

**Linguistic variation in Afrikaans in the Southern Cape:
grammatical form and function in the spoken language
of young adults**

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DECLARATION

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This research project would not have been possible if I had not received support from a few people who I would like to acknowledge individually for the valuable parts they played in helping me reach its completion.

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ABSTRACT

This study involves an examination of possibly distinctive features of different variants of Afrikaans. This was done in a town in the southern Cape, in which Afrikaans is the predominant home language and lingua franca. Different varieties of Afrikaans among current residents are widely observed, but have not yet been described in detail. Besides giving a snapshot of current varieties that are in use among speakers between the ages of 18 and 25 years, this study considers a sample of language use in three groups of users in order to assess how recent changing patterns of contact in educational settings may have affected the varieties they speak. The working hypothesis is that the "dialect differences" between formerly socially isolated groups could be in the process of decreasing, as a result of fading social boundaries.

This is a small-scale pilot study that tests the hypothesis. The study collected recordings of spoken Afrikaans of young people who fall into three categories, namely (i) those who completed their primary and secondary schooling in the schools within a "coloured residential area" (e.g. Pacaltsdorp primary and high school), (ii) those who completed their primary and secondary schooling in the schools within the "white town areas" (e.g. Outeniqua primary and high school), and (iii) those who started their primary schooling in a school within a coloured residential area, but moved to a historically "white" school (a so-called Model C school) for their high school education.

Data was elicited by using pictures of persons that participants were likely to know. The pictures were shown to pairs of speakers as prompts to a discussion that would require comparable words and expressions, thus delivering comparable sets of relatively naturally occurring speech. The recorded data was transcribed in a corpus program (ExMaralda) so that salient forms could be isolated, and the regularity as well as distribution of each form could be easily traced.

The data was used to determine if and how the varieties of Afrikaans spoken by members of the three groups differ, and also to check whether there is evidence that the recent language contact between some of the coloured and white participants in their high school years had a noticeable effect on the language forms they are currently using. So the aim was to check whether there is evidence of speech accommodation, dialect levelling and dialect shift, as the different communities gradually integrate more than before. Specific attention went to vocabulary as well as to grammatical features that stood out as markers of one rather than the other community-associated version of Afrikaans.

OPSOMMING

Hierdie studie behels 'n ondersoek na moontlik onderskeidende kenmerke van verskillende variante van Afrikaans. Dit is in 'n Suid-Kaapse dorp wat oorwegend Afrikaans as huistaal en omgangstaal gebruik, onderneem. Verskillende variëteite van Afrikaans word wyd waargeneem onder huidige inwoners, maar is nog nie in besonderhede beskryf nie. Buiten dat 'n "kameraskoot" gegee word van die variasies wat sprekers tussen die ouderdomme 18 en 25 jaar nou gebruik, ondersoek hierdie studie die taalgebruik van drie groepe sprekers ten einde te oordeel hoe onlangse veranderinge in taalkontak in opvoedkundige konteks taalvariasie kon beïnvloed het. Daar is gewerk met die hipotese dat die "dialekverskille" tussen voormalig geïsoleerde groepe besig is om af te neem as gevolg daarvan dat sosiale grense uit 'n vorige bedeling besig is om te vervaag.

Hierdie is 'n loodsstudie van beperkte omvang wat die hipotese toets. Die studie het klankopnames versamel van die gesproke Afrikaans van jongmense wat in drie kategorieë val, naamlik (i) diegene wat hulle hele skoolloopbaan in skole binne die "bruin woongebiede" deurgebring het, (ii) diegene wat hulle hele skoolloopbaan in skole binne die "wit dorp", deurgebring het, en (iii) diegene wat hulle laerskoolloopbaan in die bruin woongebied begin het, maar vir hulle hoërskoolloopbaan na 'n historiese "wit" skool ('n sg. Model-C-skool) geskuif het.

Data is bekom deur die gebruik van prente van persone wat deelnemers waarskynlik sou ken. Die prente is aan pare sprekers gewys as stimulus vir gesprek wat van deelnemers vergelykbare woorde en uitdrukkings sou vereis, en dus vergelykbare stelle relatief natuurlik taalgebruik opgelewer het. Die spraak wat so vasgevang is, is getranskribeer in 'n korpusprogram (ExMaralda), sodat opvallende vorme geïsoleer kon word en die reëlmaat waarin hulle voorgekom het, sowel as die verspreiding van elke vorm, maklik nagegaan kon word.

Die data is gebruik om vas te stel of en hoe die variëteite van Afrikaans wat lede van die drie groepe gebruik, verskil asook om na te gaan of daar getuïenis is dat die onlangse kontak tussen party bruin en wit deelnemers in hulle hoërskooljare 'n merkbare effek gehad het op die taalvorme wat hulle tans gebruik. Dus was die bedoeling om na te gaan of daar, soos die verskillende gemeenskappe geleidelik meer as tevore integreer, getuïenis is van spraakakkommodasie, dialekgelykmaking en dialekverskuiwing. Spesifieke aandag sal gegee word aan woordeskat sowel as aan grammatikale eienskappe van die taal wat uitstaan as merkers van een eerder as die ander gemeenskapsvariëteit van Afrikaans.

ABBREVIATIONS

- L1 – First language
- L2 – Second language
- LoLT – Language of learning and teaching
- MIT – Massachusetts Institute of Technology
- KBA – Baggara Arabic
- ESA – Eastern Sudanic Arabic
- WSA – Western Sudanic Arabic
- SAE – South African English
- SSE – Standard Scottish English
- VOC – Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie

NOTES CONVENTIONS

// slash brackets are used when sounds are discussed from a phonological point of view.

[] Square brackets are used in the general discussion of sounds.

* *Although a large section of the discussion refers to phonetic and phonological features, I often use regular orthography describing the features, and not the phonetic alphabet and other more conventional descriptive terms.*

TABLE OF CONTENTS

<i>Declaration</i>	<i>i</i>
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	<i>ii</i>
<i>Abstract</i>	<i>iii</i>
<i>Opsomming</i>	<i>iv</i>
<i>Abbreviations</i>	<i>v</i>
<i>Notes conventions</i>	<i>vi</i>
<i>Table of contents</i>	<i>vii</i>
<i>List of tables</i>	<i>xi</i>
<i>List of figures</i>	<i>xii</i>
Chapter 1: Introduction	1
1.1 BACKGROUND	1
1.2 Research questions.....	2
1.3 Aims and objectives.....	3
1.4 Literature outline	4
1.4.1 Linguistic variation (dialectology)	5
1.4.2 Social differentiation and language (sociolinguistics).....	5
1.4.3 Language/dialect contact.....	6
1.5 Key terms	6
1.6 Research design	6
Chapter 2: Research Context.....	8
2.1 Introduction	8
2.2 Locating Place	8
2.2.1 George geographical area.....	9
2.2.2 Afrikaans speech community	10
2.3 Origin of Afrikaans.....	13
2.3.1 Theories on the development of Afrikaans	14
2.3.2 Historical dialects of Afrikaans	16
2.3.2.1 Cape Afrikaans.....	17
2.3.2.2 Orange River Afrikaans.....	18
2.3.2.3 Eastern Cape Afrikaans	18
2.4 Afrikaans and Apartheid	19
2.4.1 Afrikaans as ‘the language of the oppressor’	19

2.4.2	Afrikaans as anti-Apartheid tool	20
2.4.3	Post-Apartheid status of Afrikaans.....	21
2.5	Conclusion.....	22
Chapter 3: Literature Review		23
3.1	Introduction	23
3.2	Linguistic diversity	23
3.3	Standard language and language standards.....	25
3.4	Social variables.....	27
3.4.1	Language and Age	27
3.4.2	Language and Education.....	28
3.4.3	Language and Gender / Sex	29
3.4.4	Social network.....	30
3.4.5	Language and Ethnicity	31
3.5	Dialect contact situation.....	32
3.5.1	Speech accommodation	32
3.5.2	Dialect shift	33
3.5.3	Dialect mixing.....	34
3.5.4	Dialect levelling.....	34
3.6	Previous studies on dialect contact.....	35
3.6.1	Short-term speech accommodation by a travel agency assistant	35
3.6.2	Dialect mixing in Kordofanian Baggara Arabic.....	36
3.6.3	Dialect shift of Noam Chomsky	36
3.6.4	Dialect levelling in a Scottish English community	37
3.7	Language Status and Attitude.....	38
3.8	Conclusion.....	38
Chapter 4: Methodology.....		40
4.1	Introduction	40
4.2	Participants	40
4.3	Data collection.....	41
4.4	Motivating methodology.....	43
4.5	Data processing	43
4.6	Data analysis.....	44
4.7	Ethical considerations	45

Chapter 5: Data presentation and discussion Phonological and lexical difference.....	47
5.1 Introduction	47
5.2 Grammatical features as likely markers of varietal difference	48
5.2.1 Phonetic and Phonological level	49
5.2.1.1 Elision.....	49
5.2.1.2 Sound insertion	51
5.2.1.3 Assimilation and Vowel Reduction	53
5.2.1.4 Alternation between the Afrikaans diminutives ending in [-tji:] and [-kie] ..	56
5.2.1.4 Vowel roundedness	57
5.2.2 Lexical level	58
5.2.2.1 Lexical diversity in theme one – Rihanna and Drake image.....	58
5.2.2.2 Lexical diversity in theme two – Oscar Pistorius image.....	64
5.2.2.3 Lexical diversity in theme three – Julius Malema image.....	66
Chapter 6: Stock phrases and idiomatic expressions as markers of different varieties	69
6.1 Introduction	69
6.2 The tag questions “verstaan jy?” and “sien jy?”	69
6.3 Forms of address.....	72
6.3.1 Direct forms of address “my broe(r)” or “my bra”.....	72
6.3.2 Informal conversational use of “ou”, “bra”, “man” and “oukie/outjie” as a third person reference to males	73
6.3.3 Conversational use of “vroue”, “vrouens” and “vroumense” as third person reference to females.	75
6.4 “Kyk ...” or “Kyk hie(r) ...” as expressions to call for attention at the start of a turn.....	76
6.5 The adverb “eintlik”.....	78
6.6 The Afrikaans adverbial phrase “snaaks”	79
6.7 Interesting constructions with “van”.....	81
6.8 Constructions expressing not having knowledge about something.....	83
6.9 Contrast between “Wanneer/ (As) dit kom by ...” or “Wanneer/ (As) dit gaan oor ...”	85
6.10 Salient, but limitedly used idiomatic expressions: joking, ridiculing.....	87
6.11 “Ek vang (nie)” vs. “ek doen (nie)”.....	89
6.12 “Grootgeword” and “grootgeraak”	91
6.13 Idiomatic expression of liking and admiration.....	92

6.14	Expressing degree of severity.....	94
6.15	Habitual collective code-switching of single words.....	96
6.16	Conclusion.....	98
Chapter 7: Concluding Remarks		99
7.1	Introduction	99
7.2	General findings	99
7.3	Answers to the specific research questions.....	102
Bibliography.....		105
Appendix A: Questionnaire		112
Appendix B: Interview schedule		115
Appendix C: Consent form.....		116
Appendix D: Prompting images.....		119

LIST OF TABLES

Table 5.1:	Use of elision.....	50
Table 5.2:	Use of sound insertion	52
Table 5.3:	Use of assimilation and vowel reduction.....	55
Table 5.4:	Alternation between the two diminutives [-tjie] and [-kie].....	57
Table 5.5:	Use of rounded and unrounded vowels.....	58
Table 5.6:	Lexical diversity in theme one	59
Table 5.7:	Lexical diversity in theme two	64
Table 5.8:	Lexical diversity in theme three	66
Table 6.1:	Use of tag question forms	71
Table 6.2:	Use of direct forms of address.....	73
Table 6.3:	Use of informal third person reference forms to males	74
Table 6.4:	Use of third person reference forms to female.....	76
Table 6.5:	Ways to start a turn.....	77
Table 6.6:	The semantic functions of ‘eintlik’	79
Table 6.7:	The semantic functions of ‘snaaks’	80
Table 6.8:	Interesting construction with ‘van’	82
Table 6.9:	Non-standard prepositional construction with ‘van’	83
Table 6.10:	Ways of expressing awareness	85
Table 6.11:	Contrast between “wanneer/ (as) dit kom by ...” and “wanneer/ (as) dit gaan oor ...”	87
Table 6.12:	Less dominant but interesting idiomatic expression.....	89
Table 6.13:	Contrast between “ek vang (nie)” vs. “ek doen (nie)”	90
Table 6.14:	Contrast between “grootgeword” and “grootgeraak”	92
Table 6.15:	Idiomatic expressions of liking and admiration	94
Table 6.16:	Ways of expressing degree of severity	96
Table 6.17:	Habitual collective code-switching of single words.....	97

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 2.1:	Map of the George municipality with insert of the Western Cape boundaries	10
Figure 2.2:	Distribution of languages spoken and population groups in George.....	11

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 BACKGROUND

This study investigates dialectal variation of speakers of Afrikaans in George in the Southern Cape, a town in which the majority of the inhabitants have Afrikaans as their first language (L1). However, it has been observed that members of different sections of the community speak different varieties of Afrikaans. This study will work with data collected from members of two such relatively distinguishable Afrikaans L1-communities in the town with a view to recording the most prominent markers of the different varieties, and checking whether, as the communities integrate, there is evidence of various kinds of linguistic contact phenomena. One of these phenomena which will be investigated is ‘dialectal shift’, whereby an individual or group of speakers shifts from one dialect to another as their default form of language use. The second phenomenon to be investigated is ‘dialect leveling’, a process in which two distinct (even if related) varieties lose their differences and become largely similar. Lastly, the possibilities of adaptation in which one group accommodates to the grammatical structure and style of the other without discarding their first variety will be considered. This phenomenon, referred to as ‘dialect accommodation’, will be investigated with a view to explaining contemporary language contact processes. This study intends to show the relationship between different forms of language use, also to a limited extent reflecting on attitudes to language and language standards as they are evident in different samples of language use.

The main problem to be investigated relates to the description of the actual variety found in specific language forms, i.e. differences in the vocabulary, phonological differences and the idiomatic uses of various forms in the different speech communities. Special attention will therefore be given to linguistic variations within four linguistic dimensions, namely on the phonological level, the lexical level, the morpho-syntactic level, and idiomatic constructions. Formal linguistic features that stand out as markers of the different Afrikaans varieties of the speech communities will be identified and described.

1.2 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The research questions that this study will address, can be captured in one overarching question, articulated as follows:

What are the most salient markers of differences in language variety between the three groups of participants of the study as they occur in discussions of three selected topics?

The three groups identified as Group A, Group B and Group C, consisted of participants who completed their schooling in schools within the local coloured community (Group A), participants who completed their schooling in ex-Model C schools, i.e. schools established in the white section of the town (Group B), and participants who completed their primary schooling in the local schools in the coloured community and moved from there to one of the Ex-Model C schools for their secondary schooling (Group C).

In order to answer the main question, the following set of sub-questions was formulated:

- 1.2.1 On a phonological level, what prominent markers with regard to pronunciation distinguish between participants, and how are such differences distributed in the three identified groups?
- 1.2.2 On the level of vocabulary, which words occurred in the data as alternatives for the same concept (e.g. *liedjie*, *song*, *nommer*), and how were the alternative forms, as they occurred in the recorded speech, distributed among the participants?
- 1.2.3 On the level of idiomatic expressions, what salient markers regarding fixed phrases and sentences occurred in the data that show differences between participants, and do such differences mark the three groups as different or not?
- 1.2.4 Based on the description of characteristics of different variants that individual speakers display, as becomes evident in answering the above-mentioned questions, is it possible to identify certain characteristics as common to one group and absent (or rare) in the other? If so, which? In other words, are there markers of variants that distinguish the different social communities from each other? Particularly, my interest is in how the language forms of Group C, the group who had moved from one speech/dialectal community to another, related to equivalent forms in groups A and B. Also, my interest is in how the

investigated forms of Group A and Group B show similarities and differences that could be interpreted as markers of different varieties of Afrikaans. Thus, the particular questions would be:

- In the language of Group C, are there characteristics typical of Group A markers rather than Group B? In other words, did Group C present characteristics that appeared to be typical of Group A?
- In the language of Group C, are there characteristics typical of Group B markers rather than Group A? In other words, did Group C present characteristics that appeared to be typical of Group B?
- In the language of Group B, are there characteristics typical of Group A? In other words, could Group B have acquired typical language characteristics of Group A via contact with Group C?
- In the language of Group A, are there characteristics typical of Group B? In other words, could Group A have acquired typical language characteristics of Group B via contact with Group C?

1.2.5 Based on the language forms identified in 1.2.1 to 1.2.3 and linked to the language of certain groups (as set out in 1.2.4), are there signs in the language use of the younger people in George that social boundaries from a previous dispensation are beginning to fade, to such an extent that it also becomes visible in their language variants?

1.3 AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

The intention was to make recordings of spontaneous language use that was likely to contain striking "markers" of the different variants of Afrikaans as they appear in this town. The recorded data was used to identify differences on a lexical, phonetic, phonological, and morpho-syntactic level, as well as in idiomatic expressions. It was also used to investigate whether there was evidence of speech accommodation, dialect leveling and dialectal shift as the various communities gradually integrated more than before.

The analysis worked with social variables (such as age, gender, ethnicity, education and social networks) and their influence on language change and differentiation. Other important variables, with regard to this study, are (i) where participants grew up (i.e. in which part of George), (ii) where they received schooling (e.g. at which school in George), (iii) what level of schooling they obtained, (iv) at which tertiary institutions they studied, (v) what field of study they followed, (vi) their occupation, and (vii) their work environment.

These variables, to a certain extent, determine the language usage of the participants. For example, it is expected that the language use of Group B and also partially Group C, who obtained education in former Model C schools, would largely resemble standard Afrikaans. However, the data yields spontaneous youth language, which in principle differs from the standard, thus it is expected that former learners from the ex-Model C schools (groups B and C) will not be faithful in the use of standard Afrikaans but will sometimes also make use of non-standard forms. There are studies on "youth language" which are not included here, but which indicate that young people (in the age group of participants in this study) deviate considerably from the standard and even develop their own idiomatic forms which sometimes become the new form, but also sometimes die out when speakers come into a working environment that encourages or requires the standard.

1.4 LITERATURE OUTLINE

The literature that will inform this study stems from four linguistic fields, namely (i) dialects of Afrikaans – variation between the so-called standard Afrikaans and regional varieties of Afrikaans; (ii) social differentiation and the different linguistic varieties which they produce in society; (iii) studies of language contact, including questions on the social processes involved in language contact situations namely speech accommodation, dialect levelling and dialectal shift, in a local Southern African language context; and (iv) attitude towards language variation as a measure of more and less alignment with standardized varieties of a language and how these areas of interest are investigated.

A number of basic texts have been selected as primary sources because they are foundational in a study on the complex relations between language variation and society. These sources include "Dialectology" (Chambers and Trudgill 1980), "Variasietaalkunde" (Du Plessis 1995), "Taalverskeidenheid" (Claasen and Van Rensburg 1983), "An Introduction to Sociolinguistics" (Wardhaugh 2006), "Dialect Change: Convergence and divergence in European Languages" (Auer, Hinskens and Kerswill 2015), "Dialects in contact" (Trudgill 1986), "Sociolinguistics" (Milroy and Gordon 2003) and "Sociolinguistic variation" (Bayley and Lucas 2007). Although chapter three discusses the literature in more detail, here I give a brief introduction.

1.4.1 Linguistic variation (dialectology)

There is extensive work on dialectal variation across countries and not as much on dialectal variation of Afrikaans. However, a few studies on language variation in Afrikaans have been done in Southern Africa which will be drawn on as important background to this study. The authors whose work my study refers to, are Du Plessis (1985), and De Klerk (1968). Their work investigates dialectal variation of Afrikaans in various regions, and provides an overview of different Afrikaans varieties (such as Orange River Afrikaans, Eastern Cape Afrikaans and Cape Afrikaans) found across southern Africa. Such studies examine dialectal differences with attention to phonological, lexical, morphological, and syntactic features. Most recent work which, similarly to this study, also refers to language variation within a town in the Southern Cape, is the 2016 Ph.D. study of Ribbens-Klein. Her study took a phonological and sociolinguistic approach, attending specifically to various uses of the rhotic [r] in different speech communities of a town which she alias as Houteniqua dorp. My study has a different, and more limited, analytic approach, looking also at differences on the phonetic, phonological, lexical, morpho-syntactic and idiomatic level.

1.4.2 Social differentiation and language (sociolinguistics)

In addition to geographical differentiation aiding language variation, as mentioned, there is also another perspective on linguistic variety, namely one considering the relation between social differentiation and language, which holds that social differences between people ultimately also reflect in language differences (Claasen and Van Rensburg 1983:12). This perspective has received dedicated attention from several sociolinguists, such as Labov (1966) and Chambers and Trudgill (1980), and has formed an important study area since the 1960s. There are a number of themes that can be investigated with regard to the relationship between the social boundaries of speakers and their language use; these include identifying markers of social differentiation such as gender, age, class, ethnic background, and religious affiliation, to name only a few. Other social factors such as the speaker's educational background, individual characteristics and the social networks they belong to can also influence their use of language. This study will focus on the school environment in which the participants completed their secondary education, as the main social differentiating factor possibly influencing language variation across the specific speech communities.

1.4.3 Language/dialect contact

Many studies have been done on language varieties and the sociolinguistic factors that could have aided the development of language variation. One of the interesting drivers of language change, is to be observed when different languages come into contact with each other or more specifically, for this study, when speakers of different language varieties (dialects) come into contact. Trudgill (1986:1) indicates several types of influencing that occur when speakers of different varieties of the same language come into contact, communicate and integrate with each other. He refers specifically to social processes that occur in these communication situations, such as speech accommodation, dialect levelling, dialectal shift, dialect mixing and finally the possibility of the development of a new dialect.

This study will report on three of the aforementioned social processes, namely speech accommodation, dialect levelling and dialectal shift as they are evidenced in the particular data set. It will provide answers to questions such as whether participants of the “Pacaltsdorp” variant, who attended Outeniqua High School, accommodated the dialect typical of the “white school” to such an extent that it can be seen as dialectal shift. If not, the question will be whether these speakers underwent a process of dialect levelling, that is, where the difference between dialects begin to disappear. Lastly, this study will examine which of the observed language phenomena prove or disprove hypotheses of language accommodation, language shift or dialect levelling. A further hypothesis that the study will test, refers to the development of bidialectalism, and extension of access to and use of different, relatively stable varieties.

1.5 KEY TERMS

Language variant, dialect, language contact, speech community, speech accommodation, dialectal shift, dialect levelling, social differentiation.

1.6 RESEARCH DESIGN

This study makes use of recorded interviews collected in June 2016, during my honors studies. The participants were selected based on their age, native language, as well as where they had started and completed their schooling. Forty participants were approached to obtain the necessary data through recording informal spontaneous conversation, in groups of two or three, prompted by showing images dealing with three different themes, namely music, sport (in local news headlines) and local political issues. The images were chosen to ensure that the vocabulary

and sentence constructions would be reasonably comparable to better facilitate an analysis of the language forms of the participants. There were three groups of participants selected, as described above – to be elaborated in chapter four: Group A representing speakers of the local Pacaltsdorp coloured community, Group B representing speakers of the white town area who attended Outeniqua primary and high school, and Group C representing speakers of the coloured community who had moved to a school in the white town area for their secondary schooling. The participants were recruited first by making use of contacts in my own social circle, after which existing participants were asked to each approach one more participant from their acquaintances. This could be described as the snowball sampling method.

During my honours project only a section of one third of the recorded data on the music theme could be transcribed and analyzed, hence the two latter recorded data themes namely sport (and associated local media events) and local news on a young local politician remained neither transcribed nor analyzed. This study will go one step further, adding the remaining data that had not yet been transcribed and analyzed for a more comprehensive perspective on descriptive markers of the identified varieties. The steps to be taken in analyzing the remaining part of the data are to first listen to the recordings, and then to note the salient features of the language use of the different groups on the basis of close observation. Thereafter the data will be transcribed in ExMaralda (transcription software to build a corpus of spoken data) where selected language phenomena as they occur, can easily be searched to confirm (or counter) observations, and to assess the distribution of characterizing features using number of occurrences as the indicator.

In what follows, Chapter two will give a description of the research context, both geographically, regionally and linguistically. Chapter three gives a discussion of relevant literature that informed the analysis and interpretation of the data. Chapter four introduces the methodology followed in this study. Chapters five and six introduce the linguistic material which was eventually selected to illustrate pertinent ways in which the language use in the various groups showed difference and overlap. The data presented in these chapters is presented to answer the research questions as they have been set out above.

CHAPTER 2: RESEARCH CONTEXT

2.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter will give a description of the context in which the study was conducted by giving an overview of the history regarding the development of Afrikaans considering the various dialectal varieties of the Afrikaans language in South Africa. The chapter will be structured as follows: in section 2.2 contextual information regarding the sociolinguistic location of this study will be discussed; in section 2.3 theories regarding the origin of Afrikaans will be considered, particularly following the development of early dialectal varieties and the formation of standard Afrikaans. The linguistic effects of segregation, during Apartheid (1948–1994), on standard Afrikaans as opposed to other local varieties is a significant part of South Africa's language history. These effects will briefly be discussed in section 2.4. Finally, section 2.5 will give a representation of the current status of the language after Apartheid.

2.2 LOCATING PLACE

The participants of the study were all L1-speakers of Afrikaans who were born and had remained in George (a town located along the N2 highway, in the Southern Cape about 430 km from Cape Town) throughout their primary and secondary schooling. The participants therefore, are all considered as L1-speakers of a variety of Afrikaans that in one way or another established itself in this particular region. As will become clear, Afrikaans also seems to be the dominant community language of this particular town, since the majority of its inhabitants resort to Afrikaans as their L1, albeit that they do not all speak exactly the same variety of the language. This study, in fact, focuses on linguistic and sociolinguistic markers which set apart the Afrikaans varieties spoken in this town.

Of the participants in this study, eight were male and 32 were female speakers of Afrikaans, all of whom still reside in George, some quite a number of years after completing high school. Some have found employment e.g. as shop assistants or in a property development company. Other participants completed tertiary training at a teacher training college in George, and a few who left the town to complete tertiary training in Stellenbosch and Cape Town (with

qualifications in e.g. Engineering, Social work and Law), have returned to start their careers as young professionals in their home town.

Most of the participants still live with their parents in the same Afrikaans speech community where they grew up. A few who have their own accommodation however, have remained within the boundaries of their Afrikaans speech communities, and move in the same circle of friends as when they left school. This means that the coloured participants remained within their still largely racially segregated speech community; none of these participants have moved into the white town area, as even without prohibiting legislation the economic barriers are marked. Similarly, some white participants have moved out of the family home, but remain living in the part of town that has been traditionally white. All the employed participants, however, work in the centre of town or industrial areas across town. In the work place coloured and white employers and employees meet; there they testify to using Afrikaans informally, but they also mention that English has in many cases become the language of formal communication. This is also due to the fact that many co-workers have isiXhosa as L1, and for them Afrikaans is less accessible.

