

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN



Syntactic Variation in Afrikaans – An Empirical Study

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COMPULSORY DECLARATION

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

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Abstract

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

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

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

study examines the use of *direct linking verbs* and the role that *complex verb initials* play in proliferating VX structures.

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

The study recommends that that the bi-modal approach of considering both performance and competence data should be applied to similar studies of other groups in the Afrikaans language community.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

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

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

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

The specific syntactic changes investigated in this study have been subjected to extensive theoretical examinations and explications in the fields of generative linguistics. From the literature, the consensus seems to be that the word order in Afrikaans (XV structure) is

changing to resemble an English frame (VX structure) because of language contact (*cf.*, *inter alia*, Conradie, 2004; Donaldson, 1991). Unfortunately, past studies have often paid insufficient attention to sample group selection and reporting of sample demographics. As a result, unanimous conclusions have not been reached concerning the degree and frequency of word order variation and change.

The study follows the methodological recommendations made by researchers concerned with investigating syntactic variation, such as Barbiers, Cornips and Van der Kleij (2000). They recommend that the sample group should be fairly homogenous in order to ensure that the variations observed are not caused by external social variables. Therefore, the participants in this study are all under thirty-six years of age, White¹ middle-class people who have been residing in Cape Town for at least the past seven to ten years, and who are bilingual in English.

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

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

¹ The terms 'Black', 'Coloured', 'Indian' and 'White' will be used in this study, following their use in official statistics to refer to groups 'with common characteristics (in terms of descent and history), particularly in relation to how they were (or would have been) classified before the 1994 elections' (*Statistics South Africa*, cited in Christopher, 2005: 2307).

premise that descriptions of the language use of a specific sub-group illuminate but one piece of the Afrikaans-language puzzle, and proposes that a similar approach should be followed when describing other contemporary spoken Afrikaans varieties (e.g. Coloured Afrikaans, Johannesburg Afrikaans, etc.).

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

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

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

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

The thesis concludes with a summary of the findings and reflections for further research.

Chapter 2: Theoretical Background and Terminology

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

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

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

2.1 Variation in word order

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

Some languages follow the requirement that the second constituent of a declarative matrix clause must be a verbal constituent. This phenomenon is referred to as 'verb second' (V2), and if a language has V2 as a characteristic property it is called a V2 language. As stated by Santorini (1992: 595), the V2 rule is a conspicuous feature in Germanic languages. English is the only Germanic language that does not follow the V2 rule (McWhorter, 2002: 242), and is classified as a VX language. The V2 requirement should not be confused with the basic underlying word order of a language. Following

can be applied to Afrikaans: namely that it has an underlying VX order (*cf. inter alia* Biberauer, 2002a; and Oosthuizen, 1996).

The Universal Base hypothesis is not unanimously accepted, and alternative theories continue to be proposed in favour of base-generated XV structures (*cf. Svenonius, 2000; Haider, 2000*). Barbiers (2000) argues that all languages in fact have an XV base structure. He states ‘that the different surface position of V in English and Dutch is the result of short V-movement applying overtly in English’ (*op. cit.*: 182).⁴ Barbiers’ hypothesis rests on the idea that all derivations are initiated by the verb, since ‘it is mostly V that determines which other constituents must or can occur in the sentence’ (*ibid.*). Further discussion of these debates will not be made here. For the purposes of this study Barbiers’ proposal is adopted.

2.1.2 Afrikaans word order and clause structure

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

- (2) *dat* *sy* *hom* *skop*
 that she him kick
 ‘that she kicks him’

⁴ ‘Short V-movement is understood to mean V-movement to little v’ in a successively cyclical manner from V (Mohr, 2005: 87).

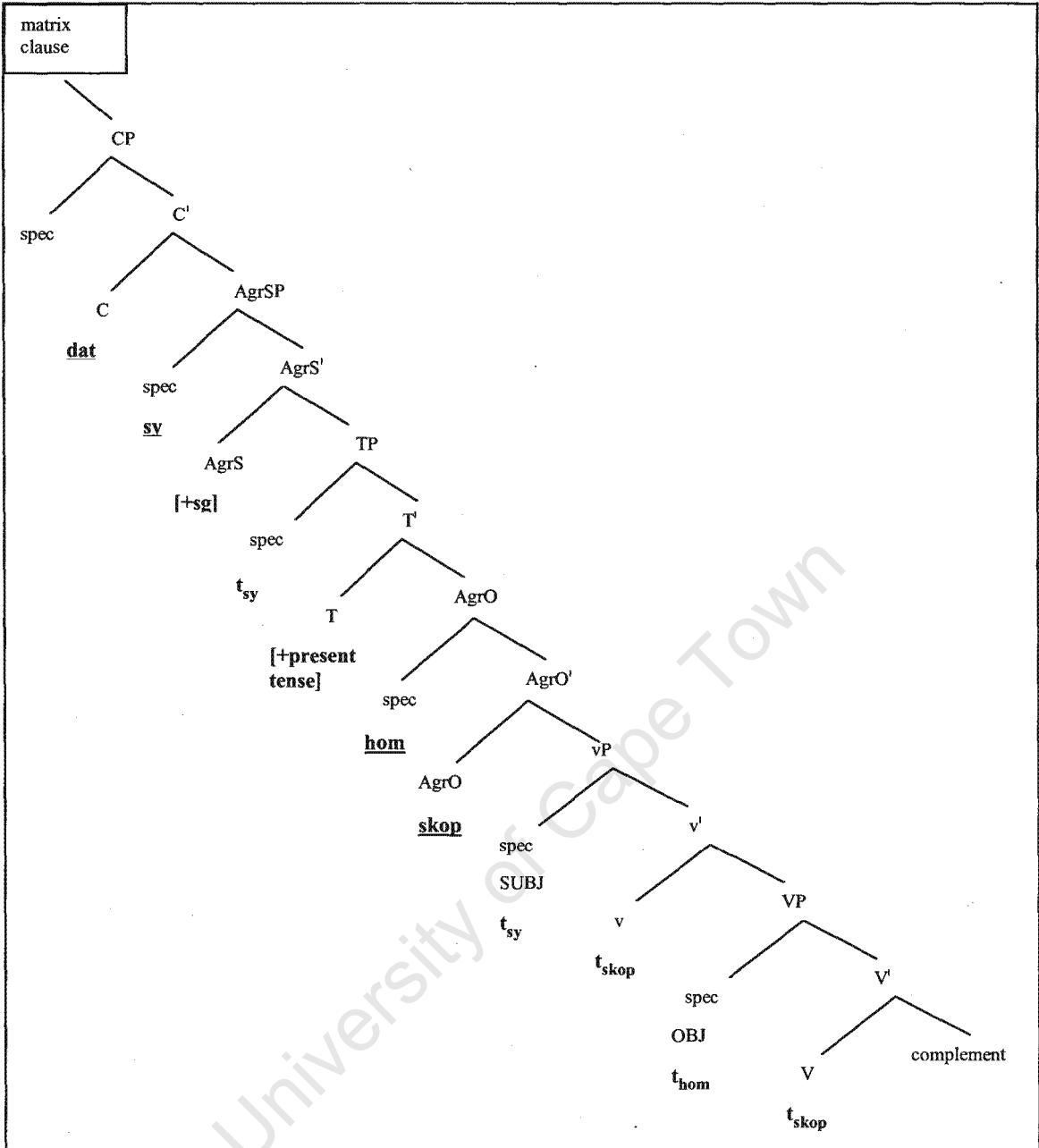


Figure 2.1: The clause structure of Afrikaans

2.2 Subordinate clauses, types of subordinators and types of verbs

2.2.1 Defining subordinating conjunctions and subordinate clauses

Ponelis (1979: 437) has argued that the presence of conjunctions signals the dependent or subordinate nature of embedded clauses. However, conjunctions do not only serve a

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

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

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

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

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

Rosenbaum (1967) introduced the term *complementizer*, which is used to refer to a syntactic category that is generally equivalent to the term 'subordinating conjunction' in traditional grammar. Complementizers are distinguished from other subordinating conjunctions in that they introduce *complement clauses*. A complement clause is a specific type of embedded clause, which must be attached to a matrix or independent clause in order for both clauses to be grammatically complete (Noonan, 1985: 42). Example (4.a) above, '*of jy die spyker op die kop slaan*' is an example of a complement

clause with *'dit lyk my'* as matrix clause. Other types of dependent embedded clauses include adverbial clauses and relative clauses (Diessel, 2001: 435). The focus of the analyses and discussions in Chapter 5 is on complement and subordinate embedded clauses, and not on adverbial or relative clauses. The whole class consisting of both complementizers and subordinate conjunctions (i.e. that do not introduce a complement clause) will be referred to as 'subordinators'.

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

1. **Type A** – clean dependent embedded clauses (occur without subordinator, and have VX order – StAfr, typical of informal speech),⁵

e.g. *ek besef [ek maak hierdie kort klein onnodige oproepe]* (Female, 25 years)

'I realise I make these short, unnecessary calls'

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

e.g. *ek weet nie [of dit is omdat ons 'n kleiner groep is of wat nie]* (Female, 20 years)

'I do not know if it is because we are smaller group or what'

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

e.g. *veral nou [omdat ek fokus op een teoloog]* (Male, 29 years)

'especially now because I focus on one theologian'

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

2.2.2 Bridge verbs as a type of matrix verb

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

⁵ 'Clean dependent embedded clauses' is a translation of Feinauer (1990) terminology (*skoon afhanklike bysinne*), where 'clean' simply means 'without subordinator'.

drop and VX subordinate clauses may become the norm. The presence of an overt complementizer with bridge verbs might therefore be the exception, rather than the VX word order. This behaviour of bridge verbs can be regarded as innovative: the semantic change of the bridge verb as a quotative or presupposition marker makes the presence of an overt complementizer redundant.

2.3 Linking verbs and simplex/complex verb initials

2.3.1 Linking verbs

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

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

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

Linking verbs in Afrikaans are lexical verbs that underwent semantic shifts (Ponelis, 1979: 241). One of the main semantic adaptations is the modal and aspectual functions

that linking verbs take on (*cf.* Heine, 1993: 14-16). This is illustrated in example (7), the linking verb is underlined and the main verb is in **bold**.

- (7) *hy bly na die tuin **kyk***
 he keeps at the garden look
 'he keeps on looking at the garden'

In example (7), the semantic features of *bly* are no longer those of its main verb alternative (i.e. [x BLY y]⁶ – *hy bly tuis* 'he stays home'). Rather, *bly* scopes over the proposition in an aspectual manner: BLY_{durative} [x KYK NA y]. As a linking verb, *bly* now no longer refers to an activity, but denotes the duration of the activity described by the main verb (in this case, an ongoing activity), and can no longer assign semantic/thematic roles to the arguments in the proposition. The claim can be made that the linking verb 'describes' the state of the main verb.

2.3.2 Complex and simplex initials

In Afrikaans, a direct linking verb can occur with the finite verb in V2 in declaratives, thereby forming a *complex initial* (henceforth CI; De Vos, 2005: 197). The combination of a linking and main verb in a CI is also referred to as a verb cluster. When a single verb occurs in V2, it constitutes a *simplex initial* (henceforth SI). The sentences in (8) and (9) exemplify the possible distributions of the modal, *te*-complement,⁷ linking and main verbs. With (8.a) the future modal *sal* is in V2 (SI). In (8.b), *begin* ('starts') is a *te*-complement verb in a SI, with the infinitive main verb *lees* ('read') in the infinitive clause (V-final). When the infinite verb is raised to the V2 position in the matrix clause, the presence of *te* is prohibited in Afrikaans (8.c).

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

⁷ *Te*-complement verbs are a type of restructuring verb in Afrikaans that obligatorily co-occurs with the infinitive marker *te*. These verbs usually do not select a CP complement that has the infinitival complementizer *om* in C (De Vos, 2001: 24).

- (8) a. *Jan sal die boeke begin (te) lees*
 Jan will the books begin (to) read
 ‘Jan will start to read the books’
- b. *Jan begin die boeke te lees*
 Jan start the books to read
 ‘Jan starts to read the books’
- c. **Jan begin te lees die boeke*
 Jan start to read the books (adapted from De Vos, 2005: 197)

The examples in (9) do not contain an infinitive clause, and in (9.a) the linking verb *begin* occurs in a SI. In (9.b), the linking verb and main verb form a CI or verb cluster.

- (9) a. *Jan begin die boeke lees*
 Jan start the books read
- b. *Jan begin lees die boeke*
 Jan start read the books
 ‘Jan starts reading the books’ (adapted from De Vos, 2005: 197)

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

- (8.b) *begin [(om) ... te V] = starts [to V ...]* (*te*-complement verb), and
 (9.b) *begin V = starts Ving* (linking verb)

Begin fulfils different grammatical roles in (8.b) and (9.b). The difference is indicated by the fact that *begin* is a *te*-complement verb in (8.b) that selects the whole infinitival clause as a complement, but in (9.b) it functions as a linking verb by modifying the main verb *lees*. Only linking verbs can therefore form CIs with a main verb. Another verb that presents with similar grammatical diversity is *probeer*. The occurrence and grammatical features of *begin* and *probeer* in the empirical data will be discussed in detail in Chapter 6.2.2.

According to Ponelis (1993: 315) the occurrence of CIs is held to be an indicator of a change in Afrikaans linear clause structure, where previously final main verbs (XV structure) are moved to the front of the clause and thus positioned adjacent to the linking verb. Therefore, the focus of Chapter 6 is on the variation in the frequency occurrence of SIs and CIs with specific direct linking verbs.

2.3.3 Verb cluster formation and verb clusters in Afrikaans

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

- (10) he must have been looking at the garden

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

- (11) a. go fetch the newspaper
b. come stand here next to me
- (12) a. *you go fetch the newspaper⁸
b. *you come stand here next to me
- (13) a. you go and fetch the newspaper
b. you come and stand here next to me

⁸ From personal communication with Rajend Mesthrie: some varieties of English allow such constructions.

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

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

2.4 Language contact and grammatical change

2.4.1 Language contact, grammaticalization and lexicalization

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

shift-induced interference, attributed to L1 Khoesan-speakers who shifted to Cape Dutch under conditions of imperfect learning (creolization; cf. Den Besten, 2002). When Khoesan-speakers shifted to Cape Dutch, some Khoesan features were transferred that contributed to the formation of Afrikaans as a distinct variety.

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

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

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

2.4.2 Language contact and structural changes in Afrikaans

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

Principle of bilingual language use: ‘the bilingual creates a new rule for L1 in those areas of grammar where the L2 rule is simpler or less marked in some way’ (p. 617-618).

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

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

- (14) **ik weet de jongens lezen de krant*
‘I know the boys read the newspaper’
- (15) *er meint Johan habe Maria geküsst*⁹
‘he thinks Johan have-SUBJ Maria kissed’ (Biberauer, 2002a: 32)

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

⁹ From personal communication with Ana Deumert, *er meint Johan hat Maria geküsst* (indicative) is neither rare nor unusual in informal, spoken German.

¹⁰ Unfortunately this conclusion is made without any reference to actual quantitative data.

The contemporary position of wide ranging *dat*-deletion seems to have been attained quite early in the previous century. The close parallelism with English *that*-deletion indicates that English influence has at least contributed to Afrikaans complementizer deletion, if it is not the major factor in its emergence. (Ponelis, *op. cit.*: 309)

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

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

'I regret I cannot do anything for you'

(17) *Ich weiß [er ist unschuldig]*

'I know he is innocent'

(Feinauer, 1990: 118)

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

2.4.3 Language contact and structural changes in other Germanic languages

Changes in XV word order has been attested in extra-territorial varieties of Dutch and German in North America where English is the main contact language. For instance, Ostyn (1972: 69) reports a change towards VX word order in American Flemish due to influence from English. He attributes the occurrence of *dat*-omission to changes in the Flemish XV syntactic frame where the construction becomes identical to the English VX frame.

Fuller (1996) investigates Pennsylvania German (henceforth PG) to determine whether the observable syntactic changes reflect (a) convergence to English or (b) independently motivated language changes. Fuller finds that English-type VX word order is used with increased frequency in subordinate clauses in PG. In English the clause structure helps to establish the distinction between subject and object Noun Phrases (NPs). This favouring of one word order, along with the deterioration of case-marking morphology on NPs, might suggest that PG is in a process of developing a syntactic case-marking system (like English), and is shifting away from using morphology with freer word order (like early PG; cf. Hawkins, 1986).

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

1. *Language contact*: VX replaced XV as result of bilingual use of a VX and XV language.
2. *Grammaticalization of word order*: VX word order helps to mark the distinction between subject and object, therefore a loss of inflectional morphology gives rise to VX.
3. *Reanalysis of derived VX sequences*: When frequent application of optional movement rules makes the main clause evidence for XV opaque, VX arises through reanalysis of synchronically derived Verb-Object sequences.
4. *Harmonization of the direction of complementation*: The subordinate clause evidence for the XV base becomes opaque because of the rise of embedded finite verb fronting in embedded clauses, and VX arises as a generalization of rightward complementation, already in force in the other functional and lexical categories in Germanic.

Changes in word order are therefore not only due to external forces such as language contact. The English language itself is a case in point: the language underwent a structural change from XV to VX, which has been attributed alternatively to two of the factors listed above, i.e. (1) language contact (cf. Kroch, 2001; McWorther, 2002), and

(2) grammaticalization of word order (*cf.* Van der Wurff, 1997; Kroch and Taylor, 2000; *inter alia*). Multiple causation is also a possibility.

2.4.4 Language contact and Afrikaans complex initials

De Vos (2005: 130-134) discusses various explanations for the CI phenomenon in Afrikaans, drawing on Ponelis (1993), Roberge (1994) and Den Besten (2002: citing Den Besten and Rutten, 1989). One possible account, according to Den Besten (1988: 2002), is the influence from Khoesan languages, some of which have verbal compounding rules. For instance, verbal compounds in †Hoan¹¹ are characterized by the following formulation: ‘In verbal compounds involving V₁ and V₂, V₁ and V₂ are adjacent and share one tense/aspect/voice marker’ (Gruber, 1975: 2). This formula is illustrated in the following †Hoan examples:

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

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

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

¹¹ †Hoan is a moribund Khoesan language spoken in Botswana.

lexicalized verb compound. The progress of lexicalization can be seen in (19) where the verb cluster acts as a semantic whole (the verb cluster is in **bold**).

- (19) *hy **gaan haal** die kinders*
 he go fetch the children
 ‘He fetches the children’ (Ponelis, *op. cit.*: 329)

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

Ponelis (1993: 330) suggests that both Khoesan as well as Dutch might have played a role in use of CIs in Afrikaans. He cites examples of utterances from early and dialectal Dutch where ‘a clause-initial combination of two verbs in imperatives is widely attested’ (1993: 330).¹² Example (20) is from early New Dutch (the CI is in **bold**):

- (20) ***loopt haelt** dan ... die spijse!*
 go get then ... the food
 ‘go then and get the food’ (Ponelis, 1993: 330)

¹² Ponelis does not give further specifics, but lists a number of literary sources at the end of his discussion (1993: 331).

Ponelis argues that this imperative-type of CIs (which also occurs in English, see Section 2.3.3) must have occurred in early Afrikaans. The presence of such constructions then triggered (in conjunction with influence from Khoesan) the acceptability of non-imperative CIs. As noted above, CIs consisting of linking and main verbs are rare cross-linguistically, and, according to some linguists, they are ‘absent in Dutch’ (Robbers, 1997: 58). The rarity of CIs is mainly because infinitive main verbs are prohibited from raising to V2 (since they lack subject-agreement inflection). No morphological distinction, however, is made between finite and infinitive verbs in Afrikaans. This arguably nullifies the restriction of raising the infinitive verb. According to Ponelis (1993), when a finite verb is marked by concord inflection¹³ it is directly linked with the subject, ‘and the lack of this marking in nonfinite verbs just as clearly indicates their lack of a direct link with the subject’ (p. 329). Nonfinite verbs thus usually remain *in situ*, and do not raise to form a cluster with a direct linking verb in the finite (V2) position, as shown in the following example from Standard Dutch. In (21.a) *laat* is a finite verb and *blijken* an infinitive; (21.b) shows the ungrammatical construction. In (21.c) the same construction deemed ungrammatical in Standard Dutch is allowed in Afrikaans.

(21) a. *laat hij niets blijken?*

let he nothing reveal?

‘does he not reveal anything?’

b. **laat blijken hij niets?*

c. *laat blyk hy niks nie?*

(Ponelis, *op. cit.*: 329)

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

¹³ ‘Concord inflection’ refers to morphology on the verb that agrees with the specifications of the subject in the construction.

2.5 Conclusion

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

University of Cape Town

Chapter 3: Afrikaans-speakers: Social and Linguistic Realities

This chapter provides the sociolinguistic background for the research conducted in this study. In Section 3.1 the demographic characteristics of Afrikaans speakers in South Africa and Cape Town are sketched in order to supply details about the social profile of this study's sample group (White Afrikaans L1 speakers in Cape Town). Bilingualism¹⁴ as a societal phenomenon in the South African context is discussed in Section 3.2, and an Afrikaans language community model is proposed in Section 3.3. Section 3.4 reports on the present-day language behaviour of bilingual White Afrikaans L1 speakers by means of a survey conducted on factors influencing language choices in different conversational contexts. Since a community consists of individual members, Section 3.5 discusses the psycholinguistic implications of individual bilingualism. The importance of bilingualism as a variable that needs to be accounted for is considered with reference to Grosjean's (2001) language mode model.

3.1 Demographic profile of the Afrikaans language community

3.1.1 Social profile of Afrikaans speakers in South Africa

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

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

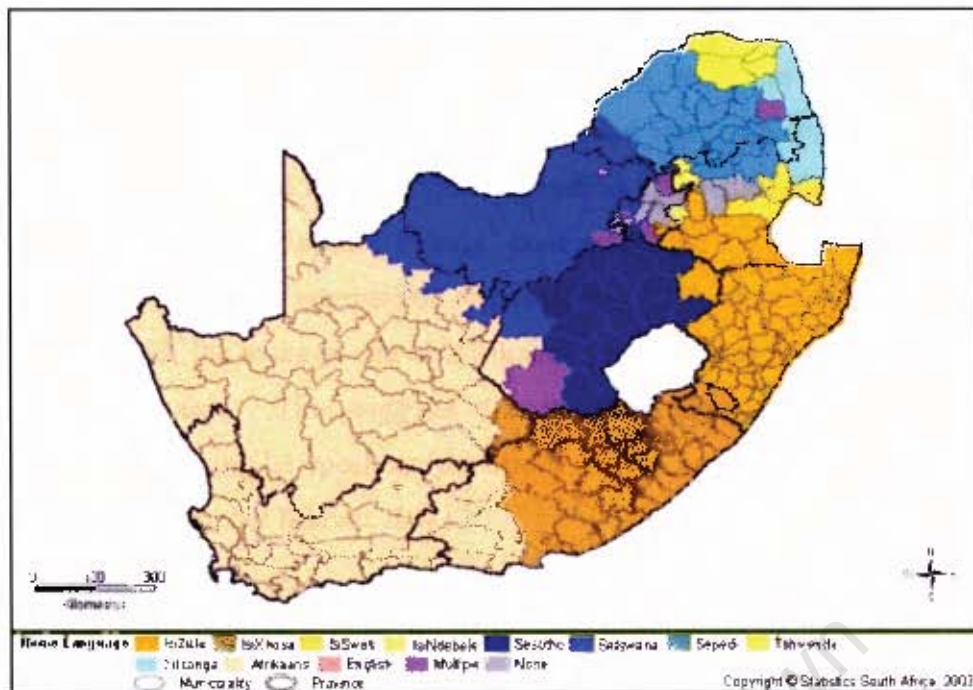


Figure 3.1: Distribution of languages as dominant L1s¹⁵ in South Africa (*Statistics South Africa, 2001 Digital Census Atlas¹⁶*)

	N	Percentage of total provincial population
Northern Cape	561,000	56.6%
Western Cape	2 500,748	55.3%
Gauteng	1 249,933	13.6%
Free State	323,081	11.9%
Eastern Cape	601,666	9.6%
North West	293,210	9.2%
Mpumalanga	18,6118	5.5%
Limpopo	128,441	2.6%
KwaZulu-Natal	139,223	1.5%
South Africa	5 983,420	13.3%

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

¹⁵ StatsSA defines language dominance as: 'one home language having more than 50% of the total home language of the municipality; or between 33% to 50% of one home language and no other home language having more than 25%' (<http://www.statssa.gov.za/census2001/digiAtlas/index.html>).

¹⁶ See StatsSA's online digital atlas generator: <http://www.statssa.gov.za/census2001/digiAtlas/index.html>.

According to Van der Merwe and Van der Merwe (2006: 17), ‘most Afrikaans speakers live in the urban metropolises – Cape Town and Gauteng being the main centres, while Port Elizabeth, Bloemfontein and Kimberly are second foci.’ 85.4% of all Afrikaans-speaking South Africans lived in urban areas according to the 2001 Census, compared to 56.8% for the national population. Finally, concerning the average age of Afrikaans speakers in South Africa, a comparison between the 1980 and 2001 Census data is instructive. In 1980, the average age of Afrikaans speakers was 26,1 years; in 2001, it had risen to 30,4 years. This suggests that the Afrikaans language community is progressively losing young L1 speakers (the South African average age in 2001 was 26.8; Van der Merwe and Van der Merwe, *ibid.*).¹⁷

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

Percentage of Population Group per Region			
	South Africa	Western Cape	Cape Town Municipality
Coloured	53%	79%	78.8%
White	42.4%	18.5%	18.7%
Black African	4.2%	2.2%	2.1%
Indian/Asian	0.3%	0.3%	0.5%
Total	5 983,423	2 500,748	1 198,990

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

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

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

3.1.2 Social profile of Afrikaans speakers in the Cape Town metropole

In the 2001 census, 41.4% of Cape Town's population spoke Afrikaans, 27.9% spoke English, and 28.7% indicated that isiXhosa was their home language. Given that over two-thirds of Afrikaans speakers in Cape Town are Coloured, these absolute numbers say little about the 20% White community that is at the centre of this study. By cross-tabulating the 2001 census data¹⁸ for population group, language, and level of education, Table 3.3 summarizes salient social differences between White and Coloured Afrikaans-speaking Capetonians.

Highest educational level	Population group	
	Coloured	White
No schooling	31.5%	4.5%
Grade 12/standard 10/form 5/matric/NTC III	60.2%	59.8%
Certificate with grade 12	2.8%	4.9%
Diploma with grade 12	4.1%	17.9%
Bachelor's degree and diploma	0.6%	4.3%
Honour's degree	0.4%	4.0%
Higher degree (master's or doctorate)	0.3%	4.6%

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

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

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

¹⁸ By employing StatsSA's online interactive website, see: <http://interactive.statssa.gov.za/>.

the 2001 Census data to distinguish eight different suburb types in Cape Town according to the social and linguistic profile of their residents (Table 3.4).

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

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

The interesting aspect of these residential demographics is that one can observe a definite division of White middle-class/upper-middle class people in terms of their home language: the majority of people living in type I suburbs use English as a L1, where White Afrikaans-speaking people are found to reside predominately in type II suburbs. This distribution was also the case for the participants in this study: the majority grew up and/or is currently living in White, as well as Afrikaans-dominant, middle to upper middle class areas (type II). However, they are in fairly regular contact with White L1 speakers of English since approximately one-third of the residents in Afrikaans-dominant type II suburbs are White English speakers. In addition, there is a residential division

between White and Coloured Afrikaans-speakers: the latter reside predominately in the former urban townships (Cape Flats, type V, VI) where they constitute over 90% of the population. White Afrikaans-speakers therefore have little contact with non-White Afrikaans L1 speakers in their residential areas. A possible place of contact might be at the workplace.

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

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

3.2 Bilingualism in the Afrikaans language community – a brief overview

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

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

Research since the 1970s has documented the widespread bilingualism in the White Afrikaans community (Hauptfleisch, 1978, 1979; cf. Lass, 1987: 303). Currently, English is used as a second language (L2) by a great number of Afrikaans-speaking South Africans (White as well as Coloured). Based on survey data (AMPS 2008), Deumert (2009) has estimated that about 50% of urban Afrikaans-speakers use English as an additional language within the home environment. The global status of English – as well as its availability as a national lingua franca for a multilingual nation like South Africa – has important implications for bilingual South Africans: with English increasingly becoming the norm in public contexts, L2 speakers of English make more use of English

in their daily lives than before (*cf.* Kamwangamalu, 2003). This may result in the first language (L1) becoming strictly a language of the home, i.e. a language that is only used in the speaker's private life, whereas the L2 dominates in all other spheres of public life. This pattern can continue in the form of stable bilingualism, or can lead to gradual language shift, where the L2 replaces the L1 (*cf.* Louw, 2004 for a discussion of language shift from Afrikaans to English). One should therefore be able to model the Afrikaans language community into different groups, based on speakers' *dominant* language use. A dominant language is 'the language with which the speaker has greater proficiency and/or uses more often' (Schafer *et al.*, 1997).

3.3 Modelling the Afrikaans language community

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

If the language is also closely tied to ethnic or racial divisions within a society, communication networks will usually mirror this divide and there will be limited interaction between ethnic/racial groups. This is applicable to Afrikaans: during apartheid Coloured speakers of Afrikaans were *de facto* excluded from the regular communication networks that linked White Afrikaans speakers to one another. As a result one might argue that the Afrikaans language community was divided into two separate *communication communities* during colonialism and apartheid, a division which still prevails in the continuing patterns of segregated residential settlement and interaction (as discussed in Section 3.1.2).

The following discussion of the Afrikaans language community elaborates on Du Plessis' proposal. A graphic representation (Figure 3.2) is proposed that makes provision for rudimentary L2 speakers (secondary language community), as well as fully bilingual and monolingual speakers (primary language community). The graphic representation includes all the members of the Afrikaans language community, regardless of population group, and distinguishes four different groups within the larger language community by considering factors such as home language use, language dominance and patterns of use in everyday life. This language community representation does not conceptualize the ethnic divisions discussed in the previous paragraph; i.e. within the language community there are different communication communities, which can be related to different degrees of social contact.

