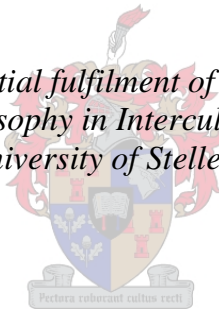# Investigating language shift in two semi-urban Western Cape communities

by
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Thesis presented in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree Master of Philosophy in Intercultural Communication at the University of Stellenbosch

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Declaration

By submitting this thesis electronically, I declare that the entirety of the work contained therein is my own, original work, that I am the owner of the copyright thereof (unless to the extent explicitly otherwise stated) and that I have not previously, in its entirety or in part, submitted it for obtaining any qualification.

Alfred Mautsane Thutloa

December 2010

Acknowledgements

I would like to express my gratitude towards Dr Kate Huddlestone, my supervisor, whose guidance and insight steered this thesis into the precise direction it was intended. My approach to intricate subject matter has grown from this experience and I thank her for it.

I would also like to thank my late mother, Rosinah Thutloa, who inspired me to rise above my background. As a tribute, here is the last verse from *Invictus* by William Ernest Henley:

> It matters not how strait the gate,
>
> How charged with punishments the scroll.
>
> I am the master of my fate:
>
> I am the captain of my soul.

I would also like to thank the Department of General Linguistics at Stellenbosch University, Christine Smit, for her support and overall coordination, Anneke Perold for her support with translations and questionnaires, and my former work colleagues in Cape Town, Liesl Muller and Erika Frouws. I appreciate the zeal you both showed towards my research topic.

Finally, Charles Bloem, for the positive remarks you had about my first draft and for your friendship.

Summary

This thesis is concerned with the phenomenon of language shift. Reports on language shift in South Africa have generally focused on the marginalisation of indigenous languages, in favour of English. There is evidence, that language shift from Afrikaans to English is taking place in certain communities. Anthonissen (2009), for example, reports on a language shift of marked proportion occurring from Afrikaans to English among Coloured communities in the Cape Metropolitan area. According to Statistics South Africa, the number of people that speak Afrikaans at home has declined from 14.4% to 13.3% between 1996 and 2001 (Census 2001). Against this backdrop, this thesis explores the phenomenon of language shift in two semi-urban Western Cape Coloured communities, examining what patterns of language shift can be observed, and to what sociolinguistic aspects (i.e. age, socio-economic status, and language attitudes) these patterns of language shift can be ascribed.

The data that informs this study was collected through the administration of a questionnaire to 50 households (25 in each of the communities targeted by the study). The questionnaire was completed by (at least) one participant in each household, a grandparent (65+), parent (35+), or child or adult dependant (15-25+). This allowed the researcher to investigate whether there is indeed language shift underway in the two communities, and to evaluate the extent of such language shift across three generations.

From the data collected, the main findings of the study are that there is no evidence of language shift from Afrikaans to English in the two semi-urban Western Cape Coloured communities. Afrikaans is used across a number of domains, and almost exclusively in the intimate domains, with English use increasing in the workplace and to a lesser extent in the church. The two semi-urban communities appear resilient against the pull of the English language despite factors such as upward social mobility, and work opportunities offered by the lingua franca.

Opsomming

Hierdie tesis handel oor die verskynsel van taalverskuiwing. Verslae oor taalverskuiwing in Suid-Afrika het tot dusver grotendeels gefokus op die marginalisering van inheemse tale ten gunste van Engels. Daar is bewyse dat 'n verskuiwing van Afrikaans na Engels tans in sekere gemeenskappe plaasvind. Anthonissen (2009) doen byvoorbeeld verslag oor grootskaalse taalverskuiwing van Afrikaans na Engels in Bruin gemeenskappe in die Kaapse Metropool-area. Volgens Statistiek Suid-Afrika het die aantal mense wat Afrikaans as huistaal besig van 14.4% tot 13.3% afgeneem tussen 1996 en 2001 (Sensus 2001). Met bogenoemde situasie as agtergrond, ondersoek hierdie tesis die verskynsel van taalverskuiwing in twee halfstedelike Wes-Kaapse bruin gemeenskappe. Dit doen ondersoek na watter taalverskuiwingspatrone waarneembaar is en aan watter sosiolinguistiese aspekte (d.i. ouderdom, sosio-ekonomiese status en taalhoudinge) hierdie patrone toegeskryf kan word.

Die data waarop hierdie studie steun, is verkry aan die hand van 'n vraelys aan 50 huishoudings (25 in elk van die twee betrokke gemeenskappe). Die vraelys is deur (minstens) een deelnemer in elke huishouding voltooi — 'n grootouer (65+), ouer (35+) of kind of volwasse afhanklike (15-25+). Dít het die navorser in staat gestel om na te gaan of taalverskuiwing wel besig is om in die betrokke gemeenskappe plaas te vind, en om die omvang van hierdie verskuiwing oor drie generasies heen te evalueer.

Op grond van die ingesamelde data was een van die hoofbevindinge van die studie dat daar geen bewyse is van taalverskuiwing van Afrikaans na Engels in die betrokke twee gemeenskappe nie. Nie net word Afrikaans oor verskeie domeine heen gebruik nie; dit word byna eksklusief binne die intieme domeine gebruik. Die gebruik van Engels neem wel toe in die werkplek en, in 'n mindere mate, in die kerk. Die betrokke twee gemeenskappe blyk bestand te wees teen die druk van Engels, ten spyte van faktore soos opwaartse sosiale mobiliteit en werksgeleenthede wat die lingua franca bied.

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Figures and Tables

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1   Background

The focus of this thesis is on the phenomenon of language shift, which has been observed in a number of contexts where language contact is prevalent. It has also been defined in a number of different ways. According to Fishman (1964: 32) "the study of language maintenance and language shift is concerned with the relationship between change or stability in habitual language use, on the one hand, and ongoing psychosocial, social or cultural processes on the other hand, when populations differing in language are in contact with each other." Language shift can be defined as "the replacement of one language by another as the primary means of communication and socialisation within a community" (Mesthrie et al 2000: 253). Kamwangamalu (2007) finds that language shift can be linked to personal aspirations for upward social mobility and economic rewards.

Against this backdrop, the thesis examines language shift in two specific historically Afrikaans Western Cape Coloured[1] communities that fall outside of the Cape Metropolitan area. The thesis

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[1] Adhikari (2005: 2) points out that in South Africa, "contrary to international usage, the term "Coloured" does not refer to black people in general". Rather, the term is used as a label for a varied social group with diverse cultural and geographic origins. According to Hendricks (2005), "Coloureds are often identified as South Africans who are of mixed race; [they] are descendants of the sexual liaisons between colonialists, slaves and the indigenous Khoisan". This is not a particularly accurate definition, as many slaves of Malaysian descent, particularly a part of the Muslim community, are descendants of slaves, but actually not of 'mixed race' in the sense given by Hendricks.

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interrogates a recorded phenomenon of language shift from Afrikaans to English in urban, middle class Coloured communities situated in the larger Cape Metropolitan area with a view to establishing how far such shift can be generalised.

Reports on the phenomenon of language shift in South Africa have generally focused on the marginalisation of indigenous African languages, in favour of English (De Klerk 2000, Kamwangamalu 2003). There is evidence, however, that a shift from Afrikaans to English is also taking place in certain communities. Specifically, the phenomenon of language shift from Afrikaans to English in certain Western Cape communities has formed the focus of a number of studies, namely Anthonissen (2009), Anthonissen and George (2003), Anthonie (2009), Farmer (2008), and Dyers (2007, 2008). These studies provide valuable insight into perceived language shift, and to a lesser degree, code-switching[2], in various, predominantly Afrikaans L1, Coloured communities in the Western Cape. The present study aims to contribute to the established literature by providing further data on and insight into, the phenomenon of language shift from Afrikaans to English in the Western Cape, as well as to contribute to the scholarly reflection on concepts and processes involved in language shift.

Furthermore, the term "Coloureds" is tainted in that, due to its former use in racial classification, it has negative connotations so that many object to its use. The term is still used for lack of any more acceptable alternatives, and, following Adhikari (2005), is spelled with a capital "C".

[2] Code-switching refers to "the use of two or more linguistic varieties in the same conversation or interaction" (Myers-Scotton and Ury 1977).

1.2   Research question

The research question for this study is twofold:

i.   What are the patterns of language shift in the two semi-urban Western Cape communities?

ii. Which sociolinguistic factors - specifically age, socio-economic status, and language attitudes - appear to encourage or discourage language shift in the two Western Cape communities?

1.3   Research approach

In order to answer the research questions, a questionnaire was administered to 50 households, 25 in each of the semi-urban communities chosen for the study. The questionnaire was completed by the researcher for (at most) one adult participant in each household, a grandparent (65+), parent (35+), and child or adult dependant (15-25+). This allowed the researcher to investigate whether there is indeed language shift occurring in the two communities, and to evaluate the extent of such language shift across three generations. The questionnaire aimed to elicit data on sociolinguistic aspects, such as age, and socio-economic status, as well as the identities and values encoded in the two languages under consideration that may or may not influence language shift in these communities.

1.4   Context and the components of context

In this section I provide a discussion of the context of the study and the relevant components of this context. Firstly I provide a description of the two communities in which the study was undertaken. This is followed by a description of the sociolinguistic variables, such as age, language of schooling, gender, socio-economic status and language attitudes that make up the context.

According to Pistorius and Todeschini (2004: 67), community 1 gained protection as a heritage site in 1976. The area is further described by Pistorius and Todeschini (2004: 68) in the following words: "[This place] is an exemplar of the patterns and processes of colonial adaptation and development that have formed the Cape Winelands landscape that we know today." Whereas community 1 was established as a settlement for Coloureds in 1901, community 2 was specifically laid out, by the apartheid government, to become a Coloured area in the 1970s (Brink 2006: 23). According to Deumert (2005: 130), Coloured ethnicity is "extremely heterogeneous, including not only the descendants of the ethnically diverse slave population, but also the indigenous Khoe as well as everyone who could not be classified unambiguously as being either black (African) or white". Dyers (2004: 24) further points out that Coloured people "have adopted a largely Westernised lifestyle, and have maintained few, if any, of the cultural practices of the past."

According to the socio-economic profile put forward by the City of Cape Town (2006), the Western Cape has 3,368,892 million people living in the province. The Provincial Decision-

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Making Enabling (PROVIDE) Project (2005) calculated the Western Cape population as about 10.1% of the South African population. Second to the Gauteng province, the Western Cape is the richest province, with the city of Cape Town contributing approximately 76.5% of the province's Gross Domestic Product (City of Cape Town: 2006). However, PROVIDE Project (2005) mentions that this relative economic status is diluted by high poverty, huge disparities in income between different population subgroups and a high unemployment rate of 18.6% (City of Cape Town: 2006).

These indicators are relevant, as the study investigated language shift among communities that can be categorised as follows: community 1 consists of mainly working class, reasonably educated individuals whereas community 2 consists of working class individuals with limited education, the highest qualification being Grade 11. It is also important to have a regional perspective that maps demographics and socio-economic factors, which will assist in understanding the sociolinguistic aspects especially applicable to the two semi-urban communities.

The PROVIDE Project gives indicators of spatial composition of households, which show that 53.9% (most households) are home to Coloured residents. This is particularly relevant for the study, as the two semi-urban communities under observation are inhabited by individuals classified as Coloured. Based on the researcher's experience of living in one of the semi-urban communities, the communities could be largely categorised as predominantly working class, with notable levels of unemployment, and casual employment. Therefore, the two semi-urban

communities could be a macrocosm of the challenges of unemployment and poverty highlighted by the City of Cape Town (2006) and PROVIDE Project (2005).

The Stellenbosch Transformation Research Project (2003: 21- 22) explains that community 1 occupies a smaller geographical area and has a higher density of inhabitants (9,460 residents) in contrast to community 2 (6,249 residents). From a geographic perspective (in terms of scale), community 2 seems larger, but it is actually a smaller area as other smaller communities are integrated into this area.

The variable of age is probably one of the broadest to explain as there are various meanings, categories and connotations attached to it. The project works with three categories, i.e. across three generations. The age categories for this project were: grandparents (60+), parents aged 35+, and children aged between 15 and 25+.

Another variable relevant to this study is language of schooling, which has been shown to have an impact on the process of language shift from Afrikaans to English (Anthonissen 2009). This factor will form part of a discussion of the data collected (in Chapter 4), to evaluate the effect of this factor on the process of language shift in the two communities.

Regarding the variable of gender, Bradley (2007) splits the use of the term "gender" into two, with one use being the synonym for sex, i.e. male or female. Bradley (2007) also sees gender from a political perspective. The second part of Bradley's definition relates to the role of women, how gender has had to be redefined in light of the women's movement, and how such a

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perspective on gender influences how gender is currently defined. For the purpose of this study, the first definition was employed to classify the participants as either male or female. While studies such as those of Anthonissen and George (2003) and Anthonissen (2009) were restricted to female participants for practical reasons (although male family members did contribute to the interviews), the present study did not restrict itself in this way.

According to the Stellenbosch Transformation Research Project (2003:12), the average age in both community 1 and community 2 is between 30 and 39 years old. The median age of the participants in the study was 42; the youngest participant was 15 and the oldest 88. Gender as an indicator in the study was not the focus area, however, it should be mentioned that 74% of the participants were female and 26% male. The provincial statistics for gender in the Western Cape are represented as follows: 47.6% male and 52.4% female (Stellenbosch Transformation Research Project 2003: 54).

In the present study socio-economic status was determined on the basis of two variables – average income and unemployment rate. The information used to determine socio-economic status for the whole area was taken from the Stellenbosch Transformation Research Project (2003). There were no direct questions related to socio-economic status in the questionnaire, for reasons related to ethical clearance considerations[3]. This meant that the socio-economic status of the participants could only be limitedly corroborated by the questionnaire. Instead the researcher

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[3] See Chapter 4 for further explanation of these reasons.

made use of other, less quantifiable, indicators, such as the observation of how many additional dwellings were present on a single plot.

With regard to socio-economic status, the Stellenbosch Transformation Research Project (2003) provides information on the average income per household per year, as well as unemployment levels. Community 1 households' income band is between R60,438.36 and R156, 446.81 per annum. Even though households in community 2 largely fall in the same income band as households in community 1, there are a small number of households that earn a higher income of between R156, 446.82 and R223, 616.50 per annum. Looking at community 2 as a whole, it is a less affluent area, but there are households that can be classified as more affluent. For the interest of this study, most of the 25 households observed in community 2 were of lower income, illustrated also in that some of the households had two to three other dwellings, including Wendy houses (pre-fabricated timber sheds), on one plot.

It is further indicated in the Stellenbosch Transformation Research Project (2003) that both community 1 and community 2 have an average unemployment rate of 4.18% to 8.56%. In the study, the average number of people who were unemployed was indicated as 25%, among the 25 households in community 1 and 37% among the 25 households in community 2. There is a notable difference of statistics of unemployment from the Stellenbosch Transformation Research Project (2003) and those collected by the researcher. This is due to the fact that the Stellenbosch Transformation Research Project looked at the entire Stellenbosch area, while the researcher focused on two specific communities. Another reason for this large contrast has to do with scope, the researcher observed only 25 households in each of the two communities.

The socio-economic status of the two communities is relevant to this study, as it is a factor that can influence the process of language shift. Kamwangamalu (2007) has highlighted socio-economic status as one of the factors that contributes towards language shift (from indigenous languages to English) among the urban black elite. Taking into account that the two communities are not affluent areas, it would be valid to study if the participants would attach the same meanings and value to English, as the language of socio-economic status (better employment) and economic rewards.

Demarest, Reisner, Anderson, Humphrey, Farquhar, and Stein (1993) categorisation of socio-economic status, is made on the basis of: income, education, the number of parents living in a household, and the family's social status in the community. It is worth noting that the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) of South Africa established a Summary Matrix for a broad-level overview of the socio-economic clusters of South Africa.[4] The HSRC categorises socio-economic status on the basis of: income, education, unemployment, the number of men or women per household, the nature of the household, and the number of people in each household. According to this Matrix presented by the University of Cape Town Unilever Institute Of Strategic Marketing, there are seven homogeneous groups that fall under two clusters, Group A and Group B. These groups are outlined in Table 1.1 below.

