Perceptions of, and Attitudes towards, Varieties of
English in the Cape Peninsula, with particular
reference to the 'Coloured Community'.

Tahir Muhammad Wood

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ABSTRACT

This study set out to analyse the concept of the 'coloured community'
and to describe the linguistic phenomena associated with it. It was found
that the community was characterized by division and an overt rejection
of 'coloured' identity. A satisfactory definition of the community could
only be arrived at by exploring social psychological and anthropological
concepts, particularly that of the social network, and a covert identifi-
cation was postulated. This in turn was used to explain the linguistic
phenomena which were found to be associated with the community. The latt-
er included a vernacular dialect consisting of non-standard Afrikaans
blended with English, as well as a stratification of particular items in
the English spoken by community members. This stratification was analysed
in terms of the social distribution of the items, enabling comparisons to
be made with the English spoken by 'whites'. A fieldwork study was em-
barked on with the intention of discovering the nature of the perceptions
of, and attitudes towards, the idiolects of certain speakers. These id-
iolects were considered to be typical and representative of the forms of
English normally encountered in the Cape Peninsula, and were described
in terms of the co-occurrences of linguistic items which they contained.
Tape recordings of the speech of this group of speakers were presented
in a series of controlled experiments to subjects from various class and
community backgrounds who were required to respond by completing ques-
tionnaires. It was found that those lects which contained items and co-
occurrences of items peculiar to 'coloured' speakers were associated
with lower status than those containing items and co-occurrences of
items peculiar to 'white' speakers. Attitudes towards speakers were
found to be more complex and depended upon the styles and paralanguage
behaviours of the speakers, as well as accent, and also the psychological
dispositions of the subjects who participated.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

CONTENTS

PREFACE

Perceptions and attitudes are social and psychological in nature; that is, they are ways of seeing, feeling and behaving which are experienced by individuals in their relations with others, with society. Language, as a medium of social practice, is inextricably part of these relations, since it is through language that an individual can make known his or her perceptions and attitudes, but it is also through language that such an individual can offer him or herself as the object of the perceptions and attitudes of others. Thus it would not even be surprising to find that language itself, or forms of a particular language, can become the object of perceptions and attitudes. It is the general aim of this study to explore and find out about the ways in which these phenomena are manifested in a particular society, place and time.

Before attempting to account for and to describe people's thoughts and feelings about language, it might be a sensible procedure to examine first the thoughts and feelings they have about one another, then observe the ways in which they speak. Thus when one eventually arrives at the stage of asking them about these, their responses can be interpreted in the most informed and effective way. In any event this is the procedure that will be followed here: to proceed from social analysis to linguistic description, and finally to language perceptions and attitudes.

The title of this thesis has introduced the term 'coloured', which in turn is suggestive of one of the most basic ways people have of relating to one another, categorization. Nowhere is the process of

categorization more overt than it is in South Africa at the time of writing, and no category has more emotive connotations than the term 'coloured' has for those who are so categorized and designated. For these reasons it has been decided that this study of perceptions and attitudes should begin with an analysis of this category, and of the process of categorization in general.

INTRODUCTION

0.1 Aims of the Study

(a) To determine the validity of the term 'coloured community' and whether there is a variety of English (CE) associated with this community which may be distinguished from other local varieties.

(b) To undertake an analysis of the speech of 'coloured' speakers of English in an attempt to discover distinguishing characteristics and also to investigate the possibility of diversity that may exist.

(c) To determine the extent to which CE and diversity within it are perceived as significant by members of the 'coloured community' as well as by others.

(d) To determine as far as possible what attitudes towards different varieties of English, including CE, exist in the Cape Peninsula, and whether social values are associated with linguistic variables by members of the 'coloured community' as well as by others.

0.2 The problem of the term 'Coloured'

The general aim of this thesis, as suggested by the more specific aims just given, is to show how social processes are manifested in language in the Cape Peninsula. As a part of South Africa, the Peninsula as a social entity would be expected to reflect the sociopolitical processes which are characteristic of the state, particularly a certain rigidity and distancing in relations between various 'groups', commonly defined in racial terms. One is said to have a certain racial or group *identity*. In Cape Town two of these groups, the 'white' and the 'coloured', form the bulk of the population, although with the large scale influx of

'blacks' from the rural areas this situation is changing; but it is
the interaction between the former two groups that gives the city its
uniquely distinctive character. The distinction between 'white' and
'coloured' has been maintained over at least the last century although
members of the two groups often live in close proximity to one another,
speak the same languages and sometimes intermarry.

The city's 'coloured' population at the time of writing numbers approx-
imately 600,000 or slightly more. The majority of these inhabit the
vast sprawling complex of council tenements and sub-economic housing
that covers the area known as the Cape Flats, while a much smaller number
still live in enclaves close to the city centre such as Woodstock, Salt
River, Walmer Estate and the Bokaap, although through the application of
the Group Areas Act one of the oldest of these, District Six, has been
razed and its former inhabitants dispersed. The most immediately striking
contrast between the 'coloured' and 'white' groups is the disparity
between the widespread poverty of the former and the relative affluence
of the latter. Two distinguishing characteristics suggest themselves at
once: race and class; however I would suggest that neither of these is
ultimately a criterion of group membership and that it is *perception*
above all else that is the determining factor. The 'coloured' identity
has emerged as a result of a long process of labelling, stereotyping and
discrimination which may well have its roots in race and class, but which
has somehow solidified into a rigid mode of perception to the point
where one is perceived to be 'absolutely white' or 'absolutely coloured'
and the question of what it is that has determined this is seldom asked.
The inadequate and tautological nature of the definition of a "Coloured
person" which was given in the Population Registration Act legislation

(Act 30 of 1950), shows the absurdity of a recourse to 'racial' criteria: "...someone who is not a white person or a Bantu," belonging to one of the following subgroups, "Cape Coloureds, Malay, Griqua, Other Coloureds, Chinese, Indians, and Other Asiatics."[1]

Van der Ross (1979) has discussed fourteen theses which he associates with the "...myth of a Coloured identity."[2] Perhaps a discussion of the first four of these would be adequate in demonstrating the essentially arbitrary nature of the 'white'/ 'coloured' distinction.

1. *All Coloured people have the same origin*. This obviously relates to the question of race, the idea being that the 'coloured people' are a homogenous racial group which had its origin in the mixing that took place among a small number of previously existing groups, such as 'Hottentots' and 'slaves' between two and three hundred years ago. The fact is, as Van der Ross makes clear, that amongst the 'coloured people' can be found almost every conceivable racial type, including various Oriental, African and European strains. Secondly there is the fact that the process of mixing, intermarrying and so forth did not occur at one point in the remote past, suddenly producing a 'race' that had not existed before, but rather the process has been continuing ever since. Van der Ross points out that the original groups from whom the 'coloured people' are descended were themselves heterogeneous: for example the 'Hottentots' included as many as twenty-five 'tribes', while 'the slaves' included "...people from Angola,

Guinea, Mozambique, Madagascar, the Malabar Coast, the Coroman-
del Coast, Ceylon, Bengal, Celebes and other East Indian islands".[3]
Even people arriving in South Africa today from diverse parts of
world are liable to classification as 'coloured'.

2. *Coloured people are easily recognizable*. This obviously fol-
lows from the above, and in the light of what has been said
already is clearly invalid with regard to physical appearance,
since a 'coloured' person can be 'white', 'black' or of any
other hue or physical type. The very fact that 'coloured' people
are *not* easily recognizable often leads people for whom the
question of 'identity' is important into some difficult social
dilemmas. According to February (1981): "Since perception is
all important in South Africa, the problem of whether someone
is really white or 'coloured', can at times be enormous."[4] The
present thesis is partly concerned with evaluating the extent
to which this problem of perception and recognizability arises
in language.

3. *Coloured people have their own culture*. Van der Ross spec-
ulates that there are three possible sources of this idea:
(a) The 'Malays' may reasonably be described as having had their own
culture. In fact to the extent that this is still true it pro-
vides an effective refutation of the idea of a 'coloured' culture
since it indicates a heterogeneity of culture among the 'coloured'
population.
(b) The condition of poverty:

Whites have come to form a very negative image
of Coloured people as being dirty, drunk, noisy
and unattractive. This image has been projected
and generalized into the idea that Coloured people
are different and have their own culture.[5]

(c) The supposed musicality of the 'coloured people':

This is a carry-over from the days of slavery,
when slave-owners praised their slaves for their
good qualities, thereby evading the fact that they
were not free. It also pleased the slave-owners
to hear their slaves singing, as this proved how
happy they were.[6]

Since the 'coloured people' are not all 'Malay' (and a relative-
ly small proportion nationwide are Muslims) and are not all
musical, nor are they all poor by any means, in what sense can
they be said to have their own culture? Van der Ross points out
that in general the 'coloured' culture is in fact nothing other
than European culture, if by culture we are referring to lang-
uages, dress, religion, forms of art and sport and so on.

4. *All Coloured people are the same, so that they belong together.*
In refuting this he refers to the "class and social stratifi-
cation" of the 'coloured' people and draws attention to the fact
there is "a small but growing middle class" and a "smaller (but

also increasing) upper middle class" and claims that these do
not "associate intimately with those of the lower working class".[7]

These are among the points made by a writer and academic who
does not hesitate to refer to himself as 'coloured'. However,
increasingly many are refusing to accept the label and usually
indicate this by use of the qualified phrase 'so-called coloured'.
February makes the following observation regarding this:

> It is not the shame of identification with being
> 'coloured', which prompts the 'coloured' to refer
> to himself as a 'so-called coloured', as O'Toole
> (1973) would have us believe. It is rather the
> connotations attached to the word 'coloured', as
> found in the white political ethos, which cause the
> violent rejection."[8]

Coupled with this rejection of the 'white political ethos' is
a vehement rejection of received stereotypes of the 'typical
coloured'. An example of the 'coloured' stereotype is to be found
in Guy Butler's poem 'Cape Coloured Batman', where the central
figure is portrayed in terms of his laziness, drunkeness and
musicality. According to February: "In the case of the 'Cape
coloureds' the whites refer to them as children, indolent, ne'er
do wells, happy-go-lucky, gregarious and shifty people"[9] and
"The 'Cape coloured' has been the greatest dupe of white stereo-
typed portrayals...than any other group in South Africa."[10]

February's book in fact is chiefly an examination of this stereo-
typing process as manifested in South African literature. One of
the most prevalent themes of this literature which emerges from
February's analysis is that of 'miscegenation'. A possible reason
for the 'white' attempt at creating a certain social distance
from the 'coloured' through stereotyping suggests itself: the
'coloured' represents for the 'white' the potential threat of
losing one's superior racial status (with the economic privileges
this entails) were free mixing and interbreeding to take place,
in a way that a 'black' person does not, precisely because he
is perceived as clearly and distinctively different. Hence the
need for a label 'coloured' and a set of stereotypes *in the
absence of clear racial and class criteria* for distinguishing
oneself. The question arises: how does the 'coloured' person
perceive his or her own identity in response to this? As I shall
argue in Chapter Two the 'coloured' label is generally rejected
(as is the 'Malay' one) in a variety of ways, it being seen as
a term indicating inferiority; this attitude is often accompanied
by an admission of separateness and difference from 'whites'
however. As Ridd (1981) notes in her anthropological thesis:

> In the District Six Area, I often noticed how the
> term 'coloured' was studiously evaded, but implied in
> a roundabout way. People sometimes referred to them-
> selves as 'us' or 'our type of people' to mean people
> classified as 'Coloured'. One way of avoiding 'Col-
> oured' when referring to a third party was to give
> other information about that person, usually his

place of residence, which would indicate
his Race Classification.[11]

There is inevitably a realization that people classified as
'coloured' have something in common. I have shown in the fore-
going that this cannot be directly attributed to any common
denominator of race, class or culture. I would like to suggest
at this point that the concept of *community* as commonly used in
the expression 'coloured community' is crucial to understanding
the perception of identity. It represents an awareness that
one tends to form certain types of relationships and to interact
with people in ways that non-members of the community do not.
Identity in this case is simply an awareness of shared experience;
and outsiders do not share that particular range of experience.
In Chapter Two the concept of community will be analysed, first-
ly to illuminate more clearly what has been suggested here, but
more importantly as an analytical tool for explaining linguistic
phenomena of interest to the study.

Notes

1. S.T. van der Horst ed. (1976): *The Theron Commission Report :
A Summary*, S.A. Institute of Race Relations, Johannesburg, p.1.
2. R.E. van der Ross (1979): *Myths and Attitudes*, Tafelberg, Cape
Town, p.5.
3. p.6.
4. V.A. February (1981): *Mind Your Colour*, Kegan Paul, London, p.70.

5. van der Ross (1979), p.11.

6. p.12.

7. p.12.

8. February (1981), p.164.

9. p.167.

10. p.164.

11. R.E. Ridd (1981): 'Position and Identity in a Divided Community', Ph.d. thesis, Oxford, p.61.

CHAPTER ONE : AIMS AND ORIENTATION OF THE STUDY

1.1 Discussion of the aims

(a) To determine the validity of the term 'coloured community' and whether there is a variety of English associated with this community (CE) which may be distinguished from other local varieties.

In approaching the question of 'Coloured English' (hereafter CE) it will be necessary first of all to undertake a careful examination of the term 'coloured' as it is commonly used in South African society, with a view to achieving an understanding of its reference, derivation and connotations. Secondly, the concept of 'community', or rather various concepts associated with that word must be examined in order to determine which is more relevant to the situation under consideration. Then the applicability and relevance of related concepts such as those of *speech community, ethnicity* and *identity* as used in the various social disciplines will be considered. Also the problem of exactly what constitutes a language *variety* must be tackled, in particular the relationship between the variety and the *sociolinguistic variable*. The hypothesis here is that CE is either a distinguishable variety, or group of such varieties of English, and the minimum that would have to be done to support this hypothesis

would be to show that there are certain linguistic variables
which are used or exploited in ways that are peculiar to 'col-
oured' speakers of English. The maximum that could be done in this
regard would be to show that there does exist a clearly distinguish-
able dialect consisting of regular or systematic co-occurrences
of items at all linguistic levels. In such a case these items would
not only be phonetic realizations, but would include features of
syntax and lexis as well. Anything achieved between these two ex-
tremes would be regarded as lending validity to the term 'Coloured
English'.

(b) To undertake an analysis of the speech of 'coloured' speakers
of English in an attempt to discover distinguishing characteristics
and also to investigate the possibility of diversity that may exist.

In order to undertake such an analysis it has been necessary to
collect a body of raw linguistic data by recording the speech of
a number of speakers who have been judged to constitute a repre-
sentative sample of the community under consideration. The method of
elicitation used in any particular study depends on the particular
focus of interest; whether for example the focus is to be on the styles
of individual speakers, or on the differences between speakers. The
approach in this study is to focus on differences between speakers
rather than differences between contextual styles, and thus an attempt
has been made to keep the stylistic variable as constant as possible,
in order that valid comparisons may be made between the idiolects of
the different speakers.

However in order to be able to contrast CE with other varieties of South African English (SAE), it is necessary first of all to consider the linguistic situation in the Cape Peninsula as a whole. This is the aim of Chapter Three. Firstly a brief overview of SAE, and the social background to its development, will be presented with a view to identifying recognizable varieties and the distinguishing characteristics of each, in order that CE may be contrasted with these. Secondly the prevailing patterns of language use in the 'coloured community' will be discussed with regard to bilingualism, code-switching and social stratification. This must be done in order to provide a framework of criteria for selecting the speech samples and for identifying and describing the various types of English users in the community and to ensure that they are all represented. Furthermore, such a framework would be useful in the attempt to provide a coherent explanation of diversity which might be found both in speech and in attitudes towards it. For example it may be that certain linguistic items will be found to occur regularly in the speech of certain identifiable categories of speakers: e.g. working class, English second language, female and so on. Once the speech variables and their non-linguistic correlates have been identified, comparisons can be made with the equivalent items in the 'white' varieties of SAE.

(c) To determine the extent to which CE and the diversity within it are perceived as significant by members of the 'coloured community' as well as by others.

This is the first aim of the subjective evaluation tests, an account of which will be found in Chapter Five. An attempt will be made to discover whether respondents who are presented with tape recorded utterances by speakers of different varieties of English are able or inclined to discriminate between the speakers in response to linguistic cues. One way of doing this might be to ask respondents to identify the 'coloured' speakers on the tape; however because of the emotive connotations which that word is likely to have for many of the respondents, this option has not been considered, except as an informal sporadically applied measure. Instead it has been decided to infer that such perceptions have or have not taken place from a qualitative consideration of the types of responses made. For example: if 'white' respondents tend to evaluate speakers of CE according to prevalent 'white' stereotypes of 'coloured' people (these are dealt with below), then it would be reasonable to assume that perceptions of 'coloured' identity have occurred. Admittedly if in this case such stereotyping does not occur there is no way of telling if such perceptions of identity have taken place. Nevertheless any significant patterns of responses will show that some sort of discrimination has taken place, whether on the basis of 'coloured identity' or some other criterion.

(d) To determine as far as possible what attitudes towards different varieties of English, including CE, exist in the Cape Peninsula, and whether social values are associated with ling-

-uistic variables by members of the 'coloured community' as well as
by others.

It is a familiar idea in sociolinguistics that certain varieties
of a language, and indeed particular realizations of linguistic var-
iables, have prestige or stigma attached to them, and that conse-
quently it is likely that people are judged and evaluated according
to the ways in which they speak; judgements may be made about the
character, status, level of education and so on of the person concerned.
Consequently certain language varieties are often associated with pop-
ular social stereotypes (see for instance Lanham, 1982, on stereotypes
associated with 'white' varieties of SAE, these to be discussed in
Chapter Three). The hypothesis here is that CE, or possibly the more
extreme forms of CE, will evoke certain value judgements, normally
as well as under experimental conditions, and furthermore that at least
on the part of 'white' respondents, these will be largely negative in
terms of perceived socio-economic status, level of education and so on,
whether or not the speaker has been clearly perceived as 'coloured'.
A further hypothesis is that speakers of CE might themselves judge ex-
treme forms of CE negatively in response to pressures 'from above'
(Labov, 1972)[1]. If this is found to be the case, an attempt will be
made to discover which variety or varieties of English serve as a pres-
tige standard for members of the 'coloured community', for instance
whether one of the 'white' varieties is perceived in this way or wheth-
er an alternative 'coloured' standard has emerged; also the extent to
which covert pressures serve to reinforce and perpetuate the use of CE,
even in the face of pressures from above and stigmatization.

1.2 Sociolinguistics and Language Attitude Studies

Since this study will be informed to a great extent by sociolinguistic theory as well as by specific studies that have been carried out within the discipline, I intend to review here some of the key concepts and terms which are to be employed, with a view to establishing the relevance of each for my present purposes as well as the precise limits within which each is to be used.

The central assertion of sociolinguistics is that linguistic diversity or variation reflects social processes. Traditionally this diversity was thought of as simply a multiplicity of languages and regional dialects. However in the last three decades with the emergence of sociolinguistics proper, the focus has tended to be on smaller groups and smaller geographical areas and the variation found within these delimited spaces; the logical endpoint of this shift is reached when the variation in the speech of a single individual becomes the object of interest. Labov's New York study carried out in the mid 1960's was notable in that it attempted a far more ambitious programme than had been conceived of before: to bring together all the strands of enquiry in one study with a view to providing a coherent theoretical framework which could simultaneously account for all the levels of linguistic variation that had been studied separately before or speculated about in isolation. An aim was to show how variation in the speech of an individual was essentially related to variation in the speech community, that all variation could be explained by reference to *one set of norms*, which in turn are only explicable in terms of non-linguistic norms. Or, to put the major insight in another somewhat surprising way: social stratification

can be observed in the speech of a single individual by simply noting
the frequency of occurrence of a single linguistic item in different
contexts. From there it is a relatively simple step to being able
to account for linguistic change as well: the rejection of one partic-
ular set of norms in favour of another, more or less different. This
in turn can be simply explained in terms of a pair of binary opposites,
change from *above* and change from *below*; that is, above or below the
level of consciousness, the idea being that the individual either res-
ponds to pressure to conform to a set of prestige or *overt* norms, or
alternatively responds to a set of *covert* norms which may be "relatively
obscure".[2]

The advantage of this view, and what gave it the quality of a major
breakthrough, was that the whole social/linguistic process could now
be comprehended in a single all-encompassing vision as it were, and
Labov's study seemed to have not only shown the way for future research
to proceed, but also established a set of sociolinguistic universals,
the two most important of these being the speech community and the
sociolinguistic variable. The object of enquiry for those following
Labov was the social distribution of a particular variable or *item*
within a speech community, rather than the previously established idea
of the dialect or variety and the code-switching' between dialects or
varieties. The 'item-based' model has been more recently advocated
by Hudson (1980) in the following terms:

There is scope for similarities between items in

their social descriptions, and to the extent that
items are similar they may be grouped together as
members of a weak version of 'variety', but there
may be many such groups of items in a given person's
language, and there will also be many items with
unique social descriptions... the object of descrip-
tion in descriptive linguistics, is not the variety
but the linguistic item, and the question to which
we shall seek an answer is to what extent we can
generalise about linguistic items.[3]

While the value of this approach is not to be denied the ques-
tion has to be raised as to its universal applicability. Recent
writers have also begun to question the validity of the concept
of the speech community (Romaine 1982 and Milroy 1980). An
assumption underlying the speech community idea is that all its
members use language in basically the same way, since they share
a set of norms, but the question I intend to raise here relates
to the usefulness of this concept when one is dealing with a
given collection of speakers who use language in somewhat diff-
erent ways despite the fact that they all inhabit the same city.
In other words, when the boundaries of the speech community do
not conveniently coincide with the boundaries of a given geo-
graphical area, e.g. the city, is there good reason for retaining
the concept? I propose to offer in Chapter Two an alternative
definition of community which is I believe more widely adaptable

and applicable. Perhaps these problems can be more clearly under-
stood by considering a distinction made by Sankoff (1971) between
two broad approaches to language and social context which we
might refer to as the 'sociolinguistic approach' and the
'ethnographic approach':

> Labov himself specifies the two possible approaches
> (1966): one can either start with speech variables
> and examine their social distribution; or one can
> start with particular people and/or particular
> situations and examine the linguistic behaviour
> relevant to them. He prefers the former in
> giving a better idea of the linguistic system
> as a whole; if one is interested in the latter,
> however, it cannot be totally deduced from
> data collected within the framework of the former.[4]

The present study then will be sociolinguistic when concen-
trating on particular linguistic variables and ethnographic
when the dialect or variety is the focus of interest. As far
as the term *sociolinguistic variable* is concerned, this will
be used in the Labovian sense as referring to either an *indicator*
or *marker*, with the difference that whereas Labov sees these
only as reflecting positions in a status hierarchy, they will
be regarded here as reflecting group membership as well. In
other words where Labov's model is class based, it is necessary
for reasons which will become clearer, for our purposes to adopt

a two-dimensional model so that sociolinguistic variables are
not only significant in that they reflect a vertical stratificat-
ion, but also a horizontal differentiation. The reason for this
lies firstly in the fact that while New York City is an essent-
ially monolingual speech community, in the sense that Eng-
lish is clearly *dominant*, Cape Town is bilingual in that two
languages, English and Afrikaans, *share domination*. The second
reason relates to the question of ethnicity or group membership,
which in South African society is quite likely a more salient
factor than in New York, for reasons which will become clearer
on consideration of the conclusions to Chapter Two. There are in
a sense parallel stratifications in the 'white' and 'coloured'
communities and it is a hypothesis of this study that this is
reflected linguistically. While Labov generally de-emphasized
ethnicity in his study, he often admits that it is a complicating
factor:

> For some variables, New York City blacks participate
> in the same structure of social and stylistic varia-
> tion as white New Yorkers. For other variables there
> is an absolute differentiation of white and black
> which reflects the process of social segregation
> characteristic of the city. [5]

While I intend to show that the 'coloured community' do *not*
constitute an ethnic group as such, the point made by Labov
is clearly even more important in the case of Cape Town than

it was in New York City. Similarly the problem of bilingualism
or multilingualism is not entirely missed by Labov either when
he raises the question: "Is the underlying parent language the
cause of the differentiation?"[6]

The point being made here is that in the case of Cape Town the
kind of differentiation mentioned by Labov must be taken into
account as being potentially of equal or perhaps greater sig-
nificance than social class stratification. Thus it may be that
certain variables act in very complex ways when followed across
group boundaries. Or to put this another way, a particular var-
iable may have a very different, even opposite significance, when
used by different combinations of speaker and hearer in various
'white'/'coloured' or English speaker/Afrikaans speaker encounters.
Thus the concept of variety seems indispensable, and it is sug-
gested that any variable only really has full significance when
it co-occurs with other variables, that it is in fact the variety
(due perhaps to a kind of 'gestalt' effect) that has significance
in many speech encounters. As Lanham (1967) has pointed out:
"The average person's ability to identify a dialect is based
more on overall impression than on conscious knowledge of the
vowel and consonant sounds which characterize particular dialects."[7]
In a study such as this which is concerned with perceptions and
attitudes, this factor of the "overall impression" is also clearly
of particular importance.

The following four points are a summary of the theoretical position
adopted so far as an approach to the study:

1. In Cape Town language may be used in different ways by people of
different social groups.

2. An isolated variable does not necessarily have the same significance
to members of these different groups.

3. Only the co-occurrence of variables, i.e. the variety, has full sig-
nificance from the point of view of perception.

4. Cape Town is not a speech community in the way that New York City
is because differentiation in language is as important as stratification.

Naturally the above theoretical points stand as untested hypotheses
which will be more fully addressed in the following chapters. I would
now like to consider three important concepts which have been proposed
in the past to account for variation in the speech of the individual:
code-switching, style-shifting and accommodation. The concept of code-
switching is well developed in sociolinguistics and refers to the ways
in which speakers select from a repertoire of languages, dialects or
styles the one that is felt to be the most appropriate for a particular
speech situation or topic. This is regarded as a natural and perhaps
universal phenomenon, the ability to switch codes being an essential
part of a person's *communicative competence* (Hymes 1971). As I intend
to show however, this idea is a good deal more problematic when one
is concerned with varieties of a language rather than with actual
languages or distinctive dialects. The problem lies in the fact that
a switch between styles is sometimes considered to be essentially the same

kind of action as a switch between languages. According to Sankoff:
"...it is clear that the kind of linguistic behaviour involved
(e.g. shifting, or switching, among the various codes available)
is not specific or limited to multilinguals, that is, it does
not differ qualitatively from the behaviour of monolinguals
(shifting of style or level)".[8] Despite the rather clear-cut
assertion quoted above, the same writer points out the difficul-
ty in maintaining such a position:

> In many cases, analysts have experienced difficulty
> in attributing segments to one code or the other.
> This is especially true in cases involving diglossia
> (e.g. a creole and a standard language), which have
> recently been recognized as displaying the charac-
> teristics of a continuum (DeCamp, 1968; St-Pierre,
> 1969). Labov (1970) cites a six-line text involv-
> ing eighteen 'switches' to show the futility and
> arbitrariness of trying to identify segments as
> being one or other dialect of English. There may
> also be some cases where this problem arises in
> multilingual speech communities (e.g. Denison, 1970).
> Thus in any multi-code situation, it is important
> to remember not only that the codes in question
> often do not approximate to the monolingual stand-
> ard (Gumperz, 1969), but that they may not display
> the property of discreteness. It is clear however,
> that this second difficulty is more problematic
> in situations of diglossia than in cases of multi-
> lingualisms.[9]

We need then to make a distinction between code switching pro-
per and style shifting and the essential difference seems to be:
1. That in code switching there is a change at all linguistic
levels, phonological, syntactic and lexical, whereas style shif-
ting *may* only involve one. 2. Code switching involves a change
between two discrete and clearly distinguishable systems, where-
as in the case of style shifting there may be a continuum of
styles with no clear criterion for distinguishing between them.
It is a recognition of these points that has led to the wide-
spread adoption of the item-based model as discussed above.
For our purposes the term code switching will only be used for
a change which involves two varieties that are *perceived as two
distinct entities by the speaker or the hearer*. This point is
crucial because an attempt will be made to show that 'coloured'
speakers in many cases distinguish clearly beween standard and
vernacular Afrikaans in a way that they do not do with English.
Style shifting will be understood to refer to changes which are
largely unconscious and which can be graded on a rough continuum
of formality, possibly involving only a limited number of var-
iables or markers.

The concept of accommodation has been developed within the field
of social psychology by Howard Giles and his associates as a
theoretical construct which can account for language variation of
both types mentioned above by analysing the motivation underlying

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linguistic behaviour.

Giles proposes that the extent to which individuals
shift their speech style toward or away from the
speech style of their interlocutors is a mechanism
by which social approval or disapproval is commun-
icated. A shift in speech style toward that of an-
other is termed convergence, whereas a shift away
from the other's style of speech represents divergence.[10]

The advantage of this approach, as described above by Giles,
Bourhis and Taylor, is that it allows for an infinite range
of motivational possibilities which might lead to language
variation, and thus provides a somewhat less ethnocentric model
than that of Labov which tends to emphasize social class and
stratification at the expense of other possibilities. A form-
ulation of the general principle of motivation, which accords
with that of Giles, stressing at the same time the importance
of *groups* as a focus or reference point for individual identity,
is provided by McEntegart and Le Page (1982):

The hypothesis is that each individual creates for
himself patterns of linguistic behaviour so as to res-
emble those of the group or groups with which from
time to time he wishes to be identified (or so as to
distance himself from those with which he does not

wish to be identified). He is able to do this

to the extent that

(a) he can identify the groups

(b) he has sufficient access to them and the cap-
acity to analyse their systems

(c) his motivation is positive or negative, taking
into account the feedback he receives from them
of the chances of his being allowed to join them

(d) he is still able to modify his behaviour (e.g.
not too old).[11]

In considering the specific patterns of language variation which
occur in the 'coloured community' in Chapter Three, I will return
to the various concepts and models referred to here as a basis
for explanation and clarification of those patterns.

Since this study is concerned chiefly with attitudes towards
language varieties, it would be appropriate to conclude this
introduction with a clarification of the term *language attitudes*
and outline briefly what a study of language attitudes normally
involves. Ryan, Giles and Sebastian (1982) have defined language
attitudes as "... any affective, cognitive or behavioural index
of evaluative reactions toward different language varieties or
their speakers."[12] It is evident from this definition that the
essence of language attitudes lies in the key words *evaluative re-
actions*, and that these are connected both with emotions and beliefs
and they can either be explicitly stated or inferred from be-
haviour.

The authors quoted above distinguish between three types of assessment techniques used in language attitude studies, all of which are to be employed to one extent or another in the present study. The first is referred to as *content analysis of societal treatment* and covers several potential sources of information. The idea here is that one can gain insight into prevailing language attitudes by examining the public ways in which language varieties are treated, including official language policies and patterns of use in institutions such as government, business, mass media, education, church as well as less formal contexts. In this study it is intended to make use of such information, albeit not in a quantified manner, but derived from personal observation and chiefly with a view to formulating hypotheses and providing insights which may be of use in interpreting the quantified data. Observations of this type will form much of the discussion presented in Chapter Three. The second type of assessment technique is *direct measurement* which refers to the use of a series of direct questions concerning language to be answered by respondents. These here will be mainly concerned with language preference, e.g. situations in which either English or Afrikaans is preferred, opinions concerning the desirability of attaining standards of correctness in the use of English and motivation to learn. The third and generally most important method is that of *indirect measurement*. Techniques of indirect measurement have been developed mainly in the field of social psychology (Lambert, 1967), the reason for preferring them being that they tend to elicit information from respondents

that is either only subconsciously known or else more private
than what they would reveal in response to direct questions.
The most well known of these techniques is the *matched guise*
technique developed by W.E. Lambert and his associates in the
early 1960's.

> Over the past eight years we have developed
> a research technique that makes use of lang-
> uage and dialect variations to elicit the ster-
> eotyped impressions or biased views which mem-
> bers of one social group hold of representative
> members of a contrasting group. Briefly, the
> procedure involves the reactions of listeners
> (referred to as judges) to the taped recordings
> of a number of perfectly bilingual speakers
> reading a two-minute passage at one time in
> one of their languages (e.g. French) and later
> a translation equivalent of the same passage
> in their second language (e.g. English). Groups
> of judges are asked to listen to this series of
> recordings and evaluate the personality char-
> acteristics of each speaker as well as possible,
> using voice cues only. [13]

Although the technique described above was developed initially
for evaluation of two distinct languages, it has also been ad-
apted to provide evaluations of different dialects. A speaker is
heard using two different dialects or varieties and the judges

then evaluate him not realising that it is the same speaker in
each case. However I believe that there is an inherent danger
in using the matched guise technique in gauging attitudes towards
different varieties; this relates to what Lambert's description
above refers to as "perfectly bilingual speakers": As has been
pointed out earlier in this chapter different varieties of a
language are not necessarily discrete and well defined entities,
and thus there is a problem in speaking of a person being per-
fectly bilingual in terms of varieties, analogous to someone
being bilingual in two distinct languages. People are not normally
'bilingual' in this way, and there is the danger that the speak-
er might tend to produce an exaggerated or stereotyped form
for instance, of the variety which is not his own everyday one,
thus inviting stereotyped responses. Labov seems to have had
a similar misgiving when devising his own subjective reacion
tests for his New York study:

> Thus we find that the first step is to expose each
> informant to utterances with contrasting values of
> the variable in which all other variables would be
> held constant. This might be done with synthetic
> speech, or with utterances of a trained phonetician.
> But then we would have to prove that the phonetic
> detail of the variant was equivalent to that of the
> natural variants, and also, that the artificiality
> of the utterance did not itself introduce a new

variable that disturbed subjective reactions.
It seems preferable to approach the problem from
above, by using natural utterances of native
speakers. In casting the net a little wider, we
may dredge up some extraneous variables, but we
will be certain of our main object, the natural
occurrences of (r).[14]

I believe that the important point here is that the lack of
authenticity could in unpredictable ways disturb the patterns of
normal response, and that this would be particularly the case
where more than two varieties were being compared, as is intended
here. It has been decided then to use a whole range of voices
and language varieties in the hope of eliciting natural patterns
of response. Despite the presence of at least one extra variable,
that of voice quality, this can be minimized in two ways: firstly
by using a number of voices for any particular variety being
judged; secondly by using a battery of tests, so that the results
of a test can be checked and compared against those of another.
This leads to another methodological principle of this study:
the approach will be to always consider any particular set of
data in the light of other data available, both quantative and
qualitative, from within this as well as from other studies,
in order to extract all possible meanings from the data, and to
consider these possibilities again in the light of theory as well
as personal intuitions, since no set of quantative data can have
meaning apart from that assigned to it through these sorts of
considerations.

Notes

1. W. Labov (1972): *Sociolinguistic Patterns*, University of Pennsylvania, p.123.

2. p.123.

3. R.A. Hudson (1980): *Sociolinguistics*, Cambridge University Press, p.51.

4. G. Sankoff (1971): 'Language Use in Multilingual Societies' in J.B. Pride and J. Holmes eds. *Sociolinguistics*, Penguin, Middlesex, p.37.

5. Labov (1972), p.118.

6. p.297.

7. L.W. Lanham (1967): *The Way We Speak*, van Schaik, Pretoria, p.111.

8. Sankoff (1971), p.33.

9. p.36.

10. H. Giles, R.Y. Bourhis and D.M. Taylor (1977): 'Towards a Theory of Language in Ethnic Group Relations' in H. Giles ed. *Language, Ethnicity and Intergroup Relations*, Academic Press, London, p.322.

11. D. McEntegart and R.B. Le Page: 'An appraisal of the statistical techniques used in The Sociolinguistic Survey of Multilingual Communities' in S. Romaine ed. *Sociolinguistic Variation in Speech Communities*, Edward Arnold, London, p.106.

12. E.B. Ryan, H. Giles and R.J. Sebastian: 'An integrative perspective for the study of attitudes toward language variation' in E.B. Ryan and H. Giles eds. *Attitudes towards Language Variation*, Edward Arnold, London, p.7.

13. W.E. Lambert (1967): 'A Social Psychology of Bilingualism' in Pride and Holmes, p.336.

14. Labov (1972), p.146.

CHAPTER TWO : CHARACTERIZING THE COMMUNITY

In Chapter One the question of the validity of the term 'coloured' was raised and three attitudes were mentioned:

1. That of van der Ross, who, while rejecting the thesis that there could be any defining characteristic of the 'coloured' in terms of race, class, culture or religion, nevertheless was willing to refer to himself as such.

2. That of February, who uses the term in inverted commas only, as is being followed here, defends the use of the expression, 'so-called coloured' and regards stereotyping by 'whites' as being the source of 'coloured' identity.

3. That of the District Six residents, reported by Ridd, who avoided using the actual term but nevertheless implied it in their use of alternative locutions.

At the end of that discussion I suggested the idea of an *identity based on shared experience* as a way of explaining the above attitudes. In this chapter the notion of identity will be explored further with a view to determining the sense in which one might be justified in referring to a 'coloured community', and why there should be any reason to suppose that members of such a community use language in specific and characteristic ways.

