

**LANGUAGE SHIFT FROM AFRIKAANS TO ENGLISH IN
“COLOURED” FAMILIES IN PORT ELIZABETH:
THREE CASE STUDIES**

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University

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Declaration

By submitting this thesis electronically, I declare that the entirety of the work contained herein is my own, original work, that I am the owner of the copyright thereof and that I have not previously, in its entirety or in part, submitted it for obtaining any qualification.

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Abstract

This thesis investigates whether language shift is occurring within the community of the northern areas of Port Elizabeth. These areas are historically predominantly “coloured” and Afrikaans-speaking, and are mixed in terms of the socioeconomic status of their inhabitants. Lately, there is a tendency for many of the younger generation to speak more English. Using the model of another study (Anthonissen and George 2003) done in the Cape Town area, three generations (grandparent, parent and grandchild) of three families were interviewed regarding their use of English and Afrikaans in various domains. The pattern of language shift in this study differs somewhat, but not totally, from that described in Anthonissen and George (2003) and Farmer (2009). In these two studies, there was a shift from predominantly Afrikaans in the older two generations to English in the youngest generation. In this study, the shift is also almost exclusively to English in the youngest generation, but the shift at times took place from English-Afrikaans bilingualism and not predominantly from Afrikaans. In two cases, the first generation was raised in English but raised their children in Afrikaans, and then the grandchildren were raised in English again. The reasons why the shift took place in the northern areas of Port Elizabeth appears to be similar to the reasons in the Cape Town area, namely perceived better education opportunities and better socio-economic prospects.

Opsomming

In hierdie tesis word daar gepoog om vas te stel of taalverskuiwing besig is om plaas te vind in die gemeenskap van die noordelike areas van Port Elizabeth. Hierdie areas is histories hoofsaaklik “gekleurd” en Afrikaanssprekend, en is gemeng in terme van die sosio-ekonomiese status van hul inwoners. Dit wil egter voorkom asof daar deesdae ‘n tendens onder die jonger geslag is om meer Engels te praat. Die model van ‘n ander studie (Anthonissen en George 2003), wat in die Kaapstad-area gedoen is, is in hierdie studie gebruik: daar is onderhoude gevoer met drie generasies (grootouer, ouer, kleinkind) van drie families oor hul gebruik van Engels en Afrikaans in verskeie domeine. Die patroon van taalverskuiwing in hierdie studie het verskil van dié wat in die Anthonissen en George (2003)- en Farmer (2009)-studies beskryf is, maar nie heeltemal nie. In laasgenoemde twee studies was daar ‘n verskuiwing van hoofsaaklik Afrikaans in die ouer twee generasies na Engels in die jongste generasie. In hierdie studie is die verskuiwing ook na amper uitsluitlik Engels in die jongste generasie, maar by tye het die verskuiwing plaasgevind vanaf Engels-Afrikaans tweetaligheid en nie vanaf hoofsaaklik Afrikaans nie. In twee gevalle is die eerste generasie Engels grootgemaak maar het hul kinders Afrikaans grootgemaak, en dan is die kleinkinders weer Engels grootgemaak. Die redes waarom die verskuiwing plaasgevind het, is dieselfde as die redes wat deur die verskuiwing in die Kaapstad-gemeenskappe aangevoer is, naamlik beter opvoedkundige geleentheid en beter sosio-ekonomiese vooruitsigte.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

This is a study of language shift occurring over three generations in the northern areas of Port Elizabeth, which are inhabited almost exclusively by people from the population group formerly identified as so-called Coloured.¹ Based on my own observation and on an exploratory study done that I shall use as model for this one (cf. Anthonissen and George 2003; also Farmer 2009), this study assumes that language shift has been taking place from Afrikaans to English in many South African communities, specifically in Coloured ones. Most research in this regard has been done in Coloured communities in the greater Cape Town region. No traceable research has been done on language shift within the Port Elizabeth Coloured community, specifically the one in the northern areas in which I grew up. Yet, I have noticed a possible language shift from Afrikaans to English in this community, and therefore I set out (i) to document the language shift that is occurring within the Coloured community in this region of Port Elizabeth and (ii) to compare the language shift documented for the greater Cape Town region to that of Port Elizabeth, in order to establish whether the same type of shift is evident in both geographical areas: Does the language shift that is assumed to be taking place currently in Port Elizabeth have the same nature and is it occurring for the same reasons as the language shift in the greater Cape Town region?

This led to the posing of the following two specific research questions:

- (1) When, in which domains² and why does language shift from Afrikaans to English take place in the Coloured community in the northern areas of Port Elizabeth?
- (2) Is Afrikaans a “vanishing voice” in this Coloured community or is there a move towards strong Afrikaans-English bilingual identities?

¹ “Coloured” here refers to a person of “mixed race”. I acknowledge that race labels in general and the term “Coloured” in particular are problematic terms and have been since the apartheid years. However, as no suitable, generally agreed upon alternative has been proposed for “Coloured”, I use this term throughout this thesis, but without implying “Coloured” is the preferred term for those who are labelled as such.

² Domains (a term used by Fishman 1965, 1967, 1971) refer to contexts of communication, such as the home, workplace, school or church.

Chapter 3 sets out the methodology employed to obtain the data necessary to answer these two research questions. In Chapter 4, these data are presented and discussed, indicating that the language shift occurring in the northern areas of Port Elizabeth is highly comparable to that in the greater Cape Town area. Chapter 5 concludes the chapter by providing a summary of the results and making recommendations for further research in this field.

Before turning to Chapter 2 (in which I will provide a brief overview of the field of sociolinguistics, followed by a discussion on, amongst others, language shift, both within and outside of South Africa), I will briefly provide background information on the northern areas in the remainder of this chapter, in order to contextualise the study.

The northern areas of Port Elizabeth are socio-economically diverse, being inhabited by Coloureds who are affluent, some who are middle class, as well as others who are very poor. The group of people that participated in this study were all from Coloured families from a middle class background. That said, the first generations of these families were the ones that were struggling financially but the second generation seems to be financially better off, with the third generation not having any lack of material things.

The older generation of this community are people who originally lived in the South End region of Port Elizabeth. In South End, all the different races lived together and they spoke a common language, namely Afrikaans, although not all were monolingual or mother tongue speakers of Afrikaans. During the time when the Group Areas Act was first enforced (1954) the Coloured community was forcibly removed from South End, and many of them found themselves living in squalor within the northern areas. These removals affected the new members of the community of the northern areas greatly, as the schools closest to their new homes (the ones they were obliged to send their children to) mostly had Afrikaans as medium of instruction and often did not offer English as Home Language or English First Language but only English as First Additional Language or as Second Language. After 1994, this situation changed, with these same northern areas schools now offering Afrikaans as both First and Second Language and English as both First and Second Language.

As stated above, my informal observation of the Coloured community in Port Elizabeth's northern areas was that language shift has occurred and is occurring in this community. The language originally used by this community was almost exclusively Afrikaans, for a variety of

reasons, but now the youngest generation of this same community speak more English than their parents and grandparents used to speak. Many of these children find themselves in schools where the medium of instruction is English and, as a consequence, English has now become their first language, although as an insider to this community I know that the language spoken in the homes of these same children is not English but rather Afrikaans. Education, or choice of school, can therefore be said to be one of the factors that played a major role in the language shift occurring within the coloured community in Port Elizabeth: English is used as a language of learning nowadays within some of the northern areas schools, and all of the children from the northern areas are now learning in English if they are attending schools outside of the northern areas. In this regard, Kamwangamalu (2003: 232) says that “if anything has changed at all in terms of the language practices in education [in South Africa – EF], it is that English has gained far more territory and political clout than Afrikaans.” This seems to be the case in the northern areas. The language shift that I observed in this geographical area could also be directly linked to the fact that there seems to be a general movement away from the language of Afrikaans. The younger generation of the Coloured community of the northern areas communicates with their peers in English (this is the language one hears teenagers and younger children speak on the streets of this community as well as on the playgrounds), a language that they have now acquired and that they regard as their Home Language, even though their parents still speak mostly Afrikaans.

Terminology

To conclude this chapter, I will clarify two of the terms used frequently in this thesis, namely “Coloured” and “language shift” (the former will also be discussed in the next chapter). “Coloured” can be interpreted in a variety of ways. One of these interpretations is that a Coloured person is a person of “mixed race” (as noted in Footnote 1); another interpretation pertains to the skin colour of the Coloured person, an interpretation under which all persons who are neither White nor Black are seen to be Coloured (regardless of whether they are for example African American or of Indian or Latin American decent). According to Adhikari (2000: 2), “the coloured people [in South Africa – EF] were descended largely from Cape slaves, the indigenous Khoisan population, and other black people who had been assimilated to Cape colonial society by the late nineteenth century”. As stated by Anthonie (forthcoming), other terms used to refer to this group include the English one “Brown” and the Afrikaans “Kleurling” and “Gekleurde” (both translated as “Coloured”). There are also undeniably derogatory terms such as “Boesman” and “Hotnot”.

Language shift typically occurs in “speech communities whose native languages are threatened because their intergenerational continuity is proceeding negatively, with fewer and fewer users (speakers, readers, writers and even understanders) or uses every generation” (Fishman 1991: 1). As such, “language shift” refers to the phenomenon that one and the same community speaks one language progressively less and another progressively more. Fishman (1972: 107) defines “language shift” as the process through which minority populations change from everyday use of their mother tongue to another language, “whether or not at the same time they also gave up a language or variety that they had previously used.” In cases where the mother tongue remains that language of everyday use, the process at work is referred to as “language maintenance”. Language shift as it has been documented in South Africa and in some communities outside of South Africa will be discussed in the next chapter.

Chapter 2

Literature review

2.1 Introduction

As stated in Chapter 1, the focus of this study is the language choice of three generations of three Coloured families in the northern areas of Port Elizabeth. The northern areas are predominantly Coloured areas – prior to the abolition of the Group Areas Act of 1950 (Act No. 41 of 1950), it was an exclusively Coloured area – and the language used in this area for communication purposes is traditionally and predominantly Afrikaans. However, it seems that, lately, English has become the predominant language of communication in the younger generation of a typical middle class Coloured family residing in the northern areas. However, a similar shift from predominantly isiXhosa to predominantly English does not appear to be happening in the Black community of Port Elizabeth. Young Black people in Port Elizabeth still appear to use, and so regard, isiXhosa as their mother tongue. It seems that English is used more now than previously in the educational institutions such as schools and the university of Port Elizabeth.³ In this chapter, I will discuss sociolinguistic aspects in order to contextualise this study, namely the issue of language and identity, as well as the occurrence of language shift in South Africa and elsewhere.

The study focuses on the language that was used in the first generation of three coloured families in Port Elizabeth, establishing whether the same language is still used by the other two generations (i.e., the children and grandchildren of the first generation) as well. The literature consulted deals with language and identity, amongst other relevant topics. Identity was deemed important for this study, as it is particularly Coloured people who were studied here, and it had to be established how this ethnic group in Port Elizabeth articulates its

³ In this regard, De Kadt (2005: 20) states that “universities are, without a doubt, sites at which much of the work of linguistic transition is being performed and confirmed. It is at universities that the country’s future elite is being educated; it is at these same universities that students are required, with rare exception, to use English as the language of learning and teaching”. This statement made by De Kadt rings true for the language shift that is currently happening within the Eastern Cape, because when the informants were asked what language they think is important, all of them mentioned English, and they explained that the language of learning in the universities and other tertiary educational institutions is English.

identity in the languages it chooses to use. Furthermore, reports on language shift as it occurs in language communities abroad were consulted, as were the (limited) reports on language shift happening in other areas of South Africa, in order to ascertain whether the language choices of the three generations in the present study show similarity to those in bilingual or multilingual communities elsewhere. However, as this study is sociolinguistic in nature, I start by offering a very brief overview of the field of sociolinguistics.

2.2 Sociolinguistics

Sociolinguistics is the study of language within and among a group of speakers (Wardhaugh 2002: 116), where a group is defined as having at least two members but no upper limit. Gumperz (as cited in Wardhaugh 2002: 11) observed that in sociolinguistics an attempt is made to find correlations between social structure and linguistic structure and to observe any changes that occur in these correlations.