2.2.1 George geographical area

George is, in social and geographic terms, a central hub of the region, identified as the Eden District, also informally referred to as the “Garden Route”. The district is located in the Southern-East part of the Western Cape Province, covering an area of 23 331 square kilometers (Statistics South Africa 2011). Eden district is the third largest within the province and is divided into seven municipalities which include George municipality. George municipality is the second largest in the district and also the one with the highest population numbers.

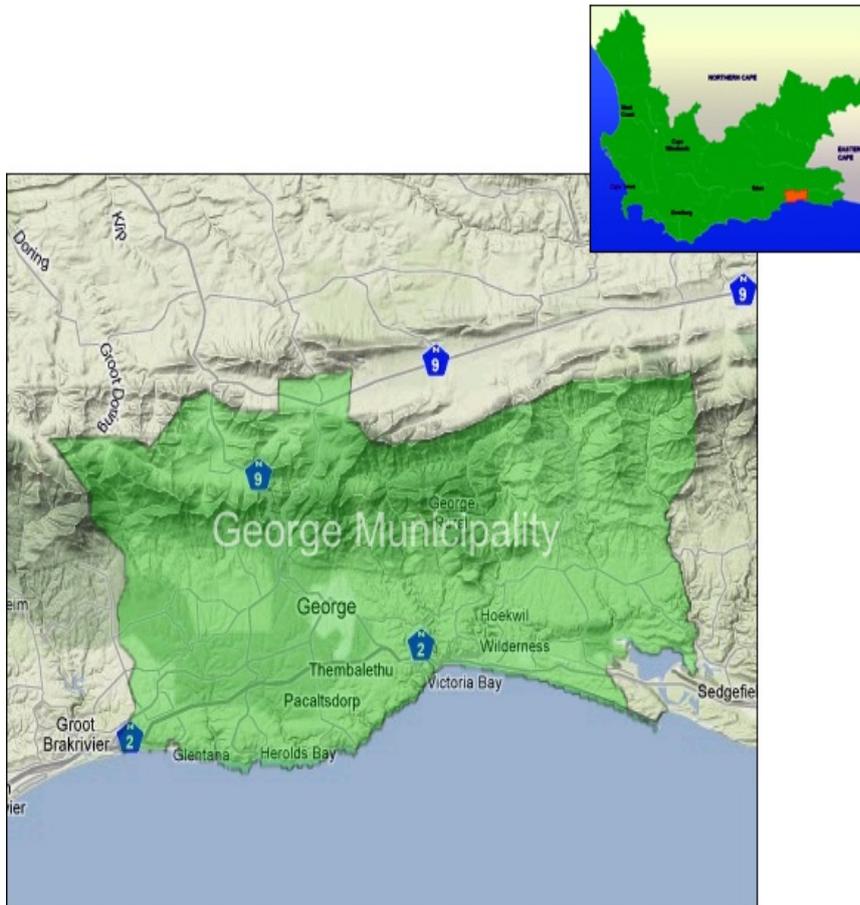


Figure 2.1: Map of the George municipality with insert of the Western Cape boundaries

2.2.2 Afrikaans speech community

According to the 2011 Census, 50.4% of George's population identified themselves as Coloured,¹ 28.2% as Black, and 19.7% as White (Statistics South Africa 2011). They have been observed largely to be speakers of the three national languages most widely dispersed in the region, namely Afrikaans, English and isiXhosa. The distribution of how widely each of these languages is spoken is given in the following diagram taken from the 2011 census.

¹ The term "coloured" has been contested in South Africa due to it being used as a cover term for "mixed race" in a system where it denoted also people who are not of mixed race, such as the Cape Muslim community. Also, it was negatively connotated during many of the Apartheid years, so that people identified as such rejected the term of reference. Even so, the term is still used as it still counts as an important distinctive term in population description and in developing a new social dispensation. This study therefore acknowledges the difficulties of using the term – but continues to use it, as no acceptable alternative has been developed.

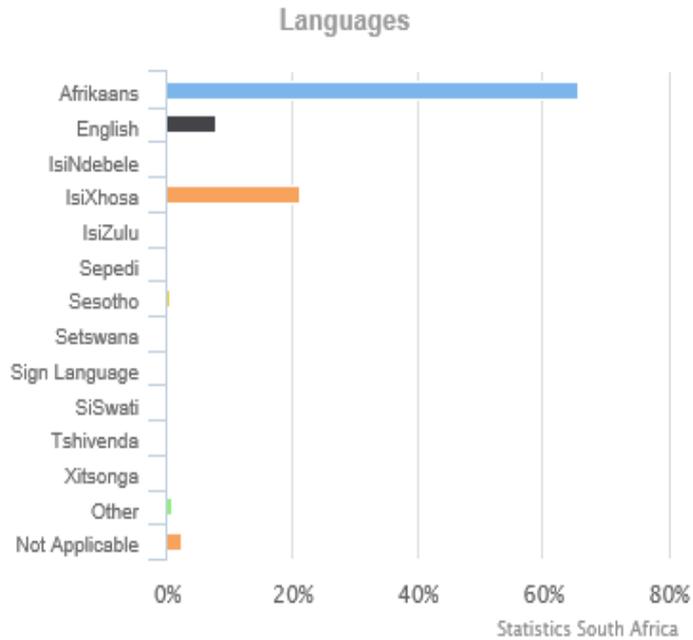


Figure 2.2: *Distribution of languages spoken and population groups in George*

This diagram shows that Afrikaans is the predominantly spoken L1 in George, utilized by over 60% of the population, and that the remain speak mainly English or isiXhosa. To confirm the observation of Afrikaans as the dominant language in George, not only the 2011 census, but also an overview of the 2016 demographics of languages-of-teaching-and-learning (LoTL) in the schools in and around George are presented. In this year, according to information provided by Jacobus Carelse (an education inspector), the school-going population of George totaled 32 745 pupils, distributed across 30 schools (9 high schools and 21 primary schools): 14 of these 30 schools have Afrikaans as only medium of instruction, 8 are dual medium schools which use Afrikaans and English as LoTL, 4 are English medium only, and 4 are dual medium with Xhosa and English as LoTL. The details of the L1s of learners in the various schools, are given in Table 1 below.

Table 2.1: Distribution of languages in schools in George municipal area

	Number of schools in George	Number of pupils at schools	Language of teaching	Number of pupils per language group in dualmedium schools
1	New Dawn Park Primary	945	Afrikaans	Afrikaans – 945
2	Pacaltsdorp Primary	1412	Afrikaans	Afrikaans – 1412
3	Pacaltsdorp Secondary	1025	Afrikaans / English	Afrikaans – 1014 English – 11
4	Dellville Park Primary	1342	Afrikaans/ English	Afrikaans – 981 English – 361
5	PW Botha College	951	Afrikaans/ English	Afrikaans – 506 English – 445
6	York High	894	English	English – 894
7	George Suid Laerskool	1111	Afrikaans	Afrikaans – 1111
8	Holy Cross Primary	405	English	English – 405
9	Outeniqua Primary	873	Afrikaans/ English	Afrikaans – 475 English – 398
10	George Preparatory	674	Afrikaans / English	Afrikaans – 392 English – 282
11	Outeniqua Secondary	1635	Afrikaans	Afrikaans – 1635
12	Heatherlands Secondary	292	Afrikaans / English	Afrikaans – 251 English – 41
13	Blanco Primary	351	Afrikaans	Afrikaans – 351
14	Kretzenshoop Primary	822	Afrikaans	Afrikaans – 822
15	St Paul's Primary	425	Afrikaans	Afrikaans – 425
16	George Secondary	1616	Afrikaans	Afrikaans – 1616
17	Hibernia Primary	576	Afrikaans	Afrikaans – 576
18	St Mary's Primary	923	Afrikaans	Afrikaans – 923
19	Rosemoor Primary	964	Afrikaans	Afrikaans – 964
20	Conville Primary	1318	Afrikaans / English	Afrikaans – 1104 English – 214
21	Heidedal Primary	1573	Afrikaans	Afrikaans – 1573
22	Mzoxolo Primary	1399	IsiXhosa / English	isiXhosa – 1399
23	Parkdene Secondary	1509	Afrikaans	isiXhosa – 1509
24	Parkdene Primary	1663	Afrikaans	isiXhosa – 1663
25	Thembaletu Secondary	1500	IsiXhosa	isiXhosa – 1500
26	MM Mateza Primary	1753	IsiXhosa / English	isiXhosa – 1753
27	ImiZamo Yethu Secondary	1269	IsiXhosa / English	isiXhosa – 1269
28	Tyholora Primary	1571	IsiXhosa / English	isiXhosa – 1571
29	Thembaletu Primary	1521	IsiXhosa / English	isiXhosa – 1521
30	Denneoord Primary	433	Afrikaans / English	Afrikaans – 198 English – 235

Considering the number of Afrikaans schools captured in the table together with the numbers of pupils enrolled, it becomes evident that Afrikaans is significantly dominant as LoLT in primary and secondary school education.

An interesting practice is that some Afrikaans L1 parents enroll their Afrikaans L1 children in English LoLT schools – see e.g. Holy Cross Primary school and York High. Presumably parents decide on this practice because of a language ideology that legitimizes English as the language of power, which offers more social and economic mobility opportunities, because of its global position (Makoe and McKinney 2014:664). Similar to the practice described above, some Xhosa L1 parents will in like manner enroll their Xhosa L1 children in English, or in some cases even Afrikaans, LoLT classes – see e.g. Outeniqua Primary and High school, and PW Botha College. It is also possible that some English L1 learners are enrolled in Afrikaans classes, although the data does not explicitly reflect this. In spite of the evidence suggesting that utilizing the L1 as LoLT, especially in the early years of schooling, is the most advantageous for literacy development and educational success (UNESCO 2008a; Ball 2014), many parents continue to make this choice. This practice is interpreted to be partially ideological in taking political distance from Afrikaans, but largely pragmatic, in that many have referred to the power of English in social mobility (Anthonissen 2009). It is also taken as an indication of language attitude, and an assessment of the patterns of domination and subordination of LoLT in education (Makoe and McKinney 2014:664).

The study will, on an introductory level, reflect on determining factors of language perceptions among participants, and on how language attitudes manifest in a modern multilingual and dialectal society. It will give a description of some salient markers of the actual dialectal varieties found and show the relationship between dialectal varieties and attitudes to language standards as they are applied in different contexts of language use in the communities of Eden where George is the administrative city.

2.3 ORIGIN OF AFRIKAANS

Studies of language variety in Afrikaans mostly start with an overview of the historical development of Afrikaans and because Afrikaans is regarded as a very young language in terms of being identified as an independent – and often also as an African – language, it is relatively easy gathering information regarding the origins thereof. The research interest for this study, regarding the historical development of Afrikaans, lies in accounting for the development of

the different varieties of Afrikaans in South Africa, the Southern Cape and eventually specifically in George.

2.3.1 Theories on the development of Afrikaans

Early signs of the development of Afrikaans can be traced back to 1685, when a Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie (VOC) official from the Netherlands complained about a form of Dutch, progressively being spoken by their employees, being deformed and incomprehensible (Roberge, 1993). One hypothesis suggested that the Afrikaans developed dialectally from Dutch due to the speakers being geographically separated from the main language community in the Netherlands. The proposal here is that the language developed from the nonstandard Dutch spoken in the Netherlands – the dialectal variety that was predominantly spoken with the arrival of Van Riebeeck in 1652 together with his fellow VOC officials in the Cape Colony. This was a well-accepted theory considering the great number of similarities that exists between the two languages (Ponelis 1989:38). Additionally, the Dutch were also the first homogenous group that the indigenous people encountered. Two years later in 1654 they were joined by imported slaves of Indonesia, India, Sri Lanka, Madagascar, and Mozambique. They were Dutch imported and spoken a broken form of Portuguese and Malay (Shell, in Roberge 2002:81). Eventually German settlers and French Huguenots also established in South Africa. Although these different ethnic groups were linguistically diverse, nonstandard Dutch was the shared lingua franca spoken by them and their descendants.

Other theories refer to more complex processes, such as language contact processes due to the linguistic diversity in the Cape region, as important forces in developing Afrikaans. First Dutch and indigenous Khoekhoe speakers came into contact. Later when slavery brought speakers of various languages, notably also those of Malay peoples, into the region more languages came into the mix (Den Besten, in Van der Wouden 2012:289). Other European languages such as French, German and especially English, were eventually also introduced by the British as they captured the Cape in 1795. English was brought in as the new language in power and subsequently infiltrated the public life (Den Besten, in Van der Wouden 2012:3).

Various historians contributed to the first discussions on the historical development of Afrikaans making several observations of substantial contributions of nonstandard Dutch to Afrikaans, specifically the dialectal variety of the Netherlands. However, besides the significant observations regarding the Dutch influence, some experts rejected this view, and believed that

it was more likely that Afrikaans developed due to a convergence between the Dutch and Malay-Portuguese spoken by the slaves. The founder of the Malay-Portuguese theory was Hesseling, a Professor of Greek. He wrote about this clash between Dutch and Malay-Portuguese in his book *Het Afrikaans* in 1899 (Van der Merwe 1970:26). Hesseling not only doubted the spontaneous development of Afrikaans from nonstandard Dutch, but believed that such a development was not possible in such a short period. According to him there had to have been outside influences that led to the development of Afrikaans. Hesseling argued that with the arrival of the slaves, Malay-Portuguese infiltrated through the Cape with a great force under the control of the Dutch colonists aiding the development of Afrikaans (Den Besten, in Van der Wouden 2012).

He provided evidence of a great number of Malay-Portuguese words borrowed in Afrikaans e.g. *baadjie* (jacket), *baklei* (fight), *klapper* (coconut), *piering* (saucer), *pondok* (shack), *tjap* (stamp), *komers* (blanket), *kraal* (cattle), *piekenien* (small), *sambreel* (umbrella), *tronk* (prison), *mielie* (maize), *kraal* (cattle encloser), *nooi* (girl), *tamaai* (huge), *tjokka* (squid). It was found however that these words could also be traced back in some Dutch dialects varieties. In response it was argued that this was because some Dutch colonists borrowed largely from Malay-Portuguese when communicating with their slaves. This suggests that these Malay-Portuguese borrowed words possibly to large extent made their way to South Africa, not directly through the Malay-Portuguese spoken by the slaves but through the Dutch colonists who incorporated parts of the vocabulary in their speech. Roberge (2002:84) added to the notion of thought his acceptance of the superstratist hypothesis.

In its strong formulation the superstratist hypothesis contends that beyond some obvious lexical borrowings from [...] Portuguese (e.g. *kraal*, ‘pen, corral’; *tronk*, ‘jail’) and Malay (e.g. *baklei*, ‘fight’; *nooi/nôï* ‘young lady, mistress of the house), Afrikaans owes relatively little, if anything, to the languages of the peoples who came into contact with the Dutch from the second half of the seventeenth century.

He explains that Malay-Portuguese is more likely to have been an outside influence that had an effect on Dutch in the period before the language was established in the Cape colony. It was thus through the Dutch dialect of the early settlers that some features of Malay and Portuguese extended to Afrikaans. The Malay-Portuguese theory of the genesis of Afrikaans has been disproven. Similarly, other theories developed arguing that French played an integral part in

the formation of Afrikaans. Several lexical borrowings of French words were noted for observation such as e.g. *affère* (affair), *ekskuus* (pardon), *bagasie* (baggage), *brief* (letter), *aspris* (on purpose), *dosyn* (dozen), *fontein* (spring), *humeur* (temper), *kaptein* (captain), *koerant* (newspaper), *karakter* (character), *koevert* (envelope), *letter* (letter), *horlosie* (watch), *medisyne* (medicine), *rinneweer* (ruin), *absoluut* (absolutely), *spioen* (spy), *rivier* (river). It was found once more that many of these words were already used in South Africa during the seventeenth century, before the French Huguenots arrived in the Cape Colony. These words were thus brought to the Cape by the Dutch colonists (similar to the case of Malay-Portuguese) since the Dutch largely also borrowed from French (Van Rensburg 1990:57). In fact, the language and culture of the French had a powerful influence on the Netherlands in the twelfth century thus some French words were already incorporated in some of the Dutch dialects, before their arrival at the Cape. These French words were thus found to largely have been brought to the Cape Colony by the Dutch colonist and not by the French Huguenots.

Later another theory arguing for German influence was rejected in a similar manner. Some experts suggested that German had a direct influence on Afrikaans, because of lexical borrowings that are evident in the language. It became clear that many German words that occur in Afrikaans, e.g. *blits* (lightning), *verfoes* (mess up), *kaggel* (fire place), *sweis* (weld), *beroemde* (famous), *navorsing* (research), *misoes* (bad harvest), *spies* (javelin), *niks* (nothing), *katools* (randy), *kekkel* (cackle), *bangbroek* (coward), *diefstal* (theft), *eenaardig* (strange), *huldig* (honour), were also mediated by Dutch dialects (Ponelis 1993:105). As becomes clear, these accounts give the Dutch colonists a great amount of credit for the development of Afrikaans (Van Rensburg 1997:2).

Finally, Roberge's (2002) suggestion of a Convergence model of language genesis appears to be the most plausible and is widely accepted. According to such modern thinking (Roberge 2002), "Afrikaans can be regarded as having emerged from the convergence between, and hybridization of, acrolectal, pidgin, and learner varieties of Dutch" which functioned as a *lingua franca* between speakers of a multi-ethnic and -linguistic backgrounds (Roberge, in McCormick 2006:93).

2.3.2 Historical dialects of Afrikaans

During the eighteenth century, even before Afrikaans was recognized as a language separate from Dutch, three main dialectal varieties of Afrikaans were identified in South Africa. These

varieties correlated with their speakers' geographical movement and were named according to the regions where they were identified e.g., Cape Afrikaans, Orange River Afrikaans and Eastern Cape Afrikaans (McCormick 2006:95). These dialectal varieties were respectively spoken by three groups, the Dutch imported slaves employed at the Cape, the indigenous Khoikhoi who moved up north to live close by the Orange River and the Dutch European settler descendants also known as the trekboers who moved to the east for farming (Le Cordeur 2011:762). In this way the form of Afrikaans spoken by these individual groups could easily be recognized by where they resided and since none of the three groups had much contact with the other their Afrikaans developed independently and distinctly.

2.3.2.1 Cape Afrikaans

As mentioned above the Cape Afrikaans dialect developed among the Dutch imported slaves who lived and worked in Cape Town, since their owners (Dutch colonists) had settled there. The slaves were a vastly multilingual speech community who spoke a very basic form of L2 Dutch to communicate with their masters. Their Dutch was influenced by the various L1s spoken among them, particularly by varieties spoken by the majority of slaves that were rather imprecisely labelled as "Malay-Portuguese". At the beginning of the eighteenth century this unique variety of Dutch in Cape Town marked the formation of the Afrikaans dialect later referred to as Cape Afrikaans. Even after the abolition of slavery legislation was put into effect and the slaves were set free, the majority of slaves remained in the Cape allowing for this dialectal variety to grow uninteruptingly (Van Rensburg 1997:11). This dialect is regarded as the foundation of the Afrikaans variant heard in and around Cape Town, spoken among speakers of all social groups today (Van Rensburg 1990:68).

Cape Afrikaans ("*Kaaps*") continues to be used as a code primarily spoken by the working-class people in the Cape metropolitan areas (Hendricks 2016:5). In terms of a dominant Cape Afrikaans user group, Hendricks (2016:5) states that the language is also prominently used in the Southern Cape, and claims that the variant can be asserted as a coloured variant, as it is widely used as an L1 by rural people of colour. My own observation is that the Afrikaans of the Southern Cape, even when marked as a variant of the coloured community, differs from *Kaaps* in various ways which include phonological differences, but also with less evidence of Afrikaans-English codeswitching. This study does not investigate such differences, as it does not consider the *Kaaps* used in and around Cape Town.

Main stream newspapers such as *Son*, *Die Burger*, *Beeld*, and *Rapport*, have been commended for accommodating the Cape Afrikaans variant in what is known as traditional Afrikaans newspapers (De Vries 2016:129). Particularly, the *Son* has a large coloured readership, covers news events of the formerly marginalized Afrikaans communities, and regularly has reports or columns in Cape Afrikaans. The main stream newspapers accommodate the nonstandard varieties less often, yet still place reviews of Cape Afrikaans literary work, as well as allowing columns (such as *Duskant Maandag* by Anastasia de Vries and *Sypaadjies* by Nathan Trantraal) in which Cape Afrikaans is utilized as prominent code (De Vries 2016:129).

2.3.2.2 Orange River Afrikaans

The Orange River Afrikaans dialect which developed among the Khoikhoi stemmed from a weak form of L2 Dutch spoken by the Khoikhoi and their descendants. Many had formerly lived in Cape Town where they had learnt some Dutch, but later in 1713 migrated north towards the Orange River (Van Rensburg 1997:9). After their relocation, and due to contact with Dutch travelers, the dialectal variety spoken among the peoples living in the northern part of the country along the Orange River, developed with clear influence of the Khoi languages such as Nama, Korana, Tsoa, Kxoe and other click languages. The Afrikaans dialect of the northern region thus demonstrates few linguistic features typical of the Khoi languages on various linguistics levels, of which remnants remain on the lexical and syntactic level (Le Cordeur 2011:771).

2.3.2.3 Eastern Cape Afrikaans

The Eastern Cape Afrikaans dialect developed among the Dutch European settlers and their descendants during their migration as trekboers from the Dutch Cape colony towards the Eastern borders in the years running up to 1838. Their migration stretched from just beyond the colony borders, to the Keiriver in the east and to what eventually became the border of Lesotho in the North-east (Van Rensburg 1990:69). By the eighteenth century the entire interior bordering on Cape Town was occupied by nomadic farmers (“trekboers”), pastoralists and settlers who had moved east, so that their dialectal variety “became the dialect with the widest geographical range” (McCormick 2006:96). Since the trekboers were Dutch European settler descendants it could be assumed that their dialectal variety would closely resemble the variety spoken by their ancestry associates in Europe: however, according to historical records their language differed remarkably from the Dutch spoken in the Netherlands. McCormick (2006:96)

refers to letters written by these settlers printed in a local Dutch newspaper confirming the new characteristics developed in their speech (McCormick 2006:96).

The mobility and life style of the trekboers caused them to live in isolation and have almost no contact with other Afrikaans speaking groups, hence their dialectal variety developed differently from other speakers of Dutch or Cape Dutch that remained at the Cape. Thus three historically recognized dialects of Afrikaans developed because people moved away from the Cape Town area and lived in isolated from other speakers of Afrikaans, in different geographical areas where their dialects could develop independently.

2.4 AFRIKAANS AND APARTHEID

During the Apartheid years (1948–1994) the white ruling government worked extensively to develop and expand the viability of Afrikaans as lingua franca, specifically what was known as the standard variety of Afrikaans. However, the language became associated with a ruling community which, even while promoting it as an L2 in black communities, did not offer it as an instrument allowing for equal rights. Rather, for many South Africans it appeared to be an instrument intended to exclude, control and oppress.

2.4.1 Afrikaans as ‘the language of the oppressor’

Black speakers of indigenous languages became increasingly anglicized in the second half of the 20th century, also due to the fact that large numbers began to recognize standard Afrikaans as ‘the language of the oppressor’ (Zietsman 1992:200). The Bantu Act of 1953 stipulated educational procedures (among other things), imposing schools in black communities not only to adopt Afrikaans as a mandatory subject, but also as medium of instruction. Ponelis (1993:60) added:

[T]he apartheid system that grew out of the Afrikaner nationalism fortified the caste division within the Afrikaans speech community. The Coloured speakers of Afrikaans, who form slightly more than half of the speech community at present, were alienated [...]. Many thousands of blacks and Asians (from India) who had language-shifted to Afrikaans were alienated in the same way.

After much frustration, complaints and protests black community choices were ignored (Zietsman 1992:200). Thus, in March 1960 approximately 20 000 black Soweto students

marched in protest against the governments' attempt to enforce Afrikaans as LoTL. The government responded aggressively, resulting in a historically marked event in which the police shot at and killed under aged and unarmed youngsters (Sibeko 1976). This signaled the indifference of the regime, leaving disenfranchised black communities angry, so that a sociolinguistic argument became the beginning of uprisings against various other political issues which culminated in the liberation of political prisoners and a change that brought democracy – also in developing a new language policy for the country (McCormick 2006:101).

In spite of the resistance to the government's objectives of promoting Afrikaans, the policies continued to increase the number of L2 users of Afrikaans. Thus, Afrikaans was able to function as a lingua franca even among those who were oppressed by it, thus stimulating the growth of a “vibrant secondary Afrikaans speech community” which is still evident today (Ponelis 1993:60). The national census of 2001 shows 6 million speakers in South Africa who spoke Afrikaans as their L1, of whom 42.2% were white, 53.4% coloured and 4.3% black. Additionally, according to research on Afrikaans speech communities conducted by Beukes and Pienaar (1994:123), the number of black L1 speakers of Afrikaans seems to have grown over the last decades.

2.4.2 Afrikaans as anti-Apartheid tool

The Afrikaans spoken by the oppressed was not standard Afrikaans. Due to strong feelings of resentment against the standard and what it represented, for some the language became an anti-Apartheid tool in that they claimed recognition and appreciation of other than the standard dialectal varieties, while also demanding a complete transformation of South Africa's social and political order (McCormick 2006:103). Approaches toward such a transformation were achieved by two alternative Afrikaans movements. The first movement was the development of an alternative curriculum and materials for use in black schools. McCormick (2006:103) points out that,

“... there was sustained strong pressure from [black] learners, parents, schoolteachers, academics and writers to develop alternative curricula and materials which counter the dominant ideology and help to develop students' critical faculties”.

The renewed curricula included information regarding the history of Afrikaans, shedding light on the substantial contributions made to the development of the language by the indigenous people, slaves, and their descendants. This was referred to as the ‘alternative education movement’ – one that politically rebelled against the apartheid government. The second movement emerged not from black speakers, but from young white Afrikaans speakers who disputed the unjust racial ideology advocated by the apartheid government. Their method of challenging and rebelling against the apartheid government was one that created a new dialectal variety by incorporating in their speech the slang used in townships and to a large extent also borrowing from English. This movement was effective since it was a dialectal variety developed among young white Afrikaans speakers using it “as a lingua franca in connecting people from a range of linguistic and cultural backgrounds who wanted to see the end of a repressive order” (McCormick 2006:105).

2.4.3 Post-Apartheid status of Afrikaans

After much political negotiation, signifying Afrikaans as the language of the oppressive Apartheid government, a decision had to be made with regards to the future status of the language in a changing sociopolitical climate. The new social framework and the restructuring and integration of South African education after 1994 led to a number of provisions for multilingualism. Considering that more than half of the Afrikaans L1 speakers of school going age were coloured and that Afrikaans was geographically very widely distributed as an L2 in South Africa, removing its official status did not appear to be sensible. Thus, the constitution set up a new language policy in 2002 which had been developed over a number of years, in which Afrikaans retained its official status alongside English, together with an additional nine indigenous languages were added as official languages – assigning South Africa 11 official languages.