2.1 Ethnicity

In the field of social psychology and language attitude studies a substantial amount of research has been concerned with the relationship between language and ethnicity. With these studies and their findings in mind

I intend to consider whether there is perhaps any sense in which the 'coloured community' may be referred to as an ethnic group, or whether in fact we are concerned here with a different type of intergroup relationship from those covered in the above-mentioned studies. However the possibility also exists that, even if the concept of ethnicity is rejected, these studies or certain insights that they have yielded will still be relevant and the methods developed adaptable to our present purposes.

Fishman (1977) has characterized ethnicity in the following way:

> Ethnicity is rightly understood as an aspect of
> a collectivity's self-recognition as well as an
> aspect of its recognition in the eyes of outsiders.
> Ethnic recognition differs from other kinds of group
> -embedded recognition in that it operates basically
> in terms of paternity rather than in terms of pat-
> rimony and exegesis thereupon.[1]

Two aspects then are important, "self-recognition" and "recognition in the eyes of outsiders", and we would be entitled to specify that both be present and applicable in order for a given group to be regarded as an ethnic group. Secondly recognition should be in terms of paternity rather than patrimony. Self-recognition corresponds with what Fishman refers to as the

meanings which a person attaches to his "descent related being and behaving".[2] In this chapter I intend to show that the majority of 'coloured people' in the Cape Peninsula do not interpret their own being and behaving in terms of descent, although outsiders, i.e. 'whites', tend to do so. So far it would seem that ethnicity is simply a matter of perception, and we will certainly have to examine the role that perceptions and attitudes have played in defining 'coloured identity'; but first it will be necessary to analyse this concept of *paternity*, since it is this which distinguishes an ethnic group from other types of social group. Paternity must be distinguished from *patrimony* which Fishman has defined as "...how ethnic collectivities behave and ... what their members do in order to express their membership."[3] Paternity on the other hand is less negotiable than this, and I intend now to focus on three partial definitions of paternity offered by Fishman, "biological origins", "a presumptive discontinuity between 'those who have it' and 'those who do not'" and "kinship".[4]

Contrary to the often made assumption that the 'coloured people' constitute a distinct racial group is the view exemplified by van der Ross and mentioned in Chapter One that the 'coloured people' represent a mingling of diverse races. Elsewhere (Ridd 1981, Whisson 1977) the term 'residual category' has been used to refer to such a situation in which a racially heterogeneous group is regarded as if it were a homogenous one. The question

of biological origins is related to the idea of a *single common ancestry* of a people and some, perhaps indefinable, essence which is supposed to be passed from generation to generation. One would experience a considerable amount of difficulty in attempting to view the 'coloured people' as having common biological origins in this sense, since they are descended from the peoples of scattered parts of Africa, Europe and Asia, as well as a number of indigenous peoples of Southern Africa. The resulting racial differences between 'coloured' individuals are not only obviously apparent to outsiders but have great importance for certain ingroup individuals as elements of identity, as will be shown below. Regarding the notion of a discontinuity between insiders and outsiders, while this may be of tremendous importance to some, in particular to South Africa's legislators, on investigation it does not have any basis in fact. People of every race and nationality can and do become members of the 'coloured community' in various ways, while others manage to renounce their former membership: 'Whites' are now legally entitled to marry into the community again, but in fact there has probably not been any stage in the last three centuries when this has not been common. Chinese people have been regarded as members. 'Coloured' people are regularly reclassified as 'white', 'black' as 'coloured' and so on; but the starkest illustration of the absence of any discontinuity is the fact that many families have siblings classified variously as 'white' and 'coloured'. Thus kinship is not a clear criterion either: one can be 'coloured' and have a 'white' brother or sister, or have cousins who are all 'white'. Clearly 'coloured' and 'white' are not divided by paternity in any absolute sense.

Inescapably one is drawn back to the question of perceptions then, and the factor referred to by Fishman as "recognition in the eyes of outsiders" is obviously crucial. The question of "self-rec ognition will be considered in depth below. I have already briefly mentioned in Chapter One the process of stereotyping by means of which 'whites' maintain the boundary between themselves and 'coloureds', often perpetuated through the media and literature: a popular radio comedy programme 'The Pip Freedman Show' is a very clear example. Ridd (1981) has given an overview of liter- ature and academic writings dealing with the 'coloured people' which she has divided into four categories, two of these orig- inating from 'white' writers and two mainly from 'coloured'. The first of the 'white' categories is one which represents 'coloureds' as "people who do not form a distinctly separate group of their own but are dependent on or marginal to, the Whites," a point of view which she associates with the "English liberal tradition in South Africa".[5] In this view 'coloureds' are seen as a group on the fringe of 'white' society; the prob- lem of categorizing people who are clearly not culturally distinct from 'whites' is approached through the concept of *marginality*, an attempt to provide a category which will somehow successfully describe and characterize the 'misfits'. This literature seems to generally emphasize the *cultural continuity* between 'white' and 'coloured' while continuing to adhere to a *racial discon- tinuity*. In my discussion above I have attempted to show through the concepts of paternity, kinship and so on that no such racial

discontinuity exists. But the most serious problem with this
view is that 'coloureds' tend to be seen as 'would be whites'
who are unfortunately barred by colour. As Ridd's work has shown
many 'coloureds' who wish to evade the label 'coloured' do not
do so by 'trying to be white' but more often by emphasizing some
other aspect of their identity, e.g. their socioeconomic status
or their religious identity, and many who are light enough of
complexion do not try to 'pass for white'. The concept of marg-
inality, does not seem to be able to account for these attitudes
and Ridd's charge of ethnocentrism is justifiable.

"The second category of writings represents the view that *Coloureds*
(with no inverted commas) constitute a separate racial or ethnic
group, or 'a nation in the making'."[6] Ridd here points to the work
of Afrikaner academics such as Edelstein and du Plessis who regard
'coloureds' as a naturally separate group, who are happy and
proud to be so. The embarrassing problem for them of the hetero-
geneity of the 'coloureds' is dealt with by pointing to subgroups
such as 'Cape Coloureds', 'Malays', 'Griquas' and so on as if
everyone designated as 'coloured' must naturally and inevitably
fit into one of these categories. The racist tenor of this type
of writing may be illustrated by the following characterization
of the 'Malay' by du Plessis:

> ... introspective, polite, kind towards women,
> children and animals; inclined to speak slowly;
> to be passive and indolent. When aroused he may
> lose all self-control and run amok.[7]

The point of mentioning these writings is to show how faithfully the idea of a separate 'coloured people' is adhered to at all levels of 'white' opinion from popular stereotyping to academic writing. Ridd quotes from a 1980 issue of *UCT News* which demonstrates clearly the esteem in which du Plessis is held by the academic establishment. In fact very few among Cape Muslims are prepared to accept the designation 'Malay' unreservedly.

A rather different view is expressed in the other two categories of writings mentioned by Ridd. The first of these originates from "...a radical social elite" who reject the concept of a plural society and regard the term 'coloured' as "...a category created by Whites to divide and weaken non-White opposition to White supremacy, or 'baasskap'".[8] According to this view those who accept the self-designation 'coloured' are either indoctrinated by, or collaborators with 'whites'. Interestingly Ridd notes that although this view is associated with certain radical elements, it "...seems to be deeply embedded among 'Coloured' people less militant than they."[9] The fourth category consists of works of literature which portray the plight of people classified and treated as 'coloured' and who are forced to accommodate their lives accordingly. The significance for the present study is that these writings give some idea of the experience of people who have had to accommodate their lives thus and what the social consequences of labelling people 'coloured' really are. It would therefore be appropriate to examine some of the findings of

Ridd's own study to get a fuller understanding of why it is that such writers show that 'coloured' is not a description which people take pride in, and also that "...far from there being any sense of group consciousness or cohesiveness among 'Coloureds', such communities are characterized by social division."[10]

2.2 *Elements of Identity*

The first point that needs to be made about Ridd's anthropological study is that it was, as the present study is, concerned with the 'coloured' population in the Cape Peninsula, in that case the District Six and Woodstock area in particular. This point must be borne in mind because it is very likely that identity in the urban situation is a more complex matter than it is in the rural areas, and many more status factors, for example, may be involved. The two most important status factors that Ridd noted were 'colour' and religion, and both were used as a means of distancing the individual from those regarded as 'unambig- uously coloured', these being typically the rural migrants who were seen to have the lowest status of all. It is worth quoting Ridd at some length here on the role of 'colour' in establishing status:

> The term 'colour', as it is used here, refers to
> more than simply skin pigmentation. It covers all
> those aspects of the physical form, particularly
> facial features, colour and texture of hair, colour

of eyes and texture as well as colour of skin,
which are regarded as signs of one type of racial
background or another. The appearance most de-
sired is that closest to the White. The least de-
sired attributes are those characteristic of the
Hottentot; these are considered inferior even to
negroid features. People in this Area have an ex-
perienced eye for the most subtle of differences
in skin pigmentation which would go quite unnoticed
by the White outsider. No specific vocabulary has
developed to distinguish these infinitesimal var-
iations, and skin colour alone does not indicate
social status. It is possible for a 'pass-White'
to be darker than someone who is described as
'lower class Coloured'. The possession of sharp
features and straight hair may be more important.
Skin-lightening creams are available on the market
but they are little used. Attempts to straighten
the hair, however, are almost universal. Some with
more frizzy hair use hair-straightening lotion,
but the operation of 'swirling' the hair is much
more common, the hair being pinned back against
the head, and covered by an old stocking, knotted
at one end to hold the hair flat ... Children, and
especially newborn babies, are subject to discreet
speculation about how European they will look in
later life...whether a child would eventually

look more like a European grandfather perhaps, or
a 'Coloured' grandmother. A child's appearance
would not only have a bearing on his own future
opportunities, it would also affect the whole
family's attempts to dissociate itself from the
'Coloured' community.[11]

The important point to notice here is that these fine discri-
minations in 'colour' were not for the most part directly re-
lated to attempts to 'pass for white', but had their importance
as status indices *within* the 'coloured community'. Thus they
represented a way of distancing oneself from being unambiguously
'coloured' while not *necessarily* being valued in terms of poss-
ibilities for integration with 'whites'. The main function of
colour, in the broad sense given above, is to stratify the 'col-
oured community' in such a way that certain individuals whose
appearance is more European in some physical characteristic or
other may take pride in being less 'coloured' than the next
person, with the unfortunates who have obviously Khoi features
occupying the lowest position in the status hierarchy. Thus
possibilities for mobility in this particular dimension are
limited to straightening one's hair or lightening one's skin
as far as possible. While Ridd notes that there seemed to be
little evidence of the latter taking place, hair straightening
was very popular and at least one of her informants made the com-
ment that straight hair was more important than skin colour.
This stratification by colour is shown to have pervaded the
whole District Six community, leading to a complex of attitudes,

where for instance, some people classified as 'coloured' could look down on other people for being more 'coloured' than they, while at the same time claiming that 'whites' or higher status 'coloureds' were no better than themselves. In such attitudes we see a contradiction of course, one which reflects a certain type of response, albeit a widespread one, to the imposition of a European appearance as the ideal one, resulting from 'white' political and economic domination and the consequences of the brutal race classification system. So psychologically an acceptance of colour stratification clashes constantly with a deep seated knowledge that 'they are no better than us'. While certainly some individuals do resolve this contradiction by 'becoming white', this avenue is rejected by the majority, even by those for whom it is a viable option, and they turn to other strategies for developing a favourable self-image.

Increasingly this is tending to take the form of politicisation. This can involve the adoption of an ideology that stresses racial equality, but can also be manifested as a negative or hostile attitude towards 'whites'. Ridd notes that this negative or hostile attitude towards 'whites' was beginning to replace the nostalgia for the more integrated past at the time her research was carried out, and was being more openly expressed on the Cape Flats among some members of the younger generation than in District Six. But generally, and especially among those with a higher education, the tendency is for political ideologies which stress racial equality to take root. Virtually all shades of

political opinion are represented, from liberalism to more militant and vehemently anti-status quo positions. The significance of this process of politicisation for this study is that it illustrates the desire on the part of those regarded as 'coloured' to dissociate themselves from an identity which they see as having been imposed on them by 'whites'. In a subjective sense, the consequences for the individual embracing one of the more militant ideological positions are far reaching, giving him or her a more favourable self-image by neutralizing the effects of the degrading 'coloured' label, and entailing a commitment to engaging in political action to transform South African society as a whole. This process has received strong impetus in the last decade, the most significant events being the urban unrest which began with the uprisings of 1976, reaching a peak of intensity in the Cape Peninsula in the latter half of 1985, the introduction of the tricameral parliament in 1984 which resulted in the emergence of a number of political movements with strong popular support in the Peninsula, and the schools boycotts also in 1985. Naturally none of this represents a unified 'coloured' political orientation, although such movements have existed in the past, and contemporary 'coloured' activists are sharply divided along ideological lines.

There is an active marxist core in the community, mostly of a neo-Trotskyite character, which although representing a relatively small number of individuals, has managed to exert a fairly widespread influence in the community, particularly in

certain educational and sporting spheres. But the largest support is attracted by the affiliates of the United Democratic Front, which has a more liberal character and represents a wider spectrum of political opinion. The UDF in fact was founded not so much on strict ideological lines, but rather as an opposition coalition to the new constitution of 1984. It is significant in that it represents an identification with 'blacks', and to a lesser extent liberal and leftist 'whites', in an alliance specifically against other 'coloureds' who have aligned themselves with the government by electing to participate in parliament. Thus politically the 'coloured people' are now irrevocably divided to an extent which they probably never have been before.

A parallel development has been the emergence of militant Islam in the Peninsula. The role of Islam in Cape politics has increased dramatically enough in recent years to attract the attention of government spokesmen, the NGK (Dutch Reformed Church) clergy and the media, who have all expressed alarm at this development, with the result that the Muslim community has come under closer scrutiny by the authorities and a number of detentions and other repressive measures have ensued. It is widely agreed that the Iranian revolution of 1979 has provided a part of the inspiration for the upsurge of Islamic political activity, and this influence has resulted in one of the more extreme redefinitions of identity that has occurred on the part of certain

individuals, some of whom have gone as far as visiting Iran and
embracing Shi'ism. Amongst the reasons for the current surge in
enthusiasm for Islam are: the fact that it provides a potentially
revolutionary vision for the transformation of society which
is strongly anti-racist, and secondly the need which I have
indicated as existing in the Cape Peninsula on the part of those
for whom the acquisition of an alternative self-image is imperative.
Thus we have seen a strong affirmation of Muslim identity over
racial identity, with an increase in the numbers of conversions
to Islam.

The 'coloured community' is heterogeneous with regard to relig-
ion. Although the ratio of Muslims to Christians nationwide is
probably less than ten percent, in the Peninsula Muslims con-
stitute a far larger proportion, approaching fifty percent in
most areas, and in at least one area, the Bokaap, they are in
the majority. I would like to outline briefly Ridd's observat-
ions on the importance of religion as an index of status and
element of identity, with a view to further dispelling the notion
of the 'coloureds' as a cohesive group. Ridd has pointed out
that Islam has traditionally been an important element of iden-
tity in the community, in a less political way than that out-
lined above, having had certain status connotations over a long
period of time. In the early years of the District Six commun-
ity, for many poor Christian 'coloureds', particularly the rural
migrants, Muslims living among them, although also poor and
far removed from the world of 'whites', were seen to have a
"higher social status as established townspeople"[12] and many

conversions to Islam took place. Secondly, with the more recent improvement of the economic position of the Muslims relative to Christians, many, particularly women, have been attracted to Islam as offering a favourable alternative identity to that of the degrading 'coloured' one. As a Muslim such a person is able to take pride in belonging to a worldwide civilisation and to look down on those whose identity seems to have an essentially local and therefore 'coloured' character. Being Christian means being caught in the stratification by colour syndrome and basing one's status on "...having a European appearance and on...European kinship connections."[13] Such status conscious Muslims, like the politically conscious individuals mentioned above, are emphatic in rejecting the 'Malay' label used by 'whites' to refer to Cape Muslims in general. Social interaction with Indians often accompanies this scorn for 'Malay' identity, and it is not uncommon for such individuals to refer to themselves proudly as Muslims while referring to lower class individuals as 'Malay' or *slams*. The latter are often less averse to referring to themselves as 'Malay' or even *slams* or 'coloured'.

Christians on the other hand often have a number of prejudices against Muslims in general, with the lower class type of Muslim usually serving as a stereotype for Christian prejudice. The Muslims are accused of hypocrisy in that they are seen as not practising the high standards of hygiene, sobriety and piety which they claim for their religion; they are also accused of strange, suspect practices associated with witchcraft and super-

stition, and they are often regarded as generally untrustworthy by Christians who pride themselves on their respectability. Even the frequent conversion of women to Islam has been held against the Muslims, who are accused of bewitching and stealing Christian girls, particularly the lighter complexioned ones, while at the same time protecting their own women from Christian advances, so that the Christians are consequently doomed to becoming a darker and darker race.

With regard to the Christian churches Ridd found that the Roman Catholic and Anglican churches were accorded the highest social status, being associated with liberal beliefs in racial equality, conducting their services in English, and their membership was associated with "respectable 'Coloured' families".[14] However the Catholic church was increasing its membership relative to that of the Anglican church, according to Ridd because of "...a more forthright stand against apartheid".[15] Nationally the Theron Commission report shows the Roman Catholic church to have increased its membership from 4,7 to 9,6 percent of the 'coloured' population between 1936 and 1970, while the Anglican membership decreased from 21,2 to 16,5 percent. The Dutch Reformed Mission church is a specifically 'coloured' church which has the highest membership nationally, but which Ridd found had low status and almost no following in the areas with which she was concerned. The church conducts its services in more or less standard Afrikaans

and as a 'daughter' church of the main 'white' Afrikaner church
is inevitably associated with apartheid, despite a more polit-
icised clergy which has recently emerged, and its membership
consists chiefly of rural migrants, or their descendants, or
else the more politically conservative 'coloureds'. The Apostolic
churches have had the greatest increase in membership nationally
(from 6,2 to 18,8 percent) and Ridd attributes this to the fact
that they manage to appeal to individuals rather than to 'coloureds',
they are free of the status-conscious English character of the
Anglican church, and unlike the Dutch Reformed Mission church
conduct their services in the vernacular, often a mixture of
English and Afrikaans. In religious affiliation then, the trend
has generally been towards the Catholic and Apostolic churches
as well as Islam, with a drop in membership of all the other
churches. No figures seem to be available for the various 'born
again' Christian sects which appear to be thriving amongst the
'coloured' population.

So far I have been attempting to show the rejection by people
of the 'coloured' label, which has led to certain attitudes:
the emphasis by certain individuals of their European appearance
and kinship with 'whites', the emergence and increasing popul-
arity of vehemently non-racial political ideologies, and the
importance of religious identity. However it must be said that
a large number are prepared to refer to themselves as 'coloured',
albeit reluctantly. As I mentioned in my discussion of the Christ-

ian churches above, the emphasis with these people is usually placed
on their individual worth, and qualities such as respectability.
educational attainment and socioeconomic status are stressed and
looked to to provide a positive self image. Scrupilous cleanliness,
tidiness and the cultivation of a prosperous exterior are highly
valued. Pride is taken in being more 'cultured' than many 'whites'
and those who achieve success in this endeavour not only tend
to treat with scorn lower class 'coloureds', but also certain
segments of the 'white' population, particularly unsophisticated
Afrikaners (*boere*), 'poor whites', and any seen to be leading
a relatively disordered life. This concern with respectability
and status is sometimes accompanied by an extreme political
conservatism, often bordering on fascism. There is undoubtedly
a sizeable proportion of the 'coloured' community who are strongly
supportive of the status quo, as evidenced by the decision on
the part of certain elements to participate in the tricameral
parliament, and the polling figures which showed a small but
by no means negligible support base. These individuals are more
often Christian (especially Dutch Reformed) than Muslim, rural
migrants or their descendants, having a preference for speak-
ing a more standard form of Afrikaans rather than the dialect,
and often occupying prominent positions in the government service,
in the police, army and especially education. Such conservatism
is not so much an acceptance of 'coloured' identity (although
it may be in some cases) as a wish to preserve a privileged pos-
ition relative to the rest of the community, which has often been
won by hard work and faithful service to the system.

I have deliberately chosen to deal with another element of identity in the 'coloured' community last of all, the one most often used as a stereotype for the 'coloured', because I believe that the group in question does constitute a minority, although a large one. This is the one group who do, in a sense, accept 'coloured' identity unreservedly, but redefine it by exaggeration, seemingly taking a pride in their lack of 'culture' or respectability. I am referring to those low class 'coloureds' whose identity and self image are covered by the word *gam* (believed to be derived from the biblical Ham) which serves as a slang term for the 'coloured' population as a whole; but only low class individuals who are prepared to renounce all status seeking, pretensions of respectability and 'culture', and have no wish to evade their low class 'coloured' identity, willingly refer to themselves as *gam*. Stone (1972) has pointed out that this term is used both in a mocking and disparaging way as well as in a way in which the behaviour of *gam* is condoned: so a person who refers to himself thus is at the same time confirming his own disreputability and delighting in the fact that this gives him a kind of licence to behave in as lawless and offensive a manner as pleases him. The positive self image which a person gains from this lies in the fact that he is set apart from those 'coloureds' who are attempting to be 'white'; they are seen as pretentious because in fact they are also *gam* but they are pretending to be something else.

The *gam* figure is typically unfortunate, repulsive, foolish,

ignorant, disreputable and a rebel against the moral order. He is invariably a drinker, dagga and mandrax smoker (and merchant) and prone to violence, often as a member of an organized gang. As Stone observes:

> A preoccupation with identity is most acute among lower-class male adolescents. Many are able to achieve it only in negative terms, by membership of a delinquent gang.[16]

Very few other avenues are open to the low class 'coloured' youth in the way of identity, and an individual who does not go the way of gangsterism usually turns to one of the fundamentalist Christian sects which proliferate on the Cape Flats where he may gain support in a highly cohesive sect from others who, like him, are attempting to abandon the path of debauchery and violence. According to Stone, "Converts are often guilt-ridden delinquents or heavy drinkers, and it is common to find delinquent and extremely religious siblings in one family."[17] An interesting and related phenomenon in recent years has been the rapid spread of the cult of Rastafari among low class 'coloured' youth. 'Rasta' youths define their identity in terms of this quasi-religious movement imported from Jamaica, seeing themselves as Africans rebelling against the corrupt white man's world ('Babylon'); they tend to drop out of school or regular employment, grow their hair in long plaits ('dreadlocks') and smoke dagga incessantly, while usually abstaining from violence, al-

cohol, mandrax and even tobacco. Some may still live with their
parents while others go as far as sleeping on the beach or in
caves, alone or in communes. What is significant here is that
they despise both the status-seeking 'coloureds', who are seen
as dancing to the white man's tune, as well as the criminal,
wine-drinking 'coloured' who is regarded as being just as 'brain-
washed' as the status-seeker.

I have said that the *gam* or low class 'coloured' stereotype
is the one most often associated with the 'coloured people'
by 'whites' and this is manifested in many ways. The annual
'coon carnival' has always been much loved by Capetonian 'whites'
and visitors to the city, because here the 'coloured' acts out
in exaggerated caricature of himself this stereotype: happy,
colourful, musical, as well as drunk, exhibitionist and above
all foolish and unsophisticated. Middle class 'white' youths
of liberal or leftist persuasions have frequently helped to
reinforce the stereotype by romanticising and even identifying
with gangsters and delinquents, (as if they are the 'coloureds'
who are being the most true to themselves), tending to frequent
parts of Woodstock where the *gam* lifestyle can be observed and
dagga and mandrax are obtainable. It is not uncommon to find
university students whose speech is consequently characterized
by many of the speech mannerisms of the merchants (*gamtaal*).

So far in this chapter I have been attempting to contrast the
'white' stereotype of the 'coloured' with the actual diversity

that exists in the community, and to show the many ways in which individuals define their identity in terms other than simply 'coloured', to the point now where it might well be appropriate to ask whether there is any sense in which one can accurately refer to a 'community'. It is to obtain clarity on this that I intend to consider in the remaining part of this chapter certain theoretical concepts drawn from the fields of social psychology and anthropology.

2.3 Psychological and Anthropological perspectives

Tajfel (1981) has offered a theory of social groups which may be of assistance in our attempts to clarify the cognitive, perceptual and attitudinal determinants of group identity. The first aspect which must be considered here concerns what I have referred to as the view of outsiders: that is, the ways in which people who see themselves as being outside of a particular group, are often the very actors who are instrumental in defining the group, and to some extent specifying who shall be considered a member and who shall not. It is important to note here that this is in contrast to the case of ethnic groups where the members identify themselves as such. I have made much mention of stereotypes as a factor in the definition of 'coloured' identity because this seems to be the most satisfactory explanatory tool at hand. Tajfel links stereotypes with categorisation and observes that their function is to "... introduce simplicity and order where there is

complexity and nearly random variation", and further he notes that "...the problem of stereotypes is that of the relation between a set of attributes which vary on continuous dimensions and classifications which are discontinuous".[18] These two statements express succinctly the nature of the problem: Firstly the idea of 'random variation' corresponds to the racial composition of the 'coloured' population, since any and every racial element can be or is included; secondly the introduction of 'simplicity and order' corresponds here to the application of the 'coloured' label itself, which introduces order by cognitively converting a heterogeneous collection of individuals into a homogenous category. This has the advantage for those doing the categorizing that they will then be able to classify any individual they may encounter into one or other category (perception) with the purpose of behaving towards or reacting to that individual in a way that is deemed appropriate to the category in which he has been placed (attitude). The advantage lies in the fact that in the case of there being say only two categories (e.g. 'white' and 'coloured'), one is required to have only two general modes of behaving or reacting, instead of a separate one for each individual one encounters, and thus the cognitive burden in relating to people is reduced.

Naturally a number of problems immediately become apparent at this point. Firstly, what determines the criteria for categorization, and secondly, what determines the character of the modes of behaviour adopted towards each category? Or applying these

questions to the problem at hand: how does one decide who is
'coloured' and who is 'white', and why should one behave diff-
erently towards someone who is 'white' to someone who is 'col-
oured'? I have asserted that a continuity, both cultural and
racial, rather than a discontinuity, exists between 'white' and
'coloured'. Tajfel offers the following clarification: "When
a classification is correlated with a continuous dimension,
there will be a tendency to exaggerate the differences on that
dimension between items which fall into distinct classes, and
to minimize those differences within each of the classes".[19]
Or to put it another way, one *creates* distinct classes where
none might have existed before by arbitrarily imposing a dis-
continuity or break at a particular point on a continuous di-
mension and then perceiving these artificially created classes
and the artificial break or discontinuity between them as natural
and inevitable. Why should one do this?

The answer to that question is necessarily complex and can only
be approached historically. There are many factors involved and
to tackle each one would be completely beyond the scope of this
thesis. Briefly, the historical aspect concerns the relationship
between the original European colonisers and the conquered races,
particularly the belief on the part of the Europeans of their
inherent superiority over these races and presumably, their
desire to exploit them economically. In the early days of the
Cape colony slaves were imported from other colonized territor-
ies, including India, Indonesia and many parts of Africa. At
this point one can clearly identify a racial and cultural dis-

continuity as well as a relationship of dominance and subord-
ination naturally, between masters and slaves; although already
we have diversity among the slaves. The discontinuity begins
to break down from the point at which intermarriage and inter-
breeding between masters and slaves takes place. Now there is
a situation where, out of a desire on the part of the masters
that this emerging racial continuity between them and the slaves
should not lead to the blurring or dissolving of the master to
slave relationship which they enjoy, some curbing measure be-
comes imperative. Several options are open: to put an end to
intermarriage and interbreeding by importing more European wives
for the male settlers, to disinherit both the children and the
slave women where 'miscegenation' has taken place, or keep the
children while denying any privileged rights to the slave mothers
involved. One can only speculate here that all these options
were pursued to one extent or another, with a view to maintaining
the prevailing social order. The abolition of slavery could not
have made any significant difference to this attitude, since
the economic dominance of the former slave masters is never
jeopardized by such a move. However a complication arises in that
intermarriage and interbreeding have never ceased, not even when
the prohibitive measures of the National Party were in force.
So while the racial and cultural continuity has been perpetuated,
the attitude which seeks to maintain an artificial discontinuity
has persisted as well, since the desire for privilege and dom-
inance has persisted. There is consequently a problem of per-
ception in that where such a continuity exists, and one is con-
fronted with an individual who could on available criteria

be as easily assigned to the one category as to the other, the de-
cision as to which of the alternative modes of behaviour to
adopt towards him or her is made impossible. As was first men-
tioned in Chapter One this problem of perception can be acute
in South Africa, and it is an aim of this thesis to find out
the extent to which this problem of perception is reflected in
language; one thinks for instance of the case of telephone en-
counters between strangers.

I have sketched very briefly the historical or economic 'base'
which provides an explanation of why it is that 'whites' should
wish to discriminate between 'coloureds' and themselves. This is
not to say that racial attitudes are today the same as they were
in the early years of the Cape settlement, or that they are in
any way static; nevertheless one should be clear that the group
definitions *proceed from* the 'whites', the historically dominant
group, not from the 'coloureds' themselves. It may be appropr-
iate here to mention the concept of *prejudice*, as a reference to
such a situation where categorization into groups has taken place,
the distance between them being maintained by stereotypes, be-
liefs of superiority and inferiority and so forth. The important
question now arises as to how those who are the victims of pre-
judice, who have played the more passive role in the historical
process, react to it. Tajfel has put the problem in the foll-
owing terms:

> If it were true that the identification with one's

own group is based on some kind of a universal and
self-generating process, then the fact that a group
is considered as inferior in the social order should
not considerably affect the affiliation with it
shown by its young children. If, on the other hand,
a system of preferences in the society at large does
affect all of its members, then children of the group
assumed to be inferior should be exposed to conflict
in which the progressive acquisition of their own
group identity, and the formation of their own social
self that goes with it, should clash with the order-
ing that is generally accepted and socially trans-
mitted.[20]

There is an understandable advantage for a person whose identity
is defined in terms of a group which is clearly superior in the
social order to accept his or her membership without question.
It is just as understandable that the person who is compelled
to accept membership of a group which is considered inferior
should be 'exposed to conflict'. As we have seen, different in-
dividuals cope with this conflict in different ways. Some who
are able, renounce group membership by 'passing for white',
while others are perhaps content with occupying a relatively
high status position within the group. Many will define their
identity according to other criteria such as religion, respec-
tability or gang membership; but increasingly the most popular
option is a rejection of the ideology based on the idea of a
plural society, in favour of another. The important point is

that it is difficult for someone to develop a favourable self-
image while accepting the designation 'coloured', knowing that
it is essentially a label denoting inferiority. According to
Tajfel, when group membership does not "...contribute to the
positive aspect of one's social identity", and leaving the group
is impossible, the solution tends to be "...to accept the sit-
uation for what it is and engage in social action which would
lead to desirable changes in the situation."[21] An example of
a social action is to refuse to use the term 'coloured' without
the qualification 'so-called'. What is the difference between
being a 'coloured' and a 'so-called coloured'?

> ...a collection of people, consensually designated
> by a majority as somehow different, may begin by not
> accepting this difference, or by denying its inter-
> pretation. It may be a long time before this 'outside'
> consensus results in creating clear-cut group bound-
> aries, formal institutionalized rules and the specific
> features of informal social behaviour...And yet all
> this time the 'feeling' of membership of belongingness,
> of a common difference from others will continue to
> develop... The internal cohesion and structure of a
> minority group may sometimes come *as a result* of
> this development of an awareness of being considered
> as different.[22]

I believe that the use of the term 'so-called coloured' corres-

ponds to the kind of situation described above by Tajfel, an acceptance of the situation for what it is, a recognition that a group of people somehow treated as different and somehow cut off from the others has in fact *become* different as a result. It at least reflects an awareness that those who have been called 'coloured' have shared the experience of being treated this way, and that they do therefore have something in common which they do not share with others. And it is for this reason that 'passing for white' has a particular kind of stigma attached to it. This does not indicate an attachment to 'coloured' identity in any overt sense, but as I will attempt to show, does represent a form of loyalty, and therefore a *covert* identification with, other people whose experience has been similar to one's own.

The use of the term 'black' by certain 'coloureds' in referring to themselves, as a way of forging a broader solidarity with the fellow oppressed, may be a fairly recent development. The question of how many 'coloureds' there are who are as eager to remove the boundaries between themselves and 'blacks' as they are to remove them between themselves and 'whites' need not be answered here. The formation of the UDF was clearly an attempt on the part of a considerable number of people to do this, and current attempts to draw blacks into the fold of Islam is another. But at present I believe the covert identification with fellow 'coloureds' is still as important to the majority as any declared solidarity with the oppressed is. I intend now to suggest a way of explaining how this covert identification

is maintained in spite of the overt divisions that may charac-
terize the community, and for this purpose we need to consider
the concept of *social network*.

Social network theory has been developed in anthropology (Boiss-
evain, 1981) and has been applied as a methodological device
in sociolinguistics (Milroy, 1980). Its importance lies in the
fact that in considering the types of networks that exist one
is able to arrive at a satisfactory definition of a community,
and it provides an observable and even quantifiable means of
deciding: firstly whether a given number of people constitute
a community or not, and secondly what the consequences are of
belonging to a community rather than some other type of social
organization.

The first distinction which needs to be made here is between
what I am now referring to as a *community* and the *speech comm-
unity* of Labov. Milroy points out that while the speech commun-
ity is a large-scale entity in which "...speakers from *all social
classes* are seen as united by their common evaluation of ling-
uistic norms", the community is "a much smaller-scale and less
abstract social unit".[23] Secondly Milroy distinguishes between
community and social class, which as she points out is also a
large-scale, abstract concept which can often present difficul-
ties when one is attempting to assign a particular individual
to a class such as 'lower class', 'working class', 'middle class'
and so on. She offers the following clarification:

Membership of a group labelled 'lower-middle class'
does not necessarily form an important part of a
person's definition of his social identity. Yet
smaller-scale categories are available which reflect
the fact that there *are* social units to which people
feel they belong and which are less abstract than
social classes. For this smaller-scale, more concrete
unit we reserve the term *community*, used in a specific
technical sense.[24]

The main difference then is that the community is less abstract
than social class because firstly, people have a 'consciousness
of belonging' to it, and secondly it always has 'a strong terr-
itorial basis'.[25] These two aspects are especially relevant to
the present study, because while a 'coloured' person may not like
to think of him or herself as such, and may have no concept
even of 'lower class' or 'middle class', there is no doubt that
an awareness of living say in Grassy Park or the Bokaap rather
than say Rondebosch or Constantia and the consequences thereof,
particularly the kinds of relationship one has with the surroun-
ding people, is accessible to such an individual. Milroy points
out that generally community dwellers are "fearful of moving
outside their areas".[26] This seems to be particularly applicable
in the South African context where one's area of residence is
a matter of particular significance. The essential difference
between community dwellers and others is that they are not socially
and geographically mobile; there is a clear understanding that
one's fate, survival even, is linked with and dependent upon

relationships with one's fellow community dwellers, a situation
which does not pertain in the case of suburban dwellers who are,
at least potentially, socially and geographically mobile and
need not, and very often do not, become acquainted with other
people in the neighbourhood.

