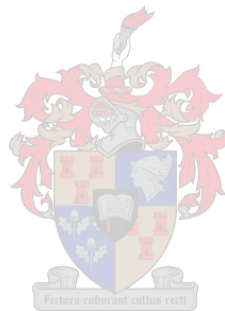


Language shift within two generations: Afrikaans mother tongue parents raising English mother tongue children

by

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of MA in Intercultural Communication at Stellenbosch University*

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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 sole author thereof (unless to the extent explicitly otherwise stated), that reproduction and publication thereof by Stellenbosch University will not infringe any third party rights and that I have not previously in its entirety or in part submitted it for obtaining any qualification.

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ABSTRACT

The community of Paarl, in the Western Cape, is traditionally Afrikaans-speaking. This research investigated whether a language shift has occurred in some middle-class communities in Paarl. Certain Coloured neighbourhoods were identified. The emphasis was also on whether Afrikaans-speaking parents chose to raise their children in English. It was found that a language shift, predominantly towards English, has indeed occurred where Afrikaans first language (L1) parents were raising their children in English. This finding differs from earlier studies by Anthonissen and George (2003) and by Fortuin (2009), in which only two or three families were studied, whereas this study engaged with 50 households. This study focused mainly on the parents and their views about their decisions.

Not only was the occurrence of a language shift confirmed, but the complexity of the matter was also highlighted. An attempt to preserve Afrikaans as heritage language was also noted.

OPSOMMING

Die gemeenskap van Paarl, in die Wes-Kaap, is tradisioneel Afrikaanssprekend. Hierdie navorsing ondersoek of daar 'n taalverskuiwing in die middelklasgemeenskap in Paarl plaasgevind het. Die klem is ook laat val op die vraag of dit Afrikaanssprekende ouers is wat kies om hulle kinders in Engels groot te maak. Die bevinding was dat 'n taalverskuiwing wel plaasgevind het waar ouers met Afrikaans as moedertaal verkies om hulle kinders in Engels groot te maak. Die verskuiwing is derhalwe hoofsaaklik na Engels. Hierdie bevindings verskil van vroeëre studies deur Anthonissen en George (2003), asook Fortuin (2009), wat twee of drie spesifieke families ondersoek het; daarteenoor het hierdie studie 50 huisgesinne betrek. Die studie fokus hoofsaaklik op die ouers en hulle siening oor die rede vir hulle besluit.

Die studie het nie net bevestig dat 'n taalverskuiwing plaasgevind het nie, die kompleksiteit van die kwessie is ook uitgelig. Daar is ook waargeneem dat 'n poging aangewend word om Afrikaans as moedertaal te behou.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

This study considers language shift within two generations – Afrikaans mother-tongue parents raising English mother-tongue children – within the middle-class community of Paarl, Western Cape. The research takes as its premise that coloured middle-class Afrikaans-speaking parents raise their children in English, and examines whether such a language shift has occurred or is occurring in the relevant community in Paarl, as well as the reasons for this. This research investigation is based on the work of Janet Holmes (2008), particularly regarding the reasons that Holmes advances for language shift – social, economic, political and demographic factors and attitudes, among other things.

In Chapter 2, language shift is defined theoretically. It examines definitions formulated by Fasold, Fishman and Hoffman. Whilst Fasold (1984:213) emphasises a complete change in the language being used, Hoffman (1991:186) highlights the fact that mere failure to maintain a language may eventually lead to language shift. Fishman (1991:1), in turn, emphasises the need for a language to be used across different generations. If it is not, he asserts, a language shift will occur because there are fewer people who continue to use the language.

Other concepts linked to language shift are also described, namely ‘language maintenance’, ‘language death’, ‘bilingualism’ and ‘English hegemony’. The study centres on parents’ views about the decision to raise a child in English. This is why the work of Janet Holmes is very helpful in understanding this phenomenon.

Chapter 3 explains the research design and methodology. It looks at the questionnaire and why certain types of questions were formulated. It explains that both open-ended and closed questions were included in the questionnaire in order to provide sufficient opportunity for parents to express their views.

In Chapter 4 the data presentation provides a summary of the findings. It is presented in graph format to enhance visual interpretation.

Chapter 5 seeks to analyse the data that was collected via the questionnaires.

In Chapter 6 the results of this study are interpreted in the context of the literature review.

Chapter 7 offers a summary of the research project and highlights some shortcomings as well as some positive outcomes of this study.

Chapter 2: Literature review

2.1 Introduction to language shift

This chapter looks at what language shift is, focusing on the reasons thus far recorded for such shifts. First, though, some concepts related to language shift are considered, namely ‘language maintenance’, ‘language death’, ‘bilingualism’ and ‘English hegemony’.

Smith (2010) considers language shift as “the cumulative effect of a group of individuals increasingly using one language over another”. According to Fasold (1984:213) language shift occurs where “a community gives up a language completely in favour of another one”. The NWT Literacy Council’s definition (1999:3) is also apt: “If elders still speak their traditional language but their grandchildren do not, then language shift has occurred.”

Fishman explains that language shift is essentially a “process whereby intergenerational continuity of the heritage language is proceeding negatively, with fewer ‘speakers, readers, writers, and even understanders’ [in] every generation” (1991:1).

It means that the language that an individual was taught at birth does not continue to be used in the same manner between different generations. According to Hoffman (1991:186), “when a community does not maintain its language, but gradually adopts another one, we talk about language shift”.

Janet Holmes explains that “the language of the wider society (majority) displaces the minority mother tongue language over time ... Therefore when language shift occurs, it shifts most of the time towards the language of the dominant group, and the result could be the eradication of the local language” (2008). According to her (2008) there are a few important reasons for language shift, namely social, economic, political and demographic factors and attitudes. This literature review is based on Holmes’s work and therefore explores the reasons set out above. This thesis focuses on the Afrikaans-speaking community in Paarl, investigating their reasons for educating their children in English as opposed to Afrikaans.

2.2 Related concepts

2.2.1 Language maintenance

Language maintenance seems to be linked to a decision; in other words, it does not happen in a vacuum, but is the result of an intention to preserve. Fasold (1984:213) states that language

maintenance occurs when a “community collectively decides to continue using the language or languages it has traditionally used”. However, language maintenance also has to do with an attempt or effort to safeguard. According to Hoffman (1991:186), “language maintenance refers to a situation where members of a community try to keep the language(s) they have always used”. The *Psychology Dictionary* (2013) defines language maintenance as “the continued use of the ethnic language by an immigrant or minority community across successive generations”. This clearly establishes the principle of the need for continued use of a home language or heritage language across more than one generation. This means that real language maintenance is possible only over a long period.

Schiffman (2000) states that it is not easy to identify one specific reason why language maintenance is either successful or unsuccessful. There are, in fact, a number of reasons – such as “educational level, size of group, great cultural and/or linguistic dissimilarity between minority and majority”. Since language maintenance is a long-term goal there must be strategies that can be employed to achieve that goal. It is suggested that,

when languages are stabilising or strong, offering language and culture classes helps to raise the status of the language, broaden public awareness of Indigenous languages, and gives speakers an opportunity to use their heritage language in educational settings. In some cases, the language class is open to non-indigenous people who have an interest in learning it for work or personal reasons (Resource Network for Linguistic Diversity).

Assessing the Paarl parents’ understanding of the causes of language shift is important. This may also give insight into the extent to which they are conscious of what is taking place, and the degree to which their own first language will be maintained (Smith, 2010).

2.2.2 Language death

Language death, a possible result of complete language shift, occurs “when a community shifts to a new language totally so that the old language is no longer used” (Fasold, 1984:213). It means that a language does not die all of a sudden, but in all likelihood goes through a process where a language shift takes place first. According to Nettle and Romaine (2000) “it is important for languages to have a particular atmosphere/surroundings that would promote its use or else it would die since the use of that language would have declined dramatically”. This suggests that a platform or opportunities must be created where the

language must or may be used regularly. It further suggests that in the absence of such constructive platforms the language will definitely die. Krauss (1992) estimates that as many as 4 000 languages will have died by the end of the 21st century. This should alarm us, for “the pool of linguistic possibilities shrinks every time a language dies” (Crystal, 2000).

According to Fillmore (2000:208) there are internal as well as external factors that lead to the loss of a native language. Among these are the need to communicate with other people and the need for social acceptance, which causes people to use the new language only, instead of their home language. Fillmore (2000:203) furthermore states that in such circumstances it is likely that the home language will die out between the second and third generation, since opportunities to speak the home language have been reduced drastically. This is not yet the case of Afrikaans, because it is still used, even though English may be used to a greater extent.

2.2.3 Bilingualism

Bilingualism can be defined as “the use of at least two languages by an individual” (ASHA, 2004). According to Adler (1977) this does not mean absolute command in all aspects of dealing with both languages; his definition considers bilingualism to be “the complete or less complete, command of at least two languages, speaking, hearing, writing and reading them”.

The American Speech-Language-Hearing Association furthermore considers it as follows:

[A] fluctuating system in children and adults whereby use of and proficiency in two languages may change depending on the opportunities to use the languages and exposure to other users of the languages. It is a dynamic and fluid process across a number of domains, including experience, tasks, topics, and time (ASHA: 2004).

The above highlights the issue that a speaker’s proficiency may be high in one language and not necessarily as high in another. Also, such proficiency may be displayed when a variety of topics are discussed; it is not confined to specific topics.

Differences have been reported between people considered to be monolingual and others, who are considered to be bilingual. One of the foremost differences is the ability of a bilingual speaker to talk to a larger number and a greater variety of people (Bhattacharjee, 2012). According to Costa (cited in Bhattacharjee, 2012) the most important difference is that

bilinguals can observe the setting they find themselves in very skilfully. He equates that to a motorist's ability to monitor the surroundings whilst driving. As a matter of course, "bilinguals have to switch languages quite often – you may talk to your father in one language and to your mother in another language" (Bhattacharjee, 2012).

However, the general view of both teachers and parents suggests that it is rather difficult and challenging to be bilingual, with a particular concern that it may retard educational progress. Alexopoulou (2011) nevertheless asserts that the definitive advantages should be considered that multilinguals have in various areas, such as social interaction, attention, communication, memory and concentration. "The mental gymnastics needed to constantly manage two or more linguistic systems increases cognitive flexibility and makes learning easier" (Alexopoulou, 2011).

Gollan (cited in Bhattacharjee, 2012) mentions another benefit: bilinguals are "more resistant than others to the onset of dementia and other symptoms of Alzheimer's disease: the higher the degree of bilingualism, the later the age of onset". The benefits mentioned are not tied to a specific language (Parodi cited in Alexopoulou, 2011). It is fairly common to observe bilingualism in many places except in the English-speaking world (Alexopoulou, 2011).

It is believed that the parents in this study may still use their home language (Afrikaans) in their home environment, at the least, and therefore will expose their children to it. In this context it may very well be that bilingualism is promoted.

2.2.4 English hegemony

'Hegemony' is defined as "the position of being the strongest and most powerful and therefore able to control others" (*Cambridge Dictionary*, 2013). *The Free Dictionary* (2013) refers to having "predominant influence". 'English hegemony' therefore means that the English language is considered to have so much authority and weight that it is perceived to have control over other languages.

Against this background one can look at the influence of English worldwide. Raine (2012) reports that, the world over, about 1.4 billion people speak English. Hargraves (2003) considers English the most spoken language in the world. It is argued that English essentially belongs to everyone who speaks it. Furthermore there are more non-native speakers than native speakers of this language, to the extent that "English has become the second language

of everybody” (Mydans, 2007). It thus appears that English exerts its influence in all corners of the world. This influence is considered so integral that English will probably maintain its position as (seemingly) the number one language in the world throughout the 21st century (Raine, 2012). People who can converse in English should be able to speak to people in most large cities in the world (Nutt, 2007).

Whilst English has this vast influence, both Mandarin and Spanish actually have more speakers than English. But most of those speakers are located within confined areas, which limits the influence of these languages. However, not everyone is positive about the predominance of English. Some consider it bad for literature (Mélitz, 2006). Others consider it a stark reminder of colonialism and oppression (Hitchings, 2011). It has even been labelled a “killer language ... a dominant language learned subtractive, at the cost of the mother tongues” (Zelander, 2006).

Amidst all this, English maintains its influence. The rise of America as a world power and the position of English in Britain also made English known all over the world. America’s influence is visible in Sweden and the rest of the world (Dipp, 2008). The existence of international organisations such as the UN also sustains the need for everybody involved to communicate meaningfully with one another. The impression is that even on this platform English a language used a lot (Crystal, 2003:12–13). There are also efforts to accommodate speakers of other languages in this environment.

Most websites on the World Wide Web are either in English or have an English translation available. The language is used in fields such as science and technology (Nutt, 2007). There is no denying the global influence of English and it will probably remain for a long time.

Belios (2012) argues that other languages played a similar leading role at some point in history, but not indefinitely. Therefore the contention is that the same will happen to the position of English, simply because people will continue to speak their own language. What may happen is that, inasmuch as some languages may really die out, others may substitute them in another form of speech or dialect (Belios, 2012).

