Chapter 1. Introduction

Once an English-speaking population was established in South Africa in the 19th century, new unique dialects of English began to emerge in the colony, particularly in the Eastern Cape, as a result of dialect levelling and contact with indigenous groups and the L1 Dutch speaking population already present in the country (Lanham 1996). Recognition of South African English as a variety in its own right came only later in the next century. South African English, however, is not a homogenous dialect; there are many different strata present under this designation, which have been recognised and identified in terms of geographic location and social factors such as first language, ethnicity, social class and gender (Hooper 1944a; Lanham 1964, 1966, 1967b, 1978b, 1982, 1990, 1996; Bughwan 1970; Lanham & MacDonald 1979; Barnes 1986; Lass 1987b, 1995; Wood 1987; McCormick 1989; Chick 1991; Mesthrie 1992, 1993a; Branford 1994; Douglas 1994; Buthelezi 1995; Dagut 1995; Van Rooy 1995; Wade 1995, 1997; Gough 1996; Malan 1996; Smit 1996a, 1996b; Görlach 1998c; Van der Walt 2000; Van Rooy & Van Huyssteen 2000; de Klerk & Gough 2002; Van der Walt & Van Rooy 2002; Wissing 2002).

English has taken different social roles throughout South Africa's turbulent history and has presented many faces – as a language of oppression, a language of opportunity, a language of separation or exclusivity, and also as a language of unification. From any chosen theoretical perspective, the presence of English has always been a point of contention in South Africa, a combination of both threat and promise (Mawasha 1984; Alexander 1990, 2000; de Kadt 1993, 1993b; de Klerk & Bosch 1993, 1994; Mesthrie & McCormick 1993; Schmied 1995; Wade 1995, 1997; de Klerk 1996b, 2000; Granville et al. 1997; Kamwangamalu 1997, 2001, 2002a, 2002b, 2003; Silva 1998; Madiba 1999; Chick & McKay 2001).

Much of the earlier documentation provided by linguists investigating South African English shows that the dialects that have been a focal point in research were those spoken by whites, regardless of whether they were L1 English- or Afrikaans-speakers. In other words, the research has revolved around

"white" varieties of South African English. Other known L1 English-speaking groups, such as the Coloured[1] and Indian populations (especially after the 1950s), were not taken into consideration for investigation at all. This coincided with the view expressed in the political system in South Africa at the time – other "dialects" were inferior, substandard, and perhaps deemed unworthy of investigation, just like the designated races of the people who used them.

It is not, however, denied that these varieties exist. Researchers have carved the spectrum of varieties into five main groups: English-speaking South African English, Afrikaans English, Coloured English, South African Indian English and Black South African English (Barnes 1986; Bughwan 1970; Lanham 1978; Mesthrie 1992, 1995b, 1997; Mesthrie & McCormick 1993; Wade 1995, 1997; Gough 1996; Watermeyer 1996; Wright 1996; Van den Heever & Wissing 2000; Van Rooy 2000; de Klerk & Gough 2002; Wissing 2002) – all designations that are still used in the present day. One clearly notes that these categorisations are suspiciously based on the race classifications made during the apartheid era, with partial focus on L1 and partial focus on ethnic group. This thesis will put two of these varieties, English-speaking South African English and Black South African English, into question. It will propose that these varieties, as such, no longer hold, i.e., one is no longer able to determine a variety on the basis of ethnicity alone. It will be argued that with the dissolution of the apartheid system, particularly the changing structures within the educational system of the country, the current varieties of English spoken in South Africa require a new system and recategorisation, with educational background being one of the social factors that should be emphasised. It will also be shown that the descriptive phonetic and phonological literature available on South African varieties is no longer accurate, as the variables characteristic of the dialects have merged or disappeared, or dialects have gained new variants. Eight vowel variables, noted in the literature as indicative of social distinctions on the basis of ethnic background, have been selected for this study. The variants of these variables are identified based on data

[1] The designation "Coloured" has been used to denote people of mixed descent, usually of Khoisan, black, Malay and/or white origin; it was used as a racial classification during apartheid. According to a dictionary of South African English (Branford 1978: 47), a Coloured is "as defined by our Population Registration Act … everybody who is neither white nor African." Although some people find this term offensive, it is still widely used.

taken from black and white students attending the University of the Witwatersrand. The variants are correlated against each other using the multivariate technique known as Principal Components Analysis, revealing new sociolects.

Scholars have also noted the powerful social role English has assumed in post-apartheid South Africa, suggesting a shift in favour of English among L2 speakers (Smit 1995; Alexander 1990; de Kadt 1993; de Klerk 1996b; Kamwangamalu 2001, 2002a, 2003). This hypothesis has been tested in this thesis by means of a domain analysis of black South Africans in terms of language choice in three domains: home/family, school and university. The results show, as mentioned earlier, that the factor of educational background, and with it, a more intense contact with English in the formative years, have in fact pushed English into the more familial domains of L2 English speakers. Yet, there is some resistance against English in areas such as townships, which would suggest a more diglossic situation for some speakers rather than a shift, the latter being the state of affairs in more suburban areas.[2] In addition, the language attitudes of these speakers are briefly explored and discussed in §8.3 of this thesis. These attitudes coincide with those shown in previous studies that have been conducted on attitudes towards English vis-à-vis other languages spoken in South Africa. The speakers express positive attitudes towards English in that it is a language of opportunity and economic advancement. At the same time, the negative attitudes conveyed reflect a fear of loss of culture and ethnic identity.

These attitudes, formed in an individual's social network, along with the educational practices that have institutionalised the use of English, local policies and other structures such as the media, have been reshaping South African English in terms of its sociolects and use in societal domains. One aim of this thesis is to provide insight into what it means to a black or white South African to speak English in a South African society, and how this ever-changing relationship is reflected in the metamorphosis of social and linguistic variables.

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[2] A "township", in South African terms, is an (often underdeveloped) urban residential area that, under apartheid, was reserved for non-whites (black Africans, Coloureds and Indians) who lived near or worked in areas that were designated "white-only" (Township (South Africa) n.d.). Suburbs are recognised as more affluent (primarily white) areas near cities.

The following chapter, Chapter 2, serves as a general orientation for the reader to understand where English finds itself in relation to other languages spoken in the country in terms of numbers and demographics. Statistical information is given on a national, provincial and local level as well as a brief description of the language policies that have been laid down on fundamental levels, i.e., in the South African Constitution, and also those set for the educational domain. The chapter will also introduce language attitude studies previously conducted in South Africa in order to explicate the underlying forces that may influence the varieties and usage of English spoken in the country.

Chapter 3, *Issues in Methodology*, is an account of the development of sociolinguistic studies from their beginnings in traditional dialectology and their applicability to South African dialectology. The problems of choosing appropriate social and linguistic variables for a study are discussed, as the approach to a sociolinguistic study is just as vital as the analysis. This section will justify why the linguistic variables that have been chosen are deemed significant for this study and will also show why the manner in which they have been indexed is a suitable system for an effective analysis. Social class, a social variable often employed in this field of research, is critiqued and rejected as a viable factor due to the fact that it is extremely composite and difficult to define.

Chapter 4, *The Social History of South Africa and the Social Variables Chosen for this Study*, is a combination of the social history of South Africa and a description of social variables that have been selected for analysis. The historical information is intended as a guide to understanding the development of the social structures in South Africa today. This, in conjunction with the account of the history of education in South Africa, makes it clear why the social variables of educational background and ethnicity would bring about significant discrepancies in linguistic behaviour. Gender, a social variable that has been considered in sociological studies since the early 20th century (Mesthrie et al. 2000: 216), is discussed as well.

Chapter 5, *The Linguistic Variables Chosen for this Study,* provides a detailed literature review of the documentation available concerning the five abovementioned varieties of South African English, from 1928 to the present day.

Specifically, the variables of English-speaking South African English and Black South African English are summarised and compared for analysis. A new set of variants, used in this thesis, is presented with a justification of why they were chosen, and a description of the techniques used to determine them.[3]

Methodology and research design are the focal points of Chapter 6 *Methodology and Design*. The techniques used for gathering, processing and analysing data are outlined. As three different types of data have been gathered, each set is explained in detail separately. The first set of data comprises the actual uttered and recorded variants of the eight vowel variables, which are analysed quantitatively, using the multivariate technique known as Principal Components Analysis (PCA). Statistical concepts, such as regression and correlation coefficients, are explained in detail to make clear the components used in calculating the results. The second set of data is a compilation of responses given by black subjects regarding language use in domains, thus a quantitative analysis is employed here too. This analysis also describes not only what languages are chosen in a given domain but also in what domains codeswitching occurs. The final set of data is analysed with a qualitative approach used in language attitude studies, which is based upon open-ended questions and free responses given by the subjects.

Chapter 7 is a presentation of the PCA findings, which were produced by using a computer-based statistics program to analyse the data. It is shown what variables have a tendency to co-vary with others, thus illustrating what variants are used in particular lects. The speakers are then placed on a scattergram and grouped together in terms of similarity of linguistic behaviour, taking all variants into account. The analysis reveals two distinct lects, which are simply given the names lect 1 and 2. These two lects are analysed on the basis of their social variables in order to determine what social traits the members of each lect have in common. The results of the domain analysis are given in tables that are grouped by educational background. One table will illustrate the correlation between use of English versus an African language, and a second will show the variance of

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[3] A variable is a linguistic unit that has at least two forms in a speech community. Variants are the attested instances (which are different in form) of the variable.

codeswitching versus using a single language in the selected domains. Finally, comments made by the subjects in response to attitude questions about language and education are presented and discussed. In addition analysis is made of unprompted responses given by the subjects about their attitudes towards the use and status of English and other languages spoken in South Africa.

Chapter 8 contains a discussion of the findings presented in Chapter 7. The variants that have strong representation in each of the lects are compared to those given in earlier literature in order to establish if there are correlations between variants favoured by the lect and one of the ethnolects "English-Speaking South African English" (henceforth ESSA English) and "Black South African English" (henceforth BSAE). In addition, the variants that have little or no representation are given for each lect. It is established through this negative correlation that some variants may be in fact avoided by a lect. The variants that have not been mentioned in earlier accounts of ESSA English and BSAE are analysed more closely in terms of social variables. This investigation hopes to give some insight as to why these variants occur in South African English today. The new variants are categorised into three different groups on the basis of their origin or location in a lect. This chapter concludes with further discussion of codeswitching and language attitudes.

Finally, Chapter 9 is a brief reiteration of the issues presented in this thesis, followed by the findings of the research. The conclusions drawn from the result are summarised, and suggestions are made for prospective research.

Chapter 2. Use of English in South Africa: statistics, language policy and attitudes.

The first section of this chapter deals with statistical information about demographics and language use in South Africa in order to provide an idea of language distribution in the country on different levels: in South Africa as a whole, in Johannesburg and at the University of the Witwatersrand. It will serve as a "backdrop" which represents the linguistic situation in the country. In addition, information will be given about language use and ethnicity on the national level compared to that of the university. It will be shown that language distribution in a particular area or community cannot simply be assumed to reflect the statistics for the whole of South Africa, but rather, the country has a relatively varied profile in terms of geolinguistic areas. The second main section of the chapter deals with factors that may explain the distribution and possible shift of languages in this country. First, the language policies set down by national and local governments are discussed, followed by information regarding language use in specific domains such as government, workplace and schools.

The final section of this chapter looks at studies done on language attitudes in various areas of South Africa in order to give a fuller picture of some of the views South Africans have about the strong social presence of English. This chapter aims to familiarise the reader with the demographic and sociolinguistic situation of South Africa on different levels and to support the hypothesis that South Africa is undergoing a process of language shift towards English.

2.1 Statistics regarding demography and language use

Conducting a dialect survey of English in South Africa is a daunting task considering that there are 11 official languages with even more ethnic groups, thus yielding a fairly large range of L1 and L2 speakers, accents and varieties of

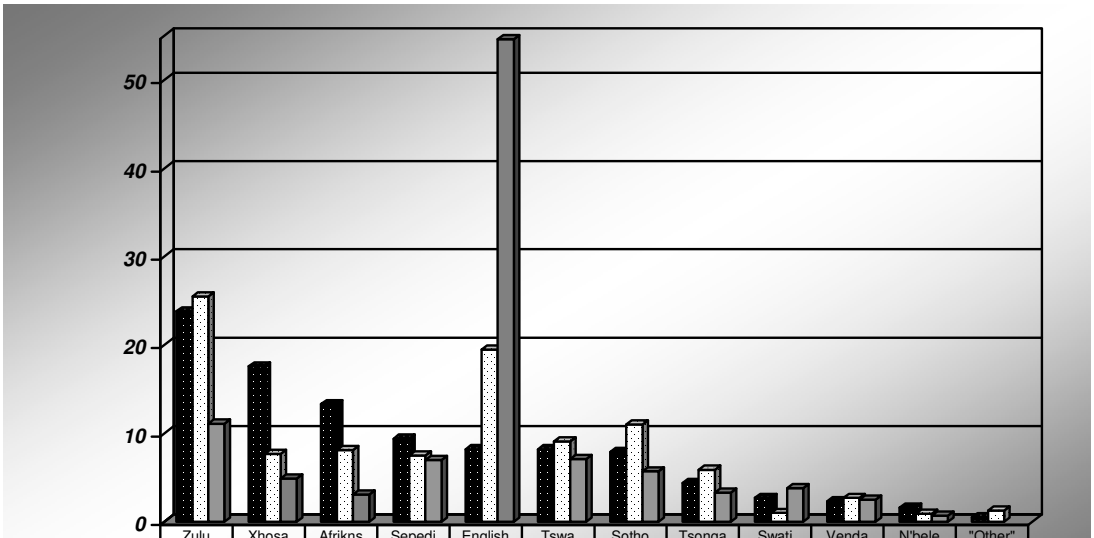
English. The linguistic and cultural diversity of this country is noteworthy. It is important first to outline the linguistic profile of South Africa, Johannesburg and the University of the Witwatersrand along with the place of English within this framework to gain more understanding of the social role of this language. Then a brief description of the status of English and the other official languages as outlined by the Constitution and in the language policy legislation (Department of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology 1996, 2000, 2003; Department of Education 1997) will be given. Finally, studies that have been conducted on language attitudes towards English and as opposed to other languages spoken in South Africa will be discussed.

Out of a population of approximately 44.8 million, 8.2% of South Africans have stated that they are L1 speakers of English (Statistics South Africa, Census 2001). English, as an L1, ranks fifth in the nation, following Zulu (23.8%), Xhosa (17.6%), Afrikaans (13.3%) and Pedi (9.4%), and ranks equally with Setwsana (8.2%). It should not, however, be assumed that these numbers reflect a uniform language distribution in the country – the languages of South Africa are often centralised into certain geolinguistic areas, where a certain province or city will have a high concentration of one or two languages only.[4]

For example, the linguistic picture in the central Johannesburg area looks quite different from that of the country as a whole: Zulu leads at 25.5%, followed by English (19.5%), Southern Sotho (11.0%), Tswana (9.1%) and Afrikaans (8.1%) (Statistics South Africa, Census 2001).

[4] For a comprehensive overview of language distribution in South Africa, see van der Merwe & van Niekerk 1994.

*Figure 1.Language distribution in South Africa (black columns), Johannesburg (white columns) and the University of the Witwatersrand (grey columns)**



	Zulu	Xhosa	Afrikns	Sepedi	English	Tswa	Sotho	Tsonga	Swati	Venda	N'bele	"Other"
South Africa	23.8	17.6	13.3	9.4	8.2	8.2	7.9	4.4	2.7	2.3	1.6	0.5
Joburg	25.5	7.7	8.1	7.5	19.5	9.1	11	5.9	1	2.7	0.9	1.3
Wits U	11.1	4.9	3.1	7	54.6	7.1	5.7	3.3	3.8	2.5	0.7	N/A

* Percentages for South Africa and Johannesburg were obtained from Statistics South Africa 2001 Census. Percentages for the University of the Witwatersrand were obtained from the Academic Information Systems Unit (AISU) for the 2006 year of registration.

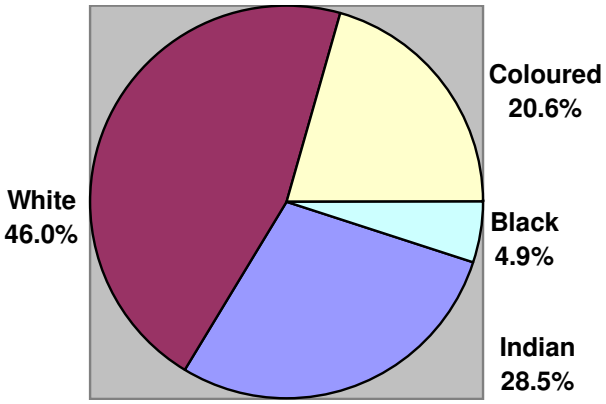
Compared to the data showing the linguistic demography of South Africa and Johannesburg, the linguistic scene at the University of the Witwatersrand has some similarity to that of Johannesburg in that English has a larger group of L1 speakers at a rounded 54.6%. Afrikaans is pushed down to 8th place at the level of the university by a strong representation of both Pedi and Southern Sotho speakers. Zulu takes second place at 11.1%, followed by Tswana (7.1%), Pedi (7.0%) and Southern Sotho (5.7%). Tswana seems to rank highly (in third place) compared to the percentage of Tswana speakers in the Johannesburg area and in South Africa as a whole. The most interesting distribution is that of the university, represented by the third set of bars. According to the Academic Information Systems Unit (AISU), more than half of the university's student body is attested as L1 English-speaking (54.6%).[5]

[5] According to the AISU database, the total number of registered students at the University of the Witwatersrand in 2006 was 24 527.

In order to obtain a clearer picture, the distribution of languages in the country, and specifically that of English, will be compared to the distribution at the University of the Witwatersrand. In South Africa, as far as language and ethnicity are concerned, L1 and ethnic group are quite predictable among the black and Indian populations: about 98.5% of the black population speaks an "African" language as an L1, whereas English is the native language of 93.8% of the Indian population.[6] The situation among the white and Coloured groups is not as straightforward, as 59.1% of whites are Afrikaans-speaking and 39.3% are L1 English speakers. Among the Coloured population, there is also a divide between English and Afrikaans as an L1, that is, 79.5% of Coloureds are reported as having L1 Afrikaans and 18.9% English. In comparison to the 1996 census, there has been a 2.9% decrease of Afrikaans among the Coloured population as a reported L1 (from 82.4%) in favour of English, which shows a 2.5% increase (Statistics South Africa, Censuses 1996 and 2001).

In terms of ethnic group, the majority of L1 English speakers are white (46%), followed by Indians, who represent 28.5% of the L1 English-speaking population. 20% are Coloured and only 4.9% of L1 English speakers are ethnically black (Statistics South Africa 2001).

Figure 2. Percentage of L1 Speakers of English in South Africa by Ethnic Group



[6] The remaining percentages belong to the category "other", meaning non-official languages spoken in South Africa such as German, Portuguese, Gujarati, Tamil, etc.

Unfortunately no data more recent than 2001 could be found regarding the demography of Johannesburg by L1 and ethnic group. The demographic picture will probably not fall in line with that of the national survey, especially among the Coloured population, as there are more English-speaking Coloureds in some communities than others, such as those in the Johannesburg area versus the Western Cape. The distribution would most likely depend on the influence of the dominant language of a specific area as well as social forces such as local prestige. Bilingualism has a strong presence in Coloured communities as well (Wood 1987; McCormick 1989, 1995; Malan 1996), therefore, the given data may form a skewed picture of the actual linguistic behaviour of Coloured speakers and is rather a reflection of the attitudes towards the languages. A dated, but comprehensive survey of Coloureds in Johannesburg shows that 38% of Coloureds are L1 English speakers, 33% L1 Afrikaans and 30% bilingual English/Afrikaans speakers (Edelstein 1974: 80).

If the University of the Witwatersrand were to be consistent with the ethnic distribution of L1 English speakers countrywide, then the majority of students should be white, Indian and Coloured since there are more L1 speakers of English than any other language according to the University of the Witwatersrand Academic Information Systems Unit (henceforth AISU) database. The question stands whether this is truly the case or not. Data was obtained from the AISU regarding what languages the black and white students speak as an L1. Consider the pie graphs below:

*Figure 3. Overall L1 of students at the University of the Witwatersrand**

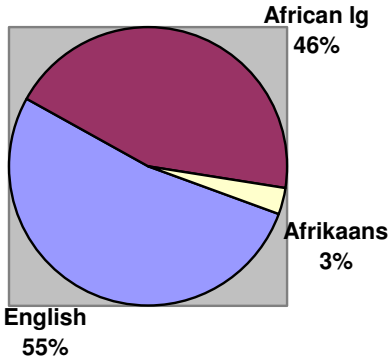


*Figure 4. L1 of black students at the University of the Witwatersrand**

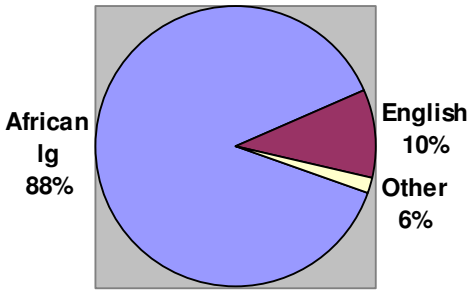
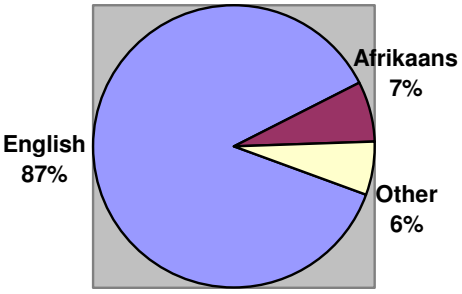


*Figure 5. L1 of white students at the University of the Witwatersrand**



*Note that the total percentage exceeds 100% because some students marked more than one language as their L1. The term "black" does not include Coloured and Indian students.

The distribution of black L1 speakers of English at the University of the Witwatersrand is significantly higher than L1 black speakers for the entire country, i.e., 10% compared to 4.9%, respectively. “Other” refers to other languages not officially spoken in South Africa that are nevertheless African, such as Swahili or Yoruba, and other Indo-European languages besides English, such as French or Portuguese. The higher number of L1 English speakers may have two possible explanations: first, there is a relatively high concentration of foreigners from other parts of Africa, not only at the university, but in South African cities in general, and second, black South Africans with a tertiary education who live in an urban or suburban area are more likely to adopt English as their L1 than those with a lower level of education or who live in rural areas. It should be noted that in the sample of the 36 black students in this investigation, 7, i.e., 19.4%, had attested having English as an L1 (although I am not claiming this is statistically representative of the university population). As for the white students, there is a significantly higher proportion of English speakers making up the white student body than is the case in the country as a whole. As mentioned earlier, on a countrywide scale, 59.1% of whites are L1 Afrikaans-speaking as opposed to the 39.3% who are L1 English speakers. The university shows a drastic contrast to this distribution, with the vast majority (87%) speaking English. The L1 Afrikaans-speaking population is only slightly larger than the population of speakers of “other” (non-official) languages spoken in South Africa: 7% and 6%, respectively.

The fact that English is an L1 for more than half of the student body at the University of the Witwatersrand falls in line with the demography of the university community and the percentages of the distribution of L1s by ethnic group. According to the 2005 AISU database, 53.3% of the students are Indian, Coloured or white (and the great majority of these are English-speaking); the remaining 46.7% are ethnically black. If the reported 10% of black students who have English as an L1 is included, it confirms that 54.6% of the university students have English as an L1.

In sum, according to census surveys for the country, South Africa is a Zulu-speaking nation in terms of largest L1, while English takes fifth place.[7] In the Johannesburg area, Zulu still remains in first place but English as attested L1 moves all the way up to second place. Finally, when the scope is limited to the university, there is an extremely strong presence of English as an L1, which accounts for the majority of the student body. As far as ethnicity and language are concerned, many white South Africans attest English as an L1, however on a nationwide scale, there are more Afrikaans-speaking whites than English-speaking ones. The picture for the university indicates a larger proportion of L1 English-speaking black people and a far higher proportion of English-speaking whites than are found in the country as a whole. This is the situation for English in terms of sheer numbers, on different scales, yet the presence or influence of English is not measured by its L1 speakers alone. The following sections will deal with the official language policy and relevant documents about language use in South Africa, and studies that reflect South Africans' attitudes towards English and other languages.

2.2 Language policy in South Africa

During the apartheid era, South Africa had two official languages, English and Afrikaans. This language policy reflected the country's political structures and ideologies; English and Afrikaans were the L1s of the ethnic groups that were in power, namely, those that made up the white population. In *A Dictionary of South African English* by Branford (1978: 19), the definition of *bilingual* is as follows:

> **bilingual** *adj.* In S.A., proficient in both official languages, English and Afrikaans (not in *any* two languages).

[7] It should be noted that the languages Zulu, Xhosa, Swati and Ndebele are considered separate languages for historical and political reasons; however, they are very similar in terms of structure and lexicon, and are mutually intelligible and may be considered varieties of a single language, Nguni. A parallel situation applies to the Sotho languages Southern Sotho, Pedi and Tswana (Mesthrie et al. 2000: 9ff, Gordon 2005).

As for the African languages, the government set up language boards with the alleged aim of modernising and expanding them (Alexander 1997: 82). Alexander states that these boards did little in practice to keep up with their claims and intentionally treated linguistically similar varieties as separate languages (so-called *Ausbau* languages) which, as a result, complicated lexical and corpus planning and slowed the development of these languages in higher domains altogether (Alexander 1997: 82–83).[8] In opposition to the apartheid dual-language policy, the African nationalist movement "across the board made a *de facto* decision to oppose Afrikaans in favour of English" (Alexander 1997: 83). This was perhaps the catalyst for the power that English would have in South African society today, particularly among the black population. According to Alexander (1997, 2000), this shift towards English may also have contributed to the lowering of the status of the African languages in the eyes of black people and led them to opt for English in the High domains. Mawasha (1987: 114) and Msimang's (1993) studies concur with these findings that the association of English with power and advancement has led to negative attitudes of black South Africans towards their own African L1s. Msimang goes as far as to say that "most [black South Africans] have come to hate their own languages" (1993: 197), yet he provides no evidence for this.

Following the dawn of a new era, the era of the "New South Africa", when Nelson Mandela was inaugurated into office as president on April 27, 1994, the new Constitution was adopted in May 1997. In terms of language policy and rights, this Constitution took a multilingual approach, rather than a bilingual one. Section 6 of the Constitution (1997) sets the guidelines for language planning and management in the country:

[8] The linguist Charles Ferguson (1959) first used the terms "High" and "Low" to refer to languages used in a diglossic situation in terms of social prestige. The term has been extended to the domains in which these languages or varieties of languages are typically used, i.e., the High language is used in a High domain such as government, media or other more socially formal contexts, the Low language in less formal domains, such as the home or local neighbourhood.

Section 6. Languages

(1) The official languages of the Republic are Sepedi, Sesotho, siSwati, Tshivenda, Xitsonga, Afrikaans, English, isiNdebele, isiXhosa and isiZulu.[9]

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

(3)

a. The national and the provincial governments may use any particular language for the purposes of the government, taking into account usage, practicality, expense, regional circumstances and the balance of the needs and preferences of the population as a whole or the province concerned; but the national government and each provincial government must use at least two official languages.

b. Municipalities must take into account the language usage and preferences of their residents.

(4) The national government and the official government, by legislative and other measures, must regulate and monitor their use of official languages. Without detracting from the provisions in subsection (2), all official languages must enjoy parity of esteem and must be treated equitably.

(5) A Pan South African Language Board established by national legislation must –

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[9] The official names of the African languages are mentioned in the Constitution with their corresponding noun class prefixes, e.g. "*isi*Zulu", instead of the English "Zulu", as is required when speaking in the language. There is debate as to whether one should use the noun class prefix when referring to these languages in English, as one does not refer to German as *Deutsch* when speaking in English. I shall use the designations that have been used most often by all subjects in the interviews: Pedi, Sotho, Swati, Venda, Tsonga, Ndebele, Xhosa and Zulu, respectively.

a. promote and create conditions for the development and use of –
    i. all official languages;
    ii. the Khoi, Nama and San languages; and
    iii. sign language; and
b. promote and ensure respect for –
    i. all languages commonly used by communities in South Africa, including German, Greek, Gujarati, Hindi, Portuguese, Tamil, Telugu and Urdu; and
    ii. Arabic, Hebrew, Sanskrit and other languages used for religious purposes in South Africa.

From this, it is clear South Africa has a very unusual language provision in terms of official languages. Firstly there is the declaration of 11 official languages. Rather than omitting the two former official languages, nine other languages have been elevated to the same status as English and Afrikaans (Webb 2002: 3, Alexander 1997: 86, Beukes 2004: 5). Secondly, it is mentioned in clause (2) that a proactive stance should be taken by the state in ensuring that the indigenous languages enjoy the same rights as the former official languages. A government body known as the Pan South African Language Board (henceforth PanSALB) was created in order to develop the official languages and also non-official languages such as the Khoisan languages, South African Sign Language (SASL) and other minority languages. These statutes, along with those policies made by governmental organisations, will be focused upon in terms of their practicality and realisation in present-day South Africa in later sections.

The question that remains is how far these policies have been put into practice. Are the government bodies ensuring that multilingualism is practised and sustained? The goal would be to create a functional policy that can be implemented to follow the aims originally set in the Constitution, namely to allow for transformation and democratisation to occur. The common criticism is that it is not feasible to apply the Constitutional provisions to all 11 official languages in a given situation (Webb 2002: 3). However, this was not the intent behind giving the 11 languages equal status. Section (3a) states that in an official public domain, any

of the 11 languages may be used, "taking into account usage, practicality, expense, regional circumstances and the balance of the needs and preferences of the population as a whole or the province concerned". For proceedings of the national government and provincial governments, at least two official languages must be used. Other issues that have been discussed are the vagueness of terms (such as "parity of esteem" and "equity") (Webb 2002: 4) as well as the vagueness and lack of directives in the language stipulations (du Plessis 1999).

2.2.1 Development of a language policy

A committee known as the Language Task Group (henceforth LANGTAG) was appointed in 1996 to create a more specific framework for a comprehensive national language policy (Beukes 2004: 8). Once the draft was approved, PanSALB was to create a language plan on the basis of this framework. The result was the Language Policy and the South African Languages Bill. The policy and the bill were revised to yield a document known as the National Language Policy Framework (NLPF) in 1994 (Beukes 2004: 9).

Like the Constitution, the NLPF promotes the equitable use of the 11 official languages, as well as ensuring the development of the previously marginalised official languages. In addition, it claims facilitation of access to information from government sources, services and information and encourages the learning of other official languages. The NLPF is directed towards government and other institutions that exercise power in the public domains (this includes the national and provincial legislatures) (Beukes 2004: 9).

A PanSALB survey questioned South Africans' opinion of whether they were satisfied overall with the language policy. The results are as follows (PanSALB 2001):[10]

[10] The data is based on a stratified probability sample of 2160 South Africans aged 16 and over, which was drawn from all social categories in rural and urban areas.

Table 1. Opinions of South Africans regarding the National Language Policy

Satisfied with the way my language is treated	57%
Given practical difficulties, my language is treated as well as expected	29%
Fairly dissatisfied with the way my language is treated	9%
Very dissatisfied with the way my language is treated	5%

It seems from this survey that the majority of South Africans feel that their languages are accommodated and treated fairly according to the national language policy. The majority of those polled (61%) agreed that a language policy in South Africa should promote the development of marginalised languages.

2.2.2 Language policy in education

Education is one of the critical domains in language development and use, thus it is a focal point of investigation in this thesis. The language policy laid out by the Constitution clearly promotes the use of 11 languages in all domains where language planning is possible, but the question arises of whether this policy is actually being implemented in the educational domain. The language policy of the Ministry of Education has a goal similar to that of the Constitution in that it aims to promote the indigenous languages, here, by means of supporting the teaching and learning of those languages as well as establishing additive multilingualism in education (Department of Education 1997). Some of the relevant aims are mentioned below (De Wet & Niemann 2001: 459):

- to pursue the language policy most supportive of general conceptual growth amongst learners; and hence establish additive multilingualism as an approach to language in education;
- to promote and develop all the official languages;
- to support the teaching and learning of all other languages required by learners or used by communities in South Africa;
- to counter disadvantages resulting from different kinds of mismatches between home languages and languages of learning and teaching.

The acknowledgement of additive multilingualism supports the approach that children should be encouraged to use their L1 as the medium of instruction (MOI) for acquiring skills in reading and writing, particularly in the primary years of schooling (Fasold 1984, De Witt, Lessing & Dicker 1998). The Language in Education policy also allows the MOI to be chosen at a local level by schools in consultation with the parent and school community (Department of Education 1997), as long as the choice is "practical and reasonable" for the school. Desai (1994) claims that such vague terminology provides schools with the ability to avoid using some of the official languages. In addition, studies (NEPI 1992: 13, CSD/SWO Bulletin 1993: 5, Webb 1999: 70) have shown that the majority of South African pupils are switching to English as their language of teaching and learning (henceforth LOLT) after the first four years of schooling. The issue at hand is discovering the cause of the shift and why the language policy is not being put into practice as stipulated.

Although a thorough rationalisation is indeed beyond the scope of this thesis, much of the lack of implementation may be attributed to the general attitudes towards language and education of both teachers and learners. Other factors may include inability of the parent and school community to agree upon an MOI in a multilingual community where two or more languages have relatively equal representation, or more practical reasons, such as a lack of qualified teachers to teach in a chosen language of instruction.

With regard to language attitudes, some researchers have maintained that education in an African language is often associated with the education system in apartheid South Africa and, as a result, learners have a negative perception of home language education (Reagan 1985: 76, Chick 1992: 276, Granville et al. 1997). As a result, a connection between English (or Afrikaans) and "better education" has been formed. Reagan (1985: 76) explains that in addition to this, the teaching of technical concepts in an African language may prove difficult, as the African languages have not been properly equipped with specialised or technological terminology. Also, in comparison to English and Afrikaans, there is a noticeable lack of written curriculum material for subjects (e.g., Physics or

Biology) which employ such technical terminology (Kamwangamalu 1997: 240). From the parents' viewpoint, there is a general view that English is closely tied to economic advancement, and thus many parents want their children to be educated in English, as English will provide them with easier access to better jobs and success in a career (Mawasha 1995; Granville et al. 1997, Kamwangamalu 1997: 242–3, 1998).

It should be noted that despite the fact that there are many children who are instructed in their L1 during the primary years before switching to English as the LOLT, studies have shown that there is a high failure rate of black students in their fifth year, i.e., the first year English becomes the LOLT (Macdonald 1991: 1, Southey 1992: 20). This has been attributed to lack of preparation in English prior to the switch of LOLT. This lack of proficiency in English when moving on into the later years of education may be part of the reason for the relatively low pass rate and low literacy level in South Africa.[11]

From the perspective of the aims of the language planning endeavours discussed above, it would seem that South Africa's official languages should enjoy equal prestige in education, government and other High domains. Yet the bond between principle and practice has been an "uneasy marriage" in the past ten years since the formulation of these policies. In some respects, especially the domain of education, one could go as far as to say that the multilingual side of these policies is failing. Other studies have shown that there is a significant shift towards English in these domains, and possibly in the more familial or local domains as well (Alexander 1997, 2000; Webb 1999, 2002; De Wet 2001). Some of these points will be demonstrated in the section to follow.

2.3 Language use: domains

A brief overview of the linguistic situation with regard to English is necessary in understanding the status English has among the population and what

[11] According to UNICEF (n.d.), the national adult literacy rate from 2000–2004 was 82%. The percentage of urban tertiary learners with English as and L2 and MOI who had adequate literacy skills in grade 12 dropped from 51% in 1990 to 22% in 1997 (Webb 2002: 10).

effect this may have on pronunciation of English (which is a focal point of this thesis), domain distribution and attitudes. First, figures will be given concerning the use of English in different domains. This will be followed by a discussion of language attitude studies that have been conducted in South Africa which investigate the evaluation of English against other languages. A PanSALB summary report (2001: 3) shows that there is not a major amount of deviation from the census conducted on attested L1 (or language spoken at home) and from the 1996 census. In the chart below, each language is listed, followed by the 1996 percentage, the 2001 percentage and the difference between the two. A positive figure shows growth while a negative figure indicates a decrease in reported L1 speakers of that language. The languages are listed in the order of highest to lowest number of speakers in 2001:

Table 2. Percentages of L1 speakers of the 11 official languages in South Africa

Language spoken at home:	**1996**	**2001**	**Difference**
Zulu	22.9	23.8	0.9
Afrikaans	14.4	16.5	2.1
Xhosa	17.9	16.3	-1.6
Tswana	8.2	9.5	1.3
English	8.6	8.7	0.1
Pedi	9.2	7.7	-1.5
Southern Sotho	7.7	6.8	-0.9
Swati	2.5	3.3	0.8
Tsonga	4.4	3.2	-1.2
Venda	2.2	1.8	-0.4
Ndebele	1.5	1.2	-0.3

The languages with the greatest increases in L1 speakers are Afrikaans (2.1%) and Tswana (1.3%). Note that English only shows a 0.1% increase in L1 speakers over a five-year period. According to these statistics, there is no significant indication of language shift to English in the familial domain. Languages with the greatest drop in L1 speakers are Xhosa (-1.6%) and Pedi (-1.5%). To attribute this drop to an overall shift to L1 English speakers seems unlikely considering that this data refers to the population of the country as a whole. The areas with the most exposure to English are the more urban or suburban areas of certain cities. If Johannesburg is considered as an example, it would seem more likely in a case of

shift to English that there would be a decrease in Southern Sotho and Zulu speakers, as these languages are the major languages of the area besides English. The decreases in Xhosa and Pedi speakers are perhaps explainable by other socioeconomic reasons.

The domains that more strikingly indicate the presence of English on a national level are the workplace and the educational domain. Below is a table of the official languages according to L1 (as above), followed by use in the educational and work domains. Note that the educational data pertains to the high-school level (the subjects were aged 16 and older). The work domain has been divided into two subcategories: language used with colleagues and language used with supervisors (PanSALB 2001: 9):

Table 3. Language spoken in the domains of home, high school and work (in percent)

Language	**Home**	**High School**	**Work**	
			with colleagues	***with supervisor***
Zulu	23.8	6	22	11
Afrikaans	16.5	16	16	28
Xhosa	16.3	-	9	3
Tswana	9.5	2	8	2
English	8.7	80	20	44
Pedi	7.7	-	6	2
Southern Sotho	6.8	1	7	3
Swati	3.3	-	2	2
Tsonga	3.2	1	1	1
Venda	1.8	-	1	-
Ndebele	1.2	-	-	-

When one observes the more formal domains of secondary education and workplace compared to home, the picture concerning use of English becomes rather different. English clearly dominates the education domain at 80%, and is trailed by Zulu at a meagre 6%. The other languages have minimal or no representation. In the workplace, English is in close competition with Afrikaans and Zulu in the majority group of languages, although when conversing with colleagues, English is surpassed by Zulu by two percentage points. However when interacting with a superior, English clearly takes the lead, being used almost twice

as much as Zulu and four times as much as Afrikaans. Again, the other languages are left far behind with a fraction of the amount.

Wissing (1987) and Gough (1994) have shown that English is used in domains outside of the classroom and the workplace in formal situations such as political meetings, but the local African languages, sometimes mixed with English, are used for everyday encounters. Either English or a mix of African languages is used in more multilingual urban contexts (Calteaux 1994).

What does this data conclusively show us about language maintenance and shift? Although it has been established that English is the major medium of instruction in schools, this does not necessarily indicate that there is actually a *shift* to English into other domains, such as the Low domains, i.e., home, neighbourhood, place of worship, etc. For this, a more comprehensive diachronic study or age-specific study is necessary in order to determine if there has been a shift in, for example, the past ten years. One study, conducted by de Klerk (1997) deals with three generations of Xhosa speakers in the Eastern Cape. The study claimed there is a shift in competence of L2 speakers of English, each generation having a higher degree of exposure to English than the previous one.[12] Some studies support this claim by suggesting a gradual shift from Afrikaans to English as a primary L2 among black South Africans (Schuring & Yzel 1983: 2; Schuring 1993: 17).

As it is frequently observed in sociolinguistic studies, a community may be diglossic – that is, two or more languages are allotted specific domains and their roles do not overlap. This may possibly be the scenario in most South African communities: English is used in the High domains (government, university, media) and an African language in the Low domains (home, neighbourhood, colleagues). It must also be taken into consideration that the distribution on a national level may differ drastically from the distributions in more local areas, such as particular cities or varying socioeconomic areas, e.g., urban/suburban versus rural. Investigation of domain distribution is discussed in §7.2 of this thesis.

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[12] The findings of this study are based on three members of one L1 Xhosa family only, i.e. a grandmother, mother and daughter, and may not be representative of the population in that area.

Regarding the topic of shift, there have been many studies that comment on the use and spread of English in South Africa, particularly in terms of its being a threat to the future of other languages, not only in South Africa but also in other countries around the world (Ngũgĩ 1993, Alexander 1997, Graddol 1997, Skutnabb-Kangas 2000, Kamwangamalu 2003). The idea is that in post-colonial countries, after the coloniser has left, the prestige value of the coloniser's language remains. This is not entirely the case for South Africa, as the descendants of the colonisers have remained in the country as citizens until today. Myers-Scotton (1993a) found a three-way pattern of multilingualism in African countries such as Nigeria and Kenya. In such countries, a local language and indigenous lingua franca are used along with a European official language. The choice of usage is contingent on social situation and domain. The European language is used in the High domains along with the indigenous lingua franca, and the local language in the Low domains. The speakers, however, codeswitch using divergent or convergent strategies, depending on intention. The use of local languages in the High domains, albeit marked, suggests a restricted approval of English. How does this differ from the views of English as a threat to the existence of other languages? The situation of the African languages has been compared to those of the Indian and Khoisan languages of South Africa, many of them now either moribund or extinct (Lanham & Prinsloo 1978, Mesthrie 1991, Traill 1995). Kamwangamalu (2003) gives a comprehensive argument for shift and possible death of the African languages in South Africa by stating that there is a growing preference for unilingualism among the population, which is shown through negative attitudes towards African languages, the prevalence of English in the media and the overall high value English has on the South African "linguistic market". He attributes the sources of the shift to: first, the support of English in order to demonstrate resistance to Afrikaans, created by the Bantu education system, and second, the vagueness of the current language policies that are meant to support and promote the use of African languages, but, as he claims, do not do so in practice. He states: "Accordingly, multilingualism in the new South Africa in practice means English plus any other languages, and not the use of two or more languages without English" (Kamwangamalu 1993: 77).

Kamwangamalu (2003: 66 ff.) does in fact show that the High domains are reserved for English. English has about 85% of airtime on the national broadcasting network channels (SABC1, 2 and 3), and over 90% of speeches in parliament are made in English. Can it then be concluded that most of the population can understand English well? According to research done in the past few decades, this does not seem to be the case. The research indicates a wide range of degrees of competence in English in South Africa. In an analysis of a 1980 census, it was estimated that 69% of black South Africans could not speak or read English (Schuring & Ellis 1987). Approximately 10 years later, two separate studies suggested that the number of black South Africans estimated to have competence in English varied from 61% (Reaching Critical Mass 1993: 27) to only 32% (Schuring 1993: 17).[13]

A PanSALB survey (2001: 13) asked South Africans (L2 English speakers) how well they could understand speeches made by ministers in government, councillors in municipalities and other officials. The results are given below:

Table 4. Percentage of L2 English speakers that understand speeches and statements in English

Level of comprehension	
Fully	22%
As much as I need to	27%
Often do not understand	30%
Seldom understand	19%
Other answers	2%

These results show that English used in the higher domains is understood by about half of the non-L1 English-speaking population (49%). These kinds of statistics, considering that most of the speeches are given in English, indicate that researchers have had reason to question whether the equitable treatment of the 11 official languages prescribed by the Constitution is actually being implemented. If a good number of people in South Africa cannot understand English when it is used in higher domains, then why do the media, government and educational bodies still continue to use it with such high frequency? This can perhaps be

[13] It is not surprising that there may not be agreement in terms of numbers because researchers may be using different criteria in determining a level of competence or knowledge in a language. The precise measurements for fluency are not given in either of the studies.

answered by looking at attitudes towards English in the country. If English is considered valuable on the linguistic market, i.e., if it is associated with better education and economic opportunities, then it would follow society will push for it to remain in the High domains. The next section will investigate studies on language attitudes in South Africa.

2.4 Language attitude studies in South Africa

Several significant studies have been conducted on language attitudes in the "Era of the New South Africa" (de Kadt 1993, de Klerk & Bosch 1993, 1994; Smit 1995, de Klerk 1996b, de Klerk & Bosch 1996, Smit 1996a, de Klerk 1997, de Klerk & Barkhuizen 2001). Some of the more comprehensive works will be discussed briefly in this section.[14]

De Kadt (1993) investigates the attitudes of both unskilled and skilled domestic workers (cleaners) and students at an unnamed English-medium university in Durban by using qualitative interviews. The workers expressed that knowledge of English is advantageous in obtaining a good position in the workplace. It was not clear if they felt positively or negatively about this. In the home domain, the amount of English used varied according to education. The subjects explained they would use English at home in order for their children to acquire the language better and to achieve better matric results. They also would use English with more educated relatives (de Kadt 1993: 316–317). The subjects also expressed worry about subtractive bilingualism and loss of culture with loss of the L1. The students, who were interviewed, showed a tendency to speak English in all domains, including the home, particularly with well-educated siblings and relatives. They conveyed the economic advantage of English and its indispensability in the educational domain. The negative attitudes expressed towards English revolved around using English at the expense or loss of one's own culture, especially in the home domain. These results concur with Smit's study (1996a) on language attitudes. Smit adds that the push for English is also

[14] A summary of language attitude studies conducted in South Africa during the apartheid era is given in de Klerk & Bosch (1993).

supported by the belief that English is "a language of national unification … all of these roles confirm the crucial status of English as a main lingua franca and a language of wider communication in South Africa" (1996a: 98).

De Klerk's study (1996b) at Rhodes University, an English MOI university (Grahamstown, Eastern Cape), yielded similar results to the Durban study. Many of the students expressed positive attitudes towards English in general (de Klerk 1996b: 119). In the local domains, L2 speakers (Afrikaans and Xhosa speakers) used English more outside of the classroom than their own L1. The theme arises of English being associated with education and being economically successful. De Klerk (1996b: 126) ascribes the positivity towards English to the fact that L2 students "embrace it with enthusiasm, believing in its mystical appeal as an agent for modernisation and social change, and provider of access to mobility and advancement". In an attitude survey conducted on 298 L1 speakers of English, Afrikaans and Xhosa in the Eastern Cape (de Klerk & Bosch 1996), English was favoured by the majority as a language for further study (as a topic of study, not an MOI). The L1 Xhosa speakers had a stronger bias towards English (62%) than L1 English speakers themselves (48.1%).[15] The L1 Afrikaans speakers were the one group who favoured their own L1 over English as a choice to study further. Other attitude questions dealt with choice of official language, MOI and language for success; for all three purposes English was favoured by the majority in all three groups. Part of the study also dealt with attitudes towards the three languages and accents in those languages using the matched-guise technique. In order to implement this technique for this study, it is required that L1 English, Afrikaans and Xhosa subjects listen to texts read by speakers who can fluently read in all three languages without interference from their L1. This would also suggest the subjects can understand all three languages well enough to make judgments on the speaker's personality. De Klerk & Bosch (1996: 213) mention that the speakers selected for the readings were "reasonably fluent in the three languages under investigation". They further explain that "recruitment of these speakers proved

[15] The distribution of L1 speakers is reported as follows: English 131, Afrikaans 69, Xhosa 72, Other 1, English/Afrikaans 20, English/Afrikaans/Xhosa 3, English/Xhosa 1, Afrikaans/Xhosa 1 (de Klerk & Bosch 1994: 52). It is not clearly stated how the multilingual speakers are counted in terms of L1.

problematic, as trilingualism is rare, and while fluency in English was common, many people who said they could speak Xhosa found reading it rather difficult" (de Klerk & Bosch 1996: 213). Thus, it is not clear exactly how effective this technique was for evaluating attitudes of accents, and it is certainly not justified for evaluating attitudes towards different languages if trilingualism is allegedly rare. The results, albeit questionable, were shown to be slightly different from Smit's study in that English and the English accent were rated more positively by virtually all subjects across the board in terms of personality traits.[16]

De Klerk (1997) also conducted a qualitative study of three generations of L1 Xhosa-speaking women in Grahamstown. The study revealed not only three different levels of competence in English (the oldest speaking a pidgin English[17], the youngest speaking a more fluent, but highly ungrammatical English according to de Klerk), it also revealed different levels of consciousness and attitudes towards English. The grandmother used English in extremely limited domains and did not feel a need for much improvement, whereas her daughter had begun taking English classes at night school to develop her competence for better employment. The granddaughter suggested a more positive attitude towards having a command of English, and saw it as a necessity. De Klerk (1997: 113–4) points out the ambivalent attitudes of all of the subjects, particularly with regard to the daughter: "it would seem that the pull for English is relatively strong, though not easy for her to articulate; she has a love-hate relationship with English, and made a point of saying that she liked it while a few minutes later stating clear preferences for the local indigenous black languages".

A domain that has been less frequently investigated, prison, was the focus of a study on language use and attitudes by de Klerk & Barkhuizen (2001). The study was conducted based on interviews with eight staff members (the head of the prison, an L1 Xhosa male; four warders, two L1 Afrikaans speakers and two L1

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[16] An important point of caution is made by Smit (1996b) regarding studies using the matched guise technique with accent variation in South Africa. Her study revealed that subjects often did not recognise an accent correctly, e.g., only 54% of L1 Xhosa speakers recognised Afrikaans as the speaker's L1 correctly. She notes that in the studies in South Africa mentioned above, such as de Klerk & Bosch (1996), the aspect of accent recognition was not taken into consideration, therefore may have affected the results of the investigation.

[17] Mesthrie (p.c.) has reservations regarding the use of the term "pidgin" by De Klerk in this case, and deems "early fossilised language" as more accurate.

Xhosa speakers; two L1 Afrikaans-speaking reception clerks; one L1 Xhosa-speaking telephonist) and six inmates (three L1 Afrikaans speakers, two L1 Xhosa speakers and an L1 English speaker) in a medium security prison in Grahamstown. A demographic analysis of the inmates showed that about half of the prisoners (48.5%) were black, followed closely by Coloureds (46.4%) and finally whites (0.7%). De Klerk & Barkhuizen (2001: 103–4) make the assumption that "most of the speakers are either Coloured Afrikaans speakers or Xhosa speakers" although there is no statistical information given to support this. The staff is reported to be made up of approximately 50% L1 Xhosa speakers, 45% L1 Afrikaans speakers and 5% L1 English speakers. It should be noted, however, that the data is based on the estimations given by the staff members themselves during the interviews, not actual statistics. The results of the interviews showed that English is used among staff and between staff and inmates more frequently than the other languages for official purposes (de Klerk & Barkhuizen 2001: 104). In addition, English serves as a default lingua franca when L1 speakers of all three languages are interacting with one another. De Klerk & Barkhuizen (2001: 108) observed that among inmates, "Xhosa tended to predominate and … English was the primary alternative". As for the L1 Afrikaans speakers, the majority are bilinguals and therefore were reported to use English and Afrikaans when speaking to other L1 Afrikaans speakers, otherwise, they opted for English.

The results of this study fall in line with claims made by Alexander (2000, 1997) and Kamwangamalu (2003) regarding the preference for English in more formal or official domains. In the informal domains, such as staff and inmates conversing in passing in the corridors, either Afrikaans or Xhosa was spoken. Moreover, this supports Kamwangamalu's claims (1993, 2003; see §2.3) that multilingualism in South Africa is often the combination of English and some other language.

A different technique employed in studying language attitudes is the matched-guise technique. Following the practice of Giles, Howard & Howland (1975), subjects are expected to listen to a text spoken with different accents and judge each "speaker" according to various character traits, such as "personable", "intelligent" or "ambitious". The guise lies in the fact that the texts spoken in

different accents are read, unbeknown to the subject, by the same speaker. In other words, the only variable is the accent itself. Thus, any differences in rating by the subject are based solely on his or her opinion of the accent. Smit (1995) conducted a matched-guise test with 282 L1 Xhosa, English and Afrikaans pupils from 10 high schools who listened to English accents of L1 English speakers, L2 English Afrikaans and Xhosa speakers. They had to judge the speakers on the basis of competence, career-mindedness, personal integrity, social attractiveness and self-awareness. The study revealed that the L1 English speakers preferred the L1 English accent to the others and, interestingly, the L2 English groups preferred their L2 accents to the L1 English accent. Smit then selected the L1 Xhosa speakers who attended formerly white schools and compared them to the L1 English group and the remaining L1 Xhosa speakers who attended formerly black schools. This yielded striking results: the results for the group of L1 Xhosa speakers who attended the formerly white schools were very similar to those for their white counterparts, however they rated the L1 English accent even more positively across the board than the L1 English speakers themselves. Smit's explanation for the division within the L1 Xhosa group is the fact that the subgroup from former white schools is immersed in a context where English (and the L1 English accent) are much more attainable, yielding a tendency for assimilation rather than resistance in the given social hierarchy.

2.5 Conclusion

Despite the claims of equity in the language policy, the studies mentioned in this chapter have indicated that English has been and remains dominant in the higher domains of South African society. Although Afrikaans had been given similar status in the apartheid era, it was resisted by the majority of the population. This paved the way for the sole dominance of English. Although statistics show that the majority of South Africans are not L1 speakers of English, and that the language is not fully attainable by a good segment of the population (Alexander 2000, PanSALB 2001), the association of English with economic advancement, education and ultimately class mobility is evident. As for the African languages,

many L2 English speakers are torn between two forces: one the one hand, in many aspects of society, English must be acquired for its high prestigious value, on the other hand, their L1 should be preserved for cultural identification. The results of other language attitude studies conducted in South Africa are compared with the results for domain distribution and general language attitudes of University of the Witwatersrand students in Chapter 7 of this thesis. The facts emerging from this chapter regarding language help in deciding on an appropriate methodology to employ in a study of South African English. Several methodologies, including their strengths and weaknesses, are discussed in the following chapter.

Chapter 3. Issues in Methodology

Before the type of methodology that has been used for analysis and interpretation is discussed, some of the methods researchers have employed in their studies of dialects will be covered and the question of whether such methods are viable in conducting truly scientific work will be discussed. A short description of the development of sociolinguistic methods will be given as well as a critical review of the classical Labovian method used in identifying both linguistic and social variables. Due to the fact that there are different approaches in selecting linguistic and social variables, it is essential to be aware of the advantages and drawbacks of each method. First, a brief history of dialectology and sociolinguistics will be given, followed by discussion of the challenges that lie in selecting a linguistic variable, as well as the difficulty in determining the nature of its variants. Next, methods of choosing social variables are discussed, along with the problems of defining the variable "social class" in particular. In addition, the questions of how a researcher defines "speech community" are raised, and of how different approaches to social structure, e.g., functionalism and the Marxist approach, can affect methodology selection.

3.1 Traditional dialectology

It is important first to discuss the predecessor of sociolinguistics and the nature of the setting that gave way to the foundations and development of modern sociolinguistics. As it is well known, dialectological research began well over a hundred years ago with the general aim of recording and illustrating a geographical distribution of linguistic "differences", most often lexical differences, in a specified area. The results were displayed on dialect maps on which the various forms of the feature or features being investigated were plotted and divided by an isogloss (Chambers & Trudgill 1980: 103–124, Hudson 1980: 38ff.,

Trudgill 1983b, Mesthrie et al. 2000: 52–60). These results were said to refute theories made by historical linguists who claimed that sound or lexical shift was not all-encompassing and uniform, that each word and/or sound has its own distribution and history.[18] Dialect areas, once they have been located and outlined by their respective isoglosses, could in essence map the different types of spread across a given geographical area, e.g., concentric isoglosses known as centres of prestige, which radiate out from a highly populated area (a city or town) into more rural areas (Schmidt 1872; Bailey 1973). More irregular types of spread may cross over areas in a less uniform fashion, leaving some sections unchanged in pockets (what Chambers & Trudgill 1980 call "relic" areas).

In order to answer these questions of where the spread takes place over a geographical area, one must assume that the speech community as a whole is affected by the change; the spread is of a purely geographical nature. However, in order to find the "purest" or "oldest" form of the dialect used in that particular area, dialectologists sought older males living in rural areas, known as NORMs (non-mobile, older, rural, male) (Chambers & Trudgill 1980: 35). The idea behind choosing subjects that were older was to capture the speech of a "bygone era" and the lack of mobility was felt to ensure the subjects' speech was characteristic of the region in which they resided. Rural communities were believed to have fewer members that were mobile than urban areas and the subjects should be male because women's speech "tends to be more class-conscious than men's", thus their speech should be more representative of the vernacular (Chambers & Trudgill 1980: 35) This approach is seriously flawed in attempting to determine the representative speakers of a dialect area in that it uses only a very limited segment of the population. Studying the speech of NORMs excludes data of speakers who are younger, mobile, female or who live in more urban areas, thus reducing the possibility of discovering the very variation the dialectologist is searching to document in a particular speech community.

One restricting factor of the dialectologist's goal to capture the nature of variation in a speech community was the kind of equipment used for recording.

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[18] However, in its own right, an isogloss is in fact an idealisation and therefore does not fully refute the claim that each variable actually has its own history, nor does it account for exceptions or aberrations within that particular isogloss (Stefan Ploch, p.c.).

Only since the 1960s have researchers been able to record the speech of subjects for future reference with analogue tape recorders, which subsequently allowed for much more variation in methods used for eliciting data. Before that, researchers relied on questionnaires filled out by fieldworkers (e.g., Gilliéron and Edmond Edmont from 1897 and 1901) or surveys that were sent off, for example, by Georg Wencker (in 1876) to German schoolmasters to ask their pupils to write a particular given sentence "in their dialect" (Chambers & Trudgill 1980, Mesthrie et al. 2000: 51). In the case of written responses, the questionnaires were often long, and contained completing questions such as: "You can sweeten tea with …" or naming questions, e.g., "What do you say to a caller at the door when you want him to come in?" (examples from Chambers & Trudgill 1980: 25–6). Pickford (1956) not only questions the validity of written responses given by the subjects themselves, but also the length of the questionnaires and the reliability of the fieldworkers' judgments on vowel quality because neither the researchers nor the subjects were phoneticians.

One of the obvious problems that arises when dealing with phonetic variation is method of transcription, especially in cases where the subjects themselves are asked to write in responses. The researcher has no indication as to what variant the subject meant by the spelling pronunciation if not properly trained in phonetic transcription. One surviving advantage of the questionnaire method is that a great amount of data can be collected in a relatively short time. A more modern variant of this is the telephone survey.[19]

Another problem of the direct and indirect questionnaire or survey, which was first brought to light by William Labov in a later study of the postvocalic /r/ in New York City, is the inevitable disregard of speaker style. Oral questionnaires tend to elicit a more formal style, or at least a style the speaker believes to be more formal, especially when the speaker is asked his or her opinion on the subject of language or dialect. This phenomenon, aptly named by Labov (1966a) the

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[19] An example of an extensive telephone survey is *Telsur*, a telephone survey of North America, conducted by William Labov. The final product of this project is the *The Phonological Atlas of North America* (2001), edited by William Labov (et al.), University of Pennsylvania Press. It may also be viewed at: http://www.ling.upenn.edu/phono_atlas/home.html.

"observer's paradox", is caused by self-consciousness of the speaker and the presence of the researcher and has persisted as an obstacle throughout sociolinguistic research since its very beginnings. It is an aspect of data gathering every researcher must take into consideration; it is what makes the very variables the researcher is looking for elusive because the speaker knows he or she is being observed. There are techniques used in alleviating the observer's paradox, suggested by Labov himself, which will be touched upon in the following paragraphs.

The fact that the underlying assumption in traditional dialectology was that the dialect spoken by rural, less mobile, older males was the "purer" form implies that researchers were aware of other, "less pure", more novel forms observable *in that same community*. Exactly what criteria the dialectologists were using in order to judge certain variants as more "pure" than others is not clear. Nonetheless, these theorists were aware of variation within a given region, but often these co-existing variants were explained away by two main arguments: dialect mixture and free variation (Mesthrie et al. 2000: 77). Dialect mixture is the co-occurrence of two dialects in one speech community where the speaker can perform a kind of "codeswitching" between the two given dialects, using one variant from one dialect in alternation with a variant from another dialect. An example is the pronunciation or absence of /t/ in the word *often* (Mesthrie et al. 2000: 77). It is important to note here that the underlying assumption is that this activity is not a choice the speaker makes depending on context or situation, which is how codeswitching is usually defined (Blom & Gumperz 1972; Myers-Scotton 1988, 1993a; McCormick 1995: 194); rather the variation is simply an inherent part of the language. The kind of "codeswitching" envisaged is similar to free variation: there are simply two ways of pronouncing something, and independently of context or social situation, the speaker may alternate freely between the different forms available in that particular dialect.

Any type of variation can be explained in a speech community as the result of alternating variables or by claiming that the speaker is not alternating between individual forms within a dialect but entire codes. In essence, dialect mixing and free variation are one and the same thing – they both imply that two forms are used

with no specific correlation with either social or linguistic factors. These arguments are acceptable as long as they are testable, i.e., one can show there are no cases of variable use that are correlated with any linguistic or social factor, such as context, formality or gender. However, if a researcher has made such claims without looking for hypotheses that would prove the theory wrong, in this case by looking for correlations, the claims have been unscientifically made (Popper 1972).

3.2 The development of social and urban dialectology

Researchers began to test for correlations between social factors or speaker variables, dismissing the belief that language is an abstraction containing unsystematic variation. Some of the first studies involving such correlations were conducted in North America, by Hans Kurath and published as the *Linguistic Atlas of North America* (1939–43). Informants were to be categorised, no longer exclusively by where they were residing and their linguistic output, but by whether they were "educated" or "uneducated". The selection process was still haphazard and not clearly defined at this point, e.g., defining the criteria to characterise an individual as educated or not.

As the trend in research slowly moved from town to city, the interest in finding the most conservative forms of dialect began to wane. Urban dialects were being considered now, but were not deemed as useful for the comparative work done by traditional dialectologists. This shift can be understood as a change in emphasis of language study to a synchronic perspective rather than a diachronic one (Chambers & Trudgill 1980: 55).

It also becomes difficult to find a "typical" form of a dialect in an urban setting, as there are more social factors involved in an urban area that would lead a researcher to focus on other methods when choosing informants for investigation. The invention of cassette tape recorders in the 1960s enabled the researcher to conduct longer interviews that were more conversational, and also to conduct studies focusing on phonological and grammatical variables rather than lexis (Chambers & Trudgill 1980: 58).

Forms that were once described as instances of free variation could now be accounted for in terms of the linguistic variable: variants of a linguistic entity or unit that are determined or influenced by social or linguistic factors. In fact, the variation was not free at all. The task at hand then lies in identifying what variables exist in a speech community and what social and linguistic factors correlate with the choice of a particular variant.