The key to understanding the community is the social network,
by which I am referring to the structure of relationships which
may be found to exist within any particular group of people.
Networks may be of different types; that is they may be more or
less *dense*, and they may be either *uniplex* or *multiplex*. A dense
network is one where a particular indivdual's acquaintances
also know each other, while a low density network is one where
the individual knows a number of people who generally do not
know one another. The latter is usually found to be the case
with socially and geographically mobile individuals who have
contacts in widely dispersed areas, none of whom have ever met.
In the case of people not similarly mobile, confining themselves
in their social interactions to a particular territory, the con-
tacts of a particular individual (ego) are very much more likely
to know one another. Boissevain defines network density in the
following way:

> ...an index of the *potential communication* between
> parts of the network and thus of the quantity and
> types of information (about Ego or others) that *can*
> be exchanged. When this information, judgements,
> gossip and so on is actually exchanged on a large

scale, as often happens, for example, in a small
village where everyone knows each other, it tends
to bring about a homogeneity of norms and values.[27]

A multiplex relationship is one where the individual interacts
with another in more than one capacity, for example as friend,
neighbour and kinsman, while a uniplex relationship is one where
there is only one such strand, e.g. as friend *or* neighbour *or*
kinsman. Boissevain notes that multiplex relationships have a
different character to uniplex relationships in that they are
"...more intimate (in the sense of friendly and confidential)",
and also "...there is greater accessibility, and thus response
to pressure." [28] The last point is important to the question
of language and dialect, since it implies that the network fun-
ctions as a kind of norm-enforcing mechanism. Now the definition
of a community which I have been working towards presents itself
quite clearly: a social organization with a territorial base,
characterized by a social network of high density and multiplex-
ity. A typical community dweller knows many people living in
his vicinity (and knows a lot *about* them) and interacts with
some of them in more than one capacity. It is not difficult to
detect the economic roots of this type of social organization,
nor is it difficult to understand why individuals who are wealthy
and well educated do not feel the need to belong to a community.
The more intimate community style of living is simply a means of
survival; an individual need not like everyone or even anyone

in the community in order to voluntarily remain in it, when he
or she is at least offered a feeling of security by belonging
and where the world beyond the community boundary is seen as
hostile, lonely and perhaps beyond understanding. On the other
hand people who have achieved a measure of economic independence,
as well as intellectual independence, tend to find the community
restrictive and often move away to another location from where they
can enter into less dense, uniplex networks. In the small comm-
unity, Boissevain notes, "...the degree of consensus regarding
norms is high, as consequently is the degree of social control".[29]

For the reasons outlined above 'coloured' people tend to be
more often community dwellers (in the technical sense given)
than 'whites'. In South Africa generally 'whites' are economi-
cally dominant and are better educated. There are a number of
points here that need to be clarified. Firstly we are dealing
with a city and not a small village, although network structures
in certain parts of the city may resemble those of a village in
their character and function. I would like to propose a distinction
between two levels relating to the community concept as discussed
above, what I shall refer to as the macro community and the
micro community. For instance a 'coloured' person in Cape Town
may be a member of a micro community, that is a small, highly
cohesive, well defined territorially-based entity such as the
Bokaap (or as District Six was), the type of entity described by
Boissevain and Milroy. However it is important to note that
even where the contacts of a person are widely dispersed, over

a much larger territory, the same principle can still apply.
This occurs when some other constraint acts in a similar way
to the territorial constraint in the case of the small scale
community to circumscribe the relationships that a person is
likely to enter into. In the Cape Town situation the system of
race classification together with the group areas legislation
acts restrictively to produce a particular type of community
which is possibly unique to South Africa. Although an individual
may be socially mobile, his choice of residential area, school
at which to enroll his child and so on will nevertheless be
restricted. This has certain consequences for social networks.
A person living in Grassy Park may have a multiplex relationship
with someone living in Athlone - he may be friend, kinsman,
co-religionist, member of the same political group and soccer
team - but he is much less likely to have a similar multiplex
relationship with someone living in Rondebosch. I would suggest
that segregated schooling plays as important a role as residen-
tial segregation in establishing separate networks for 'white'
and 'coloured'. It is important to note here that while the
micro community is determined by economic considerations, this
does not apply at the level of what I am referring to as the
macro community. Thus although a 'coloured' may have the same
economic standing as a 'white', they are unlikely to form a
multiplex relationship; although they may be employed in equal
capacities at the same firm and interact as equals there, it is
less likely that there will be another strand to their relation-
ship than it would be were they both 'white'. Furthermore the

'white' person concerned is unlikely to be acquainted with many other individuals who form part of this 'coloured' person's network. Thus both density and multiplexity are involved. The boundary then between 'white' and 'coloured' is one that can only be described adequately in terms of social networks, and the covert identification that I have claimed to exist among 'coloureds' must be similarly understood. It is nothing more than a loyalty to one's friends, teammates, family, neighbours and others who make up one's personal network, and it is the fact that these relationships are only likely to be multiplex in character with other people designated and treated as 'coloured', for the reasons mentioned already, that gives a measure of cohesiveness to a community whose members otherwise reject the distinction between 'white' and 'coloured'. The relevance for this thesis lies in the fact that social networks, when they are dense and multiplex, tend to bring about a homogeneity of norms and values, and thus it should not be surprising to discover that there are characteristically 'coloured' ways of using language.

The following are the most important points arising from this chapter:

1. 'Coloureds' do not constitute an ethnic group, although 'whites' tend to perceive them as such.

2. The 'coloured community' is characterized by division, with individuals defining their identity according to diverse criteria, but seldom with recourse to the term 'coloured'.

3. Those most successful in distancing themselves subjectively from 'coloured' identity do so in terms of: a relatively European physical appearance, high socioeconomic status, non-racial political ideologies, or Muslim identity.

4. The idea of a 'coloured' identity proceeds from 'white' attitudes rooted in the historical/economic process, and is mostly maintained by popular stereotypes.

5. In response to the domination and labelling by 'whites', a covert identification with fellow community members exists. Thus a rejection of 'coloured' identity is nevertheless accompanied by a loyalty to personal networks.

6. These social networks or patterns of interaction define the boundaries of the 'coloured community'.

7. At the lower end of the socioeconomic scale the networks are most likely to be dense and multiplex, and the consensus regarding norms and values high.

8. The power of social networks to act as norm-enforcing mechanisms would be likely to have certain consequences for language behaviour.

Notes

1. J.A. Fishman (1977): 'Language and Ethnicity' in H. Giles ed. *Language, Ethnicity and Intergroup Relations*, Academic Press, London, p.16.

2. p.23.

3. p.20.

4. p.17.

5. R.E. Ridd (1981):'Position and Identity in a Divided Community', Ph.d. thesis, Oxford, p.9.

6. p.13.

7. I.D. du Plessis (1972): *The Cape Malays*, A.A. Balkema, Cape Town, p.2.

8. Ridd (1981), p.22.

9. p.26.

10. p.58.

11. p.187-189.

12. p.201.

13. p.201.

14. p.202.

15. p.207.

16. G. Stone (1972): 'Identity among Lower-Class Cape Coloureds' in M.G. Whisson and H.W. Van der Merwe eds. *Coloured Citizenship in South Africa*, Abe Bailey Institute of International Studies, U.C.T., p.38.

17. p.39.

18. H. Tajfel (1981): *Human groups and social categories; studies in social psychology*, Cambridge U.P., p.132.

19. p.133.

20. p.135.

21. p.256.

22. p.311.

23. L. Milroy (1980): *Language and Social Networks*, Basil Blackwell, Oxford, p.13.

24. p.14.

25. p.14.

26. p.15.

27. J. Boissevain (1981): *Friends of Friends*, Basil Blackwell, Oxford, p.37.

28. p.32.

29. p.71-72.

CHAPTER THREE : LANGUAGE IN THE CAPE PENINSULA

3.1 A View of South African English

Although my intention in this chapter is to provide an outline of patterns of language use in the Peninsula, with particular reference to the 'coloured community', I would first like to devote some attention to the phenomenon of South African English, because certain of the terms and concepts to be used here and in succeeding chapters can be best introduced by a discussion of this topic. Since a detailed analysis of South African English in no way forms part of the specific aims of my study, such a task will not be attempted, nor will I provide a review of all the opinions which exist on the genesis and development of specifically South African forms of English. I shall rather present a summary of the views of one influential writer, although these may be controversial, since I believe that certain crucial concepts contained therein are both valid and useful and I have chosen to adopt and adapt them for my own purposes.

Lanham (1978 and 1982) traces the development of modern South African English to two nineteenth century immigrant settlements. The first of these was the frontier society which was established with the arrival of British settlers in the Eastern Cape in 1820. Among these settlers, representing chiefly the lower classes of the Home Counties, there emerged a fairly homogenous variety of English, eventually showing little trace of the original British dialects which had contributed to it. A most important influence in the development of this variety was that of Afrikaans; close contact with Afrikaans speakers in the region resulted in aspects of Afrikaans pronunciation being incorporated and loan words

finding their way into the English speaker's vocabulary.

The next organised British settlement was established in Natal between 1848 and 1862. In contrast to the Cape, the settlers here were more often middle or upper class, and regionally the Midlands, Yorkshire and Lancashire were more strongly represented than the Home Counties. There was less frontier warfare here, less poverty, less contact with the Afrikaner, and social distinctions were maintained to a greater extent than in the Cape. Diversity in English was consequently also maintained, Standard British English remaining intact as a prestige variety and Natal English emerging as a lower prestige local variety.

The next stage in the development of South African English began after the discovery of minerals in the late nineteenth century, with the establishment of mining industrial cities, resulting in large-scale migrations, particularly to the Witwatersrand. The pursuit of wealth and status here produced a stratified society, and a stream of new immigrants from Britain as well as other parts of Eastern and Western Europe. In this evolving urban society, ex-Natalians of British descent tended to be better placed socially and educationally than Afrikaners and the colonials from the Cape; they had more to offer in terms of the skills required in the urban industrial milieu, and were seen as more English. Cape English speakers on the other hand had grown close to the Afrikaner and their pronunciation was not perceived as different to that of the latter. It is possible that certain later British immigrants were able to fit into the upper strata and to look down on the colonials both from the Cape and Natal, and that it is due to this that Standard British English has survived and is maintained in the speech of economically well placed South Africans.

A central claim in Lanham's thesis concerns the role played by Natal colonials in developing accent types and their meanings. According to this view the Natal colonial became a reference figure for the Afrikaner, Cape colonial and immigrant Jew, this because, although his English was not standard British (RP), it was not discerned as being significantly different. The upward social mobility of the other groups tended to bring a number of the accent variables of Natal English into their speech, leading to a dual standard in SAE consisting of two varieties, Conservative SAE (near RP) and Respectable SAE (incorporating Natal Eng. variables). These in turn are distinguished from Extreme SAE, the variety associated with the original Cape Eng. and more obviously influenced by Afrikaans. Lanham stresses the role played by upwardly mobile Jewish immigrants from Eastern Europe in the establishment of Resp. SAE as a prestige standard, and their rapid rise to a position of economic as well as educational influence contributed to the fact that Resp. SAE was able to replace Cons. SAE as a South African standard to a great extent.

Each of the above varieties is associated with fairly specific and discernible social meanings. Cons. SAE is spoken chiefly by upper class individuals, especially the older generation or else those of recent British descent; it conveys high social prestige as well as a more British than South African identity. Resp. SAE is far more widespread, and indeed this term is used to refer to a rather wide range of accents, although certain variables, which will be dealt with below, are definitive. Speakers can be middle or upper class, and are generally, although not necessarily, well educated. Although the accent is specifically South African it represents a clear social distinction between

its speakers and those of the stigmatized Extreme SAE variety. While women are more active in cultivating either of the former two varieties, Extr. SAE can be actually cultivated by male speakers, as a way of expressing masculinity, a strong identification with the 'South African tradition' and frontier values.

The defining variables of Resp. SAE are given (Lanham 1978, 1982) as:

1. Vowel retraction before l , e.g. 'bell' $[b\,æ\,l]$
2. Fronted, glide-weakened $aɪ$, e.g. 'fight' $[fa:t]$
3. Centralized uu , e.g. 'you' $[ju^{c}:]$
4. Stress-raised, word-final weak syllables.

It is important to note here that the lect is being defined according to four variables only, and that an enormous amount of diversity exists in the realization of the other variables; that is, each of the other variables in a particular idiolect may tend towards the Cons. SAE or alternatively, towards the Extr. SAE variant. Lanham points out that the latter two varieties "...are polar opposites, having opposing variants for most of the signigicant variables..."[1] By and large the Cons. SAE variants are those of RP, opposed to which are Extr. SAE variants such as the following:

1. Obstruent r : in Extr. SAE this will tend to be a tap rather than the trill of the Afrikaans speaker.
2. Back-raised and glide-weakened $aɪ$ diphthong, which can result in $[t^{b}ɒ^{ʔ}m]$ for 'time'.
3. Backed and raised a , e.g. 'heart' $[hɒ:t]$
4. Backed and lowered $əɪ$ and $əu$ diphthongs: both can be glide-weakened and realized as e.g. $[ʌ^{e}]$ and $[ʌ]$ respectively.

A fuller treatment of sociolinguistic variables will be given in the next chapter where the CE variants will be compared with those of the 'white' SAE varieties. The point here is that the above-mentioned varieties have specific social meanings attached to them. For instance the speaker of Extr. SAE tends to be stereotyped negatively as unsophisticated and uneducated, but positively as strong and unpretentious. Because Resp. SAE occupies a middle position between the stigmatized and the more clearly prestigious varieties, there is no stereotype as such associated with the accent, except as Lanham points out, the 'Kugel', typically a status seeking, normally Jewish, young woman who is likely to be the most assiduous in pursuing the speech norm. It is intended that the present study should provide further insights into these social meanings, especially the ways in which CE is perceived relative to the other SAE varieties, and also the extent to which 'coloureds' discriminate between the latter.

What emerges quite clearly from Lanham's presentations is the idea that English speaking 'white' South Africans constitute a speech community, and in fact he himself uses the term in this regard. It seems that certain norms are shared by members of this group in that prestige speech forms are recognised by all its members as being prestigious, the extent to which an individual will conform to the norm and employ these forms being determined by the interplay between pressures from 'above' and 'below'. While this probably needs further research, in particular the role played by region and urban as opposed to rural environment, it provides a useful point of departure for this study. However there does appear to be some difference between the way in

which the term is being used here, albeit a fairly orthodox Labovian one, and Labov's own use of the term. His type of speech community is usually one defined by a given geographical area such as New York City or Martha's Vineyard, within which *all* the native inhabitants recognise the same speech norms. For Labov, as was mentioned in Chapter One, the question of ethnicity was no more than a slight complicating factor in the neatness of the overall picture as it were. However the question of the extent to which different ethnic groups or quasi-ethnic groups in South Africa share the same norms is a very difficult one to answer. Are 'blacks' (i.e. African language speakers) able to discriminate between the 'white' varieties of English ? Or on the other hand, if it is only the 'whites' of South Africa that constitute such a speech community, then is it perhaps not possible that the 'coloureds' constitute another ? I believe not, and in my discussion below I will try to show that 'coloureds' in Cape Town use language in somewhat different ways from those in the surrounding rural areas. I have described 'coloureds' in Cape Town as often being members of 'micro communities' and a 'macro community' to account for two different levels of norm sharing, both linguistic and non-linguistic. Perhaps the situation in Cape Town can be schematized as follows:
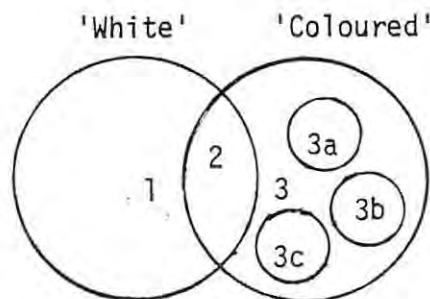
Each of the numbered areas in the diagram above indicates norm sharing:

1. Those norms shared by 'whites'

2. Those shared by 'white' and 'coloured'

3. Those shared only by 'coloureds'; the subdivisions a, b, c... are those shared within micro communities. Thus the norms of Woodstock may not be entirely the same as those of the Bokaap. The types of subdivisions, if any, that may similarly exist among 'whites' is a problem that I shall not attempt to address. I have said that South African 'whites' generally do not belong to these micro communities, but there are clearly some exceptions, such as the Portuguese community of Woodstock.

I will return to the topic of English varieties at the end of this chapter; for the moment it should only be noted that the foregoing discussion of SAE has yielded the key terms Resp. SAE and Extr. SAE and that these will provide the foundation for my description of CE and the diversity therein. But before I attempt that task I would like to record my observations on the broader patterns of language use in the 'coloured community' and the greater part of the remainder of this chapter will be devoted to that end.

3.2 *Bilingualism and Education in the 'coloured community'*

It is generally recognised that 'coloureds' in the Cape Peninsula tend to be a good deal more bilingual than those living in the rural areas, who are more likely to command only Afrikaans. I shall attempt to show that not only does the bilingualism that exists have a rather unique character, in the ways that English and Afrikaans are combined and interspersed, but also that these phenomena are not static; broad changes in language behaviour patterns are taking place. Recent data to be discussed

has for instance pointed to the increased use of English
in the Peninsula, markedly in certain spheres of activity such as
education; but I intend to show that there are considerable forces
at work which make it unlikely that there should be an abandonment
of Afrikaans either as mother tongue or as an important second lang-
uage. We may begin then by considering the type of Afrikaans which is
most often encountered and has traditionally been considered the
'the language of the coloured'.

Ridd (1981) makes the following observations regarding the use
of Afrikaans in District Six:

> Afrikaans is used colloquially and is referred to as
> *'die Dialek'* ('the Dialect'), or derisively as *'Kombuis*
> (.Kitchen') Afrikaans', *'Gamtaal'* ('the language of Ham')
> or simply as 'Coloured Afrikaans'.[2]

Two aspects are immediately apparent: firstly the dialect is perceived
as distinct from the standard, and secondly, the dialect is willingly
accorded low status, even by its own speakers. However it must be noted
that this downgrading does not imply in most cases a desire to move
closer to Standard Afrikaans, as Ridd explains:

> District Six people see Afrikaans essentially as a hard
> language of command, such as they hear it spoken to them
> by *'die Boere'*. The use of *suive (sic)* Afrikaans (often

in a simplified form) by "Coloured" people is
associated with the servility of the *plaasjapie*
(a derogatory term for a farm worker) to the White
baas (master). In District Six the use of this lang-
uage distinguishes the recent rural migrants from
the more established townspeople who use the Dialect.[3]

The dialect has a distinctive pronunciation, the origin of which
is probably unknown, but which may be traceable to the influence
of the Dutch pronunciation of the original 'Malay' slaves. What
is certain is that aspects of the pronunciation are recognised by
both 'whites' and 'coloureds' as distinctive and *never* occur in
the speech of 'white' Afrikaners. Especially characteristic are
the final consonant of a word such as *bietjie*, realised as an unvoiced
palatal or alveolar affricate rather than as a palatal stop; and
the first sound of *jy*, realised as a voiced palatal or alveolar affricate
rather than as a semivowel. Another major characteristic is the frequent
use of loan words from English, to the exclusion of the equivalent
Afrikaans word, the use of which is associated with standard Afrikaans
and considered pretentious. A third characteristic applies only to
Muslims generally and is the use of loan words and expressions from
Malay and Arabic. Attitudes to the dialect are complex and vary accord-
ing to the values and aspirations of the individual. McCormick (1983)
has identified a number of factors which shape these attitudes. Probably
the most important of these is class, since the Afrikaans dialect is
associated with the working class in Cape Town while the use of English
tends to coincide with upward social mobility and is therefore associated
with the middle or upper middle class. However there are constraints

which tend to restrict a move towards English, since this can be seen as "...a betrayal, an abandoning of roots..."[4] and in many encounters an individual will switch from English back to the dialect to avoid appearing snobbish. The second factor relates to political or ideological orientation. Afrikaans is seen by many as the "language of the oppressor"[5], but this description is not felt to apply to the dialect. However as I have mentioned in Chapter Two, there are individuals who are both politically conservative and status-seeking who take a pride in speaking standard Afrikaans, and this type is well represented in the upper echelons of the educational establishment. Generally people who are more liberal, leftwing or otherwise anti-status quo in orientation than the above, would prefer English. Also many who are Afrikaans speaking, prefer using English when speaking to 'whites', firstly because they do not command standard Afrikaans and do not wish to be at a disadvantage in speaking the 'inferior' dialect, and secondly if the person is an Afrikaner they might well have a better command of English than he, and thus have an advantage over him.

Possibly the most important factor in the increasing use of English relative to vernacular Afrikaans, and one which is obviously related to the question of economic advancement is the fact that English is viewed as "...the language of higher education and also as a language in which to give the impression of being educated."[6] Although a number of purely English medium schools have existed for a long time, there is an increasing trend towards introducing English medium instruction in schools which were previously more Afrikaans orientated, so that most schools in the Peninsula are now dual medium, with the parents being able to choose which language their children are to receive

instruction in. It is a common phenomenon that children who speak
mostly Afrikaans or even exclusively Afrikaans at home receive in-
struction in English at school. I once visited a primary school in
Mitchell's Plain where special classes had been created specifically
for children from Afrikaans speaking homes who had opted for English
medium at school. McCormick's informants accounted for this in different
ways, one reason being that "...since English is an international
language and the language of technology, more texts are available
in English and English terminology is more widely known than Afrikaans."[7]
Related reasons given were that English was a language more suited to
discussing ideas (rather than emotions, for which Afrikaans was con-
sidered more suitable) and for giving the impression of being educated,
especially when dealing with Afrikaans speaking 'whites'.

This trend towards the adoption of English has been amply demonstrated
by statistics given by Scheffer (1983) in a survey conducted for the
Human Sciences Research Council on patterns of language use in the
Cape Peninsula among 'coloureds'. English speakers are shown to be
generally better educated and have a higher income than Afrikaans
speakers. A large proportion (32,6%) of English speakers admitted
to having previously regarded Afrikaans as their home language, and many
(approx. 40%) reported that one or both of their parents were exclusively
Afrikaans speaking or spoke more Afrikaans than English, while only
around 10% of Afrikaans speakers reported that their parents were
English speaking. This represents a massive swing to English as home
language in only one generation. The figures for the informants' chil-
dren show the trend continuing with the next generation. The figures
for language preferences in education are illuminating: While 82,3%

of English speakers gave English as the most important language to
be learnt at school, only 57,7% of Afrikaans speakers expressed a
similar opinion regarding Afrikaans. 40% of Afrikaans speakers also
preferred English as a medium of instruction in primary school while
52,8% of them preferred English as medium for high school. Afrikaans
speakers also indicated that they read more books and newspapers in
English than they did in Afrikaans.

Another factor given by McCormick as having a bearing on the motivation
to acquire English is that it is a sign of urbanisation and therefore
presumably of sophistication: "...being unable to speak English in
a city gave the impression that the speaker was a country bumpkin".[8]
As I mentioned in Chapter Two, the rural migrant occupies the lowest
position in the status hierarchy in the 'coloured' community in the city,
and it is therefore not surprising that such an individual would be
strongly motivated to acquire English as quickly as possible. The
HSRC survey shows that 99% of rural 'coloureds' are Afrikaans speaking,
42,5% have no contact at all with English speakers and 52% never speak
English. 76,9% consider Afrikaans to be the most important language
to be learnt at school. Presumably this attitude is quickly modified
on the part of those moving to the city and presumably a large pro-
portion of those English speaking city dwellers who gave Afrikaans as
their previous home language, or had Afrikaans speaking parents, as
mentioned above, are associated with migration to the Peninsula, the
switch to English taking place over the first, second or succeeding gen-
erations.

While English is clearly the language with the highest status and has been making ever greater inroads as a home language in the 'coloured' community, there are strong indications that among bilinguals English and Afrikaans are often associated with separate social spheres and situations. For instance McCormick observed that meetings were often conducted in English even where those attending were mostly Afrikaans speaking, although frequent code switching occurred. Informants explained this either in linguistic terms - "...meetings are formal and people don't know the formal terms in standard Afrikaans"[9] - or in ideological terms, that not using Afrikaans was a form of political protest. One of her informants offered the following comment: "The soccer club that I belong to - all of us speak Afrikaans at home but our club meetings will be in English and then at the end of the meeting when we leave, we'll all be talking Afrikaans again."[10] So while English is associated with more formal contexts Afrikaans for many is a language associated with intimacy. McCormick notes that: "A common pattern in bilingual homes seems to be that anger, tenderness and very homely matters always find their voice in Afrikaans."[11] However the extent to which this is true would be difficult to determine, and there does not seem to be any reason why, for someone brought up with English as a home language, emotion should be more easily expressed in Afrikaans; conversely I have personally heard individuals discussing complex ideas quite adequately in vernacular Afrikaans, substituting English terms where necessary.

Informants for the HSRC survey indicated that code-switching *in either direction* can accompany a state of anger or excitement. A total of 77,1% of English speakers reported switching to Afrikaans, either often or sometimes, when in such a state; but on the other hand 68,3%

of Afrikaans speakers admitted to switching to English, either often
or sometimes, in such a state. This is clearly a complex phenomenon
which will certainly defy accurate description, since it is likely
that code switching may vary in its direction for a particular individ-
ual according to which emotion is being expressed, anger as opposed
to affection for instance, and possibly even according to the nature
of the ideas being discussed. However I shall attempt to show that
there are far more important interpersonal factors than the above
involved in code switching, and these will be dealt with at some length
below.

Regarding the role played by language in religion, I noted in Chapter
Two that Ridd was of the opinion that churches which used the vernacular
had more appeal to many than those where standard Afrikaans was used,
and those which used English in services had the highest status. In
the mosques, apart from the ritualised use of Arabic, language use on
the part of the imams varies considerably from one mosque to another,
from fairly standard English in some cases to extreme forms of ver-
nacular Afrikaans in others, and this seems to be more of a tradition
associated with a particular mosque than a question of residential area.
In District Six for example, in the Muir Str. mosque one is most likely
to hear English, while at Aspeling Str. only a few metres away it is
more likely to be Afrikaans, while in Walmer Estate despite this being
one of the more predominantly English speaking areas, Afrikaans is also
used. Cape Muslim speech in general has a distinctive character in
which elements of English, Afrikaans, Arabic and Malay occur, the
latter two usually only in the form of loan words although there are
individuals who are fluent in Arabic. Furthermore Arabic and Malay

words, particularly the latter, of which only a few are extant,
are far more likely to occur in an Afrikaans linguistic context than
an English one. Whether this is a question of phonology or some kind
of historical association is not certain, but it is not unlikely that
Malay words such as *kanala* ('please'), *boeka* (to break one's fast at
sunset in Ramadaan) and *batcha* ('recite', e.g. the Qur'an) are taken
to be Afrikaans words by some.

The complex linguistic situation in the Peninsula results in certain
problems for schoolchildren and one might speculate that a consider-
able amount of underachievement stems from linguistic difficulties
that children have to contend with; I would like to mention some of
them briefly.

Firstly, many children are placed in English classes by their parents,
even though they might only speak Afrikaans at home, although I have
been informed of and witnessed situations where Afrikaans speaking
parents make a point of speaking English to the child while young,
as a preparation for schooling, and only begin to speak Afrikaans
with the child later in life. Secondly children have to master the
standard form of the language at school, which means that they must
attempt to suppress learned syntactic and phonological patterns in
favour of others. This might also have unfavourable psychological ef-
fects when children are constantly corrected and are made to feel that
their own dialect is inferior. The third difficulty relates to code
switching and the use of loan words and is described by McCormick as
follows:

Children from homes where code-switching is the
habitual modus operandi and where there is a great
deal of lexical borrowing often have the additional
problem that when they are very young they don't
know which words are English and which are Afrikaans.
This means that when they come to school they are
surprised by a sifting process which requires that
when they are using one kind of grammatical base
they have to learn ... alternatives for
words that had quite happily fitted into that
base before.[12]

It would be appropriate at this point to turn to the question of code-
switching and lexical borrowing, a close consideration of which
is essential to any study of language patterns in the Cape Peninsula.

3.3 *Code-switching*

Code-switching occurs in societies and communities which are charact-
erized by diglossia, bilingualism or multilingualism and involves the
use of two or more languages or language varieties in a single con-
versation or interaction. However as I have suggested in Chapter One,
code-switching should be distinguished from style shifting, the cruc-
ial difference being the consciousness on the part of speaker and/or
hearer that more than one variety has been or is being used, a dis-
tinction which is not normally made in the literature on the subject.

While style shifting *may* only involve the phonetic values of one or two variables, code-switching will always involve other levels of language structure, especially word choice, as well as syntax and morphology, which serves to make the switch accessible to the conscious-ness of speaker and hearer.

That code-switching is never a matter of completely random behaviour, but occurs rather as a result of certain 'choice determinants' (Fishman, 1971)[13], is accepted as more or less axiomatic by writers on the subject. According to Fishman the most significant of these are topic, domain, locale and role-relation. The *domain* is the particular institution or area of social life that is involved such as the home, the work situation, the playground, the street and so on, while *locale* refers to the actual place. Together these are referred to as the *setting*. A particular social situation then involves such a setting as well as at least two interlocutors whose interaction will be governed by a set of *role-relationships*. These factors are classed together as micro-sociolinguistic factors. Macro-sociolinguistic factors on the other hand are the general linguistic characteristics of a particular society, e.g. the degree of diglossia and bilingualism present, the the languages and varieties characteristic of ethnic groups, language policies, planning, legislation and so on. The presence of these two sets of sociolinguistic factors ensure that any particular social en-counter will be typical in that it shares the same domain and role-relations, as well as being governed by the same macro-sociolinguistic factors as other similar social encounters occuring in that particular society. Perhaps a hypothetical example here would be instructive in

clarifying these concepts as well as revealing their possible limit-
ations. Let us imagine then an encounter in the Cape Town magistrate's
court where a Mr. Grobbelaar, the state prosecutor, is questioning
Suleiman Williams on a charge of dealing in dagga, the two interlocutors
being seen as, and perceiving each other as, 'white' and 'coloured'
respectively; then let us imagine another encounter taking place simul-
taneously in the Wynberg magistrate's court between between the state
prosecutor there, Mr. van Wyk, and the accused, Abdullah Petersen, same
charge, racial perceptions and so on. It would seem reasonble to assume
that because the interplay between the various micro- and macro-socio-
linguistic factors is essentially the same in both cases, this will be
enough to ensure that the linguistic behaviour will be the same. Clearly
there is another important element involved, the influence of psycho-
logical factors, and when these are taken into consideration it becomes
plain that in two similar social encounters such as the above the patterns
of linguistic behaviour manifested could be substantially different. For
instance if both prosecutors being Afrikaners were to question their
accused in standard Afrikaans, Abdullah might elect to answer in English
while Suleiman is content to reply in vernacular Afrikaans (even though
both command Afrikaans equally well and generally both use it in the
same other domains outside the court), this because of their diverging
personality characteristics, perceptions, attitudes and so on.

Bourhis (1979) has proposed a model in which it is the interplay be-
tween three sets of factors which determine linguistic choices:
micro-sociolinguistic factors, social-psychological factors and macro-
sociolinguistic factors.

... the assumption must be that a speaker's behaviour
is never completely determined by social norms and
rules within a situation, nor by the effects of socio-
structural factors in society. In each instance, in-
dividuals' needs, motives, perceptions and attributions
must play some part in determining the speech strategy
finally encoded or decoded in ethnic interaction.[14]

Other social-psychological factors also mentioned by Bourhis include
"speaker's moods ... feelings, beliefs, and loyalties in ethnic inter-
action, as well as their perception of the intergroup relation sit-
uation and their awareness of existing sociolinguistic norms."[15] Al-
though the writer in question is emphasizing here the ethnic inter-
action situation, the same types of factors may be said to be involved
in ingroup interactions as well. The interplay between the three sets
of factors result in five types of behaviour as regards code choices:
situational switching, metaphorical switching, speech convergence,
speech maintenance and speech divergence. *Situational switching*, as
the term implies, involves the choice of another code which is felt
to be more appropriate for a particular setting or topic, or for a
particular interlocutor, depending on age sex, social status, ethnicity
and so on. *Metaphorical switching* refers to the interspersing of con-
versations with utterances in some other language or dialect, because
this code is felt to be more effective in expressing certain ideas,
thoughts or feelings; although the first code may be considered the
appropriate one for the conversation (situation) as a whole.

Various psychological factors are involved in *speech convergence*,
or the switch to the code being used by one's interlocutor, such as
the desire for approval, the wish to appear friendly and so on. *Speech
maintenance* occurs when a person declines to switch to the code being
used by the interlocutor, and *speech divergence* when one switches to
a code different to the one being used by the interlocutor. The latter
phenomena occur when speakers wish to emphasize the differences between
themselves and others because of factors such as loyalty to their own
group, a wish to appear more educated or superior in some way to the
other speaker and so on. A consideration of these five theoretical
concepts will show that they overlap in complex ways. For instance
in the case of situational switching, where a particular code x is
felt to be normally appropriate for the situation, one speaker A may
switch to this code while the other speaker B may decline to do so
for reasons which reflect the differing psychological make-up of the
two individuals. Several factors may be involved: B could be refusing
to switch to x because he refuses to be identified with A, even though
he might have switched to x in this particular situation if some person
other than A were involved. On the other hand, perhaps while A and most
other people usually switch to x in this situation, B never does, per-
haps because he feels ashamed of his low competence in x, or because of
some attitude on his part, such as a political conviction which he feels
he would be compromising in switching to x. Thus we have an overlap
of situational switching and speech maintenance, where the latter has
prevailed in the case of one person while the former has prevailed in
the case of the other.

A useful concept proposed by Scotton (1980) is that of the 'unmarked :marked opposition' in linguistic choices and their interpretation. This is based on the idea that personal motivation strategies occur within a normative framework: "... the unmarked choice is that choice which the norms of society indicate represents the most expected choice for a particular status-holder in a particular role relationship in a particular situation."[16] According to this view, in social situations where role-relationships are well defined the unmarked choice of code will normally occur, and this represents an *identification* with the status implied by the role-relationship. However, should the speaker make a marked choice, it must be interpreted as a *disidentification* with this status. This model is thus based on orthodox accommodation theory with the added insight that accommodation (convergence, divergence and maintenance) occurs in terms of a known and recognised set of norms and that interpretations of code choices are made on the basis of these norms. Another aspect of this model is the idea of *identity negotiation* which occurs in encounters where role relationships are weakly defined, this negotiation being accomplished by means of the *exploratory* choice of code. If the exploratory choice of code is accepted by reciprocation on the part of the other speaker, this then becomes the unmarked choice; if not, then the use of exploratory choices continues until the negotiation of unmarked choices is accepted.

In addition Scotton has proposed a set of five maxims analogous to those proposed by Grice (1975) as conversational implicatures. Briefly stated they are the following: 1. The *gains* maxim, according to which

it is suggested a participant might suspend the normal marked:unmarked distinction and his assessment of choices made by the other if the interaction promises more gains than costs for him. 2. The *topic change* maxim; according to this maxim topic changes provide opportunities for participants to negotiate a shift in role relations and an option of selecting a new code, this being an exploratory choice "as if the role relationship has become weakly defined".[17] In other words new identity negotiations can occur with changes in topic. 3. The *multiple identities* maxim, whereby code-switching occurs out of the speaker's desire "to negotiate for himself something of the favourable statuses and role relationships with which each code is associated as an unmarked choice."[18] 4. The *virtuosity* maxim, whereby the competence of a speaker A in particular codes is taken into account both in speaker B's selection of code and his interpretation of speaker A's choice of code. 5. The *first in* maxim, whereby for example, once a person has assumed the more powerful status he may then choose to make marked choices which then disidentify him with this status thus narrowing the social distance again.

Scotton has thus presented an ingenious synthesis of earlier models of code-switching while adding important new insights. Particularly notable is the emphasis on status, role-relationship and identity negotiation, while almost no attention is given to setting. Further, it will be noticed below that the 'marked:unmarked opposition', while clearly a valid concept, can be difficult to apply in a linguistic situation where code-switching is very frequent, and it becomes difficult to specify which choice is the marked one. As I shall attempt to show,

this problem can be dealt with through the insight that in a situation where metaphorical switching is the norm, neither of the languages involved (i.e. English and Afrikaans) is marked, but rather the switching itself forms part of an established code. In this situation, the normative framework is such that *failing to engage in frequent code-switching is itself a marked choice*. These concepts and their application should become clearer in the light of the discussion of code-switching in the Cape Peninsula which follows.

The only research which seems to have been carried out thus far on code-switching in the Cape Peninsula is that of McCormick (1983,1986) already mentioned above, all references here being to unpublished papers produced in progress towards a doctoral thesis. The locality chosen for her study is most typical of what I have referred to as a micro-community, in this case a remnant of District Six consisting of just 220 houses with "a long history of families having lived, worked, worshipped and gone to school together".[19] McCormick in fact refers to this as a 'speech community' but her use of the term is not intended to convey the rather more restricted sense as defined earlier. This community is characterized by a high degree of bilingualism, although neither standard English nor standard Afrikaans is used ordinarily for informal interaction. It is actually impossible to distinguish between the local dialect of Afrikaans and 'the vernacular', the latter being a form of the Afrikaans dialect which contains many loan words, especially from English, and in which intra-sentential code-switching occurs. McCormick's main focus in one of her papers has been the language of community meetings, sometimes English with only occasional code-switching; in other cases the vernacular was used with much

code-switching occurring. Well educated speakers, such as lawyers from nearby and more prosperous Walmer Estate, would make a point of using the vernacular for the benefit of these community residents even though they themselves had the ability to speak more standard forms of both English and Afrikaans. In terms of the theory presented earlier, these speakers were accommodating to the speech of their audience (speech convergence) by using what in this case would be the unmarked choice, or the code deemed most appropriate for the setting (domain and locale), and in terms of role relations they were reducing the social distance between themselves and their hearers by assuming temporarily at least an equal status. It is apparent here that two levels of the term 'code' must be distinguished. Firstly within the vernacular there is code-switching between English and Afrikaans, but secondly this vernacular itself is recognised as a code distinct from standard English or Afrikaans. Thus two types of code-switching must also be distinguished. The vernacular itself must be seen as a clear example of metaphorical switching as defined earlier and is regarded by speakers of the vernacular as entirely normal (unmarked); indeed a refusal to switch to English words and expressions in favour of the standard Afrikaans equivalents would clearly be a marked choice here and interpreted as pretentiousness or snobbishness. On the other hand the lawyers, in switching to the vernacular for the meeting, were engaging in situational switching and thereby converging with their audience. Should they have not done so, but addressed the meeting in standard English or Afrikaans (without any metaphorical switching), this would have been an example of speech maintenance, or had they during the course of the meeting switched to one of the standard forms, this would have constituted speech divergence, and either would have been negatively interpreted as a disidentification.