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[4] www.samm.co.za/hsrc_summary.asp [accessed 02 February 2010]

Cluster	Subcluster	HSRC Segment
Cluster A Predominantly high density population composed of non white households, of mainly 4 to 6 people. Most individuals with low to medium education level, as well as low to medium income per capita.	A1: Bare Basics Young Africans or Coloureds with quite low education, low income, high unemployment, and a high proportion of females. High density rural areas, with many traditional dwellings. On average households composed of 6 persons.	Mpumalanga (n=57 774)
		Eastern Nkosi (n=297 671)
		Ugogo (n=244 737)
		Farmlands (n=801 066)
		Merino (n=602 171)
	A2: Rainbow Basics Young Africans, Coloureds or Asians, most with medium education, average income per capita, high proportion of people not working, and a high incidence of females. Predominantly households of 4 people living in half paid or rented western houses, located in urban areas.	African Ngani (n=378 428)
		Mjondolas (n=816 226)
		Periphery (n=196 609)
		South Western (n=212 724)
		Rainbow Crescent (n=610 838)
		Eastern Mosaic (n=416 136)
	A3: Amadoda Young to middle-age Africans with medium education, low to medium income per capita, low unemployment, and a high proportion of males. Households of mainly 6 people located in urban areas.	Miners Glory (n=157 129)
		Yokels (n=788 587)

Cluster	Subcluster	HSRC Segment
Cluster B High incidence of white individuals living predominantly in households of 1 to 4 persons. Most individuals with medium to high income as well as medium to high education level.	B1: Got It Good Medium to high household income, people living in hostel or flats type dwelling situated in urban areas. Small households of 1-3 persons. Mainly young, English speaking individuals with medium to high education, and low unemployment level.	Golden Ages (n=484 872) Skyscrapers (n=203 265)
	B2: Lekker Lywe Young Afrikaans speaking individuals, many with medium education level, and quite high income. On average small households composed of 1 to 2 people.	Hostelry (n=172 144) Holdings (n=878 093)
	B3: Sorted Suburbia Households of mainly 3 to 4 people living in half or fully paid western houses, located in urban areas. Mainly middle-age English or Afrikaans speaking individuals with high education, low unemployment, and high average household income.	Jongens (n=357 152) Highbrow (n=793 310)
Cluster C Industrial - commercial - conservation grounds, parklands and open spaces.	No-Mans-Land	No-Persons-Land (N=515 770)

Table 1: HSRC household summary matrix

Group A is made up of three subgroups, the *Bare Basics*, the *Rainbow Basics* and the *Amadoda*.

These subgroups are mainly found in localities with dense populations, with predominantly non-

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White households of about four to six people. The members of the household are characterised by low to medium education levels and a low to medium household income. In this study, community 1 and community 2 would fall into this category as the mean number of people per household were four to five people, respectively; and generally participants (77%) had high school education, with 9% of participants with some form of tertiary education (diploma, certificate, level 4 ABET); and 7% with a university undergraduate or postgraduate qualification (honours). The income bands that households in both communities fall under (described above) could be classified as low to middle income households. Group B also consists of three quasi-groups, the *Got It Good*, the *Lekker Lywe* and the *Sorted Suburbia*. The three segments are characterised by a high prevalence of white individuals with medium to high levels of education, including a medium to high household income.

The HSRC matrix is significant for this study as it offers a framework in which to understand the socio-economic status of the two communities. This Matrix is based on quantifiable models of socio-economic standing developed by looking at the variables of: education, income, unemployment, and density per household. These variables offer reliable insight into the socio-economic status of a number of communities. For this study, the HSRC matrix supplements the data provided by the Stellenbosch Transformation Research Project (2003). However, the HSRC matrix goes further and helps this study by confirming some of the general trends associated with the two communities, such as a high female population, a high density of people per household (particularly in community 2), low to medium income per capita, and low to medium level of education.

According to the HSRC matrix, the communities – community 1 and community 2 - would fall into Group A, into two (Bare Basics and Rainbow Basics) of the three subgroups. The first group is characterised by young Africans or Coloureds with low income, low levels of education, high unemployment, and a predominantly female population. The second group is linked to young Africans, Coloureds or Asians, with medium levels of education, standard (average) levels of income, high unemployment. This correlates with the results of the data collection (reported on in Chapter 4) which show that both communities are occupied by mainly Coloureds with low or medium levels of education and with standard levels of income and a predominantly female population. Thus, there is no significant difference in socio-economic status between community 1 and community 2.

For this study, the research instrument did not solicit information that would provide direct information to evaluate the socio-economic status of the participants. Socio-economic status was characterised through the researcher's personal observations of the households, and the data collected from the questionnaire with regard to the number of people in the household that are employed or unemployed, the participants' level of education, and the Stellenbosch Transformation Research Project (2003) socio-economic indicators provided above on employment and average household income bands of community 1 and community 2.

Language attitudes are another relevant theoretical unit for this study. Language attitudes are defined as the "attitudes that speakers of different languages or varieties of a language have towards each others' languages or their own" (Richards and Schmidt 2002: 286). Mugaddam (2006) in a study of language attitudes and language shift among ethnic migrants in Khartoum,

suggests that language attitudes are significant to the study of language shift as: "language constitutes an integral part of society and individuals' identity, people's attitudes towards it must have strong effects on its status within a given community." Wei (2000: 14) points out that attitudes are more positive towards languages which are internationally and economically common and that "lower place is given in the status ranking to minority languages, which are small, regional and of less perceived value in the international marketplace". Taking the above into consideration, this study shows that although English could be regarded as having more status and economic value in the international scene, in certain communities, including the communities under observation, the Afrikaans language, without any international recognition as a language of business or trade, can still form an important part of indexing individual identity among people living in these communities. Language attitudes are further explained and assessed in Chapter 4 to see what value the participants attach to Afrikaans across a number of domains (at home, in the community, in church, and the workplace).

1.5   Thesis outline

The thesis is organised as follows: Chapter 2 provides an examination of the main literature concerned with the study of language shift and code-switching. First, some background into the history of English and Afrikaans in South Africa will be provided. This will be followed by a description of language shift in general including a discussion of language shift among Mennonite immigrants in Germany as a case study. Finally, a discussion of language shift in South Africa, and in the Western Cape is presented.

Chapter 3 explains on the research instrument, an English/Afrikaans questionnaire, and its validity as a research instrument in informing the results of data collected in the two communities. Chapter 4 presents the data collected and provides an analysis of the data, ascertaining whether there are patterns of language shift and to which sociolinguistic factors these patterns can be ascribed, if in fact there is a shift at all. Most importantly, this chapter's objective is to answer the research questions given in section 1.2. Finally, Chapter 5 provides a brief summary of the study, highlighting the most pertinent findings and identifying the limitations of this research, and aspects which require further analysis and/or investigation.

Chapter 2: Literature review

2.1 Overview

The literature review section provides background on literature relating to English and Afrikaans in South Africa, language shift and code-switching. It discusses previous studies that assist in contextualising and supporting the present study. The body of literature consulted for this thesis indicate that the study of language shift in South Africa has generally focused on the marginalisation of indigenous languages (Bekker 2005, De Klerk 2006, Kamwangamalu 2007, 2008). However, recent studies by Anthonissen & George (2003), Anthonissen (2009) and Anthonie (2009), have concentrated on language shift from Afrikaans to English among predominantly Afrikaans L1 communities in the Western Cape. These studies are specifically concerned with language shift from Afrikaans to English in Western Cape communities. Language shift from Afrikaans to English has also been studied among learners in the Western Cape (Dyers 2007, Farmer 2008).

While language shift from Afrikaans to English is clearly occurring in some urban areas of the Western Cape, as shown by Anthonissen & George (2003), Anthonissen (2009) and Farmer (2008), research by Anthonie (2009) in the rural community of Hooyvlakte, in Beaufort West, indicates that the community has become more bilingual (English and Afrikaans) and has not undergone complete language shift to English. In the study by Anthonie (2009), 93% of the participants identified Afrikaans as their home language. Anthonie (2009) provides a case study

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that can contribute to determining what factors favour Afrikaans-English bilingualism and as such mitigate against language shift.

To provide an exposition of literature relevant to this study and demonstrate the relevance of the selected literature, this chapter will be structured as follows: firstly, a historical overview of language development in South Africa involving Dutch, and Afrikaans and English, which will be given (in section 2.2.). To put the study into context, section 2.3 will provide an exposition of language shift in general, while section 2.4 gives a report of studies on language shift in South Africa and section 2.5 reports on language shift in the Western Cape. Finally, section 2.6 provides a concluding summary of the literature review.

2.2   Language in South Africa: A history of English and Afrikaans

Perhaps the most appropriate introduction to explain the history of English and Afrikaans in South Africa is provided by the following two quotations:

> English has taken different social roles throughout South Africa's turbulent history and has presented many faces – as a language of oppression, a language of opportunity, a language of separation or exclusivity, and also as a language of unification. From any chosen theoretical perspective, the presence of English has always been a point of contention in South Africa, a combination of both threat and promise.
>
> (Da Silva 2008:1)

Afrikaans and the Afrikaner policy of apartheid and the Afrikaner-controlled state had become locked in a tight and suffocating embrace. Afrikaans had become the language of the oppressor – the medium used when white policemen arrested black pass offenders or when white civil servants ordered blacks or Coloured people out of their houses in racially mixed slum areas.

(Giliomee 2003: 16)

Using the above quotations as a basis, the following paragraphs provide a history of English to show in what sense the language was considered a threat and how English became exonerated of its imperialist attachments to the British Empire in South Africa. This will be complemented by background information on the Afrikaans language and its role in South African history beginning as a dialect of Dutch and developing into the 'language of the oppressor'.

According to Kamwangamalu (2003: 78), the trajectory of English in South Africa can be plotted in relation to the following periods: Dutchification (1652-1795), and Anglicization (1795-1948). The first period (Dutchification) started when explorer Jan Van Riebeeck encountered the indigenous tribes scattered across the Cape region in 1652. This was the watershed moment in the history of South Africa. The nomadic tribes the Khoikhoi (also written as KhoeKhoe) and San (Khoisan) came into contact with Europeans, when an outpost was established on route to the East by the Dutch East India Company (VOC). The period of Anglicization began when British forces occupied the Cape in 1795 (Lass 1995: 92). This period was also characterised by English missionaries attempting to educate and civilise the indigenous people through

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missionary education based on Christianity and by the immigration of different English speaking settlers to South Africa.

In 1820, a settler English was introduced to the area now called Eastern Cape. This area became home to more than 4000 British immigrants. By 1822, English was the official language of the Cape Colony (Gough 1996). Later on, more British settlers introduced English to the Natal coast (currently known as Durban) between 1849 and 1851. The British immigrants from either the north or south of England were from different social classes and this resulted in the emergence of different dialects. According to Gough (1996), "[t]he variety of English which developed in Natal emerged as the basis of a local norm for the aspiring middle class, while Eastern Cape English assumed a low status, and became associated with working class speech". With the establishment of the Union of South Africa in 1910 that united the previous Boer republics of Transvaal and the Orange Free State with the Cape and Natal outposts, English (along with Afrikaans which replaced Dutch in 1925) became the official language.

Roberge (2003: 15) points out that Afrikaans is a language "that formed under socio-historical conditions that are characteristic of the history of creole languages generally." So although, Afrikaans is regarded as a dialect[5] of Dutch, it can be argued that it was the influence of the

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[5] According to Wardhaugh (2006) "a dialect is a subordinate variety of a language," it has less 'power' than a language and can exist as a creolised or pidgin variation of the language, and these variants are usually applied by non-native speakers or speakers with less competence in the standardised form of a language that they choose to develop a common contact language.

KhoeKhoe and other language groups that eventually led to the development of the language (Den Besten 1986: 186).

Roberge (1995: 68) argues that there were three groups that led to the creation of Afrikaans – European settlers (from 1652), the indigenous KhoeKhoe, and the slaves originating from Africa and Asia (from 1658). Roberge also explains that these groups were relatively distinct during the first few decades of the Cape colony. They were different in terms of their physical appearance, cultures, religion, and language. With the end of the era of the Dutch East India Company (VOC) in 1795, these differences became eroded with time. The KhoeKhoe were exposed to a European style society with their assimilation into this society as wage labourers, the introduction of slaves and free blacks to the ideologies of Christianity or Islam, and sexual liaisons as well as intermarriage between these groups blurred the lines of their former distinctness. Roberge explains that these groups began to share a common vernacular language, which was localised to southern Africa. Even so, Roberge states that the exact origin of this language, which was later termed Afrikaans, has been the subject of debate for more than a century. These origins also account for the fact that while Afrikaans is generally regarded as the language of a white minority group, the language is also the home language of the Coloured population, albeit a non-standard variety of Afrikaans, known as *Kaapse* Afrikaans, which is spoken largely in areas of the Western Cape (see section 2.5).

The development of Afrikaans can also be characterised by a growth in Afrikaner nationalism, in particular after the South African war when a sense of solidarity emerged among Afrikaans-speaking communities. Giliomee (2003: 6) supports this statement by saying that the South

African war (1899-1902) contributed to the rise of Afrikanerdom and Afrikaans. However, Moodie (1980: 39) argues that Afrikaner nationalism alone was not enough to emphasise pan-Afrikaner unity. Moodie states that the Afrikaans community needed more than republicanism to gain a majority in the new Union established in 1910. Therefore, the one unifying factor became the Afrikaans language.

The war left many Afrikaners destitute and as a result there was increased migration of rural Afrikaners to the cities. Moodie (1980: 41) mentions that this urbanisation of rural Afrikaners created fear among leaders of Afrikaans-speaking communities, that with urbanisation the use of English would be more widespread. As a result a movement concerned with the recognition of Afrikaans was created. From the beginning this movement was linked to Afrikaner nationalism, while the ideals behind the recognition of Afrikaans were based on liberty and freedom of expression. This is explained by the following words:

> This language nationalism was liberal, emphasizing the importance of national ideals in the moral development of the individual and stressing the individual's right to speak his own language and cherish his own cultural traditions.

Moodie (1980: 48)

Afrikaans became the language used in education and print media. Newspapers also found a common language that would inspire cohesion and a shared language among the Afrikaners. Afrikaans blocs also started to emerge, one in particular was the *Transvaal Onderwysers Verening*, which was established in 1919 (Moodie 1980). This organisation became the mouthpiece for Afrikaans-speaking teachers. Thus, increased consciousness among Afrikaans-

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speaking communities of the role of their language, linked to a growth in Afrikaner nationalism, and the post South African war sentiment among such communities, ultimately led to the use of Afrikaans as a common language. Until Afrikaans was finally recognised in the constitution as an official language, equal to English, in 1925. However, these developments were largely relevant only to the white Afrikaner population.

The introduction of separate development - a policy that segregated South African citizens on the basis of race, skin colour and ethnicity, changed the political landscape of the country. Black ethnic groups were restricted to what was termed Bantustans (homelands - such as Transkei and Ciskei) and Coloureds were 'demoted' to second class citizens. The period of 1948-1994 that Kamwangamalu (2007: 264) terms Afrikanerzation, saw Afrikaans becoming established as a language of the apartheid government. Politics were so deeply entrenched into the fabric of society that it even divided black South Africans according to ethnolinguistic categories. Kamwangamalu (2004: 113) explains this as follows: "…the apartheid regime used language as one of the yardsticks, besides skin colour, to engineer and promote its divide-and-rule ideology."

In 1994 South African political prisoner turned president, Nelson Mandela became the first democratically elected president of South Africa. The country entered a new political dispensation with the victory of the African National Congress over the National Party. The introduction of a constitution that promotes multiculturalism and multilingualism incited a need to increase the status of previously disenfranchised languages. According to the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Act, No. 108 of 1996:

Recognising the historically diminished use and status of the indigenous languages of our people, the state must take practical and positive measures to elevate the status and advance the use of these languages.