Sociolinguistics is also regarded as the study of language in society. The society in which we find ourselves determines what language we will be using. Society impinges on language in various ways (Romaine 2000: 60). According to Romaine (2000), the availability of language depends on the availability and numbers of a social group. In other words, if there are enough people in a society speaking a particular language, then this language will be used more often than a language that does not have as many people in a society speaking that particular language. This present study is sociolinguistic in nature, as it studies the patterns of language use within a certain sector of society.

Romaine (2000: 64) states that linguists generally accept that “differences in language are tied to social class”. This is relevant to my study, as I investigate the use of Afrikaans and English by a particular group who sees English as the language of the upward mobility. Indeed, during the interviews conducted in this study, the views of the informants were that speakers of English seem to be the ones who have the better opportunities as well as the ones whose word was taken to be true over that of their Afrikaans-speaking counterparts.

2.3. Language and identity

According to Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1985: 222), Barth spoke of the traditional proposition that race equals a culture equals a language. Language is very important in any culture, and in any ethnic group, for that matter. There seems to be a common understanding that language affects culture and that culture also affects the language that a specific group would use. Bernstein believes that there is a direct reciprocal relationship between a particular kind of social structure and language use (Wardaugh 1986: 317). Language is an important means of communication and also a means of identification for the group that uses it. Briefly, language shapes our culture as well as our identity.

When one looks at identity, especially with regards to this study, it is imperative to look at ethnicity, as we are looking at a specific community referred to as Coloureds. “Coloured” then refers to a specific ethnic group. Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1985) state that there are various criteria according to which languages become associated with particular groups. One fairly common progression in the relationship between isolating and naming hitherto unidentified groups and hitherto unidentified languages is set out below. “A group of people is named in accordance with common geographical provenance (e.g. The Americans), common physical characteristics (e.g. The Blacks) or common traditions (The Christians)”.

Ethnic identity is one type of identity related to language choice and language use. The concept of ethnicity, according to Weber Li (1968 cited in Li 2001: 1), implies an identity or sentiment of likeness based on descent, language, religion, tradition and common experiences. Li stated in his article that “ethnic identity” encompasses many elements, such as country, skin colour and biological race.

When one looks at identity in the case of this study, it is almost impossible not to think about ethnicity alone. Ethnicity and, particularly, ethnic identity is important, as its definition is subjective in the sense that one may define an individual as coloured, for example, but such an individual might not perceive him/herself to be “coloured”. Individuals also group themselves into “differently speaking collectives ... their language becomes both symbolic of as well as a basis of that grouping” (Fishman 2001). In the present study, one question in the interviews specifically addressed this statement, namely the question on conflict between

languages, in this particular case English and Afrikaans. All the informants said that, based on their personal experiences, there was definitely conflict between the two languages. This could be taken to show that individuals do group themselves into collectives (into an “us” and a “them”) in which language is an important factor.

Our identities are horizontal as well as vertical. “Vertical: with ourselves earlier and in future and with preceding and following generations and often places. Our identities are never static – they are always changing” (Skutnabb-Kangas 2000: 155). In this study, these words of Skutnabb-Kangas ring true; as will be seen, the language practices of the previous generations affected the language choice of current generations and so indirectly affected the identity of the current generations. As stated by Skutnabb-Kangas (2000: 155), “we have a group identity, a social identity”, and in communities in which language shift underway or has occurred, it is not only personal identities which are/were affected by the decisions of the previous generations but also group identities.

The “Coloured identity” is important in this study, as patterns of language shift are studied in a particular coloured community. In the South African context and in this study in particular, the term “coloured” does not refer to the black people in general, as it often does in the American context. Instead, “coloured” alludes here to a phenotypically varied social group of highly diverse cultural and geographical origins (Adhikari 2002: 2).

In the South African context, research done by Dyers (2002) in a speech community in Cape Town found that there are links between language identity and attitudes towards languages. The community in question reside in the township of Wesbank, in which groups with different ethnic backgrounds are to be found. The majority of the population speaks Afrikaans as their first language or were bilingual speakers of both Afrikaans and English. Dyers (2002; 2007) found that there are various ways in which Afrikaans underpins the individual and collective identities of Coloured school children from this township, characterised by (amongst other things) poverty.

In another South African based study, Slabbert and Finlayson (2000) investigated a situation in which language seems to have a direct impact on individual and group identity (in contrast to what had been found by Lamy (1979)). Slabbert and Finlayson look at life in the townships of South Africa and based their study on the work of Le Page and Tabouret-Keller

(1985) and Tabouret-Keller (1997). According to Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1985), language not only influences the formation of identity but is in itself an expression of identity. They view linguistic acts as acts of identity, arguing that “linguistic items are not just attributes of groups or communities, they are themselves the means by which individuals both identify themselves and identify with others; hence the existential locus of homo, be it individuals or groups, is in language itself” (Le Page and Tabouret-Keller 1985: 4-5). The idea that language creates identities has been developed further by Tabouret-Keller (1997: 324). For her, any identification between A and B “is only possible insofar as these two have access to and are part of C”, with A and B being individuals or groups, and C defined as “language in its symbolic function”. In this regard, Bekker (2003: 65) concludes that language is a valid indicator of group identity but also a symbol of group membership.

Slabbert and Finlayson (2000: 122) first of all explain how the restrictive laws of apartheid (the pass law, for example) worked to bring about townships and corresponding ethnic diversity which have been found to have spawned a pressing desire for people to demonstrate their independence and mobility, as well as demonstrating an ability to avoid the restrictive laws and practices of apartheid. One of the ways in which this desire becomes manifest is in language use. Slabbert and Finlayson (2000) found that, in this context, code switching at all levels became a means by which both individuals and groups identified themselves as breaking down the ethnic barriers of apartheid.

Slabbert and Finlayson (2000) therefore propose the existence of an urban/township identity that can be described as “a hybrid one that simultaneously embraces features marked as ‘modern’ and ‘Western’ and those marked as ‘traditional’ and ‘African’ (Slabbert and Finlayson 2000: 122). In this regard, Babito (1997: 201) affirms, with reference to Botswana and Tanzania, that there is “a clear state of double allegiance between Western modernization and internationality associated with English, on the one hand, and nationalism and identity associated with the indigenous languages, on the other”. Slabbert and Finlayson (2000: 123) states that while the above dichotomy posed by Babito may be viewed as problematic from a theoretical perspective, they have used it as the residents themselves perceive it. In accordance with Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1985) and Tabouret-Keller (1997), their approach “shows not only how language supplies the terms by which this identity is expressed, but how a particular configuration of language also marks and constitutes the [particular] urban/township identity”.

They acknowledge that here are various aspects of language use that make up this urban/township identity and that any number of them can be singled out. The important point, however, is that they are inextricably intertwined. As examples, they mention the ability to function in many languages; the ability to code switch and the ability to use English and Afrikaans in very specific domains. In the present study, I will determine whether these linguistic abilities also affect the identity of the coloured residents in the northern areas of Port Elizabeth, or whether they opt for a strictly monolingual identity.

2.4. Language shift

The term “language shift” refers to the phenomenon of speech communities’ native languages proceeding negatively, with fewer and fewer users or uses every generation (Fishman 1991: 1). It seems that the most important factor during language shift is “generations”, i.e., the family. The family is the unit that will either maintain a language or cause language shift to occur. Language shift is a gradual process (Fasold 1984), a gradual shift from one language to another in the same community. In this section, I will discuss documented instances of language shift.

2.4.1. Language shift in general

Language shift is by no means limited to the South African context. Nero (2006) studied language shift that occurred in the Caribbean. This shift caused a language called Caribbean English to emanate. Caribbean English started mostly because of the influence of the British, as the Caribbean people were forced to work on the plantations where they acquired Caribbean English (Nero 2006), which they originally used besides their mother tongue before language shift in the direction of Caribbean English occurred.

Another case of language shift occurred in the small community of Slovenia. In a 1996 survey conducted by Mlinar, it was found that the English language proficiency of older Slovene-speaking people is such that they have difficulty in following an English program on television, whereas the younger people feel that English is no longer a foreign language (Mlinar 1996). As stated by Mlinar (1996), when there are many foreigners in a country, then foreign languages come into that country, the (previously) foreign language being English in

this particular case. In Slovenia nowadays, it is difficult to distinguish between immigrants and Slovenians based on their English language proficiency (Mlinar 1996), indicating the extent to which English has become part of Slovenians' linguistic repertoire. A shift from monolingualism to English bilingualism has therefore occurred in this community.

Huang (2000: 146) states that, in Taiwan, language shift from Mandarin back to Taiwanese is possibly occurring and has done so since the mid-1990s, "possibly" because it might be premature to talk of definite language shift. This is a reversal of a shift observed in the 1980s amongst the younger generation, one from native Taiwanese languages to Mandarin (Huang 2000: 145).

Language shift, according to Fishman (2004), seems to be a societal norm. When one looks at the societal profile of non-English speaking immigrants in the USA for instance, then one can see that language shift is a phenomenon present across the world. According to Fishman, "the grandchildren and great-grandchildren of immigrants have overwhelmingly become English monolinguals" (Fishman 1964: 407), thus choosing against strong bilingual identities.

2.4.2. Language shift in South Africa

According to Kamwangamalu (2003), it seems that English is increasingly becoming the medium of communication in the family in South Africa. The phenomenon that South Africans are moving away from their mother tongues (if their mother tongue is not English) is becoming increasingly noticeable; as such, South Africans are becoming more and more an English-speaking people. The transition happened mostly after the elections of 1994, where the citizens of South Africa became more aware of diversity and the importance to be able to communicate across the different culture groups.

In schools, many South African learners are now being educated in a medium that is not their mother tongue. As Vivian de Klerk and Barbara Bosch (1996) state in their article on language shift from Afrikaans to English, the child's language of schooling and peers influences the child's language preferences. This language shift that is happening in South Africa can be seen as a move to English from any other language; no language shift away from English or to any language other than English has yet been documented in the South African context.

Anthonissen and George (2003) looked at the language use within three Coloured families in the greater Cape Town area. The first of these families was residing in Kraaifontein, one of the northern suburbs of Cape Town. The grandfather of this family was Afrikaans-speaking. The second family resided in Somerset West, with the first generation also being predominantly Afrikaans-speaking individuals. The third generation is one of the only children in that specific family that had access to formerly whites-only education. The third family was similar to the first two families with the exception that this third family lived in an up-market area in Cape Town's northern suburbs. However, the first generation of this family was also predominantly Afrikaans speaking. In the Anthonissen and George (2003) study, it was clear that the first generation of all these families saw Afrikaans as their first language, whereas their grandchildren (the third generation) regarded English as their first language. In the Anthonissen and George study, there was clear evidence that language shift from Afrikaans to English had occurred in the three families interviewed.

In a study conducted in the Strand (on the western fringe of the Cape Town metropole), Farmer (2009) found that Coloured parents who are mother-tongue speakers of Afrikaans but opted for English as medium of instruction for their children reported that, instead of maintaining a bilingual Afrikaans-English identity, the children viewed themselves as monolingual mother-tongue speakers of English. The children themselves confirmed this lack of bilingual identity, despite growing up in an environment in which they were exposed to Afrikaans regularly (also in their homes). It seems then that not all people who find themselves in circumstances in which they can become bilingual and can function bilingually, desire or value bilingualism; some opt for monolingualism and thus monolingual identities.

By contrast, Anthonie (forthcoming) found that the previously monolingually Afrikaans coloured community in Beaufort West raised their children bilingually and had a "proudly" Afrikaans-English bilingual identity.

2.5. Chapter conclusion

This study is sociolinguistic in nature, as it investigates the patterns of language use by a particular social group, namely Coloured residents in a formerly predominantly Afrikaans area of Port Elizabeth. In particular, the type of language shift, observed informally this far, is investigated. By doing so, it will be established whether the Coloured community in Port Elizabeth opts for an English monolingual identity (as in the case of the Anthonissen and George (2003) and Farmer (2009) studies) or for a bilingual English-Afrikaans language identity (as in the case of the Anthonie study). The next chapter gives a layout of the manner in which I went about gathering data in order to establish this.