One of McCormick's informants expressed her appreciation of the law-
yers' language after the particular meeting in question in the fol-
lowing terms:

Hulle het nie filter gepraat nie. Hulle het mooi
plain gepraat, dat die mense kan verstaan.[20]

McCormick reports that, "There were several wry or bitter comments
in interviews about the way in which many snobbish people dropped
the vernacular when they moved up in the world."[21]

However in the case of other meetings such as that of the Darby and
Joan club held weekly at the Marion Institute, she reports that Eng-
lish tended to be used with only occasional switches to Afrikaans.
The reason given by an informant was that many people from Walmer
Estate attended the meetings. Here then we have another illuminating
example of speech convergence and situational switching, this time
in an upward direction as it were. Walmer Estate people being seen
as English speaking, the local people, not wishing to appear inferior,
i.e. lacking in respectability or sophistication, were willing to
accommodate by using English rather than the vernacular. In this sit-
uation perhaps using the vernacular would have been the marked choice
and a form of speech maintenance or divergence and have signified an
inappropriate or awkward disidentification with the Walmer Estate
people.

In the case of some meetings such as the Stallions Rugby Football
Club, English was adjudged to be the appropriate language for

a relatively formal occasion, and even in cases where switches to Af-
rikaans did occur, key terms relating to meeting procedure and the game
of rugby were retained in English. The following consists of the turns
of one speaker, and is extracted from McCormick's transcript of a re-
cording of one of the club's meetings:

5 Have you got an amendment?

6 Um, does the constitution say we should have a manager?

7 Right, now who - what shall be the duties of the man-
   ager?

8 So what do you feel?

9 And what will his other function be?

10 What will he do?

11 Ek dink dat die, die manager se duties sal wees om te
   manage die team op die veld, on the field.

12 Also, once a team has been picked, dan vat hy die team
   oor from then on. Hy is responsible vir daai (...)

13 Right

14 Wat is sy powers?

15 Wil julle die manager he dat hy daai duties kan perform
   of gaan ons hom restrict?

16 Dat hy nie authority het om met vryheid die team te
   change nie.[22]

This seems to be a case where the situation as a whole is more important
than simply role relations in determining which code is more approp-
riate. In terms of Bourhis's model, situational (micro-sociolinguistic)
factors such as setting and topic have determined that English be used

even though many if not all of the participants might converse ex-
clusively in vernacular Afrikaans in a different situation. Scotton's
model with its emphasis on role-relations and the unmarked:marked
opposition would seem to be less applicable here, because it is
difficult to specify whether English or Afrikaans is the unmarked
choice of code. If it is English, then according to Scotton's model
the switches to Afrikaans would be marked choices and therefore carry-
ing some significance, which seems doubtful. McCormick notes that
the switches to Afrikaans generally occurred when the discussion
became more heated, while the use of English terms even when switching
to Afrikaans reflected a lack of knowledge of the Afrikaans equiv-
alents. I would suggest here that neither English nor the Afrikaans
vernacular (containing English loan words) is marked, but that a
switch to standard Afrikaans or the use of the Afrikaans equivalents
for the English loan words would certainly be so.

In another context McCormick accounted for some of the code-switching
which she had observed in that locality by reference to functions
such as: "Coping with temporary lapses of memory or concentration..,
signalling a minor shift in focus.., incorporation of useful set
phrases or idioms from the other language.., foregrounding quotations..,
emphasis..." and so on.[23] A careful consideration of these functions
will show that they are all in fact forms of what has been referred to
thus far as metaphorical switching, the kind of switching that takes
place *within* the vernacular, rather than situational or accommodative
behaviour. The type of switch that took place when the club members
entered the meeting mentioned above and began to conduct the meeting
in English is clearly of a different order and prompted by the sit-

uation. The frequent lapses into the vernacular shown in the extract
should, I think, be regarded as more of a temporary failure of the
situational constraint than a meaningful adoption of another code.

The interplay between situational factors and accommodation was evid-
ent in the case of the two meetings mentioned earlier, where the
important choices were between the vernacular on the one hand, and
relatively standard forms of English or Afrikaans on the other. In
the first instance the lawyers were seen as accommodating to their
audience by switching to the vernacular (Afrikaans dialect mixed
with English by means of metaphorical switching) rather than using
relatively standard English; in the second case the District Six
residents accommodated to the Walmer Estate residents at the Darby
and Joan club by using English rather than the vernacular. Although
the foregoing might seem a confused picture, there are two clearly
distinguishable levels of code-switching taking place, and perhaps
the following schematization will help to clarify:
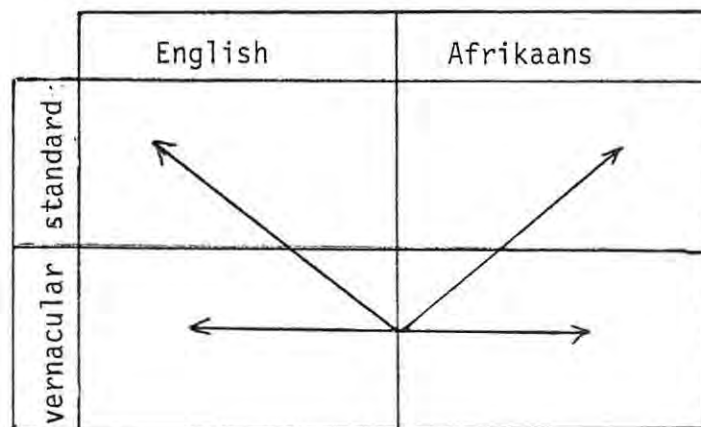
The horizontal arrow represents the metaphorical switching between
English and Afrikaans which characterizes and defines the vernacular.

The semi-vertical arrows represent the switching between the vernac-
ular and *either* standard English *or* standard Afrikaans in response
to situational constraints and as a form of convergence or divergence,
while failure to switch thus constitutes maintenance. Only in the latter
case can one speak of the marked:unmarked opposition which clearly
does come into operation, but in the case of the vernacular the switches
between English and Afrikaans are normal and thus always unmarked.

The remnant of District Six within which McCormick carried out her
observations is an example of what I have defined in Chapter Two as
a micro-community. The extent to which the same patterns of code-switch-
ing occur in the wider macro-community ('coloureds' generally) must
remain a matter for further study, but it is my own opinion based
on informal observation in diverse parts of the Peninsula, as well as
anecdotal evidence, that these patterns as described above are found
throughout the Peninsula. At this point I should mention that the
term 'standard' has been used somewhat loosely in the foregoing to
refer to those varieties of English which are relatively standard in
comparison to the vernacular; thus it would be appropriate to turn
to a consideration of matters connected with distinctions between ac-
tual varieties of English spoken.

3.4 Dialect and Style

I have already mentioned some of the features which distinguish stan-
dard Afrikaans from the vernacular - the two most important types of
marker being word choice and pronunciation - and that the two var-
ieties tend to be perceived as, and also to function as separate codes
with strong identity associations. While this may require proof

in a study more concerned with Afrikaans, I would like to present
just one anecdote of many that I have received to illustrate the point.
I recently observed an exchange between two young ladies serving in
a printing and photocopying establishment and a customer who was
trying to explain to them exactly how he wanted a particular job done.
It was clear that the ladies were not comfortable in the standard
Afrikaans of the customer and switched to English which was used by
everyone for the rest of the encounter. After the man had left one
of the ladies remarked to the other: "Die suiwer Afrikaans maak my
deurmekaar." The point is that speakers of the vernacular often prefer
English rather than trying to accommodate to a speaker of 'suiwer
Afrikaans', which seems to indicate that the latter is not only seen
as a separate and distinguishable code (accommodation thus being
more than a matter of mere subconscious style shifting), but one that
many 'coloured' speakers of Afrikaans are reluctant to use at all.

The question arises now as to whether the case of English is not perhaps
similar. From my own observations I would say not, but rather that in
the case of English variation tends to occur along a continuum, from
extreme non-standard to standard, and that many linguistic variables
are involved, including those of phonology, syntax and vocabulary.
Unlike the case with Afrikaans however, these do not divide neatly into
two groups of co-occurring variables, one 'white' and one 'coloured'.
It seems likely rather that there is a stratification of these linguist-
ic variables which correlate in fairly complex ways with non-linguistic
or social variables, and that the most important factors determining
this stratification are class, level of education, the amount of
English spoken in the home relative to Afrikaans, area of residence

and schooling, as well as political leanings. The ways in which these
different variables act together can be illustrated by the fact that,
as I have mentioned, English tends to be associated with the upper
classes, with people of better education, with certain residential
areas, such as Walmer Estate, and with anti-aparheid political senti-
ments. Similarly the interplay between these various social factors
will also determine both the proficiency in English of the speaker
and the linguistic variables which make up his or her idiolect. An
implication of what I have just said is that there certainly is no
clear distinction to be made in the cases of a great number of speakers
between English spoken as a first language and as a second language.

Following Lanham's treatment of general SAE I propose describing
CE in terms of the two concepts 'extreme' and 'respectable' with the
former indicating those lects which would be closest to the non-stan-
dard pole of the continuum and the latter those closest to the standard
pole. I am thereby suggesting that in the case of English in the Cape
Peninsula there are not two varieties corresponding to 'white' and
'coloured' identity but rather two *parallel stratifications*, which in
the light of the nature of South African society is perhaps not al-
together surprising, and which can be schematized thus:
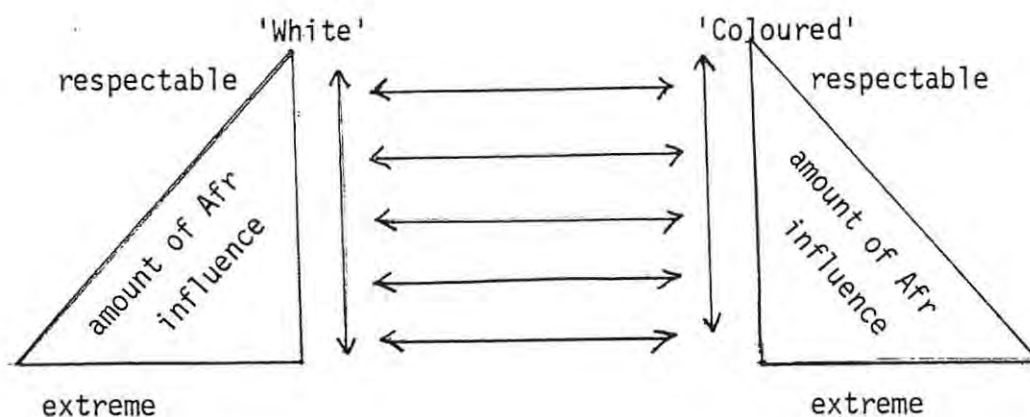
In the above both 'white' and 'coloured' English are shown to be
stratified entities, the 'respectable' top generally correlating with
the upper end of the socio-economic scale and the 'extreme' bottom
with the lower end of the socio-economic scale. In both cases the
influence of Afrikaans is greatest at the 'extreme' end - hence the
representation in triangle form - and least at the 'respectable'
end of the continuum. Nevertheless social segregation has ensured
that there be two triangles rather than one (this will need to be just-
ified in the following chapter in terms of sociolinguistic variables),
while the cultural continuity that exists has determined that the
influences of Afrikaans, social class, level of education and so on,
should have the same stratificatory effect on the English spoken on
both sides - hence the similarity of the two triangles. The arrows
indicate the possibilities for accommodation in social encounters.

Three points remain to be clarified: Firstly there is the question
of how accurate a representation the above diagram is in that it
makes the claim that 'white' and 'coloured' varieties are always
distinguishable, and that they are so distinguishable *at any level
of the socio-economic scale*. As I have said this problem can only
be addressed through a consideration of sociolinguistic variables.
Secondly, does accommodation take place in the ways that the arrows
indicate? Do, say, upper middle class and/or well educated 'coloureds'
accommodate to the speech of lower class and/or less educated indiv-
iduals? I have already shown by reference to McCormick's example of
lawyers addressing a community meeting that this does occur in terms
of code-switching, from English to the Afrikaans vernacular, but the
extent to which this happens in a purely *English* exchange is another

matter. This is why I have insisted on the distinction between code-
switching and style shifting; the former is I believe, far more sig-
nificant than the latter in the Cape Peninsula. For instance, using
English as opposed to the vernacular, or standard Afrikaans rather
than the vernacular, can have great significance: the first might
lead to a judgement of snobbishness, while the second might be inter-
preted as a ridiculous affectation or even as an expression of pol-
itical conservatism. The problem of how significant style shifting
within English is, is far more difficult to answer and would certainly
make an interesting study in itself. I have noted remarks, sometimes
scathing or mocking, concerning those who mix frequently with 'whites'
at work or at university, who are said to have adopted 'white' manners
of speaking, especially when speaking to 'whites'. However being
someone regarded as 'white' myself and having worked as an English
teacher in 'coloured' schools, I would expect to have experienced
this accommodation to my speech; yet I cannot say that I have ever
heard in the Cape Peninsula any 'coloured' person speaking to me,
or to anyone else for that matter, in a variety of English that con-
tained all the significant variants of Resp. SAE at the expense of
the variants of CE. I concluded that style shifting was not as impor-
tant as code-switching and for that reason it was not an aim of this
study to deal with it specifically. The third point needing clarificat-
ion concerns the extent to which differences between all the varieties
mentioned are discernable and significant to people in the Cape Pen-
insula, and it is the general aim of Chapter Five to deal with this.

Notes

1. L.W. Lanham (1978): 'South African English' in L.W. Lanham and K.P. Prinsloo eds. *Language and Communication Studies in South Africa*, Oxford U.P., Cape Town, p.146.

2. R.E. Ridd (1981): 'Position and Identity in a Divided Community', Ph.d. thesis, Oxford, p.194.

3. p.195.

4. K. McCormick (1983): 'Attitudes to the Two Official Languages and their Dialects in Cape Town' (unpublished paper) U.C.T., P.5.

5. p.6.

6. p.7.

7. p.7

8. p.8.

9. p.8-9.

10. p.9.

11. p.9.

12. K. McCormick (1984): 'Language and Social Ties' (unpublished papers) U.C.T., p.8.

13. J.A. Fishman (1971): 'The Relationship between Micro- and Macro-Sociolinguistics in the Study of Who Speaks What Language to Whom and When' in J.B. Pride and J. Holmes eds. (1972) *Sociolinguistics*, Penguin, Middlesex, p.16.

14. R.Y. Bourhis (1979): 'Language in Ethnic Interaction' in H. Giles and B. Saint Jacques eds. *Language and Ethnic Relations*, Pergamon, Oxford, p.119.

15. p.119.

16. C.M. Scotton (1980): 'Explaining Linguistic Choices as Identity Negotiations' in H. Giles, W.P. Robinson and P.M. Smith *Language. Social Psychological Perspectives*, Pergamon, Oxford, p.360.

17. p.363.

18. p.363.

19. K. McCormick (1986): 'Code-Switching during Community Meetings' (unpublished paper) Newcastle-Upon-Tyne, p.2.

20. p.4.

21. p.5.

22. p.14-15.

23. p.9-10.

CHAPTER FOUR : A DESCRIPTION OF LINGUISTIC VARIATION

4.1 Scope and limitations of the descriptive task

The general aim of this chapter is to provide a description of the English spoken in the 'coloured community' which will as far as possible provide answers for some of the questions posed in Chapter One. It must be noted that a mere chapter cannot be enough to include a definitive work on a subject as complex as this, and many of my observations will require support or qualification in future studies; secondly, certain aspects will be accorded more attention than others. Thus it would be appropriate here to specify the objectives of this chapter.

Since the most important aim of this study has been judged to be the attempt to determine perceptions and attitudes towards varieties of English, it is necessary to have a clear idea as to the nature of these varieties. As I have mentioned, a certain amount of descriptive work has been carried out with regard to the 'white' varieties of SAE, but relatively little attention has been paid to the question of whether a specifically 'coloured' variety of English exists, and if it does, what its characteristics are. Thus the first objective would be to provide an account of research that has been carried out already and the findings thereof. Then I intend to examine a body of field data in the form of tape recordings and to set out as systematically as possible my own observations on the speech of 'coloured' speakers. The object of this would be to determine the characteristics of such speech and whether there are distinguishing features which might point to a variety or dialect of English that is clearly distinct from the previously documented

varieties. The purpose of this in the context of the study would be to provide a kind of linguistic index or profile of the most common varieties in the Cape Peninsula so as to determine whether particular co-occurrences of sociolinguistic variables (i.e. the different varieties) are perceptible to informants and accorded different levels of status. If certain observations regarding the speech samples in which variants x, y and z occur are regularly made and the other speech samples (wherein they are absent) fail to elicit similar observations, I would feel justified in regarding that as evidence that a particular variety has been perceived, whether more or less consciously, and that this variety has some social significance for the respondent. Thus it is necessary to have a classification of some kind concerning the features which define the varieties before proceeding to this stage.

4.2 Methodology

The first step will necessarily be a review of previous research. Unfortunately very little has been carried out and all of this, to my knowledge, is the work of undergraduate students of the Department of Logopaedics of the University of Cape Town's medical faculty. The findings of the more relevant of these studies will be presented, but it will be immediately apparent that the sum of these does not constitute anything near the general description required here, each student usually having focused on a fairly restricted area of the language, such as a single variable or stucture. Thus it has been necessary for me to provide such an overall description on the basis of my own fieldwork, to be supplemented by the studies just mentioned.

A considerable body of recorded data was collected in two stages, firstly
at a 'coloured' secondary school, and secondly among the general public
in diverse places. In both cases the aim was to elicit a relatively formal
style from each speaker with the specific intention of keeping the variable
of style constant. The school recordings consisted of approximately six
hours of the speech of standard nine and ten pupils, male and female, in-
cluding first and second language speakers of English. The school was
Strandfontein Senior Secondary, where I was employed as an English teacher
at the time of recording (1984). I recorded the second language pupils
myself, while a colleague recorded the first language pupils, the procedure
being the same in both cases. Each pupil was required to give a short pre-
pared talk on a topic of his or her own choice, for which, as the pupils
were aware, 'oral' marks were to be awarded. In both cases the tape record-
er was concealed. It was felt that the prospect of marks being awarded
would be enough to elicit a consistently formal style. However it must be
admitted that the recorded data shows little evidence of stylistic adjust-
ment on the part of the speakers. It is in fact my opinion, based on im-
pressionistic observations, that accommodating (converging) to a more prest-
igious pronunciation is generally rare in the English of 'coloured' ado-
lescents. In this case their concession towards the formality required by
the context of situation would probably have consisted mainly of paying
some attention to fluency and grammatical correctness. In all cases the
rest of the class was present, although generally out of earshot of the
speaker. However this provided a constant background noise, rendering
some parts of most speakers' utterances inaudible, thus ruling out any
possibility of compiling quantified data relating to frequencies of occurr-
ence or continuous phonetic transcriptions. Where the latter were possible
they were made; for the most part only single clearly audible words and

phrases were transcribed. The transcription examples presented in this chapter have mostly been drawn from this corpus.

Concerning the school and locality, Strandfontein is a recently established village of resident-owned cottages near to the similar but much larger Mitchell's Plain housing complex. None of these teenagers had been resident in Strandfontein for more than five years, mostly having moved there from lower and working class Cape Flats localities such as Manenberg, Bonteheuwel and Lavender Hill. They could generally be described then as ranging from working class to lower middle class, from families upwardly mobile socio-economically, this signified by the move away from lower class areas characterized by sub-economic housing, and also by the fact that the children there are generally much more educated than their parents. On the basis of these facts, they were regarded as being highly typical of a very large segment of the Peninsula's 'coloured' population.

The second body of recordings is that which was made to be utilised in the language attitude component; this included samples of the speech of diverse members of the public, 'white' and 'coloured'. These were generally clear and audible and full transcriptions of a number of these will be found in the next chapter. Apart from their primary function in the study of attitudes, these recordings served to provide support for the data drawn from the school recordings. In addition these were used to provide insights into variation within CE by yielding data relating to speakers from other socio-economic backgrounds, especially middle to upper middle class. Care was taken to heed Milroy's (1970) advice concerning the collection of data

amongst the general public, and thus co-operation was secured either by
the 'friend of a friend' or the 'favour for a favour' method. Firstly, I
was able to obtain easy co-operation through my own access to social net-
works within the 'coloured community' and elsewhere, subjects here being
personal friends and acquaintances of my own, or friends and acquaintances
of theirs. Secondly, I used a method of providing lifts to hitchhikers
in return for which I requested their co-operation, few even hesitating
and none refusing to comply in this situation. Subjects were either asked
to read a short passage or to give a simple description of a procedure
such as how to change a car wheel or make a cup of tea. Although subjects
were advised to 'just talk naturally' I felt confident that once again
I was eliciting a relatively formal style merely through the overt presence
of the tape recorder and my vague explanation that a language survey was
involved. Before presenting the summary of my observations based on all of
the above, I would like now to discuss some of the studies of the Logo-
paedics students already mentioned.

4.3 Previous Research

Hastings (1979) carried out what seems to have been the first attempt
at a systematic study of the sound system of CE. Referring to this only
when I had already completed my own investigation, I was able to use it
as a means of checking my own findings; however a number of important
features had clearly been missed. This was probably the result of a number
of factors. Firstly, Hastings was primarily concerned with those features
she considered to be of interest to the speech therapist; secondly a very
small sample, only six subjects, was used. However a serious methodolog-
ical drawback seems to have been her reliance on information relating to

other dialects of SAE as a point of departure. Thus there is a tendency to start with the features characteristic of these other varieties and to look for evidence of their occurrence in CE. It is suggested that a sounder approach would have been to complete an investigation into the sound system of CE first before looking for correspondences with other lects, that way there being less likelihood of overlooking some fairly salient features.

At this point I would also like to take the opportunity to offer some criticism of empirical studies such as this one where there is a rigorous concern with quantified data, frequencies of occurrence and so on, at the expense of careful observation of a larger number of subjects. It is obviously sometimes appropriate to count the number of times that a feature occurs, but the value of such an exercise can be much reduced by firstly not having a reliable enough sample - both in number of subjects and amount of recorded data - and secondly not determining whether the features one is counting are in fact the really salient ones. Of the features mentioned by Hastings as being characteristic of CE, none are exclusive to 'coloured' speakers, and she concludes:

> ... when comparing results between Ss, although three
> came from bilingual homes and three from English homes,
> no differences were found. This could indicate that,
> irrespective of whether English or Afrikaans was spoken
> at home, all children were influenced by the presence
> of Afrikaans in their community. This has led to the dis-
> tinctive form of Col E.[1]

An important point has been raised here, the fact that in the 'coloured community' English and Afrikaans normally exist in close proximity, and

thus the influence of Afrikaans on CE may be greater than it is on English in other sectors of South African society. However I shall attempt to show that there are a number of features not necessarily traceable to the influence of Afrikaans, not being found in the speech of 'white' Afrikaners, and indeed some features not normally characteristic of any other variety of SAE. Secondly, using such a small sample, the extremely wide range of variation within CE was ignored, as the above quotation shows clearly.

The speech of her subjects considered most noteworthy by Hastings were the following:

1. Loss of aspiration on $/p/$, $/t/$ and $/k/$.

2. Some extra pressure on plosive release.

3. Slow release on some plosives.

4. Inconsistent substitutions of $d/\eth$, s/z, n/η, $\hbar/h$ and β/b.

5. Variation in the $/r/$ phoneme.

6. Raising of $/\imath/$, $/\varepsilon/$, $/\ae/$, $/a/$ and $/\jmath/$.

7. Weakening of diphthongs.

8. $[\theta]$ replaced by $[u]$.

None of these findings were contradicted at all by my own, but as I have said, I would certainly dispute that these are the most important features. However the inclusion of 'weakening of diphthongs' in her concluding dis-cussion without any qualification, I find surprising to say the least. If glide weakening is being referred to, then her own data (p.31) contradicts this, since some diphthongs have a much stronger glide than they have in other SAE lects, while others are weakened.

A similar type of study has since been conducted (Saffery, 1986), with the difference that adult subjects were used, and the focus of study was

the consonant system of CE rather than the entire phonetic system. A
feature mentioned by both of these studies which I had not noted is
referred to by Saffery as 'unimploded' or 'unreleased consonants', while
Hastings notes 'incomplete plosion'. Saffery, who is probably following
Hastings, since there seems little other reason for devoting much atten-
tion to this particular feature, does say that occurrences were infrequent
and appeared to be "idiosyncratic to certain speakers".[2] Likewise the
frequencies for the occurrence of 'incomplete plosion' and also for 'extra
pressure' on plosives given by Hastings are also extremely low. Generally
Saffery's findings are supportive of those of Hastings with the following
exceptions: Saffery notes a 'linking $/r/$' in intervocalic position; the
fact that aspirated stops occur as often as unaspirated stops, while Hastings
regarded the unaspirated variant as predominant; the alternate occurrences
of 'light' and 'dark'$/l/$ (the latter being predominant in word final pos-
ition).

The most important study in CE that I have so far encountered is Steen-
kamp's (1980) investigation into the pronunciation of$/r/$ as a function
of socio-economic status; this because she has managed, in Labovian manner,
to demonstrate by focusing on a single variable that considerable variation
takes place within CE under the influence of a number of factors, linguistic
and non-linguistic. Her findings are particularly relevant to this study
in that she is able to show important correlations between social differ-
entiation on the one hand, and linguistic variation on the other.

For her study Steenkamp used sixteen subjects, eight children from a lower
socio-economic (LSE) area and eight from a middle socio-economic area (MSE),

half of each group being male and half female. Four important social var-
iables were thus involved: socio-economic status, sex, area of residence
and influence of Afrikaans, since the LSE area, Bonteheuwel, was felt to
be more Afrikaans than the MSE area of Penlyn Estate. In certain linguistic
contexts important differences were found between the two main groups in
the phonetic realization of $/r/$, while in other linguistic contexts no
difference was apparent. For instance in three contexts, following a non-
apical stop, following a non-apical fricative, and intervocalic within
a word, the resonant $[ɹ]$ occurred significantly more frequently with the
MSE group, but this did not apply in other contexts. Neither group pro-
duced the resonant following an apical stop. The fricative $[ř]$ was produced
significantly more often by the MSE group. The tap $[ɾ]$ however showed no
significant difference in any context in the percentages for the two groups
and thus "constituted the only similarity between the middle and lower
socioeconomic groups which was not dependent on the phonetic context".[3]

Steenkamp takes this similarity as evidence that the influence of Afrikaans
is present throughout the community, while the fact that the trill $[r]$ was
produced significantly more by the LSE group in all but one context indicated
for her that the influence of Afrikaans was greater in this group. This
is consistent with my own representation by means of the two triangles in
the last chapter of the influence of Afrikaans being greater at the lower
end of the SES for both 'white' and 'coloured' speakers. Another interesting
finding was that for the MSE group there was more fluctuation in the pro-
nunciation of $/r/$ in all contexts, while the LSE group showed more predict-
able results in each context. Steenkamp suggests two reasons for this:
either the MSE group were deliberately trying to produce a more standard

form than the LSE group, or else they had simply been more exposed to the standard form. Either way one would be justified in putting forward here a Labovian hypothesis of 'linguistic insecurity' for the middle class.

Sex differences were also found, but only for the tap and fricative variants. In both groups, across the contexts, the fricative was produced significantly more by females, while in the MSE group males produced the tap, a non-prestigious variant in SAE, more than the females. These findings are entirely consistent with the information available on the 'white' varieties regarding female pursuit of the prestigious respectable or conservative forms, as opposed to male adherence to the forms of extreme SAE, even in the middle or upper middle class. There were however no significant differences for the other two variants of $/r/$, which is surprising since it might be supposed that the resonant/trill opposition is also a prestigious/non-prestigious one.

A note concerning the influence of Afrikaans here: one should distinguish between standard Afrikaans and the vernacular. None of Steenkamp's subjects produced any variant of $/r/$ in the pre-consonantal or word-final contexts as many Afrikaners do when speaking English, this undoubtedly because unlike standard Afrikaans, in the vernacular $/r/$ is not normally pronounced in words such as *kerk* or *ver*.

Steenkamp's conclusions then support the hypothesis that there is linguistic variation within CE which correlates significantly with social differentiation, and agree with my own suggestions that class, area of residence and influence of Afrikaans acting in conjunction are major determinants of this variation. She also concludes that there is less a

a question of expressing an identity through the use of linguistic variables than conforming with one's peers, family and so on. This is also consistent with my own formulation in Chapter Two of an overt rejection of 'coloured identity', accompanied nevertheless by a covert identification arising out of loyalty to personal social networks. Steenkamp accounts for the homogeneity that exists in this way:

> The children may appear to identify with a particular
> racial or cultural group due to common characteristics
> within that group when in fact they merely acquired the
> pronunciation forms to which they were exposed in their
> home and school environment.[4]

On the other hand she explains the equally real diversity:

> The reportedly low degree of internal cohesion, hetero-
> geneity and complex social structuring within the Coloured
> community (Thomas, 1976) may account at least in part,
> for some of the individual differences within the LSE and
> MSE groups. The personal aspirations of a speaker inde-
> pendent of his socioeconomic group membership will also
> determine his individual pronunciation.[5]

In other words the speech forms used by an individual arise out of a conformity based on loyalty to and influence of social networks, balanced against an attraction and thus accommodation to role models, reference figures and so forth *outside* of the individual's social network, and as I have suggested, this may lead to a certain tension or contradiction within such an individual.

At this point I would like to refer to another aspect of the sound system under consideration, that of intonation. Since the study of intonation is a fairly specialized sub-discipline, requiring a great deal of attention, perhaps in another study devoted specifically to this topic, I have not attempted to provide my own description; but I would acknowledge that this is a serious omission, since it is my impression and that of others that intonation patterns, specific to extreme forms of CE especially, do exist. Douglas (1984) carried out an investigation into the intonation patterns of three 'coloured' female children with a mean age of 5,2 years, using as a model that of Crystal (1969), and comparing intonation patterns found with those of RP. Her findings indicated a definite presence of dialectal intonation patterns which contrasted with the patterns for RP in two important respects. Firstly, tone units were found to be characteristically shorter, enclosing very often only a word or an incomplete clause structure, as opposed to phrases and complete clauses. Related to this was the fact that there was a greater number of nuclear tones, implying greater nuclear pitch movement, although the percentage distribution of nuclear tone types (rising, falling etc.) was similar to that shown by Crystal's data. "In other words, although the distribution of nuclear tone types for the present data appears to correlate with that described by Crystal (1969), the perceptual realisation of these tones is different for the two sets of data."[6]

The second point was a far greater number of rising tones - "at least 50% of the tone units ended with a rising pitch movement"[7] - and the fact that the nuclear tail often did not continue the direction of the nuclear tone, but was frequently in the opposite direction to it, thus making the tail

linguistically significant. "Of these 75% were rising tails, following a simple falling tone;"[8] this type of contrast had been treated by Crystal as exceptional for English. This latter observation accords well with the impressionistic observation of my own of a generally more rising intonation tendency for CE, especially noticeable in the case of statements.

Turning now to questions of syntax, Malan (1981) investigated the production of non-standard sentences by twelve year old 'coloured' children in order to determine which occurred frequently enough to be considered significant, and the extent to which these were consistently produced. All of her 20 subjects, ten boys and ten girls, were from English speaking homes, receiving English medium instruction in school and from homes of low socio-economic status, being drawn from two unspecified areas of the Cape Peninsula. The following seven constructions were found to occur frequently:

(1) absence of the auxiliary 'are'

(2) absence of copula 'are'

(3) absence of auxiliary 'have'

(4) absence of 3rd person singular present tense marker (-s)

(5) absence of regular past tense marker (-ed)

(6) simple present replacing future conditional tense

(7) simple future replacing future conditional tense[9]

It has been my own experience as an English teacher in the 'coloured community' that all of the above are indeed very high frequency phenomena both in speech and in writing. Malan states that numerous other non-standard constructions occurred, but excluded these from discussion on the grounds

that they were not used by a 'statistically significant' number of subjects. One should perhaps note here also that there may be a number of important constructions which a particular elicitation technique may fail to uncover and thus take care not to attach too much importance to statistical frequencies. Certain constructions for instance are simply not high frequency items in normal discourse and may only be detected in very large bodies of data produced over a long period of time; they may however still be important in throwing light on the 'logic' or the cognitive psychology of non-standard English in general.

Malan makes some interesting observations regarding the conditions for the occurrence of the non-standard forms. For instance the "absence of auxiliary/copula forms occurred only for those forms of 'BE' and 'HAVE' which in SE are contractible",[10] speculating that the speakers may be applying the contraction rule and then applying a further deletion rule. My own opinion on this has always been that the contracted form is often not heard by the learner of English and is therefore regarded at best as an optional rather than obligatory element. For instance the production of 'they're' by speakers of standard English is further affected by the phonological rule that word-final $/r/$ is not pronounced; thus it becomes inaudible and it is hardly surprising therefore that a non-literate or semi-literate learner of English would omit it altogether. Regarding the lack of number/person concord between subject and verb and between demonstrative ond plural noun, Malan mentions the two common explanations, i.e. that a simplifying process is at work, and secondly the influence of Afrikaans. Both would seem to be applicable, since there is no corresponding concord system in Afrikaans; but on the other hand these constructions (e.g. 'My mommy say...') do occur in many other non-standard dialects

elsewhere in the world. However in the case of the demonstrative (e.g. 'one of that stones...'), this seems to be a particularly prevalent feature of CE in particular, possibly pointing to the influence of the Afrikaans demonstrative *daardie* or *daai*, since many other non-standard dialects might use a plural but non-demonstrative form, e.g. 'them stones'.

Malan in fact warns against the idea that non-standard forms simply "constitute 'immature' versions"[11] of standard English, by citing the argument that many of these forms are in fact merely reducing redundancy. Against this again one would have to mention that many non-standard forms such as omission of past tense markers are in fact examples of reduction of meaning and can lead to lower intelligibility in cases where contextual cues are not available. Another important point which Malan makes is that the non-standard constructions are never used absolutely consistently and always alternate with the standard form, but that it is likely that the frequency of occurrence of the standard form increases to the extent that the "speaker strives towards the values of the highest societal group",[12] presumably in this case 'white' South Africans. My own opinion regarding the non-standard end of the spectrum, where standard and non-standard forms are freely interchanged, is that individuals here regard the two forms as being optionally interchangeable, having no awareness, even intuitively, of the existence of an obligatory rule, such a rule in effect only becoming obligatory for an individual who has become upwardly mobile.

So again Malan's study indicates a greater influence of Afrikaans at the non-standard end of the spectrum which is undoubtedly associated with the bottom of the socio-economic scale, and as with the phonetic variable

of $/r/$, the standard or prestigious form increases in frequency with movement up this scale, the frequency of the non-standard or non-prestigious form correspondingly decreasing.

A more recent study in non-standard syntax is that of Shirk (1985). She used ten 'white' and ten 'coloured' children as subjects, all from more or less lower middle class backgrounds and all from the Lansdowne/Kenwyn area. Thus such a study would be expected to provide insights into the contrast between the two non-standard varieties, extreme SAE and CE. In certain grammatical categories the 'coloured' subjects were significantly more deviant than the 'white'; these were: word order (100% of 'coloured' subjects as compared with 50% of 'white'); tense (100% of 'coloured' subjects as compared to 50% of 'white'); use of 'so' as an 'inappropriate conjunction' (70% of 'coloured' against 0% of 'white'). Certain non-standard forms were common to 100% or close to 100% of both 'white' and 'coloured' subjects: auxiliary and copula deletion, lack of concord. There were some non-standard forms used more by the 'white' subjects: non-standard preposition (100% against 60% of 'coloured') and non-standard pronominalization (100% against 80% of 'coloured'). Altogether 32,57% of utterances by coloured subjects were non-standard grammatically, while 21,48% of 'white' subjects' utterances were non-standard. In addition the study also looked at occurrences of non-standard or 'borrowed' lexical items which occurred in 5,96% of 'coloured' subjects' utterances and in 3,09% of the 'white' subjects'. Since most of these were Afrikaans items there is some justification for supposing that CE is even more influenced by Afrikaans than extreme SAE.

At this point I am able to point out that these studies provide support

for my earlier suggestion that English in the 'coloured community' has
the character of a continuum of minute gradations based on frequencies of
occurrence of certain forms or items, rather than being a single clearly
defined variety. Furthermore I would like to show in my own analysis which
now follows, that at the standard/'respectable' end of this continuum a
number of features usually remain to distinguish CE lects from the other
SAE varieties, but that unlike the case of Afrikaans, these relatively
subtle distinguishing features are much less accessible to the consciousness
of speakers and hearers, hence my insistence on a distinction between code
switching and style shifting.