Additionally, "in terms of language policy and rights, this Constitution took a multilingual approach, rather than a bilingual one, i.e. 11 official languages instead of English and Afrikaans only" (Da Silva 2008: 15).

The historical link of Afrikaans with an oppressive political system is indicative of the current perception linked to Afrikaans. The power given to Afrikaans by the political rulers allowed the language to grow, but post-apartheid South Africa has become largely intolerant of the language, equating it with the language of the oppressor. Bantu Education which aimed to promote Afrikaans and to diminish the influence of English in black schools ultimately resulted in the bloody Soweto uprisings that took place on 16 June 1976. Kamwangamalu (2007: 225-242) explains this situation by saying: "[in] the minds of black South Africans, the aftermath of the Soweto uprisings saw Afrikaans emerge as the language of oppression." These observations could account for the fact that, according to Statistics South Africa, the number of people that speak Afrikaans at home declined from 14.4% to 13.3% between 1996 and 2001 (Census: 2001), as shown in Figure 1 below.
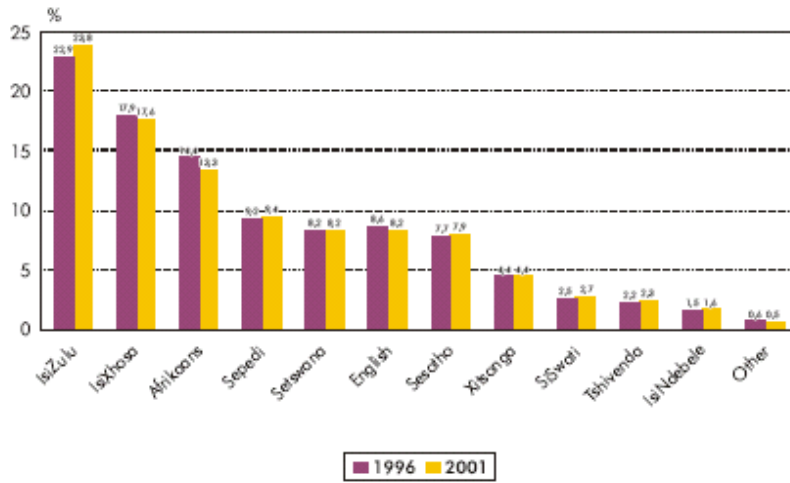
Figure 1: Census figures on South African home languages - 1996 to 2001

The decline in Afrikaans as a home language is reflected in the findings of Anthonissen & George (2003) and Anthonissen (2009), noted in Chapter 1. These studies find language shift from Afrikaans to English is relatively widespread among the Coloured population in the Cape Metropolitan area. Interestingly, as we will see in section 2.4, language shift has also been recorded among white Afrikaans L1 speakers (De Klerk and Bosch 1998).

It is evident from the brief account of English and Afrikaans presented above that, even though English was a language of the colonial British Empire, today it is the lingua franca of South Africa. During the apartheid regime, English became a language utilised to inform the international community about the injustices of the apartheid government (Kamwangamalu: 2007) and as such became the language of political revolution for the black South Africans. In contrast, the discourse surrounding Afrikaans became shrouded with negative connotations. This could explain the expectation that in the new democratic South Africa a shift from Afrikaans to

English is likely to take place in previously disadvantaged communities such as those of communities 1 and 2.

2.3   Language shift

Myers-Scotton (2006: 68) refers to language maintenance and language shift as the possible result of what happens when speakers become bilingual. She explains that there are three possible outcomes that could happen when speakers become bilingual, which can determine if speakers will maintain their L1 or shift completely to the L2. These three distinct outcomes are:

- Speakers maintain L1 and do not learn the L2;

- Speakers learn the L2 as an additional language and retain both their L1 and the L2;

- Speakers learn the L2 as an additional language, but it replaces their L1 as the main (and generally only) language.

(Myers-Scotton 2006: 68)

The first two outcomes cited by Myers-Scotton (2006) illustrate a scenario of language maintenance, whereas the third outcome relates to language shift from an L1 to an L2. Myers-Scotton (2006) states that the processes of language shift generally happen over three generations; i.e. the first generation speaks their L1, while the second generation is more bilingual and speaks their L1 and a L2. However, with the third generation, the L1 is lost altogether and replaced by the L2.

The views expressed by Myers-Scotton (2006) with regard to language shift as a process that happens over three generations is relevant to this study. This study looks at the present situation in the two specific communities to see if language shift is underway, as well as looking generally at language shift across three generations.

Appel and Muysken (2006: 36) mention that language maintenance (and language shift) can be linked to a number of factors, including urban-rural differences, as well as economic changes. They explain that it is easier for rural communities to speak and maintain a minority language, especially if the community belongs to the same linguistic group. On the contrary, Appel and Muysken (2006: 36) comment that it is more difficult for urban people to speak a minority language; it is not about geography per se, "but related communication patterns and the absence or presence of daily social pressures to the use the prestigious language." Therefore, the majority language will be used by those in the urban setting. Fishman, who first proposed the terms "language shift" and "language maintenance" warns that "what begins as the language of social and economic mobility ends, within three generations or so, as the language of the crib as well, even in democratic and pluralism-permitting contexts" (Fishman 1989: 206).

Mesthrie and Leap (2000: 255) point out that there are many interrelated causes of language shift, and that no single set of factors can be used to predict the outcome of language contact situations. They group the main factors that can cause language shift into (i) economic factors, such as modernisation, industrialisation and urbanisation, (ii) demographic factors, i.e. the proportion of speakers of the dominated language in relation to speakers of the dominant

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language, (iii) institutional support, i.e. the use of a minority, or potentially threatened, language in education, religion, the media and in government, and (iv) status.

Appel and Muysken (2006: 33 – 38) also group a number of factors linked to language maintenance together. Two such factors, already discussed above, are urban-rural differences and economic changes.

The first group of factors relate to status and include:

- economic status (a group with a low economic status would shift towards the majority language with a higher status)

- economic changes (modernisation, industrialisation, urbanisation)

- social status (a linguistic group's self-image about their L1 can influence language shift to a language with majority language or one that offers higher status)

- sociohistorical status (historical events that can mobilise individuals to fight as an ethnolinguistic group)

- language status

Demographic factors, which refer to the demographic representivity of the linguistic group(s), are the second set of variables discussed by Appel and Muysken (2006). The third cluster of factors is grouped under institutional support factors. These include support of the language by mass media, government services and administration, education, and cultural dis/similarity. It is worth mentioning that, particularly relevant to this study, education (or specifically language of schooling) is an important factor under investigation, especially as this study looks generally at language shift across three generations. Appel and Muysken (2006: 37) support such an approach

in the following words: "[e]ducation is very important with respect to language maintenance. If children's proficiency in the minority language is fostered at school, and they learn to read and write in it, this will contribute to maintenance."

2.3.1   Case study: Language shift among Mennonite immigrants in Germany

To further contextualise language shift, it is important for this study to provide other examples, outside of South Africa, where language shift has been observed. One such relevant study is that by Daller (2005) of Mennonites that emigrated from the former Soviet Union to Germany. To find out whether there has been language shift among the Mennonite immigrants from their home language Plaudiitsch (Plautdietsch) to German, the author visited the settlement of Neuwied (north of the German state of Rhineland-Palatinate), where interviews were conducted with 12 individuals (for about 2 hours with some participants); and a questionnaire was also administered (n=92). One of the fundamental questions of the study by Daller (2005) was whether the Mennonite group had different values to those of the mainstream German society. To study this, Daller (2005) administered the same questionnaire to a control group of 72 young German (mean age = 23) first year business students from a College in Germany. The students were not Mennonite immigrants and Daller (2005) compared the data from this control group with the data of the Mennonite group, the older and younger Mennonite immigrants.

Just as in this thesis, the study by Daller (2005) investigated language shift across three generations. Daller (2005: 586) summarises the findings regarding the maintenance of Plautdiitsch among Mennonite immigrants to Germany as follows:

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Since the immigration to Germany a complete language shift towards Standard German has taken place. The older generation still uses Plautdiitsch, and many younger members have at least a passive knowledge of Plautdiitsch. There are still some younger families who use Plautdiitsch at home but these are exceptions. It is very doubtful whether Plautdiitsch will survive in the new environment. It certainly does not have the function of supporting the group identity.

The table below demonstrates some of the pertinent data collected in relation to language shift among the Mennonites immigrants.

Language shift over three generations (interview data)
1 = Main language, 2 = Second language, 3 = Language used occasionally 4 = Passive knowledge

Generation	In the Soviet Union	In Germany
Grandparents	**1 Plautdiitsch** 2 Russian	**1German** 2/3 Plautdiitsch
Parents	**1 Russian** 2 Plautdiitsch	**1 German** 3 Plautdiitsch
Children	**1 Russian** 4 Plautdiitsch	**1 German** **(2 Russian)** 4 Plautdiitsch

Table 2: Language shift among Mennonites across three generations

As noted above, the questionnaire also aimed to determine if the Mennonite group showed cultural values that were different from those of mainstream Germans. In order to determine this, Daller (2005) used a part of the questionnaire specific to cultural values based on Hofstede's five dimensions of culture model (Guirdham 1999: 52). Referring to these data collected from the control group, and the older and younger Mennonite immigrants, Daller (2005: 592) states that

Hofstede's framework, which was created for a business environment, "can be adopted to describe the specific cultural values of the group [Mennonites] and the differences from the values of mainstream society." The data showed that while the Mennonite group, younger and older, differed from the control group along most dimensions, there was one dimension (Power Distance) in which the younger group differed from the older group. Daller (2005: 529) explains this in the following statement: "This may be due to the fact that the younger group members went through the German school system at least partially. However, the fact that the younger group members agree with the whole group in the essential group values such as 'collectivism' and 'uncertainty avoidance' is a clear indication that the group as a whole can preserve their identity in the future, albeit not as a linguistic group."

Daller (2005: 586) explains that although the older generation still speaks Plautdiitsch, with isolated cases of younger families that use it, generally the younger generation, since immigration to Germany, prefers to use Standard German, and because Plautdiitsch is not utilised across a number of social/public domains, the language is not likely to survive in the new environment (Germany). Moreover, Daller (2005) indicates that language shift has not only happened in the new environment but that the language is losing ground in the Soviet Union. For example, Daller (2005: 586) states that in comparison to the older generation, Plautdiitsch has become a L2 for the younger generation. Knowledge of this language has become largely passive among the younger generation.

There are correlations between the trajectories of language shift identified by Daller (2005) and those highlighted by Anthonissen & George (2003) and Anthonissen (2009), who have shown

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how over three generations, Coloured Afrikaans L1 families have shifted to English L1. However, in the case study presented by Daller (2005: 592), language shift from Plautdiitsch to German has taken place among Mennonite immigrants living in Germany. This language shift only occurred in Germany after about two centuries of Mennonites preserving their linguistic identity in the Soviet Union. Immigrating to Germany was the trigger for accelerated language shift among the Mennonites. In contrast, in the case of South Africa, Kamwangamalu (2007) attributes language shift among the urban black elite, from indigenous languages to English, to a need for upward social mobility and economic rewards. This point is further reiterated by Anthonissen & George (2003) and Anthonissen (2009) who attribute language shift among Coloured communities, from Afrikaans L1 to English L1, to the economic benefits and prestige attached to the English language. This will be examined further in the following two sections.

Language shift is a dynamic phenomenon, and as demonstrated by the case study presented by Daller (2005), the patterns of language shift differ across different linguistic groups and each individual community could experience this process similarly or differently.

2.4 Language shift in South Africa

Language shift has been studied in a number of instances in South Africa. In particular, shift from indigenous languages to English is prevalent. Kamwangamalu (2007) suggests that English has become a language of social and economic mobility, prestige and success. Focusing on black South Africans and indigenous languages, Kamwangamalu (2007: 264) comments that English in the black community is largely seen as what can be called a "they-code" – this is by the

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members in black communities that have no access to the language. However, in resistance to the apartheid regime, those blacks in the liberation struggle regarded English as a "we code" – the language that was used for anti-apartheid campaigns – the language of liberation.

Looking at language policies and social transformation in South Africa, Chetty and Mpewu (2008: 329) comment that "English serves as a linguistic bridge for communication amongst black South Africans in a changing society". Even though South Africa's rights-based society values multilingualism, as expressed through the constitution (see section 2.2), Chetty and Mpewu (2008: 330) note that in practice multilingualism in 11 official languages is expensive. English remains the only language that allows the government to conduct its business effectively. Taking the above into account, language shift to English among black South Africans is on the rise. This is emphasised further by Chetty and Mpewu (2008: 330) when they comment that "most [L1] African language speakers working as accountants, lawyers and scientists are, in fact, English mother-tongue speakers when it comes to debate on issues pertaining to their field of expertise".

The motivation for language shift from other languages to English, in South Africa, as well as elsewhere in the world, is largely linked to the status and economic value of English. This point is emphasised by De Klerk (1999) who states,

> Few can deny the power of English [worldwide], and this is all too evident in the statistics regarding numbers of speakers: approximately one quarter of the world's population now uses English either as first, second or foreign language. English is the

only language whose second-language speakers outnumber its mother-tongue speakers…

(De Klerk 1999: 311)

According to Kamwangamalu (2007), the black elite in South Africa see English as a language of upward social mobility. Anthonissen's (2009) findings show similarly that Coloured Afrikaans parents enrol their children into English medium schools because they regard English as a language that would provide their offspring with better opportunities. In fact, Anthonissen points out that the participants in her study represent a group in the community "who have in the past 30 to 40 years experienced upward mobility in social and socio-economic terms". Kamwangamalu (2007) also points out that among much of the black elite in South Africa, English has become what he calls a "naturalised we-code" for the black elite currently experiencing language shift from indigenous languages to English. Although studies by Kamwangamalu (2007) concentrate on indigenous languages, this research forms part of significant empirical evidence of language shift within the South African context. Therefore, the findings are relevant to the two semi-urban Western Cape communities.

In this respect, while language shift to English in the South African context is observed predominantly among Africans, Mesthrie (1993) points out that English has become increasingly influential among Coloureds, who are traditionally Afrikaans L1 speakers. Gough (1996), in turn, comments on language shift among Coloureds as follows: "While complete language shift to English has occurred in this group, this appears to be a trend only amongst more affluent and educated individuals." In fact, Anthonissen (2009: 63) comments that although the language shift

from Afrikaans to English observed in her study is perceived to be a strong, irreversible trend, it is perhaps "not as marked in the poorer Afrikaans L1 Coloured communities where there are lower levels of formal education and higher levels of unemployment in the adult population".

With regard to language shift from Afrikaans to English, a study by De Klerk & Bosch (1998) has showed that language shift is also occurring among the white minority. Their one year longitudinal study that explored the experiences of an Afrikaans-speaking white 10 year old boy that was moved from an Afrikaans medium school to an English medium school, showed how the boy shifted from dominance in Afrikaans to dominance in English. De Klerk & Bosch (1998: 40) comment that when the home language is seen as inferior to the economically dominant language, a shift from the home language to the dominant language can occur. This shift is even more noticeable when children move from a school whose medium of education is their home language, to another school where it's their L2. Their school peers could also influence their language choice. " De Klerk & Bosch (1998: 44) refer to Veltman (1983: 20) who reiterates that during a period when children experience this change, when their language of schooling is in their L2, there is a notable increase of people that shift to the language used daily at school. One of the causes of this shift mentioned by Veltman (1983) in De Klerk & Bosch (1998: 44) is explained in the following words: "bilingualism is transitional, meeting the needs of the person undergoing the shift, and data indicate that this process of language shift accelerates as children get older."

We will see that the study by De Klerk & Bosch (1998) is particularly relevant for this thesis when looking at the sociolinguistic factor of language of schooling, to investigate the language

preferences of participants whose medium of education at school is Afrikaans and English or English only.