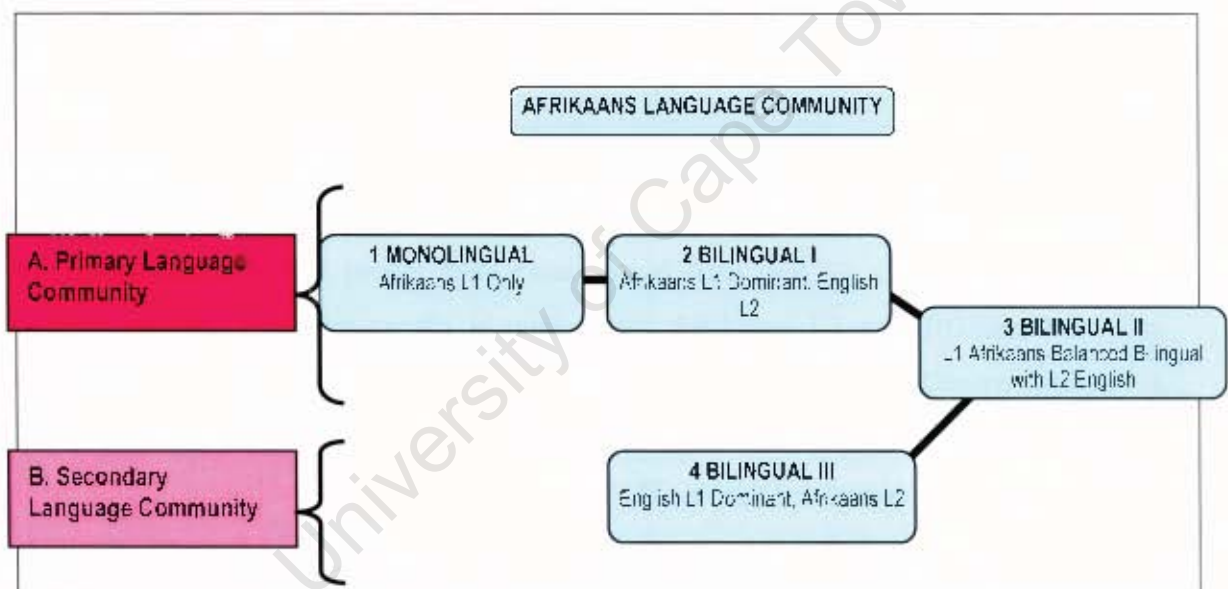


Figure 3.2: Graphic representation of the Afrikaans language community: one monolingual and three bilingual groups

Table 3.5 gives a rough indication of the relative size of each group. These demographics were estimated using the *South African Advertising Research Foundation All Media and Products Survey* (which collects data on primary and secondary language use).

Afrikaans Language Community	Relative size
1. <i>Monolingual Afrikaans speakers</i> : Afrikaans only; low to zero proficiency in any other language. Afrikaans is used in all contexts.	± 38% of Afrikaans language community
2. <i>Bilingual Afrikaans speakers</i> : Afrikaans is the dominant language; English (or another language) is regularly used, although in restricted contexts.	
3. <i>Bilingual Afrikaans speakers</i> : balanced bilingualism. Regular use of both Afrikaans and English (or another language) in a wide range of contexts. Afrikaans, however, is dominant in the home domain.	± 37% of Afrikaans language community
4. <i>Bilingual (high proficiency) Afrikaans-L2 speakers</i> : English (or another language) is the dominant language; Afrikaans is regularly used, although in restricted contexts.	± 25% of Afrikaans language community

Table 3.5: Description and relative size of groups of Afrikaans speakers in the Afrikaans language community (all population groups; SAARF AMPS®, 2008)¹⁹

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

¹⁹ SAARF AMPS® 2008 data. Total sample size: 21,083. Data collected by means of questionnaires (see

<http://www.saarf.co.za/AMPS/productquestionnaire/Saarf%20Amps%202008A%20Questionnaire.pdf>).

3.4 Bilinguals and language choices – a survey

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

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

3.4.2 Methodology

A questionnaire (see Appendix 1) was developed to elicit information on language choice testing for twenty-three interlocutors and conversational contexts. The questionnaire was sent out via electronic mail (email) to all participants interviewed for this study, as well as to other White Afrikaans-speaking acquaintances and friends. The data collection period for this survey was the last two weeks of October 2008, during which approximately fifty questionnaires were emailed. Seventy people responded in total, due to a snowball effect where people forwarded the questionnaire to other White Afrikaans speakers on their mailing lists. Table 3.6 is a summary of the respondents’ demographics. All the respondents are White, and based on their occupations they can be classified as middle to upper middle class.

Age	<u>Cape Town</u>		<u>Johannesburg</u>		<u>Pretoria</u>		<u>George</u>	
	<i>Female</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>Male</i>
<25	6 (5)	(3)	2	2	3	2	0	0
26-35	4 (4)	2 (5)	6	6	5	6	1	1
>36	2	0	2	2	0	0	1	0
<i>N=70</i>	12 (9)	2 (8)	10	10	8	8	2	1
	<i>31</i>		<i>20</i>		<i>16</i>		<i>3</i>	

Table 3.6: Summary of respondent demographics according to age, gender and place of residence²⁰

3.4.3 Results and discussion

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

A, i.e. using only Afrikaans

V, i.e. variable usage (both English and Afrikaans)²¹

E, i.e. using only English

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

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

²⁰ The figures in brackets indicate the number of respondents who also form part of this study's main sample group, see Chapter 3.

²¹ This category combines the following questionnaire responses: equal use of Afrikaans and English; both but Afrikaans more than English; and both but English more than Afrikaans.

²² According to Guttman (1944: 140), scales with $CR > 0.85$ can be considered as approximations to a perfect scale, and a $CR \geq 0.93$ approaches the 0.05 level of significance.

also excluded, since these were not applicable to many of the respondents. Table 3.7 lists the final set of categories for the implication scale.

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

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

Table 3.8 illustrates the patterns of language choices for all the respondents in the format of an implicational scale.

Person (age, location, occupation)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
F 18 CPT - student	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	E	E	A	E
M 19 CPT - student	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	E	E	A	E
M 24 BSB - financial software consultant	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	V	V	E	E
M 26 BSB - HR consultant	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	V	V	E	E
F 19 CET - student	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	V	V	E	E
F 21 CPT - student/writer	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	V	V	E	E
F 21 PTA - business manager	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	V	V	E	E
F 25 CPT - retail work	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	V	V	E	E
F 24 BSB - risk management consultant	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	V	V	E	E
M 26 BSB - chartered accountant	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	V	V	E	E
F 29 CPT - student	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	V	V	E	E
F 22 CPT - student/writer	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	V	V	E	E
M 23 PTA - information technology	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	V	V	E	E
M 25 CPT - states broker	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	V	V	E	E
M 21 CPT - software programmer	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	V	V	E	E
M 25 PTA - labor broker	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	V	V	E	E
F 27 OTH - lecturer	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	V	V	E	E
F 27 CPT - agricultural secretary	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	V	V	E	E
M 27 PTA - actuarial analyst	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	V	V	E	E
M 27 PTA - secretary	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	V	V	E	E
F 28 BSB - HR analytics	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	V	V	E	E
F 29 CPT - secretary/student	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	V	V	E	E
M 29 CPT - information technology support	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	V	V	E	E
M 29 CPT - administrative pastor	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	V	V	E	E
F 30 BSB - actuarial studies	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	V	V	E	E
M 30 CPT - symphony orchestra conductor	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	V	V	E	E
M 31 PTA - secretary	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	V	V	E	E
M 31 BSB - accountant	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	V	V	E	E
M 31 BSB - secretary	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	V	V	E	E
F 32 PTA - food safety coordinator	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	V	V	E	E
F 37 CPT - self-employed	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	E	E	A	E
F 23 BSB - risk analyst	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	V	V	E	E
F 24 CPT - self-employed	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	V	V	E	E
F 25 CPT - property development	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	V	V	E	E
F 25 PTA - actuarial analyst	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	V	V	E	E
M 28 BSB - lecturer	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	V	V	E	E
M 29 BSB - mechanical design engineer	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	V	V	E	E
F 29 BSB - engineer	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	V	V	E	E
M 31 PTA - secretary	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	V	V	E	E
F 32 PTA - compliance auditor	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	V	V	E	E
M 30 BSB - open computer company	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	V	V	E	E
M 31 OTH - lecturer	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	V	V	E	E
M 24 BSB - finance	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	V	V	E	E
F 24 PTA - audit clerk	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	E	E	A	E
F 25 CPT - chef	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	V	V	E	E
F 26 CET - occupational therapist	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	V	V	E	E
M 30 BSB - director	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	V	V	E	E
M 33 CPT - bookkeeper	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	V	V	E	E
F 32 CPT - lecturer and writer	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	V	V	E	E
F 28 CPT - student/writer	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	V	V	E	E
M 23 BSB - radio assistant	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	V	V	E	E
F 24 PTA - shop assistant	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	V	V	E	E
F 24 CPT - student	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	V	V	E	E
F 25 CPT - librarian	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	V	V	E	E
M 26 CPT - financial services	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	V	V	E	E
F 29 CPT - video editor	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	V	V	E	E
F 29 CPT - nurse/market research	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	V	V	E	E
F 29 PTA - actuarial analyst	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	V	V	E	E
M 30 CPT - property development	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	V	V	E	E
M 26 BSB - food industry	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	V	V	E	E
F 17 BSB - actuarial auditor	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	V	V	E	E
M 18 CPT - business analyst	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	V	V	E	E
M 23 CPT - information technology	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	V	V	E	E
M 25 PTA - engineer	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	V	V	E	E
F 30 CPT - clinical researcher	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	V	V	E	E
M 27 BSB - auditor	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	V	V	E	E
M 26 PTA - information technology	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	V	V	E	E
M 31 PTA - mechanical engineer	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	V	V	E	E
F 46 BSB - financial manager	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	V	V	E	E
F 33 OTH - administrative work	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	V	V	E	E

Table 3.8: Implication scale of respondents' language choices:²³ 3% [V or E]; 67% [A, V or E]; 24% [V or A]; and 6% [A only]

²³ Deviations indicated by * (98 in total). Coefficient of reproducibility (CR) = 0.89. Entries in **bold** also form part of the second sample group.

The general pattern can be described as follows – Afrikaans is dominant in categories 1-6 (private and personal contexts); categories 7-9 (friends and work) present with variable usage; and English is dominant in categories 10-13 (public and strangers). Most of the respondents (86%) use both Afrikaans and English (variable usage) from the 7th category ('language use with friends') onwards, which suggests that the respondents either choose to portray a bilingual identity when communicating with friends, or that they have friends that do not speak Afrikaans. However, most of them indicated in the questionnaire that they use Afrikaans more often than English in interactions with friends. Friendship networks thus tend to be bilingual, yet Afrikaans-dominant.

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

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

	A Afrikaans	V Both	E English
Johannesburg	48%	32%	19%
Cape Town	42%	37%	20%
Tshwane	53%	25%	21%
Total	47%	33%	20%

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

The respondents from Tshwane, where White Afrikaans speakers are dominant according to the 2001 Census (they constitute 90% of the total Afrikaans-speaking population in the

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

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

	A Afrikaans	V Both	E English
Female	43%	35%	20%
Male	51%	29%	19%
Total	47%	33%	20%

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

	A Afrikaans	V Both	E English
<25	43%	37%	20%
26-35	49%	30%	21%
>36	48%	37%	15%
Total	47%	33%	20%

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

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

3.4.4 Comments and opinions of Afrikaans-English bilinguals regarding their language use

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Ek praat net by die huis Afrikaans, verder praat ek net Engels, ja almal praat Engels deesdae, meeste van my vriende het omgeskakel, ja, die mense wat nou saam met my in

die stad bly, selfs die saam met wie ek skool toe gegaan het, en so (unclear) praat grootendeels Engels veral onder mekaar, maar Afrikaans kom nog oor vir intonasie en snaaks wees. (Male, 25 years)

Another participant expressed his loyalty towards Afrikaans as a language with which people can be more emotionally expressive. He feels that Afrikaans is a language under threat ('*n bedreigde taal*'), especially because Afrikaans speakers are more willing to accommodate towards English speakers than vice versa. As he states:

...en dis einlik hartseer, en dis juis die ding, ek dink dis juis van ons Afrikaanse taal, van ons herkoms, van ons, wie ons is, wat verlore gaan, en dit maak vir my sin dat Afrikaans 'n bedreigde taal is, dit maak absoluut sin en wat vir my baie, baie erg ook is, maar baie oplettend, is die feit dat, as jy nou in 'n geselskap is met Engelse mense, of selfs net al is een Engelse mens in jou geselskap, is die geselskap is baie geneig om oor te skakel Engels toe, om die persoon te akkommodeer ... (Male, 26 years)

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

3.5 Being bilingual – consequences for linguistic analysis

Bilinguals are people that make regular use of two (or more) languages (or dialects) in their daily lives – in spoken, signed or written form. Traditionally, researchers have regarded monolinguals to be the models for the 'ideal' speaker-hearer (*cf.* Chomsky, 1965: 3). Grosjean (1989) laments the fact that linguists have habitually ignored the bilingual's language competence, because they associate competence with a monolingual mental grammar that remains fixed after language acquisition. It is also not generally accepted that 'the bilingual's two grammars can differ from the corresponding

monolingual grammars or that language competence (and especially first language competence) can actually change when another language is acquired and begins to dominate' (*op. cit.*: 5). As an alternative, Grosjean advocates what he calls the bilingual (or 'wholistic' [*sic*]) view, where a bilingual speaker should not be treated as 'the sum of two complete or incomplete monolinguals; rather, he or she has a unique and specific linguistic configuration' (*op. cit.*: 6; also see Grosjean, 2008: 13). In other words, Grosjean stresses that the bilingual speaker is a unique speaker-hearer that functions as an integrated whole.

Grosjean's assessment is supported by extensive psycholinguistic research, dating back to the 1960s. For instance, a bilingual version of the Stroop test²⁴ (Preston and Lambert, 1969) and a lexical decision task (Altenberg and Cairns, 1983) found that even if one language is used by normal bilinguals (i.e. no mental disabilities or injuries), the other is nonetheless activated – especially when both languages are in regular or daily use. One documented consequence of such a dual-activation system is that in naming experiments bilinguals usually take longer to name any single object (*cf.* Mägiste, 1979).

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

²⁴ In the original Stroop test, participants were shown colour words, such as 'red', which are printed in a different colour (e.g. in blue). They were then asked to name the ink colour. For bilinguals, the colour word is printed in the L2, and the participant is asked to name the ink colour using the L1 (Green, 1986).

Grosjean (2004: 39) further argues that researchers need to pay detailed attention to the following factors and ensure that this information is supplied in all publications to ensure transparency:

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

Grosjean developed the notion of *language modes* specifically for research on bilingualism. He argues that consideration of the language mode is indispensable, as 'it gives a truer reflection of how bilinguals process their two languages, separately or together' (2001: 3). Grosjean (*op. cit.*: 2; also see Grosjean, 2008: 39) defines a language mode as 'the state of activation of the bilingual's languages and language processing mechanisms, at a given point in time.' According to Grosjean, the status of a speaker's language mode can be influenced by the language proficiency of the interlocutors they interact with, and the languages they use in these interactions. The language mode operates within a monolingual-bilingual continuum, where the specific state is controlled by variables such as interlocutor/s, situation, topic, and the purpose of the interaction (Grosjean, 2004: 40). This continuum is illustrated in Figure 3.3.

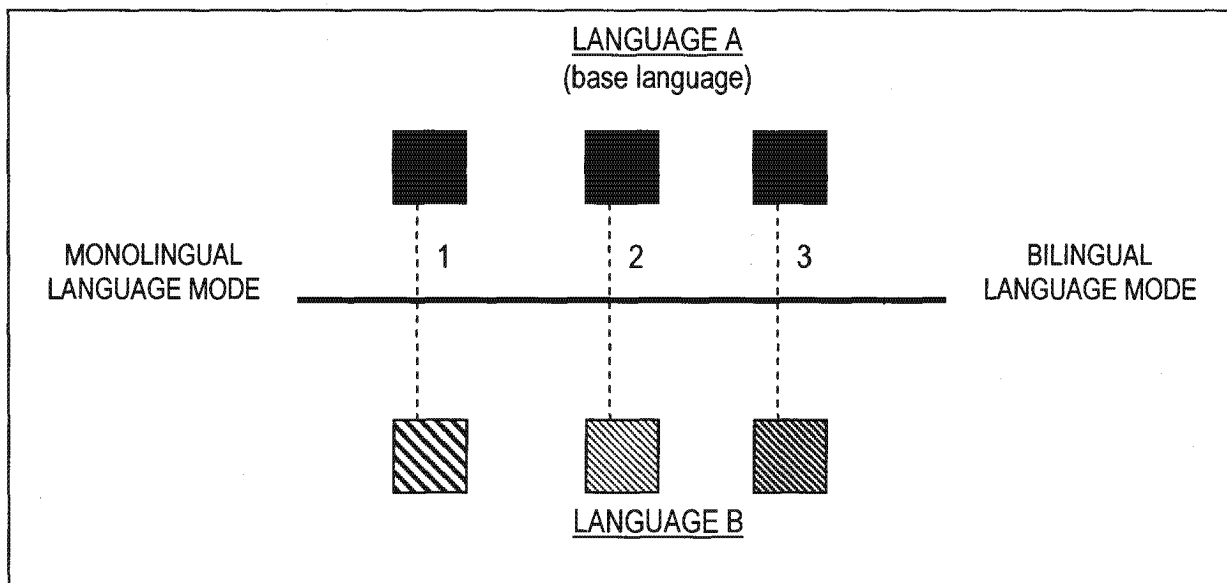


Figure 3.3: Visual representation of Grosjean's language mode continuum²⁵

In Figure 3.3, the base language (language A) is the dominant language at all points on the continuum. Language A governs the language processing and is more active than language B. The activation of the base language depends on the contextual situation of the interaction. According to Grosjean (2001: 4), when a French-English bilingual interacts with a monolingual French speaker, the bilingual would be in monolingual French mode (at point (1) on the continuum), with English minimally activated (i.e. French is language A and English language B). If this bilingual interacts with a monolingual English speaker, the bilingual will remain at point (1) on the continuum, and English will be the base language A. However, if the same speaker interacts with another French-English bilingual and both use French as base language but switch occasionally to English, then the bilingual would be in bilingual French mode, i.e. towards point (3) on the continuum. Language B will therefore be highly active as well. When a bilingual speaker is interacting in French with an interlocutor who knows English (language B), but who is either not very proficient in it or does not like to mix languages, then the bilingual will be in an intermediate position (such as point (2)). In this case, the speaker's other language (language B) will only be partly activated (Grosjean, 2001: 3-4).

²⁵ The bilingual's positions on the continuum are represented by the broken vertical lines and the level of language activation by the degree of darkness of the squares (black is active and white is inactive; Grosjean, 2004: 41).

Arguably, the most important reason for determining a bilingual subject's language mode is that it is an important independent, control or confounding variable that needs to be accounted for (*op. cit.*: 3). The language mode has important implications for observing and recording the language behaviour of the bilingual, since the context in which data collection takes place can influence the quality of the data acquired.

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

3.6 Conclusion

This chapter investigated the diversity of the Afrikaans language community, the bilingual nature of its members, and the importance of both these factors for the study of Afrikaans. The section on the demographics of Afrikaans L1 speakers showed that although Afrikaans speakers are the majority in Cape Town, less than 20% of them are White. They typically reside in neighbourhoods where Afrikaans is the dominant language. This allows for high degrees of maintenance (as local communication networks are intact). At the same time, however, English is present in these neighbourhoods (around one-third of residents use English as a home language), which supports bilingual practices.

Although the majority of Afrikaans-speakers are bilingual in English, they use English to varying degrees in their daily lives. In Section 3.3 a proposal was therefore made that within the Afrikaans language community, four groups can be distinguished based on their members' language behaviour (dominance) and linguistic repertoires. A survey was conducted to establish patterns of language choice in different domains and with different interlocutors. The results of this survey (discussed in Section 3.4) showed that Capetonians made more variable (bilingual) use of Afrikaans and English in interactions taking place at work and with friends, where the reported language of choice for interactions in public domains with unfamiliar interlocutors was predominantly English. Overall, the survey showed strong maintenance of Afrikaans in the majority of interactional contexts.

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

Chapter 4: Research Design and Methodology

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

4.1 Conceptualisations and theoretical frameworks

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

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

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

4.1.1 Research questions

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

4.1.2 Accountability and the syntactic variable

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

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

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

Lavandera (1978) emphasized that satisfactory analyses of syntactic variation are not possible without defining all the relevant environments in which specific kinds of variation are allowed or expected. In terms of practicality, ensuring that *all* relevant environments are defined might not be possible if logistic factors such as the required sample size, time spent on data collection and analyses, etc. become unmanageable due to their magnitude. These difficulties can, to some extent, be countered by implementing a thorough methodology, especially with regards to sample selection and data collection. Thus variationists have responded by adapting the instruments used for data collection to ensure that the data set contains sufficient tokens of the variants. One of these

instruments is the sociolinguistic-style interview, where the researcher converses with the participant about a range of topics for at least forty minutes to an hour. However, interview data do not always contain sufficient numbers of specific syntactic variants. Therefore, other elicitation techniques should also be employed, such as translation tasks with bilingual speakers, and picture descriptions.

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

4.1.3 The notion of Standard Afrikaans

According Webb and De Villiers (1985: 197), *Standard Afrikaans* (StAfr) is a variety of Afrikaans that is used by a certain group of speakers in the Afrikaans language community – specifically ‘*gegraduateerde moedertaalsprekers van Afrikaans*’²⁶ (*ibid*). Webb and De Villiers regard level of education to be an indication of social class. Therefore, StAfr is understood to be a variety of Afrikaans that is spoken as an L1 by middle to upper-middle class speakers.

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

²⁶ Translation: ‘graduate mother language speakers of Afrikaans’. Webb and De Villiers do not make reference to other social characteristics of these speakers. One can assume that this definition of StAfr stretches across racial classifications.

addition, we may see variation between rural and urban varieties, as well as between varieties spoken in different urban centres.

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

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

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

4.2 Data collection: elicited responses and spontaneous speech

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

- (i) to examine sentence types that rarely occur in spontaneous speech or (written and recorded) corpora, and
- (ii) to examine negative data that an observational study cannot provide.

However, questions have been raised about the reliability of grammaticality judgements as elicited through questionnaires. Schütze (1996) undertook a thorough investigation into the use of grammaticality judgements in studies concerned with formulating and testing syntactic theories. One of the main points made by Schütze is that linguists who focus on formal theory tend to disregard the use of an empirical methodology. The lack of a clearly defined empirical and representative methodology often leads to the use of a limited (i.e. non-representative) number of elicited grammaticality judgements (usually with the linguist's own intuitions as a yardstick). Minimal reference is also made to actual observations of the studied structures in speech. The argument for linguistic competence is employed here as a justification; it is argued that performance factors distort or obscure an ideal speaker-hearer's linguistic knowledge in conversational data. Performance data are subjected to external causes of variation (regarded as performance errors caused by emotions or personality, such as nervousness or aggression), and will therefore detract from the main objective of generative theory – i.e. studying abstract structures of human linguistic cognition.

To the contrary, Tremblay (2005: 141) argues that grammatical competence can only be *inferred* from grammaticality judgements, as the act of making such judgements is linguistic performance in itself. In order for grammaticality judgements to be effectively elicited, Tremblay (*op. cit.*: 138-139) suggests procedures that will enhance the efficacy of grammaticality judgement tasks. For instance, the sample group should consist of randomly selected native speakers of the language under investigation, and these speakers should not have had prior linguistic training. The participants should also be sufficient in number in order to control for participant non-compliances, and ‘the sample should be as homogeneous as possible in terms of age, literacy, education, and idiolect, unless one wishes to examine the effect of these variables on [grammaticality judgements]’ (Tremblay, *op. cit.*: 138).²⁸

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

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

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

²⁸ Tremblay (*op. cit.*: 139, footnote 8) admits that ‘this seems to contradict the idea of random sampling. One problem in the use of [grammaticality judgement] tasks with native speakers is that researchers tend to assume homogeneity and often limit their observations to group results. If individual results are not going to be considered, it is necessary to have a fairly homogeneous group in order to be able to make any theoretical claims, since [grammaticality judgements] are likely to be influenced by age, literacy, education, and idiolect.’

making grammaticality judgements is linguistic performance in itself. Thus, elicitation techniques test for acceptability, rather than grammaticality. Tremblay continues: ‘although the speaker-hearer has an intuitive sense of grammaticality, his or her judgements can only be about the acceptability of linguistic structures’ (*op. cit.*: 133).

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

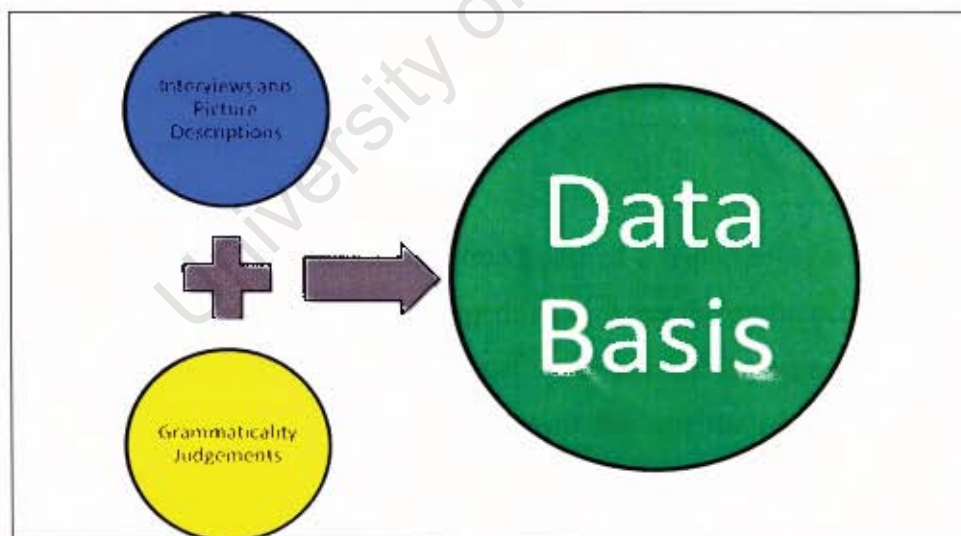


Figure 4.1: The complementary composition of the data basis

4.2.2 Conducting the interviews and elicitation techniques

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

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

The administration of the questionnaire formed part of a tripartite interviewing session that was recorded on a digital voice recording device. After the participant's consent was requested and obtained, and following a brief demographic background elicitation, a stretch of informal conversation between the researcher and the participant took place. These conversations ranged from twenty minutes to two hours, depending on the amount of time the participant was willing to spare.²⁹ The interviews did not follow a formal structure, and the approach taken by the interviewer was to steer the interaction towards topics that the interviewees found personally relevant. The main aim was to create a

²⁹ Twenty minutes are usually too short for a sociolinguistic interview, but one participant was interviewed during work hours, and she did not have more time to spare. The average length of the interviews was forty-two minutes.

relaxed and informal atmosphere, where the interviewees can talk about themselves, their ideas, activities and interests.

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

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

personal nature in an informal, relaxed environment, the researcher tried to ensure that the base language A remains Afrikaans.³⁰

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

Also forming part of the performance corpus are two recordings made of informal group conversations. The one session consists of friends socialising at a friend's house, and a recording of approximately four hours was made. Eight of the participants formed part of this group. The other session took place during an informal gathering at a church in Parow, and the participants were all members of the youth group.³¹ Nine of the participants formed part of this group, and the recording lasted approximately an hour and a half. The data collected from these sessions also form part of the spoken language corpus.

Lastly the formal questionnaire was administered. Before commencing, the researcher informed the participant of the procedure by stating that she will be reading them a sentence, and that they should then indicate by means of a 'yes' or 'no' response if this sentence sounds like a sentence likely to be used by themselves and the people they interact with on a daily basis, in terms of the *way* it is said, and without paying too much attention to the specific content. They were also told that they can indicate whether the type of sentence will be used often, less frequently or only sometimes. The researcher also informed them that they will occasionally be asked to rephrase a given sentence according to their preferences. Finally, they were told that they should not regard the activity as a form of a test, where it is expected of them to give a right or wrong answer, but that they should respond instinctively.

³⁰ The frequency and type of code-switching can also be indicative of the speaker's language mode, i.e. high frequency of switching might be indicative of a bilingual language mode.

³¹ Please note that 'youth group' refers here to people from late teens to late twenties, who are usually unmarried.

The structure of the questionnaire is as follows: Section 1 tested the distribution of verbs and contains 34 sentences. Section 2 focuses on verb clusters and has 62 sentences in total.³² The sentences are combined into pairs or sets that test the same type of construction, where some sentences follow the grammatical norms of StAfr, and others deviating from it. Thirty-four questionnaires were completed.

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

4.3 Sample design and sampling methods

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

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

³² The questionnaire has a third on verb projection raising, but the results of this will not be covered by the present study.

sampling method is thus non-proportional and contains elements of snowball sampling. A total of thirty-four people constitute the sample group.³³

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

Female		Male	
<i>18-25</i>	<i>26-36</i>	<i>18-25</i>	<i>26-36</i>
A1*	M1*	PP1	MM1*
A2	M2*	AA1*	GG1*
C1*	L2*	CC1	NN1*
L1*	K1*	CC2	JJ2*
N1*	A3*	JJ1	JJ3
I1	K2*	PP2	MM2
D1	L3*	DD1	JJ4*
J1		TT1*	OO1*
		DD2	LL1
			GG2
n = 8	n = 7	n = 9	n = 10

Table 4.1: Sample distribution (N = 34)

4.4 Data procedures

4.4.1 Data capturing and data editing

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

³³ The size of the sample group compares well to other sociolinguistic studies.

largely quantitative, i.e. the linguistic data were converted into tokens in order to perform statistical calculations.