In terms of gathering the variables, there are different methods employed by sociolinguists, depending on how much depth (detail) or breadth (number) of variants the researcher is searching for.

Telephone surveys, mentioned earlier, provide a large amount of data that usually consists of a short interview in which the particular variable can be targeted quickly without having to sift through long strings of data. As Milroy (1987: 73) points out, this method may not be as representative as it is intended to be when employed in locations where a certain sector of the population cannot afford a telephone. A well-known example of a rapid, anonymous survey is William Labov's study of the use of the postvocalic /r/ in the department stores in New York City (1966a, 1966b). In asking for where an item was located or on what floor he was at the time of asking, he was able to elicit the response "fourth floor" and simultaneously avoid Observer's Paradox due to the fact that no indication was given that he was interested in the subject's speech. The result a researcher can obtain by employing these methods is a relatively clear picture of a particular variable, yet this type of data gathering limits the researcher to one or two variables only and, for ethical reasons, one cannot surreptitiously record the informant. Thus, the variables cannot be analysed more precisely afterwards as the sole interpretation of the utterance is impressionistically made shortly after the researcher hears it once and writes it down.

On the other end of the scale, an approach known as participant observation is used in order to gather large amounts of data and a large number of variables (Milroy 1987: 78ff.). Participant observation calls for much time and effort on the researcher's part to more or less work him or herself into a community. The clear advantage of participant observation over the rapid, anonymous method is that more possibilities exist of observing many more

variables in a given study, as there will be a far larger amount of data recorded to work with. This method includes getting to know members of the community on a personal level, recording them while having casual conversations and acquiring more subjects who are friends, acquaintances or relatives of the subject. At the same time, the fieldworker can pass through the social networks of the community and gain an idea of the nature of ties in that area, i.e., in terms of density and multiplexity, and provide a more ethnographic profile of the community. Such insight can be gained while working closely within a community like this, and can enable the researcher to explain more easily "why a speaker's language occupies a particular position in a wider social structure" (Milroy 1987: 78). Labov (1981) makes several criticisms of the participant observation technique. This manner of moving through social networks in the community person by person may result in a less multi-faceted picture of the community as a whole, as the fieldworker may be moving in only a subset of networks. In addition, a fieldworker may run across complications in reaching a quota for a sample. For example, a young male researcher may find it difficult trying to interview a set number of females in a community where casual relationships occur less frequently between the two gender groups. A more practical problem is the fact that participant observation demands much more involvement and interaction with subjects than other methods. It requires a lot of time for data gathering, and often there is much more data available for analysis than necessary (Milroy 1987: 79). Factors such as background noise from an everyday setting (such as a pub or in a factory) may render a lot of the recorded data of poor quality unanalysable (Labov 1981: 4). Participant observation is useful for more detailed descriptions of interaction in a part of a community, yet it should not be used to generalise to networks outside the area of study.

3.3 Choosing linguistic variables

Labov (1966a, 1966c) first introduced the notion of a "linguistic variable" which can be roughly defined as two or more variants of a linguistic unit (be it a phoneme, morpheme, lexeme, etc.) that have no difference in meaning. The

question of what exactly is intended by "identical meaning" is debatable, however, this is not the only crucial point when defining linguistic variables. For example, monophthongisation of [aɪ] to [aː] in a word such as *time* does not change the meaning, but if it does not have a social indication, it would be difficult to justify /aɪ/ as a linguistic variable. It must be taken into consideration if this variation is a result of internal phonological rules (such as the flapping of /t/ in dialects of North American English). The most important aspect of the variation to determine is that the occurrences of the different forms are socially patterned. Wolfram (1991), however, cautions that sociolinguists should not treat the linguistic variable as an explanation for independent socially-motivated systematic variability, which simply adds social parameters to independent linguistic constrains, i.e., phonological processes. Rather, he suggests the linguistic variable should be viewed as "a convenient, largely heuristic construct that points the way to the 'best fit' between linguistic and social factors" (Wolfram 1991: 31).

In order to gain a clearer insight into which linguistic variables are present in a community, conducting a pilot study is helpful in enabling the researcher to "home in" on variables and also to give an early signal of potential difficulties that may arise (Milroy 1987: 115ff, Milroy & Gordon 2003: 139). This is essential, especially where there is little or no current data provided on the area (which was the case in the survey of vowels in the speech community under investigation for this thesis). A sample study was beneficial in confirming suspected variables as well as in revealing variables that had not been mentioned in earlier investigations because they were either not taken into consideration or they were not socially significant at the time of study.

One question that inevitably comes to mind once particular variables have been identified is how to quantify the range of phonetic outputs into comprehensive categories, i.e., how to index the variable. It is difficult to determine how many "forms" there are of a linguistic variable, and when analysing the actual data, how to determine which variable the acoustic signal belongs to. This issue is partially attributed to the fact that there is dispute among phonologists regarding the status of phonemes and their underlying forms. Hudson (1980: 159) states:

> Is it justifiable to postulate a phoneme such as /h/ in the underlying forms of words like *house* when speakers nearly always leave the sound out in ordinary speech? If not, by what right do we assume that such speakers are illustrating the same variable in choosing between *house* with and without [h] as other speakers who normally have the [h], but sometimes 'drop' it?

One method in creating an index is treating the variable as binary, for example, in Trudgill's studies of h-dropping in Northern English cities or in Labov's investigation of the use of /r/ in New York City, yielding two possible variants: [h] and [Ø], and [r] and [Ø], respectively. The assumption here is that variants are discrete, absolute and expressible in percentages (Trudgill 1974, Labov 1966a, 1966b). As is well known, the situation with vowels poses problems that are more complex: can vowel variants be assessed in a discrete manner if they have continuous dimensions such as backness or roundness? (Hudson 1980: 157).

Some researchers have addressed the problem by creating index scores for variables in which the possible variants are arbitrarily arranged according to a specific dimension, e.g., backness of the variants [ɛ] (index score 1),[20] [ɜ] (index score 2), and [ʌ] (index score 3), for the variable /e/ in Norwich English (Trudgill 1980: 93). This method has been subject to criticism (Hudson 1980: 157–67, Milroy 1987: 117–29, Wolfram 1993, Milroy & Gordon 2003: 142ff). One major criticism is defining the dimensions of a variable. If the data in the example given above revealed variants that also contain differences in nasality, such as [ɛ̃]; one would be faced with determining whether the "extra" dimension is phonologically or socially significant – or perhaps both. Such an example suggests that a basic understanding and awareness of the underlying phonological constraints of the

[20] To calculate an index score, the total number of instances of a variable is multiplied by its index number (here, either 1, 2 or 3). The sum of these three multiplications is divided by the total number of instances of all three variants, in this case, if a speaker has an index score of 2.9, this indicates a high number of instances of use of the variant [ʌ] by that speaker.

sociolinguistic system is necessary before determining which variants would be the most accurate in explaining variation.

Indexing in itself implies some kind of ranking (Hudson 1980: 161). There are no guidelines given to the researcher of how to order the variants using a specific phonological dimension, such as height, yet two variant values will be polarised at the ends of the scale as "extremes" (lowest and highest) in relation to each other. Again, this may be a misleading assumption if other phonologically significant dimensions are not taken into consideration. Milroy (1982) has shown that a unilinear scale can be inaccurate in the case of Belfast speech, where middle-class speakers tend to avoid the two extreme phonetic ends of the scale. This is clearly a problem in ranking variants from lowest to highest in prestige on a social level in general, unless the researcher is assuming that the ranking of prestigious and stigmatised forms is uniform by all the members of that speech community. This assumption of uniformity is a fundamental principle of the functionalist approach of social structure. This approach is often implicit in sociolinguistic research since Labov's first studies, and much of the work since then has been conducted under this assumption without it being explicitly stated (Mesthrie et al. 2000: 33).

Thus, the challenge that lies in determining variants is avoiding losing any significant information when creating a system of variation and knowing which phonetic dimensions should not be overlooked. When creating a set of variants from a non-discrete set of information, arbitrary ranking on both a phonetic and a homogeneously prestigious basis may skew the data.

3.4 Choosing social variables

This section will be a discussion of the possible social (or speaker) variables used or proposed in sociolinguistic studies in the past. Once data has been gathered from a particular speech community, the task is to decide what social aspects of the community may be the motivation for distinctive variable use. The question should be asked: *What is a speech community?* As societal structure is focused upon, one needs to understand what traits individuals in a society share that allow

them to be grouped in terms of the concept known as a community. Classic definitions such as those given by Lyons fail to stress the cultural cohesiveness of a group: “All the people who use a given language (or dialect)” (1970: 326). Even if the element of shared interaction were to be added, Labov stresses that one still should “avoid any error which would arise in assuming that a group of people who speak alike is a fundamental unit of social behaviour” (1966a: 136). He states that the concept of a speech community forms during the course of the research process as an outcome, rather than an assumption. The definition offered by Mesthrie et al. (2000: 37) gives an option of shared social norms:

> A speech community comprises people who are in habitual contact with each other by means of speech which involves either a shared language variety or shared ways of interpreting the different language varieties commonly used in the area.

Definitions will vary depending on how much the researcher wants to stress the significance of social interaction as well as the nature of the interaction in accordance with his or her view of social structure, e.g., shared norms (Patrick 2002). The issue of social structure will be picked up in the next section, which deals with the variable of socioeconomic class.

Similar to the difficulty of determining index levels for variables that are continuous, the difficulty of delimiting a community lies in the fact that it is continuous, on different levels, but for the sake of analysis, at some point a demarcation must be made somewhere. The term must also be considered from the perspective of individual speakers – as they move within a “community”, individuals may define themselves as belonging to various communities at the same time on a particular occasion, depending on what is contrastive in the circumstances. For example, a student may feel herself a member of the University of the Witwatersrand student body when among students from University of Cape Town, or identify herself as a woman among a group of men, and by the same token be conscious she is South African when speaking to Canadians. As is well-

known, self-identification in a community becomes relative, depending on what dimensions contrast in relation to another group at the time of interaction.

The term "community" is therefore difficult to define *per se*, but can be used as a tool for the researcher when designating a population for analytical purposes. Patrick (2002: 600) argues that researchers (such as Labov) have often made the assumption that a speech community is a socially cohesive unit with a set of shared norms from which some groups deviate. It is perhaps more appropriate to simply define speech community as a social sample unit of study that is analysed on a linguistic basis (Patrick 2002). This is a particularly advantageous approach when discussing the sample of study for the present thesis. The sample of speakers in the present study are all students of the University of the Witwatersrand, and the labelling of the university student body as a "speech community" is simply based on the fact that it is the section of the population of Johannesburg (or South Africa) that is enrolled there. More critical in observing the speech behaviour of the sample population is to understand the types of relationships that are important to the individual and that may have influence on language use in terms of social networks. These networks may be determined, to some extent, by the kind of social ties the student has at the university. However, other ties, such as family and friends at home or in the workplace (if the student is also employed), must be taken into consideration to gain a full picture of the network structure of the individual. This is one of Milroy's criticisms of earlier urban studies that present their results as a "scale model of the city as a whole" (1987: 35). She stresses:

> The chief characteristic of any kind of network procedure of speaker selection is that the unit of study is the pre-existing social group, rather than the individual as the representative of a more abstract social category.

The question concerning definitions comes into mind once again, in this case: "What is meant by social group?" An individual's social group or social network is defined by the relationships he or she has with others, which are

defined in terms of the number of contacts the speaker has in the area in question (*density*) and the capacity in which the speaker maintains the contact (*multiplexity*). This is useful when considering the possibility of identifying in-group norms to explain the maintenance or spread of certain vernacular variants in a community.[21]

Does an individual's social network constitute a speech community? Perhaps it does in smaller, close-knit communities, yet in the case of the University of the Witwatersrand, many individuals are speakers who are more mobile and in more linguistically diverse areas than individuals in inner-city Belfast, for example, and have contacts with individuals in areas geographically separated from each other, as is revealed in the interviews (see Appendix D for examples). Milroy (1987: 103ff) does address the problem of utilising a network variable in more loosely-knit communities, which is due to the fact that there is no core set of networks to which one can compare each speaker's level of integration.[22]

Another approach to social networks and communities, suggested by Morgan (2003), focuses not so much on the structures of networks but rather on a group's relationship to power within its society, i.e., on how the members of the community deal with hegemonic norms and the norms established to define what they believe they share in terms of local knowledge, attitudes, beliefs and values. She takes a more interactional approach to definition – there is constant negotiation among individuals regarding these beliefs and norms; a speech community is a reflection of the summation of these notions and the manner in which individuals interact with each other as a whole.

Thus, the university student body as a speech community will only be defined for the sake of the scope of this analysis. It would not be truly accurate to correlate a student's linguistic behaviour with his or her degree of integration into a constructed "University of the Witwatersrand speech community". However, the concept of social networks as a variable is certainly not dismissed altogether.

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[21] Leslie Milroy's study in Belfast (1980) is an example of a study of vernacular maintenance and loss using the analysis of social networks.

[22] Demographic information regarding areas in which the subjects reside and have resided was obtained during the interview. This information is given in Appendix D.

Frequency of the use of English in specific domains is taken into account for the analysis, as well as the speaker's attitudes to the use of English and other languages (if applicable). After all, it is the speaker's perceptions and attitudes in interaction that shape the meaning and concept of a speaker's speech community, not the analyst's.

3.5 The variable "social class" and approaches to class structure

Since the early studies of Labov, Trudgill, and many others, social class (or socioeconomic class) has been used as a speaker variable. The determination of a particular class is usually a combination of several factors, such as income, occupation and education (Milroy 1987: 30). This is implicit in the functionalist approach to social structure, which has long dominated the field of sociolinguistics without much refutation (Shuy et al. 1967; Labov 1966a, 1966b; Trudgill 1974, 1983a; Kerswill 2006). In this section, conceptual difficulties of class and issues regarding sampling according to class will be discussed, in light of two major theories, functionalism and Marxism. It will be argued that *class* is an ill-defined variable in sociolinguistic studies and is often conflated with *status*. The differences between these two "variables" will be discussed in more detail. The section will conclude with the position that this study is based on the functionalist approach, i.e., a notion of social stratification, by which the boundaries between classes are not clearly defined. Yet, in this study, the social variable of class is not employed at all, rather the more defined category, educational background is employed, as it is more clearly associated with social status in South African society in particular.

The first and more popular approach in variationist studies that will be discussed is functionalism. The main idea of functionalism, first developed by Émile Durkheim (1893), is that all groups within a society work on a basis of *shared norms,* which are striven for at all levels or by all classes, rather than on fundamental differences or conflict. Thus, there exists a continuum of the classes, yielding a socially stratified society as prestigious values are assigned to an occupational level, not on positioning in relation to means of production (Milroy

1987: 99). Classes must then be delimited more or less arbitrarily by the researcher, again adding in factors such as educational background and income. Yet this implicit assumption of shared norms is what has been called to attention by sociolinguists regarding studies such as Labov's *The Social Stratification of English in New York City* (1966a). The use, and perhaps spread, of stigmatised forms, or in this view, forms which all classes regard as being of lower prestige, cannot be easily explained. How should one account for the maintenance of less prestigious forms if norms are shared? Trudgill (1983a) explained this in terms of *covert prestige* values found among the lower and working classes, opposing the norms as a form of solidarity. As in the discussion of speech community, it seems the stratified approach to society and the labelling of norms and prestige forms is a tool for analysis rather than an actual assessment of what is influencing the linguistic behaviour of the individuals of a social group. This follows the main criticism of the functionalist approach: it is questionable how a study should be conducted on the relation between social structure and language use when social structure is not clearly defined (Milroy 1987: 98).

A more structured approach to delimiting class is the Marxist approach. One of the main areas of disagreement between the functionalist and Marxist views concerns wealth, power, status and how these entities are distributed in a society. The Marxist stand on society is based on the idea of a class struggle, where the bourgeoisie are those in possession of the prestige, power and means of production and the proletariat is responsible for producing the wealth of the society (Horvath & Sankoff 1987, Marx & Engels 1998: 50, Mesthrie et al. 2000: 31). A Marxist approach to the variable of class would focus on the speakers, with the absence of the concept of *shared norms* (Horvath & Sankoff 1987: 179); rather this approach would reflect language use with "bipolar" variation (Milroy & Gordon 2003: 96). In categorising class as such, this linguistic divergence is explained by negative views held by the opposing classes, which is sustained by powerful class awareness.

Based on the Marxist concept of class, studies have been made (Sankoff & Laberge 1978, Eckert 1989, Goke-Pariola 1993) which attempt to rationalise the value of speaker's language use in terms of Bourdieu's (1984) linguistic market.

Rather than establishing a link between variables such as occupation and use of prestige forms, an index is created that measures specifically how speakers' economic activity, taken in its widest sense, requires, or is necessarily associated with, competence in the *legitimated*[23] language, hence, avoiding the more "objective" stratificational values and judgments in most studies (Mesthrie et al. 2000: 342).

Difference between classes was shown to have a striking effect on language use in John Rickford's study (1986) in a small town he dubs "Cane Walk" in Guyana. The three classes, the upper class, the "estate class" and the working class all share a history stemming from indentured workers from India, the British as colonists, and others, yet ethnicity is over-ridden by class. Rickford concludes, since the classes are rigidly set with minimal chance of movement upwards, that the speech of the workers is a norm of solidarity in itself, even a form of resistance and political statement, against the higher classes.

In a sociolinguistic study of a speech community in South Africa, one would need to establish clear delineations between groups, such as a working class and middle class, and assume that behavioural differences are caused by class awareness. This would prove difficult in South Africa as class differences are no longer fully established on the basis of ethnicity (as they once were). Particularly in Johannesburg, the financial hub of South Africa, there are a considerable number of affluent black professionals who now live in formerly white suburbs, were often educated in formerly white schools and are now deemed a part of a rising middle class (Bertelsen 1999, Carroll 2004). Carroll (2004) sums up this group of individuals well in the title of his article *South Africa's middle class – Young, black and driving a BMW*. Thus, it would seem plausible that class differences are not as clearly established and entrenched as in the apartheid era, when it might have been useful to use Marxian analysis of speech behaviour. For this reason, I have chosen the functionalist view of South African society rather than a Marxist one, in order to avoid the assumption of strict delineation between classes.

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[23] The *legitimated* language is the variety that individuals who are subjected to power believe is the "better" or "more correct" variety and accept as being higher on the linguistic market (Mesthrie et al. 2000: 344–45).

As mentioned at the beginning of this section, this study will not include class as a social variable but rather educational background in investigating linguistic behaviour, as class is too broad and "fuzzy" a category to show possible strong correlations.

Perhaps variationist studies should not deal as much with defining the economical concept of class but rather the focus should be directed towards the evaluative attitudes associated with class, i.e., status. The distinctions made between *class* and *status* are relevant to linguistic variation. Classes are defined by Halsey (1978: 20) as being

> formed socially out of a division of labour. [Classes] make up more or less cohesive and socially conscious groups and their families which share similar work and market situations.

Status, on the other hand, is not as much a question of economic standing but of evaluative attitudes members of the society accord to each other. According to Giddens (1989: 212), positive or negative status need not coincide with class divisions, and may have local variation in structure. An example of disparity between class and status is illustrated by the classification of individuals as *nouveau riche*; they belong to a higher class but do not necessarily enjoy as high a status as members of the same class who are born in financially established families. Milroy (1987: 32) gives an example of local variation of status by comparing two "professional elites" of the same class that may have different statuses depending on the class structure of the city in which they reside. If one city has a much higher proportion of professional elites than another, the individual in the city with fewer professional elites has a higher status in that society as compared to the one residing in an area where there are more professional elites.

Other issues in defining class arise in societies where there is a high amount of social mobility and migration. In a functional analysis, individuals may change occupations and income, thus they would be categorised in a higher class technically, yet their social and linguistic behaviours and more importantly how

other members of society would evaluate them reflect their original class (Halsey 1978: 24). This situation is similar for migrants entering a society. They may be placed in the same class as their peers in terms of power and economic standing, but on the basis of, e.g., ethnicity, they receive lower status (Horvath 1985: 46).

In sum, the variable of social class can present a problem in a number of ways. Firstly, if a functionalist approach is taken, and it is assumed there are shared norms among the community investigated, the question of how to index the scale to represent stratification most appropriately is posed. Again, this is an issue of fuzziness on a continuum; even so, the fact that co-variation of behaviours exists within a social class in itself creates difficulty in interpreting patterns. Yet, a scale of social class based on occupation, status, income and others' view of the individual is easier to operationalise and quantify than a speaker's position with regards to relations of production in a society, which in the Marxist view has more influence on language use.

Yet it is not in the interest of this thesis to determine which approach to social structure is more explanatory in variationist studies. It has also been established that the concept of class itself is ill-defined and not necessarily the centre of focus when investigating social variables and linguistic behaviour. It has been argued why the social variable of class has not been utilised in this thesis, but more specific variables, such as education and ethnicity, are employed for analysis. In South African history, education and ethnicity have been linked to class and status from the colonial period to the apartheid period, the latter of which created a system of segregated education. The brief history of South Africa and of both social variables, educational background and ethnicity, will be discussed in Chapter 4.

3.6 Conclusion

A sociolinguist must consider a few aspects of methodology before embarking on a study. Based on the investigation, a methodology should be chosen that is considered the most appropriate for the choice of linguistic variable, social variable and general view of class structure of the society in question. In terms of

the linguistic variable, an understanding of the phonological system of the dialects or languages is necessary, so that the significant variation can be captured effectively. It has been argued that often this choice is quite subjective and arbitrary, even when the variants have been chosen; the researcher must carefully decide on the cut-off line between variant X and Y of a specific variable. The choice cannot be made on phonetic nature alone, because even if the token is analysed by a computer for exact wavelength, the hearer may not *perceive* it as being of such-and-such a wavelength, and thus impressionistic decisions play a primary role in deciding which variant has been uttered. A researcher must also become familiarised with significant social factors in the society in question through background research, observation and interaction in order to determine the social variables that would reveal the most variation between speakers.

There are problematic areas in defining "class" as this comprises a number of factors, which may vary from society to society. Once a group has been chosen, it must also be taken into consideration that this "linguistic community" has been delineated by the researcher, unless the group lives in complete isolation. Milroy (1980) points out the importance of social networks within a linguistic community, which will also have an effect on the variation within this group. Finally, the overall approach to social structure should be considered, however, it has been argued that determining how class is defined is not as necessary as understanding the society's evaluative attitudes towards different groups, i.e., status that is based on critical factors, such as educational background or ethnicity.

Chapter 4. The Social History of South Africa and the Social Variables Chosen for this Study

Choosing the social factors requires an understanding of what is important in delineating social groups as a whole, how speakers identify themselves as part of a group. Therefore a sociolinguist must first cover a fair amount of political and historical ground in order to understand which approach, functionalist or Marxist, is more appropriate to the particular society being studied.

It is appropriate to combine the socio-political history of the country, in order to be aware of the social structure of the present day, with the social variables, so that the basis for choosing what were considered to be the most suitable or influential social variables in this study is clear. This chapter will give a brief history of the development of South African societies, including a focus on political changes, in order to clarify the nature of the class divisions in this society. The social variables chosen for this study – educational background, ethnicity and gender – will be discussed, along with a history of the educational system in this country up to the present day.

4.1 The development of social structure in South Africa

One statement that can be made concerning the history of South Africa is the awareness of heterogeneity which has been actively sustained to different degrees throughout the development of the country, from the earliest recorded periods to the present day. South Africa did not exist as a single geographical state until the Union of 1910, but even after political union, there was clear uncertainty among South Africans in defining who they really were in this fragmented social hierarchy. The present Republic of South Africa is an ex-colonial country which is based on capitalist industrialism (Carroll 2004). The phases of history as Lanham (1996) has divided them in his description of history in South Africa will be

covered, as the events demarcating these periods not only benchmark changes in the use and status of English, but signal the onset of changes in social structure as well.

4.1.1 South Africa before democracy

Not many years after the arrival of Jan van Riebeeck and a small band of Dutch people at Table Bay in 1652, it was clear that the Cape would have to be set up as a colony rather than a trading post, for sailors of the Vereenigde Oost-indisch Compagnie (VOC; the Dutch East India Company) to reach their destinations with ample food and supplies (Unterhalter 1995: 212). The Dutch began to push outward from around *Kaapstad* (Cape Town) and with this movement, they displaced the Khoikhoi, who were indigenous to the area (Nienaber 1963: 97ff, Traill 1995: 3). The colony expanded into the Cape interior as immigrants arrived either as employees of the VOC or freely from Europe (Oakes et al. 1988: 38). In addition, approximately 60,000 slaves were transplanted to South Africa from Madagascar, Indonesia, India and east Africa (Ross 1999: 23).[24] A social hierarchy started to form, with European settlers in the upper ranks, and their slaves from the aforementioned territories and Khoi labourers in the lower ranks. At the end of the 18th century, however, the distinctions between European descendents, the Khoi and slaves were no longer clear at the Cape as there was the occurrence of intermarriage, miscegenation and proselytisation of Islam and Christianity (Oakes et al. 1988: 50, Malan 1996: 127).

A drastic change for South African society came about with the discovery of minerals in the Free State and later the Witwatersrand region of the Highveld in the late 1860s. Mining boomtowns such as Kimberley and Johannesburg sprang up, creating a heavy influx of both skilled and unskilled labourers to the city and a new western industrial social system in the country (Unterhalter 1995: 216). Although there were mine workers of both European and African descent, a racial division was formed as unskilled white labourers received higher wages than

[24] Slavery as such was abolished in South Africa in 1834.

Africans in the same occupation, and the majority of skilled labourers such as artisans were white (Ross 1999: 56). The mining plutocracy was firmly under rule by the English-speaking population and thus the higher class habitus[25] was determined by them. Immigrants from Britain and Western and Eastern Europe arrived in South Africa, their numbers reaching approximately 400,000 towards the end of the century, with aspirations to participate in the promising outlook of a growing industrial economy that had its sources in gold, diamonds and other natural resources.

Lanham (1996: 24) describes the social situation in this period as an English presence in the more powerful classes in the industrial/mining areas of colony, with the Afrikaners dominating the more agricultural ones. African labourers working in and near the mines were restricted to residing in barracks near their areas of work, and were not allowed to bring their families with them, creating a significant population of migrant labourers. Within the cities themselves, the English-speaking mining magnates had the most access to resources, i.e., power. Interestingly, Afrikaners working in the city were largely restricted to blue-collar or unskilled labour and not often tolerated in English social spheres (Lanham 1996: 23). Despite the African labour force being restricted to hostels outside of the mines and cities, there was a steady increase of permanent urban black settlements (Thompson 1995: 111).

By the end of the Second World War, white South Africa had come to see itself as a fragmented state – the English speakers were trying to sustain their power over the economy; there was a growing rise of Afrikaner nationalism as a response. Africans were caught in the midst of this struggle but with each ordinance and policy passed by Parliament, they were further segregated and isolated from the white nation-state, e.g., being denied the right to vote and own property (Unterhalter 1995: 223).

Bourdieu's (1977: 72) formal definition of *habitus* is: "[The system of] durable, transposable dispositions, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures, that is, as principles which generate and organise practices and representations that can be objectively adapted to their outcomes without presupposing a conscious aiming at ends of an express mastery of the operations necessary in order to attain them. Objectively 'regulated' and 'regular' without being in any way the product of obedience to rules, they can be collectively orchestrated without being the product of the organising action of a conductor".

The laws of segregation began to crystallise as it was envisioned that the economy should be divided into a white bourgeoisie and a large black labour force that was easy to maintain and not too costly for businesses and for the State (Unterhalter 1995: 222ff.).

As Afrikaner Nationalism grew, so did African resistance. Countless strikes, protests, uprisings and boycotts occurred during this period, as Africans in groups as civilians, workers or politicians demanded more rights in this regime, e.g., better living standards, improved housing, higher wages, and more political rights overall (Unterhalter 1995: 229). Some of the driving forces of apartheid were executed through Bantu Education, which enabled the State to "control" the level of education and skills of Africans (cf. §4.2) and the push for the importance of Afrikaans in South African society (Thompson 1995: 196 ff.).

With the election of Hendrik Verwoerd as leader of the National Party in 1958, the principles of apartheid began to pervade all domains of South African life, including the media and, interestingly, ethnic identity. This was realised by ensuring that black identity and white identities should not share any possible traits. All "non-white" ethnic identities were placed into the following groups: Coloured, Indian, Northern Sotho, Southern Sotho, Ndebele, Swazi, Tsonga, Tswana, Venda, Xhosa and Zulu (Mmusi 1993). All "non-whites" were moved into territories or townships according to the group to which the government felt they belonged. It would seem the one aspect of society these groups would share is national identity, i.e., everyone was still in fact a South African, but the government was able to prevent this from materialising by underlining the fact that any non-white could be forcibly moved back to his or her "homeland" if this was deemed necessary (Unterhalter 1995: 232ff.). These designations were often arbitrary, such as Coloured and White, where race was determined by a combination of appearance, religious beliefs and even level of education (Posel 2001). This kind of unscientific classification sometimes led to members of the same family being classified as belonging to different racial groups.

4.1.2 The "new" South Africa – Period of Transformation

1994 marked the official end of the apartheid era with democratic elections as Nelson Mandela was voted into office as the president of the Republic of South Africa. The former homelands and provinces were combined to create nine new provinces – for the first time, all of the area within the political borders of South Africa and every person living within them would all equally be known as South African. This is the period we are living in at present, a period of transformation. It is a time of transition, moving from the former system of apartheid, which kept different groups of society separate on many different social levels: from education, residence, occupation, power to vote for government to sexual relations. The new system is one of democracy, which is aimed to promote equal and fair treatment of all citizens of the Republic of South Africa in all aspects of society. Of course such a period is marked by constant flux from year to year; the memories of the past are not so easily erased.

The purpose of this section is to give some insight into what today's society looks like. Since the 1980s with the abolishment of the pass laws,[26] there has been a mass migration from the rural to urban areas, that are now open to people of all ethnic groups, especially in schools. Identities and ethnicities are still strongly compartmentalised in the minds of most South Africans, which is explained by the country's history.

The social variables educational background, ethnicity and gender will now be discussed, with justifications as to why they are hypothesised to influence speech behaviour.

4.2 The social variable "educational background"

In §3.5, it was established that social class is a problematic variable in both definition and interpretation for analysis. Not only is it difficult to define, the

[26] Pass books were issued to Africans as early as the 1790s in the Cape Colony (Thompson 1995: 37). Manumitted slaves were required to carry passes if they wished to leave town. In later years, pass laws were used to control the movement of "non-whites" into areas outside of their designation, e.g. to work in towns (Thompson 1995: 165).

methods of establishing a scale may not be the same in all societies, which may vary due to historical reasons. It has also been made clear that the concept of social networks is vital in understanding language behaviour, especially in areas such as inner cities, where the norms in local neighbourhoods may not coincide with each other. In addition, the idea of a *shared norm* as a motivation for variable use becomes problematic when studying South African societies.

Due to the fact that South Africa is a multilingual country, access to English among L2 speakers plays an especially critical role in language use. This study concerns itself primarily with the use of English, therefore, it is useful to give an overview of the role and usage of English in education in South Africa. Once a historical backdrop of education has been established, an outline of the current state of affairs in education in terms of demography and financial support will be given, along with the rationale behind the index chosen to categorise the schools.

4.2.1 History of education in South Africa

English education in South Africa began with the establishment of free schools in the Cape Colony in the 1820s. Scottish and English schoolmasters were sent to the colony to spread the knowledge of English, as Dutch had already been present at the Cape for some time (Lanham 1996: 20). A process of Anglicisation began with the governor Lord Charles Somerset's proclamation that English be the official language in order to "facilitate the acquirement of the English language in all classes of society" (Lanham 1996: 20). Missionary schools were set up to educate those of both European and African backgrounds. Much of the English values, culture, loyalty and education had been indoctrinated into this "elite group of men and women with a high competence in English" (Lanham 1974: 288). At the turn of the century, the Orange Free State (an independent territory from 1854) enacted a rather innovative policy that both English and Dutch be recognised equally as MOIs in schools. At this point, the decision regarding the amount of English present in the educational system was extremely decentralised – it depended fundamentally on the demographics and financial resources of the area.

Even after the declaration of both English and Dutch as official languages in the union of South Africa in 1910, the tradition of English as a critical MOI in schools endured (Ashley 1974: 248). In African schools, the indigenous languages remained a compulsory subject for two to 6 years of grammar school (depending on the province) and at African teacher training colleges.

However, as Hartshorne (1995) notes, with the rise and strengthening of Afrikanerdom and the *Taalstryd* ("language struggle"), from the 1920s to WWII, there was a call to amend the language policy in education in the Transvaal and Free State so that both English and Afrikaans be used as mediums of instruction and compulsory subjects at all levels of schooling. As Afrikaner Nationalists began to come into power, they set down the preliminaries for the education system to come – strict segregation of schools for the two languages (although some parallel medium schools remained); in the African schools, enforced use of the indigenous language in the primary years of schooling, followed by some instruction in Afrikaans (Hartshorne 1995: 309).

It is from this point onward that education (now determined by ethnicity) undoubtedly became a crucial social factor in language use, and for the interest of this study, in the use of English in particular. Assuming that the vast majority of Africans did not have English as an L1, their access to and competence in English would now be primarily formed in the educational domain – other domains such as family, house of worship, and work would have been mainly marked by the absence of English, and fluent bilingualism would have become rare. According to the language policy planners in the apartheid government, the purpose of English for an African was simply to understand enough to carry out instructions given by an individual who spoke only English or Afrikaans –this is summed up in the Bantu Education Act of 1953:

> [A Bantu child is educated so] that the Bantu child will be able to find his way in European communities; to follow oral or written instructions; and to carry on a simple conversation with Europeans about his work and other subjects of common interest. (Eiselen Commission 1951: ¶ 924)

Education in apartheid South Africa was decided strictly along racial lines. Each ethnic group was represented by an administrative body.[27] The public schools were neatly divided up by ethnic group as defined by the Department of Education and Culture, namely white, Coloured, and Indian, while the Department of (Bantu) Education and Training (black) and decentralised administrations for the self-governing and independent "homelands" were responsible for the education of black people (Department of National Education 1991), totalling 17 separate systems of education.[28] The "homelands" consisted of both the "independent states" and "self-governing territories". The administration in the white areas provided uniform education in either English or Afrikaans, depending on the school, and received the lion's share of government funding (Hartshorne 1995). This resulted in notably poor quality of education in black schools: shortage of learning material, poorly qualified teachers, classroom overcrowding, high student/teacher ratios, etc.[29] The system remained in place in "non-white schools" with L1 instruction and dual mediums in secondary school. Private schools, on the other hand, allowed for a higher degree of racial integration. According to Muller (1992: 343), 36% of the learners in South African private schools were black in 1990.

Lanham (1966) conducted a study of the situation in Bantu schools, giving a rather abysmal report of the competence in primary schools in Johannesburg. The failure rate of matriculation candidates in 1961 reached the 75th percentile and only 29% were able to enter university in 1964. Lanham attributes this not only to the inadequate standard of the pupils, but to the teachers as well. The use of English was reduced in the classroom, even during English classes – Lanham found that well over 50% of the primary school teachers in his investigation could not teach the subject "telling the time" properly in English. In 1972, the Bantu Education Advisory Board reduced the period of instruction from 13 to 12 years

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[27] All residents of South Africa were classified by the government as either white, native (later 'Bantu') or Coloured. Indian South Africans were first included in a category "Asian" in 1959.

[28] Originally, the government consisted of only white representatives. In 1984, a tricameral system of legislation was introduced, which included representation of Coloureds and Indians in separate houses, the House of Representatives and the House of Delegates, respectively; the black population was excluded completely.

[29] It should be noted here that the motivation was to reduce the amount of L1 teachers giving instruction in these schools, i.e., white teachers were being removed from black African schools.

which meant pupils in Standard 5 who had just entered their first year of dual instruction were faced with taking a public examination at the end of the year, thus faring much worse than their L1 English and Afrikaans-speaking counterparts (Hartshorne 1995: 312).

Opposition rose among black schools, leading to protests, eventually culminating in the Soweto uprisings in 1976, where the township became filled with protest, boycotts, strikes and violence. This led to a dismissal of the dual medium policy which allowed either English or Afrikaans as the medium of instruction in secondary school (from Standard 5) (Young 1978).

Hofmeyr (2001) notes that a significant increase in government funding for black schools was implemented in the late 1980s, yet white schools still received four times as much support. Despite a shift in the national budget, only about 40% of black students were able to pass the secondary school final exam

4.2.2 South African education today

Since 1994, there has been an attempt to collapse the former apartheid schools into two major types: public (state) and independent (private). Although there has been some integration, the remnants of the apartheid system are still clearly visible. The majority of schools in both South Africa as a whole as well as Gauteng are public (88.2% and 85.5%, respectively) (DET census 1999).

4.2.2.1 Public schools

The early 1990s were marked with the opening of white schools to black pupils with the option, by vote, to become a Model A, B or C school. A Model A system would lead to a school becoming independent with no state subsidies, the Model B option would reduce state funding by 70% and a Model C School, which is what the vast majority of white schools were converted to, enjoyed state funding for staff with its own admission policies.

The landscape of public schools has been largely affected by pupil migration by the middle class from public to independent schools, as observed by Hofmeyr (2002: 3):

> In the greater Johannesburg area there is a knock-on effect from pupils leaving township schools for suburban schools, pupils leaving "ex-Model-C" schools for independent schools, and pupils leaving schools in informal settlements for township schools.

The now "ex-Model C" school has the reputation of offering a better education in English and has been receiving a major influx of black pupils.[30] This has been motivated by parents of black children who find such schooling to be a road to better opportunities in higher education and future careers. Although the "ex-Model C" schools are becoming more integrated, the pass rate of the pupils is indicative of the quality of education as well as location. Hofmeyr (2000: 8), for example, comments on fees of schools in the suburbs: "Such schools charge high fees in the range of R4 000 – 8 000 per annum, depending … and typically they are less racially integrated than those nearer the centre of cities or towns". This is not an entirely accurate generalisation regarding the city of Johannesburg, as the more affluent residential areas are farther away from the Central Business District (CBD) and its surrounding neighbourhoods, such as Hillbrow and Braamfontein, which are predominantly poorer and African. Hofmeyr (2000: 8) goes further to explain that "it is also true that many other ex-model C schools are anything but largely white and rich", and uses the mining town of Carletonville as an example. Again, this is contradictory to her initial statement that schools near cities and towns are generally more integrated. As for the other public schools, originally intended for the other ethnic groups, there has been a downward trend in quality and increase in number of black pupils – this includes the "ex-House of Delegates" (HOD) schools, "ex-House of Representatives" (HOR) schools and "ex-Department of Education and Training" (DET) schools.

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[30] Between 1992 and 1993 there was an 800% increase in the number of black students at ex-model C schools (Schlebusch 1994: 2).

Public schools may be categorised, strictly in terms of fees and pass rate, into the brackets in the table below. The groupings suggested for both the independent and private schools are generalised from data gathered from the national Education Management Information System (EMIS), the HSRC and from studies conducted by the National Director of the Independent Schools Association (ISASA) and therefore may not hold in all cases, but it is predicted that the majority of the schools fall into the designated categories:

Table 5. Educational background index of public schools

Educational Background Level	**Fee Range (per annum)**	**Type of School**	**Pass Rate**
1	R12 000+	ex-Model C	medium/high
2	R6 000 – 12 000	ex-Model C	medium
3	R0 – 6 000	ex-DET, HOD or HOR school	low

Sujee (2004) presents a quantitative analysis of demographic movements of public schools in Gauteng, which reveals a similar shift on the provincial level. There is a noted increase of black learners in the former white TED (Transvaal Education Department) schools in formerly white suburbs (as well as independent schools and those formerly run by the other Departments), a movement he suggests has been caused by learners leaving township schools for the suburban ones. The township schools, however, have not experienced a decrease in the number of students; they have enrolled students from outlying or rural areas (Sujee 2004: 45–46). This has had a noted knock-on effect, as the percentage of Coloured students and Indian students in former HOR and HOD schools, respectively, has decreased, with their numbers increasing in the ex-TED schools from 1996 to 2002. There is also a noticeable shift of Indian students from ex-HOD to independent schools (7.7% in 1996 to 24.8% in 2002).

This particular pattern of movement has led to virtually no deracialisation in the ex-DET schools, however, as mentioned earlier, a high amount in the ex-HOD schools, and less in the ex-HOR and ex-TED schools. Sujee attributes this to the fact that Afrikaans MOI schools were included in the survey, and these have an extremely low number of black learners in comparison to other schools. Carolyn

McKinney (School of Education, University of the Witwatersrand, p.c.) suggests that if the English-stream schools were to be reviewed separately, the percentage of deracialisation would be higher than that shown if all ex-TED schools are grouped together. Despite higher fees, this high amount of integration in English-stream ex-TED schools may be indicative of the appeal of these schools for a wealthy black and middle or upper class (Sujee 2004: 53).

It should also be noted that the deracialisation on the educator level has been much slower than on the learner level. Sujee points out that there is still a strong correlation between what former department the school belonged to and its current educators. Even in the ex-HOD and ex-HOR schools where there has been a significant shift in demography among the students, still 60% and 64% of the educators are Indian and Coloured, respectively (2004: 55). Most striking is the situation in ex-TED schools. In 2002, 10% of ex-TED schools were reported to have a majority of black learners (>80%), contrasted with the teaching body, where at least 90% was white (Sujee 2004: 54). This gives rise to a school environment where almost all of the students are black and the teaching staff virtually entirely white.

In other words, there may be a case of a very poor ex-Model C school in an urban area with a low pass rate. In such a case, for the purposes of this study, this particular school would be grouped in Educational Background Level 3, but roughly according to overall quality of education (such as matric pass rate, teacher/learner ratio, fees, former education development and teacher management ratio, etc.); however, these designations above merely provide primary guidelines.

This information may provide some sort of profile of the school in terms of materials and the "overall education" a school could furnish a pupil. This being said, a task such as indexing educational background on the basis of the abovementioned factors alone is still insufficient for the purposes of this study. A survey of schools based on "quality of education" was conducted on a nation-wide scale by the Sunday Times in an article "The Sunday Times Top Schools" in South Africa (Sunday Times, Business Times Section, Dec 12, 1999).[31] These

[31] The ratings were based on "achievement factors": matric pass rate, matric exemption rate, mathematics participation and pass rate, proportion of learners who take part in extra-curricular

factors are taken into account, yet they do not give a clear picture of the linguistic environment the student experienced during his or her school years. A more extensive assessment with regard to access and use of English is proposed in §4.2.3.

4.2.2.2 Independent schools

Independent schools have had the image of being exclusively white, homogenous and wealthy, but due to new government policies in funding and pupil migration patterns in urban areas, the actual picture of the independent sector has become more diverse, in quality and ethnicity. Since 1994, there has been a boom in the independent sector because of an eroded confidence in public schools and a notably increasing demand for schooling, particularly in black communities. There seems to be a black and white middle class "flight" to independent schools, yet one must keep in mind that these schools do not fall into one uniform category as far as quality of schooling is concerned (Hofmeyr 2001).

In order to classify the overall quality of schooling, the criteria that provincial departments employ in deciding the amount they allot to schools, according to new Funding Norms legislated by the South African Schools Act (1996) and the National Education Policy Act (1996), were used as a guideline for this study. These norms are intended to provide equity and appropriate government funding. Independent schools are categorised by the fees they charge, affiliation with an independent school association, as well as repetition and pass rate, which determines the amount they qualify for from a provincial subsidy (Hofmeyr 2001). The quality of schooling will be grouped into three categories: Education 1, Education 2 and Education 3 and will be determined as follows:

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activities, range of extra-curricular activities, English pass rate and "contextual factors": socio-economic background of learners, teacher/learner ratio, race, fees, former education development and teacher management ratio.

Table 6. Educational background index of independent schools

Educational Background Level	Fee Range (per annum)	Affiliation	Pass Rate
1	R12 000+	registered	medium/high
2	R6000 – 12 000	registered	low/medium
3	R0 – 6 000	unregistered	low

The information on each particular school was collected from the HSRC, as arranged with Adlai Davids (Chief Geographical Information Systems Specialist, HSRC).

4.2.3 Creating an index for the social variable of educational background

One of the major difficulties in sociolinguistic studies, as discussed in Chapter 3 *Issues of Methodology*, is creating a reasonable and justifiable index for both linguistic and social variables. Therefore this index created above has been taken into account, but in order to gain a clearer view of the subject's linguistic environment in school, specific questions were posed during the 20-minute interview. These questions focussed on the speakers' social networks in and around the classroom during their schooling at the secondary level.

Milroy & Milroy (1980; 1987) illustrate the significance and influence of social networks among groups within a speech community in their study of Belfast city districts. Especially in urban areas (though not the inner city), it is difficult to attribute static social variables to an individual speaker without taking into account the various groups of individuals with whom a speaker comes into contact throughout his or her life. This is not static, as an individual will be exposed to different sociolects to which he or she will most likely convergently or divergently accommodate. The term "educational background" is used in this thesis, yet it will not solely be concerned with the type of school the subject has attended, rather, it deals with the student's access to different varieties of South African English and how intense the exposure has been to South African English during the subject's years in an educational institution. In other words, it should illustrate a general picture of a student's social networks during his or her time in secondary school.

The subjects selected were all full-time students enrolled at the University of the Witwatersrand, and their ages ranged from 19 to 30. If they were employed, it was only on a part-time basis in the evenings or some afternoons, or during semester breaks. The dynamics of a varsity student's social networks may have changed since his or her years at high school, but the years at school play a significant role in access to varieties of South African English. The goal was to attempt to index schools, as mentioned earlier, in terms of linguistic environment:

Table 7. Index of educational background according to demographic and linguistic environment

Education index	**Type of school(s)**	**(Predicted) demographic and linguistic situation**
1	ex-model C, ISASA member	white teachers mostly white students MOI = English outside of classroom = English only
2	ex-model C, ex-HOD, possible ISASA member, Afrikaans-stream schools	mostly white teachers mixed students MOI = English or Afrikaans outside of classroom = African language and English
3	ex-DET, not an ISASA member	black teachers black students MOI = African language and English outside of classroom = African language

As mentioned above, there are challenges that arise in attempting to index a complex variable such as educational background, as students attending the same school may have different amounts of exposure to English due to their social networks. If two students attended the same school, the amount of exposure or appropriate index level was determined not only by the school alone, but through

information given from interview questions regarding the amount of use of English directly.[32]

4.3 The social variable "ethnicity"

Ethnicity has been taken into consideration as a social variable since the very beginnings of sociolinguistic studies, e.g., in the speech of black vs. white individuals in the United States. In the paper *The Logic of Nonstandard English* (1977), William Labov sought to establish the recognition of AAVE (then Black Vernacular English) as a legitimate ethnic variety of American English rather than a deficient form of it. Although in its early stages, this work made the sociolinguistic community aware of the social variable ethnicity in linguistic behaviour. Given that there are various ethnic groups in South Africa, this variable must be taken into consideration when investigating variation in South African English.

If ethnicity is to some degree determined by another L1, some linguistic variants may not fall within the expected variants of L1 speakers in the area of study.[33] Such considerations are critical for a more accurate study of linguistic variables as was the case in Horvath's (1985) survey of the Sydney speech community. She took into account previously unattested variables in the Australian English of Italian and Greek immigrants and of the first generation born in Australia of this immigrant parenthood, which she dubbed "accented" and "ethnic broad", respectively. The inclusion of these ethnic variants revealed an informative picture of language change in progress, particularly of the migrant and first-generation Australian-born speakers' movement into the "core" speech community.

For the sake of this study, a definition of ethnicity must be established, but this may turn out to be as difficult to define as a speech community. Perhaps it is

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[32] Such questions were: *"In what language(s) do you speak to your friends most of the time outside of class?"* or *"In what language(s) do you speak to your friends most of the time during class?"* (see Chapter 6 "Methodology and Design" for more details.)

[33] Labov's 1972 study of /r/ in New York City was privative, however Puerto Rican speakers gave responses such as *car'* for *card,* thus creating a new third variant.

wiser to define ethnicity in terms of how the speech community in question defines it themselves. In other words, a researcher should ask what ethnicity means to South Africans. If a group of speakers were to be labelled by a researcher as belonging to ethnicity X, while ignoring the socially salient ethnic differences they perhaps establish among themselves in order to identify themselves and each other against ethnic groups Y and Z, significant explanations for variation would simply be overlooked (or ignored).

When the designations of the different varieties of English in South Africa are considered: "English-Speaking South African English"; "Black South African English"; "Coloured English;" "South African Indian English"; and "Afrikaans English", Afrikaans English and ESSA English *seem* to be based on L1, whereas the others names are based on some sort of ethnic identification. This would not make much sense to the outsider, as some of those in the Coloured community and virtually all of the Indian community speak English as an L1, and a good majority of the Coloured community in the Cape would claim Afrikaans as their L1. Then the question is whose English is the English-speaking South African's and whose Afrikaans English is being discussed when this term is mentioned? If "Afrikaans" is replaced with "Afrikaner" (not Coloured) and "English-speaking South African" with "white English speaker" (not Indian or Coloured), the linguistic divisions become strikingly similar to the designation of groups in the apartheid system.[34] Again, these particular divisions can be justified as individuals were separated from each other and put into communities according to which of these five groups they belonged. The history of these concepts in South Africa will be reviewed again in §4.3.1 in order to understand what they mean to South Africans today, if anything at all, and if they mean enough socially to affect linguistic behaviour.

[34] It should be noted that the term "the English" is sometimes used by L1 Afrikaans speakers to designate whites who are L1 English-speakers, rather than ethnically English. There is no general term for the entire L1 English-speaking population, particularly for designating themselves.

4.3.1 The notion of ethnicity among black South Africans

Ethnic awareness began in South Africa long before the arrival of Europeans with the existence of different kingdoms and clans in southern Africa (Oakes et al. 1988: 62ff). As the Bantu-speaking people spread south of the Limpopo River into what is now South Africa about 2000 years ago, they settled the different regions in groups with some form of political centralisation, such as a chieftain (Ehret 1998: 213ff, Oakes et al. 1988: 62).

The notion of ethnicity was reinforced by the contact of Dutch settlers with the Khoi and the San in the Cape after 1652 as they came to establish a post for the Dutch East India Trading Company. The concept of race itself was variable among the whites as shown by the fact that the settlers first treated the Khoi and San as subhuman (slaves) in the late 17th century but befriended the militarily strong amaXhosa about a century later (Unterhalter 1995: 214).[35] This, of course, changed as the whites altered the concept of how race was to be defined in the years to come.

With the struggle for domination of the nation-state rising between the English and the Afrikaners, their common interest in white supremacy emerged insofar as both the English and the Afrikaners were aware that the conflicts between these groups caused political and economical instability, and that part of unifying the nation would be by unifying themselves as a common race and excluding anyone "non-white". Official white domination caused a smoothing-out of ethnic differences between the black communities of South Africa, as these were not as detrimental to them as the struggle now imposed upon them by the whites (Naidoo 2002: 4). This tactic of using racial supremacy was particularly important to the English plutocracy of the gold and mining industries because too much conflict with the Afrikaners could affect the prices of the gold and diamonds for South Africa (Naidoo 2002: 5). The denial of any political rights to the black population after the establishment of the Union of South Africa in 1910 led to the

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[35] Despite these attitudes, there was a considerable amount of intermarriage and sexual union between white men and Khoi slaves due to shortage of white women. Oakes (1988: 50) states: "Sexual intercourse between whites and slaves often took place without a formal union. During most of its existence the [Dutch East India Trading] Company's slave lodge was renowned as the leading brothel."

formation of the South African Native National Congress (later to be known as the ANC – African National Congress), which represented the *unified* resistance of all black South Africans. Long after the Union, there were still uneasy relations between the two white groups; however, both continued to subjugate the black South Africans in order to appease the other (Naidoo 2002).

Such policies as "Separate Development", (and subsequently the creation of Bantustans), the Immorality Act (1950), and the Population Registration Act (1950) instituted during apartheid, were meant to divide the constructed races assigned by the government, and in doing so, indeed created a stronger awareness of race. Ironically, the government wanted to keep the ethnic distinctions among the Black population, in order to keep them divided in power, thus placing them by their ethnic affiliation into their respective Homelands. Often this was done inaccurately, leading to many blacks being moved to areas where they did not belong (Unterhalter 1995: 233).

Observing this state of affairs, one could argue that in this system class and "race" coincided with one another. This is termed a "ranked ethnic system" (Horowitz 2000: 21ff.). Thus, the struggle to eliminate the apartheid system became both a race and class struggle.

As the ANC became the main party in government in 1994 with the inauguration of Nelson Mandela as president, a neoliberalist economic policy emerged for the nation. However, this liberation from the old apartheid government did not deliver the hope of job opportunity and economic prosperity which the black majority had been anticipating. The government was turned over to the hands of the black nationalists and the whites still retained most of the control of the corporations in the country, which reaped the benefits of tax concessions, lowered interest rates, a privatisation programme and the ability to take capital out of the country (Bond 2004: 2). As there has been a steady increase of skilled labourers, the gap between skilled and unskilled (unemployed) workers has been growing (Desai 2003).[36] To give a clearer picture of the uneven distribution of income in the country, the Statistics South Africa 1996 report

[36] The official statistics show spiralling unemployment numbers, from 16% in 1995 to 30% in 2002, and with the addition of job seekers, the number rises to 43% (Bond 2004).

shows that 3% of the national income was received by the poorest 40% of the population, whilst the top wealthy 10% of the population got over 50%. Bond (2004) summarises the situation as "the replacement of racial apartheid with what is increasingly referred to as class apartheid – systematic underdevelopment and segregation of the oppressed majority through structured economic, political, legal and cultural practices".

Despite the deep dissatisfaction with the turn of events for the majority of the population in South Africa, especially those in townships and rural areas, there are a growing number of black South Africans who do have something to gain from the new system (Desai 2003). Access to education has led more and more black South Africans to gain prestigious and better-earning positions in the workplace. In addition, so-called "insiders" benefit from the specific quotas in companies that must be met to ensure there is fair and equal representation of all groups in employment, with company policies that ensure Employment Equity Opportunities (EEOs) for all citizens of South Africa, and the Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment Act (BEE) of 2003 (Bond 2004). This has led to an increase of black professionals, technicians and skilled workers. Bond (2004) states that some of the criticisms of BEE describe the movement as a way for the larger corporations to form an alliance with the political class. According to the Statistics South Africa Census 2001, 61.4% of the country's professionals and technicians were African, which constituted an "up and coming" black middle class. As far as business ownership is concerned, 10% of businesses are owned by Africans (Carroll 2004).

In sum, the differences between "whites" and "blacks" had begun to emerge in South African society since the days of colonisation. This had been reinforced through the joint oppression of non-whites by English and Afrikaner bodies of power in order to achieve unified domination, that being in terms of race. Although the differences between ethnic groups of black South Africans exist to this day, the collective struggle these groups underwent during the apartheid regime has unified them under racial awareness.

It is this very awareness that may have an effect on the use of English and its complex role among the social networks of black South Africans today. In

Chapter 8, *Discussion*, it will be shown how educational background affects an L2 speaker's overall ability in English; the rest, i.e., the social situations in which the L2 speaker uses English, is the choice of the speaker.

4.3.2 The notion of ethnicity among English-speaking South Africans

When one considers the term "English-speaking South Africans" (as it is often found in the literature, along with "White English-speaking South Africans" and "English South Africans") in a 21st century context, it is not exactly clear what cohesive ethnic group this term is designating, if any at all – it can be simply understood as "people whose first language is English". Perhaps in the 19th century it was more applicable in distinguishing whites who were settling in South Africa, i.e., establishing an opposition to the "Dutch-speaking" whites. Garson (1974: 17) argues that for historical reasons, there remains an ethnic distinction "if we take into account the understanding given at different times to the terms British South Africans (usually implying White settlers) and English-speaking South Africans (a term invented to describe one section of the White population)". But who exactly are the English-speaking South African population?

In its early stages, this group could be identified as primarily originating from the British Isles, marked by the first permanent settlement of some 5000 immigrants in 1820 in addition to the Natal settlement about 30 years later. Until the discovery of diamonds in Kimberley and of gold on the Witwatersrand, only a relatively small trickle of immigrants from Britain broadened the English-speaking community. As the mining towns were quickly established, the influx of English people increased significantly. English speakers from the Cape and Natal began to fill the cities, along with a large number of immigrants from Britain. By 1896, half of the "British" population of Johannesburg consisted of people born in South Africa and the other half hailed from the United Kingdom (Garson 1974: 18). A "second source", as Garson calls it, consisted of Eastern European and Russian Jews fleeing from the pogroms in the late 1800s. By the 20th century, the English-speaking community became a mixed bag, comprised of people of British,

German, French, Irish, Eastern European, Russian, Portuguese, Greek, Italian and Afrikaner background to name a few (Garson 1974: 76). By the time of Garson's study, most of the English-speaking communities were found in urban areas.

English-speaking South Africans have often been defined not by who they are, but rather who they are not. Historically, the English-speaking South African has been described as the individual caught between the two opposing African and Afrikaner forces in South African society, which, depending on political opinion, caused a schism within this group. Welsh (1974) calls this the "political schizophrenia of the English". Perhaps this "schizophrenia" on the individual level has led to the stereotype of the English-speaking South Africans of having feigned neutrality. On the one side, according to Foley (1991), there is the myth of the English speakers as racist imperialists who hide their reactionary beliefs behind a façade of apathy, on the other side is the myth of the so-called "wimps", or:

> pseudo-liberal weaklings meekly apologising for their mere presence in South Africa… trying guiltily and feebly to lend their ineffectual support to the noble/savage (depending on the critic's perspective) African liberation movements. (Foley 1991: 15)

Regardless of such collective stereotypes, the English-speaking South Africans apparently do not perceive themselves as a clearly defined cohesive social group *per se* and lack the ethnic consciousness of the African and Afrikaner communities (O'Dowd 1974, Garson 1987, Foley 1991). How do the English-speaking South Africans distinguish themselves linguistically among themselves on a social scale? Such a question will be investigated in detail in the analysis of the data.

4.4 Gender

Gender is an unavoidable social variable, unless there were a community where there were very few differences in the social roles and behaviour of men and women. Labov's studies in New York City (1966a, 1966b, 1973) and Trudgill's language surveys of Norwich (1974) explain the differences in language use

between the genders in terms of prestige. The conclusion is that women will tend to use the more overtly prestigious forms, i.e., the forms that accord with social norms. As discussed in Chapter 3, *Issues in Methodology*, this conclusion becomes questionable if it is assumed that there is an overall social norm for the speech community being observed. Studies in multilingual communities have shown that gender differences in terms of language use may lead to language shift; for example, the study conducted by Susan Gal (1979) in the Hungarian-speaking Austrian town of Oberwart showed a shift towards German due to exogamy. Women were found to select German over Hungarian as German was associated with economic advancement and Hungarian with "peasantness", thus women would marry workers outside of the village (who used German), leaving the peasant men to look for wives outside of Oberwart as well (and these would most likely be German-speaking).

If South African society resembles those of the western industrialised societies, such as those investigated by Trudgill, Labov and Gal, there may be a tendency for women to use more prestigious forms than men. In terms of a functionalist approach, overtly prestigious or target forms chosen by males or females are assumed to be those of a higher, socially dominant class, whereas covertly prestigious forms are targets that may gravitate towards those of the group or class with whom the individual identifies.

4.5 Conclusion

South Africa has a unique and complex history that consists of struggles for land and power among several groups that have entered the country at different periods. From the era of colonialisation, a class structure based on ethnicity or "race" had already begun to take place, alongside a stratification among whites that became more clearly defined after the discovery of gold and the beginning of the period of industrialisation. This led to a class system stratified along the lines of a western industrialised society: power is based on access to resources and material wealth. The class struggle between ethnicities became more apparent and even with the transition to democracy after 1994, the trenches of class segregation had been dug,

although perhaps they were no longer as clearly determined by ethnicity, owing to the rise of a black middle class.

Education was predictably aligned with the regulations in the apartheid system, whites were to receive the lion's share of support in education, whereas the other designated races had less funding, as has been outlined in the discussion of Bantu Education in §4.2.1. The desegregation of schools led to a massive knock-on effect in the education system. Children of previously disadvantaged backgrounds could attend the "better" ex-model C schools, which in turn created a movement of children of former white public schools to the independent sector. This domain, because of language use, contact and social interaction, appears to play a critical role in the pronunciation of English, use of the language and attitudes towards it, which will be explained later in this thesis. The other main driving force, ethnicity, will also prove to be a major factor in language choice because of its prominent role in South African society. Gender has also been included, as this may play a secondary role in terms of language prestige and social pressure caused by gender roles in society.

Chapter 5. The Linguistic Variables Chosen for this Study

One of the more challenging tasks in a sociolinguistic study is determining what linguistic variables are considered socially significant by the speech community. As discussed in Chapter 3 *Issues in Methodology*, once a set of variables is chosen, it is then essential to decide the number of variants the variable contains and how these variants should be indexed in relation to each other, i.e., within a binary system or on a scale. In order to select socially significant variables for this investigation, an extensive study of the past works on South African English and its varieties was conducted. The following section is a summary of the literature written on South African English, dating back from 1928 to the present day. It should be noted that much of the research was not focused on regional varieties, as one would find in dialect atlases of North America or England, but rather on dialects according to ethnicity and other social variables, such as gender. The next section will provide brief descriptions of the kinds of investigations and findings conducted by linguists who have done a significant amount of work in the various dialects of South African English: Hopwood, Hooper, Lanham, Wells, and Lass. A summary of all documented vowel variants (in lexical sets) for the various dialects of South African English is provided in table 8 and table 9 consists of modified variables chosen for this study.

5.1 "White South African English"

The studies conducted primarily on White South African English focus on speech communities of L1 English speakers across the country. Some studies are focused on age group or gender (Hooper 1944), with some basic delineation of social class.

5.1.1 Major contributions to the study of White South African English

5.1.1.1 Hopwood

The earliest comprehensive descriptions of South African English as a separate variety of English began as early as 1928 with the work of Hopwood. Hopwood provides a rather detailed analysis, limited to ESSAs and Afrikaners, which covers deviations from Standard English, defined by Hopwood as a "form of carefully spoken English which will appear from the majority of educated people as entirely free from unusual features. This speech will be acceptable not only to the South of England, but in the English-speaking world" (Hopwood 1928: 2). Thirty-one variants are identified as "South African", including consonants, pitch, stress and intonational differences. Often in early descriptions of dialects, there is little numerical data and information on the background of the subjects themselves.

Hopwood explains his data is based "on a four year tour of the Union" which he conducted, examining pupils of primary and secondary schools in the four provinces of that time. The data was gathered in the form of a questionnaire, requiring the subject's native language and home province, followed by a list of words and questions pertaining to their pronunciation, yet there is no information as to how many speakers of each respective language were interviewed, nor is the subjects' province of origin indicated. It is also unclear whether Hopwood himself was writing the phonetic descriptions as the subjects were being interviewed.