2.5   Language shift in the Western Cape

In this section language shift and language maintenance in the Western Cape will be examined, focussing, on the one hand, on Anthonissen (2009) who shows that language shift from Afrikaans to English does appear to be taking place in communities in the Cape Metropolitan area (see Anthonisen 2009). On the other hand, Anthonie (2009) provides evidence for language maintenance rather than language shift in other Western Cape communities. Research by Farmer (2008) provides relevant background into the language choices of English L1 learners from traditionally Afrikaans L1 communities in the Western Cape. Dyers (2007, 2008) provides further evidence of language shift and code-switching among Coloured learners in the Cape Metropolitan area.

Anthonissen (2009) investigates how a number of families (across three generations) made choices to change their home language from Afrikaans to English. The ethnographic study, conducted among three families in 2003 (Anthonissen and George 2003) and a further ten families in 2009, utilised focus group discussions with women from across three generations (grandparents 60+, parents 35+ and children 10 to 23+). The participants discussed their language choices, and their motivation for these choices, in relation to how they communicate across a wide range of domains, such as family, community and church.

Throughout the study, other family members also took part in the discussions and data, collected with their consent, was utilised to demonstrate the occurrence of language shift in these communities. The interview questions set out to elicit information about language choice and patterns of language shift, specifically these questions aimed to determine:

- which language members of three generations of each family regard as their first language;

- which language each generation had (or currently has) as their language of schooling;

- which language each generation preferred (or would prefer) as the language of schooling for their children;

- which language(s) are used in close family interactions;

- what patterns of code-switching between Afrikaans and English are apparent;

- what reasons are given for language shift from one generation to the next at the point where evidence of such shift becomes apparent; and

- whether perceived language shift from one generation to the next is accompanied by improved levels of bilingual proficiency.

(Anthonissen 2009: 63)

Anthonissen (2009: 70) notes that various indicators of language shift are present in the data collected, specifically that there is a difference across generations of what participants identify as their own L1. There has also been a shift in the home language from generation 1 (predominantly Afrikaans L1) to generation 3 (bilingual proficiency with a strong identification with English L1). There is a shift in the language of schooling, which was mainly in Afrikaans (except in the case of a generation 1 grandparent from the first family who had an English educational

background) to English L1. Finally, church services, that are an important form of identity for these communities, shifted from mainly being conducted in Afrikaans to services that included both English and Afrikaans, and in some cases, services conducted solely in English.

In addition to providing evidence of language shift underway from Afrikaans to English, Anthonissen observes that, as with other bilingual communities, the participants exhibit many instances of code-switching. According to Van Dulm (2007), code-switching refers to the use of two or more languages during a conversation. The utterance in (1) illustrates this phenomenon.

(1)   *My Afrikaans gaan 'n bietjie agteruit, maar dit bly nog steeds my <u>favourite</u>.*

(My Afrikaans is going a little backwards (downhill), but it stays still my favourite)

(Anthonissen 2009: 65)

The findings in Anthonissen (2009) are integral for the assessment of data collected in the two semi-urban communities in the present study because the two communities are also situated in the Western Cape, not too far removed from the Cape Metropolitan area. There could therefore be common ground with regard to how the communities undergo or resist language shift from Afrikaans L1 to English L2, and ultimately English L1. Another important aspect of the study by Anthonissen (2009) is that its principal data collection instrument, the interview questions discussed above, guided the formulation of the questionnaire for the present study.

Exemplary of language maintenance, the study by Anthonie (2009) demonstrates how, in a rural area called Hooyvlakte in Beaufort West, Afrikaans remains an important marker of identity.

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There is development towards bilingualism rather than language shift. Based on a questionnaire and participant observation, Anthonie (2009) offers a perspective on a community which preserves its own Afrikaans L1 identity at home, while remaining tolerant, even proud, of increasing English L2 proficiency, communicating in English outside the family domain, in places such as the workplace.

Anthonie (2009) looks at language use across a range of domains, namely at home, school, the workplace environment and in the community. Although most of the respondents identified Afrikaans as their home language (93%), the respondents still scored an overall 49% as a measure of proficiency in both English and Afrikaans. While there is less preference for utilising English at home, it is the language that about 10% of the respondents use in church, where religious observance is a central social marker of the community. In a summary of some of the principal findings of the study, Anthonie (2009) explains that:

> The results of this study indicate that the Hooyvlakte community remains predominantly Afrikaans. There is, however, an increase in the knowledge and use of English, and despite possible limits in actual English proficiency, the residents in the Hooyvlakte mostly view themselves as balanced Afrikaans-English bilinguals.

It is worth noting that the two semi-urban communities examined in the present study, like Hooyvlakte, do not exist in a vacuum. The people in these communities are in contact with other people that are English L1, Xhosa L1 or speak other foreign languages. Both communities in focus here are situated close to a thriving university town where students from various cultures and linguistic backgrounds often rent rooms or flats in these communities for the duration of

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their studies. There is also a constant flux of tourists and visitors that visit the town, who are domestic or international travellers that want to explore the culture and milieu of a town steeped in history. All these factors show that two semi-urban communities come into contact with other languages, especially English. In the study by Anthonie (2009) the shift to English and Afrikaans bilingualism, in a traditionally Afrikaans speaking community, provides some evidence of factors that can discourage language shift. The present study will examine whether these factors also play a role in the two semi-urban communities under investigation.

The language of schooling is a central feature in the study of language shift when looking at the role of Afrikaans and English among generation 3 (children aged 10 to 25+) participants. As identified by Anthonissen (2009), generation 2 parents regard English as the paean for better job opportunities for their progeny; therefore, they enrol their children in English medium schools. The language practices of learners in the Western Cape are a topic examined by Farmer (2008) and Dyers (2007, 2008).

Farmer (2008), investigated patterns of language use and choice of learners from traditionally Afrikaans communities, enrolled in English L1 medium classes in a high school in the Western Cape. The focus of the study was to observe if the language of schooling had an effect on the perceived process of language shift from Afrikaans L1 to English L1. The learners from a predominantly Afrikaans Coloured community attend a multiracial and multilingual school, and Farmer looked at the specific language choices and language use of the participants across various domains, namely at home, during close family interactions, at school, with friends and in places of worship, such as a church.

Farmer (2008) collected data by means of school records, questionnaires and interviews with a selected group of learners and a few parents. The study found that the use of English as language of learning and teaching (LOLT) indicates that English has become more common as the language of preference in the community and during church services. Three patterns of language shift were observed. Firstly, in cases of Afrikaans-dominant grandparents, the parents and (grand)children code-switch between Afrikaans and English and the grandchildren identify themselves as English L1. The second pattern was in relation to Afrikaans-dominant bilingual grandparents, where parents and (grand)children also code-switch between Afrikaans and English during social interaction, the parents and (grand)children are English-dominant bilinguals. The third pattern was Afrikaans-dominant bilingual grandparents, the adults are English-dominant in the home setting, and the grandchildren are English L1 (almost monolingual) (Farmer 2008: 137).

Dyers (2007, 2008) examines language use and code-switching, involving Afrikaans and English, through a three year longitudinal study exploring the negotiation of identities among Coloured school children in Wesbank, a township that is part of the greater Cape Metropolitan area. Dyers studied the language repertoires of Afrikaans L1 Coloured learners that share the same schools and living environment with Xhosa L1 speakers. Wesbank is a predominantly Afrikaans Coloured community (75%) with black isiXhosa speakers who live among Coloured residents.

The aim of Dyers' research was to ascertain the language attitudes of learners with regards to their home language, to observe the extent to which they value Afrikaans as a cultural entity and

whether there is evidence of language shift to English. The findings revealed that, although Afrikaans remains an important marker of their identity, Coloured learners frequently code-switch between English and Afrikaans as shown by the utterance in (2) from a third year girl that took part in focus group discussions.

(2)   *Ons praatie yntlik regte Afrikaans nie, Os praat Kaapse Afrikaans, Engels en Afrikaans deu'mekaar.*

(We don't actually speak proper Afrikaans. We speak Cape Afrikaans, a mixture of English and Afrikaans)

(Dyers 2007: 86)

Although code-switching is not the main focus of this study, the occurrence of code-switching in the speech of Afrikaans L1 bilinguals cannot be ignored. The researcher has already pointed out through his own particular observation what a strong Afrikaans identity the two semi-urban communities have, but they are not isolated communities that have no contact with other languages or cultures. In fact, they are based in one of the highest ranked tourist attraction areas in the Cape Winelands region, which makes contact and communication with speakers of other languages, in particular English, inevitable. Thus, the occurrence of code-switching needs to be understood within this environment. Ahmad and Jusoff (2009: 49) point out that lack of proficiency in a language can facilitate the process where communicators choose to mix one or two, or more languages in a conversation to ensure that their messages are understood by the intended recipients.

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In a study of the use and future of Black South African English (BSAE), De Klerk (1999: 316), explains that, among black South Africans, code-switching between English and their vernacular languages is not a sign of competence in the two languages. In fact, she finds that it can often signal a lack of competence in English. De Klerk observes that "because of insufficient access to English and contexts of subtractive bilingualism, code-switching is, for many, a compensatory strategy."

However, a lack of competence in one or both languages does not appear to be the reason for the prevalence of code-switching between Afrikaans and English in the case of Coloured speakers of Afrikaans. McCormick (2002: 96) suggests that the frequent code-switching in the Afrikaans of Coloured speakers is itself a mixed code, and that "mixing and switching are consonant with a rejection of concern for racial, ethnic or linguistic purity, and with a concomitant acceptance of heterogeneous roots". Bowers (2006:20) explains this further by saying:

> In a sense, Kaapse Afrikaans, as it is spoken today, could be the result of the coexistence of the two languages to which members of the Coloured community have […] been exposed simultaneously [i.e. English and Afrikaans].

While Kaapse Afrikaans is more typical of communities within the Cape Metropolitan area, and the further one moves from Cape Town, the less code-switching one finds (Dyers 2007: 87), it is still necessary for the present study to have an understanding of this phenomenon among Coloured speakers of Afrikaans in the Western Cape.

2.6   Summary

This chapter provided a discussion of some of the most pertinent literature in the study of language shift and code-switching in South Africa and specifically in the Western Cape. Firstly, the history of English and Afrikaans in South Africa was discussed. This was followed by an explication of language shift and an examination of various studies of language shift. Some of the main findings show that language shift occurs due to one language becoming a lingua franca, or gaining higher status as the language for upward social mobility and better opportunities. English as a language of social prestige and economic reward is a recurring theme, and the stigma attached to Afrikaans as a language of oppression has seen English surpass Afrikaans as the language of choice in various domains. However, there are cases where a strong Afrikaans identity linked to a shared past and common language, has enabled Afrikaans communities, such as Hooyvlakte in the rural Western Cape, to move towards bilingualism. The development of bilingualism signals language maintenance, i.e. maintenance of Afrikaans, rather than language shift to English.

The following chapter is concerned with the research instrument and its validity for data collection in exploring the phenomenon of language shift in the two semi-urban Western Cape communities.

Chapter 3: Research and methodology

This chapter provides an exposition of the research instrument used to collect data, as well as the methodology implemented in the data collection undertaken in the two semi-urban Western Cape communities. Specifically, this chapter will include details on the collection procedure, the research instrument and its validity for research collection for this study.

3.1   General data collection procedure

Fifty households were approached for this study with the aim of soliciting at least one participant in each household, either a grandparent (65+), parent (35+), or child/adult dependant (15-25+)[6]. A questionnaire[7], the research instrument utilised in the data collection, was completed for each participant. In total the data collected included 53 completed questionnaires. Each questionnaire was administered by the researcher who assisted respondents with filling in details, except in two cases (in community 1) where the participants preferred to complete the questionnaire themselves.

The data collection process started in community 1 (see description in Chapter 1, section 1.4). I lived in this community during my undergraduate studies at Stellenbosch University from 2001

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[6] The study by Anthonissen (2009) investigated language shift (from Afrikaans L1 to English L1) among participants in the age group 10 – 60+ (children 10 -23+, parents aged 35+, and grandparents 60+). In this study, the target age for children had to be increased to 15-25+ for ethical clearance purposes.

[7] See Addendum A

to 2004. In August 2004, I was one of the research assistants that took part in a month long research study by the University of Stellenbosch where residents in the Boland District Municipality provided data on the level of local government service delivery, and community 1 was one of the areas that formed part of this study. Taking into account that I had prior knowledge as a resident of this community and had also previously collected data via questionnaires in this community, I had an understanding of the layout of the area. I was therefore able to randomly select (the process of random sampling is explained in 3.2) households in different parts of the community. On average three households per street were selected. Not all streets could be included, as I wanted to ensure that the 25 questionnaires completed in the area were as representative as possible of the overall community. Although I had existing networks with members living in community 1, for the sake of preserving the authenticity of the results obtained, I conducted the data collection in households where the residents had no prior interaction with me. A slightly different procedure was followed in community 2, where I had less knowledge of the people and the layout of the community. In this community the households were randomly selected, based on a map of the area, limited again to two or three households per street.

In the collected data, eight participants were chosen for a smaller sub-sample due to their language of schooling. These were participants that have/had English, or both English and Afrikaans as their language of teaching and learning at school. This sample was used to demonstrate the use of language across a range of domains, as this group had another language (English) as their language of schooling, instead of Afrikaans. As reported on earlier in Chapter 2 , Veltman (in De Klerk and Bosch 1998: 44) points out that when children are enrolled into a

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school where the language of schooling is their L2, there is an increase in the number of people that choose the language of everyday use at school, over their home language. Another sub-sample was selected from the collected data to demonstrate the incidences of code-switching. Five participants (10% of the entire study) were selected as they code-switched between Afrikaans and English in their responses to questions (r) and (s) in the questionnaire[8], as indicated in Table 4 in Chapter 4.

3.2   Sampling methods

There are a number of sampling techniques used to analyse data collected for different purposes. In this study, the technique of random sampling was followed.

> Random sampling is a sampling technique where we select a group of subjects (a sample) for study from a larger group (a population). Each individual is chosen entirely by chance and each member of the population has a known, but possibly non-equal, chance of being included in the sample.

> (Easton & McColl 1997)

In random sampling, as used in this research, out of a population of about 15709 (total for both communities) only 50 households were selected, which means that not all the individuals in the communities had an equal chance to be selected for the study. The scope of this research was not large enough to be fully representative of the entire population, but the data collected provided

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[8] See Addendum A

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valuable insight into the likely patterns of language shift and/or language maintenance, as well as the language preferences and language attitudes of individuals, in the communities that were selected for this study.

Olken and Rotem (1986) state that with random sampling it is unnecessary to sample an entire dataset (population) due to response time and resource usage. Random sampling is therefore used to "support statistical analysis of a dataset, either to estimate parameters of interest or for hypothesis testing" (Olken and Rotem 1986: 160). This means that implementing such a technique ensured that the researcher could administer the required set of questionnaires to both communities within the limited time constraints of this project, without using external resources. By randomly selecting the households across both communities, the researcher ensured that the households were not clustered in one street and that the study was as representative as possible. Due to low statistical representivity, the findings are not presented as generalizable claims.

3.3   Procedures implemented during data collection

After giving an explanation about the proposed research, in either Afrikaans or English[9], the researcher completed the questionnaire (see Addendum A) with the participant (mostly in Afrikaans). Both the participant(s) and researcher signed a consent form. Data collection comprised the completion of an English/Afrikaans questionnaire in which the researcher marked

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[9] The language in which the research was described was determined by asking the participants if they preferred to be asked questions in either of the languages

the relevant boxes with a tick (✔), and where required, the researcher wrote an explanation in the fields provided (see section 3.4). The researcher spent about 20 to 30 minutes with each participant, and approximately 45 minutes in each household, depending on the number of participants. If the researcher was able to find participants that represented all three generations identified for this study there would be three participants from one household. Generally, there was one adult participant per household who gave details on the linguistic profile of the whole household, in each of the two communities.