4.4.2 Data analysis

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

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

³⁴ Preacher's (2001) online chi-square calculator, *Excel* and *STATISTICA* were also employed for the data analyses of the language use survey in Chapter 2.

4.5 Conclusion

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

Chapter 5: Syntactic Variation in Afrikaans – Embedded Clause Structures

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

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

5.1 Presentation of empirical results: subordinators and variation in the embedded word order

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

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

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

Table 5.1 summarises the results from the interview data.

Complementizers	Tokens (n)	Type B (StAfr)	Type C (non-standard VX)
<i>as</i>	132	122 (92%)	10 (8%)
<i>omdat</i>	59	52 (88%)	7 (12%)
<i>asof</i>	43	42 (98%)	1 (2%)
<i>as wat</i>	16	16 (100%)	0
<i>terwyl</i>	16	16 (100%)	0
<i>sodat</i>	13	12 (92%)	1 (8%)
<i>soos wat</i>	13	13 (100%)	0
<i>(al)hoewel</i>	13	9 (69%)	4 (31%)
<i>nadat</i>	4	4	0
<i>of as</i>	4	4	0
<i>tensy</i>	4	3	1
<i>sodra</i>	3	2	1
<i>aangesien</i>	1	1	0
<i>afhangende (van)</i>	1	1	0
<i>N</i>	322	297 (92%)	25 (8%)

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

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

Type B

- (1) *dis vir my lekkerder as mense my SMS* (Female, 25 years)
'it is nicer for me if people SMS me'
- (2) *hy's vies vir die uil, omdat hy geraas maak* (Female, 22 years)
'he's angry with the owl, because he makes noise'
- (3) *lyk dit vir my asof hulle nou-net 'n deal gestrike het* (Female, 35 years)
'it looks to me as if they have just struck a deal'

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

Type C

- (4) *die funksionaliteit van dit is anders as ons sit in 'n chat room* (Female, 30 years)
'the functionality of it is different if we sit in a chat room'
- (5) *ek sal bietjie wil werk, omdat ek dink nie jy kan gaan met 'n sekere hoeveelheid geld nie* (Female, 20 years)
'I will want to work a bit, because I don't think you can go with a certain amount of money'
- (6) *dit lyk vir my asof daar is 'n huis in die agtergrond* (Female, 20 years)
'it looks to me as if there is a house in the background'

The two subordinators used most frequently in this corpus are also found with a relatively high frequency of non-standard Type C clauses, namely *as* and *omdat*.³⁶ It can therefore be argued that these two subordinators can be used as focus points when investigating changes in subordinate word order: because they are used frequently, one can find ample tokens, which will strengthen the findings made. If there are changes in the Afrikaans subordinate word order, then one should see an increase in the use of Type C clauses with these subordinators. It is not surprising that the participants mainly use Type B clauses – Type B being StAfr clauses – but the results for *as* and *omdat* indicate the presence of variation in subordinate word order where the non-standard sequence is also used. The total 8% use of Type C clauses with the obligatory subordinators in the spoken data might be indicative of change in progress.

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

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

³⁶ *Alhoewel* and *sodat* have a higher percentage of Type C clauses, but the small token numbers prevent a definite conclusion.

Complementizers	Tokens (n)	Type B (StAfr)	Type C (VX)
<i>dat</i>	170	127 (75%)	43 (25%)
<i>of</i>	98	89 (91%)	9 (9%)
<i>N</i>	268	216 (81%)	52 (19%)

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

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

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

Finally, because of its semantic neutrality, Feinauer (1990) notes that the complementizer most frequently omitted is *dat*. This has consequences for the discussion of bridge verbs and complement clauses discussed below (Section 5.2). The following are examples of constructions with *of* and *dat* from the interview corpus.

Type B

- (7) *dit lyk nie of die perd dit soveel geniet nie* (Male, 24 years)
'it does not seem if the horse enjoys it as much'
- (8) *dit was vir my weird dat hulle daar was* (Female, 35 years)
'it was weird for me that they were there'

Type C

- (9) *ons het gezyk of ons kon inkom by die biblioteek* (Male, 29 years)³⁷
'we checked to see if we could get in at the library'
- (10) *dit maak net dat jy kan nuwe tegnieke aanleer* (Female, 20 years)
'it simply causes that you can acquire new techniques'

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

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

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

³⁷ It seems, *prima facie*, that Prepositional Phrases (such as *by die biblioteek*) predominantly remain in clause final position, i.e. in V-comp: PP does not move to spec-ArgO, since it does not have accusative case or object features that need to be checked. The StAfr *of ons by die biblioteek kon inkom* might be a case of hypercorrection of V-final embedded clauses, and the PP is moved leftwards.

1. The first corpus is drawn from letters, diaries, newspaper columns and novel extracts dating from 1887-1923. According to Biberauer, this data set represents Afrikaans before the institutionalisation of a standardised variety.
2. The second corpus stems from the current popular press (newspapers and magazines) and serves as ‘an indication of the state of the standard as modern-day users perceive it’ (*op. cit.*: 27).
3. The third corpus is said to be representative of modern spoken Afrikaans, and Biberauer uses this corpus to indicate the extent that spoken Afrikaans deviates from StAfr norms. This corpus is based on data drawn from the radio, television, as well as interviews.

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

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

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

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

³⁸ Biberauer (2002a) only considers *dat*-initial clauses here.

According to a Pearson's chi-square test (Preacher, 2001) of this study's data, there is a significant relation between the mode of language use (spoken vs. written) and the type of subordinate clause used ($\chi^2=31.724$, d.f. = 2, $p < 0.0001$).³⁹ The most salient finding across the three corpora is therefore the effect of modality on the occurrence of Type B or C clauses: Type C (VX) clauses are more frequent in spoken utterances.

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

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

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

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

This section focuses on constructions where the complementizer can be omitted (COMP-drop; see Chapter 2.2.2). Two of the three types of embedded clauses (described in Chapter 2.2.1) were discussed in Section 5.1; in this section Type A clauses are the focal point. Type A clauses are embedded clauses that occur without an overt complementizer,

³⁹ Calculated from the results of this study – Biberauer only supplies percentages.

and have VX order. As previously mentioned, Type A clauses occur typically as complement clauses when the matrix clause is a bridge verb (discussed in Chapter 2.2.3), but complement clauses can also be Type B or C clauses. Matrix clauses containing bridge verbs were therefore extracted from the corpora, and scored according to the type of the complement clause they selected. The results from the speech corpus are summarized in Table 5.4.⁴⁰ Figure 5.1 illustrates the results listed in Table 5.4.

Verbs	Tokens (n)	Type A	Type B	Type C
<i>dink</i> 'think'	224	212 (95%)	10 (5%)	2
<i>sê</i> 'say'	167	161 (96%)	2	4
<i>weet</i> 'know'	130	101 (78%)	26 (20%)	3
<i>sien</i> 'see'	44	39 (86%)	4	1
<i>voel</i> 'feel'	27	23 (85%)	4	0
<i>beseef</i> 'realise'	16	12 (75%)	2	2
<i>verstaan</i> 'understand'	7	4	2	1
<i>wil hê</i> 'wants'	6	5	1	0
<i>glo</i> 'believe'	4	4	0	0
<i>wens</i> 'wish'	2	1	1	0
<i>wonder</i> 'wonder'	2	0	2	0
<i>is seker</i> 'be sure'	2	2	0	0
<i>neem aan</i> 'assume'	2	2	0	0
<i>hoor</i> 'hear'	1	1	0	0
<i>by sê</i> 'add'	1	1	0	0
<i>aflei</i> 'deduce'	1	1	0	0
<i>N</i>	636	569 (89.5%)	54 (8.5%)	13 (2.0%)

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

⁴⁰ See Appendix 5.b for a concordance of the actual utterances.

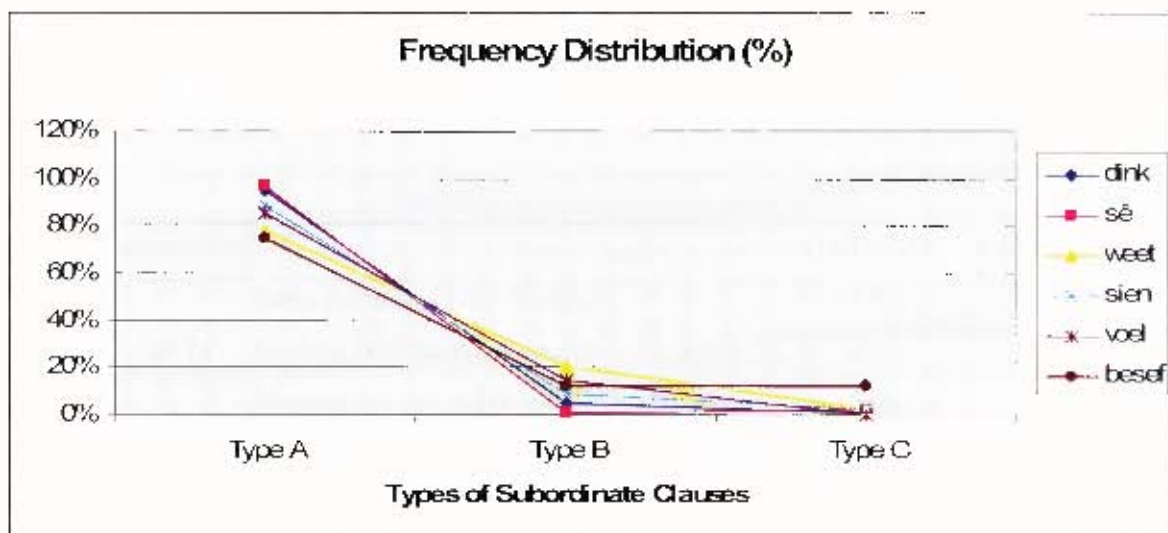


Figure 5.1: Distribution of bridge verbs and types of subordinate clauses (percentage in speech corpus)⁴¹

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

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

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

⁴¹ Bridge verbs with $n < 10$ are omitted in this graph.

5.5 shows Biberauer’s findings as well as the findings from this study (Type B plus C = [+Comp]⁴² and Type A = [-Comp]).

		[+COMP]	[-COMP]
Biberauer, 2002a	Early Afrikaans (N = 80,000)	65%	35%
	Modern Written Afrikaans (N = 80,000)	63%	37%
	Modern Spoken Afrikaans (N = 80,000)	54%	46%
Klein, 2009	<i>Written corpus (N = 5,000)</i>	<i>38% (16)</i>	<i>62% (26)</i>
	<i>Email corpus (N = 30,000)</i>	<i>27% (57)</i>	<i>73% (153)</i>
	<i>Spoken corpus (N = 65,000)</i>	<i>10.5% (66)</i>	<i>89.5% (629)</i>

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

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

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

⁴² Biberauer only considered the presence or absence of a complementizer; the word order of the subordinate clause is therefore not relevant here.

⁴³ Calculated from the results of this study – Biberauer only supplies percentages.

indication of change in modern spoken Afrikaans towards the generalisation of [-COMP] following bridge verbs.

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

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

5.3 Results from the grammaticality judgements

The participants' acceptance of Type B and C clauses was tested in the grammaticality judgement questionnaire (see Appendix 3⁴⁴). The questionnaire did not test for Type A clauses, since the focus was on the acceptance or rejection of StAfr versus non-standard forms where a complementizer is used. However, all the participants were subsequently asked by the researcher whether they would prefer the Type A variants of the tested constructions. Variation in embedded word order in the presence of other subordinators (such as *omdat*) was also not tested. The sentences in (11) represent the Type B clause according to the norms of StAfr. (11.e-g) were posed to the participants as *dat*-less alternatives to (11.a-c). Type C clauses are listed in (12). In (12.d) the verb is raised to V1, and the embedded sentence has the word order of a direct *yes/no* question, which is also non-standard for embedded interrogatives.

StAfr Type B

- (11) a. *Ek weet dat hy die boek gelees het*
b. *Ek weet dat hy die boek lees*
c. *Ek weet dat hy genooi is*

⁴⁴ The constructions are arranged differently in the questionnaire; see Appendix 3, section 1.

- d. *Ek wonder of hy die boek gelees het*
- e. *Ek weet hy het die boek gelees*
- f. *Ek weet hy lees die boek*
- g. *Ek weet hy is genooi*

Non-standard Type C

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

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

		Type of Response (N=34)		
		Yes	No	Sometimes
Type B [+COMP]&XV	11.a	29 (85%)	4 (12%)	1 (3%)
	11.b	31 (91%)	2 (6%)	1 (3%)
	11.c	33 (97%)	1 (3%)	0
	11.d	34 (100%)	0	0
	11.e	34 (100%)	0	0
	11.f	34 (100%)	0	0
	11.g	34 (100%)	0	0
Type C [+COMP]&VX	12.a	3 (9%)	31 (91%)	0
	12.b	0	34 (100%)	0
	12.c	0	33 (97%)	1 (3%)
	12.d	2 (6%)	31 (91%)	1 (3%)
	12.e	4 (12%)	25 (73%)	5 (15%)

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

Variation in judgements can be observed in some of the participants' rejection of (11.a/b) and acceptance of (12.a). It should be noted, however, that these participants did not necessarily rejected the Type B constructions in favour of Type C, but might instead

prefer a Type A (or some other) construction. The majority (N=30) reported that they would prefer the constructions in (11.a-c) without *dat*, and all indicated that they would use (11.e-g).

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

5.4 Language contact and typological change

5.4.1 Motivations for typological approaches to language change

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

of the current synchronic pattern of COMP-drop and typologically innovative VX word order in Afrikaans.

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

Cross-linguistic studies have found that VX languages are exceptionally complementizer-initial (COMP-S),⁴⁵ e.g. English (*I believe [that the boy knows the answer]*). Evidence from cross-linguistic studies have also found that current XV languages still vary between presenting with sentence initial or final complementizers. An example of a complementizer-initial XV language is Persian, and Japanese is a complementizer-final (S-COMP) XV language (Hawkins, 2004: 209). One study (Dryer, 1992) has shown that two-thirds of XV languages have clause-final complementizers – Table 5.7 shows the attested languages in the world that present with VX/XV word order and S-COMP/COMP-S.

	VX	XV
Final complementizer (S-COMP)	1.5%	69%
Initial complementizer (COMP-S)	98.5%	31%

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

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

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

⁴⁵ The terminology here is based on Hawkins (2004: 209), where ‘COMP’ refers to the complementizer and ‘S’ refers to the complement or subordinate clause.

indicated the specific relationship of the subordinate clause to the principal clause, which might be further specified by use of the subjunctive mood.

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

(13) *ek* [_{VP} *weet*_V [_{CP} *sy hom skop dat*_C]]

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

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

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

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

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

⁴⁶ The symbol \sim is used here in the formal logic sense of ‘not’ or ‘false’.

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

- (15) a. \sim VX & \sim COMP-S \rightarrow * VX & \sim COMP-S \rightarrow VX & COMP-S
 b. \sim VX & \sim COMP-S \rightarrow \sim VX & COMP-S \rightarrow VX & COMP-S
 c. \sim VX & \sim COMP-S \rightarrow VX & COMP-S

The uniformitarianist principle⁴⁷ does not permit (15.a), since the sequence proposed by it ‘goes against all the current synchronic evidence’ – i.e. ‘the acquisition of P can either occur after Q, or simultaneously with it, but not before it’ (Hawkins, 1990: 98). Therefore, the Q = COMP-S must be attested in a language before the P = VX can be found.

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

A proposition can therefore be made in terms of a possible typological change in the word order of Afrikaans – where the language is becoming a full VX language – by accepting the diachronic pathway introduced in this section. Hypothetically, the processes can be reconstructed as follows:

⁴⁷ The uniformitarianist principle states that the laws of the present are also those of the past (*cf.* Lass, 1980: 53-57; Croft, 2003: 233).

1. The proto-language starts out with (~VX & ~COMP-S), i.e. XV with clause-final complementizers;
2. The language subsequently presents with (~VX & COMP-S), i.e. XV with clause-initial complementizers;
- 3.a Variation in use of XV/VX in all clauses, with clause-initial complementizers (~VX/VX & COMP-S) – process might stop here;

OR

- 3.b VX is accepted in the matrix clauses (MCs), but XV remains in subordinate clauses (SCs) – process might stop here;
4. The change is completed with (VX & COMP-S) in all clauses;
5. COMP-drop (intervening at point 3.b) can trigger a change to 4.

This hypothetical diachronic pathway is illustrated in Figure 5.2.

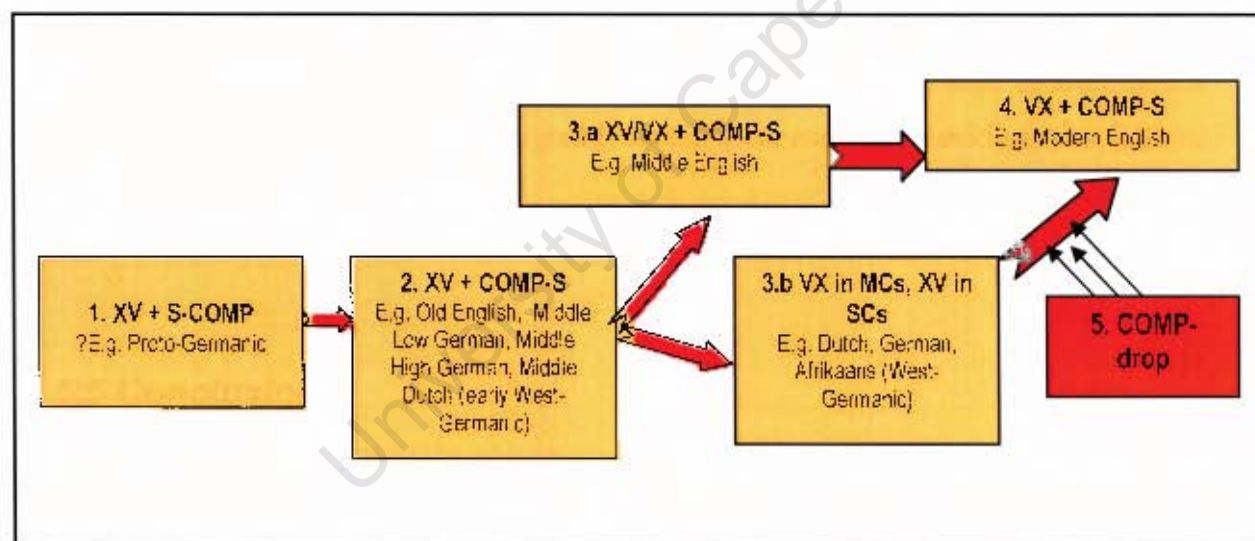


Figure 5.2: Proposed diachronic pathway of changes in West Germanic word orders⁴⁸

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

⁴⁸ Cf. Pintzuk (1996) for a discussion of the changes in English from OV to VO, and Haspelmath (2001: 1706-1707) for a discussion of West Germanic word orders.

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

5.5 Conclusion

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

Type A clauses. This suggests that there seems to be a change in progress in Afrikaans word order through the proliferation of VX embedded clauses, as triggered by changes in the semantic strength of the subordinator and matrix clause, respectively.

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

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

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

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

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

6.1.1 General use of linking verbs

Although the main focus of this chapter is on declarative clauses, this section presents the general use of linking verbs in embedded clauses and in constructions with an auxiliary/modal verb in the V2 slot where linking verbs remain in V-final with the main verb. These examples show all possible structural sites where linking verbs are used (*cf.* Chapter 2.3.2). In the embedded clauses, the linking verbs can either raise to V2 independently (i.e. SI), or form a CI with the main verb. The following are examples of constructions used by the participants where the linking and main verbs form a cluster in V-final, i.e. (1.a/b) are examples of StAfr Type B clauses (see Chapter 5.1)⁴⁹:

⁴⁹ In all the examples the verbs are in **bold**, and the linking verbs are underlined.

- (1) a. ... *dat ek volgende jaar by 'n NGO kan begin werk* (Female, 25 years)
 'that I can start working at an NGO next year'
 b. *ek het vir jou 'n rotariër glas as dit jou gemakliker sal laat voel* (Female, 29 years)
 'I have a rotary glass for you if it will make you feel more comfortable'

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

- (2) a. *as jy gaan kyk na jou bedrag is dit maar bel*, (Female, 25 years)
 'if you go and look at your amount it usually is calls'
 b. *sodat hulle kan gaan speel pouse* (Female, 25 years)
 'so that they can go and play at break-time'

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

- (3) a. *ek het nie geweet of ons gaan met ander mense oor die internet **kommunikeer** nie*
 (Female, 25 years)
 'I did not know if we are going to communicate with other people over the internet'
 b. *ek dink hy probeer haar **impress*** (Female, 29 years)
 'I think he tries to impress her'

The clause-final verb cluster is also found in constructions where modals or auxiliaries fill the V2 slot, in both the main and embedded clause. (4.a/b) are examples of verb clusters in the final position with an auxiliary in V2:

- (4) a. *hy kon my mos nou net laat weet het*⁵⁰ (Female, 30 years)
 ‘he could have informed me’
 b. *en ek het bergfiets begin ry* (Female, 30 years)
 ‘and I have started riding mountain bike’

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

- (5) a. *sy laat my dink aan 'n Chinese tannie* (Female, 30 years)
 ‘she makes me think of a old Chinese aunty’
 b. *jy leer nogals die persoon ken* (Female, 25 years)
 ‘you rather get to know the person’
- (6) a. *ek gaan maak die present oop* (Female, 23 years)
 ‘I go and open the present’
 b. *ek gaan stap gereeld in die aande* (Male, 33 years)
 ‘I regularly go walk in the evenings’

6.1.2 Previous studies on complex and simplex initials in Afrikaans

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

⁵⁰ *Laat weet* might also be an incipient lexicalized verb cluster (see Chapter 4.4.4).

	<i>Complex Initial</i>	<i>Simplex Initial</i>	<i>Total</i>
<i>gaan</i> 'go'	68 (25%)	200 (75%)	268
<i>kom</i> 'come'	26 (63%)	15 (37%)	41
<i>begin</i> 'begin'	0	37 (100%)	37
<i>laat</i> 'let'	6 (18%)	27 (82%)	33
<i>probeer</i> 'try'	0	31 (100%)	31
<i>bly</i> 'remain'	1	5	6
<i>leer</i> 'leer'	0	4	4
<i>help</i> 'help'	0	1	1
<i>Total</i>	<i>101 (24%)</i>	<i>320 (76%)</i>	<i>421</i>

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

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

(a) *Laat*

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

- (7) a. *hy laat die muis rustig drink* (Male, 24 years)
 he PERM the mouse calmly drink
 'he allows the mouse to drink in peace'
- b. *dit laat my dink aan 'n stadsbeplanner* (Female, 29 years)
 it CAUS me think of a town planner
 'it makes me think of a town planner'

(b) *Gaan* and *kom*

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

(8) *hy kom sit by ons*
he come sit with us
'he comes and sits with us'

(9) *hy gaan sit by hulle*
he go sit with them
'he goes and sits with them'

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

(10) *dit kom môre reën*
it FUT tomorrow rain
'it will rain tomorrow'

(11) *dit gaan môre reën*
it FUT tomorrow rain
'it will rain tomorrow'

(Du Plessis, 1990: 72)

⁵¹ The use of *kom* as a future modal shows some dialectal variation (*cf.* De Vos, 2001).

In Ponelis' corpus, *kom* (as linking verb) occurred in a CI in more than two-thirds of the constructions. A general observation made by Bybee (1985) can lead one to deduce that there is a possible semantic motivation behind CIs:

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

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

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

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

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

	<i>Complex Initial</i>	<i>Simplex Initial</i>	<i>Total</i>
<i>gaan</i> 'go'	20 (80%)	5 (20%)	25
<i>probeer</i> 'try'	3 (12%)	22 (88%)	25
<i>begin</i> 'begin'	3 (23 %)	10 (77%)	13
<i>laat</i> 'let'	1 (8%)	12 (92%)	13
<i>kom</i> 'come'	5 (63%)	3 (37%)	8
<i>leer</i> 'leer'	0	2	2
<i>bly</i> 'remain'	0	0	0
<i>help</i> 'help'	0	0	0
Total	32 (37%)	54 (63%)	86

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

In the spoken language corpus collected, linking verbs occurred more frequently as SIs (63%) in main declarative clauses. This is in line with Ponelis' results (1993: 328). 37%

of the linking verbs occurred as a CIs in main, declarative sentences. These results will now be compared in more detail to findings made by Ponelis.

6.2.2 Speech corpora comparisons and ensuing discussions

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

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

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

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

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

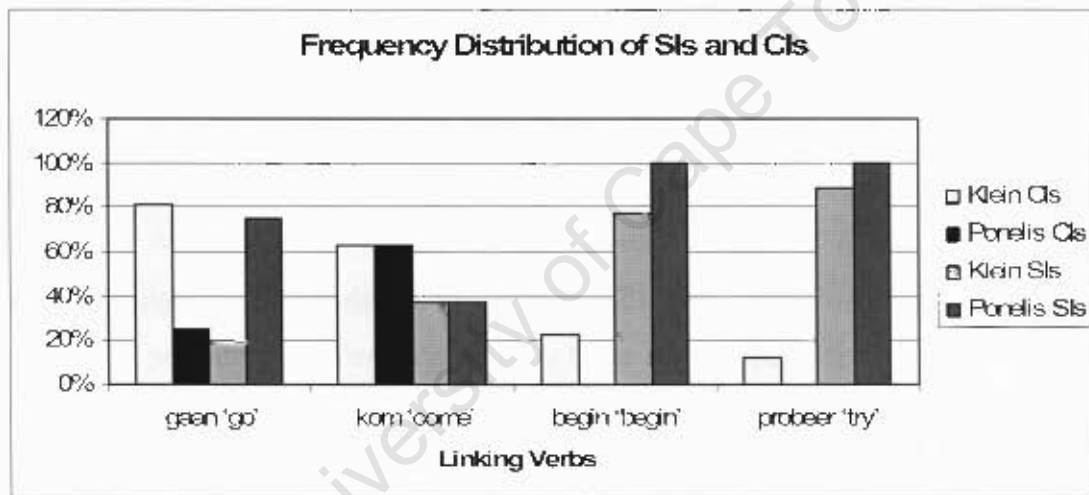


Figure 6.1: Frequency distribution of specific linking verbs in SIs and CIs in two corpora (percentages: *laat* and linking verbs with $n < 7$ are excluded)

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

(a) *Begin* and *probeer*

With respect to *probeer* and *begin*, both of these linking verbs occurred only as SIs in Ponelis' corpus. According to Fisher's exact probability test (Preacher and Briggs,

2001), there is a significant difference between the distribution of *begin* in Ponelis' and this study's corpus ($p = 0.015$, two-tailed). The difference between Ponelis' and this study's corpus is not significant for *probeer* ($p = 0.083$, two-tailed).

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

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

variation between SIs and CIs, or it can attain a final stage where the infinitive main verb predominantly occurs as CI in V2 with *probeer* and *begin* (also see discussion in Section 6.4).

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

Stage I

- (12) a. *Jan probeer* [(om) PRO die bal te *skop*]
 b. **Jan probeer te skop* [PRO die bal t_{skop}]
 'Jan tries to kick the ball'⁵²

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

Stage II

- (13) a. *Jan probeer* [(\emptyset) PRO die bal \emptyset *skop*]
 b. *Jan probeer skop* [(\emptyset) PRO die bal \emptyset t_{skop}]
 'Jan tries to kick the ball'

⁵² In this English translation the verb 'tries' is a control verb, and 'to PRO kick the ball' is an infinitive clause.

With stage III, (13.a) seems to be similar to (14.a); however, *probeer* is a direct linking verb in (14.a). This change in grammatical status of the verb is made evident by the aspectual function performed by *probeer* in the construction. The presence of an aspectual linking verb contributes additional information about the state of the main verb.

Stage III

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

The notation for (12) and (13) are the same: PROBEER (j, (SKOP (pro, b))).⁵³ The infinitive clause and the agent (i.e. *Jan*) are the arguments of the predicate PROBEER. The notation for (14) is as follows: PROBEER_{aspect} [SKOP (j, b)]. The proposal is made that in (14) *probeer* contributes an aspective reading. The presupposition can be made that an action (‘kick’) was initiated, but it is not conclusive whether the agent was successful in accomplishing it.

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

- (15) a. *Jan begin [(om) PRO die bal te skop]*
 b. *Jan begin skop [(∅) PRO die bal ∅ t_{skop}]*
 ‘Jan starts to kick the ball’
- (16) a. *Jan begin die bal skop*
 b. *Jan begin skop die bal*
 ‘Jan starts kicking the ball’

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

⁵³ Following De Vos (2001), *te*-complement verbs are taken to be functional heads, i.e. not lexical. However, ‘these verbs are unusual in that they select objects, and by implication assign [semantic] theta roles’ (De Vos, *op. cit.*: 102).

These notations show that *probeer* and *begin* play a different grammatical role when used as linking verbs than when they are used as *te*-complement verbs. When selecting an infinitive complement, *probeer* and *begin* do not take on an aspective reading, and are therefore grammatically related to main verbs. As a linking verb they scope over the whole proposition, and as a *te*-complement verb they select arguments for which they assign semantic roles. *Te*-complement verbs obligatory occur as SIs when overt infinitive markers are present. The loss of overt infinitival marking and the change of *te*-complement verbs to direct linking verbs allows for variation in SIs and CIs.