Interestingly, the list of South African English characteristics ("General Characteristics") is considered to represent "average pronunciation", that is, "what is common to the speech of any five boys in their teens, chosen at random from any Primary School in the Union" (Hopwood 1928: 7). Hopwood believes native language is not a determining factor in pronunciation, rather the question of whether the child learns English in South Africa or not is vital. The Afrikaner children simply deviate more in the general characteristics of South African English (using so-called "Minor Characteristics"), which he predicts will eventually be taken up by all South African children, native English and Afrikaans-speaking, within the next generation (Hopwood 1928: 7–8).

Phonetic variations of Scottish English, Northern English, Cockney English and Afrikaans are listed and discussed as points of comparison because, according to Hopwood, these dialects appear to have had primary influence on South African English. His final claim states that Cockney English is the basis for South African English, and he describes correlations with Australian English, by referring to specific diphthongs as well as short vowels that are recognisably features of the South African Chain Shift (see §5.1.2.1.1). Scottish and Afrikaans English seem to have an interwoven influence on South African English, due to the fact they have overlapping features, e.g., a trilled *r*. The reinforcement of the two varieties is accounted for by the numerous Scottish teachers of English in South Africa that were replaced by Afrikaans speakers, especially in primary schools (Hopwood 1928: 46).

5.1.1.2 Hooper

Although Hooper (1944a) conducted "only" a "preliminary" survey of English spoken by both male and female high school students in the Transvaal, his investigation is worth mentioning because he was one of the few dialectologists to actually carry out a survey based on statistical data during this time in South Africa. He was not only searching for differences among gender, age and region, he took into account that there would be variation based on class, which he designated as "upper class" and "middle class". One must keep in mind this study was conducted in a pre-Labovian period when linguistic variables and social stratification were not considered systematically.

Hooper (1944a: 476) begins his paper by criticising Hopwood's work (1928) for being founded on the assumption that Standard British English is the "correct" or "best" pronunciation and because any data noted by Hopwood that deviates from the standard is marked as aberrant or incorrect. A second motivation for the study is to conduct a more accurate and statistically based survey than Hopwood's (1928). He states, "Professor Hopwood mentions figures; but these appear to only be a rough estimate, and no statistical evidence is quoted to support them" (Hooper 1944a: 477).

Hooper based his classification of the subject on a short interview carried out before the recording of data by asking the students where they lived, their parents' occupation, and where they had been born. He found that pupils who lived in English-speaking areas, such as Johannesburg, used more standard forms than those living in Afrikaans-dominated areas; similar results in terms of higher frequency of standard forms were found for girls versus boys and older pupils versus younger ones. [37]

One notable recurring feature in Hooper's works (1944a, 1944b, 1951) is his steadfast opinion that South African English does have features distinct from, albeit not inferior to, standard British English pronunciation. He is certainly one of the first linguists in South Africa to express the idea that the stigmatisation of true South African variants is purely a social one, driven by the English-speaking South Africans' "sense of inferiority" to England. His visions for South African English and its future can be summed up in the following quote:

> We are wasting our time trying to teach South African children a Standard English pronunciation. What we need to do is to establish a South African Standard of our own, based on pronunciation which we find in practice … and [which] is acceptable among cultured South African speakers.
> (Hooper 1944b)

5.1.1.3 Lanham

The majority of the dialectological research on South African English in the late 1960s up until the 1970s was conducted by L.W. Lanham (Lanham & Traill 1962, 1965; Lanham 1964, 1966, 1967a, 1967b, 1974, 1978b; Lanham & Macdonald 1979). The majority of subsequent researchers have all based their work on ESSA English on his findings during that period (Jeffery 1973, Partridge 1973a, Wells 1982, Lass 1987a, Lass 1987b, Mesthrie & McCormick 1993, Branford 1994, Lass 1995). Although Lass (1995) uses Lanham's work as a basis for his research, he

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[37] Hooper considers the "standard" forms those that are closer to standard British English pronunciation, i.e., the variants he claims South Africans consider "more correct".

critiques the categorisation of the three basic lect types Lanham establishes for South African English and maintains that there have been changes in the social hierarchy since Lanham's time of research, that is if the original described allocated sociolects were accurate at all (1995: 94). Lanham's work began with descriptions of South African English pronunciation in a social context in *English in South Africa: Its History, Nature and Social Role* (1964). Lanham is aware of dialectical differences based on social factors that may vary from speaker to speaker, depending on social situation. He does not specify the dialect origins of South African English; rather he views South African English as a conglomeration of several English dialects, which were not only geographically distinguishable but class-stratified as well. This so-called "Settler English" began to become accepted as *the* English in South Africa but was influenced by a second wave of immigrants from England to Natal (specifically between 1848–1862) which defined the aspect of social stratification in dialect even more clearly, the most prestigious being the dialect closest to Standard British English, or Southern British English. Lanham claims this did not, however, affect the actual character of South African English pronunciation *per se,* it simply verified it had a lower prestige value than Southern British English. As Afrikaners began to move from the platteland into the cities in the beginning of the 20th century, there was a large increase in the number of L2 English speakers, influencing the shape of the English spoken in urban areas. Although it is clear there would be a growing influence of Afrikaans on English in these speech communities, Lanham states,

> it must be pointed out that, contrary to popular opinion, most of the real hallmarks of South African English at the present are the products of inherent changes within South African English itself and not the result of outside influence.
> (Lanham 1964: 23)

The most extensive study conducted by Lanham was a joint project with Carol Macdonald in 1979, which was based on a 1973 language survey released by the Human Sciences Research Council. The Council conducted one of the first

quantitatively substantial investigations for empirical data, consisting of questionnaires and recorded interviews with 1,607 white South Africans, two-fifths of them native English speakers, which Lanham & MacDonald reduced to 426, excluding what they considered "unsatisfactory responses". They excluded incomplete questionnaires, for example, women who refused to give their age, and other samples simply on the basis that the sample size was "too large to handle" (Lanham & Macdonald 1979: 32). The first reason seems acceptable but the second is too vague unless samples were removed randomly.

The criteria upon which they decided to analyse specific variants are also dubious and contradictory. They explain that the study of the selected variables is based on "normal, semi-formal and formal" speech but then go on to say that they omitted samples they impressionistically felt were "stilted or overly correct", which they attributed to the formal context of an interview (1979: 32). It is a given that Lanham & Macdonald had the correct intention of capturing "natural" speech of the subjects, however ignoring data on the basis of subjective assessment of formality, which they claim in fact to have considered, violates the principle of accountability, i.e., taking *all* tokens into consideration unless there is ample reason given for omission. Regardless of style shifts, any variant an individual utters is *ipso facto* a part of their linguistic repertoire. Lanham & Macdonald used an index score for each subject from a scale from 0–3 with intervals of 0.5, yet this scale does not seem to be representative of a speaker's speech behaviour if certain variants that may have been uttered by the subject were not included in the calculations.

Thirty phonological variables (vowels and consonants) were tested among five regional communities in South Africa: the Eastern Cape, Natal, the Western Cape, the Witwatersrand and the East Rand. Lanham adds that more data was considered in his own work:

> …our South African English data is considerably greater than that provided by these 426 subjects. Radio monitoring and accent surveys since 1962, and many recorded interviews with individuals and groups

> before and after that date, contribute to our view of linguistic variability in SAE.
> (Lanham & MacDonald 1979: 24)

This statement puts the assessment of variables, in terms of their results based on index scores, further into question. The data taken from the individuals who were interviewed was screened for "natural" speech, yet different contexts, e.g. radio segments, and data which is lacking demographic information have been considered for their final analysis as well. In addition, Lanham & Macdonald do not specify the number of subjects investigated or included from such radio segments or accent surveys.

Lanham proposes four main lects established according to phonetic variation in significant variables and social prestige (Lanham 1978: 146):

> 1) Conservative South African English – socially prestigious; closest to Received Standard British English; spoken in upper-class circles, attended universities in Britain.
>
> 2) Respectable South African English – socially prestigious; middle-class, predominantly women speakers, contains "Natal" variables (distinctive feature: fronted "ai" → "a:")[38]
>
> 3) Afrikaans South African English – variants derived from Afrikaans, but integrated into South African English phonology
>
> 4) Extreme South African English – socially stigmatised; features originating from:
>
> i. W[orking] C[lass] and LMC London
>
> ii. norms of early 19th cent. Afrikaans phonology especially Cape, L[ower] C[lass], and predominantly Afrikaans-speaking regions

[38] The phonetic notation given has been taken directly from Lanham (1978).

When describing variants given in the literature to date, Lanham's terms "Conservative", "Respectable" and "Extreme" will be used, as they are repeatedly used by other researchers who followed his work in dialectological studies of South African English. Lass (1995) uses Lanham's designations for the different varieties of South African English, although he does not entirely agree with the original categorisations with regard to social characteristics.

5.1.1.4 Wells

Often RP is used solely as a point of departure in describing dialects and how they deviate from the "norm", which may appear to suggest that the particular present-day English variety "descends from RP proper…. It is rather the case that RP and say the South African English lectal complex are parallel developments" (Lass 1988). In order to avoid this presumption that newer dialects of English are "based" on RP, Wells (1982) uses *standard lexical sets* that "enable one to refer concisely to large groups of words which tend to share the same vowel, and to the vowel which they share" (Wells 1982: xviii). Thus:

> The standard lexical set KIT is defined as comprising those words whose citation form in the two standard accents, RP and GenAm, has the stressed vowel /ɪ/ (deriving in most cases from the short /ɪ/ of Middle English).
>
> (Wells 1982: 127)

A vowel described as "fronted" may indicate some kind of historical shift; however, Wells uses such descriptions without historical implications, more as a matter of convenience unless indicated otherwise. In describing the different variants, Wells's method will be used and the variables will be presented in the proposed lexical sets.

Wells's (1982) work on South African English is part of a series from the book *Accent of English: Beyond the British Isles.* The section on South African English is a brief but clear description of all of the vowels in some South African varieties. He provides illustrations by using comparisons to Australian English,

New Zealand English and dialects of British English. Wells, like Hopwood, believes that South African English "seems to have been considerably influenced phonetically by Afrikaans" (1982: 611). Although most of his referencing is from Lanham's works (particularly 1978b), he only occasionally uses Lanham's social descriptions "Conservative", "Respectable" and "Extreme". In terms of varieties, Wells does acknowledge geographical variation, but often accounts for varying pronunciations rather vaguely, using phrases such as "typically", "usually" or "most South Africans say…". It can be assumed that Wells is describing ESSA English, as he briefly mentions that there are bilingual Afrikaner, Coloured and black speakers, but they "tend to pronounce English with the interference patterns typical of a second language" and phonetic features of such groups are therefore not further mentioned unless as a phonetic example associated with L2 interference (Wells 1982: 611).

The basis upon which he has gathered his information is not specified and often seems impressionistic and there is no reference to a statistical or quantitative survey for that matter. Wells's specific phonetic contributions will be discussed, along with the other linguists mentioned in this section, in §5.1.2 to follow.

5.1.1.5 Lass

Roger Lass has contributed invaluable work in describing the phonological inventories of "standard" South African English, its regional varieties and the origins and development of South African English. His descriptions not only include narrower transcriptions of the phonetic variants but he describes the social prestige of each variant in South African society (Lass 1995, 1987, 1990; Lass & Wright 1985, 1986). The phonetic descriptions are very detailed yet, similar to Wells (1982) there are no accounts as to how the data was gathered and it seems impressionistic. Lass also uses Wells's lexical sets in his works as well as Lanham's designation of lect types, even though he uses the latter "with a shudder" (Lass 1995: 94). He finds the social categorisations either out of date or entirely inaccurate altogether, for example, Lanham's criteria for classifying speakers of Respectable South African English as younger, of European (not

necessarily British but also of Jewish) origin. He argues that Respectable South African English is indicative of the middle class, although it contains many subvarieties (1995: 94). The following is Lass's proposed re-classification of varieties in terms of social variables, along with descriptions of characteristic speakers:

> *Conservative SAE:* the type of speech least distinguishable from Southern English; accents typical of "serious" news announcers; speech of the "first families" of older urban areas like Cape Town; schoolteachers; general upper-middle-class speakers of a normative disposition.
>
> *Respectable SAE:* the local standard; the range of accent types associated with all other white standard speakers (Democratic Party politicians, university lecturers, physicians).
>
> *Extreme SAE:* the range of accent-types associated with relatively low socio-economic status, lack of education, and less skilled or non-professional work; the lower end of the "white collar scale"; the more extreme a variety is, the harder it becomes to distinguish it from L2 Afrikaans English.
>
> (adapted from Lass 1995: 94–95)

Lass & Wright's work on the South African Chain Shift and Southern Hemisphere Chain Shift (Lass & Wright 1985, 1986) provided a possible, although highly controversial, explanation for the raised and centralised variants of front monophthongs in South African English. This hypothesis is discussed in more detail in §5.1.2.1.1. Much of Lass's contribution to the phonetic description of the South African English vowel system is given in §5.1.2 below.

5.1.2 The Vowel System

Below, a summary of the vowel inventory of White South African English is given, where the variants offered by previous authors are discussed, followed by their evaluations of the lects in terms of "Conservative", "Respectable" and "Extreme".

5.1.2.1 Short monophthongs

TRAP The "trap" vowel has a range of [æ] in conservative to [ɛ] in the extreme dialects (Lanham 1978: 152; Wells 1982: 613; Lass 1987: 304). This is accounted for as far back as 1820 in the *Chronicle of Jeremy Goldswain* (Long 1948/9). Goldswain was one of the 1820 settlers from England, who uses non-standard spelling indicative of pronunciation (Lass 1987a). Hooper (1944) classifies the raised variant as non-standard, which is found more commonly among the middle-class speakers. Lanham (1967a: 67) classifies this as one of the distinctive "trends towards higher vocoids" in South African English. However, the raised [æ] may not necessarily be an innovation but rather an antiquation, as Wyld (1920: 99) points out that the variant was present in early 19th century London English. Bailey (1984: 13) claims that there is breaking of the front vowel that is similar to what "occurs widely in American dialects" before a velar consonant. It is not clear specifically what sort of breaking he is referring to; nor in which dialects this process is found. In South African English, it occurs only before [ŋ], in words such as *bang, bank* and *tanker.* His phonetic transcription is [e$^{>j}$], indicating it could be perceived as a diphthong. His analysis coincides with other findings in that there is raising, but the presence of a possible second vowel or glide would require more investigation as this has not been mentioned anywhere else in the literature.

DRESS A second trend in South African English is the use of higher, tenser [e] instead of [ɛ], characteristic of Extreme dialects, although detectable in most forms of South African English (Lass 1987: 304). Branford (1994: 474) reports an even

higher [i] as in *yes* [jis] which he claims is possibly characteristic of speech in the Eastern Province. He also notes that, as with TRAP, the closer variant was noted in southern British lower-class speech in the early 19th century (1994: 476). This vowel is suggested to show "limited evidence of social consciousness, but not usually corrected" (Lanham 1978: 152).

KIT There seems to be a phonemic split of /ɪ/ in South African English, called the "KIT split" by Wells (1982: 612). A phonetically conditioned environment was recognised as early as Hopwood (1928: 9), who describes the variation occurring as [ɪ] in stressed syllables or [ə] in unstressed ones "but [they] are often confused in the same speaker".[39] He attributes the split to the alleged distinction that can be found in Afrikaans between [ɪ] in closed syllables and [ə] preceding nasals and liquids.[40] Hopwood claims that this phonological rule was applied to South African English via Afrikaans English. Lanham (1964: 26) claims the centralised variant occurs in South African English due to the result of borrowing and contact with Afrikaans. Lass & Wright (1985, 1986) refute the borrowing theory and propose that the presence of the variant was the result of a chain shift triggered by an overlapping distribution of endogenous phonemes from British dialects the settlers were speaking, not from contact with Afrikaans. This chain shift is described in more detail in §5.1.2.1.1.

Bailey (1984), Branford (1994), Lanham (1967a) and Lass (1990) give varying descriptions of this distribution, either based on phonetic environment, syllable stress, or a combination of the two. A proposed set of vowel variants in stressed and non-stressed syllables is given by Bailey (1984: 17-18):

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[39] This is shown in Hooper and Hopwood's descriptions of the South African English pronunciation of *milk* as "meelk or mulk" (Hooper 1944b: 25, Hopwood 1961: 70).

[40] The notable central variant is stereotyped by Malan (1972) in his "spelling pronunciation" of *chips* and *crisps* as *chups* and *krusps.*

Stressed position

– [ɪ] following velars or glottals, i.e., [k, g, h, ʔ] and preceding velars or palatoalveolar fricatives, i.e. [k, g, ŋ, ʃ, ʒ].

– [ə] elsewhere.

Unstressed position

– [ɪ] preceding velars, palatoalveolar fricatives and palatoalveolar affricates, [k, g, ŋ, ʃ, ʒ, tʃ, dʒ, ndʒ].[41]

– [ə] elsewhere.

Branford (1994: 475) claims the more fronted variant is used generally in stressed syllables, e.g. *kiss*, and when preceding a velar consonant in unstressed syllables, e.g., as in *ending*. [ï] appears in the complementary environments, although it appears in all the syllables in *minutes* and *limited*.

Lass (1990: 275) does not make a distinction based on stress and his range of variants is distributed as follows:

– [ɪ] preceding and following velars; before palatoalveolars; initially; after /h/ (Lass 1987: 304)

– [ɤ̈] before /l/ in syllable codas; before [χ] in Afrikaans loans

– [ɪ̈] elsewhere; [ə] near labials and following liquids

Lanham (1967a: 80) provides a similar distribution in that he states the more front variant occurs "next to velar consonants, after /h/, and initially and finally" but claims there is fluctuation between a front and centralised variant next to "palatal" consonants. Yet this might be attributed to a regional difference in varieties. Anecdotal evidence indicates that varieties spoken in Natal tend to use a more centralised vowel next to palatals than do the other varieties.

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[41] Oddly, Bailey considers this combination of nasal and affricate an affricate only. He does not mention if there is a vowel distinction between, e.g., *win* and *whinge*.

Wells supports his argument for two separate phonemes by the fact that one finds near minimal pairs such as *kit* [kɪt] and *bit* [bət]. Some speakers do, in fact, have minimal pairs, such as *Finnish* [fɪnɪʃ] and *finish* [fɪnɪʃ] (Lanham 1967; confirmed by A. van der Spuy 2006, p.c.). Lanham considers such minimal pairs present only in the Conservative lect (1967a: 79). The more front /ɪ/ ranges from [ɪ] to [i] in the more prestigious to the extreme dialects, respectively, and the more centralised /ə/ as [ï] to [ə]. According to Lanham (1967), the environments for the variants are not always clear-cut and tend to alternate despite stress or neighbouring consonant. Bailey (1984: 13–14) notes a regional difference in usage among L1 speakers, i.e., Capetonians use the short high vowel [ɪ] as opposed to other L1 speakers in Natal and the Transvaal, who use a more "typical" central vowel [ə]. Bailey attributes the "confusion" of the "KIT split" to hypercorrection of bilingual Afrikaans/English speakers who are aware of the less central form as the "more English" or possibly the RP form, and thus will tend to use the "atypical" South African variant, [ɪ], more frequently. Bailey recognises the distribution as phonologically conditioned and predictable when the vowel precedes velar [ɬ], as in "bill" [bəɬ] – it will become centralised. However, the alternation in other environments where the central vowel should be expected is accounted for as an irregularity caused by hypercorrection that spread from bilinguals eventually to monolinguals.

This split can be shown as follows in terms of Conservative, Respectable and Extreme dialects:

	hit	*sit*
Conservative	[ɪ]	[ɪ]
Respectable	[ɪ]	[ï]
Extreme	[i]	[ï, ə]

Wells (1982: 612) finds that the extreme dialect tends to replace [ï] with [ə], found in stressed syllables such as in *dinner* [ˌdənə] and raises and fronts the *kit* variant to [i], as in *big* [big].

STRUT The STRUT vowel varies in South African English from [ɐ] or [ɐ̈] in stressed syllables to [ə] in unstressed ones (Branford 1994: 475). Hopwood (1928: 11) suggests [œ] in stressed syllables although this seems like an unlikely variant, as it not been documented as a possible option by any other researcher on the topic. A more back and open variant is associated with Conservative speech, however, the norm is somewhere between [a̠] and [ä]. The higher, more front values, close to [ë], are heard in the speech of young women with the Respectable lect of South African English (1987: 304; Lass 1995: 98). Branford (1994: 476) claims that there is a distinction between [ä], used for Afrikaans loans, such as *pap* and the STRUT vowel, but this may be more a feature of Afrikaans English rather than ESSA English. According to Lass (1995: 98), words such as *pup* and *pap* should be identical in the pronunciation of the native English-speaking South African.

FOOT The vowel in FOOT has been described as [ʊ], however with little social variation (Lass 1995: 98). Lass (1995: 98) notes that there is slight fronting and lowering in the speech of Respectable speakers [ʉ̞] that has been also described by Branford (1994: 476). A higher variant [u] may be realised in some varieties due to Afrikaans influence, according to Lanham (1967a: 82).

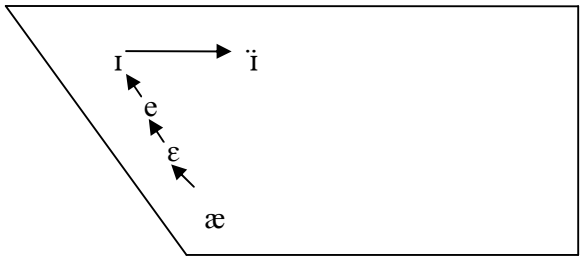
LOT Hopwood (1928: 8) notes two variants [ɔ] and [o] for LOT in South African English, thus it is higher and unrounded more often than in RP. Similar accounts are given by Lass (1995) and Branford (1994). In an earlier article, Lass (1987: 304) describes the vowel as the variant [ɒ]. Bailey (1984: 19) notes there is a variation between [ɔ] and [ɒ] although well-known Afrikaans loans will retain the vowel [ɔ] as in *bos*.

This concludes the section of short vowels in South African English. The South African Chain Shift, which affects the short front vowels, will be described in more detail in the next section (§5.1.2.1.1). Following this, the long vowels and diphthongs of South African English will be summarised and compared.

5.1.2.1.1 A note about short vowels and the South African Chain Shift

Co-existence of lower and raised variants of TRAP ([æ] → [ɛ]) and DRESS ([ɛ] → [e]) and a retracted/centralised form of the KIT vowel ([ɪ] → [ɪ̈]) occurred in certain dialects of southeast England in the 19th century (Lass & Wright 1985). Lass (1987a) provides evidence for this already existing variation in the dialects of the 1820 settlers by referencing a large chronicle written by a sawyer, Jeremiah Goldswain, who was one of the original British immigrants living in South Africa. Lass & Wright explain that Goldswain's writings are indicative of a spelling pronunciation which shows variation in the TRAP, DRESS and KIT vowels, e.g., *atrected* "attracted", *liter* "letter" and *busket* "biscuit" (Lass & Wright 1985). The raised variant of TRAP and DRESS were in the same or proximal phonetic space as lower DRESS and KIT, respectively. Lass (1995: 97) proposes that a shift occurred whereby TRAP and DRESS were raised and retracted KIT moved into an even more central "free zone". This shift is described by Susan Wright and Roger Lass as the Southern Hemisphere Chain Shift (Lass & Wright 1985, 1986). In terms of Conservative, Respectable and Extreme varieties, the "broader" South African varieties use variants most advanced in the shift. In sum, it is a "stabilising" chain shift where dialects in the settler communities of South Africa (also New Zealand and Australia) contained two variants for the front vowel in TRAP, namely [æ] and [ɛ]. In order to avoid confusion, the vowel in DRESS was raised to [e], which in turn caused lax [ɪ] in KIT, which is relatively close to [e], to centralise to [ɪ̈] as illustrated below:

Figure 6. The South African Chain Shift



5.1.2.2 Long monophthongs

FLEECE The FLEECE vowel does not seem to have much social variation. Lass (1995: 98) describes the vowel as [iː] in all varieties whereas Lanham notes that lengthening [iː] is more prominent in Extreme South African English, possibly originating from Afrikaans (1978: 153).[42] This is notably different from other Southern Hemisphere varieties, such as Australian and New Zealand English, where all variants contain a diphthong [ɪi ~ ɨi] (Lass 1987: 298, 1995: 98).

NURSE A similarity in shift has occurred to a closer and more front [øː] among the South African, Australian and New Zealand Englishes (Wells 1982: 615). Lass (1995: 98) mentions a more central, unrounded vowel [ɜː] among Conservative speakers, similar to RP, however he also includes the lax variant [œː] among Respectable speakers (1987: 305). Hopwood (1928: 9) gives the same variants but without social categorisation. Wells (1982: 615) gives a similar account describing the more tense variant as [øː] in Respectable speech and other variants as low as [ɐː] in Conservative lects. Lanham (1978: 154) states that the higher variant is characteristic of Natal dialects and mentions a hypercorrected lower variant, [ʌː], that is highly prevalent elsewhere. Lass (1995: 98) claims this variation marks the

[42] The long [iː], however, is found only in very restricted environments in Afrikaans, e.g., when preceding /r/, but not when preceding /s/ as in *fleece* (van der Spuy, p.c.).

difference between Conservative speakers, who use the unrounded vowel similar to RP, and the other lects.

GOOSE This is a socially significant variable in South African English which ranges from Conservative [uː], moving to central [ʉ(ː)], to a fronted, rounded [yː]. The last of these is considered to be socially prestigious among Respectable speakers (Lanham 1978: 155).[43] It should be noted here that although Afrikaans has the front round vowel, this feature is not considered an influence of Afrikaans English, but rather one passed on by the presence of Scottish schoolmasters (Branford 1994: 471). This fronted variant may be considered to be an ethnic marker, considered "white" by black speakers and avoided by Coloured and Indian speakers (Lass 1995: 99).

THOUGHT The vowel in THOUGHT seems to becoming closer [oː] from [ɔː] in all types of South African English (Lanham & Traill 1962: 201; Lanham 1978: 154; Wells 1982: 615; Lass 1987: 305). There are no accounts of stylistic variation of social significance.

BATH The BATH vowel is found to be open and back in the Respectable variety, [ɑː] and rounding may occur in the Extreme dialect [ɒː] (Wells 1982: 615, Lass 1987: 305). Hopwood (1928: 12) illustrates this easily recognisable variant: "The E. Province surname *Larsen* is there pronounced as if it were spelled *Lawson*".[44] He accounts for this variant as coming from Cockney English, in his opinion, one of the founding accents of South African English, and therefore this variant has been long established in South African English.[45]

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[43] Lass (2004, p.c.) questions both Lanham's accuracy of phonetic notation and his assessment of social prestige in general.

[44] This is a spelling pronunciation and therefore inaccurate. According to the literature, there is no merger between BATH and THOUGHT in any South African variety. Lass (1995: 98) does claim, however that the low, back variant of Extreme South African English may raise to [ɔː], but not as high as [oː] (as in *thought* or *law*).

[45] Hopwood (1928) makes several casual references to Cockney English as a major influence on monolingual speakers of South African English, yet he provides no historical evidence or argumentation for this claim.

5.1.2.3 Diphthongs

SQUARE The diphthong in SQUARE [ɛə] is now only preserved by some Conservative speakers and sporadically by speakers in monitored or affected speech. Generally, it is moving towards the diphthong [ɛə], used in both Conservative and Respectable lects, yet the Respectable lect shows instances of [ɛː]. The speakers of Extreme and younger speakers of Respectable SAE use a closer [eː] (Wells 1982: 613, Lass 1987: 305); both monophthongised variants are stigmatised by users of all lect forms (Lass 1995: 100). This is documented as far back as 1944 by Hooper, who describes the pronunciation of *hair* as *heh,* which he calls a "clipped" variant.

FACE Some sort of lowering or backing is accounted for in the socially marked diphthong [eɪ], which is pronounced as such in Conservative South African English. As one moves down the scale of social prestige, the more backed the first vowel becomes as the second counterpart is weakened. Hopwood (1928: 8) and Wells (1982: 616) note a centralised [əi] for Respectable South African English, whereas Lass (1995: 99) and Lanham & MacDonald (1979: 46) describe Respectable and Extreme variants as [ɛɪ ~ æɪ ~ aɪ] and [ɛɪ ~ äɪ ~ ʌɪ ~ ʌ^{ə}], respectively. Anecdotally, younger Cape Town speakers are said to use a monophthong [eː].

PRICE/MOUTH PRICE along with MOUTH contain very socially significant variables, both conflating to a more front cardinal [aː] or back [ɑː] monophthong in most of Respectable speakers' speech (Hopwood 1961: 71; Lanham & Traill 1962: 199; Lanham & MacDonald 1979: 41; Lass 1982: 151, 1987: 304, 1995: 99; Wells 1982: 614). The monophthong is noted by Malan (1972) in his satirical book of South African English pronunciation with examples such as *lark* for "like" and *narse* for "nice". Lanham (1978: 153) describes the PRICE monophthong as "a feature of 'refined' female speech in the SAE community, [which] has wider distribution through age and sex in Natal". MOUTH may wander as far back as

BATH, however "they do not merge, but MOUTH is usually higher and a bit fronter than BATH" (Lass 1995: 99). There may be a process of correction and thus South African speakers use the more front vowel for PRICE and more back vowel for MOUTH. The Extreme variety has an interesting reverse phenomenon, where PRICE is more back [ɑɪ] and MOUTH is shifted much farther forward [æʊ], which is characteristic of Australian or Cockney English (Lanham 1967a: 93, Wells 1982: 614, Branford 1994: 473). Lass (1995: 100) notes that in some extreme varieties, MOUTH is realised as a triphthong or diphthong with a glide, especially after /n/ and /h/, e.g., *house* [hjæʊs]. The MOUTH token is less likely to monophthongise in the two lects than the PRICE token. The PRICE vowel is believed to have originated from dialects spoken in Yorkshire and Lancaster (Lanham 1978: 153).

CHOICE Hopwood (1928: 9) notes the diphthong as [ɔɪ] with a primary variant [oɪ]. This diphthong has not been noted as having social significance or variation (Hopwood 1928; Hooper 1944; Lanham 1967a; Wells 1982; Lass 1987, 1995; Branford 1994). The same tokens are reported by Lass (1987: 305, 1995: 100), Lanham (1967a: 92) and Branford (1994: 472). Wells (1982: 614) suggests possible weakening of the second vowel of the diphthong. Hooper's findings (1944: 479) indicate a second variant, the first element even "higher" than [oi], occurring among middle-class male speakers.

GOAT This diphthong seems to be highly variable and carries social significance. Lanham (1978: 152) notes the diphthong is "extensively corrected and involved in wide stylistic variation". Hopwood (1928: 8) records a lowered and backed first component [ɑʊ] which he attempts to reproduce in the orthography as *shaow* for *show* or *paowt* for *poet*. This lowering he primarily attributes to Cockney English, which influences a further reduced variant [ɑː]. This is possibly the variant Lanham (1967a: 62, 1978: 151), Branford (1994: 473) and Wells (1982: 614) transcribe as [ʌː]. Lass (1987: 305, 1995: 100) finds the onset much more rounded [œ] and the second element, if present, either central [ʉ] or unrounded [ɤ].

Extreme varieties will have the back unrounded [ʌ] plus retention of the off-glide [ʊ], associated with Afrikaans English.

NEAR Although this marker is not often discussed in the literature, it is described usually as [iə]. Hopwood (1928: 9), Lanham (1967a: 75) and Lass (1995: 100) indicate an Extreme variant as long monophthongised [ɪː].[46] Hopwood states "A vowel (or diphthong) followed by a historical *r* still written, is pronounced shorter (or monophthongised, raised and tensified)…" (1944: 9). Bailey (1984: 16) notes the loss of the diphthong as becoming [eː] or [əː] in variants that are no longer "influenced by the RP model".

CURE Monophthongisation and lengthening may also occur in the case of CURE and are especially heard in the pronunciation of "sure" as being homophonous to "shore" (Bailey 1984: 16–17). Lass (1995: 100) feels that the [ʊə] variant will be retained by Conservative and Extreme speakers, but a merger of [ʊə] and [oː] to [oː] may spread in the Respectable variant.

The consonants will not be discussed in this thesis, although there has been extensive documentation in the literature (Hopwood 1928; Hooper 1944a; Lanham & Traill 1962; Lanham 1964, 1967a, 1967b, 1978a; Lanham & Macdonald 1979; Wells 1982; Bailey 1984; Lass 1987b, 1995; Branford 1994). However, an analysis of the consonant system would make this work unduly lengthy

5.2 Studies on "other Englishes"

This section deals with the realm of English in South Africa as it is spoken by non-native speakers and L1 speakers of English whose dialects have developed from non-native varieties. There are two popular designations made by Kachru (1985) for distinguishing types of L2 Englishes. He not only considers the domains in

[46] Wells (1982: 596) also notes monophthongisation of [iə] as [ɪː] for "broader" varieties of Australian English.

which the L2 speaker uses English and their acquired settings, but also the speaker's attitude *towards* English, i.e., their motivations for learning and using English. The two types he classifies as (1) English as a foreign language – where the speaker considers it "foreign" and uses it only in highly restricted domains and (2) "nativised" English – an English used by an L2 speaker that is an institutionalised variety. The institutionalised varieties have a long history in new geographical and cultural settings and are regularly used in the domains of education and government. These varieties acquire features in the grammar and the lexicon, in particular, which reflect the local culture and are often used for linguistic expression in creative writing (Kachru 1985: 19).

If English is moved into the domain of schooling, it must be decided which English is to be institutionalised. Often an exo-normative model is used: a variety from another country where English is an L1, e.g., the U.S. or Britain, serves as the target in spelling, pronunciation and grammar. The local variety is not recognised as a regional variety in its own right, as in the case of South African English during early settlement. In this case, what is considered "proper pronunciation" or in Lanham's terms "Conservative South African English" would seem to have a phonemic inventory closer to that of British English than any of the other varieties.

What can be said about the types of English spoken by L2 speakers in South Africa? The linguistic situation reflects its social complexity. South Africans cannot simply be divided into two groups of native and non-native speakers, because factors such as acquisition, sociocultural influence, motivation and function of English vary among the different groups, stemming from the apartheid era. Much of the competence, attitudes and domains of use can be determined by ethnic group, which is clearly explainable historically. However, as will be discussed in Chapter 8, factors such as mobility and economic and social class are now beginning to blur the lines.

5.2.1 "Black South African English"

Academic study of Black South African English (henceforth BSAE) is still, as Gough puts it, "in its infancy" (Gough 1996: 53). According to the UNESCO World Languages Survey (2000), 61% of Black South Africans claim to have a command of English.

The term "Black South African English" is more or less a term that has been used to describe a variety of English which has no formal contexts; it was classified simply as a deviation from the norm (de Klerk & Gough 2002: 356). In the past few years, however, one can hear this variety of English on television, e.g., in the news and formal talks, and on the radio. Despite the fact that it is often targeted for black audiences, the grammar, lexis and discourse are still considered very similar to standard varieties of English as acrolectal varieties are used (Titlestad 1996). Buthelezi (1995) and Gough (1996) argue that BSAE should be recognised as an actual variety in its own right.

BSAE is a general term covering the English spoken by black people who learned English in schools that had curricula set by the Department of Education and Training (DET). These schools have been described as having few or no L1 English-speaking teachers as a resource and often have had black L2 speakers of English who are unqualified or poorly qualified for ESL instruction (Buthelezi 1995: 242). The result is an unconscious non-standard target variety for students. One very important point that must be mentioned is the change in the acquisitional context that has arisen since the dismantling of the segregated school systems in 1991. Because schools are now desegregated, black students may attend former Model C Schools, now officially an outmoded term, but still widely used. These schools are state-run, but partly privately funded and are known to offer good instruction in the medium of the English language. Gaganakis (1992a) notes that black students who have attended private schools recognise their English as enjoying higher prestige than the English of other black students who have attended township schools. Thus, the designation BSAE seems far too broad; it is predicted the varieties spoken by the black South African population are no longer discernible by clear ethnic delineation; rather determining a variety is more dependent on educational background and social networks.

The problem in using a broad term which covers several possible varieties which may not be correctly categorised on the basis of ethnicity alone is quite evident in the literature; most of the studies have not made any delineation of this kind. The claim is that there is little difference in the vowel pronunciation of *all* BSAE speakers which is evident from the conclusions and assumptions drawn in the literature (Adendorff & Savini-Beck 1993, Van den Heever 1999, Van den Heever & Wissing 2000, Wissing, Selebeleng & Stander 2000). One must keep in mind that BSAE includes L1 speakers of 9 different languages, belonging to four different language groups: Zulu, Xhosa, Swati, Ndebele (the Nguni group); Southern Sotho, Pedi, Tswana (the Sotho group); Tsonga; and Venda. Even if it could be assumed that there exists a variety of English purely based on ethnicity, there are still some problems caused by L1 interference. Such differences have already been detected among L1 speakers of different African languages in terms of consonant production. Studies have been carried out by Van Rooy (1995) and Van Rooy & Van Huyssteen (2000) on L1 speakers of Zulu, Xhosa and Tswana, whose L1s do not allow consonants in syllable-final position. The target language, English, allows both voiced and voiceless obstruents in coda position, yet it has been found that final devoicing occurs irrespective of its absence in both the L1 and target language (Van Rooy 1995). If one was to view BSAE as a whole, the conclusion could be made, according to definition, that all L1 speakers of the 9 abovementioned languages will exhibit final devoicing in English. Yet if one looks more specifically at a single language group, for example, Zulu and Tswana, studies have shown that final velars are devoiced much more in Zulu English (Jacobs 1994) than in Tswana English (Van Rooy 1995). What I am suggesting is that the variances of the phonological systems of the different L1s may influence the actual output of "Black South African English", and therefore, there may be subvarieties based on these features caused purely by the L1 inventory, yielding, for example, "Xhosa English" or "Venda English", each with its own possible interlanguage phonology.

To reiterate: L1 interference is one issue, however, if a child attends a school where most of his or her fellow pupils and teachers are white L1 English speakers, this may have an effect on the child's pronunciation, regardless of

whether English is his or her L1. As mentioned in Chapter 4 dealing with social variables, it has been noted by Sujee (2004) that the deracialisation of ex-TED schools was a slow process, with the majority of instructors being white. Thus, it can be suspected that there must be some significant differences in accents among the constructed ethnolect "Black South African English". The next section will summarise the literature on this variety of South African English.

5.2.1.1 Literature on BSAE

The literature on the pronunciation of Black South African English is as speculative as it is scarce. Often accounts are given with no statistical data and are described as "tendencies". One of the earliest studies of BSAE was conducted by Hundleby (1964), strictly focusing on the pronunciation of Xhosa English in the southeast Cape. A brief introduction to the BSAE vowel system is given by Adendorff & Savini-Beck (1993) as a guide for teaching English to Zulu speakers. A summary is given of what expected targets would be for L1 Zulu speakers. Only very recently have there been empirical investigations into specific Englishes, such as Tswana English (Van Rooy 1995, Van den Heever & Wissing 2000, Van Rooy & Van Huyssteen 2000). The most technically detailed acoustic comparison of vowels of L1 and L2 South African English speakers is to be found in a study conducted by Brink & Botha (1999), which was actually intended for determining vowel systems to hone the accuracy of automatic speech recognition systems. A 37,000-word database consisting of recorded speech from 10 different speakers per native language group was digitised, analysed and determined by formant value. A comparison was then made between the L1 and L2 groups as well as generalisations about L2 pronunciation. The results of their data of the variables will be given in the following section.[47] De Klerk and Gough (2002) give a rather brief and general overview of BSAE phonology, not necessarily of their own findings, but of what has been mentioned in the past literature.

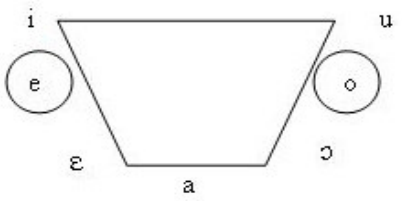
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[47] Brink & Botha (1999) avoid using phonetic descriptions in their results. Rather they describe variants in relation to a phonological value, e.g. "/o/" is used to represent the diphthong in GOAT. The L2 speakers' phonetic results are then described as being "more open" or "more back" than the L1 responses in terms of formant value only.

5.2.1.2 The vowel systems of the Nguni and Sotho languages

In order to justify the claim that the BSAE vowel system is influenced by the L1 system (Lanham 1966, 1990; Lanham & Macdonald 1979; Wells 1982; Adendorff & Savini-Beck 1993; Jacobs 1994; Buthelezi 1995; Gough 1996; Van Rooy & Van Huyssteen 2000; de Klerk & Gough 2002; Wissing 2002), an overview of the L1 system will be given. The Nguni languages (Zulu, Xhosa, Swati, Ndebele) have a 5-way contrast, and the Sotho languages (Southern Sotho, Pedi, Tswana) have 7 phonemic vowels (the additional Southern Sotho vowels are circled) (Brink & Botha 1999: 1). It should be mentioned that these are allophones of the lower mid vowels in the Nguni languages:

Figure 7. The Sotho and Nguni vowel systems



Due to the fact that the L2 speaker has a smaller range of phonemes to choose from, the speaker may approximate to the closest target in the L1, resulting in a conflation of the English vowel system (Hundleby 1964, Lanham & Traill 1965, Lanham 1966, Adendorff & Savini-Beck 1993, Brink & Botha 1999). This claim can only be viable if it is accepted that a phonetics/phonology interface exists and that one assumes there are underlying phonological forms, in this case of another language, that when applied will influence the phonetic output in the target language. Specific examples of these occurrences will be given in the sections to follow.

5.2.1.2.1 Monophthongs

According to studies on BSAE, (Hundleby 1964, Dreyer et al. 1996, Van Rooy & Van Huyssteen 2000) the most striking features of monophthongs in BSAE (Tswana English, specifically) is the lack of a tense/lax distinction in the vowel system. This causes a loss of contrast between vowels such as TRAP and DRESS

([æ ~ ɛ] becomes [ɛ] and [e] becomes [e], respectively). Length distinction is determined by prosody, where the penultimate syllable has a lengthened vowel (Van Rooy & Van Huyssteen 2000). Khumalo (1987: 196) points out more specifically that lengthening occurs due to vowel epenthesis on a *phrase-final* syllable. Lanham (1966: 14) attributes the absence of length distinctions in English to interference of distinctions made in the Southern Bantu languages:

> "Long" is a demarcative (junctural) feature located on the penultimate syllables of words standing finally in phrases or clauses. "Extra long" is an intonational feature located at the ends of many statements. In Bantu, length has, therefore, no permanent association with a vowel and is readily "lifted off".

In addition to this, he claims this lengthening of vowels (the so-called junctural feature) on the penultimate syllable exhibited by BSAE speakers is not long enough to contrast with that of shorter syllables in English, thus an L1 English speaker would have difficulty differentiating a juncturally lengthened [e] from a short [e] in BSAE (1966: 14).

STRUT/BATH Low central STRUT and low back BATH both become [a] (Lanham 1966: 13, Gough 1996: 59, de Klerk & Gough 2002: 360). Van Rooy & Van Huyssteen (2000) find both [a] and [ɑ], the former being the more common of the two. Brink & Botha (1999) indicate that the STRUT vowel does not differ greatly between L1 and L2 speakers.[48] BATH, however, either is fronted towards [æ] or moves towards [ə] (hence the mock spelling pronunciation of "cards" as "cuds" or "harbour" as "hubba").

TRAP/DRESS/NURSE According to studies (Lanham 1966: 13, Adendorff & Savini-Beck 1993, Gough 1996: 59, Van Rooy 2000, de Klerk & Gough 2002: 360) these

[48] Mesthrie (2007, p.c.) comments that Brink & Botha's findings on the similarity of the STRUT vowel between L1 and L2 speakers are questionable.

three vowels conflate to [ɛ]. The variants of vowels in Tswana English are investigated in Van Rooy & Van Huyssteen's study (2000) in terms of percentage. TRAP, DRESS and NURSE exhibit the highest frequency of the [ɛ] variant at 47%, 43% and 47%, respectively. It was revealed that TRAP has two other variants [e] (12%) and [æ] (10%). Brink & Botha (1999) found no significant difference for this variable between L1 and L2 speakers. According to Van Rooy & Van Huyssteen (2000), NURSE and DRESS have a more tense variant [e], occurring 20% and 19% of the time, respectively. This is one of the features indicated in less detailed accounts of South African Black English and is indicative of a significant social marker. (In jocular accounts of the "New South African English" one often comes across pronunciation spellings for Durban as *Debben* or Randburg as *Rendbeg*.)

LOT/THOUGHT Both of these back, round vowels move to their nearest expected target [ɔ] (Van Rooy & Van Huyssteen 2000), described vaguely as /o/ in some studies (Gough 1996: 59, de Klerk & Gough 2002: 360). Van Rooy & Van Huyssteen (2000) found an 11% occurrence of the variant [ɒ].

FLEECE/KIT Adendorff & Savini-Beck (1993) and Lanham (1966: 13) explain that this pair has a loss of length contrast as well as tense–lax distinction, yielding [i]. This can be explained by the fact that Zulu does not have such distinctions. Similarly, Tswana English shows the same sort of interference although some speakers choose the more lax [ɛ] for SIT as opposed to KIT, where [ɪ] is preferred, but consistently use short [i] for FLEECE (Van Rooy & Van Huyssteen 2000). Brink & Botha's findings (1999) also show different results for vowel distribution in KIT when comparing instances occurring word-initially (as in *in*) and in closed syllables (such as *this*). They claim the word-initial instances have "almost identical distribution" regarding L1 and L2 speakers (1999: 4) whereas in closed

syllables the vowel formants are much higher, nearing the vowel /i/ (1999: 3).[49] They do not specify which words in particular, nor the phonetic environment, e.g., if the vowel is preceded by a nasal or fricative. The combination of the glide [w] and [ɪ] is treated as a diphthong /ʊɪ/ by Brink & Botha (1999: 4), which seems to be uncommon practice. Nevertheless, they claim there is raising of the second vowel, i.e. the KIT vowel, among L2 speakers as well.

This discrepancy noted by Van Rooy & Van Huyssteen (2000) and Brink & Botha (1999) could be caused by the fact there is a split in the former lexical set found in Respectable South African English, where [ɪ] becomes centralised to [ɨ]. The motivation of the use of [ɛ] could be that the speaker is aware of a lower (yet centralised) target of L1 speakers, and thus shift to something lower and lax in order to retain the distinction, yet the phonetic distribution which dictates the type of variant seems unclear and requires further investigation.

FOOT/GOOSE This contrast is lost among similar lines as FLEECE and KIT. There is a predicted loss of tense and lax difference, leaving the closest option, [u] (Van Rooy & Van Huyssteen 2000). Brink & Botha (1999: 4ff.) do not investigate the lax vowel in FOOT but do illustrate the vowel in GOOSE is significantly more back in L2 speakers than L1 speakers. It should be reiterated here that a more front pronunciation is regarded as "white" by non-white groups and thus is a social, more specifically, ethnic marker in South African English (Lass 1995).

5.2.1.2.2 Diphthongs

Diphthongs are not allowed in either the Nguni or the Sotho languages – syllable structure strictly prohibits more than one vowel in the nucleus. The strategies for pronouncing English diphthongs are monophthongisation or emphasis of the second element, resulting in a more pronounced diphthong than the target. Lanham (1966: 13) describes "the ability to handle these diphthongs [/ai/, /oi/ and /au/ as opposed to other English diphthongs] derives from the occurrence of the

[49] Brink & Botha (1999) do not indicate differences in length.

sequences /ayi, oyi, awu/ in Bantu words distributed over two syllables". In ESSA English, if there is monophthongisation, it tends to opt for the lax variant, where BSAE will choose the tense one (Van Rooy & Van Huyssteen 2000). Monophthongisation is shown to occur among L2 speakers in words containing the diphthongs in FACE, MOUTH and GOAT (Brink & Botha 1999: 4). Hundleby (1964) asserts that in the case of mesolectal Xhosa-English speakers, if the diphthong is retained it is divided into two separate syllables with the insertion of a glide, thus [aɪ], [aʊ] and [oɪ] would occur extended over 2 syllables as [ajɪ], [awu] and [ojɪ], respectively. This phenomenon is also mentioned by Lanham (1966: 14), Gough (1996: 59), de Klerk & Gough (2002: 360).[50]

PRICE/MOUTH This class is either claimed to become a two-vowel sequence with glide insertion: /ajɪ/ and /awu/, respectively (Hundleby 1964, Lanham 1966, Gough 1996: 59, de Klerk and Gough 2002: 360) or they fall together into one monophthongised vowel, /a/ (Brink & Botha 1999, Van Rooy & Van Huyssteen 2000). In the MOUTH set, the only examples of monophthongisation have [a] and [ɑ] as variants, similar to the variant in Respectable South African English, yet shorter in length. As for PRICE, 22% of the tokens gathered in Van Rooy & Van Huyssteen's study (2000) showed the presence of a diphthong.

CHOICE CHOICE occurs most frequently as a weak diphthong [ɔɨ], otherwise it is monophthongised to [o] (Van Rooy & Van Huyssteen 2000).

FACE The monophthongisation of /ei/ to [e] is a socially significant variable indicative of non-native Englishes and one of the features by which BSAE is identified (Lanham 1966: 14, Gough 1996: 59, de Klerk & Gough 2002: 360). This is a possible variant among Nguni speakers because it is a raised allophone of /ɛ/. Van Rooy & Van Huyssteen's findings (2000) concur with this, with only a

[50] In the Nguni languages, not only may diphthongs not occur, but adjacent vowels never occur. Vowels must always be separated by a glide or other consonant (van der Spuy 2006, p.c.). This is not the case for the Sotho languages (Doke & Mofokeng 1957: 9).

7% occurrence of a diphthong. Brink & Botha (1999: 4) also claim this in their findings of the vowels in formant space: "the L2 counterparts start much higher … and travels (sic) much less – indicating monophthongisation".

GOAT Here is an example of the tense/lax distinction in monophthongisation of GOAT. The ESSA English marked variant is something like a lax, low-mid as [ʌː] – the BSAE strategy prefers [o] (Lanham 1966: 14, Gough 1996: 59, de Klerk & Gough 2002: 360). As in the case of FACE, some speakers are using what is a raised allophone of [ɔ] (Van Rooy & Van Huyssteen 2000). Brink & Botha (1999: 5) illustrate that the variant of the first vowel is less central and higher than that of L1 speakers, lying somewhere in the formant space between /ɔ/ and /u/, nearer to /u/. Their findings also show clear monophthongisation (1999: 5).

5.2.2 Afrikaans English

Due to time and financial constraints, the following varieties of South African English could not be investigated in this study: Afrikaans English, Coloured English and South African Indian English. These are varieties that demand further research, as they have not received the same attention as ESSA English and BSAE. They are truly unique in their own right, born and strictly developed in this country, thus it seems necessary to mention them.

Afrikaans English has been viewed as an L2 variety of South African English that has been often interwoven into the white South African English dialect continuum. Hardly anyone has argued it to be a variety in its own right, rather it is usually seen simply as a position at the end of the spectrum of the English-speaking community (Hopwood 1928, Lanham 1978, Lanham & Macdonald 1979, Lass & Wright 1986). Watermeyer (1996), however, after establishing common phonetic features in a study of a small Afrikaans-speaking community in the Western Cape, argues that Afrikaans English is a separate and distinct variety of English. There seems to be no reason why Afrikaans English, although an L2 variety, should not be considered an established variety as BSAE

has been in the recent literature. The fact that it has not perhaps ties in to the issue of how the speakers of this variety feel *socially* towards their L2, and as a point of comparison, black South Africans are embracing English as a nativised language which is being used increasingly for linguistic expression in writing and reflecting the culture. L1 white Afrikaans speakers are reported to have "a very positive attitude towards English and the ability to speak English conveys a sense of covert prestige" (Watermeyer 1996: 104). Lass (1987: 303) states that Afrikaans speakers are more bilingual than L1 English speakers and are more likely to accommodate and use their L2 with an L1 English speaker.

5.2.2.1 Literature on Afrikaans English

Most of the phonetic differences are attributed to interlanguage phonology, such as the Afrikaans flapped or rolled /r/ and certain vowel qualities that are a result of L1 transfer. The features described as characteristic of Afrikaans English are generally stigmatised, usually found among older, less educated speakers and seem to be on the decline. Görlach (1998c: 108) notes that "all observers agree that the quality of English among younger educated Afrikaans speakers is such that it is increasingly difficult to identify their mother tongue", which is perhaps indicative of a change in the form of this possible variety.[51]

Hopwood gives special mention to Afrikaans English, listing all the phonetic "deviations", yet he believes that these deviations will be taken into the younger L1 English-speaking generation in the reshaping of South African English as a whole if nothing is done "to counteract these characteristics and tendencies" (1928: 8). The peculiarities that define South African English are often attributed to contact, influence and bilingualism in Afrikaans (Hopwood 1928; Lanham 1967b, 1978; Wells 1984; Branford 1994). Lass & Wright (1986) question these assumptions of Afrikaans and Afrikaans English being the *primary* or *sole* influential factors in shaping South African English and suggest these features were either (1) endogenous innovations reinforced by contact with Afrikaans,

[51] Görlach's (1998c) claims on educated Afrikaner Enlgish are not necessarily reliable and are probably based on untested, anectdotal evidence (Mesthrie 2007, p.c.).

which had similar features or (2) characteristic of early South African English, yet are considered innovatory because not all dialects were taken into consideration or the dialects investigated were misinterpreted.

Lanham (1967b, 1978) groups certain phonological features as characteristic of "Afrikaans English", which he classifies as a "second-language version of English presenting mother-tongue interference … varying according to idiolect in its extensiveness" (1978: 151). Some characteristic features are listed as belonging solely to Afrikaans English as others overlap with Extreme South African English, which he designates as characteristic of a speech community consisting of: members of the lower class (especially males) who have command of both languages, who have familial relations to Afrikaners and who are born, educated and live in areas where Afrikaans is predominant. Lass (1995: 95) concurs with this statement: "The more extreme a variety is, the harder it becomes to distinguish it from second-language Afrikaans English". Although Lanham notes that Extreme South African English and Afrikaans English are not distinguishable from one another by either the English-speaking or Afrikaans communities, he supports his motivation in creating a division partially on demographic and partially on social grounds: the speakers of Extreme South African English are usually male and display an attitude of toughness, patriotism and the "South African tradition" (1978: 150). Watermeyer (1996) offers a study based solely on Afrikaans English, in which a few regular phonological features in the community are determined. Upon following the dialect groups designated by Lanham, she concludes the core features of Afrikaans English are adjacent to both Extreme and Respectable South African English on the dialect spectrum.

5.2.3 Coloured English

The Coloured community is quite problematic to define as a linguistic entity due to the fact that it is a community created on ethnicity that consists of L1 English, L1 Afrikaans and bilingual speakers. The number of speakers from each group varies depending on location. However there have been some significant contributions to the study of Coloured English spoken in the Western Cape (Malan

1981, 1996; Douglas 1984; Wood 1987; McCormick 1989, 1995; Mesthrie 1993b; Stone 1995). A magnificently comprehensive survey, conducted by Edelstein (1974), reflects the social structure and attitudes towards the role and position in the socio-political structure of the Coloured community in Johannesburg, and in South Africa as a whole. The data was gathered by questionnaire and a short interview conducted by a trained Coloured interviewer. An astounding 47 091 Coloured people were included in the survey, that is, 58% of the entire Coloured community in the greater Johannesburg area at the time. This study gives a census of the L1s spoken by the Johannesburg Coloured community, which reveals a more or less even split into thirds, with numbers slightly higher for English L1 speakers: English (38%), Afrikaans (33%) and both equally (30%) (Edelstein 1974: 80). Unfortunately, there are no phonetic or phonological descriptions of the English spoken by these members of the community, as this was not intended as a linguistic survey.

McCormick (1989, 1995) provides a description of the codeswitching and code-mixing patterns of Coloureds living in District Six in Cape Town. The non-standard linguistic repertoire in District Six consists of: non-standard Afrikaans, which is recognised as a dialect in its own right and is stigmatised; and non-standard English, which is not considered a specific dialect, but which enjoys the higher prestige of the two. A fair amount of codeswitching takes place between the two. McCormick (1995: 199) claims there is a shift from Afrikaans to English as the dominant L1 which the latter, at present "does not seem to have any particular social value and thus there is no apparent reason for its speakers to wish to preserve its distinctive features". Yet what are the distinctive features that classify this variety as "Coloured English"? Most accounts focus on the lexis and syntax in the context of codeswitching (Mesthrie 1993a, 1993b; McCormick 1995, 1989; Stone 1995) and attitudes towards Afrikaans and/or English (Cluver 1993). Lanham's only remark about Coloured English is that it is "distinguishable partly by some unusual 'statement' intonation patterns" (1967: 103). Wells (1982: 611) mentions that the Coloured people, along with black South Africans, have pronunciation affected by L1 interference, but does not go into any detail beyond this. The distinctive prosodic patterns are a salient marker of Coloured English and

have only received some analysis in Douglas's work on Cape Flats English (1984). Segmental phonological features have been reviewed by Wood (1987) and Malan (1995) in investigations of Cape Flats speakers. The scale is based on Lanham's varieties of Extreme and Respectable South African English. The stigmatised features are shared by Afrikaans and Extreme South African English. [52]

5.2.4 South African Indian English

South African Indian English (henceforth SAIE) has had a very unique and significant history in the shaping of South African English. SAIE had been more or less an L2 among Indians living in the Republic up until the 1950s, where Indians learned English through four possible channels (suggested by Mesthrie 1996: 80): (1) schooling with L1 teachers, (2) schooling with L2 teachers, (3) contact with L1 speakers in Natal, and (4) contact with other L2 speakers (mainly other Indians).

With the improvement of education for Indians in the late 1950s, there was a massive and relatively speedy shift from English spoken as an L2 to an L1 in Indian families. The L2 to L1 shift happened *within* families, i.e., an older child going to school may not have spoken any English, whereas the younger children in the same family would have already begun school with mastery of English (Mesthrie 1996: 81). However, looking at the shift from the perspective of the first arrival of Indians in South Africa as indentured labourers in 1860, it seems quite gradual.

SAIE is an L1 variety that moves across a dialect continuum of very careful speech and formal styles to varieties that can be regarded as "hyper-colloquial". There are similarities found in SAIE and the English of India (in terms of pronunciation, lexicon and syntax), yet divergent histories and developments give SAIE a flavour of its own. Mesthrie (1995: 254) breaks the dialect continuum into three parts: a basilect, mesolect and acrolect. He does not use these terms in the traditional creolist sense, rather the basilect is a nativised norm, which is

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[52] Such variants are those in TRAP [ɛ], KIT [ï ~ ə] and MOUTH [æʊ] (see Table 8).

influenced by L1 substrate phenomena. At the one end of the continuum, SAIE begins with a basilect that is categorised by the speech of uneducated older L2 speakers who speak English with the fluency of L1, and at the other end is the acrolect, which follows the norms of colonial Natal English, save a few phonetic and syntactic variations.

In sum, SAIE has preserved some of the L2 features due to the fact there was little contact with white L1 speakers following the enactment of apartheid. The actual L2 to L1 transfer was still significant at this point. The "baton" of these characteristic L2 features was passed on to L1 SAIE speakers, who may have readily accepted them due to a form of covert prestige and in-group cohesiveness although possessing little or no command of the Indian language of their former generations (Mesthrie 1996: 81).

5.2.4.1 Literature on SAIE

By far the most comprehensive research (especially in a sociolinguistic context) in SAIE has been done by Mesthrie (1991, 1992, 1995, 1996). Much of the work has been dedicated to thorough descriptions of the rise and development of SAIE and the deviations from South African English in lexis and syntax. Phonetic variants do not receive extensive discussion, as Mesthrie believes salient features found in Indian English, e.g., the retroflex /t/ and /d/ or confusion between /v/ and /w/, are receding in SAIE and play less of a role in characterising SAIE as distinct from other varieties (Mesthrie 1995: 253). In addition, such features are considered stereotypical (Mesthrie 1992: 136). Mesthrie (1992: 136) explains that there are other phonetic features which almost all speakers of SAIE share regardless of social background, yet they are social *indicators*, i.e., they are below the level of speakers' consciousness. As far as vowels are concerned, Mesthrie (1992: 137–8) finds that SAIE has not undergone some changes that recognizably became characteristic of South African English and thus is, to some degree, more "conservative" than South African English. Diphthongs such as MOUTH and PRICE tend to become monophthongised in ESSA English (see §5.1.2.3), whereas SAIE clearly retains the vowel pairs [aʊ] and [eɪ], respectively. The lowered first vowel

in the FACE diphthong in ESSA remains [e] in SAIE. It has been noted in §5.1.2.1.1 that the South African Chain Shift has caused the vowel in KIT (in certain phonetic environments) to centralise towards [ə] and the low front vowel in TRAP to raise somewhere to [ɛ], which is prominent in Extreme dialects. Such variants are absent in SAIE (Mesthrie 1992: 137–8). Finally, the fronting of [u] in ESSA English GOOSE does not occur in SAIE. The fronted variant is also mentioned by Lass (1995: 99) as a feature "avoided by Indian and Coloured speakers". Mesthrie (1992) also discusses stress and phonetic variation in consonants of SAIE, however, these will not be discussed here as the focus of phonetic variation in this thesis deals with vowels.

Lanham (1978) mentions there are some "typical" phonetic characteristics, such as confusion between /v/ and /w/, and monophthongs in FACE and GOAT, which, as mentioned earlier, Mesthrie considers stereotypical rather than typical. Bughwan (1970) gives an extensive account of the usage of English by Indians from the first arrival on the African continent up to the present day, however, most of the features she describes are based on data obtained in Natal. Lanham (1974: 295 ff.) makes some reference to SAIE, noting that it is "extremely fluent" but insinuates there is a lack of proper acquisition in terms of the informative function in the early language years. He describes SAIE as being "marked by verbosity and the use of pretentious words and involved phraseology which obscure meaning however, it "fails at exposition in technical subjects". Yet he does not provide evidence for any of these claims. Lanham (1985), like Mesthrie, supports the claim that as far as phonological characteristics are concerned, the defining features of SAIE are on the decline and that there is a shift towards a standard variety of South African English, rather than a local one such as Natal English.

5.3 Summary of linguistic variables

The following table is a summary of the phonetic values given for all the varieties of South African English mentioned in the literature from 1928 to the present: ESSA English (English-speaking South African English), i.e., the language of

white speakers who have English as an L1, BSAE (Black South African English), Afrikaans English (English spoken by whites who identify themselves as Afrikaners) and Coloured English (English spoken by those who identify themselves as "Coloured", regardless of L1, due to the fact that there is an unusually high degree of bilingualism and an extraordinary prevalence of codeswitching) (McCormick 1995, Malan 1996). ESSA English has been divided according to Lanham's original grouping, the Extreme, Respectable and Conservative varieties, as many other authors have denoted their variants according to this scale. The variety "Conservative", according to Lanham, is a variety spoken among upper-class circles only and has not been considered for investigation in this study. The body of subjects that were interviewed consists of black and white students between the ages of 19 and 30 attending the University of the Witwatersrand, who thus do not fit the social profile as a set of possible speakers of Conservative South African English.[53]

[53] See Lanham (1978) and Lass's (1995) social descriptions in sections 5.1.1.3 and 5.1.1.5, respectively. Both descriptions deal with individuals associated with the upper class and strong ties to Britain.