3.4   The research instrument

The questionnaire aimed to investigate whether there is language shift underway in the two communities, and if there is evidence of such a shift, what the language shift patterns are. Sociolinguistic aspects that appear to influence these patterns are also monitored. Additionally, if there are patterns of language shift, the questionnaire aimed at determining whether these patterns differ according to variables such as socio-economic status. The format of the questionnaire was developed to ensure that it was easy to capture as much data as possible through standard multiple choice questions that required marking a box, and providing an explanation where applicable. The questionnaire inquired about the participants' first language, language of schooling, language preferences vis-à-vis the choice between English and Afrikaans across a number of domains (home, school, work, and church). In the case of the second generation, i.e. parents (35+) with a child or children of school going age, information on the language they preferred for their child or children's schooling, was asked

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The first question, which asked the participants' to identify their first language, set the foundation for what language they valued as their home language. Questions that inquired about the preferred language for schooling, church services, and communication with work colleagues, gauged whether the occurrence of language shift could be linked to the association of English as a language to improve social mobility, improve employment opportunities and offer better educational opportunities.

The last section of the questionnaire had a table that allowed participants to rate their language proficiency in English, Afrikaans, and other language(s) (which were not specified to allow participants to identify other language(s) they are proficient in, where applicable). The table provided a way for the researcher to analyse how participants rate their proficiency in English and Afrikaans, and to see if there is a correlation between how the participants rate their proficiency, in comparison to the use of both languages across the domains mentioned above.

3.5   The value of the research instrument

The questionnaire was an effective tool that could be utilised to collect a large amount of data within the limited timeframes of this project. The questionnaire in this study was specifically designed with the research conducted by Anthonissen (2009) in mind, which evaluated language shift across three generations in the Western Cape. There were differences, however, including the qualitative nature of the methodologies employed for data collection. Whereas Anthonissen's (2009) research was conducted via interviews of three families in 2003, and a further eleven families between 2008 and 2009, for this thesis, a questionnaire was used as the data collection

instrument. In addition, the study by Anthonissen (2009) targeted families in urban communities, while the present study targeted families in semi-urban communities.

The questionnaire was structured according to a simple format that demanded minimal literacy, as long as the participant could understand what the questionnaire asked from them. In cases where the participants could not understand, the researcher explained the questions in a simpler manner. A questionnaire is less intrusive than an interview, where the participants could be wary of the researcher, and which could result in the participants trying to impress the researcher by reading his/her verbal or non-verbal cues to see what responses the researcher appeared to be seeking. A questionnaire is one way to overcome this problem and could also serve as buffer against what Labov (1972: 209) terms the "observer's paradox", namely that "the aim of linguistic research in the community must be to find out how people talk when they are not being systematically observed; yet we can only obtain these data by systematic observation."

Confidentiality was an important factor considered for this study. Participants were given a reference number that was utilised in the thesis for ease of reference. Only the consent forms were used to capture the participants' names and signatures, a requirement for ethical purposes, and only the researcher was able to identify the participants. The participants had the choice not to respond to any questions they felt uncomfortable responding to and still remain in the study. In the thesis, only participant numbers were used to refer to particular data collected from participants. Effort was made to ensure that the study was not affected by the literacy levels of the participants, as the researcher read the questions out to participants, and explained them further where required.

3.6   Methodological issues

The researcher administered the questionnaire to 25 households in community 1 and 25 households in community 2, which resulted in data collected from 50 households in total. During the first phase of data collection in community 1, it was determined that the researcher could visit on average 10 households per day. As the period set aside for data collection was limited, this was the most feasible number of households that could be sampled. It was also evident that for the scope of the research, the type of data required and the size of both communities, those 50 households would be sufficient to investigate the process of language shift from Afrikaans to English.

The researcher conducted most of the communication about the study and the questionnaire in Afrikaans to ensure that the participants' would not code-switch based on his use of English and Afrikaans, as he is more proficient in English than Afrikaans. Although, the researcher's first languages are English and Setswana, he has a working knowledge of the Afrikaans language having lived in community 1 for a period of four years and in the town of Stellenbosch for five years. The researcher is therefore used to communicating in both Afrikaans and English. The questionnaire was also an added buffer that the researcher used to ensure that the participants understood what was asked from them as it was an English/Afrikaans questionnaire. The researcher's own proficiency in reading and writing Afrikaans is generally on par with his proficiency in Setswana. As shown in Chapter 4, there were limited examples of code-switching that came from the data collected, but the prevalence of code-switching was not impacted by any factors relating to the researcher's language use and was largely due to the participants own

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choice to code-switch between Afrikaans and English. The households were randomly selected for the study, the researcher sourced for street maps on Google before the data were collected, and the researcher plotted the route to follow to ensure that 25 households would be as representative as possible of the geographic area of both communities that were part of this study.

The researcher completed 51 questionnaires for participants in the age range 15 – 88. The two other questionnaires were completed by the participants as they were more comfortable with this arrangement. Even so the researcher was there to explain the research objective, for the signing of consent forms and for monitoring the whole process of data completion for both questionnaires. Generally, the age group 30+ to 50+ made up 25 – 75 % of the study and one participant from each household took part in the study. According to an earlier proposal, and against data presented by Anthonissen and George (2003) and Anthonissen (2009), this study was initially aimed at delineating the age groups according to three generations and observing if the process of language shift had occurred by collecting data from three participants per household. However, in order to achieve this objective, the data collection period would have had to have been extended and assistance would have been required. This process would have been time consuming and resource demanding (man power and time). Therefore, the research proposal was adjusted to fit the time constraints for this project, without a significant effect on outcomes.

Another crucial factor was that adult participants were reluctant to have their children take part in the study and they also expressed their dissatisfaction and found it repetitive to complete more

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than one questionnaire per household. Nevertheless, there were households where more than one questionnaire was completed.

3.7 Summary

In this chapter the data collection procedures were outlined. A description of the research instrument, an English/Afrikaans questionnaire, was also provided, as well as a discussion of its credibility as a research instrument and some of the methodological issues faced by the researcher. It was noted that a questionnaire is one of the most effective instruments for data collection that can be conducted over a short time period. The next chapter focuses on the specifics of the data collected with regard to languages shift and the sociolinguistic factors outlined in the study that could affect language shift in the two communities.

Chapter 4: Results and analysis

This chapter provides the results of the data collected with the English/Afrikaans questionnaire described in chapter three. The questionnaire was taken to 50 households to gauge the occurrence of language shift or language maintenance from Afrikaans to English in two specific Western Cape communities. The participants in this study were between the ages of 15 and 88. The results are presented with the framework of this study in mind, which includes the rationale for the study and the context in which the study was performed (Chapter 1), the existing body of literature as reported on in the literature review (Chapter 2), and the research instrument utilised for data collection (Chapter 3).

Studies undertaken to observe the phenomenon of language shift in South Africa have generally focused on the disenfranchisement of indigenous languages as shown by Bekker (2005); De Klerk (2000, 2006); and especially by Kamwangamalu (2003, 2004, 2007, 2008). As seen in Chapter 2, research done by Anthonissen and George (2003) and Anthonissen (2008, 2009) has indicated that language shift is occurring in a number of Western Cape communities. This thesis aimed to investigate whether there are patterns of language shift, as indicated in the study by Anthonissen (2009), in the two semi-urban Western Cape communities under observation. It is hoped that this research will complement the existing body of literature and bring new insight on the patterns and occurrence (or non-occurrence) of language shift in the two semi-urban communities in particular, as well as on language shift from Afrikaans L1 to English L1 in the Western Cape in general.

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As discussed in Chapter 1 the research question was twofold:

(i)   What are the patterns of language shift in the two semi-urban Western Cape communities?

(ii)   Which sociolinguistic factors - namely age, language of schooling, socio-economic status, and language attitudes - appear to play a role in language shift in the two Western Cape communities?

In the following section, section 4.1, the results of the data collection will be presented, enabling the researcher to answer question (i), while in section 4.2 the possible effect of sociolinguistic factors, as observed from the data, will be analysed. Section 4.3 will provide concluding remarks with regard to language shift as evidenced in the data. This will be followed, in section 4.4, with a discussion of code-switching based on observations by the researcher during the data collection process. Finally section 4.5 provides a summary of the entire data analysis section.

4.1   Data - Patterns of language shift

The participants in this study classified as generation 1 were in the age group 65 - 88, and formed 18% of the general sample. Generation 2 participants were between the ages of 35 - 63, and formed 56% of the total sample, while generation 3 participants were in the age group 15 - 32, and made up 26% of the overall sample.

An analysis of the data showed that:

•   100% of participants regard Afrikaans as their first language.

- Most of the participants were schooled in Afrikaans (91%). However, 53% of adult participants showed a preference for bilingual education for their children (Afrikaans and English), while 40% preferred English for their children's language of schooling.

- 98% of participants indicated that they have the same first language, Afrikaans, as their parents. 100% of generation 3 participants consider Afrikaans to be their L1; these participants all have the same first language as their generation 2 parents. This shows clearly that there is no language shift from Afrikaans to English from generation 2 to generation 3 for the participants in this study. Moreover, 96% of generation 1 participants indicated that they have the same first language as their generation 2 children, further showing that there is no language shift from generation 1 to generation 2 for the participants in this study.

- Language of schooling can also be an indicator of language shift, however, in this study, 98% of generation 3 participants indicated that Afrikaans is their language of schooling, the same language in which their generation 2 parents were schooled. This shows that there is no language shift with reference to the language of schooling from generation 2 to generation 3 for the participants in this study.

The results of the data collected show that Afrikaans is predominantly used across all the domains investigated: in close family interactions, with a partner, with children, with parents, in the community, in church, and in the workplace. The results are as follows: 98% of the participants use Afrikaans in close family interactions, 91% use Afrikaans with their partner, 74% speak only Afrikaans with their children, 91% use Afrikaans when speaking to their

parents, 94% of participants use Afrikaans when they speak to people in the community, 87% of participants attend church services where Afrikaans is the medium of interaction, with 40% of church sermons being conducted in both English and Afrikaans, and 58% of participants use only Afrikaans in the workplace. Interestingly, while 40% of participants indicate that they use English to speak to their co-workers, only 25% chose English as their preferred medium of communication with their work colleagues. Even so, what participants speak at work vs. what they would like to speak, and using more than one language at work is not evidence of language shift (or even of a shift to bi/multilingualism) – rather of the reality of being bi/multilingual in a multilingual society.

From the analysis of the data it can be deduced that no (or very little) shift to English has taken place in the particular communities. The two semi-urban communities are currently not in the process of language shift from Afrikaans to English; even with wider use of English elsewhere, regarding Afrikaans there is evidence of language maintenance. In response to various kinds of pressure there is increased Afrikaans-English bilingualism, similar to that observed by Anthonie (2008) in the rural community of Hooyvlakte.

4.2 Data - Effect of sociolinguistic factors

This section gives details of the possible impact of various sociolinguistic features, namely age and language of schooling (4.2.1), socio-economic status (4.2.2) and language attitudes (4.2.3). As noted above, there was no difference between generation 1, 2 and 3 with regard to first language. This shows that age does not appear to be a factor influencing language shift in the two

communities under investigation. All participants, including young participants, indicated that Afrikaans was their first language. However, one place where age could play a role in language shift is in terms of language of schooling. For this reason age is linked to language of schooling in this study. A sample (sample A) was selected from the study to further observe if language of schooling, i.e. bilingual Afrikaans and English, or English only, could be linked to language shift. This follows from research that has shown language of schooling, if different from the home language, can contribute to language shift (Farmer 2008, Anthonissen 2009). With regard to socio-economic status, research such as that by Kamwangamalu (2007) has linked language shift to the need for upward social mobility and economic rewards, and so this factor also receives attention. Finally, the close identification that Coloureds appear to have with the vernacular variety of Afrikaans (Dyers 2007, 2008) makes language attitudes an important sociolinguistic factor to examine in the context of the data.

4.2.1 Age and language of schooling

As noted above, one place where age might play a role in language shift is in the language of schooling. Language of schooling can impact on the process of language shift as individuals who are traditionally Afrikaans speaking, adopt English as another language in school, and eventually, shift completely to English. To observe whether language of schooling could have an impact on language shift from Afrikaans to English in the two communities, eight participants were chosen for a smaller sample based on their language of schooling (as discussed in Chapter 3). These are participants that have/had English, or both Afrikaans and English as their language of schooling. These eight participants represent the target population of this study, which is "the

entire group a researcher is interested in, the group about which the researcher wishes to draw conclusions" (Easton & McColl 1997). In this reduced sample, one participant represents generation 3, three participants fall under generation 2, whereas the other four are generation 1.

The table below shows language use across a number of domains in this sample, to determine if their language of schooling could be contributing to language shift.

Part. No	Age	Gen	Community	Lang. of Schooling	Lang. used w. partner	Lang. used in family	Lang used in community	Lang used at work
9	80	1	1	Afr/Eng[10]	N/A	Afrikaans	Afrikaans	N/A
34	70	1	2	Afr/Eng	Afr/Eng	Afrikaans	Afr/Eng	Afr/Eng
22	70	1	1	English	Afrikaans	Afrikaans	Afrikaans	N/A
35	66	1	2	Afr/Eng	Afrikaans	Afrikaans	Afrikaans	N/A
50	55	2	1	Afr/Eng	Afrikaans	Afrikaans	Afrikaans	Afrikaans
43	36	2	2	Afr/Eng	Afrikaans	Afrikaans	Afrikaans	Afr/Eng
49	35	2	1	Afr/Eng	Afrikaans	Afrikaans	Afrikaans	Afr/Eng
27	18	3	2	English	Afrikaans	Afrikaans	Afrikaans	Afrikaans

Table 3: Language use patterns of Sample A

From the table above we can make the following observations:

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[10] Although no schools in Stellenbosch are officially dual medium (both English and Afrikaans) these participants indicated that they had received schooling in both English and Afrikaans.

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- Participant no. 34 displays a shift towards bilingualism, even though he was raised in a traditionally Afrikaans family and community.

- Participant no. 43 uses Afrikaans and English at work, but the participant retains a strong Afrikaans identity.

- Participant no. 49 uses English and Afrikaans to communicate in the workplace, but still retains a strong Afrikaans identity across other domains.

- Participant no. 27 is one of the youngest participants in the study, although he attends an English medium school, he uses Afrikaans across all other domains.

Table 3 demonstrates that although 16% (selected sample as expressed in the table) of all participants attend or attended dual medium schools, i.e. Afrikaans-English, or English medium schools, there is still a common pattern, where Afrikaans is the language used to communicate across all domains, other than at school. The exception being participant 34, who grew up with Afrikaans, but whose use of both languages (English and Afrikaans) with his partner and in the community is a result of his personal bilingual identity. In this case his use of English cannot be regarded as language shift as he uses both languages, but generally Afrikaans is his means of communication across the domains outlined in the table and those discussed in the questionnaire.

4.2.2 Socio-economic status

Socio-economic status was another sociolinguistic factor that had to be examined to determine if it had an impact on the phenomenon of language shift from Afrikaans to English in the two semi-urban communities. As no direct questions were asked to determine socio-economic status, the

English/Afrikaans questionnaire was structured in such a manner that the researcher could determine the approximate socio-economic status of the household on the basis of the ratio of employed to unemployed members of the household and level of education of the participants, as well as on the basis of personal observation. The researcher was also able to determine the socio-economic status of the community as a whole, i.e. community 1 versus community 2, on the basis of available census data. As stated in Chapter 1, community 2 is a less affluent area, where the sample (25 households in the community) was all working class. In this community the highest qualification achieved by a participant was Grade 11. Community 1, on the other hand, is generally upper working class. In this community the candidates generally had some form of tertiary education.

During the data collection process, the researcher observed that in community 1 most of the households were free standing homes, with a yard, whereas households in community 2 had more than one house or shack (corrugated iron structure associated with informal settlements) on each plot, or participants lived in Wendy houses among other houses on the same plot. The houses sampled for this study in community 2 were also generally smaller, while those in community 1 were larger. As noted in Chapter 1, community 1 was established as a suburban area prior to 1901, whereas community 2 was demarcated and specifically created to become a Coloured settlement in the 1970s (Brink 2006: 23).

