SAE still find the misuse of these terms disturbing. Magura (1985) also reported this feature in his article on Southern African Black English. He found that there was under-differentiation of English terms where the mother tongue, in this case Shona, has only one lexical item for two different lexical items in English. According to Platt et al (1984), new vocabulary and changes of meaning in existing vocabulary are a feature of New Englishes.

Ride and drive: Although Afrikaans has the word *bestuur* ('drive'), to control a vehilce, *ry* is used to express both English concepts, in the sense of moving on an animal or in a vehicle from place to place. Ride appears to be increasingly used for drive, even among L1 English-speakers in country districts, particularly the Karoo, or those tending towards Extreme SAE. In English one can ride a horse or a bicycle, but one drives a car (or any vehicle).

(191) if you need a newspaper you got to ride (by car into town) 3A

(192) from Beit Bridge, that's an amazing ride (drive) 9A

(193) he's riding mielies to the dorp in the bakkie with the boys *Argus* 8/3/1991
('he's taking mielies to the village/town in the truck with the staff')

Occasional hypercorrection creeps in, but in this case is self-corrected:

(194) we used to drive, ride bikes 11B

Selinker (1974) found that as a result of overgeneralisation of target rules drive is often used for all vehicles in interlanguages, where ride is used in Afrikaans-English. American English uses ride for 'drive' and 'lift'.

Learn and teach: Again Afrikaans only has one term for both concepts, *leer*, and as with the previous example, the cognate English word is frequently used at the expense of the other.

(195) you know she learnt me a lot 10AB

Lend and borrow: Afrikaans *leen* is a cognate of lend and covers the semantic fields of both lend and borrow. Unlike other pairs in this series, the cognate term is not being used at the expense of the other, but rather the converse. Borrow may be used for both meanings. Although this overgeneralisation is often heard, there were no examples in the data.

Loaf and bread: Afrikaans uses the word *brood* for both 'bread' amd 'loaf'. The use of bread to cover both terms is evident in some varieties of SAE and is used by Group 1-type speakers of Afrikaans-English. Although she did not use the word in this way during the taped conversation, Informant 9B has only bread or a bread in her vocabulary. I have noted that other L1-Afrikaans speakers also do this.

When and if: The Afrikaans words for when always present a problem for L1 English-speaking students of Afrikaans. Afrikaans uses *as* or *wanneer* for when in the present tense and *toe* in the past tense. Further confusion arises as Afrikaans *as* also means 'if' or condidtional 'when', therefore if is sometimes confused with when in Afrikaans-English.

(196) if I knew [had known] these things I would have now, if [when] I was in New York, looked them up 11B

(197) if [when] it comes out it's very shiny 3A

Will and shall: The 'correct' use of these two words has long been problematic for L1 English speakers and the confusion is aggravated for Afrikaans-speakers by the fact that Afrikaans has only *sal* to express future tense and uses *wil* to express 'wish' or 'want'. Standard English appears to have dropped shall as an unmarked future auxiliary and now uses it only in marked phrases, thus making the following notice found in a local supermarket non-standard to the average L1 English-speaker:

(198) shoplifters shall be prosecuted (*'winkeldiewe sal vervolg word'*)

(See §6.1.1 above for a discussion of Afrikaans auxiliaries/modals)

Must and should: Unlike English must, Afrikaans *moet* has a past tense form *moes* `must have' or`should' in the subjunctive. The past tense form of Afrikaans *sal* `shall, will', *sou* means `would', not `should' (see will and shall above).

(199) I'm so pleased for him because I think that is what he must [should] do 1B

(200) you must [should] have seen it [the garden] about a week ago [it was so beautiful] 6AB*

(201) she should [must] be about fifteen or sixteen years of age 12A

Such and so: These two similar lexical items also present problems despite the fact that Afrikaans also has two separate lexemes *sulke* and *so*.

(202) I get so morning sickness 4B

Less and few: Afrikaans uses *min* `little, few' before both count and non-count nouns as in *min mense* `few people' and *min botter* `little butter'. Some speakers seem unable to distinguish between the two English adjectives and use less before count nouns, sometimes with amusing results, as in

(203) I think the children are less 1A

(204) it's much smaller, less people, very little people now 6AB

Yes and ja: McCormick (1989:262) discusses the problem of deciding whether the indefinite article [ə] is typologically English a or Afrikaans *'n* when it occurs at the point of a switch in code. She defines [ə] therefore as having dual status in South Africa, that is, it belongs equally to both languages, alternatively, in a `mixed' (see §4.3.2) utterance it is not possible to specify which language [ə] belongs to. The Afrikaans *ja* (`yes') has been fully accepted into SAE and is used by speakers who don't know Afrikaans. McCormick feels, therefore, that ja probably also

has `dual status' in South Africa, but realises that the situation is not exactly the same as that of the indefinite article, which frequently occurs at the juncture between an English and an Afrikaans string. Both yes and ja are used equally by all speakers, whether L1 English or not i.e. members of the Control group also use the two terms interchangeably.

6.3.4 Repetition or duplication

According to Platt et al (1984: 114) the use of repetition is a common feature of New Englishes, particularly in colloquial speech, and is used to create a feeling of intensity.

(205) they sort of go feeling-feeling, what must I do 1

(206) are you gonna speak to this one and this one (to many people individually) 6AB

(207) early-early 8A

(208) so we waited there and we sat and we sat 9A

6.3.5 Get

Get is used in a variety of non-standard ways in Afrikaans-English. Although two of the Control group used get in non-standard constructions, further research would be needed to establish to what extent non-standard use of get is found in SAE. Both Romaine (1988) and Platt et al (1984) report on the use of get in creoles and New Englishes respectively. `In many creoles the same lexical item is used to express existentials (i.e.`there is') and possessive (i.e. `have'). This is not true of any of the superstrate languages' (Romaine 1988: 50). Platt et al (1984: 80) also found that `there is ' and `has' were replaced with get in New Englishes. (I have marked the examples below as to whether, according to my personal judgement, they are (marginally) acceptable SAE (?) or not (*).)