4.4 Phonetic Profile

The following analysis proceeds by discussing each of the phonemes of Eng-
lish which seem to undergo significant variation in the speech of 'coloured'
speakers. All the transcriptions provided are drawn from my own body of
recorded data. This taxonomy could only be said to be complete in the sense
that it attempts to provide an outline of the lects under consideration.
The scope of any such study must be determined by its most important prior-
ities; in this case these have been set according to the aims and method-
ology of the attitude study which will be found in the next chapter. The
diacritics used in transcriptions from here onwards are the following:

nasalisation ~	dental articulation ⋏
voicing loss . e.g. z̦	extra lip rounding ɔ e.g. uɔ
central vowel - e.g. ɐ̶	lip spreading ᴄ e.g. uᴄ
close variant ⊥ e.g. æ̞	glottal stop simultaneous with another
advanced variant + e.g. a̟	sound ' e.g. t'
retracted variant _ e.g. ʃ̱	dark /l/ [ɫ]
open variant ⊤ e.g. æ̞	

(a) <u>Vowel Raising</u>

Although it is certainly true that at least some of the following raised variants occur in other varieties of SAE, particularly Afr. Eng., their importance here is that the extent of raising is a distinguishing feature among lects of CE: extreme raising is certainly stigmatized and character-istic of the lower end of what I have previously referred to as the 'res-pectability scale' (hereafter 'the scale'). Front vowels are raised so that:

/ɪ/ becomes [i] e.g. fish [fiʃ]

/ɛ/ becomes [e] e.g. get [ɡet]

/æ/ becomes [ɛ] e.g. back [bɛk]

Of the back vowels /ɒ/ and /ɔ/ tend to be raised:

e.g. John [dʒɔn]

    was [wɒ̝:z]

    boycott [bɔikɔt]

    important [impo:tənt]

However lowering can also take place, possibly as a result of stigmatization:

e.g. wrong [rɒ̝ŋ]

Inconsistent raising often leads to the blurring of distinctions between phonemes, especially /ɛ/ and /æ/, /ɒ/ and /ɔ/. In some idiolects these dis-tinctions can be obliterated altogether so that, for instance, the names Alice and Ellis are indistinguishable.

(b) <u>Vowel Lowering</u>

/ʌ/ tends to be lowered; not obviously stigmatized:

e.g. drugs [draks]

    run [ran]

    one [wan]

Low schwa is used for /ɪ/ in certain contexts, as is the case with other

SAE varieties:

e.g. sit [sət]

In certain contexts /ɛ/ is also replaced by schwa:

e.g. yes [jəs] or [jə:s]

Only speakers of Cons. SAE manage to use the [ɪ] variant consistently, although in some contexts it can be fairly frequent in Resp. SAE (examples in next chapter). As an English teaching exercise I once tried to get my pupils to recognise the difference between /ɪ/ and /ə/ ; most professed to be unable to distinguish them and only one (female) pupil actually managed to produce [ɪ] in 'sit' accurately when tested.

(c) Fronting

Many speakers use the American type of pronunciation for 'chance', 'dance' etc. [dæ:ns] Being somewhat unsystematic and a shift from back to front this variant is particularly accessible to consciousness and thus easily avoided by speakers further up the scale.

(d) Diphthongs

/eɪ/ tends to be lowered: e.g. late [lɛɪt]

Sometimes lowered and glide weakened: e.g. take [tɛk]

Often backed and lowered: e.g. came [kɔɪm]

According to Lanham (1978) lowering is widespread in SAE, especially Extr. SAE.

In the case of /aɪ/ there are two types of realization, only the first of which is characteristic of CE, the other being one of the defining variants of Resp. SAE. The second would include the following allophones:

e.g. inside [insɛɪd]

    nine [næɪn]

    outside [aʊtsəɪd]

The second variant is the low glide weakened one:

e.g. time [ta:m]

diamond [da'mən]

This latter is used by most speakers though in certain contexts, especially

the pronoun 'I': [a]

The first variant although being highly characteristic of CE, cannot be

regarded as definitive, since the second is also common, particularly am-

ong women. The raised variant with strong glide is found all the way up

the scale but as is the case with many features of CE is associated more

with individuals at the lower end; probably not clearly stigmatized. It

is clearly distinguishable from the Extr. SAE variant, which according to

Lanham (1978), is backed and raised, and from the Resp. SAE variant already

mentioned. Interestingly, because of the strong glide, another variant

close to or the same as that of RP is not uncommon and individuals further

up the scale may produce such a variant rather than the glide weakened

one. I have experienced more than one case where, when attention was drawn

to the latter variant, for instance my mentioning that this was the way I

pronounced a particular word such as 'five', this was sometimes associated

with 'kugel' speech, a stereotype, incidentally, which is well known in

the 'coloured community'.

As is the case with other varieties influenced by Afrikaans /ɔɪ/ has a

high glide: e.g. noise [nɔɪz]. Occurs all the way up the scale.

/aʊ/ is usually raised and glide weakened or glideless:

e.g. out [æ³t], [æ:t] or even [ɛ:t]

This feature is particularly interesting because, according to Lanham

(1978, 1982), this is not only a highly stigmatized variant of Extr. SAE,

but is also one of four features which he specifically mentions as having

been definitive of the old Cape English: obstruent /r/ , back-raised and glide-weakened /ɑɪ/ , backed and raised /ɑː/ , and the fronted and glide-weakened /ɑʊ/. Thus it is not surprising to find the last mentioned, as well as the others with the exception of back-raised and glide-weakened /ɑɪ/, in CE. Furthermore I have noted approximations to both the other variants which he mentions: an inter-mediate [ɑᵘ], and a possibly hypercorrected [ɑʊ] . The fronted and glide-weakened variant, although very common among first language speakers, would be avoided by those further up the scale.

There is much variation in the /oʊ/ phoneme. Backing and lowering are common, with realizations such as the following: home [hɒʊm]

no [nɔu]

road [rɑʊd]

According to Lanham (1978) backing and lowering of /oʊ/ is a feature of Extr. SAE, but in CE it is usually accompanied by strong lip rounding, particularly noticeable in word-final position: e.g. no [nɔuˤ] (see 'Lip Rounding' below). A glide-strengthened variant is very common and the favoured context for this may be suggested by the following two examples:

lower [lɛuwə]

over [ɛuvə]

Glide-weakened allophones also occur:

e.g. road [roᵛd]

old [oːld]

None of the above seems to be clearly stigmatized and all occur at the upper end of the scale, although probably less prestigious than the Resp. SAE/ RP allophones. Phonetic context would determine which of the above occurs within any particular idiolect.

Context is also the most important factor with regard to realizations of /ɪə/.
I have noticed four variants, and no one seems to be more prestigious than
the others. As demonstrated by the four examples below, the four variants
are respectively: glideless high front, glideless and slightly lowered,
semi-vowel plus schwa, high front with strong glide.

e.g. serious [siːɪ̯jəs]

gear [gɛː]

near [njəː]

ears [iːəz]

These four then can be distinguished from the Resp. SAE variant [ɪə] or [ɛə],
which is less likely to occur. Lanham (1978) mentions the first of the
above as being characteristic of Extr. SAE.

Glideless variants of /ɛə/ and /ɔə/ are general in SAE:

e.g. air [ɛː] or [eː]

four [fɔ̞ː]

Realization of the /uə/ phoneme is also dependent on context and the following
two variants will be likely to occur in most CE idiolects:

e.g. pure [pjɔː]

poor [puə]

(e) <u>Vowels of unstressed syllables</u>

The variation in the realization of the vowels in unstressed syllables
is possibly the most salient characteristic of CE. In other varieties of
SAE, as well as RP, unstressed syllables will be reduced to schwa, or in
some cases realized as [ɪ]. In all lects of CE this is much less frequent
and the tendency is rather to retain the vowel as spelt. This is extremely

pervasive, although not always consistent, and serves then as an indicator
by which the more prestigious forms of CE can be distinguished from other
prestigious as well as non-prestigious varieties of SAE. My recordings of
the formal styles of 'coloured' speakers all show examples of it, and the
fact that few are able to evade it altogether, suggests that this feature
is particularly inaccessible to consciousness. In more extreme idiolects
this will not only affect polysyllabic words, but 'was' for instance,
may be realized in connected speech as [wɑːz] instead of [wəz]. Apart from
such examples the following contexts seem most noteworthy:

Prefixes:

e.g. design [dizaˑn]

    reliable [ɹilæɹəbəl]

    prevent [pɹivent]

A raised central vowel for -er suffixes:

e.g. killers [kiləz]

    teachers [tiːtʃɜz]

This raising also occurs in other contexts:

e.g. marriages [meɹidʒɜz]

    pilgrimage [pɜlgɹəmidz]

Back vowels:

e.g. correct [kɔɹekt]

    people [piːpɵl]

    possess [pəʊzes]

    political [pɒlətikəl]

(f) Vowel retraction before l

This is most noticeable in the case of the /ɛ/ vowel:

e.g. smell [smæl]

    selfish [sɛlfiʃ]

Central vowels would be replaced by one or other back vowel:

e.g. uncle [ʌŋkəl]

children [tʃəlɾən]

girls [ɡoːlz]

people [piːpɔl]

Some diphthongs can be affected: e.g. child [tʃaʊl]

Vowel can become rounded: e.g. result [ɾizʊlt]

The /i/ vowel seems to be the least affected: e.g. field [fiᵊld]

The feature of vowel retraction in this context is very common in SAE, although not considered by Lanham (1978) to be a feature of Extr. SAE or Afr. Eng. It is not unlikely therefore that it has prestige value in CE as well. There is another related variant however which is more likely to be stigmatized, and that is a diphthong which sometimes occurs in the same context:

e.g. altitude [iæltətjuːd]

help [jⁱælp]

(g) Lip Rounding

The /u/ vowel tends to be strongly rounded: e.g. two, too [tuːᵓ]

Diphthongs are also affected: e.g. no [nɔuᵊ]. As I have mentioned this is more noticeable in word-final position. Concerning the /u/ itself it should be noted that this is almost always backed, not the centralized variant of other SAE varieties; thus it constitutes a distinguishing feature of CE. For some individuals it will probably enter into stylistic variation with more centralized and less rounded variants. Since this feature is clearly not stigmatized - it occurs all the way up the scale - variation is probably determined more by context in the linguistic sense rather than the social.

(h) Obstruent <u>r</u>

This is most frequently the tap. However as Steenkamp's study has shown, there is a tremendous amount of variation, even within a particular idiolect. It is not uncommon for an individual to use the tap, trill and resonant, and it is not unlikely that both linguistic and social contexts have a bearing on this variation. Including the fricative and the uvular variant - although the latter is not mentioned by Steenkamp, it is not uncommon - there are then five distinct variants. Only individuals right at the top of the scale would use the resonant consistently.

(i) <u>De-aspiration of stops</u>

Two of the studies mentioned above recorded contradictory findings regarding this feature, Hastings finding de-aspiration of the unvoiced stops $/p, t, k/$ to be dominant, while Saffery found aspiration to occur as frequently. There is no doubt that de-aspiration is very common and that this is the influence of Afrikaans. However aspiration does also occur, especially phrase-finally on word-final $/p, t, k/$, and with some speakers on the word-initial stops as well.

(j) <u>Articulation of fricatives $\int$ and 3</u> .

This is a particularly interesting variable with very clear prestige distinctions. With regard to point of articulation there are three distinct variants. The first is the replacement of the palato-alveolar by the alveolar:

e.g. change [tseɪns]

finish [finis]

carriage [keɪidz]

measure [mezʒ]

This variant is peculiar to extreme forms of CE, and is very highly stigmatized, *never* occurring in the speech of individuals near the top of the scale. The second variant is the palato-alveolar which occurs in all the other varieties of SAE. The third variant is one which occurs in many idiolects of RP, but not normally in SAE. Here the point of articulation is slightly further back:

e.g. shy [ʃaʳ]

    language [lɛŋwɪdʒ]

    preach [pɹiːtʃ]

This last variant clearly has prestige value and is far more common in the speech of women, particularly Muslim women. It is difficult to speculate on the origin of this feature, but a likely hypothesis would be simply that the point of articulation is the furthest one possible from that of the stigmatized variant. Possibly the fact that it also occurs in RP provides further support. But what is clear in this variable is the correlation between point of articulation and prestige: i.e. forward/stigmatised, central/neutral, retracted/prestigious.

An additional aspect of the fricative is its use to replace a consonant cluster:

e.g. actually [ɛkʃli]

An interesting phenomenon which only applies to speakers who are much more comfortable in Afrikaans is an inversion of /s/ and /ʃ/ when /s/ occurs in close proximity to a following /ʃ/ or /ʒ/ :

e.g. decision [diʃiʒən]

    social [ʃɒusəl]

(k) Fricative replaced by Stop

This is the other highly stigmatized feature, also occurring only at

the bottom end of the scale. The dental fricative tends to be replaced by a dental stop; usually the two variants alternate in a particular idiolect:

e.g. thirty [t̪əti]

  three [t̪ɹiː]

(1) Elision

This is a highly characteristic feature of the more extreme CE lects, occurring very frequently and parallelled in the vernacular Afrikaans. Since it is a fairly reliable indicator of these less prestigious varieties, it would be interesting to know if it is parallelled in Extr. SAE, but no information seems to be available on this. Three types of elision can be distinguished, the first being reduction of consonant clusters:

e.g. parents [peːɹəns]

  it doesn't [ədʌzən]

  ask [aːʂ]

  addicts [ɛdiks]

  underground [ənəgɹæən]

  helped [hæᵛpt]

  don't [dəʊ]

Omission of word-final nasals:

e.g. plan [plæ̃]

  going [gəũĩ]

  exciting [eksæɪtĩ]

Syllable reduction:

e.g. reasonable [ɹiːzəⁿbəl]

  you know [jnəᵛ]

  naturally [nɛtʃəli]

(m) Glide replacement of *h*

Not documented for the other varieties, this is very characteristic of CE, occurring in word-initial position:

e.g. hell [jæl]

here, hear [jɜ:]

(n) *h* replacement of Glide

This seems to be common to all varieties of English which are influenced by Afrikaans; the phonetic context shown by the following two examples seems to be the favoured one:

e.g. piano [pihænəʊ]

create [kɹihɛɪt]

(o) Stress Shift

In the more extreme lects, the stress in polysyllabic verbs shifts to the final syllable:

e.g. realíse

intoxicáted

participáte

Many less systematic stress shifts also occur.

(p) Loss of Voicing

This seems to occur mainly with /z/ and /d/ in word-final position. This would appear to be the influence of Afrikaans, but the extent to which it also occurs in Afr. Eng. is not clear:

e.g. is [iz̥]

seconds [sekəndz̥]

followed [fɔləʊd̥]

eight hundred [ɛitʌndɹəd̥]

(q) Stressing/Lengthening of consonants

Continuants occurring before word-final voiced alveolar consonants are sometimes lengthened and carry stress:

e.g. friends [fɹɛnnz]

  things [θiŋŋz]

  field [fiːlld]

The voiced fricative itself can also be similarly stressed and lengthened:

e.g. newsreporters [nɹuzɹipɔːtɜzz]

It is not unlikely that this feature is prestigious, since it seems to be peculiar to women's speech, and might be a form of hypercorrection in contrast to the voicing loss mentioned above.

(r) Variants of *f*

Articulation sometimes takes place with lower lip in front of rather than below the top teeth, and in the case of individuals with no top front teeth the phoneme is necessarily realised as a bilabial fricative.

(s) Community Specific Word Pronunciations

The above description was chosen to refer to a phenomenon which is related to the sound system in that features of pronunciation are involved, but it is not clear to what extent these are systematic or not. Certain words are realised phonetically in ways that are probably peculiar to CE, and extremely pervasively therein. As with many other features I have mentioned, occurrence is most frequent at the bottom of the scale but by no means restricted to such individuals. Firstly, 'aren't' and 'weren't' are realised as two syllable words: [ɑːɾɔnt] and [wɜːɾɔnt]. Secondly, in some words the /ɒ/ vowel is unrounded, but the number of these seems to be small: e.g. want [wʌnt], the prefix *non-* as in non-smokers [nʌn smɔʊkɔz]. 'Skip' is pronounced [skɔp], the name Cecil as [sɔsɔl], and 'asthma' as [æʃmɔ]

In the above analysis I have made frequent mention of variation within
CE by referring to the social distribution of phonetic variants in terms
of the respectability scale. This scale is a theoretical construct which
has enabled me to avoid referring constantly to the real determinants of
linguistic behaviour such as class, level of education, area of residence,
language proficiency and social psychological factors. However the main
thrust of my argument has been that these determinants act together in
complex ways to stratify the various linguistic items in a scale which
is to a certain extent independent of the socio-economic scale. So far
the way that I have been proceeding could be seen as being consistent with
the item based model of sociolinguistic methodology which I mentioned in
Chapter One. However I also mentioned in that chapter that linguistic items
in isolation do not necessarily have any perceptual validity, and it would
certainly be difficult to determine attitudes to each individual variant
that I have mentioned; and it is these perceptions and attitudes which
are my main interest. Thus I would now like to shift the line of approach
somewhat to the point where I can begin to speak of varieties again. At
the same time it should be borne in mind that varieties themselves are
theoretical concepts, the reality underlying them being the co-occurrences
of linguistic items or variants.

From here on I will refer from time to time to two sub-varieties within
CE, Resp. CE and Extr. CE, thereby drawing a parallel between Lanham's
characterization of SAE and my own in the case of CE. It will be recalled
that in the last Chapter I referred to parallel stratifications in the
English of 'whites' and 'coloureds'. The question might be raised here:
do not some 'coloureds' in fact speak the same form of Resp. SAE or Extr.
SAE as 'whites'? In my experience the answer to this question is generally

no, that there is a prestigious variety specific to 'coloureds' and that
the same applies to the extreme pole as well, the key to accepting this
being, as I have suggested, the concept of social networks. I intend now
to consider the salient features which through their regular co-occurrence
define the two poles of the CE respectability scale, and also those that
define the boundary between the CE varieties and the 'white' varieties.

Let us consider firstly the case of the phoneme /aɪ/ and various realizations
thereof:

RP/Cons SAE	Resp. SAE	Extr. SAE	Resp. CE	Extr. CE	Afr. Eng.
[aɪ]	[a:]	[ɑ:]	[aɪ]	[æɪ]	[ɑ:]
	[aɪ]		[aɪ]	[əɪ]	[ɑɪ]

The above are typical phonetic values for this phoneme in varieties of SAE.
These are not meant to show the full range which any speaker might produce,
but merely to show a selection of variants that are likely to occur. A
particular speaker of Resp. CE for instance, may not always produce one of
the variants shown; sometimes it may be a higher or lower variant, sometimes
slightly glide-weakened and so on. Nevertheless such a speaker's realization
of /aɪ/ would generally have a noticeable glide in comparison to the speaker
of Resp. SAE or Extr. SAE, and would generally not be so high so as to
become indistinguishable from the variant produced by the speaker of Extr.
CE. In avoiding the Extr. CE variant the Resp. CE speaker may be more pos-
itively influenced by the RP variant than by the Resp. SAE one; certainly
the glide-weakened variant *does* occur in some CE idiolects as I have ment-
ioned, but my data shows it to be much less common, especially for men.
Similarly one may identify other variables which distinguish the various
lects from one another:

Raised glide-weakened /aʊ/ typically realised as [æʋ] generally distinguishes
the extreme varieties (CE and SAE) from the respectable ones. Flapped [ɾ]
would also be a criterion in making this same distinction.

Pronunciation of the vowel as spelt instead of reverting to schwa for
unstressed syllables distinguishes CE lects (extreme and respectable)
from all others.

Centralised [ʉ] distinguishes Resp. SAE, Extr. SAE and Afr. Eng. both from
Cons. SAE/RP and the CE varieties, while backed well-rounded [uːʼ] disting-
uishes CE generally from the 'white' varieties.

At least two variables are absolutely decisive as indicators of Extr. CE
as opposed to any other variety: palato-alveolar fricatives /ʃ/ and /ʒ/
realized as alveolar fricatives [s] and [z], and dental fricatives /θ/ and /ð/
realized as dental stops [t̪] and [d̪].

To sum up then we may say that Extr. CE as a variety incorporates many of
the Extr. SAE and Afr. Eng. variants (e.g. tapped [ɾ], de-aspiration of
stops, raised vowels etc.), some from Resp. SAE (e.g. vowel retraction
before /l/), and a number not found in any of the 'white' varieties (e.g.
non-reversion to schwa for unstressed syllables, backed well-rounded /u/,
/ʃ/ and /ʒ/ realized as alveolar fricatives, /θ/ and /ð/ realized as dental
stops etc.). Resp. CE on the other hand aims at opposing the Extr. CE
variants with alternatives, some from RP (e.g. [aɪ], fricatives /ʃ/ and /ʒ/
and their corresponding affricates articulated well back) and others which
are common to both RP and Resp. SAE. The extent to which this is success-
ful determines the position of the lect on the respectability scale. The
following is a list of all the features I have identified as characteristic

of Extr. CE. The features that are most unlikely to occur in Resp. CE - i.e. those that are most likely stigmatized - are marked with *, while those features likely to prove most tenacious and persist as features in Resp. CE speech are marked +.

Raising of front vowels

Raising of /ʋ/ and /ɔ/   *

Lowering of /ʌ/ to [a]   *

'American' [æ:] for [ɑ:| *

Low schwa for /ɪ/   +

Lowered /eɪ/

Raised /aɪ/

Strong glide on /ɔɪ/   +

Strong glide on /oʊ/   +

Raised glide-weakened /aʊ/   *

Backed lowered /əʊ/   +

Glideless /ɪə/   +

Glideless /ɛə/   +

Glideless /ɔə/   +

/uə/ realized as [ɔ:]   +

Non-reversion to schwa for unstressed syllables +

Vowel retraction before /l/   +

Strong lip rounding on /u/   +

Backed /u/   +

Lack of rounding on /ʋ/, realized as [ʌ]

Flapped or tapped /r/   *

De-aspiration of stops   *

Fricatives /ʃ/ and /ʒ/ replaced by [ṣ] and [ẓ] *

Fricatives /ð/ and /θ/ replaced by [ṭ] and [ḍ] *

Reduction of consonant clusters

Elision of word-final nasals

Syllable reduction

/h/ replaced by [j]

Glide replaced by [h]   +

Stress shift to final syllable of verb

Loss of voicing on /z/ and /d/   *

Ante-dental articulation of /f/

Dialect specific pronunciations of aren't, weren't, non-, Cecil, asthma etc.

4.5 *Syntactic Notes*

Here I have little to add to the findings of Malan and Shirk mentioned
above, apart from one or two comments. By far the greatest number of non-
standard forms in CE are those associated with the verb: lack of concord,
copula or auxiliary deletion and deviant tense forms. It is difficult to
determine exactly how systematic these occurrences of non-standard forms
are, since the standard form often alternates with the non-standard form.
Secondly it is not clear to what extent the influence of Afrikaans is act-
ually a factor in this, whether for instance these non-standard forms
should be regarded as features of a well formed dialect - since they all
occur to one extent or another in other non-standard dialects elsewhere
in the world - or whether they are more properly regarded as examples of
language transfer or 'fossilized' language learning errors.

Regarding concord, I have noticed that in the case of the copula the non-
standard form involves both the singular and plural forms; i.e. both 'the

boys is' and 'the boy are' can occur, although I would be inclined to think that the former of these two deviant forms is more likely. However in the case of the -s morpheme this is very often dropped, thus leading to a bias toward using the plural form even with singular subjects, and this is most common in the case of the 'do' verb, where the singular 'does' almost never occurs in many idiolects. In the case of deviant tense forms there is also some evidence of an underlying system. For instance regarding the perfective forms, these are very often completely absent in the idiolects of a great number, perhaps even the majority of speakers, or else when they do occur they are deviant. A sentence such as 'Have you been there before?' is likely to be realized in CE as 'Were you there already?'

Other non-standard forms which I consider to be especially characteristic of CE are the following: overgeneralization in the use of the 'by' preposition, which apart from its standard use can be a substitute for 'at', 'near', 'with', 'next to' etc.; a similar overgeneralization in the use of the verb 'get', as in the following examples: 'I got one brother' (I have one brother), 'I'll get you by the shop' (I'll meet you at the shop); the abandonment of the adverbial -ly morpheme, which seems directly traceable to the influence of Afrikaans where the adverbial and adjectival forms are usually identical; absence of the reflexive form of the pronoun as in 'I bought me a watch', 'He cut him with a knife' etc.; the use of 'did' to form the past tense in non-emphatic utterances; then, possibly the most pervasive non-standard feature of all, the use of singular 'it' as a pro-form for plural nouns (e.g. books); the following types of redundancy: 'my utmost best', 'I'd rather prefer', 'more happier' etc.; the treatment of plural or non-countable nouns as singular and countable, such as 'a pants', 'a jean', 'a ten rand' etc.. Apart from a wealth of slang, there

are relatively few lexical items or idiomatic expressions that could be
considered characteristic of CE; those that there are are almost all borrow-
ings from Afrikaans. A notable exception is the word 'thrice' which is very
rare in SAE.

As in the case of the sound system, the greatest use of non-standard forms
tends to be associated with the lower end of the respectability scale,
thus correlating with low socio-economic status, low level of education
and high incidence of bilingualism. However as I also showed in relation
to the sound system, certain forms are more tenacious than others and
are likely to persist at the upper end of the respectability scale. So
while all of the non-standard forms mentioned above are characteristic
of Extr. CE, certain of them are likely to be found in Resp. CE idiolects
as well, and are therefore features of general CE. Definite examples of
these are: the avoidance or low frequency of perfectives, the use of 'it'
as a pro-form for plural nouns (almost never abandoned) and the use of
'thrice'. Similarly, other forms are correspondingly stigmatized:
auxiliary deletion, omission of adverbial -*ly*, lack of concord, amongst
others.

4.6 Conclusions

In this chapter I have tried to show that there are demonstrable principles
underlying the complex phenomena of English use in the 'coloured community'
of the Cape Peninsula, the two most general of these being:

A. An extreme form of dialectal English is used among 'coloureds' who
constitute the lower end of the socio-economic scale, are highly bilingual,

have a low standard of education and inhabit areas in the Peninsula characterized by sub-economic housing and crowded conditions, and where vernacular Afrikaans is the normal medium of communication. In other words these are typical *community* dwellers, in that they participate in dense multi-stranded social networks, and among whom consensus regarding norms is high; hence there are powerful psychological constraints preventing the adoption of a more prestigious dialect. The English spoken in these circumstances is describable in terms of co-occurrences of phonetic variants and non-standard syntax.

B. Among those who wish to dissociate themselves from the above, a less extreme form of dialectal English tends to be spoken; and to the extent that this disidentification is successful and complete, the English spoken will be standard in character and in pronunciation will be relatively close to the established prestige lects of SAE. The speaker of this variety will be typically better educated, more affluent, speak less Afrikaans than the above, and will inhabit an area of the Peninsula characterized by home ownership and where English is a normal medium of communication. Networks here are less dense and mobility is more common, so that, for instance, a Muslim in this situation might be more likely to interact with a fellow Muslim living in a distant part of the Peninsula (or even of the world) than with a Christian neighbour. Certain features of the extreme form of the dialect are unlikely to occur in the speech of such a person; however others - and as I have shown, these are identifiable features both of sound and syntax - are likely to persist and thus continue to distinguish Resp. CE from Resp. SAE.

Appendix

The following extracts are from the compositions of standard seven English second language pupils at a Grassy Park secondary school. The deviances shown are not all peculiar to second language speakers however, nor are they peculiar to this age group. The high frequency of non-standard and deviant verb forms, especially relating to the perfective and subject/verb concord, will be noted, also the frequency of forms of 'get'.

1. Magdalene got a good personality. She is a beautiful girl. She got big pretty eyes and a sharp chin. Her eyes are brown and she got long black hair. Magdalene is very attractive. All modern clothes she wear, she like to wear beautiful clothes that suits her. She got a slender figure and like to wear figure belts.

2. One Saturday my mother send me to my aunt. She was very sick and I must take soup and fresh flowers to her. While I am walking I saw in the distance a black circle of smoke arising through the air. I thought it can be the small children who maked a fire.

3. I'm be very glad if you can help me to get the job. I have a code ten licens and I been a driver for two years. I have drive different kinds of trucks.

4. The discription of my cousin. She got a small face and she is a very prity girl. She is in standard three. She is a very kind person, she like to play with alot of children. She also got a lot of friends. During the weak she likes to dress nice. She is a very tall girl. Her high is 1,4 am. She has a petite body. She is very clever in her schoolwork. Every tirm she come firs in the class for the best points.

5. When we arrived there the boys puts up the tents and made a fire. We all did have breakfast and than all of us walk around the beach.

Notes

1. J. Hastings (1979): 'The Phonetic System of Coloured English', Dissertation, Department of Logopaedics, U.C.T., p.35.

2. S.M. Saffery (1986): 'A Sociolinguistic Study of the Consonant System of "Coloured" English', Dissertation, Department of Logopaedics, U.C.T., p.14.

3. J. Steenkamp (1980): 'A Comparison in Coloured English Speaking Children of Pronunciation of /r/ as a Function of Socioeconomic Status', Dissertation, Department of Logopaedics, U.C.T., p.23.

4. p.27.

5. p.27.

6. C. Douglas (1984): 'A Preliminary Investigation into the Intonation Patterns of a Small Sociolinguistically Definable Group of South African Speakers', Dissertation, Department of Logopaedics, U.C.T., p.21.

7. p.29.

8. p.29.

9. K.C. Malan (1981): 'An Investigation of Non-Standard English Syntax in 12-Year Old Coloured Children', *The South African Journal of Communication Disorders*, Vol. 28, 1981, p.73.

10. p.73.

11. p.76.

CHAPTER FIVE : THE FIELD STUDY OF PERCEPTIONS AND ATTITUDES

5.1   Aims and Methodology

Since a statement of aims and methodology is to be found in Chapter One,
these will only be briefly reiterated here. I will also add some comments
on theoretical and technical difficulties that emerged when the test mater-
ials were being devised and applied, and then go on to describe the
procedure which was eventually followed.

I suggested in Chapter One that the essence of the concept of language
attitudes can be encapsulated in the phrase 'evaluative reactions', and
mentioned that these can be the result of either emotions or beliefs. In
devising the actual test materials however, I felt that an attempt should
be made to distinguish clearly between perceptions and attitudes, and
not to treat these terms as two nearly synonymous words referring to
the same kind of thing. I had already made such a distinction in the third
and fourth of my aims: 'to determine the extent to which CE and diversity
within it is *perceived* as significant...', and on the other hand 'to
determine as far as possible what *attitudes* towards different varieties
of English, including CE, exist ...'. Theoretically this did not present
much difficulty since perceptions could be defined in terms of beliefs
which a particular respondent might have concerning what is either true
or not true about a speaker whom he hears; while attitudes would be defined
in terms of the reactions of such a respondent, his emotions and behaviour
towards the speaker. It was clear to me that these were two obviously
different things, but to design test material which would yield results
relating to each of these separately was more problematic. As I shall show

in my discussion of the results, this difficulty was not satisfactorily
resolved.

In the literature on language attitude studies which I consulted (e.g. the
work of Lambert, Labov and Giles and his associates which I referred to
in Chapter One) there often seemed to be an implicit assumption that per-
ceptions are a part of attitudes which cannot be separated out theoretically
or in methodology. I felt that they could be. Consider for example the
following description of Lambert's technique:

> Groups of judges are asked to listen to this series
> of recordings and evaluate the personality characteristics
> of each speaker as well as possible, using voice cues only.[1]

This appears to be a statement relating to what the judges believed to
be true or not true concerning the speaker. However in the same text
he describes these perceptions as "stereotyped impressions or biased views"[2]
implying that perceptions are inevitably 'coloured' by attitudes, and
are therefore practically indistinguishable from them.

In Labov's 'subjective evaluation tests' the concepts of perception and
attitude are similarly fused. In the following description of the
procedure he appears to be describing perceptions, in the sense of a belief
that x is either true or not true concerning y; however the nature of
the process described is such that it seems bound to elicit statements
or responses which could just as accurately, or perhaps more accurately
be described as attitudes:

> The subject had already read the text himself,
> now he was being asked to register his *feelings*
> about the speech of these other native New Yorkers
> on a scale of occupational suitability... He was
> asked to place himself in the position of a person-
> nel manager, and use this scale to rate the speakers
> as if they were candidates for jobs. A mark across
> the line meant that the speaker could hold the job
> and all below, but did not *speak well enough* to hold
> any of the jobs above.[3] (emphasis added)

The word 'feelings' is significant in that its meaning appears to lie
somewhere between perceptions and attitudes and is as vague as the 'im-
pressions' and 'views' used by Lambert. Yet Labov's description, espec-
ially the last sentence quoted, clearly implies an attempt to elicit a
statement of belief. I have emphasized the phrase 'speak well enough' in
the above because it indicates a methodological difference between Labov's
approach and my own which I shall return to, the fact that I was careful
never to draw attention to speech itself, in the sense of someone 'speak-
ing well' or not, but rather asked my respondents to judge the speakers
on the basis of their *voices*.

The point that I have been trying to make concerning the definitions of
perceptions and attitudes with reference to the work of Lambert and Labov
is clearly expressed in the following analysis by Edwards (1982):

> ...there is sometimes confusion between belief and attitude.
> *Attitude* includes *belief* as one of its components. Thus a
> subject's response to, 'Is a knowledge of French important

for your children, yes or no?' indicates a belief.
To gauge attitude one would require further enquiry
into the respondent's *feeling* about his expressed be-
lief. For example he may believe that French is impor-
tant for his children's career success, yet he may
loathe the language. Many 'attitude' questionnaires are,
in fact 'belief' questionnaires, at least in part.[4]

There is a further complication however which is not captured in the
above, and that is that a 'belief' questionnaire may nevertheless elicit
attitudinal responses. It is quite possible for a respondent to use a
questionnaire which is enquiring into his beliefs for the purpose of regist-
ering an attitude, as I shall show. But initially I set out to try to
devise a methodology which would yield certain results, where some of
these would provide insights into the perceptions (and by this I mean
beliefs resulting from a sensory impression as well as cognitive activity),
while others would provide insights into the attitudes (the emotional or
affective response leading to a behavioural response) of the respondents.
It was hoped that at least in some cases a clear distinction could be
made between the two.

Each experiment that was to be carried out would follow the procedure
whereby a small group of subjects, between six and twelve, would be play-
ed a tape on which ten speakers would be heard. The subjects would be
presented with a questionnaire and on a second hearing of the tape they
would be required to complete a questionnaire. The most important criterion
in compiling the tapes was that each tape used would present a represen-
tative selection of the varieties of English normally heard in Cape Town,
as defined in earlier chapters. Two tapes were used. Tape no. 1 had ten

voices describing a simple procedure: six men explaining how to change
the wheel of a car, and four women explaining how to make a cup of tea.
On tape no. 2 all ten speakers, six women and four men, read a forty word
passage which I had prepared. Transcriptions of these tapes as well as notes
on each speaker will be found below.

Two types of experiments were performed with each tape. Thus four differ-
ent experiments were performed involving the tapes, while a fifth was
carried out with a questionnaire alone. The first four were of the indirect
type (see Chapter One) and the fifth was of the direct type, subjects
being questioned directly on their attitudes towards varieties of English
and on their use of English and Afrikaans. The first questionnaire presented
the subject with twelve attributes of which he or she was invited to attrib-
ute approximately three (or at least one) to each speaker heard by ticking
the applicable columns. The second questionnaire presented the subjects
with ten occupations and the task here was to guess which of the speakers
was engaged in each of these jobs. The third questionnaire, used with tape
no. 2, required the subjects to give each speaker a score out of ten, either
for how well educated the speaker was perceived to be, or how suitable
the speaker would be as a radio announcer. Each group of subjects would
participate in only one of these four experiments, but might be asked to
participate in experiment no. 5 as well.

Returning to the problem of perception vs. attitudes, a consideration of
questionnaire no. 1 shows that this experiment was designed to elicit in-
formation relating mainly to perceptions. Of the twelve attributes, only
the choice of two, 'peculiar' and 'genuine', would represent a *clearly*

Area of Residence: Home Language:

Age: Occupation:

Sex: School:

It has often been claimed that people judge others by the sound of their voices, for instance when hearing strangers on the telephone. What kind of impression do the following speakers make on you?

Speaker number	from Cape Town	from the country	from Britain	well educated	uneducated	wealthy	sophisticated	peculiar	rough	respect-able	genuine	poor
1												
2												
3												
4												
5												
6												
7												
8												
9												
10												

Area of Residence: Home Language:

Age: Occupation:

Sex: School:

Speaker number	University Lecturer	Doctor	Brick-layer	School-teacher	Company Director	University Student	Jazz Musician	Policeman	Secretary	Char Lady	
1											
2											
3											
4											
5											
6											
7											
8											
9											
10											

Area of Residence: Home Language:
Age: Occupation:
Sex: School:

Speaker Number	Score out of ten
1	
2	
3	
4	
5	
6	
7	
8	
9	
10	

It is important to speak good, correct English.	
One should speak plainly, but not necessarily correctly.	
It is important to speak the way one's friends and family speak.	
One should have one's own way of speaking.	

Do you speak at home

English and Afrikaans equally?	
more English than Afrikaans?	
more Afrikaans than English?	
only English?	
only Afrikaans?	