Minutes are kept of all proceedings in the South African parliament, and most important proceedings are conducted in English despite the fact that eleven official languages are actually catered for. Davis asserts that this is the trend on the African continent (Davis, 2013).

Fortuin (2009:11) puts forward the arguable view that all language shifts in South Africa thus far have always been in favour of and towards English. This view is debatable since there has been a strong position for and in favour of Afrikaans. In Bloemfontein some 33% of Afrikaans-speaking learners are now reportedly educated in English (Nieman, 1997). IsiZulu is the one South African language that is used more than any other as a home language, yet only one-third of its mother-tongue speakers of school-going age want to be taught in isiZulu (Davis, 2013). The South African Institute for Race Relations found that, while only 7% of school children have English as their home language, 64% prefer to be taught in English (Davis, 2013). This attitude can clearly not be separated from that of adults.

2.3 Other societal factors affecting language shift

Fortuin is of the opinion that “the society in which we find ourselves determines what language we will be using” (2009:13). The question, therefore, is what kind of society coloured parents live in who choose to raise their children in English. It seems to be a society that allows any and every language to be used. This may imply that this society, by virtue of the way it functions regarding educational, economic and other systems, implicitly promotes the use of a particular language. It may well be that this post-1994 society in Paarl where middle-income parents live not only creates the opportunity to use English to a greater extent than Afrikaans, but may even implicitly expect its members to use English.

2.3.1 Social factors

For the purposes of this study these include societal influence, intermarriage and cultural similarity.

2.3.1.1 Societal influence

The influence of society is a very powerful factor that influences language shift. It may happen that a person speaking a certain language as a home language or heritage language is not really fluent in it, especially if they were born in another country. If such a person attempts to speak the language as a home language in an imperfect manner but is corrected in a very harsh manner, this may actually discourage the use of such a language as a home language. In reality it may very well bring to an end the use of this language (Lai, 2009:11).

2.3.1.2 *Intermarriage*

In this context intermarriage is when two people from different cultural backgrounds, religion or nationalities marry one another (Bass, 1999–2013). Perak (2009) suggests that intermarriage occurs when the husband and wife do not have the same mother tongue. This brings with it concerns that a person may not necessarily uphold his or her own religion and culture. In addition it may raise the concern that one of the partners may stop using his or her home language. The children are then raised in one particular language; they may even be addressed in a parent's home language, but respond consistently in the other language (Perak, 2009). Since any marriage requires some form of compromise, such concerns are realistic. Nonetheless, Bass (1999–2013) suggests that it is possible for a husband and wife in such a position to appreciate one another's differences whilst preserving their own language, etc.

2.3.1.3 *Cultural similarity*

Customs, lifestyle and culture may prove enough motivation for people to speak the dominant language since their own cultural practices are not threatened (Perak, 2009).

It happens that people relocate to a different country in the belief that it will be very easy to adapt since the two countries and/or cultures have a lot in common; many a time this includes a common language. There are obviously differences, albeit small, that are mostly ignored on the basis of perceived commonalities. However, Foster (2008) warns against this “danger of cultures of similarity”. Sometimes the ignored differences become major issues to an individual, to the extent that some expatriates return to their home country. A case in point would be an American citizen moving to the UK. The assumption is that there will only be a slight difference in accent, since both countries actually speak English (Foster, 2008). Reality, however, usually presents more points of divergence.

Ageev (2001) asserts that when people meet they automatically look for areas of similarity, but this can be very dangerous in that the others are coerced to abandon their small differences and be “like us”. This includes language, and may lead to language shift. Nowadays we live essentially in a global village. All countries are interdependent, and for smaller countries it is even more important to work with other bigger countries. By working more closely everybody, even smaller fairly similar countries, will begin to follow the majority. This may lead to language shift even in terms of accent so that you then act in accordance with the majority. In the face of it all we must expect and look out for differences

(Ageev, 2001). Cultural similarity can be blinding and definitely leads to coerced language shift, but one must be careful since “those who never experienced a different culture, are unaware of the milieu language: its cultural and intercultural dimensions” (Fantini, 1995).

It is in a way still expected of cultures to be fairly similar: “Learning, then, is socially constructed, mediated through language and other tools that are congruent with the culture in which the learner and learning are situated, and develops over time” (Language, Culture and Learning, 2009).

2.3.2 Economic factors

Economic factors include issues such as the association of the dominant language with the social status and prestige of a person, the family and even the community one comes from. Job searching is one of the foremost economic reasons for learning another language, whether or not the need for bilingualism is only a perception. Better remuneration supposedly enables better upward mobility, which translates into higher status and access to better schools and education (Holmes, 2009).

2.3.2.1 Economic mobility

Parents cite economic advancement as a reason why they prefer their children to be educated in English (Romaine, 2000). This happens despite the fact that the children are not necessarily well grounded in English as a language for education purposes (Dyers, 2004:4). In the words of Bekker: “English has become the language of the middle class and social mobility involves the acquisition of and identification with some variety of this language” (Bekker, 2003).

In a recent study by Farmer (2008:28) he quoted Fishman’s contention that “what begins as the language of social and economic mobility ends, within three generations or so, as the language of the crib”. It means that if economically advanced parents choose English, their children will almost inevitably be raised in English. This may also be the case because a child’s preference for a particular language (s), according to De Klerk and Bosch, is in part a result of his or her language of schooling and peers (Fortuin, 2009:11). This preference may in fact be dictated by the parents on the basis of access to better opportunities and facilities.

Fortuin (2009:11) holds the view that all language shifts in South Africa thus far have been towards English. The arguments also say this happened for economic progression. If we assume that the middle-class community in Paarl is economically advanced, then there is a

real possibility that such a language shift took place or is in the process of taking place. The available literature therefore seems to suggest that there is a more intentional shift towards English.

This may be true in light of the fact that, in 2011, reportedly 42% of coloured people in the Western Cape (a racial group that forms 48.8% of the province's population) possessed some form of educational qualification at secondary level, as opposed to 40.1% during 2001 (Census 2011:34). This is further confirmed by the finding (during the same census) that illiteracy rates had dropped significantly for both the black and coloured populations. In fact, for the coloured group nationally, functional illiteracy rates had dropped from 24.2% and 24.5% by to 16.5% and 16,7% for coloured men and women respectively. These figures are for the 2001 followed by the 2011 census. This may suggest that this group of people is now starting to use educational opportunities a bit more. (Census 2011:39). If education gives better access to jobs and income, many coloured people may therefore consider themselves to be part of the middle class with the result that for them educating their children in English may not be a farfetched idea.

2.3.2.2 Superior education secures superior jobs

Language shift is a means to secure a better education because certain languages reportedly provide access to better education. In order to get access to and fare better in this (better) education system, one has to use a certain language. That then is a reason why a language shift takes place. Good education may open the world of better jobs, which may bring a better income. This motivation suggests that the language shift tends to happen towards a dominant language. English is currently perceived to be the dominant language in the world, as discussed earlier. In a study, Dyers (2004:22–35) found that there is a tendency among the Xhosa group in Wesbank Kuils River to shift towards English, particularly in the most educated group in that community and among young people. Anthonissen and George (cited in Dyers, 2004:3) also confirm this in their work on an elite group of coloured people, as well as the younger generation of coloured people.

2.3.2.3 Language shift as a marker of superior status

Language shift also happens through education. When a person is better educated, he or she only uses the language of a certain group – the elite, or the educated. Certain languages may therefore be used at home, and others at work and university. The history of coloured people

suggests that “the ability to speak English was seen as evidence of a good education and a high social status. Many coloured people could move easily between Afrikaans and English” (The History of Afrikaans and Coloured People, 2012). “It’s gotten to the point where almost in any part of the world to be educated means to know English” (Mydans, 2007).

Anthonissen (2009:63) points out that “this shift is 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”. Individuals do have the sense that English is more frequently used in the work environment, and therefore grants access to jobs (Dyers, 2004:7). This is then considered the fourth reason for language shift.

2.3.3 Political factors

The pressure of institutional domains such as government agencies and schools can have a strong influence on the choice of a language. South African parents are thus voting with their feet and enrolling their children in English-medium schools, as language has become a political marker for some.

2.3.3.1 Language as political marker

Another reason why a language shift occurs is that it may be a political decision. In some African countries it is evident that the lingua franca was actually decided by the former colonisers (Tere, 2009). “In the South African context, languages are markers not only of personal, but also of social and political identities” (Anthonissen, 2009: 61).

2.3.3.2. Language policy

A country may actually include the use of a particular language in legislation or policy. As such the Western Cape Education Department is seriously considering compulsory education in the English language from senior primary school level (Farmer, 2008:12). This was the case in Banjar, in Malaysia, where Malay is used in schools and was included in the National Education policy. It was also aimed at nation building. Grimes notes that even modernisation promotes language shift, based on the fact that Malay-speaking officials were deployed to the area to train locals and this language became the dominant one (Perak, 2009). Other reasons include social mobility, education and even the absence of adequate planning for the language (Ignace, 1998).

2.3.4 Demographic factors

It is important to develop an understanding of where language shift does take place. Fortuin (2009:25) found that the families in Port Elizabeth interviewed for that particular study are raising their children in English in the communities where they live. It means they did not have to move out of the community, but that the shift happened in the place where they had always lived. It means that the shift may very well take place within the Afrikaans-speaking community in Paarl.

2.3.5 Attitudes

Judging from the research done by Anthonissen (2009:70), parents are unapologetic for the choice to raise their children in English. It was also confirmed that such a choice was indeed made when the oldest child was born. So the attitude of parents clearly demonstrates that English is favoured, whilst they retain the use of their mother tongue (Afrikaans), at least within their families or communities.

Kuncha and Bathula (2004) found in their study of an immigrant community in New Zealand that parents' attitudes were favourable towards English to the extent that they encouraged their children to communicate in English exclusively. In their case they did not even consider it important for their children to speak their home language (Telugu) at home.

2.4 Conclusion

In this chapter an attempt was made to describe language shift. In dealing with the concept of language shift other related concepts were discussed, including language maintenance, language death, bilingualism and English hegemony. In essence it was found that language shift occurs when people start to use one language over another. This includes the possibility of language death, where one particular language is no longer used by a certain community. It was also determined that bilingualism is related to language shift in the sense that a person may acquire a second language and actually use both languages. It may not mean that they are necessarily skilled in the use of both languages, but both are used constantly. Interesting to note here is the view by Alexopoulou (2011) that bilingual people are for all practical purposes considered more linguistically astute than monolingual people, since their brain constantly has to juggle between two linguistic systems and is therefore very alert. Also very clear is the view that English is currently seen as the dominant language in the world, despite different views about it. Even though this situation is not considered to be permanent it will

definitely continue for some time. The factors that bring about language shift are social, economic, political and demographic factors and attitudes. It is also clear from this literature review that language shift, regardless of the reason it comes about, is in most cases in favour of English.

Some research has been done in this regard but has perhaps not adequately recorded the reasons for this occurrence in the Paarl area among the coloured community. The literature review confirms that language shift is happening but is in a sense accompanied by bilingualism to avoid language death of Afrikaans.

Chapter 3: Research design and methodology

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter an explanation is given of how the research on some middle-income areas in Paarl was done. It looks at this study in comparison to other studies in relation to this particular focus area. It is also explained why questions were formulated in a particular manner, with reference to reasons why this design was selected. This chapter also gives details about how the information was collected. Certain challenges in the design are also highlighted.

3.2 Research design

According to Mouton (2001:49) it is quite possible to combine the research design and research methodology, which effectively means that the main focus is on research methodology. This approach was followed in this instance. Empirical research was undertaken since it involves the study of human actions when it investigates the reason why parents made the choice to raise their children in English as opposed to Afrikaans (Mouton, 2001:52). Empirical research means that the research results will be ascertained and confirmed through evidence that refutes or confirms whether the hypothesis is indeed true (Mouton, 2001:113). For this study the information was collected through questionnaires. The research is quantitative in nature and provides insight based on the answers to the questionnaires.

This study focuses on a section of the coloured community for whom there are varied descriptions in terms of their identity and make-up. Adhikari (2002:2) puts it as follows: “In the South African context ... the term ‘coloured’ does not refer to the black people in general, as it often does in the American context. Instead, ‘coloured’ alludes here to a phenotypically varied social group of highly diverse cultural and geographical origins”.

This study is similar to those of Fortuin (2009) and Anthonissen and George (2003) in the sense that it also seeks to understand whether a language shift has occurred in an Afrikaans-speaking community. It is however different in the sense that Fortuin’s study focused on an area in Port Elizabeth and Anthonissen and George’s (2003) on greater Cape Town, whereas this study focused on the Boland area, and Paarl specifically.