The changed language policy brought a sense of value to formerly marginalized language communities since in the words of former president Thabo Mbeki, “... the building blocks of this nation are all our languages working together” (Language Policy for Higher Education 2002).

Since the implementation of the new language policy the public profile of Afrikaans nationally, has undergone some change. Afrikaans has been diminished in many black schools, also leading to a ‘generational difference in levels of proficiency in the language’ among the black speakers,

while English has become widely accepted as the dominating language in most public domains (McCormick 2006:105-106). However, Van Rensburg (1999:90-91) claims that Afrikaans is still widely used as a lingua franca in the working sphere where Afrikaans L1 speakers predominate, while progressively more varieties of Afrikaans are being heard in the public domain as well as in the media. This is certainly true of Afrikaans in George where, according to personal observation, even with wider use of L2 English in public, Afrikaans predominates as the home language and as language of informal workplace communication. For example, L1 speakers of Xhosa have testified to finding their Afrikaans proficiency more valuable in gaining employment, than their English proficiency. Even so, English is growing as an L2, with many preferring to use English in the workplace. Certainly, the prevalence of English in Afrikaans L1 communities has been increasing, even as Afrikaans remains the strongest home language (see Anthonie 2009).

2.5 CONCLUSION

This chapter has provided a basic contextualization of the research on which this study reports. In a study of language variety and change, an overview of the historical development of Afrikaans has been given as backdrop to how different varieties of Afrikaans developed in South Africa, and specifically how the different varieties of Afrikaans in the George area can be accounted for. This chapter started off with locating the geographical area of the Afrikaans speech community under investigation, continuing with an investigation regarding the origin of the different Afrikaans varieties spoken in the town, considering theories regarding the early development of Afrikaans. It has been identified that there is not one clear-cut theory of the development of Afrikaans, but rather multi-faceted theories incorporating reference to different aspects of language development in different regions and with different social circumstances. Three main dialects, namely Cape Afrikaans, Orange River Afrikaans and Eastern Cape Afrikaans were highlighted as early Afrikaans dialect, setting the scene for an illustration of the formation process towards standard Afrikaans. Standard Afrikaans was developed and expanded carrying various political agenda, thus South Africa's political history, including its history of racial division and prejudice on ethnic grounds was given in a brief sketch, concluding the chapter with reference to the status of Afrikaans today.

CHAPTER 3: LITERATURE REVIEW

3.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, I give an overview of literature regarding linguistic diversity and processes of linguistic change. The chapter will be structured as follows: in section 3.2, a brief outline will be given of linguistic diversity within South Africa and the heterogeneity of language more generally. Section 3.3 will discuss the differentiation between a standard language and dialect. Section 3.4 will discuss the origin of some social dialectal varieties. Considering dialect contact, section 3.5 will explain the linguistic processes involved in cross-dialectal integration in communities. Section 3.6 will examine previous case studies investigating contact-induced changes. Section 3.7 will discuss the language attitudes of young adults associated with their language forms.

3.2 LINGUISTIC DIVERSITY

As far back as 1952 the multilingual and multidialectal nature of the South African community was already recognized. Knowing that there is a great diversity of languages in the world, in South Africa we are constantly reminded of this “when we hear around us not only English and Afrikaans, but also several varieties of Bantu” (Smith 1952:3). Forty years later, by 1994, South Africa’s democratic Constitution recognized eleven official languages: Afrikaans, English, Xhosa, Swazi, Zulu, Ndebele, Sotho, Northern Sotho, Tsonga, Venda and Tswana. In addition, there are also a number of other unofficial African languages such as the Khoi, Nama and San languages, as well as Asian and European languages spoken in South Africa such as, Arabic, German, Greek, Gujarati, Hebrew, Hindi, Portuguese, Sanskrit, Tamil, Telegu, Urdu and Sign Language. These all contribute to the country’s linguistic diversity. Yet it is not only different languages spoken by different people that interest linguists, but also how the same language can take on different forms in different places and when spoken by different groups of people in different contexts, for different functions in society.

Smith (1952) refers to the classical myth of the Greek sea god, Proteus, in explaining linguistic variety. According to him, just as the shape-shifting god is known for his elusive capability of assuming different forms, language is also capable of assuming different dialectal forms. This

linguistic phenomenon of variety is central to sociolinguistic studies. One illustration of this phenomenon that is evident in most languages, is when different ethnic groups who are broadly considered to speak the same language, speak different dialectal varieties. During a case study of Chambers and Trudgill (1974), significant and systematic differences were observed between the English spoken by black and white speakers in the USA, demonstrating the variation between the English spoken by the two ethnic groups. They present (e.g.) the absence of the copula *to be* in certain sentence constructions, such as “She nice” or “We going” as a typical feature of the black variety, and so how the two varieties of American English differ (Chambers and Trudgill 1998:63). In support of this view, Smith (1952) further draws attention to studies in which linguistic variation was also found between individuals speaking the same language, but residing in different geographical areas. He refers to a study on the English varieties spoken in Britain and in the USA. In his investigation of the English spoken in these two countries, he concluded that “[t]he English of Britain is certainly like the English of America; but whoever believes that the two are identical must indeed be very unobservant” (Smith 1952:3). This study, as well as numerous others investigating the Englishes spoken in the USA and Britain, referred to several lexical and pronunciation differences. Linguistic differences are, however, not limited to these two linguistic areas.

Linguistic differences are manifest in all linguistic areas synchronically – as this study takes note of, but also diachronically across longer periods of time. As this is a synchronic variation study, I refer only briefly to studies on language change observed and established over time. Considering the development of Afrikaans and of various varieties of Afrikaans, gives some understanding of how the different varieties spoken in George, came about. In a diachronic analysis, it becomes evident that and how language changes from one generation to the next. So also, e.g., there are studies that demonstrate that Anglo-Saxon (Old English) and Modern English are different varieties of the same language, although the two forms differ extensively (Smith 1952:3-4). In fact, the speakers of the two different varieties would have found their languages to be largely unintelligible or even foreign, so that it would require a great deal of study for a speaker of one to comprehend the other. Similarly, we can assume that the Afrikaans currently spoken in George differs considerably from the Cape Dutch of the early 19th and even early 20th century. The changes manifest differently in different communities.

Comparing various versions of the Lord's prayer in Old English and Modern English, as also in e.g. the Dutch "Statebybel" as compared to the first Afrikaans translation in 1933, and later versions revised in the 1970s, the similarities between older and more recent versions of a language are evident, but more significantly such texts demonstrate firm and well-established differences across all linguistic areas, including phonetic, lexical, morphological, and syntactic differences. As stated by Hock and Joseph (1996:8) these differences result from linguistic change across decades, and affect the entire language, not merely the vocabulary and pronunciation as in the previous examples. This study notes difference over time as one explanation of how different varieties of the same language come about. Historical and social divisions within communities of course contribute to the varietal differences, as will be discussed in the following sections, specifically in section 3.4.

3.3 STANDARD LANGUAGE AND LANGUAGE STANDARDS

In a discussion of linguistic development and language diversity the two terms a 'language' and 'dialect' are considered as rather central, however distinguishing between them is problematic. In agreement with the Yiddish scholar Max Weinreich, some argue that there is no meaningful distinction between the two concepts. He is said to have coined the phrase that "a language is merely a dialect with an army". Others argue that the two should be distinguished, defining a dialect as one variation of many in a single language. Thus, two people may be speaking the same language but not necessarily the same dialect. Dialects are also considered to be unofficial variant forms, only spoken, and often referred to as "slang", whereas a standard language is typically prestigious, official, written and often associated with "standard language" (Hock and Joseph 1996:322).

In early sociolinguistic studies various scholars made strong value judgments, positioning dialect as bad language or incorrect speech. Hynds (2017:31) defines a 'dialect' as a mutually intelligible linguistic variation of a language associated with sociolinguistic constraints. Hock and Joseph (1996:322) associate the terms with strong political and social value judgements, which position 'language' as the prestigious and correct form of speech that follows grammar rules, whereas 'dialects' are seen as lacking prestige and representing an incorrect form of speech which disregard grammar rules. Hudson (1996:32) agree with this view, saying that, [W]hether some variety is called a language or a dialect depends on how much prestige one thinks it has, and for most people this is a clear-cut matter, which depends on whether it is used

in formal writing.” Further Chambers and Trudgill (1998), in accordance with many others, adds that there used to be this perception of dialects being poor forms of a language.

Currently there seems to be a much greater shift to the understanding of dialects simply as alternative forms of the same language, which function well as media of communication in different kinds of settings. Thus, where different dialects are evident, we find one is usually selected as the standard for the purposes of uniformity in writing. This form is often regarded as the pure and prestigious form and all the others to be of a lesser status. One perception of the standard which takes it to be the only respectable form and one that should be enforced at whichever cost, is referred to as “linguistic purism” Thomas (1991:12) defines linguistic purism as:

... the manifestation of a desire on the part of a speech community (or some section of it) to preserve a language from, or rid it of, putative foreign elements or other elements held to be undesirable (including those originating in dialects, sociolects and styles of the same language).

Opposed to this perception, is one that holds the standard language as descriptive, i.e. the standard is the form most widely used and described as such. The standard is therefore a form that is constantly changing as a living language is developing and changing amongst those using it. Thomas (1991) noted that a prescriptive vision constructs a language which no one truly can preserve. The prescriptive approach to language, sees dialects as poor, rustic forms of a language, lacking prestige and different to what the ideal is.

In many communities the dismissive approach to “dialect” has become entrenched so that, because of the negative connotations assigned to the term, and due to disagreement regarding the desirability of forms that deviate from the “standard”, there has been a re-evaluation of the term, so that “language variety” has become the preferred alternative. This term avoids an implicit value judgment of the one as a standard and the other as the substandard (Hudson 1996:33-34). For clarity, and in consideration of different perceptions, I will avoid using the term “dialect”, and rather refer to “variety” or “dialectal variety”.

3.4 SOCIAL VARIABLES

“In traditional historical linguistics, the notion of dialect is almost exclusively reserved for geographically defined local and regional speech varieties” (Hock and Joseph 1996:327). Traditional dialectology concentrated largely on the relationship between linguistic differentiations that co-occurred with geographical differentiation, taking less notice of the effect of social factors on differentiating language forms. Later, with the development of urban dialectology, more dedicated recognition was given to the equally significant social dimension of language variation, which focuses on the social variables that bring about change in linguistic structures. These are changes encouraged by social differences such as the age group individuals belong to, the level of education they obtained, their gender and sexual identity, their ethnicity, their socio-economic status in society, and the social networks to which they belong. Chambers and Trudgill (1998) provided an insightful analysis of the correlation between these social variables (as mentioned earlier) and dialectal differentiation in their book “Dialectology” which will be used as main source in the discussion.

3.4.1 Language and Age

A number of studies investigating age as a social variable have found a significant correlation between age and linguistic variation (Romaine 2005). Eckert (1998:151) points out how aging is “the achievement of physical and social capacities and skills” which reflect the individual's participation in the world, their construction of personal history, and their participation in various societal networks and communities of practice. In variation studies, age or grouping according to age bracket, is a social variable that can be associated with differences in language behavior at various life stages. Individuals in a situated community often alter their linguistic habits in conjunction with their unfolding critical developmental life stages as young children, teenagers, adults and elderly people, even if the larger language community remains relatively stable. Wagner (2012:378) indicates that continuously changing linguistic habits during individuals' life stages are mostly aligned to age-appropriate linguistic behavior² to which individuals conform both consciously and unconsciously. To illustrate, it is generally observed that the speech of adolescence typically includes group-sensitive slang words and phrases, which are accepted as age-appropriate linguistic behavior within and even outside of the group, while similar language use in older speakers, is mostly judged as inappropriate, in fact perhaps

² ‘Age-appropriate linguistic behaviour’ refers to behaviour that exhibits the characteristics of the speech form associated with a particular age-group.

as unusual or bizarre. In the same manner, every other age group has allocated age appropriate linguistic behavior. In reflecting on why individuals adjust their language use according to age group over time, much attention goes to the particular group with which they are in conversation. In this way, for example, a lexical selection of the word “puppet” rather than “stick figure” or “marionette” will largely be dependent on which age group the speaker wants to intrigue. These may seem to be superficial differences, but they are nonetheless important in that they mark social affiliation.

3.4.2 Language and Education

Unlike aging, and depending on our definition of “education”, this is not a central aspect of all human experience. In fact, some judge formal education to be rather peripheral, given that many only get as much education as they can afford. The aim of linguistic research investigating education as a social variable in studies concerning linguistic variation, has frequently been conducted to prove the hypothesis that the speech of educated individuals lies closer to the standard than otherwise, so that education limits and dictates dialectal variety (Seyyedrezae 2013; Chambers and Trudgill 1998).

The contribution of Basil Bernstein to language marked by education in contexts where social position and education are associated cannot go unmentioned. Bernstein (1971) distinguished between two varieties (or codes) of language use: an elaborated code, and a restricted code. The elaborated code is one that displays an extensive and thorough linguistic repertoire which is widely understood. Meaning conveyed in the elaborated code do not require much special interpretation from those who speak it, whereas in restricted code is one in a repertoire that is seen as very limited and condensed, requiring shared knowledge and understanding between speakers.

One of Bernstein’s studies testing this theory involved presenting a group of children with a strip cartoon, asking them to give an account of what the strip displayed. The children’s accounts were different in the sense that some could not transfer meaning without consulting the cartoon, while others’ narrative could be interpreted as meaningful without the cartoon. The former according to Bernstein, illustrates restricted code, where what is being said needs background information in order to be interpreted and understood, and the latter illustrates elaborated code, where not much additional signification is needed for understanding (Bernstein 1971:61-62). Bernstein claims linguistic repertoire, thus using a restricted or

elaborated variety of language, to be educationally shaped. He argues that educated individuals acquire and are more likely to communicate in an elaborated code in which the speakers offer a relatively extensive range of alternatives in vocabulary and linguistic structure when they are “making meaning”, whereas less educated individuals are more likely to use a much more restricted code in which the number of such alternatives is often severely limited so that they need to draw on more than language in making meaning” (Bernstein 1971:62). Further, Bernstein (1971) put forward the hypothesis that those who are educated into the elaborated code have greater access to social opportunity than those who have a restricted code. Although the distinction at first glance seems lucrative, Bernstein has also been criticized for the evaluative position his distinction of codes entails. The interest this distinction could have for this study, is in considering whether different linguistic varieties in one community would be identified as “restricted” or “elaborated”, and through such identification become carriers of language attitudes.

Seyyedrezae (2013) addressed the hypothesis of education shaping the standard language in a study in Iran where he investigated the relationship between the literacy level of participants and their use of the Katouli dialect or standard Persian. His concern was the interchangeable use of certain phonological markers, notably the /b/ (bilabial stop) sound of Persian and the /v/ (bilabial fricative) sounds of the Katouli dialect in certain words, among members in some Iranian communities. His findings were that the highly literate participants showed a strong preference towards the b/ (bilabial stop) sound of Persian, whereas the less literate showed a preference of the v/ (bilabial fricative) sounds of the Katouli dialect. His research thus accepted the hypothesis and gives evidence that education is a significant social variable influencing linguistic variation.

3.4.3 Language and Gender / Sex

Linguistic research has widely demonstrated that in many societies the speech of men and women differs (Trudgill 1974:84; Labov 1984/1972). More recently, there is Haeri (1995) on sex-based speech differences and social structure, and (e.g.) public attention to discussion on “vocal fry” in women’s speech (Wolk, Abdelli-Beruh and Slavin 2012). Sociolinguistic attention has often been focused on how the vocabulary and phrasal structure of men and women differ in some languages, even to the point where men would use one word and women another for the same object. One classical example of sex differentiation as a social variable, came from the early observation of European explorers in the West Indies who found vast

differences in the Carib language spoken by the Indian men and women. Their vocabularies were so different that these explorers claimed (mistakenly) that the two sexes spoke two different languages (Peoples and Bailey 2009:60). An unknown seventeenth century writer cited by Trudgill (1974:85-86) claimed that the men used many words and phrases uniquely, in ways that women never would, and vice versa, so that even with the same linguistic structure the verbal elements differed to the extent of sounding like different languages. One explanation for the difference in this case was a result of language contact between speakers of Arwak and Carib.

Trudgill (1974) identifies other differences in the speech of men and women. One of his findings was that the speech of men are more confrontational while the speech of women are typically friendlier. Another one of his observation is that women make more use of the standard form of a language, rather than the dialectal varieties used by men. This observation is confirmed by a study of Milroy and Milroy (1983) in which they recognized social networks as important structures in determining language variety. Considering dense local networks of working class men, they found men's speech revealed high usage of vernacular or non-standard forms, while vernacular or non-standard forms were less evident in the speech of women. Women were found to hold more to traditional values, while the speech of men tended to be more innovative. This ties in with the observation that the speech of women is more conservative than that of men. Trudgill (1978:87) also refers to indigenous American Koasati people who exhibit a language attitude that the language variety spoken by women is socially better than the variety spoken by men. This is explained as a reflection of the reality that women tend to be more status conscious and generally speak more 'correctly'. In fact, contrary to many feminist interpretations (see e.g. Devault 1990; Crawford 1995; Wodak 1997), some communities hold that status conscious speech is associated with and indicative of femininity, while informal speech is indicative of masculinity (Trudgill 1978).

3.4.4 Social network

The concept of 'social networks' was introduced by Milroy and Milroy (1983), to show that the ways in which individuals move and interact in social groupings on a day-to-day basis has a strong effect on linguistic behavior. A social network includes those with whom a person associates regularly, such as colleagues, friends, family members, gym-mates. Considering that one person can belong to a number of social networks at the same time, one can assume that networks overlap and are fluid. Labov (in Chambers and Trudgill 1998), in ground-breaking

work on linguistic variety, studied the linguistic patterns of teenage gang members in Harlem, New York, and observed a significant correlation between teenagers' gang membership and their linguistic behavior. He indicated that the speech of individuals who are completely submerged in a particular social group can differ considerably from the linguistic patterns in the speech of those peripheral to or partially merged with the group. He found that those teenagers who had closer and stronger linkage to the gang spoke the dialectal 'slang' associated with central membership of the gang. Those who had less or weaker linkages but who were nevertheless still to some degree affiliated with the gang, spoke a more peripheral variation. Labov's work over many years confirmed that individuals are linguistically influenced by the social groups with whom they have most contact, whether their primary network is gang oriented (as in the example mentioned above), family oriented, work oriented, or the like.

3.4.5 Language and Ethnicity

Ethnicity is often mentioned as a social variable in studies concerning language variation and change. Chambers and Trudgill (1980:64) however, remarked that linguistic differences among ethnic groups should rather be considered as an example of the role of social networks, as opposed to including ethnicity as an independent variable. Trudgill (1974:58) writes that, "[p]eople do not speak as they do because they are white or black". His explanation is that, rather, speakers acquire the linguistic characteristics of those with whom they live in close contact, and therefore denies that there is a racial or physiological basis for linguistic differences.

As illustration, in a study carried out in America (Trudgill 1974:55), participants were asked to listen to a set of tape recordings pertaining speech of two different groups of individuals. The participants were asked to indicate which group of speakers they thought were white and which were black. Based on the linguistic speech patterns displayed, a large number of the participants assumed (mistakenly) that the speakers in the first set of tape-recording were black, and those in the second set were white. In fact, the first set of speakers was white and the second set was black. However, these were unique groups of black speakers who lived among whites, and white speakers who had lived among blacks for many years. Thus, not being stimulated by their ethnic cultures, the black speakers indeed sounded like whites and the white speakers like blacks (Trudgill 1974:55). This study, supported by Wolfram's (1969) research carried out in Detroit, demonstrates Trudgill's claim that ethnicity on its own cannot account for linguistic differences (Trudgill 1974:52). Where dialectal variation appears to be ethnic or racially

determined, there are always also social and educational variables that could be more important than the ethnic identity of the speakers. Considering these arguments, I will not reflect on ethnicity as an independent variable affecting linguistic variations in this study, although the social network divisions among my participants also partly exhibit racial/ethnic difference. Instead, such dialectal differences will be marked and analyzed in terms of social networks.

3.5 DIALECT CONTACT SITUATION

Many recent studies have recognized the ubiquity of multilingualism in a globalizing world (see e.g. Campbell-Kibler, Walker, Elward and Carmichael 2014). The increased mobility and migration of people of different nationalities and their languages across the last 30 to 50 years, has contributed to this. It is therefore not surprising to find that all around us individuals have different linguistic repertoires as speakers of different languages, or more interestingly for this study, of different mutually intelligible varieties of the same language. Regular communication and integration between such individuals with different repertoires, brings about language contact and mostly results in some transferal of linguistic features, which consequently affects linguistic behavior. In studying specific instances of language variation and change, researchers pay much attention to linguistic processes that take place in language contact situations, through which hearing the speech of another speaker influences one's own speech production (Campbell-Kibler et al. 2014).

This project will reflect only on a restricted set of linguistic processes that can occur in language contact, namely speech accommodation, dialect shift, and dialect mixing. Its main interest is in those changes that occur as a result of contact between different dialectal varieties, thus it looks at language contact through which dialectal features are likely to be transferred from one group to another, so that new varieties are probably being formed. The socially determined processes which bring about language change overlap to a large extent. Three significant linguistic processes of language change have been identified here.

3.5.1 Speech accommodation

Speech accommodation coined by the social psychologist Giles (Auer and Hinskens 2005:357) is defined as a linguistic act by which an individual temporarily and selectively shifts their speech patterns in relation to that of their interlocutors during cross dialectal communicative situations. Depending on the language attitude or frequency of interaction, the shift can either

be towards (convergent) or away (divergent) from that of the interlocutors (Campbell-Kibler et al. 2014:21). Bigham (2008:77) writes that the direction and degree to which such a temporal shift is performed depends on one of either two models, which he identifies as the attitudinal model, and the frequency of interaction model. As specified by the attitudinal model, the more positive the individual's views of the interlocutor and his/her dialectal variety, the more inclined he/she will be to accommodate in adjusting his/her own speech to fit the speech of the interlocutor more closely. The frequency of interaction model and additionally the core of the accommodation theory alternatively suggest that the more speakers of different dialectal varieties integrate and communicate, the more likely it is for such accommodation to take place.

Trudgill (1986) further differentiates between short-term and long-term accommodation, defining short-term accommodation as a temporary shift in speech and long-term accommodation as a more permanent kind of shift. According to him, the semi-permanent shift during long-term accommodation may over time become fixed and result in dialect shift, denoting speech accommodation as an underlying force of dialect shift. The focal point of this linguistic process is however, that the shift is selective, temporal and in accordance to the speech patterns projected by the interlocutor during an extended communicative situation. An illustrative example of a case study investigating the short-term accommodation by a travel agency assistant of the dialectal variety spoken by her customers is given in section 3.6.2 below.

3.5.2 Dialect shift

Dialect shift, as already suggested above, involves the permanent shift of an individual's dialectal variety towards a target dialectal variety. The individual completely loses his/her first dialectal variety by adopting another (Prince 1988:307).

Dialect shift and speech accommodation to some extent appear related. However, theoretically there are no necessary relations between the two processes. Within the theoretical view, the two processes are evaluated as separate. Speech accommodation are considered, a temporary and selective shift that occurs during a communicative situation between individuals with different dialects, whereas dialect shift is a complete and permanent shift that can occur even without having to be in a communicative situation with someone of the target dialectal variety (Prince 1988:307). With dialect shift, an individual may thus adopt the target dialectal variety through learning how to produce it from a book or other forms of media. A case study of an individual's

gradual shift from the Philadelphia English dialect towards the English dialect spoken in Boston will be discussed, in section 3.6.2, as illustrative example of this linguistic process.

3.5.3 Dialect mixing

Dialect contact does not at all times mean the loss of language diversity, by which individuals drop their dialectal varieties to adopt a target dialect spoken by another. In actuality, new dialectal varieties³ are increasingly being developed as a result of dialect contact (Law, website printed page). A linguistic process that acts as driving force for such developments is what linguists refer to as dialect mixing (Auer, Hinskens and Kerswill 2005; Trudgill 1986; Chambers, Trudgill and Schilling-Estes 2004). Dialect mixing is thus, the linguistic process through which individuals from different dialectal varieties within a new community mix and simplify their speech in such a way that linguistic features from their different dialectal varieties coexist in a new, compromised dialectal variety (Kerswill and Trudgill 2005:198-199). Section 3.6.3 gives an elaborative example of a case study investigating the social grounds and outcomes of this dialect mixing in the Baggara dialect of Kordofanian in Sudan.

3.5.4 Dialect levelling

A linguistic process during dialect contact that is simultaneously seen as driving force for the development of new dialectal varieties and loss of existing varieties is, dialect levelling. Dialect levelling is the linguistic process through which individuals who speak different dialectal varieties assimilate their speech in such a way that former differences between their individual dialects disappear and distinct features of a new dialectal variety emerge among them (William and Kerswill 1999:149).

Dialect levelling is often considered to be partially synonymous to dialect mixing, however they are two distinct processes. The focal point is that dialect leveling does not necessarily take place between two dialects. It may occur between two dialectal varieties or between a dialect and a standard variety. Contrastingly, dialect mixing occurs strictly between dialectal varieties. Dialect mixing also results in the coexistence of different dialectal features within a new speech community with indifference to preference, while dialect leveling prefers eliminating marginal features selecting only the socially strong features of both dialects to coincide in the new dialect.

³ Perhaps not a new independent dialectal variety, but certainly a new linguistic variant on the spectrum of language varieties.

Milroy (2002:7) further distinguishes between these two processes, stating that dialect mixing involves the creation of linguistic variety due to language contact, whereas dialect leveling also involves the eradication of them. An illustrative example of a case study investigating dialect levelling between displaced Scottish and indigenous English inhabitants in a Scottish-English community will be given in 3.6.4.

3.6 PREVIOUS STUDIES ON DIALECT CONTACT

A general observation in the literature of language and/or dialect contact is that it always brings about change in individuals' linguistic behavior. Various research projects have been done, investigating language contact. However, studying dialect contact is a much more recent development. Trudgill (1991) was one of the first to investigate this contact phenomenon as an instance of language change, and not as part of descriptive dialectal variation in which a standard and a range of deviant vernacular forms were studied as isolated and differentiated forms. His work sparked wider interest, so that there is now a growing body of research in this field. This research was mainly concerned with the linguistic processes that can occur in language during these dialect contact situations. Coupland (1984), Manfredi (2013), Kwon (2014) and Dyer (2002), whose studies I will be looking at, are among the many that investigated these linguistic processes that bring dialect contact induced change. In what follows I shall give a few case studies of language change related to dialectal contact.