Chapter 3

Methodology

3.1. Introduction

In this chapter, an exposition is given of the informants of the present study as well as of how the data were collected. A general note needs to be made on the methodology employed in this study: to establish whether and what type of language shift has occurred in the coloured community in Port Elizabeth, the research methodology of Anthonissen and George (2003) and Anthonissen (2007) was followed in order to allow comparison between the results of these studies (regarding coloured people in the greater Cape Town area) and that of the present study. This methodology requires an examination of three Coloured families, each with three generations (a grandparent, a parent and a child).

3.2. The informants

Three coloured families were selected to act as informants. The selection of these families was done randomly and with the help of friends, so that I was not directly familiar with any member of any of the three families. These families had to consist of three generations in each of the families. Preference was given to families that had either a grandmother, mother and granddaughter or a grandfather, father and grandson. All families had to be living in Port Elizabeth since the grandfather's or grandmother's childhood. All three of the families resided in the northern areas of Port Elizabeth, specifically in Salt Lake, Salsoneville and Sancto. Each family is briefly described in Sections 3.2.1 to 3.2.2.

When I visited these families, they were all eager to participate in the study. However, the third generation of two of the families did not seem very confident and spoke very softly: There appeared to be a general hesitance in the third generation of families 1 and 3 to answer the questions, in the sense that they did not often provide detailed answers. A possible explanation of this could be that they were somewhat intimidated by the interview procedure and that they were afraid of making mistakes (that is, of "saying the wrong thing"). By

contrast, the third generation of Family 2 was very eager to answer the questions and she elaborated on the questions.

3.2.1. Family 1

Family 1 differed from the other two families in that not all three informants in this family were of the same gender. The informants in Family 1 consisted of a grandfather, a father and a daughter. This was not ideal, but it proved unexpectedly difficult to obtain three families with same gender informants across the three generations. For this reason and because they were very enthusiastic to answer the questions and to participate in the interviews, Family 1 was included in the study.

The Generation 1 member of this family (Fam 1 Gen 1) is a retired factory worker. He had been in a supervisory capacity at the factory and was very keen on explaining his contribution to the factory in great detail. He worked with people across the colour divide and seemed very enthusiastic about having been the supervisor of the team. During the interview, Fam 1 Gen 1 started by saying that he was 50% English and 50% Afrikaans. In the answering of subsequent questions, it became clear that the first generation of this family had indeed been predominantly Afrikaans in his younger years. He also raised his children as speakers of Afrikaans.

The second generation member of this family (Fam 1 Gen 2) also became a factory worker and finds himself in a similar position to that of his father. He also works with people across the colour line and is the factory foreman and the spokesperson for the members of the union to which he belongs.

The third generation member of this family (Fam 1 Gen 3) is a girl who is a Grade 11 learner at the local public school. As mentioned above, this participant was hesitant in answering the questions.

3.2.2. Family 2

The first generation of Family 2 (Fam 2 Gen 1) is a retired public servant who used to work in a public hospital as an administrative clerk. She was also in a supervisory capacity at the

local hospital and used English especially in performing her administrative tasks at work. The people that she managed were a diverse group in terms of ethnicity and language.

The second generation member of this family (Fam 2 Gen 2) also works as a public servant and is also in a management position at the local office of the Department of Education. This assumes that she uses mostly English as a form of communication, even though she was raised in Afrikaans.

The third generation member of this family (Fam 2 Gen 3) was very outspoken when answering the questions. She used English effectively and she could elaborate on the different questions. She was not hesitant to voice her opinion. This child is a Grade 12 learner at a previously Model C school.

3.2.3. Family 3

The first generation member of Family 3 (Fam 3 Gen 1) was a retired factory worker. He was “boarded” after a leg injury at the factory where he has been working and has been at home ever since. This grandfather was predominantly Afrikaans-speaking. He stated that he occasionally spoke English in the work situation. He was practically monolingual, to the extent that he found it difficult to converse in English during the process of interviewing. He even asked if he could answer the questions in Afrikaans as his English was poor.

The second generation member (Fam 3 Gen 2) was bilingual and could converse effectively in both English and Afrikaans. He is also a public servant in a managerial position. He works within a variety of sectors in the South African Police Service and also manages people across the colour divide.

The third generation member (Fam 3 Gen 3) is a Grade 10 learner at a local public school. In contrast to his father, he was very limited in his speech and he often found it difficult to express himself effectively in English, even though he viewed this to be his mother tongue.

3.3. The Interviews

The questions that were used during the interviews were taken from the existing Anthonissen study (that of 2007) that was conducted in the Cape Town area. Similar questions were also asked in the Anthonissen and George (2003) study. The questions were as follows:

1. Should I conduct this interview in English or Afrikaans?
2. Which language do you regard as your first language?
3. Which language are you better at in
 - a) reading
 - b) writing
 - c) speaking
4. Which language is the language that you use as home language?
5. Which language did you use as a language of learning?
6. Which language do you use in your religious community?
7. Was there any time when you used Afrikaans more? If so, did it change and why?
8. Did you ever experience that there was a conflict between English speakers and Afrikaans speakers? If so, why do you think it was like that?
9. Did you choose the same language of learning for your child as yours when you were a child or not? Give a reason for your answer.
10. What do you think should happen in the future: will we speak one language or should we be speakers of more than one language?

The first three questions were about proficiency in English. The next three questions were about language choice in particular domains (home, school and church). Questions 7 to 9 gave information on a possible language shift, and the last question related to language choice in the future, attempting to ascertain what the informants think would happen in the coloured community with regards to language choice.

The questions were asked verbally and often, especially for the first generation as the question had to be repeated in order for the informants to understand them. They would ask that the questions be repeated for the sake of clarity by saying, for instance, “How do you mean now?” At some points during the interviews, I had to translate the questions into Afrikaans,

especially for the first generation of the families. Also, I often asked other questions in between the set questions, as and when it seemed sensible to do so.

3.4. Data collection and transcription

When arriving at the homes of the respective families, they were asked for permission to record the proceedings of the interviews. The word “interview” also needed to be clarified for some participants, especially to the third generations of the families. It seemed that this word carried the meaning of correctness or incorrectness of answers. It was made clear to the informants that the task would consist of listening and answering a few questions and that no answer could be regarded as wrong or irrelevant.

All the families were interviewed during the December 2008 holiday period, as this was a period during which they had time to devote to the interviews. With Family 1, the grandfather was interviewed first and at a different house than the other two generations. The same applied to Family 2. Only in the case of Family 3 were all the generations interviewed during the same data collection session at the same venue. Most of the interviews were about an hour long. During the interviewing process of all the families, there were other people present in the room. These people acted as a type of audience and did not actively participate in the interviews.

In order to be able to refer back to the answers given, all the interviews were tape-recorded. These recorded interviews were then later transcribed. Copies of these transcriptions are available in Appendices A (Family 1), B (Family 2) and C (Family 3).

Chapter 4

Discussion and analysis of data

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter, the data collected will be analysed per family. This chapter will also indicate what the collected data implies regarding language shift in the Coloured community of Port Elizabeth: in short, it will be shown that there has clearly been a language shift from a predominantly Afrikaans-speaking community (at least in the second generation of the families concerned) to one in which the younger members of the community speak predominantly English. This chapter will also highlight the consequences, conditions and constraints of certain language choices made by the participants.

4.2. Language choice in certain domains

4.2.1. Language used during interview

As I am a near-fluent Afrikaans-English bilingual, I could and did give every informant the opportunity to choose whether he/she wanted the interview to be conducted in English or in Afrikaans. The first question asked during the interviews was always about the language in which the informants would like the interview to be conducted.

Fam 1 Gen 1 and Fam 2 Gen 1 wanted the interview to be conducted in English. Meshtrie (1992: 19) explains that English has been used in the regions of what is now KwaZulu Natal since at least the the 1860s. Fam 1 Gen 1 and Fam 2 Gen 1 were both partially of Indian descent, with their families originating from KwaZulu Natal. It could thus be that their long history of living in or in close proximity to mother-tongue speakers of English made them more comfortable with speaking English in formal situations (such as interviews). Family 3 Gen 1 requested the interview to be conducted in Afrikaans as he did not feel comfortable with the interview being done in English. In this family, there was a general tendency to code switch between English and Afrikaans or to borrow English words when speaking Afrikaans. For instance, when answering the question on the language that he uses everyday, Fam 3 Gen

1⁴ said: “*Afrikaans. Engels is ‘n bietjie complicated vir my. Ek is mos nie gewoond Engels praat nie ... Ek moet maar mooi dink.*” [English is somewhat complicated for me. I am not used to speaking English, you know. I have to think carefully.] When all three generations of Family 3 were taking part in the conversation,⁵ the second generation, who was a very strong bilingual, code switched between English and Afrikaans, speaking in Afrikaans when talking about matters pertaining to the first generation and in English when discussing matters pertaining to the younger generation.

It is clear that the second generation of all three families could have conducted the interviews in either English or Afrikaans. The last generation of all these families suggested that the interview should be conducted in English only.

4.2.2. Language used in the home, social settings and religious community

Tables 4.1 to 4.3 indicate the language preferred by each generation in Families 1 to 3, respectively, in the following three domains: at home while growing up, at home at present and in religious contexts at present.

Table 4.1: *Language of preference of the three generations of Family 1*

Domain	Language used		
	Generation 1	Generation 2	Generation 3
At home when growing up	Afrikaans and English	Afrikaans	Afrikaans
At home at present	English	Afrikaans	Afrikaans
Religious community at present	Afrikaans and English	Afrikaans	English

From Table 4.1, it appears that Generation 1 was previously more (Afrikaans-English) bilingual than at present and even raised his children Afrikaans but now speaks mainly English. Generation 2 speaks mostly Afrikaans and regards this language as his first language (even though his father regards English as his (that is, his father’s) first language. The third generation was raised in Afrikaans and still speaks Afrikaans at home and in his religious

⁴ At times, the informants will be referred to by codes revealing their family and generation. For example, Fam 3 Gen 1 refers to the first generation of Family 3.

⁵ I refer here to the conversation which occurred after the interviews, so this practice is not observable in the transcript of the interview provided in Appendix C.

community, but regards himself as an English first language speaker. When asked which language he feels most comfortable speaking, he said, *“English , because I start speaking English. I think I’m better than Afrikaans.”* The reason for this choice seems to pertain to the perceived attitude to mother tongue speakers of Afrikaans at school. In this regard, Fam 1 Gen 3 said, *“At my school, it’s English that side and Afrikaans the other side, and I think the English people look down on the Afrikaans speaking.”*

With regards to what the informants of Family 1 thought the most important language was for children to speak, the response of the first generation was as follows: *“I think it is very important for any child of a parent or to let his child be bilingual as the situation in the country at the moment – things has changed a lot in the country – you’ve got to be bilingual, now, any child that goes that would like to learn, learn Japanese now, is gonner help him. The prospects is so wide for for any student now like uh German, you want to learn German is a good language to be bilingual with. Like Chinese and the most important language in the world the biggest one now... the French language that’s very important so those are the three languages I’m giving you, you understand? If a child want to learn Arabic, if a child want to learn Hindu, the Hindu language, he can learn it. It all depends on the child so the more language he know the better off for the better future in the world. In the world not I’m talking South Africa. So the most important to be bilingual in all languages.”*

What is interesting about this answer is that the informant (the father of a person who sees Afrikaans as his first language) does not refer to English-Afrikaans bilingualism as having any value. Whereas Japanese, German, Chinese, French, Arabic and Hindu are given as examples of languages that will combine well with English, Afrikaans-English bilingualism is not mentioned.