The second difference is that whereas Fortuin (2009) actually interviewed three intergenerational coloured families, this study confined itself to the distribution, completion and interpretation of questionnaires in 50 households. The request was that it be completed by a parent of the (nuclear) family. It is not claimed that this study is representative of the views of all members of the mentioned community who raise their children in English. It does however serve as a good indicator of the reasons why parents from an obviously Afrikaans background choose to raise their children in English. It also gives an indication of whether or not language shift is indeed taking place, even in areas that can sometimes be described as rural or farm areas.

3.3 Type of design

The research was in the form of a structured questionnaire that combined closed and open-ended questions, sometimes also referred to as structured and unstructured questions. A total of 26 questions were formulated and included in the questionnaire (which is attached as Appendix A). Each participant also completed a consent form to indicate that they voluntarily and willingly offered to fill out the questionnaire.

3.4 Reason for selecting this design

The intention with the type of questions asked, moving from the closed type to the more text-rich, open-ended questions, was to secure the interest of the participants in the topic at hand and present it as something that they might find interesting enough to want to contribute to and take part in. The idea was to have a logical, seamless flow of questions. The questions were phrased in a manner that attempted to speak to the participant's own situation and experience. It was hoped that this approach would make it less intimidating to the participant.

The purpose of the open-ended questions was to provide an opportunity for the participants to give their reasons for the language choices they made for their children. There is also an area in the questionnaire where the participants were asked what they considered to be the benefits of raising their children in English. The open-ended question then allowed for a variety of individual responses.

3.5 Target group

The target group for this particular study was the Afrikaans-speaking coloured community in Paarl. Within this community, a number of Afrikaans L1 parents chose to raise their children

as English L1 speakers. The purpose was to investigate the motivation for such a decision since general observation seems to suggest that it is parents in the middle-income group who make such a decision. The intention was thus to focus on parents from the middle-income group, and therefore the questionnaires were only distributed in the middle-income areas of New Orleans, Charleston Hill, Denneburg, Klein Parys and Mountain View.

The researcher aimed at distributing 50 questionnaires. Finally approximately 80 questionnaires were distributed, and 50 questionnaires were returned after completion. They were distributed with the help of the researcher's nuclear family to the community of Paarl, aiming for Afrikaans-speaking parents who raise their children in English. The questionnaires were distributed during the second half of November and in December 2013. Parents could complete the questionnaires in the comfort of their own homes and they were collected by the same person who had approached them. Unfortunately people did not respond by completing and returning the questionnaires within a short space of time, as was hoped. It was a voluntary process where anybody who was approached had the opportunity to decide not to complete the questionnaire should they prefer not to.

3.6 Data collection procedure

Three assistants helped with the distribution, completion and collection of questionnaires. The data was collected in one of three ways. The first was where questionnaires were handed over to participants, who were then allowed to complete the questionnaire in their own time, at their own homes. A date for collection of the completed questionnaires was arranged.

The second method was where an assistant would complete the questionnaire at the request of the participant, in the participant's home with the assistant present. The completed questionnaire was then taken in by the assistant at the end of the interview. It was considered necessary in both scenarios to confirm certain information. This included an explanation of the purpose of the study, a briefing about the contents of the questionnaire, confirmation that no payment was involved, and that respondents participated voluntarily. They were also requested to complete the whole questionnaire and to be as detailed as possible in their answers.

Thirdly, some participants completed the questionnaire themselves with the request that the assistant should wait and collect it immediately on completion.

3.7 Challenges or limitations in the design

It was considered a challenge to determine the salary of participants since not all people are open to discussing this. It was therefore decided to request the salary range per month instead of the actual salary. This is important since this would give an indication of whether a participant fell within the middle class or not. It was assumed that middle-class people will want to raise their children in English, even though they may have grown up in an Afrikaans-speaking environment themselves.

The other challenge was to link income to membership of the middle class, as the middle class was not defined in terms of a set salary or salary range. It was decided to formulate a question where the participant indicated whether or not he or she considered himself or herself to belong to the middle class.

Another challenge that was anticipated was the fact that people may refuse to complete the questionnaires. This may be for different reasons, for example they are not interested or do not have the time. This was dealt with by requesting the assistants to complete the questionnaires themselves with the participant present, where possible, or to arrange a definite time and date for collection.

Some participants felt that the questionnaire was too long to complete and as a result they gave incomplete answers such N/A (not applicable). Others were unwilling to complete the questionnaire in their own handwriting; the only way they were willing to assist was if the assistant completed the questionnaire while they dictated the answers. Some were also unwilling to attach their signature, instead only writing their name or surname. Many people did not return their questionnaires despite the fact that follow-ups were made on a number of occasions. This meant that the initial period that was originally set aside in which to complete the questionnaires was exceeded. This was exacerbated due to the December holiday period. New questionnaires had to be distributed during January and even February 2014.

3.8 Conclusion

This chapter explained that the research was done with the focus on research methodology, since this is in line with the opinion expressed by Mouton (2001:49). It is empirical in nature because human actions were observed. The focus area of this study was compared with other studies that had already been done in this area. It was found that there are some similarities with other studies in that the previous studies also focused on coloured families. The

differences are located in the geographical area under investigation and the fact that this study was extended to 50 households. Structured questionnaires were utilised that included both closed and open-ended questions. The intention was to give enough space to participants to express their own views whilst also guiding the responses to specific questions. The impression gained is that it achieved the desired result, since individuals completed the questionnaires. They were afforded an opportunity to seek clarity from an assistant when it was needed. The focus was on the middle class and therefore the questionnaires were only distributed in the residential areas of New Orleans, Charleston Hill, Denneburg, Klein Parys and Mountain View.

Chapter 4: Data presentation

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter the information collected from the questionnaires is presented. The questions as formulated in the questionnaire are given, followed by a summary of the responses collected per question. An analysis of the data is presented in Chapter 5. In some instances abbreviations were used exclusively, whilst in others they were used in combination with the full word. This was to accentuate certain information.

4.2 Presentation of data

Abbreviations are presented in alphabetical order. Table 4.1 gives a brief explanation of the codes used.

Table 4.1: Code and explanation

<i>Code</i>	<i>Explanation</i>
<i>A</i>	Afrikaans
<i>AG</i>	Afrikaans/Guajarati
<i>B</i>	Bilingual in Afrikaans and English
<i>B10</i>	Below R10 000
<i>C</i>	Coloured
<i>CI</i>	Coloured/Indian
<i>CM</i>	Coloured/Muslim
<i>CMC</i>	Coloured/Malay (Cape)
<i>CP</i>	Comment provided
<i>D</i>	Divorced
<i>E</i>	English
<i>EA</i>	English and Arabic

<i>EP</i>	Employed
<i>F</i>	Female
<i>FR</i>	4 years old
<i>FV</i>	5 years old
<i>GHT</i>	8 years old
<i>IAN</i>	Interpreted as No
<i>IAY</i>	Interpreted as Yes
Code	Explanation (continued)
<i>M</i>	Male
<i>MR</i>	Married
<i>N</i>	None
<i>NC</i>	No comment
<i>NWM</i>	No with motivation
<i>NWTM</i>	No without motivation
<i>NYH</i>	Not yet attending high school
<i>ON</i>	1 year old/toddler between 1 & 2 years old
<i>QNC</i>	Participant did not complete this question
<i>SND</i>	Salary range not disclosed
<i>SX</i>	6 years old
<i>THR</i>	3 years old
<i>TW</i>	2 years old
<i>U=</i>	Unmarried

<i>UP</i>	Unemployed
<i>Y</i>	Yes
<i>YWM</i>	Yes with motivation
<i>YWTM</i>	Yes without motivation
<i>10/30</i>	Between R10000-R30000
<i>30/50</i>	Between R30 000–R50 000
<i>50+</i>	Above R50 000

Questions 1 & 2: Surname & initials

The questions were completed by everyone.

Question 3: Age

The first value expressed is the age of the participant, whilst the second value indicates the number of participants in this age group who completed the questionnaire.

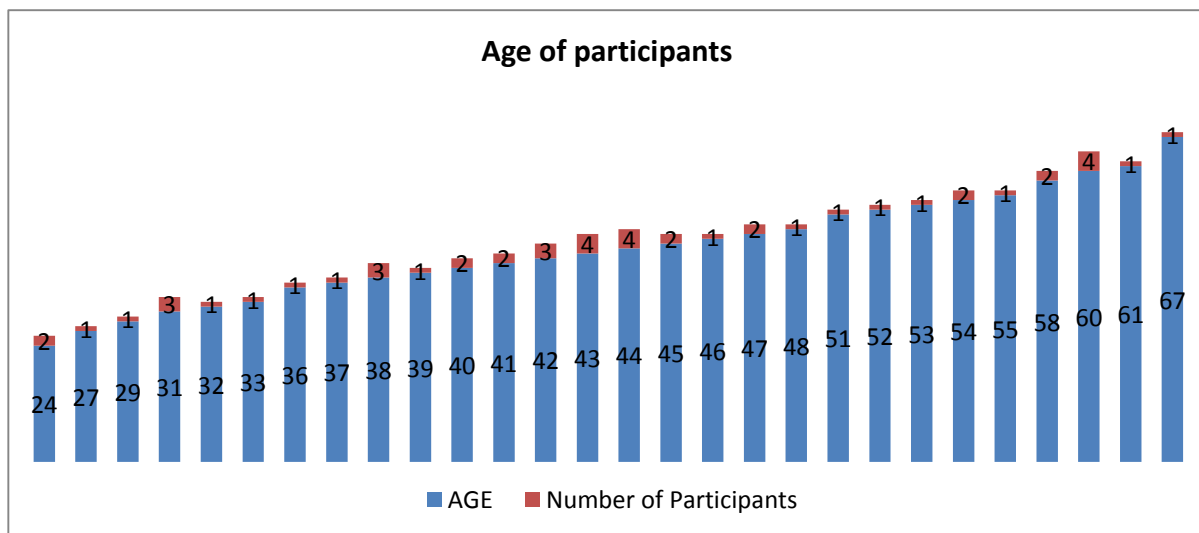


Figure 4.1: Age of participants

Question 4: Ethnicity

This question merely requested the ethnicity of the person who completed the questionnaire. The concept of ethnicity is contested, especially when using the designation of “coloured”. However for the purposes of this research, ethnicity is a key element as people from the coloured communities, as indicated in the literature review, are experiencing a shift from Afrikaans to English.

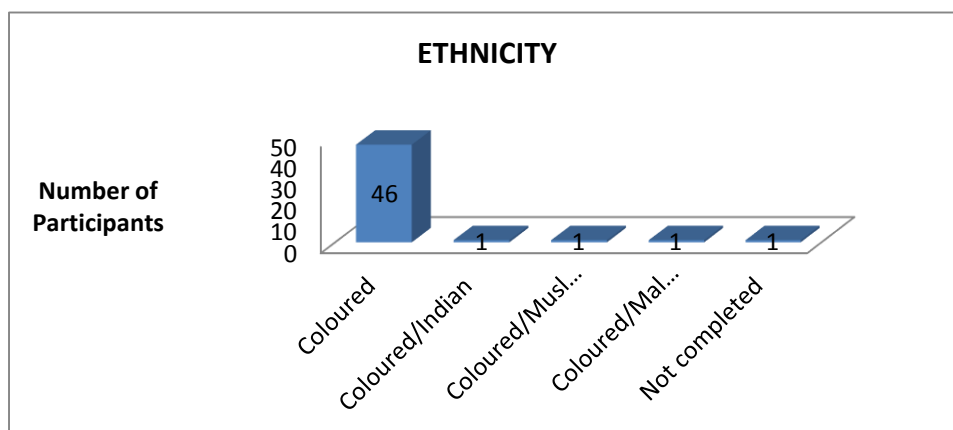


Figure 4.2: Ethnicity of participants

Question 5: Mother tongue

This question requested the mother tongue of the participant, where three possibilities were dominant. In the Western Cape the three official languages are isiXhosa, English and Afrikaans. Figure 4.3 indicates that the main mother-tongue languages are aligned with the trend in the Western Cape province. Historically, Paarl is considered an Afrikaans-mother-tongue area, and the graph confirms this state of affairs.



Figure 4.3: Mother tongue of participants

Question 6: Other languages used at home

This question asked about other languages used in the home. Figure 4.4 indicates that English is the other language used at home in the majority of cases. This is followed by a very small number using Afrikaans, English/Arabic, and Afrikaans/English (bilingual). It does suggest that a growing number of parents are willing to intentionally use English as the other language at home. It is also clear that Afrikaans is not entirely forgotten and that those participants with a Muslim background did not entirely suspend the use of Arabic.