3.6.1 Short-term speech accommodation by a travel agency assistant

Coupland (1984) investigated speech accommodation in Wales between a travel agency assistant and the customers that she conversed with, during occupational hours. He grouped the customers by their socio-economic status and examined the change in speech patterns of the assistant in relation to that of her customer. His aim was to gather evidence of short-term phonological changes in the speech of the assistants that correlates with the speech of her customers according to the socio-economic class to which they belong. He found that there was a significant correlation between the assistant's dialectal variety and the variety typical of the social class of her customer. The assistant's speech patterns seemed to fluctuate between highly standard and non-standard depending on the social background of her customer. According to Coupland (in Trudgill 1986:4) her dialectal variety proved to be a good indicator of the social class and educational background of her interlocutors, as it was an indicator of the dialectal variety spoken by the particular customers.

3.6.2 Dialect mixing in Kordofanian Baggara Arabic

Manfredi (2013) investigated the dialectal variety, Kordofanian Baggara Arabic (KBA), spoken by Baggara Arabs, a subsection of the Hawazma tribe in Kordofan, western Sudan. Uthman (in Manfredi 2013:143) gave the necessary background information on the Hawazma tribe that is made up of “a league of families” all hailing from different regions of North Africa. These tribes became united on the basis of an agreement to pasture their cattle under the name Hawazma.

The tribe thus is an assimilation of different groups of people, who spoke either one of two dialectal sub-types, namely Western Sudanic Arabic (WSA) that includes the Arabic dialects of Nigeria, Cameroon and Chad, or Eastern Sudanic Arabic (ESA), which include the majority of dialects spoken in the Republic of Sudan (Manfredi 2013:145).

In view of the general observation that contact between people of different dialectal varieties always brings about change in linguistic behavior, this region’s accommodation of different groups of individuals with different Sudanic Arabic dialectal origins, generated a setting favorable for dialect induced change. According to Manfredi the dialectal variety, KBA (collectively adopted in the region), could possibly be a result of intensified mixing of the early dialectal varieties spoken by the different groups of members of the tribe. Manfredi’s study investigated linguistic features of KBA, and subsequently pointed out structural evidence of the integration of different Arabic dialects in the production of KBA. He found KBA to display the coexistence of a mixed set of linguistic features of both WSA and ESA dialects, rendering KBA as an example of a mixed dialect.

3.6.3 Dialect shift of Noam Chomsky

Kwon (2014) conducted a study investigating the effect of relocation, to a different dialectal area, on an individual’s speech. The well-known linguist, Chomsky was chosen as informant for this study given that he had been subjected to such relocation from one dialectal area to another.

Born in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania to a Yiddish family, Chomsky acquired not Yiddish, but English as his L1. In 1955, at the age of 26, he moved to Boston, to teach at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT). Kwon followed the shift in Chomsky’s linguistic patterns by examining and transcribing two of his recorded public speeches made 40 years apart, one

delivered in 1970 and the other in 2009. Kwon's aim was to gather evidence of long-term phonological changes in Chomsky's speech by examining the possibility of a vowel and phonemic restructuring. Kwon determined that individuals speaking the dialect of Philadelphia distinguish between the vowel /o/ in words such as 'plot', 'knot', 'shot' and the back vowel /oh/ in words such as 'bought', 'caught', 'sought'. However, in Boston, the two vowels merge and are both pronounced as /oh/. In this way, it is found that in the Boston dialects words such as 'plot' and 'caught' rhyme (Kwon 2014:91). The findings show that with Chomsky's relocation he had over time shifted from his initial use of both vowels /o/ and /oh/ towards only using the back vowel /oh/. In the data, Kwon also found instances of phonemic restructuring in Chomsky's short-a system. Findings showed that he shifted from Philadelphia's split short-a towards the nasal short-a system of Boston (Kwon 2014:99). These significant changes suggest that in Chomsky's idiolect, the phonological structure underwent dialect shift in replacing Philadelphia's dialectal feature with dialectal features typical of Boston.

3.6.4 Dialect levelling in a Scottish English community

Dyer (2002) investigated dialect contact between displaced Scottish and indigenous English people in an English village, Corby, Northamptonshire in the English Midlands. Initially during the 1930's, the English variety spoken in Corby sounded comparable to that of the neighboring villages in Northamptonshire. However, several years later, with the construction of 'iron and steel works' by a Scottish company in Glasgow, integration and communication between the indigenous English and English Scotch led to the modification of linguistic behavior throughout the village. The former English accent initially spoken by the English people in Corby increasingly became infiltrated with linguistic patterns projected by the English Scots, leading to a new Scottish-English dialectal variety adopted in the village.

In this study, Derby tried to determine whether the linguistic process "dialect levelling" could explain the new Corby dialectal variety that had developed between the two groups during the dialect contact circumstances. He selected a group of phonological variables to investigate, hence focusing solely on the phonological changes that formed the newly established Corby dialectal variety. He found some phonological traces of both Scottish and Anglo-English variants, and new distinctive features indicative of dialect levelling. This case of dialect levelling was found to be particularly interesting since the levelling of the two dialectal varieties was sociolinguistically unconventional in that it went counter to the hypothesized direction of levelling. Instead of levelling away from the local minority language, norms in favor of the

standard, levelling, in the Corby village took place in the direction of the local minority (Derby 2002:113).

3.7 LANGUAGE STATUS AND ATTITUDE

As mentioned earlier in section 3.5.1, Bigham (2008:77) reported that attitude plays a definite role in directing dialect contact induced change. Therefore, in line with researching the dialect contact processes, this study is also interested in individuals 'attitudes' towards different language varieties. Attitude towards language (or in this case language variety), whether it be positive or negative, is often influenced by language standardization. Milroy (2007:133) maintains this idea in commenting that "language attitudes are dominated by ideological positions that are largely based on the supposed existence of the standard form". Taken together, these ideological positions are said to constitute the standard language ideology or "ideology of the standard language".

According to Oppenheim (in Garrett 2010:20), these ideological positions are unconsciously learned psychological constructs, as they are not observed directly but intuitively followed. The direction of change and persistence of certain forms correlates with how language varieties are distributed amongst speakers of different varieties.

There is a great deal of debate on how language attitude should be studied, since linguists find it difficult accessing speakers' attitudes. Some methods have been proved untrustworthy while others are more useful. Geeraerts (2003:2) proposes two basic models that influence our perception of language. These models assist in evaluating language attitude by considering the distribution of language variety. First, the rationalist model is identified which idealizes a unifying standard, referring to the standard form of a language as having positive and beneficial effects socially and politically. Second, the romantic model is identified which appreciates linguistic variety as a realistic distribution of language in communities, criticizing standard language as a tool to oppress and exclude.

3.8 CONCLUSION

This chapter discussed some of the relevant and informative literature regarding linguistic diversity and the causation of linguistic change, highlighting the heterogeneity of language within in local communities. Acknowledging the vague boundaries between what was traditionally identified as 'language' and as 'dialect', this study prefers the terms "variation"

and “linguistic variety”. Particularly, it also recognizes work that distinguishes between standard and non-standard forms of a language, and it notes a shift away from prescriptive approaches to developing the standard, in the direction of appreciating the equality and richness of various forms. Section 3.4 elaborates on the variables that are often associated with linguistic and dialectal variety, namely age, ethnicity, education, social class and social networks. Considering geographically based dialects, dialect contact induced changes and the processes involved in cross-dialectal integration in communities was discussed together with real life case studies in other speech communities, such as in Wales, Sudan and Scotland. Lastly since attitudes are observed to play a significant role in directing dialect contact induced change, the chapter concluded with a brief discussion of various approaches to the study of ‘attitudes’ towards language variety.

CHAPTER 4: METHODOLOGY

4.1 INTRODUCTION

This research project is an empirical study based on observed phenomena and actual experience of the researcher. Data on which this project is based was captured in the form of audio files of authentic spoken data. The audio files include recordings of 40 participants which, although a considerable number, do not form a representative, statistically significant sample size. This project therefore takes a qualitative approach. The value of such qualitatively interpreted data in language variety studies, will be explained. This chapter will give an overview of the participant's selection process, data collection process and instruments, data processing and analysis and lastly report on ethical considerations.

4.2 PARTICIPANTS

This project investigated language variety captured at a specific moment in a population of young speakers who typically present with age-related linguistic features, and whose language development is relatively mature, but not necessarily completely stable. To ensure comparability within the sample the participants were chosen to form part of this research project based on their age, their L1 and where they had completed their primary and secondary education. They specifically had to be young adults between the ages of 18-25, Afrikaans L1 speakers, and should have started and completed their schooling within the municipal area of George. To find this fit, the participants were selected on the basis of their membership of one of three Afrikaans L1 speaking groups of young adults in George, identified by the researcher. According to observation these three groups speak slightly different varieties of the same language, hence representing three separate, but overlapping speech communities.

The first speech community is a group of young adults who started and completed their school education in a school within the local coloured community, Pacaltsdorp. This group specifically comprised of former pupils of Pacaltsdorp Primary and High school (Group A). The second was a group of young adults who started and completed their schooling in schools within the white town area, George central. They were former pupils of Outeniqua primary and high school (Group B). The third was a group of young adults who started and completed their

primary schooling in the local coloured community as former pupils of Pacaltsdorp Primary, but moved to the school in the white town area for their secondary schooling as pupils of Outeniqua high school (Group C). These requirements had to be met by the participants, since they were calculated research decisions to stabilize and reduce other 'variables' that could also have a possible effect on the participants' language form and use (such as age, neighborhood and level of education). The total number of participants in each group respectively were 14 (Group A), 11 (Group B) and 15 (Group C).

The participants were recruited by initially making use of the researcher's own contacts to identify potential subjects, since she herself grew up and went to school in George. These participants were requested each to encourage at least one more participant within their social circle of acquaintances, who meet the selection criteria, to join the study. This can be described as a form of snowball sampling, by which current participants, chosen by the researcher, are asked to recruit other participants for the study. Snowball sampling is termed as such since in theory when you have a snowball rolling it systematically collects more snow along the way and consequently becomes larger. Thus, as more participants are recruited the group grows and therefore more data can be collected until the required sample size useful to the researcher is found.

4.3 DATA COLLECTION

Due to the nature of this research project I took a mixed methods approach. Questionnaires and recorded interviews were utilized as instruments in the data collection process. Participants who had agreed to take part in the study, were invited to meet at a location close to their homes, and convenient for them to reach. The first group met in pairs of two at a time, at a community centre attached to one of the churches in Pacaltsdorp. Others met in an after-school training centre classroom, and yet others met in an office and at one of the contact person's home in town. The idea was to have the meeting place neutral and unthreatening. Appointments of an hour each were made with two participants at a time. Most interviews were conducted by the researcher sitting in a soundproof room with two of the participants; however, for a few the supervisor sat in, and one interview was conducted by the supervisor alone (due to the scheduling program where two groups overlapped).

The first instrument I used was the questionnaire (see appendix A). It was a document of three pages, carefully pieced together to source meta-data of each participant's biographical and

language background. This questionnaire was given to each participant as a first step, before starting with the scheduled interview. The second instrument used in the research project, was a sociolinguistic interview, conducted after the filling in of the questionnaire. The interviews were in the form of small group interviews, which the researchers conducted with two participants at a time; however, one group included three participants, and another included four participants. The bigger groups were again done in that way to meet the various participants' schedules and considering the timetable for the week. The interviews were conducted as per an interview schedule (see appendix B), which stretched over a period of six days. They were designed to prompt naturally occurring speech, which were contextually situated and comparable across participants due to the discussion being directed around the same three topics. Discussions during the interviews were elicited by using three thoughtfully selected images of public characters.

The three images were selected in such a way that the topics discussed during the interviews would follow three themes namely, popular music, local news and national politics. The first image shown to the participants during the interviews was of Drake and Rihanna (a Canadian rapper, and a Barbadian singer). The image was taken during their music video performance of a song on which they collaborated recently, called 'Work'. This song triggered different reactions among young people, partly because of Rihanna's sexually provocative form of dancing in the video that is increasingly being copied by some of the girls in the local communities. Most of the participants immediately recognized Rihanna, and had specific opinions about her music, this particular performance and her collaboration with Drake. The second image was of Oscar Pistorius, a very well-known South African Paralympics athlete who had shortly before been convicted of the murder of his girlfriend Reeva Steenkamp by discharging four gun shots through a closed bathroom door. Oscar's description of that night's events and his plea of innocence, led to a prolonged and widely published court case. More people appeared to know of the athlete due to the court case than due to his athletic achievements, and most had very specific personal observations about his culpability. The third image was one of Julius Malema, the leader of a South African political party called the Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF). He is a young political leader liked by many because of his boldness and determination in challenging older governing party leaders, but also disliked by the similar numbers because of his irrational and somewhat racist public outbursts. The public characters captured in the three images were particularly selected because they were expected to be well known due to recently being very well covered in the social and printed and electronic

media. They also represented so called ‘hot topics’ about which people hold strong opinions and would easily enter into serious conversation about. In the research planning it was assumed that controversial, well-known figures would assure participation and particularly also use of similar sets of vocabulary, phrases and sentences – thus delivering comparable linguistic material.

4.4 MOTIVATING METHODOLOGY

The aim of the interview method was to find production of authentic and natural language use, without having too much input by the researcher, and also to minimize the effects of being observed and thus producing self-conscious and unnatural speech. The images were shown to the participant as eliciting tool and as a means to bring about discussions with the same topics across the corpus. The recorded discussions could not only be compared linguistically, but were also planned to elicit material that would demonstrate some local Afrikaans variety without asking participants to make linguistic choices, motivate or give their opinion on them. Previous studies (see e.g. Trudgill 1972) utilizing linguistic elicitation surveys in which participants are confronted with examples of different language forms and asked to make a value judgment on grammaticality or not, typical usage in their speech community or not, have proven to give unreliable results. This method was chosen to minimize such an effect of speakers judging according to prescriptive norms, rather than to actual usage.

4.5 DATA PROCESSING

Following the completion of the data collecting process, the meta-data which were accumulated through the questionnaires were entered into an MS Excel sheet. This sheet gave a profile of each participant’s language background, language use and language related experiences. It includes, in easily accessible format, information such as the participants’ age, gender, the neighborhood they’re live in, their educational background, the languages they speak (L1, L2 and if any L3), and lastly the languages spoken in the schools they attended, spoken at work and with friends. This meta-data is essential for this kind of research project, since it aids the analyzing process by explaining any unusual or infrequent language phenomena that could present in the data analysis.

After finalizing the meta-data in Excel, I repeatedly listened to the audio files collected during the interviews, in an attempt to identify salient linguistic variation markers that are observable

across the three speech communities. The data was transcribed with corpus-building software to assist with identifying the full set of markers that careful listening indicated as possibly significant language variety markers. A total of 40 participants were interviewed, with duration of 60 minutes per interview in which (mostly) two participants per interview were recorded. Hence the recorded interviews amounted to about 25 hours, of which the transcription took about 10 hours per recorded interview. The audio files of recorded data were transcribed in a program identified as EXMARaLDA (Extensible Markup Language for Discourse Annotation) which is used for analyzing spoken language corpora. Once the data was transcribed in EXMARaLDA, the programs' software tools were used to search for the language phenomena that stand out as markers of the different speech varieties. The most regularly used linguistic constructions could be searched and counted to get an indication of how frequently each language phenomenon occurred, and by which participants or speech communities they were most often used in this corpus.

4.6 DATA ANALYSIS

As already indicated, the aim of this study was to collect audio files of authentic speech, with the intention to capture and later identify and describe linguistic differences across the three speech communities. The analysis was based on four linguistic dimensions, namely the phonological level, lexical level, morpho-syntactic level and also an idiomatic constructions level. Selecting which items to analyze and discuss in more detail was done based on: (1) the constructions' regularity of usage across all data and speech communities, (2) its regularity of usage across each theme, and (3) not only high usage across groups, but also being an interesting outlier that comes across as particularly scarce but is noted as intrinsic linguistic marker of one speech community rather than the other.

The discussion of the selected data in terms of structure and distribution will be done firstly by paying attention to the phonological level, identifying and analyzing phonological features that mark differences or similarities across the three speech communities. Several phonological processes, namely elision of sounds, vowel reduction, assimilation, addition of sounds in words and the interchangeable use of the Afrikaans diminutives [-kie] and [-tjie], will be discussed as they occur in the recorded data. Secondly, on the lexical level, five words that were most saliently used in each conversation theme will be selected for discussion of their meaning and use. A word count, calculating how many interchangeable alternative words each speech community had when referring to the concept will be done. My interest is in which word forms

are typically used in the various communities, to check whether such words could count as markers of a group's speech variety, or whether the distribution of alternative word forms differs across the various groups. Thirdly, on the morpho-syntactic level I will identify, analyze and discuss salient morphological forms (such as plurals and diminutives) as well as syntactic structures that may count markers of a particular local speech variety. Finally, on the level of idiomatic expressions, attention will be given to four of the most prominent phrases and fixed expressions that are indicative of one speech community rather than the other. The selection of these phrases, as with examples selected in the previous levels, is based on the researcher's observation of forms that appear to occur typically in one group's conversations and not in another's.

4.7 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

I adhered to the fundamental principles of responsible conduct of research by following the main ethical guidelines of collecting research data of informal conversations. Before commencing with the interviews in June 2016, I carefully explained to participants that the data we would collect in the form of questionnaires and recorded interviews, would be used for my research as a post-graduate student in Linguistics at the University of Stellenbosch. It was emphasized that the data was for the purpose of a project interested in varieties of Afrikaans, but that their contribution would simply be to discuss the images and thoughts they had about the images. Further, they were assured that they were under no obligation to take part, that there was no monetary benefit in their participation, that they could withdraw from participation during the data recording, or request removal of their contribution after the recording if they had any objections to or concerns about the procedure. They were asked to sign indicating their consent to participate before any recording started. The consent form (see an example of the form in appendix C) signed by the participants gave details about the background of the study, the aims and objectives, the procedures regarding the data collection, potential risks, potential benefits for themselves and their community, confidentiality, and legal rights of the participants. I further explained to each participant that the signed consent provides agreement of their awareness: (1) that the interview has to be recorded, (2) that the participant has the choice to remain anonymous by giving a pseudonym, (3) that it is possible at any stage to request a review of the recording to be sure that what it contains, is what he/she really wished to say, (4) that the participant can ask for total deletion of the recording if he/she is concerned

about any statements made by him/her, (5) and that their contributions would be used for academic analysis and not in any way they had not consented to.

As a means to uphold confidentiality, the interviews were recorded in an enclosed room with groups of two each, excepting one group of one, two groups of three, and one group of four participants. Thus, only a small number of participants together with the researcher were present in the interview room at one time. The participants within a group were in each case familiar with each other, in almost every case the one had recruited the other, and they always formed part of the same speech community, i.e. Group A participants were paired, Group B participants were paired and Group C participants were paired (also to assure no language accommodation of one group to the other would be triggered). The interviews were designed in such a manner with the intention that none of the participants would feel reluctant to speak or shy as perhaps when speaking to a stranger. The aim was rather to reproduce natural conversation on topics that the participants perhaps already discussed in the company of their acquaintances.

Questions regarding attitudes towards languages have the potential to become a sensitive topic. However, while collecting this data none of the participants was specifically asked to answer questions regarding language attitude. The evaluation done by the researcher stems only from what participants voluntarily said in the passing, and their language use when they were in conversation. During the data collecting process, although given the opportunity to select their own pseudonym (in order to recognize themselves back in the written report while unidentifiable by outsiders), I found that the majority of the participants preferred either their given name or the name by which members in their community identify them. This is indicative that participants firstly did not feel concerned about any consequences regarding their contribution, nor embarrassed about the information or data they were producing. The fact that the researcher also was a fellow resident of George could have also played a role in establishing a comfortable space in which the participant wanted to participate freely without holding back. A decision, however, was made in the writing up, not to mention participants by their real names, to signal some distance from individual participants, and to present the data as belonging to the collective speech community. Therefore, I rather refer to the three identified speech communities as a collective by identifying and describing the particular school(s) and the neighborhood each group of participants came from.

Ethical clearance had to be requested for the research project since the data collecting process involved interaction with human participants. The Department of General Linguistics at Stellenbosch University (SU) approved this project, hence finding the research in agreement with the University's values of honesty and integrity, code of responsibility and the various requirements of its research policy. All ethical procedures set by the University, were honored.

CHAPTER 5:

DATA PRESENTATION AND DISCUSSION

PHONOLOGICAL AND LEXICAL DIFFERENCE

5.1 INTRODUCTION

In chapter one, the introduction to the study, I set out the research aims and the research questions to be investigated. Chapter two gave the research context, explaining details of the place, communities and language varieties that would be scrutinized in research. Chapter three considered various ways in which language variety (also sometimes referred to as dialectal variety) has been handled in sociolinguistic research, specifically giving the theoretical concepts required for finding markers of different varieties of the same language used in various communities within the same geographical region. Chapter four followed with a detailed description of the methodology applied to execute this project. This chapter will identify and discuss certain linguistic features of the three communities of young speakers in the southern Cape Town of George, that appeared to be markers of the speech varieties found among a group of 18 to 25 year old participants. The results obtained through a close reading of the data, will be presented here.

As mentioned, data for this study were obtained through interviewing a total of 40 participants, categorized within three groups, namely Group A who had completed their entire schooling in the coloured (“coloured” residential area in Pacaltsdorp Primary and High Schools, Group B who represented the historically white community of the town and had completed their entire schooling in Central George at Outeniqua Primary and High Schools (ex-model C), and Group C who had started their schooling in Pacaltsdorp Primary and had moved to Outeniqua High School in year eight of a twelve year school career, to complete their secondary education in the formerly “whites only” school. According to the researcher's observation, members of the different speech communities within George speak different variants of Afrikaans. This study investigated the language use of participants to check how accurate such an observation was, considering which forms could count as identifying features of each of the variants as found in the data collected among these three groups of young people.

As mentioned, my research hypothesis was that many differences referred to as "dialectic differences", are decreasing in the language variants of younger people in George, due to changes in the social dispensation that have developed since 1994:⁴ formerly strict social boundaries set during a previous dispensation are gradually fading in such a way that educational boundaries are being crossed, and social contact between formerly segregated communities is increasing, particularly in the workplace and in tertiary education institutions. In other words, I expected that there would be noticeable signs of the social language processes that occur during language contact situations between young people who had through school experiences in the past three to eight years, had more contact than was evident in the years preceding and shortly after 1994. This study will thus investigate grammatical features to check whether language variants of younger people in George are becoming more similar due to the increase in educational and social contact, and if so, whether the change manifests as a decline in non-standard forms of language, in other words, that the language variant of Group C will gradually show more features of Group B and share fewer features with Group A.

The data set is too small and collected over too short a period of time to give a conclusive answer, but if the language of Group C and Group B shows more similarities than Group C and Group A, it would be a first indication of such language shift towards what is identified as "the standard form" could be underway in local dialects. Of course, with increased contact between young people from Pacaltsdorp (represented in Group A) and Outeniqua (represented in Group B), it is likely not only that Group C would integrate features of Group B, but also that Group B would integrate features from Group C; also, in case of assimilation between Groups B and C, one needs to consider whether differences with Group A are becoming more pronounced, or whether the greater social integration of the communities beyond secondary school is eroding differences that at an earlier stage seemed very specific.

5.2 GRAMMATICAL FEATURES AS LIKELY MARKERS OF VARIETAL DIFFERENCE

Specific attention will be given to phonological, morphological and syntactic characteristics, as well as to lexical items and idiomatic phrases that stand out as markers of one rather than the other community variant of Afrikaans. The recordings and transcriptions show various features

⁴ The year 1994 counts as a watershed year, as that was the year in which full democratic government was instituted, and the societal segregation of a former dispensation was officially (even if not immediately in practice) removed.

of spoken language that are markers of variant differences. For the purposes of this study, single and more prominent forms had to be selected to be studied with more attention. The research findings of this study are presented as follows: In section 5.2.1 with regards to phonetics and phonology, five phonological differences (sometimes evident as change in a given variant) were investigated, namely, (i) elision, (ii) sound addition, (iii) sound assimilation and vowel reduction, and (iv) alteration between the Afrikaans diminutives [-kie] and [-tji:], (v) vowel roundedness. In section 5.2.2, with regards to lexicology (vocabulary) certain lexical items from the data set that appeared to have marked use in the different groups of participants, were identified, their use is explained, and their distribution in the various groups compared.

5.2.1 Phonetic and Phonological level

With regards to phonology and phonological rules, various markers were displayed as to the synchronic sound differences that were clear in the pronunciation of certain sounds (vowels, consonants or syllabics) in words, as well as of word accents which to a degree mark the three groups as different. As mentioned, five types of sound phenomena that mark current differences, were selected to be analyzed in the language use across the three groups of participants. Each one of these phenomena will be illustrated and discussed as they occurred in the data.

5.2.1.1 *Elision*

In phonology elision is the deletion of a sound (a phoneme), thus of a vowel, a consonant or even a syllable, in the pronunciation of certain multisyllabic words. This often occurs in casual or conversational forms of speech, but compared to alternatives without the elision, it can also be a typically used form in a given variant. Phonotactic rules regarding syllabic structure describe three ways in which this phonological process can occur in words, namely deletion at the beginning of a word (aphesis), in the middle of a word (syncope) and at the end of a word (apocope) (Holm 1988:112). The data I collected, delivered a variety of words in which sounds were elided; however, for this study we selected only those words in which a sound is elided in the middle of a word (syncope) or at the end of a word (apocope). I looked at how often the selected forms were used in each of groups A, B or C, and counted how many times each of the two forms (with or without the elision) was used by participants of the various groups. Mostly, the full form (without elision) is identified as the "standard". However, it is not always the case that those expected to use the standard, actually use the "full form", and

similarly, those expected to use a “non-standard” form at times actually use what would broadly count as the “standard”.

Six words were marked for checking this sound process, they include [eerste] (*first*), [groot] (*big*), [hierdie] (*this*), [ons] (*we*), [mense] (*people*), and [agter] which produced four cases of epenthesis, as in ‘ee()ste’,⁵ ‘g()oot’, ‘hier()ie’, ‘o()s’ and ‘me()se’ and one case of paragogue, as in ‘agte()’. The table below shows how often the six words were pronounced with the identified sound elided within the three groups A, B and C, and how often the same words were pronounced without the elision, thus according to the standard.⁶

Table 5.1: Use of elision

Elision	Group A	Group B	Group C
[eerste] → [ee()ste]	Elid. =24 Stnd. = 6 [Total 30]	Elid. =6 Stnd. = 30 [Total 36]	Elid. =37 Stnd. = 18 [Total 55]
[agter] → [agte()]	Elid. =12 Stnd. =2 [Total 14]	Elid. =7 Stnd. =20 [Total 27]	Elid. =15 Stnd. =16 [Total 31]
[gro:t] → [g()o:t]	Elid. =15 Stnd. =23 [Total 38]	Elid. =0 Stnd. =46 [Total 46]	Elid. =1 Stnd. =4 [Total 41]
[hierdie] → [hier()ie]	Elid. =0 Stnd. =0 [Total 0]	Elid. =126 Stnd. =2 [Total 128]	Elid. =11 Stnd. =0 [Total 11]
[ons] → [o()s]	Elid. =28 Stnd. =90 [Total 118]	Elid. =2 Stnd. =331 [Total 333]	Elid. =27 Stnd. =298 [Total 325]
[mens] → [me()s]	Elid. =15 Stnd. =32 [Total 47]	Elid. =0 Stnd. =13 [Total 13]	Elid. =13 Stnd. =57 [Total 70]

⁵ I have chosen not to use conventional phonetic and phonological notation (as in /e/, or [f]) as I am not using phonetic transcription in my text. I do, however, strive to be consistent and transparent in using written forms of the spoken words and sounds.