Table 8.Variables classified by ethnic group[54]*

	ESSA		BSAE	AFKE	CE
	RESP	EXT			
			SHORT MONOPHTHONGS		
TRAP	[æ]	[ɛ]	[ɛ]; [e]; [æ]	[ɛ]	[ɛ]
DRESS	[e]; [ɛ]; [i]	-	[ɛː]; [e]	-	[e]
KIT	[ɪ ~ ə]; [ɪ ~ ɨ]; [ɪ ~ ɤ̈ ~ ɨ ~ ə]	[i]; [ɨ ~ ə]	[i]; [ɪ]; [ɛ] for SIT	[i]; [ɨ ~ ə]; [iː]; [i]	[i]; [i ~ə]
STRUT	[ɐ ~ ɐ̈ ~ ə]; [ʉ ~ ɛ̈ː]; [œ]	-	[a]; [ɑ]		[a]
FOOT	[ʊ]; [ü]	-	[u]	[ʉ]; [y]	-
LOT	[ɔ]; [o]	-	[ɔ]; /o/; [ɒ]	poss. [ɒ]	[o]
			LONG MONOPHTHONGS		
FLEECE	[ɪi ~ ɨi]	[iː]	[i]	[iː]	-
NURSE	[øː]; [œː]	-	[ɛ];[e]	-	-
GOOSE	[ʉ(ː)]; [yː]	-	[u]	[ʉ ~ yː]	[uː]
THOUGHT	[oː]	-	[ɔ]; /o/; [ɒ]	poss. [ɔː]	[ɔ]
BATH	[ɑː]	[ɒː]	[a];[ɑ];[æ];[ə]	-	[æ]
SQUARE	[eː]; [ɛː]	[eː];[ɛː]	-	-	[ɛː]
			DIPHTHONGS		
FACE	[əi]; [ɛɪ ~ æɪ ~ aɪ]; [ɛɪ ~ æɪ ~ aɪ]	[ɛɪ ~ äɪ ~ ʌɪ ~ ʌ^{ə}]	[e]		[əi]; [ɛ]
PRICE	[aː]; [ɑː]	[ɑɪ]	[aji]; [a]	[ɑː]	[ɛɪ]; [æɪ]
MOUTH	[aː]; [ɑː]	[æʊ]	[awu]; [a]; [ɑ]	-	[æʊ]; [æː]
CHOICE	[ɔɪ]; [oɪ]	-	[oji]; [o]; [ɔɨ]	-	[ɔɪ]
GOAT	[ɑʊ ~ ɑː]; [ʌː]; [œ(ɤ) ~ œ(ʉ)]	[ʌʊ]	[o]; [o̞]	[ʌʊ]	[əʊ]; [oː]
NEAR	[iə]; [eː]; [əː]	[iː]	-	-	[iː]
CURE	[ʊə]; [oː]	[ʊə]	-	[uə]; [ur]	-

Description of symbols:
(-) = No specific mention of this variant in the literature. (;) = Does not occur in a range between variants given, rather, as separate variants. (~) = Occurs in a range between the variants listed.

[54] The shaded areas are the variants that have been tested in this investigation.

* This table is based on the collective works of authors mentioned in this chapter. The primary sources are: Hopwood 1928, Hooper 1944a, Lanham & Traill 1962, Hundleby 1964, Lanham 1967a, Bughwan 1970, Malan 1972, Lanham & Macdonald 1979, Wells 1982, Bailey 1984, Douglas 1984, Lass & Wright 1986, Malan 1986, Wood 1987, Adendorff & Savini-Beck 1993, Branford 1994, Lass 1995, Mesthrie 1995, Stone 1995, Dreyer et al. 1996, Gough 1996, Watermeyer 1996, Brink & Botha 1999, Van Rooy 2000, Van Rooy & Van Huyssteen 2000, de Klerk & Gough 2002.

Abbreviations:
ESSA - English-Speaking South African (L1 speaker, white)
RESP - Respectable SAE, term from Lanham: socially prestigious; MC, predominantly women speakers
EXT - Extreme SAE, term from Lanham: socially stigmatised; LC, and predominantly Afrikaans-speaking regions
BSAE - Black SAE, L2 English spoken by individuals of Zulu, Xhosa, Pedi, S. Sotho, Tswana, Tsonga, Ndebele, Venda or Swati origin
AFKE - Afrikaans English, L1 Afrikaans speakers, i.e. Afrikaners (white only).
CE - Coloured English, L1 *or* L2 English spoken by individuals classified as Coloured.

5.3.1 Modification of the variable index

Since the scope of this study is confined to black and white students attending the University of the Witwatersrand, the variables chosen were those that were deemed socially significant in the literature as identifiers of those two groups in particular. The following vowel variants were chosen: KIT, NURSE, GOOSE, BATH, FACE, PRICE, MOUTH and GOAT. Not only are these variables predicted to carry heavy social marking in terms of ethnicity (Hundleby 1964; Lanham 1966, 1967a; Lanham & Macdonald 1979; Adendorff & Savini-Beck 1993; Lass 1995; Dreyer et al. 1996; Van Gough 1996; Brink & Botha 1999; Van Rooy 2000; Van Rooy & Van Huyssteen 2000; de Klerk & Gough 2002), the variants of these variables are phonetically distinct or dissimilar to the degree that certainty of variant recognition among the research team was significantly increased. The variants given under the Extreme dialect were not taken into consideration, as this category is associated with the features "lower class, Afrikaner descent, male" (Lanham & Macdonald 1979: 30), which would not be represented in the group of subjects under investigation.

After reviewing the variants suggested by the literature and extensive analysis of the speech data collected, specific variants became clear for each variable, with some additions made that were not mentioned in previous studies of South African English. In addition to relying on the literature as a guideline, there was much consultation with three research assistants (born and raised in the Johannesburg area) concerning variants that are deemed to be socially marked or not. The variants of the eight vowels have been recategorised as follows:

Vowel 1 (V1) PRICE[55]

3 values [aː] [ɑ(ː)] [aɪ] ~ [əɪ]

When reviewing the data, it was clear there was a distinction between those who diphthongised PRICE and who did not. The speakers that used the diphthong displayed variation between [aɪ] and [əɪ] but there was no indication of an inserted glide [aji] as suggested in the literature (Hundleby 1964, Lanham 1966, Gough 1996: 59, de Klerk & Gough 2002: 360). Some of the speakers who used a monophthong tended towards either a more front [aː] or a more back [ɑ] variant. According to the literature (see §5.2.1.2.2), length differences for L2 speakers of English would be contingent on the degree of L1 interference. Even so, this would fluctuate depending on the location of the word in the phrase or sentence (Lanham 1966), and thus length distinction has been disregarded. The front variant [aː] was used by L1 speakers only and was consistently long. The research assistants claim the fronted value is highly marked and particular to certain speech communities in the Johannesburg area, namely affluent northern suburbs such as Sandton, and is associated with the social variables "female" and "Jewish".[56] This seemed to justify separating the monophthongs into two separate variants.

Vowel 2 (V2) MOUTH

2 values [ɑ(ː)] [aʊ]

According to Table 8, both a fronted [aː] and back [ɑː] variant are expected in Respectable South African English, along with their shorter counterparts, [a] and [ɑ], for BSAE (see §5.1.2.3 and §5.2.1.2.2, respectively). Again, as mentioned in the previous section regarding the PRICE vowel, length was disregarded for the

[55] The order and numbering of the vowels and variants of each coincide with the statistical data, e.g., Vowel 1 ("V1" in the data tables) represents PRICE, Vowel 2 ("V2") represents MOUTH, etc.
[56] It was also noted that this fronted variant was often nasalised, in addition to other vowel variants that had a nasal quality to them. For the purposes of this study, this variant was not investigated in detail but it is recognised that this particular variation of frontness and nasality requires further study.

same reasons. There were clear cases of the diphthong [aʊ] (but no clear examples of an inserted glide [awu]) in the data and thus [aʊ] was added as another possible variant.

Vowel 3 (V3) FACE

3 values [aɪ] [eɪ] [ɛ]

Three distinct variants were noted although there was some gradience in the [eɪ] variant to a possible [ɛɪ], and yet an even lower front vowel in the diphthong [aɪ], which was considered socially marked by the research assistants. They suggested this lowered first vowel is characteristic of residents of the East Rand, of areas such as Boksburg, Benoni and Edenvale.[57] The monophthong [ɛ] was clearly a separate variant, noted both by assistants and in the literature as characteristic of BSAE (see §5.2.1.2.2). Van Rooy & Van Huyssteen (2000) suggest the presence of a more tense monophthong [e], but tenseness was not regarded in this as the researcher and assistants agreed this was a possible finer distinction in BSAE which was possibly allophonic of the variant.

Vowel 4 (V4) GOOSE

2 values [ʉ(ː)] [u]

These variants are very distinct in the literature and in the data. The main indicator, although possibly not the only indicator, is a front/back opposition. The literature for ESSA English (see §5.1.2.3) proposes either [ʉ(ː)] or [yː]. There may be some social significance attached to the difference between the two, yet this was not included in the scope of this investigation. Both occurrences were

[57] Further investigation and personal communication with South African colleagues revealed that the East Rand is noted for having many L1 Afrikaans-speaking residents, typically lower-middle or working class. They claim this lowered diphthong is considered characteristic of Afrikaans English, although I have found this is not noted in the literature. The Extreme counterpart offered by Lanham is a low back [ʌ] for the first vowel. Although this variation demands further examining, for the purposes of this study, it will be indicated as socially significant but not tested for the correlation between its occurrences with the abovementioned social features.

grouped under the variant labelled [ʉ], although this may not be entirely accurate in narrow phonetic transcription as the researcher speculates the targets may be slightly more front. The back variant, associated with BSAE, is marked as [u].

Vowel 5 (V5) STRUT

2 values [ʌ] [a]

Two clear variants were found, however, not as many as proposed in the literature for Respectable South African English (§5.1.2.3). If any phonetic material was assessed as close-mid or mid, it was classified under the variant [ʌ]. In listening to and discussing the data, it was agreed there was a low front target that consistently occurred as a clear second variant. Van Rooy & Van Huyssteen (2000) observed a less frequently occurring [ɑ] in their study. Any vowels that were perceived as [ɑ] in this study were classified under the variant [a].

Vowel 6 (V6) KIT

3 values [ɘ; ə] [ɘ; ɪ] [ɪ; i]

This set of variants required more tokens than others to determine the particular variant as there is variation that has been lexically or phonologically accounted for (see §5.1.2.1 for the discussion on KIT), thus each variant contains two possible vowels. The literature ranges from vowels as low as from [ɤ̈ ~ ə] to [ɪ] for ESSA English and [i], [ɪ] and [ɛ] for BSAE. The main distinctions the researcher and the assistants agreed upon (regardless of phonolexical set) was a three-step gradient: (1) the consistent use of a centralised variant, which was given the forms [ɘ; ə], (2) the use of a centralised variant plus lax [ɪ], and (3) the use of no centralised variants, distinguishable from the others with a lax high-mid or a tense high vowel, [ɪ] or [i], respectively.

Vowel 7 (V7) GOAT

3 values [əʊ] [oʊ] [ɔ; o]

This set of variants had to be modified with the addition of the diphthong [oʊ]. The literature claims both diphthongs and monophthongs in the ESSA variety, namely [ɑʊ ~ ɑː], [ʌː] and [œ(ɤ) ~ œ(ɯ)]. Neither the researcher nor the assistants detected a single low back vowel [ɑː], however there was a distinction between a centralised vowel in the diphthong pair, ranging from [œ ~ ə ~ ʌ] and [o] as the initial vowel. For the purposes of this study, the first (centralised) variant was labelled [əʊ], although the researcher is aware this is not an actual phonetic representation, but rather a generalisation.

The [oʊ] variant was clearly perceptible as a diphthong, and very striking to the researcher as the pronunciation was closer to that of American English (the researcher's own variety) than to the centralised diphthong similar to that in British English varieties. There appear to be two separate distinctions in production regarding a target: first whether a diphthong or monophthong is produced, and secondly, when a diphthong is produced, whether a back mid vowel or a lax central vowel is chosen. The monophthong utterances had phonetic values of [ɔ] and [o], but did not appear to show any social distinction between each other, and thus were classified under the same variant.[58]

Vowel 8 (V8) NURSE

4 values [ɵ] [ɜˠ] [ɛ] [ə]

The variants of NURSE in the data turned out be larger in number than those given in the literature. Corresponding to the documented rounded variant, [ø] or [œː], the

[58] It is suspected that the variation in the monophthong variant occurs due to interference of L1 phonology, as these variants are allophonic in the Sotho languages (cf. § 5.2.1.2.). This is also the case for the Nguni languages as these phones are phonologically conditioned allophones. (Doke 1973).

value [ɵ] was given, as it was not perceived to be as tense as and high as German *ö* as in *schön* or as front as *Götter*. The lax monophthong [ɛ] was easily detectable because no other values were as front. One addition that needed to be considered was [ə], which could have a range moving as low as RP [ɜː]. The main identifying feature of this variable is its centrality in contrast to [ɛ], but also its lack of roundedness in comparison to [ɵ]. The assistants claimed that the use of schwa is associated with South African Indian English – this cannot be accounted for in the literature, as the researcher has not found any phonetic accounts of this variant for South African Indian English.[59]

A final and most interesting variant documented in the study was the occurrence of rhotic [ə˞]. The tokens given sounded very similar to those of American English and have significant social value. The accounts of rhotacism in South African English are associated with Extreme South African English (Lass 1987: 306, 1995: 103) due to the influence of Afrikaans (Lanham 1978: 155) or Scottish and Irish influences from settler varieties (Hopwood 1928: 29, Branford 1994: 475). In a commentary of Lanham & Macdonald's dialect survey (1979), Wells (1982: 621) refers to their mention of /r/ in what they call Cape English:

> It is believed that the variants of this type arose or became established in the earliest organised British settlements in South Africa, the Eastern Cape colony dating from 1820. Now, although still quite widespread, these variants are believed to be receding.

It should be noted that in all of the above accounts, the presence of rhotacism is not considered a feature of "standard", "typical" or "Respectable" South African English. The /r/ is described as either a liquid approximant or alveolar trill. Lass (1995: 103) does mention the presence of postvocalic /r/ in Respectable South African English as "occasional sporadic rhoticity, especially in /r/-final words before pause or hesitation, and in the name of the letter <r>.

[59] Mesthrie (p.c.) suggests the variant used in South Africa indian English is in fact a schwa with length [əː].

Anything beyond very sporadic rhoticity (regardless of the quality of the /r/) is an Extreme marker". In sum, the hypotheses behind the presence of a postvocalic rhoticity stem from outside influences, such as Afrikaans, Scottish English or Irish English, or its beginnings are traceable to varieties spoken in the Eastern Cape among the 1820 settlers.

The sole mention of rhotic /r/ as a regular feature of South African English to date is made by Bailey (1984: 21ff), who attributes the appearance of postvocalic /r/ to American English (particularly via the media) or indirect influence of Afrikaans, thus the prestige lying with either the American varieties or the "accent of bilinguals" in South Africa, i.e., L1 Afrikaans speakers who have command of English.[60] The final hypothesis he provides is that the rhotacism may be a possible result of spelling pronunciation. It should be noted, that Bailey adds the discussion of this feature as a brief "comment" and does not mention which group of speakers has this feature.

Lass & Wright (1986) put forward the argument that it should not be assumed that rhotacism in South African English is a result of contact with other varieties or languages, rather, that the "semi-rhoticity" in some South African English varieties is a consequence of rhotic dialects that the 1820 settlers already possessed. In other words, rhotacism is an endogenous development. Lass & Wright (1986: 205) state: "The 'Proto-RP' type speaker was certainly not strongly represented in the 1820 Settler Community; and we have no reason to believe that the bulk came from non-rhotic areas". They do not dismiss the possibility of the contact with Afrikaans contributing to the presence of /r/, they merely state that one should take into consideration that most likely the original dialects of English spoken in South Africa were indeed rhotic. Further discussion of the rhotic variant will be given in conjunction with the results in §8.1.4.

The table below provides a summary of the eight vowel variables selected for this study along with the revised classification of variants. It is important to reiterate here that although subvariations have been discovered during the detailed

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[60] Bailey (1984) describes the occurrence of the rhotic accent in South African English as a "re-introduction" as if it existed previously. The term "re-introduction" may be referring to the presence of /r/ in pre-18th century English, not the varieties of English spoken by the first settlers in South Africa. With respect to social variation, it is also unclear which speakers in South Africa use this variant.

scrutiny of the tokens which would provide further possible explanations of variant choice in terms of additional social distinctions, such as those that may influence the frequency of fronted nasal [ãː] in PRICE, the variation on the basis of these social distinctions was not tested because there was not a sufficient number of speakers contrasting in these social variables to make a viable claim. Thus, the table shows those more general socially significant variables in terms of the literature and current social variation between BSAE and ESSA English. The order in which the variants are placed was roughly based on forms phonetically similar to ESSA English and BSAE as described in the literature, i.e., the variants on the left were predicted as being closest in form to ESSA English and the forms on the left most similar to BSAE English. The one exception is the variant distribution in NURSE: although the "expected" variants are [ɵ] for ESSA English and [ɛ] for BSAE, the prevalence of the two other variants ([ɚ] and [ə]) in the analysed data influenced the decision to distribute them randomly in table 9.

Table 9. New Classification of variables

PRICE	[aːˑ]	[ɑ(ː)]	[ɑɪ ~ əɪ]	
MOUTH	[ɑːˑ]	[aʊ]		
FACE	[aɪ]	[eɪ]	[ɛ]	
GOOSE	[ʉ(ː)]	[u]		
KIT	[ɘ]; [ə]	[ɘ]; [ɪ]	[ɪ]; [i]	
GOAT	[əʊ]	[oʊ]	[ɔ]; [o]	
STRUT	[ʌ]	[a]		
NURSE	[ɵ]	[ɚ]	[ɛ]	[ə]

Once established, utterances were classified by the researcher and assistants in unanimous agreement according to this table using impressionistic perception.[61] This system is explained in the section to follow.

[61] The issue of agreement among speakers is one of the problems in using an impressionistic analysis. It would have been helpful to use more technical methods of analysing the data, e.g. spectrograms or measuring fundamental frequency, in disputed cases.

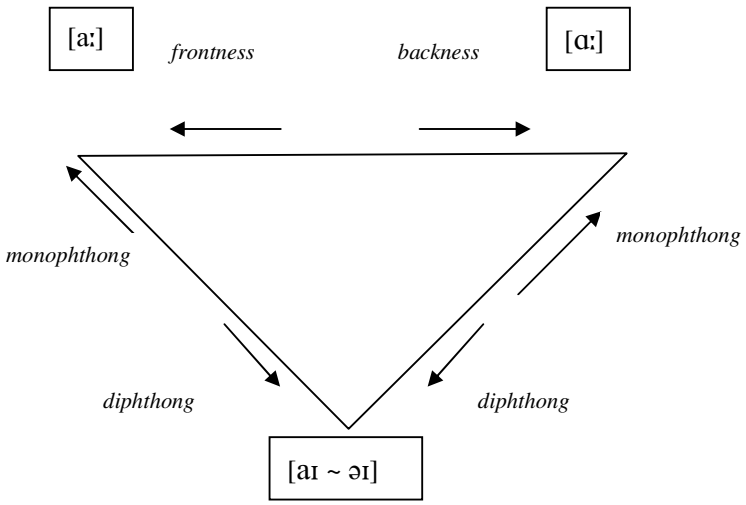
5.3.2 Perception of variants

As mentioned in §3.3 dealing with issues in choosing linguistic variables, the aim of classifying variants is not to categorise them using extremely close phonetic transcriptions but rather as what a hearer *perceives* the variant to be. Thus, the variants above can be categorised in terms of a contrast or contrasts of socially significant phonological features to each other. For example, a close phonetic analysis of the two tokens in GOOSE may yield [ʉː] and a more front [yː] by a given speaker, yet it is not necessary for this study to give a list of *all* of the possible phonetic deviations from that front high target. The distinction or social variation the speaker and hearer are aware of in the phonological system for this vowel is frontness, in contrast with backness. Therefore, it is helpful to view the variants in terms of how they contrast to each other and what target the speaker is aiming for.[62]

In the case of the first variable given in the table, PRICE, there is a two-way contrast in terms of frontness and backness between the monophthong variants, and between those and the third variant in terms of whether there is monophthongisation or not (see figure 8). Thus, the speaker is aiming for the features of the variant in terms of what it may contrast with regarding the other variants, which encompasses two separate features: (1) whether the variant is a monophthong or diphthong and (2) if it is a monophthong, whether it is more front or back. In producing the diphthong [aɪ ~ əɪ], the speaker is not concerned whether, e.g., the first vowel of the diphthong is backed or not, as this is not one of the socially contrasting features.

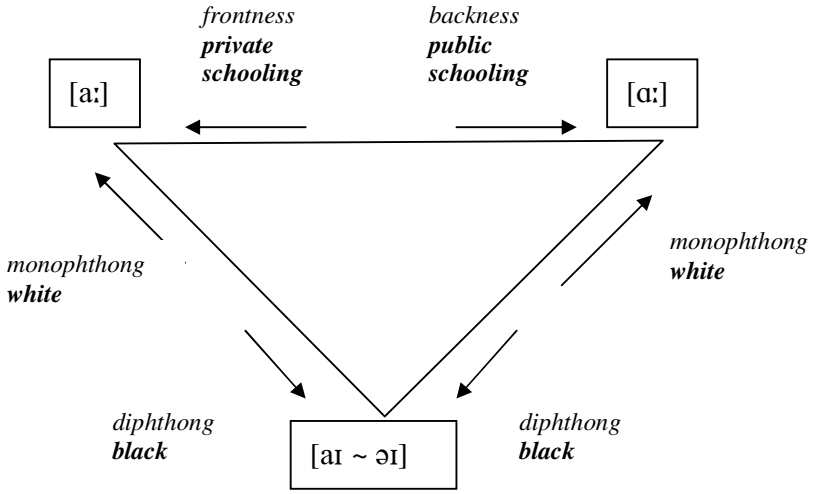
[62] Kaye (1997) discusses this separation of phonology from phonetics, rejecting the approach of defining phonological primitives as "instructions to the articulatory system for the production of speech sounds". He argues that some phonological variation in the system is influenced by social or "group" marking. This approach will not be adopted in this thesis, as the motivation for phonological primitives is not relevant to this study.

Figure 8. Variants placed in terms of how speakers contrast target variants with one another.



If this were to be taken further, certain distinctive features of variants could be correlated with social variables. Previous sociolinguistic studies have linked one linguistic variant to a single social variable, yet the distinctive features of a variant may link to several social variables in different intensities, depending on social context. Based on the observations from this research, I propose a more composite representation, as exemplified below, which includes two social variables and two phonetic features interacting with each other. As these associations are established, a phonetic feature is targeted more strongly than another, depending on how heavily the feature is marked socially and on situational context. In other words, the number of associations with a particular variant depends on the association(s) the *speaker* has and on the situational context in which the speaker finds him or herself. The context will "foreground" certain social associations over others. The final choice of the variant is then made according to which social feature the speaker more strongly associates him or herself with. Figure 9 below is provided as an example:

Figure 9. Hypothetical depiction of variants placed in terms of how speakers contrast target variants with one another in terms of a social variable



For the sake of this example, the social variables most strongly associated with the variable in PRICE for a given speaker are ethnicity and educational background. The hypothetical set of associations in figure 9 shows that there is a distinction made regarding type of educational background, i.e., whether the speaker is from a private school as opposed to a public school, and, at the same time, contrasting ethnicity. It should be noted here that these two social features may not be weighted equally, i.e., the speaker may rank ethnicity higher than educational background or vice versa, again, depending on the situation. If a black female speaker who attended a public school is in a social situation where ethnicity is foregrounded, she may "opt" for the diphthong, whereas a context that evokes the identification with schooling may elicit the back monophthong token. This would be contingent on the speaker's need to express her social identity. Smit's study (1995a, §2.4 in this thesis) showed that black students attending former white schools exhibited more positive attitudes towards the L1 English accent, which may point to awareness of the choice of variant. Herman (1968) discusses the psychological state of the speaker as an influential factor in terms of language choice (see §8.2 of this thesis).

This kind of explanation seems to inevitably invoke the competence/performance issue. It is impossible to determine the linguistic

knowledge (competence) of a speaker with certainty based on performance, and thus one cannot claim a feature is being "avoided" or chosen *per se*. It can, however, be hypothesised that such associations do exist, in that speakers can make judgments on variants such as "that sounds black" or "it sounds like she's from a private school". Another issue regarding competence and performance deals with L2 interference. One cannot claim a variant is being "avoided" if it is not one that a speaker can produce. It is also problematic to state that speakers can in fact recognise more variants than they can produce. Smit's study (1996b, §2.4 in this thesis) on accent recognition showed that about half of L1 Xhosa speakers did not recognise an Afrikaans accent in English. Thus, one must be cautious in claiming a variable is avoided by a speaker, as this assumes that all speakers share the same set of variants for a given variable and also that the speakers share the same social/psychological associations with the variants.

The suggestion of associations between linguistic and social variant will be discussed in the results of the statistical analysis of variant usage among subjects, along with the correlations between use of particular variants of the variables.
In terms of contrasting features alone, the following classification is suggested:

Table 10. Classification of variables according to contrasting features

PRICE	[+ front, +monophthong]	[-front, +monophthong]	[-monophthong]	
MOUTH	[+ front, +monophthong]	[-front, +monophthong]	[-monophthong]	
FACE	[+low, -monophthong]	[-low, -monophthong]	[+monophthong]	
GOOSE	[+front]	[-front]		
KIT	[+central, -high, +lax]	[+central, +high, +lax]	[+high, -lax]	
GOAT	[+central, -monophthong]	[+central, +high, -monophthong]	[+monophthong]	
STRUT	[-low]	[+low]		
NURSE	[+round, -rhotic]	[+round, +rhotic]	[-round, -rhotic]	[-round, -rhotic]

5.4 Conclusion

In sum, it is clear that there have been more studies of the English spoken by speakers who identify themselves as belonging to the ethnicity "white" than of that of any other ethnic group. In earlier studies, the L1 of the speaker was not

considered as having as much of an effect on pronunciation, rather social class was deemed as a more significant factor that predicts the variants of a speaker. As the summary in table 8 has shown, there is a considerable degree of variation among these dialects. The studies on BSAE and other ethnic varieties spoken in South Africa are much less extensive, although some phonological investigation has been done regarding BSAE; it tends to focus primarily on L1 interference variants, which makes the implicit assumption that all black speakers of English *will* have L1 interference variants. As pilot studies of pronunciation were conducted for this study, a new list of variables consisting of some from the literature and additional variables, previously unmentioned, was drawn up for investigation. These variables are believed to be used primarily according to the ethnic orientation and educational background of the speaker, which do not necessarily occur together. The next chapter provides the results of the analysis of the data based on the social and linguistic variables mentioned in the last two chapters.

Chapter 6. Methodology and Design

The methodology and design of this study have been geared to cover as many aspects of the use of English in a sociolinguistic context as possible by using both quantitative and qualitative methods. The first section of this chapter deals with the research design, that is, what methods have been used to gather the data needed for the analysis. All of the data has been gathered through semi-structured interviews and subjects were chosen according to a stratified sample model. The second section explains the statistical and qualitative analyses used to analyse the phonological data and responses of the subjects during the interview. The aim was to extract three main aspects of language use from the data: the use of the linguistic variables, the domain distribution of English as opposed to other languages and the attitudes the speakers have towards English and other languages spoken in South Africa.

6.1 Research design

The research design will be explained in the following section with the description of the structure of the interview, the interview process and the subject selection, and the sample design.

6.1.1 The interview

The study used a Labovian-style sociolinguistic interview. Each interview lasted for approximately 15–20 minutes and was held in the Phonetics Laboratory and in the researcher's office in the Linguistics Department on the University of the Witwatersrand campus. At first, the interviews were conducted in the Phonetics Laboratory as the room had a seemingly strong advantage because of sound isolation, however, it was apparent that students felt more comfortable in the setting of an office, and thus the majority of the interviews were conducted there.

The purpose of this kind of interview is twofold: (1) to invoke a less-formal speech style (as compared to direct questions or word lists) and (2) to obtain as many tokens of the selected variants as possible; in this case the ideal number of tokens per variable would be 30 in order to take intraspeaker variability into account.[63] Guy (1980) suggests this number as an important demarcation between larger and smaller samples. A sample lower than 10 still has a high probability for fluctuation whereas any number of tokens over 10 increases the conformity to a regression line to 90% — 35 tokens and above raise the conformity to 100%.

A larger sample of tokens is useful in measuring individual speaker scores for variant use in terms of percentage, rather than classifying a speaker in an average group score.[64] For this reason, it seemed reasonable to conduct a longer, more loosely structured interview in order to get the desired number of tokens and also to give the subject time to become comfortable with the interview situation, i.e., minimise the observer's paradox. Another point that was considered when determining the length of the interview was possible convergent accommodation of the subject to the researcher's accent, which is American English.

The data was recorded with a microphone on a stand and with a Sony MZ-N10 mini-disc (MD) recorder. The MD recorder has two advantages over analogue and DAT recorders: approximately five hours' worth of speech data can be captured on one MD, and the data is already in digital format, making it ready for analysis with any computer speech program. The data can then be uploaded onto any PC with a mini-jack. The program used for editing and analysis is CoolEditPro (Version 2) by Syntrillium. This program has a very well-structured and "friendly" user interface, with commands similar to text documents used in Microsoft Word, such as "cut", "paste" and "copy".

The students were contacted randomly on campus, by the researcher and two field assistants. The subjects ranged from acquaintances of the field team to

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[63] Mesthrie (p.c.) explains that the more tokens are collected, the more reliable the claim becomes statistically. On the other hand, the number of tokens must be limited to keep a study to manageable proportions for data handling, especially if there is a larger number of speakers.

[64] This "Labovian" technique is criticised by Hudson (1980: 160ff). He points out the final results do not show the contributions the individual variants make to the final scores, nor the variation of individual speakers when group scores are calculated.

complete strangers. All subjects were approached by being asked whether they would like to participate in an interview and told that the interview was part of an investigation into students' attitudes about language use in Johannesburg and South Africa in general. Once the subjects agreed to participate, they were read a list of questions to answer that conformed to interview ethics (see Appendix A). After the interview, the subjects were asked if they knew anyone who would also be willing to participate in the interview, known as "snowball sampling" (Milroy & Gordon 2003: 32). At first, subjects were approached entirely at random, however, in the later stages of the interview period, students were randomly selected by ethnicity and gender in order to keep the population sample stratified.

The recorded interview begins with the subject counting from one to ten in order for the researcher "to see if the MD recorder is capturing correctly". This technique is used for obtaining unmonitored tokens from the subject as they are not aware that this segment will be used for data analysis as well (see Horvath 1985).

The first part of the interview includes questions concerning the demography profile of the speaker. It was decided that these short and relatively easy-to-answer questions should be used in the beginning of the interview so that the speakers would be able to say a little bit about themselves and have some time to get used to the interviewer, the surroundings and the interview situation, i.e., the room, the microphone in front of them and the fact that they were being recorded. The questions asked during the interview are discussed below in further detail.

Table 11. Interview questions relating to demography

Demography	
1.	Where do you live now? Were you born there? (If not) Where were you born? Where did you grow up?
2.	What do you study? Do you work as well? (If yes) What do you do? (If yes) Where do you work?
3.	Do you have brothers and sisters? (If yes) How many? Do they live/work in Johannesburg? Do any other relatives of yours live in Johannesburg?
4.	Where were your parents born, or raised?

The second section was used for establishing the linguistic background of the speaker. This is useful for determining language use and preference in the speaker's more personal and intimate domains, i.e., with family and friends. Note that the first question (next page) is not phrased as *What is your mother tongue?* or *What is your first language?* as some speakers have grown up bilingual or multilingual and have changed usage of a "first" language at an early age. Some results showed that speakers might have differing language preferences with different parents or siblings; this was noted during the interview. The subjects would often specify of their own accord whether they felt a language (or languages) was their L1. The other questions were used strictly for recording demographic information which was used in the analysis.

Table 12. Interview questions relating to language background

Language Background	
1.	(for L2 speakers) What language(s) do you have the best command of? What do you speak: With your parents? With your brothers and sisters? Anything else with other relatives?
2.	(for L2 speakers) When do you speak <L1 given by informant>? (for L2 speakers) Would you say speak <L1 given by informant> more than English-- at home? -- at Wits?

Questions 4–6 below cover the domains of the local neighbourhood and the university surroundings, specifically off-campus, which are not as intimate as the first set of domains. Question 6 deals with an additional element of language attitudes to English in comparison to other languages. This question is meant to evoke a response regarding how the "older generations" feel about English, and is often followed up by the researcher asking how the subjects themselves felt about this attitude:

Table 13. Interview questions relating to language use in local domains

4.	(for L2 speakers) If walking down the street in town, how would you approach a street vendor, in what language?
5.	(for L2 speakers) When walking in your hometown, what do you speak most with the neighbours?
6.	(for L2 speakers) If you were to approach an older [black] woman in English, what would her reaction be?

The final question on language use deals with language dominance and what language the speaker thinks is spoken most in the city of Johannesburg. Intentionally, the researcher did not specify in what domains, e.g. at work, at home, so that the subject could elaborate if he or she felt necessary.

7.	What do you think most people speak most in Johannesburg?

The second segment of shorter questions was intended to establish the educational background of the subject. As mentioned in Chapter 4 on social variables, it was not the aim of the researcher to establish an index of schools based on pass rate, fees, student/teacher ratio, etc., but rather on the subjects' social networks at school and amount of usage of English in comparison with other languages. This includes what the subject spoke with friends at school in and outside of the classroom, what the MOI or MOIs were in the classroom and if the subject was exposed to any other languages by learning them as a subject. These sets of domains can be compared to the ones dealing with family and relatives in order to give a diachronic perspective of the subject's language use from their secondary to their tertiary education. The final part of question 4 emphasises language attitudes the speaker was exposed to earlier in their life in their neighbourhood surroundings. Question 5 was posed mainly as a question about education in general, in order to establish what points of change were most noticeable to students attending school in post-apartheid South Africa.

Table 14. Interview questions relating to educational background

Educational Background	
1.	What primary school did you go to? Where is that?
2.	What secondary school did you attend? Where is that? Was it a nice school?
3.	What were your favourite subjects? Did you like sports as well? What subjects didn't you like?
4.	(for L2 speakers) Would you say you spoke <L1 given by informant> more than English at school? In the classroom, outside of the classroom? (for L1 speakers) Did you learn any other languages at school? (For L2 speakers) When at (high) school what did most of the people speak outside of class? How did people react when they heard pupils speaking English to each other, e.g. walking home from school?
5.	Do you think the school you went to is different from the school your parents went to back in their time? Do you think things have changed? How?

The third and major part of the interview primarily focused on free conversation. The aim is for the speaker to talk about a topic that evokes an emotional reaction, such as recounting family experiences or games one played as a child. Such topics are believed to elicit changes in the interviewee's speech style, usually resulting in a less formal style, and thus a more natural, vernacular speaking mode is achieved.[65] At this point of the interview (approximately 10 minutes), the subjects had become quite relaxed and had given enough information about themselves to be elaborated upon. If a speaker mentioned, e.g., playing a specific sport in school,

[65] Labov (1972: 89ff) noted that speakers usually begin with a consultative style at the beginning of an interview, and then gradually move into casual style as the interview progresses. Although an intimate style is difficult to capture in an interview setting, it is believed conversations about more intimate topics, such as the "danger of death" theme, may evoke more casual speech styles. See Labov 1972 for studies of the variables /r/ and /th/ in New York City, which were conducted using four subcategorisations of style as a social variable. The use of /th/ instead of IPA /θ/ is Labov's convention. This notation for the variables is also used in his earlier work *Hypercorrection by the Lower Middle Class as a Factor in Linguistic Change* (1966).

the researcher would ask more about how the sport is played or whether the subject was still interested in it.

For topics involving personal attitudes about language, racial issues and changes in the educational system, the researcher used to her advantage the fact that she is foreign and could lead the subject into elaborating on a topic on the grounds that she did not know about it. As Mesthrie et al. (2000: 93) suggest:

> The counter-strategy for the sociolinguistic interview is to emphasise the position of the interviewer as learner (about local ways and attitudes), and hence in a lower position of authority than the person to whom the interviewer is speaking.

This technique proved to be very successful, especially in eliciting the black subjects' attitudes towards English. Although the researcher is ethnically white, the fact that she is not South African but American conveyed a stronger sense of neutrality and friendliness towards the subjects. Black subjects seemed to be very comfortable in conveying information about ethnic issues, often using the term "the white South Africans" or "they" to clarify that the researcher was not included in the comment.

Any additional interesting comments made by the subject concerning language use, language attitudes or education that were not prompted by the interview guideline questionnaire were noted by the researcher.

This interview follows the traditional Labovian format in that it does not contain a formal set of interview questions or a rigid questionnaire. Although the first section of the interview is geared towards obtaining demographic information, the questions were not necessarily posed in the order written on the question list. Most interviews of the conventional kind comprise informal, freer conversations followed by questions, word lists or minimal pairs, which are aimed at evoking data that normally would not occur in casual speech, thus, a range of data in different contextual styles is obtained. This method of identifying variability in style shift is not considered reliable, and it is questionable if reading words aloud from a list should be considered a linguistic act comparable to free conversation

(R. Mesthrie, p.c.). In addition, Mesthrie points out that there are communities which are not extremely literate or literate in the specific language or variety being investigated, thus, the act of reading aloud may become stressful for interviewees and words do not necessarily change in the direction of wider standard or prestige models, but rather in the direction of forms that are influenced by the process of reading aloud *per se*. The questionnaire for the interview can be found in Appendix B.

6.1.2 Subject selection and sample design

In order to obtain a representative sample of the black and white students, a random sample of 72 students was taken which included speakers of both genders, varying educational background and ethnicity. For statistical purposes, an ideal distribution would be 6 people for each possible combination of variables, which are represented as "cells". The variables are divided into two genders; two L1s: English, and an African language (Ndebele, Southern Sotho, Pedi, Swati, Tsonga, Tswana, Venda, Xhosa, Zulu); and three educational background categories. Each of the two ethnic groups (black and white) has 36 speakers. L1 Afrikaans speakers have not been included in this investigation on two grounds: L1 and ethnicity. If the variants of L1 Afrikaans speakers were to be investigated, the subjects should be included as a third ethnic group with a L1 separate from that of the speakers of the African languages mentioned above. Due to the fact that Afrikaans has a significantly different phonological inventory from the Southern Bantu languages, the variants that arise from L1 interference or interlanguage phonology would be more difficult to explain if L1 Afrikaans speakers and L1 speakers of other African languages were consolidated in one group, which would expand the work beyond reasonable limits. Speech behaviour may also be influenced by ethnic distinction, i.e. the social identity of Afrikaner, which would have to be taken into consideration by creating a third ethnicity variable. A comparable situation exists for L1 speakers of English that are Indian or Coloured. If they were to be included in a study, additional ethnic variables would be created in order to account for the differences in variant use in South African English. Unfortunately, the scope of

this study does not allow for the inclusion of all ethnic groups and L1 speakers of Afrikaans. An illustration of a sample distribution is given in Table 15.

Table 15. Sample design with ideal sample cells

Ethnicity					
Education 1		**Education 2**		**Education 3**	
Male	**Female**	**Male**	**Female**	**Male**	**Female**
6	**6**	**6**	**6**	**6**	**6**

At this point, it should be made clear that this is an idealised sample of what the cells *should* look like. Due to time constraints and a limited number of fieldworkers, the researcher attempted to get as close as possible to an even number of subjects per cell. Some cells, by nature of the speech population, are inevitably empty. For example, in the cells under "Education 3", it already can be predicted that there will be no white students who attend schools categorised in this cell. This, then, is not a misrepresentation of the Wits student body but rather a true reflection of the population, thus not affecting the representativeness of the sample (Paul Fatti, Department of Statistics and Stochastics, Wits University, p.c.).

Tables 16 and 17 show the actual number of subjects gathered for the investigation. The total number of black subjects is 36 and the number of white subjects is 40. The black male and female subjects have an even stratification of 18 subjects for each gender category, whereas the white subjects have a slightly higher number of females than of males, 22 and 18 respectively.

Table 16. Actual cell – black subjects

Black Subjects					
Education 1		**Education 2**		**Education 3**	
Male	**Female**	**Male**	**Female**	**Male**	**Female**
1	**4**	**7**	**12**	**10**	**2**

total number of black subjects – 36
total number of female subjects – 18
total number of male subjects – 18

Table 17. Actual cell – white subjects

White Subjects					
Education 1		**Education 2**		**Education 3**	
Male	**Female**	**Male**	**Female**	**Male**	**Female**
2	**8**	**16**	**14**	**0**	**0**

total number of white subjects – 40
total number of female subjects – 22
total number of male subjects – 18

The subjects are not evenly stratified along the education index as their index numbers could only be established after the interview had taken place. Due to time constraints, an even number of subjects for each educational index number could not be maintained, as this would have required interviewing many more students to ensure that all educational indices would be evenly filled. The best approach the researcher (as suggested by Senaoana and Fatti, p.c.) could take given the restricted time period was to ensure that the numbers were as close as possible to even in terms of gender and ethnicity.

6.2 Analytical methodology

In any study, the choice of analysis is just as crucial as the data gathering process. Three aspects of the speech data are analysed: (1) the actual pronunciation of linguistic variables of the subjects, (2) the domain distribution of English and other languages in terms of home/familial, school and university, and (3) the attitudes of the subjects towards English and other languages.

6.2.1 Statistical analysis

The classic methodology for analysing data in sociolinguistics has involved using graphs and tables which set a linguistic variable (or variables), suspected *a priori* of having some sort of social significance, on one axis, against one or a series of social variables, such as gender, socioeconomic class, age, ethnicity, etc., on the other. The general aim is to produce a correlation between the linguistic and social

variables. Other dimensions can be added as in Labov's (1966a, 1966b) well-known study of the social stratification of /r/ in New York City by adding speaker style (ranging from casual to word-lists) to the set of variables. The data is then cross-classified according to several variables, known as a multi-way table or graph. Table 18 below is an example of a three-way table, comparing gender, class and age differences of a variable X:

Table 18. Hypothetical three-way table for the frequency of the use of a variable X

Gender							
Male				**Female**			
Class				**Class**			
Age	**WC**	**MC**	**UC**	**Age**	**LC**	**MC**	**UC**
10–20	33%	54%	67%	10–20	21%	17%	31%
21–40	44%	53%	76%	21–40	37%	65%	78%
41–60	27%	84%	32%	41–60	69%	83%	85%

With this data, two or more two-dimensional graphs can be constructed, setting the one axis as a measure of frequency of use of the linguistic variable and the other as a measure of a social variable; several lines can be plotted on the graph to indicate a third variable. There may, however, be difficulty in defining which social variables will have a revealing effect on the linguistic behaviour of a speech community. If more information on more possible social variables for the example data set above were gathered, one is left with the time-consuming task of creating a large number of graphs in hopes of revealing an interesting pattern in the data set. Yet it is not certain which combinations of social variables plotted against the linguistic one will provide telling information. In addition, this would require the presumption that the significant social variables will explain the variation. The task would become increasingly more difficult if other linguistic variables were to be taken into consideration. How would it be possible to compare, for example, 10 social variables with 10 linguistic ones without the graphs becoming too complex to see any kind of significant patterns?

A solution would presume being able to study a large number of variables, both linguistic and social, without having to make any determinations about their significance beforehand, and to find correlations among them. The analytic technique called principal components analysis (henceforth PCA) has been shown

to alleviate the problem of finding social and linguistic grouping of variables (for a detailed sociolinguistic study using PCA, see Horvath 1985). The main functions of PCA are to reduce the number of variables in a data set and to detect structure between the variables, enabling new classifications of variables (factors) on the basis of maximum variance.

The technique can be used with data sets from 10 to 100 variables, a statistics program running PCA combines into one variable, creating a principal component.[66]

When these clusters have appeared on the scattergram, the researcher can also investigate which individuals are inside each of these groups according to social characteristics. The advantage of this method is that the researcher does not predetermine the social factors, e.g., how males use a variable or how females do. The groups are formed on the basis of *linguistic variable use only*, determined by the correlation matrix and the eigenvectors that result from them. The social constitution of a cluster is then determined by counting how many, males or females, for example, are in a particular group. This data will be given in the results section as pie graphs by percentage of each social variable: gender, ethnicity and educational background.

6.2.2 Analysis of variables

After the data was captured onto MD, it was uploaded onto a PC, then edited and analysed using the CoolEditPro program. In order to access the original interviews easily on the MDs, the subjects were numbered by the MD the data was captured on, followed by their file number on the MD itself. There were a total of four MDs. For example, the fourth speaker on the second MD would be: 02/004.

For each subject, tokens for each of the eight vowel variants were extracted from the 20-minute interviews and pasted into a new separate file by variant, i.e., a separate speaker file for FACE, GOOSE, PRICE, etc. These cut sound files were then given a variant file name indicating which subject the data is from, such as,

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[66] A detailed explanation of PCA and its applications can be found in Appendix F.

"01/001 FACE", which when played had 8–20 clips or tokens of words with the vowel variant, with a 1–2 second pause between each token. The other variant files (in this case Speaker 1 on MD1) "01/001 GOOSE", "01/001 PRICE", etc., were all placed in the appropriate subject's folder: "001/001 cut data".

The cut data was assessed by a linguist and three linguists in training: three assistants, all South African, and the researcher, using impressionistic evaluation. Each token from the cut data variant file uttered by a speaker was then identified, using the set of variants specified in the variable index (see §5.3.1) and put into a table. An extract of a vowel variant assessment for speakers 01/001 and 01/002 is given below:

Table 19. Extract of token counts for each variant of the eight vowel variables: speakers 01/001 and 01/002

no	Eth	Gen	V1 – PRICE			V2 – MOUTH		V3 – FACE			V4 – GOOSE		V5 - STRUT		V6 – KIT			V7 - GOAT			V8- NURSE			
	var value →		1	2	3	1	2	1	2	3	1	2	1	2	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	4
1_1	B	M	0	0	17	2	9	0	11	3	0	12	0	7	0	7	0	0	9	4	0	4	10	0
1_2	B	F	0	1	12	7	9	0	13	3	7	6	17	0	3	8	0	4	9	1	0	7	1	0

In the first row, the table indicates the subject's number, ethnicity and gender, followed by a list of all of the eight vowel variables. Under each vowel variable are the specified variants, each given a number value. PRICE has been given three variant values: [aː] = 1, [ɑ(ː)] = 2, and [aɪ] ~ [əɪ] = 3. The researcher and assistants listened to the tokens, made an assessment and kept a count of how many tokens belonged to a certain variant.

Subject 1 on the first MD has a total of 17 tokens in his cut data file for PRICE. It was established that in all 17 of these tokens, he used the third variant, [aɪ ~ əɪ], consistently, while [aː] and [ɑ(ː)] did not occur at all.

The importance of tracking the exact number of times a speaker uses a variant is to give a more accurate analysis in terms of amount of variability an individual speaker has, and a more specific picture of the overall distribution of variant usage in further statistical analysis (P. Fatti, p.c.). If the distribution of tokens for V2 – MOUTH of both subjects is considered, they could simply be identified as speakers who use the second variant, however, the second speaker has a higher amount of variability than the first. As explained above, such measures of

intra-speaker variability were factored in when correlations were established using PCA.

6.2.3 Analysis of domains and language attitudes

Quantitative results are valuable in establishing speakers' frequency of usage of variants and in establishing correlations with the social variables, however, it was deemed important to investigate language choice in terms of domains as well as noting additional commentary about subjects' language attitudes. With a further qualitative analysis, insights are provided that relate directly to the varieties of English used by the subjects and what these attitudes may indicate concerning the future of English in South Africa.

In addition to extracting tokens of speech to investigate the use of variants among speakers, a section of the interview (see questions 1–7 in "language background") was created to establish a profile of the use of English versus other languages in the speaker's different domains. The data for this section was extracted by listening to the responses in the full interview and entering them in a data sheet for each subject.

Table 20. Example of a data sheet for information on language use in terms of domains and language attitudes

RESULTS OF INTERVIEW – LANGUAGE USE IN DOMAINS

SUBJECT #: _____

DEMOGRAPHICS	Notes
Ethnic group	
Gender	
Attested L1(s)	
L2	
Current residence	
Place of birth	
Places of residence (give years)	
Field of study at Wits	
Employment (what and where)	
DOMAINS	% of language use /
PRESENT	frequency
1. Family / Home / Hometown	
1.1. Mother	
1.2. Father	
1.3. Siblings	
1.4. Other relatives	
1.5 Friends at home	
1.6 Neighbours at home	
2. The University of the Witwatersrand and surroundings	
2.1. With friends at Wits	
2.2. People in res / town	
RECENT PAST (SCHOOL)	
(if applicable)	
1. Family / Home / Hometown	
1.1. Mother	
1.2. Father	
1.3. Siblings	
1.4. Other relatives	
1.5. Friends at home	
1.6. Neighbours at home	
2. School and surroundings	
2.1. with teachers *during* class	
2.2. with pupils *during* class	
2.3. with pupils outside of class	
EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND	
Primary School (Name and Location)	
High School (Name and Location)	
MOI in primary school *(if given)*	
MOI in high school	
Compulsory L2?	
Other Lgs offered? If yes, which?	
OPINION QUESTIONS	
Most spoken Lg in Johannesburg	
***(For L2)* Use of English**	
1.1. With older [black] female	
1.2. pupils with other pupils	
1.3. other possible domains	
How school has changed for subject in comparison to parents' schooling	
OTHER INTERESTING QUOTES OR COMMENTS	

This data was further used to investigate the nature and amount of codeswitching or code-mixing that occurred in those given domains. Although the distinction between the two types of language choice is not distinguished in this study, they will be discussed briefly in this section as the definitions of codeswitching and code-mixing vary according to researcher. Codeswitching is generally defined as the alternation between two varieties in a conversation (Myers-Scotton 1988, 1993a, 1993b; McCormick 1995) – the distinctions lie in the alternation of the kinds of linguistic segments (e.g., phrases, lexemes, morphemes). McCormick (1995: 194) proposes that codeswitching be defined as dealing with elements longer than one word, however this does not account for changes from one language to another that may occur on the syntactic level, even if it is one word. Herbert (1997: 398) includes the syntactic specification into his definition: "In particular, CS [codeswitching] means that the operand grammar, broadly defined, changes during the course of the conversation. This implies the domain of CS is larger than a single word". Herbert's definition of code-mixing describes alterations of linguistic elements, such as lexemes and morphemes, that are incorporated into the operand grammar of the first language, i.e., the syntactic and morphological frames of the first language remain the same. Poplack (1980) explains that this type of switching, code-mixing, that is, "involves great syntactic risks" for the speaker. For the purposes of this study, codeswitching and code-mixing are not distinguished, it is only noted whether there is the use of two or more languages in a single domain.

On the information sheet, the questions aim at eliciting information in three main domains: 1. family, 2. school and 3. the University of the Witwatersrand. The questions were not necessarily asked in that particular order during the course of pilot interviews, but rather in an order that occurred most naturally. The data from the black speakers was used for discussion as only very few of the white speakers used a second language, such as German or Afrikaans alongside English, and this only in the first two domains. If the speaker said he or she conversationally codeswitched or code-mixed English with another language or languages, or spoke the languages in the same domain but separately, i.e., used situational

codeswitching, this was taken into account. The language use tables were created according to educational background and gender.

The final section of the sheet, titled "Opinion Questions", was used for gathering data on language attitudes towards English and other languages as well as additional unprompted comments the subject made during the interview. This section will be followed up by a discussion of the subjects' comments in a qualitative analysis. A randomly selected set of 10 data sheets for the interviews can be found in Appendix D.

6.3 Conclusion

The methodology used in this study was a semi-structured interview following the Labovian method. It consisted of questions geared at extracting demographic information required for determining the social variables, answers that explained language use in terms of domain distribution, and eliciting additional comments made by the speaker dealing with language attitudes. The subjects were selected according to an evenly distributed stratified sample, which included both ethnic groups, both genders and people from the three levels of educational background. The tokens taken from the speech data were then categorised according to the list of linguistic variables given in the previous chapter. Once all of the tokens had been collected, PCA was applied to extract the maximum variance among all of the variants given in the study. The maximum variance values or principal components were then plotted against each other in order to reveal which speakers behave more linguistically similarly or differently (in terms of all of the variables and variants), depending on how closely they are plotted to each other on a scattergram. The second part of the study is designed to determine domain usage of L2 speakers of English based on the information given by the subjects during the interview. The final section is a qualitative analysis of language attitudes. A discussion is based on the open responses given by subjects about their views of English and other languages spoken in South Africa. This methodology has been created to avoid a one-sided sociolinguistic study of South African English; both quantitative and qualitative methods are applied in order to give a broader picture

of the varieties by giving the phonological data as well as descriptive information about the general use of English and attitudes that come with it.

Chapter 7. Results

The first part of this chapter is a summary of the results obtained using PCA along with explanations and discussion of the findings. To begin, the eigenvalues are explained and discussion will follow as to which principal components are selected for further analysis.

The selected principal components are set as x and y-axes against each other and the speakers are placed on a scatterplot according to their loadings against the principal components. This scatterplot will be used to investigate whether there are clusters of speakers that behave linguistically similarly, that is, whether there actually are so-called discernible "lects" (Horvath 1985).

The loadings of each variant to each relevant principal component are given and explained. These loadings are then interpreted and grouped together in order to establish what variants are prevalent in each lect group. For each lect, the speaker scores of each variant are averaged and presented. Next, the distribution of the social variables of each lect are presented in pie graphs separately, i.e., by educational background, ethnicity and gender.

The second and third sections of this chapter focus on responses given by the subjects during the interview. First, the results of subjects' responses regarding language choice in domains are addressed and illustrated along with the occurrence of codeswitching and code-mixing. White students have not been included in this section as the results of the survey showed that the majority are English monolinguals. It is shown what languages are used in relation to particular domains and whether there are domains more susceptible to codeswitching or mixing than others. The subjects are grouped by educational background to reveal correlations between this background and language use in certain domains.

The final section shows the results of opinion questions asked during the interview. Both black and white students' responses are included. These questions deal with what the subjects feel is the language most spoken in Johannesburg, how they feel the education system has changed since their parents attended school and

what language they would use when approaching an older person on the street. The responses where both white and black students are asked are ranked according to highest number of responses and are divided according to ethnicity.

It should be clear that this chapter deals solely with a presentation of the results. The findings noted in all sections in this chapter will be addressed in more detail with interpretations in the following chapter.

7.1 PCA results for the eight vowel variants

The variants of the vowel variables used for analysis in this data set were counted as separate and independent statistical variables. In other words, the three variants of PRICE were now treated as three variables each, each with its own correlation coefficient to be used in the correlation matrix. The total number of linguistic variables is 22. This correlation coefficient was established using the means and standard deviations of the variables.[67]

The table below shows the six largest eigenvalues extracted from the correlation matrix.[68] The first column indicates the numerical rank of the eigenvalues, listed according to size. One should keep in mind that this value is not that of the eigenvector, or principal component, rather it is the measure of the *variance* of the eigenvector.

[67] The actual means and standard deviations can be found in Appendix E.
[68] The smaller eigenvalues are too insignificant to consider for the purpose of this study according to the Kaiser Criterion and scree test. Both statistical tests are explained in the paragraphs to follow in this section.

Table 21. Eigenvalues of the correlation matrix

Number	Eigenvalue	Difference	Proportion	Cumulative
1	10.8008061	7.9389584	0.4909	0.4909
2	2.8618477	1.4299266	0.1301	0.6210
3	1.4319212	0.3302906	0.0651	0.6861
4	1.1016306	0.0960715	0.0501	0.7362
5	1.0055591	0.2153397	0.0457	0.7819
6	0.7902194		0.0359	0.8178

The sum of all of the eigenvalues will equal the number of variables used in the study. The sum of all of the eigenvectors themselves, or principal components, will equal 1.0.

Following the eigenvalue is a column marked "Difference". This shows the numerical difference between the eigenvalue and the next one following it. For example, the first principal component has an eigenvalue of approximately 10.8. The difference between the first and second principal component is about 7.9, between the second and the third 1.4, the third and the fourth 0.3, the fourth and the fifth 0.09 and the fifth and the sixth 0.2. There is no value given for the sixth principal component because there is no component given following it.[69] These differences can be seen more clearly plotted in a graph, which aids in determining which principal components should be considered in the analysis.

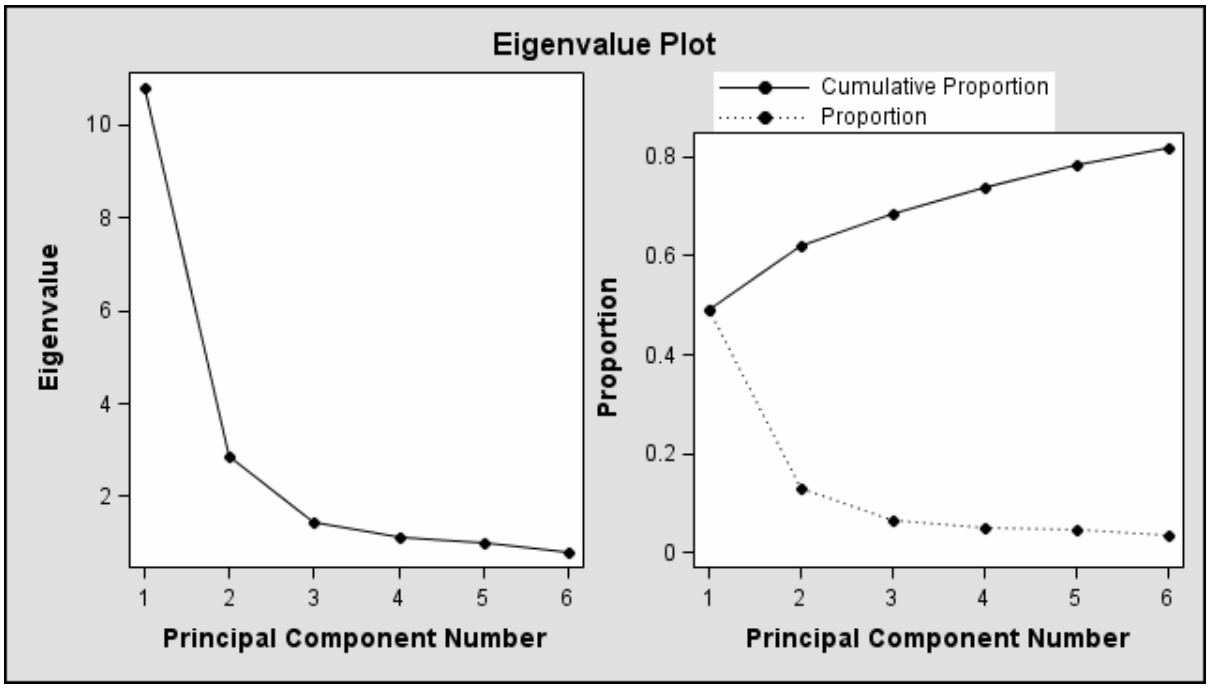
The next column, "Proportion", shows the amount of variance that a particular principal component accounts for in the data. The sum of the proportion value of all of the principal components will equal 1.0, thus accounting for all of the variance in the data set. This proportion can be read in percentage by shifting the decimal point two places. Principal component 1 accounts for approximately 49% of the variance in the data, principal component 2, for 13%, principal component 3, for 6%, principal component 4, for 5%, principal component 5, for 4%, and principal component 6, for 3% of the data.

[69] The seventh principal component exists, however, it is statistically not significant enough to be considered for this study.

The final column, “Cumulative”, shows the proportion of variance of the data in a cumulative fashion, including the variance of each particular principal component. Next to principal component 1, a cumulative value of approximately 0.49 is given. Adding the amount of variance to that of principal component 2, the cumulative variance reaches 0.62, that is, 62% of the variance is accounted for with both principal components 1 and 2. With the first six principal components, the cumulative value is 0.81, in other words, 81% of the variance is explained. All of the components factored in will yield a cumulative value of 1.0, or 100%.

One point of discussion when working with principal components analysis (as well as factor analysis) is deciding what components are significant enough to use for further analysis. There are two types of tests most statisticians employ: the Kaiser criterion and the scree test (Eugenius Senaoana, statistics specialist, Data Management and Statistical Analysis Unit, University of the Witwatersrand, p.c.). The Kaiser criterion essentially states that if a factor has an eigenvalue of 1 or above, it should be retained for analysis. In this case, principal components 1 to 5 should be used for analysis. However, the Kaiser criterion is considered problematic, because it retains too many factors if used alone (Lance et al., 2006). Another frequently used test is the scree test (the term *scree* is taken from the geological term for rocks and debris that accumulate at the bottom of a slope). A scree plot can be created by setting the eigenvalues on the y-axis and the principal components on the x-axis (Cattell 1966, Cattell & Jaspers 1967). The scree plot for the six principal components is shown in the first plot below. The way to determine which principal components should be considered is by locating the points where the components seem to “level off” on the right hand side of the plot. In the present case, the point is somewhere between the second and the third principal component.

Figure 10. Eigenvalue plot



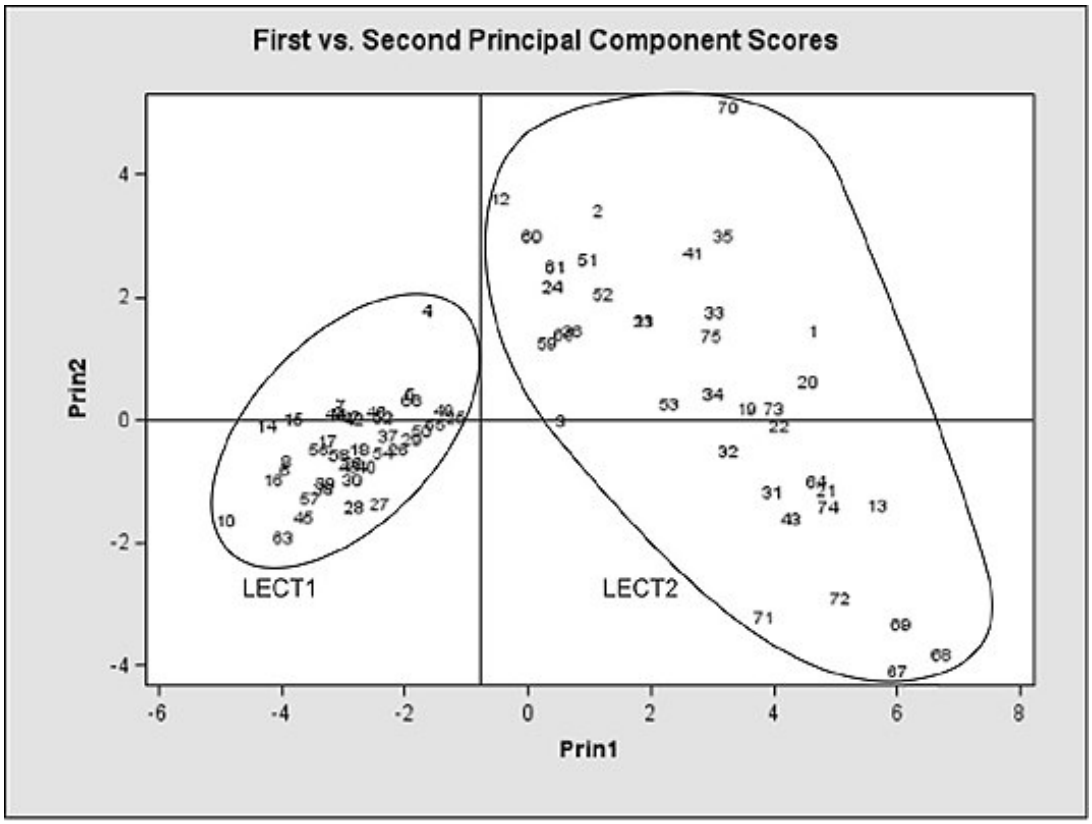
For further observation, the component scores (i.e. the amount of variance each variable accounts for) are shown in the graph on the right as a dotted line labelled "Proportion"; these are the values taken from the third column of the previous table. The solid line indicates the cumulative proportion, or the proportion of each principal component added to the sum of the previous ones. If all principal components were added to this plot, the proportion line would eventually reach 1.0 on the y-axis and the proportion line would reach 0.0 on the x-axis.