Do you speak to your friends

English and Afrikaans equally?	
more English than Afrikaans?	
more Afrikaans than English?	
only English?	
only Afrikaans?	

attitudinal response. The results however reveal that the questionnaire
did not quite function in this way in practice. Questionnaire no. 2 on the
other hand was designed to explore the idea of stereotyped perceptions,
the received social meanings of accents, and it fulfilled this successfully
in practice in that it was more difficult to subvert (by offering attitud-
inal rather than perceptual responses) than questionnaire no. 1 was. The
use of questionnaire no. 3 in experiment no. 3 was also intended to elicit
information regarding perceptions in that subjects had to decide how well
educated a speaker was, while experiment no. 4, also using questionnaire
no. 3, although presented in such a way as to suggest that perceptions
were being sought, was designed in fact to elicit attitudinal responses.
The reasoning here was that although respondents were being asked to ex-
press how suitable they *believed* a speaker to be for the position of radio
announcer, the actual process would be sure to elicit an attitudinal res-
ponse in that the subjects would be likely to rate highly those speakers
whom they would *like* to hear on the radio, this being an expression then
of an attitude rather than a belief.

The subjects used were all standard nine high school pupils and the ex-
periments were performed at three different schools. Experiments no. 1
and no. 2 were performed at Trafalgar, St Joseph's College and Lavender
Hill, while experiments 3 and 4 were performed only at St. Joseph's
College and Lavender Hill. In addition two other subjects (private pupils
of mine) also participated singly in experiment no. 4. Experiment no. 5
was performed at Trafalgar and St Joseph's College.

Trafalgar High is one of the older 'coloured' schools in the peninsula

and is located in District Six. It has a lower middle class character and a higher proportion of the students (the majority) are Muslims compared with schools on the Cape Flats such as Lavender Hill. St Joseph's College in Rondebosch is a 'multiracial' private school attended by middle to upper middle class 'white' and 'coloured' pupils. Lavender Hill Senior Secondary is a new school situated in a lower class locality on the Cape Flats known for a high crime rate and widespread unemployment. This is the only one of the three schools where the pupils all live in close proximity to the school; in the case of Trafalgar and St Joseph's, pupils commute from diverse parts of the peninsula.

Finally a few points regarding the presentation of the experiments: Subjects were told (in words to the effect) that information was being sought on how much information a person's voice conveys. Words such as 'speech' or 'accent' were strictly avoided in the presentation. The experiments had been arranged in co-ordination with teachers and principals of the schools and the quietest available room requested. Small groups were used in order to minimise the amount of noise that might interfere. A small portable tape recorder was used, since in addition to the advantage of portability, it afforded very clear sound reproduction in the higher frequencies. This course was eventually adopted rather than the alternative which I had considered, that of using larger groups (a whole class for instance) and a powerful recorder. I was satisfied that I had made the correct decision and subjects were grouped close around the recorder to compensate for the lack of volume.

In the case of experiment no. 2 (guessing the speaker's occupation), subjects at St Joseph's and Lavender Hill were told that they would be given the 'correct' answers afterwards as a stimulus. This was after a pupil at

Trafalgar had expressed disappointment at not being able to know whether
he had guessed correctly or not. It had not occurred to me before this
to have this strategy ready, since the list of occupations did not in
fact correspond to the actual jobs of the speakers, but were selected
according to their implicit status considerations. It was easy enough
however to invent a set of 'correct' answers.

5.2 Description of the tapes

In this section the following information concerning the tapes will be
given:

1. A brief note on the speaker and the circumstances of the recording.

2. The text of each speaker's utterances.

3. A phonetic transcription of the latter.

4. A commentary on the transcription and also on features of sound not
covered by the transcription, such as speed of delivery, any hestitancy
which is particularly noticeable, intonation and stress.

Tape no. 1

Speaker no. 1: Male, workshop foreman in motor trade, approx. 45 years,
living in Lotus River, originally from Walmer Estate. This was a passing
acqaintance of mine and I recorded him in his car while parked at a serv-
ice station on the Cape Flats.

> ...we are er changing a front wheel of a car; ah we'll
> first secure the back wheels with the handbrake as well
> as bricks to prevent it from rolling forward; ah loosen
> off the nuts and then install the jack underneath it, to

a safe place, preferably right under the wheel itself

by the stub axle, or the cross member. Jack it up, remove

all the nuts, and you should have your spare wheel under-

neath the car, standing by in case it drops or something,

and of course you refit it by fitting it on and er fitting

four bolts in, lowering it down, and then tightening it

and then lowering your jack.

wiᶏː atʃɛɪ̃diŋ ɐfɪɐnt wiːlo̥vəkɑː əː wiːl fɜːst
səkjɔː ðə bɛ̞k wiᵊlz̞ wəðə hɛ̞nbɪɛɪk əzwɛ̞l əz
bɾiks tʊ pɪeventətʰ fɪɐm ɪɐʊliŋ foːwəd əː
luːsən ɔf ðə nɐts ənðən ɪnstɔːl ðə dʒɛ̞k
ɐndəniːð ətʰ tʊə sɛɪf plɛɪs pɪefɪəbli ɾaɪt
ɐndə ðə wiːl ɪtsɛlf bə ðə stɐb ɛ̞ksəl ɔː bə ðə
kɪʊs membɜ dʒɛ̞k ət ap ɾimuːv ɔ̞ːl ðə nɐts ən
jᵻʃᵻd hɛ̞v jɔː speː wiːl ɐndəniːθ ðə kɑː stɛndiŋ
baːᶻ in kʰɛɾs ɪt dɪʊps osɐmθiŋ ən əʊkoːs juː
ɾiːfət̚ət̚ bə fət̚iŋ ət ʊn əndəː fət̚iŋ fɔː bʊlᵗs in
lɪuwaɾing ə̞ᵗdæʊn ənðen taɪtning ət ən ðen lɪuʷɾiŋ jo
dʒɛ̞kʰ

This is a lect of CE which could be located midway up the scale, typical.
of middle class first language speakers. There are no stigmatised features,
and the features associated with CE include the following: tapped /r/,
high /i/ in 'bricks', strong glides in the vowels of 'right', 'tightening'
and also 'lowering, glideless realization of the second vowel of 'secure'
and the lack of reversion to schwa in the prefix of 'remove'. The delivery
is confident and the pace quick. I intend commenting on stress and intonation
features only in cases where these seem to be especially noteworthy or sig-
nificant. It is in the nature of the task which the speakers were asked to

perform that intonation should follow a consistent pattern of rising at each pause, usually at the end of a phrase or clause, and then descending only at the end of the text. Only in cases where there are departures from this pattern will I comment on intonation. In the case of speaker no. 1 there were no such phenomena worth noting.

Speaker no. 2: Male, postgraduate student and freelance journalist, mid twenties, living in Harfield village, originally from Britain. This is a friend of mine and he was recorded at home.

All right, ah, first of all you park it and put on the handbrake; and then um open the bonnet, pull out the jack, which in my car is in the front of the car. Pull out the jack and the um thingimebob we use to wind up the jack and then ah pull out the spare wheel; jack up the car. Oh wait, before you jack up the car, undo the wheels, um with the wheel brace and then once the whee-, once the bolts are loose, then ah jack up the car; pull off the wheel, dum put on the new wheel; tighten up the wheel brace; and then um tighten it up with the wheel brace; drop it; make sure you tighten them properly; and then ah put your ah, whatsit? ah jack back in the, back in the car, under the bonnet, and leave it at that, and hopefully drive off.

ˈɘɹaɪʔ ˈa̰ fɜːstəvɔːl ju pʰa̰ːkɪtʼ npʊʔɒn ðɪ
æ̱nbɹɛɪkʰ æn ɤɛn ɘːm əʊpən ðə bɒnəʔ pʊl
aʊʔðə dʒækʰ wɪtʃ ɪn maɪ kʰa̰ ɪzɪn ðə fɹʌnʔəʊ
ðə kʰa̰ pʊl aʊʔðə dʒækʰ æn ðɪːəm θɪŋmɪbɒb
jə jʉ̈ːz tu waɪnd ʌp ðə dʒɛ̰kʰ ən ðɛ̱nnəa

.pʊlaʊʔðə spɛː wiɪˀl dʒʰækʰ ʌp ðə kʰaː əʊwɛɪt bɪfɔː
jʊ dʒɛ̰kʰ ʌp ðə kʰaː ɛnduː ðiː wiɪˀlz əːm waðə wiɪˀl
bɪɛɪs ənðɛ̰n wɛns ðə wiɪˀl ðə wɛns ðə bʌbʌᵛlts ə lʉːs
ðɛ̰na dʒɛ̰kʰ ʌp ðə kʰaː pʊlɔf ðə wiɪˀl dɛəm pʊt̰ɒn ðə
niu wiɪˀl tʰaɪʔn ɛp ðə wiɪˀl bɪɛ̰ɪs ɛnðɛnɛm
tʰaɪtˈnɪˀɛpwɪˀðə wɪˀl bɪɛ̰ɪs dɪɒpɪʔ mɛ̰ɪk ʃojʊ
tʰaɪʔnəm pɪɒplɪi ænðɛ̰nəm pʰʉtʃɔː əː wɒtsɪtʰ əː
dʒɛ̰kʰ bɛ̰k ɪn ðiː bɛ̰kɪnʒɪ kʰa̰ː ʌndə ðə bɒnəʔ ən
liːvatəð̰ɛ̰t ənhaʊpfəlɪ dɪəɪvɔf

This lect could be described as combining features of Resp. SAE and London vernacular. Particularly noticeable features of the latter are the glottal stop occurring with or in some cases replacing /t/ , the dropped /h/ in 'handbrake' and the strong glide in words such as 'wind'. Also noteworthy is the consistent use of /ɪ/ , also /ʌ/ rather than the somewhat lower vowel common in SAE. The numerous hesitations although not appearing to indicate any lack of confidence might well have been significant in terms of attitudes shown towards this speaker. Regarding intonation, there is more variation than in the case of most of the speakers, often a level tone at the ends of clauses and even a falling tone in some instances, such as on the second occurrence of 'car' and a fall/rise pattern on the two syllables of 'handbrake'

Speaker no. 3: Male, schoolteacher, 33 years, living in Epping, originally from the Boland. This was a colleague of mine at St Francis Adult Education Centre in Langa, and I recorded him in my car in the parking area there.

> You know when one has a flat wheel, you stop; ah ja,
> you get out of the car; you get your jack, jack up the car.
> No, sorry; that one usually forgets. You first have to
> loosen the bolts, the nuts, on the wheel; then you jack

it up; then you unloosen them completely; take off the
wheel, put on the spare wheel; fasten the nuts loosely.
Jack it down, fasten them as tight as possible; put
back your wheelcap, which I didn't say you had to remove
in the beginning, and ah that's that.

jʊnoʊ wɛn wʌn ⁿæz ə flæt wiːl ju stɒp
əːːja ju gɛt aʊtəv ðə kɑː juːᵊ gɛt jɔ dʒæk
dʒæk ɐp ðə kɑː nʌv sɒɾɪ ðæt wʌn jʉʒᵊli
fəgɛts jʉ fɜːst hæv tʉ lʉːsən ðə bɒʳlts
ðə nɐts ɒn ɔ ɒn ðə wiːl ðɛn ju dʒæk ət ɐp
ðɛn ju ɐnlʉːsən ðəm kɒmpliːtli tʰæɪk ɔf
ðə wiːl pʰʏt ɒn ðə ə speː wiːl fɒːsən ðə
ənɐts lʉːsli dʒækət dæʊn fɒːsən ðəm əz
tʰaɪt əz pɒsəbəl put bæk jɔ wiːlkæp witʃa
didn sæɪ ju hæd tu ɹəmʉːv in ðə
bəginiŋ ɛndə ðætsðæt

This is a highly bilingual speaker from an Afrikaans background; conse-
quently his accent is close to Resp. SAE with only slight traces of Afri-
kaans influence. Significantly, of the two occurrences of /r/ in the text,
one is trilled and the other the resonant; also aspirated stops alternate
with unaspirated variants. Especially characteristic is the opposition
between /i/ and schwa: while /ɪ/ does not occur at all. There is one slight
deviance in the sentence 'fasten them as tight as possible', traceable no
doubt to the lack of distinction between adverb and adjective in Afrikaans.
The style of delivery is particularly relaxed and colloquial, signalled
by such items as 'you know', 'ja' and the slightly joking 'which I didn't
say you had to remove in the beginning'.

Speaker no. 4: Male, unemployed former packer, 20 years, living in Mitchell's Plain, originally from Lotus River. I recorded him in my car after giving him a lift from Mitchell's Plain to Grassy Park.

I'll take off the hubcap. I turn loose the nuts, and

um then I jack the car up. I remove the nuts, take off

the wheel, put on the fixed wheel. After that um put

on the nuts again, let it lower the car, tighten the

nuts, on with the hubcap.

al tɛˑkɔf ðə habkɛp aˡ tɜːnluˑːs ðə nʌts

ɛnəm ðenə dʒɛk ðə kɑː aɹ aʃɪmuˑːv ðə nats

tɛɪk ɔf ðə wiˑˀl pʏt ʋɛn ðə fikst wɪːl

ʋftə ðɛt am pʏt ʋɛn ðə nats əgen lɛdət

lɛuwə ðə kɑː tæɪtən ðə nats ʋn wəðəhabkep

This is a perfect example of Extr. CE, although it is perhaps a pity that the text is so short. Nevertheless of the variables which do occur, virtually all are the Extr. CE variants. Particularly evident are the raising of the front vowels, especially the last one of the text, the raised /aɪ/ in 'tighten', and the very low vowel in 'nuts'. The delivery is quite rapid and the syntax dialectal, for example the sentence 'I turn loose the nuts' which shows the influence of Afrikaans idiom. The intonation follows the pattern of rising at the ends of clauses except 'then I jack the car up', which falls at the beginning and does not rise at the end as the others do.

Speaker no. 5: Male, professional surfer and part time businessman, mid twenties, and although from a 'white' background, living in the Bokaap.

I recorded both him and his wife at their home.

> All right well first of all having discovered that you've
> got a puncture, you stop the car, um, open the door,
> get out, and ah take the jack out from the boot. You
> then um, unbolt the wheels with the ah tyre, with the
> ah tyre spanner. Ah you then jack the car up, take off
> the wheel, um, get the spare out from the boot as well,
> ah put that on, tighten up the bolts, release the jack,
> and your wheel is on.

ɔˈɹaˑtʰ wəl fɜːstəvɔːl hævin dəskɐvəd ðɛt
jʉːv gɒtə ə pʰɛntʃəː jʉ stɒp ðə kʰaː əːm
əʊpən ðə dɔː get æʊtʰ æːndəː tʰɛɪk ðə
dʒæk æʊt fɹɒm ðə bʉːtʰ jɨʒɛn əːm
ʔnbɒʊltʰ ðə wiːəlz wəθ ðiːə tʰaˑtjə waˑðiːə
tʰaˑtjə spænə əːjʉ ðɛn dʒæk ðə kʰaːɹɐp
tʰɛɪkɔf ðə wiːəl əːm getʰ ðə spɛˈɹɑˑtʰ
fɹɒm ðə bʉtʰ əzwɛl əː pʰɨtʰ ðæt ɒn tʰaˑtnɐp
ðə bɒʊlts ɹəliːs ðə dʒækʰ æːnd jəʊwiːl ɪzɒn

This is a typical example of Resp. SAE, as shown by the numerous glide-weakened realisations of /aɪ/ and the centralized unrounded /u/ , a very advanced example of which occurs in the word 'boot'. Other points worth noting are the substitutions of /n/ for /ŋ/ in 'having' and 'puncture', and the linking /r/ in 'car up' and 'spare out'. Despite the many hesitations the delivery is confident and fairly rapid.

Speaker no. 6: Male, company director, approx. 40 years, from the Northern Cape Flats (Bellville South). This is a pupil of mine receiving private tuition, as he is attempting to obtain his matric; recorded at my flat.

...unscrew the wheel and ah take the wheel out. After
that um, I was ah discovered the wheel was not entirely
full of air; but nevertheless take the wheel out; go to
the back wheel; get my jack out; put the jack underneath
the car; fit the lever and jack up the car. Once the car
is jacked up, I ah unscrew the wheels the the nuts, take
off the nuts; take off the wheel; um put it one side;
get the spare wheel; fit it onto the drum; get the nuts;
put the nuts on, tighten them slightly; jack down the
wheel, the car; and, when it's down get the spanner again,
the wheel spanner; put it onto the nuts; ah tighten the
wheel; and take the jack out; put in the back of the car;
tie it down, and get the wheel, the flat wheel, put it
into the car; put back the lid; get all my loose stuff
that's lying outside; put it in the boot; close the boot,
lock the boot, and there I go.

ʔnskʀuːː ðə ðə wiːʊɬ ænd əː tɛik ðə wiːɬ aʊtˈ
aːftəʀ ðɛt ɜːm ai wɒːss əː dəskʀʌvɜːʀd ðɛt ðə
wiːɬ wɒːʒ nɒt ᵉntaiᵊli əfuɬ ɒv ᵉː bɪnevəðəless
tɛˤk ðə wiːɬ aʊt gaʊ tu ðə bæk wiːɬ get
mai dʒɛk aʊtˈ pˈutᵊə dʒɛk ʔndəniːθə kɑː fət
ðə liːvə ænd dʒɛk ʔp ðə kɑː wʔns ðə kɑː ɪz
dʒɛkt ap ai əː ʔnskʀuː ðə wiːɬʒ əðəðə nʔts
tɛikɔf ðə nʔts tɛikɔf ðə wiːᵌɬ əːm put it
wʔn saːid get ðə speː wiːɬ fət it ɒntu ðə
dʀam get ðə nʔts put ðə nʔts ɒn taitən
ðem slaitli dʒɛk daʊn ðəː ðə wiːᵛɬ ᵟkɑː
ænd wen its daʊn get ðə spɛnəʀ əgen

ðəwiːɫ spenə pʼut it ʊntu ðə nɛtss əː tʰaitən
ðə wiːᵛɟ ænd tɛik ðə dʒɛk aʊt pʊt in ðə bɛk
ʊv ðə kɑː tai it daʊn ænd get ðə wiːᵛɟ ðə
flɛt wiːᵛɟ put it intu ðə kɑː put bɛk ðə
ləd get ɔːɫ mai luːs̱ stɛf ðɛts laiiŋ
aʊtsaid put it in ðə buːt klauz ðə buːt
lʊk ðə buːt ənd ðɛːʀæigəu

I was particularly anxious to have this speaker on both tapes, and as
I will show, the attitudes shown towards him turned out to be interesting
and varied. The feature that is most striking is the uvular/r/ which,
as I have said, is fairly common among 'coloured' speakers and seems to
be associated with the country. This person's family are originally from
the Malmesbury area, although not he himself, and he has seldom been there.
In fact few of the features of his speech are typically CE, just some
raising of the front vowels, voicing loss and loss of aspiration which,
as I have indicated is more accurately associated with the influence of
Afrikaans than with CE specifically. Also interesting are the particular-
ly strong glides, especially/aɪ/, the dark/l/ and the vowel retraction
before it in the word 'wheel', and the slightly retracted articulation of
/s/ in a word such as 'loose'. This is the longest text of all and the
delivery one of the slowest, although not especially hesitant. The inton-
ation includes one or two falls near the beginning, as if he is aware
that there is still too far to go to keep rising in anticipation of the
fall at the end, and towards the end of the text the pattern changes,
the rising tones becoming interspersed with level tones, perhaps as a
signal that the end of the text is approaching. All this tends to add

to the rather ponderous effect of the speech, and I am sure that this
was a factor in the attitudes shown towards it.

Speaker no. 7: Female, music lecturer, 40 years, living in Claremont,
originally from the North Eastern Cape. She was recorded in the staff
room of the Hewat teacher's training college in Athlone where I was
also employed temporarily.

I will um fill the kettle with water from the tap,

the electric kettle. Then I'll switch it on and I'll

boil the water; um depending on whether I use tea

leaves or teabags, I will then - if I'm only making one

cup of tea, I will probably use a teabag - so I will

then put the teabag in an empty mug or cup. Once the

water's boiled I'll pour that on; I let it stand for

a while, and um remove the teabag; I pour in some milk,

add two spoons of sugar, stir and drink.

a: wəl əm fəɫ ðə kɛtɫ wəθ wɔːtə fɹʊm ðə

tʰæpʰ ðɪ elɛktɹik kɛtɫ ðɛn aːl switʃət ʊn ᵊnaːl

bɔɪl ðə wɔːtə əm dəpeninⁿ ʊⁿ weðə ajʉːz tʰiː

liːvz ɔ tʰiː bæ̰gz̥ aː wəl ðɛn if aːm ʌⁿli mɛɪkiŋ

wɛn kɐp ʊv tʰiː aːwl pɹʊbˡiː jʉːz ə tʰiː bæ̰g

sʌ aː wəl ðɛn pʰutʰ ðə tʰi bæ̰g in æn ɛmti mɐg

ɔː kʰɐpʰ wɛns ðə wɔtəz̥ bɔɪld aːl pʰɔː ðæt ʊn

aletət stæ̰nd fɹə waːl æ̰nd əːm ɹə̰mʉːv ðə

tʰiːbæ̰g aːpʰɔ in səm məlkʰ æd tʰʉː spʉtinz̥əv

ʃugə stɔ̰ː æn dɹiŋk

This is another example of Resp. SAE, also featuring the glide-weakened /aɪ/ , especially for the first person pronoun, and centralized, unrounded /u/ . Also notable are the lack of glide in the word 'so' and the numerous examples of elision, for example in 'and I'll', 'depending on' and 'for a'. Regarding intonation there is a fall/rise pattern which occurs several times, on 'electric kettle', 'teabags', 'and drink', and a rise/ fall pattern on 'put the teabag'. Thus there is a fair amount of variation in that respect. As will have been noticed by now, it is more often the case that variations from the pattern used by all the speakers (rising at the ends of the clauses) occur with the speakers of Resp. SAE.

Speaker no. 8: Female, primary schoolteacher, early twenties; has always lived in the Bokaap. This is the wife of speaker no. 5 above and was recorded on the same occasion as her husband.

Okay you take out your cup, your saucer, your milk, sugar, tea, teabag or um other tea; then you boil your water. After the water had boil you put the teabag, your sugar and your milk in your cup, and then you pour your hot water over that, and then remove your teabag and stir.

əkɛɪjʊ t̪ɛɪkʌᵛtjɔ kʰapʰ jɔsɔːsɜ jɔː mɔtk ʃugɜ
tʰiː tʰiːbɛːgʐ ɔː əm aðə tʰiː ðen jʊ bɔiljɔ wɔːtʰɜ
ʊftə ðə wɔːt̪ə hæd bɔil juɔ pʰutʰ ə̊ ðət̪ʰiːbɛ̊ːg
jɔ ʃugɜ njɔ mɔtk ɪnjɔ kʰapʰ ənðenjʊ pɔːjɔː
hʊtʰ wɔːtʰə ʊʊvə ðɛ̊t ə̃ðen ʃimʊɔːv ðə
tʰiːbɛg nst̪əː

This lect includes many of the variants of Extr. CE but none of those clearly stigmatized, thus it could be located some way up the scale. The features here which would provide support for this description include: very low vowel in 'cup', fairly high front vowels, rounded and backed /u/ in 'you', tapped /r/ and non-reversion to schwa in the prefix of 'remove'. Also notable are the vowel retraction and dark /l/ in 'milk', the retracted articulation of the fricative in the first instance of 'sugar', and the strong aspiration throughout; all of which could be considered prestigious. Very typical of CE in general is the deviance in the perfective, and it is not at all unusual that someone whose sentences show no other deviance should form the perfective with both auxiliary and participle defective. As far as intonation is concerned, this speaker produces nothing but rising tones until the clause ending with 'over that', and this clause falls probably only because it was the intended ending. But even more important from a perceptual point of view is the fact that many of the rising tones do not signal the end of a clause or phrase; the first sentence up to 'water' has no fewer than seven rises, and they are very strong rises, providing support for the idea that CE tends to have more and stronger rising tones than other SAE varieties.

Speaker no. 9: Female, Afrikaans lecturer, 42 years; although originally from South West Africa and a 'white' background, now living in Welcome Estate (Athlone). She was also recorded in the Hewat staff room.

> Well, when I make a cup of tea, I normally first rinse
> the teapot to make it nice and warm, and then I take
> one teaspoon of tealeaves per cup. Then I boil the
> water; after that I pour the water on; I let it stand
> for a while, and when it reaches the right strength

I pour it in, and I normally use cold milk

because we don't like hot milk and we don't

take sugar either, and that's it.

wæl wen aɪ mɛɪk ə kʰʌpəv tʰiː aɪ nɔːməli
fɜːst ɪɜnz ðiː tʰiːpʊtʰ tʊ mɛɪkət naɪsn wɔːm
ænd ðɛn aɪ tʰɛɪk wɛn tʰiːspuːn ɒv tʰiːliːvz pɜː
kʌpʰ ðɛn aɪ bɔɪl ðə wɔːtʰɜ aːftə ðæt aɪ pɔː ðə
wɔːtə ɒn aɪ lɛtət stænd fɹɑwaˤl ændə wen
ɪt ɹiːtʃəʒ ðə ɹaɪt stɹɛŋθ aɪ pɔːɹət in ænd
aɪ nɔːməli jʉːz kʰɒːld məlk bɪkəʒ wi dəʊn
taɪk hʊt məlk ænd wi dəʊn tˤɛɪk ʃʊgə
aɪðə ən ðæts itʰ

As was the case with speaker no. 3 this lect only shows a little Afri-
kaans influence, so it could be located midway between Afr. Eng. and
Resp. SAE. The Afrikaans influence would account for the backed /aɪ/ which
is produced almost throughout the text as well as the inconsistent aspir-
ation of stops. Also there is the Afr. Eng. opposition between /i/ and /ə/,
although unlike speaker no. 3 this speaker does produce /ɪ/ occasionally.
The delivery in this case is very confident and the lack of hesitation
might have influenced attitudes towards the speaker.

Speaker no. 10: Female, charlady in a UCT residence, late twenties; has
always lived in Retreat. This was one of three charladies whom I recorded
at Leo Marquard residence, the arrangement having been made by a friend
of mine employed in the nearby Graduate School of Business.

First I put the water on, and then I put the cups on

the tray, and the sugar and the milk; and I put the

teabag inside the cup and my cutlery...my teaspoon I'll

put besides my saucer; and then when the water finish

boil, I pour the water into the cup and pour some milk

in and two teaspoons of sugar.

ʃɜːstaput ðə wɔːtə ɒn ɛn ʒenaput ðə kɐps

ʊnᵊɛɹɛi ɛndᵊəʃugə ɛnᵊəmɒlk ənaputᵊətiːbɛg

insaːᶦdəkɐp ɛnmaɪ kɐtləɹi maɪ tiːspuːn

at put bisaɪds maɪ sɔːsɜ ɐn ʒɛn wɛnᵊə

wɔːtə finis bɔil a pɔːðə wɔːtə intu ðəkapʰ

æn pɔː sam mɒlk ɪn æn tuː tiːspuːns ɒv sugə

This is Extr. CE and the only idiolect thus far to include stigmatized

features: the substitution of [ˀ] for /ʃ/ in 'finish' and the last instance

of 'sugar', and the dental stop substituted for /ʒ/ in 'inside the cup'.

The fact that this could be regarded as assimilation to the /d/ of 'inside'

is irrelevant; since it is a clearly stigmatized feature, the assimilation

would have been avoided by a speaker further up the scale. Also charac-

teristic are the raising of both front and back vowels, tapped /r/, lack

of aspiration, the slight raising and very strong glide in /aɪ/, the vowel

retraction before /l/ in 'milk', and the non-reversion to schwa in the

prefix of 'besides'. Again the perfective for 'has finished boiling' is

deviant, lacking any form of auxiliary or participle. The only striking

fact about the intonation here is the sheer regularity of the rises, with

no variation whatever.

Tape no. 2

Since the text here is the same for each speaker, it will naturally only

be necessary to give it once. Secondly, where a speaker is the same as

a speaker on tape no. 1, I will only comment on features of the speech

which were not noted or did not arise in the comments above.

Speaker no. 1: This is the same speaker as no. 9 of tape no. 1.

By the time a child enters standard nine, he or she
begins to think about a career. It's a difficult de-
cision to make. Examination results can be important
because they demonstrate an individual's aptitude and
capacity to concentrate.

baɪ ðə tʰaɪm ə tʃaːld ɛntəstændəd naːn
hiː ɔ ʃiː bɪginz tʰʉ θiŋk əbaʊt ə kəɹɪə
its ə dəfikəlt dɪsɪʒən tʊ mɛɪkʰ
ɪgzæmənɛɪʃən ɹɪzɛlts kʰæn biː impɔːtənt
bɪkɔːz ðɛɪ dəmənstɹɛɪtʰ æn ɪndəvɪdʒʉːlz
æptɪtjuːd ən kəpæsəti tʰʊ kɒnsəntɹɛɪtʰ

A feature of this speaker's reading is that the stressed syllables are
all given equal stress; thus there is a binary opposition between unstressed
sylables and hard stresses. There is very little rising and falling in
intonation as well, so the effect of the speech is somewhat mechanical.
The word 'can' receives special emphasis, since there is a slight rise
in intonation there together with the hard stress; other speakers in
contrast did not stress 'can' at all.

Speaker no. 2: Female, English lecturer, mid twenties, living in Green
Point, formerly from Britain.Recorded in the Hewat staff room.

baɪ ðə tʰaɪm ə tʃaɪld ɛntəz stændəd naɪn
hiː ɔ ʃiː bɪgɪnz tʰɣ θiŋk əbaʊtʰ ə kəɹɪɜə
tsə dɪfɪkəlt dəsɪʒən tɣ mɛɪk
ɛgzæmənɛɪʃən ɹɪzʌlts kʰæn biː impʰɔːtʰəntʰ
bɪkɔːz ðɛɪ dɛmənstʰɹɛɪtʰ ən ɪndɪvɪdjuəlz
æpʰtɪtʰjud ænd kʰapʰæsətʰɪ tʰʊ kʰɒnsəntʰɹɛɪtʰ

This speaker's accent could be described as a British accent, close to
RP, but incorporating variants of Resp. SAE. The influence of RP is par-
ticularly noticeable in the low/æ/ vowel, the extensive use of /ɪ/ , and
a much higher realization of the second vowel in 'results' than is usual
for SAE. The influence of Resp. SAE is noticeable in the glide weakening
of /aɪ/ . This speaker in contrast to the last, clearly uses a system of
primary and secondary stress, the words 'nine', 'career', 'make', 'can'
receiving the most emphasis. In addition, rises and falls in intonation
tend to reinforce this emphasis by coinciding with the hard stresses,
for example a rise/fall pattern on the word 'career', creating a very
emphatic effect.

Speaker no. 3: This speaker is the same as no. 8 on tape no. 1.

> bə ðə tʰaˑm ə tʃaʊld entʰəz stɛndəd naˣn
> hiˑ ɔ ʃiˑ biginz tʰuˀ Ɵiŋk əbaᵛtʰ əkʰəɾiˑ3
> itʰsə dafikʰəl d̥isiʒən tʰuˀ meikʰˀ
> egzæməneɪʃən ɾizalts kʰæn biˑ impˀɔˑtʰəntʰ
> bikɔz ðɛˣ demənstɾeitʰ æn indəvadʒolz
> ɛptʰətˣjuˑd ænd kʰəpʰɛsəti tʰu kˣɒnsəntʰɾeɪtʰ

The same combination of prestigious and less prestigious features of CE
are again noticeable with this speaker. Particularly interesting is the
pronunciation of the word 'child', with the initial consonant and the
vowel both clearly retracted. There are some good examples of the very
marked rounding of /u/ , particularly in the second instance of 'to'.
The intonation forms a very definite 'tune' here, tending to rise and fall
at regular intervals; rising on 'nine' and 'important', falling on 'make'
and 'concentrate', and rising/falling on 'career' and 'individual's'.

Speaker no. 4: Female, Biology lecturer, 40 years, living in Steurhof, originally from Rhodesia (moved 1963). Recorded in the Hewat staff room.

baɪ ðə tʰaɪm ə tʃaɪld ɛntʰəz stændəd naɪn

hiː ɔ ʃiː bɪgɪnz tʰʊ θɪŋk əbaʊtʰəkʰəɹɪ3ə ɪts ə

dəfɪkəlt dəsɪ3ən tʰʊ meɪkʰ egzæməneɪʃən

ɹəzʌlts kʰən biː ɪmpʰɔːtʰənt bɪkʰʊz

ðeɪ demənstɹeɪtʰ ən ɪndɜvɜdjɤlz æptʰətʲuːd

ən kʰəpʰæsatʰi tʰʊ kʰɒnsəntʰɹeɪtʰ

This is a good example, the only one on the tapes, of Cons. SAE. Particularly significant is the fact that none of the /aɪ/ diphthongs are noticeably glide-weakened as in Resp. SAE, and they are slightly raised as is common in idiolects of RP. The /u/ is also not the centralized variant of Resp. SAE. On the other hand the /æ/ vowel is not as low as was the case with speaker no. 2 on this tape, nor is the /eɪ/ diphthong as high as it would be in RP. The threefold distinction between /i/ , /ɪ/ , and /ə/ is maintained throughout. In intonation there are far more falling tones than is the case with most of the other speakers, for example on 'she', 'make', 'important' and 'concentrate'.

Speaker no. 5: Female, charlady, late forties, living in Retreat, originally from Wynberg. Also recorded at the Leo Marquard residence.

baɪ ðə taɪm ə tʃaʊld entɜstendəd naɪn

hiː ɔ ʃiː biginz tʊ θiŋk əbaʊt ə kaɹiːə

its ə dəfikəl diʃi3ən tʊ meɪkʰ

ɛgzɛmənɛiʃən ɹizʊlts ken bi impˈoːtənt

bikoːz ðɛi demɒnstɹɛitʰ ɛn individjols

ɛptʰətjʉdʰ ɛnd kəpˈɛsati tʊ kɒnsəntɹɛitʰ

Almost all the variants here are those of Extr. CE, including the following: loss of voicing of stops, /i/ replacing schwa and /ɪ/ , particularly in

prefixes, lack of aspiration, tapped /r/ , raised front and back vowels. Particularly evident here is the non-reversion to schwa for unstressed syllables, not only for the prefixes, but also in words such as 'demonstrate' and 'individual's'. The stress shift which. I have mentioned as being typical for CE, where the stress falls on the final syllables of polysyllabic verbs, is quite clear here in the case of 'demonstrate' and 'concentrate'. The delivery here is hesitant and this obviously because of difficulty in reading. The hesitations before 'an individual's' and before 'aptitude' are quite noticeable. The intonation consists of mainly rising tones, with falls only on 'make' (a very slight one) and 'concentrate' at the end. Also notable are the rises on two words in succession, 'important' and 'because', and the unusual rise/fall on 'she'.

Speaker no. 6: This is the same speaker as no. 7 on tape no. 1.

ba ðə tʰaːm ə tʃaːld ɛntəstændəd naːn
hiː ɔ ʃiː bɪginz tʉ θiŋk əbaʊt ə kʰəɹɪə
Its ə dəfɪkəlt dəsɪʒən tʊ mɛɹkʰ
Igzæmənɛɪʃən ɹəzelts kʰæn biː ɪmpʰɔːtəntʰ
bɪkɔːz ðeɪ dɛmənstɹɛɪtʰ ən ɪndəvədʒɣlz
æptətjʉd ænd kəpʰæsəti tʊ kʰɒnsəntɹɛɪtʰ

As on tape no. 1 this speaker uses the variants of Resp. SAE consistently; notably the /aɪ/ phoneme is quite glideless in all instances. The intonation patterns which mark the ends of clauses this time show more falls than rises, three as opposed to two, the only noticeable rises occurring on 'nine' and 'important'.

Speaker no. 7: Male, social worker, 24 years, living in Heideveld, originally from Bedford (Eastern Cape). He was recorded after I had given him a lift from Heideveld to a child care centre in the city where he was

working.

> bai ðə taim ə tʃaɪld entəstɛnəd naɪn
> hiː ɔ ʃiː biginz tʊ θiːŋgᵏ əbaʊt ə kəɾiːə
> ɪtəz dəfikəldɪsiʒən tu mərkᵏ
> ɛgzɛməneiʃən ɾizəlts kæn bi impɔːtən
> bikɔːz ðəɪ demɒnstɾəitʰ ən indəvədʒʊlz
> ɛptətʃuːd ɛn kəpɛsətᵗ tu kɒnsəntɾəitʰ

This is an Extr. CE idiolect, but shows some further influences not apparent in the speech of any of the other speakers; this is probably due to the fact that this person comes from a very different social milieu. I am not sure the extent to which region is a factor, the influence of an Eastern Cape rural environment, but the speaker informed me that he spoke some Xhosa, which is very rare for 'coloureds' living in the city. The following variants of Extr. CE all occur: raised front vowels, tapped $/r/$, non-reversion to schwa for unstressed syllables, [ş] substituted for $/s/$ (because of a following $/ʃ/$) in 'decision', reduction of consonant clusters, lack of aspiration, and stress shift on 'demonstrate' and 'concentrate'. Less typical however are the dental $/t/$, the prolongation of the voiced velar nasal in 'think', and the unusual intonation patterns. In this case falling tones predominate in the first half of the text, while in the second half all polysyllabic words from 'important' up to but excluding 'concentrate' have separate rises. This is the only speaker who does not use one rising tone to signal the end of any of the first three clauses.