⁶ Note the discussion of the notion “standard” in chapter 3 (Hock and Joseph 1996; Hynds 2017; Trudgill 1998), where it is made clear that this is a contested term in certain contexts. Generally, the history is that the variety spoken in educated white communities, was referred to as the “standard form” of Afrikaans. Although I use this distinction, I prefer to simply refer to different varieties with different features, without one being marked as “standard” (and thus preferable, or afforded higher status), and others marked as “non-standard” (with the implication of having lower status).

Discussion

The above table shows that, vowel elision occurred predominantly in Group A. Contrastively, the data shows that Group C more often used the form without elision. In Group A the elided word form ‘ee()ste’ for instance occurred 24 times out of 30 across the three themes given for discussion, thus only 6 times in standard pronunciation, whereas in Group C the elided word form only occurred 6 times out of 36, and the remaining 30 times it was pronounced according to the standard. The same pattern follows with the words ‘groot’, ‘ons’, and ‘mens’. In the word ‘agter’ they didn’t seem to prefer any one over the other but rather used both interchangeably during conversation.

One exception occurred with the word ‘hierdie’ elided to ‘hier()ie’. Group A never utilized this word nor its elided form (instead they would use the emphatic article ‘die’). Group B, however, utilized the word 128 times: only 2 times in standard pronunciation and 126 times in the elided form. Here, one could see the difference as one on a lexical rather than phonological level, in that the indicative pronoun (*hierdie*), used widely in Group B and limitedly in Group C, has a different lexical form in Group A, namely “*dië*”, as in:

(1) Ek hou nie van *hierdie* song nie.

(2) Ek hou nie van *dië* song nie.

[I don't like this song.]

Thus, if Group A is compared to Group B the corpus suggests that based on these 6 words, the sound feature “elision” occurs as a, predominant language feature of Group A rather than Group B. When Group C is compared to groups A and B the corpus indicates that Group C largely follows the same pattern as that of Group A. In other words, the elided word forms ‘ee()ste’, ‘g()oot’, ‘o()s’, ‘me()s’ and agte(), are strongly preferred, instead of their standard forms.

5.2.1.2 Sound insertion

The same way in which a sound can be deleted from a word, a sound can also be added. In phonology this process is known as “insertion”. Similar to the former phonological process (elision), phonotactic rules regarding syllabic structure describe three ways in which sound insertion can occur within a word, which is insertion of a sound at the beginning of a word (prothesis), in the middle of a word (epenthesis) and at the end of a word (paragoge) (Holm 1988:110-111). Again, for this study we marked only words in which a sound was added

in the middle of a word (epenthesis) or at the end of a word (paragogue). Specifically, I looked at the insertion of the sounds represented in regular orthography as "-e" or "-s".

The five words that were marked in checking for this sound feature were, [solank] (*in the mean time*), [goed] (*things*), [begin] (*to begin*), [nogal] (*rather*), and [ek] (*I – first person singular*) which produced 1 case of epenthesis as in ‘sogelank’ and 4 cases of paragogue as in ‘goete’, ‘goeters,’ ‘beginne,’ ‘nogals,’ and ‘ekke’. The occurrence of the sound process was salient, however, the transcribed corpus showed that it occurred too rarely to be meaningfully compared to the number of instances in which the standard form was used. It was not only interesting to compare how often participants utilized this sound form, but also to look at which participants consistently used this form, inserting the “-e” or the “-s” in a variety of words, since it seemed as if some participants used insertion in a few isolated words only, while others would use it in more pervasively. The table below, shows how often insertion occurred, and in how many instances across the three groups A, B and C.

Table 5.2: Use of sound insertion

Sound insertion	Group A	Group B	Group C
[goed] → [goeters]	5	55	18
[goed] → [goete]	27	2	32
[begin] → [beginne]	5	0	20
[nogal] → [nogals]	6	18	5
[ek] → [ekke]	0	8	2
[solank] → [sogelank]	1	0	0

Discussion

The table above shows that the sound process (insertion) occurred predominantly in Group B, however in a smaller variety of the words (3 out of the 5 words), namely ‘goed,’ ‘nogals,’ and ‘ekke’. Contrastively, Group A showed less usage of this sound process, however it occurred in a larger variety of words (4 out of the 5 words) than that of Group B, namely ‘goete,’ ‘beginne,’ ‘nogals’ and ‘sogelank’. Instances of this form, as in the words, 'beginne' and 'sogelank', were selected for special attention even though they did not occur often enough for

meaningful comparison, because from a qualitative insider perspective I was sure that if these words had been used more in the corpus, Group A would be the group in which it would predominantly be used. From personal observation, I know that these forms are more widely used than the corpus shows. These word forms thus could have occurred more, if it would have been provoked; the themes selected for discussion, however, did not prompt more.

Moreover, in some cases there were certain word forms such as ‘beginne,’ ‘sogelank’ (as mentioned above) and ‘ekke’ that only occurred in two of the groups and never in the other. This gives an indication of the groups’ tendencies towards certain forms. In this case the word form ‘beginne,’ and ‘sogelank’ can be said to be a typical marker of group A’s variety, rather than that of B, and conversely ‘ekke’ appears to be a typical marker of group B’s variety rather than that of Group A. Similarly, with the variation between ‘goed’, ‘goete’ and ‘goeters’, the form ‘goete’ appeared as a typical marker of Group A and ‘goeters’ as a typical marker of Group B. However, comparing their distribution across groups A and B, the corpus gives no clear indication which group predominantly prefers insertion, because even though Group B used “goeters” most often, insertion was not consistently used in a wide range of word. Group A on the other hand more consistently used insertions of this kind, however the number of occurrences in my data was lower. When Group C is compared to groups A and B, in terms of preference for insertion, the corpus indicates that overall, Group C uses insertion slightly less than Group B, however it occurs in a larger variety of words (4 out of the 5 words), thus being more similar to Group A. In comparing Group C’s use of the selected words to that of groups A and B, specifically looking out for similarities to one or the other of the two groups, Group C utilizes forms that are typical markers of groups A and B, thus showing identification with both of these groups. As they do, in a certain sense, belong to both: They mostly still live and socialize with Group A members outside of educational and workplace context, but they do spend extensive time interacting with Group B members during school and working hours.

5.2.1.3 *Assimilation and Vowel Reduction*

In the pronunciation of certain words either in casual or conversational speech, or as a typical varietal feature, the sections above pointed out that sounds can be omitted (elisions) and inserted (insertion). This section will highlight that similarly a certain sound can also be replaced with another, or in other cases "weakened" in terms of accent. These two latter mentioned phonological processes are known as assimilation and vowel reduction. Assimilation is a phonological process which can occur mainly in two ways, namely partial assimilation such as

where the word [onbekend] (*unfamiliar*) is assimilated to [ombekend] (the [n] has changed into an [m]) and absolute assimilation such as where the word [anders] (*different*) is assimilated to [anners] (the [d] is completely assimilated by the [n]). This study turned attention only to partially assimilated sounds. Specifically, I looked at the three sound pairs, [d / h], [i / a] and [t / n] as they occur in words such as "daai" pronounced as "haai" (the [d] changed into a [h]), and "moet" assimilated to "moen" (the [t] changed into an [n]).

With regard to vowel reduction, the sound pairs, e.g. [e / ə] and [i / a] were looked at, as they occur in words such as 'en' pronounced as 'ən', 'met' as pronounced as 'mət' (the [e] changed into an [ə]) and 'regtig' pronounced as 'regtag' (the [i] changed into an [a]). Though there were many other examples of vocal vibration, in which the vowel length in a words is shortened, where words such as e.g. [gaan] *go*, [maar] *but* and [laat] *let* are pronounced 'gan', 'mar' and 'lat', because these vowel reductions were so widely distributed in all groups, it did not seem sensible to count how many times they occurred.

In the corpus of the three groups A, B and C, I looked at how often each of the four sound pairs [d / h], [i / a], [t / n] and [e / ə] appeared. In this case the intention was not to choose words for comparison beforehand, but rather to identify from the available corpus in which words this variant forms occur. The set of words identified with (i) the [d / h] assimilation were [daai] *that*, [daarvan] *thereof* and [dit] *it*, alternatively expressed as 'haai', 'haa()van' and 'hət', (ii) with the [t / n] assimilation were 'moet' and 'met' alternatively pronounced as 'moen' and 'men', (iii) with the [e / ə] reduction were 'met' and 'en' alternatively expressed as 'mət' and 'ən' and with (iv) the [i / a] reduction were 'regtig' and 'besig' alternatively pronounced as 'regtag/rerag' and 'besag'. The table below shows how often these four sound pairs occurred in the corpus of each Group A, B and C.

Table 5.3: Use of assimilation and vowel reduction

Assimilation and vowel reduction	Group A	Group B	Group C
i → a (regtig > regtag) (besig > besag)	Assm. =30 Stnd. = 10 [Total 40]	Assm. =3 Stnd. = 28 [Total 31]	Assm. =20 Stnd. = 15 [Total 35]
d → h (daai > haai) (daarvan > haavan)	Assm. =248 Stnd. = 89 [Total 337]	Assm. =23 Stnd. = 197 [Total 220]	Assm. =214 Stnd. = 264 [Total 478]
t → n (met > men) (moet > moen)	Assm. =52 Stnd. = 114 [Total 166]	Assm. =3 Stnd. = 132 [Total 135]	Assm. =61 Stnd. = 176 [Total 237]
e → ə (met > mət) (en > ‘ən’)	Assm. =148 Stnd. = 110 [Total 258]	Assm. =98 Stnd. = 920 [Total 1018]	Assm. =280 Stnd. = 610 [Total 890]

Discussion

The table above shows that both groups A and B regularly use both the sound processes described above. However, there was a significant difference in how often each group used them. Group A showed a predominant usage of the assimilated or vowel reduced word forms. Contrastively, the data shows that Group C more often preferred the pronunciation identified as “standard”, without assimilation or vowel reduction. In Group A the assimilated word forms with the [d / h] variation, for instance, occurred 248 times out of 337 across the three discussion themes, thus only 89 times in standard pronunciation, whereas in Group B the assimilated word forms only occurred 23 times out of 220, and the remaining 197 times it was pronounced according to the standard. The same pattern is evident with the sound pairs [t / n], [i / a] and [e / ə]. Thus, if groups A and B are compared, the corpus indicates that assimilation and vowel reduction are sound processes that are typical markers of Group A’s variety, rather than Group B’s. In contrast, Group B prefers the standard form. When Group C is compared to groups A and B, the corpus indicates that Group C uses assimilation and vowel reduction less than Group A, but more than Group B. In other words, these results show that Group C performs neither quite like Group A nor like Group B. Rather, Group C appears to respond to influences from

both Group A and Group B, sometimes showing features similar to Group A and at other times more similar to Group C.

5.2.1.4 *Alternation between the Afrikaans diminutives ending in [-tji:] and [-kie]*

Another noticeable tendency marked for special attention, is the variation between the two diminutive forms [-tji:] and [-kie]⁷. The data showed that some participants would use the diminutive morpheme [-kie] (regardless of which spelling format – orthography – is established), thus tafeltjie, hoedjie, spulletjie would be pronounced standardly as [tafel-kie], [hoei-kie], [spul-ekie], and non-standardly as [tafel-tji:], [hoei-tji:], [spul-etji:]. The purpose here was to look into the corpus for uses of the diminutive forms, and to calculate how often speakers used [-kie], and how often [-tji:] occurred. Thus, I looked out for instances where the diminutive of e.g. "seun" was pronounced as [seun-kie], and where it was [seun-tji:]. Examples in (3) to (6) below show how such expression occurred in their linguistic context.

- (3) Ewe skielik het sy gechange • sy't 'n crop top h'n 'n ... okay ek weet'ie hoe 'n crop top lyk'ie [...] haai stywe **dingetjie**. (Group A data) [-tji:]
[All of a sudden she changed • she has on a crop top and a ... okay I don't know what a crop top looks like [...] that tight thing]
- (4) Ek het daavan gehoor al en ek, hoor dit soos amper elke dag en h't sit in my kop vas, en soos ek hou niks van'ie **liedkie** nie. (Group B data) [-kie]
[I have heard about it and I hear it almost every day and it is stuck in my head and I don't like the song at all.]
- (5) Uhm, sy't definitief ve'anner. • Sy was hier'ie uh onskuldige **meisietjie** met die lang hare. (Group C data) [-tji:]
[Uhm, she definitely changed • She was this innocent girl with the long hair.]
- (6) Uhm, ve my was h't 'n **biekie** vekeerd van hom om so te. Hy't 'n **biekie** die ding uit verband uit geruk. (Group C data) [-kie]
[Uhm, in my opinion it was a bit wrong of him to say so. He misrepresented things a bit, taking them out of context.]

⁷ Here it is important to note that the distinction between spelling conventions and actual pronunciation has to be maintained. This study is working with the spoken form, thus distinguishing between pronunciation of e.g. “tafeltjie” (tiny table) and “hekkie” (tiny gate) where in “standard Afrikaans” the diminutive morpheme of both would be pronounced [-kie], but in the non-standard form, the diminutive form of “tafeltjie” would be [-tji / -chi].

The table below shows how often the participants pronounced the diminutives as, [-tji:] or [-etji:] and how often they used the form [-kie].

Table 5.4: Alternation between the two diminutives [-tjie] and [-kie].

Alternation between the two diminutives [-tjie] and [-kie]	Group A	Group B	Group C
[-tji:] / -jie / -etjie → -kie (liedj <i>ie</i> > liekie) (seuntj <i>ie</i> > seunkie) (dogtertj <i>ies</i> > dogterkies)	Glottal -k =21 Frontal -tji: = 38	Glottal -k =129 Frontal -tji: =22	Glottal -k =78 Frontal -tji: = 29
	[Total 59]	[Total 151]	[Total 107]

Discussion

The table above shows that Group A predominantly uses the forms with frontal fricative [tj:], but sometimes also standardly used glottal form [-k], whereas Group B predominantly uses the glottal form. In Group A the diminutive pronunciation, [-tji:], for instance, occurred 38 times out of 59 across the three themes, and the glottal pronunciation [-kie] was used 21 times, whereas in Group B the diminutives occurred as [-kie] 129 times and only 22 times as [-tji:]. Thus, if groups A and B are compared in terms of how often they used each of the two forms, the corpus indicates that glottal sound in the diminutive morpheme is a tendency of Group B, while Group A uses the [-kie] form considerably less. When Group C is compared to groups A and B, the corpus indicates that Group C uses the [-kie] form in a ratio of 78 times out of 107, thus more regularly than Group A, but less so than Group B. In other words, these results show again that Group C's use of this feature does not coincide with that of either groups A or B, but in fact at times is aligned to Group A, and at other times more to Group B.

5.2.1.4 Vowel roundedness

In phonetics, a vowel can be referred to as being rounded or unrounded. The roundedness or unroundedness of a vowel is influenced by whether the lips and mouth cavity are shaped round or relaxed during the pronunciation of the vowel. The data delivered a variety of examples where there is variation between rounded and unrounded vowels in the same words. Three words were marked for investigation of this process in marking different varieties. The three words identified that standardly occurred with low, front, open and lengthened vowel [a:] were,

[maak] *make*, [praat] *talk*, and [saam] *with*, alternatively pronounced as ‘môk,’ ‘prôt,’ and ‘sôm’. The table below shows how often the vowel occurred rounded across the three themes in the corpus of each Group A, B and C.

Table 5.5: Use of rounded and unrounded vowels

Rounded and unrounded vowels	Group A	Group B	Group C
aa → ô (maak > môk) (praat > prôt) (saam > sôm)	Rnd. =0 Std. = 270	Rnd. =249 Std. =0	Rnd. =10 Std. = 347
	[Total 270]	[Total 249]	[Total 357]

Discussion

The table above shows that the vowel in the three selected words repeatedly occurred rounded in Group B, whereas in Group A they always occurred unrounded. In Group A the vowels never occurred rounded across the three themes, and 270 times as unrounded, whereas in Group B the vowels occurred rounded 249 times and were never pronounced unrounded. Thus, if groups A and B are compared in terms of how often they rounded their vowels, the corpus indicates that the feature [+rounded] is a distinctive marker of Group B’s variety, while the feature [-rounded] is a distinctive feature of Group A’s variety. When Group C is compared to groups A and B, the corpus indicates that Group C uses the rounded vowel more often than Group A, but less so than Group B. These results indicate again that Groups C does not perform quite like groups A or B, however in terms of the number of uses of rounded and unrounded [a:] vowels, Group C corresponds more to Group A than to Group B.

5.2.2 Lexical level

5.2.2.1 Lexical diversity in theme one – Rihanna and Drake image

On the lexical level, with regards to studying word forms and meaning as they occur in the three groups of participants, as in any language use of young adults speaking their L1, participants knew and were able to use numerous terms referring to a single concept, i.e. they could use synonyms and partial synonyms adeptly. Specifically, in the use of content words (nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs), preferences for certain items in a collection of (near) synonyms becomes interesting. This study selected a number of alternative terms for such words that

occurred often within the particular themes given for discussion, and easily recognized in the transcribed corpus. The particular words I selected in theme one were [rolmodel] *role model*, [song] *song*, [bekend] *famous* and [goed] *good*, providing interesting results. The table below shows the full set of alternative words for one concept as they were used in Groups A, B and C.

Table 5.6: Lexical diversity in theme one

Concept (“sense”)	Group A lexeme	Group B lexeme	Group C lexeme
Rolmodel (n.)	Star (9)	Rolmodel (1) Ikoon (1) Hero (2) Held (2)	Rolmodel (2) Ster (5) Hero (1) Held (2)
Song (n.)	Song (188) Number (3) Nommer (2)	Song (1) Liedjie (19)	Song (124) Liedjie (2) Number (4) Nommer (1)
Bekend (adv.)	Famous (18) Gewild (1) Bekend (7)	Bekend (16) Famous (7) Popular (1)	Famous (15) Gewild (4) Popular (2)
Goed (adv)	Lekker (43) Orite (8) Gevaarlik (6) Kwaai (23) Cool (4) Catchy (2) Nice (7)	Lekker (13) Cool (12) Awesome (6) Nice (4)	Lekker (25) Kwaai (7) Cool (5) Nice (14) Duidelik (2)

Discussion

The table lists the alternatives that participants used, referring to core content suggested in the photographic images of Rihanna and Drake, that were shown to stimulate discussion. For instance, the first content word selected, ‘rolmodel’ had one alternative term in the corpus of Group A, namely ‘star’, whereas Group B had three alternative terms namely ‘ikoon’, ‘hero’ and ‘held’. The synonyms (‘ikoon’, ‘hero’ and ‘held’) that occurred in Group B’s conversations, never occurred in the conversations among members of Group A; conversely the term (‘star’) used in Group A, never occurred in the language use of Group B. Group C however, used a combination of terms found in both Group A and B respectively, e.g. the English form ‘star’ found in Group A including ‘held’ and ‘hero’ found in Group B. Examples given in (7) to (11) below show how such expressions occurred in their linguistic context.

- (7) Hy is my star die jong (lag) is my **star** jong regtag waar • ve die feit dat hy dom is, hy praat dom goed man maa • is my star regtag waar. (Group A data)
[He is my star, this man (laugh) he is my star, really • for the fact that he is stupid, he talks dumb stuff but • he is my star really.]
- (8) Ja hy 's my ster man • hy's my **ster** (lag) nie dat ek onnosel is 'ie ma okay. (Group C data)
[Yes, he's my star man • he's my star (laugh) not that I am dumb but okay.]
- (9) Dit is actually hartseer hoe hy hie **hero** of 'n **held** was ve baie mense in Suid-Afrika. (Group C data)
[It is actually sad how he was the hero to many people in South Africa.]
- (10) Jy't hom oorals gesien, hy was op'ie advertensies [...], en hy was hier'ie **rolmodel** gewees en hy, [was] wonderlik, net hier'ie • amaising ou. (Group B data)
[You saw him everywhere, he was on the advertisements [...], and he was this role model, and he was wonderful, just this amazing guy.]
- (11) Soos daai mense [hy] is hulle **ikoon**. (Group B data)
[Like those people, he is their icon.]

The second content word 'song' had two alternative terms in the corpus of Group A, namely 'number' and 'nommer', whereas Group B had only one alternative term, namely 'liedjie'. Again, some terms that occurred in Group B's conversations, never occurred in the conversations among members of Group A; conversely, some terms used in Group A, never occurred in the language use of Group B. The word 'liedjie', for instance, which occurred in Group B, was never used by members of Group A, and the two alternative terms 'number' and the Afrikaans equivalent 'nommer' which occurred in Group A, were in the same way never used by members of Group B. Group C however, again used a combination of terms found in both Group A and B respectively, e.g. the terms 'nommer' and 'number' found in Group A and the term 'liedjie' found in Group B. Examples given in (12) to (15) below show how such expressions occurred in their linguistic context.

- (12) Well • is seke net een of twee sinne wat ek kan uitmaak, in terme van lyrics. • Want meeste van'ie tyd vestaan ek'ie ees wat sy sing'ie. Maa ek hou van'ie ritme van'ie **song** dis hoekom ek van die song hou. (Group C data)
[Well, it's probably just one or two sentences that I understand, in terms of lyrics. Because most of the time I don't understand what she sings. But I like the rhythm of the song, that's why I like the song.]
- (13) Kyk os mense in die kant kwaito h'n jy skut jou litte maa, Twerk? wat is dit? • • Dis pas'ie ees by 'n kwaito **nommer'ie**. (Group A data)
[Look, our people at this side kwaito and you shake your limps but, twerk? What is it? It doesn't even fit with a kwaito number.]
- (14) Soos hy h't my ook 'n paar • wys gemaak van James Ingram hulle h'n haai mense. • 'n paar oldies Ek k'n nou laat hy haai **number** ve jou sing wan hy's hie een wat k'n sing hie tussen ons hie so. (Group A data)
[Like, he also showed me a few things like of James Ingram them and those people. A few oldies. I can let him sing that number to you because he is the one that can sing between us here.]
- (15) Taylor Swift is hie musiek wat ek h'n my vriendinne hardop in hie kar sing (lag). ... So uhm / ek weet nie / maybe het ek net • half gerelate tot van hie musiek • en ek kan meeeste van 'ie **liekies** saam sing. (Group B data)
[Taylor Swift is the music that me and my friends sing loud to in the car (laugh) so uhm / I don't know / maybe I just related to some of the music and I can sing along most of the songs.]

The third content word 'bekend' had two alternatives in the corpus of Group A, namely 'famous' and 'gewild', as well as had two alternative term in Group B namely, 'famous' and 'popular'. Again, some terms that occurred in Group B's conversations, never occurred in the conversations among members of Group A; conversely, some terms used in Group A, never occurred in the language use of Group B. The word 'gewild', for instance, which occurred in Group A, was never used by members of Group B, and the English equivalent 'popular' which occurred in Group B, were in the same way never used by members of Group A. Group C however, again used a combination of terms found in both Group A and B respectively, e.g. the term 'gewild' found in Group A and the term 'popular' found in Group B. Examples given in (16) to (19) below show how such expressions occurred in their linguistic context.

(16) Nee ma hy's bekend / hy's 'n **bekende** mens. Mens sien hom op 'ie tv h'n goete. (Group A data)

[No, but he is famous / he is a famous person. You see him on the tv and stuff.]

(17) Oor wat praat jy nou oor? Om **famous** te wees? (Group B data)

[What are you talking about? About being famous?]

(18) Die song, hy het lekke **popular** deurgekom. (Group C data)

[The song, it came through popular.]

(19) Dis nogsteeds **gewild** want ... hulle sê die Illuminati beheer die heele musiekbedryf. (Group C data)

[It is still popular because ... they say that the Illuminati control the whole music industry.]

The fourth content word 'goed' had seven alternatives in the corpus of Group A, whereas Group B had only four alternatives. Again, some terms that occurred in Group B's conversations, never occurred in the conversations among members of Group A; conversely, some terms used in Group A, never occurred in the language use of Group B.

For instance, the terms 'gevaarlik' and 'kwaai' which were occurred extensively in Group A, was never used by members of Group B, and the term 'awesome' which occurred in Group B, were in the same way never used by members of Group A. In this case Group C however does not show a significant usage combination term exclusively occurring in Group A (such as 'gevaarlik' and 'kwaai') and Group B (such as 'awesome'). Examples given in (20) to (28) below show how such expressions occurred in their linguistic context.

(20) H't maak'ie saak wat hy gedoen h't'ie hy maak nogsteeds **lekke** songs tot vandag nog. (Group A data)

[It doesn't matter what he did, he still makes nice songs, till this day.]

(21) Hy maak **catchy** songs. (Group A data)

[He makes catchy songs.]

(22) Drake was, hy's fantasties in haai song. • Hy dans **gevaarlik** en, • • rap **gevaarlik** en, • als haai ja. • •Hy is 'n multi-artist. (Group A data)

[Drake was, he is fantastic in that song. He dances dangerous and rap dangerous and all of that, yes. He is a multi-artist.]

- (23) En hans speel amal h't en hans'it somme 'n **kwaai** song, want jy gaan agte hie mense aan want. (Group A data)
[And the everybody place it and then it is a cool song all of a sudden, because you follow the people.]
- (24) Al haai eerste goed was **cool**. (Group B data)
[All those initial stuff were cool.]
- (25) Dit is **nice** • • sy haa stem is • baie mooi. (Group C data)
[It is nice. She / her voice is very pretty.]
- (26) Dis **awesome** • ma jy kry een / ek wil sê een uit tien. (Group B data)
[It is awesome, but you get one / I want to say one out of ten.]
- (27) **Duidelik** • • • Ma sy is orite sy ... is 'n **duidelike** song. **Duidelike** paartjie • ek weet nie of julle uitgaan nie ma ja. (Group C data)
[Clear • but she is all right ... it is a clear song, clear couple. I don't know whether they dated, but yes.]

The data shows that the two groups, A and B, have distinct alternative term indicative of the one group rather than the other, where Group A utilizes vocabulary that never occurs in Group B's discussions, and in the same way Group B utilizes vocabulary that never occurs in group A's discussions. In other words, it appears that on this level of vocabulary, groups A and B each have core vocabulary that is characteristic of the group, and at the same time distinguishes the one group from the other. In terms of the number of alternative terms used, there is no clear distinction between which groups has delivered the most alternatives to the content words. In some cases Group A produced more alternatives than B (such as in the content words, 'goed' and 'song'), in one case Group B delivered more than Group A (such as in the content word 'rolmodel') and in another cases, they yielded equal results (such as in the content word 'bekend').