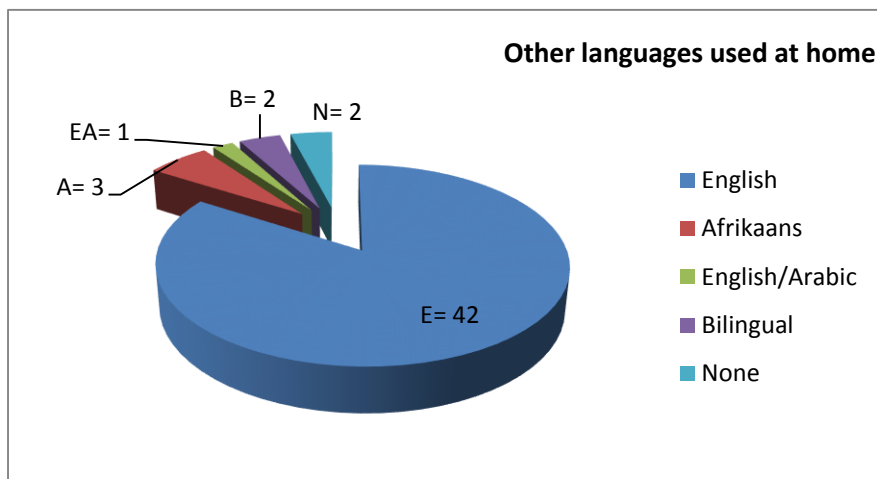


Figure 4.4: Other languages used at home by participants

Question 7: Male or female

This question requested the gender of the participant. A number of participants from both gender groups were represented. There seems to be no specific language preference based on gender.

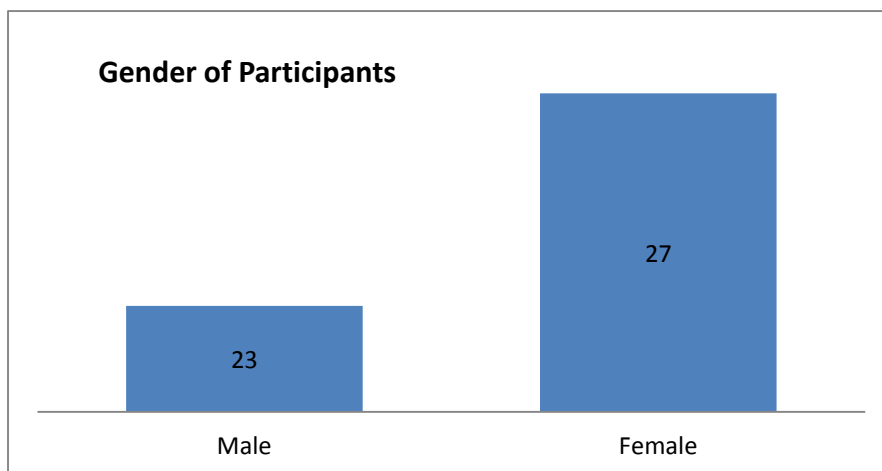


Figure 4.5: Gender of participants

Question 8: Marital status

This question requested the marital status of the participant. It was evident that participants were willing to participate in the questionnaire regardless of their marital status.

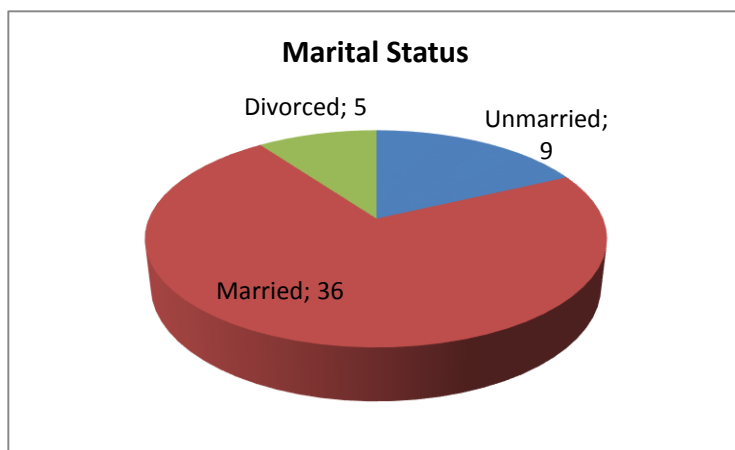


Figure 4.6: Marital status of participants

Question 9: Employed/unemployed

This question requested the employment status of the participant. Figure 4.7 confirms that most participants are employed, while a few of those listed as unemployed are receiving an allowance or are supported by their children. Since participants were selected from middle-class areas it may mean that it is still worthwhile being educated since those people are able to find and/or retain employment.

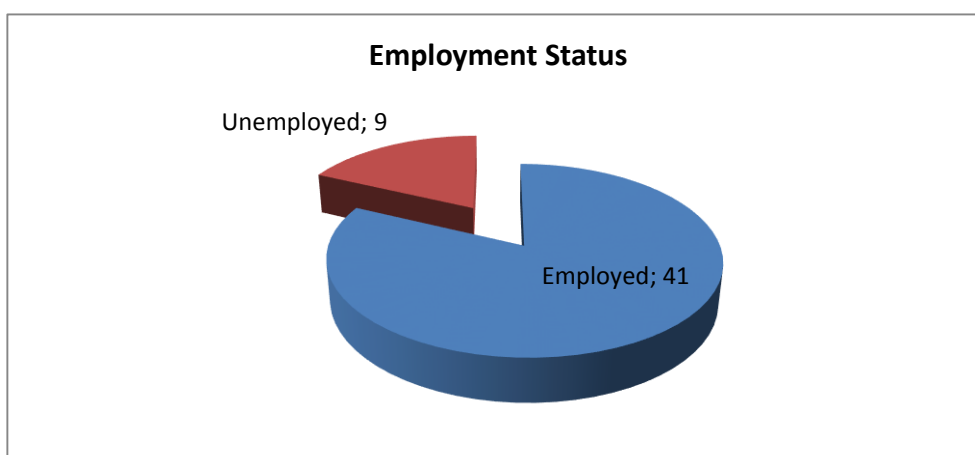


Figure 4.7: Employment status of participants

Question 10: Monthly income

This question determined the participant's level of monthly income. Figure 4.8 shows that most individuals in the middle class earn between R10 000 and R30 000. This puts most of them in a position to choose a school where their preferred language is offered as a medium of tuition.

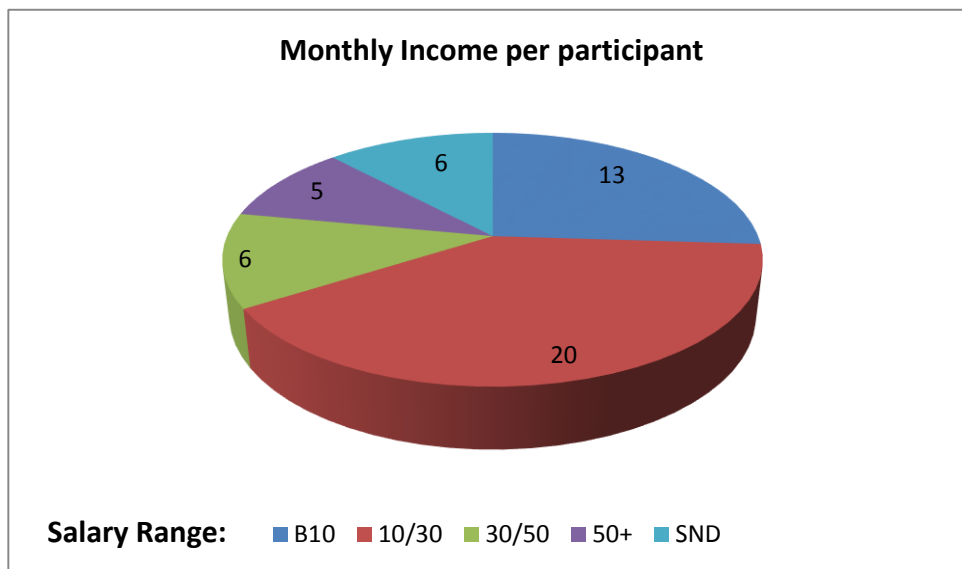


Figure 4.8: Monthly income of participants

Question 11: Do you consider yourself as part of the middle-income group? Yes/No

This question considered whether the participant saw himself or herself as part of the middle-income group. All 50 participants indicated membership of this group.

Question 12: What was your mother’s mother tongue?

This question enquired about the mother tongue of the participant’s mother. The responses to both questions 12 and 13 indicate that the majority of the participants’ parents grew up Afrikaans-speaking. This indeed validates the view that Paarl has traditionally been an Afrikaans stronghold.

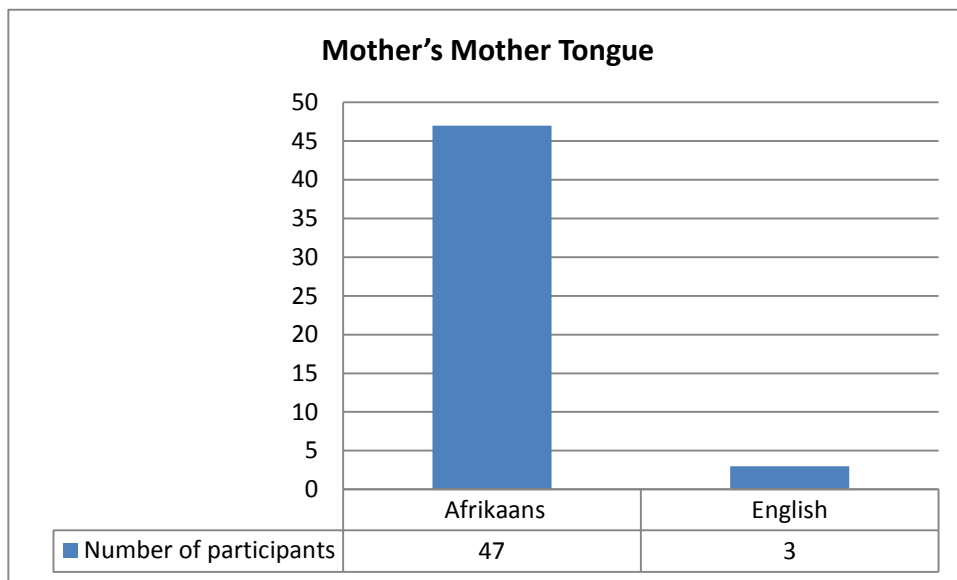


Figure 4.9: Mother tongue of participant’s mother

Question 13: What was your father’s mother tongue?

This question enquired about the mother tongue of the participant’s father. The comment in this regard was already mentioned in response to question 12.

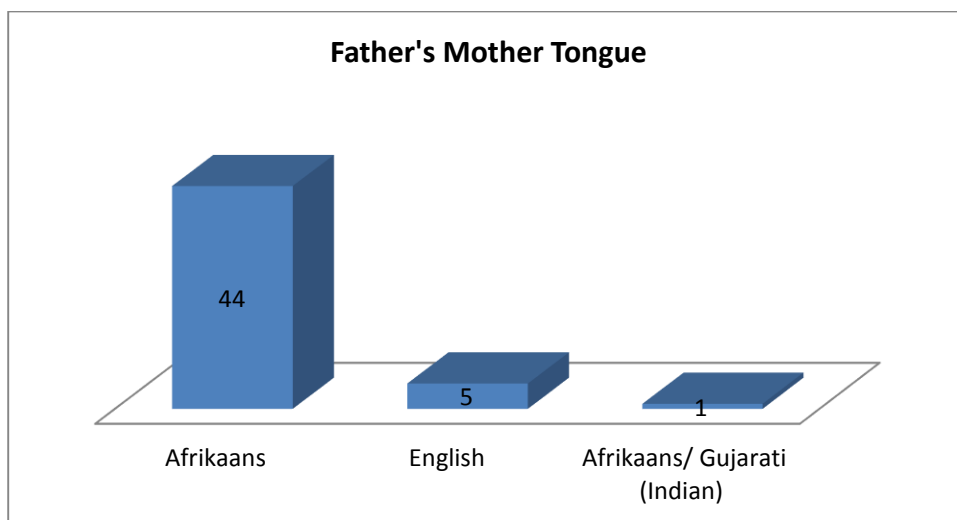


Figure 4.10: Mother tongue of participant’s father

Question 14: In which language were you raised?

This question enquired about the language in which the participant was raised. Figures 4.11 and 4.12 compiled in response to questions 14 and 15 indicate that most of the participants and their partners grew up with Afrikaans as their mother tongue. This information confirms that the area they come from in Paarl is Afrikaans-dominated.

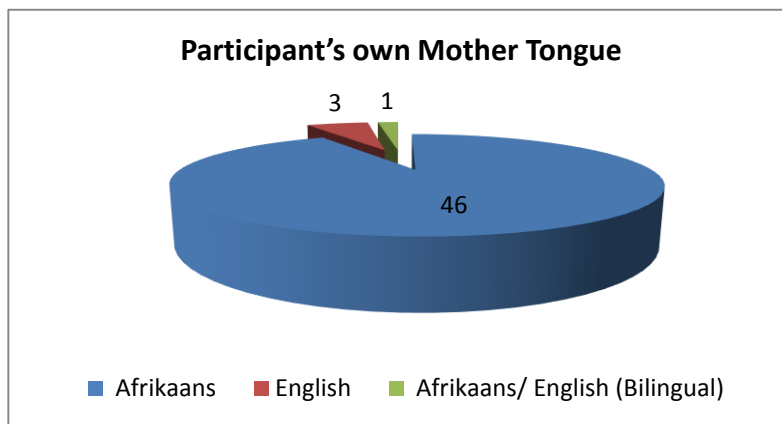


Figure 4.11: Mother tongue of participants

Question 15: In which language was your partner raised?