The second plot shows that the proportion line evens out by the time the third principal component is reached, leaving it up to the researcher or statistician to decide whether or not the third principal component will contain enough information of significance, as it accounts for very little variance compared to the first and second principal components. For the procedures to follow, it was decided that the first two principal components should be used for analysis only.

The next part of the analysis requires taking the two new variables, PC1 and PC2, setting them as the x and y-axes in a scatterplot and placing the speakers on that graph using their scores in relation to each of these components. Using

these principal components will account for 62.1% of the variance in the data, which is promising in revealing some interesting patterns (E. Senaoana, p.c.).

Figure 11. Speakers in relation to PC1 and PC2



The speakers' overall correlation to each principal component can be calculated (refer to Appendix F for a detailed explanation). The positive and negative numerical values shown on the x and y-axes represent the speakers' loadings. Speakers that have similar loading scores for both principal components will be plotted closer to each other on the graph.

Notice there are two lines cutting through the graph horizontally and vertically as well as lines drawn around speakers. These lines demarcate the boundaries between two distinct lects. These demarcations are made by the researcher, not automatically by the statistics program, thus, they require some explanation.

It is clear that there is one comprehensive cluster of speakers that is grouped in the lower left-hand part of the scatterplot, which shall be called lect 1.

The scores of these speakers, for the most part, load negatively for both PC1 and PC2. A second group, lect 2, seems to spread from the lower right-hand side of the scatter plot towards the top, slightly past the centre. This lect is not as clearly defined as lect 1. These speakers (excluding speakers 12 and 60) all load positively for PC1 but load quite evenly in terms of negative or positive values for PC2. By looking at what variables load positively or negatively for PC2, the linguistic features that are dividing this group into two parts can be defined.

The next step is to determine what variables take part in defining the new axes (the principal components) extracted. This is a crucial part of the analysis as it reveals which of the variables originally used play a part in creating each principal component and thus defining the linguistic behaviour of the speakers in the lects.

This is determined by examining each variable's loading in relation to the principal component (see Appendix F for more description about loadings). The loadings are the correlation coefficients of each variable, which range from -1.0 to 1.0. Below is a table of the loadings of the linguistic variables onto PC1. By examining which variables load together positively or negatively, it can be determined which of the original variants played a role in creating this "new" variable. The left-hand column has the name of the specific variant; the variants that fall under one vowel variable have been grouped together and the groups are separated from each other with a space so that they can be viewed more easily as a set. The phonetic value follows in the middle column for easy reference. The last column shows the loading of that variant onto the principal component; the positive loadings have been shaded.

Table 22. Loadings of the linguistic variables onto PC1[70]

VARIABLE	PHONETIC VALUE	LOADING
Price_V1	[aː]	-0.101677
Price_V2	[ɑ(ː)]	-0.228196
Price_V3	[aɪ ~ əɪ]	0.218365
Mouth_V1	[ɑ(ː)]	-0.241231
Mouth_V2	[aʊ]	0.255178
Face_V1	[aɪ]	-0.223246
Face_V2	[eɪ]	0.106433
Face_V3	[ɛː]	0.213433
Goose_V1	[ʉ(ː)]	-0.254140
Goose_V2	[u]	0.270168
Strut_V1	[ʌ]	-0.217219
Strut_V2	[a]	0.250220
Kit_V1	[ɔ; ə]	-0.265331
Kit_V2	[ɔ; ɪ]	0.011587
Kit_V3	[ɪ; i]	0.225184
Goat_V1	[əʊ]	-0.272217
Goat_V2	[oʊ]	0.180109
Goat_V3	[ɔ; o]	0.236087
Nurse_V1	[ɵ]	-0.261656
Nurse_V2	[ɚ]	0.055191
Nurse_V3	[ɛ]	0.234138
Nurse_V4	[ə]	0.051509

In order to put this table into practical terms, the differences in loading values between variants will indicate where the maximum variance in the data lies. Variants that have similar scores correlate together and may be thought of as "going together", i.e., if one variant is used, there is more of a chance the other will be used as well, as opposed to variables with scores of opposite polarity. It is

[70] The notation used for the variables, e.g., "Price_V1", is the format used for the SAS program.

now possible to visualise from the scatterplot of speakers that speakers with a negative loading will be on the left side of the graph, that is, they are part of lect 1, and speakers with positive loadings will be on the right side, as part of lect 2.

First, both monophthongs PRICE1 and PRICE2 load negatively while PRICE3 loads positively. MOUTH1 and MOUTH2 are clearly separated from each other on this principal component while FACE2 and FACE3 load together negatively against FACE1. The variables of GOOSE and STRUT have a similar loading scheme to that of MOUTH. In the case of KIT, the first variant loads negatively, and the other two variants load positively, although KIT2 has an extremely weak correlation to PC1. The loadings of GOAT reveal a similar situation to that of KIT; the first variant loading strongly positive and the third variant strongly negative, leaving KIT2, the middle variant of the two, correlating slightly to the positive side. NURSE1 and NURSE3 oppose each other in the same manner in terms of polarity, but NURSE2 and NURSE3 have weak correlations towards the positive or right-hand side of the scatterplot.

To summarise, the variants that are most characteristic of lect 1 (the very weak correlations are not included) are shown in the list below:

PRICE2	[ɑ(ː)]	
MOUTH1	[ɑ(ː)]	
FACE1	[aɪ]	
FACE2	[eɪ]	(weaker correlation)
GOOSE1	[ʉ(ː)]	
STRUT1	[ʌ]	
KIT1	[ə; ə]	
GOAT1	[əʊ]	
NURSE1	[ɵ]	

The relatively strong correlations of almost all of the variables account for the density of the group.

Due to the fact that none of the information about variance in PC1 will be repeated in PC2, variance in the entire set of speakers of lect 1 is excluded from PC2. The loadings on the second principal component divide the speakers of lect 2 in the top half of the scatterplot from those in the bottom half. As shown, the

majority of speakers in lect 1 have loaded negatively, but the speakers in lect 2 are divided into two groups by this variable.

Table 23. Loadings of the linguistic variables onto PC2

VARIABLE	PHONETIC VALUE	LOADING
Price_V1	[aː]	-0.076915
Price_V2	[ɑ(ː)]	-0.142319
Price_V3	[aɪ ~ əɪ]	0.128371
Mouth_V1	[ɑ(ː)]	-0.033522
Mouth_V2	[aʊ]	0.093030
Face_V1	[aɪ]	-0.147776
Face_V2	[eɪ]	0.386392
Face_V3	[ɛ]	-0.268146
Goose_V1	[ʉ(ː)]	-0.013413
Goose_V2	[u]	0.000576
Strut_V1	[ʌ]	0.135004
Strut_V2	[a]	-0.167668
Kit_V1	[ɘ; ə]	-0.078283
Kit_V2	[ɘ; ɪ]	0.359647
Kit_V3	[ɪ; i]	-0.310174
Goat_V1	[əʊ]	-0.058432
Goat_V2	[oʊ]	0.295131
Goat_V3	[ɔ; o]	-0.301639
Nurse_V1	[ɵ]	-0.099792
Nurse_V2	[ɚ]	0.353556
Nurse_V3	[ɛ]	-0.251949
Nurse_V4	[ə]	0.215379

Due to the somewhat even distribution of speakers in lect 2 in terms of the second principal component, it is expected that most of the correlations will be weaker than in the case of the first principal component. PRICE1 and 2 load negatively against PRICE3 but this is a weak correlation. In the case of MOUTH, variation

goes almost unaccounted for, as this information has been already explained in the first principal component. This is the same for GOOSE and STRUT. This component, however, has captured the variation in FACE, with a high positive loading for FACE2 contrasted with FACE1 and 3. The first principal component explained the grouping of KIT1 against 2 and 3, where the second component explains differences between KIT2 and 3. GOAT1 shows very little variance, but there is strong variance between users of GOAT2 and 3. Finally NURSE has an interesting three-way contrast: both the rhotic variant NURSE2 and the schwa NURSE4 show a strong positive correlation in contrast to NURSE3.

Within lect 2 there are two subgroups that have the following correlations:

positive loading		negative loading	
KIT2	[ə; ɪ]	KIT3	[ɪ; i]
GOAT2	[oʊ]	GOAT3	[ɔ; o]
NURSE4	[ə]	NURSE3	[ɛ]
FACE2	[eɪ]	FACE3	[ɛ]

Thus, the speakers who are located in the upper half of lect 2 use the variables under "positive loading" as opposed to the speakers in the bottom half of lect 2, who use the variables in the "negative loading" column. As mentioned above, this variation has nothing to do with the variation in lect 1, as the differences between the two lects as a whole have been entirely accounted for in PC1.

If the positive loadings from PC1 are included, the rest of following variants have a fairly strong representation in lect 2, for both subgroups, as opposed to lect 1:

PRICE3	[aɪ] ~ [əɪ]
MOUTH2	[aʊ]
GOOSE2	[u]
STRUT2	[a]

Since these two lects have been established, it becomes clear which linguistic variables come into play in affecting variance (with covariance to each other) by observing the loadings of each variable against the principal components. However, in order to get a clearer picture of the distribution of variable use among each of these lects, a mean score for each of the variants in relation to its counterparts of a vowel variable is calculated. Thus, PRICE1, PRICE2 and PRICE3 will have three mean scores for lect 1, their sum adding up to 100%. This score is based on the individual frequency of use for all subjects in that lect. Gathering such information will provide a generalised view of variant distribution of a particular variable within the lect as a whole. The two bar graphs on the following page are a summary of these calculations, the first graph for lect 1 and the second for lect 2. These bar graphs show the overall distribution of each vowel variant (as a shaded area) within a vowel variable (illustrated as a bar). The same shading for each variant has been used for both lects for easy comparison.

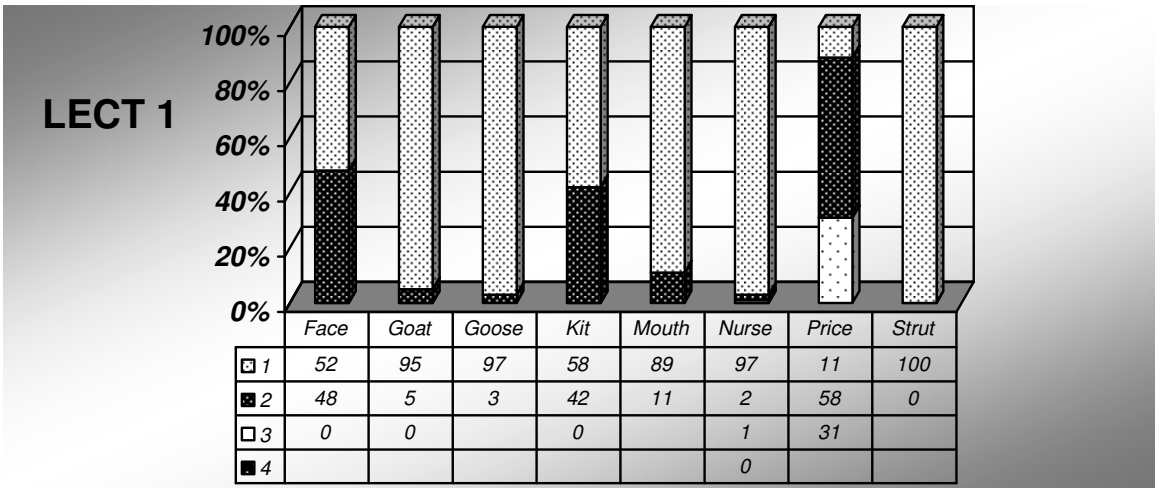
The first graph shows that FACE1 occurs 52% of the time, FACE2 occurs 48% of the time, and no occurrences of FACE3 have been recorded for any of the speakers. Both the variants GOAT1 and GOOSE1 are used in overwhelming majority (95% and 97% respectively) over the second variants, GOAT2 and GOOSE2. The third variant of GOAT is not used by any of the speakers at all. As for the variable KIT, there is a similar distribution to that of FACE, where the first and second variants have strong representation while the third variant is completely avoided. KIT1, the more centralised variant, has stronger representation than KIT2. The monophthong MOUTH1 is clearly favoured over the diphthong MOUTH2, occurring with a mean of 89% while MOUTH2 occurs with a mean of only 11%. The rounded central vowel of NURSE1 clearly takes precedence with 97% and a small presence of the rhotic vowel NURSE2 at 2% and the NURSE3 monophthong at 1%. There are no occurrences of the schwa in NURSE4. PRICE is divided by use of all three variants, where the back monophthong in PRICE2 accounts for more than half (58%) of total occurrences. The diphthong occurs 31% of the time, followed by

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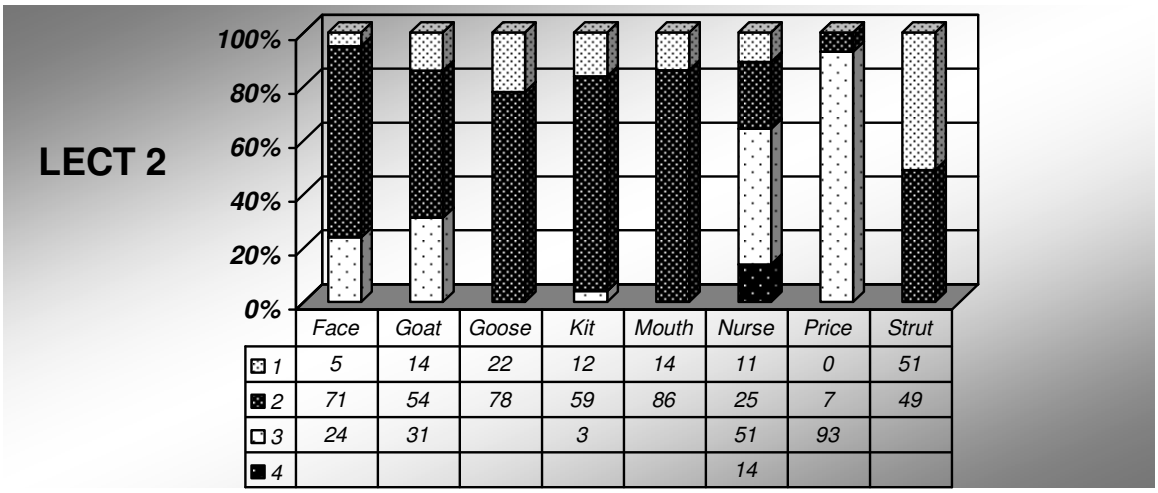
index of phonetic variants: PRICE1 = [aː]; PRICE2 = [ɑ(ː)]; PRICE3; [aɪ ~ əɪ]; MOUTH1 = [ɑ(ː)]; MOUTH2 = [aʊ]; FACE1 = [aɪ]; FACE2 = [eɪ]; FACE3 = [ɛ]; GOOSE1 = [ʉ]; GOOSE2 = [u(ː)]; STRUT1 = [ʌ]; STRUT2 = [a]; KIT1 = [ɘ; ə]; KIT2 = [ɘ; ɪ]; KIT3 = [ɪ; i]; GOAT1 = [əʊ]; GOAT2 = [oʊ]; GOAT3 = [ɔ; o]; NURSE1 = [ɵ]; NURSE2 = [ɜˑ]; NURSE3 = [ɛ]; NURSE4 = [ə]

the fronted monophthong, which accounts for 11% of all of the tokens. STRUT1 is used by all of the speakers 100% of the time.

Figure 12. Distribution of the variants in lects 1 and 2 based on variant mean score



	Face	Goat	Goose	Kit	Mouth	Nurse	Price	Strut
1	52	95	97	58	89	97	11	100
2	48	5	3	42	11	2	58	0
3	0	0		0		1	31	
4						0		



	Face	Goat	Goose	Kit	Mouth	Nurse	Price	Strut
1	5	14	22	12	14	11	0	51
2	71	54	78	59	86	25	7	49
3	24	31		3		51	93	
4						14		

In the second graph, the distributions of all of the variants seem quite different, in some cases, opposed to those in lect 1. FACE1 has very few occurrences at 5%, in contrast to lect 1, where it accounted for more than half (52%) the occurrences. The most popular variant of the FACE vowel is the diphthong in FACE2 with 71%, followed by FACE3, which was non-existent in lect 1, but occurs in lect 2 at 24%. Similarly, the third variant for GOAT appears in lect 2 at

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index of phonetic variants: PRICE1 = [aː]; PRICE2 = [ɑ(ː)]; PRICE3; [aɪ ~ əɪ]; MOUTH1 = [ɑ(ː)]; MOUTH2 = [aʊ]; FACE1 = [aɪ]; FACE2 = [eɪ]; FACE3 = [ɛ]; GOOSE1 = [ʉ]; GOOSE2 = [u(ː)]; STRUT1 = [ʌ]; STRUT2 = [a]; KIT1 = [ɘ; ə]; KIT2 = [ɘ; ɪ]; KIT3 = [ɪ; i]; GOAT1 = [əʊ]; GOAT2 = [oʊ]; GOAT3 = [ɔ; o]; NURSE1 = [ɵ]; NURSE2 = [ɘˑ]; NURSE3 = [ɛ]; NURSE4 = [ə]

31%. The first variant of GOAT, which is used by most speakers in lect 1, appears only 14% of the time. GOAT2 accounts for more than half (54%) of the tokens for the speakers of lect 2. An example of contrasting usage between the two lects is provided with the distribution of GOOSE. Lect 1 displays a very strong tendency to use GOOSE1 but lect 2 seems to do just the opposite; it favours GOOSE2 over GOOSE1, GOOSE2 representing 78% of the tokens. KIT1 and 2 also have a contrasting (but less even) distribution to the one they have in lect 1. Lect 2 has more occurrences of KIT2 (59%) than KIT1, which makes up only 12% of all utterances. KIT3, which does not appear in lect 1 at all, plays a very minimal role in lect 2, accounting for only 3% of the KIT tokens. The infrequent occurrence of the front high tense vowel [i] is surprising as it is mentioned by several researchers as a more common variant of BSAE (§5.2.1.2.1). This will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 8. The distribution of MOUTH variants serves almost as a mirror image contrast to their distribution in lect 1. Lect 2 favours the use of the second variant, accounting for 86% of the tokens, leaving the remaining 14% for MOUTH1. NURSE reveals an interesting distribution of the four variants. NURSE1, the most popular in lect 1, has the lowest value (11%). The monophthong in NURSE3 accounts for slightly more than half of the data (51%), followed by the rhotic vowel in NURSE2 (25%) and the schwa in NURSE4 (14%). The only instance where lect 2 has no occurrences of a variant is the absence of the first variant of PRICE. The non-fronted monophthong is preferred, but only at a meagre 7%. The rest of the tokens (93%), have the diphthong in PRICE3. Finally, the distribution of the two variants of STRUT is almost half-and-half, which differs from lect 1 in that lect 1 has 100% occurrences of STRUT1.

In sum, these graphs show that lect 1 is more selective and absolute regarding the choice and distribution of variants; either there is a clear usage of one variant over another, as seen with GOAT, GOOSE, MOUTH and NURSE, or one of the possible variants is not opted for at all, e.g., the FACE3, GOAT3, KIT3, NURSE4 and STRUT2 variants. Lect 2 has limited distribution for GOOSE, KIT and MOUTH, but all the variants that appear in lect 1 are

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index of phonetic variants: PRICE1 = [aː]; PRICE2 = [ɑ(ː)]; PRICE3; [aɪ ~ əɪ]; MOUTH1 = [ɑ(ː)]; MOUTH2 = [aʊ]; FACE1 = [aɪ]; FACE2 = [eɪ]; FACE3 = [ɛ]; GOOSE1 = [ʉ]; GOOSE2 = [u(ː)]; STRUT1 = [ʌ]; STRUT2 = [a]; KIT1 = [ɘ; ə]; KIT2 = [ɘ; ɪ]; KIT3 = [ɪ; i]; GOAT1 = [əʊ]; GOAT2 = [oʊ]; GOAT3 = [ɔ; o]; NURSE1 = [ɵ]; NURSE2 = [ɘˑ]; NURSE3 = [ɛ]; NURSE4 = [ə]

represented in lect 2, with the exception of PRICE1, which does not have strong representation in lect 1 either. In the discussion chapter to follow, these results will be investigated in more detail by determining what each particular variable represents socially in order to understand why a lect may opt for "avoiding" or choosing a particular variable over another. By investigating what speakers are part of these lects on the basis of social variables, some hypotheses regarding choice can be constructed. Section 7.1.1 will provide a breakdown of the demography of speakers in each lect.

7.1.1 Demographics of lect 1 and lect 2

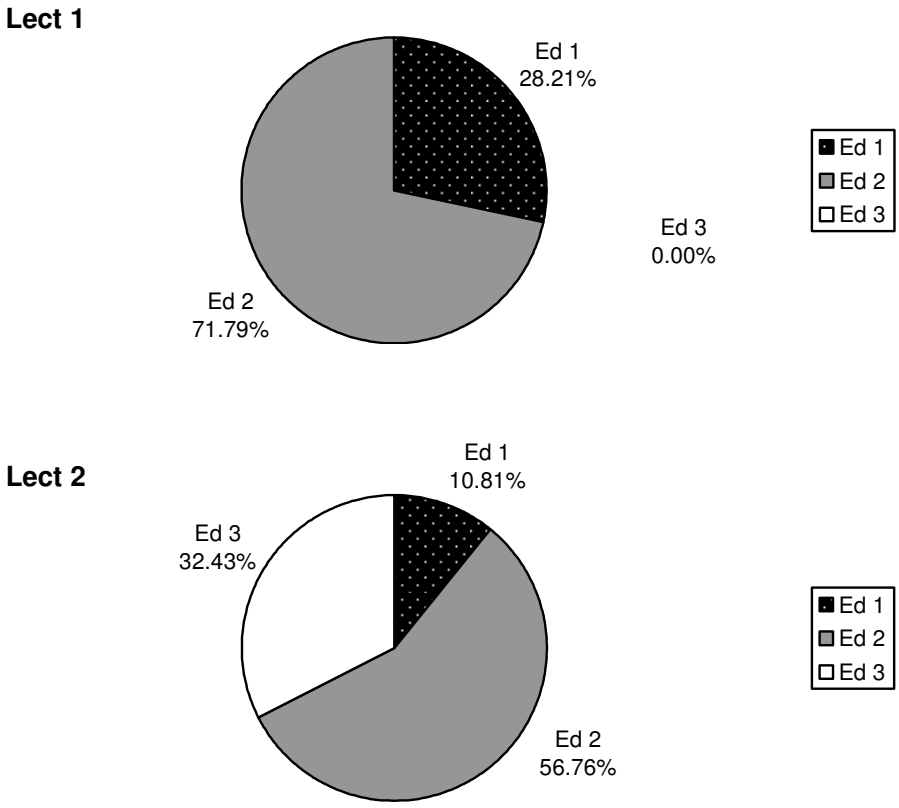
Now that the distribution of variants has been presented for each lect, the next step is to provide information on the social background of the speakers. Two sets of pie graphs will be provided to show different aspects of representation: (1) the first set of pie graphs shows the percentage of all subsets of a social variable, e.g., educational background 1, 2 and 3, for each lect; (2) the second set provides information on the distribution of lect 1 and 2 speakers in terms of social variable.

The first set of pie graphs below shows the distribution of speakers by educational background in each lect. Lect 1 consists primarily of speakers from educational background 2, making up almost three quarters of the lect (71.79%), followed by speakers from educational background 1 (28.21%), and no speakers from educational background 3.

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index of phonetic variants: PRICE1 = [aː]; PRICE2 = [ɑ(ː)]; PRICE3; [aɪ ~ əɪ]; MOUTH1 = [ɑ(ː)]; MOUTH2 = [aʊ]; FACE1 = [aɪ]; FACE2 = [eɪ]; FACE3 = [ɛ]; GOOSE1 = [ʉ]; GOOSE2 = [u(ː)]; STRUT1 = [ʌ]; STRUT2 = [a]; KIT1 = [ɘ; ə]; KIT2 = [ɘ; ɪ]; KIT3 = [ɪ; i]; GOAT1 = [əʊ]; GOAT2 = [oʊ]; GOAT3 = [ɔ; o]; NURSE1 = [ɵ]; NURSE2 = [ɘˑ]; NURSE3 = [ɛ]; NURSE4 = [ə]

Figure 13. Distribution of speakers in lects 1 and 2 by educational background

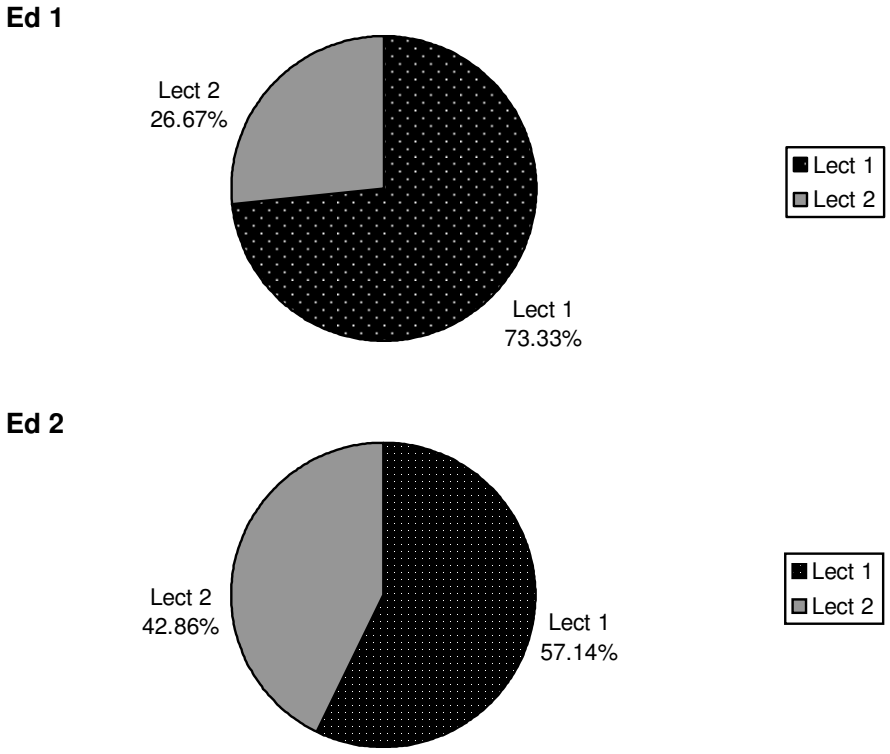


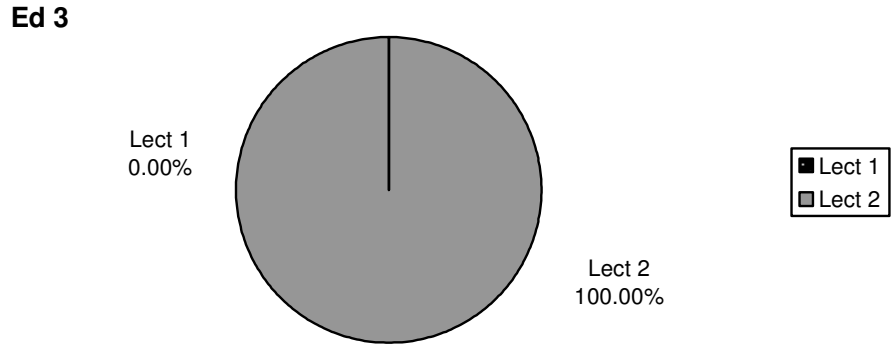
Lect 2 presents quite a different situation with regard to educational backgrounds 1 and 3. Educational background 1 has less representation (10.81%) and all of the speakers of educational background 3 are found in this lect, making up 32.43% of it. Educational background 2 also makes up the majority of this lect, with more than half of the speakers (56.76%). This is not surprising, as the majority of speakers have been classified as belonging to educational background 2 (49 of all 76 subjects). A more revealing picture is captured if the pie graphs are reversed, i.e., they will show what percentage of each lect is represented in each particular social variable.

These pie graphs give a more accurate view of each social variable's representation in the lects because they are not derived on the basis of sheer number of individuals for the whole data set, rather how much presence the group will have in a lect based on percentage. Below are pie graphs of the three

educational background levels with their percentage representation in each lect. Almost three quarters of the speakers in educational background 1 are found in lect 1 (73.33%) as opposed to lect 2, as well as more than half (57.14%) of speakers from educational background 2. The remaining 42.86% are in lect 2, making the distribution of educational background 2 speakers more even across both lects. The distribution for educational background 3 is absolute; all of the speakers belong to lect 2 and none to lect 1.

Figure 14. Distribution of speakers by educational background across lects 1 and 2





These results, along with the other social variables, will be addressed in Chapter 8 where the social demographics of lect 1 and 2 are explained.

The next set of pie graphs deals with the variable ethnicity across the lects. Since the numbers of black and white students are nearly equal, the first set of graphs representing the lects with percentages of ethnic groups within them have been omitted as they will be almost identical to each other in terms of distribution, i.e., there are two black students and 37 white students in lect 1 and three white students and 34 black students in lect 2. An example of the pie graph for lect 2 is given in figure 15, followed by distribution of speakers by ethnicity across lects 1 and 2 in figure 16.

Figure 15. Distribution of speakers in lect 2 by ethnicity

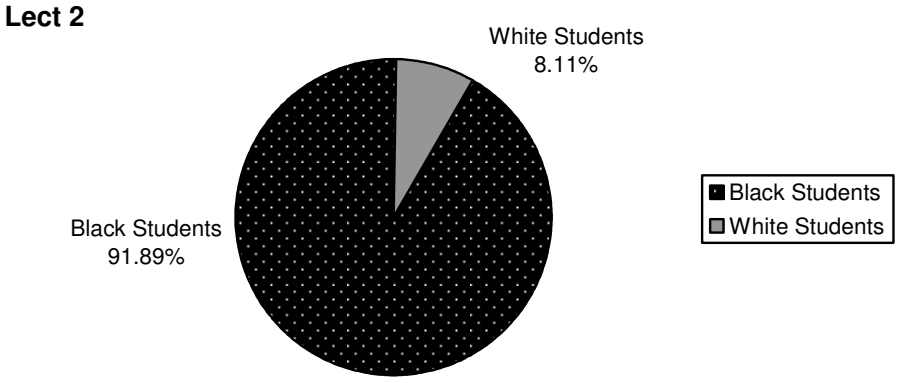
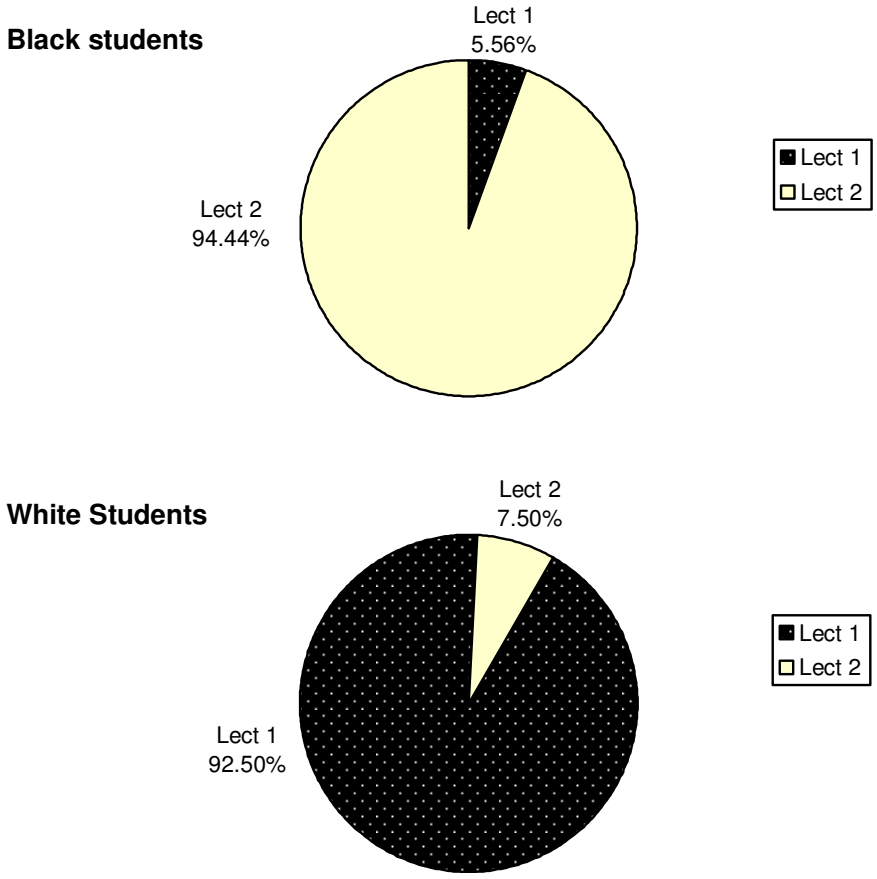


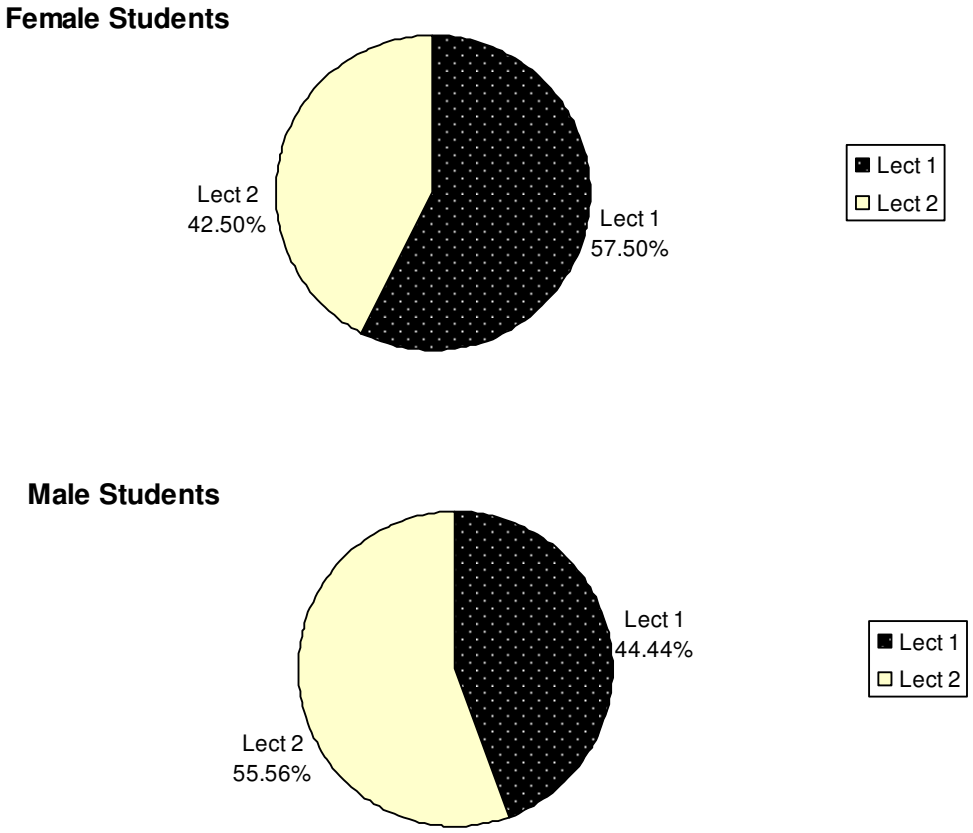
Figure 16. Distribution of speakers by ethnicity across lects 1 and 2



This set of pie graphs reveals an interesting and almost complimentary distribution. The black students have an overwhelmingly strong representation in lect 2 with 94.44%, and only 5.55% in lect 1. For the white students, the situation is the reverse: 92.5% of the white students are found in lect 1 and 7.5% belong to lect 2.

The final set of graphs illustrates the distribution of gender in the two lects. Since the number of female to male subjects is nearly equal, the first set of graphs representing the lects with percentages of ethnic groups within them will be omitted. The representation of female students is larger in lect 1 than in lect 2, where 57.5% of the females have linguistic variants attributed to lect 1 and 42.5% have variants attributed to lect 2.

Figure 17. Distribution of speakers by gender across lects 1 and 2



The distribution of male students is similar to that of the female students, i.e., the distribution is about half-and-half, however for males, the slight majority (55.56%), is represented in lect 2 rather than lect 1 (44.44%). Females are more strongly represented in lect 1 (57.50%) than in lect 2 (42.50%).

These results and distributions will be referred to in the discussion section in order to establish possible causes of the choice of variants for each lect. The results to follow do not deal with the lects directly, but rather some of the attitudes and choices L2 speakers make with regard to English and African languages. The findings of this section will prove helpful in explaining the L2 speakers' choices of the linguistic variables that create the lects.

7.2 Language domains

The second major part of the study focuses on language choice by domain and codeswitching within these domains. Such studies are useful in determining possible trends or shifts in language use in a multilingual community. If the domains are unknown, analysis of domain use is a helpful tool in determining the general patterns of usage among speakers. Susan Gal's study (1979) of the use of Hungarian and German in the Austrian village of Oberwart revealed a pattern of shift to German from one generation to another as she ranked her informants by age against interlocutors in terms of "peasantness" and "urbanness" (Gal 1979: 102). For the present study, a similar investigation was conducted concerning language choice of the black students of the population sample. The white students were excluded as they were L1 English speakers and the reported cases of use of another language were minimal to none.

Asking for a "home language" or "first language" is especially misleading in black South African communities, as many growing up in township areas, for example, are exposed to several languages in the family or home domain at an early age, be they separate or mixed. The subjects were asked what language or languages *they* thought they had best command of, and the answer was then listed in the data as "attested L1". The interview questions dealing with usage were structured in such a way as to elicit information on three particular domains: 1. Home/Family, 2. School and 3. University. The first two domains are ordered in terms of intimacy and formality, from least formal to most formal. When the third domain, university, is considered, it should be viewed diachronically in relation to the first (and especially) the second domain. There is most likely little difference in formality between university and school in terms of friends at university or at school outside of class, for example, yet a difference will reveal a profile of a subject's language preferences over time.

The domains were subdivided into the following groups:

Domain	Subdomain
1. home/family	1.1 parents 1.2 siblings 1.3 other relatives
2. school	2.1 pupils *outside* of class 2.2 pupils while class is in session 2.3 teachers
3. Wits University	3.1 friends at Wits 3.2 people in town around Wits

The subdomains are ordered in terms of intimacy and formality. The first domain is divided into three groups: parents, siblings and other relatives. Perhaps additional patterns would have emerged if the category "other relatives" had been more specific, i.e., broken down into age groups, as in Gal's study, with categories such as "cousins", "aunts/uncles", and "grandparents", however the categories were created in terms of the amount of contact, thus contact with parents and/or siblings was the most frequent type, as opposed to contact with more distant relatives. From this perspective, the subgroups could simply be divided by "nuclear family" (including parents and siblings) and "extended family" (cousins, grandparents, etc.), yet there is a possible distinction because of age and social networks among the specific members of the nuclear family. In other words, a subject may speak English with a sibling because they both use English in school with each other and may be more inclined to bring English into the familial domain than the parents.

The second domain of school is divided in terms of formality, from least to most formal; this was determined by actual interlocutor and whether or not class was in session. The least formal subdomain occurs with a fellow student when class is not in session; this can be on the playground, or even around the school grounds. The next subdomain is contrasted by the fact that class is in session; however, the interlocutor is the same, a fellow student. The final subdomain occurs with the teacher as an interlocutor during class. This also may

be an indicator as to what the language of teaching and learning is in that particular classroom if the student feels comfortable enough to converse with the teacher while all other pupils are included in that domain.

Finally, the domain of university is investigated. The subdomains are again divided in terms of intimacy and formality. First is the subdomain that students find themselves in when conversing with fellow students.[71] The second is with people of the community off campus.

Once the data was collected for all L2 speakers, a table was created to indicate what language was used by the speaker ("attested L1") and then arranged according to educational background (here "SR" meaning "school rank"), irrespective of gender.

The nature of use of languages when two or more were used in one domain was captured in terms of codeswitching. A slash (/) indicates codeswitching (possibly code-mixing) of two or more languages, e.g., English/ Southern Sotho, with the more dominant language written first. A subject would indicate this by saying: "We speak both English and Sotho with each other, but mostly English" or in terms of code-mixing, an answer like: "We speak a mix of Sotho and Zulu" would be marked as "Sotho-Zulu". It was not possible to determine if the subject engages in conversational, situational codeswitching or code-mixing without recorded dialogue, thus all were grouped into one category.

A distinction was made if two or more languages were used in a domain, but with strict separation, e.g., Zulu with the mother and Pedi with the father. This division is indicated by separating them with a semicolon: *Zulu; Pedi*. If no information was given, this is indicated by a dash "– ".

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[71] This subdomain could have been further divided according to ethnicity and gender, and additionally have academic administrative staff as interlocutors, yet it was not in the scope of this study to give a complete description of language use in all possible domains with an extensive number of interlocutors. The purpose was to provide a more general account of language choice as a motivation for the choice of phonetic variants influenced by frequency of overall use and contact.

Table 24. Language use of L2 English speakers listed by specific language.[72]

	G	SR	Attested L1	Domain 1 Family			Domain 2 School			Domain 3 Wits U	
				1.1	1.2	1.3	2.1	2.2	2.3	3.1	3.2
4.5	F	1	En	En	En	En	En	En	En	En	En
1.3	M	1	En	En/So	En/So	En	En	En	En	En	En
3.1	F	1	Zu	En/Zu	En	Zu	En; Ger	En	En	En	Zu
4.11	F	1	Sw	Sw; En	En;Sw	En	En	En	En	En/Zu; So/En	Zu
3.18	F	1	Zu/Xh	Xh	Xh/En	Xh	–	–	–	En	Zu; En
2.16	F	2	En	En	En	En	En	En	En	En	En
4.10	F	2	En	En	En; Af	Af	En	En	En	En	En
1.2	F	2	Tw	En/Tw	En/Tw	En/Tw	En;Tw	En	En	En	En
4.12	M	2	Tw	En/So; Tw/So	Tw	En; Tw	En; Zu	Af; En	En; Af	En	En
2.15	M	2	Ve	Tw	Tw; En	–	Tw; En	En	En	En	En
4.6	F	2	Zu	Zu; En	Zu/En	Zu	Zu	En	En	En	En
3.6	F	2	Zu	Xh; Af	Af/Xh; En; Zu/Xh	Xh/So	So; Zu	En	En	En	En
2.5	M	2	So	So	So; Ca	Zu; So;Ca	So; Ca	En	En	En	En
2.18	F	2	Zu	Zu	Zu	Zu	En	En	En	En	Zu
4.15	F	2	En	En/Tw; En/Zu	En/Zu	En; Tw	Tw; Zu	En	En	En; Zu	En
1.13	F	2	En	So/Tw/En	En	En/So	En	En	En	En	So
4.20	M	2	So	So/En	So; Ca	En; So	So; Zu	En	En	En; So	Zu; So
2.6	F	2	So	En/So	En/So	So; En	En/So	En/So	En	En	Zu; So
3.17	F	2	En	En; So	–	Xh; So	So;En;Zu	En	En	En	Zu
1.5	M	2	Zu	Zu	En;Zu	Zu	En;Zu	En	En	Zu; En	Zu
2.14	M	2	Tw	Tw	En/Tw	Tw; En	Tw	Tw	En	Tw; En	En
4.18	M	2	Xh	En/Xh	Xh	Xh	Xh/Zu	Xh	En	En	Zu/So
4.19	F	2	Zu	Zu	Zu	Zu	Zu	En	En	En	Zu
2.17	F	2	Sw	Sw	En	Sw	Sw; En	-	-	En	Zu
2.4	M	3	So	Zu; So	So; Ca	So; Zu; En	En	En	En	En; Zu	En
2.2	M	3	Xh	Xh	Xh; En	En; So; Zu	En/Zu	En/Zu	En	En	En; Zu
4.17	M	3	So;Xh	So; En	So	So	So;Xh;En	En; Xh	En; Xh	En	En
3.8	F	3	Zu	Zu	Zu/En	Zu	Zu	Zu; En	So;Zu; En	En; So	Zu; So; En
4.9	M	3	Ts	Ts	Ts	Ts; Nd	Ts	Ts	Ts	En	En;Tw;Zu
4.14	M	3	Zu	Zu	En	Zu; Nd	Zu/So	En; Zu; So	En; Zu; So	En	–
4.13	M	3	Ve	Ve	Ve	Ve	Ve	Ve; En	En; Ve	So	En
4.16	M	3	So	So	So	So	So	En; So	En; So	En; Zu/Xh	En; Zu

[72] The abbreviation for the languages mentioned are: Af – Afrikaans, En – English, Ca – isiCamtho/"Tsotsitaal", Ger – German, Nd – Ndebele, Pe – Pedi (Northern Sotho), So – S Sotho, Sw – Swati, Ts – Tsonga/Shangaan, Tw – Tswana, Ve – Venda , Xh – Xhosa, Zu – Zulu.
The subdomains, as mentioned above, are: (1.1) parents; (1.2) siblings; (1.3) other relatives; (2.1) pupils *outside* of class; (2.2) pupils *during* class; (2.3) teachers; (3.1) friends at the University of the Witwatersrand; (3.2) people in town around the university.

	G	SR	Attested L1	Domain 1 Family			Domain 2 School			Domain 3 Wits U	
				1.1	1.2	1.3	2.1	2.2	2.3	3.1	3.2
4.5	F	1	En	En	En	En	En	En	En	En	En
1.3	M	1	En	En/So	En/So	En	En	En	En	En	En
3.1	F	1	Zu	En/Zu	En	Zu	En; Ger	En	En	En	Zu
4.11	F	1	Sw	Sw; En	En;Sw	En	En	En	En	En/Zu; So/En	Zu
3.18	F	1	Zu/Xh	Xh	Xh/En	Xh	–	–	–	En	Zu; En
2.16	F	2	En	En	En	En	En	En	En	En	En
4.10	F	2	En	En	En; Af	Af	En	En	En	En	En
1.2	F	2	Tw	En/Tw	En/Tw	En/Tw	En;Tw	En	En	En	En
4.12	M	2	Tw	En/So; Tw/So	Tw	En; Tw	En; Zu	Af; En	En; Af	En	En
2.15	M	2	Ve	Tw	Tw; En	–	Tw; En	En	En	En	En
4.6	F	2	Zu	Zu; En	Zu/En	Zu	Zu	En	En	En	En
3.6	F	2	Zu	Xh; Af	Af/Xh; En; Zu/Xh	Xh/So	So; Zu	En	En	En	En
2.5	M	2	So	So	So; Ca	Zu; So;Ca	So; Ca	En	En	En	En
2.18	F	2	Zu	Zu	Zu	Zu	En	En	En	En	Zu
4.15	F	2	En	En/Tw; En/Zu	En/Zu	En; Tw	Tw; Zu	En	En	En; Zu	En
1.13	F	2	En	So/Tw/En	En	En/So	En	En	En	En	So
4.20	M	2	So	So/En	So; Ca	En; So	So; Zu	En	En	En; So	Zu; So
2.6	F	2	So	En/So	En/So	So; En	En/So	En/So	En	En	Zu; So
3.17	F	2	En	En; So	–	Xh; So	So;En;Zu	En	En	En	Zu
1.5	M	2	Zu	Zu	En;Zu	Zu	En;Zu	En	En	Zu; En	Zu
2.14	M	2	Tw	Tw	En/Tw	Tw; En	Tw	Tw	En	Tw; En	En
4.18	M	2	Xh	En/Xh	Xh	Xh	Xh/Zu	Xh	En	En	Zu/So
4.19	F	2	Zu	Zu	Zu	Zu	Zu	En	En	En	Zu
2.17	F	2	Sw	Sw	En	Sw	Sw; En	-	-	En	Zu
2.4	M	3	So	Zu; So	So; Ca	So; Zu; En	En	En	En	En; Zu	En
2.2	M	3	Xh	Xh	Xh; En	En; So; Zu	En/Zu	En/Zu	En	En	En; Zu
4.17	M	3	So;Xh	So; En	So	So	So;Xh;En	En; Xh	En; Xh	En	En
3.8	F	3	Zu	Zu	Zu/En	Zu	Zu	Zu; En	So;Zu; En	En; So	Zu; So; En
4.9	M	3	Ts	Ts	Ts	Ts; Nd	Ts	Ts	Ts	En	En;Tw;Zu
4.14	M	3	Zu	Zu	En	Zu; Nd	Zu/So	En; Zu; So	En; Zu; So	En	–
4.13	M	3	Ve	Ve	Ve	Ve	Ve	Ve; En	En; Ve	So	En
4.16	M	3	So	So	So	So	So	En; So	En; So	En; Zu/Xh	En; Zu
2.3	M	3	Zu	Xh	–	Xh	Zu;En;So	Zu	En	Zu; En	–
1.1	M	3	Zu	Zu	Zu	Zu	Zu	Zu	Zu	En; Zu	En
1.14	M	3	Tw	Tw	Tw	Tw	Pe; Tw	Pe; Tw	Pe;Tw	Tw;En	En;Tw
1.12	F	3	So/Tw	Tw/So	So/ Tw	So; Tw	So/Tw/Zu	So/Tw; Zu	So/Tw; Zu	En; Tw,Zu	Zu

According to the table above, seven of the 36 black informants attested English as their first language. Two of these were from educational background 1 and

five from educational background 2. Of these informants, six are female and one is male. From a more general view, one can see that the use of English dominates in domains 1 and 2, and decreases from educational backgrounds 1 to three.

This is more clearly apparent in the following table, where language use is classified by use of English and an African language. The darkest squares represent use of English only and the white squares represent use of an African language only. The grey squares indicate instances of mixing or switching between English and an African language: the darker grey squares correspond to the situations of usage in table 24 above marked with a colon, i.e., both English and an African language are in one domain, however the subject indicated a strict separation. The lighter grey square corresponds to the forward slash in table 24, where both English and an African language would be used with the same interlocutor. Mixing of two or more African languages was placed under the category of "African language only". Absence of available data is marked with an "X".

Table 25. Analysis of language use by domain: English vs. African Language[73]

				Domains →							
Speaker	G	Ed	Att L1	1.1	1.2	1.3	2.1	2.2	2.3	3.1	3.2
4.5	F	1	En								
1.3	M	1	En								
3.1	F	1	Zu								
4.11	F	1	Sw								
3.18	F	1	Zu/Xh				X	X	X		
2.16	F	2	En								
4.10	F	2	En								
1.2	F	2	Tw								
4.12	M	2	Tw								
2.15	M	2	Ve			X					
4.6	F	2	Zu								
3.6	F	2	Zu								
2.5	M	2	So								
2.18	F	2	Zu								
4.15	F	2	En								
1.13	F	2	En								
4.20	M	2	So								
2.6	F	2	So								
3.17	F	2	En		X						
1.5	M	2	Zu								
2.14	M	2	Tw								
4.18	M	2	Xh								
4.19	F	2	Zu								
2.17	F	2	Sw					X	X		
2.4	M	3	So								
2.2	M	3	Xh								
4.17	M	3	So; Xh								
3.8	F	3	Zu								
4.9	M	3	Ts								
4.14	M	3	Zu								X
4.13	M	3	Ve								
4.16	M	3	So								
2.3	M	3	Zu		X						X
1.1	M	3	Zu								
1.14	M	3	Tw								
1.12	F	3	So/Tw								

X	no data was given		
	English only		English & other language spoken separately
	mixed English/other language		non – English

[73] The subdomains, as mentioned above, are: (1.1) parents; (1.2) siblings; (1.3) other relatives; (2.1) pupils *outside* of class; (2.2) pupils *during* class; (2.3) teachers; (3.1) friends at the University of the Witwatersrand; (3.2) people in town around the university.

It becomes more apparent from this table that English is used in more domains by subjects of educational background 1 and 2 than by those of educational background 3. Three of the six attested L1 speakers of English (4.5, 2.16 and 4.10) use English in all domains, thus are most likely to be monolinguals, however, some attested L1 English speakers, 1.3, 4.15 and 1.13, are not. None of the three L1 English multilinguals speak English with their parents, rather they use a mix of English and an African language.

In terms of the larger domains, domain 1 of home/family is clearly dominated by the use of an African language in all educational backgrounds. If there is an occurrence of English only (with the exception of the three monolinguals), it is in subdomain 1.2, with siblings. A possible explanation for this is that the other relatives, such as grandparents or other relatives from the older generations, do not feel comfortable speaking English because of lack of access to English and the regular use of it. The siblings, however, also attend mixed schools where English is the medium of instruction and are accustomed to speaking to each other in English already, thus it would not seem unnatural to continue in English at home. A closer look at language choice is illustrated in a table following this section.

In the second domain, school, there is a discernible divide between the interlocutors of subdomains 2.1. (pupils outside of class) versus 2.2 (pupils during class) and 2.3 (teachers). There is a switch from an African language to English only for subjects of educational background 1 and most of educational background 2. This is not a surprising result as the usage of English in school was one of the criteria for creating the educational background index.

The third domain, the university, reveals the heaviest usage of English in the subdomain 3.1, friends at the university. English usage tapers in domain 3.2. — the areas surrounding the university.

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7.2.1 Codeswitching vs. one language

Another analysis was made according to use of one or more than one language in a domain. The table below shows in which domains the subject uses one language (regardless of whether it is English or an African language) or uses both. The black squares indicate no switching or mixing at all, i.e., only one language was indicated for the domain in question. The dark grey squares represent code-mixing or conversational codeswitching, while the lighter grey squares show where the speaker uses both English and an African language but separately, as in the case of situational codeswitching. Where no data was available, the domain space is filled with an "X". There are two masses of grey areas, one near the top left-hand side of the table and the other towards the lower right side. The first area of codeswitching is represented by subjects of educational backgrounds 1 and about half of subjects from educational background 2, where switching and mixing (the grey areas) seem to be prevalent in domain 1, the family, and in the school domain 2.1 (pupils outside of the classroom).

Table 26. Analysis of language switching and mixing by domains

				Domains →							
Speaker	G	Ed	Att L1	1.1	1.2	1.3	2.1	2.2	2.3	3.1	3.2
4.5	F	1	En								
1.3	M	1	En								
3.1	F	1	Zu								
3.18	F	1	Zu/Xh				X	X	X		
4.11	F	1	Sw								
4.15	F	2	En								
2.14	M	2	Tw		X						
1.5	M	2	Zu								
4.20	M	2	So								
3.6	F	2	Zu								
1.13	F	2	En								
1.2	F	2	Tw								
4.12	M	2	Tw								
2.6	F	2	So								
3.17	F	2	En		X						
2.15	M	2	Ve			X					
4.6	F	2	Zu								
2.17	F	2	Sw					X	X		
2.16	F	2	En								
4.10	F	2	En								
2.5	M	2	So								
2.18	F	2	Zu								
4.18	M	2	Xh								
4.19	F	2	Zu								
2.2	M	3	Xh								
4.17	M	3	So; Xh								
3.8	F	3	Zu								
2.4	M	3	So								
4.16	M	3	So								
2.3	M	3	Zu		X						X
4.14	M	3	Zu								X
4.13	M	3	Ve								
4.9	M	3	Ts								
1.1	M	3	Zu								
1.14	M	3	Tw								
1.12	F	3	So/Tw								

X	no data was given
	no mixing
	mixed English/other language
	English & other language spoken separately

The second grey area appears among speakers from educational background 3, but in different areas, predominantly in the school domains and domain 3, university. The possible reasons for this distribution for switching and mixing in different domains by the speakers of different educational backgrounds will be investigated further in Chapter 8.

7.3 Open questions and comments

The final part of the interview consists of open questions that were geared towards a more qualitative analysis of language use and educational background. The extra and unprompted comments will be used in the discussion section to exemplify possible reasons for the structure of the two lects as well as codeswitching.

As mentioned in §6.1.1, several questions were asked during the interview in order to reveal the subjects' opinions about languages spoken in South Africa. They will be repeated here for the reader's convenience:

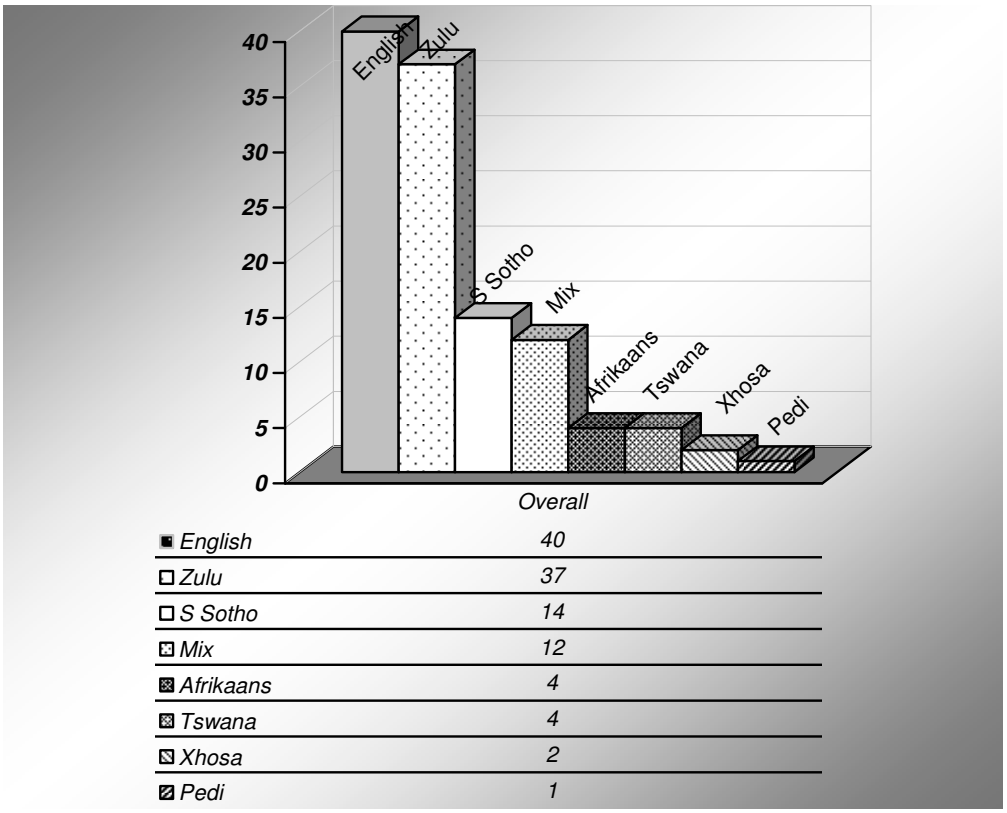
1. What do you think is the most spoken language(s) in Johannesburg?
2. How do you think your schooling is different from your parents'?
3. (L2 speakers) In what language would you approach an older black female?

The researcher was hoping to find possible motivations for the particular distributions of English and African languages, especially concerning where prestige lies for these languages in the form of personal attitudes expressed by the subjects.

The first question deals with demography. This question should give an indication of what speakers feel are the most spoken language (or languages) in the greater Johannesburg area, regardless of where they live. The question was asked directly but was completely open-ended, i.e., the subjects did not choose from a set list of languages. If two or more languages were mentioned by the

subject, each language received a count in the tally, therefore the total number of counts will be more than the number of subjects. The table below shows the results of the question by rank, i.e., the language with the highest count is indicated in the top row of the table, followed by languages with lower counts, down to the lowest. The second column and third column show the number of counts given by each ethnic group, black and white subjects respectively, followed by the sum of both columns in the fourth column titled "total count". Finally, the last column, marked "rank", gives the language's place in relation to the others; two languages with the same count will have the same rank.

Figure 18. Rank of languages according to subjects' response to the question of most spoken language in Johannesburg



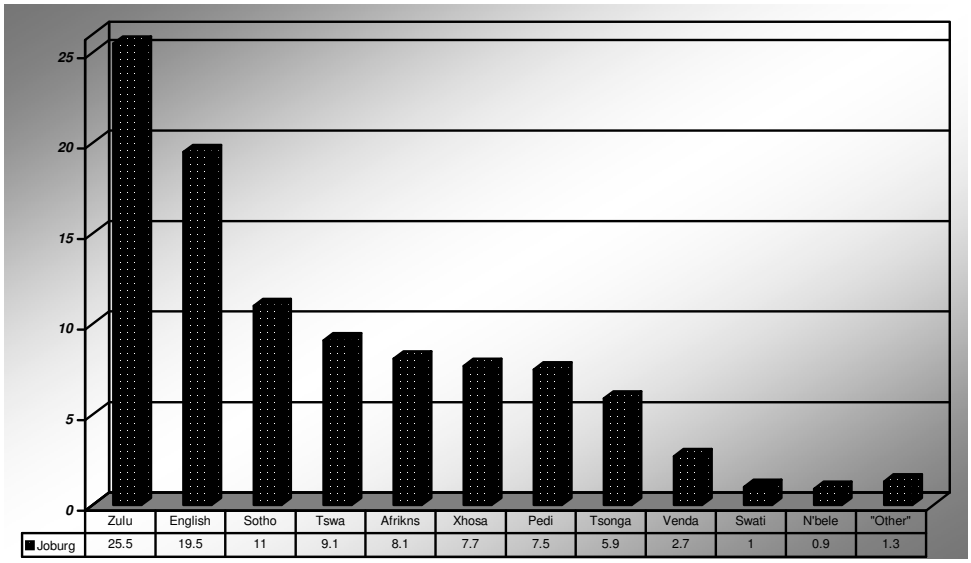
	Overall
English	40
Zulu	37
S Sotho	14
Mix	12
Afrikaans	4
Tswana	4
Xhosa	2
Pedi	1

English ranks as the first choice by speakers overall for the most spoken language with 40 counts, followed closely by Zulu, which received 37 counts in total. Southern Sotho has less than half the counts given for Zulu (14), and the African language "mix" has two mentions fewer with a total of 12. The final set

of languages has a third or less of the counts of Southern Sotho and the African language "mix". Afrikaans and Tswana both received 4 counts, Xhosa, 2, and Pedi, 1.