Thus, if groups A and B are compared, the corpus suggests that the two groups have approximately equal word diversity for the concepts concerned but are different in term of the alternative term used. However, when comparing Group C with groups A and B, the corpus suggests that Group C borrows and uses a combination of word forms that are typical of both Group A and B respectively, making it the group with the highest word diversity score. This is

a good illustration which shows that Group C does not perform quite like groups A or B, but rather has features which include a combination of Group A and B.

5.2.2.2 *Lexical diversity in theme two – Oscar Pistorius image*

In the same way as in theme one, a number of alternative terms were selected for words that occurred often in the discussions, and that were easily recognized in the transcribed corpus. The particular words selected were [vuurwapen] *gun*, and [beeld] *image*, providing interesting results. The table below shows the full set of alternative words for one concept as they were used in Groups A, B and C.

Table 5.7: Lexical diversity in theme two

Concept (“sense”)	Group A lexeme	Group B lexeme	Group C lexeme
Vuurwapen (n.)	Gun (8)	(Vuur)wapen (1) Geweer (5) Pistool (1) Gun (1)	Gun (9) Geweer (1)
Beeld (n.)	Image (1) Prentjie (6)	Beeld (3) Image (2) Prentjie (9)	Image (2) Prentjie (1)

Discussion

The table lists the alternatives that participants used, referring to core content suggested in the photographic images of Oscar Pistorius, that were shown to stimulate discussion. Illustratively, the first content word selected, ‘vuurwapen’ had only one of the alternative terms in the corpus of Group A, namely ‘gun’, whereas Group B had four alternative terms namely ‘wapen’, ‘pistool’ ‘geweer’ and ‘gun’. The terms (‘wapen’, ‘pistool’ and ‘geweer’) that occurred in Group B’s conversations, never occurred in the conversations among members of Group A; yet, the one term (‘gun’) used in Group A occurred in the conversation of members of Group B and Group C. Group C used two alternative terms namely ‘gun’ and ‘geweer’, thus less variant forms than Group B, but more than Group A. Group B used four variant forms, though showed preference for ‘geweer’ as opposed to the preference for ‘gun’ in groups A and C. Examples given in (28) to (31) below show how such expressions occurred in their linguistic context.

- (28) Wat hy gedoen h't was verkeerd • jy besef / jy moet oorkant op haa sy gaan / op haa kant van 'ie bed, om' ie **pistool** uit te haal. (Group B data)
[What he did was wrong. You realize you have to go on her side / on her side of the bed to take out the gun.]
- (29) My tannie se ex man / hy't so m'n hie **geweer** lang hie bed geslaap. (Group B data)
[My aunt's ex-husband / he slept with the gun next to the bed.]
- (30) Toe hy nou Reeva doogemaak het, toe vind ons • uit van sy obsessie met **gunne**. (Group A data)
[When he killed Reeva, that when we found out about he's obsession with guns.]
- (31) En obsessie met **wapens** en so. (Group B data)
[And obsession with guns and so.]

The second content word selected, namely 'beeld', had two alternative terms in the corpus of Group A, namely 'image' and 'prentjie', whereas Group B used three alternative terms, namely 'beeld', 'image' and 'prentjie'. One term ('beeld') that occurred in Group B's conversations, never occurred in the conversations among members of either Group A or Group C. Yet, both the terms ('image' and 'prentjie') used in Group A occurred in the conversation of members of Group B and Group C. Interestingly, groups A and B both showed a preference for the term 'prentjie', while Group C's preference was for 'image' – although overall it used less of these words so that one cannot draw convincing conclusions from the dataset. Examples given in (32) to (34) below show how such expressions occurred in their linguistic context.

- (32) Maar ek dink hier'ie gaan'ie/ dit/ dit gee nie 'n goeie **beeld** nie, dink ek. (Group B data)
[But I think this will not / I think it doesn't give a nice image.]
- (33) Kyk haa, hulle sell hulle **image** so. (Group C data)
[Look there, they sell their image like that.]
- (34) (35) Jy uhm • jy lat hulle dink jy doen. Dis half soos hier'ie **prentjie** wat jy ve hulle skep. (Group B data)
[You uhm, you let them think you do. It is this image that you create for them.]

The data in the cases identified here, shows considerable overlap in use of the alternative terms across the three groups. Group A utilizes vocabulary that occurs in group B's as well as Group C's In the case of 'vuurwapen' Group A shows no variation, using the term 'gun' throughout.

Group C uses two of the variant terms, of which both also occur in the repertoire of Group B. Considering core vocabulary that is characteristic of a group, and at the same time distinguishes the one group from the other, most significant is the variety of alternatives used by Group B. With regards to the term ‘beeld’ the data shows similar usage between groups A and C.

Thus, if groups A and B are compared, the corpus suggests that Group B has a higher word diversity for the concepts concerned, and differs from Group A in which alternative it used most. When comparing Group C with groups A and B, the corpus indicates that Group C is the group with the second highest word diversity score, using word forms that occur in the repertoires of both groups A and B. However, overall Group C in this case is more similar to Group A. This again illustrates that Group C does not perform exactly like Group A or B, but rather has features which include a combination of Group A and B.

5.2.2.3 *Lexical diversity in theme three – Julius Malema image*

In the same way as in the above two themes a number of alternative terms were selected for words that often occurred within discussion of the image of Julius Malema, and that were easily recognized in the transcribed corpus. The particular words selected, were [dom] *stupid*, providing interesting results. The table below shows the full set of alternative words for one concept as they were used in groups A, B and C.

Table 5.8: Lexical diversity in theme three

Concept (“sense”)	Group A lexeme	Group B lexeme	Group C lexeme
Dom (adj.)	Dom (12)	Dom (8) Stupid (2) Simpel (2)	Dom (3) Onnosel (10)

Discussion

The table lists the alternatives that participants used, referring to core content suggested in the photographic images of Julius Malema, that were shown to stimulate discussion. For instance, the content word selected, ‘dom’ had no alternative term in the corpus of Group A, whereas Group B had two alternative terms namely, ‘stupid’ and ‘simpel’. The terms (‘stupid’ and ‘simpel’) that occurred in Group B’s conversations, never occurred in the conversations among

members of Group A, yet the one term ('dom') used in Group A occurred in the conversation of members of groups B and C. Groups A and B preferred the same term ('dom'), although Group B has two additional alternative terms in its repertoire. Group C, on the other hand, introduced a term that neither Group A nor Group B did, namely 'onnosel' – and also showed preference for this particular descriptor. Thus, Group C does not show usage that exclusively copies patterns occurring in Group A or Group B. Examples given in (35) to (38) below show how such expressions occurred in their linguistic context⁸.

(35) Hy is my star die jong (lag) is my star jong regtag waar • ve die feit dat hy **dom** is.

(Group A data)

[He is my star, this man (laugh) is my star man really, for the fact that he is stupid.]

(36) Ons amal weet baie van hom neh? Maa as 'n mens moet praat oor hom is h't soos in • daa 's net een woord, **onnosel**. (Group C data)

[We all know a lot about him eh? But if you have to talk about him it is like there is just one word, stupid.]

(37) Jy kry sukke mense wat so **simpel** is. (Group B data)

[You get people who are so stupid.]

(38) Dis ve my **stupid**, hoekom maak jy dan musiek? (Group B data)

[For me it is stupid, why do you then make music?]

The data continues to show that the two groups, A and B, have distinct alternative terms indicative of distinctions between the two groups. A utilizes a more restricted set of vocabulary items, while B uses terms that never occur in Group A's discussions, and only limitedly occur in group B's repertoire. In other words, it appears that groups A and B each have core vocabulary that is characteristic of the group (with the indicated preference similarities). In terms of the number of alternative terms used, there is a clear distinction between which groups has delivered the most alternatives to the content words. Group B produced more alternatives than A or C.

Thus, if groups A and B are compared, the corpus indicates that Group B has a higher word diversity for the concepts concerned, and so is somewhat different from the other groups. When comparing Group C with groups A and B, the corpus indicates that Group C is the group with

⁸ Apologies for the offensive perspectives that are articulated ... the intention had not been to elicit demeaning comment, and to be fair – some counteractive and correcting positions were also included in the data.

the second highest word diversity score, using word forms that overlap with ones of both Group B and A. However, in this case overall, Group C appears to be more similar to Group A. This again illustrates Group C as not performing quite like groups A or B, but rather having features which include a combination of groups A and B.

The results across all the three themes thus illustrate that with regards to vocabulary, Group C seldom lost dialect features of Group A, their home language community, but rather gained a greater variety than Group A by extending their vocabulary to add features found in group B.

CHAPTER 6:

STOCK PHRASES AND IDIOMATIC EXPRESSIONS AS MARKERS OF DIFFERENT VARIETIES

6.1 INTRODUCTION

Chapter five looked at features of the language use of the three groups on the phonological, morphological and lexical levels. On the linguistic level of the larger grammatical units, i.e. sentence structure (syntax) and idiomatic expressions (semantics of fixed phrases) the data display interesting “ways of saying” that are markers of variant differences between the participants. As mentioned, some prominent forms were selected for more attention to detail and their distribution. In this chapter the selected expressions will be explained and compared across the three groups, and a discussion regarding the results obtained during the analysis will be given. In the following sections salient forms that are grammatical, either in the “standard” or in the “non-standard” variants and that appeared to be specific markers of one or the other, were recognized in the process of transcription and repeated listening to the recorded conversations. These randomly selected illustrative variant markers will be introduced and discussed one by one. By “random selection” here, I mean that I selected salient idiomatic forms, but they are not representative of all such expressions in the data, nor do they claim to be the most definitive markers of one or the other variant. The data set of xx hours of informal, unscripted speech was too big to allow for attention to every possible such marker. Even so, the expressions discussed here do serve the purpose of illustrating how idiomatic forms become part of a community variant, to the extent that within the particular community they are not even recognized as exceptionally marked forms.

6.2 THE TAG QUESTIONS “VERSTAAN JY?” AND “SIEN JY?”

Regarding “ways of saying” there were differences in the “tag question” usage between the three groups of participants. A “tag question” which is typically added at the end of an utterance, is a commonly used strategy for turning a statement into a question. The data delivered a variety of Afrikaans tag question forms, which occurred often in the speech of the participants. Generally, in English, these “tags” or “mini-questions” are used to elicit confirmation of the speaker’s statement. Another function of these Afrikaans tag question forms is that they act as

a means of checking whether the hearer is following the speaker. The set of tag questions that occurred in the full data set, include “verstaan jy?”, “jy verstaan?”, “sien jy?”, “jy sien?”, “jy weet?” as well as the English formulation “you know?” as can be seen in the following utterances showing how these tag question forms occurred within their linguistic contexts:

- (1) Maa lil‘Whayne en 50 cent h'n haai anne mense hulle almal klink amper 'ie selle, **sien jy?** (Group A data)
[But lil‘Whayne and 50 cent and those other people, they all sound almost the same, you see?]
- (2) Nee, maa is 'n slegte dans, wan jy dans met jou stere of holle of wat ook al, **jy sien?** (Group C data)
[No, but it is a bad dance, because you dance with your butt or whatever, you see?]
- (3) Nee ma, ek't baie lanklaas die teevee goed gekyk, behalwe soos hier en daar snaakse clips op, op YouTube. Ma die teevee ding, [...] dis'ie klomp grootste bolk bollie ve my, **jy weet?** (Group B data)
[No, but I haven't in a long time what this tv stuff, except here and there dunny clips on YouTube. But the tv thing [...] it is the biggest bulk of nonsense for me, you know?]
- (4) Ek luister graag aan my old school, **you know?** (Group A data)
[I am more that willing to listen to my old school, you know?]
- (5) Sy het dit maar net gedoen ‘to get her foot in the door,’ **verstaan jy?** (Group B data)
[She only did it to get her foot in the door, you understand?]
- (6) Maa ek meen, onse president is 'n [berug] so dis niks ve my om ..., **jy vestaan?** (Group C data)
[But I mean, our president is notorious, so that is nothing for me to ... you understand?]

What was interesting here was which of the tag question forms seemed to be preferred the most by which of the groups during narratives. In terms of the number of times each occurred in the data, “verstaan jy?” occurred 32 times across the three themes in use by members of Group A, 121 time by members of Group C, and only 1 time by a member of Group B. The tag “jy verstaan?” occurred 1 time across the three themes, used by members of Group C and never by groups A and B. The tag “sien jy?” occurred 65 times across the three themes, used by members of Group A, 61 times by members of Group C, and only 3 times by members of Group

B. The tag “jy sien” occurred 3 times across the three themes, used by members of Group C and never by members of Group A and C. The tag “jy weet?” occurred 10 times, used by members of Group B, 3 times by members of Group C and never at all by members of Group A. The tag “you know”, used in code-switching, occurred 1 time across the three themes, used by a member of Group A, 1 time by members of Group C, and never by members of Groups C.

Table 6.1: Use of tag question forms

Tag question forms	Group A	Group B	Group C
verstaan jy?	32	1	121
jy verstaan?	-	-	1
sien jy?	65	3	61
jy sien?	-	-	3
jy weet?	-	10	3
you know?	1	-	1

Discussion

In the data 6 possible variants occurred, in two possible word orders, namely [V+PRO] or [PRO+V]. Of these, two tag question forms [V+PRO] namely “verstaan jy?”, “sien jy?” were used most, being preferred by groups A and B, and only minimally used by Group B. Interestingly, the form [PRO+V], spelt out as “jy weet?”, was the preferred form for Group B – albeit that they used less tags overall. Thus, if Group A is compared to Group B the corpus indicates that, regarding a general tag question use count, the use of tag questions is a tendency of Group A rather than Group B (with a ratio of 98:11). When these two groups use tag questions, they display clear preference for different forms. When Group C is compared to groups A and B, the corpus indicates that Group C utilizes tag questions more than any of the other groups, and that this group uses the same tag question forms as those preferred by Group A and B respectively, thus presenting a wider range of alternatives than groups A and B. Although the order [PRO+V] as in “jy verstaan?”, “jy sien?” and “jy weet?” is a largely dispreferred structure compared to [V+PRO], it is more prevalent in Group C than in groups A and B – excepting the “jy weet?” as discussed. In the final calculation, the tag’s preferred by groups A and B match more to one another than any of them do to Group C. In the use of “sien jy?” groups A and C do correspond significantly.

6.3 FORMS OF ADDRESS

6.3.1 Direct forms of address “my broe(r)” or “my bra”

During the interview process it was found that some participants had interesting ways of addressing one another. Regarding forms of address during speech, more often than in writing, interlocutors use nouns or pronouns to designate someone who is being addressed – and often also to address their fellow interlocutors – as in the data set under discussion. The phrases in focus here are “bra/my bra” (where “bra” seems to be a short version of “brother”) and “my broe(r)” (the Afrikaans form of “brother”) as forms of addressing each other. Interestingly, here the data shows that participants used these forms to address both men and women interchangeably, and that these phrases are typically inserted when the speaker wants to engage the hearer and perhaps wants to emphasize something that they count as a remarkable piece of information. The following utterances show how these forms of address occurred within their linguistic contexts:

- (7) Ons praat hie onner mekaar / ‘joh **my broe** haai man speel so **my broe**’ h'n dit h'n dit h'n dit. (Group C data)
[We talk among each other / ‘joh my bro that man plays like this my bro’ and this and this and this ...]
- (8) Jy moet sê, **my broe**, hoekom hou jy nie van'ie song'ie. Dis die hele punt van die ding. Of pra/praat os'ie net oor'ie song'ie praat os oor'ie mense? (Group A data)
[You must say, my bro, why you don't like this song. It is the whole point of this thing. Or aren't we talking about just the song? Are we talking about the people?]
- (9) Haai vrou doen'it kwaai, **my broe**. Ek sal net heeldag kyk aan ha. • • Sy doen'it lekker. (Group A data)
[That woman does it well, my bro. I will just look at her the whole day. She does it nice.]

Here it was interesting to note which of the three groups preferred to utilize these forms of address “bra/my bra” and “my broe(r)” and how often they did so. Regarding the number of times these forms were used, the form “bra/my bra” which is widely reported in discussions of Kaaps and Afrikaaps as direct form of address, never occurred in the data. “My broe(r)” however, occurred 7 times across the three themes by members of Group A, 3 times by members of Group C, and never by members of Group B.

Table 6.2: Use of direct forms of address

Direct forms of address	Group A	Group B	Group C
My broe(r)	7	3	-

Discussion

Although “bra/my bra” as direct form of address never occurred in the data set, I mentioned it here together with “my broe(r)” because these two forms represent a variation which occurs widely in other regions. According to my observation both these forms occur in the speech of specifically Group A (especially among its men), however the data suggests that the former may increasingly be replaced by the latter. Comparing groups A and B, the recorded data shows that they both use the form “my broer”, although Group A mostly elides the word-final [r], thus marking a phonological difference. In the Group A recordings, “my broe” was used more than two times as often as in the Group B recordings. Group C, according to the data, never used any of these forms of address which could indicate that the group may be moving away from this usage, utilizing these forms not only less than Group A, but in fact also distinct from Group B.

6.3.2 Informal conversational use of “ou”, “bra”, “man” and “oukie/outjie” as a third person reference to males

Besides the two direct forms of address, some participants also had an interesting informal conversational usage of “ou”, “bra”, “man” or “oukie/outjie” as third person reference to someone whom they are talking about, specifically reference to males. The following utterances show how these forms of references occurred within their linguistic contexts as used by speakers in the various groups.

- (10) Die kar staan skuins en sy staan voor hie kar en in hie soos jy deur hie kar k'n sien, han sit haa 'n **bra** met so pyp/ so lang pyp in sy mond. (Group A data)

*[The car is standing skew and she is standing in front of the car and in the ... like you can see through **the** car, there sits a bro with a pipe / a long pipe in his mouth.]*

- (11) Wat kan jy doen aan h't? Dis daai **ou** se werk. (Group B data)

[What can you do about it? It is that man's job.]

(12) Dis nie 'n baie gawe **oukie** nie. (Group B data)

[It is not a very bright boy.]

(13) As hy gaan in / gaan werk daaso by daai plek wat hy man met'ie graad werk • hy gaan haai **man** onners sy voete uit werk. (Group C data)

[If goes in / goes to work at that place where that man with the degree works / he will work more than that man.]

In terms of numbers, “bra” was used once across the three themes by members of Group A, once by a member of Group C, and never by any member of Group B. “Man” occurred 69 times across the three themes in the usage of members of both groups A and C, and 20 times in the usage of members of Group B. “Ou” occurred 9 times across the three themes as used by members of Group A, 21 times in the usage of members of Group C, and 40 times among members of Group B. “Oukie/outjie” occurred 3 times across the three themes in the usage of members of both Group A and C, and 6 times by members of Group B.

Table 6.3: Use of informal third person reference forms to males

Informal third person reference forms to males	Group A	Group B	Group C
Bra	1	0	1
Man	69	20	69
Ou	9	40	21
Oukie/outjie	3	6	3

Discussion

Regarding the usage of the variety of reference forms to a third person during informal conversation, the data shows that the noun “bra”, is limitedly used by members of Group A and Group C. This gives support to the above observation stating that this noun is a marker of Group A’s language variety, rather than of Group B (who never used it). Conversely, the data shows that Group B preferred the use of the noun “ou” and its diminutive “outjie” (46 times in all), in comparison to groups A and C (12 and 24 times each, respectively). Thus, if Group A is compared to Group B the corpus indicates that the two groups have a clear usage preference for different third person reference forms in their conversations: where Group A predominantly used “man”, Group B predominantly used “ou”. When Group C is compared to groups A and

B the corpus indicates that Group C utilized “bra”, “man” and “outjie” in exactly the same way as Group A. However, their use of “ou” is more similar to the usage of Group B than of Group A. Thus again, Group C has an intermediate position, showing features mostly similar to Group A, but adding a tendency that indicates influence from Group B.

6.3.3 Conversational use of “vroue”, “vrouens” and “vroumense” as third person reference to females.

Lastly the conversational usage of the alternatives “vroue”, “vrouens” or “vroumense” as third person reference forms to someone whom they are talking about, specifically as a reference to females, was also interesting in that particular forms were preferred by some participants more than by others. The following utterances show how these forms of reference occurred within their linguistic contexts.

- (14) **Vroue** word so baie ge'objectivy en soos nou's h't hulle self wat hulle in daai prenkie sit. (Group B data)

[Women get objectified so much and now they put themselves in that picture.]

- (15) Hulle doen / hulle doen, dis hoekom jy ook **vrouens** het wat twinag jaar getroud is h'n han skei hulle, h'n han sê hulle, hulle't einlik al, in hie eerste jaar geweet dat • hulle 'n groot fout gemaak h't. (Group B data)

[They do / they do, that is why you get women that are married twenty years and then get divorced and then they say, that they actually knew in the first year that they made a big mistake.]

- (16) Ek voel haa moet 'ie borg gegee word 'tie. e • moord • ve **vroumense** mishandel, • vekragting, ve kinnermishandeling • ve steel en • steel h'n • ve mense beskuldig / wanne jy iemand ... (Group A data)

[I feel bail shouldn't be given for murder, for women abuse, rape, for child abuse, for stealing, and for accusing people.]

- (17) Sy lat'ie dit haa onner kry nie / party **vroumense** laat sukke goed hulle onner kry. Of hulle verwaarloos hulleself / hulle kyk'ie mooi na hulleself 'ie. (Group A data)

[She doesn't let it get the better of her / certain women allow such things to get the better of them. Or they neglect themselves / they don't look after themselves.]

In terms of the number of times the alternative third person reference forms were used, “vroue” occurred once across the three themes by members of groups A and C respectively, and twice by members of Group B. “Vrouens” was used once across the three themes by members of Group A, and never by members of Group C, but 10 times by members of Group B. “Vroumense” was used 8 times across the three themes by members of Group A, 12 times by members of Group C, and never by members of Group B.

Table 6.4: Use of third person reference forms to female

Third person reference forms to female	Group A	Group B	Group C
Vroue	1	2	1
Vrouens	1	10	-
Vroumense	8	-	12

Discussion

Regarding reference forms to third persons who are women “vroue”, “vrouens” and “vroumense” the data displayed distinct group preferences. Although the numbers were small for “vroue”, groups A and C showed similar usage in comparison to Group B. More convincingly, because of more tokens of each in the data, “vrouens” or “vroumense” showed different kinds of preference across groups in that Group B preferred “vrouens” and groups A and C preferred “vroumense”. Thus, if Group A is compared to Group B the corpus indicates that, the two groups have different preferences, while a comparison of Group C is to groups A and B in the corpus, indicates that Group C utilize third person reference forms preferred by Group A and not B, thus showing correspondence to Group A, in terms of this language feature.

6.4 “KYK ...” OR “KYK HIE(R) ...” AS EXPRESSIONS TO CALL FOR ATTENTION AT THE START OF A TURN

In conversation speakers usually speak one at a time in alternating turns (such as in "turn" of turn taking in conversation analysis). The data shows that at the start of a turn participants would often commence with a particular “way of saying”, an introductory “tag” such as, “Kyk hie(r) ...” or “Kyk ...” which are identified as “discourse markers”. An interesting division was

noted between the uses of the two alternate discourse markers, as they appear at the start of a turn. Examples of such utterances can be seen in their linguistic context below.

- (18) **Kyk**, almal kan ... / almal het smartphones wat kan google. (Group B data)
[Look, everyone can ... / everyone have smartphones which can google.]
- (19) **Kyk hie**, Whitney Houston neh ... / ek wil nie sê sy is oud nie. (Group C data)
[Look here, Whitney Houston ... / I don't want to say she's old.]
- (20) **Kyk uhm** • baie jy moet baie uithouvermoê hê • ja. (Group B data)
[Look uhm, a lot / you must have a lot of determinism, yes.]
- (21) **Kyk hie** uhm, • Oscar is mos nou skuldig gevind neh (Group A data)
[Look here uhm, Oscar is found guilty, right?]

Regarding the number of times the two discourse markers "Kyk ..." and "Kyk hie(r) ..." occurred, members of Group A used "Kyk hie(r) ..." 18 times across the three themes, while Group B used it 22 times, and Group B never used it. "Kyk ..." was used 21 times across the three themes by members of Group A, 34 times by members of Group C, and 10 times by members of Group B.

Table 6.5: Ways to start a turn

Ways to start a turn	Group A	Group B	Group C
Kyk hie(r)	18	-	22
Kyk ...	21	10	34

Discussion

Regarding the number of tokens of each form in the data, Group B clearly preferred only the one discourse marker "Kyk ..." and never the alternate form, whereas members of groups A and C both of the discourse markers "Kyk ..." and "Kyk hie(r) ..." in almost equal measure. Thus, comparing Group A's usage to Group B's, the corpus indicated that the discourse marker "Kyk hie(r) ..." strongly marks Group A's language variety and that Group C shows a similar feature. Although Group B used only the discourse marker "Kyk ...", both groups B and C used this discourse marker more often. This indicates that groups A and C tend more to use this emphatic attention calling mechanism more than Group B does.

6.5 THE ADVERB “EINTLIK”

Adjectives and adverbs often carry different semantic values depending on the context in which they are used. For instance, the Afrikaans adverbial “eintlik” has semantic values which can be described as “actually” (feitlik), “really” (werlik) and “very well” (juis). The adverbial “eintlik” thus stands as a surrogate for three different adverbs.

In the data set participants would utilize one adverb such as “eintlik” that could replace a few other adverbs instead of utilizing different adverbs. Of interest here, is for which of the three different meaning(s) participants employed the surrogate “eintlik” and for which meaning(s) they did not. Examples of utterances with “eintlik” can be seen in their different semantic contexts in the extracts given below.

(22) Anyway, dit was maa baie sexueel **einlik**, ja. (Group C data) – **actually**

[Anyway, it was actually very sexual, yes.]

(23) Ek k'n nie **einlik** ve Oscar 'ie ma toe ek in graad twaalf was • toe't my

besigheidstudie maneer ons altyd 'n biekie inligting gegee oor Oscar. (Group A data)

– **really**

[I don't really know Oscar but when I was in grade 12 / my business studies teacher always gave us little bit of information about Oscar.]

(24) So, is **einlik** gevaarlik om iemand op borg te laat gaan. (Group A data) – **actually**

[So, it is actually dangerous to let someone go on bail.]

(25) Nie **einlik** nie. (Group B data) – **really**

[Not really.]

Regarding the numbers of tokens of the adverb “eintlik”, all the instances were collected and then categorized according to which of the three different semantic values were represented. Only two of the three possibilities materialized. In the meaning “actually” the word occurred 18 times across the themes in language use of members of Group A, 21 times among members of Group C, and 45 times among members of Group B. In the meaning “really”, the word occurred 19 times across the themes among members of Group A, 21 times among members of Group C, and 10 times among members of Group B. The word was not used in this data set in the meaning “very well”.