This question determined the language in which the participant's partner was raised. The response to question 14 was formulated to also be relevant to this question.

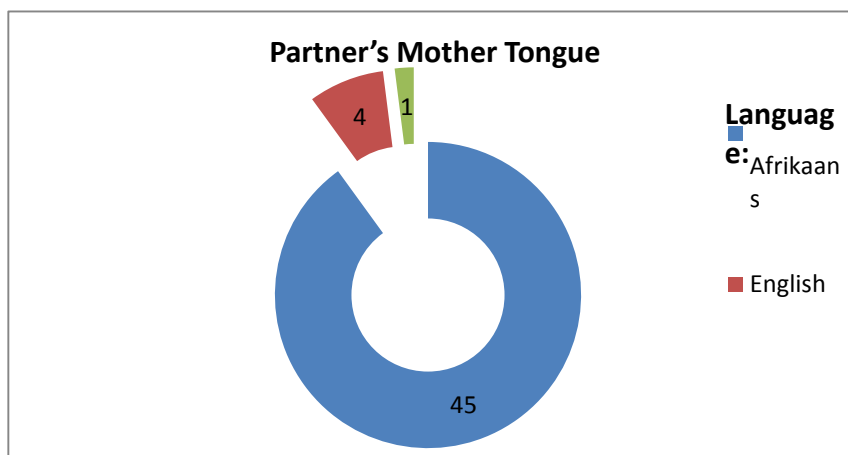


Figure 4.12: Mother tongue of partner

Question 16: In which language do you speak to your partner?

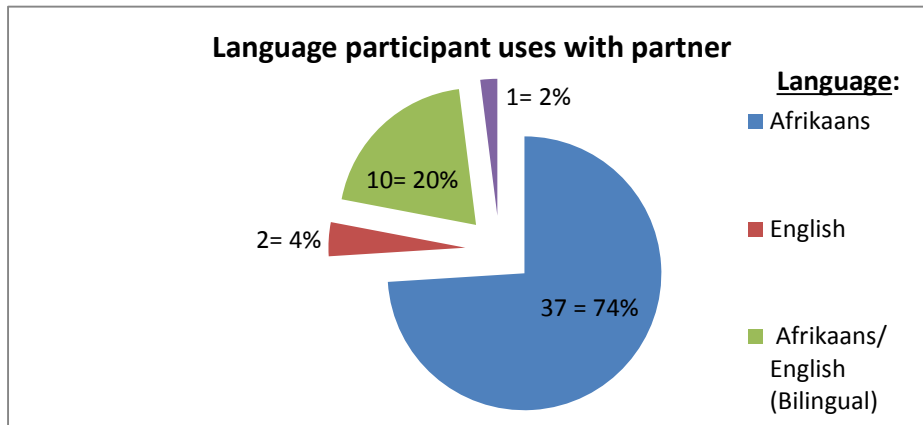


Figure 4.13: Language participant uses with partner

This question determined the language in which the participant speaks to his or her partner. The response shows that the majority of participants still communicate with their partners, who are in all likelihood from the same generation, in Afrikaans.

Question 17: How many children do you have?

This question determined the number of children the participants have. Almost 75% of parents involved in this study had one or two children, with only six parents having more than three children. It may mean that it could be easier from a financial perspective to raise fewer children in order to provide for them sufficiently. It may also mean that parents can afford to send their children to schools of their choice, which may include English schools.

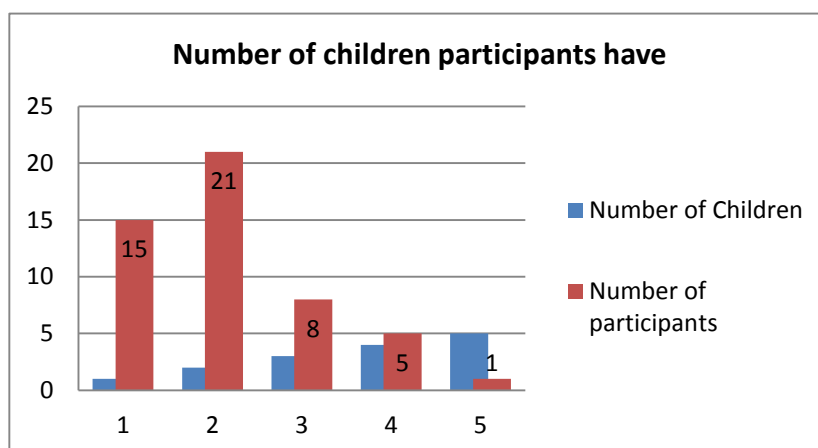


Figure 4.14: Number of children participants have

Question 18: In what language are you raising them?

This question determined the language in which the participant's children were being raised. The response by 96% of the participants confirmed a clear commitment by parents to raise their children in English or at least to be bilingual in Afrikaans and English. This is vastly different from the previous norm in this town, where children were raised in Afrikaans.

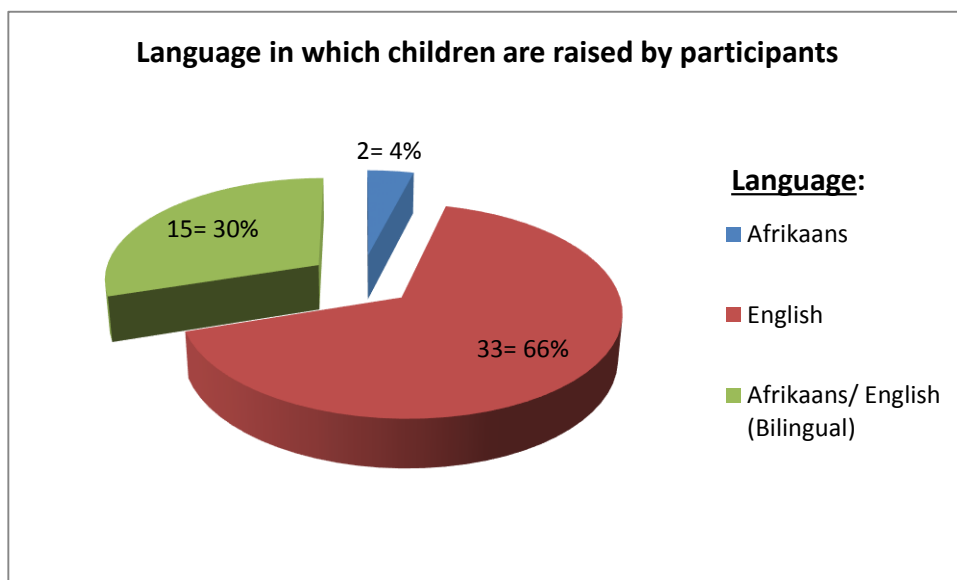


Figure 4.15: Language in which children are raised by participants

Question 19: How old was/were your child/children when you made this choice?

This question enquired about the age of the child/children at the time when the decision was made to raise the child/children in that specific language. The majority of parents made that decision before or at the time when the child was born. It represents a clear intention in favour of education in English and is supported by responses to the previous questions.

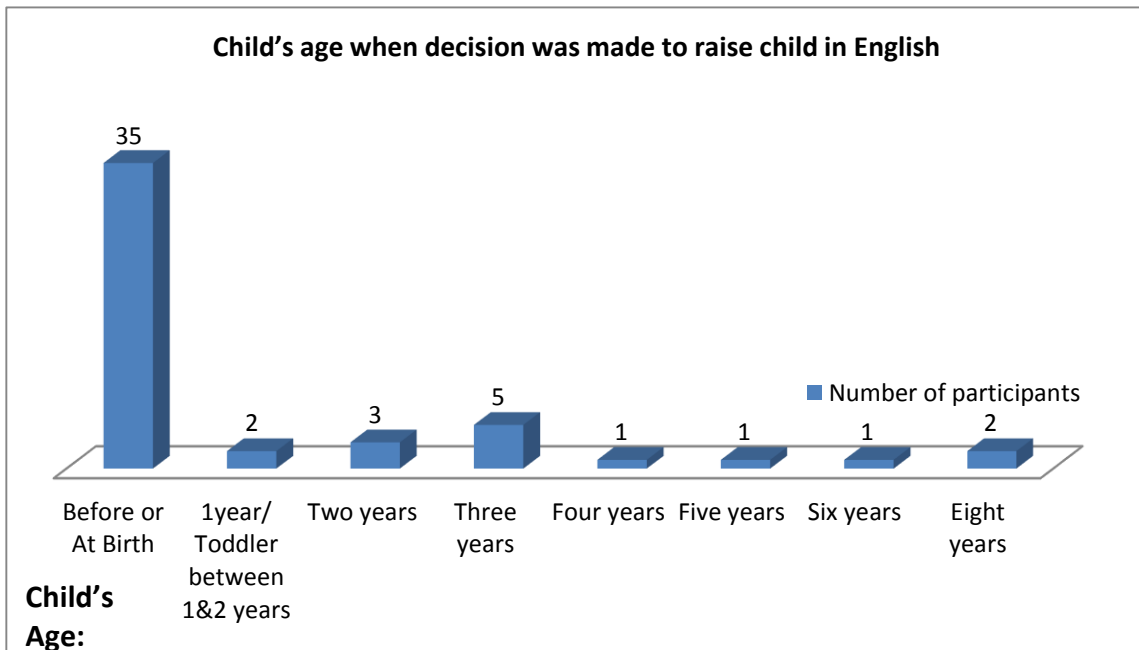
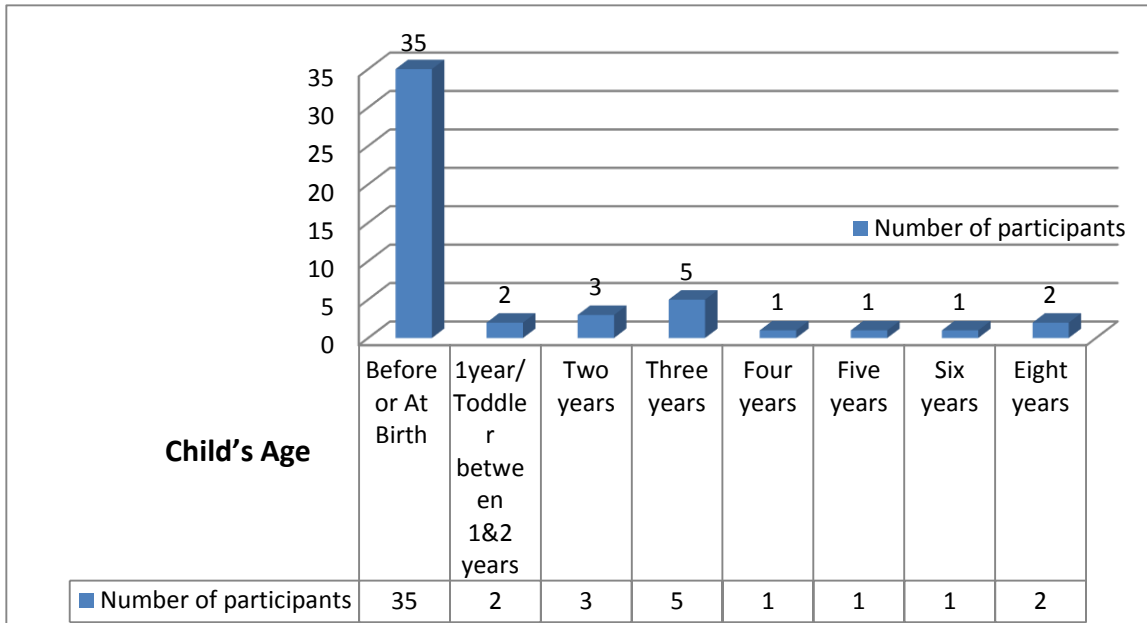


Figure 4.16: Child's age when decision was made to raise child in English

Question 20: In which language is/was their primary school education?

This question determined the language in which the child was being or was educated in primary school. The majority of respondents indicated that this language was English, or both Afrikaans and English. The bilingual education may have to do with the limited English schools available in the area cited by some parents. This is consistent with the response to question 18 where parents were asked about the language they are raising their children in.

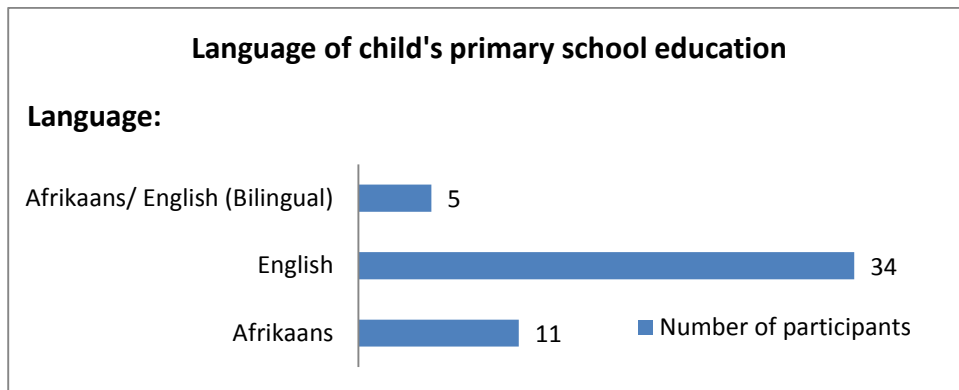


Figure 4.17: Language of child's primary school education

Question 21: In which language is/was their high school education?