In comparison to the Statistics South Africa 2001 census for L1s in Johannesburg (see figure 19 below), the subjects' responses coincide very accurately for the seven languages mentioned (Zulu, English, Sotho, Tswana, Afrikaans and Pedi). The subjects' response "African language mix" is ranked fourth, which would not have been given as an option for an L1 in the census, yet could very well be used as a lingua franca by speakers of different African languages. The subjects also ranked English over Zulu as the most spoken language in Johannesburg.

Figure 19. Language distribution in Johannesburg



The higher ranking of English given by the subjects is understandable, considering English is used widely in school and in the workplace, especially with supervisors (see table 3). The close overlap between the two censuses shows that speakers are very aware of what languages are being spoken around them, even if they are not L1 speakers themselves.

When the subjects' responses are divided up by ethnicity, the distribution of counts of the black and white speakers with regard to English and Zulu seem

to be almost inverse to each other – the number of counts of the white subjects is more than double for English than for Zulu.

Table 27. Subjects' responses regarding the most spoken language in Johannesburg by ethnicity

Language	***black subjects***	***white subjects***	***total count***	***rank***
English	13	27	40	1
Zulu	25	12	37	2
S Sotho	9	5	14	3
African lg "mix"[74]	3	9	12	4
Afrikaans	1	3	4	5
Tswana	4	0	4	5
Xhosa	0	2	2	6
Pedi	0	1	1	7

The black students' response is almost the reverse: Zulu received more then double the score of English. The relation in the second tier of languages, Southern Sotho and African language "mix", have a similar proportion according to count between black and white students. There are more counts for Southern Sotho by the black students than for the African language "mix", whereas the situation for the counts of the white students is the opposite. The African language "mix" was mentioned more by the white students than Southern Sotho. Finally, in the third set of ranking, the white students felt Afrikaans was the next most spoken language, receiving four votes in total in comparison to Tswana by the black students. The last two languages, Xhosa and Pedi, receiving 2 and 1 counts, respectively, were given by white students only. The results may play a role in illustrating the differences in how these ethnic groups view the languages overall. Interpretations of these results will be given in the next chapter.

The second question addressed deals with the subjects' opinion of how they think education has changed since their parents attended school. This was of interest for gathering information on education because all of the subjects attended high school in the post-apartheid era, as opposed to their parents. The question and its response firstly address the issue of changes that have been made

[74] African language "mix" is a combination of two or more African languages that was indicated as such by the speaker, e.g. "a mix of Sotho and Zulu" or "a mix of African languages", not separately such as "Sotho and Zulu". In a case like the latter, both Sotho and Zulu would get one count on the tally.

in the South African educational system in the last generation, and reveals what the subjects felt were the most prominent. The question was an open one, thus if a particular subject gave more than one answer, all responses were tallied in the count. For this reason, the total number of responses may be higher than the total number of subjects.

The table below is a summary of the subjects' responses to the question. The actual response is indicated in the left column followed by the number of responses according to ethnic group. The last column is the total count of both ethnic groups for that particular response.

Table 28. List of answers according to subjects' responses to the question of how the subjects' schooling is different to that of their parents' generation

subject response	***black subjects***	***white subjects***	***total count***
1. no corporal punishment; less strict discipline	6	11	17
2. MOI English now / then MOI Afrikaans or African language	16	0	16
3. higher standard of education; more difficult	6	8	14
4. more freedom of expression	3	9	12
5. desegregated schools	7	4	11
6. more subjects are offered	7	2	9
7. less difficult now	1	4	5
8. no more "Bantu education"	4	0	4
9. nothing has changed	0	4	4
10. more theoretical than practical	1	2	3
11. more open and liberal	0	2	2
12. now able to attend a private school	1	0	1
13. higher in crime	0	1	1

The response that received the highest number of counts (17 in total) deals with the fact that there no longer is corporal punishment in schools; this has combined with the answer of there being less discipline overall in schools because the majority subjects (14 out of 17) linked these two items together as a single response. The majority who gave this response were white (11), almost twice the number of black students who gave this response (6). The second most mentioned issue relates to language use in the classroom. This was given by black students only, and refers to the previous Bantu education system.

According to them, the only MOI offered to their parents was Afrikaans or an African language.[75] The subjects now have received their education in English. The third highest ranked response was given by slightly more white students than black students, and pertained to standard of education. These subjects believe that their schooling is more challenging and of a higher standard than that of their parents. 12 subjects, the majority of them white, feel that they have been allowed to express their opinions more during their schooling than their parents did. They felt they could question the teacher more and were allowed more room for discussion of topics in the classroom. The next response, "desegregated schools", is another reference to the earlier system of the apartheid era where children of different ethnic groups were not allowed to attend schools together. This response was given by more black students than white ones. Nine subjects mentioned that they felt more subjects are being offered in their schools than previously; they also mentioned that the subjects are more specialised, for example, some schools now teach Economics, which has prepared them better for tertiary education. Seven of the 9 students who gave this response were black. The next response shows an opinion opposite to that of an earlier one. These students feel that school has become less difficult than it was for their parents and that their education is of a lower standard. The response "no more Bantu education" has been listed separately because of its frequency, although it ties in with the responses about MOI and desegregated schools. Four respondents felt that there was absolutely no difference between their schooling and that of their parents; all of these respondents are white students. Some subjects mentioned that school subjects have become more theoretical than practical. They referred to "practical" classes that were obligatory for their parents, where pupils learned cooking, sewing, etc. Two subjects mentioned that schools have become more liberal than before, however not with regard to freedom of expression in the classroom, rather, in that students are now freer to express themselves in terms of larger social perspectives, such as sexual orientation. One black student discussed her being able to attend a private school, which she claims her parents

[75] This is not strictly true. In 1979 the Department of Bantu Education allowed schools, in consultation with parents, to choose an MOI, which turned out to be English in most cases (de Klerk & Gough 2002: 357).

could not have done in the apartheid era. Again, this is related to the laws set down by Bantu education. Finally, a white student explained that his parents graduated from the same high school he had attended. He stated that when he was in school, there was criminal activity among the students, e.g., bringing weapons to school, vandalism, drug use and drug dealing, which was not present when his parents were there.

If responses 2, 5, 8 and 11 are combined as a general response about (segregated) Bantu education, this general response receives a total of 32 counts, making it the major difference that students feel exists between their schooling and that of their parents. This response has been given mainly by the black students, while the white students have concentrated more on the abolishment of corporal punishment as well as a higher standard of education that is accompanied by more freedom of expression by the pupils.

The final question was posed to black students with regard to what language they would use when approaching an older black female on the street outside of the university. Given that the central Johannesburg area is a multilingual one, it was deemed interesting to find out what strategies speakers would use in greeting a stranger. This question may also reveal more information about the subjects' attitudes towards languages, depending on their interlocutor. Fourteen of the 36 subjects that responded to the question stated that they would use an African language. Only one speaker said she would greet a stranger in English. Below is a table of the speakers, their first language, followed by the language they would use to approach an older female stranger. In the final column, the reason is given for their choice.

Table 29. Language chosen by black subjects to approach an older black female stranger

speaker (gender)	***L1***	***chosen language***	***reason***
1. F	English	S Sotho	-
2. F	Swati	Zulu or Swati	"It is disrespectful to speak English."
3. F	Zulu	Zulu	-
4. F	English	Zulu	"They probably won't understand if I speak English."
5. F	Zulu/Xhosa	Zulu	-
6. F	English	English	-
7. F	Zulu	Zulu	-
8. M	Tsonga	Zulu	-
9. M	Tswana	Tswana	-
10. M	Venda	Zulu	-
11. M	Zulu	Zulu	"It's offensive. Just because a person is from Gauteng they think they have the education that they can speak English."
12. M	S Sotho	S Sotho	"Most older people didn't attend school so you must speak their mother tongue."
13. M	S Sotho/Xhosa	S Sotho/Xhosa	"I prefer to speak my language so I can hear the response."[76]
14. M	Xhosa	Xhosa	"If I speak English she will ask 'Why is he speaking to me in English when there are 9 other languages he should be speaking to me in?'"

As mentioned, speaker 6 is an English monolingual and is the only speaker that would approach an older black woman in English. Speakers 1 and 4 also claim that their L1 is English, however they mentioned Southern Sotho and Zulu as an L2, respectively. They both stated that they would use their L2 to approach strangers. Speakers 1 and 4 aside, the other speakers chose their L1 as the target language for strangers except speakers 8 and 10, who both chose Zulu. Their L1s are Tsonga and Venda. This may give an indication as to which languages are deemed to be socially dominant or lingua francas in the Johannesburg area.

[76] The use of "to hear" in the subjects' responses to mean "to understand" comes from direct translations from the Nguni and Sotho languages as the two lexemes are either identical or similar in form. In Zulu, *-zwa* means both "hear" and "understand", while the Southern Sotho word meaning "to hear" is *utlwa* and "to understand" is *utlwisisa*, which literally means "to hear very well" (A. van der Spuy 2006, p.c.).

Responses from subjects 2, 11 and 14 state their motive on the basis that it is a sign of respect and courtesy to the older person to speak an African language. It is made clear in the opinion of speaker 14 that the choice can be from any of the nine official African languages (it is assumed) as long as it is not English or Afrikaans. Note that the subject phrases the use of an African language as something a person *should* do when engaging with an older female, indicating some sort of social propriety. Subject 11 goes as far as to say it is "offensive" to use English, and interestingly tags a younger person speaking English as a sign of having an education, which he associates with being from Gauteng province. On the aspect of education, speakers 4 and 12 believe that older speakers may not have been educated enough in English and this is a viable reason to avoid the language. Speaker 13 tries his own L1 as a strategic move in interlocution simply to "test the waters" and wait for a response to determine in what language the other speaker would like to continue. In a study of code-switching and language choice of black students at the University of the Witwatersrand, Herbert (1997) notes that although Zulu is the unmarked choice in Johannesburg, the students may begin a conversation in their L1 (in Herbert's example the student begins in Southern Sotho). The results of Herbert's study fall in line with the responses given by the subjects in this study. There is acknowledgement that Zulu is the dominant or "unmarked" choice in strategic codeswitching, yet the students will make attempts at conversing in their L1 initially.

There are many other illuminating comments given by black subjects in relation to language use, and attitudes towards English and the African languages, not just in terms of interaction with older, female strangers. These responses, as well as those presented in this section, will be investigated in more detail in the next chapter.

Chapter 8. Discussion

This chapter will provide different analyses of the results given in the previous chapter as well as offer possible explanations for the outcomes in terms of social motivation. It is divided into three major parts: (1) discussion of the linguistic and social variables vis-à-vis lects 1 and 2; (2) explanations of L2 speakers' language choice and codeswitching in various domains; and (3) a closer description of language attitudes of all of the subjects with regard to English and African languages as given in their commentary and responses to opinion questions.

The first section, which deals with the linguistic data, has three subsections. The aim of the first subsection is to focus on the distributions of the linguistic variables in order to determine what they may mean to speakers of South African English in terms of the social demography of the lects, followed by an evaluation and distribution of the linguistic variables compared to those given previously in the literature. The comparison should test the claims made in the literature regarding what the ethnic dialects are and what variants of variables characterise them. The second subsection is a closer demographic investigation into the lects to explain or give insight on possible "outliers", i.e., individuals who would not be expected to be a part of a lect on the basis of their social characteristics according to the data set. The third and final subsection is a summary of the new variables that have been suggested for this study in addition to an exploration of which speakers are using these variables. In order to give a very accurate picture of variable usage, extracts from the table of speaker scores will be provided. If the data is considered an accurate representation of BSAE and ESSA English, the differences are an indication of shift among the ethnic dialects of South African English.

From that point, the second section will provide evidence for possible language shift, that is, some domains are in the process of being taken over by a second language. This study is not a diachronic one, however, based on the tables

of domain usage as well as comments given by the subjects, the evidence supports the idea that there is language shift in progress.

The final section is a summary of both black and white speakers' opinions about their L1, and about other languages spoken in the country. These descriptions include attitudes speakers have towards their own and other ethnic groups as well. It should offer some insight into reasons why there may be a shift occurring, which will be explained as arising for both social and psychological reasons, based on the individual's view of him or herself in South African society.

8.1 Discussion of the linguistic variables – lects 1 and 2 in detail

In the previous chapter it was established that the existence of the two lects became apparent when speakers were arranged in a scatterplot using PC1 and PC2 as axes. This section will provide a more detailed analysis of the distribution of the variants with a comparison with those variants used in earlier literature. The social variables will also be taken into consideration.

In the literature, the lects of South African English are divided according to major ethnic groups that are reflected in the names of varieties. The names will be listed along with the ethnic group that each label is intended to designate in parentheses: ESSA English (whites with English as an L1; this probably originally meant those of English descent), Afrikaans English (Afrikaners), Coloured English (Coloureds); BSAE (Africans) and South African Indian English (Indians). One of the aims in this section is to try to establish if there are, in fact, some distinctions between speakers based on ethnicity (this thesis deals only with black and white subjects).

The demographics of lects 1 and 2 of this study show that 94.44% of the black students (34 out of 36) were part of lect 2 and only 5.56% in lect 1. As for the white students, it was approximately the reverse – 92.5% (37 out of 40) were calculated into lect 1 and 7.5% into lect 2. If it were assumed, on the basis of this evidence, that lect 1 and lect 2 were indeed ethnolects, then the linguistic variables should correlate to some degree with those given in the literature. First,

the frequency of the occurrence of variants will be re-examined in order to determine what variants primarily constitute each particular lect, and then a comparison will be made with the accounts of lects ESSA English and BSAE in the literature.

For the convenience of the reader, the linguistic variables that occurred in the two lects will be listed here. The top row indicates the name of the variable with the number of occurrences of each variant in the first column. The percentage of use for lect 1 is given in the left-hand columns (the shaded columns) under each variable and that for lect 2 in the right-hand columns (the white columns) under each variable. The phonetic nature of each variant is given in the running footnote:

Table 30. Occurrence of variants in lects 1 and 2 (in percentage)

	Face		**Goat**		**Goose**		**Kit**		**Mouth**		**Nurse**		**Price**		**Strut**	
1	52	5	95	14	97	22	58	12	89	14	97	11	11	0	100	51
2	48	71	5	54	3	78	42	59	11	86	2	25	58	7	0	49
3	0	24	0	31			0	3			1	51	31	93		
4											0	14				

The table clearly shows that lect 1 has less variation in the overall use of possible variants than lect 2.

8.1.1 Discussion of lect 1

8.1.1.1 Variables with very or fairly strong representation in lect 1

The variants are investigated first, here, listed with the phonetic value, according to very strong or fairly strong representation in lect 1. Variants that occur between 75% and 100% of the time are classified as have very strong representation, and those that have 40%–74% representation are classified as having fairly strong representation. Next to these variants are the phonetic values given in the literature for ESSA English and BSAE.

Index of phonetic variants: PRICE1 = [aː]; PRICE2 = [ɑ(ː)]; PRICE3; [aɪ ~ əɪ]; MOUTH1 = [ɑ(ː)]; MOUTH2 = [aʊ]; FACE1 = [aɪ]; FACE2 = [eɪ]; FACE3 = [ɛ]; GOOSE1 = [ʉ]; GOOSE2 = [u(ː)]; STRUT1 = [ʌ]; STRUT2 = [a]; KIT1 = [ɘ; ə]; KIT2 = [ɘ; ɪ]; KIT3 = [ɪ; i]; GOAT1 = [əʊ]; GOAT2 = [oʊ]; GOAT3 = [ɔ; o]; NURSE1 = [ɵ]; NURSE2 = [ɘˑ]; NURSE3 = [ɛ]; NURSE4 = [ə]

Table 31. Variants with a very strong representation in lect 1

Variant	*Phonetic Value*	*ESSA English*	*BSAE*
GOAT1	[əʊ]	[ɑʊ ~ ɑː]; [ʌː]; [œ(ɤ) ~ œ(ʉ)]	[o]; [o̞]
GOOSE1	[ʉ(ː)]	[ʉ(ː)]; [yː]	[u]
MOUTH1	[ɑ(ː)]	[aː]; [ɑː]	[awu]; [a]; [ɑ]
NURSE1	[ɵ]	[ø ː]; [œː]	[ɛ]
STRUT1	[ʌ]	[ɐ ~ ɐ̈ ~ ə]; [ʉ ~ ɛ̈];?[œ]	[a] ;[ɑ]

Table 32. Variants with a fairly strong representation in lect 1

Variant	*Phonetic Value*	*ESSA English*	*BSAE*
FACE1	[aɪ]	[əi]; [ɛɪ ~ æɪ ~ aɪ]; [ɛɪ ~ æɪ ~ aɪ]	[e]
FACE2	[eɪ]	[əi]; [ɛɪ ~ æɪ ~ aɪ]; [ɛɪ ~ æɪ ~ aɪ]	[e]
KIT1	[ɔ; ə]	[ɪ ~ ə];[ɪ ~ ï]; [ɪ ~ ɤ̈ ~ ï ~ ə]	[i];[ɛ]
KIT2	[ɔ; ɪ]	[ɪ ~ ə];[ɪ ~ ï]; [ɪ ~ ɤ̈ ~ ï ~ ə]	[i];[ɛ]
PRICE2	[ɑ(ː)]	[aː]; [ɑː]	[aji]; [a]; [ɑ]

If these variants for ESSA English, specifically those listed under "Respectable" and BSAE, are compared to those given in the literature, it becomes clear that there are more and stronger similarities between the variants in lect 1 and those given for ESSA English than BSAE. GOAT1 shares diphthong status with [ɑʊ] and the variant [œ(ɤ) ~ œ(ʉ)]. The monophthongs of the BSAE variants are closer and more back than the first vowel of the GOAT1 diphthong. GOOSE1 has frontness, as do the variants for ESSA English; the similarity is apparent here. As for MOUTH1, it is not as clear whether it is more closely related to the variants given for ESSA English or to the BSAE variants. They seem to be rendered as identical in the literature although there is one account of the BSAE

Index of phonetic variants: PRICE1 = [aː]; PRICE2 = [ɑ(ː)]; PRICE3; [aɪ ~ əɪ]; MOUTH1 = [ɑ(ː)]; MOUTH2 = [aʊ]; FACE1 = [aɪ]; FACE2 = [eɪ]; FACE3 = [ɛ]; GOOSE1 = [ʉ]; GOOSE2 = [u(ː)]; STRUT1 = [ʌ]; STRUT2 = [a]; KIT1 = [ɔ; ə]; KIT2 = [ɔ; ɪ]; KIT3 = [ɪ; i]; GOAT1 = [əʊ]; GOAT2 = [oʊ]; GOAT3 = [ɔ; o]; NURSE1 = [ɵ]; NURSE2 = [ɔˑ]; NURSE3 = [ɛ]; NURSE4 = [ə]

variant as being almost a diphthong, as its components are separated by a glide [w]. NURSE1 is a rounded front vowel that is closer in terms of features to the given ESSA variant than the BSAE one. A similar situation is found with STRUT in lect 1; its absolute usage of an unrounded low-mid variant is closer to the ESSA variants than the back, open variants of BSAE.

As for the variants with fairly strong representation in lect 1, FACE1 and 2 are diphthongs as opposed to the BSAE monophthong [ɛ]. The variants given in the literature show quite a deal of variation with regard to the first vowel, ranging from an open front vowel up to the open mid lax front vowel and finally to centralised schwa (Hopwood 1928: 8, Lanham & MacDonald 1979: 46, Wells 1982: 616, Lass 1995: 99). It is apparent that both variants in this study, FACE1 and FACE2, fall in line with the variants given in the literature, as all of these variants are diphthongs. KIT1 and KIT2 are the more centralised of the KIT vowels, and are similar to the forms given for ESSA. It is questionable which ethnolect the PRICE variant in lect 1 would be associated with;[77] PRICE2 apparently occurs in both ESSA English and BSAE (but as a long vowel, only in ESSA English).

A table is given below that shows a summary of the relative proximity of the variants found in lect 1 to the variants given for ESSA English and BSAE. The variants with very strong representation have been shaded.

[77] Variants that do not occur in the literature will be investigated in further detail in the following sections.

Index of phonetic variants: PRICE1 = [aː]; PRICE2 = [ɑ(ː)]; PRICE3; [aɪ ~ əɪ]; MOUTH1 = [ɑ(ː)]; MOUTH2 = [aʊ]; FACE1 = [aɪ]; FACE2 = [eɪ]; FACE3 = [ɛ]; GOOSE1 = [ʉ]; GOOSE2 = [u(ː)]; STRUT1 = [ʌ]; STRUT2 = [a]; KIT1 = [ɘ; ə]; KIT2 = [ɘ; ɪ]; KIT3 = [ɪ; i]; GOAT1 = [əʊ]; GOAT2 = [oʊ]; GOAT3 = [ɔ; o]; NURSE1 = [ɵ]; NURSE2 = [ɜˑ]; NURSE3 = [ɛ]; NURSE4 = [ə]

Table 33. Variants with strong/fairly strong representation in lect 1 and their proximity to variants given in the literature for ESSA English and BSAE

variants in lect1	proximity to ESSA variants?	proximity to BSAE variants?	
GOAT1	yes	no	
GOOSE1	yes	no	
MOUTH1	yes	yes	← strong representation
NURSE1	yes	no	
STRUT1	yes	no	
FACE1	yes	no	
FACE2	yes	no	
KIT1	yes	no	← fairly strong representation
KIT2	yes	no	
PRICE2	yes	yes(?)	

As mentioned, all of the variants resemble those of ESSA English only, with the exception of MOUTH1 and PRICE2, which have been categorised as belonging to both ESSA English and BSAE. Thus, the variants with strong or fairly strong representation in lect 1 do in fact coincide with those given in the literature for ESSA English.

8.1.1.2 Variables with little or no representation in lect 1

To complete the discussion of variants in lect 1, the variants with minimal representation in lect 1 should be investigated as well. First, the rest of the variables with low frequency (1–39%) are compared to the ethnolect variants, followed by variants that are completely absent from the lect (0%).

Index of phonetic variants: PRICE1 = [aː]; PRICE2 = [ɑ(ː)]; PRICE3; [aɪ ~ əɪ]; MOUTH1 = [ɑ(ː)]; MOUTH2 = [aʊ]; FACE1 = [aɪ]; FACE2 = [eɪ]; FACE3 = [ɛ]; GOOSE1 = [ʉ]; GOOSE2 = [u(ː)]; STRUT1 = [ʌ]; STRUT2 = [a]; KIT1 = [ɘ; ə]; KIT2 = [ɘ; ɪ]; KIT3 = [ɪ; i]; GOAT1 = [əʊ]; GOAT2 = [oʊ]; GOAT3 = [ɔ; o]; NURSE1 = [ɵ]; NURSE2 = [ɜˑ]; NURSE3 = [ɛ]; NURSE4 = [ə]

Table 34. Variants with little representation in lect 1

Variant	*Phonetic Value*	*ESSA English*	*BSAE*
GOAT2	[oʊ]	[ɑʊ ~ ɑː]; [ʌː]; [œ(ɤ) ~ œ(ʉ)]	[o]; [o̞]
GOOSE2	[u]	[ʉ(ː)]; [yː]	[u]
MOUTH2	[aʊ]	[aː]; [ɑː]	[awu]; [a]; [ɑ]
NURSE2	[ɚ]	[øː]; [œː]	[ɛ]
NURSE3	[ɛ]	[øː]; [œː]	[ɛ]
PRICE1	[aː]	[aː]; [ɑː]	[aji]; [a]; [ɑ]
PRICE3	[aɪ ~ əɪ]	[aː]; [ɑː]	[aji]; [a]; [ɑ]

GOAT2 is a diphthong, like the two variants in ESSA English but has a rounded close-mid back vowel in the first position, similar to those in the BSAE variety and constitutes only 5% of the occurrences in lect 1. GOAT2 is another "new" found variant which has a fair share of features in common with both the ESSA and BSAE variants. GOAT2 does not share articulatory features with any of the variants given for ESSA English in terms of the first vowel. However, it is, in fact, a diphthong, which is not true of either of the variants given in the literature on BSAE. The closer, more back vowel of GOAT2 is found in the BSAE variants. Thus, GOAT2 shares features of both the ESSA variants (diphthong) and the BSAE variants (place of articulation). GOOSE2 is identical to the variant ascribed to BSAE, and is not used for the most part in this lect. MOUTH2 is one of the variants that has not been previously attested. There may be a remote relation to the vowel combination with glide [awu], mentioned by Hundleby 1964, Lanham 1966, Gough 1996: 59 and de Klerk & Gough 2002: 360. The rhotic vowel in NURSE2 has not been attested in the literature as being characteristic of either ESSA English or BSAE, or for any other varieties in South Africa for that matter. This variant claims only 2% of the share of tokens for NURSE. NURSE3, a monophthong, seems to reflect more features of the variant used in BSAE than the ESSA English diphthongs, and is avoided for the most part in lect 1. The distribution of PRICE variables reveals that PRICE3, the diphthong, has a stronger presence than the PRICE1 variant. PRICE3 occurs

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Index of phonetic variants: PRICE1 = [aː]; PRICE2 = [ɑ(ː)]; PRICE3; [aɪ ~ əɪ]; MOUTH1 = [ɑ(ː)]; MOUTH2 = [aʊ]; FACE1 = [aɪ]; FACE2 = [eɪ]; FACE3 = [ɛ]; GOOSE1 = [ʉ]; GOOSE2 = [u(ː)]; STRUT1 = [ʌ]; STRUT2 = [a]; KIT1 = [ɘ; ə]; KIT2 = [ɘ; ɪ]; KIT3 = [ɪ; i]; GOAT1 = [əʊ]; GOAT2 = [oʊ]; GOAT3 = [ɔ; o]; NURSE1 = [ɵ]; NURSE2 = [ɚ]; NURSE3 = [ɛ]; NURSE4 = [ə]

31% of the time and PRICE1 only 11% of the time. PRICE3, also present in lect 1 but with less frequency, is also a diphthong that has not been referred to in other research. The combination of two vowels separated by a glide, [aji], serves as a dubious and remote match of this variant to BSAE. PRICE1 is a more front monophthong than PRICE2, which may belong to either BSAE or ESSA English according to previous documentation (for ESSA English: Hopwood 1961: 71; Lanham & Traill 1962: 199; Lass 1982: 151, 1987: 304, 1995: 99; Lanham & MacDonald 1979: 41; Wells 1982: 151; for BSAE English: Van Rooy & Huyssteen 2000).

The variants that have no representation in lect 1 are FACE3, GOAT3, NURSE4 and STRUT2. FACE3 shares monophthong status with the BSAE variant, whereas all of the variants in ESSA English are diphthongs. This variant is seemingly closer in proximity to the BSAE variant. A similar situation can be argued for GOAT3 – it has monophthong status like the FACE and NURSE variants in BSAE and shares the same distinctive features. STRUT2, a low vowel, shares commonalities with the BSAE variants as well.

Table 35. Variants with no representation in lect 1

Variant	*Phonetic Value*	*ESSA English*	*BSAE*
FACE3	[ɛ]	[əi]; [ɛɪ ~ æɪ ~ aɪ]; [ɛɪ ~ æɪ ~ aɪ]	[e]
GOAT3	[ɔ; o]	[ɑʊ ~ ɑː]; [ʌː]; [œ(ɤ) ~ œ(ʉ)]	[o]; [o̞]
KIT3	[ɪ; i]	[ɪ ~ ə];[ɪ ~ ï]; [ɪ ~ ɤ̈ ~ ï ~ ə]	[i];[ɛ]
NURSE4	[ə]	[øː]; [œː]	[ɛ]
STRUT2	[a]	[ɐ ~ ɐ̈ ~ ə]; [ʉ ~ ë];?[œ]	[a] ;[ɑ]

KIT3, a relatively high front variant, shares these features with one of the variants named in the literature on BSAE, as opposed to the ESSA English variants, which display more centrality. The schwa variant given for NURSE4,

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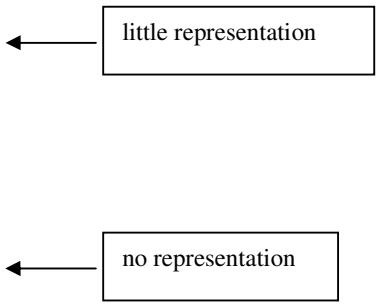
Index of phonetic variants: PRICE1 = [aː]; PRICE2 = [ɑ(ː)]; PRICE3; [aɪ ~ əɪ]; MOUTH1 = [ɑ(ː)]; MOUTH2 = [aʊ]; FACE1 = [aɪ]; FACE2 = [eɪ]; FACE3 = [ɛ]; GOOSE1 = [ʉ]; GOOSE2 = [u(ː)]; STRUT1 = [ʌ]; STRUT2 = [a]; KIT1 = [ɘ; ə]; KIT2 = [ɘ; ɪ]; KIT3 = [ɪ; i]; GOAT1 = [əʊ]; GOAT2 = [oʊ]; GOAT3 = [ɔ; o]; NURSE1 = [ɵ]; NURSE2 = [ɜˑ]; NURSE3 = [ɛ]; NURSE4 = [ə]

like NURSE2, is a variant that not been documented in the literature, thus it cannot be associated with any of the variants in the two ethnolects.

In the table below, the variants with little or no representation in lect 1 are given with their proximities to each of the ethnolects. The variants with little representation have been shaded.

Table 36. Variants with little or no representation in lect 1 and their proximity to variants given for ESSA English and BSAE

variants in lect1	proximity to ESSA variants?	proximity to BSAE variants?
GOAT2	(?)	(?)
GOOSE2	no	yes
MOUTH2	no	(?)yes
NURSE2	(?)	(?)
NURSE3	no	yes
PRICE1	yes	(?)yes
PRICE3	no	(?)yes
FACE3	no	yes
GOAT3	no	yes
KIT3	no	yes
NURSE4	(?)	(?)
STRUT2	no	yes



The table above indicates that the variants that are absent or nearly absent in lect 1 are associated with those given in the literature for BSAE. One of the variants, GOAT2, is unaccounted for in the literature and NURSE2 is mentioned by Bailey (1984), but not as a "typical feature" (see §5.1.2.2).

It could be claimed that the rigidity in selection of variants in lect 1 revolves around those variables that are similar to the ethnolect ESSA English, that is, the English spoken by L1 speakers of English. This claim holds to a great extent if it is taken into consideration that 92.5% of the white students are in lect 1, and are all L1 English speakers. The two black subjects in lect 1, speaker 1.5 and speaker 4.11, are L1 speakers of Zulu and Swati, respectively. Their linguistic profiles will be investigated in more detail in §8.3, following the discussion of linguistic variables investigated in lect 2.

Index of phonetic variants: PRICE1 = [aː]; PRICE2 = [ɑ(ː)]; PRICE3; [aɪ ~ əɪ]; MOUTH1 = [ɑ(ː)]; MOUTH2 = [aʊ]; FACE1 = [aɪ]; FACE2 = [eɪ]; FACE3 = [ɛ]; GOOSE1 = [ʉ]; GOOSE2 = [u(ː)]; STRUT1 = [ʌ]; STRUT2 = [a]; KIT1 = [ɘ; ə]; KIT2 = [ɘ; ɪ]; KIT3 = [ɪ; i]; GOAT1 = [əʊ]; GOAT2 = [oʊ]; GOAT3 = [ɔ; o]; NURSE1 = [ɵ]; NURSE2 = [ɜˑ]; NURSE3 = [ɛ]; NURSE4 = [ə]

8.1.2 Lect 2

8.1.2.1 Variables with very strong or fairly strong representation in lect 2

An analysis similar to the one conducted on lect 1 will be conducted for lect 2. Lect 2 shows a very strong representation (75%–100%) of the following variants: GOOSE2, MOUTH2, and PRICE3. Variants with fairly strong representation (40%–74%) are FACE2, GOAT2, KIT2, NURSE3, STRUT1 and STRUT2. A comparison is made below between the variants occurring in lect 2 and those which the literature ascribes to ESSA English and BSAE.

Table 37. Variants with a very strong representation in lect 2

Variant	*Phonetic Value*	*ESSA English*	*BSAE*
GOOSE2	[u]	[ʉ(ː)]; [yː]	[u]
MOUTH2	[aʊ]	[aː]; [ɑː]	[awu]; [a]; [ɑ]
PRICE3	[aɪ ~ əɪ]	[aː]; [ɑː]	[aji]; [a]; [ɑ]

Table 38. Variants with a fairly strong representation in lect 2

Variant	*Phonetic Value*	*ESSA English*	*BSAE*
GOAT2	[oʊ]	[ɑʊ ~ ɑː]; [ʌː]; [œ(ɤ) ~ œ(ʉ)]	[o]; [o̞]
FACE2	[eɪ]	[əi]; [ɛɪ ~ æɪ ~ aɪ]; [ɛɪ ~ æɪ ~ aɪ]	[e]
NURSE3	[ɛ]	[øː]; [œː]	[ɛ]
KIT2	[ɔ; ɪ]	[ɪ ~ ə];[ɪ ~ ï]; [ɪ ~ ɤ̈ ~ ï ~ ə]	[i];[ɛ]
STRUT1	[ʌ]	[ɐ ~ ä ~ ə]; [ʉ ~ ë];?[œ]	[a] ;[ɑ]
STRUT2	[a]	[ɐ ~ ä ~ ə]; [ʉ ~ ë];?[œ]	[a] ;[ɑ]

The three variants with very strong representation in lect 2 are GOOSE2, MOUTH2 and PRICE3. Lect 2 clearly favours a backed variant of GOOSE, in

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Index of phonetic variants: PRICE1 = [aː]; PRICE2 = [ɑ(ː)]; PRICE3; [aɪ ~ əɪ]; MOUTH1 = [ɑ(ː)]; MOUTH2 = [aʊ]; FACE1 = [aɪ]; FACE2 = [eɪ]; FACE3 = [ɛ]; GOOSE1 = [ʉ]; GOOSE2 = [u(ː)]; STRUT1 = [ʌ]; STRUT2 = [a]; KIT1 = [ɔ; ə]; KIT2 = [ɔ; ɪ]; KIT3 = [ɪ; i]; GOAT1 = [əʊ]; GOAT2 = [oʊ]; GOAT3 = [ɔ; o]; NURSE1 = [ɵ]; NURSE2 = [ɔˑ]; NURSE3 = [ɛ]; NURSE4 = [ə]

contrast to lect 1. This same back/front distinction has been made in the literature in the ethnolects – the more front variant for ESSA English and the back vowel for BSAE. The distribution of MOUTH illustrates a similar state of affairs: where MOUTH2 has strong presence in lect 2, it is avoided in lect 1. PRICE3 has about a third of the occurrences in lect 1 but overwhelmingly strong usage in lect 2.

When examining the variants of FACE in ESSA English and BSAE, there is also a contrast made in relation to diphthongs versus monophthongs. FACE2 would seem to fall more in line with the variants given for ESSA English as it contains a front vowel in the diphthong, and also because it is a diphthong, as opposed to the variants given for BSAE. KIT2, also mentioned in lect 1, has more central forms that are analogous to ESSA English. Finally, STRUT1, found also in lect 1, and STRUT2 occur in lect 2, however, STRUT2 is more open, like the variants given for BSAE.

A table is given below that shows a summary of the relative proximity of the variants found in lect 2 to the variants given in the literature for ESSA English and BSAE. The variants with very strong representation are shaded.

Table 39. Variants with strong/fairly strong representation in lect 2 and their proximity to variants given for ESSA English and BSAE

variant in lect 2	proximity to ESSA variants?	proximity to BSAE variants?
GOOSE2	no	yes
MOUTH2	no	(?)yes
PRICE3	no	(?)yes
GOAT2	(?)	(?)
FACE2	yes	no
NURSE3	no	yes
KIT2	yes	no
STRUT1	yes	no
STRUT2	no	yes

strong representation

fairly strong representation

Here the picture is not as straightforward with respect to specific variant use coinciding with ethnolect. MOUTH2 and PRICE3 may be more closely associated with the BSAE variants containing a glide, but this is questionable

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Index of phonetic variants: PRICE1 = [aː]; PRICE2 = [ɑ(ː)]; PRICE3; [aɪ ~ əɪ]; MOUTH1 = [ɑ(ː)]; MOUTH2 = [aʊ]; FACE1 = [aɪ]; FACE2 = [eɪ]; FACE3 = [ɛ]; GOOSE1 = [ʉ]; GOOSE2 = [u(ː)]; STRUT1 = [ʌ]; STRUT2 = [a]; KIT1 = [ɘ; ə]; KIT2 = [ɘ; ɪ]; KIT3 = [ɪ; i]; GOAT1 = [əʊ]; GOAT2 = [oʊ]; GOAT3 = [ɔ; o]; NURSE1 = [ɵ]; NURSE2 = [ɜˑ]; NURSE3 = [ɛ]; NURSE4 = [ə]

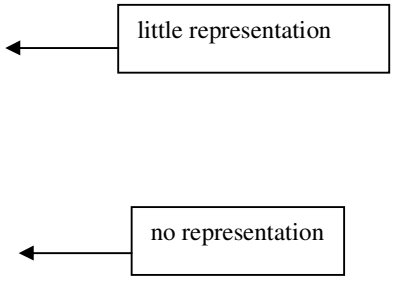
because of the infrequency of the glide variants proposed in the literature (see §5.2.1.2.2). GOOSE2, NURSE3 and STRUT2 are comparable to the BSAE variants and FACE2, KIT2 and STRUT1 are comparable to those ascribed to ESSA English, which are also present in lect 1. GOAT2, because of its hybrid status vis-à-vis both ethnolects, is not categorised as more similar to one variety than the other.

8.1.2.2 Variables with little or no representation in lect 2

The final section of analysis will explore the variants that have little or no representation in lect 2. Since all of the variants have already been discussed in detail regarding their proximity to the ethnolect variants, a table is simply provided below. The variants with little representation are shaded.

Table 40. Variants with little or no representation in lect 2 and their proximity to variants given for ESSA English and BSAE

variants in lect 2	proximity to ESSA variants?	proximity to BSAE variants?
FACE1	yes	no
GOAT1	yes	no
GOAT3	no	yes
GOOSE1	yes	no
KIT1	yes	no
KIT3	no	yes
MOUTH1	yes	yes
NURSE1	yes	no
NURSE2	(?)	(?)
NURSE4	(?)	(?)
PRICE2	yes	(?)yes
PRICE1	yes	(?)yes



There are more variants that have no representation in lect 1, which indicates that there is more variety in choice of variants in lect 2. The ethnolect status of the variants becomes more mixed for lect 2: five variants are in close proximity to those which the literature ascribes to ESSA English, three to those given for BSAE English, three to both, and two are previously undocumented variables.

Index of phonetic variants: PRICE1 = [aː]; PRICE2 = [ɑ(ː)]; PRICE3; [aɪ ~ əɪ]; MOUTH1 = [ɑ(ː)]; MOUTH2 = [aʊ]; FACE1 = [aɪ]; FACE2 = [eɪ]; FACE3 = [ɛ]; GOOSE1 = [ʉ]; GOOSE2 = [u(ː)]; STRUT1 = [ʌ]; STRUT2 = [a]; KIT1 = [ɘ; ə]; KIT2 = [ɘ; ɪ]; KIT3 = [ɪ; i]; GOAT1 = [əʊ]; GOAT2 = [oʊ]; GOAT3 = [ɔ; o]; NURSE1 = [ɵ]; NURSE2 = [ɜˑ]; NURSE3 = [ɛ]; NURSE4 = [ə]

The only variable that is nonexistent in this lect is PRICE1, which, according to previous accounts, is similar to both ESSA English and BSAE (for ESSA English: Hopwood 1961: 71; Lanham & Traill 1962: 199; Lanham & MacDonald 1979: 41; Lass 1982: 151, 1987: 304, 1995: 99; Wells 1982: 151; for BSAE English: Van Rooy & Huyssteen 2000). However, due to the demographics of the lect, this variant may actually be associated with white speakers or speakers that have English as an L1. It should be noted that the occurrence of PRICE1 is minimal in lect 1 itself, which may indicate that only a particular group of white speakers use this variant, as mentioned by the research assistants (§5.3.1). In the section to follow, the speakers who use this specific variable will be investigated in more detail in terms of social characteristics, along with the other variants that have not been documented before.

What can be said about the social significance of the variables on the basis of their proximity to the variables ascribed to the ethnolects? The distribution and frequency of the variants in lect 1 show that this lect definitely tends to favour variants that mirror those given for ESSA English, or English spoken by those with English as an L1. When considering the demographics, the lect comprises virtually all L1 speakers, who are all white (with the exception of two black subjects). The fact that there is less variety and complete absence of some possible variants in lect 1 indicates that in lect 2 there is an apparent set of variants that may occur due to L1 interference, which are found only in lect 2. The monophthongisation of diphthongs (as in FACE3 and GOAT3), discussed in Chapter 5 on linguistic variables, has been explained as a result of L1 interference of an African language (Adendorff & Savini-Beck 1993). In addition, the variants STRUT2, GOAT3, FACE3 and KIT3, which have no representation in lect 1, have also been considered results of L1 interference.

Are these variants mentioned then truly a result of L1 interference? This is actually quite difficult to determine. The users of these variants, however, can be compared on the basis of their social variables for some kind of correlation with each other. Thus, it is not being claimed that all of the above variables are necessarily a result of L1 interference as maintained in the literature, rather they

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Index of phonetic variants: PRICE1 = [aː]; PRICE2 = [ɑ(ː)]; PRICE3; [aɪ ~ əɪ]; MOUTH1 = [ɑ(ː)]; MOUTH2 = [aʊ]; FACE1 = [aɪ]; FACE2 = [eɪ]; FACE3 = [ɛ]; GOOSE1 = [ʉ]; GOOSE2 = [u(ː)]; STRUT1 = [ʌ]; STRUT2 = [a]; KIT1 = [ɘ; ə]; KIT2 = [ɘ; ɪ]; KIT3 = [ɪ; i]; GOAT1 = [əʊ]; GOAT2 = [oʊ]; GOAT3 = [ɔ; o]; NURSE1 = [ɵ]; NURSE2 = [ɘˑ]; NURSE3 = [ɛ]; NURSE4 = [ə]

are variables that speakers have in common. The subcategorisation of the variables in question is discussed in the next section.

8.1.3 Categories of variants

Variants that require further explanation on the basis of social variables have been divided into three groups in the following section: (1) "L1 interference" variants, (2) the "Lect 1 variant" and (3) the "new" variants. The first group of variants, the "L1 interference variants", are variants that are mentioned in the literature (Lanham & Traill 1965, Hundleby 1964, Lanham 1966, Adendorff & Savini-Beck 1993, Gough 1996, Brink & Botha 1999, Van Rooy 2000, Van Rooy & Van Huyssteen 2000, de Klerk & Gough 2002) as a result of L1 phonological rules of an African language. They appear either primarily or solely in lect 2. The second type of variant under investigation is the "lect 1 variant", named as such because it is the only variant that appears in lect 1 but not lect 2. This variant and its distribution are examined in the §8.1.3.2. The final section, §8.1.3.3., deals with variants that have not been mentioned in the literature before, which have been dubbed the "new" variants.

8.1.3.1 L1 interference variants

A set of tables has been created below for the speakers who use the variants GOOSE2, NURSE3, STRUT2, GOAT3, FACE3 and KIT3. "L1 interference variants" have different distributions in relation to each other in lect 1 and have little or no representation in lect 2. These variants have been discussed by researchers of BSAE (Lanham & Traill 1965, Hundleby 1964, Lanham 1966, Adendorff & Savini-Beck 1993, Gough 1996, Brink & Botha 1999, Van Rooy 2000, Van Rooy & Van Huyssteen 2000, de Klerk & Gough 2002; see §5.2.1.2.1). The variants that have minimal representation in lect 1 are GOOSE2 and NURSE3, which will be discussed first.

Index of phonetic variants: PRICE1 = [aː]; PRICE2 = [ɑ(ː)]; PRICE3; [aɪ ~ əɪ]; MOUTH1 = [ɑ(ː)]; MOUTH2 = [aʊ]; FACE1 = [aɪ]; FACE2 = [eɪ]; FACE3 = [ɛ]; GOOSE1 = [ʉ]; GOOSE2 = [u(ː)]; STRUT1 = [ʌ]; STRUT2 = [a]; KIT1 = [ɘ; ə]; KIT2 = [ɘ; ɪ]; KIT3 = [ɪ; i]; GOAT1 = [əʊ]; GOAT2 = [oʊ]; GOAT3 = [ɔ; o]; NURSE1 = [ɵ]; NURSE2 = [ɘˑ]; NURSE3 = [ɛ]; NURSE4 = [ə]

GOOSE2 has the highest occurrence in lect 2 of all six L1 variants, counting for 78% of all of the utterances, followed by NURSE3 with 51% of the four NURSE variants. Third is the STRUT2 variant, which occurs slightly less often (49%) than STRUT1 (51%). GOAT3 accounts for almost a third (31%) of the tokens in the lect, followed by FACE3, which makes up almost a quarter (24%) of the FACE variable. Finally, KIT3 makes only a small appearance in lect 2, i.e., making up 3% of the KIT variable.

A breakdown of the speakers who use the abovementioned variables in lect 2 is given below. The speaker numbers are given in the order they were recorded on the MDs, followed by a number called "Obs", an abbreviation for "observation number" which can also be found in the full table of frequencies in Appendix C. The subsequent columns show gender, educational background, ethnicity and the frequency which each variant was used. GOOSE2 has been shaded for easy reference. In these tables, the speakers have been arranged from those having the highest frequency to the lowest frequency of usage of GOOSE2 from top to bottom.

Table 41. Demography of speakers that use GOOSE2 including frequency of use of the GOOSE variants

Speaker	Obs	Lect	Gen	Ed	Eth	GOOSE1	GOOSE2
1.1	1	2	M	3	B	0	100
1.12	11	2	F	3	B	0	100
2.3	20	2	M	3	B	0	100
3.8	43	2	F	3	B	0	100
4.9	64	2	M	3	B	0	100
4.12	68	2	M	3	B	0	100
4.14	69	2	M	3	B	0	100
4.16	71	2	M	3	B	0	100
4.17	72	2	M	3	B	0	100
2.5	22	2	M	2	B	0	100
2.14	31	2	M	2	B	0	100
2.18	35	2	F	2	B	0	100
3.6	41	2	F	2	B	0	100
4.6	61	2	F	2	B	0	100
4.10	65	2	F	2	B	0	100
4.12	67	2	M	2	B	0	100
4.19	74	2	F	2	B	0	100
4.20	75	2	M	2	B	0	100

Index of phonetic variants: PRICE1 = [aː]; PRICE2 = [ɑ(ː)]; PRICE3; [aɪ ~ əɪ]; MOUTH1 = [ɑ(ː)]; MOUTH2 = [aʊ]; FACE1 = [aɪ]; FACE2 = [eɪ]; FACE3 = [ɛ]; GOOSE1 = [ʉ]; GOOSE2 = [u(ː)]; STRUT1 = [ʌ]; STRUT2 = [a]; KIT1 = [ɘ; ə]; KIT2 = [ɘ; ɪ]; KIT3 = [ɪ; i]; GOAT1 = [əʊ]; GOAT2 = [oʊ]; GOAT3 = [ɔ; o]; NURSE1 = [ɵ]; NURSE2 = [ɜˑ]; NURSE3 = [ɛ]; NURSE4 = [ə]

Speaker	Obs	Lect	Gen	Ed	Eth	GOOSE1	GOOSE2
3.18	53	2	F	1	B	0	100
2.15	32	2	M	2	B	10	90
2.4	21	2	M	3	B	11	89
2.16	33	2	F	2	B	11	89
4.18	73	2	M	2	B	14	86
2.17	34	2	F	2	B	18	82
3.1	36	2	F	1	B	18	82
2.6	23	2	F	2	B	22	78
2.2	19	2	M	3	B	25	75
4.15	70	2	F	2	B	31	69
1.14	13	2	M	3	B	38	62
3.17	52	2	F	2	B	43	57
1.2	2	2	F	2	B	54	46
2.12	29	1	F	2	W	57	43
1.6	5	1	M	2	W	70	30
4.4	59	2	M	2	W	75	25
4.5	60	2	F	1	B	78	22
1.3	3	2	M	1	B	80	20
1.10	9	1	F	2	W	86	14
4.1	56	1	M	2	W	90	10
1.5	4	1	M	2	B	92	8
1.11	10	1	F	2	W	92	8

As mentioned, GOOSE2 has the highest overall frequency of usage of all the L1 interference variants in lect 2, yet has 3% representation in lect 1. From this table, it is striking that almost half of the speakers use GOOSE2 consistently, i.e., 100% of the time. As for the other half, the range of use descends quite gradually. Most of the speakers (85%) are black, and the white speakers who do use GOOSE2 have been found to use the variant less than half of the time. The majority of speakers (24) are from educational background 2, which is the case for all of the white speakers, followed by 12 speakers from educational background 3 and four speakers from educational background 1. There is no significant difference in use in terms of gender, only slightly more males (21) are accounted for than females (19). The usage of GOOSE2 (and all other variants in this section) in terms of social variables and their implication are discussed in §8.1.4.

The peripheral lax vowel NURSE3 has been explained in the literature as a result of the process of decentralisation by L1 speakers of African languages

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Index of phonetic variants: PRICE1 = [aː]; PRICE2 = [ɑ(ː)]; PRICE3; [aɪ ~ əɪ]; MOUTH1 = [ɑ(ː)]; MOUTH2 = [aʊ]; FACE1 = [aɪ]; FACE2 = [eɪ]; FACE3 = [ɛ]; GOOSE1 = [ʉ]; GOOSE2 = [u(ː)]; STRUT1 = [ʌ]; STRUT2 = [a]; KIT1 = [ɘ; ə]; KIT2 = [ɘ; ɪ]; KIT3 = [ɪ; i]; GOAT1 = [əʊ]; GOAT2 = [oʊ]; GOAT3 = [ɔ; o]; NURSE1 = [ɵ]; NURSE2 = [ɜˑ]; NURSE3 = [ɛ]; NURSE4 = [ə]

due to the lack of central vowels in their L1 phonological inventory (Lanham 1966, Jacobs 1994, Brink & Botha 1999), and thus is deemed an L1 interference variant. The table below illustrates the occurrences of NURSE3 in the data set:

Table 42. Demography of speakers that use NURSE3 including frequency of use of the NURSE variants

Speaker	Obs	Gen	Ed	Eth	NURSE1	NURSE2	NURSE3	NURSE4
1.14	13	M	3	B	0	0	100	0
2.4	21	M	3	B	0	0	100	0
3.8	43	F	3	B	0	0	100	0
4.9	64	M	3	B	0	0	100	0
4.13	68	M	3	B	0	0	100	0
4.14	69	M	3	B	0	0	100	0
4.16	71	M	3	B	0	0	100	0
4.17	72	M	3	B	0	0	100	0
2.14	31	M	2	B	0	0	100	0
2.15	32	M	2	B	0	0	100	0
4.12	67	M	2	B	0	0	100	0
4.18	73	M	2	B	0	0	100	0
4.19	74	F	2	B	0	0	100	0
4.20	75	M	2	B	0	0	100	0
3.18	53	F	1	B	0	0	100	0
2.3	20	M	3	B	0	20	80	0
1.1	1	M	3	B	0	29	71	0
2.17	34	F	2	B	46	0	54	0
1.12	11	F	3	B	50	0	50	0
1.17	16	F	1	W	56	0	44	0
2.5	22	M	2	B	0	60	40	0
2.2	19	M	3	B	0	64	36	0
1.2	2	F	2	B	0	88	12	0
1.3	3	M	1	B	0	88	12	0
1.18	17	F	2	W	90	0	10	0
1.13	12	F	2	B	0	93	7	0
4.15	70	F	2	B	0	94	6	0

Although the claim is made that NURSE3 is a result of L1 interference, two of the 27 subjects are white, i.e., L1 English speakers. However it should be noted that the frequency of usage is less than half and they use the expected ESSA English variant, NURSE1, most of the time. Slightly more than half of the speakers use NURSE1 100% of the time, and those who do show a strong representation for educational background 3. There are a fair number of speakers

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Index of phonetic variants: PRICE1 = [aː]; PRICE2 = [ɑ(ː)]; PRICE3; [aɪ ~ əɪ]; MOUTH1 = [ɑ(ː)]; MOUTH2 = [aʊ]; FACE1 = [aɪ]; FACE2 = [eɪ]; FACE3 = [ɛ]; GOOSE1 = [ʉ]; GOOSE2 = [u(ː)]; STRUT1 = [ʌ]; STRUT2 = [a]; KIT1 = [ɘ; ə]; KIT2 = [ɘ; ɪ]; KIT3 = [ɪ; i]; GOAT1 = [əʊ]; GOAT2 = [oʊ]; GOAT3 = [ɔ; o]; NURSE1 = [ɵ]; NURSE2 = [ɜˑ]; NURSE3 = [ɛ]; NURSE4 = [ə]

from educational background 2 (12) and only three speakers from educational background 1. As with GOOSE2, the difference in usage between males (17) and females (10) is not statistically significant.

The first L1 interference variant with no representation in lect 1 is the open vowel in STRUT2. The distribution in lect 2 of STRUT 1 and STRUT2 is more or less equal, with STRUT1 occurring with a slightly higher percentage (51%) than STRUT2 (49%). The frequency of the use of STRUT2 and the demography of the speakers who use it is given in the table below:

Table 43. Demography of speakers that use STRUT2 including frequency of use of the STRUT variants

Speaker	Obs	Gen	Ed	Eth	STRUT1	STRUT2
1.1	1	M	3	B	0	100
2.4	21	M	3	B	0	100
2.14	31	M	2	B	0	100
4.16	71	M	3	B	8	92
2.3	20	M	3	B	9	91
1.14	13	M	3	B	11	89
4.19	69	M	3	B	14	86
4.12	67	M	2	B	17	83
3.8	43	F	3	B	18	82
4.18	73	M	2	B	18	82
2.18	35	F	2	B	20	80
4.13	68	M	3	B	21	79
4.17	72	M	3	B	22	78
3.6	41	F	2	B	22	78
2.5	22	M	2	B	25	75
4.19	74	F	2	B	25	75
2.15	32	M	2	B	27	73
2.16	33	F	2	B	30	70
2.2	19	M	3	B	36	64
2.17	34	F	2	B	36	64
2.6	23	F	2	B	56	44
3.17	52	F	2	B	56	44
1.3	3	M	1	B	60	40
3.18	53	F	1	B	71	29
4.4	59	M	2	W	90	10
4.20	75	M	2	B	90	10
1.13	12	F	2	B	92	8

Index of phonetic variants: PRICE1 = [aː]; PRICE2 = [ɑ(ː)]; PRICE3; [aɪ ~ əɪ]; MOUTH1 = [ɑ(ː)]; MOUTH2 = [aʊ]; FACE1 = [aɪ]; FACE2 = [eɪ]; FACE3 = [ɛ]; GOOSE1 = [ʉ]; GOOSE2 = [u(ː)]; STRUT1 = [ʌ]; STRUT2 = [a]; KIT1 = [ɘ; ə]; KIT2 = [ɘ; ɪ]; KIT3 = [ɪ; i]; GOAT1 = [əʊ]; GOAT2 = [oʊ]; GOAT3 = [ɔ; o]; NURSE1 = [ɵ]; NURSE2 = [ɜˑ]; NURSE3 = [ɛ]; NURSE4 = [ə]

Unlike GOOSE2 and NURSE3, there are significantly fewer speakers who use STRUT2 consistently, i.e., there is a high degree of variation between the two variants among speakers in lect 2. As with the previous variants, there is no large difference in gender and use — 17 males use the variant as opposed to 10 females. Both educational backgrounds 2 and 3 are strongly represented with 10 speakers from educational background 3 and 15 speakers from educational background 2. Only one speaker is from educational background one. There is one white speaker, speaker 4.4, who uses the variant, albeit with low frequency and who is one of the white speakers placed in lect 2.

The next table shows the usage of the variant GOAT3:

Table 44. Demography of speakers that use GOAT3 including frequency of use of the GOAT variants

Speaker	Obs	Gen	Ed	Eth	GOAT1	GOAT2	GOAT3
4.16	71	M	3	B	0	0	100
4.14	69	M	3	B	0	10	90
4.13	68	M	3	B	0	15	85
2.5	22	F	2	B	0	18	82
4.12	67	M	2	B	0	22	78
3.8	43	F	3	B	0	27	73
4.17	72	M	3	B	0	27	73
2.15	32	M	2	B	0	33	67
2.14	31	M	2	B	0	44	56
1.14	13	M	3	B	0	53	47
2.4	21	M	3	B	0	55	45
2.3	20	M	3	B	0	58	42
4.9	64	F	2	B	0	60	40
1.1	1	M	3	B	0	69	30
2.16	33	F	2	B	0	71	29
1.3	3	M	1	B	47	24	29
1.12	11	F	3	B	0	73	27
2.2	19	M	3	B	0	73	27
2.17	34	F	2	B	0	78	22
3.18	53	F	1	B	35	50	15
1.2	2	F	2	B	29	64	7

As mentioned, GOAT3 is a variant found only in lect 2. All 21 subjects that use GOAT3 are ethnically black. In terms of gender, more males (13) than females (8) use the variant, but not with overwhelming significance. Slightly more than

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Index of phonetic variants: PRICE1 = [aː]; PRICE2 = [ɑ(ː)]; PRICE3; [aɪ ~ əɪ]; MOUTH1 = [ɑ(ː)]; MOUTH2 = [aʊ]; FACE1 = [aɪ]; FACE2 = [eɪ]; FACE3 = [ɛ]; GOOSE1 = [ʉ]; GOOSE2 = [u(ː)]; STRUT1 = [ʌ]; STRUT2 = [a]; KIT1 = [ɘ; ə]; KIT2 = [ɘ; ɪ]; KIT3 = [ɪ; i]; GOAT1 = [əʊ]; GOAT2 = [oʊ]; GOAT3 = [ɔ; o]; NURSE1 = [ɵ]; NURSE2 = [ɘˑ]; NURSE3 = [ɛ]; NURSE4 = [ə]

half of the subjects (11) come from educational background 3, eight subjects from educational background 2 and only two from educational background 1. It should be noted that those two subjects, plus one subject from educational background 2 (speaker 1.3) use all three variants of GOAT, in particular GOAT1, which is the dominant variant in lect 1. The variance lies between educational backgrounds 2 and 3 versus 1.

All of the subjects who use GOAT3 use GOAT2 as well, except for subject 4.16 at the top of the table, who uses GOAT3 100% of the time. One may attribute this to educational background, but when assessing the distribution of that social variable in terms of frequency of variable use, there does not seem to be a strong correlation between educational background and whether a subject uses GOAT2 or GOAT3; subjects from both educational background 2 and 3 are spread quite randomly down the table. Also the number of tokens for each speaker (here in terms of percent) is quite evenly distributed, ranging from 100% to 7%.

The next L1 interference variant is FACE3, the monophthong among the three FACE variants. Its existence in South African English has been explained by the fact the African languages spoken in South Africa do not have diphthongs, and the lax mid front vowel [ɛ] is the closest target for L1 speakers of an African language (Adendorff & Savini-Beck 1993). The table has been arranged in the same manner as the previous one.

Index of phonetic variants: PRICE1 = [aː]; PRICE2 = [ɑ(ː)]; PRICE3; [aɪ ~ əɪ]; MOUTH1 = [ɑ(ː)]; MOUTH2 = [aʊ]; FACE1 = [aɪ]; FACE2 = [eɪ]; FACE3 = [ɛ]; GOOSE1 = [ʉ]; GOOSE2 = [u(ː)]; STRUT1 = [ʌ]; STRUT2 = [a]; KIT1 = [ɘ; ə]; KIT2 = [ɘ; ɪ]; KIT3 = [ɪ; i]; GOAT1 = [əʊ]; GOAT2 = [oʊ]; GOAT3 = [ɔ; o]; NURSE1 = [ɵ]; NURSE2 = [ɘˑ]; NURSE3 = [ɛ]; NURSE4 = [ə]

Table 45. Demography of speakers that use FACE3 including frequency of use of the FACE variants

Speaker	Obs	Gen	Ed	Eth	FACE1	FACE2	FACE3
4.16	71	M	3	B	0	14	86
4.14	69	M	3	B	0	21	79
3.8	43	F	3	B	0	25	75
4.13	68	M	3	B	0	25	75
4.12	67	M	2	B	0	27	73
4.17	72	M	3	B	0	38	62
2.2	19	M	3	B	9	36	55
2.5	22	M	2	B	0	53	47
3.18	53	F	1	B	0	55	45
4.9	64	M	3	B	0	56	44
1.12	11	F	3	B	0	66	33
1.14	13	M	3	B	0	69	31
2.6	23	F	2	B	0	70	30
2.15	32	M	2	B	0	70	30
4.19	74	F	2	B	0	75	25
1.1	1	M	3	B	0	79	21
1.2	2	F	2	B	0	81	19
4.18	73	M	2	B	0	85	15
4.20	75	M	2	B	0	86	14
4.11	66	F	1	B	10	80	10
2.17	34	F	2	B	0	89	11
4.15	70	F	2	B	0	93	7

In terms of gender, there is no direct correlation with the use of the variant or frequency of use – there are 13 males to 8 females. Educational background may have some role to play, as is in the suspected case regarding GOAT3. The number of speakers is evenly distributed for educational backgrounds 2 and 3, however, educational background 1 is represented by only two subjects. The strong correlations pertain to ethnicity and use of the other two variants. All of the subjects are black and the overwhelming majority (except two subjects) does not use the variant FACE1. This supports the argument that FACE1 is in fact not a possible variant of the ethnolect "BSAE" but a subvariant of lect 1, which resembles the English of L1 speakers and/or white speakers. As a matter of fact, only one of the speakers who use FACE3 is an attested L1 English speaker (speaker 4.15). Out of all of the tokens recorded from this speaker, she uses the

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Index of phonetic variants: PRICE1 = [aː]; PRICE2 = [ɑ(ː)]; PRICE3; [aɪ ~ əɪ]; MOUTH1 = [ɑ(ː)]; MOUTH2 = [aʊ]; FACE1 = [aɪ]; FACE2 = [eɪ]; FACE3 = [ɛ]; GOOSE1 = [ʉ]; GOOSE2 = [u(ː)]; STRUT1 = [ʌ]; STRUT2 = [a]; KIT1 = [ɘ; ə]; KIT2 = [ɘ; ɪ]; KIT3 = [ɪ; i]; GOAT1 = [əʊ]; GOAT2 = [oʊ]; GOAT3 = [ɔ; o]; NURSE1 = [ɵ]; NURSE2 = [ɜˑ]; NURSE3 = [ɛ]; NURSE4 = [ə]

FACE3 variant only 7% of the time, while her dominant variant is FACE2, constituting the remaining 93% of the tokens.

The overall frequency of FACE3 is lower than that of GOAT3, starting at a maximum of 86% of use by an individual speaker, yet it has a rather even distribution. Again, all of the speakers who use FACE3 will use FACE2, but only two use FACE1, and that only 10% of the time or less.

The next L1 interference variant to be addressed is the KIT3 variant, which is distinguished from the more centralised variants by its tense high front vowel [i]. Of the three L1 interference variants, this variant occurs the least of all variants in the study, with a total of 3% in lect 2. A table of the speakers is given below.