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

- (17) a. *Jan sal skop die bal*
'Jan will kick the ball'
b. *Jan moet skop die bal*
'Jan must kick the ball'

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

(b) *Gaan* and *kom*

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

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

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

However, the argument can be made that *gaan* retains its deictic reading when occurring as a CI in V2, because future modals obligatory occur in SIs (see discussion above). Distinction between the two meanings can be made by rephrasing the construction as an interrogative: *gaan*_{future} occurs in a SI in (18.a); in (18.b) only the future modal can undergo interrogative inversion; and in (18.c) the linking verb is inverted as a CI. When *gaan* occurs in a CI (18.d), deictic aspect is the most apparent. (18.e) illustrates that the two separate grammatical meanings of *gaan* can be used in the same construction.

- (18) a. *Jan gaan die bal skop*
 'Jan will kick the ball'
 b. *gaan Jan die bal skop?*
 'will Jan kick the ball?'
 c. *gaan skop Jan die bal?*
 'does Jan go and kick the ball?'
 d. *Jan gaan skop die bal*
 'Jan goes and kicks the ball'
 e. *Jan gaan die bal gaan skop*
 'Jan will go and kick the ball'

Negation can also be employed to illustrate the different grammatical roles of *gaan* as a linking verb *versus* a future modal. In (19), *gaan* is a future modal. In (20.a) the use of *gaan* as a linking verb is strengthened by the presence of the past tense auxiliary *het*: the incompatibility in tense ensures that the future modal reading is impossible. In (20.b), *gaan* is a linking verb in a CI, and the future modal reading is excluded.

- (19) *Jan gaan nie die bal skop nie*
 'Jan will not kick the ball'
- (20) a. *Jan het nie die bal gaan skop nie*
 'Jan did not go and kick the ball'
 b. *Jan gaan skop nie die bal nie, hy gaan skop die skeidsregter*
 'Jan does not go and kick the ball, he goes and kicks the referee'

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

- (21) *Jan kom skop nie die bal nie, hy kom skop die skeidsregter*
 'Jan does not come and kick the ball, he comes and kicks the referee'

The use of *gaan* in a CI serves to disambiguate the grammatical ambiguity of *gaan*. The increase in the use of *gaan* in CIs in this study might indicate that speakers employ CIs to disambiguate the specific grammatical function of *gaan*: when *gaan* is used as a linking verb, it predominantly occurs in a CI, whereas the SI mainly contains the future modal. The results from the interview corpus confirm this hypothesis. The total token count of *gaan*_{future} in the interview corpus is 78: 72 tokens (92%) of *gaan*_{future} occurred in SIs and 6 (8%) in CIs. This treatment of *gaan* as a SI future modal is similar to the other general future modal operative in Afrikaans, viz. *sal*. *Sal* is obligatory used in a SI. The use of *kom* seems to be following a similar principle (cf. De Vos, 2005: 123).

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

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

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

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

Stage I

- (22) a. *Jan gaan* [*om PRO die bal te skop*]⁵⁵
b. **Jan gaan te skop* [*om PRO die bal t_skop*]
'Jan goes to kick the ball'

Stage II

- (23) a. *Jan gaan* [(\emptyset) *PRO die bal \emptyset skop*]
b. *Jan gaan skop* [(\emptyset) *PRO die bal \emptyset t_skop*]
'Jan goes to kick the ball'

Stage III

- (24) a. *Jan gaan_{future} die bal skop*
'Jan will kick the ball'
b. *Jan gaan_{deictic} skop die bal*
'Jan goes and kicks the ball'

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

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

⁵⁵ *Om* is obligatory in this context.

increase of CIs (1993 vs. 2008) with linking verbs can therefore be regarded as an on-going spread of this phenomenon.

6.3 Comparisons of the speech corpus and grammaticality judgements

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

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

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

As argued above, linking verbs have undergone a semantic shift away from their lexical main verb meaning towards the grammatical domains of aspect, causality and modality (cf. Heine, 1993: 14-16). In the questionnaire, 24.b, 24.c, 24.f, and 24.g are simple declarative clauses. In these structures the linking verbs can be removed without loss of core meaning, since the meaning is determined by the main verbs. In examples (25)-(28), the linking verbs are omitted:

- (25) *Jan staan toe die pale in die grond*⁵⁶
 Jan stand then the poles in the ground
 ‘Jan then puts the poles in the ground’
- (26) *Jan kyk toe na die voëls*
 Jan look then at the birds
 ‘Jan then looks at the birds’
- (27) *Jan werk toe in die tuin*
 Jan works then in the garden
 ‘Jan then works in the garden’
- (28) *Jan kyk toe na die stukkende kar*
 Jan look then at the broken car
 ‘Jan then looks at the broken car’

By omitting the linking verbs, one is able to attain a clearer sense of their semantic contribution. It can be argued that it is their semantic force that has an influence on the syntactic structure: the fact that they describe the state of the main verb triggers the formation of CIs.

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

- (29) **Jan val toe die bal*⁵⁷
 ‘Jan then falls the ball’

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

⁵⁶ Arguably, this construction sounds a bit odd.

⁵⁷ *val* is an intransitive verb, which can select a PP complement. It can be used as an ergative, where the notation for *Die bal val* will be as follows: VAL (b).

⁵⁸ The notation for *Jan laat val die bal* can therefore either be: (1) LAAT (j, (VAL (b))); or (2) LAAT VAL (j, b). In (2), *laat val* is a lexicalised compound, and do not introduce an argument as in (1).

still used productively as a linking verb, where it plays a causative role, similar to that of *maak*: ‘Jan causes/allows/makes the ball to fall’, or ‘Jan causes the poles to stand up in the soil by implanting them’. *Laat* occurred most frequently in SIs (92%) in the interview data. However, the results of the questionnaire show that all participants accepted the verb cluster construction in the elicitation task – most probably because *laat val* is a lexicalized construction.

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

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

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

From these results it seems that when asked to judge verb cluster constructions, participants generally accepted three linking verbs (*laat*, *bly* and *begin*) in CIs more readily than the other two (*maak* and *probeer*). However, when their judgements are

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

6.4 Modelling grammaticalization, language variation and change

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

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

Figure 6.2 presents possible stages in the grammaticalization processes of Afrikaans linking verbs and variation in SIs or CIs, as influenced by two different language contact situations.

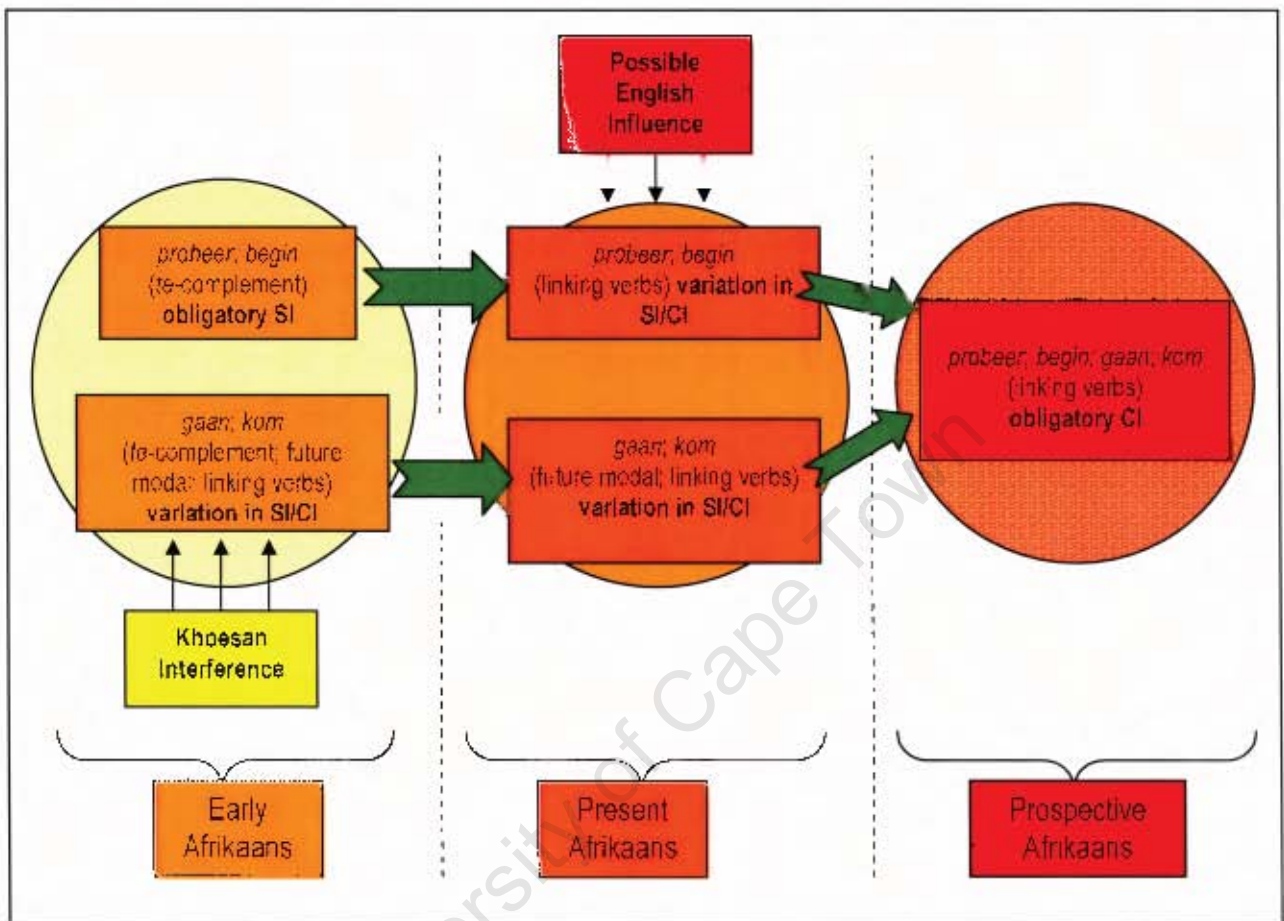


Figure 6.2: A model for contact-induced changes in Afrikaans linking verbs

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

6.5 Conclusion

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

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

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

Chapter 7: Conclusion and Directions for Future Research

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

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

With embedded clause word order, the corpus data provided evidence of the frequent use of a construction that was not formally elicited in the questionnaire (Type A clauses), but which has an important impact on changes in embedded clause word order. Furthermore, the spoken language data showed a higher frequency of use of non-standard Type C (VX) clauses compared to their reported acceptance in the questionnaires. This finding might indicate that the change is in progress (evident in regular patterns of variation in the spoken language), yet the variant remains under-reported in elicited, meta-linguistic

judgements, probably because speakers remain sensitive to prescriptive norms that deem such a variant to be non-standard (which is indeed the case for Type C clauses). Thus, one might hypothesize that a new variant will be observed first in actual language use, before speakers will consider it acceptable – a vice versa scenario is unlikely.

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

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

Chapter 6 investigated the occurrence of SIs and CIs in the speech of the bilingual participants, and the grammatical functions that linking verbs fulfil were discussed. A comparison with Ponelis' (1993) findings suggested that there is an increase in the use of CIs with some of the linking verbs for the participants. It was further established that the specific aspectual or deictic reading of the linking verb appeared to be more strongly enforced in a CI than a SI. The model illustrating the stages in the grammaticalization of specific linking verbs and their variable occurrence in SIs or CIs served to demonstrate the role played by shift-induced interference from Khoesan languages in early Afrikaans. The model also incorporated the current use of Afrikaans linking verbs, and suggested the diachronic possibility for further contact-induced changes (from bilingualism with English) and the increased use of CIs in prospective Afrikaans.

The homogenisation of the sample group was an important methodological aspect of the study. The approach taken here can be applied to similar studies of other groups in the Afrikaans language community. Of specific interest will be comparing the results obtained from investigating groups of speakers from different social backgrounds to the results of this study. This dissertation can therefore be a stepping stone towards a doctorate thesis, where the methodology can be applied to sample groups with different social profiles. Further research can lead to possible explanations as to where in the social matrix the higher use of Type C clauses are located. For example, an undergraduate essay at the University of Cape Town found (using a grammaticality questionnaire) that a change towards VX is more evident with working class Coloured speakers, than with middle class White speakers (Louw, 2006). This small research project, however, was very limited in scope, focusing only on the rural community of Bonnievale. The fact that the Afrikaans language community is so diverse serves as a strong incentive for further research, especially if we want to understand the patterns of language variation and change.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Language use survey

Questionnaire used for electronic dissemination in language behaviour survey.

Watse taal praat jy...	Afrikaans	Engels	Beide, meer Afrikaans	Beide, meer Engels	Beide, ewe veel	Ander (wat?)
1. In jou huis						
2. Met jou ouers						
3. Met jou broers/susters						
4. Met jou ouma/oupa						
5. Met familie						
6. Met jou partner/man/vrou/ou/meisie						
7. Met jou kinders						
8. Met vriende						
9. Met jou ouers se vriende						
10. Met kennisse						
11. By uitgaanplekke (clubs, etc.) (met vriende)						
12. In winkels/restaurante (met vriende)						
13. By die kerk						
14. By die werk (of tydens werksure)						
15. By uitgaanplekke (clubs, etc.) (met vreemdelinge)						
16. In winkels/restaurante (met vreemdelinge)						
17. As jy jou selfoon beantwoord						
18. Met iemand wat jy nie ken nie						
19. Met die parking attendant						
20. Met boemelaars						
21. Met spietkops						
22. By binnelandse sake						
23. Met jou imaginary friend						
Hoe oud is jy?						
Waar was jy op skool? (en in Engels of Afrikaans)						
Waar bly jy tans?						
Watse werk doen jy?						

Appendix 2: Participants' comments and opinions

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

OO1 – Male, 29 years old

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

[...]

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

M2 – Female, 29 years old

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

L1 – Female, 20 year old

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

[...]

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

K1 – Female, 25 years old

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

[...]

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

CC1 – Male, 25 years old

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

[...]

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

A1 – Female, 20 years old

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

[...]

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

[...]

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

AA1 – Male, 20 years old

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

[...]

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

[...]

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

JJ4 – Male, 26 years old

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

[...]

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

[...]

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

konserwatief, en te ordentelik, so ons staan eerder terug, ons is te geneig om terug te staan.'

DD2 – Male, 23 years old

'Party woorde is makliker om in Engels te sê as in Afrikaans, Afrikaans het 'n paar moeilike woorde.'

[...]

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

JJ3 – Male, 35 years old

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

MM1 – Male, 30 years old

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

[...]

'Ek meen, selfs, ek dink in jou ervaring by UCT, jy sal meer geneig wees om met iemand Engels te praat onmiddellik as Afrikaans, want mens aanvaar net dat die ander persoon nie einlik Afrikaans kan praat nie, wat ook nie noodwendig waar is nie.'

Appendix 3: Elicitation questionnaire



University of Cape Town
Faculty of Humanities
Consent Form

Title of Research Project:

Morpho-syntactic variation in Afrikaans varieties spoken by Capetonians

Name of Principal Researcher:

Yolandi Klein

Department address: Linguistics Department, Arts Block, University of Cape Town

Telephone: 021 650 2836

Email: klnyol002@gmail.com

Name of Participant: _____

Participant's Involvement:

What is involved: _____

Risks: _____

Benefits: _____

Costs: _____

Payment: _____

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

Signature of Participant: _____

Signature of person who sought consent: _____ Date: _____

Afrikaans Morpho-Syntactic Variation Questionnaire

Abstract

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

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

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

Standard Afrikaans will be used as control.

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

Notas vir die invul van vraelys

Sal jy 'n sin soos hierdie in jou alledaagse gesprekke hoor/gebruik?

Dui aan JA/NEE.

Vir die JA antwoorde:

a) kan jy op 'n skaal van 1 tot 5 aandui hoe jy voel oor hierdie sin, byvoorbeeld, (1) jy gebruik/hoor dit baie so, dis ordiner, tot (5) jy gebruik/hoor dit nie somer nie, dis skaars.

b) Kan jy vir jouself indink dat dit meer deur jonger, of meer deur ouer mense gebruik word?

c) Kan jy aan 'n soortgelyke sin dink?

d) Wat beteken hierdie sin? (*depends on the nature of the question*)

Vir die NEE antwoorde:

a) Hoe sal jy hierdie sin eerder sê?

Vul in:

- Datum _____
- Plek _____
- Volle name _____
- Geslag _____
- Subjektiewe ras identifikasie/sosiale groep _____

Algemene Inligting/General Information

(1) Naam _____

(2) Het ons jou toestemming om hierdie data verder te gebruik? Jou naam sal nie gebruik word nie, en alles in die vraelys sal hanteer word as privaat.

Data sal gebruik word vir navorsingsdoeleindes, soos byvoorbeeld vir:

- Die skep van 'n publieke databasis dalk op die Internet
- Algemene navorsing: akademiese artikels, publikasies ens.
- Media en publieke bewustheid van Afrikaans en taalgemeenskappe

Ja/Nee _____

(3) Geboorteplek _____

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

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

(6) Ouderdom of ID nommer _____

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

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

(9) Indien wel, wat? _____

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

(11) Waar het jy skool gegaan? _____

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

(13) Het jy enige ander kwalifikasies? _____

(14) Selfoon nommer _____

Die Vraelys

Section 1 – verb distribution

1. a. Ek weet dat hy lees die boek

JA		1	2	3	4	5
NEE						
Hoe sal jy dit sê?						

b. Ek weet dat hy die boek lees

JA		1	2	3	4	5
NEE						
Hoe sal jy dit sê?						

2. a. Ek weet dat hy die boek het geles

JA		1	2	3	4	5
NEE						
Hoe sal jy dit sê?						

b. Ek weet dat hy die boek geles het

JA		1	2	3	4	5
NEE						
Hoe sal jy dit sê?						

3. a. Ek wonder of het hy die boek geles

JA		1	2	3	4	5
NEE						
Hoe sal jy dit sê?						

b. Ek wonder of hy het die boek geles

JA		1	2	3	4	5
NEE						
Hoe sal jy dit sê?						

c. Ek wonder of hy die boek geles het

JA		1	2	3	4	5
NEE						
Hoe sal jy dit sê?						

4. a. Ek wonder watter boek hy het gelees

JA		1	2	3	4	5
NEE						
Hoe sal jy dit sê?						

b. Ek wonder watter boek het hy gelees

JA		1	2	3	4	5
NEE						
Hoe sal jy dit sê?						

c. Ek wonder watter boek hy gelees het

JA		1	2	3	4	5
NEE						
Hoe sal jy dit sê?						

5. a. Ek weet dat hy is genooi

JA		1	2	3	4	5
NEE						
Hoe sal jy dit sê?						

b. Ek weet dat hy genooi is

JA		1	2	3	4	5
NEE						
Hoe sal jy dit sê?						

6. a. Ek weet dat daar word geskinder

JA		1	2	3	4	5
NEE						
Hoe sal jy dit sê?						

b. Ek weet dat daar geskinder word

JA		1	2	3	4	5
NEE						
Hoe sal jy dit sê?						

7. a. Ek wonder of daar geskinder word

JA		1	2	3	4	5
NEE						
Hoe sal jy dit sê?						

b. Ek wonder of daar word geskinder

JA		1	2	3	4	5
NEE						
Hoe sal jy dit sê?						

c. Ek weet of daar word geskinder

JA		1	2	3	4	5
NEE						
Hoe sal jy dit sê?						

d. Ek weet of daar geskinder word

JA		1	2	3	4	5
NEE						
Hoe sal jy dit sê?						

8. a. Wat dink jy dat hy lees

JA		1	2	3	4	5
NEE						
Hoe sal jy dit sê?						

b. Wat dink jy dat lees hy

JA		1	2	3	4	5
NEE						
Hoe sal jy dit sê?						

c. Wat dink jy lees hy

JA		1	2	3	4	5
NEE						
Hoe sal jy dit sê?						

9. a. Wat dink jy dat het hy gelees

JA		1	2	3	4	5
NEE						
Hoe sal jy dit sê?						

b. Wat dink jy dat hy het gelees

JA		1	2	3	4	5
NEE						
Hoe sal jy dit sê?						

c. Wat dink jy dat hy gelees het

JA		1	2	3	4	5
NEE						
Hoe sal jy dit sê?						

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

JA		1	2	3	4	5
NEE						
Hoe sal jy dit sê?						

b. Wat het hy gevra of jy het gelees

JA		1	2	3	4	5
NEE						
Hoe sal jy dit sê?						

11. a. Wie dink jy dat is genooi

JA		1	2	3	4	5
NEE						
Hoe sal jy dit sê?						

b. Wie dink jy genooi is

JA		1	2	3	4	5
NEE						
Hoe sal jy dit sê?						

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

JA		1	2	3	4	5
NEE						
Hoe sal jy dit sê?						

b. Oor wie dink jy dat daar word geskinder

JA		1	2	3	4	5
NEE						
Hoe sal jy dit sê?						

c. Oor wie dink jy dat word daar geskinder

JA		1	2	3	4	5
NEE						
Hoe sal jy dit sê?						

Section 2 – verb clusters

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

JA		1	2	3	4	5
NEE						
Hoe sal jy dit sê?						

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

JA		1	2	3	4	5
NEE						
Hoe sal jy dit sê?						

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

JA		1	2	3	4	5
NEE						
Hoe sal jy dit sê?						

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

JA		1	2	3	4	5
NEE						
Hoe sal jy dit sê?						

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

JA		1	2	3	4	5
NEE						
Hoe sal jy dit sê?						

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

JA		1	2	3	4	5
NEE						
Hoe sal jy dit sê?						

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

JA		1	2	3	4	5
NEE						
Hoe sal jy dit sê?						

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

JA		1	2	3	4	5
NEE						
Hoe sal jy dit sê?						

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

JA		1	2	3	4	5
NEE						
Hoe sal jy dit sê?						

c. Ek weet dat Jan die huis gelaat bou het

JA		1	2	3	4	5
NEE						
Hoe sal jy dit sê?						

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

JA		1	2	3	4	5
NEE						
Hoe sal jy dit sê?						

e. Ek weet dat Jan die huis gelaat gebou het

JA		1	2	3	4	5
NEE						
Hoe sal jy dit sê?						

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

JA		1	2	3	4	5
NEE						
Hoe sal jy dit sê?						

b. Ek weet dat Jan die huis gehelp bou het

JA		1	2	3	4	5
NEE						
Hoe sal jy dit sê?						

c. Ek weet dat Jan die huis help gebou het

JA		1	2	3	4	5
NEE						
Hoe sal jy dit sê?						

d. Ek weet dat Jan die huis gehelp gebou het

JA		1	2	3	4	5
NEE						
Hoe sal jy dit sê?						

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

JA		1	2	3	4	5
NEE						
Hoe sal jy dit sê?						

b. Ek weet dat Jan die beste gestaan en geanjaag het

JA		1	2	3	4	5
NEE						
Hoe sal jy dit sê?						

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

JA		1	2	3	4	5
NEE						
Hoe sal jy dit sê?						

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

JA		1	2	3	4	5
NEE						
Hoe sal jy dit sê?						

19. a. Ek het toe geopstaan

JA		1	2	3	4	5
NEE						
Hoe sal jy dit sê?						

b. Freddie het toe gewegloop

JA		1	2	3	4	5
NEE						
Hoe sal jy dit sê?						

c. Freddie het die beste geanjaag

JA		1	2	3	4	5
NEE						
Hoe sal jy dit sê?						

d. Julle het toe al die boeke/papiere geaanstuur

JA		1	2	3	4	5
NEE						
Hoe sal jy dit sê?						

20. a. Hy het die dooie hond gebegrawe

JA		1	2	3	4	5
NEE						
Hoe sal jy dit sê?						

b. Ek het nie jou brief verstaan nie

JA		1	2	3	4	5
NEE						
Hoe sal jy dit sê?						

c. Ek het nie jou brief geverstaan nie

JA		1	2	3	4	5
NEE						
Hoe sal jy dit sê?						

d. Ek het die present ontvang

JA		1	2	3	4	5
NEE						
Hoe sal jy dit sê?						

e. Ek het die present geontvang

JA		1	2	3	4	5
NEE						
Hoe sal jy dit sê?						

f. Ek het die man geontmoet

JA		1	2	3	4	5
NEE						
Hoe sal jy dit sê?						

g. Ek het die man ontmoet

JA		1	2	3	4	5
NEE						
Hoe sal jy dit sê?						

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

JA		1	2	3	4	5
NEE						
Hoe sal jy dit sê?						

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

JA		1	2	3	4	5
NEE						
Hoe sal jy dit sê?						

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

JA		1	2	3	4	5
NEE						
Hoe sal jy dit sê?						

b. Jan hoop dat hy die rugbyspan speel sien

JA		1	2	3	4	5
NEE						
Hoe sal jy dit sê?						

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

JA		1	2	3	4	5
NEE						
Hoe sal jy dit sê?						

b. Die vrou weet dat Oupa die kos eet begin

JA		1	2	3	4	5
NEE						
Hoe sal jy dit sê?						

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

JA		1	2	3	4	5
NEE						
Hoe sal jy dit sê?						

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

JA		1	2	3	4	5
NEE						
Hoe sal jy dit sê?						

e. Die vrou weet dat Oupa die kleinkinders bly bederf

JA		1	2	3	4	5
NEE						
Hoe sal jy dit sê?						

f. Die vrou weet dat Oupa die kleinkinders bederf bly

JA		1	2	3	4	5
NEE						
Hoe sal jy dit sê?						

24. a. Jan laat val toe die bal

JA		1	2	3	4	5
NEE						
Hoe sal jy dit sê?						

b. Jan maak staan toe die pale in die grond

JA		1	2	3	4	5
NEE						
Hoe sal jy dit sê?						

c. Jan bly kyk toe na die voëls

JA		1	2	3	4	5
NEE						
Hoe sal jy dit sê?						

d. Jan sien speel toe die rugbyspan

JA		1	2	3	4	5
NEE						
Hoe sal jy dit sê?						

e. Marie hoor snork haar man in die kamer

JA		1	2	3	4	5
NEE						
Hoe sal jy dit sê?						

f. Jan probeer werk toe in die tuin

JA		1	2	3	4	5
NEE						
Hoe sal jy dit sê?						

g. Jan begin kyk toe na die stukkende kar

JA		1	2	3	4	5
NEE						
Hoe sal jy dit sê?						

25. a. My boetie dink dat almal vinnig moet kan hardloop

JA		1	2	3	4	5
NEE						
Hoe sal jy dit sê?						

b. My boetie dink dat almal vinnig moet hardloop kan

JA		1	2	3	4	5
NEE						
Hoe sal jy dit sê?						

c. My boetie dink dat almal vinnig kan hardloop moet

JA		1	2	3	4	5
NEE						
Hoe sal jy dit sê?						

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

JA		1	2	3	4	5
NEE						
Hoe sal jy dit sê?						

e. My boetie dink dat almal vinnig hardloop kan moet

JA		1	2	3	4	5
NEE						
Hoe sal jy dit sê?						

f. My boetie dink dat almal vinnig kan moet hardloop

JA		1	2	3	4	5
NEE						
Hoe sal jy dit sê?						

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

JA		1	2	3	4	5
NEE						
Hoe sal jy dit sê?						

b. Vertel my of sy hom kon het geroep

JA		1	2	3	4	5
NEE						
Hoe sal jy dit sê?						

c. Vertel my of sy hom het kon geroep

JA		1	2	3	4	5
NEE						
Hoe sal jy dit sê?						

d. Vertel my of sy hom het geroep kon

JA		1	2	3	4	5
NEE						
Hoe sal jy dit sê?						

e. Vertel my of sy hom geroep het kon

JA		1	2	3	4	5
NEE						
Hoe sal jy dit sê?						

f. Vertel my of sy hom geroep kon het

JA		1	2	3	4	5
NEE						
Hoe sal jy dit sê?						

27. a. Jan weet dat daar gewerk moet word

JA		1	2	3	4	5
NEE						
Hoe sal jy dit sê?						

b. Jan weet dat daar moet word gewerk

JA		1	2	3	4	5
NEE						
Hoe sal jy dit sê?						

c. Jan weet dat daar moet gewerk word

JA		1	2	3	4	5
NEE						
Hoe sal jy dit sê?						

d. Jan weet dat daar gewerk moet word

JA		1	2	3	4	5
NEE						
Hoe sal jy dit sê?						

e. Jan weet dat daar gewerk word moet

JA		1	2	3	4	5
NEE						
Hoe sal jy dit sê?						

f. Jan weet dat daar word gewerk moet

JA		1	2	3	4	5
NEE						
Hoe sal jy dit sê?						

g. Jan weet dat daar word moet gewerk

JA		1	2	3	4	5
NEE						
Hoe sal jy dit sê?						

Section 3 – verb projection raising

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

a. Ek weet dat Jan dit sal moet wegjaag

JA		1	2	3	4	5
NEE						
Hoe sal jy dit sê?						

b. Ek weet dat Jan sal dit moet wegjaag

JA		1	2	3	4	5
NEE						
Hoe sal jy dit sê?						

c. Ek weet dat Jan sal moet dit wegjaag

JA		1	2	3	4	5
NEE						
Hoe sal jy dit sê?						

d. Ek weet dat Jan dit weg sal moet jaag

JA		1	2	3	4	5
NEE						
Hoe sal jy dit sê?						

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

JA		1	2	3	4	5
NEE						
Hoe sal jy dit sê?						

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

JA		1	2	3	4	5
NEE						
Hoe sal jy dit sê?						

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

JA		1	2	3	4	5
NEE						
Hoe sal jy dit sê?						

d. Ek dink dat jy baie papiere sou moet weggooi

JA		1	2	3	4	5
NEE						
Hoe sal jy dit sê?						

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

JA		1	2	3	4	5
NEE						
Hoe sal jy dit sê?						

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

JA		1	2	3	4	5
NEE						
Hoe sal jy dit sê?						

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

JA		1	2	3	4	5
NEE						
Hoe sal jy dit sê?						

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

JA		1	2	3	4	5
NEE						
Hoe sal jy dit sê?						

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

JA		1	2	3	4	5
NEE						
Hoe sal jy dit sê?						

b. Ek dink dat jy liewers sou moet twee bokke koop

JA		1	2	3	4	5
NEE						
Hoe sal jy dit sê?						