(209) Singapore English: This here coffeehouse got a lot of cockroach(es).

Although there were only a few examples from the present data where get was used in this way,

(210) ? so we get nice pressure 3A

(211) ? if you get a problem, you got to fix it 3A

(212) ? she also got a computer (`has' - omission of Aux or possessive use of get?) 4A,

there were other instances where get was used in the passive instead of be, although this is common in colloquial speech of speakers of standard varieties of English.

(213) ? a witch was liable to get fried C1B

(214) ? the Lootsberg pass is always the first one to get shut (`be') C1B.

Some examples appear to be less acceptable than others. Although she looks at existential and possessive use of get and in most of the following examples the use of get is inceptive, I feel that despite Romaine's assertion (above), non-standard use of get is becoming acceptable in SAE, if it is not so already. I have marked the following examples (*) as I personally do not find them fully acceptable; however, the fact that this construction is so common suggests that it is acceptable to many speakers.

(215) * you're going to get youself in a cave (find) C1B

(216) * it's really getting quite horrible (becoming) 1A

(217) * when I get myself (when I realise) 2AB

(218) * it gets a bind (becomes) 2AB

(219) ? ... from the time you get pregnant (become) 4B

(220) * don't let the older one get here (come/be) 6AB*

(221) ? it got easy (became) 11A

(222) * she's still trying to get a grip with it (come to grips) 12A

(223) * I don't seem to get enough enthusiasm for this trip (have) 9B

Dalene Matthee uses get in what I regard as marginally non-standard constructions:

(224) ? you're counting to see how many beams I get finished (1987:145)

6.3.6 No

The use of no in a positive sense, or redundantly, is perhaps a unique South African feature, which does not appear to be confined to only one variety of South African English. Many L1 SAE speakers will use no when in fact they mean yes, thereby confusing non-South Africans.

(225) I: Will you bring the basics?
S: No, we'll bring the basic stuff.
I: Have you got plaster of Paris?
S: No, I've got plaster of Paris.
I: May we borrow it?
S: No, that's quite in order. C2A (preparing for a joint holiday)

(226) I: The main thing is to communicate.
S: No, but I think, the Afrikaans people think the main thing is to get it [language] right. 3B

(227) I: Two fires [on the mountain] in two years...
S: No, that was very sad. 5B

Both yes-no (*ja-nee)* and no-well (ja-no-well-fine) are used in casual speech in South Africa. Yes-no indicates a positive response although it may be redundant.

(228) I: [Klipplaat] must be small if it's smaller than Aberdeen.
S: Ja-no, oh it's much smaller, less people anyway. 6AB

6.4 CONCLUSION

Afrikaans-English can be classed a diffuse variety of English, but 'diffuse' does not mean the variety is unpatterned or unstructured. Ellis (1987: 91) describes a diffuse model as one in which, during the acquisition phase, the learner first uses a given form in every situation, and then introduces a second form. The individual may then use both forms together in free variation and fossilization may take place before non-standard forms have been eradicated. It can therefore also be said that Afrikaans-English is not a focussed variety of English in that all the features described here are possible in a given person's speech, but no single speaker will have every feature, nor will a speaker use his/her corpus of features on every possible occasion. The use of

an optional rule might depend on the particular aspects of the linguistic context; one context might favour the use of a rule 90% of the time and another only 10%. It is possible to study the contextual variability of a given form in an individual's (or a community's) speech, but I did not extend this research that far. This could be done in another study. The Afrikaans community is not particularly close-knit (at least in the cities), but, most importantly, they do not speak Afrikaans-English among themselves and so there is no reinforcement of the features of the variety. Milroy (1980: 180) associates cultural and linguistic focussing with a close-knit network structure.

The individual level of fluency or proficiency in English bears little relation to class, age or sex, but does appear to be influenced by the amount of regular exposure to a standard variety of English. It can be seen that the informants from Touws River (3A - 8A), who for the most part live in a more closed community and have less contact with L1 English-speakers than those in Cape Town, fall into Goup 4 and Group 3, the less proficient speakers of Afrikaans-English. The level of education does appear to correlate with level of fluency in English (Table 12).

Although all the features described in both this chapter and in the chapter on Phonology are indicative of Afrikaans-English, there does appear to be set of core features which are more prevalent than the rest, and which are more likely to occur in the speech of speakers of this variety with L1 or near-L1 English fluency, than in that of others less proficient. The core features include concord 'errors' (§6.2.1), as well as word-final obstruent devoicing (§5.4.1), trilled or tapped /r/ (§5.3.1) and Afrikaans pronunciation of proper nouns (§5.4.5), as mentioned in §5.6.. There is an immense amount of variation in English as a world language and many of the features identified in this chapter are also found in other varieties of English. The presence

of a given feature in another variety (Table 13), particularly an American variety, may strengthen and reinforce the use of that feature in Afrikaans-English.

As a result, such a feature may spill over into the standard varieties of SAE, even though their use may still (for a time) be regarded as non-standard. The use of the preposition by as in by the house ('at home') has become indicative of Extreme (L1) SAE, but the loss of -ly from adverbs, the deletion of Aux in rapid speech and the use of serial verbs with go and come are becoming increasingly common in less extreme varieties of SAE. The use of now (§6.1.2) and no (§6.3.6) are also prevalent in L1 SAE. No language, unless it is a dead language like Latin, is in a finite state and therefore influences and input from other varieties can be expected.