Table 6.6: The semantic functions of ‘eintlik’

The semantic functions of ‘eintlik’	Group A	Group B	Group C
Eintlik as “actually”	18	45	21
Eintlik as “really”	19	10	21
Eintlik as “very well”	-	-	-

Discussion

Although the semantic value “very well” was not represented, the other two semantic values “actually” and “really” were. Groups A and C used “eintlik” in both possible senses in virtually equal measure. Group B predominantly used “eintlik” in the sense of “actually”, rather than “really,” with a ratio of 45:10. Thus if groups A and C are compared to Group B, the corpus indicates that where Group B showed a preference one kind of use, groups A and C used the word differently. Thus, Group C’s use of “eintlik” seems, to a great extent to correspond to the usage of Group A and not to Group B.

6.6 THE AFRIKAANS ADVERBIAL PHRASE “SNAAKS”

In the same manner as “eintlik”, the adverbial “snaaks” carries at least three different semantic values, which include “funny” (grappig), “unusual” (buitengewoon) or “strange” (eienaardig), depending on the context in which it is used. The adverb “snaaks” thus can be used in three different ways with these different possible meanings. Of interest here, is for which of the three different meaning(s) participants employed the word “snaaks” Examples of utterances with “snaaks” are given in their different semantic contexts below.

(26) Wat uhm, wat dit so **snaaks** maak is dat dié een van onse mense is wat ons moet gaan veteenwoordag da annekant. (Group A data) – **eienaardig**
[What uhm, what makes it so strange is that this is one of our people who have to go represent us there on the other side.]

(27) Haha, **snaaks**. (Group B data) – **grappig**
[Haha, funny.]

(28) Sê nou ve een of anne **snaakse** siekte wavan niemand weet nie, (Group C data) – **buitegewoon**
[Just say some unusual sickness which no one knows about.]

(29) H't lyk morsag ••• H't lyk baie **snaaks** (Group A data) – **eienaardig**

[It looks disgusting. He looks very weird.]

(30) Is net **snaaks** hoe geld 'n mens kan verander (Group C data) – **eienaardig**

[It is just weird how money can change a person.]

Regarding the number of tokens of the adjective/adverb “snaaks” in the three different semantic values, in the meaning “funny”, it never occurred across the three themes among members of Group A. However, in this meaning it occurred 3 times among members of Group C, and 11 times among members of Group B. In the meanings “strange”/ “unusual”, the word “eintlik” occurred 5 times across the three themes among members of Group A, 3 times among members of Group C, and once among members of Group B.

Table 6.7: The semantic functions of ‘snaaks’

The semantic functions of ‘snaaks’	Group A	Group B	Group C
Snaaks as “funny”	-	11	3
Snaaks as “strange/ unusual”	5	1	3

Discussion

While analyzing the data it was clear from the context when the participants used the adverbial carrying the semantic value “funny”, however it was more difficult to distinguish between the two semantic values “strange” and “unusual”. In some utterances it was found that, considering the context, these two semantic values could both be activated. Thus, for the purposes of this study, these two semantic values were handled as one category (as can be seen in the table). Regarding the number of tokens of “snaaks” used for this particular function, Group A utilized the word 5 times, exclusively carrying the semantic value “strange”/“unusual”. Contrastingly, Group B utilized it almost exclusively carrying the semantic value “funny”, with only one instance of the semantic value “strange”/“unusual”. Thus, if Group A is compared to Group B the corpus indicates that the two groups appear to have different patterns of use of the word “snaaks”. When Group C is compared to groups A and C, the corpus indicates that Group C uses the word equally often in the one and the other meanings, thus suggesting again that this group maintains uses typical of Group A, but also is aligned with uses typical of Group B.

6.7 INTERESTING CONSTRUCTIONS WITH “VAN”

It was found in the data that some participants have interesting uses of the preposition “van” as in the prepositional phrase “toe verduidelik jy dis haar dialek, toe’s h’t van ...” and other equivalent forms. This use of the preposition typically occurred during reported speech when a participant was about to give an account of what another person had said. The set of equivalent prepositional phrases performing this function in the full data set, include “toe’s/ (was) h’t van ...”, “han’s ek van ...”, “is (h’t) van ...”, “dis ‘n ding van ...”. The utterances given below show such uses in their different linguistic contexts in the data.

(31) Oh! **was'it net van** hy't hom getune en toe stap hy? (Group B data)

[Oh! Was it just that he turned him and then he walked away?]

(32) **Is'it van ...?** Nee nee nee ek hou glattie van hier'ie musiek nie ma dit dans lekker.

(Group B data)

[Is it? No no no, I don't like this music at all but it is nice to dance on.]

(33) So, dit maak my biekie ongemaklik om na music videos te kyk, waar hulle basically net, ja – baie skud • en baie *skimpie* klere, **han 's ek van**, ja. (Group B data)

[So, it makes me a bit uncomfortable to watch the music video's where they basically just, yes – shake a lot and wear a lot of skimpy cloths, then I'm like].

(34) En **my pa's net van** • 'well is goed om te hoor hy is 'n stem van bo' (lag) want hierrie vrou het amper sy lewe hell gemaak. (Group B data)

[And my dad is just like, 'well it is good to know he is a voice from above (laugh) because this woman almost made his life hell.]

(35) Uhm **is van** ek hoor jou punt ma uhm ek gaan nou ma eeder hierrie ding aan hie brand slaan of die mense wat hom volg. (Group B data)

[Uhm it is like, I hear you but I am just going to light this thing on fire.]

Regarding the number of instances in which such an introduction to reported speech occurs, there were no such tokens in recordings of groups A and C across all three of the discussion themes. However, there were 19 such uses in the language use of Group B.

Table 6.8: Interesting construction with ‘van’

Interesting construction with ‘van’	Group A	Group B	Group C
... net van ...			
... is van ...	-	19	-
... dan’s ek van ... etc.			

Discussion

Interestingly, these prepositional phrases are marked as unconventional and typically occur in spoken language of young people. That throughout the whole corpus, only Group B used them, certainly identifies this form as a marker of their language variety. In comparison, here Group B stands alone. Groups A and B thus are unified in not using such an introduction to reported speech.

There were some other interesting non-standard uses of “van” in prepositional construction where different prepositions such as “vanaf”, “daarvan” and “waarvan” would standardly have been used. These uses occurred in the data within the following kinds of utterances:

(36) Ja, die media hou nie **van** altyd die waarheid uitbring nie. (Group C data) – [daarvan, and different word order]

[Yes, the media doesn’t always like telling the truth.]

(37) Neh, ek is ok nou 'n biekie op **van**'it. (Group C data) – daarvan

[Right, I’m also a little fed-up about it.]

(38) Nee • hy is van 'ie Kaap. (Group A data) – van ... af

[No, he is from Cape Town.]

(39) Wat is'it wat jy nou gesê h't, jy weet niks **van wat** nie? (Group B) – waarvan

[What did you just say, you know nothing about what?]

(40) Wat Julius nie beseef nie, is – hy vat werk weg **van** mense wat kinnens het. (Group B data) – vanaf

[What Julius does not realize is that he is taking away jobs from people and children.]

Regarding the number of such non-standard constructions with the prepositional phrase “van”, the preposition “van” instead of “vanaf”, occurred 13 times across the three themes among members of Group A, 11 times among members of Group C, and 7 times among members of

Group B. The preposition “van” instead of “daarvan”, occurred 9 times across the three themes among members of Group A, 16 times among members of Group C, and 3 times among members of Group B. The preposition “van” instead of “waarvan”, occurred once across the three themes among members of Group A, twice among members of Group C, and 3 times among members of Group B.

Table 6.9: Non-standard prepositional construction with ‘van’

Non-standard prepositional construction with ‘van’	Group A	Group B	Group C
Vanaf → van	13	7	11
Daarvan → van	9	3	16
Waarvan → van	1	3	2

Discussion

What was interesting here was how many times in total these non-standard constructions with the prepositional phrase “van” occurred within each of the groups. Groups A and C showed more instances of using this type of prepositional construction than did Group B, particularly in constructions where the preposition “van” is used as equivalent of “daarvan” and “vanaf”. Group B displayed a somewhat lower usage, while they more often adhered to the standard use. If Group A is compared to Group B the corpus indicates that the uses of these constructions are markers of Group A rather than Group B, with a ratio of 23:13. When Group C is compared to groups A and B the corpus indicates that this group uses these non-standard constructions similarly to Group A, and more so than Group B.

6.8 CONSTRUCTIONS EXPRESSING NOT HAVING KNOWLEDGE ABOUT SOMETHING

Regarding idiomatic expression participants had different ways of expressing their awareness of whether they had knowledge of the area under discussion prior to the interviews, or not. What was found interesting here were particularly the phrases in which participants expressed their ignorance of the subject matter. These include idiomatic phrases such as “ken nie van ...”, “dra geen kennis ...” and a more standard phrase “nie geweet ...” as can be seen in the utterances within their linguistic context below.

- (41) Wat's 'ie movie se naam? Ek **ken nie**, ma dis 'n movie wat ek ok gekyk h't toe sê my oukie, “kyk haa's Oscar ok”. (Group A data)
[What is the name of the movie? I don't know, but it is a movie I watch and then my boyfriend said, “look there is Oscar also”.]
- (42) Mmh mhh ek **ken nie**. • • Ek is'ie 'n baie politieke mens'ie/ so ek **weet'ie**/ ek kan nie in detail'ie. Ek kan net sê oor goed wat ek hoor. (Group C data)
[Mmh mhh I don't know. I'm not a very political person, so I don't know, I don't know in detail. I can only tell about what I heard.]
- (43) Julle twee gaan seke ma praat ma nie ek 'ie, wan ek **dra geen kennis** van 'ie man nie. (Group A data)
[You two are going to talk, not me because I have no knowledge about this man.]
- (44) Die eenekie wat weghardloop, ja. Sy's 'n Suid-Afrikaaner, gebore in Johannesburg, ma hulle's daantoe (Amerika) getrek toe sy soos 5 of iets was. Kyk, sy't niks rerrig **geweet** van Suid-Afrika moontlik'ie. ma, sy's Suid-Afrikaner. (Group B data)
[The one that ran away, yes. She is a South African, born in Johannesburg. But she moved there (America) when she was 5 or something. Look, she possibly didn't really know anything about South Africa but she is a South African.]
- (45) Dis baie/ dis baie/ dis nogal • cool, Ek het **nie dit geweet nie** sorry [lag]. (Group B data)
[I did not know, sorry.]

Of interest here, was which of these phrases were used most by which of the three groups, when giving account of being unaware of a subject. In terms of the number of instances, the phrase “ken nie van” was used 20 times across the three themes by members of Group A, 8 times by members of Group C, and 2 times by members of Group B. The phrase “dra geen kennis” was used twice across the three themes by members of Group A, and never by members of groups C and B. The phrase “nie geweet”, was used 8 times across the three themes by members of Group A, 21 times by members of Group C, and 14 times by members of Group B.

Table 6.10: Ways of expressing awareness

Ways of expressing awareness	Group A	Group B	Group C
... ken nie van ...	20	2	8
... dra geen kennis ...	2	-	-
... nie geweet nie ...	8	14	21

Discussion

The data displays a significant and clear distribution of the phrases among the three groups. Group A utilized the phrase “ken nie van...nie” significantly more than the other two groups. Contrastively, Groups B showed considerably less usage of the same phrase, apparently preferring the alternative (and standard) phrase “nie geweet nie”. The third option, the phrase “dra geen kennis nie” (which is a very formal expression, and not typical of youth speech), occurred twice in the recordings of Group A speakers. Further examination disclosed that this phrase was used by a single individual who is a young professional, a social worker. Thus, comparing Group A to Group B, the corpus indicates that the phrase “ken nie van” is a marker of Group A’s language variety, and not of Group B. Conversely, the phrase “nie geweet nie” is a marker of Group B’s language variety. Comparing Group C to groups A and B, the corpus indicates that Group C uses “ken nie van...nie” similarly to Group A, but in alignment with Group B, it is used slightly less than A even though more than B. Regarding the “nie geweet nie” variant, Group C used this phrase two times more than Group B and almost three times more than Group A. Thus, a count of the various tokens shows that Group C uses forms typical of Group A, but overall, is slightly closer in preferred constructions, to Group B.

6.9 CONTRAST BETWEEN “WANNEER/ (AS) DIT KOM BY ...” OR “WANNEER/ (AS) DIT GAAN OOR ...”

Regarding “ways of saying” the data shows that when participants were about to introduce a selected topic (often above some others that had been raised), two different expressions occurred, namely “Wanneer/ (As) dit kom by ...” and “Wanneer/ (As) dit gaan oor ...”. The following utterance in their linguistics context, illustrate this usage.

- (46) Ek het ook 'ie 'n spesifieke, uhm, Mxm hoe se mens? Daai word (genre) • **as h't kom by** musiek'ie. (Group A data)
[I also don't have a specific, uhm, mxm how do I put this? That word (genre) when it comes to music.]
- (47) **Wanne h't kom by** Julius Malema • speel'ie media 'n groot rol. Hulle volg • baie volg hom. (Group A data)
[When it comes to Julius Malema, the media plays a big role. They follow / many follow him.]
- (48) Uhm ma **is h't gaan oor** sy lewe h'n 'ie feit / is amper soos hulle gee nou ve hom simpatie of so empatie, omdat uhm • oor wat nou m'n hom gebeur h't toe hy miskien jonger was. S'l ek h't beslis nie kyk'ie, want ek voel net nee hy verdien nie dit 'ie. (Group C data)
[Uhm but when it is about he's life and the fact that / it is almost like they are now giving him sympathy or empathy because uhm / because what happened to him when he was younger.]
- (49) Soos • ek dink dit **as dit gaan** oor of jy, • een of anner • • fondasie het • waamee jy jou fans bou h'n of jy heeltyd probeer net, • ve hulle gee wat die musiek bedryf wil hê, dan moet jy half by dit bly • want jy't nie enige anner • iets om te gee nie dink ek. (Group B data)
[Like, if it is about whether you have one or another foundation from which your fans is build and whether you're constantly trying to give them what the music industry wants, then you have to stick to it because you don't have any other thing to give.]

Regarding the number of usage of the two forms of expressions “Wanneer/ (As) dit kom by ...” and “Wanneer/ (As) dit gaan oor ...” the former occurred 2 times across the three themes by members of Group A and never by members of groups C and B. Contrastingly, the latter expression never occurred across the three themes by members of Group A and occurred 1 time by members of both groups C and B respectively.

Table 6.11: Contrast between “wanneer/ (as) dit kom by ...” and “wanneer/ (as) dit gaan oor ...”

Contrast between “wanneer/ (as) dit kom by ...” and “wanneer/ (as) dit gaan oor ...”	Group A	Group B	Group C
Wanneer/ (As) dit gaan oor ...	2	-	-
Wanneer/ (As) dit kom by	-	1	1

Discussion

The number of tokens here is very low, thus no definite conclusion can be drawn on the usage of the two expressions. However, prior observation and knowledge of the groups lead me to hypothesize that with specific promptings more of these expressions would have been delivered in the same categories as the corpus is currently displaying. Thus, the expression “Wanneer/ (As) dit kom by ...” would continue to be used predominantly by members of Group A, whereas the expression “Wanneer/ (As) dit gaan oor ...” would be more typically used by members of groups C and B respectively. Still from personal observation I assume that if Group C were to be compared to groups A and B, Group C would make use of both these forms, thus still displaying an intermediate position of maintaining features of Group A, but assimilating features of Group B.

6.10 SALIENT, BUT LIMITEDLY USED IDIOMATIC EXPRESSIONS: JOKING, RIDICULING

A number of idiomatic expressions that did not occur often in the data, but were interesting because of their deviations from standard forms or their salience as possible markers of a given variety, were also explored. These include expressions such as, for example, ones that refer to actions of joking or ridiculing someone or something. Examples of such utterances as they occurred in their linguistic context are given below.

- (50) Ek kan ook'ie nou mee onthou nie maa ek weet Trevor het ok altyd van die man **pop** **gevat**. (Group A data)

[I also can't remember anymore but I know Trevor also used made a fool of the man.]

- (51) Wag man haa's so movie dink ek / ek het op 'ie laptop so ding gesien. s 'n / of is seke 'n **pop maak** ding van hom • sien jy / so ek weet nou nie / ek h't nog 'ie die ding gekyk 'ie (lag). So dit is seke ma 'n **pop maak** ding. (Group A data)
[Wait man, I think there is such a movie. I saw something like it on the laptop ... or maybe its 'n parody of him, you see. So, I don't know now. I haven't watched it yet (laugh). So, it is probably a parody.]
- (52) Dis ve my 'n baie hartseer storie. Soos mense lag daaroor, ja. Ek het ook net-ou 'n **grappie gemaak**. • Ma' • ma' dit is rerig hartseer. (Group B data)
[For me it is a very sad story. Like, people laugh about it, yes. I also made a joke earlier. But it is really sad.]
- (53) Almal • was • ok geskok oor daai incedent wat gebeur h't haaso in'ie kar. Soos niemand weet wat in haai kar aangegaan h't 'ie. • Paar comedians het **jokes gemaak** haa'oor maa, • • Hulle't • • begin as 'n mooi paarkie. (Group C data)
[Everybody was shocked regarding that incident which happened in the car. Like, no one knows what happened in that car. A few comedians joked about it.]
- (54) Ma ek sal sê, ek dink 'ie dit was 'ie regte tydperk 'ie. Ve dit 'ie, vestaan jy / ek meen • die ou gaan deur 'n tyd • vestaan jy, van sy lewe • sien jy en hy / hy kom **maak** nou **grappe** / ja. (Group C data)
[I'll say, I don't think it was the right timing for it, you understand? I mean, the guy is going through a tough time, you understand, of his life, you see and he comes and makes jokes.]
- (55) Han sien ek op'ie tv hulle **maak ghai** en • almal lag en is een groot grap. (Group A data)
[Then I see on the tv that they are joking and everyone is laughing and its one big joke.]

Regarding the number of instances of these idiomatic phrases, “pop maak” was used 5 times across the three themes by members of Group A, 3 times by members of Group C, and never by members of Group B. “Grap(pie) maak” was used 21 times across the three themes by members of Group A, 4 times by members of Group C, and 4 times by members of Group B. “Joke maak” was used twice across the three themes by members of Group A, 4 times by members of Group C, and 3 times by members of Group B. “Ghai maak” was used once across the three themes by members of Group A, and never by members of groups C and B.

Table 6.12: Less dominant but interesting idiomatic expression

Idiomantic expressions	Group A	Group B	Group C
Pop maak	5	-	3
Grap(pie) maak	21	4	4
Joke maak	2	3	4
Ghai maak	1	-	-

Discussion

Because the number of uses were relatively low across the groups, one can not particularly calculate which forms were used predominantly and could be markers of one group rather than another group. Even so, personal observation beyond the recorded data indicates that these could become such markers if the data set were to be expanded.

Group A utilized all four the identified expressions, whereas Group B only utilized two, namely “grappie maak” and “joke maak”. Thus, the two expressions not used by Group B, “pop maak” and “ghai maak” (included, even though it only occurred once) can at least tentatively be seen as markers of Group A’s language variety. An equivalent that I would have expected with Group B, but did not find in my data, is “iemand vir die gek hou” or “gekskeer”. Thus, comparing Group A to Group B, the corpus indicates that Group A uses idiomatic phrases that are unconventional, whereas Group B makes more use of standard expression. When Group C is compared to groups A and B respectively, the corpus indicates that Group C utilizes three idiomatic phrases that are similar to ones that Group A has, but their frequency of use is closer to that of Group B.

6.11 “EK VANG (NIE)” VS. “EK DOEN (NIE)”

Another interesting pair of idiomatic expressions was “ek vang (nie) vs. “ek doen (nie)” which were used by participants, as a way of saying whether they comprehend or are in agreement with something that was being said or done. Examples of such utterances can be seen in their linguistic context below.

- (56) Ek hoor net •• al wat ek hoor is net, *work work* is al, want sy sing vinnig haa man sien jy? So, **ek vang'ie** einlik rerag, wat sy sê van'ie song, of wat sy sê in'ie song'ie. (Group C data)
[I just hear ... all I'm hearing is just work work that all, because she sings fast there man, you see? So, I don't really understand what she is saying about the song or what she is saying in the song.]
- (57) Oh, dis hoekom/ ek sien/ **ek vang** nou wat jy sê/ dis hoekom hie song'ie ve my ... Is Drake nou inkom dan is h't ees wat dit ... • Okay get's it. (Group A data)
[Oh, that's why? I see. I understand what you saying now. That's why the song doesn't ... When Drake comes in then it ... Okay I get it.]
- (58) Toe sê sy apparantly ve Oscar (dis hoekom Oscar haar nou geskiet h't) Sy sê ve Oscar • hy't mooier / wag / die man het mooier bene as Oscar (lag) toe **vang ek 'ie** hoo / toe **vang ek** agte na. (Group A data)
[Then she apparently said to Oscar (that's why Oscar shot her). She said to Oscar that the man has prettier legs than Oscar (laugh). That time I didn't understand, than I understand afterwards.]
- (59) Ek • het altyd van haa musiek gehou maar **ek doen nie** mee nie. ek weet'ie soos dit is net ve' my baie, Ek wil amper sê is oppervlakkig. (Group B data)
[I always liked her music but I don't anymore. I don't know, for me it is just very – I almost want to say superficial.]
- (60) Ek volg nie die mense nie • nee **ek doen nie**. (Group B data)
[I don't follow these people, no I don't.]

Regarding the number of instances of the idiomatic expression “ek vang (nie)”, it was used 4 times across the three themes by members of Group A, once by members of Group C, and never by members of Group B. The expression “ek doen (nie)” was never used across the three themes by members of Group A and C, however 6 times by members of Group B.

Table 6.13: Contrast between “ek vang (nie)” vs. “ek doen (nie)”

Contrast between “ek vang (nie)” vs. “ek doen (nie)”	Group A	Group B	Group C
Ek vang (nie)	4	-	1
Ek doen (nie)	-	6	-

Discussion

Although the numbers of instances are very low, the corpus indicates that “ek vang nie” could be a marker primarily of the Group A variant of Afrikaans, as the expression never occurred among members of Group B. Contrastingly, Group B used the idiomatic, yet non-standard, expression “ek doen (nie)” exclusively. That it did not occur among participants in groups A and C, could indicate it as a marker of a Group B variant of “youth jargon”.

Based on patterns emerging so far, although Group C did not use “ek doen nie”, it is likely that a hybrid form resembling Group B, but retaining features of Group A, would have emerged.

6.12 “GROOTGEWORD” AND “GROOTGERAAK”

Another expression that attracted attention, was used by the participants when giving account of where someone grew up. Participants would either phrase it as “(Ek) het groot **geword** in Oudtshoorn” or “(Ek) het groot **geraak** in Oudtshoorn”. Examples of such utterances within the data can be seen in their linguistic context below:

- (61) Uhm Zuma • die ding is toe Zuma hulle **grootgeword** h't, het hulle mos net skool geloop tot op 'n sekere age ve'al, en wat op rural areas gebly h't. So, dan moet jy mos nou gaan werk op 'ie plase (Group C data)
[Uhm Zuma, the thing is when Zuma them grew up, they only went to school up to a certain age, especially those who lived in rural areas. So, then you had to go work on the farm.]
- (62) Kyk soos hulle ••• obviously soos, •• kinnners neh • soos ons • die kinnners wat hie in'ie gemeenskap **grootraak** en so •• is mos nou musiek mal (Group A data)
[The children who grow up here in the community, they are crazy about music.]
- (63) Hy't **grootgeword** met niks bene nie, so hy kon makliker [pause] iets maak 'aavan. en hy't goeie onnersteuning gehad deur'ie feit dat hy so ver gekom't. (Group B data)
[He grew up with no legs, thus he could easily make something good thereof. And he had good support because of the fact that he came so far.]
- (64) Van haa af toe sy nou actually **grootraak** en toe he, kon sy mos nou maa, basically het sy die freedom gehad om haar eie besluite te maak. (Group C data)
[From there on, when she actually grew up and then she could / basically she had freedom to make her own choice.]

Regarding the number of instances of the standard form “grootgeword”, it was never used across the three themes by members of Group A, however it was used 5 times by members of Group C and 6 times by members of Group B. The non-standard form “grootgeraak”, was used twice across the three themes by members of Group A, 3 times by members of Group C, and twice by members of Group B.

Table 6.14: Contrast between “grootgeword” and “grootgeraak”

Contrast between “grootgeword” and “grootgeraak”	Group A	Group B	Group C
Grootgeword	-	6	5
Grootgeraak	2	2	3

Discussion

Although one can not generalize given the low number of tokens in the data, the pattern seems to be that “grootgeword” occurred most in Group B, but comparably so in Group C’ “grootgeraak”, interestingly, occurred in equal measure in all three groups.

6.13 IDIOMATIC EXPRESSION OF LIKING AND ADMIRATION

More interesting idiomatic expressions were used by participants indicating whether or not they liked the two artists Drake and Rihanna and their music, and if not, which artists and music they actually did like. Thus, specifically in the music theme, there were expressions such as those given in the set of examples below:

(65) Haai vrou **doen'it kwaai** my broe. Ek sal net heeldag kyk aan ha. • • Sy doen'it lekker

(Group A data)

[That women do it well bro. I'll just look at her whole day. She does it well.]

(66) Ja, **ek hou** van haai Drake **is gevaarlik**. Drake **maak einlik die song**. Ek • in'ie

begin toe ek die song gehoor'it. Toe hy nog nuut was ve my. • • Toe forward ek altyd tot by sy stukkie. Ja, wan h't **is lekker**. (Group A data)

[Yes, I like that. Drake is dangerous. Drake makes this song. I ... in the beginning when I heard this song, when it was still new for me, I always forwarded the song to his piece. Yes, because it is nice.]

- (67) Hy maak **catchy** songs. (Group A data)
[He makes catch songs.]
- (68) Drake **is aan** • hy/ • hy gee my haai, hy • h't amper soos hy l'hy praat ve my sien jy?
 [...] Die man/ die man **weet waa-oor'it gaan**. (Group A data)
[Drake is on. He gives me that / he almost have like / he talks on behalf of me, you see? [...] The man knows what it is about.]
- (69) So **ek hou** daavan om na musiek te luister, • wat jy eintlik die lirieke kan hoor, en ek voel altyd, ((1.2s) jy weet net, daaso sit en • dit, luister en met 'n glasier wyn ((lag, 1.1s)). (Group B data)
[So I like listening to music, where you can actually hear the lyrics. And I always feel, you know, just to sit there and listen to it with a glass of wine.]
- (70) Well **is lekker** dis lekke ve dans, Soos • net op jou eie ((lag, • • •)) rond dans. (Group B data)
[Well it is nice to dance on. Like just dance around on your own.]
- (71) Ek **is mal oor** Afrikaanse musiek • nie alle Afrikaanse musiek'ie ((lag, 2.1s)). (Group B data)
[I am crazy about Afrikaans music. Not all Afrikaans music (laugh).]
- (72) **Ek love** haa stem ma ek hou nie van haa musiek self'ie [...] • enn uhhh, Ek dink sy's baie mooi, • en **ek love** haa aksent as sy praat. (Group B data)
[I love her voice but I don't like her music [...] and uhm I think she is very pretty and I love her accent when she speaks.]