The second generation of this family said the following when asked the same question: *“Nee, dit is definitief meer waarde daarin om meer tale te kan praat....om meertalig te wees. Twee, drie of vier – hoeveel tale jy praat soveel moontlike tale praat vir jou op hierdie huidige oomblik.”* [No, there is definitely more value in being able to speak more languages....in being multilingual. Two, three or four languages – as many languages as you can speak are speaking for you at this moment.]

To the third generation, this question was posed slightly differently: She was asked in which language (English or Afrikaans) she will raise her children one day. To this question she replied, *“I can’t say – both English and Afrikaans. Yes, yes, more than two actually.”* In contrast to her grandfather, she seems to value English-Afrikaans bilingualism.

Consider Table 4.2 which contains a summary of the language use in various domains for Family 2.

Table 4.2: Language of preference for the three generations of Family 2:

Domain	Language used		
	Generation 1	Generation 2	Generation 3
At home when growing up	English	Afrikaans	English
At home at present	Afrikaans (but English with grandchildren)	English	English
Religious community at present	English	English	English

When asked what language she feels more comfortable speaking, this was the response of the first generation of Family 2: *“English is my language that I feel very comfortable in speaking. My reason is, my father was from India and he couldn’t speak Afrikaans so that was our home language. So that is why we speak English and my schooling was at the Anglican School and it was all English.”*

The response of the second generation to this question was as follows: *“English definitely is. Especially when I grew up, it was much easier for myself. That is why I preferred then teaching my children English as a first language, because for me it was much easier and I fell a bit behind as I wasn’t reared....I mean....not behind in such a way....but I found myself....found myself yearning why I did not go to school as a English student or learner. Because now it’s much easier because my child is not raised in Afrikaans.”* What is interesting about this answer is that the informant uses the opportunity not only to justify why she speaks English now although she was raised in Afrikaans but also to provide reasons for her choice to raise her children as English speakers.

The response of the third generation member of this family was that she feels most comfortable speaking English and that she does speak Afrikaans as well, but not to people with whom she is not familiar.

All three members of Family 2 use English in the religious domain, as they all belong to the Anglican church which is an English-language denomination. (Here one has to assume either that the third generation of this family does not know the term “religious community” or that she is not an active church-goer, as her response to the question as to which language is used in her religious community was “*Uhm....English I think*”.)

Table 4.3 Language of preference for the three generations of Family 3:

Domain	Language used		
	Generation 1	Generation 2	Generation 3
At home when growing up	Afrikaans	Afrikaans	English
At home at present	Afrikaans (but English with grandchildren)	Afrikaans and English	English
Religious community at present	English	English	English

This family is Catholic and their religious community is English. The grandfather prefers to speak Afrikaans, but reports that his children do not want him to speak Afrikaans to his grandchildren: “*Ag, dis die kinders; die kleinkinders, hulle is mos nou in Engelse skole en nou moet ek maar Engels praat. Maar....hulle wil nie hê ek moet Afrikaans praat met die kinders nie.*” [Oh, it’s the children; the grandchildren, they are in English schools, you know, and now I have no choice but to speak English. But....they do not want me to speak Afrikaans to the children] From this response, it appears that the second generation, who was raised Afrikaans, do not want their own children to be exposed to any Afrikaans in the home environment. This could be interpreted as a decision against raising balanced Afrikaans-English bilinguals and for raising monolingual speakers of English.

4.2.3. Language used in school

With regards to the question that related to the language of schooling, the first generation of Families 1 and 2 reported that they had their schooling in English, whereas the first generation of Family 3 reported that English had been her language of learning. For Generations 2 and 3

of the three families, the same pattern regarding language of learning emerged: Afrikaans for Generation 2 (as will be discussed later, as a result of the political situation at the time, this generation did not have the option of attending English-medium schools) and English for Generation 3. The members of the last generation were placed into a dual-medium education system where they chose to do English as a first language.

The choice of schools was an important aspect in the development of the language of the second generation in the present study. According to the first generation in all three of the families, it seemed very obvious that they could not enrol their children in their schools of choice because of the political situation at the time. The Group Areas Act of 1950 severely limited the choice of school which the members of the first generation of all three families had for their children, as during the enforcement of this Act, the Coloured community was forcibly removed and relocated to residential and business areas, usually on the periphery of cities and towns (see Adhikari 2005). This led to the families interviewed for the purposes of this study to be removed from areas where there were English-medium schools to areas where they had access to Afrikaans schools only. The families did not necessarily state this directly. For example, Fam 1 Gen 1 said: *“Ja, when I had my children, my children enrolled, you know that we you couldn’t choose any school. The nearest school to you and most of these schools were Afrikaans and they only had one or two classes for English so the schools couldn’t really cope because the government was forcing Afrikaans, Afrikaans. But uhm this is as far I will go, so like my children, their mother tongue became now Afrikaans.”*

Fam 2 Gen 1 provided a little more detail but still did not fully explain the reason for the limited choice pertaining to schools for her children: *“Well, when they were at school we couldn’t choose. It was just Afrikaans, and English was the second language. Because then it was the apartheid government that was in control and they insisted that Afrikaans should be the first language.”* So the language of learning started off as either English or Afrikaans in the first generation, became Afrikaans in the second and then changed to English in the third.

Informants were also asked whether they had chosen or will choose the same language of tuition for their children as that chosen for them, that is what language they educated or would educate their children in. Five of the informants answered this question in such a manner that preferred language of tuition for their children was obvious; all five indicated that they would choose English, some indicating that they see English as the language of the future. The

reasons that informants gave for educating their children in English or for thinking that people should be able to speak English pertained mostly to employment opportunities. In this regard, Fam 1 Gen 2 for instance said, “*Engels is onse internasionale taal, ons in Suid Afrika, en omdat dit so is, is daar meer werkseleenthede*” [English is our national language, for us in South Africa, and because that is the case, there are more job opportunities.]

In a different context, pertaining to the advantages knowledge of English holds for a person in general, Fam 3 Gen 2 said, “... *the English people....they had more opportunities....because any shop you enter, wherever you shop....wherever you look for employment, they.... they always queries in English....whether you want to enquire about something....they start off in English.*” In this regard, note that many Coloured people are now either moving into a predominantly English-speaking community or they are opting to raise their children in English in the communities in which they currently reside. The families interviewed for the purposes of this study are doing the latter, and it seems that this is happening because of the fact that, as Romaine (2000) highlights, Coloured people want to be a part of a more developed economy.

4.2.4. Summary: Pattern of language use across the three generations

From the interviews, several patterns of language shift emerge. In Family 1, Generation 1 was raised predominantly English but raised his own children as Afrikaans. Even so, Generation 2 now views himself as a first language speaker of English and he raised his children as first language speakers of English instead of as Afrikaans-English bilinguals.

In Family 2, the first generation was raised in English but now uses Afrikaans at home, apart from with her grandchildren. As was the case for the second generation of Family 1, Fam 2 Gen 2 was raised as a mother tongue speaker of Afrikaans but now uses English at home with her children, who regard themselves as mother tongue speakers of the latter.

Family 3 shows the more typical type of language shift, from almost monolingual Afrikaans-speaking grandparents (who now have to speak English to their grandchildren) to an Afrikaans-English bilingual second generation to an English-speaking third generation.

Regardless of the language practices, preferences and choices of the first and second generations then, the third generations of all three families are predominantly English speaking.

4.3. The language of the future?

In the questionnaire there was a question that related to which language the informants regarded as the language of the future. Of the nine informants, all indicated that monolingualism would not be the ideal, and as such they think people (including their children should speak more than one language). Six informants said they would like their children to be bilingual (with Fam 1 Gen 1 mentioning various examples of languages which should be of value to children nowadays and the other five indicating that Afrikaans-English bilingualism is what they would want for their children. Two informants (Fam 1 Gen 2 and Fam 2 Gen 3) specifically mentioned multilingualism and not bilingualism. The remaining informant, Fam 3 Gen 2, indicated that trilingualism was necessary to succeed in South Africa, specifically mentioning English, Afrikaans and Xhosa. As this is the informant who reportedly does not want his father to speak Afrikaans to his children (the grandchildren), this is an interesting response because he is creating an English monolingual environment at home but states that monolingualism (indeed even bilingualism) is not enough to succeed in our society.

4.4. Conflict between speakers of English and speakers of Afrikaans

It was clear from answers to the question that relates to possible conflict between English speakers and Afrikaans speakers that there seemed to be consensus with regards to this question. All of the informants of all the generations indicated that they have been confronted with conflict between the different languages in some form or another. For example, Fam 2 Gen 2 explained this conflict that she has experienced as follows: *“Definitely at school...we were the Afrikaans kids and we all felt, always felt, a bit of...some way a bit inferior...maar there...were a lot of English teachers and we always felt that they were actually....uhm....uhm....they were....how can I say...advantaged. They got the benefit of the doubt we as Afrikaans kids were almost at the...at the...at the background...always.”*

In this excerpt, the informant clearly indicated that in her years of schooling there was some perceived conflict between the speakers of English and the speakers of Afrikaans, as the English speakers were seen as the ones who were superior to those who were speakers of Afrikaans.

Family 1 Generation 2 explained a similar experience when he said, “*Ja, op skool net die feit dat Engelssprekendes, hoe kan ek sê? Hulle was taalbewus né, hulle het net met mekaar gekommunikeer hulle wou nie met ... altyd as dit Afrikaans is, is dis vernederend om Afrikaans te praat; want die rede daarvoor was die politieke situasie voor 1994.*” [Yes, at school, the mere fact that English speakers, how can I put it, they were language conscious, hey? They just communicated with one another. They did not want to...it was always the case that when it was Afrikaans, it is embarrassing to speak Afrikaans; because the reason for that was the political situation prior to 1994.] From this response, one can also see that the political climate played an important role in the language choice in schools (also see Section 4.2.3) and that it affected the different learners’ view of one another during this time. This situation is in accordance with what Giles and Johnson (1987: 71) refer to as “insecure social comparisons”. Here, Giles and Johnson (1987: 71) state that “‘insecure social comparisons’ would manifest in awareness of cognitive alternatives to the extent that speakers believed their groups’ (low) status was unfair and potentially changeable”. The way in which the second generation saw fit to change their group’s low status was to become proficient speakers of English and to raise their children in English.

I can thus conclude that informants experienced some conflict between speakers of English and Afrikaans, as illustrated above. This phenomena links up with what Andre Tabouret-Keller describes when he says that “the language spoken by somebody and his or her identity as a speaker of this language are inseparable” (Tabouret-Keller 1997: 315).

4.5. Discussion

According to Vivian de Klerk and Barbara Bosch (1996), Afrikaans has undergone a shift within the South African society, especially with regards to the fact that before 1994 it was one of two official languages whereas after 1994 Afrikaans is one of 11 official languages. De Klerk and Bosch also suggest that Afrikaans is “beleaguered and loaded with negative

connotations of decades of association with the Apartheid Government, which made special efforts to favour the language”. It seems that English has spread from the classroom to society; as De Kadt states: “English as language of learning and teaching has been shown to be spreading beyond the classroom and to be displacing the various indigenous mother tongues in social contexts and ultimately in the home.” In this regard, Mesthrie (2000: 21) explains that in the 1950s the younger generation in the South African Indian community went to schools in which English was the language of tuition and the language of the playground. As a result of this, Indian children were speaking English more and were bringing this language home, and as time passed more English was spoken within the home situation. This led to the younger Indian generation being very confident in the English language. During the 1990s, language shift had taken place in the Indian community in South Africa. The languages spoken predominantly within the Indian family were no longer an Indian one (such as Tamil, Merachti or Hindi) but the English language.

Although for different reasons (the second generation all chose to enrol their children as English First Language learners; English did not “infiltrate” the home via the school as was the case in South African Indian families), it is clear from the results of this study that the Coloured community in Port Elizabeth is moving towards an English-speaking speech community. Language shift occurred in previous generations in some of the families and it is still occurring in the present younger generation. The first generation in this study was people who were fairly monolingual speakers of either Afrikaans or English, but they all raised their children to speak Afrikaans. This second generation however all raised their children as first language speakers of English, to such an extent that some of the third generation were practically English-speaking monolinguals.