Although this study is small, it is hoped that it will lead to further, more extensive research into Afrikaans-English.

Table 12: Level of education

	Less	Secondary	Tertiary	Graduate
Group 4				
3B			T	
4A		S		
5A			T	
6AB*		S		
Group 3				
2AB		S		
3A			T	
4B		S		
6AB			T	
7A	L			
7B			T	
8A		S		
8B				G
11A				G
Group 2				
1A		S		
1B				G
5B				G
9A			T	
10AB				G
10AB*				G
11B				G
Group 1				
9B				G
12A				G
12B			T	
Control				
All				G

Feature	Afr/Other Englishes		Dist.Six English	Afrikaans-English
Lack of concord:				
pl N + sg to be	A	OE	x	x
sg N + pl to be			--	x
pl N + sg verb (any)			x	x
sg N + pl verb (any)		OE	x	x
sg dem. + pl N	A		x	x
it + pl ref.		OE		x
there is + pl N	A	OE		x
pl numerical det. + sg N	A	OE		x
genitive (of her)	A			x
Prepositions:				
omission		OE		x
by (incorrect use of)	A	OE	x	x
with the i.p.o. by	A		x	x
Tense, modals, auxiliaries:				
extension of continuous tense				x
dummy do		OE	x	--
deletion aux / modal		OE	x	x
serial verbs + go		OE	x	x
+ come				x
deletion of -ed		OE		x
Word order:				
adverbs in penult. posit.	A	OE	x	x
adverbs of time, place order	A		x	x
WH- conjunc. + interrog. w.o.				x
Articles:				
omission				x
no A/AN distinction				x
the one i.p.o. one of				x
Double negative	A	OE	x	--
Deletion of -ly in adverbs		OE	x	x
Serial verbs	A	OE	x	x

(x) = feature occurs.

(-) = feature does not occur.

no mark = feature not found but may occur.

A = found in Afrikaans.

OE = found in other varieties of English[5], but not in standard SAE.

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[5]L1 English for McCormick

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APPENDIX 1

Group Profiles

Having (subjectively) divided the informants according to their conversational ability, it seemed appropriate to include brief descriptions of each of the four groups. The tapes were numbered 1 to 12 and side A or B for ease of reference (§1.2.5). Each informant therefore has a reference number e.g. 1A. Although it is very difficult, if not impossible, to assess class among White South Africans, I have 'classed' each informant on a socio-economic level; this, too, is purely subjective.

Group 1

Informants: 9B: female, 42 years, graduate teacher

12A: female, ± 27 years, graduate teacher

12B: male, 48 years, (18 months at university) advertiser, writer

Background: All three come from country areas - Piketberg, Paarl and Beaufort West. Schooling - Afrikaans-medium. 9B and 12B went to an English university (UCT) and 12A to an Afrikaans university (Stellenbosch). 9B is married to an L1 English-speaker, home language and friends are English. 12A is married to an L1 Afrikaans-speaker, teaches English in an Afrikaans-medium school, home language Afrikaans. 12B is unmarried but moves in both English and Afrikaans circles.

Socio-economic level:

All upper middle-class; all resident in Cape Town.

Conversational level:

Low 'scores' both syntactically and phonologically; L1-English proficiency. Concord 'scores': 1, 2, 1. Retain a/an distinction.

Group 2

Informants:

1A: female, 83 years, no tertiary education

1B: female, 34 years, graduate teacher

5B: female, 65 - 70 years, graduate teacher

9A: female, 65 years, primary teacher

10AB: female, 42 years, graduate teacher

10AB*: female, 44 years, graduate teacher

11B: male, 50 years, specialist doctor

Background:

All from country areas, except 1B - Hopefield, Koffiefontein (OFS), Griquastad (sisters 10Ab and 10AB*), Oudtshoorn. 1B initially from Kokstad but schooling in Cape Town.

Afrikaans-medium schooling, except 1A who had English-medium secondary education (also the only one of the group with no tertiary education). Only 5B went to an Afrikaans-medium university (Pretoria); 1B and 11B went to UCT and 10AB and 10AB* went to Rhodes University.

1A is widowed, family initially Afrikaans-speaking but children educated at English-medium schools; moves in both English and Afrikaans circles. 1B is unmarried, teaches in an English-medium school, moves in English and Afrikaans circles. 5B initially married to an L1-Afrikaans speaker, present husband monolingual English-speaking (from England); speaks

English in the home and Afrikaans (only) in the community. 9A is a widow but her family is Afrikaans-speaking; she taught (and still helps) in an English-medium school for handicapped children; she has both English and Afrikaans contacts. 10AB and 10AB* are both married to L1 English-speakers and speak only English at home; friends are both English and Afrikaans speaking. 11B is married to an L1 English-speaker; home language English; uses both English and Afrikaans equally at work.

Socio-economic level:

Upper middle-class; all in the Cape Town group except 5B, from Touws River (1A actually lives in a seaside holiday town north of Cape Town but for the purposes of the study was counted as part of the Cape Town group).

Conversational level:

Very fluent, near L1 English proficiency (but not quite as good as Group 1). Concord 'scores' higher than Group 1: 6, 3, 3, 1, 8, 1. A/an 'scores': no score, 2/1, 2/1, no score, 1/0, 3/0. Phonologically more noticeably Afrikaans than Group 1.