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

JA		1	2	3	4	5
NEE						
Hoe sal jy dit sê?						

b. Ek dink dat jy liewers sou moet liedere sing

JA		1	2	3	4	5
NEE						
Hoe sal jy dit sê?						

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

JA		1	2	3	4	5
NEE						
Hoe sal jy dit sê?						

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

JA		1	2	3	4	5
NEE						
Hoe sal jy dit sê?						

Appendix 4: Picture prompts



A



B



C



D



E



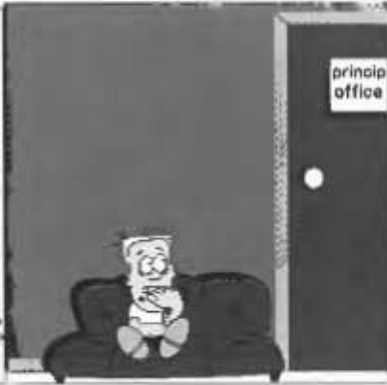
F



G



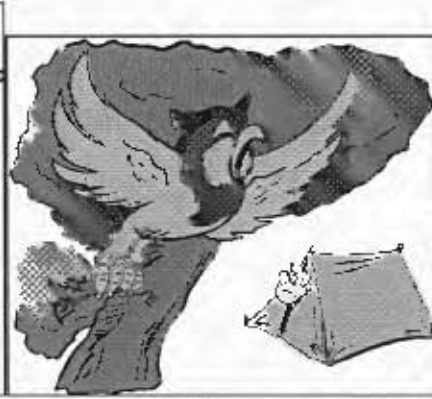
H



I



J



K



L



M



N



O



P

Appendix 5: Bridge verbs and subordinators

Appendix 5.a: Subordinators in the spoken corpus

Dat
1. Jy moenie dink dat as jy eendag oud is dat jy gan vergeet nie.
2. nee ek lag vir dat ek nie eers kan onthou hou
3. om blare so saam te hark dat dit lyk of dit 'n blom
4. so dit maak nie rêrig sin dat die seuntjie met 'n beker
5. was nie vir my so interessant dat ek belanggestel het om die
6. soos landboukunde nie/ mar dat sy, sy sal mense kan leer/
7. so hulle wil dit seker toets, dat as jy nou in 'n eksamen is
8. nou in 'n eksamen situasie is dat jy minstens self iets kan
9. en die feit dat die stadium nogsteeds omtrent vol was, dink ek, sê nogals iets
10. handboeke wat Engels was,/nie dat ek moes baie uit handboeke
11. dis net hoe ek dan dink,/so dat ek dink maar,/as ek din//
12. /en as ek bel//dis baie min dat sy haar foon antwoord,/so
13. //Ja//dit het nou weer gelei/dat die mense baie min
14. maar ek het ook gebesef/dat dit is meer met mekaar,/so
15. glad nie eers op//besef het dat iemand dit gesê het nie,/
16. oorwelding//wat gemaak het dat almal anders se chats
17. /Ja./Daar moet, die teorie is/dat daar moet tog 'n//daar is
18. en een,/ek kan nie dink dat ek voor dit 'n selfoon
19. Dis duur, ek kan nie verstaan dat dit so duur is nie./En dis
20. /alhoewel dis irriterend dat ek moet,/maar ek moet met
21. wat lyk asof hy skuldig is,/dat hy gevang om die vis te
22. wat,/dis ma net onderwys,/dat hulle nie die regte,/
23. Myself nogals rêrig oortref/dat ek daar kon sit vir 'n uur
24. Ja ek tik so vinnig/dat ek baie meer spelfoute nie
25. jy dan korrigeer/as jy weet dat mense sal.. verstaan wat
26. en//vir my was die weierste/dat ons vir so lank daar gesit
27. an//so dis so 'n issue/dat hulle eerder net sal
28. of so iets./Ja./Ek verwag nie dat iemand moet terug bel nie.
29. keuse nie./maar dit maak half/dat mens ook nie so contract
30. met kuns,/dit maak net dat jy dinge beter verstaan/en
31. jy dinge beter verstaan/en dat jy jouself, dat jy kan
32. verstaan/en dat jy jouself, dat jy kan nuwe tegnieke
33. /ma dis meer ouer mense,/nie dat dit 'n probleem is nie,/ek
34. ou end oefening ook,/dis so dat jy nie agterkom nie,/dis
35. in Durban/dis half so weier dat mens so meeste van hierdie
36. 't dit nou bietjie verander/dat jy aansoek doen per
37. 't nou (uiteintlik) gemaak/dat (hulle)/jy doen aansoek
38. //ek meen, daar's nie 'n kans dat 'n dieetkundige sal
39. ma daai mense het geen manier dat hulle andersins dit sal
40. ek rêrig wil doen,/dis nie dat ek nie meer so dink nie,/
41. /daar's miskien 'n opsie/dat ek volgende jaar by 'n NGO
42. ma ek weet, voor my siel, dat hulle dit nie gan volg nie
43. pouses/ek het gesê ek weier dat julle my inhou vir pouse/
44. my eerste jaar/in die feit dat ek verander het,/ek het,
45. wat soos,/jy weet nie einlik dat dit goed vir jou sal wees
46. ek het laasjaar, soos ek gesê dat ek het BSc gedoen,/toe wou
47. jy nie,/jy sien nie einlik dat dit iets gan wees wat gan
48. irriterend/in die feit dat dit nie miskien altyd so
49. /daai tipe goed,/ek wil hê dat enige mens wat die gedig
50. bietjie oorboord [oorbood?]/dat die twee van ons hom
51. was reg in die gat/en dis die dat die wind so deur gefunnel
52. nie lus om te swot nie,/die dat sy potloot in sy mond is,/
53. want ons wil nie die kans vat/dat die dingetjie in die
54. een manier om,/kyk, met die dat ek HIV positief is,/jy
55. //niks te make met die feit dat jy is eintlik dood
56. in die grond in/en hy soen my dat my tone krul, jy weet,/dan
57. daai klomp wat,/hulle's bang dat jy hulle, dat jy hulle gan
58. hulle's bang dat jy hulle, dat jy hulle gan wil beetskry,/
59. gan wil beetskry,/never mind dat ek die een is wat
60. ek in my verbeelding geleef/dat ek nie 'n klok hoor lui of
61. Stellenbosch was nog altyd dat dit, nou nie aards
62. konserwatief is nie,/mar, dat hulle redelik behoudend is
63. wat ek daarby moet sê,/is dat, so tien jaar ge/tien, so
64. /en hulle't bevind dat, Afrikaners is die etniese
65. weet jy wat?/jy weet dat die Jode, die Jodinne,

66. in die opstel neerskryf/is dat every person, even though
67. nou 'n huwelik,/beteken nie dat ek, dat ons hom gan
68. huwelik,/beteken nie dat ek, dat ons hom gan intrepreteer,/
69. weet nie, hulle verstaan nie, dat as ek hier is, dat ek een
70. nie, dat as ek hier is, dat ek een keer 'n maand/
71. dis ok sad/tog my beste ding dat ek ooit sou kon Afrikaans
72. in die klas was die feit dat jy Afrikaans behoorlik kon
73. doen,/hulle verstaan nie wat, dat hier is die groot moontlik
74. voor/jou neersit,/dat jy nie die vrae sal kan
75. dit is nie, ek kan nie dink dat dit dieselfde kan wees nie
76. dit is, nie ongewoon vir my dat die persoon glad nie 'n
77. by hulle/mar rêrig ek besef dat my Engels eerste taal op
78. dis die eerste keer dat ek so iets deur is,/mar ek
79. uit die mense uit te kry dat hulle Afrikaans het, is
80. an die begin van die klas as, dat hulle dit moet gee, om met
81. /vir die eenvoudige rede/dat hy's iemand wat daarvan
82. net sy sienswyse/en hy voel dat dis, jy weet, as jy in 'n
83. is ek geneig om te dink dat, of dit nou in teologie is
84. wat ek mar raaksien is dat, ek dink ons het ons, jy
85. jy weet, mens dink soms dat filosofie bly in die
86. gan kyk dan sal jy sien dat baie van die probleme wat
87. ek kyk in die kerkkonteks,/is dat jou jongmense vandag is
88. een is reg nie,/kry jy dat jou jongmense word einlik
89. tipe ding,/wat ek vind is dat, ek self is geneig om
90. /van 'n besigheid bel,/is dat ek gan seker mar iemand
91. want mens aanvaar net dat die anner persoon nie
92. soos Facebook vir jou sê, dat hulle 'n networking site
93. vir my is die nadele daarvan dat ek dink jy loop die gevaar
94. ek dink jy loop die gevaar, dat, Facebook kan 'n/nuwe
95. ek kyk in my eie geval ook, dat, daar is 'n sekere beeld
96. natuurlik by jou skeep is dat jy ken nou die/persoon,/
97. waar die waarheid is dat baie van die mense add ken jy nie werklik nie,
98. daar is werklik 'n gevaar, dat, 'n mens onbewustelik jou
99. want hy besef dat, hierdie vis se dae is getel,
100. huis daar agter sou suggereer dat hulle sopas 'n
101. en dat, die man met die dokument in die hand, wat heel moontlik die akte van die huis is, is nou die tevrede, gelukkige nuwe eienaar van 'n pragtige huis
102. natuurlik is dit moontlik dat hy die volgende oomblik
103. 'n kat se melk drink sonner dat die kat iets daaraan doen,
104. moet 'n punt daarvan/maak dat ons 'n paar idiome moet
105. /gan,/en dit maak vir my sin dat Afrikaans 'n bedreigde
106. mar baie opletend, is die feit dat, as jy nou in 'n geselskap is met Engelse mense,
107. te doen an het,/is die feit dat ek baie by haar gan kuier
108. in my Engels ook al,/mar, dat haar ma met my sal
109. so bang jy kom iemand te na,/dat jy eerder nou mar sal
110. betaal haar terug,/so dis nie dat ek die kar verniet gekry
111. probeer slaap,/of hy's bang dat die uil vi hom doodsvonnis
112. gan sê?/C kan ek vi julle sê dat, wie genooi was,/ek was so
113. die most embarrassing,/lat ek, dat ek eers na 'n maand
114. vi my die most embarrassing, dat jy nie kan onthou wat jy
115. onthou wat jy gedoen het/nie,/dat jy nie weet wie't jy almal
116. sou hard to get gespeel het dat hy drankies vi my koop of
117. one another/moet julle rêrig, dat Leon 'n sielkundige gan
118. Leon 'n sielkundige gan sien,/dat hy kan uitkom uit die kas
119. so ink of wat ever in sit dat hulle kan sien hoe die/
120. ek wou vir jou geSMS het, dat ek voel so jammer vir hom,
121. ha geskrewe toestemming gee dat sy iets daarmee mag doen
122. word in 'n tak daarso,/dat hulle byderhand is vir,
123. so klomp van hulle media af,/dat jy laterhand voel jy wil
124. om hoër op te swem/want dat die kat hom gan vang/my
125. perd is opgesaal/dis snaaks dat hy kaalvoet sal wees/dit
126. nie,/nee myne sit dit voor dat ek dit moet sien,/of daa
127. 'n nagedagte, die tweede een, dat dit beter/is, en dis
128. 'n persoon probeer/oortuig dat jy moet liewer die kar
129. nie baie 'liewer' nie nou dat ek daaraan dink./ek hoop
130. Afrikaans-sprekende mense gee dat hulle miskien vi jou/mail,
131. 'n nagedagte, die tweede een, dat dit beter/is, en dis
132. 'n persoon probeer/oortuig dat jy moet liewer die kar
133. nie baie 'liewer' nie nou dat ek daaraan dink./34 - 'ek
134. sy hele span en die spelers/dat hulle yteindelik, kon
135. hulle yteindelik, kon bewys dat hulle wel energie,/of dat
136. dat hulle wel energie,/of dat hulle wel 'n antwoord het

137. 'n goeie punt beet wat betref dat dit sal natuurlik boring
138. die mense was net te verbaas dat dit net te sleg kan met
139. ding/dis belaglik om te dink dat, jy 'n assignment kry, en
140. gan kyk,/dit het dit gespoil/dat, dit is baie, dit is, daar
141. het,/dit was vi my weird dat hulle daa was, but anyway/
142. sy't daarvan gehou, dink ek dat ek dit gesê het,/want sy't
143. gee en goeters,/sy weet nie dat jy my anner helfte is nie,
144. tannie Fura't dit gehaat dat ek foto's neem, so I mean,
145. natuurlik,/jy kry dit wel, dat katties en muise, en honde
146. mar ek kan myself indink dat mens partykeer goed sal/sê
147. as ek,/mar ek wens partykeer dat ons glad nie kinnars gehad
148. ek het nooit geweet dat ek kan mal wees oor katte
149. /mar sy't gevind dat die UCT mense nie rêrig
150. konsep verstaan het nie,/of dat hulle dit nie van 'n
151. met datainvordering is dat jy dan moet mense, met
152. ding is, die funny ding is dat, dis ook nie net, dis nie
153. meer violent sport,/of dit is dat dit meer fisies is en
154. en daarom voel hulle nie dat hulle dit moet uitkry op
155. hier doen nie/my opinie is dat mense wat na
156. oorsee gaan in die toekoms,/dat ek dan ten minste net 'n
157. wat vir my sê dat ek kan nie sommer net, een
158. moet eet, jy weet,/en dis nie dat ek 'n lavish lifestyle het
159. ek 'n lavish lifestyle het dat ek dit daarvoor doen nie,/
160. so hulle't geweier dat ek koshuis toe gan,/toe
161. agtergekom het in Finland is dat almal, deur die bank, kan
162. en dit weerhou die feit dat, dit weerhou dat net ryk
163. die feit dat, dit weerhou dat net ryk mense kan gan swot
164. gedoen het met die model,/is dat ons het agtergekom dat die
165. is dat ons het agtergekom dat die vispopulasie is besig
166. gaan daar,/hulle't agtergekom dat baie van die groter visse
167. mar daai ensiem verhoed dan dat anner parasiete op die
168. die probleem met parasiete is dat te veel van dit gan die
169. val/dis 'n voeltjie wat wag dat 'n druppel water van 'n
170. - Nee, ek's baie kwaad dat jy daar geslaap het, ek's

omdat
1. omdat dit, sê ma nou, so kleur is
2. miskien omdat ek dit meer verstaan
3. omdat , dis nie, daar is Afrikaanse maniere om die goed ook te sê
mar ek sal omdat, ek het, toe ek klein was het ek vreeslik baie TV gekyk, en baie goed
opgetel daar so, dan val die Engels vreeslik in die huis in
4. omdat ek nie alles by een universiteit wou doen nie,
5. seker omdat ons nou-net daarvoor gepraat het
6. omdat hulle, baie sukkel om Afrikaans te verstaan,
7. Uh, nee, maar dit is, deels omdat my foon dit nie wil, vat nie,
8. omdat jy nou al van te vore in so 'n chat room was,
9. omdat dit nie, face-to/
10. omdat daar min van ons was
11. dink jy dis omdat die, half, dit 'n half, so beperk is amper
12. omdat ek tyd het om oor hulle na te dink,
13. ek weet nie of dit is omdat ons 'n kleiner groep is of wat nie
14. ja dis omdat die navorsing-ding half die vorige jaar al begin.
15. veral omdat daar terme is en toetse en sulke goeters
16. omdat hy het so half, die/ oorgeneem/
17. En dis, dis omdat ek nie/ ook nie vir die per-second billing nie,
18. omdat my selfoonrekening so hoog/
19. Is dit omdat dit vir jou te veel tyd vat vir jou om te sms?
20. Maar dis seker omdat ek vir..
21. omdat ek by Etienne klas het,
22. Dis omdat dit nie jou geld is nie, nê!
23. en ook omdat ek, ek ken so baie mense wat voor my by UCT was,
24. net omdat ek dink nie jy kan gan met 'n sekere hoeveelheid geld
25. mar omdat ons so baie boeke moet lees vir die klasse
26. omdat ek dan besef hulle is Afrikaans,
27. net omdat ek gehoor het sy praat so met ha man
28. omdat ons Nederlands kan lees
29. met, omdat AIDS so hoog is da,
30. omdat hy geraas maak terwyl hy probeer slaap.
31. omdat die uil of arend hom wakker skree
32. jy, veral nou omdat ek fokus op een teoloog

33. en omdat die post-moderne manier van dink is om alles langs mekaar neer te sit
34. omdat ek erg op my spelling is,
35. en omdat ek al van rêrigwaar kind af lees, kleintyd,
36. ag mar dis mar bloot om feit seker mar omdat dit Afrikaans is,
37. mar omdat jy geld het, jy wil 'n groter duurder kar hê
38. veral omdat hulle altwee Engels is,
39. ek dink dis omdat hulle nie weet presies wat, wat dit is nie,
40. omdat dit die polisie is, hulle reël alles klaar vir my oom-hulle
41. want, omdat ek groot geword het met die Capies
42. omdat ek 'n sleg witman is,
43. toe sê ek vir hom 'mar is dit nie miskien omdat hy jou nie verstaan nie?'
44. omdat hulle nie die oppressor of wat ook al wil ondersteun nie
45. omdat dit baie Afrikaans is
46. en toe omdat ons so styf teen mekaar geloop het,
47. my ma se teorie is sokker violence word veroorsaak omdat daar, mense so frustreed is
48. omdat daar die heelyd niks gebeur
49. so miskien dink ek mar dit omdat ek simpel is,
50. en ek was klaar 'n freak omdat ek nie sport gedoen het nie en musiek gedoen het, so
51. omdat daar verskriklik baie geld van Middel-Ooste af is, en van Korea en daai plekke
52. plus twee jaar na jy jou graad klaargemaak het betaal die staat jou 'n salaris omdat jy geswot het
53. omdat hulle die kleinste land in die wêreld is en dus die minste sê het van almal,
54. omdat , Ierland lyk my is op die oomblik een van die grootste rekenaarontwikkelaars in
55. en omdat hulle so baie geld het, is hulle bang die Europese Unie gaan hulle misbruik,
56. ek dink omdat ek eers laat begin het met die beroep wat ek nou is,
57. omdat hy die oudste organisme is, is die parasiete,
58. hy sal nie omdat hy bang is vir voëls
59. en hulle lyk my gan dood omdat daar baie parasiete is,

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

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

terwyl
1. terwyl Stellenbosch nog bietjie sukkel mar,
2. terwyl ek daar is
3. terwyl seuntjie kyk
4. terwyl die seuntjie kyk
5. terwyl dit soos storm en reën nie
6. omdat hy geraas maak terwyl hy probeer slaap.
7. terwyl ek weer baie bly is ek nie in Afrikaans leer nie
8. terwyl hy sy voet in die bak gesit het
9. 'n kat wat toekyk terwyl 'n mys heel moontlik uit sy waterbak uit drink,
10. 'n vis wat betrap word terwyl hy in die visbak krap,
11. C jy kan dit organiseer vi haar daar terwyl sy die interviews doen
12. M goed, ons het mos nou eers, mos nou nou, terwyl ek einlik besig is
13. en hy kyk op die skerm terwyl sy een vinger op die papier druk na 'n posisie toe,
14. terwyl ek nog probeer, conversation hou
15. so hy's besig om 'n antwoord op te maak terwyl hy eksamen skryf
16. as jy 'n Finse burger is, dan kry jy 'n salaris terwyl jy studeer,

aangesien

1. aangesien jy hulle nie ken nie,

of

1. ek wonder of hy die huis nou gekoop het sopas,
2. ek weet nou net nie of hulle met motorfietse,
3. dit het geklink of sy stik an kots, ag an brokkoli, ekskuus,
4. en dit lyk of die ou 'n huis gekoop het, shame,
5. dit lyk so half asof sy, of hier instruksie an die gang is
6. dit lyk of die man haar op-chat ook,
7. en sy's besig om blare so saam te hark dat dit lyk of dit 'n blom word
8. dit lyk of hulle 'n gesprek het,
9. mar dit lyk of sy hom gan natgooi,
10. dit lyk nie of daar verskriklik motion angaan by die voete nie,
11. so dit lyk of hy amper net sit,
12. dit lyk nie of hy rêrig beweeg nie
13. 'n skolier wat sit en dink of hy werklik die regte antwoord het,
14. en dit lyk of hy loer vir 'n dametjie dalk
15. die een lyk amper of hy 'n posman of iets dergliks kan wees,
16. en sy lyk of sy dit geniet
17. want hy lyk of hy vir iemand verduidelik
18. ek kan nie onthou of ons internet gehad het by ons huis nie,
19. ek is nie seker of ek gan angan met Linguistiek nie,
20. mar ek weet nie of ek dit so gespesialiseerd eintlik wil doen nie,
21. ek weet nie of dit vir hulle presies,
22. ek weet nie of dit presies dieselfde is vi die Spaanse eksamens nie,
23. ek weet nie of dit is omdat ons 'n kleiner groep is of wat nie
24. dis 'n man, lyk vir my of dit dalk 'n argitek kan wees,
25. hy lyk of hy dit geniet,
26. en te gaan kyk of sy in die kantoor is,
27. ek weet nie of jy dit wil/
28. weet nie of dit 'n vraag is nie/
29. ek weet nie of ek dit in matriek en of Standerd nege gekry het nie.
30. uhm, so, ek weet nie of mens dit nou saam moet tel, met die geld wat ek spandeer nie,
31. 'n dude wat, ek weet nie of dit 'n droom is nie,
32. ja ek weet nie of dit 'n masker is nie
33. dis eintlik of hulle, ja, terug by die huis is
34. En kyk of jy miljoene vriende kan maak.
35. So dit hang af of jy die persoon ken of nie, ook.
36. dit het vir my gevoel of ek die heelyd gepraat het,
37. so ek weet nie eers of my idee van dit eintlik die werklikheid is nie
38. is dit ma beter om heelyd te kyk of hy nog an is
39. dit lyk of die vroujie bietjie blare bymekaar hark, buite
40. ma ja, dit lyk of hy bietjie da oefen, bietjie trap
41. dit lyk of die voeltjie 'n druppeltjie probeer vang het
42. om te weet of hy dood is
43. ook ma, kyk of ek dit 'n bietjie beter kan doen en so
44. ek wonder of sy in Suid-Afrika is
45. of hy dit dan onthou,
46. om te kyk of hulle oraait is,
47. ek weet nie of dit so moet wees nie,
48. dit lyk of sy in die tyn werk
49. dit lyk of hy besig is om huiswerk te doen
50. hy lyk of hy stout was
51. wat lyk of hy uit die slaap gehou word
52. O ja, of daar 'n hoërskool is in Houtbaai.
53. ek weet nie of jy al gehoor het daarvan nie
54. dit lyk of sy blare vee met die sonneblom.
55. ek weet nie of jy ooit daai ding gekyk het,
56. en hulle/ lyk of hy met haar probeer, flirt,
57. en die uil, lyk of hy redelik groot geraas maak,
58. dit lyk of hy al sy mag in daai,
59. lyk of die uil begin vlieg ook, miskien.
60. en sy gesig lyk of hy sê
61. shame en die oom lyk of hy in sy onderbroek ry,
62. hulle het gemaak of hulle katte is
63. ek weet nie of katte swanger, draagtend whatever,
64. jy moet besluit of hulle dokter toe gan of moet hospitaal toe gan
65. ek weet nie of die kar gegly het of wat ookal nie,

66. ons sal mar sien of dit gan werk
67. en dit lyk of hy dit geniet,
68. dit lyk nie of die perd dit soveel geniet nie,
69. ek wil hê jy moet sê of dit is hoe jy dit sal sê
70. ek het gevoel of 'n stormwolk my beet kry,
71. twee mans, dit lyk amper of die huis verkoop is an die een
72. my tannie't nog nie gehoor of sy goedgekeur is nie
73. ek weet nie of jy dit al gekyk het nie,
74. dit lyk of hy, mush het op sy bord
75. en dit lyk of hy haa vrae vra
76. dit lyk of dit by 'n partytjie afspeel,
77. dit lyk of sy pèrels an het vir juwele en oorbelle,
78. en die res is, lyk ok of hulle in die proses van beweeg is,
79. daai klink of daar 'n besluit geneem vir my is,
80. hy't saam met my Engels, so ek kan vi hom vra of hy kan,
81. dis hoekom ek gewonner het of ek jou rêrig gan help,
82. teen die einde deur elke bottel gegaan om te kyk of daa iets is
83. en dit lyk of hy dit korrigeer met wat op die computer staan
84. wat jy my basies vra is of ek basies gewoond raak an dit,
85. my pa is besig om te kyk of hy my wee kan inkry by Sea Harvest,
86. of hy sy hyswerk moet doen of hy moet gan speel nie
87. of sy gelukkig is,
88. dis 'n man, wat nie lyk of hy enige emosie het nie,
89. mar ek weet nie of hy sal nie,
90. ek probeer uitfigure of die woordorde van meer embedded bysinne beïnvloed word deur
91. of dat hulle dit nie van 'n Afrikaanse oogpunt af gesien het nie,
92. kyk of daar nie iets is om te steel nie,
93. en kyk of ek dit nie dalk iewers sien nie,
94. ek weet ok nie rêrig of ek in so koue land kan gan bly nie
95. en hy kyk of dit werk op Auto-Cad op die rekenaar,
96. enige vliegtuig wat van Afrika af kom gan sy in en gan snoop rond om te kyk of hulle diere smokkel,
97. mar ek weet nie of ek kan oorleef daar nie,
98. ons het gekyk of ons kon inkom by die biblioteek

as (a subordinating conjuction, see Donaldson 1993: 305)
1. as jy, vyf keer vir hulle gesê het
2. maar ek sal as ek op kampus is,
3. ag byvoorbeeld as ek met my, met my,
4. as ek met hulle kommunikeer,
5. en as mens comments, wou los,
6. so ek dink hulle, delete dit as daar 'n ruk lank niks aktiwiteit was nie.
7. so, as ek goed moet kommunikeer daar, dan sal ek e-pos,
8. maar dis gewoonlik, as ons vir mekaar, cute forwards [laughing] stuur of so,
9. want, weet dan as jy, nou klaar gechat het,
10. as ek nou by UCT is,
11. ek het wel as ek nou dink, uhm aan flieks wat ek gekyk het,
12. gewoonlik, byvoorbeeld, as ek met my ma wil praat,
13. as jy, net, gou vinnig iets wil reël of so
14. maar as jou nou, wil gesels met die persoon [not final]
15. uh, weet as jy, kwaad is vir iemand of so,
16. Uhm, so, jy't gesê jy sal, as jy met iemand wil praat,
17. of as ek byvoorbeeld 'n, weet afspraak ook moet maak en so,
18. gewoonlik as ons, as ons goed moet reël
19. weet partykeer as jy nou, net vinnig iets wil sê,
20. of veral as dit in die oggend is
21. ek sou sê as ek nou my, my totale account vir 'n maand vat,
22. as ek nou Afrikaanse mense wil stuur
23. mar ek dink, weet, as ek so gesukkel om vier tweede jaar vakke hierdie jaar te doen
24. en dis net, ek dink nogal as ek gan sit met daai drie vakke, [not final]
25. mar ek dink, dit sal vir my lekkerder wees as ek rêrig waar kan konsentreer op my vakke
26. as jy dit deurkom,
27. ja gelukkig, altyd as ek saam met my pa gan is wanner hy genooi word deur mense wat 'n
28. dit was vir my maklik om, om as ek in Engels (besig) is,
29. weet, mos as die notes in Engels was
30. as ek besig is om in Engels te werk
31. en as ek dan in Engels of Afrikaans neerskryf,
32. as ek klaar 'n klient gesien het
33. en dan net as jy iets belangrik het om te sê,
34. as hulle, aanhou amok maak,
35. dan as jy weer sien is die topic waarop jy wou iets gesê het

36. so as daar iemand is
37. as ek nie lus is om met die persoon te praat nie,
38. as ek half nie, lus is vir die, kontak nie,
39. as ek/ as dit nou nie 'n belangrike vraag is of iets nie
40. as ek tyd het om te kan sms,
41. maar as ek rerig net vinnig iets wil uitvind
42. so as die antwoord nie dringend nodig is nie,
43. dis eintlik maar as ek die antwoord nou nodig het,
44. en dis vir my baie irriterend as ek sien iemand het gebel
45. so dis eintlik vir my partykeer lekkerder as iemand my sms
46. as hulle vir my 'n vraag wil vra,
47. as dit iemand se verjaarsdag is, dan/
48. dieselfde is met sê nou maar as jy vir iemand 'n e-mail tik,
49. dis partykeer maar net as ek op Facebook is
50. want hierdie foon irriteer my as ek moet sms.
51. as ek dieselfde letter wil tik,
52. bedoel, as jy die heelyd hoor hoe mense praat,
53. as ek praat, baie keer met mense wat met ons werk
54. want jy is, wel as jy hoor hoe meeste van die mense by die werk,
55. As jy romanties genoeg voel, vir die occasion.
56. as jy, 'n music career wil launch of iets
57. as jy enige iets wat met professioneel te doen het,
58. Dink jy dit sou anders gewees het as jy hulle geken het?
59. as ek met hulle moes 'n uur en 'n half gesit en gesels het,
60. as ons sit in 'n chat room
61. as jy in 'n M-TV chat room in gaan
62. as ek haar weer sien.
63. Nee hulle irriteer my as ek met hulle op die telefoon praat,
64. as jy, die woordeboek-ding gebruik.
65. en dan veral as anner mense dit lees
66. is dit ook bietjie van 'n verligting as jou seminaar oor die digkuns handel
67. as 'n vrou byvoorbeeld inkom en met ha man praat,
68. as hy swart oë het 'ie
69. ek gan daarmee ophou as ek nou oorsee gan
70. en dan, as jy nie vinnig kan weg beweeg nie, dan/
71. as jy net bietjie vorentoe gan
72. ma as ek nou Nederland toe gan,
73. as ek nou gan vir 'n meeting probeer ek langer bly,
74. dis nou net, as ek nou Nederland toe gan, dit begin nou weer winter raak da,
75. want as dit nie genoeg is 'ie,
76. as met 'n ding wat vir my sê 'eeh, kannie verder nie'
77. as ek tyd het, ja
78. jy kry 'n intree salaris wat so, wat jy sou kry as jy begin werk by die regering
79. wa as jy van die begin af, net sê 'stuff die Wes-Kaap'
80. en as die geld inkom
81. as jy kyk na wat verkoop was hierso,
82. ma ek is/ dis einlik, as jy wou einlik sê, is dit my eerste jaar
83. so ek bedoel, daar's niks anders om te doen as om sport te speel nie, so,
84. ma, as ek Landbou swot, en jy hetie 'n plaas nie,
85. ek gebruik my selfoon as ek iets, as ek iemand wil bel of iemand wil sms,
86. as jy my dringend, as iemand vir my dringend iets wil sê
87. soos as ek dit wil doen,
88. as jy soos, soos ek, sit daar en dit lees
89. soos as die persoon dit lees,
90. en hulle kan voel hoe dit voel as hulle in daai situasie is,
91. as die kinders ouer word
92. ek gaan nie in 'n tent slaap as dit reën nie
93. jy weet dis makliker as mens gaan kamp
94. want ek is maar 'n softie as dit kom by alkohol, in elk geval
95. as daar rys sous en aartappels op daai bord is
96. ek voel net dit help verskriklik baie as ek nie hoef op te bou hier binne,
97. as jy met mense gan/interaksie met mense gan hê,
98. as ek nou 'n vrou was, 'n gay vrou was,
99. ma as hulle my sien
100. en as ek daai bal vasvat, o jene,
101. ek meen, weet, as jy dan wil uitpak,
102. veral as jy die heelyd in die losieshys bly, so,
103. as ek hom gan intrepreteer soos wat jy hom gan intrepreteer nie,
104. sê nou as iemand doodgan,
105. as jy dit by UWC doen, by die universiteit
106. ek kan bestuur ma, dis nie vir my 'n rede om te bestuur as ek die shuttle kan vat nie,
107. hulle verstaan nie wat, dat hier is die groot moontlik is as hul jou

eksamenvraestel voor	
108.	veral by winkelsentrums as jy inkopies doen, sulke goed,
109.	as jy oproepe maak na maatskappye toe, daai tipe ding,
110.	ek's onmiddellik gesteld as ek op as ek die, as ek 'n e-pos,
111.	as ek 'n spelfout maak enigsins,
112.	mar hoe groei 'n mens as jy nie op tone trap nie,
113.	en partykeer nalaat as 'n mens wel so iets anpak,
114.	want as jy hom afskeep,
115.	ek kry 'n orgasme as ek dit hoor
116.	jy mag, verstaan, sy mag niks met die quote doen behalwe as ek dit doen nie,
117.	vi as ons ekseem gehad het?
118.	ek dink as jy klaa werk het, ja,
119.	as jy dit op die skip sit,
120.	as jy gan kyk op die aarbol, daar's so vulkaan ridge wat daa loop,
121.	konteks nie. Ek sou 'liewers' gebruik as daar nie 'n keuse is nie, daai klink of daar 'n
122.	jy't 'n goeie punt beet wat betref dat dit sal natuurlik boring wees as dit die heeltyd net
123.	as jy 'n hectic hoofpyn gehad het,
124.	as hy al twee jaar by die span was,
125.	jy kan sien hoe's die ma as die baba rustig is kan jy sien dis 'n rustige ma
126.	mar as ek kan inkom by Sea Harvest, of I&J,
127.	veral as mens lief is vir iemand,
128.	soos as jy nou so 'n sportstudie sal doen,
129.	maar die ding is ek pass elke keer uit as ek bloed sien,
130.	jy sal sien ok as jy daar kom
131.	die mense self, as jy hulle op straat sien, lyk baie streng, maar die oomblik wat jy met
132.	maand. As ons die kos koop vir hulle.