Table 46. Demography of speakers that use KIT3 including frequency of use of the KIT variants

Speaker	Obs	Gen	Ed	Eth	KIT1	KIT2	KIT3
4.16	71	M	3	B	0	11	89
4.19	74	F	2	B	0	18	82
4.17	72	M	3	B	0	18	82
2.4	21	M	3	B	0	18	82
2.14	31	M	2	B	0	20	80
4.9	64	M	3	B	0	25	75
4.14	69	M	3	B	0	27	73
4.13	68	M	3	B	0	29	71
4.12	67	M	2	B	0	31	69
1.14	13	M	3	B	0	33	67
2.2	19	M	3	B	0	55	45
2.3	20	M	3	B	0	56	44
1.3	3	M	1	B	27	33	40
2.17	34	F	2	B	0	62	38
3.8	43	F	3	B	0	70	30
4.20	75	M	2	B	0	70	30
4.18	73	M	2	B	0	71	29
2.16	33	F	2	B	17	58	25
2.15	32	M	2	B	23	54	23
2.5	22	M	2	B	0	88	12
1.13	12	F	2	B	15	77	8

The use of KIT3 shows a fairly significant difference between male and female speakers. Sixteen of the 21 subjects who use KIT3 are male and 5 are female. The correlation between KIT3 and educational background is almost identical to

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Index of phonetic variants: PRICE1 = [aː]; PRICE2 = [ɑ(ː)]; PRICE3; [aɪ ~ əɪ]; MOUTH1 = [ɑ(ː)]; MOUTH2 = [aʊ]; FACE1 = [aɪ]; FACE2 = [eɪ]; FACE3 = [ɛ]; GOOSE1 = [ʉ]; GOOSE2 = [u(ː)]; STRUT1 = [ʌ]; STRUT2 = [a]; KIT1 = [ɘ; ə]; KIT2 = [ɘ; ɪ]; KIT3 = [ɪ; i]; GOAT1 = [əʊ]; GOAT2 = [oʊ]; GOAT3 = [ɔ; o]; NURSE1 = [ɵ]; NURSE2 = [ɘˑ]; NURSE3 = [ɛ]; NURSE4 = [ə]

that found with the previous variants. There are equal numbers of subjects from educational backgrounds 2 and 3, but only a single speaker (male) from educational background 1. Again, there is a correlation between the second and third variants, and avoidance of the first, which is found in lect 1. All of the speakers who use FACE3 use FACE2, but only four of the 21 speakers use all three variants; one of them is the subject from educational background 1, the other three are from educational background 2.

8.1.3.2 The lect 1 variant

Lect 1 shows less variation than does lect 2. There are some variants that occur in lect 2 that are completely absent in this lect, however, there is one variant used only in lect 1 which is absent in lect 2. The variant PRICE1 is a fronted monophthong, documented in the literature as belonging to both BSAE and ESSA English. But in terms of ethnolects, it is more likely a variant of ESSA English, as most of the speakers in lect 1 are white and L1 speakers of English.

The Lect 1 variant

Table 47. Demography of speakers that use PRICE1 including frequency of use of the PRICE variants

Speaker	Obs	Lect	Gen	Ed	Eth	PRICE1	PRICE2	PRICE3
1.17	16	1	F	1	W	70	15	15
1.18	17	1	F	2	W	69	31	0
3.10	45	1	F	2	W	67	33	0
3.7	42	1	F	1	W	50	50	0
4.11	66	1	F	1	B	44	50	6
1.7	8	1	F	2	W	43	57	0
3.4	39	1	F	1	W	33	67	0
3.19	54	1	M	2	W	15	54	31
2.11	28	1	F	2	W	13	87	0
2.9	26	1	F	2	W	9	36	55
1.11	10	1	F	2	W	6	89	5

The usage of PRICE1 overall is not as high a usage of the L1 interference variants as the highest percentage is 70% used by speaker 1.17. All of the

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Index of phonetic variants: PRICE1 = [aː]; PRICE2 = [ɑ(ː)]; PRICE3; [aɪ ~ əɪ]; MOUTH1 = [ɑ(ː)]; MOUTH2 = [aʊ]; FACE1 = [aɪ]; FACE2 = [eɪ]; FACE3 = [ɛ]; GOOSE1 = [ʉ]; GOOSE2 = [u(ː)]; STRUT1 = [ʌ]; STRUT2 = [a]; KIT1 = [ɘ; ə]; KIT2 = [ɘ; ɪ]; KIT3 = [ɪ; i]; GOAT1 = [əʊ]; GOAT2 = [oʊ]; GOAT3 = [ɔ; o]; NURSE1 = [ɵ]; NURSE2 = [ɜˑ]; NURSE3 = [ɛ]; NURSE4 = [ə]

subjects that have given tokens of PRICE1 have occurrences of PRICE2. There is a significant bias towards usage by females (all of the subjects are female except speaker 3.19). There is not much significance in terms of educational background – four speakers are from educational background 1 and seven are from educational background 2. One of the two black speakers in lect 1 used the variant 44% of the time.

8.1.3.3 "New" variants

The next set of variants that will be investigated in more detail are the variants that have not been mentioned in the literature previous to this study. These variants include: NURSE2 (the rhotic vowel), NURSE4 (the schwa), and the diphthong of GOAT2.

NURSE2 is of considerable interest because it is a variant that has not been associated with dialects of South African English. NURSE1 was the variant most closely compatible with that of the ethnolect ESSA English and NURSE3, the lax front monophthong, with BSAE. NURSE2 is a rhotic vowel found in the dialects of North American and Irish English (Wells 1982).

Index of phonetic variants: PRICE1 = [aː]; PRICE2 = [ɑ(ː)]; PRICE3; [aɪ ~ əɪ]; MOUTH1 = [ɑ(ː)]; MOUTH2 = [aʊ]; FACE1 = [aɪ]; FACE2 = [eɪ]; FACE3 = [ɛ]; GOOSE1 = [ʉ]; GOOSE2 = [u(ː)]; STRUT1 = [ʌ]; STRUT2 = [a]; KIT1 = [ɘ; ə]; KIT2 = [ɘ; ɪ]; KIT3 = [ɪ; i]; GOAT1 = [əʊ]; GOAT2 = [oʊ]; GOAT3 = [ɔ; o]; NURSE1 = [ɵ]; NURSE2 = [ɘˑ]; NURSE3 = [ɛ]; NURSE4 = [ə]

Table 48. Demography of speakers that use NURSE2 including frequency of use of the NURSE variants

Speaker	Obs	Lect	Gen	Ed	Eth	NURSE1	NURSE2	NURSE3	NURSE4
4.5	60	2	F	1	B	0	100	0	0
4.15	70	2	F	2	B	0	94	6	0
1.11	12	2	F	2	B	7	93	0	0
1.2	2	2	F	2	B	0	87.5	12.5	0
1.3	3	2	M	3	B	0	87.5	12.5	0
3.17	52	2	F	2	B	17	83	0	0
3.16	51	2	M	2	W	30	70	0	0
2.6	23	2	F	2	B	33	67	0	0
2.1	19	2	M	3	B	0	64	36	0
2.5	22	2	M	2	B	0	60	40	0
3.12	47	1	M	2	W	67	36	0	0
3.1	36	2	F	1	B	67	33	0	0
4.6	61	2	F	2	B	40	30	0	30
1.1	1	2	M	3	B	0	28	71	0
2.3	20	2	M	3	B	0	20	80	0
3.11	46	1	F	2	W	85	15	0	0
1.8	9	1	F	2	W	91	9	0	0
1.13	14	1	F	2	W	94	6	0	0

In terms of educational background, the majority of speakers are from educational background 2, totalling 12 of the 18 subjects. The gender ratio does not show any major discrepancy, although there are slightly more females (11) than males (7) who use the rhoticised vowel. As far as ethnicity is concerned, there is a stronger representation of black students (13) than of white students (5). The distribution of use varies greatly among the subjects – there are some that use NURSE2 all of the time or almost all of the time, and there are those subjects who use it only 6% of the time. There does not seem to be any correlation between the use of NURSE2 and the other variants; however subjects seem to use NURSE2 in conjunction with only *one* other variant, i.e., a subject uses NURSE2 and only in addition to NURSE1, or NURSE2 only in addition to NURSE3, but not all three. The exceptions to this are speakers 4.5 and 4.6. Speaker 4.5 uses NURSE2 consistently throughout, and speaker 4.6 uses NURSE1, NURSE2 and NURSE4 as well. Also, note that the speaker who uses three variants is the only speaker who uses NURSE4 as an additional variant to NURSE2.

Index of phonetic variants: PRICE1 = [aː]; PRICE2 = [ɑ(ː)]; PRICE3; [aɪ ~ əɪ]; MOUTH1 = [ɑ(ː)]; MOUTH2 = [aʊ]; FACE1 = [aɪ]; FACE2 = [eɪ]; FACE3 = [ɛ]; GOOSE1 = [ʉ]; GOOSE2 = [u(ː)]; STRUT1 = [ʌ]; STRUT2 = [a]; KIT1 = [ɘ; ə]; KIT2 = [ɘ; ɪ]; KIT3 = [ɪ; i]; GOAT1 = [əʊ]; GOAT2 = [oʊ]; GOAT3 = [ɔ; o]; NURSE1 = [ɵ]; NURSE2 = [ɜˑ]; NURSE3 = [ɛ]; NURSE4 = [ə]

The distribution of variants of speakers who use NURSE4 is quite interesting in comparison to the other variants discussed thus far (see table 49 below). It appears that subjects who use NURSE4 allow for covariance. Speaker 4.6, mentioned earlier in the analysis of NURSE2, is the only subject who uses other variants with significant frequency. One other subject, 2.18, demonstrates 8% occurrence of NURSE1 in addition to NURSE4 tokens. All of the speakers are from educational background 2 and only one subject from lect 1. The subjects are all black and female, with the exception of speaker 2.7, who is a white male.

Table 49. Demography of speakers that use NURSE4 including frequency of use of the NURSE variants

Speaker	Obs	Lect	Gen	Ed	Eth	NURSE1	NURSE2	NURSE3	NURSE4
2.7	24	2	M	2	W	0	0	0	100
2.16	33	2	F	2	B	0	0	0	100
4.10	65	1	F	2	B	0	0	0	100
3.6	41	2	F	2	B	0	0	0	100
2.18	35	2	F	2	B	8	0	0	92
4.6	61	2	F	2	B	40	30	0	30

GOAT2 is the last of the new variables that will be investigated. It is interesting that this variant has never been noticed in previous literature, considering it is used by more than half, i.e., 42 of 76 subjects in the entire sample population. More females than males use the variant – the ratio is 24 to 18, respectively. The number of black students who use it is significantly different from the number of white students who do so as there are over three times as many black students who use the variant than white ones. Educational background 2 is the strongest representative of the group, and as predicted, this variant occurs more in lect 2 than lect 1.

Index of phonetic variants: PRICE1 = [aː]; PRICE2 = [ɑ(ː)]; PRICE3; [aɪ ~ əɪ]; MOUTH1 = [ɑ(ː)]; MOUTH2 = [aʊ]; FACE1 = [aɪ]; FACE2 = [eɪ]; FACE3 = [ɛ]; GOOSE1 = [ʉ]; GOOSE2 = [u(ː)]; STRUT1 = [ʌ]; STRUT2 = [a]; KIT1 = [ɘ; ə]; KIT2 = [ɘ; ɪ]; KIT3 = [ɪ; i]; GOAT1 = [əʊ]; GOAT2 = [oʊ]; GOAT3 = [ɔ; o]; NURSE1 = [ɵ]; NURSE2 = [ɘˑ]; NURSE3 = [ɛ]; NURSE4 = [ə]

Table 50. Demography of speakers that use GOAT2 including frequency of use of the GOAT variants

Speaker	Obs	Lect	Gen	Ed	Eth	GOAT1	GOAT2	GOAT3
2.6	23	2	F	2	B	0	100	0
2.18	35	2	F	2	B	0	100	0
3.16	51	2	M	2	W	0	100	0
4.15	70	2	F	2	B	0	100	0
4.11	66	1	F	1	B	8	92	0
4.6	61	2	F	2	B	8	92	0
4.10	65	2	F	2	B	10	90	0
3.6	41	2	F	2	B	11	89	0
4.18	73	2	M	2	B	0	78	22
2.17	34	2	F	2	B	0	78	22
4.4	59	2	M	2	W	25	75	0
2.2	19	2	M	3	B	0	73	27
2.16	33	2	F	2	B	0	71	29
1.1	1	2	M	3	B	0	69	30
1.2	2	2	F	2	B	29	64	7
3.17	52	2	F	2	B	38	62	0
4.9	64	2	F	2	B	0	60	40
2.3	20	2	M	3	B	0	58	42
2.4	21	2	M	3	B	0	55	45
1.14	13	2	M	3	B	0	53	47
3.18	53	2	F	1	B	35	50	15
2.14	31	2	M	2	B	0	44	56
3.1	36	2	F	1	B	56	44	0
2.15	32	2	M	2	B	0	33	67
1.9	8	1	F	2	W	71	29	0
3.8	43	2	F	3	B	0	27	73
4.17	72	2	M	3	B	0	27	73
4.12	67	2	M	2	B	0	22	78
1.13	12	2	F	2	B	82	18	0
2.5	22	2	F	2	B	0	18	82
4.5	60	2	F	1	B	82	18	0
1.5	4	1	M	2	B	85	15	0
4.13	68	2	M	3	B	0	15	85
2.13	30	1	F	2	W	86	14	0
4.14	69	2	M	3	B	0	10	90
2.1	18	1	M	2	W	90	10	0
1.6	5	1	M	2	W	91	9	0
1.10	9	1	F	2	W	92	8	0
1.11	10	1	F	2	W	92	8	0
4.7	62	1	M	2	W	92	7	0
1.16	15	1	F	1	W	94	6	0

Index of phonetic variants: PRICE1 = [aː]; PRICE2 = [ɑ(ː)]; PRICE3; [aɪ ~ əɪ]; MOUTH1 = [ɑ(ː)]; MOUTH2 = [aʊ]; FACE1 = [aɪ]; FACE2 = [eɪ]; FACE3 = [ɛ]; GOOSE1 = [ʉ]; GOOSE2 = [u(ː)]; STRUT1 = [ʌ]; STRUT2 = [a]; KIT1 = [ɘ; ə]; KIT2 = [ɘ; ɪ]; KIT3 = [ɪ; i]; GOAT1 = [əʊ]; GOAT2 = [oʊ]; GOAT3 = [ɔ; o]; NURSE1 = [ɵ]; NURSE2 = [ɘˑ]; NURSE3 = [ɛ]; NURSE4 = [ə]

In terms of variant usage and correlation with the other GOAT variants, there does not seem to be any strong correlation of the occurrence of GOAT2 and a particular second variant. It is clear, however, that a speaker who uses GOAT1 will avoid using GOAT3, and vice versa. The ratio of males to females is about even, with slightly more females (23) than males (18). Most of the subjects who use GOAT2 are from educational background 2 and about three quarters are black.

The new variants occur primarily in lect 2 and are used mostly by black speakers. They are often used in conjunction with another variant. The most frequent is GOAT2, which has been found to be used by more than half of the entire sample of subjects.

8.1.4 Conclusion

The aim of the first subsection is to focus on the results of the linguistic variables in terms of what they may mean socially to speakers of South African English on the basis of the social demography of the lects, followed by a comparison of the distribution of the linguistic variables with the distributions previously described in the literature. The comparison was made in order to test the claims made in the literature regarding what the ethnic dialects are and what variants of variables constitute them.

It was shown that lect 1, in terms of choice of variants, is more limited than lect 2, and that the variants with strong or fairly strong representation corresponded to most of those given in the literature for ESSA English. This seems to be fairly accurate as the dialect regarded as ESSA English represents the variety spoken by South Africans whose L1 is English, and almost all of the speakers in lect 1 have attested English as their L1. ESSA English has also been denoted as an ethnolect, specifically that of white speakers of South African English. The demography of lect 1 in this study correlates with that claim, as the majority of white speakers, with the exception of three white subjects in lect 2, are found in lect 1. In terms of variants that have little or no representation in the

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Index of phonetic variants: PRICE1 = [aː]; PRICE2 = [ɑ(ː)]; PRICE3; [aɪ ~ əɪ]; MOUTH1 = [ɑ(ː)]; MOUTH2 = [aʊ]; FACE1 = [aɪ]; FACE2 = [eɪ]; FACE3 = [ɛ]; GOOSE1 = [ʉ]; GOOSE2 = [u(ː)]; STRUT1 = [ʌ]; STRUT2 = [a]; KIT1 = [ɘ; ə]; KIT2 = [ɘ; ɪ]; KIT3 = [ɪ; i]; GOAT1 = [əʊ]; GOAT2 = [oʊ]; GOAT3 = [ɔ; o]; NURSE1 = [ɵ]; NURSE2 = [ɘˑ]; NURSE3 = [ɛ]; NURSE4 = [ə]

lect (particularly FACE3, GOAT3, KIT3, STRUT2, and NURSE3) there is a strong correlation between those variants that have phonetic similarity with those in the BSAE literature. In other words, those variables are either avoided by speakers if inherent variation is truly present, or those variants are not accessible to the speaker for other reasons, for example they truly may be the result of L1 interference of a language other than English. The combination of variants in lect 1 socially marks a speaker with one or more of the following characteristics: ethnicity (whiteness), educational background (either 1 or 2), and having English as an L1.

The variant usage of lect 2 was shown to have more variation overall in terms of all of the variables and contained the new variants. When the variables were compared to the ethnolects from the literature, there was not as clear a correlation of lect 2 variants with either ESSA English or BSAE. Variants with strong representation in lect 2 showed closer proximity to BSAE, yet variants with fairly strong representation were mixed between both BSAE and ESSA English. As far as variants that have little or no representation in lect 2 are concerned, there is no clear tendency towards either of the ethnolects. As mentioned, lect 2 also has occurrences of new variants that have not previously been noted, which may shed light on the weaker correlation to the ethnolects than lect 1 to ESSA English. There are other possible explanations for the higher amount of variation in lect 2. One reason that may account for this is that in earlier literature, the variants of ESSA English, i.e., English spoken by whites, were studied in much greater detail, thus creating more accurate or thorough documentation of different variants than for BSAE (for discussion of the literature on BSAE, see §5.2.1.1).

In addition to this, and more importantly, I suggest the English varieties spoken by black South Africans are in fact undergoing a major shift among students educated in the post-apartheid era. The forms of language contact with L1 English-speaking students as well as overall access to English have changed greatly in this respect. Lect 2 speakers who have a high degree of fluency in English appear to associate some L1 interference variants as stigmatised (such as

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Index of phonetic variants: PRICE1 = [aː]; PRICE2 = [ɑ(ː)]; PRICE3; [aɪ ~ əɪ]; MOUTH1 = [ɑ(ː)]; MOUTH2 = [aʊ]; FACE1 = [aɪ]; FACE2 = [eɪ]; FACE3 = [ɛ]; GOOSE1 = [ʉ]; GOOSE2 = [u(ː)]; STRUT1 = [ʌ]; STRUT2 = [a]; KIT1 = [ɘ; ə]; KIT2 = [ɘ; ɪ]; KIT3 = [ɪ; i]; GOAT1 = [əʊ]; GOAT2 = [oʊ]; GOAT3 = [ɔ; o]; NURSE1 = [ɵ]; NURSE2 = [ɜˑ]; NURSE3 = [ɛ]; NURSE4 = [ə]

FACE3, GOAT3 and KIT3), possibly associated with a lower quality of education, and they either adopt a variant that is present in lect 1 or create a new variant to disassociate themselves from using the stigmatised feature. A plausible explanation, which requires further investigation, could be that they avoid the lect 1 feature, as it is prominent in lect 1 and the majority of speakers in lect 1 are white, therefore, it may have social marking for the ethnicity "white".

The distribution of the variants in both lects will be explained by three processes: 1. adoption – using a variant identical to one used in the other lect; 2. adapting/hybridisation – creating a new variant by blending features of both lects 1 and 2; and 3. avoidance – keeping a variant that may be stigmatised because features of another option may be too (socially) marked.

Examples of lect 2 features that were adopted from lect 1 are FACE2, KIT2, STRUT1 and GOOSE1. FACE2 is a diphthong, as opposed to the L1 interference-marked monophthong in FACE3. FACE2 is prevalent in lect 1, accounting for almost half of all of the occurrences. FACE3, although documented in the literature as a characteristic feature of BSAE, occurs only 24% of the time in lect 2, and is outweighed by FACE2 which represents 71% of all tokens. Perhaps this shows some kind movement from the monophthong to the diphthong among L2 speakers of English as speakers reach more fluent levels.

A similar situation arises for the KIT variants. KIT3 is very marked for L1 interference by the tense high vowel [i], whereas the L1 variants are more central. This variant, which is completely absent in lect 1, has very little representation in lect 2 (3% of all occurrences), with the major option being the "middle" variant, KIT2, between the high front vowel in KIT3 [i] and the central variant [ə] of KIT3 found in lect 1. It was also noted that all of the subjects who used KIT3 did not do so consistently, there was some variation with KIT2. The infrequency of the high front vowel is unexpected as sources such as Adendorff & Savini-Beck (1993), Lanham (1966: 13) and Brink & Botha (1999) claim [i] is one of the featured variants of BSAE.

Index of phonetic variants: PRICE1 = [aː]; PRICE2 = [ɑ(ː)]; PRICE3; [aɪ ~ əɪ]; MOUTH1 = [ɑ(ː)]; MOUTH2 = [aʊ]; FACE1 = [aɪ]; FACE2 = [eɪ]; FACE3 = [ɛ]; GOOSE1 = [ʉ]; GOOSE2 = [u(ː)]; STRUT1 = [ʌ]; STRUT2 = [a]; KIT1 = [ɘ; ə]; KIT2 = [ɘ; ɪ]; KIT3 = [ɪ; i]; GOAT1 = [əʊ]; GOAT2 = [oʊ]; GOAT3 = [ɔ; o]; NURSE1 = [ɵ]; NURSE2 = [ɘˑ]; NURSE3 = [ɛ]; NURSE4 = [ə]

The variants of STRUT are also distributed on the basis of stigmatisation of L1 interference characteristics, as the open vowel in STRUT2 is associated with speakers who do not have the English vowel [ʌ] in their phonological inventory. This is supported by the fact that no speakers in lect 1 opt for the STRUT2 variant [a]. More than half of the occurrences of STRUT in lect 2 are STRUT1. It was shown that there was a high amount of covariation between STRUT1 and STRUT2 among lect 2 speakers. Again, as explained previously in the case of KIT3, this variant may be on its "way out", due to the fact that STRUT1 has been shown to occur more frequently overall already. The decrease of the use of STRUT2 may simply be in an earlier stage of progress in lect 2 than KIT3.

GOOSE1 has moved into lect 2 (at 22% of the total amount of utterances), yet the fronted vowel of GOOSE1 may still create a socially strong distinction of "whiteness" as 97% of GOOSE tokens in lect 1 are the more front variant. A possible explanation for this phenomenon could be that this strong association with ethnicity overrides the adoption of this feature because of heavy social marking, thus placing it in a slower stage of adoption.

New variants that have not been mentioned in the literature are either a result of fudging, hybridisation or possible outside influence. The variant GOAT2 is an interesting example of this. The lect 1 variant is a diphthong beginning with a schwa [əʊ] (or some central target as in [əʊ]). The lect 2 variant (absent in lect 1), GOAT3, is a monophthong [ɔ(ː); o(ː)], which is generally suspected of being due to L1 interference (see §5.2.1.2.2). As mentioned earlier, the L1 interference variants of BSAE are monophthongised, retaining the first vowel of the pair. The first vowel, central [ə], is not available in the L1 inventory and the target is focused on the roundedness of the second vowel [ʊ]. It is a situation where both variants, GOAT1 and GOAT3, are heavily socially marked, and speakers have managed to fudge the two variants together, creating some sort of middle ground. It is speculated that this yields the hybrid variant [oʊ], containing the vowel of the stigmatised variant, but still retaining the diphthong form. This new variant

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occurred (albeit very infrequently compared to GOAT1) at 5% in lect 1 and thus may not seem as stigmatised as the L1 interference variant of GOAT3 in terms of ESSA English.

Another possiblilty for the existence of this variable is outside influence, which will be discussed later on in this section regarding the rhotic vowel of NURSE2. Exposure to and influence of the media, particularly North American media, may have provided a model for this variant as it is the standard vowel for GOAT in the United States and Canada. In his study, Hartmann (in progress) claims American cultural influence does have an effect on the speech of black South Africans, although his results are inconclusive as of yet.

The situation with MOUTH is interesting because in the case of the majority of L1 speakers, the monophthong [ɑ(ː)] is preferred to the diphthong [aʊ]. According to the literature (see §5.1.2.3), white South Africans tend to use the diphthong less consistently except for Lanham's accounts of Extreme South African English. In Extreme South African English, a very front open vowel is indicated in a diphthong, similar to that of varieties in Australian English ([æʊ]). Nevertheless, this variant is or has been socially stigmatised. The BSAE varieties have not been documented as ever having a diphthong, but rather a two-vowel sequence [awu] (Hundleby 1964, Lanham 1966, Gough 1996: 59, de Klerk & Gough 2002: 360) or a monophthong [a ~ ɑ] (Van Rooy & Van Huyssteen 2000). Interestingly, lect 2 predominantly shows use of a diphthong [aʊ]. Where does this variant come from? Any explanation for the emergence of new variants in any investigation of a language or dialect is usually dubious. It would be unlikely that speakers with high L1 interference, e.g., parents or grandparents who do not use English often, would opt for diphthongs if they are not present in the phonological inventory of their L1. One might propose language contact with a foreign variety, such as American English (Hartmann, in progress). Considering that out of a population of approximately 44.8 million people there are only approximately 9,100 North Americans residing in South Africa (Statistics South Africa 2003: 20), language contact and influence by North

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Americans in South Africa does not seem to be a likely explanation. A bold suggestion would be to claim that the influence of outside North American sources, such as the media, American movies or music, has given rise to the appearance of this variant in South Africa. This would be the first time in history that a factor in phonological language change would be language contact that does *not* entail the physical presence of speakers of that language in the speech community affected.

A similar example is the PRICE3 variant ([aɪ ~ əɪ]). PRICE3 is a diphthong that varies according to phonological environment, i.e., [əɪ] appears before voiceless consonants and [aɪ] elsewhere in lect 2. Again, the one variant, [aɪ], has been mentioned by Lanham as being characteristic of Extreme South African English, but according to him, it does not occur in ESSA ("Respectable") English or BSAE. Moreover, the variant represents 93% of all tokens in lect 2, clearly an overwhelming majority. Is it a coincidence that this is also a variant used in many dialects of American English? Yet again, it is difficult to determine from where speakers have adopted this variant. It should be noted that this diphthong makes up almost a third of all tokens in lect 1 as well. The strong occurrence of this variant in both lects of South African English warrants thorough investigation and extensive further research.

The final two variants that have unexpectedly appeared in this study are the rhotic vowel of NURSE2 and the schwa of NURSE4. NURSE2 would seem extremely marked, as L1 South African English has been documented as non-rhotic. The /r/ accompanying the vowel is not a trill or flap but an approximant as in varieties of North American and Irish English (Wells 1982). NURSE2, with the exception of speaker 4.5, is used in conjunction with either NURSE1, the ESSA English variant, or NURSE3, the L1 interference variant. It accounts for 25% of the tokens in lect 2. How can the occurrence of such a foreign feature pervade a non-rhotic dialect? Upon investigating the language backgrounds of each subject individually, it emerged that none of the speakers have lived in or attended schools in North America or Ireland, nor do they have relatives there

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with whom they keep regular contact. Unfortunately, the provenance of this variant is still difficult to explain. Given that the L1 interference variant [ɛ] is highly stigmatised and that NURSE1 is strongly marked as "white", a distinctly non-South African option may suggest itself as an alternative. The rhotic accent is a prominent diagnostic feature of American English and may be deemed as prestigious in the youth culture, as it has an extremely strong presence in South African advertising, television, music and other media. Hartmann (in progress) conducted a pilot study on nine black female students attending the University of the Witwatersrand in which the results showed that 66% of subjects used the rhotic token more than a third of the time, and 23% used the token more than half the time.[78] In his interviews, he found that the speakers with high rhoticity enjoyed listening to Hip-Hop and R&B music. Two thirds of subjects spoke exclusively English amongst peers and when asked directly, they claimed that the most exciting country in the world was the USA. He hypothesises that the reason for the adoption of such a marked variant is driven by two factors: first, the United States is a country where there are well-known and very successful black individuals and second, black South Africans "do not want to sound like the underclass they were, nor adopt the sound of their former oppressors" (Hartmann, in progress).[79]

Another influence as mentioned briefly by Bailey (1984: 21) could be attributed to spelling pronunciation, although he does not provide evidence or context for this. This seems unlikely as the rhotic /r/ does not exist in the African languages. One would expect a trilled or flapped /r/ as has been attested for Afrikaans English (Lanham 1978, Lanham & Macdonald 1979, Watermeyer 1996).

The schwa of NURSE4 displays an unusual distribution, as a speaker that uses NURSE4 avoids using any other variant in conjunction with it. The six speakers who use NURSE4 were investigated in more detail in terms of their

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[78] The results and claims of this pilot study are dubious as it is based on brief interviews with a small number of subjects.

[79] Mesthrie (p.c.) mentions that this may be true of some of the variables, but not the majority of sounds which are invariant.

Index of phonetic variants: PRICE1 = [aː]; PRICE2 = [ɑ(ː)]; PRICE3; [aɪ ~ əɪ]; MOUTH1 = [ɑ(ː)]; MOUTH2 = [aʊ]; FACE1 = [aɪ]; FACE2 = [eɪ]; FACE3 = [ɛ]; GOOSE1 = [ʉ]; GOOSE2 = [u(ː)]; STRUT1 = [ʌ]; STRUT2 = [a]; KIT1 = [ɘ; ə]; KIT2 = [ɘ; ɪ]; KIT3 = [ɪ; i]; GOAT1 = [əʊ]; GOAT2 = [oʊ]; GOAT3 = [ɔ; o]; NURSE1 = [ɵ]; NURSE2 = [ɘˑ]; NURSE3 = [ɛ]; NURSE4 = [ə]

language backgrounds in order to determine possible influences for the occurrence of this variant. All six speakers had unusual instances of language contact, with either German, Afrikaans or SAIE. The only white (and male) speaker, 2.7, who has a scoring of 100%, is a bilingual German/English speaker who attended a Deutsche Schule. Other aspects of his accent in South African English revealed the influence of German as an L1, such as final devoicing and the substitution of [dʒ] with [tʃ]. Speaker 3.6, an L1 Zulu speaker, claimed to have a very strong command of German (naming it as her first L2), had worked as an au pair for a German family and is taking German literature as a major of the subject. She also attended high school in Lenasia, an area that has a high number of Indian inhabitants, which may have had an influence on the variety of English she was exposed to during her schooling, namely SAIE. Speaker 4.10 speaks only English and Afrikaans and grew up in Lenasia, attending the high school there as well. Speaker 2.16, a black female, has attested that her L1 is English and from the analysis of her domains of language use, she is a true English monolingual. The situation is similar with speaker 4.6, from Durban, who is an attested L1 Zulu speaker but uses English with her nuclear family in Durban and claimed strict use of English in her high school. The final subject who used NURSE4 is an L1 speaker of Zulu who grew up in extensive contact with Afrikaans and attended an Afrikaans-stream high school, claiming that her fluency in Afrikaans is as strong if not stronger than her fluency in English. None of the other white subjects claim bilingualism in German or have attended a Deutsche Schule. However, German may not necessarily contribute to the use of NURSE4, as one other black female speaker, 3.1, attended a Deutsche Schule in Durban, yet had 0 occurrences of NURSE4.

In sum, several reasons can be given for the variance of lect 2. Speakers that use highly stigmatised L1 interference variants in lect 2 will very rarely use these variants alone: they will be used in conjunction with another variant, either identical to that of lect 1, or, if there is a choice, a new variant that has been created. This new variant will be either a hybrid or a product of fudging; containing both features from the lect 1 and lect 2 variants, or it will come from

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Index of phonetic variants: PRICE1 = [aː]; PRICE2 = [ɑ(ː)]; PRICE3; [aɪ ~ əɪ]; MOUTH1 = [ɑ(ː)]; MOUTH2 = [aʊ]; FACE1 = [aɪ]; FACE2 = [eɪ]; FACE3 = [ɛ]; GOOSE1 = [ʉ]; GOOSE2 = [u(ː)]; STRUT1 = [ʌ]; STRUT2 = [a]; KIT1 = [ɘ; ə]; KIT2 = [ɘ; ɪ]; KIT3 = [ɪ; i]; GOAT1 = [əʊ]; GOAT2 = [oʊ]; GOAT3 = [ɔ; o]; NURSE1 = [ɵ]; NURSE2 = [ɘˑ]; NURSE3 = [ɛ]; NURSE4 = [ə]

an entirely different source. It has been concluded that the sources of these entirely new variants cannot be determined in the scope of this study. Lect 1 has fewer choices of variants because it excludes the L1 interference variants in lect 2. However, speakers of lect 1 may use a lect 1 variant in conjunction with one of the new variants. These new or hybrid variants can be seen as kinds of "crossover" variants, which are not as rigid or socially marked. Thus, there may be a possible trend or shift for both lects towards a common ground regarding the hybrid variants. It also seems plausible, on the basis of these results, that the L1 interference variants of lect 2 may diminish if fluency in English increases over time, and that a lect 2 speaker will rather opt for the hybrid variant than the strict lect 1 variant as that may seem too socially marked for ethnicity.

Index of phonetic variants: PRICE1 = [aː]; PRICE2 = [ɑ(ː)]; PRICE3; [aɪ ~ əɪ]; MOUTH1 = [ɑ(ː)]; MOUTH2 = [aʊ]; FACE1 = [aɪ]; FACE2 = [eɪ]; FACE3 = [ɛ]; GOOSE1 = [ʉ]; GOOSE2 = [u(ː)]; STRUT1 = [ʌ]; STRUT2 = [a]; KIT1 = [ɘ; ə]; KIT2 = [ɘ; ɪ]; KIT3 = [ɪ; i]; GOAT1 = [əʊ]; GOAT2 = [oʊ]; GOAT3 = [ɔ; o]; NURSE1 = [ɵ]; NURSE2 = [ɘˑ]; NURSE3 = [ɛ]; NURSE4 = [ə]

8.2 Discussion of codeswitching

The table of language use and domains of black speakers in the results chapter (Table 25) revealed that in the three main domains – home, school and university – the use of an African language was most prevalent in the familial or home domain, followed by school, where there was a pattern of preference for English, and finally university, which showed a strong partiality for English spoken on campus with friends. The prevalence of English in general also correlated with the educational background of the subject, i.e., subjects with less exposure to English in the classroom used less English in other domains than students who only spoke English in school. Studies on domain analysis and language choice (Blom & Gumperz 1972, Greenfield 1972, Laosa 1975, Gal 1979, Parasher 1980, Myers-Scotton 1993a) have shown that the minority or indigenous language is preferred in the familial domain or less formal domains. The concept of domain is due to Ferguson (1959), who originally studied communities that used two forms of language, where one form, the "H" (high) form, was reserved for more socially formal domains, while an "L" (low) form was used for other situations such as everyday interaction. This distribution becomes more complex in terms of codeswitching where an individual may switch or choose a language or dialect based on the topic, i.e., speaking about official or unofficial matters, as in the case of dialects of Norwegian in the study by Blom & Gumperz (1972) or stylistic motivations, as in some cases of conversational codeswitching and code-mixing. The study conducted in this survey cannot provide such evidence or explanation of situational or conversational codeswitching as this would require much more detailed observation of each speaker's linguistic behaviour, which could only be accomplished through a more comprehensive technique such as participant observation. The subjects of this study were asked when they speak a language in a particular domain, in other words, this data was documented on the basis of subjective assessment of the speaker.

This data does, however, reveal some important information about language choices made by these particular subjects. In conjunction with notable and relevant comments made by speakers when discussing language choice, some speculations can be

made to deduce the motivation for language choice made by a speaker in a specific social setting. One aspect is not only the social motivation but also the psychological motivations of speakers that arise when in a social setting. Herman (1968) explains that there are several overlapping psychological situations a speaker will find him or herself in at a given time where there is language choice – one is based on personal needs of the speaker and the others are linked to that speaker's identification with social groups. An L1 speaker of an African language is compelled by the personal need to speak his or her L1 but at the same time must negotiate this decision with the immediate situation, i.e., with the interlocutors he or she is speaking to at that moment. Herman also explains the motivation of a "background" group, another group that is not present but with whom the speaker either wants or does not want to identify. In addition to this, other motivations may be purely functional, such as using a language which is associated with a specific act irrespective of social implications using the language might have, or interlocutor-specific situations, where a speaker uses a language associated with a particular interlocutor.

8.3 Discussion of attitudes

In order to understand the possible motivations of the speakers of this study, some of the comments made by speakers during the interviews will be discussed. It has become clear that in a South African context, language and identity are strongly bound together. The nine official southern Bantu languages spoken in South Africa are often still referred to as "black languages" as opposed to English and Afrikaans. Thus, an L1 speaker of an African language in South Africa knows that choosing an African language in any given social situation will make a clear and strong statement about ethnic identity. What are the associations tied to English in comparison to the African languages? English is taking over the context of formal or professional situations (the High domains) and the African languages are used in less formal contexts, or in everyday interactions and exchanges, i.e., the Low domains. This dichotomy is clear when one considers the last subdomain, 3.2, the neighbourhood off campus from the university. Although all of the subjects have increased their use of English over time when comparing the home domain to the school domain and finally to the university, there is a clear drop in the use of English from when

the subject is on campus to when he or she is off-campus. English is the MOI at the university, thus it is expected that the students will be spending most of their time interacting in English. It is surprising that students on campus speak English with their friends outside of the lecture periods. This was exactly opposite to the situation in the school domain. Many of the subjects spoke an African language outside of classroom with their friends, and once class commenced, teachers (especially in schools ranked under educational backgrounds 1 and 2) would hold their classes in English. At the university, the classes are strictly held in English yet the students maintain English with their friends while they are on campus. What is the motivation for this? Although friendships belong to the Low domain, most of these students do not share the same L1 as their peers and thus they fall back on English as a lingua franca. Some students' comments support this claim:

> 2.17 B F L1 Swati
> "At Wits I have different friends who speak different languages so we all have to compromise and speak English."
>
> 2.18 BF L1 Zulu
> "African people at Wits, you find them speaking English all the time."
>
> 3.17 BF L1 English
> "English is easier for us all to communicate in at Wits. First languages are used at home."

There were no negative opinions given about students using English freely outside of the lecture halls as students come from many parts of South Africa and interact with students of other ethnic groups who cannot speak an African language at all. Some of the subjects explained that they already began making a habit of interacting with students in English at school, either due to the mixed ethnicity of the schools or simply because they wanted to improve their English:

2.18 BF L1 Zulu

(on black students and pupils speaking English all of the time)

"I think it depends on how you grew up. If you grew up in an environment where you were exposed to people speaking English only, you get used to that. At times it's people wanting to change, they are willing to learn more about the language. I think at Wits, it's people who grew up speaking English, you can tell from their accent, they grew up being taught to speak that way."

4.14 BM L1 Zulu

"In school I learned the importance of English, it is used everywhere. When I speak my own language at Wits I don't feel comfortable, even if the other person is Zulu."

4.16 BM L1 Sotho

"Most of the time in school I spoke Sotho, but if the pupils spoke English, they were trying to speak the language better."

4.17 BM L1 Sotho/Xhosa (from the E Cape)

"The pupils used English. I was eager to learn English because I knew I would be using it. If other students were speaking English to each other, it did not seem as a negative."

2.15 BM L1 Venda

"Although most of the pupils were Tswana speakers, I still spoke English to them at the Secular College."

Subject 4.14 makes the interesting point that he acquired an affinity for English in school. In the interview he went on to explain that he practiced with his schoolmates to improve his grasp of the language. The association between English and the domain of education is so close that he is no longer comfortable using Zulu in that domain. Subjects 4.16 and 4.17 also noted that speaking English outside of the classroom was seen as acceptable and a benefit to the pupil for improving his or her English. Subject 4.6 below came from a

similar social context, however, she has become aware of the fact that English has entered more domains in her life as her proficiency in English has improved:

> 4.6 BF L1 Zulu (from Durban)
> "Naturally because of the school system we have gone through it comes easier to speak English, but the more I grow up the more I'm becoming conscious I have to speak Zulu where it's possible."

Speaker 4.14 points out that this positive attitude towards ceding the education domain to English coincided with other High domains, such as formal situations and in the workplace. He notes that this is the distribution for diglossia in his home province, but that the situation is different in Johannesburg, where he currently resides:

> 4.14 BM L1 Zulu
> "I use my language [Zulu] to express myself more clearly. In Mpumalanga, we only communicate in English in a commercial or highly formalised way. The situation in Johannesburg is English only – you accommodate me, I don't accommodate you."

Subjects who came from an area outside of Gauteng reflected a less negative opinion towards the use of English in the Low domains, but rather saw learning English as an opportunity to "get ahead". The opinions about English in the townships in and around Johannesburg, however, seemed to be more negative, especially when it came to using English outside of the school domain. All of the subjects mentioned below (with the exception of speaker 1.13) have grown up in townships. They explain that English, if it is used at all, is limited to school grounds, more specifically while class is in session. They expressed it as highly inappropriate or disrespectful to continue using English after classes. The first example, subject 1.12, explains that children attending an "English" school, i.e., a school where English is the MOI as opposed to an African language, are regarded as thinking of themselves more highly. She even goes further to explain that using English in the inappropriate domains will evoke such a negative reaction, and that merely speaking English would annoy people:

1.12 BF L1 Sotho/Tswana

"I speak English only with my friends at Wits. People [in the township] think that you think you're better because you go to an English school. I speak English just to annoy people." <laughs>

Subject 2.5 gives a very similar account regarding the rigidity of English use and domains in the township. He explains that an individual who speaks English is labelled a "coconut" – a derogatory term used by black people meaning a black person who has the characteristics of being ethnically white.[80]

2.5. BM L1 Sotho

"If you start speaking English in the townships, they will start labelling you 'coconut'. I don't see anything wrong with speaking English, but once they hear you speaking English people really get pissed off. They will insult you until you feel like you've had it. I know after school, I always switched back to my home language."

Although he is not opposed to the use of English himself, he is aware the domains are clearly set to avoid the use of English outside of the classroom. Others in the township went as far as verbally attacking individuals who continued to speak English outside of set domains. The opinions associated with language and ethnicity being extremely closely tied together are expressed by speakers 3.8 and 2.15 as well. If the nine African languages are "black" languages, then English is one of the "white languages", and using English too often or in unexpected domains denotes that the speaker is trying to be white:

3.8 BF L1 Zulu

"Even ex-model C students, they think they're whites or something."

[80] The name "coconut" is a comparison to an actual coconut in terms of its physical properties, i.e., "black on the outside, white on the inside."

2.15 BM L1 Venda

"Some people think if you cannot speak an African language then you are a traitor."

Speaker 3.8 makes an interesting statement about black students who attend ex-Model C students (as opposed to black students who attended township schools) as being "white". The lack of competence in an African language may even be viewed as "betrayal" of one's ethnicity, as is explained by speaker 2.15. Such accounts of negative attitudes towards black speakers who do not have command of an African language have not been found in the literature on language attitudes in South Africa. It has been noted by Gaganakis (1992b) in a study conducted in private schools that have been desegregated for a longer period of time that black students attending those schools feel they are an elite group whose public use of English gives them higher status and separates them from students who attend private schools. Gough (1996) also notes that a difference in acquisitional context between ex-Model C and township school students may have an effect on the variety of South African English used by the student. Along with this is an increased pressure to speak English at home, which seems to have led to language shift and less competence in the L1 (African language) (Schlebusch 1994: 98).

Considering the attitudes described in the abovementioned comments, it must be rather difficult for a black L1 speaker of English in a township socially, considering the strictness of the domain distribution. The subjects who are in this linguistic situation were very conscious of how to explain their identity when asked about their L1. They all explained that English is their "first language", but during the course of the interview ashamedly admitted to not speaking their "home language" very well. How can an individual not speak their home language well if it is their L1? This is, of course, an interesting contradiction in terms. A "home language" by definition *is* an L1, but among non-specialists the terms "home language" and even "first language" are used loosely for "an L1 that is an African language", thus L1 English-speaking black people come into conflict when explaining their identity, as their L1 is a "white language" but they ethnically identify themselves as black. A black female student gave the following

response when asked about her L1 and what people in and around townships thought of black people who do not speak an African language well:

1.13 BF L1 English
"I don't know my home language that well."
"They call us snobs."

Clearly in these communities there are extremely strong associations with English: it is viewed as a High language but for an individual who identifies him or herself as ethnically black, there must be at least some knowledge of an African language. Subject 1.13's use of the term "snob" illustrates that English is associated with social exclusiveness or an attitude of superiority over others. This kind of situation puts a speaker of English in an extremely problematic social situation in terms of identity versus the gains of mastering English. It is prized on the one hand as a tool for advancement (for example economically) a symbol of higher status, but full allegiance to English without knowledge of an African language is deemed traitorous and is frowned upon in the township communities.

Another example is given by an L1 English-speaking black female who is a passive bilingual of Tsonga. Her parents decided to teach her the languages she would be educated in, at first Afrikaans, and then English. She recounts:

2.16 BF L1 English
"I went to an Afrikaans primary school so my parents had to speak Afrikaans with me so I could be fluent in school and so that I could upgrade. Then I went to an English-medium high school, and I almost failed grade 8, so it was something they had to do, speak English with me. When I speak Tsonga at the university, they laugh at me. They think I'm trying to be something I'm not. It feels terrible, I feel like crying. I even know Tswana better than my own language."

This speaker shows again the difficulty that arises in not being able to speak Tsonga although both parents are L1 Tsonga speakers and she ethnically identifies herself as a Tsonga. They believed interacting with their daughter in Afrikaans would give their

daughter an advantage as many of the other children attending the Afrikaans primary school spoke Afrikaans at home and were L1 speakers. As she was placed in an English-medium high school, the parents accordingly switched to English with the same intentions as her primary school experience. As she became more fluent in English, and attended the university, she explained she learned Tswana from friends. What is psychologically distressing for the speaker is the situation that people who should identify her culturally as a Tsonga, one of their own in-group, oust her on the criterion of linguistic competence.

This struggle to maintain ethnic identity through maintaining language was illustrated by subject 4.12, an L1 Tswana speaker who attended a boarding school in Pretoria:

> 4.12 BM L1 Tswana
> "I went to a boarding school. Some of my friends were whites in Pretoria so I was speaking English and Afrikaans. So I lost my language. I had to go back [home] and learn my Tswana and Sotho."

This speaker shows he lays great importance in maintaining his first language or "home language" as part of maintaining his ethnic identity. The degree of importance was high enough that the speaker was compelled to return to home in order to sustain his fluency of Tswana.

In Chapter 7, *Results*, one of the open questions dealt with the choice that a speaker would make when approaching an older black person, particularly a woman. All of the subjects (except an L1 English speaker) chose an African language with the motivation that the person may not understand English well or to avoid disrespect to the individual by speaking English. A female Swati speaker explains:

> 4.11 BF Swati
> "For me as a black person to speak to another black person in English, for me, it isn't respectful. But for an elderly woman, for me to say 'Hi, how are you?', she doesn't expect that from me, she wants me to say 'Sawubona, unjani?' and then maybe speak in English, but it's just showing that respect in the greeting."

This may be another reason for the strict domain division in townships. Older relatives, acquaintances and neighbours in the township may not have high competence in English and thus older speakers still deem it inappropriate to use English in Low domains. Perhaps as more children in townships attend schools where English is an MOI, the more it may move into townships among the younger generation. One subject comments on this:

> 4.20 BM L1 Sotho
> "Well, in the township now there are younger kids speaking English, but with people my age English is a no-no. It's going to change, there's more people now speaking English, more people are now going to ex-model C schools. My grandmother wouldn't allow me to speak English though. I don't have a problem with younger people speaking English…"

This speaker is about 21 years old. When referring to younger children, he means children in primary and possibly secondary schools living in township areas. These children are now moving English into the Low domains outside of the classroom. In their classrooms, if they are attending ex-model C schools, there is a much stronger presence of English, used by both the instructors and fellow classmates. Ex-model C schools are becoming mixed schools, where the township child will be obliged to use English if he or she is to interact with children of other ethnic groups who cannot speak an African language. Speaker 4.20 is in the middle of the process of shift of domains of English. He explains that his late grandmother disallowed English, yet he is witnessing children using English in domains outside of school. Will there be a shift in domains in the township areas despite strong aversion? This is not easy to predict, however a domain analysis of children attending primary schools would reveal if such a shift is in progress.

Finally, one speaker regards using English with another black interlocutor as an advantage if it is a female speaker, in order to impress her. This is another example where English is used as a means of showing higher socioeconomic status or as a sign of a more "privileged" educational background:

2.4 BM Zulu

"To be honest if I'm talking to a girl I'll speak English to charm her off, but if it's a guy, I'll start in Zulu and then I'll speak English."

This speaker comes from a township in the Vaal Triangle where English was spoken outside of the classroom "to get status in school". Here, knowledge of English is deemed positively, as a sign of education, as it is in the more rural areas outside of the Gauteng province and in the areas where studies of language attitudes were conducted in the Eastern Cape. With male interlocutors, he will speak Zulu, as there may not be the need to impress such individuals with his educational status.

8.4 Conclusion of code switching and attitudes

In sum, the domain analyses of home, school and university expose only the surface of a complex situation with regards to language choice of black speakers in Johannesburg, more specifically, at the University of the Witwatersrand. There are several aspects of the home or family domain that dictate language choice. This study reveals some major factors: person, location and ethnic orientation. In all areas, there is agreement that an African language should be used with speakers from an older generation, such as grandparents, as it is considered inappropriate, even disrespectful, to approach them in English. In some cases, the parents opted for English or Afrikaans as an advantageous choice for their children attending an English or Afrikaans medium school. As for their peers, this depends on the location in which the speaker finds him or herself, whether it be in the classroom or campus or not. In the township areas in and around Johannesburg, there is a general acceptance of the use of an African language in the Low domains, even if the subjects themselves felt that English would be acceptable. There is a difference in the responses between speakers who come from outside of Gauteng, for example, areas such as Durban, the Eastern Cape or Mpumalanga. In these areas, the knowledge and use of English in schools is considered a sign that individuals are trying to better their English, rather than show some kind of social superiority over their peers, as was mentioned by

subjects from the Johannesburg townships. The university domain shows a much more accepted if not normalised recognition of the use of English on campus and with friends, even when engaging with speakers who have the same L1. However, off campus, the speakers revert to using languages they use in the Low domains as they would in the home domain. A final influential aspect that emerges is the strong association with ethnic identity and language. This strong connection is shown in cases with black subjects who are L1 English speakers. In terms of language choice, a bi- or multilingual speaker is torn between using English in times of necessity, such as interacting with individuals who cannot speak an African language plus the status of English as a High language, and the fact that speaking an African language remains an inherent part of identifying oneself as truly being an "African". The victory in this tug of war seems to be leaning towards the side of English, as more and more children in township areas, where the delineation of language choice is usually very fixed, are beginning to use English outside of the school domain and in Low domains, due to the fact they are beginning to attend more culturally diverse schools.

8.5 Status of and attitudes towards other African languages – a digression

The studies investigated for this thesis on language attitudes in South Africa primarily deal with language attitudes towards English vis-à-vis the African languages (Vorster & Proctor 1976; de Kadt 1993; de Klerk & Bosch 1993, 1994; Schlebusch 1994; Smit 1995, 1996a, 1996b; Bosch & de Klerk 1996; de Klerk 1996b, 2000; de Klerk & Barkhuizen 2001). Little has been said regarding the attitudes towards the African languages spoken in the country. There is, however, some mention of attitudes by L1 African language speakers in Bekker's study (2002: Appendix C) regarding the language (LOLT) policy at the University of South Africa (henceforth UNISA). This seems to be an unchartered area of research which requires more attention. Unfortunately, eliciting responses from L1 African language speakers was not focussed upon in this study, yet in the interviews, there were many insightful

comments made that related to speakers' attitudes and use of specific African languages and Afrikaans that are worth mentioning. These comments will be compared with those given in Bekker's study. First, the prominence of the use of Zulu over other African languages in Johannesburg will be discussed, followed by white speakers' attitudes towards Afrikaans.

8.5.1 Zulu

The black subjects expressed the view that Zulu enjoys a large degree of social prestige and dominance in the greater Johannesburg area. It has been noted by Maphalala (2000: 152) that Zulu serves as a lingua franca for the majority of people living in Gauteng. Speakers who do not have Zulu as an L1 explained that they had to learn some Zulu when they came to Johannesburg, and were surprised to find that Zulu speakers usually had no knowledge of any other African language at all, nor any desire to learn one. The possible explanation for local precedence of Zulu in the Gauteng area (particularly Johannesburg) could be attributed towards the spread of the language with the expansion of Shaka's empire in the early 19th century (Oakes et al.1988: 91) along with the reinforcement of the use of Zulu due to the growing mining industry in the area (Oakes et al.1988: 137). The first four subjects explain the dominance of Zulu over the other African languages in Johannesburg. This linguistic dominance is alluded to in a negative fashion as social dominance by speaker 1.14, who calls Zulus "stubborn and aggressive". Sotho, another widely spoken language in Johannesburg, is compared in order to explain the supremacy Zulu has over the other languages. Speaker 3.1 refers to the zones (living sectors) in Soweto where often there may be a homogenous linguistic composition.

1.14 BM L1 Tswana
"Zulu is the dominant language here. Zulus are stubborn and aggressive."

2.14 BM L1 Tswana
"If they're Zulu, they don't want to know your language."

3.8 BF L1 Zulu

"Even Sotho-speaking people speak Zulu."

3.1. BF L1 Zulu

"Even if I'm in a Sotho zone, they'll speak Zulu."[81]

3.6 BF L1 Zulu

"Most people speak Zulu because of the education system. They are actually Tswana and Pedis."

Speaker 3.6 points out a dilemma that many educational districts encounter. A school may offer one of the eleven official languages as an MOI; however, in regions that are multilingual, it is not clear-cut which language is the most appropriate MOI. This subject explains that the dominance of Zulu is caused by this education system, where governing bodies of a school district choose Zulu as the MOI. A L1 Swati speaker in Bekker's study (2002: 214) uses the dominance of Zulu in schools as one of her arguments for choosing it as a LOLT at UNISA. She believes that since "African students learn to read and write Zulu in school", it would be possible to have lectures and study guides in Zulu.

The final subject, a Venda speaker, although aware of the linguistic dominance Zulu has in the Gauteng region, simply refuses to speak Zulu and opts for English if the Zulu speaker cannot speak Venda:

2.15 BM L1 Venda

"I insist on speaking my own language, I won't speak Zulu to Zulu speakers. I'll speak English instead of Zulu."

It is difficult to draw conclusions on language attitudes of L1 African language speakers from this small amount of data, but it can be said there is an understanding that Zulu is widely used in the Johannesburg/Gauteng region. As mentioned earlier, studies on

[81] One of Bekker's subjects (2002: 208), an L1 Zulu speaker, makes a similar comment. Bekker states: "He pointed out that isiZulu is the most widely spoken African language… He said even the Sothos in Gauteng understood Zulu."

language attitudes regarding the African languages in relation to each other are greatly needed.

8.5.2 Afrikaans

A number of white subjects interviewed made comments about their feelings towards Afrikaans, which will be discussed in this section. As mentioned in the previous section (§8.5.1), the interview questions were not targeted towards eliciting answers regarding attitudes towards other languages spoken in the country specifically; the responses that are discussed below are a collection of additional unprompted comments volunteered by the subjects. It would have been beneficial to have included structured questions as in Bekker's investigation (2002), in order to get a substantial amount of information on the attitudes for a full scale study. Because this has not been done, none of the white subjects commented on their views towards the African languages, except Afrikaans.[82]

In this study, all of the white subjects were L1 speakers of English, among them one German-English bilingual. None of them reported having more than rudimentary proficiency in an African language, but more than half had Afrikaans as a compulsory L2 in high school and some had fluent or near fluent competence. The picture for Afrikaans is very different for the black students who speak English.

Among the white students, there are next to no domains where Afrikaans is chosen, except for some cases where the subject has Afrikaans-speaking relatives or friends. Most of the speakers who learned Afrikaans as an L2 in school admitted that if someone spoke to them in Afrikaans, they would continue the conversation in English because they felt they were not proficient enough to carry on an interaction. The comments below were made by speakers who have attested they have full or near fluency in Afrikaans:

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[82] Afrikaans is considered an African language in terms of geographical definition.

1.10 WF

"I rarely speak Afrikaans. I carry on in English if someone speaks Afrikaans."

2.12 WF

"I would speak English even if addressed in Afrikaans."

3.11 WF

"I would continue a conversation in English if approached in Afrikaans."

3.12 WM

"If someone approached in Afrikaans I'd try to speak, but usually an Afrikaans person speaks English. I'd greet them in Afrikaans then continue in English."

1.11 WF

"I'm more comfortable with English."

What is remarkable is that these subjects evaluated themselves as fluent or near fluent speakers of Afrikaans, yet claimed they would make little or no attempt to continue a conversation in Afrikaans if approached by a stranger. Subject 3.12 justifies his choice by the assumption that the Afrikaans speaker will most likely be able to speak English anyway. The only subject who stated that he would carry on a conversation in Afrikaans was the bilingual German/English speaker:

2.7 WM bilingual German/English

"I prefer speaking English, but with the Afrikaans friends I speak Afrikaans. I've always known them as Afrikaans-speaking people."

Perhaps it is the fact he is bilingual that motivates his willingness to accommodate to speakers and enables him to utilise one of Herman's (1968) initiatives for language choice: established relationships. The subject has always spoken Afrikaans with these individuals and has no social motivation to switch to English.

The final comments from speakers proficient enough to speak Afrikaans revealed rather negative attitudes towards the language as a whole:

1.17 WF
"I'm shy and embarrassed to speak Afrikaans; it's a dying language anyway."

3.2 WM
"Afrikaans, it's pointless, it's a dying language, I think. It will be out of the country soon — it's useless."

These strong negative attitudes about Afrikaans arise from the reality that there has been a decrease in the number of L2 speakers of Afrikaans in the past 10 years. Afrikaans is regarded by L2 speakers (particularly black L2 speakers) as "the language of the oppressor" (Silva 1998). Some of the opposition to Afrikaans was fuelled by its being forced into the school curriculums in the Bantu educational system of apartheid South Africa (Branford 1996: 40). Many black students have opted for English over Afrikaans as an L2 for the many opportunities and high social prestige English enjoys in South Africa. Afrikaans, as an L1, is in no way "dying". According to Statistics South Africa, the percentage of L1 Afrikaans speakers has dropped from only 14.4% to 13.3% from 1996 to 2001 (Statistic South Africa Key Results 2001).

This small set of comments from subjects shows that Zulu has a special dominant status among the African languages, as English does in South Africa overall. Studies on domain distribution and attitudes towards Zulu would provide insightful and fascinating information about a possible shift to Zulu in different areas of Johannesburg. The same applies to Afrikaans in terms of further investigation of attitudes of L2 speakers in Johannesburg, and for comparison, in a larger scope for the entire country. It would be beneficial for more studies on languages attitudes in a multilingual city to explore whether there are various areas of Johannesburg that may have different attitudes towards Afrikaans. Of course, this study could move further in scope to several cities in South Africa. Interestingly, the white students made no comments about the African languages in particular. This omission is significant, given the socio-political situation in the country, which would suggest good reason to investigate this topic further.

Chapter 9. Conclusion

This thesis has been written in the early stages of the era of the New South Africa, an era that is marked with transition and change in all aspects of society. Sociolinguistically, there is a marked change happening with regard to South African English, not only in terms of its varieties but also in terms of the domains in which it is used and the attitudes that speakers and non-speakers have towards it. Now that the constructed racial barriers have begun to drop, especially in the domain of education, English is changing in terms of phonological shape and use. This chapter will summarise the major findings of this study, and also discuss its contributions and limitations. Finally, the chapter gives suggestions for further research.

9.1 Summary of major findings

This thesis has shown that South African English, to an extent, has some ethnic subvarieties, as in the case of lect 1, which is mainly spoken by white speakers and reflects many variables that are consistent with ESSA English as described in the literature. Lect 2, however, does not contain as many features that overlap with those given in the literature for BSAE, rather, the distribution of variants and speakers shows that there are two "sublects" that exist within lect 2. This investigation provides evidence that there have been changes in the use of variants among black speakers of English (if the descriptions in the previous literature on BSAE are accurate).

The majority of black subjects (92%) were categorised as being part of lect 2 yet "typical" BSAE variants (i.e. the L1 interference variants such as FACE3, GOAT3, KIT3, NURSE3 and STRUT2) were produced a maximum of 51% of the time by

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Index of phonetic variants: PRICE1 = [aː]; PRICE2 = [ɑ(ː)]; PRICE3; [aɪ ~ əɪ]; MOUTH1 = [ɑ(ː)]; MOUTH2 = [aʊ]; FACE1 = [aɪ]; FACE2 = [eɪ]; FACE3 = [ɛ]; GOOSE1 = [ʉ]; GOOSE2 = [u(ː)]; STRUT1 = [ʌ]; STRUT2 = [a]; KIT1 = [ɔ; ə]; KIT2 = [ɔ; ɪ]; KIT3 = [ɪ; i]; GOAT1 = [əʊ]; GOAT2 = [oʊ]; GOAT3 = [ɔ; o]; NURSE1 = [ɵ]; NURSE2 = [ɜˑ]; NURSE3 = [ɛ]; NURSE4 = [ə]

speakers of that lect.[83] Thus, the all-encompassing term "Black South African English" is no longer a very accurate designation, as being ethnically black does not necessarily entail that the abovementioned variants will be used by such a speaker. It would perhaps be more appropriate to consider the features described in the literature as characteristic of BSAE as belonging to a kind of L2 English lect stemming from the L1 interference of an African language.

As shown in the results (Chapter 7) there are black speakers in a second "sublect" of lect 2 that tend to use another set of variants in addition to some use of the L1 interference variants as well as features from lect 1. I have suggested in this thesis that the distribution of variants in lect 2 (see §7.1) is in a state of shift, in other words, some of the L1 interference variants seem to be "on their way out", and are being replaced by "new" features (NURSE2, NURSE4 and GOAT2). It is proposed that these new variants have arisen by four different processes: (1) avoidance of a feature, either because it is deemed as "too white" or stigmatised as an L1 interference variant, (2) adoption from ESSA English, (3) endogenous innovation through hybridisation of features of both BSAE and ESSA English, and (4) possible outside influence such as American media and music (Hartmann, in progress).