Group 3

Informants:

2AB: female, 37 years, no tertiary education

3A: male, ±30 years, technical tertiary education

4B: female, 65 years, no tertiary education

6AB: female, 26 years, two-year diploma in agriculture

7A: male, 65 years, technical secondary education, no tertiary education

7B: male, 65 years, some tertiary education - postmaster

8A: female, ±40 years, post-secondary educational level unknown

8B: male, ±40 years, graduate teacher

11A: female, 26 years, graduate teacher

Background: 3A, 8B, and 11A from Port Elizabeth; 2AB has lived her entire life in Cape Town; 4B has lived her entire life in Touws River; 6AB from a Karoo farming community; area of origin of 7A, 7B and 8A unknown. All had Afrikaans-medium schooling. 8B and 11A both went to a dual-medium university (Port Elizabeth).

2AB is married to an L1 English-speaker; the home language is English but she speaks Afrikaans to her own family. 8A is married to an L1 English-speaker but speaks Afrikaans (only) in the community (Touws River). 3A, 4B, 6AB, 7A, 7B also from Touws River and have largely only Afrikaans contacts; home language is Afrikaans. 8B and 11A are not married but both teach in the same English-medium school in Cape Town; outside school they have both English and Afrikaans contacts.

Socio-economic level:

2AB, 4B, 6AB, 7A lower to middle middle-class, 3A, 7B, 8A, middle middle-class, 8B and 11A middle to upper middle-class.

Conversational level:

All are fluent speakers, but fall into Krashen's (1981) 'under-monitor user' category in that they speak rapidly but with little attention to syntax, morphology or phonology. Concord 'scores': 17, 29, 16, 8, 11, 1, 13, 3. 10, 6. A/an 6/0, 6/0, 3/0, 2/0, no score, 3/1, no score, 1/0, 0/1, 3/0.

Group 4

Informants: 3B: female, 50 years, no tertiary education known

4A: female, 47 years, no tertiary education known

5A: female, 50 years, diploma (or graduate?) music teacher

6AB*: female, 27 years, training unknown - served in the SADF

Background: 3B, 4A and 6AB* come from country areas but 5A comes from Pretoria.

3B, 4A and 5A all manage small shops in Touws River.

All had Afrikaans-medium education.

All four are married and all have Afrikaans as their home language. As they all live in Touws River, their contacts are all Afrikaans.

Socio-economic level:

3B, 4A and 6AB* are lower to middle middle-class and 5A is middle middle-class.

Conversational level:

This group all speak very hesitantly and are obviously not at ease in their L2. They can be classed as `monitor over-users' (§4.2). 6AB* spoke very little English during the 90 minutes that she and her sister were taped; she spoke Afrikaans for the most part. Concord `scores': 9, 16, 9, 2. A/an 1/1, 5/0, 1/0, no score.

Control

Informants: C1A: female, 32 years, primary teacher

C1B: male, 37 years, graduate teacher

C2A: female, 40 years, nursing sister

C2B: male, 41 years, accountant

C3A: female, 41 years, graduate teacher

C3B: male, 46 years, accountant

C4A: female, 37 years, graduate teacher

C4B: male, 41 years, attorney

Background: All the informants of the Control grew up in the Southern suburbs of Cape Town, a specific area that is largely monolingual English-speaking. They all attended old, single sex, English-medium schools in the area. Those who attended university all went to UCT. C1A attended teacher training college in Grahamstown and C2A did her training in Pietermaritzburg.

All are married to L1 English-speakers; the home language and contact language is solely English (although C3B speaks some Afrikaans in the work situation).

Socio-economic level:

Upper middle-class.

Conversational level:

L1 English-speaking.

APPENDIX 2

Extracts from the data

In order to group the informants on some sort of hierarchical scale, I tried, on two separate occasions, to rank the informants according to their conversational ability. I also took into account their individual `scores' for concord `errors', a/an distinction, incorrect prepositions and percentage of deviant relative clauses. The informants' phonological profile was also taken into account. I finally had four groups:

Group 1 - L1 English competence syntactically, with Resp SAE (or nearly) phonological features. Informants 9B, 12A, 12B.

Group 2 - L1 or nearly-L1 English competence syntactically but with more Afrikaans phonological features. Informants 1A, 1B, 5B, 9A, 10AB, 10AB*, 11B.

Group 3 - Confident speakers (Krashen's Monitor under-users § 4.2), but producing more of the syntactic features of Afrikaans-English than Groups 1 and 2. Phonologically more marked Afrikaans-English accent as well as some with Ext SAE features. Informants 2AB, 3A, 4B, 6AB, 7A, 7B, 8A, 8B, 11A.

Group 4 - Hesitant or code-switch, or both, but in some cases syntactically better competence than Group 3. Some of them can be classed as Monitor over-users (§ 4.2). Phonologically strong Afrikaans-English features. Informants 3B, 4A, 5A, 6AB*.

I selected five typical extracts, one from each of Groups 1, 2, and 3, and two from Group 4, in order to show the differences between them. I have noted all hesitation and repetition and where necessary have included an explanation or comment on the style at the foot of each text. Afrikaans words are italicised (inluding calques and words that are orthographically identical in

both languages but which were given their Afrikaans pronunciation during the interview); I have given first names in full where they are mentioned in the text but I have only used initials where surnames are given. Glosses and phonetic transcription are also provided in the notes.

Abbreviations:	I	Interviewer
	S	Subject, i.e. informant
	M	Friend

Group 1 - Informant 12B

I: what do you talk to Flip mostly?