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

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

33. en die kat, maak asof hy nie die muis sien nie,
34. en die kat maak asof hy hom nie sien,
35. goud goud geel met die oë asof sy bril op gehad het
36. Y ek weet 'ie ek sê ok vi iemand dit is asof jy vi hulle vra 'gee my 'n rib asseblief'
37. dis asof hy nou wag, hy wil hê ek moet wag
38. en hy doen masjien-goeters wat lyk asof dit baie exciting en, en, mannekrag is,
39. 'n heteroseksuele man, wat maak asof sy werk verskriklik belangrik is,
40. lyk dit vir my asof hulle nou-net 'n deal gestrike het,
41. dis 'n seuntjie op 'n baie kwaai donkie wat lyk asof die donkie hom nou enige oomblik
42. en sy lyk asof sy dit geniet,
43. en die oefenfiets lyk asof dit soos uit die stone age kom,

As wat ((Ponelis (1979: 439) 'verder is wat die enigste onderskikker wat met die vergelykingswoorde 'soos' en 'as' kan kombineer. Hier vervul 'wat' die suiwer onderskikkende funksie wat 'dat' elders vervul.')
1. is dit anders, as wat jy verwag het dit sou gewees het?
2. ek kan baie meer sms as wat ek.. of ek kan minder bel as wat ek doen,
3. as wat hulle sou doen as hulle in die persoon in die oë moes kyk
4. dat hulle eerder net sal betaal en stil bly en aanhou met kla as wat hulle actually iets daaraan doen,
5. So sal jy sê jy stuur meer as wat jy ontvang, of jy ontvang meer as wat jy stuur?
6. Ek dink, ontvang meer as wat ek stuur.
7. 'n paar, mar, meer wat hienatoe gekom het as wat soontoe gegaan het
8. ek't verder gegaan met my basketball as wat ek gegaan het met swem, so
9. slimmer as wat mens dink hê?
10. daai mense het, meer bedmaats gehad as wat ek van kan droom!
11. want dis nie dieselfde hier as wat dit daar is nie,
12. mar ek't nie meer gedrink as wat ek normaalweg drink nie,
13. dat jy eerder nou mar sal terug staan en jou bek hou, en nou mar tweede plek vat, as wat jy nou jou opinie lig,
14. en toe trap ek op 'n toon, mar ek dink baie harder as wat nodig was,
15. meer as wat ek Afrikaans praat
16. is dit anders, as wat jy verwag het dit sou gewees het?

Soos wat (see <i>as wat</i>)
1. mar jy kan so lank vat soos wat jy wil,
2. so, mar jy kan rêrig so lank vat soos wat jy wil,
3. Dieselfde, soos wat jy gesien het al êrens anders?
4. Okay, en ontvang jy soveel soos wat jy stuur, deur 'n dag?
5. ma met ons salaris soos wat dit is,
6. ja dit is nogal irriterend, soos wat jy nou sê oor die skool
7. niks te make met die feit dat jy is eintlik dood gemaklik en dood gelukkig net soos wat jy is,
8. my aanvaar soos wat hulle my gekry het,
9. en dis mense wat my aanvaar soos wat ek is,
10. beteken nie dat ek, dat ons hom gan intrepreteer, as ek hom gan intrepreteer soos wat jy hom gan intrepreteer nie,
11. hy beduie met sy hande soos wat hy met die vrou praat
12. sy oë's eintlik toe soos wat hy sy mond oopmaak,
13. veral as mens lief is vir iemand, soos wat ek vir haar lief is, verstaan?

sodra
1. ma sodra hulle met hulle buddies praat
2. en sodra jy nie, dit doen nie,
3. ma sodra jy begin praat van dranks, ag, drugs,

aangesien
1. aangesien jy hulle nie ken nie,

Afhangende (see Donaldson 306 Anglicism)
1. so afhangende van hoeveel dit gan wees

NB. Donaldson footnote 2, p309: 'Many puritsts object to what they see as this superfluous insertion of *wat* after several subordinating conjunctions.'

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

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

Appendix 5.b: Bridge verbs in the spoken corpus

weet	
1.	voëltjie wat kos kry, of water kry daar,/weet nie of dit 'n plantjie is waa daa
2.	, jy het al die informasie,/ma jy moet weet wat dit is/ma ons het nou, toe ons
3.	/daar is sulke trips wat hulle doen/ek weet nou net nie of hulle met
4.	in Tygerberg/daa is een vrou wat, ek weet nie presies hoe oud sy is nie,/mar
5.	'n mini-reeks,/Picture Analysis/as ek geweet het wat dit is, is dit 'n hark?/
6.	s jassie en 'n seuntjie by 'n tafel,/ek weet nie wat sy, het iets wat soos 'n
7.	boodskappe op Facebook stuur,/want ek weet, byvoorbeeld,/nie almal wat ek ken,
8.	nou, chat en so aan,/so ek het nie, geweet, uhm, weet/gaan dit wees net ons,
9.	gekyk,/en dit, dit gebeur so vinnig,/ek weet amper half nie wanneer om in te kom
10.	dieselfde taal gepraat,/uhm, ek het/ek weet ek het taamlik baie Engelse woorde,
11.	laughs] vir 'n tyd./Uhm, ag dit hang ek weet,/daar's, daar's vreeslik baie, uhm,
12.	my nie//Ek weet nie//dit is nie, ja./ek weet eintlik wat daar aangegaan het nie.
13.	/of veral as dit in die oggend is/en sy weet ek's op kampus,/dan sal sy my sms,/
14.	oggend,/en die Sondag aand het ek geweet ek gan UCT toe gan,/so dit was
15.	en transformasie en so an/want ek weet UCT is al fine daarmee/terwyl
16.	is baie gespesialiseerd,/sy doen, ek weet nou nie presies wat hulle dit noem,
17.	,/mar meer soortvan 'n mense,/ek weet wat sy gesê het op 'n keer,/wat sy
18.	nuttig in met my Letterkunde,/mar ek weet nie of ek dit so gespesialiseerd
19.	of anner rede as ek moet gan sit/en ek weet ek moet dit nou skryf,/dan, my
20.	af/wel, ek wil baie graag angan,/ek weet nog nie presies waar ek dit gan
21.	,/dan kan jy gan studeer in Spanje,/ek weet nie of dit vir hulle presies,/ek
22.	weet nie of dit vir hulle presies,/ek weet vir die Franse eksamens kan jy dan
23.	kan jy dan gratis gan studeer,/ek weet nie of dit presies dieselfde is vi
24.	't dit by my voete uit my sak uit,/ek weet nie hoe dit gebeur het nie,/en ek
25.	sy gemak met ons in die tweede jaar,/ek weet nie of dit is omdat ons 'n kleiner groep
	is of wat nie/mar hy het soortvan, jy weet, grappies gemaak,
26.	wel ek was nie lus nie/want ek het nie geweet hoe om die terme om te ruil nie./
27.	op Skype./Ja, ek ken dit glad nie,/ek weet nie hoe dit werk nie./Dis baie soos
28.	vraag./[laughter]/Nee, ek wil maar net weet wat het jy daarvan gedink,/wat het
29.	gaan kyk ook,/dit is hectic, jy//ek weet nie hoe mense dit regkry om//jy
30.	gevoel,/ek weet nie of jy dit wil//weet nie of dit 'n vraag is nie//Ja ja
31.	het teen matriek 'n selfoon gehad,/ek weet nie of ek dit in matriek en of
32.	teen helfte van die maand,/uhm, so, ek weet nie of mens dit nou saam moet tel,
33.	'n boodskap gelos eintlik ook,/want nou weet ek nie dat hulle my gesoek het nie,
34.	aarbeie/iets water gee/is dit dit, ek weet nie wat de heck dit is nie/is dit
35.	soos 'n gieter/ja, dit lyk so!/ma ek weet nie hoekom sy die hoener sal wil
36.	skryf eksamen/en hy dink/'n outjie wat weet hy's innie moeilikheid,/en hy gan
37.	,/of 'n blommetjie uit/'n dude wat, ek weet nie of dit 'n droom is nie,/is dit
38.	sy mond,/dalk is dit 'n dokter,/ja ek weet nie of dit 'n masker is nie/'n ou

39. al gejudge//een week is ek gekies,/ek weet nie eintlik hoekom hulle vir my
40. ek wou uitvind.. ek weet nie,/want jy weet nie wie watse taal praat nie/so jy
41. Facebook chat/soos jy weet,/duidelik weet die persoon ons chat//ag uhm, chat
42. in 'n M-TV chat room in gaan/sal jy nie weet wie dit is nie,/so, dit maak dit
43. ,/so jy worry nie oor spelfoute nie,/jy weet mense sal dit sien./Maar jy
44.)./Hoekom sal jy dan korrigeer/as jy weet dat mense sal.. verstaan wat jy
45. ,/en ook nie vir jouself nie,/want jy weet hoe die spelling is,/so hoekom sal
46. ,/of ek gaan net soos, (unclear)./Ja ek weet nie hoe om dit te doen nie,/ek wil/
47. /ek sien mense bel verskriklik baie,/ek weet nie hoe hulle dit kan regkry nie./
48. klas,/en dit raak bietjie erg/later an weet jy nie meer wat het in watter
49. ek belangstel,/dit is nie, iets wat ek weet ek wil doen nie,/mar dit is wat/
50. was nog nooit in so 'n area nie,/so ek weet nie eers of my idee van dit eintlik
51. goed,/met toutjies en strikkies,/en dan weet mense soms nie hoe om dit an te
52. ek ken nie 'n vis goed genoeg/om te weet of hy dood is/as hy swart oë het '
53. sê sy val heel waarskynlik hier/ma ek weet 'ie half hoe oud sy is 'ie/sy werk
54. hierdie moves,/en jy oefen dit/en jy weet dis hoe dit werk/maak nie saak,/dit (no COMP)
55. dit' en wat,/ja, want ek het gedink, ek weet nie wie dit is nie,/ma ek was
56. ek dit 'n bietjie beter kan doen en so/weet jy wa's 'n nice plek,/da by
57. wees 'ie/dit moet sy wees/ja want ek weet van vriende van vriende van my/wat
58. dan//julle's welkom om te kom kuier/ek weet nog nie wa ons gan bly nie, ma/ja
59. in die aande en sulke goeters/en ek het geweet ek gaan waarskynlik nie in die
60. ou einde, het 'n lekker jaar gehad,/ek weet van baie min mense gehoor wat soos
61. vyf-en-twintig keer die dag/na 'n ruk weet jy nou hoe om dit te sê,/en dan lat
62. ,/ma die, selfs die mense self, weet nie rêrig wat 'n dieetskundige is
63. die twee, een van die dokters het,/ek weet nie hoe hulle dit reggekry het nie,
64. verstaan hoekom hulle een wil hê,/ma ek weet, voor my siel, dat hulle dit nie
65. ek't gekom op 'n punt wat ek voel,/ek weet nie of dit so moet wees nie,/ek wil
66. /ok een van daai goeters wat soos,/jy weet nie einlik dat dit goed vir jou sal
67. daar,/en jy's so paar weke daar/en, jy weet nou hoe dit is,/en, jy weet,/en dan
68. het/en dan dink jy, o okay cool/hulle weet waarvan hulle praat/ja nee ek sal
69. met baie mense/ons braai gewoonlik/jy weet dis makliker as mens gaan kamp/om
70. dis al,/en ek was verlore,/ek het nie geweet waa ek was nie/ek kan nie meng
71. 'cirlce of death' of 'fuck the bus'/ek weet nie of jy al gehoor het daarvan nie
72. is jy kry 'n pak kaarte/en dan, ek weet nie presies hoe dit werk nie,/ek
73. sy blare vee met die sonneblom./en ek weet nie hoekom sy dit doen nie,/want sy
74. /wat aarbei pluk,/dit lyk soos,/ek weet nie of jy ooit daai ding gekyk het,
75. op daai bord is/met uhm, gravy?/ek weet nie wat's gravy nie,/en, lyk my die
76. gesien het!/K/ja, dit lyk amper,/ek weet nie hoekom nie,/maar dit lyk soos
77. hy nog gewerk het,/so groot rooie,/ek weet nie hoekom hy so groot was nie,/
78. 'n ding wat,/so daar's baie plek in,/ek weet nie waarvoor hy die ding gebruik
79. 'Ma-kat'/en toe raak sy nou, swanger/ek weet nie of katte swanger, draagtend
80. doen dinge an my',/en dan sê sy 'ja, ek weet hy's sexy soos hel, is hy nie',/jy
81. 'n bewussyn ontwikkel het, as sulks,/jy weet wat ek bedoel,/voordat ons
82. pas/en dan moet hulle so oprul,/hulle weet nie wa om te spreï nie,/om te vlieg
83. 'n bak blomme wat sy water gee,/mar ek weet nie wat die seuntjie dar doen nie/
84. /die seuntjie skryf eksamen,/en nugter weet wat die antwoord is/jy's in die kak
85. al saam? Jou vriendin?/weet jy wat?/jy weet dat die Jode, die Jodinne, moet elke maand met hulle periode,
86. gestraf/wel, ek was uit die aand,/ek weet nie of die kar gegly het of wat
87. die ongeluk,/ek't die oggend nie eers geweet ek was in 'n ongeluk nie,/en die
88. iets deur is,/mar ek's mal oor hom,/ek weet hy's briljant,/en ek was mal oor
89. gehou, al het ek swak punte gekry,/jy weet hy's uitstekend, so, jy suffer mar
90. bly nou al twee jaar in Kaapstad,/ek weet nie waar hulle oorspronklik vandaan
91. deur 'n klomp standpunte,/en hulle weet nie wat om te glo nie, so./dit is
92. jou privaatheid kan/inperk,/jy weet natuurlik as jy nou by Facebook
93. raak/en jy sit al jou inligting op,/jy weet jy doen dit,/mar jy besef nie altyd
94. muis vang/nou interessant wees om te weet waarvoor al daardie gebruik word/
95. met 'n groot rooi cokey,/mar nou weet jy nie hoeveel boeke in elk geval
96. is fnuik,/en ek is soos, hoe kan jy nie weet wat fnuik is nie/iemand ironies het
97. jy Nancy gan trou volgende jaar?/ ek weet Lee-ann is so opgewonde/M ja mar
98. daa nie simbale ok in die liedjie nie/C weet jy wat is die mooiste boek hierie,
99. 'my ras, noem hulle die, Mastrubeer'/ek weet altyd die rugbyuitslag/ons weet nie
100. /ek weet altyd die rugbyuitslag/ons weet nie eers wie speel nie/K toe ek
101. het/ek is baie bly en opgewonde/K mar weet jy wie't ek hallo gan sê?/C kan ek
102. t ek nie 'n selfoon gehad nie,/ek't nie geweet wie ek almal bel nie/dit was vi
103. wat jy gedoen het/nie,/dat jy nie weet wie't jy almal gebel nie, en watse
104. emails, hy dink so baie van homself,/weet julle wie Andre G Nel is/hy sing,/
105. van hom op,/mar ek't nooit rêrig geweet dis hy nie,/mar toe kom ek agter/
106. /K Miemies ek hoop vi jou onthalwe jy weet hoe om dit heeltemal dit te delete
107. belangriker,/so hy kan nou eers weer, weet nie wanneer nie,/moet hy nog 'n
108. asseblief'/ek dink dis omdat hulle nie weet presies wat, wat dit is nie,/hoe
109. ongelooflik/ek gan vi Tannie ytvind/ek weet my oupa toe hy baie siek geword het

110. musiek as 'n hobby doen,/ek meen, mens weet wat word van stokperdjies,/en veral
111. , soos daai, Shooting for Columbine,/ek weet nie of jy dit al gekyk het nie,/mar
112. eers, die show geword van die dag/weet jy wie was die meeste mense?/mar
113. ons praat nie/ek dink sy wou, kyk sy weet miskien nie wat ons verhouding is
114. ,/sy wou dalk raad gee en goeters,/sy weet nie dat jy my anner helfte is nie,/
115. my anner helfte is nie,/so sy kan nie weet dat//sy dog sy bore jou dalk nou
116. Gina, wat verskriklik stout was,/en weet sy gan nou pakslae kry by die hoof,
117. , twee-en-twintig jaar,/en ek weet nie hoe hulle survive nie, rêrig
118. ry'/ja, as daar nou een nasie is, wat, weet hoe dit is om swaar te kry is dit
119. of hulle raak net erger/ek het nooit geweet dat ek kan mal wees oor katte nie
120. om 'n vis te vang uit 'n bak,/mar ek weet nie of hy sal nie,/want ek dink nie
121. vir hom 'n huis gekoop het,/en, ek weet nie wie die huis gekoop het/en wie
122. saam met hom/hy wil seker hê mens moet weet hy's ryk/dit lê nog daar by die
123. mar anyway/mar nou dink ek by myself ek weet nie rêrig wat ingenieurs doen nie,/
124. nie/ek's rêrig bored by my werk/nee ek weet my tyd het klaa so baie verby gegaan
125. plek bly waar ek orals kan fiets ry/ek weet ok nie rêrig of ek in so koue land
126. wil gan net oor die kursus,/mar ek weet nie of ek kan oorleef daar nie,/
127. persent van Amerika wat paspoorte besit/weet jy hoeveel keer moes ek vir mense
128. /wat Oubaas nou die dag nou gesê, wag/weet jy hoe baie ouens doen dit?/Oom wat
129. Christo vanaand?/wie se skoene is dit?/weet jy wat kan julle twee vir my doen?/
130. jy eers dink wat dit is,/'stripper' weet mens dadelik wat dit is/ek het

verstaan
1. , stange sounds)/Klomp gemors./Maar ek verstaan dis/seker ook maar hoe sekere
2. Dis duur, ek kan nie verstaan dat dit so duur is nie./En dis,
3. in vyftig../Maar dan moet jy ook nou verstaan, dis nou 'n link twee sms,
4. nie,/want hierso, ek weet nie, hulle verstaan nie, dat as ek hier is, dat ek
5. wat Engels op Stellenbosch doen,/hulle verstaan nie wat, dat hier is die groot V2
6. in daai tyd gekry het/C ja ek kon,/mar verstaan ek het soveel mense weggewys,/
7. as jy so baie mense het wat eet kan ek verstaan dit kos jou duur./D - Ja, ons,

voel
1. mens so klomp daarvan gelees het,/dan voel jy, nee so bietjie/okay dis nou
2. was net Afrikaans gewees,/en ek het gevoel, okay ek kort net bietjie van 'n
3. , die semantics,/ek het so bietjie gevoel ek is nie seker wat die punt
4. het was vi my baie nice,/dit het vi my gevoel hy's meer op sy gemak met ons in
5. sy is 'n goeie dosent,/ek het partykeer gevoel sy's bietjie school teacherish?
6. ,/hy's taamlik droog,/hoewel ek ook gevoel het nader an die einde hy begin
7. nie//Ja ja nee asseblief!/maar ek het gevoel/een persoon veral het baie van
8. /en nou,/weet almal het so half, ek voel,/ek voel, die ander mense het
9. ,/weet almal het so half, ek voel,/ek voel, die ander mense het bietjie terug
10. dan,/ek meen mense doen dit,/maar ek voel dis verkeerd,/mens sal baie keer//
11. , wat ook al,/so, dis partykeer//en ek voel mense kan baie keer meer onbeskof
12. nie,/maar dit was//dit het vir my gevoel of ek die heeltyd gepraat het,/en
13. nie by daai plekke nie/dis hoekom ek voel mens kan nou nie hierie geleentheid
14. baie na an my hart,/en wat ek nog altyd gevoel het ek wil doen met my werk,/en,
15. /ek is gelukkig,/ek dink net, party dae voel ek, jy weet,/ek werk vyftig
16. ,/en ek't gekom op 'n punt wat ek voel,/ek weet nie of dit so moet wees
17. /ons het dit oorgeneem/want ons het net gevoel, jy weet,/as jy kyk na wat
18. , dit kom nou ma met die storie saam/ek voel net dit help verskriklik baie as ek
19. verleë is nie,/ek geniet myself,/en ek voel glad nie skuldig daaroor nie/
20. wyer te kyk/as net sy sienswyse/en hy voel dat dis, jy weet, as jy in 'n
21. ,/en, ek het toe letterlik die,/ek het gevoel of 'n stormwolk my beetkry,/en ek
22. het nooit gewerk nie/Y toe Liesl nog gevoel het sy moet nou luister na iemand
23. van hulle media af,/dat jy laterhand voel jy wil nie rêrig gan nie, so/mens
24. ,/want natuurlik my ma haat katte/my ma voel hulle eet te veel voëls/ek kan nie
25. uit in die (ergste)/sport,/en daarom voel hulle nie dat hulle dit moet uitkry
26. , laat dit nie vir my toe/nie,/mar ek voel ek kan nogsteeds my werk doen en
27. dit is glad nie wat ek wil doen nie/ek voel net ek moet dit doen/die een wat

dink
1. is iemand wat sit by sy lessenaar/en ek dink hy is of besig om te studeer of
2. onthou nie,/actually, ek dink amper,/ek dink amper dit was soos net, net voor
3. hulle kan Afrikaans praat,/maar ja, ek dink hulle verkies dit om Engels te
4. , dis vir my vreemd,/dit lyk ontuis,/ek dink nie ek ken 'n kat wat dit sal
5. die Baxter wat hy moes gerecord het,/ek dink dit was 'n DVD gewees het,/sodat
6. gehad, lank terug,/nie so sodat ek sou gedink het 'o ek is so verlief op hom
7. gesond, wat gras sny/'n dogtertjie, ek dink dit is, o dis seker 'n mandjie, wat

8.	wat arbeie pluk, met 'n hoed op,/ek het gedink dis 'n gieter/twee mense wat lyk
9.	,/nogals formeelerig angetrek,/en ek dink hy probeer haar impress,/en hulle
10.	wil die vis in die visbak vang,/mar ek dink iemand het hom betrap/daai e-mail
11.	nie,/dalk gebeur dit net elke dag,/ek dink dit gebeur elke dag/en nou dink net
12.	unclear)./Ja ja, nee ek het dit nog//ek dink ek het dit sederdien een of twee
13.	toe, kon ek nie daarby inkom nie,/so ek dink hulle, delete dit as daar 'n ruk
14.	wel, interessant,/hoewel ek/ persoonlik dink ek verkies ek dit/om, om met iem/
15.	laaste keer toe ek dit gedoen het/ek dink ek was in die laerskool gewees//Oh
16.	weird gewees,/maar toe't dit,/so ek dink dit het so bietjie dodgy begin raak
17.	/oor, wat jy sê nie/want jy/ ek meen ek dink mense was seker nogsteeds 'n
18.	hulle gebruik?/Ook Afrikaans./En wat dink jy van hulle taalgedrag,/hulle
19.	../ek het nie rêrig spesifiek daaroor gedink nie,/ek het, uhm, daar was 'n/'n
20.	Golden Compass gaan kyk,/hoewel, ek nie gedink het die/hulle't die fliek baie
21.	terugvoering en so nie,/en ek dink net,/met 'n sms, dis, dis baie
22.	,/en ag ek meen ek het mar altyd gedink ek sal Stellenbosch toe gan/want
23.	dit nie dadelik agtergekom nie,/mar ek dink dit het so half my lewensuitkyk
24.	van my/uitruilprogram,/dit was, ek dink dit was in Rondebosch of Nuweland
25.	, so/ek is baie baie happy by UCT,/ek dink dit was vir my nice ook gewees om
26.	majors te doen volgende jaar,/mar ek dink , weet, as ek so gesukkel om vier
27.	ekstra geld te verdien,/en dis net, ek dink nogal as ek gan sit met daai drie
28.	ek weet nie, ek sal kyk nog nou,/mar ek dink , dit sal vir my lekkerder wees as
29.	vi 'n vakansie gegaan,/hoewel my ma ook gedink het sy sal miskien soontoe wou
30.	soos Oxford graag nagraads wil doen,/ek dink , op die oomblik dink ek ek wil in
31.	wil doen,/ek dink , op die oomblik dink ek ek wil in Engelse letterkunde,/
32.	kwalifikasie, so,/want ek het so half gedink ek sal my honeurs en dalk my
33.	nogal interessant gevind,/en ek het, ek dink sy is 'n goeie dosent,/ek het
34.	Historical linguistics doen/want ek het gedink 'o jislaaik, ek hoop nie hy gan
35.	bietjie frustrerend gewees,/mar ek dink hy ken sy werk/(ons hou van daai
36.	wat an tafel sit,/en hulle eet iets,/ek dink hulle eet ontbyt,/en die seuntjie
37.	eltjie wat water opvang van 'n tak,/ek dink daar drup seker water van die tak
38.	daar's 'n hys in die agtergrond,/so ek dink die hys is sopas verkoop/dis 'n man
39.	ding,/en sy kyk na 'n mys of 'n rot,/ek dink dis 'n rot/want dis baie groot,/wat
40.	ding./O okay hoe't dit verander?/Uhm ek dink hulle probeer meer van hul klasse
41.	Okay, ek onthou ons enigste een was, ek dink , 'n sielkun//een wat vir ons 'n
42.	het nie, rerig gesit en vertaal nie,/ek dink ek sou my//my notas was in
43.	,/so dan e-mail ek net vir haar,/ek dink dis ook pop-up dail-up by haar,/sy
44.	dit beantwoord,/so, uhm, ek het,/ek het gedink miskien gaan jy sekere vrae vra,/
45.	beantwoord,/dit is min of meer soos jy gedink het dit sou wees./Ja, ek het, ek
46.	het dit sou wees./Ja, ek het, ek het gedink ,/ek het geverwag ons gaan baie
47.	watse taal het jy gechat?/Afrikaans, ek dink daar was definitief Engelse woorde
48.	/Ja, partykeer was daar random,/maar ek dink die punt van dit was om random te
49.	of twee-duisend en een,/ek kan nie dink dat ek voor dit 'n selfoon gehad
50.	persoon maklik in die hande kan kry./Dink jy dis ongeskik om partykeer te sms
51.	te sms instede van bel?/Nee, ek dink eintlik,/dis vir my partykeer
52.	is eintlik onbeskof./Ja, en jy.../So ek dink nie dis noodwendig onbeskof om te
53.	verkeerd verstaan//ja, dis ook//maar ek dink die groot ding is/mense is baie
54.	mys lyk, of die kat lyk honger/en mys, dink nie hy besef dit nie/hulle was nie
55.	Ja dit was lekker,/in die begin het ek gedink dit gaan nooit verby gaan nie,/en
56.	al, tien minute voor die tyd./Hoekom dink jy was jy nie so bewus van tyd nie?
57.	,/ek het/ was skepties,/want, toe't ek gedink /ja, ek moet nou vir 'n uur en 'n
58.	58. /ja, toe, ek meen, dit was nie bad nie./Dink jy dit sou anders gewees het as jy
59.	as jy hulle geken het?/Ja dit sou,/ek dink , ons sou verveeld geraak het vir
60.	?/Uhm, hulle taal was goed,/ek het nie gedink dit was sleg nie,/hang af, as ek,
61.	?/Ek bel nie eintlik meer baie nie,/ek dink my, internet gebruik op my selfoon
62.	62. /of jy ontvang meer as wat jy stuur?/Ek dink , ontvang meer as wat ek stuur./En
63.	63. daana weet ek nie/nog nie mar ek wil/ek dink ek sal 'n bietjie wil werk/net
64.	64. ek sal 'n bietjie wil werk/net omdat ek dink nie jy kan gan met 'n sekere
65.	65. /en jy kom nie daarmee uit nie/so ek dink jy moet 'n plan hê van iets/mar ek
66.	66. na hulle gekyk/ja verskriklik/ja ek dink wat jy in die boek sien, is/ kan
67.	67. oomblik/ek het nie 'n gunsteling nie/ek dink dit het nogals,/want toe ek by die
68.	68. en vyftig persent is prakties,/en ek dink dit beïnvloed jou nogals/want ek
69.	69. het as voor die tyd/ek dink so want//ek dink dis dieselfde vi enige iemand,/
70.	70. kreatiewe skryfwerk te doen nie/ja ek dink dit/dis 'n baie persoonlike ding/en
71.	71. dit lees/ja dis 'n goeie punt/ja ek dink dit is eers in die derde jaar, die
72.	72. nogals iets waa-an ek gedink het/mar ek dink ek sal nou ma wag tot nade an die
73.	73. afhang van die dosent wat dit anbied/ek dink dit maak ok nogals 'n groot verskil
74.	74. /waarin ek belangstel,/so ek het nogals gedink om bietjie te gan rondkyk by
75.	75. eintlik die tyd vir so iets/so ek het gedink vi volgende jaar/of selfs an die
76.	76. terug stuur, en so an/verbasend ja,/ek dink die matriekdansmark is nog baie
77.	77. bont gepatroonde bloese en goed, so/ek dink ok Kalkbaai is die regte plek
78.	78. bietjie by hulle hoor/ma ek moet sê, ek dink , ek is nou te lui/om enige iets
79.	79. verder te swot/ek het op 'n stadium gedink ,/ma nou dink ek ok, okay, moet ek
80.	80. /dan sou ek baie seer geval het/so ek dink met padfiets is dit nog fine/want