Table 3 above (sample A) can also be utilised here to see if socio-economic factors had an impact on the particular patterns of language shift or language maintenance in the two communities. Kamwangamalu (2007) has reiterated in his studies of language shift from

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indigenous languages to English that English is seen as a language of upward social mobility and one that offers better opportunities for employment. Therefore, traditionally Afrikaans speaking individuals such as those in this study would be expected to choose English if it is seen as having more prestige. Kamwangamalu (2007) links language shift from indigenous languages in South Africa, to the status and socio-economic rewards associated with English. Keeping his analysis in mind, the same participants selected for Sample A who attended a school where English or both English and Afrikaans were the languages of schooling were selected for further analysis. This is to investigate the effect of socio-economic status regarding possible language shift from Afrikaans to English using participants who were already potentially predisposed to shifting to English due to their language of schooling.

In order to determine whether participants would choose English for social mobility and economic rewards (i.e. to improve socio-economic status), participants were asked whether they have children, and if so what language they would prefer as their children's language of schooling.

For the participants in Sample A, participant 27 (generation 3) had no children. Participant 35 was the only one who chose only Afrikaans for her children's schooling. Participants 34, 49 and 50 all favoured both Afrikaans and English, while participants 9 and 22 chose English as the language preferred for their children's schooling. Finally, participant 49 expressed a preference for English and isiXhosa as his children's languages of schooling.

When asked why participants preferred the given language(s) for their children's schooling, only participant 9 indicated that her language preference for her children's schooling was based on the opportunities offered by English for social mobility and employment (option (i) on the questionnaire). Although participant 22 preferred English for her children's education, she still showed preference for Afrikaans as she selected option (v) on the questionnaire (for other reasons), and the reason given was that: *Afrikaans is makliker* ("Afrikaans is easier"), meaning that it is a language that is more accessible to her immediate family and the community. As participant 22's language of schooling was English, this could have had an impact on her preference for English as the medium of instruction for her children, however, across all the domains mentioned in table 3, Afrikaans is the language preferred by the participant.

For participants 34, 49, and 50 (who all chose both Afrikaans and English) the general reason for their choice was indicated by choosing option (v) on the questionnaire ("for other reasons"). The motivation given was that they and their children were *Afrikaans gebore* ("born Afrikaans"). However, participant 34 thought it would be better for her children to learn English as well for better opportunities, even though they generally use Afrikaans as the medium of communication at home. Finally, participant 43, who prefers that her children be taught in English and isiXhosa, was adamant that her child should learn other languages:

(3)   *Hy moet ander tale leer*

         (He must learn other languages)

An interesting case is that of participant 21. This participant uses Afrikaans across most domains, especially the intimate domains, except in the church where she prefers the sermons to be in English. This participant shared her wish to have her pre-primary son to learn to speak Afrikaans, English and isiXhosa. She expressed her pride in how her son was able to grasp a few words in Xhosa. The son often spends time with his grandfather who owns a shop where Xhosa-speaking people work for the family and are part of their clients. The family generally speak to the child in Afrikaans, but the contact he has with his grandfather's employees and Xhosa-speaking clients allow him to pick-up words in English and Xhosa. Participant 21 was intrigued that her son was able to identify items in the store when Xhosa-speaking clients ordered goods, and he would fetch them for the clients.

The data collected from participant 21 could be regarded as a demonstration of language attitudes affecting language choice. However, the researcher is of the opinion that this specific case illustrates that the prevalent pattern of language shift is not one from Afrikaans to English, but a shift towards increased bi/multilingualism. Evidence for this comes from comments by the participants (in some cases where responses were not solicited by the questionnaire) about the need to be able to communicate in English and Afrikaans; and in certain cases isiXhosa.

Based on the results of Sample A, that show no definite shift from Afrikaans to English, among individuals that would like to enrol their children in dual medium or English medium schools, as the participants generally use Afrikaans, or Afrikaans and English, across the main domains, it can be deduced that:

- In Sample A the parents acknowledge the value attached to English as a language of social mobility and better work opportunities.

- They communicate with their children in Afrikaans and in some cases Afrikaans and English, but Afrikaans remains the predominant language of communication across all domains in Sample A and across the study, except in the workplace, where participants work with individuals that speak isiXhosa or other indigenous languages, where they have to speak in English with their co-workers.

In general, most of the participants in the entire study were adamant and proud about preserving the Afrikaans language. They responded to questions such as why they prefer to use Afrikaans (in the domains mentioned in Chapter 1) with comments such as the one shown below in (4):

(4)   *Ek is gebore Afrikaans*

        (I was born Afrikaans)

In the overall study of 50 households, comparing the two communities, it was evident that community 1 has less unemployment (25%), while community 2 has higher unemployment (37%). Community 2 also has more individuals of school going age, who are child dependants that do not contribute to the household income (32%), compared to community 1 (30%). When the number of residents per household is compared in both communities, community 2 has a higher density of residents per household, with 131 residents, in 25 households, in contrast to 121 in 25 households in community 1. This slight discrepancy in socio-economic standing between community 1 and community 2 does not appear to have had an effect on the patterns of

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language shift observed however; in fact the overall assessment is that language shift has not occurred in either community.

As stated in Chapter 1, both community 1 and community 2 are working class communities, although community 1 is generally a more affluent area. Moreover, even though the Western Cape is the second richest province in South Africa, there are huge disparities in terms of unemployment and, based on the researcher's experience on living in community 1, there are high levels of casual and seasonal employment in both communities. Therefore, it would be expected that language shift from Afrikaans to English is likely to be underway, due to the socio-economic rewards associated with the English language (Kamwangamalu 2007). Additionally, because the communities are generally working class, it would be expected that gaining access to a language that could afford the participants with a means for upward social mobility, would eventually result in language shift to English L1. However this was not the case among the participants in this study. It should be noted that in the study by Anthonissen (2009), socio-economic status possibly plays a role in language shift from Afrikaans L1 to English L1. Anthonissen's (2009) research showed that language shift is happening in middle class Coloured families, but notes that this is not necessarily a phenomenon prevalent in poorer communities. This is indeed what the present study appears to confirm, namely that the working class (poorer) community 2 is not undergoing language shift. Even in the upper working class community 1 no language shift is occurring, making language shift to English a phenomenon that appears to be restricted to middle class Coloured families.

4.2.3 Language attitudes

The third sociolinguistic aspect relevant to this study is language attitudes, which has been defined (in Chapter 1) as the ideas, or even emotions, that people have with regard to a particular language or a number of languages. In the context of this study, language attitudes should be understood with regard to the language preferences and feelings expressed about Afrikaans and English, which are the languages under observation in the investigation of language shift in the two semi-urban Western Cape communities. It is fitting to highlight the questions that relate to language preference to gauge the attitudes the participants have about the languages, in order to assess whether there are patterns of language shift that were influenced by the language attitudes of the participants in the study. Table 3 above contained answers to questions about language preferences in various domains. However, to look at the study as a whole, instead of a sample sub-population from the 50 households, two questions from the questionnaire, (r) and (s), given below in (5) and (6), will form the basis for the inquiry into the language attitudes of the participants. The data collected relating to these questions will be analysed alongside a matrix that allowed the participants to rate their proficiency in Afrikaans, English and any other languages that the participant indicated they could speak.

(5)   Do you find it valuable to know more than one language?

(6)   Do you find it difficult to use different languages at different times?

Figure 2 below confirms the observations made in sections 4.2.1 and 4.2.2, namely that there is a shift towards bilingualism as a result of the need to be able to communicate in more public domains in a bi/multicultural society. This figure shows that 94% of the participants are of the opinion that knowing more than one language, i.e. Afrikaans and English, is important.
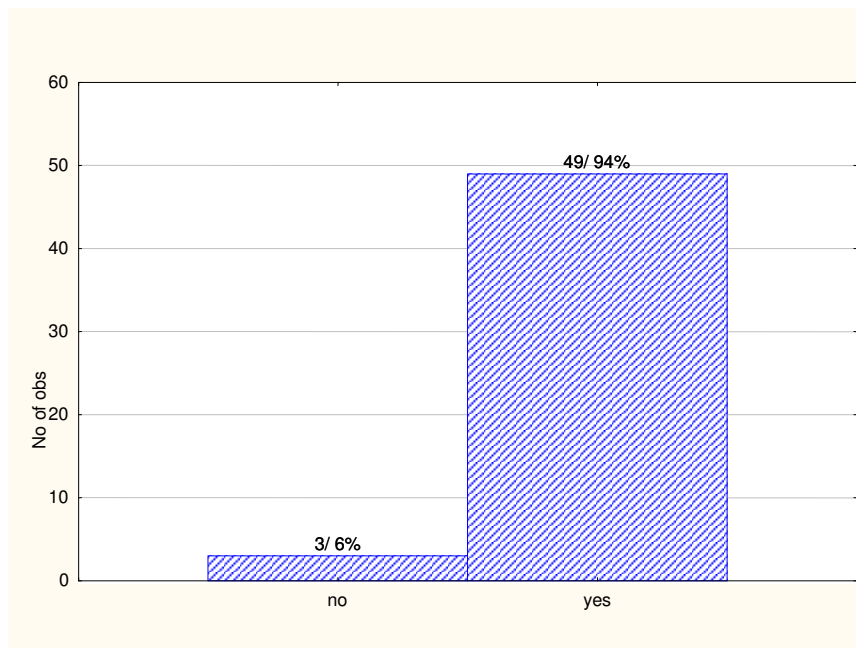
Figure 2: Number of participants who believe it valuable to know more than one language

The three participants (6%) that did not agree with the statement that it is valuable to know more than one language were participants 4, 42 and 52. Participant 4 and 52 are both from community 1, participant 4 is a 71 year old female, while participant 42 is a 31 year old female from community 2. They all therefore live in an Afrikaans community and use Afrikaans across all domains. Participant 4 put forward her age, and answered for herself, not for younger members of her family, giving the response in (7).

(7)   *Op my ouderdom dis nie belangrik nie*

(At my age it's not important) [Referring to the importance of knowing more than one language].

Additionally, to the question about finding it difficult to use different languages at different times, she responded that:

(8)   *Dis moelik om my ouderdom Engels te leer*

(It's difficult at my age to learn English)

Participant 52 commented that she was born Afrikaans, which is the language she is used to and that everyone in her family and in the community (referring to the people she has contact with in the community) is Afrikaans.

In community 2, participant 42, a 28 year old female, stated that she does not find it valuable to know more than one language. Despite this, she does not use only Afrikaans across all domains. She uses both Afrikaans and English in close family interactions, and indicated that she would have preferred English as her language of schooling because she feels it would have made it easier for her to communicate with other people that are not Afrikaans. Her attitude towards both Afrikaans and English shows a clear need to be more proficient and competent in speaking English. Although, she admits that the whole community is Afrikaans (*Almal is Afrikaans*), she understands that not having command of another language, i.e. English, can be limiting:

(9)   *Meeste van ons is almal Afrikaans, <u>some people</u> verstaan nie Afrikaans nie*

Most of us are Afrikaans, some people don't understand Afrikaans.

She also stated that:

(10)   *As jy Afrikaans praat, moet jy dit leer*

(If you speak Afrikaans you must learn it) [referring to the English language, that people

should learn to speak the language even when they are Afrikaans speaking]

The patterns of language attitudes that were evident in the data collected could be categorised

into two distinct groups. The first group (group 1) had Afrikaans as a first language. They were

the least proficient in English. The second group (group 2) also had Afrikaans as a first language,

but has a strong bilingual identity. The participants in this study largely belonged to group 2, as

they (in either one of the less intimate domains such as in the church or workplace) communicate

with people who speak other languages, especially English. The attitudes of the individuals in

group 1 are evident in the data from participant 24, a 40 year old female who says:

(11)   *Ek het nie ander tale geleer nie*

(I did not learn other languages)

As a response to question (6) participant 24 further added that:

(12)   *Ek ken nie ander tale nie*

        (I don't know other languages)

Group 2 participants can be found across the study as most participants (94%) (see Figure 2 above) attached some value to having the ability to speak both English and Afrikaans. Their reasons were varied, but there were also commonalities within this group. Some participants stated simply that they were bilingual, while others commented that English makes them more accessible to English-speaking people as they can communicate better outside of the intimate domains of home and family. It was also important for them to be able to communicate in the workplace with non-Afrikaans speakers and English was the medium that would facilitate this interaction. Nevertheless, it should be noted that where the participants (adults) expressed a need to be more proficient in English, or in some cases Xhosa, it was more for them to be able to communicate with their co-workers. Factors of social mobility and work opportunities (when evaluating the comments extracted from the questionnaire) are not regarded as determining factors for the parents to prefer English. Instead, they regard English as affording their children better work opportunities. With that said, Afrikaans remained a strong language for indexing their identity, 92% of the participants with children (79% of the entire study) have the same first language as their children.

To further assess language attitudes, the final section of the English/Afrikaans questionnaire asked the participants to rate their proficiency in Afrikaans, English and any other language(s).

To measure language shift from Afrikaans to English among the two semi-urban communities, rating their proficiency or perceived proficiency was a yardstick to evaluate whether the language attitudes of the target population (in the study) gave an indication of possible language shift from Afrikaans L1 to English L1. Figure 3 below presents the results for participant rating of Afrikaans proficiency.
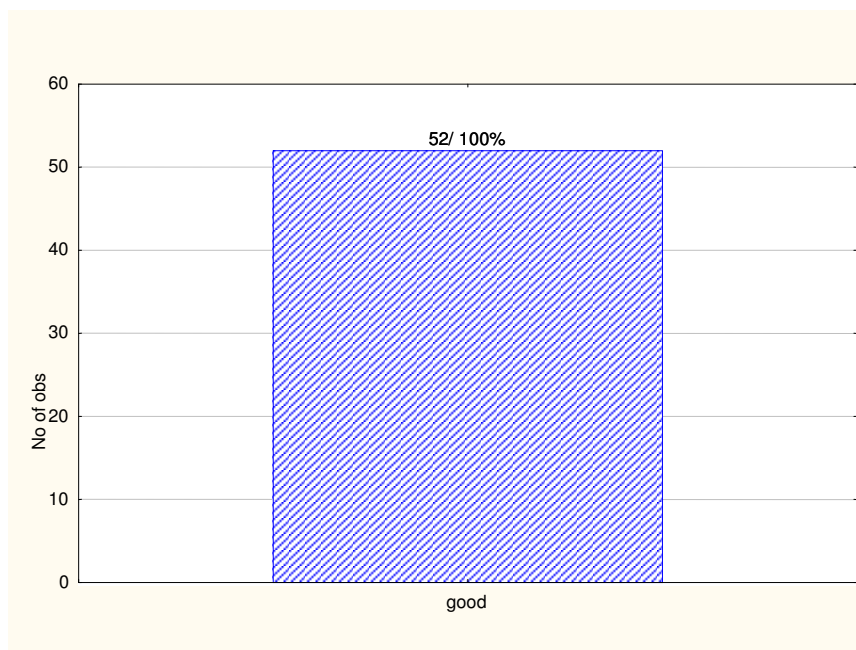
Figure 3: Participants rating of Afrikaans proficiency

The data collected showed that 100% of participants gave themselves a rating of "Good" in the measurement matrix with regard to their spoken proficiency in Afrikaans. This is in stark contrast to the number of participants (38%) that ranked their ability to speak English as "Good", as shown by figure 4 below. The majority of the participants generally rated their proficiency in speaking English as "Fair".