Fasold (1984: 213) puts it very aptly when he says that language shift is something that does not happen overnight; it is a gradual process. This statement is evident in the language choice of the informants of this study. The process of language shift is commented on by Fishman when he says (as stated in Chapter 1) that such shift occurs in “speech communities whose native languages are threatened because their intergenerational continuity is proceeding negatively, with fewer and fewer users or uses every generation” (Fishman 1991:1). This seems to be illustrated by the three generations of the three families of this study, where Afrikaans has fewer and fewer users.

Chapter 5

Conclusion

This study investigated the nature of the language shift which has previously only been informally observed to occur within the coloured community in the northern areas of Port Elizabeth. Three families, each consisting of three generations, were interviewed about the language they prefer to use in the various domains as well as the language(s) they predict will be used in future. The results of the study can be summarised briefly as follows:

The first (oldest) generations of this study reported to be either Afrikaans or English, but were in fact bilingual (even if they did have a preference for either of the languages). The second generations were also either bilingual or more proficient in one of the languages than the other. Some grew up speaking predominantly Afrikaans but later chose to speak more English. This generation reported that there is conflict between the speakers of Afrikaans and the speakers of English – they were mostly referring to what was the case when they themselves were at school. It became clear that a possible reason for this conflict was that the word of the English speakers appeared to be taken above that of the Afrikaans speakers. This was possibly one of the reasons why the second generation chose to speak more English later in life and to raise their children in English instead of in Afrikaans. When one looks at the language of the third (youngest) generation, it is evident that they prefer to communicate in English. The third generation is the evidence that a language shift from Afrikaans to English has indeed occurred; the bilingual identities of (some of) the first and second generations were not maintained in the third generation. This language shift became clear after the elections of 1994 especially, when many South Africans (including some of the informants in this study) felt that we all had to have a language that we could use to accommodate everybody and that that language was English.

The reasons given for this language shift are mostly related to educational and future economic purposes, as English is seen as the language one should know for economic reasons as well as for educational reasons. Regarding the latter, the language shift occurred because, amongst other reasons, children were placed in schools with the diverse group of learners and preferably (according to their parents) in schools with English as medium of instruction,

whereas choice of school was highly restricted before 1994, and often the only available school was Afrikaans-medium.

If one looks at the first generation, it is clear that the first generation of two of the families use both English and Afrikaans, whereas the first generation of the third family preferred to speak Afrikaans, also during the interviews. Yet this same generation of all the families declared very explicitly that the language they see as the language of the future is English (sometimes with Afrikaans (for two informants) but at other times in combination with other languages, such as German or Japanese). From the interviews, it is also clear that the third generation not only prefer to converse in English but also regard English to be the language of the future. This generation indicates that English will be the language of communication in the future, as they indicated that, when they have their own families, this is the language that they would want their children to be educated in (although most of them said that they also want their children to speak Afrikaans).

I will now look at how these findings answer the research questions posed in Chapter 1. For ease of reference, the two questions are repeated below:

- (1) When, in which domains, and why does language shift from Afrikaans to English take place in the Coloured community in the northern areas of Port Elizabeth?
- (2) Is Afrikaans a “vanishing voice” in this Coloured community or is there a move towards strong Afrikaans-English bilingual identities?

The answer to the first question is that language shift takes place from English, Afrikaans of Afrikaans-English bilingualism in the first and second generations to almost exclusively English in the third generations. This occurs in the domains of the home and the school (and social interactions) and appear to take place for reasons pertaining to education and future socio-economic status. Another reason appears to be that the bilingual generations, particularly those who were more proficient in Afrikaans than in English and received their education through the medium of Afrikaans (never by their own choice, though), experienced conflict between speakers of Afrikaans and speakers of English and thus the latter were more highly esteemed by the teachers – they did not want their children to have similar experiences and thus also for this reason raised their children in English only.

The pattern of language shift in this study differs somewhat, but not totally, from that described in Anthonissen and George (2003) and Farmer (2009). In these two studies, there was a shift from predominantly Afrikaans in the older two generations to English in the youngest generation. In this study, the shift is also almost exclusively to English in the youngest generation, but the shift at times took place from English-Afrikaans bilingualism and not predominantly from Afrikaans. In two cases, the first generation was raised in English but raised their children in Afrikaans, and then the grandchildren were raised in English again. The reason why the shift took place in the northern areas of Port Elizabeth appears to be similar to the reason in the greater Cape Town area, namely perceived better education opportunities and better socio-economic prospects. These reasons given above seem to concur with the general perceptions that people often hold of speakers of English. In this regard, Kamwangamalu reports that in Botswana, there seems to be a steady language shift from the indigenous languages to English. As Kamwangamalu puts it, “English ... is seen a powerful economic and educational tool, the language with higher social status and prestige” (Kamwangamalu 2003:737). Slabbert and Finlayson (2000: 128) stated that “English in South Africa enjoys enormous status for black people, marking the speaker as educated, affluent, serious or authoritative. English morphemes and islands are typical urban speech and mark the urban/township individual as ‘modern’, ‘Westernized, and ‘educated’. English is also the language of economic power, hence being able to speak English indicates that the individual has economic competency.” This view of English appears to be held by the coloured northern areas residents interviewed for this study as well. In the current study, however, the stigma attached to Afrikaans – i.e., the fact that English-speaking learners are viewed more favourably by teachers than Afrikaans-speaking ones – was mentioned (and could be seen as a reason for not raising one’s child as Afrikaans-speaking), which was not the case in the Anthonissen and George (2003) and Farmer (2009) studies.

Regarding the second research question, the answer is clearly that there is a shift away from Afrikaans-English bilingual identities (at times strong ones) to being monolingual in English. Afrikaans thus indeed appears to be a “vanishing voice” in the coloured community residents in the northern areas of Port Elizabeth.

The study has several limitations, which may affect the validity and generalisability of the results. One of them is that only three families were involved, and the families were heterogeneous as far as language preference of the older two generations is concerned.

Another limitation is that only one area of Port Elizabeth was involved. These two limitations possibly reduced the generalisability of the obtained results. The researcher is furthermore new to the task of interviewing, which may have led to the elicited responses not being as comprehensive as they could have been. Also, self-reported data were collected. The drawback of this type of data is that speakers may not always be consciously aware of every aspect of their own language use and may therefore give subjective or (unintentionally) false accounts of their language behaviour. Furthermore, as stated by Anthonie (forthcoming), it is possible that informants answer questions “in a way that makes them appear more educated than they really are, or that, through their answers, they would attempt to associate themselves with the language or language behaviour that bears more prestige.” These factors could all decrease the validity of the data gathered. Another limitation of this study was the fact that the informants were mostly from the middle class sector of the Coloured community; there were no poor or lower income participants.

For future research, the following is recommended: Firstly, informants from a range of socio-economic backgrounds should be interviewed, as language shift patterns may differ across different sectors of one and the same community. Secondly, a comparison could be made between coloured people (still) residing in the northern areas and those who have moved to more affluent residential areas, especially those areas in which members of the third generation are now attending schools.

Despite the limitations of the study and the need for future research on this topic, the study also has certain merits. One is that the interviews were conducted by an insider to the community under investigation, which could have increased the reliability of the data obtained. Another merit of this study is that it contributed to the investigation of language shift amongst members of the coloured population by looking at a geographical area far removed from Cape Town, where most of the work on language shift in this population group has thus far taken place. The findings are that language shift is indeed also taking place in the Port Elizabeth area, and that the pattern of shift is more or less the same as that occurring in the greater Cape Town area, at least in terms of the end result, which is a fairly monolingual English-speaking young generation instead of the strengthening of (previously existing) bilingual identities.

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Appendix A

Transcription of interviews with Family 1

Key:

- .. indicates a short pause
 - indicates a longer pause
 - uhm is a filler, indicating that the informant is thinking about the answer
-

Family 1 Generation 1

Interviewer: In which language would you like me to ask the questions?

Fam1 Gen 1: English, my dear.

Interviewer: I would like to ask you a few questions but before you answer the questions.... feel free to answer all the questions.... but if there is a question that makes you feel uncomfortable feel free not to answer that particular question, but I would like you to answer all the questions. Which languages can you speak, read and write?

Fam 1 Gen 1: Yes, Ma'am, English, my dear. Yes, uhm. I can speak English better than Afrikaans. Afrikaans I don't really understand with these high language, high Afrikaans words. I can only speak broken Afrikaans. English I can speak much better.

Fam 1 Gen 1: Yes, English....well, yes.

Fam 1 Gen 1: I write English, yes.

Fam 1 Gen 1: I read English, all my speeches is in English.

Interviewer: Which language are you better at in speaking?

Fam 1 Gen 1: English.

Interviewer: Reading?

Fam 1 Gen 1: English

Interviewer: Writing?

Fam 1 Gen 1: English

Interviewer: Which language did you use in your home as a family language?

Fam 1 Gen 1: English, uhm, uhm, well there's 50/50, English and Afrikaans. Ja, 50/50, yes.

Interviewer: Which language was your language of learning?

Fam 1 Gen 1: English, yes.

Interviewer: Which language is used in your religious community?

Fam 1 Gen 1: There's also 50/50. They preach in Afrikaans and they preach in English. Now, 50/50. They are waving it to the congregation before it was all Afrikaans and the congregation was English-speaking now they are waving it now 50/50.

Interviewer: Is Afrikaans or English the language you feel most comfortable in speaking?

Fam 1 Gen 1: English yes, yes, the reason is I was brought up on 98% of English and about 2% of Afrikaans. I was brought up like that but now in this new cosmic world we are living in I'm speaking now 95% English and 5% Afrikaans. Yes.

Interviewer: If you used more Afrikaans at an earlier stage in your life and maybe now you are not using such a lot of Afrikaans anymore. Can you recall when and why that changed?

Fam 1 Gen 1: If, if, if when we grow up Afrikaans was not a popular language here in the Eastern Cape. Like it was in the Western Cape and the little places like the small *dorpiers* and all that places, ja. P.E. was mostly English-speaking place not Afrikaans. Really. Uhm.

Interviewer: If English was your main language at school but Afrikaans was your dominant language socially or in the family, do you sometimes find there is a conflict?

Fam 1 Gen 1: Yes, I did come across that already because people's got this way that you think you are better than them by speaking English and because English-speaking people think that they are better than Afrikaans-speaking, that did come across me already. Yes, it did. There was, oh, there was a lot of conflict. And due to my English-speaking I was chosen in my recent years whilst still working to represent most of the workers and because some of them couldn't speak well English and some of them were mostly Afrikaans and Xhosa. So, I only understand a few Xhosa words. I speak broken Afrikaans not the high Afrikaans. So, that's why they chose me for years to represent them because due to my English speaking, ja no, no, no, my whole life was based on say 95% English.

Interviewer: Do you believe that children that come from homes where English is the first language have more educational and employment opportunities than those that have Afrikaans or perhaps Xhosa as their first language?

Fam 1 Gen 1: You see, the difference between English and Afrikaans – now children has learnt Afrikaans – the same as the English but the difference is now, when they

go overseas, that their English are better off the Afrikaans can't relate so well like the English you see. But you do get young people that is so bilingual in Afrikaans and English but that is a small percentage, that is a small percentage but you'll find that the English. If you go to America see what they do if you go to Europe is a national language that people will understand you because there is a different language so where does Afrikaans fit in? Nowhere, so it's only a handful but now in the modern time it's different now, because quite a number of Afrikaans speaking students can relate well to English now. Now, in the modern era, now. And that is the difference.

Interviewer: What do you understand under the term mother tongue education?