81. ,/en dan's die mense soos in 'wow'/dan dink jy 'ha, ek bly hie'/nee dit was rē
82. hoe gan dit' en wat,/ja, want ek het gedink , ek weet nie wie dit is nie,/ma
83. mos daai outydse fietse/ek het eintlik gedink ek sal nou ma kyk wat ek da, op
84. sien ek 'Sarie Swart'* of whatever,/toe dink ek daar's net, daar kan nie nog 'n
85. is/dit voel amper vir my, ek dink sy's iewers anders/wel, dalk is dit
86. /ma sy was mean/nee, sy't nooit//ek dink nie sy't al eintlik met my gepraat
87. in die begin probeer kontak hou,/ma ek dink sy't ok nou kinnars,/en nou's dit
88. , sy's ok getroud in PE of whatever,/ek dink hulle's almal all over, in Australi
89. pa gan 'n kongres in Athene bywoon/toe dink ek okay hulle kan nie gan nie/hy's
90. by Departement Bedryfsielkunde nou/toe dink ek ma ek het so baie Voyager Miles
91. van 'n probleem/so ek het klaar al gedink okay ek gan nou ma voort met dit/
92. vyf van ons kantoor vannie Kaap/en ek dink seker so tien vannie kantoor in
93. trippie, dan wee bietjie spaar,/ek dink ek gan in Utregh t wees/ma dis ook
94. Zulu op 'n stadium gepraat/ma ek dink nie dit tel nie/ja, daar was ekstra
95. nie in die Kaap bly nie/so ek het gedink ek gaan waarskynlik Zulu nodig hē
96. /of 'n ander, swart taal,/so ek het net gedink dis bietjie van 'n waste/nee dit
97. ok nie al die plekke se name nie,/ma ek dink hulle't dit nou bietjie verander/
98. ./wel, dit hang af van elke mens,/ek dink my plek, waar my eerste keuse was,/
99. vir party mense horrible,/mar uhm, ek dink as jy iewers is, waar daar niks
100. 'n slegte ondervinding gehad het,/ek dink as jy baie noord gan,/dan sukkel jy
101. , daai areas,/ma noord/ja, ek dink dan gan jy sukkel mit,/mit net
102. is nie die primare, dis nie die pri//ek dink nie dis rērig die primere doel nie,
103. sal Sodwana toe gan nie,/so, ek dink wat op die ou end gebeur,/hulle sit
104. dit verwys na 'n hoër hospitaal,/ek dink dit kan hanteer word op daai vlak,/
105. ok hoekom ek Sodwana toe was/het ek gedink ek gan baie meer gemeenskapswerk
106. baie meer gemeenskapswerk doen,/ek het gedink dit is wat ek rērig wil doen,/dis
107. ,/mens weet tog ma nooit tot jy//ek het gedink ek gan nie hiervan hou nie/en ek
108. gehou,/so mens weet nooit nie,/ma ek dink dit is baie meer wat ek wil doen,/
109. uit omtrent in 'n maand,/en ek dink twee mense volg dit vir langer as
110. ek net so//weet ek sien party mense/dan dink ek, 'jy't nie nou 'n maaltydplan
111. dag/en dis dieselfde tye,/en toe dink ek 'ag nee, ek gaan swem'/want ek't
112. soos general BA doen,/en ek het toe gedink , vir my BA watter vakke kan ek
113. so/toe's dit een van daai goeters,/toe dink ek 'okay cool kom ek doen dit'/en
114. ok een van daai goed,/jy's soos in, jy dink nie eintlik dit deur nie,/en dan
115. dink nie eintlik dit deur nie,/en dan dink jy soos, 'o okay cool' dis soos,/en
116. , jy weet,/en dan slaat dit jou/en dan dink jy terug an soos skooldae en goed/
117. terug an soos skooldae en goed/en dan dink jy, o, dis soos daai ou se boek wat
118. se gedigte wat ons gelees het/en dan dink jy, o okay cool/hulle weet waarvan
119. dis meestal wat ek in belangstel, so/ek dink , dit hang af aan watter tipe poësie
120. , hoe dit klink is baie belangrik/ma ek dink dis meer vir lees/en dinge wat jy
121. dinge wat jy moet kyk, want dis nie//ek dink dis, daar's, ja/ma dis net my
122. klink ok goed,/dit hang af, jy weet,/ek dink alle gedigte moet ma goed klink ok/
123. tipe ding, in plaas van iets anders/Ek dink daar is./Ek dink die ding se naam
124. van iets anders/Ek dink daar is./Ek dink die ding se naam is Kronendal./O ja
125. met die tannie,/en hy sny die gras,/ek dink hy sny die gras,/dit lyk soos een
126. , jy weet, op die ou einde van die dag,/dink ek ek verkies 'n aggressiewe,
127. ek was nege jaar in die fokken weermag,/dink jy ek's bang vir jou!/jy's 'n kind
128. , ek kan nie wag vir veertig nie,/ek dink veertig is die wonnerlikste
129. moet doen na die tyd is ok lank,/ek dink dis een of twee jaar wat hulle nou
130. /en op 'n manier dink ek,/my ma-hulle dink natuurlik dis baie//hulle dink UCT
131. ma-hulle dink natuurlik dis baie//hulle dink UCT is swart, soos in, dis nou die
132. geen punt om hul te baklei nie,/en dan dink ek, okay, mar ons is besig om die
133. wat klaar kan Afrikaans praat nie/so ek dink hulle fokus is anners as in anner
134. /Afrikaans is baie meer kreatief,/ek dink ek het baie goed, ek het laas
135. te neem,/dit is nie, ek kan nie dink dat dit dieselfde kan wees nie,/
136. Stellenbosch af kom,/dis net nie, ek dink nie hulle sal 'n dag hier kan maak
137. net bly ek het Engels deurgekom,/ek het gedink ek gan nie deurkom nie/jy sit,
138. /ons sal mar sien of dit gan werk/ek dink dis by punte of iets/dalk sal ek
139. ons kom baie goed oor die weg/ja ag ek dink buiten dit, selfs al sou ek miskien
140. voorheen, jy weet, verstaan is nie/ek dink , in my ervaring, in terme van die
141. /in die akademie, is ek geneig om te dink dat, of dit nou in teologie is, of
142. in teologie is, of in anner/vakgebiede dink ek is ons geneig om meer dogmaties
143. ,/wat ek mar raaksien is dat, ek dink ons het ons, jy weet, skole van
144. praktiese gevolge hē,/jy weet, mens dink soms dat filosofie bly in die
145. Engels praat, so./ek meen, selfs, ek dink in jou ervaring by UCT, jy sal meer
146. so./vir my is die nadele daarvan dat ek dink jy loop die gevaar, dat, Facebook
147. persoonlikheid wat jy ontwikkel,/en ek dink ons is almal mar skuldig daaran,/
148. anner ding is natuurlik privatheid,/ek dink , daar is werklik 'n gevaar, dat, 'n
149. laas op skool gesien/mense in die Kaap dink hul is die kat se snor/hulle dink
150. Kaap dink hul is die kat se snor/hulle dink as hulle geld het hulle's beter as
151. /so dis vir my einlik erg hoe,/en ek dink dit is, dis nie net by die skool
152. 'lekker' in,/en dis baie waar/en ag ek dink 'n mens het net verskriklik laks
153. ,/en dit moes sin gemaak het,/en ek dink daai moes ongelooflik interessant

154. het,/want daar is soveel idiome en ek dink nie eers ek self wat op skool,/ek
155. dat ons 'n paar idiome moet leer,/ek dink nie eers ons het die tippie van die
156. hartseer,/en dis juis die ding,/ek dink dis juis van ons Afrikaanse taal,
157. is,/ek het 'n Engelse vriendin,/en ek dink dit is waar my Engelse, vaardigheid
158. ma sal met my Afrikaans praat/mar ek dink dis ook die Afrikaner wat betref
159. nie,/en dis partykeer ongevraagd,/ek dink ons as Suid-Afrikaners is baie meer
160. van alles,/want, ek het actually, ek dink dis die boek wat ek nou huidiglik
161. dit tog,/mar nie in oormaat nie,/en ek dink jonger mense veral verval te maklik
162. gan gemors word/en dit is hoekom ek dink 'verderf' daai naby so daaran lê,/
163. /eerder as hulle te bevoordeel/en ek dink dis hoekom ek sê dit te maklik/mar
164. dit gan gebruik in daai konteks/want ek dink net an partykeer dit hang af in
165. jy?/ daar was nog 'n ses donnerdag/C dink jy Nancy gan trou volgende jaar?/
166. is nou al klaar 'n prinses,/nou kan jy dink sy gan die hele dag hê om regtig 'n
167. ê om regtig 'n prinses te kan wees/C ek dink dit gan baie mooi wees/M Isabella
168. 's net nie gewoonnd daaraan nie,/ek het gedink ek sal, was jy daa?/ek het gedink
169. het gedink ek sal, was jy daa?/ek het gedink ek sal op 'n stadium daaran dink ,
170. kan nie baie onthou nie,/mar toe daarna dink ek 'ek's dertig nog nie eers dertig
171. einlik 'n aaklige mens,/die emails, hy dink so baie van homself,/weet julle wie
172. sy ma-hulle bly in Gansbaai,/en toe dink ek wel ek gan nie Gansbaai toe ry
173. weet nie, hy wil nie vi my sê nie,/ek dink dit gan dalk oor die reuk van die
174. nou nie skelm nie/mar verstaan, ek het gedink soos van, ek wil na Mevrouw Mince
175. praat/M ja, mar ek het nie geweet,/Y ek dink nie dis heeltemal verkeerd nie/K
176. hulle vra 'gee my 'n rib asseblief'/ek dink dis omdat hulle nie weet presies
177. /mar self die bobbejaan wat dood is,/ek dink ek het waarskynlik voor Tannie se
178. het,/vi as ons ekseem gehad het?/ek dink Oupa't dit ook gehad/wat is die
179. M ek sal miskien ophou by die skool,/ek dink nie ek kan dit vi ewig doen nie/mar
180. nou daar gebruik, is dit reg so?/ek dink ek was so ses toe ons getrek het/ja
181. is nie/hulle gan definitief soontoe/ek dink as jy klaa werk het, ja,/omdat dit
182. /dat hulle byderhand is vir, hulp/ek dink nie ek sal Amerika toe wil gan nie/
183. het vir al die mense wat so kla/ dink jy hulle was te negatief met hulle
184. kan nie altyd net goed gan nie,/mar ek dink die mense was net te verbaas dat
185. altyd vi my sê,/en sy't daarvan gehou, dink ek dat ek dit gesê het,/want sy't
186. sy wou nie eintlik met ons praat nie/ek dink sy wou, kyk sy weet miskien nie wat
187. amper gegly,/ek moes jou trek daa,/ek't gedink ons gan op ons, alies, beland/ag
188. ons, alies, beland/ag dit was nice,/ek dink vir tannie Fura se onthalwe was
189. wat, uhm, ek ken die prent, sodat ek dink dit het gelyk soos 'n/argitek's
190. die goeters sê, want, mar ek kan myself indink dat mens partykeer goed sal/sê so
191. asem wat hy haal,/dis verskriklik,/ek dink party aande gan hy dood,/dan sê ek
192. gewees,/en toe eet hy een middag,/ek dink dit wat trifle,/wat brannewyn bevat
193. bevat,/by sy ma-hulle,/en hulle't nie gedink dit gan skade doen nie,/en hy't
194. toe't hy net an die drink gegan vi,/ek dink was vi 'n binge vi twee weke,/wat
195. volgende oomblik reën dit/ek het eers gedink hulle is Nigerians,/mar hulle is
196. scientist, wat besig is om water op, ek/ dink /neem an 'n plant wat nie einlik
197. /mar ek weet nie of hy sal nie,/want ek dink nie hy ken visse nie,/en iemand het
198. resies jaag op 'n donkie,/mar ek dink die donkie het nou-net iets baie
199. sal so nie vir ons kan keer nie,/mar ek dink daai tannie is saam met hom/hy wil
200. ek kan skree vir wie ek wil'/ek dink dit was, nee daa's nie manier wat
201. elk geval die Super Veertien wen'/en ek dink in daai stadium het die mense net
202. seker mar net daar neergegooi het,/toe dink ek ek gan nou mar terug gan/en kyk
203. ek in elk geval, iets begin swot so/ek dink ek wil 'n graad doen,/ek begin al
204. wil 'n graad doen,/ek begin al hoe meer dink my ma was reg,/ek moes mar
205. gan doen het, mar anyway/mar nou dink ek by myself ek weet nie rêrig wat
206. êrig wat ingeneurs doen nie,/so miskien dink ek mar dit omdat ek simpel is,/mar,
207. ek mar dit omdat ek simpel is,/mar, dan dink jy wee, ek wil ok nie, as ek nou
208. my tyd het klaa so baie verby gegan/ek dink net my brein het meer occupation
209. kan nie sommer net, een ding los/nie/ek dink nie dis dit, dis nie mense in die
210. het dat ek dit daarvoor doen nie,/ek dink dis 'n persoonlikheid ding vir my
211. ding vir my in 'n mate,/ek dink net die persoon wat ek is, jy weet,
212. wag nog vir hulle om my terug te bel/ek dink nie ek moet huis toe gaan nie,/want
213. en gruwels,/ek vermoed dis die reuk/ek dink rêrig dis die reuk van bloed/en ek
214. dink rêrig dis die reuk van bloed/en ek dink dis miskien wat hoeners so laat
215. was van die Oosblok lande af gewees/ek dink eerlik dis die klimaat/want wat ek
216. jy in jou lewe nog geproe het,/en ek dink dis ok 'n ding met tale in die sin
217. , is dit net die niceste mense/want ek dink , dis net Helsinki waar daar so 'n
218. hulle weet om vir hulle land te sorg/ek dink op die oomblik is die Sin Fein en
219. /oor dit so klein landjie is/ek dink dis net tien persent van Amerika
220. waar in Afrika is Suid-Afrika/ek dink omdat ek eers laat begin het met
221. vreemde taal wat Oom opgemaak het?/ek dink ons kan mar ry/moenie hie mors op
222. daai stap daar op het my dood gemaak/ek dink 'n ou raak so bietjie imuun na 'n
223. in gooi en 'n lepeltjie vir jou kry/ek dink ons elkeen het mar ons paaie gehad
224. /F - Maar jy't geweet die gebou?/K - ek dink ek weet wat, het dit agt vloere?/N

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

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

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

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

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

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

By sê
1. okay dan moet ek bysê iemand soos ek is seker meer as 'n normale persoon gesteld

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

Sê
1. ek sou sê darem ten minste nog seker 'n twee of drie maande (no complementizer)
2. Jy sê Ponting het declare? (no complementizer)
3. Y ek weet 'ie ek sê ok vi iemand dit is asof jy vi hulle vra 'gee my 'n rib asseblief' (no complementizer)
4. ek wil net gou vi hom sê ek kan nie nou nie
5. Okay, en jy't gesê, dis Afrikaanse klasse wat jy gee?
6. Hoeveel sms sal jy sê stuur jy per dag?
7. ek sou sê as ek nou my, my totale account vir 'n maand vat,
8. toe my pa dit sien toe sê hy 'aah, dis 'n WP try',

9.	Okay so, jy't nou-nou gesê jy kommunikeer met, familie, vriende en mense wat jy mee werk met jou selfoon.
10.	En hoeveel sms'e sal jy sê, stuur jy 'n dag?
11.	Jy't gesê jy't 'n blog.
12.	En jy sê jy chat met daai Facebook chat ding?
13.	Ja, en, sou jy sê die funksionaliteit van dit is anders,
14.	en dan of, jou bel en sê jy't vir my 'n please-call-me gestuur
15.	en dan sê ek maar ek het nie, nee jy het.
16.	Okay hoeveel sms sal jy sê stuur jy 'n dag?
17.	So sal jy sê jy stuur meer AS WAT jy ontvang,
18.	ek sal nie sê dis 'n totaal en al Engelse area nie,
19.	ek sou sê sy val heel waarskynlik hier
20.	ma ek moet sê, ek dink, ek is nou te lui om enige iets verder te swot
21.	nee ek moet sê, dis vir my baie lekker
22.	ma ek moet sê, ek sal pick om anyway van die begin da te wees
23.	ek moet sê ek sal ok 'ie da, tensy dit 'n groot groep is
24.	nee ek moet sê ek's baie sleg met Facebook,
25.	en toe sê hy ja ma ek moet ma die anner mense ok bel
26.	en hulle sê maak 'ie saak van wat, ten spyte van dit, dis nogsteeds, hulle't 'n beter lewe hier
27.	ek moet sê as ek nou dink,
28.	ek moet sê ek kan nou nogals doen met 'n bietjie son
29.	ma, niemand het nog vir ons gesê hoeveel dit gan wees 'ie,
30.	as met 'n ding wat vir my sê 'eeh, kannie verder nie'
31.	kan ok nie vir my sê hoekom hy nie wil verder nie
32.	want hulle sal nou sê naby wat,
33.	wa as jy van die begin af, net sê 'stuff die Wes-Kaap'
34.	dan sê sy 'nee, mens kan nog glad nie verstaan wat jy sê nie',
35.	meen, as ek nou moet sê hoe ek nou voel,
36.	ma die dokter't nou gesê 'gan kry 'n maaltydplan by 'n dieetkundige', so
37.	want mense sal vir my sê 'ma ek't dit dan hier onder gekoop'
38.	ek het gesê ek weier dat julle my inhou vir pouse
39.	weet, jy wil eintlik op 'n punt kom wat jy vir iemand sê 'weet jy, ek stem nie saam met wat jy wil doen nou nie'
40.	toe sê ek 'nee okay ek gan ma ga basketball speel'
41.	ek het laasjaar, soos ek gesê dat ek het BSc gedoen, [comp present, plus V2]
42.	Mense sê dis so secluded
43.	toe sê my pa 'nee dan sal ons hom vat'
44.	maar toe op die ou end toe sê my ma 'nee wat, dis bietjie, 'n bietjie oorboord ons het net een karavaan nodig,' so
45.	en ek sê vir Byron 'uh-uh ek slaap vannaand in die kar'
46.	ek sê vir Byron 'moenie drink nie want jy hoef nie te drink nie!'
47.	ons sit, en dan sê ons 'okay kom ons speel 'cirle of death''
48.	toe sê ek 'ja ek sal speel ma ek weier, ek drink nie daai ding in die middel nie'
49.	toe sê ons 'nee vannaand moet ons kom tot by honderd'
50.	en nou sê hy "ek is jammer"
51.	en sy gesig lyk of hy sê "dis nie, ek het niks verkeerd gedoen nie,"
52.	as dit nou 'n foto was sou ek gesê het 'beweeg hierdie ding se stert,'
53.	en hy sê vir my, "ja, daar's vir jou 'n persentjie in my aktetas"
54.	ek sê vir my ouers 'wil julle nie weer 'n kitty kry nie?'
55.	toe sê hulle 'nee wat'
56.	dan sê ek vir sy meisie, kyk, 'your man', jy weet, 'jou ou, doen dinge an my',
57.	en dan sê sy 'ja, ek weet, hy's sexy soos hei, is hy nie',
58.	totdat hulle vir my in Standard Agt gesê het 'kyk, genoeg is nou genoeg, jy gan rugby speel'
59.	wat ek daarby moet sê, is dat, so tien jaar ge'tien, so sewe jaar gelede, het die universiteit van California, Berkeley, 'n studie uitgevoer, [comp present, V2]
60.	weet ek spot altyd, ek sê altyd ek's die butchste moffie wat julle ooit op hierdie kampus sal teekom,
61.	as hy klaar is dan sms hy my, en sê, 'nou kan jy ma hys toe kom'
62.	hulle't vir my gesê die polisie gan my definitief arresteer
63.	, wat die mense vir my gesê het,
64.	is hulle moet, ek kan onthou, hulle moes woordelys en spelreëls geleer het
65.	hulle sal nie sê hulle's Afrikaans nie, so
66.	wat's die, wat het jy gesê is die onderwerp van jou tesis?
67.	ek sal jou sê baie min wee jy
68.	ek sou sê darem ten minste nog seker 'n twee of drie maande
69.	en nie noodwendig te sê hierdie een is reg, of daardie een is reg nie,
70.	mar jy weet soos ek sê, vanuit die kerk se perspektief, vanuit 'n akademiese perspektief sou hulle sê mar wat is daarmee fout? So.
71.	ek sou sê die beste terme om daarvoor te gebruik is nou en dan,
72.	soos Facebook vir jou sê, dat hulle 'n networking site is, [comp present]
73.	ja ek moet vir jou eerlikwaar sê, Facebook, in my opinie, het vir my meer, het vir my, beteken vir my, het vir my meer voordele as nadele, dink ek, so.

74. want ek wil nou net sê, dit moet seker interessant wees
75. ek wil hê jy moet sê of dit is hoe jy dit sal sê [comp present, of, plus V2]
76. en sy sê toe ook vir ons die probleem, daar's 'n begroting per boek,
77. iemand ironies het eenkeer genoem hoe baie keer 'n persoon kan sê 'nice',
78. mar 'n Engelse persoon sê 'lekker'
79. moet ek eerlikwaar sê, ek het eenkeer einlik, daai, daai, jammer leap of faith gevat,
80. en my een vriend actually vir my gesê, 'mar trap op tone, dis al hoe mens groei,'
81. hoe gereeld sou jy sê praat jy Engels?
82. so ek sou sê ek spandeer seke, hmm, sewentig persent, of sestig persent of sewentig persent in Engels
83. toe sê sy net hoe cool is die kind is,
84. en ek sê 'was dit baie erg'
85. toe sê sy, 'ek wou'/'
86. Franette sê vi my 'ek was te klein, hulle moes vi my sny'
87. mar my ma sê mens vergeet dit baie gou weer
88. sy moet nou luister na iemand wat sê mens kan geld uit jou kinnars maak
89. kan ek vi julle sê dat, wie genooi was, [comp present]
90. toe kom een van my, vriende, een van my kollegas einlik, en sê 'oe, you've been working out'
91. toe sê hy nee by Bronx,
92. toe sê ek mar ek het 'n hemp anghad,
93. en toe sê die ou dis 'n ingroei nael,
94. toe sê iemand vi hom, is dit nie mar net bloedtoevoer nie,
95. toe sê iemand wel wag dit lyk soos bloedtoevoer,
96. toe sê die ou okay nee wag,
97. mar toe sê hy vi die dokter 'onthou nou net hierie linkerbeen is nou nie, kan nou nie einlik daar vat nie,
98. mar toe sê Karin dit gan nie mooi klink oppie SMS nie,
99. ek moet vi jou sê ek het van dit nogal self ytgedink
100. en toe't sy vi my gesê 'okay so so so, miskien eerder dit',
101. toe sê hy o okay
102. so sê sy ja nee, sy aanvaar dit
103. toe sê ek okay onthou net daa's 'n spesifieke datum
104. ek sê, okay, wat gan an,
105. ek sê het jy 'n plan,
106. toe sê sy 'my husband says that you're harassing me,'
107. ek sê vi haa okay, ek's jammer mar jy gan nou moet betaal vir die kwotasie,
108. sê ek gee nie om nie,
109. sy sê ja, 'n redelike karakter,
110. hulle sê dit is goed
111. hulle sê dit is baie goed, ja
112. mar sy sê sy sal mōre kyk
113. toe ek dit wou gan swot het my ma gesê, mar hoe gan jy 'n lewe daarvan maak,
114. en my pa't net gesê 'los die kind, lat sy darem net iets doen, wat haa gelukkig maak'
115. ag ja sy't gesê doen iets wat, wat vi jou gan geld maak,
116. toe sê sy sy gan nie inkom nie,
117. ek moet sê, hulle media speel 'n groot rol,
118. en hulle sê dit tel nie, die regte kliek ding doen, is om te kan sê ons was nou in Dubai gewees en shopping gedoen,
119. Des sê sy's soos 'n tannie
120. ja, ek't vi haa gesê, ek kan sien, jy kan sien an 'n, an 'n baba,
121. want sy't toe op 'n stadium iets gesê van, ja sy het vir so en so gesê 'jy's te onrustig, dit is hoekom hy skree'
122. daai Charl het gesê, sy dogtertjie is soos een van hulle susters,
123. okay, sê vi my hoe't jy gevoel oor die partytjie,
124. en elke hotel, meen, wat ek nou instap sê vir my ek is of over-qualified, hulle kan my nie bekostig nie, of ek's die verkeerde kleur,
125. en ek het net vir haar gesê 'nee, tot hier toe en nie verder nie'
126. en ek sal vi jou sê, neëntig persent van die mense wat op straat is, is nie so gelukkig soos ek nie,
127. dan sê hy 'no I'm addicted to tik' you know, or heroin,
128. ek sal vi jou sê sonner die help van bo...
129. en ek het omgedraai en vi hom gesê 'ek glo nie, dis nie sy werk die nie',
130. dan sê ek vi hom 'lyster, moet ek nie ma die ambulans bel nie',
131. dan sê hy 'nee, nee, ek het nie hulle hulp nodig nie',
132. dan sê hy vi my hoe desperaat is ek vi geld,
133. dan sê ek vi hom, ma redelik,
134. dan sê hy vi my, 'well get in and do me a sexual deed,
135. dan sê ek vir hom 'no way, I'm not that desperate',
136. hulle kan sê 'wel die water is rof,'
137. die kaptein het een dag vi my gesê hy wil my eendag op die dek sit,
138. toe sê ek vi hom 'nee jy's heeltemal van jou sinne beroof,
139. en hy sê ma hy soek my nommer,
140. op pad soontoe toe sê sy vir my 'ja nee dis fine',

141. toe sê sy 'drank probleem? Ek? '
142. toe sê ek vi haa 'jis, jy's totaal en al in denial',
143. toe sê ek vir die ou, 'ja, mens kan sien dis mense soos jy wat nog nie in my skoene was nie, jy't nog nie swaar gekry nie'
144. toe sê hulle vir hom 'ry',
145. toe bel ek een aand my pa, sê ek vi hom kan ek 'n vriend huis toe bring,
146. ek het een dag vi my pa gesê 'hoekom haat jy hulle?'
147. toe sê ek vir hom 'mar is dit nie miskien omdat hy jou nie verstaan nie?'
148. ek sal sê dis 'n oupa en sy kleinseun wat brekfis
149. so hy sê 'nee ek mis my ma, my ma sonner die wyn'
150. toe sê hy nee hy gan nie huis toe nie,
151. toe sê ek oh well, lê ma by my, dis orraait,
152. sê hy vir hom, 'weet jy, ek gee nie om watter span jy onnersteun nie,'
153. dan sê hy ja, vandag gan hier aksie wees,
154. ek het 'n verantwoordelikeidsin wat vir my sê dat ek kan nie sommer net, een ding los nie
155. ek moet sê dit was lekker
156. in Junie het hulle vi my gesê hulle kan net die helfte van die geld aan my uitbetaal,
157. sy sê sy wil dit gee
158. nee man, ek ken nie sulke suiwer Afrikaanse woorde nie, sê dit is 'stripper'!
159. Hoor hierso, my ma't gesê jy, jy economise nooit met kos nie,
160. Hendrik het vir my gesê ons gaan nie stint op kos nie
161. Ek moet sê julle albei lyk baie goed.
162. ek wil jou sê, ek het nou die dag by Spar maaltvleis gekyk.
163. as iemand 'n video van my neem, sal sê die ou mal vrou.
164. Want nou sê my ma, ja, al hierdie arme dom mense wat van een gewig-, jy weet, diet, gaan na die volgende, hulle glo in dit.
165. En sy sê hulle voer hulle diere presies dieselfde as Woolies.
166. Wat ek wou gesê het, jammer om weer oor kos te praat, ek sal jou wed ek en Yolandi kan uitkom met,
167. of dis 'n baie vriendelike posman wat sê 'goeie more, hier's vir jou 'n stukkie pos'

wens
1. ek wens ek het nader gebly
2. mar ek wens partykeer dat ons glad nie kinnners gehad het nie, verstaan jy?