Speaker no. 8: Male, English high school teacher, early thirties, living in Woodstock, originally from District Six and Walmer Estate. This is a friend of mine and he was recorded at his home.

baɪ ðə tʰaɪm eɪ tʃaɪld ɛntəz stændəd naɪn

hiːə ʃiː bigɪnz tʊ θiŋkʰ əbautʰ ə kʰəɹiə

its ə dəfikəl desɪʒən tʰʊ meɪk

ɛgzæˈmənɛɪʃəˈ ɹizʌlˀs kʰæn biː impɔːtənˀ

bikɔːz ðɪ dɛmənstɹɛɪtʰ ən indəvidʒolˀ

æptʰətjuːˀd ən kʰəpʰæsətʰi tʊ kʰɒnsəntˀɹɛɪtʰ

This is a CE idiolect which I would locate very near the top of the scale; the more prestigious features of CE are combined with others normally associated either with RP or with Resp. SAE. The only clearly non-prestigious feature of CE is the stress shift on 'demonstrate' and 'concentrate'. The prestigious features would include the retracted articulation of the fricatives /ʃ/ and /ʒ/, and the slightly raised /aɪ/ with the strong glide, which is indistinguishable from the typical RP variant. Significantly, the two most tenacious features of CE are quite evident: non-reversion to schwa for unstressed syllables, in the prefixes of 'begin', 'results' and 'because' and even in the case of the indefinite article, and the backed and rounded /u/ in 'aptitude'. A peculiar feature of this idiolect is the partial realization of certain consonants in 'examination', 'results', 'important', and 'individual's', which may be connected with the relative speed of the delivery. The most striking feature of the intonation is the lack of any rise or fall between 'career' and 'demonstrate', and the fact that the rises (on 'time', 'demonstrate', 'individual's' and 'concentrate'), the one fall (on 'career'), and the one fall/rise (on 'nine') are all very slight, so that the reading has a hurried, deadpan effect.

Speaker no. 9: Male, unemployed former child care worker, charge hand, film extra, artist etc., 23 years, living in Vredehoek, originally from Springs (Transvaal). This is a casual acquaintance of mine and he was recorded at one of many temporary residences.

baɪ ðə tʰaɪm ə tʃaːld ɛntʰəstændəd naɪn
hiː ə ʃiː bɪginz tʊ Oɪŋk əbqʊd ə kəɹɪə
ɪt ɪz ə dəfikəlt dəsɪʒən tʰʊ mɛɪkʰ
ɪgzæmənɛɪʃən ɹəzʌlts kʰən bi ɪmpˤɔːtəntʰ
bəkɔːz ðɛɪ demənstɹɛɪt ən ɪndəvədjəlz
æpˤtətʰjuːd ən kʰəpʰæsəti tʊ kʰɒnsəntɹɛɪtʰ

There is little to be said about this speaker's idiolect apart from the fact that it is a very clear case of Resp. SAE. Perhaps one might note the frequent use of /ɪ/ which is unusually consistent for SAE, and the voiceless /d/ at the end of 'about'. This was the only speaker to say 'it is' in spite of the text reading 'it's'. The alternating rises (on 'nine' and 'aptitude') and falls (on 'career', 'make' and 'concentrate'), the lack of any hard stresses (on a word such as 'can' for example) and the quick but unhurried delivery all lend a particularly relaxed and smooth quality.

Speaker no. 10: This is the same speaker as no. 6 on tape no. 1.

baɪ ðə taɪm ə tʃaɪld entəz stændəd naɪn
hiː əˤ ʃiː biginz tʊ Oiŋk əbaʊtʰ ə kəʀiːə
its ə dəfikəl disiʒən tʊ mɛɪkʰ
ɪgzæmənɛɪʃən ʀizəls kæn bi impˤɔːtənt
bikɔːz ðɛɪ demonstʀɛɪtʰ æn indəvidʒolz
æptətjuːd æn kəpæsəti tʊ konsəntʀɛɪtʰ

I have little to add here to what was said regarding this speaker's other contribution. This speaker provides maximum contrast to no. 9 above, in that many of the features of their speech, both phonetic and prosodic, are directly opposed. Perceptually, the greatest contrast would probably lie in the slowness of this speaker's delivery, and the combination of hard

stresses and frequent rises and falls in intonation, which because of
their regularity actually provide no emphasis, creating only a very lab-
oured effect.

5.3 Results of the fieldwork

Having described the tapes, I intend to turn now to an examination of
the results which were obtained when they were presented to the school
pupils already mentioned. As I have said these tapes were used in the
performance of experiments 1, 2, 3 and 4. The results of experiment no. 5
will also be discussed.

Experiment no. 1 was conducted at all three schools and involved a total
of 29 subjects. In presenting the data I will take each of the twelve
attributes shown on questionnaire no. 1 separately, and show how each
speaker was rated at the various schools relative to a particular attribute.
It will be noticed that the column showing the total scores on the right-
hand side is weighted in favour of the Lavender hill results, since not
only were more subjects involved at that school, but the subjects there
tended to disregard my suggestion that they tick 'approximately three'
attributes for each speaker, and in some cases ticked as many as six at-
tributes for a particular speaker. The number of subjects at each school
is bracketed after the name of the school. Tape no. 1 was used in this
experiment.

'from Cape Town'

speaker no.	Trafalgar (8)	St Joseph's (9)	Lavender Hill (12)	Tot.
1	1	1	11	13
2	1	4	3	8
3	1	2	3	6
4	1	2	4	7
5	0	5	3	8
6	0	0	6	6
7	2	3	6	11
8	4	3	6	13
9	1	1	6	8
10	5	0	5	10

The most striking fact about this set of data is the decided lack of con-
sensus; evidently subjects were not able to agree on which of the speakers
were definitely Capetonian and which not. In a way this is not surpris-
ing since *all* the speakers on tape no. 1 were resident in Cape Town. The
most significant responses were probably for no. 6 and no. 8. In the case
of no. 6 it was only at Lavender Hill that some subjects thought the speak-
er was from Cape Town, while no. 8 was the only speaker that a substantial
number of subjects at all three schools regarded as being Capetonian.
Many of the more interesting results relate to speaker no. 5, and here
the striking fact is that a majority of St Joseph's subjects identified
this speaker as Capetonian, while none at Trafalgar did. The figures for
no. 10 on the other hand, are the same, but inverted, and this surely
indicates something about the confidence which pupils at these two schools
have in responding to Resp. SAE and Extr. CE respectively.

'from the country'

speaker no.	Trafalgar (8)	St Joseph's (9)	Lavender Hill (12)	Tot.
1	1	4	1	6
2	1	0	3	4
3	1	3	4	8
4	3	1	4	8
5	0	0	0	0
6	4	5	4	13
7	0	0	2	2
8	0	3	2	5
9	1	1	4	6
10	1	4	3	8

This time it is the points of consensus that are the most striking, part-
icularly regarding speaker no. 5 and to a slightly lesser degree no. 7.
As the other sets of data will show, these two speakers tended to be at-
tributed the highest status, and clearly judging someone to be not from
the country amounts to a vote of approbation. The opposite judgement of
speaker no. 6 on the other hand, will also become more meaningful when
considered in the light of the data below. Not surprisingly the three
speakers with the lowest scores here are those whose speech shows the
least influence of Afrikaans.

'from Britain'

speaker no.	Trafalgar (8)	St Joseph's (9)	Lavender Hill (12)	Tot.
1	0	0	0	0
2	0	3	2	5
3	1	0	1	2
4	0	0	2	2
5	2	2	6	10
6	1	0	0	1
7	0	1	1	2
8	0	0	2	2
9	1	2	0	3
10	0	0	3	3

The lowness of the scores here shows a definite lack of conviction in deciding which of the speakers were British. Only at St Joseph's did a as many as a third of the subjects perceive that no. 2 was from Britain. The fact that half the subjects at Lavender Hill regarded no. 5 as being from Britain would seem to indicate an inability to distinguish between a prestigious SAE lect and a British one among those at the bottom of the socioeconomic scale. The three subjects at Lavender Hill who regarded no. 10 as being from Britain provided one of several rather enigmatic responses that were more characteristic of pupils at that school, reflecting either a greater unwillingness to take the experiment seriously or else a real inability to distinguish between varieties of English.

'well educated'

speaker no.	Trafalgar (8)	St Joseph's (9)	Lavender Hill (12)	Tot.
1	3	4	8	15
2	5	3	1	9
3	1	1	3	5
4	0	1	3	4
5	4	7	10	21
6	0	0	3	3
7	2	5	5	12
8	2	0	6	8
9	1	4	5	10
10	0	0	3	3

Here there is much consensus, but the lack of consensus regarding some speakers is as interesting, the low rating given to no. 2 by the Lavender Hill subjects when compared with the figure for Trafalgar for example. The Lavender Hill subjects tended to give this speaker a low rating in the other status categories as well. However they gave no. 1 a high rating for being well educated, which is remarkable considering that this speaker has a standard 7 education, while nos 2, 3, 5, 7, and 9 are graduates. Less surprising is the fact that the Extr. CE speakers were generally given a low rating, while the low rating for no. 6 is part of a general pattern of disapprobation; it will be recalled that this speaker received the highest rating for being from the country. Interesting too is the fact that the St Joseph's subjects did not distinguish between no. 8 and no. 10, the 'white' subjects there possibly not recognizing the prestigious (in terms of CE) features of no. 8's speech and the stigmatized features of no. 10's speech to the same extent as the subjects at the 'coloured' schools.

'uneducated'

speaker no.	Trafalgar (8)	St Joseph's (9)	Lavender Hill (12)	Tot.
1	0	2	2	4
2	0	1	8	9
3	1	6	6	13
4	5	6	3	14
5	0	1	0	1
6	2	7	4	13
7	1	0	2	3
8	0	5	3	8
9	0	2	1	3
10	1	6	5	12

The differences between the three schools here are illuminating; of the three the St Joseph's subjects made by far the greatest use of this category and were prepared to pass heavy judgement on a number of speakers. Once again they made little distinction between no. 8 and no. 10, and once again the the most negative judgement was for no. 6. In contrast the Trafalgar subjects only rated one speaker as uneducated to a significant degree; this was no. 4, a speaker of Extr. CE, reflecting perhaps a middle class 'coloured' wish to dissociate themselves from this lect. The extraordinary feature of the Lavender Hill response is the rating of speaker no. 2 which is completely at variance with the figures for the other two schools. Once again it is the Resp. SAE speakers who fared the best (5 and 7). The difference between the ratings given to the Afr. Eng. influenced speakers (3 and 9) is more difficult to explain, and must be connected in some way with the style of delivery rather than with accent.

'wealthy'

speaker no.	Trafalgar (8)	St Joseph's (9)	Lavender Hill (12)	Tot.
1	0	0	1	1
2	0	1	2	3
3	0	1	0	1
4	0	0	1	1
5	2	0	6	8
6	0	0	0	0
7	2	1	4	7
8	0	0	4	4
9	2	1	9	12
10	0	1	3	4

The reticence with which the subjects approached this category is remarkable; the subjects at Trafalgar and St Joseph's clearly did not regard any of the speakers as seeming particularly wealthy. The very high rating of no. 9 by the Lavender Hill pupils, and to a lesser degree that of no. 5, suggest that the style of delivery might be the main factor in this category. Both of those speakers spoke confidently, especially no. 9 who was possibly the least hesitant of all the speakers. Again there is also a wide discrepancy between the figure for this speaker and the one for no. 3 whose accent is very similar in most features. One of the most consistent results observed so far is the downgrading of no. 6 in terms of status; here he did not score a single vote for being wealthy, when in fact as company director, he may well be one of the most affluent of the speakers.

'sophisticated'

speaker no.	Trafalgar (8)	St Joseph's (9)	Lavender Hill (12)	Tot.
1	1	1	1	3
2	1	2	2	5
3	0	0	1	1
4	0	0	0	0
5	4	3	3	10
6	0	0	4	4
7	2	2	3	7
8	2	2	3	7
9	5	5	5	15
10	1	1	3	5

In this case all three schools rated speaker no. 9 highly, and to
a lesser degree again the same applies to no. 5. This time the discrepancy
between the ratings given to no. 3 and no. 9 is even greater than it was
in the 'wealthy' category, and the fact that no. 3 was given a rating not
significantly higher than that of no. 4 invites speculation as to why
these two speakers, so different in their speech, should be similarly
rated. A likely answer to this would be that different criteria were used
in downgrading the two speakers: in the case of no. 3 the subjects might
have been reacting to some non-phonetic aspect, such as the colloquial
style which he used despite the presence of the tape recorder, and in the
case of no. 4 the main factor would have been his Extr. CE accent.
Certainly the consensus among the three schools regarding these two speak-
ers is notable.

'peculiar'

speaker no.	Trafalgar (8)	St Joseph's (9)	Lavender Hill (12)	Tot.
1	0	0	1	1
2	1	0	2	3
3	0	2	1	3
4	0	1	2	3
5	0	0	1	1
6	3	4	2	9
7	1	0	1	2
8	0	1	1	2
9	1	0	3	4
10	0	1	2	3

This attribute is the one by means of which subjects could most clearly express disapprobation towards a speaker; however the figures show that it was not much used. The only results of any significance here are: the fairly high consensus among subjects at the three schools that no. 6 was peculiar and the unanimous consensus at two of the schools that no. 1 and no. 5 were not. In the case of no. 5 this is particularly signinicant because it shows, especially when taken in conjunction with the 'genuine' attribute, that this speaker was not only perceived as having high status (as has already become apparent), but also that subjects' attitudes towards him were generally approving.

'rough'

speaker no.	Trafalgar (8)	St Joseph's (9)	Lavender Hill (12)	Tot.
1	1	2	0	3
2	0	1	3	4
3	1	0	3	4
4	2	0	2	4
5	0	0	0	0
6	2	2	3	7
7	0	0	0	0
8	0	1	1	2
9	0	0	0	0
10	0	0	0	1

Again this attribute which also provides the opportunity to express dis-approbation was not much used, and where it was used, disapprobation was shown towards the same speakers to much the same degree as with the last attribute. It should also have become clear by now that these are also the speakers who were downgraded in terms of the various status attributes, and it was this that alerted me to the fact that this experiment had not been successful in separating perceptual from attitudinal responses, but rather that *all* the attributes were in fact being used by respondents to express a binary value system: approbation and disapprobation. However this seems to apply only to certain speakers such as no. 5 and no. 6; the reactions to some of the others are more complex, as I shall attempt to show in the discussion of the remaining attributes.

'respectable'

speaker no.	Trafalgar (8)	St Joseph's (9)	Lavender Hill (12)	Tot.
1	5	1	4	10
2	1	5	3	9
3	1	1	2	4
4	0	1	2	3
5	1	2	5	8
6	0	0	2	2
7	4	3	7	14
8	2	2	5	9
9	1	1	7	9
10	1	0	2	3

The complexities that I was referring to above become somewhat clearer in considering this set of data. Once again speaker no. 6 is given a low rating as are the two Extr. CE speakers, no. 4 and no. 10. But in this case the attribute 'respectable' provides the opportunity to rate highly speakers such as no. 1 and no. 7 who had not been regarded as particularly wealthy or sophisticated. The case of no. 1 is the more illuminating; he was regarded as well educated and now respectable too, but not wealthy or sophisticated, while a speaker such as no. 5 has not received a very low rating in any of these categories. There seems to be a perception here that certain types of speech (such as the Resp. CE of no.1) may be associated with a good education (in fact the speaker has std 7) and respectability but not with wealth, while the Resp. SAE, together with a probable perception of the speaker as 'white', may be associated with all these high status attributes. Significantly perhaps, the St Joseph's pupils did not share this perception of no. 1 as respectable, a majority there opting rather for no. 2.

'genuine'

speaker no.	Trafalgar (8)	St Joseph's (9)	Lavender Hill (12)	Tot.
1	0	1	4	5
2	1	5	0	6
3	3	1	0	4
4	1	1	2	4
5	1	2	6	9
6	0	0	2	2
7	0	3	3	6
8	1	2	5	8
9	0	1	5	6
10	1	0	1	2

As a very general term of approbation 'genuine' was fairly extensively
used, but with little consensus as to who was actually the most genuine.
Once again no. 5 was rated highly and no. 6 and no. 10 received a very
low rating. No. 2 was again given a high rating at St Joseph's compared
with the 'coloured' schools, and this is the only case where the majority
of subjects at a school regarded a speaker as genuine; regarding this one
might speculate that the British features of this speaker's accent had
a significance of 'down-to-earthness' (the more so since they are features
associated with Cockney) for the 'white' subjects which they did not have

for the others. No. 8 is another speaker in whose case one must distinguish
between actual perceptions and simple judgements of approbation or dis-
approbation. This speaker received the second highest rating for 'genuine'
and a fairly high one for 'respectable' but mediocre ratings for status
categories such as 'wealthy' or 'sophisticated' indicating again a percep-
tion that Resp. CE has a different significance in these respects to Resp. SAE.

'poor'

speaker no.	Trafalgar (8)	St Joseph's (9)	Lavender Hill (12)	Tot.
1	0	0	0	0
2	0	0	2	2
3	0	1	6	7
4	0	4	6	10
5	0	0	0	0
6	0	3	6	9
7	0	0	3	3
8	1	1	1	3
9	0	1	0	1
10	2	4	7	13

The most remarkable aspect of this set of results is the reticence of the Trafalgar subjects in rating speakers as poor. The only three responses were for the female CE speakers. No. 1 who was not regarded as wealthy was not regarded as poor either, while no. 5 and no. 9 who were regarded as fairly wealthy naturally have a low score here for 'poor' as well. This attribute however is clearly perceived as being associated with the Extr. CE of no. 4 and no. 10, and in fact this was the only case where a significant response was elicited for no. 10, the stigmatized features of her speech obviously a factor in this judgement. The only speaker here concerning whom there was a complete lack of consensus was no. 3, and the Lavender Hill response is difficult to account for.

I will return to the results of experiment no. 1 when discussing the re-
sults of experiment no. 2 because they are both concerned with tape no. 1.
But one or two summing up remarks might be in order here. Firstly, regard-
ing the three schools, there was more consensus than one might have ex-
pected considering the important social differences between them, partic-
ularly that of class. This was especially apparent in what I have been
referring to as the general approbation and disapprobation shown towards
certain of the speakers. As I mentioned this might have more to do with
the styles of delivery than with accent, while features of accent might
have been more important in the subtle differences in perception. A crude
statistical operation here would help to illustrate this point. I divided
the attributes into two groups; the first could be referred to as general
approbation (wealthy, well educated, sophisticated, respectable and gen-
uine), and the second general disapprobation (uneducated, rough, peculiar
and poor) and then added up the scores within each group for each speaker,
putting the results for all three schools together in this way to arrive
at the following result:

speaker no.	approbation	disapprobation
1	37	8
2	27	18
3	16	27
4	13	31
5	56	2
6	12	37
7	45	8
8	36	15
9	51	8
10	19	29

The results for nos 5, 7, and 9 show firstly an enormous amount of con-
sensus, especially considering that these are the results for the three
schools together. But even more importantly they show that subjects at
all the schools were exploiting various attributes in the same way, to
pass judgement very much in favour of these particular speakers. Clearly
in the case of these speakers it would make nonsense to try and distinguish
between perceptions and attitudes. Such subtle distinctions can only be
made in the cases of the speakers who were rated highly in terms of one
attribute, say 'respectable', and given a low rating in terms of another,
such as 'wealthy'. In such cases the results do show differences in per-
ception between subjects at different schools as well. This would apply
in the cases of speakers such as nos 2, 8 and 10, where the above figures
show a less clear cut distinction between approbation and disapprobation.
Experiment no. 2 did not present problems in the interpretation of results to
the same extent, reflecting differences in perception in a clearer way,
and it is to the results of this experiment that I now turn.

Because the results of experiment no. 2 are simpler to absorb, I will
present them in their entirety before discussing them. It will be recalled
that this experiment also utilized tape no. 1 in conjunction this time
with questionaire no. 2, where subjects had to guess the occupation of
each of the speakers. This experiment was more difficult for the subjects
in that they had to match the ten occupations given with the ten speakers,
and because they had been led to believe that the ten were the actual
occupations of the speakers, there had to be a kind of 'closure' in the res-
ponse; i.e. they could not indicate that two speakers were in the same
occupation. This did lead to one or two anomalies in the results where

subjects were forced to match one or two speakers with occupations which
they did not think were appropriate in order to complete the experiment.
However the advantage in this experiment lies in the very difficulty of
it, in that subjects found it challenging and thus it seems likely that
the results should authentically reflect their perceptions. For this
experiment I will present the complete set of results for each speaker. It
should be remembered that although the schools are the same these are diff-
erent subjects to those who took part in experiment no. 1, and the total
column on the right will this time be weighted in favour of Trafalgar,
the largest group in this case.

	Trafalgar (12)	St Joseph's (7)	Lavender Hill (6)	Tot.
speaker no. 1				
University				
Lecturer	1	0	1	2
Doctor	1	0	0	1
Bricklayer	3	0	5	8
Schoolteacher	0	1	0	1
Company Director	0	1	0	1
University Student	4	0	0	4
Jazz Musician	2	0	0	2
Policeman	1	5	0	6
Secretary	0	0	0	0
Charlady	0	0	0	0

	Trafalgar (12)	St Joseph's (7)	Lavender Hill (6)	Tot.
speaker no. 2				
University				
Lecturer	1	0	0	1
Doctor	4	0	0	4
Bricklayer	0	0	0	0
Schoolteacher	0	0	0	0
Company Director	0	1	4	5
University Student	5	5	1	11
Jazz Musician	2	1	1	4
Policeman	0	0	0	0
Secretary	0	0	0	0
Charlady	0	0	0	0
speaker no. 3				
University				
Lecturer	1	1	0	2
Doctor	0	0	1	1
Bricklayer	1	1	0	2
Schoolteacher	1	0	1	2
Company Director	4	4	0	8
University Student	1	0	0	1
Jazz Musician	3	1	1	5
Policeman	1	0	3	4
Secretary	0	0	0	0
Charlady	0	0	0	0

	Trafalgar (12)	St Joseph's (7)	Lavender Hill (6)	Tot.
speaker no. 4				
University				
Lecturer	0	0	0	0
Doctor	0	0	0	0
Bricklayer	7	4	1	12
Schoolteacher	0	0	0	0
Company Director	0	0	0	0
University Student	1	0	0	1
Jazz Musician	4	3	4	11
Policeman	0	0	1	1
Secretary	0	0	0	0
Charlady	0	0	0	0
speaker no. 5				
University				
Lecturer	6	3	2	11
Doctor	1	2	1	4
Bricklayer	0	0	0	0
Schoolteacher	0	1	0	1
Company Director	3	0	1	4
University Student	0	0	2	2
Jazz Musician	0	0	0	0
Policeman	2	1	0	3
Secretary	0	0	0	0
Charlady	0	0	0	0

	Trafalgar (12)	St Joseph's (7)	Lavender Hill (6)	Tot.
speaker no. 6				
University				
Lecturer	1	0	3	4
Doctor	1	1	1	3
Bricklayer	1	0	0	1
Schoolteacher	0	0	0	0
Company Director	2	1	1	4
University Student	0	1	0	1
Jazz Musician	0	2	0	2
Policeman	6	1	1	8
Secretary	0	0	0	0
Charlady	0	0	0	0
speaker no. 7				
University				
Lecturer	0	1	0	1
Doctor	3	0	0	3
Bricklayer	0	3	0	3
Schoolteacher	2	2	0	4
Company Director	1	0	0	1
University Student	0	0	0	0
Jazz Musician	0	0	0	0
Policeman	1	0	1	2
Secretary	5	2	0	7
Charlady	0	0	5	5

	Trafalgar (12)	St Joseph's (7)	Lavender Hill (6)	Tot.
speaker no. 8				
University				
Lecturer	1	0	0	1
Doctor	1	1	0	2
Bricklayer	0	0	0	0
Schoolteacher	3	1	0	4
Company Director	0	0	0	0
University Student	2	1	0	3
Jazz Musician	0	0	0	0
Policeman	1	0	0	1
Secretary	4	4	5	13
Charlady	0	0	1	1
speaker no. 9				
University				
Lecturer	1	2	0	3
Doctor	1	3	1	5
Bricklayer	0	0	0	0
Schoolteacher	5	0	3	8
Company Director	2	0	1	3
University Student	0	0	0	0
Jazz Musician	1	0	0	1
Policeman	0	0	0	0
Secretary	2	1	0	3
Charlady	0	1	0	1

	Trafalgar (12)	St Joseph's (7)	Lavender Hill (6)	Tot.
speaker no. 10				
University				
Lecturer	0	0	1	1
Doctor	0	1	2	3
Bricklayer	0	0	0	0
Schoolteacher	0	0	1	1
University Student	0	0	1	1
Jazz Musician	0	0	0	0
Policeman	0	0	0	0
Secretary	0	0	1	1
Charlady	12	6	0	18

There are many ways in which the above results could be viewed or analysed, but my intention here is to discuss only the most striking and apparently significant aspects of the responses to each speaker. If one compares the responses by the three schools to speaker no. 1, there is substantial consensus within each group of subjects, although not between groups. For instance, the four subjects at Trafalgar who thought that the speaker might be a university student while at the other schools none thought so, or the very substantial consensus at St Joseph's that the speaker was a policeman, while only one subject out of the other eighteen agreed with this. The consensus at Lavender Hill that the speaker was a bricklayer is even more striking. Of the three schools then the Trafalgar subjects attributed (by implication) the highest status to this speaker, while the St Joseph's students might have reacted more to the fact that the speech was Afrikaans influenced than to the fact that it was a form of CE, and consequently thought that the speaker was a ('white') policeman.

There is very high consensus for speaker no. 2, virtually all the subjects perceiving that the speech had some prestigious quality to it, with the St Joseph's students being the most accurate in their perception (in terms of the speaker's actual occupational status). In contrast there was a varied response for no. 3, only two subjects giving the actual occupation of this speaker, that of schoolteacher. The ambivalence in the results here could probably be attributed to the twin influences in the speech (Resp. SAE and Afr. Eng.); certainly the four 'coloured' respondents who thought that the speaker was a policeman were responding to the influence of Afrikaans.

In the case of no. 4, his Extr. CE had very clear significance for the respondents, and the fact that he was thought to be either a bricklayer or a jazz musician with almost no other responses, provides very strong evidence that at least some lects have the same social meaning for 'whites' and 'coloureds'. There is a high consensus in the opposite direction (as there was in experiment no. 1) regarding speaker no. 5, almost all the responses indicating a perception of high occupational status. The most striking feature of the response to no. 6 was the fairly high consensus (50%) at Trafalgar that this was the policeman. This is interesting in the light of the fact that this speaker's accent is not very typical of CE in the peninsula; it could be mistaken for an Afr. Eng. idiolect, and contains at least one feature which urban middle class 'coloured' youths would be likely to associate either with the country or with conservative figures in the city, this being the uvular /r/ . The fact that 50% of the Lavender Hill respondents thought that this was the university lecturer is not as inexplicable as it might seem: the fact that this type of accent is fairly common for authority figures in schools (principals, inspectors

etc.) might have led these pupils to associate it with education in general. The Lavender Hill response to this speaker in experiment no. 3 (see below) provides strong support for this hypothesis.

Turning to the women speakers, the response to no. 7 is probably not at all significant, especially in the light of the response to this speaker in experiment no. 1. Here there is very little consensus, and the respondents who indicated that this lady was a bricklayer for instance, were probably indulging in the opportunity to turn their exasperation at the difficulty of matching ten speakers correctly with ten occupations into humour. However this certainly does not apply in the case of the other three women. There was much consensus that the speech of no. 8 (Resp. CE) could be associated with the position of secretary, as the response for all three schools shows. As in experiment no. 1, respondents generally perceived no. 9 as having high status, and again pupils at the 'coloured' schools associated an Afrikaans influenced accent with education. This was also the only one of the women who was associated with occupations that were generally connected by the respondents with male speakers of higher status: university lecturer, doctor and company director. But the highest consensus for any speaker in this experiment occurred in the reponse to speaker no. 10, all but one of the respondents at Trafalgar and St Joseph's indicating that this was the charlady (her actual occupation). The fact that none of the Lavender Hill respondents reacted in this way to an accent containing stigmatized features indicates either a lack of sensitivity to stigmatized features, or else that they did not know what a charlady was. Since these were lower/ working class, second language speakers of English, both explanations are plausible. Although I did ask at the beginning of the experiment whether they knew what all the occupations were, some might have not wanted to

appear ignorant by admitting that they did not know what one of them was.

Experiments 3 and 4 utilised tape no. 2 and questionnaire no. 3. Here the presentation of results and discussion of the same will take up much less space since these two experiments were much simpler than the first two; however the results are if anything more illuminating, since they show more clearly the points of consensus and divergence between two of the schools which the complexity of the first two experiments tended to obscure. It will be recalled that for experiment no. 3 subjects had to rate each speaker according to perceived level of education. In the table below the ratings for each speaker are given as average scores.

speaker no.	St Joseph's (11)	Lavender Hill (6)
1	6	7,3
2	8,6	7
3	5,2	6,5
4	8,3	5,5
5	3,4	5,2
6	7,4	7,7
7	5,3	4,8
8	6,7	6,8
9	7,6	5,5
10	4,6	8,7

Here the Lavender Hill subjects tended to rate the CE speakers more highly than did the St Joseph's subjects; this applies to nos 3, 5, 8, and 10, but not to no. 7. This tendency is most marked in the case of speaker no. 10, where the average for Lavender Hill is almost twice that for St Joseph's. No. 10 here is the same speaker as no. 6 on tape no. 1, and I mentioned

that the reason for this speaker being chosen as the university lecturer
by the Lavender Hill subjects was possibly that they associated this type
of accent with education in general, while downgrading him in the various
status attributes. This somewhat paradoxical observation finds further
support here where the speaker has received the highest rating for perceived
level of education from a different group of pupils at the same school.

On the other hand the Lavender Hill respondents did not rate the prestig-
ious 'white' accents quite as highly as the St Joseph's pupils did. This
applies to no. 2 (British Eng. close to RP), no. 4 (Cons. SAE), no. 9
(Resp. SAE), but not to no. 6 (Resp. SAE). Nos 1 and 6 were rated more
highly by the Lavender Hill subjects; in experiment no. 1 these speakers
were nos 9 and 7 respectively and were generally rated highly in relation
to most of the status attributes. In general it could be said that the
St Joseph's response was the more accurate in terms of the actual levels
of education of the speakers, just no. 1 (a graduate) being underrated a
little, relative to the other speakers, and no. 9 (a matriculant) rated too
highly. The perceptions of the Lavender Hill subjects were very inaccurate
in relation to no. 10 (standard 7) and no. 4 (a graduate).

Experiment no. 4 was conducted in exactly the same way as no. 3, and thus
the results can again be shown as average scores out of ten, this time
for the suitability of the speaker as a radio announcer. Two different
groups of subjects from the same two schools took part, and the other two
subjects were two private English pupils of mine, both 'white', one female
and a secretary, the other a male matric pupil.

speaker no.	St Joseph's (7)	Lavender Hill (6)	Other (2)
1	6,5	6,3	5,5
2	7,8	9,3	6
3	5,7	4,3	2
4	6,8	8	8,5
5	3,5	3,7	2
6	8,5	9,7	7,5
7	4,3	4,8	3
8	6,8	7,2	4,5
9	8,5	9,5	8,5
10	4,3	3,3	4

Considering the diverse range of subjects here the amount of consensus is quite remarkable. The ratings by the 'other' subjects is notable for the very low scores given to all the CE speakers, the highest being the 4,5 for no. 8, a lect which I have described as being located right at the top of the respectability scale, and the lowest scores the 2 each for the two women CE speakers. The Lavender Hill subjects rated the Resp. SAE lects very highly here (nos 6 and 9) and the British English of no. 2. The ender Hill group in experiment no. 3 gave speaker no. 10 an average score of 8,7 for level of education and I proposed a hypothesis to explain that; significantly perhaps this group regarded the same speaker as being very unsuitable for the position of radio announcer. The difference between these scores may well be the difference between perception and attitude; while the one group conceded (inaccurately) that the speaker might have had a high level of education, the other group made it clear that they would not have him as a radio announcer. To a lesser degree this also applies to

other CE speakers; the Lavender Hill subjects in the previous experiment
rated no. 3 for instance quite highly for education (6,5), but here she
was only given 4,3 for her potential as a radio announcer. Another explan-
nation for these results may be that these lower/working class 'coloured'
subjects tend to associate 'white' accents with the media, having very
little other contact with speakers of these lects, and thus despite the
fact that they may perceive CE speakers as being well educated (the models
provided by their teachers for instance) they would find them incongruous
or inappropriate as radio announcers.

While the Lavender Hill subjects rated the Resp. SAE subjects as the most
suitable radio announcers, the St Joseph's subjects gave the greater approv-
al to the lects which were less obviously South African, no. 2 (British
English near RP) and no. 4 (Cons. SAE). Also they did not rate the Resp.
SAE lects (e.g. 7,4 for no. 6 and 7,6 for no. 9) all that much more highly
than they did the Resp. CE lects (e.g. 6,7 for no. 8). Speaker no. 1, who
despite the Afrikaans influence in her accent was regarded as 'sophisticated'
in experiment no. 1, was not regarded on the basis of her reading to be
a very suitable radio announcer, receiving a score of only 6.

However despite these details in the results it must be said that for
experiments 3 and 4 there was firstly, extensive consensus amongst the
various subjects, and secondly, a very close correlation between perceived
level of education and suitability, in the opinions of the subjects, as
radio announcer. And this once again leaves the problem of the distinction
between perceptions and attitudes unsolved, a distinction which I have only
been able to make through speculation about certain aspects of the results;
and it is clear to me that to devise a methodology which can clearly dem-
onstrate the differences between what subjects believe about a speaker

on the one hand, and what they feel about that speaker on the other, is the most important challenge to anyone who would conduct a study of this kind. This problem will be further discussed in the final chapter.

The final experiment did not involve any tapes; subjects were merely required to answer a set of direct questions which had two purposes: firstly to find out something of the subjective thoughts or feelings that repondents might have concerning the question of language variation in general, and secondly to find out how much English they spoke relative to Afrikaans outside of the classroom. This questionnaire was only put to those pupils who were in English medium classes; the two schools involved were St Joseph's and Trafalgar. A glance at questionnaire no. 4 shows the format, simply multiple choice questions.

	St Joseph's (17)	Trafalgar (20)
It is important to speak good, correct English.	14	13
One should speak plainly, but not necessarily correctly		
It is important to speak the way one's friends and family speak.		1
One should have one's own way of speaking.	3	6
Do you speak at home		
English and Afirkaans equally?		5
more English than Afrikaans?	9	7
more Afrikaans than English?		4
only English?	7	2
only Afrikaans?		

Do you speak to your friends	St Joseph's (17)	Trafalgar (20)
English and Afrikaans equally?		5
more English than Afrikaans?	9	8
more Afrikaans than English?		4
only English?	8	
only Afrikaans?		1

The above results demonstrate one principle that has emerged very clearly in this presentation, the fact that the subjective postures of 'whites' and 'coloureds' in relation to language variation resemble each other so closely as to be virtually indistinguishable, but that at the same time their observed linguistic behaviours are notably different. In the first part of the questionnaire it can be seen that the responses of the two groups - here it must be remembered that the St Joseph's group was made up of a majority of middle class 'white' pupils and a minority of 'coloured' middle class pupils, while the composition of the Trafalgar group was solidly lower middle class 'coloured - the responses were almost identical, only a slightly higher percentage of the St Joseph's subjects opting for the standard. Yet the same questionnaire reveals what I have claimed in earlier chapters, that the speech patterns of 'white' and 'coloured' are different; while both of the groups were receiving English medium instruction at school, far more Afrikaans was being spoken by the Trafalgar subjects out of school. This of course is due to the phenomenon that I devoted some attention to in Chapter Three, the trend towards adopting English as first language in the 'coloured community', particularly in the educational sphere. Hence the greater use of English inside the classroom than outside it.

I intend to discuss the findings in a more analytical way in the concluding

chapter of this thesis which now follows, where I shall relate them to the information, particularly the social context, which I presented in the earlier chapters and attempt to obtain a greater clarity and insight by interpreting the results in that way.

Notes

1. W.E. Lambert (1967): 'A Social Psychology of Bilingualism' in J.B. Pride and Janet Holmes eds. *Sociolinguistics*, Harmondsworth, Penguin, p.336.
2. p.336.
3. W. Labov (1972): *Sociolinguistic Patterns*, University of Pennsylvania, p.147-148.
4. J.R. Edwards (1982): 'Language attitudes and their implications among English speakers' in E.B. Ryan and H. Giles eds. *Attitudes towards Language Variation*, Edward Arnold, London, p.20.