This question determined the language in which the child was being or was educated in high school. The replies are the same as for the question 21. Of the 41 children who were of high school age, only two were receiving their high school education in Afrikaans. This clearly marks a shift away from education in Afrikaans to education in English for this group of children.

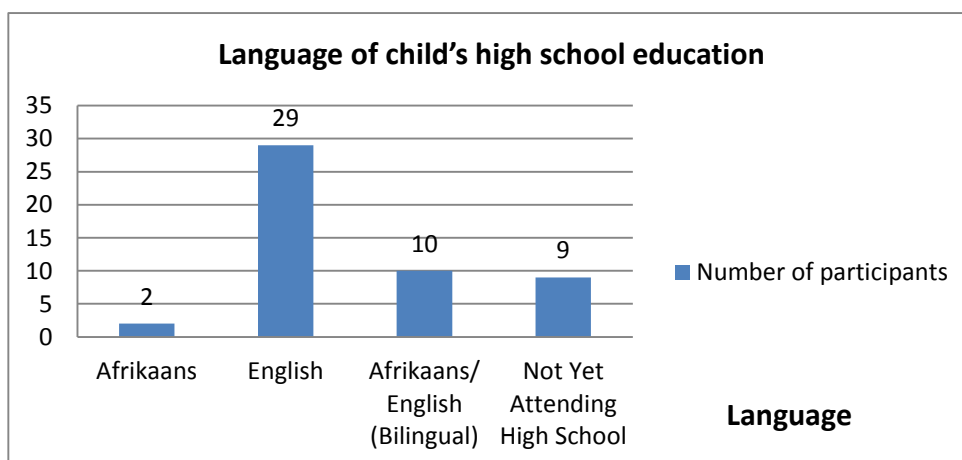


Figure 4.18: Language of child's high school education

Question 22: What are the benefits you anticipated in raising your child/children in English?

This question enquired about what benefits participants expected in raising their children in English.

The main responses given are listed in Table 4.2. Responses that had the same meaning were grouped together. Six main benefits were advanced: some participants recorded more than one benefit.

Table 4.2: Benefits of raising a child in English

<i>Question</i>	<i>Number of participants</i>
<i>Jobs/Career/More benefits/Income</i>	22
<i>Improved Communication with people/ Universal language/Social Skills</i>	20
<i>Better education/study</i>	20
<i>International language/International travel</i>	7
<i>Trendy/Fashion</i>	1
<i>Bilingual (Afrikaans & English)</i>	1

Question 23: Did those benefits materialise? Explain.

This question enquired about whether, in the opinion of the participants, the benefits materialised. Some parents were of the opinion that it did materialise, while others thought it must still materialise.

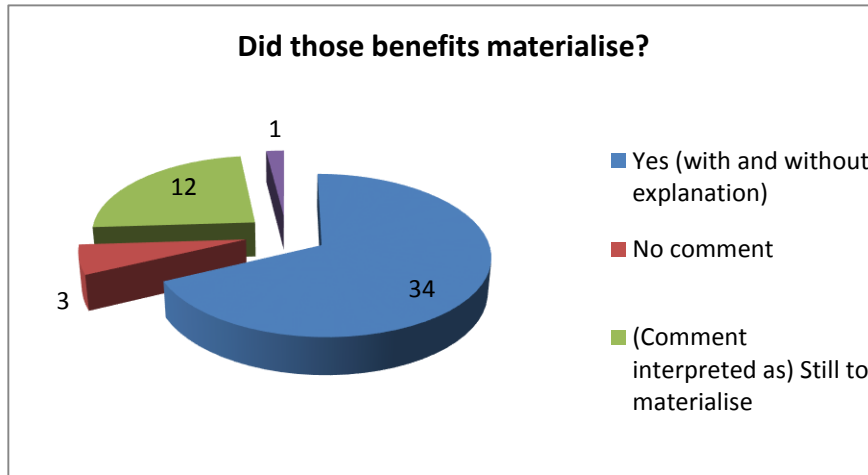


Figure 4.19: Did those benefits materialise?

Question 24: Did your children ever ask you why you raised them in English as opposed to Afrikaans?

This question determined whether or not participants’ children wanted an explanation about why they were raised in English as opposed to Afrikaans. It became clear that some children never posed this question to their parents.

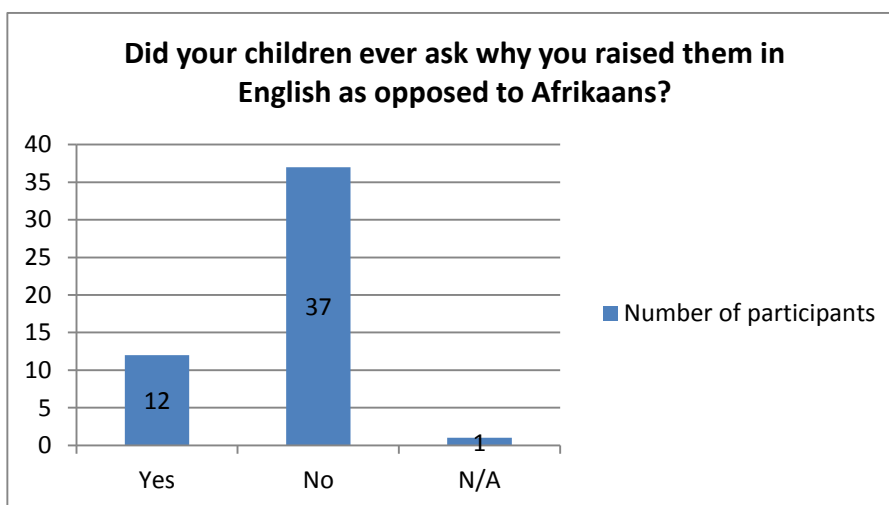


Figure 4.20: Did your children ever ask you why you raised them in English as opposed to Afrikaans?

Question 26: Please make any other comments you would like to add here.

This question afforded participants a last opportunity to make comments and to include information that they considered important to include in the survey. Their comments would help to highlight any areas that were worth investigating, but not included in the survey.

4.3 Conclusion

The findings of the questionnaires were presented in this chapter. Abbreviations were used in some instances and a list of the abbreviations is given at the beginning of the chapter. Graphs were used to present the information. An explanation and analysis of this information is given in Chapter 5.

Chapter 5: Data analysis

5.1 Introduction

In this chapter the results of the questionnaires completed by the participants are explained. Even though responses vary in some instances, there is a sense that language shift is indeed happening in the middle-class community of Paarl. The complexity of the language shift as it presents itself in this community is also highlighted. It became apparent that there is a clear shift from Afrikaans as a mother tongue to English as the new mother tongue of the second generation, although Afrikaans remains a vital part of the next generation's repertoire. There are even signs of attempts to preserve the use of Afrikaans as part of the parents' heritage.

5.2 Responses to questions

The responses to questions 1 and 2 dealing with name and surname were straightforward. The age of participants varied from 24 to 67 years. There was a fairly even spread of ages in terms of participation, with the largest total of four participants being in the age groups 43, 44 and 60 each and the lowest total of one participant being in quite a number of age groups. Having all age groups represented means that people of all ages make decisions in favour of English and that it is not confined to a specific age group.

Most of the participants consider themselves coloured=46 (92%). Some presented an interesting mixture, namely coloured/Indian=1, coloured/Muslim=1, and coloured/Malay (Cape)=1. That of course indicates how the individuals describe their own ethnicity. This again confirms the view that even today the coloured group is still very dynamic in terms of its makeup and composition. One participant did not feel comfortable completing this question, and the assistant indicated that this person belonged to the coloured community. This is seen as an indication that even with democracy already 20 years old, race is still a very sensitive issue for some people in South Africa. This response may also be regarded as a yearning for a united South Africa that no longer classifies people according to race.

It is observed that some 46 (92%) of the participants were brought up with Afrikaans as mother tongue. Only two (4%) had dual mother tongues of English and Afrikaans, and another two (4%) had English as mother tongue. It is interesting therefore that this big group of Afrikaans people now choose to raise their children in English. It confirms the hypothesis that coloured Afrikaans-speaking people do choose to raise their children in English.

Some 42 participants indicated that despite Afrikaans being their mother tongue English is the other language used at home. It may mean that this is done to accommodate their children who are now attending school in English, and confirms the need to converse with them in that language. Three participants indicated Afrikaans as the other language used at home where English was the mother tongue. Other languages used at home include English/Arabic=1 and Afrikaans and English=2. Two participants indicated English and Afrikaans as mother tongues and that no other languages were used at home.

The fact that 27 participants were female and only 23 male is seen as pure coincidence since random selection was done and the parent who was present at home at the time of submitting the request was allowed to complete the questionnaire. Furthermore any parent could complete the questionnaire in the comfort of their own home and in their own time.

Participants of all marital statuses completed the questionnaires. Even this is seen as coincidence. However, it is interesting that as couples, parents intentionally decide in favour of English. Still the fact that 9 (18%) unmarried, 36 (72%) married, and even 5 (10%) divorced parents exercised a similar choice indicates something about intent. It is seen as the way to progress regardless of marital status, if read together with the reasons that participants provided for making such a choice.

Most of the people interviewed were employed. Some individuals in the group, who indicated they were unemployed, reportedly receive a pension allowance. Others are supported by their children or husbands. This is part of the prevailing culture in these communities, where children still take responsibility for their parents. One may also find that an unemployed child may be financially supported by his or her parents, which is part of the custom in the social network.

Only 13 people indicated that they had a monthly income of below R10 000. Included in this group are some individuals who listed their employment status as unemployed, which strengthens the interpretation that very few people, if any, are actually unemployed in the true sense of the word. It may mean that “unemployed” in this context should be interpreted to mean individuals who do not necessarily hold full-time employment, but still receive some form of income. The bulk of the participants (31 or 62%) earn salaries of above R10 000 to above R50 000 per month. In addition, six individuals did not feel comfortable disclosing their salary range. It is important to note that these were employed individuals. If one assumes that they also fall in the category of the bulk of earners (31), the total immediately increases to 37 in this

income category. In this context, it therefore equates to 74% of the individuals earning salaries of above R10 000 to above R50 000 per month.

It was very interesting to note that all participants considered themselves part of the middle class – again, despite the fact that some indicated that they were unemployed. Some comments by the assistants indicated that those people still considered themselves part of the middle class on the basis of the type of pension they received, or the kind of lifestyle they enjoyed as provided or supported by their children or husbands. This in part confirms the interpretation that the middle class do send their children to English schools, of course if they can afford it financially. From the information on the questionnaires we now also know where the middle-income group in Paarl lives. Even though middle class was not previously defined, the intention with the flow of the questions was to link it to the middle income categories on the questionnaire. The Concise Oxford dictionary (2002: 901) defines middle class as "the social group between the upper and working classes, professional and business people ". It can be assumed that some people staying in the mentioned residential areas do run their own businesses albeit small.

The fact that 47 of the individuals' mothers also had Afrikaans as mother tongue indicates that it is indeed people with an Afrikaans background who choose to raise their children in English. This is supported by the fact that 44 of the participants' fathers had Afrikaans as mother tongue. This does not exclude the parents who had English or even Gujarati as mother tongue. Taking the results into consideration, it is therefore not strange that some 45 of the participants were themselves raised in Afrikaans. Yet they confirmed that they had chosen to raise their children in English. This questionnaire also considered the language in which the partner was raised; 45 out of 50 were raised in Afrikaans, only four in English and one in English and Afrikaans. Despite this, these parents still chose to raise their children in English.

Furthermore, even though 37 of the participants speak to their partners in Afrikaans they still chose to raise their children in English. This is important since it gives the impression that they do still value Afrikaans because they continue to use it with their partners. It is fairly safe to assume that when parents speak to each other at home, there is a very real possibility that the children may be present. When the parents choose to converse with their partners in Afrikaans, the children will be exposed to the use of Afrikaans. Some 10 participants make an effort to use both English and Afrikaans when conversing with the partner. An interesting follow-up will be to check what the parents and the children identify as mother tongue in the future.

Most individuals (36) had either one or two children. Others had up to five children, and all were raising their children in English. It was noted though that in some instances parents began raising them in Afrikaans and later switched to English. Others switched when the first child was a bit older, and the other children who followed then started off in English from a much younger age. Most parents therefore carry out their decision to raise their children in English, which indicates consistency and determination. The fact that quite a number of parents (15) are raising their children to speak Afrikaans and English confirms that they do not want Afrikaans to die. It may be that they are trying to protect part of their heritage; this view was in fact confirmed by one parent.