Fam1 Gen 1: No, uh, mother tongue education is *mos* now uhm uhm it it all depends on uhm the environment that you are living now because if you live in a English environment you gonna find yourself that is your mother language but if you live between Afrikaans-speaking people and you got Xhosa now, lets put it dis way, I'm a coloured, now, I speak English. You have a Xhosa guy, is much better off in Xhosa and you get a Afrikaner guy, now, we say now, the Dutchman his now better off in Afrikaans. Now you put the three together and you will find now, there's no mother tongue because you are going to try to speak to me English there's no mother tongue. I gonna try and speak Afrikaans to you – I can't relate well to you in Afrikaans – the same with the Xhosa, it is very difficult for him to relate to both languages now, Afrikaans and English, but now we go back to the students now the younger generation at this very moment – they can relate well. So, so the question you ask you are questioning me now coming from those years a parent that time my mother was English speaking and my father was Afrikaans speaking but my mother was well in English and my father was good in Afrikaans. Oh, ja, because he came from a farm, you see, and my mother was English speaking, ja, so I got both my mother tongue language.

Interviewer: Did you choose the same language for your children that you had or did you decide to enrol your children in a different school environment?

Fam 1 Gen 1: Ja, when I had my children, my children enrolled, you know that we you couldn't choose any school. The nearest school to you and most of these schools were Afrikaans and they only had one or two classes for English so the schools couldn't really cope because the government was forcing Afrikaans,

Afrikaans. But uhm this is as far I will go so, like my children their mother tongue became now Afrikaans.

Interviewer: Would you rather your child was a speaker of English or do you believe that it is valuable to be bilingual? I.e. to be equally strong in both languages?

Fam 1 Gen 1: I think it is very important for any child of a parent or to let his child be bilingual as the situation in the country at the moment – things has changed a lot in the country – you've got to be bilingual, now, any child that goes that would like to learn, learn Japanese now, is gonner help him. The prospects is so wide for for any student now like uh German, you want to learn German is a good language to be bilingual with. Like Chinese and the most important language in the world the biggest one now... the French language that's very important so those are the three languages I'm giving you, you understand? If a child want to learn Arabic, if a child want to learn Hindu, the Hindu language, he can learn it. It all depends on the child so the more language he know the better off for the better future in the world. In the world not I'm talking South Africa. So the most important to be bilingual in all languages.

Family 1 Generation 2

Interviewer: D, moet ek die vrae in Engels of in Afrikaans vra? Enige taal?... enige taal?
Ok. As jy wil iets uitbrei oor die vrae dan kan jy maar uitbrei. Jy hoef nie eenpunt antwoorde te gee nie.

Fam 1 Gen 2: Enige taal, enige taal. Uhm, uhm, maak nie saak nie.

Interviewer: Jy kan maar motiveer ook indien jy wil.

Fam 1 Gen 2: Uhm, motiveer ook?

Interviewer: D, watter taal kan jy praat lees en skryf?

Fam 1 Gen 2: Afrikaans en Engles. E..e.

Interviewer: Nou, watter van hierdie tale is jy beter in....skryf?

Fam 1 Gen 2: Afrikaans.

Interviewer:en lees?

Fam 1 Gen 2: Afrikaans.

Interviewer:en praat?

Fam 1 Gen 2: Afrikaans.

Interviewer: Watter taal is jou eerste taal?

Fam 1 Gen 2: Afrikaans.

Interviewer: Watter taal is die taal wat jy gebruik as huistaal of familietaal?

Fam 1 Gen 2: Afrikaans.

Interviewer: Watter taal is of was jou taal van leer?

Fam 1 Gen 2: Afrikaans, né, het ek nou groot geraak maar my werksomstandighede is dit net Engels.

Interviewer: Watter taal gebruik jy in jou godsdienstige gemeenskap soos byvoorbeeld in jou kerk?

Fam 1 Gen 2: Afrikaans.

Interviewer: Is Afrikaans of Engels die taal wat jy mees gemaklik voel om te praat?

Fam 1 Gen 2: Afrikaans soos ek gesê het ek het grootgeraak in die taal en ek kan dit makliker praat. Verstaan jy? Nie dat ek nie kan Engels praat nie maar as ek moet praat met mense uhm, uhm, maar met mense wat dieselfde taal soos ek praat kan ek my beter verduidelik in Afrikaans.

Interviewer: Nou, het jy byvoorbeeld toe jy jonger was dalk meer Afrikaans gepraat as nou? Indien wel, is daar 'n rede vir die verandering in taalgebruik?

Fam 1 Gen 2: uhm, uhm; ja; ja. Ja, soos ek vir jou gesê het, mos nou in die werksomstandighede het, ek kom met anders kleuriges soos Xhosas en Engelse mense wat nie Afrikaans kan praat nie maar omdat ek tweetalig op skool was praat ek beter in Engels met hulle. Uhm, ja.

Interviewer: Dink jy dat daar dalk 'n konflik kon gewees het tussen Afrikaans en Engels?

Fam 1 Gen 2: Uhm, tweede taal, ja, okei, ek sien, ek sien.

Fam 1 Gen 2: Ja, op skool net die feit dat Engelssprekendes, hoe kan ek sê? Hulle was taalbewus né, hulle het net met mekaar gekommunikeer. Hulle wou nie met ... altyd as dit Afrikaans is, is dis vernederend om Afrikaans te praat; want die rede daarvoor was die politieke situasie voor 1994.

Interviewer: Glo jy dat kinders wat van 'n huis afkom wat Engels praat as 'n eerste taal het beter opvoedkundige en werksgeleenthede as kinders wat Afrikaans en selfs Xhosa praat?

Fam 1 Gen 2: Uhm...Ja, jy ken sê ja; en jy ken sê nie. Ja, in die sin van he hu...omdat jy kan sê Engels is die taal wat almal praat Engels in Suid Afrika is 'n *national language* nie in die wêreld nie; want in die wêreld is dit Frans gaan dit mos nou wees Engels so hulle gaan meer geleenthede kry want want Afrikaans want al het hy grootgeraak met die taal al is dit sy tweede taal, gaan nie te

gemaklik voel met die taal nie. Jy gaan altyd daai kry dat jy soos vandag Pieter de Villiers ...Pieter de Villiers ...Het jy gehoor sy taalgebruik? Baie plat. Plat, en jy kan hoor hy het nie grootgeraak met Engels nie. Verstaan jy...?

Interviewer: So jy sê dat hulle meer geleentheid het as Engels?

Fam 1 Gen 2: Definitief.

Interviewer: Nou, wat verstaan jy onder...moedertaalonderrig?

Fam 1 Gen 2: Dis wanneer waarin jy grootgeraak het, wat jy opgevoed gewees het mee, jy word in daai taal want dit is gemakliker vir jou of dit nou Xhosa, Engels of Afrikaans is. Jy voel gemaklik om daarmee onderrig te word, want jy verstaan dit beter.

Interviewer: Is dit 'n goeie ding of is dit 'n slegte ding? Dan moet jy vir my redes gee waarom jy so sê.

Fam 1 Gen 2: Dis 'n goeie ding ...Hoe kan ek sê..? en dis 'n slegte ding want as jy meer tale magtig is kan jy enige *converse*...en dan die vorige vraag wat jy gevra het ne... dank an dit ter sprake dat daar is nie uhm....uhm....uhm....voorkeur word nie gegee aan 'n sekere....uhm....uhm....uhm....mense wat 'n sekere taal praat nie. Dan's daar nie 'n probleem om met ander mense te kommunikeer nie.

Interviewer: Die volgende vragie D is: het jy dieselfde taal vir jou kinders gekies wat jy gebruik het op skool?

Fam 1 Gen 2: Nee. Nee, soos ek ook geantwoord het op die twee vorige vrae dat Engels is onse *international language*, ons in Suid Afrika, en omdat dit so is, is daar meer werksgeleentheid en op die huidige oomblik is onse land...onse land is 'n 1994, ne, is dit meer Engels om te kommunikeer met die ander swart groepe en ... en ander sal ek sê...ander kulture. *Basically*....dis hoekom. Ja.

Interviewer: Sal jy jou kind grootmaak as 'n spreker van Engels of glo jy dat dit belangrik is en baie waardevol is om tweetalig te wees.

Fam 1 Gen 2: Nee, dit is definitief meer waarde daarin om meer tale te kan praat ...om meer talig te wees. Twee, drie of vier hoeveel tale jy praat soveel moontlike tale praat vir jou op hierdie huidige oomblik.

Interviewer: D, dankie vir die tyd.

Fam 1 Gen 2: Is dit maar al?

Family 1 Generation 3

Interviewer: Must I ask the questions in English or Afrikaans?

Fam 1 Gen 3: English

Interviewer: Which language can you speak, read and write?

Fam 1 Gen 3: English

Interviewer: Which of these languages are you better at in speaking?

Fam 1 Gen 3: English

Interviewer: Reading?

Fam 1 Gen 3: English

Interviewer: And....writing?

Fam 1 Gen 3: English

Interviewer: Which language do you regard as your first language?

Fam 1 Gen 3: English

Interviewer: Which language do you use as home language or family language?

Fam 1 Gen 3: Afrikaans

Interviewer: Which language is your language of learning?

Fam 1 Gen 3: English

Interviewer: Which language is used in your religious community?

Fam 1 Gen 3: Afrikaans

Interviewer: Is Afrikaans or English the language you feel most comfortable in speaking?

Fam 1 Gen 3: English, because I start speaking English I think I'm better than Afrikaans.

Interviewer: If you used more Afrikaans at an earlier stage in your life, can you recall when and why it changed?

Fam 1 Gen 3: Ja, uhm, before I went to school. Jaaa....I do see that because uhm, it wasn't so....actually....Ja, uhm, ja, at my school, it's English that side and Afrikaans the other side and I think the English people look down on the Afrikaans speaking.

Interviewer: If English is your main language at school and Afrikaans is your dominant language at home....do you find that sometimes there's a conflict between the two languages?

Fam 1 Gen 3: I think so, ja, ja, I do because everybody understands English....uhm....uhm....I think so....at my school it is English one side and Afrikaans on the other side. I think that the English people look down on the Afrikaans people.

Interviewer: Do you believe that children that come from homes where English is the first language, have better education and employment opportunities than the children that comes from a home where they speak Afrikaans? So, if you are English speaking do you think that you will get a job easier...or what do you think?

Fam 1 Gen 3: I think so, ja

Interviewer: What do you understand under mother tongue education?

Fam 1 Gen 3: Ha, ha, ha....I don't know uhm....uhm....

Interviewer: If you have children one day what language do you think you will use for your children?

Fam 1 Gen 3: Both English and Afrikaans

Interviewer: How would you raise your children one day as an English speaker or an Afrikaans speaker?

Fam 1 Gen 3: I can't say – both English and Afrikaans. Yes, yes, more than two actually.

Appendix B

Transcription of interviews with Family 2

Key:

.. indicates a short pause

.... indicates a longer pause

uhm is a filler, indicating that the informant is thinking about the answer

Family 2 Generation 1

Interviewer: Aunty P, kan ek maar die vrae in Engels of Afrikaans vra?

Fam 2 Gen 1: Uhm.....Ja, English.

Interviewer: Which languages can you speak, read and write?

Fam 2 Gen 1: I do sometimes....my home language is English. I do speak English and Afrikaans.

(Due to technical problems this question had to be repeated)

Interviewer: Which language can you speak, read and write?

Fam 2 Gen 1: English and Afrikaans, ja.

Interviewer: Which of these language are you better at in speaking?

Fam 2 Gen 1: English

Interviewer: Reading?

Fam 2 Gen 1: English

Interviewer: And ...writing?

Fam 2 Gen 1: English

Interviewer: Which language do you regard as your first language?

Fam 2 Gen 1: I regard English as my first language.

Interviewer: Which language is the language you use as home language or family language?

Fam 2 Gen 1: We actually use Afrikaans as our home language but with the grandchildren we use English.

Interviewer: Which language is your language of learning?

Fam 2 Gen 1: English

Interviewer: Which language do you use in you religious community?

Fam2 Gen 1: English

Interviewer: Is Afrikaans or English the language you feel most comfortable in speaking?

Fam 2 Gen 1: English is my language I feel very comfortable in speaking. My reason is, my father was from India and he couldn't speak Afrikaans so that was our home language. So that is why we speak English and my schooling was at the Anglican School and it was all English.

Interviewer: If you used more Afrikaans at an earlier stage in your life....?

Fam 2 Gen 1: At work, ja.