S:1 um / Afrikaans / Afrikaans ja / it's just that we have that kind of history between us / and it's also the other / interesting thing that I've noticed / I write poetry in both languages / but I / I found years ago / that when I was writing Afrikaans / 't was mostly political and mostly very / angry in a political way and English it was more romantic and I find these days if I write in Afrikaans / I came across some stuff that I wrote / and the Afrikaans is much more considered / and much more / almost / abstract you know and and / or formal

I: so your surface thoughts / your quick thoughts are English

S:2 uh-uh / no / they're just different / ... it is quite strange / what I'm saying is that the / the thoughts in the two languages are not the same / it's almost as if the gearing is completely different you know / I don't think about it but it is it is but when you do when you look at you you come across things coming back you know it is it is quite interesting / and um / the thing that I / found that I more or less transposed from Afrikaans / to English has been my / I think love for metaphor / you know I think it is metaphor more or less you know where you say things are like things / and similes / and that is / I I got from from / the Karoo you know and / I find it still works in English and / I find it's / it's very nice

in in advertising because / you usually look for imagery and things that you can use and I can just coin them / y' know / very easily

I: sometime I want you to talk about advertising / what do you actually do? /what is / when you say you work at home what do you actually have to / run around looking for clients or things like that?

S:3 um / um / I'm an opportunist but but otherwise common or garden hustler / you know it is that / I work in advertising / I work as a writer and / also as a marketer / you know ... basically you interface with people who need / marketing advertising public relation people who really don't know how to do things / and / I think / as you go through life you accumulate knowledge / you know you accumulate expertise that you don't even think about it / ...

Notes: Informant 12B speaks very rapidly, with very little hesitation. He has an extensive and varied English vocabulary.

Group 2 - Informant 11B

S:1 ... he was teaching twelve years already / so then he had to convert and then study part-time / um / so that took that was a lot of late nights and / long hours and then eventually when he / finished that course then he went then he moved to *Oudtshoorn* / and that's when I started uh / my schooling

I: and then were you / was your home in Afrikaans and your schooling in Afrikaans?

S:2 my home was Afrikaans / my language and I was in a Afrikaans school / all right it was a dual-medium school with both English and Afrikaans / so there was / I think in *Oudtshoorn* we probably exposed to more / English than anywhere else um / ... certainly more than the Free State / um / will you just check whether this comes out?

I: no ... it is coming out / don't you trust me / 'long as it's going round / occasionally it stops going round

S:3 anyway / at *Oudtshoorn* then I / you know I mixed / mixed with a mixed bag of boys / there were Jewish boys / played cricket with / M.L. and / the Ws and people like that

I: because that / we were in Oudtshoorn the other day and they've got in their museum there they've got a whole / sort of *shul* / synagogue / reconstructed ... / by the local Jewish community / obviously got a very strong community

S:4 no it's interesting that the history of that area I recently had a patient an old Miss L / now the Ls are well-known families from that area/ a lot of them came out at the turn of the century before last century / uh from Lithuania / and they settled in the *Oudtshoorn* area and actually / uh the Dutch community / rallied around and actually built them a synagogue / so there they're well 'stablished business-men and so forth and they still there

I: it always amazes me that people who come from Lithuania / to end up in the middle of a little Karoo *dorp*

S:5 ja / so they very much part of it I mean as I say there / there was sort of a cross-cultural sort of / experience uh / certainly when I / I left there standard seven / and then we went to / my dad then bought a private practice in Paarl / and that's when I went to Paarl Boys' High [.]

I: as a day boy not as a boarder?

S:6 no as a day boy / eight nine and ten / so then obviously this was a good school and so forth / and was also a dual medium school / a English class and two Afrikaans classes / certainly when I left matric I could you know speak a smattering [.] of English but certainly was not fluent and I was very self-conscious of speaking English

I: but on the whole ite seems to me ... / Afrikaans become much better at English than people who...

S:7 you think so? / anyway / then I had a opportunity then I wanted to do medicine and it was a question of will I go to Stellenbosch or Cape Town? / Stellenbosch had just started the medical school I think they had / uh the first graduates had just qualified or something you know so I applied at both / and when I got / I got accepted at both / when I got accepted at Cape Town I thought look / let me rather take Cape Town ... longer tradition they got a well-established medical school / and I thought it was a opportunity to learn to speak English properly / I don't regret it ...

Notes: Although informant 11B is highly qualified and his home language is now English, he speaks far more hesitantly and has more phonological features of Afrikaans than 12B.

S:1 teaching twelve years - omission of preposition for;
that was a lot of late nights - 'involved';
Oudtshoorn - [œʊtshʊə̯rən] throughout;

S:2 a Afrikaans school - no a/an distinction;
we probably exposed - we were - phonological deletion;
will you just check whether this comes out?- incorrect aspect; continuous aspect intended;

I: no = yes;

S:3 at Oudtshoorn - incorrect preposition, in Oudtshoorn;

S:4 no = yes;

S:5 so they very much part of it - phonological copula deletion;
when I left there standard seven - omission of preposition in;
Paarl Boys' High - [... boɪzaɪ] loss of [h];

S:6 a English school - no a/an distinction;
smattering - [smætərɪŋ];

S:7 a opportunity - no a/an distinction;
they got a well-established medical school - phonological deletion of have or 've.

Group 3 - Informant 2AB

S:1 ... we never use this lounge / ... just my dog that uses it / and then he leaves stains all over / and I think to myself oh no / because poor old Pepe / *ag* man / you know / he's he's getting so óld / where / he manage I don't know why last night he decided to come upstairs / an' / he never he always stays here because he's too old to get up the stairs so last night we were watching TV an' here I hear / tip tip tip tip like this / but *it takes long* / five

minutes to get up so I knew it was Pepe you see so / this morning I came down an' I though' where's the dog / still upstairs it couldn't get down / you know in the dark so I put the light on for it upstairs and it / very but you can see / what do you call it *dis pêrels op die oë* /

I: sort of cataracts

S:2 you know you can't / you can see he can't really see he's just lying / and I said to Jannie / really and truly / wherever he / you know he can't jump up any more / but now I don't / I put all the cushions flat / but then he gets into the habit of lying an' I pick up the rugs it's a whole palaver when we go to bed you see / but then occasionally I think well o.k. he's / now in the routine of just / sort of / you know / an' I leave things off my and then the next morning I see *ag* / no / you know he's jumped on there or he's jumped on there I don't know /

I: ... I like this little ... / you're so clever with your house

S:3 *ag / dankie tog* / you know / if you see me going into / or to any place / I would like / you should have really been here with the tape recorder / or with a video for that matter when I got back with all these things from the white ... (laughter) / I thought oh my goodness you know / this is / part of my life that nobody sees but anyway / I had this / huge you know the uh washing basket / without a lid and you know unpacking the things at the white elephant stall I'm grabbing everything that I see you see that's worth while and I want / so now I just see this beautiful basket / without its lid for five rand and I think uh / I thought ooh let me grab it you see so I'm /

I: ...?