It is interesting to observe that there are fewer participants who choose to speak to their partners in Afrikaans (37), considering that they (46) and their partners (45) were raised in Afrikaans. Only two speak to their partners in English, yet 10 are bilingual in their communication with their partners. Here is the first indication of a shift. The next generation (42) is now raised in English, with only two being raised in Afrikaans (which may be primarily because of a shortage of English facilities). Other languages used at home are English (42) and Afrikaans (two participants).

This is considered a massive shift. The complexity of this language shift is that what is given statistically carries within it many other dimensions of language identity. Change starts with the decision of this generation to implement the use of English, but it will in all likelihood only be the next generation who will indicate English as their mother tongue. It does raise the very real possibility that the expectations of parents about the education system in South Africa are changing. It may mean that what government needs to provide, at least in terms of parents' expectations, is more English schools than Afrikaans schools. An inherent requirement may also be the appointment of more English-trained, if not English-speaking, teachers. This means they must speak English on a sufficiently level that the children will not be given a sub-standard education.

This may not necessarily be good for Afrikaans, in that it will be used less frequently. The decreasing use of Afrikaans is not yet considered a language death, since a whole language shift is required. It can only happen "when a community shifts to a new language totally so that the old language is no longer used" (Fasold, 1984:213). Afrikaans may however still be used in school playgrounds, during interaction with Afrikaans parents at home, through contact with Afrikaans-speaking extended family members, and even with Afrikaans neighbours. In this

process the children will inevitably retain some level of proficiency in Afrikaans. The reality is that the situation is different from what it used to be, meaning not everybody in the household and family is considered “Afrikaans” anymore. There is a movement from everybody’s mother tongue being Afrikaans to the mother tongue now being regarded as English for most people in the community, starting with the attitude of parents in favour of English. There is therefore a shift, though not yet a complete one; it remains a complex shift nevertheless.

When considering the age of the oldest child, it is noticeable that most participants made the decision about mother tongue either before birth or at the time the child was born (or very soon thereafter). The rest did so mainly by the time the child was three years old. There are exceptions, in that five participants made the choice when their oldest child was already four, five, six or even eight years old. This however again confirms a decision and determination to raise the child in English, regardless of how old the child may have been and even if it meant that the child had to grow accustomed to English as first language after infancy.

5.3 Conclusion

The most important questions answered were summarised above. It is, however, in the contextualised analysis of these findings that they begin to show why a community of speakers would choose to promote a different L1 for their children.

Chapter 6: Interpretation of results

6.1 Introduction

The hypothesis was that a language shift is taking place within two generations, in that Afrikaans mother-tongue parents are raising English mother-tongue children. The assumption was that this is happening in the middle-class coloured community in Paarl. This research found evidence that certain Afrikaans-speaking parents do in fact raise their children in English. As a consequence thereof it is confirmed that a language shift from Afrikaans to English is taking place in this community. This confirms the report of Fortuin (2009:11) that when a language shift takes place in South Africa it tends to be towards English.

6.2 Comparison to studies by Fortuin (2009) and Anthonissen and George (2003)

The evidence presented seems to adequately fit the definition of language shift by Fishman (1991:1) in that the “intergenerational continuity of the heritage language is proceeding negatively, with fewer ‘speakers, readers, writers, and even understanders’”. This study found that most parents who grew up Afrikaans-speaking are currently using English as “an additional language” at home and are raising their children in English. This means that Afrikaans as an intergenerational language is affected negatively since the children have limited exposure to it, favouring English instead. Afrikaans is therefore left with a smaller number of people who are able and willing, or at least encouraged, to write, converse in and read it.

This study substantiates the opinion of Anthonissen and George (2003) that there is a belief among privileged coloured parents that high-quality education furnishes an opportunity that leads to better employment, as discussed in Chapter 2.

This study however differs in terms of the location of the community of speakers that is experiencing a language shift from Afrikaans to English. The study by Fortuin (2009) focused on an area in Port Elizabeth and that of Anthonissen and George (2003) on the greater Cape Town area, whereas this study focused on the Boland area, and Paarl specifically. The second difference is that whereas Fortuin (2009) actually interviewed three intergenerational coloured families, this study confined itself to the distribution, completion and interpretation of questionnaires. This was also done with more than three households and in fact involved 50 households. The request was that the questionnaire be completed by a parent of the (nuclear)

family. It means that this research sought the views of parents only, whereas other studies were intergenerational. This study then finds that the parents make the decision about the language their children will be raised in. They carry out this decision in terms of the medium of instruction of the schools they choose to enrol their children in.

Even though the method and geographical area differed from those of both Fortuin (2009) and Anthonissen and George (2003), the intention in this study was the same: to determine whether or not a language shift occurred. The findings are the same, in that a language shift did occur in the elite group of coloured people.

The reasons for a language shift or the factors affecting such shift were also confirmed. The information below, which was discussed in the literature study, was also confirmed through this research. First, the reasons for a shift as recorded in the literature study are listed, immediately followed by the reasons for a shift as provided by the participants in this study.

6.3 Language maintenance

No evidence was found of organised efforts to promote language maintenance for Afrikaans. There is however sufficient proof that language maintenance does occur, even though with less intensity as the language directed at the children at home and in the school classroom is English. The verification of this lies in the finding that some 74% of the participants continue to speak to their partners in Afrikaans. In this way at least the use of Afrikaans in the household is upheld. This corroborates the view of Hoffman (1991:186) as discussed in Chapter 2, to the extent that people are at least trying to continue using the language. Another factor for language maintenance is the community context. This community is predominantly Afrikaans-speaking and as such the language will be maintained because of exposure to it across various domains of use. The children will still enjoy contact with Afrikaans, albeit to a limited extent; however, such contact will be greatly enhanced by an Afrikaans-speaking community.

6.4 Language death

It is believed that Afrikaans has not yet reached the stage of experiencing language death in this community. It is encouraging that there is still intentional interaction between spouses in this language. This on some level creates the environment required to promote this language

and counteract language death, as suggested by Nettle & Romaine (2000). The confirmation of a language shift occurring in this community must be considered a warning sign in this regard.

6.5 Bilingualism

There is sufficient evidence of bilingualism in this community. From this study it became clear that 96% of children are either utilising English as mother tongue whilst having exposure to Afrikaans, or are raised in a bilingual setting. Of the parents, 74% converse with their partners in Afrikaans, while they use English as the other language at home. This is in line with the opinion expressed by the American Speech-Language-Hearing Association (ASHA, 2004) that both parents and children may present with and fluctuate between different levels of proficiency in the two languages, namely Afrikaans and English. It does suggest that we may be dealing with linguistically astute individuals, since Alexopoulou (2011) holds the view that swapping between the two linguistic systems enhances cognitive alertness. It was also found that the opinion expressed by 20 participants confirms Bhattacharjee's view (2012) that bilingual children have great confidence in speaking to more people as well as a wider audience than monolingual children.

6.6 English hegemony

The finding of this study, that 66% of the children are being raised in English with another 30% being bilingual (English and Afrikaans), confirms that parents do exercise the choice to raise their children in English.

6.7 Societal factors

In the literature study (Chapter 2) societal influence was listed as a factor that contributes to language shift. In this study one participant explained that raising a child in English is considered trendy or fashionable. This is clearly a result of societal influence.

Chapter 2 also indicated cultural similarity as a factor contributing to language shift. In this research 20 participants referring to this, as additional language skills allow for improved communication with people and improved social skills, and English is seen as a universal language. It does mean that people respond to the need to be culturally similar insofar as speaking the same or a common language is concerned. This language happens to be English.

6.7.1 Economic factors

The literature review lists economic mobility as another consideration for language shift. In this study 22 participants indicated jobs, career, more benefits and more income as their reasons for using English. This result substantiates the view that people want to show economic progression to at least the middle class. This may require a change in the language that is used. This is in line with Bekker's (2003) assertion that the middle class prefers to use English.

The literature study indicates that superior education secures superior jobs. This is mentioned as the next reason for a language shift; 20 respondents listed it as their reason for such a shift. It means that they hold the view that if they raise their children in English, the children will have access to better education and study opportunities. This outcome is therefore in agreement with the view expressed in the literature.

The literature review mentions another reason for a language shift: that a certain language is considered to be a marker of superior status. In this study seven participants indicated international language/international travel as benefits associated with their language shift. The opportunity to travel internationally is generally associated with somebody who enjoys privileges. During such travels one must be able to converse with people from different countries and it is assumed that English will facilitate such conversations. In this context English is then seen as marking superior status. It also means that this factor was confirmed by this study.

6.7.2 Political factors

Language as a political marker is listed in the literature review as the next reason for a language shift. It is true that politics dictate our lives in many ways. One institution of government that gives expression to the will of politicians and the ruling party is parliament. As mentioned earlier, it was reported by Davis (2013) that even though South Africa has 11 official languages the official proceedings of parliament are all recorded in English. This must be seen as a political statement with regard to language use. The response of one participant, not to the aforementioned question but when additional comments were invited, is informative in this regard. The participant said: "My father grew up in apartheid era and decided not to teach children 'Boer' language". This is a clear reference to Afrikaans used by the apartheid regime at a time when politics dictated how many coloured people would experience oppression. This

participant felt that they were raised in English as a political statement against the political system of the time, and therefore decided that his or her own children would also be raised in English. It also means that there is evidence that English is seen as political marker. The political factor was confirmed by this study.

In the literature study the next reason for a language shift under political factors is given as language policy. There is no reason to doubt the assertion of Farmer (2008:12) that the Western Cape Education Department plans to introduce education in English as obligatory from the level of senior primary school. During this research 20 participants responded that they saw the reason for a language shift, as it would create better education or study opportunities for their children. Many parents are well informed, with some of them being educators themselves. It means that if they know beforehand that the likelihood of such a language policy being introduced is high, this affects their choice of a language shift to English; they want better education for their children, which requires English. This factor was proven by this study.

6.7.3 Demographic factors

In the literature study demographic factors are listed as the next reason for a language shift. Fortuin (2009:25) found that the language shift occurred in the place where families lived. Even though participants did not specifically respond to this factor during this study in Paarl, there was also no evidence to suggest that a parent or child had to move residential areas with the explicit aim of the child being raised in English. The study therefore assumes that the perspective used during the literature study – that the language shift is taking place in the area where people are staying – is confirmed.

6.7.4 Attitudes

The literature review mentions attitude as the next reason for a language shift. As discussed earlier, parents in the study conducted by Anthonissen (2009:70) were forthright and unapologetic about their choice of English as opposed to their own mother tongue. The direct response of one parent to the question “What are the benefits you anticipated in raising your child/children in English?” was that it was considered trendy or a fashion. Another parent mentioned being bilingual as important. The general response of the 20 participants who provided additional comments indicated that they all were in favour of English, and therefore positive about raising their children in English.

6.7.5 Intermarriage

The only factor that could not be confirmed during this study was intermarriage. This does not mean that it is not relevant, nor does it detract from current knowledge on the topic of language shift.

6.8 Current knowledge

The question can surely be asked about how this research adds to the current body of knowledge on language shift. The study provides evidence from 50 households where people had time to think about their decisions and explain them. It was not a rushed discussion, or one that took place on the street or where participants were given a specific number of minutes in which to complete the questionnaires. The responses in the main should therefore be seen as well considered, balanced, informative and representative of whom the respondents are and what they as parents believed at the time at which this research was done.

It adds to the body of existing knowledge in that it was conducted away from the Cape Metropolitan area, in a town called Paarl in the Boland, and that there is now confirmation that a language shift does occur even in this area.

6.9 Stages observed in language shift

The researcher suggests that certain stages are reached during the process of language shift. It does appear that three stages are noticeable in this process, namely decision-making, execution of decision and an evaluation stage. They can be explained as follows:

6.9.1 Decision-making

Firstly a decision must be made, primarily by the parents, to raise the child in English. This decision can be made at the time of the child's birth or later. The decision may be motivated by social class or by a real interest in the child's future. The decision may also be a logical or an emotional one. "Logical" means that all relevant facts were weighed objectively before a decision was taken. An "emotional" decision is an impromptu or hasty decision without necessarily considering all the facts, or even regardless of what the facts dictated at the time.

6.9.2 Execution of decision

The second stage, called execution, means that the child is raised in English by being sent to a predominantly English school, and by the parents conversing with the child in English at home. It may further include the parents communicating with each other in English at home on a regular basis.

6.9.3 Evaluation

The third stage, called evaluation, implies that the parent talks to the child about the decision to raise him or her in English as opposed to Afrikaans. It also involves evaluating whether there are any regrets about this decision. The parent may even encourage the child to continue using Afrikaans as a second language. This may be an area for further research.