Interviewer:can you recall when and why did it change, for example in your work situation you spoke a lot of Afrikaans now can you tell me why do you think this has changed the fact that you do not speak a lot of Afrikaans anymore?

Fam 2 Gen 1: What you mean now? Ja, I had to because I worked with Dutch ladies. Afrikaans-speaking ladies. Whites.

Fam 2 Gen 1: It never changed. I spoke English to the blacks, ja. And the white Afrikaner ladies I spoke Afrikaans, Ja.

Interviewer: So, you would say the reason why this language has changed, is it because of the Black people that worked there?

Fam 2 Gen 1: Ja, the black people that worked under me, ja.

Interviewer: Do you find sometimes that there is a conflict between Afrikaans and English?

Fam 2 Gen 1: Uhm, yes, I start in Afrikaans when I speak to people who are Afrikaans but then it becomes difficult and then I switch over to English. Ja.

Interviewer: Do you believe that children that come from English homes have better educational and employment opportunities than those that have Afrikaans or perhaps Xhosa as their first language?

Fam 2 Gen 1: I think they do. The thing is this, uhm, we are so mixed these days, you know, that you can't speak Afrikaans to a black child these days because their English is so good that you got to cooperate with them, ja. Ja, ja.

Interviewer: What do you understand under the term mother tongue education?

Fam 2 Gen 1: Mother tongue?....I don't know now, how do I answer you by that now – you mean now that....uhm....in tertiary or schooling. I feel that there should be people that should give them their mother tongue in education. It could be Xhosa; it could be Zulu and any of the other black languages. I think it would be a good idea. Then our children will also, you know, gain from knowing perhaps three languages. The Coloureds and the Whites, Indians and Muslims.

Interviewer: Did you choose the same language of schooling for your children as you have had yourself, or did you decide to enrol your children in a different school environment?

Fam 2 Gen 1: Well, when they were at school we couldn't choose. It was just Afrikaans, and English was the second language. Because then it was the apartheid government that was in control and they insisted that Afrikaans should be the first language.

Interviewer: Would you rather raise your child as a speaker of English or do you believe that it is valuable to be bilingual?

Fam 2 Gen 1: Its good to be bilingual. Then you not lost when you in a company. Ja, know what this one or that one is saying in different languages.

Family 2 Generation 2

Interviewer: Which language can you speak, read and write?

Fam 2 Gen 2: I can speak, read and write both English and Afrikaans.

Interviewer: Which of these languages are you better in speaking?

Fam 2 Gen 2: Definitely English, I prefer English because its much easier.

Interviewer: Reading?

Fam 2 Gen 2: English uhm....uhm....that is my preferable language to read even because to my....to my....according to myself it also....also a very easy language.

Interviewer: And writing?

Fam 2 Gen 2: In English too although my my home language is Afrikaans I prefer to write English and that is English.

Interviewer: Which language do you regard as your first language?

Fam 2 Gen 2: My first language according to myself at school was Afrikaans because that was my mother tongue language. My mother tongue language and it was also my primary school and my secondary years, I was raised in Afrikaans.

Interviewer: Then which language is the language you use as home language or family language?

Fam 2Gen 2: The family, basically the family language is Afrikaans at home where I was raised but my home language at present is English because that's the way....that's the way....that's the language I raised my two children in.

Interviewer: Which language is your language of learning?

Fam 2 Gen 2: My language of learning definitely Afrikaans because that was the one that I was taught at school, as a first language.

Interviewer: Which language is used in your religious community?

Fam 2 Gen 2: My religious community..English because I belong since the day of birth; since childhood, I belong to the Anglican Church which I'm predominantly still in and we all know that the Anglican church is basically the English church as they used to call it.

Interviewer: Is Afrikaans or English the language you feel most comfortable speaking?

Fam 2 Gen 2: English definitely is. Especially when I grew up, it was much easier for myself. That is why I preferred then teaching my children English as a first language, because for me it was much easier and I felt a bit behind as I wasn't reared....I mean....not behind in such a way....but I found myself....found myself yearning why I did not go to school as an English student or learner because now it's much easier because my child is not raised in Afrikaans.

Interviewer: If you used more Afrikaans at an earlier stage in your life, can you recall when and why that changed?

Fam 2 Gen 2: I used the reason why I used I will call it now from Gr. 1 to Gr. 7 I was at primary school in....in a....in a....an Afrikaans community and uhm actually nobody those days had English as a first language, just a few, the minority was English. We, the majority, in our suburb was Afrikaans. It was only when I went to high school where, when I was exposed with a dual medium school that is where I picked my English up.

Interviewer: If English is your main language at school and Afrikaans is your dominant language at home do you sometimes find that there's a conflict?

Fam 2 Gen 2: Definitely....well, I would say, definitely at school....we were the Afrikaans kids and we all felt, always felt, a bit of....some way a bit inferior....*maar* there....were a lot of English teachers and we always felt that they were actually....uhm....uhm....they were....how can I say....advantaged. They got the benefit of the doubt we as Afrikaans kids were almost at the....at the....at the background....always.

Interviewer: Do you believe that children that come from homes where English is the first language have better educational and employment opportunities than those with Afrikaans or perhaps Xhosa as a home language?

Fam 2 Gen 2: Yes....definitely....to myself according to myself. And mainly....I would say mainly....I, I feel because....uhm....uhm....English is one of our....our....languages in....in....in....in....our Republic or uhm....in South Africa...I will say....I feel yes, they are better off and they are being....uhm....advantaged above our Afrikaans kids because if you....if you....get....uhm....uhm....uhm....like adverts for work they would say the two languages of choice is English and Xhosa but never ja....can never there is hardly mention a language as Afrikaans.

Interviewer: What do you understand under the term mother tongue education? Is it a good or a bad idea?

Fam 2 Gen 2: And....and..and....uhm....like if you....if you....work in....in....in.... a environment with more than two languages Afrikaans will be the language....the language that they don't respond to.

Interviewer: So....mother tongue education, do you think that it is good or bad?

Fam 2 Gen 2: To me....it....it....it....is not a good thing seeing that uhm....preferably if you mother tongue is Afrikaans like as I said how it will always be the bad choice that in....in....in....in....the society that we live in.

Interviewer: Did you choose the same language of schooling that you have had yourself or did you decide to enrol your children in a different school environment, and why did you do that?

Fam 2 Gen 2: Definitely....as I said, previously I chose English above Afrikaans because in....in....in....in the days when I was at school at....at....primary and at high school. I could see how we....we....were the inferior kids and uhm those children with the English more advantage than us that is the reason why I chose English for my children.

Interviewer: Then would you rather raise your child as a speaker of English or do you believe that it is valuable to be bilingual or more or less equal in both languages?

Fam 2 Gen 2: Yes, yes....would choose them to be bilingual because why uhm....uhm....I felt....I felt....at....at....at....in my society sometimes I..I thought though especially the day that I started my high school years where English was the main language, that is the time that is why....I will say.... definitely....uhm....uhm.... the preferred one will be English....Afrikaans but there must be a balance....I prefer that I know....me as the mother....and that

is the Afrikaans language. I prefer then to know both but they can decide if they want to speak English....that is....that is....how I feel.

Interviewer: Is there anything you would like to add?

Fam 2 Gen 2: No....no....I won't say there's something I need to add there....there....is just one thing I need to add and that is....is that uhm....according to myself.... according to myself....my own feelings....uhm....Afrikaans was almost a language that kept me behind at school....not....not....that I say it's a good always....always. Afrikaans in some things and the....and the thing....that I do not like about the Afrikaans language is the....the....difficult words that get to....the difficult ways that you spell....spelling is always a problem in some of the Afrikaans words but uhm....in English will always be my preferred language.

Family 2 Generation 3

Interviewer: Which language would you like me to ask the question in?

Fam 2 Gen 3: English

Interviewer: Which language can you speak, read and write?

Fam 2 Gen 3: Language....or languages? English, Afrikaans and German.

Interviewer: Which of these languages are you better in at speaking?

Fam 2 Gen 3: English

Interviewer: Reading?

Fam 2 Gen 3: English

Interviewer: Writing?

Fam 2 Gen 3: Uhm....English

Interviewer: Which language do you regard as your first language?

Fam 2 Gen 3: English because I was brought up in an English household.

Interviewer: Which language is the language you use as a home language or family language?

Fam 2 Gen 3: Uhm, at the moment I use English but uhm....sometimes....you know....Afrikaans too....so basically English.

Interviewer: Which language is your language of learning?

Fam 2 Gen 3: Uhm....my first language is English.

Interviewer: Which language is used in your religious community?

Fam 2 Gen 3: Uhm....English I think....

Interviewer: Is Afrikaans or English the language you feel most comfortable in speaking?

Fam 2 Gen 3: Uhm....I feel most comfortable speaking English....I speak Afrikaans....uhm....If I know someone....I feel that I can speak.... comfortable and maybe I meet someone I won't speak immediately Afrikaans.

Interviewer: So, if you have used more Afrikaans at an earlier stage in your life, can you recall when and why this changed?

Fam 2 Gen 3: No....I spoke English most of my life.

Interviewer: If English is the main language at school and Afrikaans is the dominant language socially, do you sometimes find that there is a conflict between English and Afrikaans?

Fam 2 Gen 3: Uhm....there is sometimes a conflict between English and Afrikaans because....I mean....if you're English-speaking and you don't wanna speak Afrikaans and Afrikaans-speaking people don't want to speak English because they feel that Afrikaans is their language....so then there is some conflict at times but at the moment between my social group I don't feel any conflict.

Interviewer: Do you believe that children that come from a home where English is their first language have better educational and employment opportunities than those that come from a home where Afrikaans or even Xhosa is the home language?

Fam 2 Gen 3: Uhm....uhm....I think, yes, because uhm....English is basically the international language and so uhm.... more opportunities....at university....uhm....if you Afrikaans....uhm....you first have to learn English and that is difficult so uhm....most of the stuff you have to do is in English.... reading and writing and uhm....communicate with each other so if you have English you have a better chance....but you get those who can speak both languages fluently.

Interviewer: Would you one day choose the same language for you children? And maybe give me a reason?

Fam 2 Gen 3: Like putting them in a English school? I'll put them in a English school but I would like them to be multilingual. I would like them to speak German or Italian or anything they would feel comfortable in....I think they must learn more than three or two languages.

Interviewer: How would you raise your children as speakers of English only or bilingual equally well or....what would you do?

Fam 2 Gen 3: Uhm....I would....prefer them to speak two languages fluently but at least they should have like a third or fourth language that they would enjoy speaking....ja....I think they must be multilingual.

Appendix C

Transcription of interviews with Family 3

Key:

- .. indicates a short pause
 - indicates a longer pause
 - uhm is a filler, indicating that the informant is thinking about the answer
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Family 3 Generation 1

Interviewer: In watter taal wil u he moet die vrae gevra word?

Fam 3 Gen 1: Afrikaans

Interviewer: Watter tale kan jy praat, lees en skryf?

Fam 3 Gen 1: Afrikaans / English

Interviewer: Watter van hierdie tale is jy beter in praat?

Fam 3 Gen 1: Afrikaans

Interviewer: Lees?

Fam 3 Gen 1: Ja....Afrikaans kan ek goed....daar is woorde wat ek nie verstaan nie.

Interviewer: Skryf?

Fam 3 Gen 1: Afrikaans

Interviewer: Watter taal is u eerste taal?

Fam 3 Gen 1: Afrikaans.

Interviewer: Watter taal is die taal wat jy in jou familie gebruik?

Fam 3 Gen 1: Engels op die oomblik.

Interviewer: Watter taal was jou taal van leer?

Fam 3 Gen 1: Afrikaans

Interviewer: Watter taal word in u geloofsgemeenskap gebruik?

Fam 3 Gen 1: Engels

Interviewer: Is Afrikaans of Engels die taal wat jy meer gemaklik voel om te praat.

Fam 3 Gen 1: Afrikaans, Engels is bietjie *complicated* vir my. Ek is mos nou nie gewoon Engels praat nie....Ek moet maar mooi dink.