The changes in lect 2 have been summarised in Table 51 below. The table is based on the distribution of variants by percentage in each lect (§7.1) and the level to which each variant is represented (§8.1). The direction of shift has been determined on the basis of whether a variant is stigmatised, adopted (either from ESSA English or another variety) or created within the lect itself. The rate of change is a prediction founded on the number of speakers and the percentage of occurrences of a variant. In the first column are the names of each variant, followed by the level of representation in each lect. This data was taken from the percentages in §7.1. The next column is a prediction of how often each variant occurs based on its expected use (from the literature) and the documented use in each lect (from the study) and whether usage of the variant is

[83] The mean scores for the variants are: FACE3 24%, GOAT3 31%, KIT3 3%, NURSE3 51%, STRUT2 49%. The one variant regarded as a BSAE feature that was in fact used by most speakers in lect 2 was GOOSE [u], which had a mean score of 78%.

Index of phonetic variants: PRICE1 = [aː]; PRICE2 = [ɑ(ː)]; PRICE3; [aɪ ~ əɪ]; MOUTH1 = [ɑ(ː)]; MOUTH2 = [aʊ]; FACE1 = [aɪ]; FACE2 = [eɪ]; FACE3 = [ɛ]; GOOSE1 = [ʉ]; GOOSE2 = [u(ː)]; STRUT1 = [ʌ]; STRUT2 = [a]; KIT1 = [ɔ; ə]; KIT2 = [ɔ; ɪ]; KIT3 = [ɪ; i]; GOAT1 = [əʊ]; GOAT2 = [oʊ]; GOAT3 = [ɔ; o]; NURSE1 = [ɵ]; NURSE2 = [ɔˑ]; NURSE3 = [ɛ]; NURSE4 = [ə]

increasing or decreasing. Finally, the last column shows an estimated rate at which the change is taking place. Again this is based on the predicted amount of usage given in the literature and the percentage of actual use in terms of representation.

Table 51. Prediction of shift of variants in lect 2

variant	representation in lect 1	representation in lect 2	direction of shift	rate of change
FACE1	high	low	increase	minimal
FACE2	high	fairly high	increase	fast
FACE3	none	low	decrease	fast
GOAT1	very high	low	increase	slow
GOAT2	low	fairly high	increase	medium
GOAT3	none	low	decrease	slow
GOOSE1	very high	low	increase	slow
GOOSE2	low	very high	decrease	slow
KIT1	high	low	increase	slow
KIT2	high	fairly high	increase	fast
KIT3	none	low	decrease	fast
MOUTH1	very high	low	increase	minimal
MOUTH2	low	very high	decrease	minimal
NURSE1	very high	low	increase	slow
NURSE2	low	low	increase	medium
NURSE3	low	fairly high	decrease	slow
NURSE4	none	low	increase	slow
PRICE1	low	none	none	none
PRICE2	high	low	increase	minimal
PRICE3	low	very high	increase	high
STRUT1	very high	fairly high	increase	high
STRUT2	none	fairly high	decrease	slow

Beginning with the FACE variant, it is predicted that the greatest increase will be towards FACE2, a variant adopted from ESSA English, as this variant shows fairly high representation in lect 2. FACE1 does have representation in lect 2, but minimally. As mentioned in Chapter 8, this variant seems to belong to only certain speakers of ESSA English and therefore any increase of usage in lect 2 would be minimal. FACE3 is a predicted variant of BSAE English, as mentioned in the literature. The amount of representation in lect 2 is low and therefore, if it did have a significant presence in BSAE English, it has rapidly decreased since then.

Index of phonetic variants: PRICE1 = [aː]; PRICE2 = [ɑ(ː)]; PRICE3; [aɪ ~ əɪ]; MOUTH1 = [ɑ(ː)]; MOUTH2 = [aʊ]; FACE1 = [aɪ]; FACE2 = [eɪ]; FACE3 = [ɛ]; GOOSE1 = [ʉ]; GOOSE2 = [u(ː)]; STRUT1 = [ʌ]; STRUT2 = [a]; KIT1 = [ɔ; ə]; KIT2 = [ɔ; ɪ]; KIT3 = [ɪ; i]; GOAT1 = [əʊ]; GOAT2 = [oʊ]; GOAT3 = [ɔ; o]; NURSE1 = [ɵ]; NURSE2 = [ɔˑ]; NURSE3 = [ɛ]; NURSE4 = [ə]

Among the GOAT variants, GOAT2 has the highest representation in lect 2 (54%), a new feature that has not been accounted for in the literature. Yet there is a fair amount of representation of the stigmatised variant, GOAT3 (31%), and thus the change may not be as rapid as that of FACE2. The remaining 14% of tokens are of GOAT1, the ESSA variant, and thus it can be assumed that this variant has been adopted from lect 1, but it is moving into the L2 English-speaking community at a slower pace.

Changes in the GOOSE variable, from the expected GOOSE2 to the lect 1 GOOSE1 variant are predicted to be slow, as GOOSE2 still accounts for 78% of the utterances. This change is taking place through the process of adoption as it is a feature strongly represented in lect 1 (97%).

The stigmatised yet predicted variant of KIT3 occurs minimally in lect 2 (only 3%), therefore showing a rapid decrease among L2 speakers of English. The highest representation is that of the adopted variant KIT2 (59%), which is estimated to have a more rapid shift than the less represented KIT1 (12%) and thus a slower shift. This could be due to the fact that the very central variants in KIT1 are associated with white ESSA English.

The changes in the MOUTH variant are difficult to determine as the literature (§5.2.1.2.2) claims both a monophthongised variant and a diphthong with glide insertion in BSAE. I argue there is an increase, albeit minimal, towards the variant predominant in lect 1 (MOUTH1), which may be caused by the fact that the MOUTH2 diphthong may possibly be associated with the BSAE variant containing a glide ([ɑwu]) mentioned in the literature (Hundleby 1964, Lanham 1966, Gough 1996: 59, de Klerk & Gough 2002: 360). This process, glide insertion between two vowels, may be associated with L1 interference and therefore may be stigmatised.

The most strongly represented of the NURSE variants is the lax monophthong in NURSE3 (51%). As this has been classified as an L1 interference variant, it is most likely it will decrease in time due to stigmatisation. The NURSE variant with the next highest amount of representation is the rhotic vowel of NURSE2, accounting for a quarter of all tokens. It has been speculated that this variant has come into the lect by outside

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Index of phonetic variants: PRICE1 = [aː]; PRICE2 = [ɑ(ː)]; PRICE3; [aɪ ~ əɪ]; MOUTH1 = [ɑ(ː)]; MOUTH2 = [aʊ]; FACE1 = [aɪ]; FACE2 = [eɪ]; FACE3 = [ɛ]; GOOSE1 = [ʉ]; GOOSE2 = [u(ː)]; STRUT1 = [ʌ]; STRUT2 = [a]; KIT1 = [ɔ; ə]; KIT2 = [ɔ; ɪ]; KIT3 = [ɪ; i]; GOAT1 = [əu]; GOAT2 = [oʊ]; GOAT3 = [ɔ; o]; NURSE1 = [ɵ]; NURSE2 = [ɔˑ]; NURSE3 = [ɛ]; NURSE4 = [ə]

influences, such as American music and other media and warrants further investigation. Previous literature on South African English only accounts for sporadic usage of the variant by L1 speakers (§5.1.2.2), that could be referring to the tap [ɾ], and thus a process of hybridisation of a BSAE and ESSA English variant is not as plausible. The rate of change in using NURSE2 is not very rapid, as there is competition manifested in the near equal amount of distribution between NURSE1 (11%) and NURSE4 (14%).

PRICE3, the diphthong variant, is undoubtedly the most strongly represented of the three PRICE variants in lect 2 (93%). There is some occurrence of the monophthong in PRICE2, but this seems to be minimal, if there is any adoption of this feature at all. This situation is similar to that of the MOUTH variants, and it could be argued that there is a shift towards the lect 1 variant, PRICE2, on the same grounds as MOUTH2: the diphthong in PRICE3 is associated with the glide insertion of L1 interference ([ɑji]), and therefore the monophthong is preferred. The fronted PRICE1 variant, which has limited representation in lect 1, is predicted to have no increase whatsoever. This is probably a variant socially marked by a sublect of white speakers in lect 1 which does not carry as much prestige as PRICE2 (for discussion see §5.3.1).

Finally, the results show movement in lect 2 from the open central vowel in STRUT2, associated with BSAE and perhaps stigmatised, to the more close vowel of STRUT1. This increase has been estimated to be rapid as more than half (51%) of lect 2 speakers use this variant, where the literature has made no account of this at all.

In terms of the use and status of English, evidence has been given of a shift in progress (see §7.2 for results and §8.3 for discussion). English is used in the High domains of society, such as government, media and education, and has become associated with the middle or upper classes (Alexander 1997, Kamwangamalu 2003). The institutionalisation of English and the attitudes of society are interdependent and influence each other, which results in more and more L2 speakers of English using English in the school domain. English is slowly moving into the familial domain, as students speak English with their siblings and parents at home (see §8.2). There is, however, a general negative attitude towards using English with individuals from an older

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Index of phonetic variants: PRICE1 = [aː]; PRICE2 = [ɑ(ː)]; PRICE3; [aɪ ~ əɪ]; MOUTH1 = [ɑ(ː)]; MOUTH2 = [aʊ]; FACE1 = [aɪ]; FACE2 = [eɪ]; FACE3 = [ɛ]; GOOSE1 = [ʉ]; GOOSE2 = [u(ː)];
STRUT1 = [ʌ]; STRUT2 = [a]; KIT1 = [ɔ; ə]; KIT2 = [ɔ; ɪ]; KIT3 = [ɪ; i]; GOAT1 = [əʊ]; GOAT2 = [oʊ];
GOAT3 = [ɔ; o]; NURSE1 = [ɵ]; NURSE2 = [ɔˑ]; NURSE3 = [ɛ]; NURSE4 = [ə]

generation and particularly in townships, to avoid English in other Low domains (see §7.3).

The attitudes of the subjects reflect this shift, and they seem to be aware of the social aspects and consequences of language choice (§8.3). Many understand the need for English, but at the same time struggle with the fact that it is still, as an L1, bound to a non-African identity. In urban multilingual areas, such as the townships of Johannesburg, more people are coming into daily contact with English, as there is more mobility out of the townships into domains in other parts of the city, be it by attending English MOI schools with L1 English teachers, at universities and technikons, or in the workplace. One must consider this generation of subjects in terms of future generations. Consider the following scenario: Two university graduates have two different L1s, such as Sotho and Zulu, have both attended English schools and an English university, and both plan to marry and have children. Being university educated, the parents are considered middle class or higher, and most likely will be using English in the workplace. They plan to send their children to an English MOI school. Will they teach their children their L1s or English? Language choice is driven by social need (Gal 1979; Myers-Scotton 1993a, 1993b; McCormick 1995; Herbert 1997). Such an example has been highlighted by one of the subjects, who stated that younger children, even in the township areas, are using English in the Low domains (§8.3). For the students of the University of the Witwatersrand, English is, on the one hand, deemed a "white" language, but on the other, it is associated with the middle and higher classes (to which these students belong, or to which they aspire).

9.2 Contribution of the study

The variables investigated in these two lects should serve as a guideline for further research and comparison, not only synchronically but diachronically. Part of the process in analysing the variables requires a reassessment of the variants of BSAE and ESSA English, not only in terms of variants that have already been mentioned but in

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Index of phonetic variants: PRICE1 = [aː]; PRICE2 = [ɑ(ː)]; PRICE3; [aɪ ~ əɪ]; MOUTH1 = [ɑ(ː)]; MOUTH2 = [aʊ]; FACE1 = [aɪ]; FACE2 = [eɪ]; FACE3 = [ɛ]; GOOSE1 = [ʉ]; GOOSE2 = [u(ː)]; STRUT1 = [ʌ]; STRUT2 = [a]; KIT1 = [ɔ; ə]; KIT2 = [ɔ; ɪ]; KIT3 = [ɪ; i]; GOAT1 = [əʊ]; GOAT2 = [oʊ]; GOAT3 = [ɔ; o]; NURSE1 = [ɵ]; NURSE2 = [ɔˑ]; NURSE3 = [ɛ]; NURSE4 = [ə]

creating a new index for those variants that have not been previously accounted for in the literature. Some of them are possibly attributed to factors such as geographical location, e.g., the PRICE1 variant as stemming from the northern suburbs of Johannesburg or the diphthong of FACE1 as part of the regional dialect in the East Rand. This more general study in itself has revealed "new" variants, such as GOAT2, NURSE2 and NURSE4, which have perhaps been evolving since the abolition of apartheid and the desegregation of state education in 1991, and which have not been mentioned in the past literature, indicating a dire need for more studies of this kind. Also, the technical analysis of this study has been based on PCA, one of the most accurate statistical techniques for a large number of variables. The benefit of using PCA manifests itself in the fact that it enables the researcher to factor in up to 100 variables with accuracy that takes intraspeaker variability into account.

In addition, the aim of this study has been to create a clearer picture of possible phonetic change among varieties of South African English, and also changes in domain usage. The 76 subjects were interviewed for information about the frequency of usage in English in terms of social domains, in particular in the educational domain, as this has been predicted to be one of the critical social factors that influences the types of variants the speaker utilises. It has been shown that L2 speakers that have more exposure to English in their formative years in secondary education tend to use English in more familial domains, such as in the home with siblings. For all of the speakers, students attending the University of the Witwatersrand, there has been a higher increase of English use for practical reasons. Firstly the language of teaching and learning is English and, secondly, as they have attested, due to the exposure to a more multilingual community, they choose English as a default lingua franca.

Finally, this study gave some background to the attitudes towards English of these individuals. As Kamwangamalu (2003) notes, there is a shift towards English as it has been deemed a language used in the High domains, such as education. There is, however, a strong tie between language and identity, particularly for the speakers of African languages. Black students who are L1 monolinguals have expressed social difficulties

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Index of phonetic variants: PRICE1 = [aː]; PRICE2 = [ɑ(ː)]; PRICE3; [aɪ ~ əɪ]; MOUTH1 = [ɑ(ː)]; MOUTH2 = [aʊ]; FACE1 = [aɪ]; FACE2 = [eɪ]; FACE3 = [ɛ]; GOOSE1 = [ʉ]; GOOSE2 = [u(ː)]; STRUT1 = [ʌ]; STRUT2 = [a]; KIT1 = [ɔ; ə]; KIT2 = [ɔ; ɪ]; KIT3 = [ɪ; i]; GOAT1 = [əʊ]; GOAT2 = [oʊ]; GOAT3 = [ɔ; o]; NURSE1 = [ɵ]; NURSE2 = [ɜˑ]; NURSE3 = [ɛ]; NURSE4 = [ə]

they have experienced for not having proper command of an African language. English is viewed by L2 speakers as both a benefit, in terms of education and economic advancement, yet in areas such as townships, it was explained that the use of English in Low domain is still not fully accepted.

9.3 Limitations of the study

Due to the time and financial constraints of this study, only 76 subjects were interviewed for investigation regarding features of BSAE and ESSA English. Despite the sample size, enough data was extracted for a statistically viable survey, however, data from a larger body would have been more beneficial. The ethnic variables had to be confined to only black and white students, thus eliminating other important ethnic groups such as Indians, Coloureds and Afrikaners.

The social variant of education background was made up of composite features, such as type of school, pass rate, fees, etc., combined with the amount of contact the pupil had with English or other languages, thus making it a variable which has factors that are difficult to control. The predicted exposure was based on anecdotal evidence from the speaker as well as consultation with experts in the HSRC and the Applied English Language Studies Department at the University of the Witwatersrand.

The assessment of the phonetic variants was determined by impressionistic means. Although this is helpful in evaluating a variant as an actual listener, more technical acoustic measurement could have been employed to contribute to the establishment of the value of each token. As mentioned in Chapter 3, one faces the issue of indexing a variable and establishing demarcating lines between variants, which could have been determined more clearly with the corroboration of phoneticians.

9.4 Implications for further research

The data from this study provides a foundation for further research on variation in South African English of L1 and L2 speakers. It sets a possible guideline for variables that are

more current and accurately recorded than previously. The results can be added to further studies and can also be used for comparison with English spoken by individuals of other ethnicities. Since this study claims a process of shift among L2 speakers, an interesting prospect would be to follow these subjects into the next generation, in terms of the varieties of English they and their children use, and also to examine in which domains English is present. An apparent time study in terms of language attitudes was conducted by de Klerk (2000), where three generations of a Xhosa family were interviewed, but in terms of phonological analysis there are no real time studies of South African English to date. In addition, more systematic and extensive analyses of domains and language use can be conducted based on the data in this study, on the model that of Gal (1979) in the Oberwart. Finally, attitudes towards English and the other languages in South Africa offer a large field to investigate. These three topics of study, phonetic variant analysis, domain analysis and language attitudes would provide a fascinating picture of language use in a country that is undergoing many changes in this regard. This complex situation reflects the new shape of South African English and the varieties that have been investigated in this work. There is a vast field to research and there are many prospects for future investigations to capture these remarkable sociolinguistic changes as they occur.

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Appendix A – Information Sheet of Ethics

Information Sheet for Interviews for the PhD thesis:
South African English in Johannesburg
(to be read to the subjects while recording)

I'm going to read you a few points I'd like to make clear before starting the interview. Let me know verbally if you agree or disagree with them.

The interview should last a maximum of 20 minutes.

As I mentioned, I'm from the Linguistics Department here at Wits and I'd like to ask you a few questions about:

1. you personally, that, is where you were born, where you live, what you study, etc.

2. your language background

3. your educational background

It should be clear that:

- you will remain completely anonymous, I will tag each interview by number and there is no name that will be matched to the interview, therefore, the information in this interview can not and will not be used against you in any way

- you do not have to answer any question I ask if you feel you wouldn't like to answer or elaborate

- you can stop the interview at any time you wish and you are not obligated to give a reason

- this interview will not benefit or harm you in any way

- crisis counseling will be provided for you if you feel the need to speak to somebody after having answered any questions during this interview

Please indicate if you have understood all of these points by verbally responding…
(SUBJECT should say "yes" or "no")

Ok, then I'll begin with the first question…..
(continue to interview page)

Appendix B – The Interview

(interviewer turns the recorder on)

Please count from 1 to 10 so I can see the recorder is working…

Demography

1. Where do you live now?
   Where you born there?
   (If not) Where were you born?
   Where did you grow up?

2. What do you study?
   Do you work as well?
   (If yes) What do you do?
   (If yes) Where do you work?

3. Do you have brothers and sisters?
   (If yes) How many?
   Do they live/work in Johannesburg?
   Do any other relatives of yours live in Johannesburg?

4. Where were your parents born, or raised?
   What does your father do?
   Your mother?

Language Background

1. (for L2 speakers) What language(s) do you speak?
   With your parents?
   With your brothers and sisters?
   Anything else with other relatives?

2. (for L2 speakers) When do you speak <L1 given by informant>?

3. (for L2 speakers) Would you say speak <L1 given by informant> more than English?

4. What do think people speak most in Joburg?

Educational Background

1. What primary school did you go to?
   Where is that?

2. What secondary school did you attend?
   Where is that?
   Was it a nice school?

3. What were your favourite subjects?
   Did you like sports as well?
   What subjects didn't you like?

4. Do you think the school you went to is different from the school your parents went to back in their time?
   Do you think things have changed? How?

5. (for L2 speakers) Would you say spoke <L1 given by informant> more than English at school? In the classroom, outside of the classroom?
   (for L1 speakers) Did you learn any other languages at school?

Appendix C Frequency of variant use of the subjects

Obs	Lect	Gender	Education	Ethnicity	Price1	Price2	Price3	Mouth1	Mouth2	Face1	Face2	Face3	Goose1	Goose2	Strout1	Strout2	Kit1	Kit2	Kit3	Goat1	Goat2	Goat3	Nurse1	Nurse2	Nurse3	Nurse4
1	Lect 2	M	3	B	0	0	1	0.18182	0.81818	0	0.78571	0.21429	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0.69231	0.30769	0	0.28571	0.71429	0
2	Lect 2	F	2	B	0	0.07692	0.92308	0.4375	0.5625	0	0.8125	0.1875	0.53846	0.46154	1	0	0.27273	0.72727	0	0.28571	0.64286	0.07143	0	0.875	0.125	0
3	Lect 2	M	1	B	0	0	1	0.8	0.2	0.66667	0.33333	0	0.8	0.2	0.6	0.4	0.26667	0.33333	0.4	0.47059	0.23529	0.29412	0	0.875	0.125	0
4	Lect 1	M	2	B	0	0.23529	0.76471	0.76471	0.23529	0.14286	0.85714	0	0.91667	0.08333	1	0	0.25	0.75	0	0.84615	0.15385	0	1	0	0	0
5	Lect 1	M	2	W	0	0.55556	0.44444	0.54545	0.45455	0.45455	0.54545	0	0.7	0.3	1	0	0.33333	0.66667	0	0.90909	0.09091	0	1	0	0	0
6	Lect 1	F	1	W	0	0.83333	0.16667	0.83333	0.16667	0.5	0.5	0	1	0	1	0	0.72727	0.27273	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0
7	Lect 1	F	1	W	0	0.25	0.75	0.83333	0.16667	0.30769	0.69231	0	1	0	1	0	0.61538	0.38462	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0
8	Lect 1	F	2	W	0.42857	0.57143	0	0.90909	0.09091	0.64286	0.35714	0	1	0	1	0	0.63636	0.36364	0	0.71429	0.28571	0	1	0	0	0
9	Lect 1	F	2	W	0	0.41667	0.58333	0.90909	0.09091	0.53846	0.46154	0	0.85714	0.14286	1	0	0.57143	0.42857	0	0.92308	0.07692	0	0.90909	0.09091	0	0
10	Lect 1	F	2	W	0.05556	0.88889	0.05556	1	0	0.76923	0.23077	0	0.91667	0.08333	1	0	0.75	0.25	0	0.92308	0.07692	0	1	0	0	0
11	Lect 2	F	3	B	0	0	1	1	0	0	0.66667	0.33333	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0.72727	0.27273	0.5	0	0.5	0
12	Lect 2	F	2	B	0	0.08333	0.91667	0.75	0.25	0	1	0	1	0	0.92308	0.07692	0.15385	0.76923	0.07692	0.81818	0.18182	0	0	0.93333	0.06667	0
13	Lect 2	M	3	B	0	0.09091	0.90909	0	1	0	0.69231	0.30769	0.38462	0.61538	0.11111	0.88889	0	0.33333	0.66667	0	0.52941	0.47059	0	0	1	0
14	Lect 1	F	2	W	0	0.58824	0.41176	0.83333	0.16667	0.73333	0.26667	0	1	0	1	0	0.47059	0.52941	0	1	0	0	0.9375	0.0625	0	0
15	Lect 1	F	1	W	0	0.8125	0.1875	0.8	0.2	0.5625	0.4375	0	1	0	1	0	0.42857	0.57143	0	0.94118	0.05882	0	1	0	0	0
16	Lect 1	F	1	W	0.69231	0.15385	0.15385	1	0	0.30769	0.69231	0	1	0	1	0	0.8	0.2	0	1	0	0	0.5625	0	0.4375	0
17	Lect 1	F	2	W	0.6875	0.3125	0	0.72727	0.27273	0.8	0.2	0	1	0	1	0	0.18182	0.81818	0	0.86667	0.13333	0	0.9	0	0.1	0
18	Lect 1	M	2	W	0	0.75	0.25	0.78571	0.21429	0.8	0.2	0	1	0	1	0	0.41667	0.58333	0	0.9	0.1	0	1	0	0	0
19	Lect 2	M	3	B	0	0	1	0	1	0.09091	0.36364	0.54545	0.25	0.75	0.36364	0.63636	0	0.54545	0.45455	0	0.72727	0.27273	0	0.63636	0.36364	0
20	Lect 2	M	3	B	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	0.09091	0.90909	0	0.55556	0.44444	0	0.58333	0.41667	0	0.2	0.8	0
21	Lect 2	M	3	B	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	0.11111	0.88889	0	1	0	0.18182	0.81818	0	0.54545	0.45455	0	0	1	0
22	Lect 2	M	2	B	0	0	1	0	1	0	0.53333	0.46667	0	1	0.25	0.75	0	0.875	0.125	0	0.18182	0.81818	0	0.6	0.4	0
23	Lect 2	F	2	B	0	0	1	0.36364	0.63636	0	0.7	0.3	0.22222	0.77778	0.55556	0.44444	0.14286	0.85714	0	0	1	0	0.33333	0.66667	0	0
24	Lect 2	M	2	W	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	0.54545	0.45455	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
25	Lect 1	M	2	W	0	0.1	0.9	0.57143	0.42857	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	0.7	0.3	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0
26	Lect 1	F	2	W	0.09091	0.36364	0.54545	0.7	0.3	0.63636	0.36364	0	1	0	1	0	0.66667	0.33333	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0
27	Lect 1	M	1	W	0	0.6	0.4	1	0	0.83333	0.16667	0	1	0	1	0	0.75	0.25	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0
28	Lect 1	F	2	W	0.125	0.875	0	0.57143	0.42857	0.90909	0.09091	0	1	0	1	0	0.7	0.3	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0
29	Lect 1	F	2	W	0	0.63636	0.36364	0.71429	0.28571	0.54545	0.45455	0	0.57143	0.42857	1	0	0.54545	0.45455	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0
30	Lect 1	F	2	W	0	0.81818	0.18182	0.9	0.1	0.75	0.25	0	1	0	1	0	0.58333	0.41667	0	0.85714	0.14286	0	1	0	0	0
31	Lect 2	M	2	B	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	0.2	0.8	0	0.44444	0.55556	0	0	1	0
32	Lect 2	M	2	B	0	0	1	0.11111	0.88889	0	0.7	0.3	0.1	0.9	0.27273	0.72727	0.23077	0.53846	0.23077	0	0.33333	0.66667	0	0	1	0
33	Lect 2	F	2	B	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	0.3	0.7	0.16667	0.58333	0.25	0	0.71429	0.28571	0	0	1	0
34	Lect 2	F	2	B	0	0	1	0	1	0	0.88889	0.11111	0.18182	0.81818	0.36364	0.63636	0	0.61538	0.38462	0	0.77778	0.22222	0.46154	0	0.53846	0
35	Lect 2	F	2	B	0	0.11111	0.88889	0.18182	0.81818	0	1	0	0	1	0.2	0.8	0	1	0	0	1	0	0.08333	0	0	0.91667
36	Lect 2	F	1	B	0	0.2	0.8	0	1	0	1	0	0.18182	0.81818	1	0	0.4	0.6	0	0.55556	0.44444	0	0.66667	0.33333	0	0
37	Lect 1	M	1	W	0	0.81818	0.18182	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	0.75	0.25	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0
38	Lect 1	F	1	W	0	0.83333	0.16667	1	0	0.77778	0.22222	0	1	0	1	0	0.63636	0.36364	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0
39	Lect 1	F	1	W	0.33333	0.66667	0	1	0	0.57143	0.42857	0	1	0	1	0	0.7	0.3	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0
40	Lect 1	M	2	W	0	0.8	0.2	1	0	0.63636	0.36364	0	1	0	1	0	0.58333	0.41667	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0
41	Lect 2	F	2	B	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	0.22222	0.77778	0.1	0.9	0	0.11111	0.88889	0	0	0	0	1
42	Lect 1	F	1	W	0.5	0.5	0	1	0	0.27273	0.72727	0	1	0	1	0	0.4	0.6	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0
43	Lect 2	F	3	B	0	0	1	0	1	0	0.25	0.75	0	1	0.18182	0.81818	0	0.7	0.3	0	0.27273	0.72727	0	0	1	0
44	Lect 1	F	2	W	0	0.81818	0.18182	1	0	0.22222	0.77778	0	1	0	1	0	0.53333	0.46667	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0
45	Lect 1	F	2	W	0.66667	0.33333	0	1	0	0.84615	0.15385	0	1	0	1	0	0.69231	0.30769	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0
46	Lect 1	F	2	W	0	0.57143	0.42857	1	0	0.44444	0.55556	0	1	0	1	0	0.41667	0.58333	0	1	0	0	0.84615	0.15385	0	0
47	Lect 1	M	2	W	0	1	0	1	0	0.57143	0.42857	0	1	0	1	0	0.53846	0.46154	0	1	0	0	0.63636	0.36364	0	0
48	Lect 1	F	1	W	0	1	0	1	0	0.63636	0.36364	0	1	0	1	0	0.61538	0.38462	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0
49	Lect 1	M	2	W	0	0.25	0.75	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	0.6	0.4	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0
50	Lect 1	F	2	W	0	0.2	0.8	1	0	0.33333	0.66667	0	1	0	1	0	0.8	0.2	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0
51	Lect 2	M	2	W	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0.3	0.7	0	0
52	Lect 2	F	2	B	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	0.42857	0.57143	0.55556	0.44444	0.36364	0.63636	0	0.38462	0.61538	0	0.16667	0.83333	0	0
53	Lect 2	F	1	B	0	0	1	0.44444	0.55556	0	0.54545	0.45455	0	1	0.71429	0.28571	0.22222	0.77778	0	0.35714	0.5	0.14286	0	0	1	0
54	Lect 1	M	2	W	0.15385	0.53846	0.30769	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	0.7	0.3	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0
55	Lect 1	M	2	W	0	0.38462	0.61538	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	0.66667	0.33333	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0
56	Lect 1	M	2	W	0	0.7	0.3	0.81818	0.18182	0.65	0.15	0	0.9	0.1	1	0	0.30769	0.69231	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0
57	Lect 1	M	2	W	0	0.85714	0.14286	1	0	0.84615	0.15385	0	1	0	1	0	0.54545	0.45455	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0
58	Lect 1	F	2	W	0	0.84615	0.15385	0.8	0.2	0.63636	0.36364	0	1	0	1	0	0.53846	0.46154	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0
59	Lect 2	M	2	W	0	0.2	0.8	0	1	0.42857	0.57143	0	0.75	0.25	0.9	0.1	0.16667	0.83333	0	0.25	0.75	0	1	0	0	0
60	Lect 2	F	1	B	0	0.53333	0.46667	0.11111	0.88889	0.06667	0.93333	0	0.77778	0.22222	1	0	0.11111	0.88889	0	0.81818	0.18182	0	0	1	0	0
61	Lect 2	F	2	B	0	0.75	0.25	0.45455	0.54545	0.22222	0.77778	0	0	1	1	0	0.18182	0.81818	0	0.09333	0.91667	0	0.4	0.3	0	0.3
62	Lect 1	M	2	W	0	0.25	0.75	0.8	0.2	0.66667	0.33333	0	1	0	1	0	0.42857	0.57143	0	0.92857	0.07143	0	1	0	0	0
63	Lect 1	M	2	W	0	0.92857	0.07143	1	0	0.8	0.2	0	1	0	1	0	0.88889	0.11111	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0
64	Lect 2	M	3	B	0	0	1	0	1	0	0.5625	0.4375	0	1	1	0	0	0.25	0.75	0	0.6	0.4	0	0	1	0
65	Lect 2	F	2	B	0	0	1	0.38462	0.61538	0.44444	0.55556	0	0	1	1	0	0.75	0.25	0	0.1	0.9	0	0	0	0	1
66	Lect 1	F	1	B	0.4375	0.5	0.0625	0.05714	0.14286	0.1	0.9	0	1	0	1	0	0.55556	0.44444	0	0.00000	0.21667	0	1	0	0	0
67	Lect 2	M	2	B	0	0.4375	0.5625	0.1	0.9	0	0.26667	0.73333	0	1	0.16667	0.83333	0	0.3125	0.6875	0	0.22222	0.77778	0	0	1	0
68	Lect 2	M	3	B	0	0	1	0	1	0	0.25	0.75	0	1	0.21429	0.78571	0	0.29412	0.70588	0	0.15385	0.84615	0	0	1	0
69	Lect 2	M	3	B	0	0	1	0	1	0	0.21429	0.78571	0	1	0.14286	0.85714	0	0.26667	0.73333	0	0.1	0.9	0	0	1	0
70	Lect 2	F	2	B	0	0	1	0	1	0	0.92857	0.07143	0.30769	0.69231	1	0	0.2	0.8	0	0	1	0	0	0.9375	0.0625	0
71	Lect 2	M	3	B	0	0	1	0	1	0	0.14286	0.85714	0	1	0.08333	0.91667	0	0.11111	0.88889	0	0	1	0	0	1	0
72	Lect 2	M	3	B	0	0	1	0	1	0	0.38462	0.61538	0	1	0.22222	0.77778	0	0.18182	0.81818	0	0.27273	0.72727	0	0	1	0
73	Lect 2	M	2	B	0	0	1	0	1	0	0.84615	0.15385	0.14286	0.85714	0.17647	0.82353	0	0.71429	0.28571	0	0.77778	0.22222	0	0	1	0
74	Lect 2	F	2	B	0	0	1	0	1	0	0.75	0.25	0	1	0.25	0.75	0	0.18182	0.81818	0	0.2	0.8	0	0	1	0
75	Lect 2	M	2	B	0	0	1	0	1	0	0.85714	0.14286	0	1	0.9	0.1	0	0.7	0.3	0	1	0	0	0	1	0
76	Lect 1	M	2	W	0	0.22222	0.77778	1	0	0.64706	0.35294	0	1	0	1	0	0.66667	0.33333	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0

Appendix D – Sample of data sheets from the interview (randomly selected)

Data Sheet D1

SUBJECT #: ____01/001_____

DEMOGRAPHICS	
Ethnic group	Black
Gender	Male
L1	Zulu
L2	Sotho, Tswana, Pedi, English
Current residence	Boksburg
Place of birth	Standerton, Mpumalanga
Places of residence	Standerton, Mpumalanga (grew up there)
Field of study at Wits	General BA - IR, Politics
Employment	part-time – promotions (moving tactics)
DOMAIN	% of language use / frequency
PRESENT	
1. Family/Home/Hometown	more Zulu than anything
1.1. Mother	Zulu
1.2. Father	Zulu
1.3. Siblings	2 older and younger brothers – in Mpumalanga - Zulu
1.4. Other relatives	(mostly) Zulu (Swati, Ndebele, Xhosa)
2. Wits U and surroundings	more English
2.1. With friends at Wits	English, Zulu (small conversation)
2.2. People in res / town	English
RECENT PAST (SCHOOL)	
2. School and surroundings	
2.2. with pupils *during* class	Zulu (except during class)
2.3. w pupils outside of class	Zulu
ED BACKGROUND	
Primary School (Name and Location)	Hlobiso Primary School (Standerton)
High School (Name and Location)	Zekilite High School (Standerton) (township school)
MOI in high school	English
Compulsory L2?	Afrikaans
OPINION QUESTIONS	
Most spoken Lg in Joburg	1. Zulu 2. English
(For L2) **Use of English**	
How school has changed for subject in comparison to parents' schooling	- taught in English, parents/Afrikaans - parents had Bantu education

Data Sheet D2

SUBJECT #: _____01/003_____

DEMOGRAPHICS	
Ethnic group	black
Gender	male
L1	English
L2	Sotho, Afrikaans
Current residence	Melville
Place of birth	Pietersburg
Places of residence	Pietersburg (grew up there)
Field of study at Wits	Speech and Hearing Therapy
Employment	no
DOMAIN	% of language use / frequency
PRESENT	English
1. Family/Home/Hometown	
1.1. Mother	mixed English/Sotho
1.2. Father	mixed English/Sotho
1.3. Siblings	brother - mixed English/Sotho
1.4. Other relatives	English
2. Wits U and surroundings	
2.1. With friends at Wits	English
2. School and surroundings	
2.1. w teachers *during* class	English
2.2. with pupils *during* class	English
2.3. w pupils outside of class	English
ED BACKGROUND	
Primary School	BCA Bethel Children's Academy (Pietersburg)
High School	MAPS → PAPS (Polokwane Prep School and College) Pietersburg
MOI in high school	English
Compulsory L2?	Afrikaans
OPINION QUESTIONS	
Most spoken Lg in Joburg	1. Zulu 2.Afrikaans (Melville/Linden) 3. English (Rivonia) (it really depends where you are)
(For L2) **Use of English**	
How school has changed for subject in comparison to parents' schooling	- private school, didn't write government exam→ IEB (independent board exam); more difficult, higher standard - parents went to government school, Bantu education
OTHER INTERESTING QUOTES OR COMMENTS	
→ has a speech impediment in Sotho (rather speak English), self-conscious	
→ can "hide it" in English, prefers English	
→ has English accent in Sotho	
when he speaks Sotho, people still answer in English	

Data Sheet D3

SUBJECT #: ___01/007_____

DEMOGRAPHICS	
Ethnic group	white
Gender	female
L1	English
L2	Afrikaans, Zulu, French and Spanish
Current residence	Highlands North (Norwood)
Place of birth	Rosebank
Places of residence	Edenvale
Field of study at Wits	BA Journalism
Employment	no
DOMAIN	% of language use / frequency
PRESENT	English only!
1. Family/Home/Hometown	
1.1. Mother	English
1.2. Father	English
1.3. Siblings	1 younger brother – English
ED BACKGROUND	
Primary School	1. Holy Rosary 2. Bishop Bethen 3. Randram Park
High School	Pretoria Girls (boarding school)
MOI in primary school	English
MOI in high school	English
Compulsory L2?	Afrikaans
Other Lgs offered?	Northern Sotho (compulsory of not Afrikaans), French, German
OPINION QUESTIONS	
Most spoken Lg in Joburg	1. English 2. Zulu/Sotho 3. Afrikaans
How school has changed for subject in comparison to parents' schooling	- have become more lax, no apartheid - allowed to have more personal opinion - can ask questions

Data Sheet D4

SUBJECT #: _____02/005_____

DEMOGRAPHICS	
Ethnic group	black
Gender	male
L1	Sotho
L2	Tswana, Zulu (bit), Afrikaans, Tsotsitaal
Current residence	Sebokeng, Vaal Triangle
Place of birth	Sasolberg
Places of residence	farms
Field of study at Wits	BA general
Employment	no
DOMAIN	% of language use / frequency
PRESENT	
1. Family/Home/Hometown	
1.1. Mother	Soweto – Sotho (even though mother is Zulu)
1.2. Father	Sasolberg – Sotho
1.3. Siblings	1 older brother, 1 younger brother – Tsotsitaal, or Sotho
1.4. Other relatives	grandparents and mother's side – speak Zulu, S responds in Zulu
1.5 Friends at home	Tsotsitaal/Sotho
1.6 Neighbours at home	Sotho (dominant language in Sasolberg) – the Tsotsitaal there has more Sotho in it
2. Wits U and surroundings	
2.2. People in res / town	prefers English because there are people that aren't from SA
RECENT PAST (SCHOOL)	
1. Family/Home/Hometown	
2. School and surroundings	
2.1. w teachers *during* class	English
2.2. with pupils *during* class	English
2.3. w pupils outside of class	Sotho or Tsotsitaal
ED BACKGROUND	
Primary School	farm – Teboho Primary
High School	township – Clysdale (till Std 5) – Sasolberg Afrikaans High School
MOI in high school	Afrikaans/English
Other Lgs offered?	Sotho (3rd language)
OPINION QUESTIONS	
Most spoken Lg in Joburg	English, but in townships – Zulu
(For L2) **Use of English**	
OTHER INTERESTING QUOTES OR COMMENTS	
"you can hear where someone is from by their Tsotsitaal, may have more Sotho or Zulu in it"	
"if you speak English in the townships, they start labeling you like "coconut"	
"If don't see anything wrong with speaking English, but once they hear you speaking English, people get really pissed off" "They will insult you until you feel you've had it"	

“I know that after school, I always switched back to my original language”

Data Sheet D5

SUBJECT #: _____03/004_____

DEMOGRAPHICS	
Ethnic group	white
Gender	female
L1	English
L2	Afrikaans, Zulu (basic)
Current residence	Benoni
Place of birth	Nelspruit
Places of residence	Nelspruit
Field of study at Wits	BA Psychology/Anthropology
Employment	work's at father's office
DOMAIN	% of language use / frequency
PRESENT	
1. Family/Home/Hometown	
1.1. Mother	SA - English
1.2. Father	Zambia - English
1.3. Siblings	older sister - English
1.4. Other relatives	English
1.5 Friends at home	boyfriend – Afrikaans
1.6 Neighbours at home	English
2. Wits U & surroundings	English
RECENT PAST (SCHOOL)	
2. School and surroundings	English
2.1. with teachers *during* class	English
2.2. with pupils *during* class	English
2.3. with pupils outside of class	English – black girls very "well-to-do" people, they spoke English, Afrikaans people spoke English
ED BACKGROUND	
Primary School	Martin Primary (Boksburg)
High School	St Andrew's Senderwood, Bedfordview (private girl's school)
MOI in primary school	English
MOI in high school	English
Compulsory L2?	-
Other Lgs offered?	-
OPINION QUESTIONS	
Most spoken Lg in Joburg	English, Zulu (maybe Sotho)
How school has changed for subject in comparison to parents' schooling	- traditional English system → the same (A.B.C stream) - the WAY people think, much different, much more liberal - father had a problem with black school friend
OTHER INTERESTING QUOTES OR COMMENTS	
high school → 60% white/40% of color, always had the tradition of mixed race schools	

Data Sheet D6

SUBJECT #: __01/010_____

DEMOGRAPHICS	
Ethnic group	white
Gender	female
L1	English
L2	Afrikaans (fluent), Portuguese
Current residence	Kensington
Place of birth	Sandton
Places of residence (give years)	birth > 6 years = Namibia 6 -10 Bedfordview 11- present Kensington
Field of study at Wits	BA translating & interpreting
Employment	no
DOMAIN	% of language use / frequency
PRESENT	English (prefers English)
1. Family/Home/Hometown	
1.1. Mother	Bertrams – English
1.2. Father	Randburg – English
1.3. Siblings	older sister – English
2. Wits U & surroundings	English
RECENT PAST (SCHOOL)	
1. Family/Home/Hometown	Afrikaans (in Namibia)
1.1. Mother	English
1.2. Father	English
1.3. Siblings	English
1.5. Friends at home	Afrikaans
1.6. Neighbors at home	Afrikaans
2. School and surroundings	English
ED. BACKGROUND	
Primary School	1. East Rand Christian Academy 2. Bedfordview Primary
High School	Jeppe High School for Girls
MOI in high school	English
Compulsory L2?	Afrikaans
Other Lgs offered?	French
OPINION QUESTIONS	
Most spoken Lg in Joburg	-
(For L2) **Use of English**	
How school has changed for subject in comparison to parents' schooling	- more advanced, can research on internet - racial mixing
OTHER INTERESTING QUOTES OR COMMENTS	
- rarely speaks in Afrikaans, she carries on in English if someone speaks Afrikaans	

Data Sheet D7

SUBJECT #: _____01/012_____

DEMOGRAPHICS	
Ethnic group	black
Gender	female
L1	mix Sotho/Tswana
L2	English
Current residence	Hillbrow
Place of birth	Soweto
Places of residence	Soweto
Field of study at Wits	BA Media Studies/ Linguistics
Employment	no
DOMAIN	% of language use / frequency
PRESENT	Tswana/Sotho/English/Zulu
1. Family/Home/Hometown	
1.1. Mother	Soweto – Tswana/Sotho
1.2. Father	Sotho
1.3. Siblings	younger brother – mix Sotho/Tswana
1.4. Other relatives	cousins – Sotho, aunt – Tswana
1.5 Friends at home	Sotho / Tswana
1.6 Neighbours at home	Zulu / normally Sotho (depending on how person answers)
2. Wits U and surroundings	
2.1. With friends at Wits	mostly English / Zulu / Tswana
2.2. People in town	Zulu
2. School and surroundings	
2.1. w teachers *during* class	Sotho/Tswana/Zulu "most of the teachers are black"
2.2. with pupils *during* class	Sotho/Zulu/Tswana
2.3. w pupils outside of class	Sotho/Zulu/Tswana (English - see comments below)
ED BACKGROUND	
Primary School	school in Soweto
High School	Pace College (Jabulani)
MOI in high school	English
Compulsory L2?	Afrikaans
Other Lgs offered?	later during matric, a "vernacular" was offered
OPINION QUESTIONS	
Most spoken Lg in Joburg	Zulu (dominant language)
How school has changed for subject in comparison to parents' schooling	- "Afrikaner Apartheid thing" has changed - English MOI now, but they had L1 Tswana - aunt – everything was in Afrikaans - but still hasn't changed much in terms of subjects, just taught in different language
OTHER INTERESTING QUOTES OR COMMENTS	
- speaks mostly English with friends, codeswitch with Zulu / Sotho / Tswana	
- Zulu speakers only know Zulu, Tswana/Sotho speakers will know Zulu	

- “people think you are better because you go to an English school”
- speak English in taxi just to annoy the people, they already think we think we’re better

Data Sheet D8

SUBJECT #: _____01/013_____

DEMOGRAPHICS	
Ethnic group	black
Gender	female
L1	English
L2	Sotho, Tswana, Pedi, Afrikaans
Current residence	Auckland Park
Place of birth	Welkom, Vrystaat
Places of residence	Welkom, Vrystaat
Field of study at Wits	Psychology/English Media Studies, Visual and Performing Arts
Employment	no
DOMAIN	% of language use / frequency
PRESENT	English
1. Family/Home/Hometown	
1.1. Mother	Bothaville – Sotho/English/Tswana mix
1.2. Father	Welkom - – Sotho/English/Tswana mix
1.3. Siblings	Welkom 2 younger sisters - English
1.4. Other relatives	English/Sotho
1.5 Friends at home	
1.6 Neighbours at home	English/Sotho
2. Wits U and surroundings	mostly English
2.2. People in town	Sotho
RECENT PAST (SCHOOL)	
2. School and surroundings	
2.1. with teachers *during* class	English
2.2. with pupils *during* class	English
2.3. with pupils outside of class	English
ED BACKGROUND	
Primary School	1. Seabo (Welkom – Black school) 2. Bothaville 3. back to Welkom (Convent of St Agnes)
High School	Welkom High School
MOI in high school	English
Compulsory L2?	Afrikaans
Other Lgs offered?	no
OPINION QUESTIONS	
Most spoken Lg in Joburg	Zulu, Tswana, Sotho (if all else fails, English)
(For L2) **Use of English**	
1.1. With older [black]	approach in Sotho

female	
1.2. pupils with other pupils	Sotho
1.3. other possible domains	
How school has changed for subject in comparison to parents' schooling	- teaching, was more discipline back then - more respect - father used to do Sotho/Zulu, English wasn't a major subject - black schools had a black language, other schools Afrikaans
OTHER INTERESTING QUOTES OR COMMENTS	
- "I don't actually know my home language that well, I can't even write it, but then I can kind of speak it"	
- "I grew up speaking English mostly, English is the easiest way to express myself"	
- "they used to call us snobs because we spoke English"	

Data Sheet D9

SUBJECT #: _____01/014_____

DEMOGRAPHICS	
Ethnic group	black
Gender	male
L1	Tswana
L2	Sotho, Pedi, English
Current residence	Braamfontein
Place of birth	Soweto
Places of residence	Bela Bela Limpopo
Field of study at Wits	BA Public Administration
Employment	no
DOMAIN	% of language use / frequency
PRESENT	
1. Family/Home/Hometown	100% Warmbaths (Bela Bela)
1.1. Mother	Soweto – deceased
1.2. Father	Soweto – Tswana
1.3. Siblings	Limpopo – brother and sister – Tswana
1.4. Other relatives	Tswana
1.6 Neighbours at home	they speak Zulu but S can't speak it, if can't speak Zulu, opt for English
2. Wits U and surroundings	55% Tswana 35% English
2.1. With friends at Wits	because of mix – English
2.2. People in town	begin with Tswana
RECENT PAST (SCHOOL)	
2. School and surroundings	
2.1. w teachers *during* class	Pedi, Tswana
2.2. with pupils *during* class	Pedi, Tswana
2.3. w pupils outside of class	Pedi, Tswana
ED BACKGROUND	
Primary School	Kabele Primary (Warmbaths)

High School	Bela Bela High School
MOI in high school	English
Compulsory L2?	Afrikaans Pedi
Other Lgs offered?	Tswana
OPINION QUESTIONS	
Most spoken Lg in Joburg	1. Zulu 2. Tswana
(For L2) **Use of English**	
How school has changed for subject in comparison to parents' schooling	- nothing has changed - they had corporal punishment, didn't have much of a say - we had a choice, if we didn't like a teacher we could get them dismissed - we had SRCs
OTHER INTERESTING QUOTES OR COMMENTS	
"Tswana, Sotho and Pedi are more or less the same language."	
Zulu is a dominant language	
(In reference to Zulu) " It's a political thing: it would be more biased, they can be stubborn or stupid. It can be good to communicate in their language. They are a bit aggressive."	
"Tswanas are arrogant and Zulus are aggressive."	

Data Sheet D10

SUBJECT #: _____01/015_____

DEMOGRAPHICS	
Ethnic group	white
Gender	female
L1	English
L2	Afrikaans
Current residence	Alberton
Place of birth	Alberton
Places of residence	Alberton
Field of study at Wits	Speech and Hearing
Employment	no
DOMAIN	% of language use / frequency
PRESENT	English only
1. Family/Home/Hometown	
1.1. Mother	Joburg – English
1.2. Father	Zimbabwe- English
1.3. Siblings	older brother- English
1.4. Other relatives	English only
2. Wits U and surroundings	English
2. School and surroundings	
2.1. with teachers *during* class	English
2.2. with pupils *during* class	English
2.3. with pupils outside of class	English

ED BACKGROUND	
Primary School	Alberton Primary
High School	Alberton High
MOI in primary school	English
MOI in high school	English
Compulsory L2?	Afrikaans
Other Lgs offered?	no
OPINION QUESTIONS	
Most spoken Lg in Joburg	English
How school has changed for subject in comparison to parents' schooling	- they had more subjects - now more theoretical/then more practical

Appendix E – means and standard deviations of the variants

SUMMARY STATISTICS					
Variable	**N**	**Mean**	**Std Dev**	**Minimum**	**Maximum**
Price_V1	76	0.7237	2.1884	0	11
Price_V2	76	3.9868	4.2095	0	16
Price_V3	76	6.7895	4.7814	0	19
Mouth_V1	76	5.0658	4.4642	0	17
Mouth_V2	76	4.3289	4.1357	0	17
Face_V1	76	3.5526	4.2092	0	17
Face_V2	76	6.5921	3.2544	1	14
Face_V3	76	1.4342	2.8675	0	12
Goose_V1	76	6.2763	5.1084	0	18
Goose_V2	76	4.5132	5.3504	0	16
Strut_V1	76	7.9211	4.3750	0	17
Strut_V2	76	2.6579	4.2538	0	16
Kit_V1	76	3.9605	3.1977	0	9
Kit_V2	76	5.3816	2.3493	1	10
Kit_V3	76	1.7105	3.3139	0	12
Goat_V1	76	5.9868	5.2064	0	16
Goat_V2	76	3.2105	3.7853	0	13
Goat_V3	76	1.7368	3.1932	0	14
Nurse_V1	76	5.0921	4.6567	0	16
Nurse_V2	76	1.3421	3.0575	0	15
Nurse_V3	76	2.6842	4.5817	0	18
Nurse_V4	76	0.5132	2.0623	0	11

Appendix F

What PCA is about[84]

PCA is a type of multivariate analysis. Any multivariate technique assists the researcher in describing the data while reducing the number of variables needed to explain the data. It is important to understand how the technique actually works and what it aims to reveal in order to understand the results given in the results chapter. This section will give an introductory explanation of the basic concepts of PCA, such as covariance, correlation coefficients, correlation matrices and regression lines, and then give a more detailed description of how PCA works on the basis of these techniques (more technical descriptions of PCA can be found in Bray & Maxwell 1985, Stevens 1992).

The first concept one needs to become familiar with is that of covariance.[85] In the simpler two-dimensional graphs or tables illustrated in §6.2.1, it can be shown that one variable, e.g., age, varies to a certain degree with the occurrence of the linguistic variable X. The extent to which they vary together is known as covariance. This can be calculated by means of a mathematical formula, however, for the purpose of this appendix, mathematical descriptions and formulas are avoided and the techniques are explained in hypothetical terms. The statistical measure (given as an actual number) of the interdependence between two variables is known as the correlation coefficient. The discussion in the section to follow will illustrate examples of different correlation coefficients, it is primarily based on Butler (1985, Chapter 11).

The data from the table 18 in Chapter 6 concerning individual female subjects plotted on a graph against age yields a scattergram, such as the four examples depicted in figure 20 below. Most likely, the actual scattergram according to the data in the table would look more like example (a) rather than (b), (c) or (d) as it would be expected to reveal some positive correlation between the two variables. The higher the correlation coefficient is, the more the changes in one variable will explain the change in the other. Scattergram (b), in

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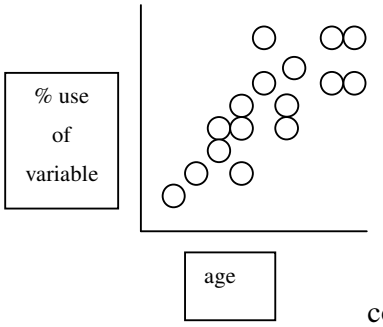
[84] Much of my understanding and descriptions of PCA are owed to the book by Woods et al. (1986) and extremely helpful discussions with Barbara Horvath.

[85] For a comprehensive description on covariance, see Woods et al. 1986, Chapter 10.

comparison to (a), shows a lower correlation coefficient as the individuals seem to show less of a predictable pattern in terms of the two variables. If the change in one variable were *entirely* predictable or explained by a change in the other, the correlation coefficient would work out to 1.0, or 100% correlation as in scattergram (c). In scattergram (d) there is 100% negative correlation, that is, as the one variable increases, the other decreases. Thus, whenever correlation values are discussed, they will never exceed the range of -1 to +1.

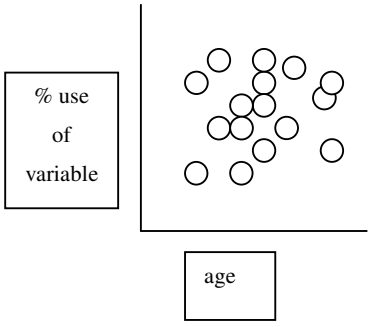
Figure 20. Hypothetical examples of scattergrams with a hypothetical correlation coefficient

Figure 20.1 scattergram a



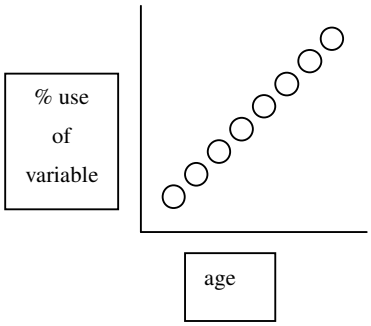
correlation coefficient = .83

Figure 20.2 scattergram b



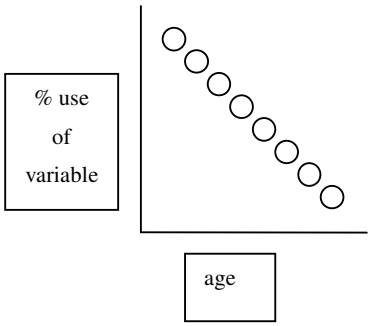
correlation coefficient = .27

Figure 20.3 scattergram c



correlation coefficient = 1.0

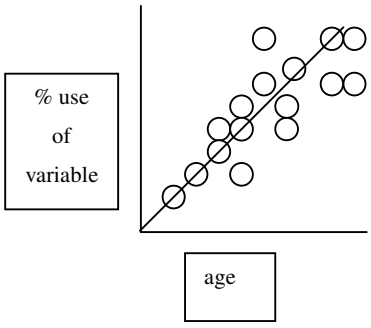
Figure 20.4 scattergram d



correlation coefficient = - 1.0

Considering scattergram *a* in figure 20.1, it can be said with some level of confidence that as age increases, so does the use of the linguistic variable. Taking standard deviations and means of the plotted individuals into account, a regression line can be calculated according to particular formulas which I shall not go into here. This is beneficial for a study in stating that even if the percent usage of the linguistic variable is not known, it can be predicted when the age of the subject is known. These assumptions can be made by using the regression line and then test an actual result against it. (It should be added here that a confidence index could be calculated for this regression line.) A hypothetical regression line for scattergram *a* is illustrated below.

Figure 21. Scattergram a with a hypothetical regression line



Age is the independent or predictor variable, because its parameters are set on the X-axis and are known first. By using the regression line, a possible point on the Y-axis, the use of the linguistic variable, can be determined, thus making it the dependent, or predicted, variable. However, more than one independent variable

can be used in determining the value of a dependent variable; this is known as *multiple regression* (Woods 1986: 237–45). For example, two additional scattergrams using the social variables "ethnicity" and "gender" can be added and compared to the scattergram using "age". An important criterion in choosing a second or third independent variable is how much of the correlation is already explained by the first independent variable, in this case, age. If *all* of the information using the variable "ethnicity" (or output values when plotted against the variable on the Y-axis) is the same as "age", then the two independent variables will have 1.0 or 100% correlation to each other, and thus are not independent of each other at all. If only some of the information, in "age" for example, is contained or explained in "ethnicity", the correlation coefficient will be lower. Several tables can be created comparing the correlations of the dependent variable to each independent variable, and also the independent variables to each other. All of these results can be entered into a table that is known as a correlation matrix (Woods et al. 1986: 287ff.). In the example below, the independent variables "age", "ethnicity" and "gender" are calculated against the dependent variable "linguistic variable" and against each other. Note that the values in the top half of the table are left out as they are identical to the values given in the lower half of the table. The variables "age" and "ethnicity" have a correlation of 0.81, which indicates that they are not independent of each other. Much of the information that explains the variance of the independent variable by "age" will also be explained by "ethnicity".

Table 52. Hypothetical correlation matrix

	ling variable	age	ethnicity	gender
ling variable	1.0			
age	.83	1.0		
ethnicity	.87	.81	1.0	
gender	.35	.24	.12	1.0

The variable "gender" has lower correlation to the linguistic variable and to the two other independent variables. This means that "gender" is not as dependent on "age" and "ethnicity", or, that there is less information explained in the

relationship of “gender” to “age” and “ethnicity”. In addition, “gender” explains less information about the variance of the linguistic variable.

In all of the examples above, it is assumed that one variable, in this case, the linguistic variable, is predicted by or dependent on the others. This perhaps may not be useful in investigating the linguistic behaviour of subjects if the variables are considered equally significant. In order to achieve this, a multivariate analysis technique should be used (Woods et al. 1986: 249).

Instead of completely hypothetical examples, the variables from the thesis will be used to explain how PCA was used in capturing results. As mentioned earlier, one of the basic principles of PCA is to reduce the number of variables into fewer factors. The example above used four variables: one linguistic variable, and age, ethnicity and gender. This thesis investigated 22 linguistic variables: all of the variants of the eight vowel variables.

If the use of the variable PRICE is plotted against the variable MOUTH, a scattergram would be created similar to those in figures 20.1, 20.2, 20.3 and 20.4. The two linguistic variables have been defined because they are the indexed X and Y-axes of the scattergram. From that data, a regression line is put into the scatterplot, which in essence is a linear summary of the relationship between the two variables. The scatterplot is rotated to a certain degree, defining the regression line itself as an axis, in other words, it is as if were one of the linguistic variables, that new axis, now a variable itself, that would represent most of the information of the two linguistic variables.

If 6 other variables are added (including the variants of the variables) a correlation coefficient matrix is created which includes all of the variants of all 8 vowels. It has been illustrated with graphs above using only two variables, hence 2-dimensional scattergrams. When more than three variables are used, it becomes difficult to illustrate with a diagram as the plot area would be multidimensional. Instead of creating a regression line in two dimensions, all of the plotted points in space are factored in to establish a regression line that passes through that space that accounts for the maximum variance of all the variables. This regression line is known as an eigenvalue, and because it is multidimensional in this case, an eigenvector (Horvath 1985, Woods et al. 1986).

This eigenvector, dubbed the first principal component in PCA, accounts for, or explains, most of the variability in the data. As with the hypothetical correlation matrix, the variables "age" and "ethnicity" both correlated highly with the linguistic variable, and, it could be assumed, were to a certain extent redundant because some of the information in "age" would be already contained in "ethnicity". In PCA however, once the first principal component has been established, the aim is to explain the rest of the variability with *no* information included from the first principal component. In order to achieve this, all subsequent factors are kept independent of the set in the first component, and thus the other principal components are uncorrelated (or orthogonal). The second principal component is extracted in the same manner as the first using the remaining information in the data set, as are the third, fourth, and so on until all of the variability has been accounted for.

This has an advantage over using defined axes that are pre-determined. The PCA axes are defined by a mathematical calculation based on maximum variance instead of the researcher having to choose from a set of given ones such as age, ethnicity and so on, and trying to look for some sets of correlations in the process (Horvath 1985: 54). The next step in the process is determining what factors define the principal component. This process will be explained in the paragraphs that follow.

Once an eigenvector has been established, the variables are loaded onto the principal component, yielding a set of correlation values, called loadings, which show how each variable correlated to it. An example is given below (adapted from Horvath 1985: 57):

Table 53. Hypothetical example of component loadings

Principal component 1	
Variable	Loading
1 (PRICE 1)	0.57
2 (PRICE 2)	0.60
3 (PRICE 3)	-0.33
4 (MOUTH 1)	0.54
5 (MOUTH 2)	-0.28
6 (NURSE 1)	0.55
7 (NURSE 2)	-0.03

By observing the loadings, it can be established what variables are associated with principal component 1. In this example, variables 1, 2, 4, and 6 all load positively and variables 3, 5 and 7 all load negatively, although 7 loads vary weakly (-0.03), indicating that there is next to no correlation. One can begin to see patterns in variable usage by looking at which variables load together; two variables that both load highly indicate that when one is used, in many cases the other is used as well. Such an analysis shows which variables define the principal component and to what degree they do so.

The same analysis can also be utilised for speakers when determining where speakers are related to each other in terms of variable use, that is, when the speakers (using their individual frequency scores) are loaded against the principal component, those individuals that have high positive or negative component loadings of the same variables correlate highly in their linguistic behavior (Horvath 1985: 58). Thus, if these principal components (now axes X and Y) are plotted against each other, e.g., principal component 1 and 2, the speakers that are plotted closer to one another are more linguistically similar than those plotted farther away. This is not simply based on a generalisation of the speaker's variable usage. The power of PCA also takes intraspeaker variability into account. If a speaker uses MOUTH1 8% of the time and MOUTH2 82% of time, this will affect his or her positioning on the scattergram as opposed to a speaker (all other things being equal) who uses MOUTH1 25% of the time and MOUTH2 75% of the time. This enables an extremely accurate calculation of how speakers behave in relation to one another.

Due to the fact that each speaker uses more than one variant for a vowel variable, it would be very difficult to illustrate what the PCA-determined cluster of individuals actually sounds like, short of looking at the entire correlation matrix. For example, it can be determined if a cluster uses MOUTH1 more than MOUTH2 or if PRICE3 is overwhelmingly used by one cluster over another. In order to create a human-readable form of this, the variants of every vowel variable are no longer calculated independently of each other but according to usage within the variable's subset. This means that the distribution of MOUTH1

and MOUTH2 are calculated according to usage against each other within each cluster, PRICE1, PRICE2 and PRICE3 in comparison to each other, STRUT1 and STRUT2 to each other, and so on, for each cluster of speakers that appears. With this information, an overall mean distribution of the variants of each vowel variable is indicated for each cluster of linguistically similar individuals. Such data can be found in Chapter 7 “Results”.