CHAPTER SIX : CONCLUSIONS AND THEORETICAL IMPLICATIONS

6.1 Findings and Conclusions

This thesis began by posing three related questions which I felt had
to be addressed before matters pertaining to language perceptions and
attitudes could be discussed. The three questions were as follows:

1. In what sense can a 'coloured community' be said to exist?

2. Is there a variety of English associated with this community?

3. Are there features which distinguish this variety from other local
varieties of English?

In answering the first of the above questions I found it necessary to
begin by dispensing with the concept of ethnicity, since there seemed
to be no way that this concept was relevant to the social phenomena
which I was attempting to explain. I felt that in this case one could
only account for the existence of a community by reference to experiences
shared by people, and that the most important of these was the process
of labelling and stereotyping by which an artificial discontinuity had
been effected, a certain group of people being made to feel that they
were essentially different, and thus had to be separated from, the
politically and economically dominant group. This could only be explained
in terms of the social history of Cape Town and not through recourse to
any 'racial' or 'ethnic' criteria. I then went on to describe some of the
consequences of this process, particularly the attitudes of those class-
ified as 'coloured' and some of the strategies that had been adopted
in defining alternative forms of identity which would serve to distance
the individual from an imposed identity which was felt to be degrading

since it had inherent connotations of inferiority. Thus the community,
if it existed, was a divided one, and the identity associated with it
was overtly rejected by those who were regarded by outsiders as being
its members.

Nevertheless I felt that the shared experience of those who had been
treated in this way had resulted in a covert identification with fellow
community members. I was only able to account for this through the anthro-
pological concept of social networks, and I drew attention to the fact
that it is these patterns of interaction which determine the norms and
loyalties of the individual. In cases where the economic position of
people is such that their first priority is survival, these networks
tend to assume a particular character; that is, they are more dense and
multiplex, and they serve both as a support to the individual and as
a regulatory mechanism which circumscribes his or her behaviour. The
social networks then define the boundaries of the community, and the
covert identification which I had been attempting to explain was understood
as a loyalty to, and a sharing of norms of behaviour with, those who
constitute one's personal network.

The social theory which I had presented then enabled me to explain why it
is that there should be certain linguistic phenomena associated with
the 'coloured community', and I approached the linguistic part of my
study with the following working hypotheses:
1. The cultural continuity that exists between 'whites' and 'coloureds'
would be likely to ensure that certain linguistic norms are shared by
the two groups.
2. The fact that the pattern of social networks in Cape Town tends to form a

community boundary separating 'whites' from 'coloureds' indicates a
likelihood that certain linguistic norms are specific to 'coloured'
speakers.

3. Divisions within the 'coloured community' (see Ch.2) would have the
consequence of variation in the speech patterns encountered among comm-
unity members.

In Chapter Three I gave an account of patterns of language use pertaining
to English and Afrikaans in the Cape Peninsula, and showed, particularly
with reference to Afrikaans, that there are in fact phenomena which are
specific to 'coloured' speakers. I gave a brief description of the dialect
which is referred to colloquially by various (usually disparaging) terms,
or simply called 'the vernacular' (e.g. by McCormick), and which is
characterized by a blending of non-standard Afrikaans with numerous
loan words, mainly from English, and a high rate of metaphorical code-
switching between Afrikaans and English (see 3.3). I mentioned that the dis-
tinction between the vernacular and standard Afrikaans is particularly
accessible to consciousness, in that speakers of the vernacular are
acutely aware of the distinction, and that therefore the possibility of
code-switching between the two exists, at least theoretically, although
relatively few individuals may be prepared to indulge in this. I then
prepared the ground for a description of English in the 'coloured comm-
unity' by firstly suggesting that the case of English was somewhat differ-
ent from that of Afrikaans, in that variation is much less accessible to
consciousness. Secondly, as a way of accounting for the variation, I
adopted the terms 'extreme' and 'respectable' as used by Lanham in his
work on South African English, and proposed a theoretical construct, the
respectability scale. Although this would have restricted validity,
in that it probably would not be applicable in all sociolinguistic studies,

I found the concept to be useful in this case, since the actual determinants of linguistic variation are numerous and the interaction between them complex. The most important of these would be class and socio-economic status, but other influences such as sex, area of residence, amount of Afrikaans spoken relative to English, political affiliation and the psychology of groups and individuals would all have an influence. Thus the respectability scale is analagous to, but not necessarily commensurate with, the socio-economic scale.

The point at which an individual and his or her idiolect could be located on this scale then would be determined by a combination of factors as mentioned above. It is important to realise that this does not apply to Afrikaans to nearly the same extent; since for practical purposes one might well say that there are just two clearly distinct varieties, standard and vernacular, and that the latter is spoken by all but a small minority of status-seeking and politically conservative individuals. In the case of English one must examine the distribution of particular linguistic *items*, and this is what I set out to do in Chapter Four. So the second of the questions which I posed at the beginning of this chapter, as to whether there is a variety of English associated with the 'coloured community', cannot be answered by a simple yes or no. It is necessary here to distinguish between the relatively objective facts of linguistic observation and description on the one hand and the perceptions of any particular person on the other. The one approach consists of an examination of the distribution of linguistic items or variables, while the other is concerned with meanings which particular co-occurrences of such variables have for members of the society.

In this study the general approach was to proceed from linguistic des-

cription to the study of perceptions and attitudes, with the objectives
of the latter determining those of the former. In my examination of a
body of linguistic data in Chapter Four I found that there was in fact
a kind of continuum, corresponding to what I had called the respecta-
bility scale, ranging from the co-occurrence of all the members of a set
of non-prestigious variants at the one end, to those lects at the other
end in which none or very few of these non-prestigious variants were
found to occur. The non-prestigious variants could then be subdivided
further into those which might occur occasionally in lects near the
top of the scale, and those stigmatized variants which would never occur
in such contexts. These lects nearer to the top of the scale collecti-
vely constitute Resp. CE, while those in which the non-prestigious variants,
including the clearly stigmatized ones, occur, are referred to collectively
as Extr. CE. It must immediately be pointed out here that relatively
few of both the non-prestigious variants, and the corresponding pres-
tigious ones are specific to 'coloured' speakers; many of the less pres-
tigious variants for instance are definitive of Extr. SAE and Afr. Eng.,
while many of the prestigious ones are also found in Resp. SAE and RP.
However there is a small set of variants which are not normally found in
the speech of 'white' South Africans; these would include the stigmatized
items (dental stops substituted for dental fricatives, alveolar fricatives
substituted for palato-alveolar fricatives), and what I have referred to
as the more tenacious features of Extr. CE, those which are likely to
persist in lects near the top of the scale (e.g. lack of reversion to
schwa for unstressed syllables, backed rounded [uꜜ]).

It cannot be said then that there is one variety of CE; it can

only be said that certain items and certain co-occurrences of items are specific to 'coloured' speakers. However, from the point of view of perception the question assumes a different complexion and requires a different sort of answer. It may be for instance that for some people certain co-occurrences of items are *associated with* 'coloured identity'. Or it may be that a whole range of lects are similarly associated, with little or no distinction made between them regarding status or prestige.

With these points in mind I approached the field study which was reported in the chapter before this. Here I would only like to recap some of the more important of the results and discuss their possible significance. I was chiefly interested in finding out what divergences and consensuses there might be in the language perceptions of subjects from a variety of community and class backgrounds, hence the choice of those particular schools as sites of the research. In this chapter I have introduced the term 'associations', since in retrospect it seems to me that this might be a less problematic way of thinking about perceptions; the term 'beliefs' which I had been using implies full consciousness of what is perceived. This is not necessarily valid, since it is entirely possible that there may be variation in the degree to which these perceptions are explicitly represented in consciousness.

Firstly what the fieldwork showed without any doubt was that certain perceptions are shared by diverse members of Cape Town's population, and there seems little reason to doubt that this applies to the great majority of the city's inhabitants, or that these shared perceptions would be found to exist in other parts of South Africa as well.

There was an overwhelming tendency to associate Resp. SAE, as well as those
lects which incorporate allophones of RP together with those of Resp. SAE,
with high status in various categories, such as wealth, education, soph-
istication, and also with occupations carrying high status, such as
that of university lecturer. Just as evident was the opposite reaction
to Extr. CE; this was associated with lack of education and sophistication
and with poverty, as well as low status occupations such as that of
bricklayer and of charlady. It is important to note that these perceptions
were shared in the main at all three schools, and from this it can only
be inferred that they are general in the society. These findings are
hardly surprising but what was interesting was the fact that at all
three schools a large proportion of the respondents selected a speaker of
Extr. CE as the likely jazz musician. This would seem to indicate that
the stereotyping of 'coloureds', or at least lower class individuals of
that community, as musical, is accepted or shared by many 'coloureds'
themselves. I would explain all of these phenomena in terms of the cul-
tural continuity existing between 'whites' and 'coloureds' which I men-
tioned in Chapter Two. In the light of this, the sharing of certain
aspirations, values and modes of behaviour, it was not unexpected that
certain perceptions (whether thought of as associations *or* beliefs)
would be shared as well.

Naturally there were also some wide divergences in the responses; I shall
only discuss those that seem to be the most significant. The St Joseph's
group, comprising mainly 'white' subjects, tended not to make fine discrimi-
nations between varying lects of CE, tending to accord them a roughly
equal low status. This also applied to the 'other' subjects who partic-
ipated in experiment no. 4; they regarded the speakers of CE as being

almost equally unsuited to the position of radio announcer. At the 'col-
oured' schools on the other hand, distinctions were made between the
CE speakers to a much greater extent. They were for instance prepared
to rate speakers of Resp. CE highly in terms of attributes such as ed-
ucation and respectability (although not as highly in wealth or sophis-
tication), while giving the Extr. CE speakers very low ratings in these
attributes. In Chapter One I expressed the view that certain linguistic
variables would not have the same significance on different sides of
community boundaries, and that view seems to have found some support in
these findings, in that among the 'coloured' subjects there seems to have
been a much greater sensitivity regarding the stigmatized and the prestig-
ious features of CE. This seems to be particularly true of the Trafalgar
respondents; there was for instance a 100% consensus that the lady whose
speech contained stigmatized features of CE was the charlady, and a
strong consensus that a male speaker of Resp. CE was in fact respectable.
The Lavender Hill respondents produced one of several extraordinary
responses regarding speaker no. 10 of tape no. 2 (speaker no. 6 of tape no.
1). I have not been able to think of an appropriate term to describe
this type of lect, except possibly Country/Cons. CE (for a description
of his idiolect refer back to *5.2*), but in experiment no. 3 he received
the highest rating from the Lavender Hill group for education, which
was in marked contrast to the responses of the other two schools. And
in experiment no. 1 the other Lavender Hill group also regarded him
as being possibly 'well educated' (three votes as opposed to none for the
other two schools). In general it might be said that the Trafalgar sub-
jects were more *accurate* in their perceptions than the Lavender Hill
subjects, and in their attitudes more disposed to distancing themselves
from Extr. CE as well as from a lect which they clearly associated with

the country and with conservative authority. Thus it would seem that class is an important determinant of perceptions and attitudes, as is shown in the results for these two 'coloured' schools, one middle class and the other lower/working class.

It is also interesting to note some of the divergences in perception regarding British influences in the idiolects of some of the speakers. Very few subjects were able to detect the influence of London vernacular in the speech of speaker no. 2 of tape no. 1; only at St Joseph's did a significant proportion of the respondents indicate that this speaker was from Britain; the 'coloured' schools tended rather to regard speaker no. 5 as being from Britain. On the basis of these results it would not be unreasonable to conclude that many 'coloureds' are unable to distinguish between prestige lects of SAE and British English, and that class does not have much to do with this inability. The Trafalgar subjects were just as unable to detect the British influence as the Lavender Hill subjects, although they were very much more aware of the fact that his speech contained prestigious features. This was another extraordinary response by the Lavender Hill pupils, in that they regarded him as lacking in education, wealth and sophistication, once again showing themselves to be less accurate in their perceptions than the Trafalgar subjects. It will be recalled that this speaker was a postgraduate student. In experiments no. 3 and 4 there were paradoxical results concerning speaker no. 4 of tape no. 2 (Cons. SAE) and speaker no. 2 of tape no. 2 (British English near RP). These British influenced lects were associated with a high level of education much more than the Resp. SAE lects by the St Joseph's respondents, while the opposite was true for the Lavender Hill group. On the other hand the St Joseph's group regarded the same two speakers as less suit-

able for the position of radio announcer than the Resp. SAE speakers, while the Lavender Hill subjects did not make a significant distinction between them.

To return now to the question of attitudes, it must immediately be said that this concept turned out to be much more problematic than I had anticipated, or than my reading of the literature on the subject had led me to believe. I shall address this problem more fully in my section below on theoretical matters; but briefly stated, the problem concerns the distinction between attitude towards an accent or dialect and attitude towards a speaker, and the fact that data concerning the latter does not provide reliable information concerning the former. In this study my results clearly showed which speakers had been favourably evaluated by the respondents. As I have mentioned this was done by giving certain speakers a high rating in all status categories, and then also rating the same speaker as 'genuine' and not at all 'peculiar'. This applied particularly to speakers 5 and 9, and to a lesser degree no. 7 of tape no. 1. The opposite was true of no. 6, who was rated very low in all those categories, but received a high rating for 'peculiar', 'rough' and 'from the country'. In experiment no. 2 he received the most votes for being the likely policeman. These results moreover reflected a surprisingly high consensus amongst the three schools, but much less consensus in the results for the other speakers.

The 'genuine' category produced radically different judgements from the three schools. The Trafalgar and St Joseph's groups interestingly chose the two most hesitant, but relaxed and colloquial speakers for their greatest approval, no. 3 (Afr. Eng./Resp. SAE) and no. 2 (Resp. SAE/London vernacular) respectively. But these were the very two speakers who

received not a single vote in this category from the Lavender Hill subjects, who preferred no. 5. It becomes very difficult to say what these results actually mean, other than that the Lavender Hill group approved of different speakers from those approved of by the other groups. No. 2 for instance was given a very low rating in all the status categories at Lavender Hill, being regarded as rough, poor, uneducated and not at all genuine, whereas at the other schools there was no evidence of such vehement disapprobation of this speaker. I shall speculate further on these results below, but for the moment it must be concluded that attitudes towards speakers are complex, and must be determined by a host of factors relating to both the speakers and their judges. Regarding the speaker it seems likely that accent or dialect is no more important than style, while regarding the judge, one would have to take into account not only his or her class, level of education and so on, but also individual psychology. Constructing a research methodology which could control all these variables would not be an easy undertaking.

6.2 *Theoretical Implications*

Since few (if any) similar studies have been conducted in South Africa it might be of value for anyone wishing to conduct such a study to consider the points to be presented here. These will consist of a summary of the theoretical positions which have been adopted so far and also a discussion of some of the insights which being engaged in this work has afforded me.

Firstly I would point out that two approaches to sociolinguistics which I mentioned in Chapter One, the variety and item based approaches, are certainly in no way incompatible, and indeed in this study both were found

to be indispensible. In describing a variety such as CE, the researcher
finds that the nature of the linguistic variation is such that an acc-
urate account is only possible if attention is paid to the social distri-
bution of particular items, and the variety concept is understood to
correspond to a kind of perceptual hypostasis which is quite inappropriate
in the task of empirical investigation and description of data. Thus I was
enabled to explain why it is that CE is not a variety in the sense of
a fixed discrete set of items, but rather a highly variable set of shift-
ing patterns which represent complex responses to extralinguistic social
phenomena. These patterns can only be described in terms of typical but
variable and even transitory co-occurrences of items. Lest I might have
misled in my characterization of standard and vernacular Afrikaans as
discrete entities, it should be pointed out firstly that this was in-
tended primarily as a reference to the perceptual distinction which is
part of the subjective experiences of speakers of the vernacular; and
secondly the idea of fixed discreteness, although also a perceptual
hypostasis, is entirely valid in that it reflects a relative difference
between the cases of English and Afrikaans. It is chiefly when one turns
to matters of perception that the concept of variety has its greatest
validity, and certain of the results of my fieldwork show that at least
some subjects do perceive CE as one type of English and are oblivious
to the more subtle variations that take place within it and which are
quite significant in the perceptions of other subjects.

Attention was paid earlier to the concept of speech community only
because this concept in its original Labovian usage has been an extreme-
ly influential one in sociolinguistics. I pointed out the implicit ethno-
centricity in the concept, and it is my opinion that it is only really
applicable in characterizing speech phenomena in societies where there

is a relatively high level of development and social mobility, and where

class is the most important determinant of behaviour. Even in New York

though Labov was compelled to admit the importance of community and also

that of mulitlingualism, leading to his rather untidy and complicating

assertion that blacks and whites only participated "in the same structure

of social and stylistic variation" for "some variables", while for "other

variables" there was "an absolute differentiation of white and black".[1]

This of course was the only possible way of dealing with the problem

of differentiation within a theoretical framework primarily oriented

to stratification, but his observation that "older and younger speakers

in New York City belong to slightly different speech communities"[2] repre-

sents a complication serious enough to call the validity of the concept

into question. When one is dealing with a society where the differentia-

tion imposed by the creation of community boundaries is easily as im-

portant as class, the Labovian theoretical framework as a whole becomes

unusable, even though certain insights generated by Labov's work may

still be helpful. The concept has been further devalued in that the phrase

is often used very loosely to refer to all sorts of groups; for instance

McCormick's reference to the remnant of District Six as a speech community,

while for Hasan (1984) a speech community can be all the speakers of a

particular language, such as Urdu. I would say then that the concept

of speech community has rather restricted validity, rather like my own

concept of respectability scale, and that an attempt to create special

social concepts for the purpose of sociolinguistic research and their

uncritical adoption can be misguided. A sounder approach would be a truly

multidisciplinary one, in which the whole body of social theory and all

the insights developed in social psychology, anthropology, sociology

and other disciplines are at one's disposal. This approach, sometimes

rather unsatisfactorily termed 'ethnographic', is one that was adopted in this study, rather than a narrowly sociolinguistic one.

Probably the finest example of such a multidisciplinary approach is the body of theory and research generated by Giles and his social psychology associates. It is not enough to assert as is sometimes done that all linguistics is sociolinguistics, and then to consign social matters to the periphery of one's theory, or reduce them to being merely one factor among many as the much used term 'social context' implies. For instance in this thesis I have attempted to follow St Clair's (1982) advice concerning the importance of social history; while some might consider that I have devoted too much space to such matters (my introduction and Chapter Two) I would maintain that linguistic data is meaningless without a thorough understanding of the society in which it is found, and secondly that an approach informed by social theory can ameliorate the deleterious consequences of a less developed research methodology, since the results one does arrive at can still be made coherent through sensible interpretation.

The two most important theoretical concepts to have emerged and which have provided such explanatory power in recent work on language and society, accommodation and social network, did not originate in the work of sociolinguistics 'specialists' but were introduced by those who while working in the area of sociolinguistics were prepared to take note of developments in other disciplines such as social psychology and anthropology, rather than cling to misguided (but understandable) notions of discipline autonomy. An example of such an attitude is that manifested in the work on South African English carried out by Lanham and discussed in Chapter Three. While working within the area of sociolinguistics Lan-

ham has rooted the practice of this discipline deeply in South African
social history and in this lies the enduring importance of his contribut-
ion. An example of the contrary attitude is that of Klopper (1976) who
approached his study of 'coloured' Afrikaans armed with no other theory
than that of Labov, his only concession to the need for social theory
being the adoption of the thoroughly discredited social Darwinism, leading
to a conclusion that the Afrikaans speech of 'coloureds' was 'evolving'
in the direction of that of 'white' Afrikaners at a steady rate. If
Klopper had had some exposure to accommodation theory he might have
realised why it appeared to him that this was happening with the Afrikaans
of 'coloured' speakers, that they were accommodating to his own standard
Afrikaans. I hope I have been able to show through my analysis of the
community under consideration, Ridd's anthropological study, McCormick's
work on code-switching, the HSRC survey of patterns of language use, as
well as my own experiment (no. 5) using direct questions, that the domin-
ant trend is towards the adoption of English, and secondly why it should
be that the adoption of standard Afrikaans is only likely to occur in
the case of a small minority. The norm-enforcing power of the social net-
work makes it extremely unlikely that vernacular Afrikaans could ever
conceivably give way to standard, especially at the lower socio-economic
levels, and as I have mentioned a rise in socio-economic status tends
to coincide with greater use of English. The dangers of an inadequate
knowledge of social theory are well illustrated by this example, although
of course the ideological disposition of the researcher is always a
factor too.

I have mentioned some of the shortcomings of my own research methodology
and I would like to focus on these even more closely, although in mit-
igation I would say that this is to my knowledge the first language att-

itude study of its kind undertaken in South Africa, and those carried
out elsewhere have been more often concerned with attitudes towards
actual languages rather than varieties; thus the precedents I had to
fall back on were very limited.

The greatest difficulty was, as I have said, in gleaning information
on perceptions and attitudes separately. I was able to overcome this
difficulty only partially by firstly, using a battery of tests featuring
various kinds of questions together with tapes featuring both free speech
and reading, and secondly by applying the insights into the nature of
the society, particularly the 'coloured community', that I had gained
and deducing as much as I could from the results. This had its limits
and I confessed that some of the results, which appeared significant
because of their clearly patterned nature, I could not confidently inter-
pret. But what I can say is that I have gained some insights into the
nature of perceptions and attitudes and the problems involved in their
study and I would like to conclude with a discussion of these.

My study has shown without doubt that certain perceptions are widely
shared among member's of Cape Town's population. These perceptions con-
sist of relations of association between varieties of English (co-occur-
ences of linguistic items) and certain attributes. Thus it can be said
that a speaker is perceived to have a certain status according to the
way he or she speaks. Furthermore these perceptions tend to cut across
classes and community boundaries to a great extent; that is, certain of
them are shared by people of diverse class and community backgrounds.
Other perceptions are shared only by those who have similar class and
community backgrounds. This entirely social nature of perceptions would

ensure that similar phenomena could be observed in any society, since the phenomenon of accommodation, being universal, ensures that in every society where there are people who wish to identify themselves with certain members of that society and disassociate themselves from others, they will do so by exploiting linguistic resources. Since this way of expressing identification is essentially a form of social signalling, it is not surprising that it should have meaning for other members of the society, hence the sharing of perceptions. But at the same time the principle of social networks, being similarly universal, ensures that there are limits to the identifications that one can make, since the social network, when it is relatively dense and multiplex, circumscribes the modes of behaviour that are available to any particular individual. These limitations of behaviour, including linguistic behaviour, have the effect of making community boundaries particularly apparent; that is, one recognises a person's community background from his or her speech. This is a form of shared knowledge, but at the same time the extent of the sharing of this knowledge is itself limited by the life experiences of the people concerned. In other words, as I have said, certain (more subtle perhaps) perceptions are only shared by those whose class and community backgrounds are similar.

When one considers attitudes, one notices that these are relatively less social, more individual. This is because, as I have said, perceptions are only a part of attitudes; thus the attitudes of any particular individual consist of his or her socially determined perceptions, plus another component which is a manifestation of individual psychology. Now in cases where strong prejudices are inculcated in the individual through the process of socialization, it is entirely sensible to speak

of socially shared attitudes, since in such cases all individual cognitive and affective elements become subordinated to an imposed universal mind-set. But where prejudices are relatively weak, it becomes necessary to admit an individual psychological element. Thus any researcher enquiring into attitudes would be likely to uncover prejudices among his or her subjects; these would be represented in results of experiments as certain forms of consensus among the subjects. It must be stressed here that one can only speak of prejudices in relation to attitudes, since perceptions are always shared to the extent that people's life experiences are similar; but when one is eliciting information relating to attitudes, information which reflects something more than simple associations, such as emotional responses or aesthetic judgements (I shall have more to say about this), then the consensuses do represent prejudices. Thus in considering results of experiments it is necessary to discriminate very carefully indeed in the matter of interpretation, as to which of the consensuses represent the simple sharing of associations and which represent prejudices. It is precisely these subtle but important distinctions which are implicitly ignored in formulations such as Lambert's "stereotyped impressions or biased views" which I quoted early in the chapter before this.

Now I would like to return to a distinction which I made earlier between attitude towards a language (or accent or dialect) and attitude towards a speaker. It should be clear now why these are two different things: a speaker conveys information about him or herself of two types and in two ways, social information conveyed by accent or dialect, and information about his or her individual personality, intelligence and even physical attributes conveyed by speech style and voice quality. Which of these is more important in determining attitudes towards the speaker depends upon the extent to which the judges are prejudiced. Where there is strong

prejudice relating to the group, class or community to which the speaker is perceived (through accent or dialect) to belong, then it will be accent or dialect that will be the chief factor in the response or judgement. However to the extent that prejudice is weak the judges will judge according to other criteria such as style and voice quality, and in such cases the individual psychology of the judges themselves is an important factor. So one might say that in cases where there is strong prejudice the influence of style and voice quality are 'overdetermined' by accent or dialect, and in the absence of prejudice the opposite would apply. It remains only for me now to discuss more fully the role which these variables of style and voice quality play in general, as well as their role in my own study, before making my recommendations regarding the methodology of possible future studies, and then finally summing up everything that has been learnt in this study as a whole.

I have said that attitudes are typically manifested in 'emotional responses' and 'aesthetic judgements'; this is to say that the respondent experiences a kind of instinctive feeling of liking for or approval of the speaker, or else the opposite; at the same time the respondent might also decide that the speaker's speech has some pleasant or unpleasant quality. Prejudice would exist where the judgements of a respondent are always unfavourable in these ways regarding speech where the accent or dialect indicates that the speaker is the member of a particular group, class or community. Of course the judge can also be mistaken here, and dislike a speaker for being a member of such a group, when in fact this is not so. Thus perception, whether faulty or not, plays a part in the formation of the attitude. However in cases where the judge is not prejudiced in this way, the accent or dialect of the speaker may be less

important than what Street and Hopper (1982) refer to as *paralanguage behaviours*: "Perceptions of paralanguage behaviours such as speech rate, pauses, vocalizations, vocal pitch, intensity and quality have significant evaluative consequences."[3]

In my own fieldwork I attempted to make the variable of style in the recordings as constant as possible, by giving each speaker an identical task to perform, mentioning that a language study was involved, and making the presence of the tape recorder apparent. However even regarding style there was still much variation, especially in the case of tape no. 1 where free speech was required, for instance the relatively colloquial style of some speakers compared to the formality of others. In the para-language behaviours mentioned above there was much variation as my des-criptions of the speakers' deliveries pointed out. I mentioned there aspects such as intonation, stress, speed, hesitations and so forth. Nor can speech ever be elicited from a range of speakers in which these differences are eliminated; if one is to use specimens of natural speech it must be expected that the judges are being exposed not only to a range of accents and dialects but also to a wide range of paralanguage behaviours and styles. So I shall return briefly to my results now and re-examine them in the light of three arbitrarily chosen oppositions: formal/colloquial, confident/hesitant, brief/rambling.

Two parts of my research which would be suitable for a reconsideration, since they were designed to elicit purely attitudinal responses, are the part of experiment no. 1 which required the speakers to be evaluated as 'genuine' or not, and experiment no. 4, where speakers were rated for their suitability as potential radio announcers. In experiment no. 1 two of the schools chose speakers whose speech was relaxed and the most

colloquial for their highest rating as 'genuine', while these were the very two speakers who received not one vote from the Lavender Hill subjects; the latter instead rated those speakers as 'genuine' who tended to speak confidently, fairly rapidly, and were fairly brief in their presentation. This tends to confirm what I said earlier concerning the response of the lower/working class Lavender Hill pupils, that they were less sensitive to the prestige value of speech variables; now I would attribute this type of response to a lack of prejudice on their part. Since they were less aware of the associations of accents and dialects they tended to judge relatively more than the other schools did according to paralanguage criteria. In that section the two speakers who received the lowest rating from the three schools combined were no. 6 and no. 10. Ignoring their accents and even deviancies in grammar for the moment, these were the two speakers who were the most rambling and lengthy (no. 6) and hesitant and lacking in confidence (no. 10) respectively. Similar observations could be made concerning the rest of the experiment, the way in which the judges exploited the various status categories (which I had intended only to elicit perceptual responses) to express approbation and disapprobation of speakers. A reference to the table on page 184, for example will show the ratings of speakers no. 3 and no. 9 to be widely divergent in the proportion of approving to disapproving responses (16/27 and 51/8 respectively); yet these two speakers had very similar accents, basically Resp. SAE with some influence of Afr. Eng.. This divergence can only be attributable to the difference between the rapid, confident (almost aggressive) delivery of no. 9 compared with the slower, more hesitant and colloquial delivery of no. 3.

If one compares two of the sets of results for experiment no. 4 with each other, that of the six Lavender Hill respondents against

that of the two 'other' respondents, it is possible to come to conclusions regarding the amount of prejudice according to similar criteria.

On tape no. 2 which was used, it was generally true that the speakers of CE lects were also the least confident and the slowest in their deliveries, thus the fact that there is general consensus between the Lavender Hill subjects and the 'other' subjects does not mean that they were necessarily judging according to the same criteria. A very careful examination of the results in fact shows the contrary to be more likely. Speaker no. 8, who spoke a lect of CE containing some prestigious and non-prestigious features specific to CE, was exceptional in that he spoke more rapidly and confidently than the other CE speakers, yet the 'other' respondents rated him as less suitable than all the 'white' speakers for the position of radio announcer. The Lavender Hill respondents however gave him a much more favourable rating, implying that they were at least partially more concerned with paralanguage aspects of the speech in their rating. Similarly the 'other' respondents gave speakers no. 3 and no. 5 an equally low rating, while the Lavender Hill respondents gave no. 3 a higher rating than no. 5. These were both CE speakers, the difference being that no. 5 was by far the more hesitant. I would conclude then that the 'other' subjects, in judging more according to accent than the Lavender Hill subjects did, (a) were more aware of the significance of accent features, and (b) were possibly more prejudiced.

There is one aspect of what I have been saying that needs some qualification. It is not necessarily true that prejudice of this kind is manifested in a fully conscious way; it may be that the association between an accent and membership of a group, community or class, or the association between the accent and low status does not enter the consciousness of the judge explicitly. Thus it is not necessarily true that when disapprobation

was expressed towards a speaker of CE, or his or her speech was given
a negative judgement on aesthetic grounds, that the judge had conscious-
ly and explicitly made an association with 'coloured' identity. As I
mentioned in Chapter One I was not willing to make direct enquiries
into this because of the sensitivity of many towards labels of this
kind. It is possible though that prejudice is transmitted in ways that
are subtle enough for it to influence behaviour even when this is not
the result of conscious decision. Further, I believe that the criterion
I have proposed, that of whether a speaker is judged by his or her
accent/dialect as opposed to paralanguage features, would be a valid
one in measuring the amount of prejudice in a group of subjects provided
a suitable methodology could be devised.

It is perhaps unfortunate that some of these insights were not avail-
able to me before I commenced with my fieldwork; I might have been able
to devise a methodology which would have yielded less enigmatic results.
On the other hand much was learnt, and of this something might be of
value to someone attempting a similar study. I would make the following
suggestions to such a person regarding the methodology of fieldwork:

1. Before commencing with the fieldwork, find out as much information
as possible regarding the intended subjects; for instance the indices
of status according to which they themselves are accustomed to judging
people, and what these mean to them in terms of their own implicit value
systems and personality theories.
2. Pay some attention to the environment in which the fieldwork is done.
The school environment which I chose tends to be status-stressing rather
than solidarity-stressing (according to Giles and Ryan, 1982). There is
also the presence of the researcher to be considered; the extent to

which the subjects' perceptions of him or her will influence their responses.

3. Try to devise a methodology which can clearly distinguish between the cognitive and affective elements of subjects' responses.

6.3 Summary of Conclusions

I believe that this study has provided either conclusive proof, or else strong support for all of the assertions which follow.

1. 'Coloured' is a social category or stereotype which has negative associations for both 'whites' and 'coloureds' themselves. It's use can only be understood in terms of power and dominance in the society, and not in terms of 'racial' or 'ethnic' criteria. 'Whites' tend to use the term confidently and exclusively, while 'coloureds' tend to reject both the unqualified use of the term and the exclusion implied by it.

2. Resulting from an overtly imposed identity there is (a) a covert identification among those who have shared the experience of being classified 'coloured' and (b) a 'coloured' community which can be described in terms of social network theory.

3. The density and multiplexity of social networks which define the community boundary impose a homogeneity of norms and values, and this is especially true at the lower socio-economic levels. This has certain consequences for language.

4. There are certain linguistic phenomena which are associated with the

'coloured community'. These include the use of a dialect of non-standard
Afrikaans, characterized by much use of loan words, especially from
English, and metaphorical code-switching between English and Afrikaans;
and secondly a variety of English, definable in terms of typical co-
occurrences of stigmatized and non-prestigious features.

5. The speakers of the above mentioned variety of English tend to be
of the lower or working class, to speak more Afrikaans than English,
and to inhabit areas characterized by sub-economic housing, poverty,
unemployment and crime.

6. Those who wish to disidentify themselves with the above will be found
to speak a variety of English closer to, but seldom identical to,
one of the varieties spoken by 'whites'. Often such an idiolect will
contain features of several of the 'white' varieties as well as others
not normally occurring in the latter.

7. There is a tendency among 'coloureds' in the Cape Peninsula to speak
more English and less Afrikaans, especially on the part of those upwardly
mobile in the socio-economic sense, and especially in the sphere of
education.

8. Extr. CE, the variety defined in no. 4 above, is associated percep-
tually by both 'whites' and 'coloureds', even some of those who speak
it themselves, with low social status.

9. Resp. SAE, as a variety of English defined in terms of a small number
of prestigious features, is associated with high status by both 'whites
and 'coloureds'.

10. 'Whites' are generally more able to distinguish between prestigious lects of SAE and lects of British English than 'coloureds'. Very few members of either group associate any lect of British English or Cons. SAE with higher status than they do Resp. SAE.

11. Middle class 'coloureds' are more aware of the prestige value of sociolinguistic variables than those of lower or working class.

12. 'Whites' are generally less able to distinguish between Extr. CE and relatively more prestigious lects of CE than 'coloureds'.

13. The more prestigious lects of CE (Resp. CE) are sometimes associated perceptually with a relatively high standard of education and respectability, but seldom with wealth or sophistication.

14. There is a variety of CE which is close to Afr. Eng., notable for the use of uvular /r/ and this is associated with the country and with conservative authority figures. Such lects can elicit extremely negative attitudes.

15. Attitudes towards a speaker occur as a result of two distinguishable sets of factors: accent or dialect, which conveys social information about a speaker; and style (including formality, speech rate, brevity and so forth) and other paralanguage behaviours (such as intonation, voice pitch and quality) which convey information about the individual nature of the person (his or her personality and physical characteristics).

16. Where there is a high level of prejudice in intergroup relations, attitudes will be formed more as a response to accent and dialect than

to features of style or paralanguage paraviours.

17. Among lower and working class 'coloureds', because there is a low
level of sensitivity to the prestige value of sociolinguistic variables,
attitudes tend to be formed more in response to style and paralanguage
behaviours than is the case for 'whites' and middle class 'coloureds'.

18. The level of prejudice is highest for 'whites', resulting in negative
emotional responses and/or negative aesthetic judgements in response
to lects of CE. But as a general principle the same can be said of all
speakers of relatively prestigious lects in relation to those who speak
less prestigious lects than they, with the qualification that these
attitudes can be modified as other information about the speaker becomes
available, either as a result of the speech style or other paralanguage
behaviours, the content of the text, or *the physical presence of the
speaker*.

I have emphasized the last point only because it must be realised that
a great deal of what has been said in this thesis would not be applicable
in 'face to face' situations. For instance a very positive or very
negative evaluation of a speaker could be completely reversed if the
first encounter were telephonic and the second face to face. There are
a great number of social and psychological factors involved in inter-
personal attitudes generally. The purpose of this thesis has been to
deal with only those which are specifically relevant to language; it
would perhaps be more suitable for a social psychology study to examine
the role of language in interpersonal encounters of varying types. Such
a study could take as its points of departure some of what I have shown
here. But I will let those social psychologists Giles and Ryan have

the last word:

> Whether a grand theory of language attitudes is viable
> or even desirable is a contentious issue although recent
> linguistic, sociological and social psychological inter-
> grations within speech accommodation theory...suggest
> that this could be a feasible *interdisciplinary* goal.[4]

Notes

1. W. Labov (1972): *Sociolinguistic Patterns*, University of Pennsylvania, p.118.

2. p.158.

3. R.L. Street Jr. and R. Hopper (1982): 'A model of speech style eval-uation' in E.B. Ryan and H. Giles eds. *Attitudes towards Language Variation*, Edward Arnold, London, p.181.

4. H. Giles and E.B. Ryan (1982): 'Prolegomena for developing a social psychological theory of language attitudes', Ryan and Giles, p.209.

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APPENDIX

Recording equipment

The recordings mentioned in Chapter Five were originally made on a TDK 'normal' cassette using a Sony TCM-6DX flat microphone portable recorder. From this master cassette the specific material to be used in the field-work was edited onto two Sony 'normal' cassettes (tapes no. 1 and no. 2) using a Sansui D-99BW Stereo Double Cassette Deck. In the fieldwork these two cassettes were then played on the same Sony portable recorder on which the recordings were originally made.