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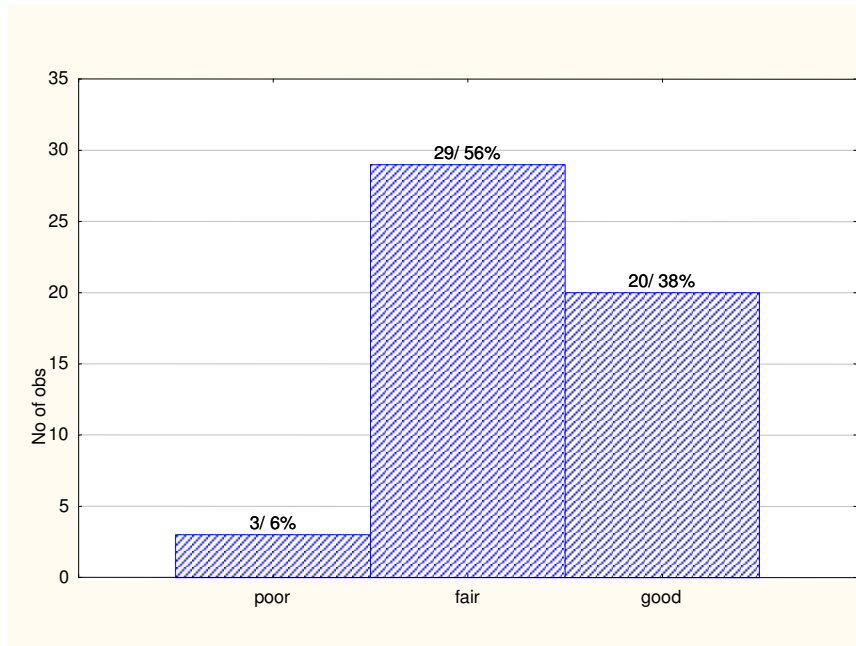
Figure 4: Participants rating of English proficiency

In general, in this study, participants rated their language proficiency in Afrikaans higher, than their English proficiency. The overall sentiment with regard to language attitudes is that participants have a strong sense of an Afrikaans identity. Afrikaans plays a key role as a language significant for indexing their identity. This is consistent with the observations of Dyers (2007, 2008) about the importance of vernacular Afrikaans in working class Coloured communities. This also correlates to the overall assessment given in section 4.1 that language shift from Afrikaans to English has not occurred in the two specific Western Cape communities.

4.3   Data - Conclusions

Research by Kamwangamalu (2007) has generally established that language shift from indigenous languages to English is taking place among the urban black elite in South Africa. The qualitative studies by Anthonissen and George (2003) and Anthonissen (2009) also provide evidence of language shift among traditionally Afrikaans L1 communities (across three generations) from Afrikaans L1 to English L1. These studies indicate that a shift has occurred from generation 1 (grandparents 65+) to their grandchildren (10-25+) among certain Western Cape communities. However, in the data collected for this study, there was no evidence of language shift from Afrikaans L1 to English L1, even among participants who regarded English as the language of social mobility and a language that would offer their children better work opportunities. The data collected showed a distinct pattern of the transfer of Afrikaans from generation 2 to generation 3. Omoniyi and Fishman (2006: 93) remark that the ability for parents to transfer their ancestral language to their children or the degree to which the younger generation uses the language, could be a litmus test for language maintenance and shift. Nevertheless, they find:

> that individuals' decisions to transmit or not to transmit the ancestral language is often not influenced by generation alone, but also by other factors, such as the status of the ancestral language in the wider society, government's language policy vis-à-vis the ancestral language in question, community support, etc.

> (Omoniyi & Fishman 2006: 93)

In this study, the transmission of the ancestral language, Afrikaans, happened successfully, as 100% of the target group regarded Afrikaans as their first language. Although in this study, age is one of the sociolinguistic factors observed to determine if there has been a shift from generation 1 to generation 3, this factor is not observed in isolation.

What can be said for community 1 and community 2 is that the Afrikaans language is valued across all domains. As the studies by Anthonissen and George (2003) and Anthonissen (2009) were quite convincing in showing that there is language shift among traditionally Afrikaans L1 communities to English L1, it should be noted that these studies were conducted in communities located in the Cape Metropolitan area. One can speculate that either the process of language shift is localised in or around the Cape Metropolitan, or that the two semi-urban communities discussed in the present study have not been greatly affected by such a shift. Anthonissen (2009) notes that the language shift observed is occurring in middle class Coloured communities. In this study however, the participants were all working class, living in fairly closed communities. The lack of language shift in these communities therefore correlates with evidence that language shift is a phenomenon more prevalent among middle class communities (Anthonissen 2009, Kamwangamalu 2007).

My experience as a student that lived in community 1 for five years has been that it is a fairly closed community and that people tend to live and work in the area or surrounding areas, therefore, they have no (or little contact) with people from different linguistic groups. It is noted that the people in these communities are in contact with other groups with different languages, but the communities are fairly insulated as they are not mixed/multicultural by nature. Generally,

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only Afrikaans L1 Coloured residents live in the specific communities that are part of this study. One residential area that is located close to community 2 is a predominantly black township. This is where black Xhosa-speaking people, who are not students at the University of Stellenbosch, generally live. This could explain the data that indicates a need to learn to speak isiXhosa, as the contact that Afrikaans L1 speakers in community 1 and community 2, generally have with non-Afrikaans speaking people, could be with residents of this community. They might even work, shop, and share the same social spaces. Nonetheless, in terms of the demarcation of living spaces, the two semi-urban communities are mainly occupied by Afrikaans-speaking Coloured residents in a "pocket" of predominantly Afrikaans speaking communities. This is a different context to that of Anthonissen and George (2003), Anthonissen (2009) and Farmer (2008), who have found evidence of language shift in the Cape Metropolitan area.

The data that were collected for the present study are congruent with the results of the study conducted by Anthonie (2009) of a community in Hooyvlakte, Beaufort West, where 93% of the participants regarded Afrikaans as their first language, and where Afrikaans is mostly used in the intimate domains (family interactions, and with friends), in the church and in the community. The results of the study by Anthonie (2009), which also involved the administration of a questionnaire, correlate with the results of the present study, as Anthonie (2009) also found that while the participants used both Afrikaans and English in the workplace, they still retained a strong Afrikaans identity. Anthonie (2009) remarks that there is a shift towards greater bilingualism, something which can also be said in the case of the two semi-urban communities.

In Chapter 2 we saw that there can be a set of codes used to demonstrate the association or relationship that the African population has with the English language (Kamwangamalu 2007: 264). A "they-code" - for members in the community that have no access to the language; a "we-code" - for the language that was used for anti-apartheid campaigns; and a "naturalised we-code" - for the black elite currently experiencing language shift from indigenous languages to English. It can be inferred that in both communities currently (based on the sample in the study) English is somewhere between a "they code" and a "we code". On the one hand, there are individuals that are not willing to or do not see the value of speaking English. These individuals in all likelihood have no contact with other people who speak English or another language apart from Afrikaans. They live in an Afrikaans community and have little access to the English language. On the other hand, there are those that have had or have contact with English-speaking individuals either in an environment of learning, or at work and value the ability to speak English in addition to Afrikaans.

Omoyini and Fishman (2006:93) refer to Reagan's (2001: 63) statement that

> although neither Afrikaans nor most of the indigenous African languages are in any immediate danger, language shift towards English is taking place at an accelerated rate... It seems like in these communities English is becoming the medium of communication in the family, a domain which is traditionally the preserve of the indigenous languages.

This assessment is in line with statements made by Kamwangamalu (2007), who focuses on language shift among the African urban elite. Omoniyi and Fishman (2006: 93) further refer to

the observation by Appel and Muysken (2006: 41) that domain intrusion is a clear warning of language shift. Even so, in the data collected in the present study, among the 50 households in the two semi-urban communities, the only first language was Afrikaans, and in most domains, except in the church or workplace, the preferred language was Afrikaans. It can also be argued that the church environment has become more multicultural in that people from different cultures, linguistic backgrounds and localities are attending the same churches as the people in the above mentioned communities, which could explain why English is being used in traditionally Afrikaans churches located in these communities. Still, Afrikaans is the most widely used language for church services in these communities. It is evident from the data collected that in the two communities the conditions that appear to be general indicators of language shift, as highlighted above, are not prevalent, and could therefore indicate that there is no (or little) shift from Afrikaans L1 to English L1.

4.4   Code-switching

Another aim of this study was to observe any code-switching that took place in the administration of the questionnaire to assess if participants used more than one language during a conversation. Taking into account that the questionnaire was not structured to provide an in-depth investigation of this phenomenon and that participants were not involved in recorded interviews where specific patterns of code-switching could be evaluated, the researcher relied on questions (r) and (s) (discussed above), which required the participants to offer explanations for their response, to see if the participants unconsciously code-switched between English and Afrikaans.

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The researcher initially asked the candidates in English if they preferred that the research topic and aim be explained to them in Afrikaans or English. Whichever the participants preferred the researcher used to explain what the research was about. Generally, participants understood both English and Afrikaans, but responded to the questionnaire primarily in Afrikaans, except in cases where participants specifically indicated that they would like the questionnaire to be conducted in English.

The table below shows the examples of code-switching among five participants (10% of the entire study) who were selected, as they code-switched between Afrikaans and English in their responses to questions (r) and (s) in the questionnaire[11].

Participant no.	Do you find it valuable to know more than one language? Give a reason for your answer.	Do you find it difficult to use different languages at different times? Give a reason for your answer.
6		My **boyfriend** praat met my in Engels/ "My **boyfriend** talks to me in English"
13	Dit gee vir jou 'n **chance** met verskillende kulture te komunikeer/ "It gives you a **chance** with different cultures to communicate"	Ek vind dit nie moelik nie, ek is op 'n **level of being fully bilingual in English** en Afrikaans/ "I don't find it difficult, I am on a **level of being fully bilingual** in English and Afrikaans"
30	Jy kan met enige een met 'n **different** taal komunikeer/ "You can communicate with anyone with a **different** language"	Ek is **well gifted** met tale, Engels en Afrikaans, ek het familie wat hulle huistaal Engels is/ "I am **well gifted** with languages, English and Afrikaans, I have family whose home language is English"

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[11] See Addendum A

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49		Ek **mix** Afrikaans en Engels deurmekaar/ "I **mix** Afrikaans and English together"
51	**For yourself**, dis goed vir jouself, sommige mense praat nie Engels nie / "**For yourself**, it's good for yourself, some people don't speak English"	

Table 4: Incidences of code-switching by five participants

In Table 4 incidences of code-switching are highlighted and underlined. Generally, most participants never code-switched when they responded to the questionnaire. The participants responded mostly in Afrikaans without using English words, and where the participants responded in English, they also used English throughout the duration of the questionnaire. It is interesting to note that although participant 13 made the statement below as shown in (13), she still code-switched, as can be seen in (14). She sees herself as a bilingual and is proud that her daughter married a Frenchman who appreciates different languages.

(13)   *Mixing English and Afrikaans is bad for Afrikaans*

(14)   *My son in-law's vision is to speak all languages, **my dogter wil goed** bilingual **wees***

                                        (my daughter would like to become a good bilingual)

What can be deduced from this is that although participants in community 1 and community 2 are becoming more bilingual in English and Afrikaans, they generally speak Afrikaans without mixing both languages during a conversation, at least to the extent observed by the researcher.

4.5   Summary

This chapter has provided the results of the collected data to investigate language shift from Afrikaans to English and to a lesser degree, code-switching, in the two semi-urban Western Cape communities. The data collected in 50 households were presented according to the framework of the preceding chapters: to establish the rationale for the study, to sketch the context in which the research project was embedded, as well as to evaluate, compare and correlate the collected data with the existing body of literature.

The association of the Afrikaans language with the former political regime was one aspect that was indirectly observed in this study. The researcher wanted to see if the participants made references to Afrikaans as the language of the former oppressive government. Additionally, as the researcher wanted to retain the authenticity of the collected data, participants were never asked questions that related to this topic. In this case, as with the observation of code-switching between Afrikaans and English, the researcher wanted this perspective to come from the participants without any form of coercion or direct questions that solicited this sort of response. Kamwangamalu (2007) comments that one of the factors linked to language shift from indigenous languages to English, is this association of Afrikaans with the period when South Africa was politically unstable and racially segregated. It can be concluded from the collected data that the participants in this study are proud of their Afrikaans identity and they expressed no disdain or anger towards Afrikaans due to its ties with the previous political regime.

As previously mentioned, some participants were adamant that Afrikaans is their home language and they need to preserve the language. It can be inferred that although there was no identified language shift from Afrikaans to English, the fact that there is increased bilingualism has nothing to do with the perceived negative perception of the Afrikaans language, as the language of the previous political order that promoted racial segregation and separate development.

Chapter 5: Discussion and conclusion

The focus of this thesis has been on the phenomenon of language shift. Specifically, the thesis undertook to answer the question of what patterns of language shift can be observed in the two semi-urban Western Cape communities, and to what sociolinguistic aspects (i.e. age, socio-economic status, and language attitudes) these patterns of language shift could be ascribed. The hypothesis underlying these questions, based on previous research by Anthonissen (2009) among others, was that language shift from Afrikaans to English is occurring in the Western Cape.

Data was collected in 50 households (25 from community 1 and 25 from community 2), with an English/Afrikaans questionnaire that was structured in such a manner that the researcher could establish an informal sketch of the socio-economic profile of the households and eventually the communities for this study. It was established that the households that were part of this study were inhabited by working class individuals with mainly high school education, with most participants being female. Additionally, this study attempted to collect data across three distinct generations: age group 65+ (generation 1); 35+ (generation 2); and 15-25+ (generation 3) participants.

This thesis consists of five chapters, with the introductory section, Chapter 1, introducing the research question and the research approach. This chapter also examined the sociolinguistic aspects of the research question in relation to the study. Firstly, the two semi-urban Western Cape communities were discussed, together with a characterisation of the Western Cape setting.

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This was followed by a detailed examination of the components of context in this study, namely age, gender, socio-economic status, language shift and language attitudes. The phenomenon of language shift was further explored in Chapter 2, along with an explication of the language situation in South Africa with regard to Afrikaans and English.

Chapter 3 introduced the research instrument, an English/Afrikaans questionnaire, and also presented the validity of this instrument for collecting data for this particular study. The system implemented for data collection was random sampling, a quick process that complemented the research instrument because the questionnaire was an important tool to collect as much data as possible, within a short time span. This also provided the researcher with leverage to select the households randomly, which ensured that the specified target of 50 households could be reached, despite the limited number of households that could be sampled as these are not large communities (see population statistics presented in Chapter 1). It was also important that the data collected were not clustered in small pockets of the community, and part of this exercise meant the researcher travelled through the communities and selected households that were not in close proximity to each other. Therefore, it cannot be said that the study is a total representation of both community 1 and community 2, but the data collected is a sound benchmark to provide a holistic perspective of the investigation of two specific Afrikaans L1 Western Cape communities.

As noted in Chapter 2, the literature on language shift in South Africa focuses largely on the marginalisation of indigenous languages and language shift experienced by urban black communities. Nonetheless, research by Anthonissen and George (2003) and Anthonissen (2009)

has shown that language shift is occurring in traditionally Afrikaans Western Cape communities. In research by both Farmer (2008) and Anthonissen (2009), there is evidence of language shift from Afrikaans to English, with distinctive patterns that can be categorised as a shift from generation 2 where the parents are more bilingual in Afrikaans and English, and the younger generation (generation 3) is English monolingual or have a strong English L1 identity.

Against this background, the present study has shown that language shift has not occurred in the two semi-urban communities. The hypothesis that language shift from Afrikaans to English is taking place in all Western Cape communities is therefore false. The data presented in this thesis support the observation that the phenomenon of language shift is a varied and dynamic one that is different for different communities. While the prestige attached to the English language is a factor which could inspire language shift, in the communities investigated in this study it appears that the community's own sense of self and cultural and/or linguistic identification acts as a buffer against a new language, regardless of the economic benefits associated with the new language. This is in line with the findings of Anthonie (2009), in her study of the Western Cape community of Hooyvlakte, Beaufort West.

The main findings of the study are based on the results presented in Chapter 4. From the data collected, there is no evidence of language shift from Afrikaans to English in the two semi-urban communities. Afrikaans is used across a number of domains, and almost exclusively in the intimate domains, with English use increasing in the workplace and to a lesser extent in the church. It is not surprising that English would intrude in the work domain as this is one of the most open domains across all of them. This domain is where the participants will have access to

people that are English-speaking instead of Afrikaans-speaking, and, as stated before, English has become the language of business and commerce in South Africa. The participants showed enthusiasm about learning English for communicating in the workplace, and there were cases where isiXhosa was mentioned as a language that participants would like to acquire (or have their children acquire) because they work with Xhosa-speaking staff and would like to be able to communicate with them better.