glo
1. om mense te kry om te glo dit is eintlik 'n siekte
2. mar ek glo nie ek het dit al vir enige iemand gegee nie
3. ek glo nie enige iemand,
4. ek glo wat jy ytgee kry jy terug

sien
1. om te sien hoe dit is
2. ek wou gesien het hoe dit is,
3. sodat hulle kan sien en hoor hoe hy conduct,
4. om te sien , hoe dit/hoe dit so, so half, vloei.
5. mar ek sal graag wil deurgan of een of anner tyd, bietjie sien hoe dit lyk,
6. mar ons het so gesien die reën het letterlik so voor ons verby, so gegaan,
7. en dis vir my baie irriterend as ek sien iemand het gebel
8. ek sien mense bel verskriklik baie,
9. want ek het gesien hoe gelukkig hulle hier is
10. want ek kan sien hoe ek anners begin werk het
11. om eers sien wat da nog beskikbaar is
12. toe sien ek rêrig ek geniet dit einlik baie, so
13. jy sien nie einlik dat dit iets gan wees wat gan doen nie,
14. en jy sien daai wolke trek oor
15. Sjoek ek kan nie eintlik sien wat daar aangaan nie
16. nee, ek kan nie eintlik mooi sien hy is daar nie
17. en as jy soos weer sien hoe hy daar sit
18. jy sien dis mos die ding,
19. but anyway, ek het al gesien daar's geen punt om hul te baklei nie,
20. ons sal mar sien of dit gan werk
21. mar as jy tog daarna gan kyk dan sal jy sien dat baie van die probleme wat ons het
22. ek kan nie sien wat daai is nie
23. want ag ek't menigmale al gesien die ouers werk hulleself in die lewe op,
24. M ek wil sien hoe skryf jou ma
25. moet julle rêrig, dat Leon 'n sielkundige gan sien ,

26. toe gan hy vi daai ding wat hulle so ink of wat ever in sit dat hulle kan sien hoe die
27. julle gan sien hoe vinnig is ek hier yt'
28. ek sien Nico is ok 'n Afrikaans-sprekende een,
29. ek kon sien sy was ongemaklik,
30. jy kan sien hoe's die ma as die baba rustig is kan jy sien dis 'n rustige ma
31. jy kan sommer sien dis net so kwaai
32. ek het al gesien 'n paar van my vriende wat ek saam mee op skool was,
33. dan sien ek die ou ry verby met sy vrou en sy kinnere,
34. ek het al gesien hoe dik kabels,
35. en ek het al gesien hoe daai kabel afruk,
36. toe sê ek vir die ou, 'ja, mens kan sien dis mense soos jy wat nog nie in my skoene was
37. mar jy kan sien hy dink baie ver
38. en toe loer hy by sy tent yt om te sien wat dit is,
39. en toe hy nou begin sien die Highlanders gan nou begin nou verloor,
40. toe hy nou sien hulle gan begin verloor,
41. ek kan nie mooi sien daarso wat daai is nie
42. jy sal sien ook as jy daar kom
43. want ek sien jy kyk hom mooi yt vir waa's hierie knoppie
44. wil jy sien hoe't sy gelyk

Appendix 6: Linking verbs from the spoken corpus

Afrikaans verbal classes

Auxiliaries	Modals	Direct Linking Verbs	Indirect Linking Verbs	te selectors
<i>het</i> 'have.AUX'	<i>kan</i> 'be able'	<i>loop</i> 'walk'	<i>loop</i> 'walk	<i>behoort</i> 'ought'
<i>is</i> 'be.AUX.PASS'	<i>moet</i> 'must'	<i>kom</i> 'come'	<i>sit</i> 'sit'	<i>durf</i> 'to dare'
	<i>mag</i> 'may'	<i>begin</i> 'begin'	<i>lé</i> 'lie down'	<i>begin</i> 'begin'
	<i>sal</i> 'will	<i>laat</i> 'CAUS'	<i>staan</i> 'stand'	<i>blyk</i> 'appear'
	<i>wil</i> 'want'	<i>bly</i> 'stay'		<i>skyn</i> 'seem'
	<i>gaan</i> 'will'	<i>gaan</i> 'go'		
		<i>help</i> 'help'		
		<i>leer</i> 'learn'		
		<i>probeer</i> 'try'		

Table 3. Afrikaans verbal classes (adapted from De Vos, 2005: 117)

Notes on abbreviations for verb cluster analysis

When the verb cluster is in a subordinate clause, the verb cluster is either spilt by other constituents, or it is verb final. The focus is here on the occurrence of complex initials, i.e. verb clusters in the V2 slot. Therefore, if the verb cluster occurs in co-ordinate clauses, it is regarded as an otherwise declarative sentence. Also, the past tense modal of time 'het' appears in V2, so verb cluster is sentence final (other modals like *sal* also in V2). KEYS: CLAUSE – simplex in clause; SIMP – simplex in main clause; CLAUSE COMP – verb cluster in clause; HET – V2 slot filled by modal, complex cluster in verb final position.

Begin		
1.	ma dan ag uur begin ons leer	CLAUSE
2.	en dan, so sestien ure later begin als pas	CLAUSE
3.	so ek dink dit het so bietjie dodgy begin raak,	CLAUSE COMP
4.	hy begin al stadiger praat,	SIMP
5.	mar toe ek begin ry hiernatoe,	COMP
6.	toe begin dit sous,	CLAUSE
7.	ja dan moet ek seker mar begin gan	CLAUSE
8.	begin krapperig raak.	SIMP
9.	want ek kan sien hoe ek anders begin werk het	CLAUSE COMP
10.	vandat ek die geskiedenis begin leer het as voor die tyd	CLAUSE COMP
11.	want hulle begin almal dieselfde lyk	SIMP
12.	vandat ek eintlik begin werk het by Quintiles,	CLAUSE COMP
13.	begin ek 'n paar goedjies doen,	CLAUSE
14.	en ek het bergfiets begin ry,	HET
15.	ag ek het eintlik deur vriende van my by die werk begin ry	HET
16.	nee, net toe ek begin ry het	CLAUSE COMP
17.	ma vyf minute van die begin af, begin dit reën	CLAUSE
18.	dit begin nou weer winter raak da,	SIMP
19.	jy kry 'n intree salaris wat so, wat jy sou kry as jy begin werk by die regering	CLAUSE COMP
20.	en dis wa ek begin Zulu lekker optel het,	CLAUSE
21.	ma hulle't heupvervangings begin doen,	HET
22.	dat ek volgende jaar by 'n NGO kan begin werk,	CLAUSE COMP
23.	ek begin al hoe minder saamstem met baie dinge wat status quos het	SIMP
24.	en toe ek dit begin doen,	CLAUSE COMP
25.	'n bietjie, dis nou wat ons nou eers hierdie kwartaal begin doen het,	CLAUSE COMP
26.	dan begin jy drink	CLAUSE
27.	toe ons nou dit begin speel	CLAUSE COMP
28.	en hoe nader ons kom an 'n honderd hoe harder begin ons praat	CLAUSE
29.	ons begin skreeu al hoe harder	COMP
30.	lyk of die uil begin vlieg ook, miskien.	CLAUSE COMP
31.	hier's die stertjie begin so beweeg	SIMP
32.	die oomblik as hulle begin preuts raak met my,	CLAUSE
33.	lank al begin eksperimenteer,	CLAUSE COMP
34.	en jou hare begin by die ore uit te groei,	CLAUSE COMP
35.	nee dis orraait, dan gan ek begin verneuk	CLAUSE COMP
36.	ek begin dink, ag ja wat, nee dit was fine,	COMP
37.	want hy't probleme met sy een groottoon begin kry,	HET
38.	want toe't hy begin probleme met sy kuit kry,	CLAUSE
39.	want hy kan 'n bietjie loop dan begin dit verskriklik seer raak,	CLAUSE
40.	jy begin soos hulle praat,	SIMP
41.	en dan begin jy vriende van die teenoorgestelde kry	CLAUSE
42.	sy't wee begin drink,	HET
43.	ma sodra jy begin praat van dranks, ag, drugs,	CLAUSE COMP
44.	toe begin ek somme hie by die mense se hyse klop,	CLAUSE
45.	wel ek en my vrou het ma basies altwee werk begin soek,	HET
46.	en toe't ons altwee op straat begin leef,	CLAUSE COMP
47.	en toe hy nou begin sien die Highlanders gan nou begin nou verloor,	CLAUSE COMP X2
48.	toe hy nou sien hulle gan begin verloor,	CLAUSE COMP
49.	as ek nie die green card kry nie, dan gan ek in elk geval, iets begin swot so	CLAUSE COMP
50.	ek begin al hoe meer dink my ma was reg,	SIMP
51.	tot ek begin in die orkes speel het toe ek in Standerd agt was	SIMP
52.	maar die oomblik wat jy met hulle begin praat, is dit net die niceste mense	CLAUSE COMP
53.	het jy direk na skool begin swot?	HET
54.	Wat hulle nou ook begin sê	CLAUSE COMP
55.	Toe begin sy net lag, histories, en toe't sy nooit daarby uitgekom om sy naam vir my te sê	SIMP

Bly		
1.	ek sal ma bly die ligte afsit	HET
2.	en dan gan ek die anner tale bly leer	CLAUSE COMP
3.	Daar's 'n paar goedjies wat hy bly sê.	CLAUSE COMP

Gaan/gan		
1.	ek sal gan boer	HET
2.	ek sal soos 'n movie gan kyk	HET
3.	of gaan ons met ander mense oor die internet kommunikeer,	CLAUSE
4.	uhm, en ek het, The Golden Compass gaan kyk,	HET

5.	dat ek belanggestel het om die boeke, te gaan lees nie, ja.	CLAUSE COMP
6.	en ek het toe sommer Statistiek in Engels gaan skryf ook.	HET
7.	en te gaan kyk of sy in die kantoor is,	CLAUSE COMP
8.	wat jy moet gaan beantwoord/	CLAUSE COMP
9.	ek het al na chat rooms gaan kyk ook,	HET
10.	as jy gaan kyk na jou bedrag is dit maar bel,	CLAUSE COMP
11.	maar met 'n brief, tensy jy dit gaan photocopy.	CLAUSE COMP
12.	Ai no! Nee, gaan koop dan maar vir jou.	COMP
13.	moet jy dit nou al op die rekenaar gaan ontleed?	HET
14.	hy't nodig om met sy baas te gaan praat,	CLAUSE COMP
15.	en toe dink ek 'ag nee, ek gaan swem'	COMP
16.	ons gaan kamp in tente	COMP
17.	mens moet gaan kamp met baie mense	COMP
18.	jy weet dis makliker as mens gaan kamp	CLAUSE COMP
19.	en toe gaan sit ons in die garbage dump	CLAUSE COMP
20.	en toe's almal soos 'okay kom ons gaan slaap' [laughs]	COMP
21.	en die outjie het gaan kamp	HET
22.	en ek gaan maak die persent oop	COMP
23.	'n baie boring-looking man, wat gaan staan en gras sny	CLAUSE COMP
24.	O, Ouma wil nou eers gaan loer oor Isabella.	HET
25.	sodat ons hom met vakansies kan gaan help	CLAUSE COMP
26.	en dan moet ons gaan help met, die boot uitvat en so an	CLAUSE COMP
27.	en soos na anne specimens gaan kyk het	CLAUSE COMP
28.	die man het gaan kamp,	HET
29.	jy gaan en jy kies 'n essay topic,	SIMP
30.	mar om een of anner rede as ek moet gaan sit	CLAUSE COMP
31.	ek weet vir die Franse eksamens kan jy dan gratis gaan studeer,	CLAUSE COMP
32.	ek onthou toe ons gaan kyk het, die Stormers Warratahs game,	CLAUSE COMP
33.	hy't gaan articles doen da,	HET
34.	so ek het nogals gedink om bietjie te gaan rondkyk by verskillende koerante en tydskrifte	CLAUSE COMP
35.	net om te gaan kyk hoe dit is	CLAUSE COMP
36.	so half jy gaan en gaan oefen	COMP
37.	en toe't, ek het by hulle gaan aflaa	HET
38.	want ons het toe nou nie 'n plek om te gaan stort	CLAUSE COMP
39.	en toe't ons da gaan stort	CLAUSE COMP
40.	dis rustig en da's 'n cute plekkie wa ons da gaan eet het	CLAUSE COMP
41.	so ek het klaar al gedink okay ek gaan nou ma voort met dit	CLAUSE COMP
42.	of die verwarmer sit ek net so bietjie an net voor ek gaan slaap net 'n bietjie	CLAUSE COMP
43.	dan gaan kyk jy ma nou da,	CLAUSE COMP
44.	ma ek weet, voor my siel, dat hulle dit nie gaan volg nie	CLAUSE COMP
45.	ma die dokter't nou gesê 'gaan kry 'n maaltydplan by 'n dieetkundige	COMP
46.	sodat hulle kan gaan speel pouse	CLAUSE COMP
47.	toe sê ek 'nee okay ek gaan ma gan basketball speel'	SIMP
48.	ek weet nie, ek wil gaan boer, so	HET
49.	ek gaan seker gaan boer	HET
50.	ek sal gaan boer	HET
51.	dan hoekom het jy gaan swot?	CLAUSE COMP
52.	ek gaan nie nou gaan sit 'n uur en 'n half,	HET
53.	en op Facebook gaan lees,	CLAUSE COMP
54.	en op iemand se wall iets gaan plak,	CLAUSE COMP
55.	en 'n foto gaan upload nie,	CLAUSE COMP
56.	as ek myself wil entertain gaan ek nie voor 'n computer gaan sit nie,	CLAUSE
57.	ek sal soos 'n movie gaan kyk, of gaan hard/ ek weet nie,	HET
58.	jy weet, ek meen ek het nou net 'n, nou net my opstel wat ek nou-net gaan inhandig het,	CLAUSE COMP
59.	elke nou en dan so 'n twaalf- of dertien-jarige seuntjie gaan optel,	HET
60.	here my mens, gaan kyk bietjie duisend jaar terug,	COMP
61.	hulle moet nou ma gaan staan en bloos,	HET
62.	ag te lekker gaan sit innie tyn,	COMP
63.	ek gaan my Meesters daar by die Vrije universiteit gaan doen	SIMP
64.	wil ek gaan leef daar,	COMP
65.	gaan werk daar,	COMP
66.	en gaan speel daar,	COMP
67.	ek gaan stap gereeld in die aande, veral as dit reën,	COMP
68.	gaan stap ek lang ente, so teen Tafelberg,	COMP
69.	daai hyse, daai mansions, dan gaan stap ek daarso, met daai paaie langs,	CLAUSE COMP
70.	dan gaan stap ek liewerste	CLAUSE COMP
71.	met hulle periode, of net na hulle periode, moet hulle (unclear) gaan doen,	CLAUSE COMP
72.	en jy moet gaan werk	HET
73.	as die familie wil gaan kyk,	CLAUSE COMP

74.	of een van die anner mense aansê wat hulle moet gan doen met die mense	CLAUSE COMP
75.	want ek het twee toelatingstoetse gan skryf,	HET
76.	toe gan ek net huis toe, en gan slaap,	CLAUSE COMP
77.	het nie opgeklim om dit te gan kry nie	CLAUSE COMP
78.	mar as jy tog daarna gan kyk dan sal jy sien dat baie van die probleme wat ons het	CLAUSE COMP
79.	want as jy selfs vat, gan kyk nou byvoorbeeld, die foto wat jy gekies het, om op	COMP
80.	dit is 'n klein stout seuntjie wat nou die hoof moet gan sien,	CLAUSE COMP
81.	is die feit dat ek baie by haar gan kuier het toe	CLAUSE COMP
82.	Karin gan parkeer die kar	COMP
83.	mar weet jy wie't ek hallo gan sê?	CLAUSE COMP
84.	en ek wou soos graag dit toe nou gan kyk, okay	CLAUSE COMP
85.	K nee Leon moet 'n sielkundige gan sien,	HET
86.	moet julle rêrig, dat Leon 'n sielkundige gan sien,	CLAUSE COMP
87.	nee nee luister, sy's Stellenbosch toe om met al die groot professors te gan uiteet	CLAUSE COMP
88.	toe gan hy die heeltyd en kyk na allerhande goed,	SIMP
89.	so toe moes hy nou eers die hartomlyning gan kry,	HET
90.	en toe't ek net vi hom so gan verduidelik,	CLAUSE COMP
91.	ek het vi hulle gan inloer daar, ja	HET
92.	en ek moet nog gan antrek	HET
93.	toe ek dit wou gan swot het my ma gesê, mar hoe gan jy 'n lewe daarvan maak,	CLAUSE COMP
94.	kyk, deesdae is dit die meerderheid wat gan swot,	CLAUSE COMP
95.	en almal't mar gan werk	HET
96.	ja, ek meen, dan gan werk die mense,	CLAUSE COMP
97.	mens kan nie eintlik gan kuier nie,	HET
98.	sy moes vyf uur gan werk,	HET
99.	as jy gan kyk op die aarbol, daar's so vulkaan ridge wat daa loop,	CLAUSE COMP
100.	ons het nou die Springbokke gan kyk,	HET
101.	sy wou, nie dadelik met die kinnners gan speel nie,	HET
102.	ek dink party aande gan hy dood,	CLAUSE
103.	want ek wil nie (unclear) by hulle gan bly nie,	CLAUSE COMP
104.	ek meen, ek het vanoggend wee gan kyk wa sy is	HET
105.	of hy sy hyswerk moet doen of hy moet gan speel nie	CLAUSE COMP
106.	'n man het gan kamp,	HET
107.	ons gan kyk die Highlanders teen die Stormers,	COMP
108.	mar nou die Highlanders gan mos nou nooit wen teen die Stormers nie,	SIMP
109.	en dan, jy weet, mense wat betaal om 'n wedstryd te gan kyk,	CLAUSE COMP
110.	ek moes mar ingeurswese gan doen het, mar anyway	HET
111.	mar, dan dink jy wee, ek wil ok nie, as ek nou wee gan swot wil ek iets doen wat ek	CLAUSE COMP
112.	ek weet ok nie rêrig of ek in so koue land kan gan bly nie	CLAUSE COMP
113.	mens kan altyd, jy weet, jy kan altyd gan swot daar	HET
114.	want ek het oorspronklik het ek medies gan swot	HET
115.	enige vliegtuig wat van Afrika af kom gan sy in en gan snoop rond om te kyk of hulle	CLAUSE COMP
116.	en gan werk met sjimpansees daar	COMP
117.	en ek wil daar gan swot, vreeslik graag,	HET
118.	die anner ses maande moet jy gan werk as 'n dirigent of iets soos dit,	HET
119.	mar as jy gan swot, jy kan nie studeer in Finland met geld nie,	CLAUSE COMP
120.	en dit weerhou die feit dat, dit weerhou dat net ryk mense kan gan swot, of arm mense nie	CLAUSE COMP
121.	hulle kan bekostig om by die top universiteite in die wêreld te gan studeer want hulle't die	CLAUSE COMP
122.	en hulle lyk my gan dood omdat daar baie parasiete is,	COMP
123.	jy moet rêrig waar nou in die bed gan klim	HET
124.	Ek sal weer gan kyk	HET
125.	gan sit my pa toe so met my,	COMP

Help		
1.	ons moet baie keer moet ons selfs mense help om an te trek	CLAUSE

Kom		
1.	Dan kom piets ek jou.	COMP
2.	Toe't die dokter kom sê vir ons wat's vir wat.	HET
3.	ek hou ok van daai deel waar die mense daar kom kuier,	CLAUSE COMP
4.	maar van my vriende het al vir my kom kuier by Ikeys,	HET
5.	toe't sy bietjie kom kuier daarso	HET

6.	een wat vir ons 'n bietjie iets oor sielkunde kom doen het,	CLAUSE COMP
7.	wat daar kom besoek het by die hys,	CLAUSE COMP
8.	en nou kom groet hy da,	COMP
9.	julle's welkom om te kom kuier	CLAUSE COMP
10.	want hulle't my nou kom sien vir 'n maaltydplan	HET
11.	ons sit, en dan sê ons 'okay kom ons speel 'cirle of death''	CLAUSE
12.	en toe's almal soos 'okay kom ons gaan slaap' [laughs]	CLAUSE
13.	waar professors van daai en dan van Amsterdam en van Ghent vir ons kom klasgee,	CLAUSE COMP
14.	jy is so bang jy kom iemand te na,	CLAUSE
15.	dan, gan jy jou kinnere te na kom eintlik,	CLAUSE
16.	kom ons sit gou wee bietjie muthi op,	SIMP
17.	nou kom kry hulle Suid-Afrikaanse mense	COMP
18.	toe ek getrou het, en hierso kom bly het in Wynberg,	CLAUSE COMP
19.	jy gan met ons Capië kom praat?	HET
20.	hulle kom brag oor wie hulle is en wat hulle doen	COMP
21.	hy gan by my kom lê en slaap	HET
22.	okay, kom ons gan an met die res van die interview	SIMP
23.	om werk te kom soek,	CLAUSE COMP
24.	mense't al by my kom stop, mans,	HET
25.	hy't een aand by my kom slaap,	HET
26.	want hulle betaal verskriklik goed vir mense van oorsee af om te kom werk daar as	CLAUSE COMP
27.	daar is so baie, kom ons begin by die vis	SIMP
28.	want mōre moet Ilse kom stofsuiig	HET
29.	ek en Yolandi wou by Tannie kom kuier, uhm, Sondag	HET
30.	Pleks ons mar net gesê het kom ons gan huis toe, mar toe's ons nou lus vir 'n ou glasie	CLAUSE
31.	Julle kan hier kom slaap	HET
32.	mar sy het soos, die heelyd so half haarsel kom bekendstel an ons,	HET
33.	ek kom kry net gou 'n mes	COMP

Laat/lat		
1.	Goed, laat ek dink is daar nog iets anders...	SIMP
2.	Wat laat jou besluit, wat om te kies?	SIMP
3.	en toe moes ons haar laat uitsit,	CLAUSE COMP
4.	laat weet my hoe dit gan	COMP
5.	dit het my finaal laat besluit om dit te doen	HET
6.	en ek dink dis miskien wat hoeners so laat maak	CLAUSE COMP
7.	Ja ek lat my mar ook boelie [ek laat toe dat hulle my boelie]	SIMP
8.	sy lat my dink an 'n Chinese tannie,	SIMP
9.	arbeie pluk, dit lat my nou dink an Stellenbosch,	SIMP
10.	eksamen, lat my dink an eksamen,	SIMP
11.	dit lat my dink an 'n stadsbeplanner,	SIMP
12.	en dan lat weet hulle jou net van al die races	CLAUSE COMP
13.	en hy kon my mos nou net lat weet het	HET
14.	en dan lat sy jou dit oefen,	CLAUSE
15.	om mense te lat verduidelik, 'drie keer eet per dag'	CLAUSE COMP
16.	haai here, hoe kry mens dit reg om die goed so te lat lyk?	CLAUSE COMP
17.	dit het my nogals lat grootwoord, tipe van	HET
18.	hy lat die muis rustig drink	SIMP
19.	want die een het 'n kommentaar gekry op sy taak van ' lat iemand jou werk proeflees',	SIMP
20.	daar word 'n hormoon afgeskei wat mens lat vergeet	CLAUSE COMP
21.	en toe't hulle dit lat uittrek,	CLAUSE COMP
22.	hulle haar, kwart voor vyf toe lat weet hulle haar,	CLAUSE COMP
23.	ag toemaar, lat ons nou nie daarin gan nie,	SIMP
24.	dit lat my selfsugtig voel	SIMP
25.	Ek het vir jou 'n rotariër glas as dit jou gemakliker sal lat voel	CLAUSE COMP
26.	Ek lat my nie boelie nie!	SIMP
27.	Nee jy moet mar net lat weet, ons sal inval	HET

Leer		
1.	hoe sou jy sê hoe't jy die persoon leer ken?	CLAUSE COMP
2.	so... hoe/om mekaar half te leer ken	CLAUSE COMP
3.	so jy skryf dan nou half om hulle te leer ken	CLAUSE COMP
4.	so dan probeer jy, hulle half leer ken	HET
5.	mense te probeer leer ken?	CLAUSE COMP
6.	jy leer nogals die persoon ken,	SIMP
7.	want dis gemaklik, en jy leer die mense ken,	SIMP

Probeer	
1. 'n kat wat 'n vis probeer vang uit die bak uit	CLAUSE COMP
2. toe ek geswot het, het in my eerste jaar het van een van ons dosente probeer om met ons Afrikaans te praat	SIMP
3. dit lyk vir my na 'n gay man wat probeer grassny,	CLAUSE COMP
4. en ek dink hy probeer haar impress,	CLAUSE
5. hy probeer slaap in sy tent,	COMP
6. ek het dit probeer access 'n paar maande later	HET
7. wat emosionele goed en so probeer sê het oor sms	CLAUSE COMP
8. Uhm ek dink hulle probeer meer van hul klasse in Engels aanbied	CLAUSE
9. jy probeer met iemand praat,	SIMP
10. so bel, ek probeer baie minder bel,	SIMP
11. dat hy gevang om die vis te probeer vang	CLAUSE COMP
12. The panic room? Ek het probeer kyk, sal weer kyk, interessant/	HET
13. so dan probeer jy, hulle half leer ken	CLAUSE
14. mense te probeer leer ken?	CLAUSE COMP
15. as jy weet dat mense sal.. verstaan wat jy eintlik probeer sê?	CLAUSE COMP
16. mar ek het nog nooit probeer om kreatiewe skryfwerk te doen nie	HET
17. sy lyk asof sy moontlik iets probeer vee	CLAUSE COMP
18. of iets probeer indruk in iets anders in	CLAUSE COMP
19. dit lyk of die voëltjie 'n druppeltjie probeer vang het	CLAUSE COMP
20. die kat probeer 'n spookvis uithaal,	SIMP
21. so ek probeer nou half, nuwe goed doen, bietjie afwissel,	SIMP
22. en nou probeer ek elke keer nou my eie tyd beter maak	SIMP
23. ma sy't ok, so half, in die begin probeer kontak hou,	HET
24. want ek sou probeer het om my werk so te reël	HET
25. en ek probeer nou by my hys nou nie onnodig ligte ansit	SIMP
26. ma verder, ek probeer nie onnodig krag gebruik nie,	SIMP
27. want ek probeer my gat af om te spaar	SIMP
28. as ek nou gan vir 'n meeting probeer ek langer bly,	CLAUSE
29. ek probeer 'n graad kry in iets sodat, jy kan doen sonner om 'n plaas te hê, so	SIMP
30. 'n kat wat besig is om vis te probeer uithaal	CLAUSE COMP
31. en hulle/ lyk of hy met haar probeer , flirt,	CLAUSE COMP
32. shame, hy probeer swot,	COMP
33. dis 'n voëltjie wat 'n druppel water wat van 'n tak af drup, probeer drink	CLAUSE COMP
34.	
35. omdat hy geraas maak terwyl hy probeer slaap.	CLAUSE COMP
36. en lyk my hy't probeer om die vissie te vang	HET
37. hulle probeer om in 'n boksie in pas	SIMP
38. en toe, toe ek die kar weer probeer start,	CLAUSE COMP
39. jy sit, dan probeer jy die essay skryf, oh my god,	S
40. 'n kind wat leer of dink, heel moontlik iets probeer uitfigure	CLAUSE COMP
41. 'n voël wat op eerste opslag 'n waterdruppel van 'n blaar probeer afgang,	CLAUSE COMP
42. en jy probeer die vakgebied verbreed	SIMP
43. nuwe manier word wat mense, jy weet, hulle self, kom ek sê, probeer bemark,	CLAUSE COMP
44. of probeer 'n druppel vang van 'n plant af	SIMP
45. hy probeer slaap,	COMP
46. K ek probeer net die kleintjies bietjie da bo kry	SIMP
47. M ek probeer altyd baie hard om die regte ding te doen	SIMP
48. as jy wee met jou ma praat, probeer ytvind	CLAUSE COMP
49. want Charl se vrou het probeer met my bietjie gesels,	HET
50. terwyl ek nog probeer , conversation hou	CLAUSE
51. toe't ek my vrou nou so week terug ook in rehab probeer kry,	CLAUSE COMP
52. en, hy probeer haar charm,	SIMP
53. dit lyk soos my kat, wat probeer om 'n vis te vang uit 'n bak,	CLAUSE
54. hierie man probeer resies jaag op 'n donkie,	SIMP
55. nou wat probeer jy nou einlik uitfigure?	SIMP
56. ek probeer uitfigure of die woordorde van meer embedded bysinne beïnvloed word deur	CLAUSE COMP
57. met die prentjies probeer ek half vir jou lok om dit te gebruik	SIMP
58. en hulle gan nou net bedank en probeer om iets anners te doen	SIMP
59. ek probeer iets elicit by jou	SIMP