S:4 no wicker / five rand so it's my potplant is in there upstairs / anyway / and the more things I unpack I thought this I want that I want this I want this I want / and I'm / dumping everything into / that cannister set in the in the kitchen too / for a rand each / my goodness

/ so um / I'm now dumping everything into this basket / but now I find / I don't have a car to get home you see so I walk / I walk to school in the morning which is fine / but then I thought / how'm I going to get all these things home / because my kids will have to first they'll have to / just alternate you know / Karl and André and then / but then of course I'm *mos* stupid I didn't wear / comfortable shoes so I got blisters from the shoes ... / now I'm / my feet are very sore so now I've got to walk too and I'm I don't want to ask people for lifts you see I'm too proud I thought no it's good exercise if we / just walk / so here we're walking first André on the other side / but I thought no these shoes are hurting me too much and I / *sit* my shoes in the basket too ...

Notes: Informant 2AB speaks very rapidly and with little attention to syntax; she is a typical example of a `monitor under-user' (§ 4.2). She uses Afrikaans vocabulary, both as filler material and for functional reasons. She also uses a great many fillers such as you see, you know.

S:1 where he manage I don't know - concord `error';
it takes long - direct translation of Afrikaans *dit vat lank* (`it takes a long time');
dis pêrels op die oë - functional code-switch (`cataracts');

S:2 he's jumped on there or he's jumped on there - repetition, similar to reduplication;

S:3 *ag dankie tog* - metaphorical switch - (`oh thanks so much');
narrative use of present tense;

S:4 *mos* - Afrikaans filler (`just');
comfortable - [kämfotəbəl];
now I'm my feet are very sore - non-standard use of now;
no it's good exercise - redundant use of no;
I *sit* my shoes in the basket - functional switch (`put');

I chose two texts from Group 4 to illustrate a speaker who uses code-switching and one who speaks hesitantly. Both informants are from the Touws River group.

Group 4 - Informant 3B

S:1 ... *so so* I think the thing with the Afrikaners is / they mix ...

I: you know / the schooling here / you're told ... as long as you can communicate / that's what counts

S:2 ja / just understand ja / I think the thing with me is / I know / I know when I I say the wrong word I knów

I: so what / as long as I understand what you're talking about

S:3 oh shame / and you know we used to talk to Mary little bit English little bit Afrikaans / because she's the only one / and and and with Jenny the same / now with Marie / *praat ons maar net Afrikaans*

I: but that's how it goes ...

S:4 ja / ... you know / a a a funny thing happened the other day / uh / we had a braai / at *Stellenbos* and like uh uh / Roelf's mother / uh brought a friend of her with / and we were sitting in the sitting room and / and there was ...[a plant]... outside / *en sy sê uh / wat is nou weer die / goetes se naam / jy weet ons praat van die naam / en sy sê later / maar kry iets wat dit um / die goed wil nie lekker groei nie in die skaduwee nie en sy sê kry iets /* sort of a / *wag wat het sy nou bedoel / sy bedoel iets kry wat die plant nou / uh / kan gesond hou of só jy weet wat is die woord wat*

M: a tonic

S:5 *ja / wat is die ander woord vir* tonic?

M: a stimulant

S:6 *en uh / ek sê vir haar* ooh I've never heard of that *jy weet ek ek dog die stimulant is nou die naam van die / van die ding wat sy wil hê ek moet gaan koop / ek sê ... toe hulle gaan / toe hulle gaan toe sê ek* what did you say / ... *die stimulant wat ek moet koop nê / toe / kom ek by die huis en ek dink ... / dis nie die naam van 'n ding wat die plant moet kry / dis 'n* prevention *ek het so sleg gevoel / want sy's eintlik 'n oulike vrou / maar sy's 'n Afrikaanse vrou maar sy 't nou die ou Engelse naam gesê want ek dink hulle /* used to learning everything in English / but the sun bleach it ... it was in the window ja // but still

it will bleach after all you wash it once or twice it it will / bleach / but but now you can't sell it like that / you got to come down in the price now / ...

I: where are they made?

S:7 in P.E. somewhere it's uh it's uh / it's also um / a private lady she she's selling ... *sweetpakkies* too / she started this small little uh button / uh button / she calls it Buttons / isn't it sweet / she's got / all the colours of the rainbow buttons on everything // ... got three or four girls that work for her and then she / sells ...

M: but they're pricey

S:8 they are but ...

M: but who can afford that? ...

S:9 ja / ... nobody can afford that but look / it's done very neatly / ... she / it's really done very neatly and you know there's this little / *sterk* / what's *sterk* in English / ... strong material / ... so it's it's / this is also gonna fade / in any case it's gonna fade but / ... got to come down in the price ...

M: so what are you doing in the shop now?

S:10 *ek wil nou toesluit ek het nog* ... / so I walked / out that way because Marie locked up everything already / I / haven't even told her I'm going away tomorrow because I only decided this afternoon // *dis twee fabrieke die een is iets anders hierdie is* / Taggies / Taggies isn't it sweet / ... forty-four for this / *dis eintlik duur*

Notes: Informant 3B speaks rapidly but code-switches a great deal as she is aware that she does not speak `good English'.