As expressed in a summary of the study by Anthonie (2009), the community of Hooyvlakte showed resilience against language shift but there was a significant increase in bilingualism in this community. This pattern was also observed in the present study. The two semi-urban communities appear resilient against the pull of the English language despite factors such as upward social mobility, and work opportunities. This is not to say, however, that they are not aware of the benefits of speaking English outside of their communities. This sentiment was expressed by the participants, but they still prefer to use Afrikaans, even in the workplace, as they feel it is their home language and they must protect the language and pass it along to future generations. It has also been mentioned that language shift can be observed when the older generation cannot transmit their ancestral language to the younger generation (Omoniyi and Fishman 2006: 93). However, the data collected indicated that the Afrikaans language was successfully transmitted from the older generation (35+) to the younger generation (15 - 25+), as all participants (aged 15 - 88) regarded Afrikaans as their first language.

This thesis focused specifically on two semi-urban communities, located outside the Cape Metropolitan area, to see if language shift is underway in these communities. The significance of

this data for the study of language shift is that it has demonstrated that language shift is a dynamic phenomenon that varies from community to community, and it cannot be generalised based on common results of studies focused on a shift from Afrikaans to English. This means that even though it has been indicated that language shift can be attributed to a subset of factors such as the need for upward social mobility, better work opportunities (Kamwangamalu 2007), and even a conscious language choice by parents for their children, or the children's own language preferences and attitudes towards their Afrikaans L1 (Anthonissen 2009; Farmer 2008), the patterns of this shift cannot be used as a model that can be applicable in most or even all (Coloured) communities in the Western Cape.

The data collected and discussed in Chapter 4 reveals that language shift from Afrikaans to English is not prevalent in all communities and that the premise that urban, or even semi-urban communities are prone or could be experiencing language shift from Afrikaans to English due to the economic value attached to the English language, is not true in all cases. Moreover, language is an important marker of identity, and the experience of language shift or even language maintenance, in the communities observed for this study, like other linguistic groups, whether it is the Batswana in Botswana, the Xhosa-speaking people in the Eastern Cape, or Afrikaans speaking farm workers in the deep rural communities of the Northern Cape, will depend on the particular community, and could be influenced by a range of factors such as age, socio-economic status, language choice, language attitudes and other external factors that impact on how the individuals communicate across a broad category of domains, both intimate and the more public domain such as the workplace.

This study was limited in terms of the number of participants sampled, although 50 households is a reasonable sample to identify distinctive patterns with regard to language shift. The study was unable to include three participants across three generations in every household, as was the case with the data collected by Anthonissen (2009). However, as expressed in preceding chapters, the scope of this research project did not require the participation of more participants and/or most households in both communities. This approach could have been redundant as the data demonstrates that results were identical in terms of first language and language use across the chosen domains for the study for all generations, and this was the status quo in both communities. Also, the overall data collected from participants represented three generations, even though the procedure did not specifically target three participants per household. The two communities are located within relatively close proximity of each other. Although there is no certainty that distance away between both communities will predict what similarities or differences will be observed in terms of the patterns of language shift, it can be deduced that there are significant synergies and similarities in both communities. Their experience of language shift and language maintenance is most likely to be similar based on this geographic proximity.

Although code-switching was another aspect on which the data was supposed to provide evidence, there were minimal examples of code-switching. However, it would be myopic not to indicate that an investigation of code-switching in the two communities would require a different study focused solely on this phenomenon.

This research indicates that even if indigenous languages have become the focus area for the study of language shift (Kamwangamalu 2007), it should be noted that language shift is not just a phenomenon that is occurring in urban black communities among the growing elite or even middle class. There are other case studies, which show language shift among Indian communities (Mesthrie 1992), in the white Afrikaans–speaking community (de Klerk & Bosch 1998), and even among Coloureds in the Cape Metropolitan area (Anthonissen 2009). This means that language shift should also be evaluated as a phenomenon that cuts across cross cultural cleavages. It occurs across communities, linguistic groups and cultures, and the patterns of this shift could be similar or differ across different categories.

Looking at the Sample A, discussed in Chapter 4, section 4.2.1, it would be a credible topic to investigate language use and choices of Afrikaans home language high school students enrolled in English medium schools, a study that would be similar to the one by Farmer (2008). This would be another approach to assess if language shift from Afrikaans to English is likely among the younger generation. The study should be both quantitative and qualitative, a selected number of students could be chosen from grade 9 to 12 and this data (quantitative) will determine which participants will be selected to have structured interviews (qualitative) with the children's parents to find out if there has been a shift that can be attributed to their children's language of schooling.

Another possible research project would be to investigate the phenomenon of language shift from isiXhosa to English in Kayamandi; a semi-urban mostly black 'township' located just on the outskirts of Stellenbosch. The objective of this particular study would be to ascertain if there

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are patterns of language shift in this community. The data collected to see if there are patterns or no evidence of language shift, could be compared against the mainstay of literature on language shift in black communities, as presented by Kamwangamalu (2007).

A possible research linked to this study would be one were the collected data in the Kayamandi community (as referred to above), would be compared against the data collected in community 2. This specific research project would evaluate if there are similarities or differences in the patterns of language shift in Kayamandi and community 2. Such research would provide important data on language shift and/or language maintenance in two starkly different communities that are located close to each other, but where one is a mainly black township and the other a Coloured township.

The data collected showed that language shift from Afrikaans to English has not taken place in the two semi-urban Western Cape communities. Even though age, socio-economic status and language attitudes provided the tools to check for language shift from Afrikaans to English, the data proved that Afrikaans remains a significant marker of identity for individuals in both communities. It is the language used across a number of domains, but this strong Afrikaans identity has not become a hindrance to increased bilingualism in Afrikaans and English, or even an appreciation of multilingualism in the two semi-urban communities.

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Addendum A

Questionnaire/ Vraelys

Please mark the relevant box with an X or write an explanation where necessary / Merk asb. die relevante blokkie met 'n X of skryf 'n verduideliking waar nodig

1.   Household / Huishouding

[completed for primary participant in each household / voltooi vir hoofdelemer in elke huishouding]

(a) How many people live in this house? / Hoeveel mense bly in hierdie huis?

_____

(b) How many people in this house are school-going age or younger? / Hoeveel mense in hierdie huis is van skoolgaan ouderdom of jonger?

_____

(c) How many people in this house are out of school and unemployed/casual labour? / Hoeveel mense in hierdie huis is uit die skool uit en sonder werk/'n los werker?

_____

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(d) How many people in this house have full employment? / Hoeveel mense in hierdie huis het

   voltydse werk?

_____

(e) How many people in this house are retired? / Hoeveel mense in hierdie huis is afgetree?

_____

2.   Individual participant / Individuele deelnemer

      [completed for each participant / voltooi vir elke deelnemer]

(a) Age / Ouderdom _____

(b) Gender / Geslag _____

(c) Level of education / Graad van onderrig (e.g. std 3, graad 10, etc. / bv. std 3, graad 10, ens.)

_____

3.   Language / Taal

      [completed for each adult participant / voltooi vir elke volwassene deelnemer]

(a) Which language do you regard as your first language? / Watter taal beskou jy as jou eerste

   taal?

□ Afrikaans

□ English/Engels

□ Other/Ander _____

(b) What language do you use with your partner? Watter taal gebruik jy met jou eggenoot?

□ Afrikaans

□ English/Engels

□ Other/Ander _____

(c) Which language(s) are used in close family interactions? / Watter taal/tale word gebruik

tydens familie interaksies?

□ Afrikaans

□ English/Engels

□ Other/Ander _____

(d) What was your language of schooling? / Wat was jou taal van onderrig?

□ Afrikaans

□ English/Engels

□ Other/Ander _____

(e) Which language would you have prefered as your language of schooling? Watter taal sou jy

verkies het as jou taal van onderrig?

□ Afrikaans

□ English/Engels

☐ Other/Ander _____

(f) What language do you (did you) use when speaking to your parents? / Watter taal gebruik jy (het jy gebruik) wanneer jy met jou ouers praat?

☐ Afrikaans

☐ English/Engels

☐ Other/Ander _____

(g) Is your first language different from that of your parents? Het jy 'n ander eerste taal as jou ouers?

☐ Yes/Ja

☐ No/Nee

If **No /** Indien **Nee**:

(h) Whose choice was it? / Wie se keuse was dit?

_____

If **Yes /** Indien **Ja**:

(i) Why did your parents want you to speak a different language? / Hoekom wou jou ouers hê dat jy 'n ander taal praat?

☐ (i) improve social mobility / verbeter sosiale vooruitgang

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□ (ii) improve employment opportunities / verbeter werksgeleenthede

□ (iii) better schools and better educational opportunities / beter skole en beter

opvoedingsgeleenthede

□ (iv) Afrikaans is language of the former oppressive government (political reasons) / Afrikaans

is die taal van die voormalige onderdrukkende regering (politieke redes)

□ (v) Other/Ander _____

(ff)   Do you have children? Het jy kinders?

□ Yes/Ja

□ No/Nee

If **Yes /** Indien **ja**

(gg)   What language do you use when speaking to your child(ren)? / Watter taal gebruik jy

wanneer jy met jou kind(ers) praat?

□ Afrikaans

□ English/Engels

□ Other/Ander _____

(hh)   Is your first language different from that of your child(ren)? Het jy 'n ander eerste taal as

jou kind(ers)?

□ Yes/Ja

□ No/Nee

If **No /** Indien **Nee**:

(ii) Whose choice was it? / Wie se keuse was dit?

_____

If **Yes /** Indien **Ja**:

(j) Why did you want your children to speak a different language? / Hoekom wou jy gehad het

jou kinders moes 'n ander taal praat?

□ (i) improve social mobility / verbeter sosiale vooruitgang

□ (ii) improve employment opportunities / verbeter werksgeleenthede

□ (iii) better schools and better educational opportunities / beter skole en beter

opvoedingsgeleenthede

□ (iv) Afrikaans is language of the former oppressive government (political reasons) / Afrikaans

is die taal van die voormalige onderdrukkende regering (politieke redes)

□ (v) Other/Ander _____

(k) Which language would you prefer as their language of schooling? / Watter taal sal jy verkies

as hulle taal van onderrig?

□ Afrikaans

□ English/Engels

□ Other/Ander _____

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(l) Why do you prefer this language as the language of schooling? / Hoekom verkies jy hierdie

taal as ʼn taal van onderrig?

□ (i) improve social mobility/ verbeter sosiale vooruitgang

□ (ii) improve employment opportunities/ verbeter werksgeleenthede

□ (iii) better schools and better educational opportunities/ beter skole en beter

opvoedingsgeleenthede

□ (iv) Afrikaans is the language of the former oppressive government (political reasons)/

Afrikaans is die taal van die voormalige onderdrukkende regering (politieke redes)

□ (v) Other/Ander _____

(m) What language do you use the most when talking to other people in the community? / Watter

taal gebruik jy die meeste wanneer jy met ander mense in die gemeenskap praat?

□ Afrikaans

□ English/Engels

□ Other/Ander _____

(n) If you go to church, what language(s) is/are used for church services? / Wanneer jy kerk toe

gaan watter taal/tale word gebruik vir die kerkdienste?

□ Afrikaans

□ English/Engels

□ Other/Ander _____

(o) Which language would you prefer for church services and why? / Watter taal sal jy verkeies vir kerkdienste en hoekom?

□ Afrikaans

□ English/Engels

□ Other/Ander _____

_____

_____

_____

_____

(p) Which language(s) do you use at work? / Watter taal/tale gebruik jy by die werk?

□ Afrikaans

□ English/Engels

□ Other/Ander _____

(q) Which language would you prefer to use when speaking to a co-worker? / Watter taal sal jy verkies om te gebruik wanneer jy met 'n medewerker praat?

□ Afrikaans

□ English/Engels

□ Other/Ander _____

(r) Do you find it valuable to know more than one language? Give a reasons for your answer / Vind jy dit waardevol om meer as een taal te ken? Gee 'n rede vir jou antwoord

105

□ Yes/Ja

□ No/Nee

_____

_____

_____

_____

(s) Do you find it difficult to use different languages at different times? Give reasons for

your answer / Vind jy dit moeilik om verskillende tye verskillende tale te gebruik? Gee redes vir

jou antwoord

□ Yes/Ja

□ No/Nee

_____

_____

_____

_____

(t)   Specify your ability in each language using numbers as follows / Spesifiseer jou vermoë met

betrekking tot elkeen van die gegewe tale deur die volgende nommers te gebruik:

1 = good / goed

2 = fair / redelik

3 = poor / sleg

	Understand / Verstaan	Speak / Praat	Read / Lees	Write / Skryf
Afrikaans				
English				
Other / Ander				

4.   Language / Taal

[completed for each child participant / voltooi vir elke kind deelnemer]

(a) Which language do you regard as your first language? / Watter taal beskou jy as jou eerste

taal?

□ Afrikaans

□ English/Engels

□ Other/Ander _____

(b) What is your language of schooling? / Wat is jou taal van onderrig?

□ Afrikaans

□ English/Engels

□ Other/Ander _____

(c) Which language do you prefer as your language of schooling? Watter taal verkies jy as jou

taal van onderrig?

□ Afrikaans

□ English/Engels

□ Other/Ander _____

(d) Which language(s) are used in close family interactions? / Watter taal/tale word gebruik

tydens familie interaksies?

□ Afrikaans

108

□ English/Engels

□ Other/Ander _____

(e) What language do you use when speaking to your parents? / Watter taal gebruik jy wanneer jy met jou ouers praat?

□ Afrikaans

□ English/Engels

□ Other/Ander _____

(f) Is your first language different from that of your parents? Het jy 'n ander eerste taal as jou ouers?

□ Yes/Ja

□ No/Nee

If **No /** Indien **Nee**:

(f) Whose choice was it? / Wie se keuse was dit?
_____

If **Yes /** Indien **Ja**:

(g) Why do your parents want you to speak English? / Hoekom wil jou ouers hê dat jy Engels praat?

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□ (i) improve social mobility / verbeter sosiale vooruitgang

□ (ii) improve employment opportunities / verbeter werksgeleenthede

□ (iii) better schools and better educational opportunities / beter skole en beter

opvoedingsgeleenthede

□ (iv) Afrikaans is language of the former oppressive government (political reasons) / Afrikaans

is die taal van die voormalige onderdrukkende regering (politieke redes)

□ (v) Other/Ander _____

(h) What language do you use the most when talking to other people in the community? / Watter

taal gebruik jy die meeste wanneer jy met ander mense in die gemeenskap praat?

□ Afrikaans

□ English/Engels

□ Other/Ander _____

(i) If you go to church, what language(s) is/are used for church services? / Wanneer jy kerk toe

gaan watter taal/tale word gebruik vir die kerkdienste?

□ Afrikaans

□ English/Engels

□ Other/Ander _____

(j) Which language would you prefer for church services and why? / Watter taal sal jy verkeies

vir kerkdienste en hoekom?

□ Afrikaans

□ English/Engels

□ Other/Ander _____

_____

_____

_____

(k) Do you find it valuable to know more than one language? Give a reasons for your answer /

    Vind jy dit waardevol om meer as een taal te ken? Gee 'n rede vir jou antwoord

□ Yes/Ja

□ No/Nee

_____

_____

_____

(l) Do you find it difficult to use different languages at different times? Give reasons for your

    answer / Vind jy dit moeilik om verskillende tye verskillende tale te gebruik? Gee redes vir

    jou antwoord

□ Yes/Ja

□ No/Nee

_____

_____

_____

(m) Specify your ability in each language using numbers as follows / Spesifiseer jou vermoë met

betrekking tot elkeen van die gegewe tale deur die volgende nommers te gebruik:

1 = good / goed

2 = fair / redelik

3 = poor / sleg

	Understand / Verstaan	Speak / Praat	Read / Lees	Write / Skryf
Afrikaans				
English				
Other / Ander				