Interviewer: As jy op een stadium meer Afrikaans gepraat het in 'n vroeer stadium wanneer en hoekom dink jy het dit verander?

Fam 3 Gen 1: Ag dis die kinders; die kleinkinders hulle is mos nou in Engelse skole en nou moet ek maar Engels praat. Maar...hulle wil nie hê ek moet Afrikaans praat met die kinders nie.

Interviewer: Dink jy dat daar dalk 'n konflik tussen Afrikaans en Engels was?

Fam 3 Gen 1: Daar is...ek meen nou...ek praat Afrikaans die kinders praat Engels dan is daar mos konflik...want die kleinkinders het almal...ek meen nou...ek praat Afrikaans, hulle praat Engels...nou moet ek aanpas by hulle...dit gaan bietjie broekskeur...ja...ja...ja...daar was sekerlik...daar was...ha...ha...maar ek meen nou met die Alzheimers...

Interviewer: Dink jy dat kinders wat van 'n huis afkom waar Engels die eerste taal is het beter geleenthede as die Afrikaans sprekendes?

Fam 3 Gen 1: Dit is so...weet jy soos ek het van die ander kinders op skool; hulle het altyd 'n stap hoër as die Afrikaanssprekendes...ek kan nie sê hoekom nie. Afrikaanssprekendes...ek kan nie die *word explain* nie...hoe kan ek nou sê...die Engelse kinders is vorentoe...vorentoe maar die Afrikaanse kinders is agtertoe...ja...selfvertroue is die woord...Afrikaans praat...ja, ja, ja.

Interviewer: Wat word bedoel met die term "moedertaalonderrig?"

Fam 3 Gen 1: Vir Afrikaans kinders maar nou is die kinders in die Engelse klasse, nou vat hulle dit so Engels dis wat leer gemakliker maak...Afrikaans...as dit vir my is dan is dit Afrikaans.

Interviewer: Is die moedertaalonderrig 'n goeie of 'n slegte ding?

Fam 3 Gen 1: Dis 'n goeie ding. Dit hang af watter...ek meen nou...dis 'n goeie ding dit hang af nou kan jy by die skool dan onderrig praat net Afrikaans...dit gaan 'n bietjie swaar so wees.

Interviewer: Het jy dieselfde taal van onderrig vir jou kinders gekies as wat jy vir jouself gekies het?

Fam 3 Gen 1: Uhm...uhm...in die ou tyd was dit Afrikaans en het dit nie gekies vir hulle nie maar al die skole is Afrikaans. Daai jare was dit nie van Engels praat nie net toe hulle nou hoërskool toe gaan.

Interviewer: Sal jy liever jou kinders grootgemaak het as sprekers van Engels of Afrikaans?

Fam 3 Gen 1: Almal praat nou Engels selfs die swart man. Hulle praat ook Engels. Albei tale...hulle moet sterk is in albei tale. Kyk nou ons praat van die swartes, hulle praat nie Afrikaans nie, met hulle moet net Engels gepraat word. So gaan dit

mos nou in die nuwe Suid Afrika. Soos nou by UPE en sulke plekke....Engels praat. Hulle moet Engels praat.

Family 3 Generation 2

Interviewer: Which languages can you speak, read and write?

Fam 3 Gen 2: Afrikaans and English

Interviewer: Which of these languages are you better in at speaking?

Fam 3 Gen 2: Afrikaans

Fam 3 Gen 2: Afrikaans, I was brought up in Afrikaans.

Interviewer: Reading?

Fam 3 Gen 2: Afrikaans

Interviewer: Writing?

Fam 3 Gen 2: Afrikaans

Fam 3 Gen 2: Afrikaans....it's now so English in South Africa we are forced to speak English now my work is English... I don't speak Afrikaans at all.

Interviewer: Which languages do you regard as your first language?

Fam 3 Gen 2: Afrikaans is my first language.

Interviewer: Which language is the language that you use at home as a family language?

Fam 3 Gen 2: Family language is 80+% English although conversations between myself and my wife....my wife and I...is Afrikaans because we both Afrikaans speakers....uhm....

Interviewer: Which language was your language of learning?

Fam 3 Gen 2: Afrikaans....ja....I do.

Fam 3 Gen 2: Afrikaans....although like I said my whole life is almost English 80%+....English....my work, home, ja....work and home is 80% English.

Interviewer: So which language is used in your religious community?

Fam 3 Gen 2: English.

Interviewer: Is Afrikaans or English the language you feel most comfortable in speaking?

Fam 3 Gen 2: Ja, both of them ja. I was brought up in Afrikaans obviously uhm....seeing that South Africa is moving towards an English – English is our second language at school you need t....actually....you....you'll....to that is if you needed to speak English it's uhm as a second language still be able to converse or to move around in English in that if I can put it that way.

Interviewer: If you used more Afrikaans at an earlier stage in your life, can you recall when and why this has changed?

Fam 3 Gen 2: Change came about, high school, 'cause Afrikaans....I did my active schooling career was up to Gr. 12 was in Afrikaans. But in high school you converse more in English. Uhm....Seeing that you meet now your peers say from different areas....from different schools; so now you....now you will obviously switch over to English at certain stages. But moving with you peer from the very same school where you were taught....will be Afrikaans. Only in English classes will you speak English....except now when you move out of the school then you meet up with different people. I would say....I would say about....I would say maybe about 1983....I matriculated in '86 so....three four years prior to my matric year....I think that it changed outside the school environment it's like meeting with....say maybe a girl....I would say maybe meeting a girl....that is more or less the reason why I changed ja, why I changed....or I met up with maybe English speaking crew....and you feel out....you know....unless you conversing in their specific language. Although they feel like they should change now and then you want to chirp in....its gonna feel....now....at that....those years yes, you feel like you out and they having an English conversation now you must say....*nee....ek weet van haai*....ja, I know about....more or less you can say peer pressure....at school level and the environment....

Interviewer: If English is your main language at school but Afrikaans is your dominant language socially do you find that there is a conflict between Afrikaans and English?

Fam 3 Gen 2: Ja, ja, yes, I would say....I have encountered that in the 80's exactly what he has said....it's more or less....you know it's....like I would say I had a English speaking girlfriend....okay she seemed....her circles were English so uhm....my circles were Afrikaans....but when I had to enter that specific circles then I had to change so always would be a pressure always be....the conflict always arouse....ja....I definitely there was distinctive conflict....exactly as he said....English-speaking people....oh, they nasty....they....you always want to swing something because of the language....and they always did exactly the same thing....because of our

language, because of the language....they first put the language first the language in front....maybe it's a coloured thing I don't know.

Interviewer: Do you believe that children who come from a home where English is the first language at home have better educational and employment opportunities than those with a Afrikaans or Xhosa speaking home language?

Fam 3 Gen 2: Most definitely....I wouldn't know about Xhosa but in my time....wait being in high school ...most definitely it will be the English people....they had more opportunities....because any shop you enter, wherever you shop....wherever you look for employment, they.... they always queries in English....whether you want to enquire about something....they start off in English. Although you know that the person on the other side of the counter is actually can't speak English....first question...."Can I help you?". "*Wat moet ek nou sê?*" I know definitely it is rude not to convert in the same language unless they can tell you that they are not comfortable in that specific language. But I feel that is wrong and it is actually rude.

Interviewer: So you feel that those people coming from an English-speaking background they will have more opportunities?

Fam 3 Gen 2: Precisely.... in my time in the 80's that was most definitely the case.

Interviewer: What do you understand under the term mother tongue education?

Fam 3 Gen 2: The way you were brought up that specific language that were brought up and you went to school the very first....the first grade....and then you were taught in that specific....uhm....language....you get your education in....that language.

Interviewer: Is it a good thing or a bad thing?

Fam 3 Gen 2: Good thing....cause obviously....uhm....uhm....you can understand wherever they tried to tell you better although they shouldn't neglect the other languages they should actually see where we are now....your country....can help you maybe with the other languages....but shouldn't neglect your mother tongue....I up to today will not neglect my Afrikaans.

Interviewer: Did you choose the same language for schooling for your children as you had yourself?

Fam 3 Gen 2: No....I....I....I....I....I....I....haven't I have certain factors because of certain factors.

Interviewer: Did you enrol your children in a different school?

Fam3 Gen2: I haven't enrolled them in a different environment....school environment....I just thought when my son went to high school I never knew that the school where I was taught have English....you understand....but thought maybe Bethelsdorp was the only closest school....was the only English school....you understand....but he and his sister was brought up in English....they had more chances in my time and they could speak and not stutter because that was our problem the whole years....and one day you go for for a job interview an they start English and then? How you gonna answer now? Maybe they ask something that wasn't in your mind....but it came across....differently across that interview nowadays....instead of saying this thing you saying something else....you mean this but they see it as a fool....a fool in the wrong....

Interviewer: Would you rather raise you child as a speaker of English or do you believe that it is valuable to be bilingual?

Fam 3 Gen 2: Uhm....it is completely valuable now in S. A....trilingual....we should actually be trilingual....to start....to be given a fair chance in South Africa today....Xhosa, English, Afrikaans....although I see now that there's a tendency that Afrikaans is taking a backseat....I don't know why....or could they connect Afrikaans to the *boer* the white people that is a Dutch origin or....or....they see that people that oppressed them or that's why Afrikaans is taking a backseat. I don't feel this should be the case....Trilingual....like now in South Africa....trilingual although you should be taught in the language that you were brought up just to give you a fair chance to....to....not to have an effect on handicapped when you were taught at the school on university for that matter if you speak in a language that you know you would understand....you can take it as an option....or optional but would say three languages....South Africa now....three languages.

Family 3 Generation 3

Interviewer: Would you like me to ask the questions in English or Afrikaans?

Fam 3 Gen 3: English

Interviewer: Which languages can you speak, read and write?

Fam 3 Gen 3: English and Afrikaans

Interviewer: Which of these languages are you better in at speaking?

Fam 3 Gen 3: English

Interviewer: Reading?

Fam3 Gen3: English

Interviewer: Writing?

Fam 3 Gen 3: English

Interviewer: Which language do you regard as your first language?

Fam 3 Gen 3: English

Interviewer: Which language do you use as a home language/ family language?

Fam 3 Gen 3: English

Interviewer: Which language is your language of learning?

Fam 3 Gen 3: English

Interviewer: Which language is used in your religious community?

Fam 3 Gen 3: English

Interviewer: Is Afrikaans or English the language you feel most comfortable in speaking?

Fam 3 Gen 3: English, I can't speak Afrikaans so fluently.

Interviewer: If you used more Afrikaans at an earlier stage in your life....why did it change?

Fam 3 Gen 3: Ja....uhm....not more....no....I used English more that time also it's just that....some of my friends are Afrikaans.

Interviewer: If English is your main language at school but Afrikaans is your dominant language socially, do you find that there is a conflict between English and Afrikaans?

Fam 3 Gen 3: Say now you don't wanna do this....English is like so and so....so....so....so...

Interviewer: Do you believe that children that come from homes where English is the first language have better educational or employment opportunities that those who have Xhosa or Afrikaans as their first language?

Fam 3 Gen 3: No....because you would like....in schools you can maybe say that Xhosa people are more brighter than English and Afrikaans people....or Afrikaans maybe....somewhere....some are maybe more brighter than English people.

Fam 3 Gen 3: Yes

Interviewer: What do you understand by mother tongue education?

Fam 3 Gen 3: Education that is given to you in your mother tongue in your own language....in your home language.

Interviewer: Is it a good or a bad thing?

Fam 3 Gen 3: It depends...I mean it can be a bad thing. You must be able to like speak like maybe Afrikaans and Xhosa but then again it's a good thing.

Interviewer: If you have children one day would you use the same language that you are educated in?

Fam 3 Gen 3: English, I'm comfortable in speaking English.

Interviewer: Would you rather raise your child as a speaker of English or do you believe that it is valuable to be bilingual more or less equally strong in both languages.

Fam 3 Gen 3: Uhm...more or less equally strong. I would use English but like me now you meet now Afrikaans people you talk Afrikaans