For 11 of the participants the child's primary schooling was in Afrikaans. This may be indicative of the late execution of the above decision or that facilities were not readily available. It may also indicate the parents' willingness (or unwillingness) to travel to the nearest English school, however far it may be. This questionnaire only scratched the surface in terms of understanding the reasoning of parents in this regard. It is important to note that 34 out of 50 children included in the survey had their primary schooling in English. The fact that another five were schooled in English and Afrikaans may indicate an attempt to implement the decision despite limited resources or opportunities available. It may also demonstrate a serious desire to implement the decision despite the children having grown up speaking Afrikaans. It may furthermore confirm a desire to grant the child at least some exposure to an English education environment.

It is significant that the number of children schooled in Afrikaans during their high school years has dropped to only two; this confirms the seriousness with which this task is approached by the parents. Whilst 29 were schooled in English, a fair number (10) were raised in a bilingual setting. Another nine are not yet of high school age. If one dares to assume that the 10 will also attend English high schools or at least be bilingual, then 48 (29 English + 10 bilingual + 9 NYH) out of 50 would have attended an English high school in some way or the other. This then would indicate a significant shift in terms of raising the child in English, even though it may not yet be a clear (100%) shift. It may even be considered complex, if a fair number of children continue to be raised bilingually. It may mean that parents want the benefit of English for their children, whilst also being reluctant to let go completely of the child's ability to converse in Afrikaans. For some it may be part of their own heritage that they do not want to

lose. They may therefore want the children, at least in part, to retain what is inevitably part of their (the child's) heritage.

It does appear that some parents gave the decision some thought, when one considers that some of them provided reasons. One reason was access to “universal language or jobs”; others clearly gave it much more thought in that they explain that English allows for better tertiary study, ability to understand different kinds of people, international travel, and access to jobs internationally. For others it is clearly a social class issue; one parent did not hesitate to indicate that the decision was a trend that they followed. The research indicates that most people gave it some thought; hence 99% of participants were able to advance some reason.

For some parents the anticipated benefits had not yet materialised, in that some children did not yet attend high school or tertiary education. However most parents (34 out of 50) held the view that the benefits had already materialised. Reasons cited include that their children had more confidence when conversing with their peers or other people. Another parent cited the fact that his or her child was appointed as a lawyer as one of the benefits of speaking English. Some refer to their children being appointed in good jobs. Confidence in a predominantly English setting was also seen as a benefit that had materialised. One parent referred to it as preparation for tertiary education against the background of the parents' own struggle with English on that level. It therefore means that the parent has a plan for and with the child. It also says that the child will probably complete his or her schooling without becoming a school dropout and will in all likelihood end up with at least one tertiary qualification. Three parents did not offer comment in this regard. This is also seen as believing that the benefits will materialise, since no indication was given that it will not happen within the context of the overall comments of these parents.

Not everybody just gave a “yes or no” answer to the question whether or not their children enquired about the reason why they were raised in English and not in Afrikaans. It was noted that though the question only required “yes” or “no” as a response, a few participants provided some form of motivation, hence the reference to “Yes with or without motivation” in the analysis of replies. Some replies were then interpreted as “yes” or “no” and others motivated what they said to their children anyway. In this context some 37 participants' children had never asked them why they were raised in English as opposed to Afrikaans. Some parents indicated that they had explained to the children why this was happening; nevertheless this is an interestingly large number of children who never sought clarity from their parents. There is

a view, even expressed by some parents, that English-speaking children are more confident in expressing themselves. Some 12 participants indicated that their children had asked them about it. One therefore wonders whether it is this element at work in the context of some children being raised bilingually, or in English but by Afrikaans parents. It may also be a matter of Afrikaans parents not giving the children enough confidence to ask such questions and merely expecting the children to comply without questioning.

Most parents indicated that they did not regret their decision, with some answers being interpreted this way. Less than half the participants (20) felt that it was still necessary to add more comments. Comments that were made include confirmation that English will be beneficial; that it must become the official language; and that it will definitely benefit their children in future. For some participants, the move to English remains in part a political one. One participant expressed the view that her own schooling in English was because the family wanted to move away from the oppression suffered under the prevailing apartheid system at the time. This also meant that his or her own children would inevitably be raised in English. Others confirmed that they did not want their children to suffer in future, hence the shift to English.

6.10 Findings

The following findings were made during this research project:

1. Afrikaans L1 parents are indeed raising English L1 children, which means that a language shift is taking place in the community of Paarl.
2. The shift is taking place in the middle-class coloured community.
3. The following are perceived as middle-class areas in Paarl: New Orleans, Charleston Hill, Denneburg, Klein Parys and Mountain View.
4. There are multiple reasons contributing to this complex linguistic phenomenon of language shift.
5. There are signs of retention of Afrikaans as part of the community's heritage.

6.11 Recommendations for further research

Consideration should be given to conducting further research on the following:

1. What children consider as their home language if they are raised by Afrikaans L1 parents.
2. Whether parents encourage their children to continue using Afrikaans, and what the rationale for this is.
3. Whether there is now a need for the Paarl municipality to establish more English-medium schools.
4. Whether this shift from Afrikaans to English is also evident in other ethnic communities in the Paarl area.

Chapter 7: Conclusion

After considering the results of the study and its various interpretations, the shortcomings must be highlighted before the concluding remarks are given.

A shortcoming of this research may be that it did not determine whether the child was happy with the language choice. The views of the children were not recorded in terms of what they consider to be their mother tongue, how they currently perceive it, and whether they would have exercised a different option if they now had the opportunity to choose their mother tongue based on the information they now have. This may be an area for further research.

Secondly, it also did not determine what language the child sees as his or her mother tongue. This is justifiable as this study confined itself to the opinion of parents. Thirdly, it did not specifically check what language the parent now saw as mother tongue for him or herself, especially now that the child is raised in English.

In this research it was found that not everybody in the traditionally Afrikaans-speaking households in these communities still uses Afrikaans as mother tongue any more. Not everyone therefore still raises their children in Afrikaans.

It found that more than one language is actually utilised at home. It proved difficult to find an Afrikaans- or English-exclusive household, even though this was not specifically researched. This means that that there are very few monolingual households and more bilingual households. The hypothesis that Afrikaans-speaking parents are unapologetically raising their children in English was confirmed. It became clear that some parents make this decision at the child's birth or even before.

There are a few positive outcomes to consider. This research confirms the hypothesis that a language shift is taking place in this community. It highlights the fact that the shift is not straightforward, but complex. It also confirms that that there is an attempt by parents to preserve Afrikaans. In addition, this research suggests that three stages may be involved in this decision-making process, namely decision-making, execution of decision and an evaluation stage.

Another positive outcome is the finding that parents are happy with how the child progressed when raised in English. This excludes the few cases where such a determination cannot be made as yet, since the relevant children are not yet in high school or at tertiary level.

A further positive outcome is the finding that parents are willing to make sacrifices to ensure that their child is raised in English. These may include financial, accommodation and adjustment sacrifices. The next outcome is located in the finding that most people gave some consideration to why they follow this route for their children. It is clear that all that parents want to do is to raise their children in English. In this process they seemingly do not really mind whether the child attends an exclusively English school or is subjected to bilingual teaching.

Another positive element of this research is that it has a strong theoretical foundation. It supports the work of Janet Holmes (2008) in terms of it confirming the mentioned reasons for a language shift. It also confirms the view that Fishman advances about what a language shift is namely “[a] process whereby intergenerational continuity of the heritage language is proceeding negatively, with fewer ‘speakers, readers, writers, and even understanders’ every generation” (Fishman 1991:1). It means that between different generations the language that an individual was taught at birth is really not maintained in the same positive manner. This investigation therefore also reaffirms Hoffman’s (1991:186) outlook on language shift: that “when a community does not maintain its language, but gradually adopts another one, we talk about language shift”. In addition, this study observed that from a language maintenance perspective there are signs of a decision to retain Afrikaans, albeit not in a very organised way or on a larger scale in this community.

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APPENDIX 1: Questionnaire

APPENDIX 2: Consent form (included in last page of questionnaire)



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LANGUAGE SHIFT WITHIN TWO GENERATIONS:
AFRIKAANS MOTHER TONGUE PARENTS RAISING
ENGLISH MOTHER TONGUE CHILDREN.

QUESTIONNAIRE

2013/2014

JOHANNES DANIEL BEUKES

BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION

1. SURNAME _____
2. INITIALS _____
3. AGE _____ YEARS
4. ETHNICITY _____
5. MOTHER TONGUE _____
6. OTHER LANGUAGES USED AT HOME _____
7. MALE FEMALE (MARK WITH AN X)
8. UNMARRIED MARRIED DIVORCED

ECONOMIC STATUS

9. EMPLOYED UNEMPLOYED
10. MONTHLY INCOME
 BELOW R10000 BETWEEN R10000 AND R30000
 BETWEEN R30000 AND R50000 ABOVE R50000
11. DO YOU CONSIDER YOURSELF AS PART OF THE MIDDLE INCOME GROUP? YES NO

FAMILY LANGUAGE BACKGROUND

12. WHAT WAS YOUR MOTHER'S MOTHER TONGUE? _____
13. WHAT WAS YOUR FATHER'S MOTHER TONGUE? _____
14. IN WHICH LANGUAGE WERE YOU RAISED? _____

15. IN WHICH LANGUAGE WAS YOUR PARTNER RAISED? _____

16. IN WHICH LANGUAGE DO YOU SPEAK TO YOUR PARTNER? _____

INFORMATION ABOUT YOUR NUCLEAR FAMILY

17. HOW MANY CHILDREN DO YOU HAVE?

18. IN WHAT LANGUAGE ARE YOU RAISING THEM? _____

19. HOW OLD WAS/WERE YOUR CHILD/CHILDREN WHEN YOU MADE THIS CHOICE?

20. IN WHICH LANGUAGE IS/WAS THEIR PRIMARY SCHOOL EDUCATION?

21. IN WHICH LANGUAGE IS/WAS THEIR HIGH SCHOOL EDUCATION?

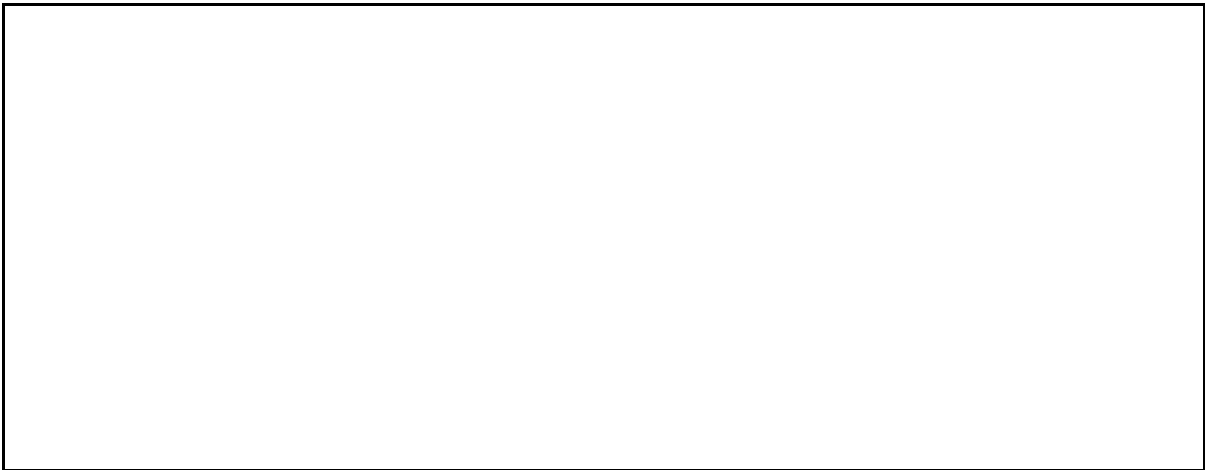
QUESTIONS ON LANGUAGE SHIFT

22. WHAT ARE THE BENEFITS YOU ANTICIPATED IN RAISING YOUR CHILD/CHILDREN IN ENGLISH?

23. DID THOSE BENEFITS MATERIALISE? EXPLAIN.



24. DID YOUR CHILDREN EVER ASK WHY YOU RAISED THEM IN ENGLISH AS OPPOSED TO AFRIKAANS?



25. DO YOU EVER REGRET OR DOUBT YOUR DECISION TO RAISE YOUR CHILDREN IN ENGLISH?



26. PLEASE MAKE ANY OTHER COMMENTS YOU WOULD LIKE TO ADD HERE.

THE END

THANK YOU FOR YOUR PARTICIPATION.

CONSENT FORM

By signing below, I agree to take part in a research study entitled:

Language shift within two generations: Afrikaans mother tongue parents raising English mother tongue children.

I declare that:

- I have read or had read to me this information and consent form and it is written in a language with which I am fluent and comfortable.
- I have had a chance to ask questions and all my questions have been adequately answered.
- I understand that taking part in this study is **voluntary** and I have not been pressurised to take part.
- I may choose to leave the study at any time and will not be penalised or prejudiced in any way.

Signed at (*place*) on (*date*) 2013/2014.

.....

Signature of participant

.....

Signature of witness