S:1 *so, so* - [sʉə];

S:3 shame - typical exclamation but more frequent in Ext SAE;
little bit English little bit Afrikaans - repetition, as per interlanguage reduplication;
praat ons maar net Afrikaans - metaphorical switch (`we only speak Afrikaans');

S:4 *Stellenbos* - [stelənbos] - has only Afrikaans pronunciations for certain proper nouns;
Roelf's mother brought a friend of her with - a problem with possessive construction;
(`and she says/ what is the thing's name again? / you know we were talking of the name/ and she said later / but get something that / the stuff does not want to grow well in the

shade and she says get something / (sort of a)/ wait what did she mean now? / she meant get something which can now keep the plant healthy so you know what the word is that I want');

S:5 (`yes / what is the other word for tonic?');

S:6 (`and I say to her ... you know I thought the stimulant is now the name of the / of the thing she wants me to go and buy / I said ... when they went / when they went then I said ... the stimulant that I must buy hey / so then / I arrive at the house and I think ... / this isn't the name of a thing which the plant must get / it's a ... I felt so bad / because she's actually a lovely lady / but she's an Afrikaans woman but now she said the old English name because I think they're ...');

the son bleach it - concord `error';

you got to come down in the price - phonological deletion of have or 've; redundant use ot the definite article the;

S:7 *sweetpakkies* - functional switch (`track suits');

S:9 *sterk* - (`strong'), functional switch, appeal to authority (§ 4.2.1);

S:10 (`I want to lock up now');

(`it's two factories the one is something else this is ..../ it's actually expensive').

Group 4 - Informant 4A

S:1 ... Ladysmith's a very lovely place / er / I was / er / we are quite often go there / he was / in partnership with us in / this shop /

I: oh in the shop?

S:2 yes

I: and are you going to be staying on a farm or in the town?

S:3 no on the farm / yes

I: 'cause there were some gorgeous houses that are just empty in that valley

S:4 yes / er / er / one of these / er / er / houses / we are going to stay in / it's a very / it's a very lovely place

I: old?

S:5 no no / it's quite a new house somebody / also a farmer / he builds the house / his wife ... / his wife was a person / she was / just want everything / must be bigger than everybody

I: else's

S:6 else and it must just be the best so it is / but he didn't finish the house / so they divorced but now they are together again / but he sold the farm / so the other farmer / finished / the ... well built / building / and it has has a / huge lounge / it's more or less

I: if it can take a snooker table that big it must be huge

S:7 yes / it can take the snooker table / then you still can / er / put your / er er / lounge suite / you can even / still put / two / lounge suites / er er / round / you can arrange it round the / er / what do you call it? ... *kaggel*

I: ja the fireplace

S:8 fireplace and / um / then it has a very very huge kitchen / with the dining-room / like a open-plan

I: must be cold I mean how do you heat a thing like that?

S:9 well they've got er two fireplaces one in the lounge / and one in / another / er

I: small sitting-room?

S:10 yes / smaller but it is still / er / well / er / a normal sitting-room let me just think a little bit then it has / there are six bedrooms / and now two complete bathrooms / and / er / a lobby / and then there are still another room you can use for the office / and still another little room / I told my sister the other day / I've got now a room for the little dog and it has a cot too / (laugh)

I: you can start a hotel

S:11 yes but it is really a very nice place I like it too

Notes: Informant 4A speaks very slowly and hesitantly, with many pauses. She tries very hard to speak `correctly' and not to use Afrikaans words and is a good example of a `monitor over-user' (§ 4.2).

S:1 we are quite often go there - confusion between incorrect use of continuous aspect`we are quite often going there' and habitual `we quite often go there';

S:3 no = yes;

S:4 hesitation;
stay = live;

S:5 he builds the house - incorrect use of the present tense instead of past tense;
his wife was a person she was just want everything ... - pronoun as relative marker; confusion again between continuous and habitual aspects, and tense;
must be bigger - must = should, but correct sentence would be `who just wanted everything to be bigger';

S:6 built / building - hesitation over choice of correct word;

S:7 then you still can ... - misplaced adverb; `then you can still... ';
direct appeal to authority - *kaggel* (`fireplace');

S:8 a open-plan - no a/an distinction;

S:10 and now a complete bathroom - redundant use of now;
there are still another room - concord `error': plural verb `to be' with singular predicate;
I've got now a room for the little dog - misplaced adverb now; violates the Strict Adjacency principle (§ 6.1.2).

Appendix 3

Informants' comments.

1A:

You know English in those days was very much in the air. ...The policeman was an Englishman. He was English. The stationmaster was English. The magistrate and, uh, bank manager ... all English. Some of them couldn't understand Afrikaans.

1B:

When I was sort of late high school I realised that it was important to be able to speak English - a big revelation suddenly - seeing that it's important. And then I decided to go to UCT. I struggled at the beginning.

I: Living in this part of the peninsula you must have been exposed to more English than you would have been had you lived in the northern suburbs.
S: Yes, no, definitely.

Sometimes the language [Afrikaans] used on TV [is] quite odd.

At school I speak more Afrikaans [than English]. I speak only Afrikaans in my classrooms.

I have several Afrikaans friends but I have a lot of English friends. Away from school I tend to speak a bit more English than Afrikaans.

Objectively I just see them both [English and Afrikaans] as tools.

What needs to happen, and I think it is happening, is that all the sort of cultural baggage and all these things that Afrikaans, that the tool is carrying with it, needs to be left behind ... so it can just be a language ... just one of the languages of the New South Africa. I think ... that's how it must be.