Regarding the number of tokens of the various expressions, the adverbial phrases that occurred were “dis kwaai”, “dis gevaarlik”, “dis aan”, “ek love” and “is mal oor”. Expressions with the adverbial phrase “dis kwaai” were used 26 times throughout the music themes by members of Group A, 7 times by members of Group C and never by members of Group B. Expressions with “dis gevaarlik” were used 6 times throughout the music themes by members of Group A, and never by members of groups B and C. Expressions with “dis aan” were used once throughout the music themes by members of Group A, once by members of Group C and never by members of Group B. Expressions with “ek love” were used once throughout the music themes by members of Group A, 3 times by members of Group C, and 3 times by members of Group B. Expressions with “is mal oor” were used 5 times throughout the music themes by members of Group A, 3 times by members of Group C, and 12 times by members of Group B.

Table 6.15: Idiomatic expressions of liking and admiration

Expressing liking or admiration	Group A	Group B	Group C
Dis kwaai	26	-	7
Dis gevaarlik	6	-	-
Dis aan	1	-	1
Ek love	1	3	3
Ek is mal oor	5	12	5

Discussion

What was interesting here was how many alternative ways of expressing liking each group displayed when discussing music. In both groups A and B there were several alternatives to indicate which artist and music they liked. In terms of the variety of idiomatic expression used, Group A's participants used the full set of expression, whereas Group B only used two out of the five. Group C used four out of five possible expressions. The expressions used by Group A appeared to be more non-standard but still idiomatic, while those used by Group B are colloquial, yet more widely used. Thus, if Group A is compared to Group B, the corpus indicated that the phrases "dis kwaai", "dis gevaarlik" and "dis aan" in the function of expressing appreciation, are markers of Group A's variety of Afrikaans, while the phrase "ek is mal oor" can be read as a marker of Group B's variety. When Group C is compared to groups A and B the corpus indicates possible loss of the term "dis gevaarlik" in this context, though otherwise they follow the patterns of Group A more closely than that of Group B.

6.14 EXPRESSING DEGREE OF SEVERITY

During the discussion of the sport theme which was prompted by a photo of Oscar Pistorius running on the track, the trial for the killing of his fiancé, Reeva Steenkamp regularly took over as discussion topic. Almost all participants commented on the predicament Pistorius was facing after being tried. They used a variety of modifiers to articulate the severity of the situation. These included expressions such as "dis verskriklik" and equivalents. Across the three themes I searched for similar intensifying terms. The set of equivalent expressions that I selected for discussion, were the adverbial phrases "dis verskriklik", "(te) erg" and "dis aaklik/aaklig" as illustrated in the following utterances, in their linguistic context:

- (73) Almal het van hom gehou en amal het half, opgekyk na hom, om te gaan van dit, na waar hy nou is moet, **verskriklik erg** wees, ek meen, hy gaan nooit wee iemand ontmoet êrens, • en net, • 'n eerste impression kan maak'ie. (Group B data)
[Everybody liked him and everybody looked up to him. To go from that to where he is now must be really bad. I mean, he is never again going to meet someone and just make a first impression on that person.]
- (74) Hulle ka ma nou ophou h't raak te **erg** nou. (Group A data)
[They can stop now, it's getting to bad.]
- (75) Maa nou • haai saak h't mos nou / is hy dan nie nou wee aan 'ie gang 'ie? • haai sewe honnerd en hoeveel [...] Sewe honnerd h'n iets jong • nee haai 's **erg** wuh (Group C data).
[Is it not in process again now? That seven hundred and how much [...] seven hundred and something / no that are bad.]
- (76) Ek dink hy't gegaan van letterlik alles tot, niks, en ek dink nie hy kan homself net, weer uit dit uit kry nie, en ek voel actually baie jammer ve hom, want ek dink, dit is **vreeslik aaklik**. (Group B data)
[I actually feel very sorry for him, because I think it is very bad.]
- (77) Weet jy, ten spuite van die feit dat wat hy gedoen het, nou so verskrik/ dit is 'n **aaklige** ding am ek voel baie jammer ve hom. (Group B data)
[You know, in spite of what he did, it is so bad / it is a bad thing but I feel very sorry for him.]

Regarding the number of tokens of the expressions, the adverbial phrase “dis verskriklik” never occurred in the recordings of members of Group A, however it was used 6 times by members of Group C, and 46 times by members of Group B. “(Te) erg” was used 7 times across the three themes by members of Group A, 6 times by members of Group C, and 20 times by members of Group B. “Aaklik/ (aaklig)” was never used by members of groups A and C, however it was used twice by members of Group B.

Table 6.16: Ways of expressing degree of severity

Ways of expressing degree of severity	Group A	Group B	Group C
Dis verskriklik	-	46	6
(te) erg	7	20	6
Aaklik/aaklig	-	2	-

Discussion

Group B used terms of expressing experiential intensity much more regularly than any other group. Group B also used all three of the adverbial phrases, whereas Group A used only the adverbial phrase “(te) erg”. Thus, comparing Group A to Group B, the corpus indicates that in this context, Group B had more alternative forms of expression than Group A. When Group C is compared to groups A and B the corpus indicates that they utilized two of the three possible adverbial phrases, even if considerably less frequently than Group B, but higher than Group C.

6.15 HABITUAL COLLECTIVE CODE-SWITCHING OF SINGLE WORDS

Regarding code-switching, it was found throughout the data set that for some concepts participants almost always preferred to use the English equivalent rather than the Afrikaans word. These include words such as “lyrics” (rather than *woorde/lirieke*), “gun” (rather than *geweer/pistool*), “tv” (rather than *televisie*) and “favorite” (rather than *gunsteling*). The following utterances show how these English forms occurred in their linguistic context:

(78) Ja, maa is jy nou regtag wil weet waa-oor'ie song gaan, en is jy nou regtag wil hoor wat beteken die **lyrics** eintlik, dan kan jy mos maa nou seke gaan uitvind of gaan google wat dit beteken. (Group C data)

[Yes, but if you really want to know what the song is about and if you really want to hear what the lyrics actually are about, you can go find out what it means on google.]

(79) Wat ek gehoor h't • die meisie was • in'ie huis gewees • toe dink Oscar h't is 'n / 'n inbreker. Toe gaan haal Oscar seke nou sy **gun** • en hy skiet net. (Group A data)

[What I heard is that the girl was in the house. Then Oscar thought it was a burglar. Then Oscar went to go get his gun and he fired.]

(80) Han sien ek op'ie **tv** hulle maak gaai en • almal lag en is een groot grap. (Group A data)

[Then I saw on tv they're making jokes and everybody is laughing and its a big joke.]

(81) En op 'n tyd was haai os se **favorite** song gewees, h't jy h't gewee? Want die/ die beat was gevaarlik gewees (Group A data)

[And at a time that was our favorite song, did you know that? Because the beat was dangerous.]

Regarding the number of tokens of these code-switched forms it is important also to take into account how many times the English form was used in relation to the Afrikaans form. This will clearly illustrate which of the forms were preferred, and how frequently the various terms were used. The English form of “lyrics” was used with a ratio of 8:0 times, in relation to the Afrikaans form by members of Group A, with a ratio of 7:0 times by members of Group C, and with a ratio of 2:6 times by members of Group B. The English form “gun” was used with a ratio of 9:0 times, in relation to the Afrikaans form by members of Group A, with a ratio of 9:0 times by members of Group C, and with a ratio of 2:6 times by members of Group B. The English form “tv” was used with a ratio of 10:0 times, in relation to the Afrikaans form by members of Group A, with a ratio of 2:0 times by members of Group C and with a ratio of 0:3 times by members of Group B. The English form “favourite” was used with a ratio of 4:0 times, in relation to the Afrikaans form by members of Group A, with a ratio of 6:0 times by members of Group C and with a ratio of 0:4 times by members of Group B.

Table 6.17: Habitual collective code-switching of single words

Habitual collective code-switching of certain words	Group A	Group B	Group C
Lyrics (vs. Lirieke)	Eng =8 Afr =0	Eng =2 Afr =6	Eng =7 Afr =0
Gun (vs geweer/pistool)	Eng =9 Afr =0	Eng =2 Afr =6	Eng =9 Afr =0
TV	Eng =10 Afr =0	Eng =0 Afr =3	Eng =2 Afr =0
Favourite (vs gunsteling)	Eng =4 Afr =0	Eng =0 Afr =4	Eng =6 Afr =0

Discussion

In terms of the collective usage of the English form, Group A utilized this form of code-switching consistently with a total ratio of 31:0, showing no awareness of the Afrikaans equivalent. Contrastively, Group B predominantly utilized the Afrikaans form with a ratio of 4:19, however not completely disregarding the English equivalent. Thus, if Group A is compared to Group B, the corpus indicates that this form of code-switching is a strong marker of Group A's linguistic repertoire rather than of Group B's. When Group C is compared to groups A and B, the corpus indicates that Group C, similarly to Group A, utilizes this form of code-switching to a large extent, with a total ratio of 24:0.

6.16 CONCLUSION

In this chapter, some expressions or “ways of saying” were explained and compared across the three groups, with discussions of the results obtained during the data analysis. Salient forms that are grammatical, either in the “standard” or in the “non-standard” variants of one or the other were introduced and discussed one by one.

In general terms the findings give an indication of the kinds of differences that occur, and how widely they are used by the participants in each group. I expected to find signs of the social language processes, which occur during language contact situations, namely speech accommodation, dialect levelling and dialect mixing. The data, however, cannot confirm change, as it is a synchronic sample, not a diachronic one. Even so, the data confirms that Group C could be somewhat of an indicator of change.

Chapter seven will summarise the findings, show some shortcomings and give suggestions for further research.

CHAPTER 7: CONCLUDING REMARKS

7.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter I will give a number of concluding remarks to draw together the initial research questions, the insight the data has brought and the answers that a closer look at the recorded discussions have given. Shortcomings of this study and possibilities for future research will be given.

7.2 GENERAL FINDINGS

In chapters five and six different kinds of data were presented as part of the investigation into possibly distinctive features of different variants of Afrikaans in a southern Cape Town. Chapter five gave examples and a discussion of phonological features, which included alternatives that occur in morphological markers (such as diminutive “-kie” and “-tjie”). It also gave examples and a discussion of salient vocabulary items of which various alternatives are used across the different speech community groups the study identified. In chapter six attention was turned to some expressions or “ways of saying” that were selected as good illustration of observed differences, and were then explained and compared across the three groups. A discussion followed, which showed some of the expected differences confirmed, and some actually not clearly confirmed. Salient forms that are grammatical, either in the “standard” or in the “non-standard” variants of one or the other were introduced and discussed one by one. Of course, it is evident that with as large a corpus of data as is available here, in the course of this exploratory study, not every possible distinctive (or non-distinctive) feature of the linguistic variants among the participants could be given specific attention. Therefore, this qualitative study functions as an indicator of the kinds of distinctions, possibilities of dialect levelling, language accommodation, and dialect shift that may be underway in the 18 to 25-year old age group of George residents at this moment in time.

Specifically, in terms of phonetics, phonology, vocabulary and idiomatic expression the findings indicate the kinds of differences that occur, and how widely they are distributed among the participants in each group. I expected that there would be noticeable signs of the social language processes, which occur during language contact situations, namely speech

accommodation, dialect mixing and levelling, and dialect shift. Although there were some indications that Group B was accommodating features of Group B and thus expanding their repertoires, the study cannot confirm change that would alienate Group C from their home community, Group A. Distinctions between groups A and B were often clearly marked, however, in some instances Group B actually exhibited features of Group A, possibly through contact with members of Group C, but possibly also simply as part of a youth jargon that even consciously removes itself from the more formal language use of an older generation. The data did indeed allow for comparison on the identified levels across groups and across themes for discussion. However, due to many sample items having very few tokens in the data-set, none of the indicators given here count as conclusive. A much more widespread study with the possibility of a quantitative calculation added, would be necessary for that.

It is evident that the increase in educational and social contact after 1994 allowed for the language variants of younger people in George to become more similar; however, the change does not manifest as an increase or decline in non-standard forms of language. In other words, the language variant of Group C currently does not show a shift towards the marked features of Group B, and vice versa. In some cases, Group C tends to use features partly or completely similar to those of Group A; in fewer cases, Group C seems to be accommodating features of Group B, thus showing signs of language shift. However, in this sample of participants, none in Group C had completely assimilated features of B. Group C show features that look very much like a hybrid, midway between groups A and B. In fact, this seems to testify to an expansion of their linguistic repertoire: Group C does not appear to be bi-dialectal in that they switch between one dialect and another depending on who their interlocutors are. Rather, they seem unconsciously to have developed a new form, which in few cases has lost dialectal features of their home community, but in most cases has obtained additional features, thus showing a larger variety of forms than either Group A or B. An area which justifies more investigation is the evidence of typically non-standard forms that are more common with groups A and C, which appeared in the spoken language of Group B. Such two-way accommodation of linguistic features indicates a limited awareness of, or less care about prescriptive standards. Such a move away from the standard variant instead of dialect levelling in the direction of the standard variant, is not unusual – but has not been investigated in this context yet.

Instead of dialect leveling away from or towards the standard, my data proposes a condition of dialect expansion, in which Group C retains dialectal features of Group A and simultaneously

has gained dialectal features from group B. These individual features are accessed appropriately in given speech situations or language context. An exercise in which Group C participants converse with Group A participants on one occasion, and with Group B participants on another occasion would be required to confirm whether there is a conscious or unconscious adaptation process in which Group C members are able to manipulate two distinct dialects/language varieties.

The working hypothesis of this study as set out in chapter one, is that the "dialect differences" between formerly socially isolated groups could be in the process of decreasing, as a result of fading social boundaries. This hypothesis cannot be confirmed or denied with certainty although it does appear that Group B is "profiting" from the increased isolation-breaking contact in that their repertoire is expanding while the richness of the home dialect is not lost.

The study does offer a description of a small sample of the various Afrikaans varieties of young speakers in the community, and indicates how the varieties of Afrikaans spoken by members of the three groups differ. All the data has been transcribed and is available for further research – thus the study contributes to an interest in varieties of Afrikaans, giving a synchronic description of a sample that could be repeated in other Afrikaans speaking communities. The recent increased language contact between some of the coloured and white participants in their high school years, albeit selective as there is also a socio-economic determiner as to who get to attend the former Model-C school, has had a noticeable effect on the language forms these two groups are currently using.

Looking at the most prominent markers of the different varieties, and checking whether, as the communities integrate, there is evidence of various kinds of linguistic contact phenomena, the most prominent phenomenon is in adaptation which we noted in the language use of Group C. Also, interesting has been consideration of 'dialect leveling', a process in which the distinct (even if related) varieties of groups A and B seem to be fading in the language use of Group C. While adaptation, in which one Group B accommodates to the grammatical structure and style of Group B without discarding their first variety, is evident, it can still not be characterized as "dialect shift". In fact, the process this data shows, brings one to questions a notion such as "language shift". The latter is perhaps easier to confirm, deny or articulate in a diachronic rather than a synchronic study.

My intension to reflect in more detail on indicators of attitudes to language and language standards, as they are evident in different samples of language use in the transcribed corpus, did not materialize in more than very vague terms. This remains an important area for future research.

7.3 ANSWERS TO THE SPECIFIC RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The main question of the project was articulated in chapter one as:

What are the most salient markers of differences in language variety between the three groups of participants of the study as they occur in discussions of three selected topics?

Such salient markers have been identified in chapters six and seven, considering e.g. the regular elision of speech sounds in the variant of groups A and C as in [agter] vs. [agte’], or consonant sound change as in [daai] becoming [haai], of considering differences in semantically equivalent forms such as [song], [nommer] and [liedjie] on a lexical level or between [dis kwaai], [dis gevaarlik] and [ek love dit] on an idiomatic level.

The sub-questions that were formulated in order to answer the main question more specifically, as follows:

7.3.1 *On a phonological level, what prominent markers with regard to pronunciation distinguish between participants, and how are such differences distributed in the three identified groups?*

Here five processes that were identified as markers were illustrated and discussed, namely speech sound elision, speech sound insertion, assimilation and vowel reduction, the [-tji:/-kie] alternation in pronunciation of diminutives, and the rounding of vowels under certain conditions.

7.3.2 *On the level of vocabulary, which words occurred in the data as alternatives for the same concept (e.g. liedjie, song, nommer), and how were the alternative forms, as they occurred in the recorded speech, distributed among the participants?*

For each of the three themes, discussion of which was prompted by different images, a selection of variant terms (synonyms/part synonyms) were discussed to record the ways in which vocabulary items are distributed across the three groups

of participants. Differences that were noted, fit the description given in 7.1 above, showing up to seven different words all used to articulate the same general concept, and their distribution such that Group B has acquitted and uses forms similar to both groups A and B, while groups A and B each use relatively different sets of equivalent forms. See e.g. the uses and distribution of [lekker], [cool], [nice], [awesome] across the groups discussing theme one (Rihanna and Drake), or the uses and distribution of [geweer], [pistool], [gun], [wapen] across the groups discussing theme two (Oscar Pistorius).

7.3.3 On the level of idiomatic expressions, what salient markers regarding fixed phrases and sentences occurred in the data that show differences between participants, and do such differences mark the three different groups as different or not?

Many more phrases that could be identified as idiomatic expressions were found in the data than could be analyzed and discussed in this study. Those that were selected appeared to be most salient to the researcher. Fourteen such expressions were selected, the frequency of their use in the data was checked, and the alternatives used in each group showing overlap and distinction in use, was determined. This referred to forms such as “wanneer dit kom by” and “wanneer dit gaan oor”, or “ek het in George grootgeraak” and “ek het in George grootgeword”, where the distribution largely follows the pattern described in 7.1 above. Where the pattern was not quite clear, either the sample was too small, or Group B actually showed more similarity to Group A than to Group B without showing the (more regular) pattern of assimilating forms from both Group A and Group B.

7.3.4 Based on the description of characteristics of different variants that individual speakers display, as becomes evident in answering the above-mentioned questions Is it possible to identify certain characteristics as common to one group and absent (or rare) in the other? If so, which? In other words, are there markers of variants that distinguish the different social communities from each other?

Here, the analyses did indeed show that the language forms of Group C, the group who had moved from one speech/dialectal community to another, showed acquisition of equivalent forms from Group B, while retaining features from Group A. There is very little evidence of loss of salient grammatical forms that form part of Group C’s home community.

7.3.5 Based on the language forms identified in 7.2.1 to 7.2.3 and linked to the language of certain groups (as set out in 7.2.4, and in 7.1), this study finds that there are indeed signs in the language use of some younger people in George that social boundaries from a previous dispensation are beginning to fade, even to the extent that it also is visible in their language variants. Nevertheless, some critical divisions between the various communities persist, as in socio-economic position, educational opportunity, employment opportunities and social mobility. These are likely to perpetuate the distinctions between the various varieties of Afrikaans.

That being said, it is important to note that there is currently more tolerance and appreciation of linguistic variety than before, such that forms prescriptively typified as “non-standard” such as some used by Group A, are appreciated and there is a sense of loss when their use declines.

This study hopes to have highlighted the Afrikaans dialectal variety in an appreciative way, to describe its richness, and to encourage further study of this and other regional varieties/dialects.

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APPENDIX A: QUESTIONNAIRE

Afrikaanse taalvariasie in die Suid-Kaap: die verspreiding van merkers van verskillende variante in twee gemeenskappe binne die munisipale grense van George

Vul asseblief die volgende so volledig as moontlik in. Daar is geen regte of verkeerde antwoorde nie – hierdie is ‘n opname waardeur die navorser inligting insamel oor die taalvaardighede, veral die gesproke Afrikaanse taalgebruiksvaardighede, van eerstetaalsprekers van Afrikaans in George.

Beantwoord die vrae in die ruimtes wat voorsien word, of maak ‘n kruis in die gepaste raampie.

AFDELING A: Metadata

Persoonlike informasie

Naam en Van:

.....

Skuilnaam wat jy self verkies:

.....

Geslag: Manlik Vroulik Ouderdom:

1. Geboorteplek

2. Primêre skool bygewoon

3. Sekondêre skool bygewoon

4. Het jy ooit ‘n ander taal as Afrikaans as taal-van-onderrig gehad? Ja Nee

Indien ja, verduidelik watter taal en onder watter omstandighede:

.....

4. Het jy naskoolse opleiding gekry: Ja Nee

Indien ja, waar: datums:

5. Werkplekke:

Plek	Werkplek	Datums	Tipe werk
bv. George	Hospitaal	2001-2005	Verpleegopleiding)

.....

.....

.....

AFDELING B: Deelnemer se kennis en gebruik van tale

6. Maak in die tabel ‘n lys van al die tale wat jy ken, selfs die tale wat jy nie baie goed ken nie. Merk jou eerstetaal (moedertaal) as T1. Vir elke taal, gee ‘n punt vir hoe jy jou eie vaardigheid beoordeel, soos in kolomme (ii) to (v) gegee – dus begrip van die gesproke vorm, praat, lees, en skryf – op ‘n skaal van 1 tot 5, waar 5 uitstekend is en 1 swak.

	i	ii	iii	iv	v
Tale		begrip	praat	lees	skryf
Afrikaans					
Engels					

7. Watter van die tale wat jy in vraag 6 gelys het, gebruik jy

- (i) as huistaal.....
- (ii) by jou werkplek.....
- (iii) saam met vriende.....

8. Gee enige verdere inligting wat jy wil verduidelik oor jou gebruik van die verskillende tale wat jy ken.

.....

.....

.....

.....

DANKIE

APPENDIX B:
INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

	Monday, 27 June	Tuesday, 28 June	Wednesday, 29 June	Thursday, 30 June	Tuesday, 5 July
1	Interview 1	Interview 6	Interview 10	Interview 14	Interview 20
2	Interview 2	Interview 7	Interview 11	Interview 15	Interview 21
3	Interview 3	Interview 8	Interview 12	Interview 16	
4	Interview 4	Interview 9	Interview 13	Interview 17	
5	Interview 5			Interview 18	
6				Interview 19	

APPENDIX C: CONCENT FORM



UNIVERSITEIT • STELLENBOSCH • UNIVERSITY
jou kennisvennoot • your knowledge partner

UNIVERSITEIT STELLENBOSCH TOESTEMMING OM DEEL TE WEES VAN NAVORSING

Afrikaanse taalvariasie in die Suid-Kaap: die verspreiding van merkers van verskillende variante in twee gemeenskappe binne die munisipale grense van George

Jy word gevra om deel te neem aan 'n navorsingsprojek van me. Grazelde Meyer, 'n student in die Departement Algemene Taalwetenskap, Universiteit Stellenbosch. Die projek is deel van haar Honneursprogram, dus word die inligting wat sy van jou kry, gebruik om 'n opstel te skryf oor verskillende vorme van Afrikaans soos dit gepraat word in die omgewing van George. Jy is gekies as moontlike deelnemer omdat haar studie fokus op die taalgebruik van mense tussen 18 en 25 jaar oud uit die Suid-Kaap omgewing.

1. DOEL VAN DIE STUDIE

Die doel van die studie is om verskillende vorme van Afrikaans soos dit deur jongmense in George gebruik word, te beskryf en analiseer. Daar sal gewerk word met inligting wat versamel is onder eerstetaalsprekers van Afrikaans in George omgewing. Die navorsingsvraag gaan oor die moontlike verskille in woordeskat, uitspraak en taalstruktuur binne hierdie gemeenskap. In tegniese terme gaan dit oor dialekverskille, dialekverskuiwing en dialekgelykmaking.

2. PROSEDURES

As jy instem om deel te neem, sal jy gevra word om op 'n kort vraelys algemene inligting te verskaf oor jou taal- en skool-agtergrond. Daarna sal jy gevra word om deel te neem aan 'n een uur-lange gesprek oor drie verskillende temas. Hierdie gesprek sal opgeneem word sodat die taalgebruik wat in die gesprek voorkom, agterna bestudeer kan word.

3. POTENSIËLE RISIKO'S

Deelname aan die studie hou geen risiko vir jou in nie. Jy word gevra om vrywillig deel te neem. As jy op enige stadium gedurende die opname ongemaklik voel met hoe dit verloop, mag jy vra dat sekere dele van die opname verwyder word, of jy kan jouself heeltemal onttrek aan die studie.

4. POTENSIËLE VOORDELE AAN DEELNEMERS OF DIE GEMEENSKAP

Jy sal nie direk voordeel trek uit hierdie navorsing in terme van materiële gewin nie. Die indirekte voordeel kan wees dat die taal van jou omgewing beter bestudeer en erken word.

5. BETALING VIR DEELNAME

Hierdie oefening is vrywillig, en as sodanig sal daar geen vergoeding vir deelname wees nie.

6. VERTROULIKHEID

Enige inligting wat tydens hierdie studie ingesamel word, sal as vertroulik hanteer word. Geen persoonlike inligting sal bekend gemaak word in die aanbieding van data en resultate nie. Alle data sal hanteer word deur myself en my studieleier, en sal anoniem gemaak word voordat dit verwerk, getranskribeer of ontleed word. Vertroulikheid sal gehandhaaf word deur middel van die gebruik van skuilname. Alle data sal in my veilige bewaring wees. As jy dit wil hersien om seker te maak dat dit is wat jy regtig wou sê, is dit op enige stadium moontlik. Die data sal slegs gebruik word vir akademiese doeleindes.

7. IDENTIFIKASIE VAN NAVORSERS

As jy enige vrae of bekommernisse het, neem die vrymoedigheid om enige van die volgende mense te nader: Me. Grazelde Meyer, navorser, tel: 0742680121, e-pos: 17366941@sun.ac.za en Prof. C. Anthonissen, studieleier, by ca5@sun.ac.za (Universiteit Stellenbosch).

8. REGTE VAN DEELNEMERS AAN DIE PROJEK

As jy deelneem aan hierdie projek verbeur jy nie enige regte nie. As jy vrae het oor die regte van deelnemers aan 'n navorsingsprojek, kontak Me. Maléne Fouché [mfouche@sun.ac.za; 021 808 4622] by die Afdeling Navorsingsontwikkeling, Universiteit Stellenbosch.

HANDTEKENING VAN DEELNEMER

Die inligting hierbo is aan my beskryf deur Me *Grazelde Meyer* in *Afrikaans* en ek is die taal goed magtig. Ek is die geleentheid gegee om vrae te vra en die vrae is tot my bevrediging beantwoord.

Ek bevestig hiermee dat ek vrywillig deelneem aan hierdie studie en dat ek toestemming gee vir die gebruik van die inligting soos hierbo beskryf. Ek het 'n afskrif van hierdie vorm ontvang.

.....
NAAM VAN DEELNEMER

.....
HANDTEKENING VAN DEELNEMER

.....
DATUM

HANDTEKENING VAN NAVORSER

Ek verklaar dat ek die inligting in hierdie dokument verduidelik het aan
[naam van die deelnemer]. Hy / sy is aangemoedig en genoeg tyd gegee om my enige vrae te
vra. Hierdie gesprek is in Afrikaans gevoer.

.....
HANDTEKENING VAN NAVORSER

.....
DATUM

APPENDIX D: PROMPTING IMAGES