At the moment *standaard taal* [`standard language'] is very much determined by the White Afrikaners.

2AB:

Yesterday ... I was speaking English, no, I was speaking Afrikaans to a group of ladies ... but you know then I switch over and, English, I'm spiritually English, funny. And I mean this is to me a [sic] absolute miracle because when I met Jannie I couldn't speak a word of English but now spiritually I'm English.

3B:

Afrikaans people think the main thing is to get it right ... because not everybody will ever pronounce everything correct. ... I know when I say the wrong word, I know.

4A:

[If you] are [in] a situation that you speak English and you have to speak English and you are quite, all the people round you are just English, you speak English, and you get used to that, but as soon as you are just in a Afrikaans [situation, you lose it].

I do not speak a very good English, I'm quite aware of that, 'cause I do not get the practice you see. But I will immediately see when's something wrong, especially when, with compositions and work and anything like that.

[They] should have started it [dual-medium schools] years ago. They should have make [sic] it double-medium schools ... but you see South Africans are very lazy to learn a new language.

If I am Afrikaans-speaking and I would hear somebody's Afrikaans, I will rather speak Afrikaans. Like kids, they just speak the language they want to speak, or their home language.

4B:

The trouble is you can't get anybody to speak English to you here because all our neighbours is Afrikaans. Now you speak Afrikaans every day and that's the trouble, then you get all rusty with your English.

When we've got to speak English you always find that an English-speaking person won't laugh ar you but now the other Afrikaans person, when you make a mistake or something, then they'll laugh and that's why it always makes you feel funny because you [are] not so free to speak English as you are in Afrikaans.

I can understand English very, very well but sometimes I can't speak English so well as the English-speaking people, but well ...

I don't get a lot of exercise to speak English. It's only now and again when I get somebody to speak to.
When I went to school we had lots of English-speaking children here ... their home languages was English and of course we played together and you say one word in Afrikaans and well you know, like a child now, and one in English, and that's how we started to speak English. ... A child will never be shy to speak English ... when they [are] together and they pick up the words and they say some of the words in English and one in Afrikaans and they don't care how it comes out, they just speak ... that's how it should be.

5A:

[In Umtata there was] not very much English those days.

When I was at school, there was no English-speaking [person] in the whole community, even the person who taught me English up to matric was Afrikaans-speaking. He taught English through medium Afrikaans. We've learnt our English through medium Afrikaans.

...Had a meeting with groups of the two schools and sometimes end up with the English-speaking people talking Afrikaans and the Afrikaans one talking English. The only way to learn a language is to use it, just to speak it.

5B:

In the house our home language is English, but it's actually a mix-up because my family is Afrikaans and I've got two teenage grandchildren. One is actually 100% bilingual because she speaks English, but the others is English-Afrikaans.

[I] grew up in the Free State. I had no idea of English. Although I got a [sic] A for matric I couldn't speak it.

There's no problem with the two languages. Our household is absolutely [bilingual]. They speak English to their grandfather and Afrikaans to me.

We were [Ossewabrandwag] too. My mother was commandant, I was lieutenant, we were all OB in those days. Now I think it's silly.

That was wrong [separate schools]. I like these schools and you get both languages but on the playground they mix.

Even now there's no English friends for him [her husband] here [in Touws River] you know. [She's against the media digging up past history at a politically sensitive time like the present. At the time of the interview there was a serial on TV depicting the Boer/British conflict and the informant felt it was unnecessary to dig up the past in such a way. She also spoke at length about the *opkoms van die Afrikaner* ('the emergence of the Afrikaner') after the Boer war.]

6AB:

With us we'll rather speak Afrikaans before we speak English to a English-speaking person. Here [the Cape] the English and the Afrikaans will be different from Pretoria.

6AB*:

Baie keer mens kan hoor daai ou's Afrikaans as hy Engels praat ('often one can hear that guy's Afrikaans if he speaks English').

7A:

Am I correct when I say the English people, they won't laugh at you when you speak your, when your English is not correct, but I think the Afrikaans people, they laugh when an English [person] should speak Afrikaans and it's not correct.

8A:

Not so much the English but I know the Afrikaans is very different [in the Transvaal]. I'm not talking about the slummy area but I find ... the Afrikaans is much more noticeable from the Cape as from the Transvaal. And [in] the Transvaal you talk about [rɔi] and [mɔi] and [hi:kl].

8B:

Say for instance I teach Afrikaans and I go to the staffroom ... I can't speak English.

11A:

Ja, you'll definitely have more Afrikaans-speaking people speaking English than vice-versa. I think one of the reasons is that Afrikaans-speaking people realise that in the workplace it's really an asset to be able to speak English well, while the English-speaking person doesn't have that much of a motivation.

12B:

I work in both languages, but most of my friends are English-speaking ... most of my thoughts and most of my writing and my personal writing is in English and not Afrikaans ... also the other interesting thing that I've noticed, I write poetry in both languages, but I found years ago that when I was writing Afrikaans it was mostly political and mostly very angry in a political way, and English, it was more romantic and I find these days if I write Afrikaans, ... the Afrikaans is much more considered, and much more almost abstract ... and formal.

I find that the one place where I do have trouble sometimes with English, where I have to analyse, is singulars and plurals, because you can, now where's the singular there or where's the plural there and you actually have to backtrack and go and check and think about it.

For myself I'm very happy to have grown up Afrikaans ... the things that that has given me ... that's like a baggage for me, like a conscious baggage that's actually working for me. It's like tools. I enjoy English; I enjoy all the things that are English.

Control:

C3B:

The Afrikaners are actually better at learning English than the English people at Afrikaans. ... Cape Peninsula there's very little Afrikaans ... you go into the shops it's all English ... Afrikaans-speakers have to use English.